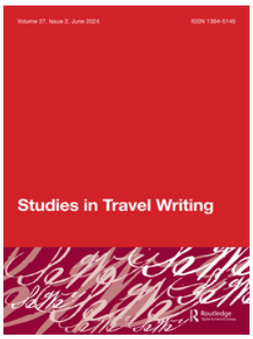

Studies in Travel Writing

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rstw20

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To cite this article: Christian Drury (03 Mar 2025): William Cecil Slingsby and Elizabeth Le Blond in Norway: transnational mountaineering, modernity and temporality, 1870–1910, Studies in Travel Writing, DOI: 10.1080/13645145.2025.2462540

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2025.2462540

Published online: 03 Mar 2025.

STUDIES IN TRAVEL WRITING
https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2025.2462540

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

William Cecil Slingsby and Elizabeth Le Blond in Norway: transnational mountaineering, modernity and temporality, 1870–1910

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ABSTRACT

In both William Cecil Slingsby's *Norway. The Northern Playground* (1904) and Elizabeth Le Blond's *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* (1908), Norway is presented as an alternative destination for British mountaineers at the beginning of the twentieth century. Reflecting the increasing popularity of Norway with travellers, both Slingsby and Le Blond saw their journeys as temporal. For Slingsby, this was searching for an Old Norse past which connected to Britain; for Le Blond, it was as an escape from modernity. Yet both depicted the tensions of modern travel; mountaineering in particular was an activity dependent on modern infrastructure and technology. Moreover, both, and especially Slingsby, were part of transnational networks of mountaineers, constructing Norway as a tourist landscape. The texts of Le Blond and Slingsby offer important insights into British imperial travel culture at the time, as well as the transnational histories of mountaineering and modernity.

KEYWORDS

Norway; mountaineering; modernity; William Cecil Slingsby; Elizabeth Le Blond

Introduction

"After one tour has been made to Norway", writes the British mountaineer William Cecil Slingsby in *Norway. The Northern Playground* (1904), "the desire to revisit this romantic Northland in most cases is irresistible" (13). Many other British travellers agreed, and Norway was an increasingly popular destination from the mid-nineteenth until the early twentieth century. Searching for both connections to Britain and escape from a changing nation, British travellers believed they could find in Norway many of the social and cultural features they felt that Britain was losing with industrialisation and urbanisation. This movement of travellers left a significant body of writing: between the late eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century, around two hundred travelogues by British travellers about Norway were published (Fjågesund and Symes 2003, 14). Moreover, this scale of travel displayed how British travellers thought about both Britain itself and the wider world. Writing about travel to Norway reflects

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concerns about modernity at home, changing ideas of gender in society and the place of Britain in the world, including its imperial influence. For some travellers, Norway was a place to escape to, where they could avoid the busyness of home and other popular destinations. However, for others, Norway offered its own particular attractions in its society and culture, particularly in its historic links to Britain and the supposed commonalities between the two nations. Many travellers saw imagined Norse pasts in contemporary Norway (Wawn 2000). These alternative visions of Norway's appeal were connected by their temporal imaginaries, viewing Norway as a place defined by its past. For the former group of travellers, the pastness of Norway allowed them to see a place which seemed to embody an imagined and lost pre-industrial past. For the latter, Norway's past was one with connections and commonalities to a specific idea of Britishness, linked to ideas of shared culture and racial descent. Yet, despite the focus of British travellers on Norwegian pasts, their travel was often deeply modern. Changing infrastructure in Norway enabled faster and smoother travel in the country, further reinforcing the popularity of the country as a tourist destination. Studying travel to Norway provides crucial insight into travellers' multiple and contradictory understandings of modernity, as discourses of temporality were central to travel writing.

Given the scale of British travel, providing specific examples of texts which reflect these attitudes to Norway can show the centrality of temporal perspectives and transnational connections. One subsection of British travellers was mountaineers, who saw Norway as an alternative to the increasingly busy Alps and an easily accessed source of unclimbed peaks. Two mountaineers who wrote about their multiple trips to Norway in the latter decades of the nineteenth century are William Cecil Slingsby and Elizabeth Le Blond.[1] Both published accounts of their climbing in Norway in the 1900s, with Slingsby's *The Northern Playground* appearing in 1904 and Le Blond's *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* in 1908. Both texts are retrospective and cover multiple trips to Norway. Moreover, the two mountaineers knew each other and overlapped on several expeditions to the Lyngen Alps in Northern Norway. Their texts offer notable examples of how temporal discourses structured British travel writing about Norway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Slingsby focussed on connection: he learnt Norwegian, was fascinated by connections between Britain and Norway, and worked extensively with Norwegian mountaineers and guides. Le Blond, conversely, wrote of Norway as a place of escape and as a quiet alternative to the Alps, rather than a place of interest in and of itself. Slingsby's and Le Blond's publications provide clear examples of the two key temporal discourses surrounding British travel in Norway and the alternate visions of connection and escape. Mountaineers can be considered as paradigmatic examples of British travellers in Norway, whilst mountaineering in Norway offers alternative perspectives on existing understandings of mountaineering history. Mountaineering necessarily required a consideration of challenging landscapes, but was dependent on networks of infrastructure, from guides and huts to the publications of mountaineering organisations like the Alpine Club and its European equivalents.

The history of mountaineering offers important insights into temporal understandings of modernity. As Thomas Simpson has written, "mountains are quintessential products of modernity even as, and precisely because, they figure as its limit and its other" (Simpson 2019, 554). Historians have addressed the history of mountaineering and its relationship to modernity in a number of ways. Some historians, such as Tait Keller and Alan McNee

have addressed the national forms mountaineering takes, as well as its relationship to building the nation state (Keller 2016; McNee 2016), whilst others, such as Patrice Dabrowski have looked at the relationship between mountaineering and identity in transnational regions such as the Carpathians (Dabrowski 2021). Similarly, Ben Anderson has discussed transnational mountaineering cultures between Britain, Germany and the Alps (Anderson 2020). Mountaineering as a modern practice has been extensively covered by Peter H. Hansen (Hansen 2001; 2013), raising important questions around how climbing and thinking about mountains contributed to discourses of modernity. As Hansen (2013) and Bernard Debarbieux and Gilles Rudaz (2015) have shown, this was often ambivalent. Mountain achievements were celebrated as triumphs of nation and empire, but mountaineers often had a complex relationship to modernity. Mountain areas were often valued for their distance from modern, urban life and mountaineers themselves could "be both emblems and opponents of the modern" (Simpson 2019, 572). The imperial aspects of mountaineering have also been widely discussed by historians (Bayers 2003; Colley 2010b; Ellis 2001; Fleetwood 2022). Mountaineering, in its summiting of peaks and mapping of territories, was often intimately involved with projects of imperial geography. Its discourse of conquest had both symbolic and practical implications. Mountaineering in Norway both fitted this pattern and was exceptional. Climbers like Slingsby and Le Blond gave their own names to Norwegian mountains, relied on local labour and used the language of conquest. However, Slingsby's attachment to Norway meant he positioned himself alongside Norwegian climbers, both rhetorically and practically. However, his "playground" was complex and his approach to Norway was far from anti-colonial. Le Blond's colonial gaze is most visible in her depictions of Sámi. Whilst Slingsby had little to say about Sámi, despite climbing in Sápmi, Le Blond's text adopts an ethnographic tone to depict Sámi life in the Lyngen region. The connections between mountaineering and imperialism were visible, as in many places (Hansen 1996), on the fringes of empire.

Mountaineering in Norway facilitated the development of transnational connections and networks which can be traced through Slingsby's and Le Blond's texts, as well as their other writings in publications such as the yearbook of *Den Norske Turistforening* (DNT) [The Norwegian Trekking Association]. These connections are often underplayed in favour of histories which reflect on tourism in national terms or centre Norwegian nation building. The production of networks, institutions and infrastructure can instead be viewed as a transnational endeavour. Despite their focus on the past, Slingsby and Le Blond both contributed to the construction of modern Norwegian tourist infrastructure. Their writings demonstrate their involvement in these practices, even if the two mountaineers differ in their emphasis. For travellers like Slingsby, interested in Norwegian history and society, climbing with Norwegian guides and mountaineers was a way to develop his knowledge of the country, whilst making similar journeys and ascents possible for others, from Britain, Norway and elsewhere. His involvement with Norwegian mountaineers and DNT as an organisation shows a degree of transnational cooperation previously underestimated in the literature of British travel in Norway and the wider Arctic. A direct comparison of his text to Le Blond's illuminates both overlaps and differences in their respective approaches to Norway. In turn, the texts provide important insight into the transnational construction of infrastructure in Norway in the late nineteenth century, as well as the wider culture of British tourism. This travel produced

texts which show how Britain and Norway were understood in the imaginaries and experiences of travellers, as places linked through networks of mountaineers and their practice. Moreover, the countries were understood through their positions in a wider world, one often shaped by the discourses and experiences of empire. The transnational connections made by mountaineers, acknowledged or not, were a central part of the tourist culture of Norway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

William Cecil Slingsby: building connections, tracing the past

Slingsby's interest in Norway began with its mountains but developed into a social and cultural fascination, shaped by his own political preoccupations. Born near Skipton in Yorkshire in 1849, Slingsby was part of a mill-owning family. Educated at Cheltenham College, he did not attend university and instead entered the family business (Winthrop-Young 2004). As Paul Readman notes in his illuminating article on Slingsby, whilst Slingsby's upper-middle class background was normal for a British mountaineer in the mid-nineteenth century, his mountaineering trajectory was not (Readman 2014, 1101). Instead of beginning with ascents in the Alps, Slingsby launched his mountaineering career in Norway. Visiting for the first time in 1872, he made his name as a mountaineer by making the first ascent of Store Skagastølstind, one of Norway's highest mountains, in 1876 (Readman 2014, 1101). Slingsby made fifteen trips to Norway between 1872 and 1904, travelling with family and friends, as well as visiting Norwegian guides and mountaineers with whom he had climbed before (Slingsby 1904, 10). His travelogue, *Norway. The Northern Playground*, provides accounts of many of his major ascents, as well as his connection to Norway as a place and certain individuals who he travelled with. Whilst the text focusses on his ascents in the Jotunheimen, Sunnmøre and Romsdal regions of central Norway, he also climbed in Northern Norway/Sápmi, especially in the Lyngen Alps.[2] His numerous first ascents, and particularly that of Store Skagastølstind, also known as Storen, gave him a significant profile as a mountaineer in Norway. By the time of his obituary in the *Alpine Journal*, he was referred to as the "father of Norwegian mountaineering" (Readman 2014, 1102). Slingsby was a significant figure for British mountaineers who wanted to visit Norway in the late nineteenth century, offering advice on travel and climbing in Norway to those who wished to follow him. He was therefore at the centre of multiple transnational networks of travellers, from Britain, Norway, and other parts of Europe, interested in climbing in Norway. Slingsby integrated British and Norwegian mountaineering organisations and cultures, as well as encouraging climbing across Norway.

Slingsby's connections with Norway began on a personal level. He chose to climb with Norwegian guides, who he believed "took to glaciers as a duck takes to water" (Slingsby 1904, 419). Knut Lykken, who accompanied Slingsby on the first ascent of Storen, "had never seen an ice axe before" (Slingsby 1904, 128), but was trusted on the mountain due to his knowledge of the local area. Slingsby used other Norwegian guides, such as Torgeir Sulheim and Ola Berge, local men who were also crucial figures in the development of tourist infrastructure like cabins and hotels in Jotunheimen. Berge opened the Turtagrø Hotel in 1888 to accommodate climbers interested in climbing Storen, and, as Slingsby notes, Turtagrø became a meeting place for mountaineers from across Europe (1904, 13). Guiding was an essential part of the development of mountaineering networks

across Europe, with local guides being used formally and informally in Norway. From 1890, DNT supported formal training for Norwegian guides, adopting techniques and approaches learnt from Alpine guides and facilitating the exchange of mountaineering ideas across Europe. These transnational processes indicate that, despite the assumptions of Slingsby and other travellers, local guides were often connected to modern networks of information and knowledge about mountaineering, beyond their own locale (Eikje, Horgen, and Arnegård 2019, 561–562).

As well as using Norwegian guides, Slingsby made connections with the growing community of Norwegian mountaineers. Prominent amongst these was Emanuel Mohn, a school teacher from Bergen, who Slingsby referred to as his "fjell kammerat" ["mountain comrade"] (1904, 124). Mohn accompanied Slingsby and Lykken on the first ascent of Storen in 1876, his first summer of climbing with Slingsby, but was a significant figure in his own right amongst Norwegian mountaineers. Mohn was an early member of DNT and published a guide to climbing in Jotunheimen, as well as collections of panoramas which influenced the visual perception of Norwegian mountain regions (Slagstad 2018, 141). His writing and panoramas appeared in the yearbook of DNT, alongside Slingsby's articles. Slingsby also climbed and corresponded with the pioneering female mountaineer, Therese Bertheau, as well as British women, including his wife Alizon and sister Edith (Readman 2014, 1108; Vibe 2012). Slingsby was notable for his support of female mountaineering, influenced by the prevalence of Norwegian women in mountain life, and encouraged female mountaineers, including Le Blond, to visit Norway and climb widely (Readman 2014, 1108–1109). Beyond mountaineers, Slingsby met well-known Norwegians like the composer Edvard Grieg. He linked Grieg's music to the Norwegian landscape, writing that he was "sure that much of the delightful music with which he has charmed the civilised world has been inspired by the weird grandeur of the mountains and fjords of his native land" (1904, 215). Slingsby was not alone amongst British travellers in meeting notable Norwegians, but his level of engagement, through correspondence and friendship, as well as on his multiple trips to Norway, was unusual.

Slingsby's writings, especially *The Northern Playground*, reveal the reason for his particular interest in Norway as a destination. Slingsby's concerns, and desire for repeated returns, went beyond mountaineering into his preoccupation with Norwegian society and culture, and particularly its links to and overlaps with Britain. Like many other British travellers to Norway in the nineteenth century, he was fascinated with the shared pasts of Britain and Norway, especially the Viking and Old Norse pasts. This was a connection and supposed line of descent which Slingsby embraced; he notes that whilst he may be an Englishman, the "-by" at the end of his name indicates Scandinavian descent (1914, 11). Slingsby did not only describe himself as descended from Vikings. Slingsby describes Mohn's mountaineering as "fearless and sure-footed … and [he] was quite as much at his ease on the top of this treacherous mountain-wall as he would have been behind the battlements of a Norman tower" (1904, 138), whilst Sulheim simply had "the blood of the Vikings coursing in his veins" (1904, 178). Norwegians who climbed with Slingsby and were actively involved in shaping modern Norwegian mountaineering were still defined by their pastness and their identity was invoked in temporal terms. This often meant eliding the transnational connections which guides had, through the knowledge they gained through working with travellers and the spread of mountaineering practices. Modernity was reserved for the traveller. Slingsby felt that

he was enabling connections to the Norse past to be made. He writes that mountaineering had "reawaken[ed] the ancient adventurous spirit of the Vikings, which, though sometimes dormant, always exists in their descendants" (1904, 170). For Slingsby, this descent was unambiguously positive. Moreover, it underpinned British power and achievement in the present. As Andrew Wawn has put it, it was "the old Northern values … that, in the eyes of many Victorians, underpinned the best of Britain at home and abroad – imperial power, mercantile prosperity, technological progress, social stability and justice" (2000, 40). For Slingsby, travel to Norway provided connections with imagined British pasts and presents. Norway was a well-spring and model, both culturally and racially, of British pre-eminence.

This thinking cohered around certain locations and objects, both in Norway and Britain. The discovery and display of the Gokstad ship, for example, excavated in southern Norway in 1880, featured prominently in numerous British travelogues from Norway in the final decades of the nineteenth century (Fjågesund and Symes 2003, 137–139). Closer to home for Slingsby, he notes that the Norse inheritance was especially strong in the North of England, particularly Cumberland, and that he can "recognise Norse in our rich dialects" (1904, 14). Slingsby was a life member and founding vice-president of the Yorkshire Dialect Society and his interest in folklore and language were reflected in his writing on Norway (Readman 2014, 1117). He was attuned to cultural overlap: travelling in Jotunheimen, he notes a local dance in which was "not many years ago … known in our own village in Yorkshire" (1904, 128). As Readman has outlined, the Lake District featured heavily in these ideas of a transnational regionalism, whereby an English region at a local scale was seen as particularly close or similar to Norway, culturally, socially and temporally. In the Lake District, the local temperament was seen as directly comparable to Norwegians (Readman 2014, 1118).[3] This was rooted in hospitality and honesty, as well as a healthy simplicity of life, albeit one which was vanishing in England (Readman 2014, 1118). The Lake District also contained similar rural and mountainous landscapes to Norway, where travellers could be closer to both British and Norse pasts. As Slingsby's remark about the Yorkshire dance suggests, travel to Norway represented a way to get closer to a Britain which was fading rapidly. Writing of the food, accommodation, and lifestyle that he received, he observes "could we not have seen the same in England had we lived a few centuries ago?" (1904, 15). The Lake District, and the North of England more generally, here represented the wellspring of British greatness, via the Viking legacy, as well as a faded version of what was still available in Norway.

This simultaneous celebration of British greatness and fear of British decline is clear in Slingsby's writings on Norway and reflected his thinking on wider questions of empire and race. As Wawn makes clear, Viking descent was seen as a reason for the dominance of the British Empire. These preoccupations had a biological and racial component – for Slingsby, many of the best national characteristics of the British were inherited from the Vikings, literally passed down in the blood. In many ways, his discussion of shared racial heritage presented the Norwegians alongside the British in an imperial hierarchy. Readman writes that for Slingsby "imperialistic motivations, by the late nineteenth century … were of less importance even to those mountaineers who – as in Slingsby's case – were ardent supporters of empire" and notes Slingsby's imperialist politics did not extend to his attitude to mountaineering, given his willingness to look beyond first ascents and support local mountaineers (2014, 1111). These are important points to

consider, but overlook the way in which Slingsby and other travellers folded Norwegian pasts into British imperial presents, their ideas of descent and inheritance connecting to an understanding of race and whiteness which situated Britain and Norway together in the imperial world. Whilst at times Norway is aligned with the colonial world, Slingsby's affinity for the country influenced how he saw its place in the world. Similarity, even at a temporal distance, structured his feeling towards Norway. He notes, for example, Norwegian support for Britain in the Second Boer War. Kristofer Randers, a Norwegian poet who wrote a guidebook to Sunnmøre used by Slingsby, had, according to Slingsby, "generous feelings towards our nation … at a time when most continental Europeans and their friends, the 'Little Englanders' at home, were, apparently, not over anxious for our success in South Africa" (1904, 357). Moreover, Slingsby knew "a good many Norsemen whose opinions on this matter coincide with Herr Randers" (357). Empire structured thought and affinity between British travellers and Norwegians. A shared sense of common descent was crucial for this, but sympathies extended into the future. British and Norwegian alignment was also a way of being connected by a supposed racial unity produced by the past and a common future as allies and powers in the world. Slingsby's concern for the Norwegian past structured his thought, but he saw Norwegians as "a race to which I am proud to believe that we are nearer akin than to any other in Europe" (1904, 16). This sense of kinship was central to his relationship to Norway and defined his thinking about the country across time.

Whilst Slingsby's ideological affinity to Norway is central to understanding his attraction to the country, his mountaineering connections were material. Moreover, his belief in shared Anglo-Norwegian heritage and future cooperation was reflected in the transnational connections he made across national mountaineering communities. He worked closely with Norwegian organisations and institutions, particularly DNT. Founded in 1868, *Den Norske Turistforening* was created to encourage and develop travel to rural areas of Norway. For the Norwegian National Romantic movement, the authentic Norwegian national identity was to be found away from the cities, where the influence of the unions with Denmark and Sweden was stronger (Ween and Abram 2012, 157–158). A national consciousness could be developed amongst urban Norwegians by spending time in the more remote areas of the country, closer to the supposedly authentic nation (Jørgensen 2013, 75; Mytting 2012, 32).[4] DNT was therefore heavily involved in the construction of infrastructure to support this travel, from accommodation like *hytter* [cabins] to bridges and roads. The infrastructure built by DNT features in numerous places in *The Northern Playground*, where Slingsby makes specific reference to the organisation and its early work. For example, Slingsby describes the paths built by DNT as "excellent and useful" (1904, 56) when visiting the Vettisfoss waterfall in Jotunheimen and notes the DNT yearbook for 1871 contained a "most useful map" of the area (1904, 58). On a later trip, he was impressed by the Skagastølshytte (now Skagastølsbu), the cabin built below Storen in 1890 with two thousand kroner contributed by DNT (1904, 204). One of the features of DNT which Slingsby appreciated was its the reach in the country. When climbing in Sunnmøre, he notes that:

> many of the natives of Söndmöre [Sunnmøre] are devoted admirers of its grand scenery. They have a Turist Forening, whose headquarters are in Aalesund, and this club has already done much to open up the wildest glens and to cut paths through otherwise almost impenetrable

> brushwood to lead to some useful mountain pass … which are a great boon to mountaineers. (1904, 357)

Slingsby approved of how DNT was making Norwegian mountain landscapes more accessible to travellers. As Readman puts it, "Slingsby wanted to see more people on the fells, not fewer" (2014, 1124). Slingsby wrote that his climbing in Jotunheimen "broke new ground from the tourists' point of view, and I am glad to have learned that a good number of them have already followed our example" (1904, 233). Moreover, this was not simply his example: he was recommending Norway, in part, because of the work of DNT.

Slingsby was clearly happy to be followed and his text contains recommendations of routes and mentions "mountaineers who have applied to me for suggestions" (1904, 108). Slingsby recognised the significance of DNT in making mountain travel and ascents possible and his connection to the organisation's networks contributed to this. Slingsby's profile in Norway was partly developed by writing for DNT's yearbook. He first wrote for the publication in 1875, providing an account of an ascent of Glittertind with his younger sister, Edith (Slingsby 1875). Slingsby then published consistently in the yearbook through the 1870s and 1880s, providing accounts of his trips to Jotunheimen and beyond. His articles were largely published in English, although in the 1883 edition, his article "Første bestigning af Vengetind" was an extract from an article published in the *Alpine Journal* and appeared in Norwegian, translated by Mohn (Slingsby 1883a). In another article in the same edition, Slingsby writes explicitly that he is "hoping firmly, with my friend Mohn, that our writings may tend to foster the love of mountains in the breasts of *Norsk* friends, and so encourage the growth of the most glorious, and innocent sport in the world – mountaineering" (Slingsby 1883b, 86). His aim – that mountaineers visit Norway and that Norwegians climb – is clear, as is his close collaboration with Mohn. In the 1890 edition, Slingsby's article, "The Justedalsbræ revisited" appeared in English, alongside the articles in Norwegian by other contributors, including the Danish mountaineer Carl Hall (*Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1890* 1891). The DNT yearbook, despite the national purpose of the organisation, was firmly transnational, including articles from climbers from a number of different countries, as well as including growing membership lists that demonstrate the international character of the organisation. In the 1890 edition, for example, members are listed from across Europe, from large numbers in Britain and France to individuals in Romania and Portugal. There are a significant number of Americans, as well as Norwegians living in China and Argentina (*Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1890* 1891, 219–232). Slingsby's writings therefore contributed to these transnational networks of communication and infrastructure that supported mountaineering in Norway. DNT's membership and publications were international and Slingsby's prominence as a mountaineer in Norway made him an influential figure. His cooperation with DNT was a central part of the transnational culture of mountaineering that developed in the late nineteenth century.

Slingsby was complimentary of DNT in other publications. Writing in *The Yorkshire Ramblers' Club Journal* in 1899, he praises the "luxurious log-built and boarded-floored Tourist Club [DNT] huts, to all intents and purposes small inns" which had been built in Jotunheimen in the preceding decades (1899b, 19). Whilst Slingsby did much to raise the profile of DNT outside of Norway, his praise of DNT was repeated by other travellers.

In his 1896 travelogue, *In the Northman's Land: Travel, Sport, and Folk-lore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld*, the British soldier and traveller, A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, writes of DNT that "to this excellent institution every traveller in Norway who leaves the beaten track must at one time or another be indebted, and it is not too much to say that without the Norske Turistforening more than half Norway would be a sealed book" (1896, 64). In his opinion, DNT had made life "smoother for the adventurer" (217). Whilst travellers to Norway sought an escape from modern life, the reassuring – relative – comfort and ease of mountain travel using DNT infrastructure appealed to many. Another British mountaineer, E.C. Oppenheim, regarded DNT membership as "very important" for mountaineers in Norway, especially as it offered "very useful privileges" for access and accommodation (1898, 11–12). Travellers entered into networks of access and support for their mountain travel by working with DNT.

Beyond the writing of individual travellers, DNT was recommended in guidebooks aimed at British audiences. The guidebooks published by Thomas Bennett, a notable travel agent in Kristiania (now Oslo), recommended DNT membership to travellers. The 1893 edition of *Bennett's Handbook for Travellers in Norway*, published in English in both London and Kristiania, notes that DNT "ought to be supported by every traveller in Norway", as "subscriptions are laid out in making paths to waterfalls, views &c., which would otherwise be inaccessible, and in building mountain hostelries" (*Bennett's Handbook* … 1893, 10). Slingsby was a crucial figure in these transnational networks of connection and exchange. British mountaineers often wrote to him for recommendations – he mentions those "who have applied to me for suggestions" in *The Northern Playground* – and he served as an important source of advice (Slingsby 1904, 108). He also promoted Norwegian mountaineering in Britain, writing a review of the 1894 edition of the DNT handbook in the 1894–1895 edition of the *Alpine Journal*, which praises the "admirable work" of DNT, as well as how their huts "provide most excellently for the wants of travellers" ("Reviews and Notices" 1895, 370–371). Reviewing DNT in the *Alpine Journal* made more mountaineers aware of its existence and the possibility of climbing in Norway and, as such, was an important part of Slingsby's promotion of Norway as a destination. Together with his writing for DNT, Slingsby contributed extensively to transnational networks of textual infrastructure which supported travel, and particularly mountaineering, in Norway in the late nineteenth century. Together with his cooperation with Mohn, Bertheau and other Norwegian climbers and guides, Slingsby's publications show the depth of his engagement with Norway and his active promotion of it as a destination. Whilst his cultural interest in Norway was based on an engagement with Norwegian pasts, real and imagined, his work, whilst acknowledging these pasts, aimed to build a mountaineering future.

Two chapters written by Slingsby for publications beyond *The Northern Playground* further show his significance for Anglo-Norwegian mountaineering on both sides of the North Sea. First, when the *Norsk Tindeklub* [Norwegian Alpine Club] (NTK) published their first handbook in 1914, Slingsby was invited to contribute a chapter entitled "The History and Development of Norsk Mountaineering" (Slingsby 1914). Founded in 1908, NTK provided an organisation more focussed on climbing for sport than the more generalist outdoor activities of DNT (Slagstad 2018, 237). Despite the national framing of the handbook chapter, Slingsby was an obvious figure to contribute a text which outlined the longer history, and recent achievements, of mountaineers in Norway, including

himself. Slingsby's history sketched the long history of mountain travel in Norway, from his British predecessors and early Norwegian climbers through to the multinational cooperation of the early twentieth century. Slingsby was alert to the need to construct a lineage of mountaineering by Norwegians and mountaineering in Norway, with his focus on the Norse past apparent in his version of this history. Second, Slingsby wrote a chapter about Norwegian mountaineering in a guide to mountaineering edited by his son-in-law, Geoffrey Winthrop Young, and titled *Mountain Craft* (Slingsby 1920). Published in 1920, Slingsby here fulfilled his role as Norway expert for a British audience, where his experience and knowledge of the country make him the ideal guide, building on his more informal role as a contact for mountaineers keen to visit. These two texts, published after *The Northern Playground*, give further insight into Slingsby's twin positions. First, he was the "father" of mountaineering in Norway, a key figure in establishing a new history of the sport in the country and reflective of its transnational nature. Second, he was an authority on Norway in Britain, offering guidance and advice for others eager to benefit from the expertise and connections he had built up. His involvement with organisations in both countries shows how these texts contributed to the development of Norway and especially its mountainous regions as tourist destinations, forming textual infrastructure which guided and supported travel there. In the case of DNT, this textual infrastructure overlapped with the physical infrastructure of paths, bridges and cabins, enabling travel alongside with work of local people in areas like Jotunheimen (Drury forthcoming).

Slingsby's sense of connection to Norway, through friends, institutions and discourses, explains his eagerness to be followed there by other travellers and his work to make this possible. However, there was a contrast and disconnect between his focus on the past and the active construction of mountaineering in Norway. Tourism and particularly commercialisation seemed antithetical to his vision of what Norway was as a country. Slingsby feared "desecration by the hobnail boot" (1904, 12), particularly in Lyngen and other areas in Northern Norway, despite his active role in encouraging mountaineering and he despaired of the shift from the "poetry and hunger" of his early Norwegian mountaineering to the "prose and plenty" at the turn of the century (39). Moreover, the identity of the increasing numbers of tourists concerned him. He writes that the Mundal Hotel in Fjærland on the Sognefjord attracted "steamboats full of tourists", including "some awful specimens of the English 'Bounder'", who Slingsby refers to as "'Arry and 'Arriett", after the Cockney tourists depicted in *Punch* (1904, 282).[5] Beyond class anxiety, Slingsby was also concerned about the impact of tourism on Norwegian society. In Fjærland, he notes that "good-natured but misguided British tourists" affected the local economy (1904, 293). Their generous tipping made locals neglect their farms in favour of the tourist economy, doing, in Slingsby's opinion, "much more harm to the country than [the tourist] is aware of" (293). Slingsby's interest in preserving Norway was connected to his idea that the British past was visible there. Tourism seemed to bring the same threats of development and modernity that Britain had already seen. As Readman notes, Slingsby was involved with preservationist organisations such as the Commons Preservation Society in Britain (2014, 1126). However, the paradox of his thinking was that whilst he wished to preserve Norway as an example of a lost British past and repository of lost social values, his involvement with DNT and in recommending Norway to British mountaineers did much to make the country's mountain areas more accessible

to travellers. As with many British travellers, his Norwegian imaginary was temporal and he was attracted by a belief in a shared past. Slingsby's legacy, however, was the expansion of modern practices and networks of mountaineering to Norway, forming transnational networks of infrastructure to support future travel.

Elizabeth Le Blond: tourism and the temporality of escape

Slingsby's concerns about overtourism aligned with the concerns of many of his contemporaries. Another mountaineer who thought about the temporality of their travel to Norway was Elizabeth Le Blond, whose writings reflect a focus on Norway as a place from which to escape from mass tourism. Rather than searching for a specific version of the past in Norway, however, she sought a broader escape from the stresses of modernity, especially the busyness of more popular mountaineering destinations. Norway, and particularly the north of the country, provided a quiet alternative to the Alps. However, Le Blond was part of transnational networks of mountaineering, albeit in different ways to Slingsby and in ways which are elided in her writing. She used Swiss guides in Norway and climbed with British mountaineers, but connections to Norway were limited. More than for Slingsby, Norway was another mountainous region to explore. Born into an aristocratic Anglo-Irish family in 1860, Le Blond was one of the most prominent female mountaineers of the late nineteenth century, climbing widely in the Alps, as well as travelling in Russia and East Asia. She founded the Ladies' Alpine Club in 1909 and by the time she climbed in Norway, she was a significant figure in the British mountaineering community (Hansen 2004). She chose to visit Northern Norway in the 1890s after the death of the son of her usual Alpine guide, Joseph Imboden, following which both Imboden and Le Blond found it difficult emotionally to climb in the Alps (Le Blond 1908, 5). Imboden had climbed in different parts of the world, from the Himalaya to New Zealand, but Norway appealed as a novel destination, increasingly visited by British mountaineers like Slingsby (Le Blond 1908, 20). By the 1890s, British mountaineers, including Slingsby, were visiting Northern Norway, particularly Lyngen and Lofoten, and Le Blond visited Lyngen at the same time as other prominent figures in the mountaineering community. In 1897 and 1898, these included Geoffrey Hastings, Walter Haskett Smith and Slingsby, whilst Norman Collie and Howard Priestman visited Lofoten in the same years (Collie 1902; Le Blond 1908, 9; Priestman 1898; Slingsby 1899a).

Despite the presence of other British mountaineers, Le Blond writes that Northern Norway had "all the charms of the unknown". The region offered escape, and specifically an escape from the busyness of the Alps (1908, 6). Lyngen promised "all the repose of a land where no travellers are seen" – even if this was far from true (6). However, Le Blond's concerns were clear, as she notes that the distance of Northern Norway from European metropoles "serve[d] to protect it from invasion by tourists" (8). In Lyngen, Le Blond was able to experience "real comfort" (114), because "many of the most trying features of Alpine climbing were absent" (113). In Northern Norway, "no crowded huts and uncongenial parties spoilt one's enjoyment of the scenery, no curious tourists lounging round the door of a hotel watched us return after a trying expedition" (113). As Ann C. Colley has noted, there was a sense of "class pollution" in the Alps, with large numbers of lower-middle-class tourists visiting from the 1860s through Thomas Cook's travel company

and supposedly disrupting the landscapes and travel experiences of higher-class mountaineers (Colley 2010a, 36–39). Slingsby's observations on how Norway had changed, especially his complaints about tourists in Fjærland, were very similar, reflecting a perceived sense of loss and disruption. Le Blond could escape this with a trip to Norway, a relatively less accessible region, free from the commercialism of Alpine mountaineering and the time pressures of tourist travel. Moreover, she did not anticipate this changing, writing that "at no time is our northern playground likely to be overrun" (1908, 7–8). Whilst she climbed near other British mountaineers, much of the appeal of Lyngen was that "hardly any climbers have visited it", at least by Alpine standards (18). With less of an investment in Norway or its culture than Slingsby, Lyngen was, for Le Blond, appealingly blank. Le Blond's contrast to Slingsby stands in this alternative temporal imagination – Norway as an alternative escape to the past, not a shared heritage – but her mountaineering connections were also different, sharing a focus on expertise from outside Norway rather than building it in the country.

A discourse of escape was far from unusual in travelogues from Norway in the late nineteenth century, especially when the country was depicted as preindustrial and prelapsarian. One of the clearest examples of this discourse comes from James A. Lees and Walter J. Clutterbuck's comic fishing and shooting travelogue, *Three in Norway, by Two of Them*, published in 1882. One of the best-known travel texts from Norway, it details a summer trip to Jotunheimen and, although Lees and Clutterbuck were not mountaineers, their prose captures a certain British attitude towards Norway towards the end of the nineteenth century. Quite different from Slingsby's search from connection, Lees and Clutterbuck instead capture something of Le Blond's desire for escape. They write of their trip:

> It is very pleasant to be alone once in a way in this overcrowded world. Not alone as it is possible to be in England, but absolutely alone, with no living thing near except the trout, the insects, and one's image in the water. Oh, blessed Norway! when we get back to the turmoils, troubles, and pleasures of a London season how we shall long for you! There is only one word to express this existence, and that is Freedom – freedom from care, freedom from resistance, and from the struggle for life. What a country! where civilised man can relapse as much as seems good for him into his natural state, and retrograde a hundred generations to his primeval condition. (Lees and Clutterbuck 1882, 175)

Most striking about their description of their travel to Norway is the use of temporal language and metaphors. The idea of travel to Norway as a journey back or out of time was common in British travelogues of the nineteenth century, but Lees and Clutterbuck depict this in exaggerated forms – their journey is across "a hundred generations". Moreover, this was not a journey of connection, like Slingsby searching for specific British pasts. Rather, this was travel to a "primeval" and "natural state". Travel to peripheries, or perceived peripheries, was seen as going to a supposedly backwards, but authentic, place, free from the pressures and corruption of modernity. This was particularly evident when travellers visited colonial territories, where what Anne McClintock has called "archaic" time highlighted the colonial Other as inhabiting a separate temporality of the past (McClintock 1995, 40). This "denial of coevalness", in Johannes Fabian's phrase ([1983] 2018, 31), is apparent in how British travellers saw the appealingly preindustrial lives of rural Norwegians and the supposed backwardness of Sámi. The idea of escape in Norway was rooted in the temporal.

For Le Blond, the temporal alterity of Northern Norway was exemplified by the midnight sun. It appeared in the title of her book and was frequently mentioned in the text. It was not only "cheering" (1908, 6), but a luxury, meaning "halts may be prolonged to any desired extent without inconvenience" (36). Midnight sun provided additional safety on the mountain, reducing time pressures and allowing for greater rest. Safety was increasingly a preoccupation for mountaineers and the construction of infrastructure in the Alps, for example, allowed a wider range of travellers to visit the mountains in a secure manner (Anderson 2012, 172–173). The midnight sun, like hut and cabins, could make mountains manageable. The midnight sun enabled climbing to be leisurely in other ways. Le Blond writes that:

> a real holiday should not be intruded on by the necessity for rising at any special hour, eating at any particular time, or going to bed except when inclined. But only in a land where for a couple of months day and night differ but little from each other is such a holiday possible. (220–221)

The specific Arctic temporality of Sápmi provided a unique form of escape from the Alps for Le Blond. For Le Blond, it is "difficult to conceive of a country where an alarum clock would ordinarily be of less use" (298). This was praise of the place for its Otherness over attachment; the conditions for climbing were good in Lyngen and Le Blond could make the most of them without necessarily forming deep connections to the place or its inhabitants. As Kathryn Walchester has noted, the discourses deployed by Le Blond in *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* were deeply colonial. In Walchester's words, both Le Blond and Slingsby "use images of the region which recall imperial discourse, such as depictions of a conquered sexualised landscape, showing the foreign land as a playground for the British, and presenting the British as leaders or teachers to less competent natives" (Walchester 2014, 129). One of the clearest ways in which these attitudes were manifested was in the naming of places by mountaineers. Le Blond writes that:

> before, however, finally deciding that they should bear them [the names] to all eternity, I discussed them at home with Mr Cecil Slingsby, whose previous visit to the district and knowledge of the language of the country enabled him to correct or confirm the designations I suggested. (1908, 78)

Slingsby was again the person who other British mountaineers consulted on the mountains of Norway, reflecting his reputation as the foremost expert on climbing in the country. Slingsby's interest in the culture of Norway made him a suitable guide to the naming process, yet the naming process was not always considerate of local topography. One peak was dubbed the Elizabethtind ["Elizabeth-peak"] by Le Blond (1908, 102). However, it is worth reemphasising Slingsby's connections to Norway and Norwegian institutions. Whilst his book was titled *The Northern Playground*, in reference to Leslie Stephen's account of Alpine mountaineering, *The Playground of Europe* (1871), Slingsby did not simply treat Norway as a "playground". Whilst elements of his writings, such as positioning Norway as temporally backward, do have similarities to colonial discourse, he chose to align Norway with Britain in his vision of the world. This was not anti-colonial but rather an attempt to present Norway as more than a mere playground for mountaineers. Slingsby sought to present Norway alongside European powers, rather than as a periphery.

Le Blond engaged less closely with Norwegian society and culture than Slingsby. This was apparent in her use of Imboden as her guide, rather than a local man. She writes that "any fool may have local knowledge coupled with sound muscles, but it takes skilled labour to lead a party unharmed" (1908, 19–20). Given Imboden's extensive mountaineering experience, Le Blond trusted him to guide her over unfamiliar Norwegian terrain. Slingsby, on the other hand, used local men like Lykken as guides, as well as climbing with Norwegian mountaineers like Mohn. He found Norwegians who "took to glaciers as a duck takes to water" (1904, 419). He trusted that he could provide the requisite knowledge to travel safely on the mountain.[6] It is important to note that these guides were not always local, even if they were Norwegian. For example, Elias Hogrenning, who accompanied Slingsby to Lyngen and Collie to Lofoten around the turn of the century, was from Nordfjord in the west of Norway, hundreds of miles from Lofoten and Lyngen (Slingsby 1899a, 416). Slingsby's preference for Norwegian guides was not always based on their specific relationships to mountain ranges or regions. As Anderson has noted, female mountaineers often had a different relationship to guides. Whilst there was an increasing move by male mountaineers across Europe in the mid-1890s to climb without guides, female mountaineers often continued to climb with guides and, in doing so, were able to make a number of significant first ascents which were out of the reach of guideless men (Anderson 2020, 192–193). Imboden himself was a transnational figure, travelling around the world to assist other Europeans in making mountaineering ascents. Transnational mountaineering relationships in Norway were not simply between outsiders and locals.

However, the differences between Slingsby's and Le Blond's approaches to using guides went beyond gender and reflect other variances in their attitudes to Norway and Norwegians. This contrast can also be seen in their discussion of languages in their texts. Slingsby reinforced his position as an authority in Norway through his use of Norwegian words in his text, including lengthy conversations with Norwegians in Norwegian quoted verbatim (1904, 231). Le Blond, on the other hand, conversed with locals in a "villainous mixture of Norwegian, German and English" (1908, 184), and phonetically recorded a limited vocabulary in their English equivalents. A phrase like "hva står du til" – roughly "what are you doing" – becomes "who stole the till" (184). The appeal of Norway is not deep cultural connections or shared Norse heritage for Le Blond. Rather, it is a space that retains the quiet and sense of escape she can no longer find in the Alps.

The exception to this detachment in Le Blond's writing about Lyngen is her depictions of Sámi. Like many British travellers in Sápmi, she adopts an anthropological register to describe encounters with and descriptions of Sámi and Sámi society. Le Blond goes from approximations of Norwegian pronunciations to describing Sámi language as "very like Finnish, which itself is closely allied to the Tûrki and other members of the Mongolo-Tartar group" and noting that Sámi are "an offshoot of the great Finno-Tartaric (Uralo-Altaic) family" (1908, 279). The tone and style of travel writing about Sámi and Sápmi were often very different to the parts of the texts covering the rest of Norway. As Ali Behdad has written about the denial of coevalness in colonial discourse, writing about a colonised Other took the form of "whole series of methods and techniques such as unilateral observation of the natives; classification of their habits and practices; taxonomic descriptions; uses of maps, charts, and tables to visualize the Other's culture; and so on" (Behdad 1994, 7). A temporal register was still used, but it positioned

Sámi as unappealingly "backward", rather than appealingly reminiscent of the past, as Norway was often depicted in pastoral discourses. As Walchester notes, Le Blond largely took this information from an essay printed in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* in 1886 and her tone shifts dramatically to the anthropological when writing about Sámi (Walchester 2014, 132).[7] This shift is one that takes in the particularities of place, albeit still in a way that highlights Otherness over interaction. However, Le Blond also had little to say about the Sámi relationship to place; for her, the mountains were to be understood in familiar terms. This is important to note as part of wider discussions about travel in Norway; to visit the north of the country was to visit an Indigenous homeland. The imperial discourse produced by travellers connected in Sápmi with the settler-colonial policies which resulted in the loss of land and culture.[8] The rhetorical emptying of the landscape ran alongside dispossession.

Another of Le Blond's interests was Norwegian women, who she describes approvingly as "singularly independent and capable" (1908, 63). As Walchester has outlined in her book, *Gamle Norge and Nineteenth-Century British Women Travellers in Norway*, a certain vision of Norway predominated in writing by women about the country in the nineteenth century. This was "Gamle Norge" or Old Norway: representations of the country which "centre on domestic life in rural landscapes and encapsulate a nostalgic sense of the nation as a medieval, pastoral democracy" (2014, 6). In nineteenth-century women's travel writing, this was combined with the sense of Norway as a "place of possibility for the woman traveller, in contrast to her stilted and restricted life in Britain" (7). The "bucolic, medieval and historically fixed version of the nation" was favourable for the British female traveller not just as a destination, but as a model for how British society might be improved (6). Again, the image of Norway presented was as of belonging to the past – and possibly disappearing in the present, as the equivalent social structures and communities had in Britain. The idea of travel to Norway as a journey back in time as well as through space was one that appealed to Le Blond as part of the wider draw of Norway as an alternative to the Alps, free from crowds of tourists. Le Blond noted the threat of increased tourism to this prelapsarian vision. When praising Norwegian "servant-girls", Le Blond specifies those who had "not been spoilt by service in cosmopolitan hotels or on steamers, but who are still in every sense true natives of their country" (1908, 271). For Le Blond, travelling in the 1890s, the very infrastructure that encouraged and enabled female travel in Norway was corrupting the women of Norway who worked to support it.

This was indicative of wider tensions in Le Blond's ways of thinking about Norway and travel in the country. For all her concerns about Norway being "spoiled", she was keen to embrace the luxuries and possibilities of modern travel. Moreover, the reality of life in the Lyngen Alps was not as Le Blond presented it. This is even visible within Le Blond's text: she notes the "post and telephone office" in Lyngseidet, the main settlement near the Lyngen Alps (1908, 26), as well as describing how the mail steamers stopped along the coast through the winter (131). Steamships were available for both private hire and on a regular route from Tromsø and one point Le Blond saw a "huge German tourist boat" (257).[9] Le Blond was visited by friends from Britain who were keen to climb in Lyngen and they used the steamship route from Tromsø, the "thud! thud! thud!" of which disturbed Le Blond's sleep (Le Blond 1908, 179). Sápmi was a place linked to the rest of Europe and the world, through infrastructure, communication, and travel, not simply a

romantic escape from modernity. Le Blond's relationship to her own modernity, as well as Sápmi as a place, can be understood through Hansen's idea of "performative modernity", whereby mountaineers travelled to mountain regions to escape from industrialisation and urbanisation at home, whilst also demonstrating their own modernity in relation to the people and societies they encountered (Hansen 2001). This multiplicity meant multiple forms of contrast: to life at home and to the mountain landscape visited. Le Blond, for example, was a keen photographer, who used her own photographs to illustrate *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun*. Le Blond claims that local Sámi had a "horror" of her camera (1908, 49) – a common trope of colonial travel writing and exploration (Ryan 1997, 143). Le Blond claimed her modern status through her use of a camera. The contrast to supposed Sámi fear was another way in which she presented a temporal contrast between herself and the people of Sápmi. In Le Blond's depiction of landscapes, photography formed another form of control over place, alongside her naming of topographical features. Eager to prove her mastery of technology – and through it, landscapes – Le Blond used her escape to proclaim her modernity. Many of the photographs which illustrate *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* depict empty mountain landscapes surveyed from above.

Despite this, Le Blond still saw Sápmi as a haven from the modern world. As with Slingsby, Le Blond's attitude to tourism was complex. Whilst she fled it in the Alps, in Norway, she made an additional temporal projection, imagining a tourist future for Lyngseidet. She notes that a "large new hotel had already risen … and I do not doubt that in future Lyngseidet will be a popular resort" (1908, 218).[10] This seems less Le Blond fearing the tourism of the Alps arriving in Norway than understanding that Norway, including the north of the country, was already enmeshed in tourist networks. These included transnational networks of mountaineers, including Le Blond herself, as well as Joseph Imboden, her Swiss guide. Yet, these connections to the wider world were often elided. Le Blond, like so many British travellers, understood travel to Norway in those temporal terms. Even when she could see and describe the future, she looked to the past and saw Norway as a prelapsarian alternative to the Alps, where the midnight sun enabled less risky mountaineering and she could enjoy a "real holiday".

Conclusion

Slingsby and Le Blond were both connected and divergent in their approaches to mountaineering in Norway at the end of the nineteenth century. They climbed in similar places, with similar – British – companions, but Le Blond brought Joseph Imboden with her from Switzerland to guide her, whilst Slingsby embraced local mountaineering cultures. Both fully embraced temporalities of travel in their published writing. For both, Norway offered temporal difference. However, their temporal imaginaries differed. For Slingsby, travel to Norway was a case of connection, of finding links between the British and Norwegian pasts and seeing both how life used to be in Britain and the roots of what he saw as British greatness. For Le Blond, travel to Norway was a form of escape, away from the commercialised travel and mountaineering experience of the Alps to somewhere where she felt undisturbed. Sápmi, a place supposedly out of time – and similar to the Alps of previous decades – fulfilled this purpose for her. In these two models of travel, Slingsby and Le Blond exemplify many of the appeals of Norway to British travellers in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: a place of both escape and connection, but crucially away from the industrial and modern. Yet this escape from modernity was always full of contradictions. For Slingsby, this was his concern with overtourism whilst also encouraging others to come to Norway. For Le Blond, it was the way she overlooked existing tourism networks in Lyngen in favour of her prelapsarian imaginary. These tensions were common across travelogues by British travellers from Norway in the period and reflect a disconnect between the imaginaries and reality of travel. As mountaineers, Slingsby and Le Blond stand as exemplars of two strands of the temporal discourse produced by British travellers in Norway.

Considering travel writing beyond representations and imaginaries means thinking about the material connections made by travellers and how their texts reveal these. Mountaineering is an interesting example of the tension between wanting to escape and needing support to do so. Mountain spaces were usually suitable places for the kind of travel that many nineteenth-century British visitors to Norway wanted to do and which reinforced their ideas about Norway as an alternative to modern urban society. However, mountaineering in particular relied on networks of connections and support, both practical and discursive. Mountaineers needed assistance and guidance. Le Blond sought to bring her support from outside, whilst Slingsby made his connections with DNT. Yet both were more than just British travellers in Norwegian space. Whilst Slingsby was searching for historical connections between the countries, he was also forming transnational networks of travel and infrastructure in the present. His publications and practical experience of working with Norwegians and Norwegian organisations, particularly DNT, was crucial in the establishment of transnational mountaineering networks. Le Blond, with her Swiss guide in Sápmi, was similarly emmeshed in international mountaineering networks. Reading these texts means being alive to these material entanglements, as well as the discursive work they were doing to create connections between British mountaineers, their Norwegian counterparts and the guides they used to travel in mountain regions. Even if the texts of British mountaineers do not always reveal connections straightforwardly, they can be used to explore the construction of transnational networks of mountaineers and knowledge about mountains. Escape, to the mountains or to an imagined past, created connections, even as travellers denied it.

Notes

1. Le Blond (née Hawkins-Whitshed), also known as Elizabeth Main and Elizabeth Burnaby, published *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* under the name of her then-husband. A notable recent biography of Le Blond is Hewitt (2024).
2. As Jakob Lothe has noted, it is also a literary text with self-aware epigraphs highlighting Slingsby's awareness of genre and its conventions (2021). For a longer history of British mountain appreciation in Norway, see Skarðhamar (2008).
3. See also Readman (2018: 135–143).
4. Histories of DNT in Norwegian include Lyngø and Schiøtz (1993) and Hagen (1992).
5. Alan McNee notes that some tourists chose to adopt this identity as 'Arry and 'Arriet whilst travelling as a way of resisting the social exclusion of some establishments and the prevalent discourse in elite travel narratives such as Slingsby's (McNee 2020). The "Cockney" is also a figure who features, as the working classes at home and the tourist abroad, in Leslie Stephen's *The Playground of Europe* (Stephen 1871).

6. Many of these issues of guides and guiding came down to perceptions of risk. For more on Slingsby's relationship to risk, see Hjorth (2021). For Le Blond's relationship to her guides, see Walchester (2018).
7. The article cited is Keane (1886).
8. Other connections can be drawn between outdoor recreation and anti-Sámi racism in the period. For example, Yngvar Nielsen, the chairman of DNT between 1890 and 1908, was also the head of the University of Oslo's Ethnographic Museum and known for his views on Sámi inferiority and rejections of Sámi claims to land (Kyllingstad 2014: 77). Recent scholarship has tried to reimagine encounters between Sámi and tourists as sites of Sámi agency and resistance. See Spring (2016) and Baglo (2015). Sámi scholars have attempted to reclaim the travel narrative as a genre to think about experiences and connections to place in Sápmi. See, for example, Kramvig and Andersen (2019).
9. On German tourism, as well as the internationalism of cruise tourism to Norway at the turn of the century, see Spring (2017).
10. This "new hotel" was Giævergården, a popular hotel for travellers visiting Lyngseidet.

Acknowledgements

The author(s) would like to thank Dr James Koranyi and Professor Abbie Garrington for comments on a draft of this material, the Collecting Norden research group at the University of Oslo for their feedback on an earlier version of this article, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable input. This work was supported by the Leverhulme Trust through the Durham Arctic Research Centre for Training and Interdisciplinary Collaboration (DurhamARCTIC), under Grant DS-2017-070.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by Leverhulme Trust: [Grant Number DS-2017-070].

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