Gendering Walter Scott : Sex, Violence and Romantic Period Writing

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Chapter 11. Mountain Maidens and Cowgirls: Exercise, Athleticism, and Ideological Constraints for Several Scott Heroines

> Why should I fear to say
> That she is ruddy, fleet and strong;
> And down the rocks can leap along
> Like rivulets in May?

This question opens William Wordsworth's poem 'Louisa'. It has a companion poem that hints at why, 'To a Young Lady who had been Reproached for Taking Long Walks in the Country' (1807: Wordsworth ed. Curtis 69-70, 231). They clearly point to a Romantic period debate about the desirability of strenuous exercise for women. Today it is still boys, according to David Whitson, who are 'encouraged to experience their bodies, and therefore themselves, in forceful, space-occupying, even dominating, ways' (Messner 23). In Wordsworth's day, restrictions on women's movements extended even to moving from place to place. Robin Jarvis argues that 'if travel in this period is seen as dangerously masculinising for women, it is because of the transcultural historical reality of the mobility of men versus the territorial stability of women, a stability that has served purposes primarily of safe reproduction' (158). While Wordsworth's sympathy for athletic women might be expected from his walking partnership with his sister Dorothy, Scott is often thought of as offering heroines who are models of feminine inactivity. This chapter addresses the way Scott presents competence in space-conquering activities in

three heroines across his career: from Ellen Douglas rowing in *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), Jeanie Deans walking in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) to Anne of Geierstein mountaineering (1829).

The three activities in question were just beginning to be separated from the mundane necessities of earning a living, trade, diplomacy or pilgrimage, and to be viewed as leisure pursuits. Scott converts them into activities for the specular gaze of the reader. Each was much more likely to be a man's than a woman's pursuit. Suggestions of exercise are conspicuous by their absence in standard women's conduct books, with their stress on the moral rather than the physical constitution. This is true even of proto-feminist writers. Mary Robinson is one of the more specific, but takes less than two lines to recommend 'minor sports; such as swimming, the use of the ball, and foot racing, &c.' (*Letter* 88). Mary Wollstonecraft's *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787) contains no section on physical education, although in the *Vindication* (1792) she counters Fordyce's emphasis on the gazer's response to exercise ('in your sex manly exercises are never graceful') with a stress on health.[1] Nor does Hannah More's *Strictures on Female Education* (1799) go into any detail, beyond a sarcastic attack on the notion that expectations about men are transferable to girls by employing a 'military serjeant to instruct her in the *feminine* art of marching' (78).

Male writers tend to put more emphasis on the effect on the observer but are also brief and vague. J. Burton's *Lectures on Female Education and Manners* (1793) concedes that 'the improvement of the Person should have it's [*sic*] due share of attention' but the only exercise mentioned is dancing, 'to improve the attitudes of the Body' (1: 137). 'Polish', not health, is the main aim. The last sentence of this lecture

concedes with a circular argument, that 'dancing should likewise be considered as affording you that kind of exercise, which you seem to require more than the other sex; because your employments are more sedentary, and your amusements less athletic' (1: 138).

Burton is not unusual in offering historical accounts of exercise as training for military activity (2: 7), for which the female sex was not designed (2: 166). Women should confine themselves to walking, in a sheltered environment that connects them with nature (2: 41). War focused attention on the advisability of physical training for men. By about 1824 there were at least two gymnasia in London (Thomson 20–21). However, Burton is suspicious of the 'common and uninteresting spectacle' into which gymnastics could degenerate; this is proof of 'national depravity of manners' (Burton 2: 6, 12).

Burton's recommendations for adults are consistent throughout the Romantic period and beyond, but advice on bringing up children or adolescents remained vague about exercise, which is usually linked to fresh country air. John Armstrong's *The Young Woman's Guide to Virtue, Economy, and Happiness* (7th ed. c. 1825) does not mention exercise, even in 'Rules for Securing Health', though gardening is recommended. Similarly, the *New Female Instructor; or Young Woman's Guide to Domestic Happiness* (1835) contains no separate section on the topic, and only a brief and vague recommendation of 'moderate exercise' in a rural or garden setting, and exercise in infancy (50, 105-06).

By the end of the Romantic period there are some hints of change. *The Young Lady's Book* (1838) has chapters on dancing, archery, and horse-riding. However, the

object is achieving grace of movement, i.e. becoming objects for visual consumption. Women riders (using side-saddles, with their habits pinned round their feet by their grooms) are defined by what they offer to the male gaze: a poor position on horseback is 'a sight that would spoil the finest landscape in the world' (434).

It is not always easy to ascertain the sex of the authors of conduct writing, but if the attribution 'by a grandmother' is to be believed, it was possible by the 1820s to find women tentatively recommending a more physically active education for their own sex. *Advice to Young Mothers on the Physical Education of Children* (1823) argues that

> mothers need not be afraid that their daughters should acquire masculine habits, or rough manners, because, as growing children, they are permitted to have the free use of their limbs: … It is a great improvement in the modern education of females, that they are allowed such plays as promote strength of body. (311)

Robust girls are said to prefer 'those plays usually appropriated to boys' and 'there ought to be less difference made … between the physical education of boys and girls', even though 'male children … should be inured to more violent exercise than females' (311-12). The writer is more specific in recommending play with balls, skipping-ropes (formerly boys' toys), kites, wheelbarrows, and garden rollers (311-13). This is all a far cry from operating a family ferry service, walking from Edinburgh to London, or negotiating alpine paths after rockfalls.

The Lady of the Lake (1810) provides Scott's first athletic heroine,[2] but also hedging devices to reassure his readers that the piquant spectacle she offers can be an image of desirable femininity.[3] Models for her activity in the real world were limited. Historically, rowing was overwhelmingly identified with the labour of fishermen and

watermen. In the 1820s and 1830s, the working skills of oarsmen were sometimes translated into spectacle for the better-off, who sponsored rowing matches with substantial prizes. The Duke of Buccleugh was one patron. The interest was partly charitable, partly entertainment, and partly a subject for betting. This kind of spectacle post-dates Scott's poem, and women's competitions were infrequent and later still: the *Times* recorded a sculling match between the 'wives and daughters of fishermen' in 1833. Middle and upper class competitive rowing at Oxford and Cambridge was not systematised until the 1820s and 30s.[4] It is therefore improbable that Scott's early readers would have related Ellen to any obvious model of their own leisure activity, unlike the walking and mountaineering exploits discussed later, which may be why he features her capabilities so briefly.

The Romantic period did provide a purely literary model of boating which reduced physical skill to a minimum, by labelling the vessel in a way that implies it is insubstantial, well within the powers of a woman, a child or a feminised man to manage. Though Wordsworth gives us a succinct snapshot of both boat and bird when he says that the vessel he steals in *The Prelude* goes 'heaving through the water like a swan', he also stresses that it is a little boat that can be mythologised as an 'elfin pinnace' (1805, Book 1, lines 404, 401). In Shelley's *Alastor* (1816), the poet hero finds a 'little shallop'(1: 52; l. 299) which is definitely not navigation-worthy, but nevertheless capable of symbolically sailing upstream without wind to fill the sail, while the poet, nominally holding a steady helm, is submitting passively to the guidance of other forces. Tennyson's late-Romantic 'Lady of Shalott' in 1832 simply floats to her death, and the boat in which she does so inevitably recalls the 'silken-sailed' shallop that she observes

earlier (355; line 22). A ‘shallop’ could be either a light skiff or a much heavier vessel, but Romantic poets opt for the former.

None of these examples was available in print in 1810 but Scott’s portrait of Ellen as rower is similar in many ways. Her ‘toil’ is described as ‘sportive’ and the boat is a ‘shallop’ or ‘little skiff’ (Canto 1, secs 17-18, 20). Her role is primarily to conduct men to and from the domestic space. Nevertheless, Scott makes it clear that she does know how to handle a boat, but when she is summoned by an unknown hunter whose ‘limbs were cast in manly mould, / For hardy sports or contest bold’ he instantly takes control of her ‘fairy frigate’ (1: 21; 24). Ellen’s response is given in a nicely observed section of free indirect discourse, as she is proleptically amused at the prospect of a man who has not rowed before making a fool of himself. With disappointing implausibility, he does not do so. ‘Main strength’ is enough to allow him to make a brisk passage to the island (1: 24). Once there, Ellen, the ‘mountain-maiden’ (1: 25) still holds the secret of the path that leads to what Scott’s note 7 calls a ‘place of retreat for the hour of necessity’ but what the poem, calls a ‘rustic bower’ and ‘an enchanted hall’ (1: 25, 26).

Ellen’s powers are assimilated to a mixture of classical and romance models suggesting the otherworldly, as a mode of containing the implications of female bodily competence. In the first three sections that describe her (1: 17-19) she is compared to a ‘monument of Grecian art’ and a ‘guardian Naiad of the strand’. These allusions frame and culturally valorize the implications of her physical skill, since Greek statuary is associated with the athletic body but frozen as an art object, and the Naiad is a water spirit identified with a natural object. Through the voyeuristic Hunter, the reader is assured that Ellen is transparently readable through her body (‘the guileless movements

of her breast' and her eye) and that that body is beautiful, with a 'breast of snow' even though she has acquired a suntan through her outdoor activities. She treads lightly in her pastoral paradise and its harebell becomes her emblem (2: 9). She is also called a 'damsel' locating her firmly within the expectations of romance, as indeed does the Arthurian suggestion of the title.[5] On the other hand, another brand of confident athleticism, negotiating mountain precipices, as Anne of Geierstein is later to do, is displaced on a mad songstress, Blanche of Devan. Ellen herself takes no active part in the prominent martial tradition of the Douglas family. Later on, rowing and boats become the realm of male effort as the mood of the poem darkens. It is men who row fast across Loch Katrine carrying the fiery cross. Ellen's lover, Malcolm, becomes the athletic one as he swims the loch rather than use a boat, and boasts 'As safe to me the mountain way / At midnight as in blaze of day' (2: 37, 35). Thus, Ellen's significant but fleeting moment of physical effort is overwhelmed by an over-determined mix of modes of containment. The poem ends with Ellen, a 'fabled goddess of the wood' (2: 24), associated with a feminised natural landscape as part of Highland domestic pastoral with 'herd-boys' evening pipe, and hum of housing bee' (3: 2; 6: 29).

This suite of gender-containment techniques—plot manipulation and closure, role displacements, the final application of pastoral, allusion to literature and art, comparisons with supernatural figures, and the use of traditionally feminised natural objects as the vehicles of figurative language—operates in Scott's prose fiction as well, though the heroines' space-conquering competencies are more firmly established. In both *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *Anne of Geierstein*, the heroine's capacities exceed those of the hero. This contrast dominates most of the novel in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, whereas *Anne of*

Geierstein opens with an extreme example of female capacity which is more quickly shifted into other dimensions.

In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian,* Jeanie Deans is introduced as having 'an uncommonly strong and healthy temperament', while Reuben is 'a pale, thin, feeble, sickly boy, and somewhat lame' whom Jeanie has to protect (72–3). He becomes an egregious example of the feminised hero outlined by Welsh. He certainly lacks the capacity to walk to London. Walking, though, is for both the normative mode of travel, because of their poverty.

As the daughter of a 'cowfeeder', Jeanie stands out in terms of the demands she makes on the reader's impulse to identify with the protagonist. This needs to be put into context with regard to attitudes to pedestrianism at the time the novel is written as well as when it is set. As with rowing, most walking was (in both periods) related to the economic demands of everyday life. Drovers, for example, covered hundreds of miles taking cattle and other stock to market. Pedestrianism for those higher up the social scale might be a political choice (as it is for Bage's Hermsprong) but it was an unusual one. Legal provisions from the late middle ages and Renaissance onwards treated foot travellers as rogues, vagabonds or beggars, both because of their class and their mobility, and women who walked were even more suspicious, because, as Anne D. Wallace puts it, 'their peripateia translated as sexual wandering' (29). Respectable travel, for both sexes, was undertaken using a beast of burden, either ridden, or pulling a vehicle.

Public travel gave greater security, as well as allowing for the transport of enough property to suggest stable social status. What it did not guarantee was speed. As Scott points out, there were great improvements in road conditions between the 1730s

when Scott's novel opens and 1818 (248-49). Better and safer surfaces funded by turnpikes had appeared. The invention of carriage springing in 1805 increased comfort (Jarvis 21). A new mail coach on a good road might manage 7 mph, and the top speed was 10 mph, by the peak era of coach travel in England in the 1820s and 1830s.[6] Even with these changes, though, a horse was also walking much of the time. In the 1790s the average day's progress for stage horses was twenty five miles, and sometimes passengers had to get out and walk, especially on steep hills. In the 1750s, the coach between London and Edinburgh took 10 days for the roughly 400 mile journey, and longer in winter. The first paragraph of the novel suggests a late-eighteenth-century mail coach only covered thirty miles a day (7), and *Waverley* suggests that the Northern Diligence stage-coach would take three weeks to cover the 400 miles (303). Stage coaching in the Romantic period cost 2d or 3d a mile for a rate of about 4 mph. The slower stage waggons (2 mph) cost less, perhaps as little as ½d per mile.[7]

Thus, the cost of not walking was substantial though not huge; on these statistics, it would be about £1 for slow transport to London. Even elderly human beings could compete fairly effectively. At the age of seventy five, the father of the Carlisle poet Robert Anderson walked the 301 miles to London in six days to see him (*Poetical Works of Robert Anderson*, 1: xxvi-xxvii). In spite of his high status as a landowner, Robert Barclay used to walk the 510 miles between London and Ury in ten days, (Thom 283) though these two men were hardly typical. Ladies seldom walked long distances—ten miles round the Pemberley estate is too far for Austen's Elizabeth Bennet and Mrs Gardiner.[8] Jeanie is not a lady, and her pace is robust: 'five and twenty miles and a bittock', i.e. thirty miles a day, as she tells the Queen, who says it 'shames [her] sadly' to

compare her own achievements (*HM* 339).[9] Jeanie's capacities are the norm for the habitual though non-feminine pedestrian. Scott could manage this daily distance, in spite of his lameness (Jebb 65) and Wordsworth managed it in France. Dorothy Wordsworth, though, was reprimanded by her great aunt for walking thirty three miles, and defended herself by saying 'I had the courage to make use of the strength with which nature has endowed me' (Jebb 53). Not only did genteel women walk less, they were more likely to keep themselves out of published view.[10] Jeannie does not offend against femininity because her class status has already ruled her out of the category 'feminine'.

Walking feats were also the object of a professionalized pedestrianism managed as spectacles and involving large-scale wagers.[11] One of the most celebrated of these was Captain Barclay (Robert Barclay's son) who walked 1,000 miles in 1,000 successive hours for 1,000 guineas in 1809 on a track in Newmarket-heath.[12] Scott was certainly aware of Barclay. John Ballantyne had married a Barclay, and Scott owned an 1812 *Genealogical Account of the Barclay's of Urie* (Captain Barclay's estate). In 1814 he made a passing reference to him (*Letters*, 3: 447). Barclay's biographer, Thom, reported that American Indians can cover sixty miles a day, and stresses that in a state of civilisation frequent exercise can combat unrecognised effeminacy (255). In other words, pedestrianism increases masculinity.

Women did occasionally defy this assumption. Ellen Weeton, a teacher with a failed marriage, covered up to thirty miles a day from 1812 to 1825. She thought it 'no very common thing' for 'a decently clad female, alone' to go up a mountain; in her rambles, she found women civil, but men were often rude (Laws 125-27). Very occasionally women did attempt public long-distance challenges. Mary Frith walked five

hundred miles in 1816, and a seven-year-old girl, Miss Freeman of Strood, covered thirty five miles in seven hours forty nine minutes. However, Bill Laws argues that watching women walking 'as a voyeuristic sideshow' was a mid-nineteenth-century phenomenon (36).

So, by 1818, male pedestrianism in men of any class, amateur or professional, was a well-known activity that demonstrated masculinity. The professional walker was a direct object of the spectator's gaze, a gaze that was also fed through the more distanced medium of print by statistics of diet, rest, and distance. Female pedestrianism was not socially visible.

Concomitant with this was a more literary invitation to contemplate the insights of the walker in the private theatre of the mind. There had been a literary history of walking as cerebral spectacle since Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (1611). This growing taste for private pedestrianism grew up among people whose class origins would lead to the supposition that they could afford not to walk. Romantic writers who walked and talked about it afterwards included De Quincey, Shelley, Keats, Hazlitt, Coleridge, and William and Dorothy Wordsworth.[13] De Quincey calculated that Wordsworth walked up to 180,000 miles during his lifetime, much of it with Dorothy (*Recollections* 135). As well as garden and local exercise, they made long distance trips and complete ascents of mountains, on foot in early life, and with carriage transport in the Alps in the 1820s. Although some of the accounts of such travels were not published immediately (Wordsworth's account of the Simplon Pass did not appear till 1845) there was from the 1780s an emergent genre of writing about adventurous travel on foot, for example, Joseph Hucks's *A Pedestrian Tour Through North Wales* (1795).[14]

In the contexts of these various kinds of references, Scott was constructing Jeanie Deans for an audience ready to assimilate her epic journey to seek a pardon for her sister to their own experience of walking for pleasure, or of reading about others walking. This gave Scott a way round the problems of engaging sympathy for a cowfeeder's daughter. Jeanie is not 'pure' pedestrian heroine—or, indeed, hero, which is one way of resolving the narratological challenge she sets, but which does not sufficiently account for some of the complexities of Scott's gender negotiations.[15] Her accepted model, the ironically named Helen Walker, not only went all the way to London barefoot, but all the way back as well. Jeanie is initially unaware that the English 'attach an idea of abject misery to the idea of a barefooted traveller' (227). Jeanie is not, however, unprepared and she resorts to the shoes and stockings she has brought with her to indicate a sufficient level of gentility. Dumbiedikes's housekeeper has already lambasted her as an 'idle tramper' (232) and the Reverend Mr Staunton warns her 'we allow no strollers or vagrants here' (292). Jeanie's trial, then, is not so much physical, as predicated on the social signals her pedestrianism gives out, which threatened to assimilate her to the world of criminality she is seeking to avoid. In fact, her walking, already interrupted by charitable alternatives which she finds more fatiguing than walking (256) pretty well stops in Lincolnshire. There, Mr Staunton exerts his patriarchal authority and puts her to ride pillion behind a 'stout Lincolnshire peasant' to pick up a coach from Stamford (312). This initiation into the world of covered wheeled transport culminates in the 'light calash' Argyle provides for her return journey (345). Thus, Jeanie's test has several features: physical endurance, resourcefulness in the face of danger, and moral and emotional courage. Once her bodily commitment has been demonstrated, Scott cuts short the repetitiveness of picaresque sequence. Her initial

hardiness defeminizes her because it is associated with lower class status. This impression then needs to be softened so that Jeanie can be recuperated into a proper site for interpellation for the presumed genteel reader.

Peasant girls' feet could be seen as offering a special sort of sexual frisson. According to Charles Brown, Keats, at Dumfries, demonstrated how the image of barefoot travel could be eroticised, as he 'expatiated on the beauty of the human foot, that had grown without natural restraint, and on the beautiful effect of colour when a young lassie's foot was on the green grass'. Brown's own view was more prosaic: to see it 'stumping through the dust of the road, or, what is worse, dabbling in the puddles of a town is the reverse of beautiful' (Jebb 63.) If women outdoors could be thought of as sexually available, this assumption translates into an anxiety that they would be treated as such even if the assumption was untrue. However, assuming Sarah Hazlitt's experience was generally applicable, and women travelling on foot were in fact free of sexual insult, then anxiety on this front may have been based on ideology rather than on actual danger.[16] Although the Duke of Argyle uses the conventional argument that 'the roads are not very safe for a single woman to travel' (345), in 1737 they were not very safe for a single man to travel either, and some of the dangers Jeanie encounters are unisex.

Scott is clearly keen to desexualize Jeannie. He gives us a somewhat perfunctory assurance that she is 'no heroine of romance' (230) but the sex marker in the noun here holds different implications from those attached to 'hero'. She has the suntan caused by outdoor work (76). She is short and stout and approaching middle age. In spite of a brief improper proposal from Ratcliffe (162), Jeanie is thus not shown as a likely rape victim. To reinforce this, her chief antagonists on her journey are both women. Potential violence

towards her, such as stripping and robbing her, is orchestrated by Meg Murdockson, out of resentment that Jeanie's sister has replaced Meg's daughter in the affections of Robert Staunton (259-60). More equivocally, her journey is interrupted and hijacked by that daughter, Madge, a fellow pedestrian who embodies all the qualities of spatial and sexual vagrancy that might be prejudicially associated with a female walker, though in his note derived from Joseph Train Scott does not attach them to Madge's analogue, Feckless Fannie, in his note (*Magnum* 25a 321-24).

Jeanie does not attracts unwelcome attention except in her enforced association with Madge. Even there, Scott offers an alternative model of foot travel, that of pilgrimage (274) which reinforces the moral and religious motivation of the heroine.[17] Peter Garside has pointed out interesting parallels to Jeanie in Sophie Cottin's novel *Elizabeth; Or, The Exiles of Siberia*, translated into English in 1807 ('Walter Scott and the Common Novel', 6). In this the heroine, of royal blood but reduced by circumstances, makes an extraordinary trek (Cottin confusingly gives four estimates of distance from 800 miles, to 'nearly half the globe' [47; 120; 127; 109]). She crosses eastern Russia to plead for the rescindment of her father's banishment, and with his blessing, whereas Jeanie traverses a country known to her readers and has to finesse to avoid her father's disapproval. Sophie accepts lifts with alacrity rather than embarrassment and her obstacles are poverty and weather. For half the journey she has an elderly male guide. When he dies, she is vaguely warned to guard her virtue but it is not in great danger, and she is quickly rescued when some soldiers treat her with 'rude familiarity' (177). Sophie is extremely beautiful. Jeanie is not. In any case, Scott has already defused the implications of the sexualised gaze by rendering it comic through its continued

application by Dumbiedikes, the novel's—and possibly the world's—least inflammable lover.

The firm establishment of Jeanie's class status is a bold decision on Scott's part to challenge the reader's gender and class expectations about a novel's protagonist. Nevertheless, he is determined to re-class Jeanie, and in the process feminize her, for the closure of the novel. This is partly an inevitable result of his construction of Argyle as an archetypal Scottish gentleman, chivalrous to all women, and therefore assuring Jeanie's safety through the provision of male protection and wheeled transport. The trope of feminizing Jeanie by depedestrianising her is anticipated in the Rev. Staunton's action, and carried much further in the last volume of the novel. Here, robust walking is transferred to Jeanie's two known surviving relatives. The first is David Deans, walking to repay Dumbiedikes, and going straight on to Edinburgh to meet the Duke's agent, and back home again. The second, rather less convincingly, is her sister Effie, who attempts 'long and fatiguing walks among the neighbouring mountains' at Roseneath (440). A waterfall prompts 'a walk of five long miles, and over rough ground', prompted by a sensibility for sublime nature Jeanie never feels. Effie and her nephew scramble up the side of the waterfall, 'clinging like sea-birds to the face of the rock' (441). She is, however, crippled by vertigo, and requires adult male rescue when assailed by her unknown son and his companion.

Jeanie's distinctiveness is further elided by the growth in Reuben of a masculine resistance to having his cattle stolen (427). The move to Roseneath, though still predicated on Jeanie's skills with cows and milk, elevates her status, with much of the work being devolved onto May Hettly (400). As a minister's wife, her social position is

high enough not to embarrass Staunton as an in-law. Unlike Helen Walker, she is rewarded in this life with marriage, and the new 'principal resource' of a daughter and 'two fine young mountaineers' to whom Jeanie's physical walking genes and narratological memes seem to have passed (431; 436). Her 'heroic exertions', to Effie's chagrin, become part of the common currency of gossip, thus giving them a new status as anecdote separable from the original actors (419). Indeed, Jeanie morphs into another literary type entirely to buy land for the farm, playfully becoming the princess 'that kamed gold nobles out o' the tae side of her haffit locks, and Dutch dollars out o' the tother', an untypical fairy tale allusion (430).

Effie's anticipation of Romantic sensibility about mountains and scrambling round the countryside hovers on the boundary between walking and climbing. Mountaineering involves not only endurance but the use of a wider range of bodily faculties and substantial danger from the heights and depths of the natural environment. The late development of technical aids to overcome these challenges is one reason why mountaineering as a sport dates back only as far as 1857, with the formation of the Alpine Club (Frison-Roche 9). Previous alpine dwellers had the skills but did not want to stand on the top of Mont Blanc. With the development of leisure mountaineering, the perception of danger shifted from necessary risk to desirable thrill. In the Romantic period this was commodified through the cult of the sublime and the material tourism to which it gave rise. Developed in Britain during the period of continental war, this revived in the Alps and other European countries after 1815 (De Beer, *Alps and Men* 89; Fleming 82).

Such tourism did not, of course, entail a necessary commitment to physical ascent and descent unaided by other forms of transport, since it was predicated on minimising actual risk while promoting the perception of risk. A guidebook of 1818 cited by Fergus Fleming advised that 'every young man in the bloom of health and of life must be capable of travelling over distant climes with his knapsack at his back and a stick in his hands', though visitors are advised to remain in the valleys (85). 'Mountain' is a word that resonates with associations of the sublime, though not all mountains are equally challenging. Colonel Peter Hawker recorded in his diary for 1812 that 'ladies very commonly go up' Ben Lomond in the summer, and sometimes ascend the summit, with a piper, to dance (1: 60). The intimidating peaks of Europe became increasingly more accessible in terms of visual spectacle. Looking up at peaks rather than down from them, meant that the challenges of higher ranges like the Alps were often being contemplated rather than addressed in reality. Dorothy Wordsworth had been up Helvellyn as her brother and Coleridge had, but she did it in a long skirt. Not technically a climb, but a scramble, the path up (Striding Edge) has a drop of over 200 feet on one side of the yard-wide path and 600–700 feet on the other. Helvellyn is not for nervous beginners. It does kill people. Travelling through the Swiss passes in 1820 by carriage, instead of in youthful 'pedestrian liberty', Dorothy Wordsworth said, 'Let no one speak of fatigue in crossing the Alps who has climbed Helvellyn'.[18]

At the time *Anne of Geierstein* is set, those scaling the high Alpine peaks would be those with specialised objects: chamois hunters or crystal gatherers.[19] These figures could themselves be literary heroes; one such appears in 1822 in Samuel Rogers's *Jorasse* (*Poems* 22–27). By the time the novel was conceived (1823) and published

(1829) the situation was very different. It was said that in the 1760s 70% of travellers in Swiss inns would be British, and as Alpine tourist climbing took off in the mid-eighteenth century some of them at least would be climbing and on foot, though few attempted the peaks.[20] Nor were women excluded from quite strenuous ascents, in spite of disparaging guidance that some were too demanding.[21] The first documented ascent of Mont Blanc was 1786 (Frison-Roche 24) but the eighteen year old Maria Paradis climbed it under commercial pressure in 1808. (She hated it: Braham 220.). The first complete map of Switzerland was published 1786-97 (Braham 13). It is often not easy to ascertain what modes of transport were used, or how high travellers got, but pedestrian tours were certainly fashionable by the 1830s (De Beer, *Alps and Men* 105). Wheeled traffic had appeared on the passes by 1775 (De Beer, *Early Travellers in the Alps* 12) and major road building projects improved Alpine access from 1800. By the 1820s there were steamships on the lakes (De Beer, *Alps and Men* 105-07).

Thus, a wider context of touristic comfort and imaginative response framed eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century exploits of truly heroic mountaineering. Scott is quite clear from the start of *Anne of Geierstein* that the late fifteenth century 'was not an age in which the beauties or grandeur of a landscape made much impression' on travellers or residents (*AG* 6). This does not stop him including descriptions of mountainous scenes. Moreover, Anne clearly enjoys her mountains and her own prowess in traversing them. In terms of non-martial exploits she is the most daring of Scott's heroines. The initial set piece in which she rescues Arthur Philipson was chosen by Alexander Welsh as a key example of the feminisation of the Scott hero (25–26). Arthur is actually no mean climber, and, rather implausibly, has practised beforehand on

Plynlimmon (15). He inches his way round the bluffs, and becomes the object of spectacle for the reader through the viewpoint of his anxious father (15-18). Anne herself points out that he is entitled to call himself a cragsman—but then so is she. So, unlike Reuben, who is an absolute contrast to Jeanie in terms of physical competence, Arthur is only relatively inferior. Nevertheless, he is unnerved by his narrow escape from the rockfall, and by vertigo, and Anne rubs in her superiority: 'I do not stand on my uncle's hearth with more security than I have stood on precipices, compared to which this is a child's leap' (25). Arthur gets from his father no expression of relief for his safety, but a reprimand for receiving 'from a maiden the succour which it is [his] duty to extend to their sex' (33).[22] In presenting this reproof as potentially 'ill-timed and unreasonable', at least to Anne's eyes, the narrator is dissociating himself from Philipson's ungenerous prejudice (33).

The other two occasions on which Anne saves Arthur and thus maintains her superiority are less spectacularly strenuous. She rescues him from De Hagenbach's prison, and again by commanding Schreckenwald's troops to help him when his horse is shot (259-60), and by warning him about the river crossings. (Her servant Annette is also nimble, as when she and Arthur gain access to Anne's ancestral castle via a plank to a window, 235). Scott emphasizes that Anne is 'above the common size', though 'without being in the slightest degree masculine' (28). Indeed, she is a prime object of the reader's gaze, with a moderate degree of sexual promise in a visible ankle, and a well-formed neck, with fair skin at throat and bosom, unlike her tanned face, which signifies that she 'possessed the health which is purchased by habits of rural exercise' (27-28). Nevertheless, after the initial mountaineering episode, her space-conquering abilities take

on more of the trappings of Gothic mystery. She is seen to appear and vanish inexplicably, and apparently to have the power of being in two places at once. Some of this receives the unsatisfactory kind of mundane explanation about secret passages and disguise that is typical of Gothic fiction (e.g. 298). However, her powers are increasingly associated with the supernatural, both Christian and secular.

When Arthur first needs help on the crag, he prays to the Virgin and for a moment thinks Anne is she, though her yodelling dispels this illusion (24). When she starts making mysterious journeys and evading sentries, the narrative develops a speculation that what Arthur is seeing is 'immaterial and not of this world' (89, 91). Perplexed by the gender implications of this facility of movement, he begins to suspect that she has a ghostly double, because

> it is more natural to believe this apparition to be an illusion, than to suppose Anne of Geierstein, a gentle and well-nurtured maiden, should be traversing the woods at this wild hour, when safety and propriety so strongly recommend her being within-door. (99)

It is worth noting that Arthur's rather stuffy prejudices were shared by Scott's publishers. J. H. Alexander lists over fifty instances in which potential sexual references are suppressed, and comments that 'Anne's liveliness is constantly being toned down' (*AG* 440–41). The publishers too felt that it was not in fact 'natural' for a heroine to be so feisty and self-determining.

In spite of Arthur's insistence on the folly of annexing 'the idea of witchcraft and sorcery to the possession of knowledge and wisdom' (109), these notions are applied to her mind as well as her body. Both her physical and mental prowess are attributed to a

supernatural ancestry not 'derived from the race of Adam' (123). Anne comes from the line of Arnheim, whose barons were alchemists and believed to be sorcerers (106-09). Her grandmother, Hermione, was the daughter of a Persian mage. She was so good a gymnast and dancer that 'her performances seemed those of an aërial being' and so skilled in arcane scientific lore that in spite of her religious orthodoxy she is taken to be a spirit (117–18). A woman of such power has to be viewed as Hermione originally appears, on a pedestal. Superstitions about her being a fire spirit destroyed by the touch of water on her talismanic opal are relished (121–22). This all redounds on Anne, through the suggestion that she has a *doppelgänger* (literally, a double walker, 125). Thus, Arthur finds himself struggling to reconfigure the trope of the dual nature of women to accommodate Anne's powers to his own late mediaeval understanding (186).

If Anne's spiritual amphibiousness is an illusion, her class amphibiousness is not, and most of the novel in fact deals with her attempt to reconcile the freedom and independence of the peasant with the paradoxically confining power of her actual status as daughter of Albert of Geierstein, who took over the title his older brother rejected. She lives with her uncle, Arnold Biederman, who opted for a life of pastoral egalitarianism to 'hold the plough with [his] own hands' and who prefers to be a 'citizen of the republic of Unterwalden' (48; 50). Recent memories of the oppression by Napoleon of Switzerland's vaunted republican independence must have added to the power of this image for his readers: 'we will be frozen into annihilation together, ere one free Switzer will acknowledge a foreign master' (310). Moreover, by 1815 'Bieder*meier*' was a term implying a man of bourgeois worth, respectability and domestic virtues. One consequence of her uncle's choice is Anne's training in all 'mountain exercises' (54), as

‘the freedom of their county owes no less to the firmness and wisdom of her daughters than to that of her sons’ (33). Later, Biederman insists that ‘the women of Switzerland, in the press of danger, have had their abode in the camp of their fathers, brothers and husbands’ (77), justifying their boldness by identification with patriarchal interest. Anne’s social transformation involves adjudicating between her duty to the authority of her uncle and that of her real father, who sees her as a matrimonial counter whose value lies in its transferability. This role she finds herself forced to play in considering what to do about Arthur’s addresses (237).

As the plot develops, Anne becomes less of a walker and demonstrates her noble ancestry by an ability to ride. Pedestrianism becomes more equivocal in its significance. Burgundy’s contemptuous dismissal of the delegation –‘trudge back to your wildernesses with such haste as your feet can use’ (312)—is clearly unsympathetic. King René’s extravagant gifts of horses to guests, which often reduce him and his household to inappropriately ‘walk[ing] often a-foot’ is comic (330). So is Nicolas Bonstetten’s refusal to expedite the journey of the deputation to Burgundy by riding a horse (184). Anne’s pedestrianism is a casualty of her ‘reward’ of high social status.

In supernatural terms, of course, Anne has no walking double. In narratological terms she most certainly does, in her maid and companion Annette. She can conveniently be mistaken for Anne, and her name is a diminutive of that of her mistress and even erstwhile bedmate (237). She is introduced as a ‘bold wench, unaccustomed to the distinctions of rank … ready to laugh, jest, and half flirt with the young men of the Landamman’s family’ (232). This typical female servant and buddy role, though, is carefully hedged round with disclaimers. She is also ‘resolute and sensible’ and her

relations with young men are 'in the strict path of honour and innocence' (233). This is necessary because she acts as spokesperson for straightforward romantic desire. As an externalisation of the instinctual part of Anne's psychomachia over Arthur, rather than a comic lower-class contrast to her, she cannot be sexually tainted. Her surname, 'Veilchen' may, appropriately, suggest a veil to English readers, but it is German for 'violet', a traditional symbol of modesty. However, she is a forceful advocate for the direct expression of feeling. By telling Anne she should 'conduct herself like an honest and well-meaning damsel' (237) she is criticising upper-class reticence. When Anne counters that high rank often enforces loveless marriages, Annette ripostes that if it does, England is not a free country (241). She *dutzen*s the pair of them and tells them 'you are but a couple of children, who do not know your own minds', apparently acting both to forward the plot, and as a vehicle for Scott's impatience with the conventions of courtly courtship, which he nevertheless sees as necessary for Anne to fulfil the conditions of maidenly reserve appropriate to her new class status (246).

If Annette is the outlet for a freer statement of the value of female desire, there is no equivalent for Arthur. Arthur has two models of masculinity to explore, the impetuous violence of youth and the measured consideration of maturity. In the Swiss characters, these are represented as choices of sartorial style, between the 'masculine and unaffected character' of Biederman's dress (34), and that of Rudolph, as a dandy medallion-man (36). His education develops in three ways, through sports with a definite martial emphasis, through duelling out of personal sexual rivalry, and through commitment to his father's political agenda.

Initially a subject for jest, because of his comparative weakness as a mountaineer, Arthur is also behindhand in the local 'manly sports'. Indeed, 'manly' is a rather over-used adjective at this point (38, 46). However, he soon establishes a reputation through archery (44). Rudolph and Arthur instantly see each other as sexual competitors, which soon leads to one of Scott's many pointless duels. The supposed imperative of the challenge is undercut by the narrator's refusal to enter into Arthur's mind as he goes to encounter Rudolph: 'I do not know whether this alacrity was altogether real' (59). Having believed Arthur to be 'an effeminate youth, who would be swept from before him at the first flourish of his tremendous weapon', Rudolph is disconcerted that Arthur is not put off by the 'mine is bigger than yours' scenario, and the two reach an uneasy acknowledgement of each other's manhood (60, 62–63). Nevertheless, the simmering antagonism reaches a climax just as the battle between the Burgundians and the allies of France is about to commence. Rudolph challenges Arthur. Arthur kills him. For good measure, he also kills a sentinel with a battle-axe. As Welsh points out, Arthur is the only proper hero who kills a significant major character (150). Why? And especially 'why?' in the context of a personal duel, a practice Scott consistently deprecated? I would argue that Scott allows Arthur to do this precisely because he has initially been shown to be the inferior in a physical test in which he is measured against the heroine. Later remarks that Burgundy's men are as unable to deal with the crags as Arthur initially was (355) and his own secure mountaineering skills, in making his way to the monastery where Margaret of Anjou is staying, are not sufficient. He has to recoup his masculinity through violence. Unlike Reuben Butler, he cannot use the alternative route of intellectual endeavour, an area in which Jeanie is consistently inferior. Arthur's rank is the problem here; Anne's

peasant status (like Arthur's assumed merchanthood) is only temporary. As stress on the bodily capabilities that pastoral life enabled declines, she becomes a much more conventional high-born maiden. Arthur has to expunge his inferiority by prowess in arms, an area in which Anne—unlike some of Scott's other romance heroines, discussed in Chapter 12—pointedly does not compete.

The challenge at least limits the bloodshed. Scott is as equivocal about warfare here as he is elsewhere. He operates on the assumption that his readers will want some narrative excitement, but battle set pieces are sometimes viewed through limited observers like the comic Sisigmund (354–57) or the blinkered professional soldier Colvin (372–75). The sexual risk to civilians in war is a topic doubly distanced in this novel. The lumpish innocent Sisigmund says 'there were thousands, for what I knew, of pretty maidens'; in other words, he did *not* know, and has not been interested in finding out, though he was happy to liberate some jewels from an enemy tent. If Scott is ambivalent at colluding with the attractions of violence, he never becomes a voyeur of war's sexual aggression. Biederman restrains 'any who would abuse the rights of war' (i.e. by looting and rape, 358). It is unthinkable that Arthur would become a threat to women. Though Scott heroes seldom fight, they still fight more than they fornicate. Arthur is introduced as a Chaucerian squire, 'as modest as a maid' (88). Predatory sex is a mark of villains like de Hagenbach. The documentation in the Magnum edition of de Hagenbach's defensive assumption that all man are rapists—'is there one man who can say he has never committed similar imprudences?'—simply identifies his villainy with his specious definition of masculinity. (*Magnum* 25b 572).

Anne is a heroine substantially distanced from the romance role of rape victim. The nearest she comes is the empty threat of Burgundy that she would have to choose between 'the meanest horse-boy in [his] army, and the convent of *filles repentées*' (386) and even that leaves as its alternative actual (if forced) marriage, or the mere imputation of unchastity. Because this is simply not a real issue for the plot, Arthur cannot gain credit for rescuing Anne from it. To validate the female body more broadly, it is necessary to separate its sexual aspects and its place in the reproductive order from everything else. When Biederman politely discourages Arthur's attentions to Anne this is not just a matter of paternal possessiveness. Anne's ability to exceed the bounds of restrictive gender expectation is dependant on her not becoming a love object. This may seem more of a loss to a modern audience that it would to the Christianized morality of Scott's contemporaries. It was certainly a strategy that increased the likelihood of readers accepting the expansion of ideological horizons with regard to women's capacities, horizons that were already being stretched by developments in the leisure interests of their own class.

Scott hardly looks like an ideal publicity officer to raise the profile of women's exercise. Nevertheless, a brief comparison with three of his contemporaries may give a fairer sense of the degree to which he was prepared to explore female capacities. Wordsworth might seem a likely supporter of the active woman. He is, in fact, both a beacon and a disappointment. 'To ----- on Her First Ascent to the Summit of Helvellyn' looks promising. The young lady who prompted its composition in 1816 pants at the top of the ascent, but not from physical effort, rather from the sublime sensations available to her as a result of having climbed.[23] Miss Blackett's sex makes no difference either to her

ability to climb the mountain, or to experience the sublime when she has done so. 'Louisa' starts promisingly. The identification with natural objects ('like rivulets in May') is attractive if potentially a little ominous. However, the initial challenge soon resolves into an image of her as safely domestic, loving her 'Cottage- home' (line 13), and as a potential love object made piquant by her outdoor situation: 'Oh! might I kiss the mountain rains / That sparkle on her cheek' (17-18). The companion poem 'To a Young Lady Who had been reproached for taking long Walks in the Country' is generally taken to refer to Dorothy Wordsworth. She is presented as a 'Child of Nature' (1), but the poem moves almost immediately into a defence predicated on an anticipation of her memories at a time when she has stopped taking long walks. Still 'healthy as a shepherd boy' (7) she will be much more preoccupied with the clinging babes that 'show us how divine a thing / A woman may be made' (11–12). One of the less sympathetic aspects of Wordsworth's relationship with his sister is that although he wrote poems defending women's walking, and was clearly happy to have Dorothy as a companion, he did excise her walking presence from some of his poems ('Tintern Abbey', 'I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud') and is reputed to have said that the weakness and depression of her later years were due 'to the long walks she used to take with him'(Wilson 244). Because these paired poems are lyrics, the containment strategy of transformation into motherhood arrives with startling suddenness, and the speaker's playfully reductive eroticism is not something Scott is prone to.

Two other works worth comparing are Thomas Campbell's poem *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809) and James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Prairie* (1827). The latter is exactly contemporaneous with Scott's composition of *Anne of Geierstein*, and he and

Scott met in Paris in 1826 during the writing of *The Prairie* (intro. Smith vi-vii). Both poem and novel embody an historical distance of a generation or more, and loosely resemble Scott in their construction of complex and fluid political relations between competing tribal and national interest groups. The settler and conflict scenarios offer a world of physical danger, and in each case the heroine is compelled to take a journey in hazardous and demanding circumstances. Both, however, are far more conventional than the Scott heroines discussed, though the conventions Campbell and Cooper appeal to are the same as those used by Scott.

For two of its three parts, *Gertrude of Wyoming* is essentially pastoral idyll in which 'the happy shepherd swain had nought to do' 'but to prune / His autumn fruits, or skim the light canoe' (Part 1, stanza 2). The Wyoming valley in Pennsylvania is a refuge for exiles of every clime of 'warring Europe' (1, 4), including 'poor Caledonia's mountaineer' (1, 6). This patriarchal paradise is administered by Albert, whose only child, Gertrude, is an 'enthusiast of the woods', delighting to 'breathe the groves, romantic and alone' (2, 5). She does some mild solitary walking, to a 'deep untrodden grot' between 'rocks sublime' where 'boatmen caroll'd to the fresh-blown air' (2, 8–9). Boats are a major means of transport, but she does not even essay light canoeing. She and her lover Henry Waldegrave make a kind of pageant of their setting. He is a 'buskin'd youth' and she dresses up in 'fancifully wild' Indian costume. Both are in 'hunter-seeming vest' but the clothing belies their actual activities (3, 2). This is all make-believe, a tenderly idyllic prelude to the realities of historical conflict when the settlement was attacked by Indians and Loyalists in 1778, in what Campbell's note calls the 'civil war' of the American struggle for independence. All Gertrude's previous cares have been to

soothe ‘a father’s couch’ (2, 8), and she is only ever a ‘sad *spectatress* [emphasis added] of her country’s woe’ (3, 26), and, in the end, its victim.

The Prairie has as a main figure an aged trapper, who is both morally central and narratologically marginalised, even to the point of not being named.[24] He is actually defined by his a-social pedestrianism. Sounding like Dorothy Wordsworth, he argues, ‘the Wahcondah [God] has given me legs, and he has given me resolution to use them’ (2: 246–47; ch. 20). Endurance in walking aligns him with native Americans. Women fail this test. The chieftain Mahtoree asks ‘has the woman the feet of a Dahcotah, that she can walk for thirty nights in the prairies and not fall?’[25] The answer is no, she does not.

The white women of the novel are arranged in a hierarchy based on their relation to the rough and ready Bush family: the rougher, the readier. The Bush men are all hugely powerful, though Ishmael Bush’s tawdry finery forms a detailed exotic spectacle in the manner of Scott (1: 10–11; ch. 1). Mrs Bush (Esther) is a good cook but primarily a termagant in ‘half-masculine’ dress, capable of armed resistance (1: 156; ch. 5; 2: 11; ch. 12) and the older girls take after their mother. Ellen, the heroine of the main love plot, is the Bushes’ more refined niece, and occupies a liminal position between working practicality and femininity. She can climb up a two hundred foot crag but when left to guard the camp is described as ‘feeble’ (2: 10; ch. 12). When threatened by an unknown party of men, she ‘endeavoured to recall to her confused faculties, some one of the many tales of female heroism in which the history of the western frontier abounded’ but this has no useful effect (2: 56; ch. 14).[26] Fortunately, the approaching group turns out to be friendly, partly known, and partly comic, so the need for heroic action is defused. The female figure at the top of the novel’s social scale is Inez, a rich Creole kidnapped from

her officer husband on the day of the wedding, the victim of a commercial *raptus*. Incredibly, she is being kept a secret captive on a waggon by Ishmael Bush and his brother-in-law Abiram White, and carried further and further west. Inez, who is tiny in stature, is completely helpless, and completely feminine. The Bush children take this icon to resemble 'some being which belonged to another world' (2: 77; ch. 14). However, this awe is based on her preternatural beauty and ultrafemininity, not her intellectual powers or skill at evading male restrictions.

In spite of the physical demands made on any pioneers, and in spite of their warlike instincts, the women are shown to labour only in a subsidiary capacity. When it comes to crossing a river, Ellen and Inez are deemed too feeble to accompany the swimming horses and have to be towed across in a makeshift coracle (3: 13–14; ch. 24). When seized by the Sioux they are both threatened by being treated as sexual prizes, though the lower class Bush girls are not. Indeed, earlier on Inez has been the subject of an extraordinary episode when Mahtoree has crept into the Bush camp at night and apparently identified her as a woman, though what he has discovered to make him smile is not revealed to the reader till later. Mahtoree's examination of the camp, which is related through his viewpoint, ends with his discovery of the Bushes' valuable animal stock, and he is so delighted that 'it was with difficulty he restrained the customary ejaculations of pleasure'. One of these beasts he feels all over, and as it is described as trusting in man's protection, 'docile', meek' and 'gentle' it is very difficult indeed not to see this unidentified animal as a proxy for Inez, and to regard the episode, with hindsight, as some sort of sexual assault (1: 131; ch. 4). The more attractive a woman like Inez, the more sexually threatened she is, and the more in need of extreme protection as a sexual

commodity. Cooper's general ideological position is firmly stated: the 'accustomed and grateful office' of woman is to reconcile warring elements in being the object of marriages that link those elements (2: 84; ch. 15). An unspoken fear of miscegenation appears to hold back the realization of this element when some of the warring powers are Native Americans, though.

Cooper's novel, then, even in a situation where female bodily strength and courage were both useful and documented,[27] sets up a stereotypical hierarchy of femininity, based on high scores for helplessness. There is none of the sense of piquant transgressiveness that characterizes the Scott women discussed. Scott's texts foreclose on female athleticism at various points. This happens early on in *The Lady of the Lake*, as 'sportive toils' are replaced by the martial exploits which exercise was ideologically deemed to prepare for. Scott's Ellen, though, has an active competence that exceeds Gertrude's conventional sublime contemplation. In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* Scott chooses a heroine whose physical capacities represent a norm for her class, and for the more active male reader, but which would be almost unheard of for the likely female reader. Cooper chooses a middle-ground heroine, but marginalizes the physical efforts of all the women in *The Prairie.* In any case, though rather awkwardly, his protagonist is outside the love plot and is a male pedestrian. It is incontestable that Scott finally insists on a hierarchy of discourses that reinscribes his heroines as domestic and manageable. Nevertheless, his willingness to give voice to a discourse that validates female athleticism opens up possibilities that remain closed in other writers, even when we might expect from their subject matter that such possibilities would be explored.

1 *Works*, vol. 5. Wollstonecraft gets as far as arguing girls should be allowed to take the same exercise as boys (155; ch. 5, sec. 1) and quotes Fordyce to attack him (165; ch. 5, sec. 2). Most of her very general commendation occurs in ch. 12.

2 Though not the first one to be met in works under his name, as traditional ballads such as 'The Lament of the Border Widow' or 'The Young Tamlane' in the *Minstrelsy* have physically competent heroines.

3 Though not for Stannard Barrett's heroine in search of a model (1: ix).

4 The information about the history of rowing in this paragraph is summarised from Halladay (8–14).

5 Scott's poem antedates the three editions of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* that formed part of the period's mediaevalist revival, two in 1816 and one in 1817, but the stories have some currency before this.

6 The statistics here and in the rest of this paragraph combine information from Wallace 21-24, and Jarvis 21-22.

7 The old British penny was 1/240 of a pound sterling.

8 For discussions of walking in Austen, and by middle-class women in other novels by women, see Murphy 2013 (published after the composition of this chapter) 121–42, and Solnit 97–102. For the incident, see *Pride and Prejudice* ch. 43; Mr Gardiner is not tempted by the walk either.

9 It is not clear whether Jeanie is measuring in English miles or Scots ones; the old-fashioned latter was roughly 10% longer than the English mile. Either would be as good as the mail coach.

10 The few examples of Romantic period pedestrianist writing by women are discussed by Jarvis.

11 For contemporary accounts and later digests, see Thom, Eaton, Laws, as well as Jarvis, Jebb, and Wallace.

12 Thom's book is largely about Barclay.

13 For more extended discussion, see, for example, Wallace and Jarvis.

14 See Jarvis, Jebb, Laws, among others. There is a useful anthology edited by Arnold Lunn, *The Englishman in the Alps*, and a more broadly focused one by Alan S. Weber, *Because It's There: A Celebration of Mountaineering, from 200 BC to Today*.

15 Critiques adopting this assumption include Austin, and Morgan's 'Old Heroes' (577).

16 Jarvis (157). Frank McLynn observes that stranger rape was rare in the eighteenth century and argues that in literature 'heroines traversing country fields worry that their gowns will be dirtied, not that they will be raped' (108). Stephen Hunt notes differing practice and ideas in both authors and heroines: Wollstonecraft walked alone, but Austen did not, and Mary Russell Mitford was nervous of lonely places, as were Gothic heroines like Adeline in Radcliffe's *Romance of the Forest*—the last, specifically because of threats from men (52-4). Wollstonecraft projects consciousness of an unspecified but probably sexual threat onto the mind of her child's nurse, Marguerite: 'robberies, murders, or the other evil which instantly, as the sailors would have said, runs foul of a woman's imagination' (Letter 1, *Works* 6: 245). Note the implication that this (unnamed) anxiety is one generated in the male mind rather than inherent.

17 Scott had set up the pilgrim model already (250, 256, 259) and in later editions there is yet another use of it in the second paragraph of ch. 27 (or 28).

[18] Letter to Mrs Clarkson, Sept. 3, 1820. De Selincourt (326). Solnit argues that Dorothy Wordsworth saw walking in the country as a feminine pursuit (97).

[19] Mont Blanc provided a focus for crystal hunters in the sixteenth century (Frison-Roche 23).

[20] De Beer, *Alps and Men* 16; Braham 11–13; Fleming 12.

[21] In 1817 J. R. Wyss says the Bernese Oberland is 'not within the reach of ladies' (De Beer, *Alps and Men* 89). Helen Maria Williams's experience of differences in the detail of access to heights is instructive; supposedly trekking up to see glaciers, she rides up part of the way on a mule, watches while the party explore the glacier itself, and is carried down on an improvised litter (ch. 22; 2: 3–14; discussed in Labbe, *Romantic Visualities* 130–133).

[22] The Magnum version is even more pointedly gendered: 'duty *as a man* to extend to *the weaker sex*'. (Melrose ed. 31[ch. 3], my italics).

[23] Cornell Wordsworth *Shorter Poems, 1807-1820, by William Wordsworth* 221–22; discussed in Nicolson (2).

[24] Cooper's main figure has featured in other novels, alias Hawkeye, alias the Deerslayer, alias Leatherstocking, alias Natty Bumppo, and this is the novel in which he dies. Page references in the text are to the three-volume 1827 edition, though the continuous chapter numbers of later editions are also given to facilitate reference.

[25] (1: 106; ch. 4.) There is a distinction in the novel between those tribes who are horse-riders, such as the Sioux, and 'the red men of the woods' who 'make long marches on foot' (1, 106).

[26] Cooper had never been anywhere near the settings of his novel in the states of Wyoming and Nebraska; he worked up his descriptions from research reading, but his 1827 preface is very coy about his sources. For a story matching Ellen's memories, see Kolodny: a white woman revenges herself by slaughtering (and scalping) ten sleeping Native Americans who are keeping her captive (22).

[27] There seems to have been a clear theoretical division of labour between male and female pioneers, and evidence from before the 1840s is much sparser than that for later, but circumstances sometimes dictated sharing of heavy work; see Myres 31–38.