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The Modernist Rural Flâneur in Travel Writing: Katherine Mansfield, D. H. Lawrence, Rebecca West and Nan Shepherd

PhD

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Abstract

This thesis examines the newly introduced figure of the rural flâneur, particularly through the body and the activity of walking, in modernist travel writing. Across four chapters, I explore three flâneuses and one flâneur as they appear chronologically from the beginning of the 20th century until the end of World War II. Katherine Mansfield's *The Urewera Notebook* was written in peripheral New Zealand, in the early days of modernism, in 1907. D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy* followed closely after, at the dawn of WWI, in 1912. Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, set in the rural Balkans, was written just before the outbreak of WWII, in 1937, and was followed in the 1940s by Nan Shepherd's pacifist masterpiece, *The Living Mountain*, written with the war atrocities in the background of rugged Scotland. All reveal flâneurs with diverse attitudes to war, mechanisation and the status quo.

Traditionally, the figure of the modernist flâneur has been defined as an urban figure, with a rural, especially female, counterpart being deemed unfeasible. This has been contested by a recent, strong wave of researchers who have addressed the unfair treatment of rurality in modernism and have newly defined rurality as an overlooked aspect of modernism which demands our attention. I, in turn, contend and propose that the study of the rural flâneur and flâneuse can assist us in advancing our understanding of this overlooked aspect. I seek to find and make critical use of the figure of the rural and modernist flâneur/flâneuse in the studied texts; my approach includes use of the historical context of and critical theories on, yet not limited, flânerie, rurality, walking, feminism and the body, and my close reading. I propose that the figure of the rural flâneur and flâneuse is a vital tool which can reveal unique, previously overlooked, perspectives of the ever-changing modernist world.

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To my family and friends: Thank you for being there.

Author's Declaration

I, Nikolemma Polyxeni Dimitriou, declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Sheffield. The work is original except where indicated by reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

Part of the content of Chapter Two appears in a published article in *The Modernist Review*:

Dimitriou, Nicola (Nikolemma Polyxeni), 'Rural Walking and the Sick Flâneur in D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy* (1916)', *The Modernist Review*, 37 (2022) < Rural Walking and the Sick Flaneur in D. H. Lawrence's Twilight in Italy (1916) – The Modernist Review (wordpress.com)> [accessed 20 May 2024].

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The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination.

INTRODUCTION

The formation of the modernist, rural flâneur

Overview of the main research question

Travelling on foot has appeared often in modernist writing, taking on a variety of different forms and aims. For instance, George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933)[1] and Virginia Woolf's 'Street Haunting' (1927) demonstrate representative examples of how walking defined their thinking, their political, religious and social stance and how they viewed the world.[2] W. H. Auden, along with Louis MacNeice, also describes walking, but within a natural environment, in the travel book *Letters from Iceland* (1937), as a form of leisurely travel but also as an indirect way to flee polemical turmoil.[3] On a different note and in a fictional text, namely, in E. M. Forster's *Howards End* (1910)[4], Leonard Bast decides to spend a holiday walking overnight out of the city into the surrounding countryside. These authors, as many other modernist writers, 'explore the concept of travel' and 'follow a long tradition of imaginative travel-writing by Westerners'.[5] Particularly for the modernist period, a great number of scholars, such as Robyn Autry and Daniel J. Walkowitz, have focused on the importance of walking as a means to travel, especially within a city, and rightly claim that the 'practice of walking city streets was and is fraught with social meaning'.[6] Shortel and Brown, similarly, say that 'walking has been a vital part of cities for as long as cities have existed' and highlight how 'walking is not merely a practical activity … [as] values and feelings get attached to mobility. Walking is a practice associated

[1] George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (Penguin Classics, 2013).

[2] Virginia Woolf, 'Street haunting: A London adventure', in *Selected Essays*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 177–187.

[3] W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (Faber & Faber, 1937).

[4] E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (Penguin Classics, 2012).

[5] Joyce E. Kelley, *Excursions into Modernism: Women Writers, Travel, and the Body* (Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

[6] Robyn Autry and Daniel J. Walkowitz, 'Editors' Introduction: Undoing the Flâneur', *Radical History Review*, 114 (2012), pp. 1-5 (p. 1).

with particular social roles'.[7] Jennie Middleton also highlights how the 'relationship between walking and the city is multiple and complex, with engagements ranging from the rational and planned to the poetic and sensual'[8]; indeed, the complex relationship between walking and the city can be seen, for instance, in Woolf's *The Years* (1937),[9] where walking on foot in the city came to represent, as Alexandra Peat explains, 'both a homage to history and a kind of anti-mapping that rewrites the city space'.[10] Catharina Loffler goes so far as to state that the 'study of spaces and the study of literary cities have become an inseparable pair'.[11]

There is now a greater understanding of the role of the city as a contextual space but also of the possibilities in which to interpret other contextual spaces; this, in turn, has helped us decipher the reasons behind a writer's narrative and travel choices, possible political agenda, belief system, values, as well as their relationship to their historical context. It was only natural that, once the city was established as a specific concept of a contextual space in modernist studies, the scholarly community began to search for new ground to work on and through which to uncover hidden aspects of the era. As with every movement, new voices call for a change of focus. In the case of modernist studies, as Anna Snaith has highlighted, this change of focus manifested itself through 'an explosion of work on transnational or alternative modernisms';[12] in turn, this work, Veronica Barnsley highlights, 'has

[7] Timothy Shortell and Evrick Brown, *Walking in the European City: Quotidian Mobility and Urban Ethnography* (Routledge, 2016), p. 8.

[8] Jennie Middleton, *The Walkable City: Dimensions of Walking and Overlapping Walks of Life* (Routledge, 2022), p. 2.

[9] Katherine Mansfield, *The Years* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[10] Alexandra Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys* (Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), p. 164.

[11] Catharina Loffler, *Walking in the City: Urban Experience and Literary Psychogeography in Eighteenth-Century London* (Catharina Loffler, 2017), p. 3.

[12] Anna Snaith, *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890–1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 3.

allowed for modernist studies the opportunity to call itself "new"'.[13] In the case of my research focus, the in-depth, scholarly interest in urban walking has offered a rich ground of well-established ideas, on which current scholars, including myself, can base new theories and uncover alternative modernities.

An alternative modernity, with regards to urban walking, is undeniably its rural counterpart. Snaith's thoughts on the alternative modernities that are in focus in recent years, ultimately led me to wonder: if there was such great scholarly interest in urban walking, what was the scholarly interest in its rural, alternative, modernist counterpart like? If such scholarly interest existed, what was its focus and what more could it tell us about the modernist period? I came across a number of inspiring recent scholarly works on the topic, but nevertheless the subject of modernist rural walking revealed itself to be historically quite neglected in comparison to modernist city walking. These scholars, whose work on rural modernity assisted my hypothesis greatly, also highlight this gap in research; for instance, Lara Feigel and Alexandra Harris, in *Modernism on Sea* (2011), admit that the general tendency of scholars has been to view 'modernism as the most urban and frenetic of artistic movements', found in the 'cafes and arcades of Paris' and in the 'traffic in Bloomsbury'.[14] Jeffrey Mathes McCarthey explains that 'to claim that nature is significant to modernism is to cut against the grain of a century of scholarship', while he also admits that the relationship of British modernism to its 'green component has been largely overlooked'.[15] I agree with McCarthey that 'nature can change the dominant readings of modernist' texts and 'broaden the archive for modernist studies', while it can also help found 'the striking realm of consciousness and political urgency' that the texts investigate.[16]

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[13] Veronica Barnsley, 'Review of *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890–1945* by Anna Snaith', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 50.6 (2014), pp. 752-753 (p. 752).

[14] Lara Feigel and Alexandra Harris, 'Introduction', in *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, ed. by Lara Feigel and Alexandra Harris (Peter Lang AG, 2011), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).

[15] Jeffrey Mathes McCarthey, *Green Modernism: Nature and the English Novel, 1900 to 1930* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), p. 2.

[16] McCarthey, *Green Modernism: Nature and the English Novel, 1900 to 1930*, p. 2.

Nature, I contend, becomes the authors' means to express their wishes regarding the urban reality, too.

Feigel and Harris also challenge the urban-centric character of modernist studies and propose that 'a discerning artistic pilgrim would do well to pause on the cliffs and promenades of the English coast', as did Shepherd in the Scottish mountain cliffs of her rural flânerie, thus begin to formalise a discussion around the existence of a rural walker.[17] More recently, Dominic Head, in 2017, cautions us against assuming that 'regional writing is just a response to modernity rather than an aspect of it as well'[18] and encourages us to view rural modernist writing as a 'response to modernity (and often also a critique of it), rather than an attempt to disengage from it'.[19] In the context of modernist disability studies, Courtney Andree proposes that the rural, despite being commonly associated with geographies of 'intolerance and exclusion', is, in reality, 'a fertile site' for 'radical political activities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'.[20] Similarly, Alexandra Harris, in 2010, focuses her research on 'romantic moderns', many of which are found scattered among the English rural setting; they become her means to demonstrate what 'an elastic idea of modernity' might be, thus encouraging the notion that the rural both contests but also belongs to modernity, as I suggest in my thesis.[21]

Kristin Bluemel and Michael McCluskey, in their highly detailed work on rural modernity in Britain, note the importance of promoting 'rural people and places as important, yet often ignored,

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[17] Feigel and Harris, 'Introduction', in *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, p. 1.

[18] Dominic Head, *Modernity and the English Rural Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 129.

[19] Head, *Modernity and the English Rural Novel*, p. 3.

[20] Courtney Andree, 'Cripping the Pastoral: Rural Modernisms and Sylvia Townsend Warner's *The True Heart*', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 65 (2019), pp. 12-34 (p. 18).

[21] Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (Thames & Hudson, 2010), p. 17. Harris' work is also inspirational for my thesis in the manner in which it highlights the embodied, intense feelings experienced in a rural setting, similar to all authors studied in my work. See: Alexandra Harris, *Romantic moderns: English writers, artists and the imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper,* p. 171.

subjects for studies of British modernisation, modernism and modernity' and highlight that 'the 'rural' and 'modern' should not be seen in opposition; on the contrary, they should be seen as two terms relating to a vital relationship that came under intense pressure during the first half of the twentieth century, particularly during the interwar years.'[22] Finally, the authors contest the common concept of the countryside as being 'populated by middle-class artists, and constructed as a site of nostalgic retreat divorced from modernity and modernisation'.[23] The focus of this inspiring research is the 'rural peoples' found within 'England, Wales and Scotland'; my research takes on board these fascinating findings of rural modernity in Britain but extends the geographical scope to consider New Zealand, Italy, and the Balkans.[24]

Andrew Frayn, inspired by Bluemel and McCluskey's work, demonstrates in his article on Norman Nicholson in 2023, how this particular poet is 'an exemplary writer about rural modernity'; he highlights that 'the incongruity of rural modernity is not a failure of the relationship between form and content, but a feature, the development of a distinct form'.[25] For Frayn, 'rural modernity is not only about the aesthetics and impact of industry, but about the relationships among people, and of people with place'.[26] I was particularly intrigued by Frayn's suggestion to look at industrial modernity as 'inherent in the rural, the juxtaposition of rural beauty and rural industry: a conscious act of looking at that which is more frequently placed outside the frame.'[27] Finally, Frayn explains that uncovering rural modernity through figures such as Nicholson, 'allows similar writers to be identified; [and that] it is only in reading rural modernists as distinctive and valuable that a wider shift in viewpoint can come about' to the field of modernist studies – he ends his article by directly inviting us 'next time' to

[22] Kristin Bluemel and Michael McCluskey, *Rural Modernity in Britain: A Critical Intervention* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 2.

[23] Bluemel and McCluskey, *Rural Modernity in Britain*, p. 2.

[24] Bluemel and McCluskey, *Rural Modernity in Britain*, p. 2.

[25] Andrew Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', *English Studies*, 104.3 (2023), pp. 478-499 (p. 482).

[26] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 482.

[27] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 484.

'take that turning'.[28] My thesis is an extension and response to work by Bluemel and McCluskey, Andree, Harris and Frayn. This combination of a lack of a long tradition of research in rural modernism alongside a growing scholarly interest is what intrigued me to begin structuring my research under the wide field of rural walking and to extend the application and analysis of the modernist urban walker to a rural context. To build a strong foundation to my research, however, I was aware of needing a solid methodology and sources that would justify my hypothesis.

Andrew Frayn, in his 'Introduction: Modernism and the First World War' (2017), has suggested that 'using new theories and methodologies gives us fresh insights into the processes that accompany historical events'.[29] My research's new theory and methodology, two necessary elements to reach 'fresh insights into the processes that accompany historical events', will be the recently introduced and little-researched rural, modernist flâneur, an extension and revision of its traditional, and limiting in our era, urban predecessor, as a walker and traveller figure. The reasons that led me to choose this figure are multiple. The main motive that led me to choose this particular figure lies in Baudelaire's definition of the urban, male flâneur as a 'passionate observer', the 'perfect idler' and 'philosopher' with a 'nobler aim' in his observations and 'cold detachment'.[30] Such a figure, as I discuss in the following sections of the Introduction, has been thoroughly used by scholars in the modernist field so as to gain insight into the 'processes that accompany historical events'.[31] I argue that by reviewing the urban flâneur and applying its rural, newly introduced, rural counterpart such fresh insights, as those that Frayn speaks of, can be reached.[32]

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[28] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 496.

[29] Andrew Frayn, 'Introduction: Modernism and the First World War', *Modernist Cultures,* 12.1 (2017), pp. 1-15 (p. 12).

[30] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010), pp. 8-12.

[31] Andrew Frayn, 'Introduction: Modernism and the First World War', p. 12.

[32] A number of researchers' works, such as Grimshaw, Elkin and Baudelaire play an important role in this thesis' methodology; their contribution is analysed further on.

The texts which I have chosen to analyse, namely Mansfield's *The Urewera Notebook* (written 1907, first published in 1933)[33], Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy* (written 1912, revised and first published in 1916)[34], West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (written 1936-37, first published in 1941)[35], and Shepherd's *The Living Mountain* (written mid-1940s, first published in 1977),[36] are a representative selection of greater or lesser-known authors who used walking, wandering and travelling in rural environments to respond to their society, akin to a flâneur but a rural flâneur and to take a stance within and against society. They were all important in their own right and their reputations have varied over the years. As representative examples of subjective, yet respected, modernist literary voices, their travel writing offers us a means in which to access voices of the past at important times for our society and history. My thesis will provide an in-depth understanding of the writers' walks and rural wanders, their relationship to society at the time and the reasons that led them to take on travelling on foot. In the four following sections that complete this introduction, I provide an overview of scholarly sources on travelling and tourism in the modernist era, a critical understanding on the flâneur and the rural flâneur, as well as my thesis' main argument on the figure. A section on the history of the flâneuse and how this relates to my work will follow. Finally, I analyse a relevant overview of a representative number of historical events that took place during the period and which greatly influenced the authors' lives and writings.

Travelling and Tourism in the Modernist Era

The modernist era was a time during which travelling replaced, at least to an extent, the 'symbolic value of the house – [the house being] put to the test by modernism's exiles and émigrés'.[37] A great

[33] Katherine Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, ed. by Anna Plumridge (Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

[34] D. H. Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[35] Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia*, intro. by Geoff Dyer (Canongate Books, 2006).

[36] Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, intro. by Robert MacFarlane (Canongate Books, 2019).

[37] Emily Ridge, *Portable Modernisms: The Art of Travelling Light* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 7.

number of Western writers participated in the creation of travel writing for reasons that had to do with being accepted in the new land they were travelling to, while other authors of the British Empire chose to travel as a 'geographical and material process'; essentially, they too (despite being unwilling to admit this in many cases) were part of the 'modern tourism industry and the ramifications of travel during an imperial era'.[38] Rural, previously untouched, destinations were being transformed into tourist hubs by the growing English and European middle-class towards the end of the 19th century. Amber K. Regis and David Amigoni highlight how Davos, in Switzerland, 'was a health colony recently formed by English and other middle-class Europeans', demonstrating just how popular travelling abroad had become for the growing imperial middle class.[39] Travelling was, by the end of the 19th century, the norm for the rich, while, by the end of the middle of the 20th century, even less affluent people were able to afford to travel for leisure. Indeed, the first half of the 20th century, which also coincides with the period studied in this thesis, 'was the heyday of the British Empire, and much travel writing shows the complicity with imperialism – if not its out-right support', as Helen Carr points out.[40] The texts I study, in particular West and Mansfield, demonstrate tendencies which went hand in hand with an imperial perspective.

In order to appreciate the importance of tourism and travel in this thesis, it is necessary to also provide a brief definition of the flâneur to understand the terms in comparison to one another. Further detailed analysis of the flâneur and its use of the figure in my thesis is provided in the next section of the introduction, 'The Flâneur and Rural Flânerie'. My thesis' main suggestion, based on introducing and analysing the figure of the newly introduced rural flâneur through close reading, contrasts but is also influenced by previous generations of writers such as Charles Baudelaire who, in

[38] Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys*, p. 7.

[39] David Amigoni and Amber K. Regis, 'The Colony, the Carpenter's Shop, and the Making of the Queer "Man of Letters": Hybridity, Art, and Sexuality in J.A. Symonds's Writing', *Études anglaises*, 61.3 (2008), pp. 300-310 (p. 303).

[40] Helen Carr, 'Modernism and travel (1880-1940)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 70–86 (p. 71).

the 19th century, first connected the flâneur to a strict framework of an artistic leisured man of the town. In *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863), Baudelaire defined the flâneur as a 'passionate observer' in the crowd.[41] This definition was, importantly for the term's history, taken by Walter Benjamin in the 1930s and used in his work, *The Arcades Project*, in which he stated that the flâneur is an observer, a witness, a stroller in the marketplace of society; Benjamin also stated that the city to the flâneur is 'no longer native ground. It represents for him a theatrical display, an arena'.[42]

This urban definition for the modernist flâneur continues to prevail greatly among scholarly opinion. Unlike the Victorian period, when, as B. I. Coleman states, the critics of the city far outnumbered its supporters, the modernist flâneurs are usually seen, as it has been discussed, as being drawn more to urban centres.[43] For many researchers of modernity, the city is a symbol of flâneurs' rebellion against the social stagnation that they felt the Georgian and Victorian era had represented. My chosen authors went against the commonly accepted, yet recently contested, urban trend of the modernist period, for their own, different reasons. As rural flâneurs, they chose to wander and observe the world from an angle that was not defined by contemporary urban excitement and turmoil. However, this research does not suggest that these four authors' travel writings are free from this urban influence that touched all other modernist writers. On the contrary, as I aim to demonstrate by the thesis' conclusion, although these authors may seem to be deviating from the norm of their contemporary literary community by choosing a rural context for their travels, in plenty of other ways, they succumbed to larger historical forces, be that of the British Empire or of the perils of WWI, WWII and mechanisation.

The railway is an example which shows just one way of many ways in which all writers under research participated in the advancements and the privileges of the time's technology and subsequent

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[41] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 9.

[42] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 347.

[43] B. I. Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Routledge, 2007), p. 2.

tourism. Indeed, for the writers to travel it was necessary to use the railway, a mode of transport that crucially defined this period's travelling. The railway allowed such distant travel, and contributed to the overall feeling that the world was decreasing in size, as was the distance between major cities and countries. Andrew Thacker highlights how 'modernist writing is about living' and experiencing 'new times',[44] thus explaining the social, political and religious mobility of the modern age as well as how the transport technologies that were starting to appear were changing the material experiences of travel forever. Such attitudes and technologies are prevalent in the texts studied in this thesis; for instance, in *The Urewera Notebook*, Mansfield makes use of the train in her wanderings and acutely describes her experience, while in *Twilight in Italy*, Lawrence mentions the train as a much more efficient way of getting around the Alps than on foot. He asks an Englishman and fellow walker, '"Why did you do so much [walking]?"'; '"Why did you come on foot all down the valley when you could have taken the train? Was it worth it?".'[45] Lawrence uses the train to juxtapose the harsh nature and the danger that the Englishman's walking posed.

Alexandra Peat, in *Travel and Modernist Literature* (2011) states that deciding whether a person is 'tourist, an expatriate, or a traveller was quite difficult … at times'.[46] Peat also highlights how the word 'tourist' first entered 'the English lexicon in 1780' and that by the beginning of the 'twentieth century the word had come to indicate not just a form of travel but also a specific class of leisure and pleasure travelling and a particular travelling identity'.[47] By the '1930s', Peat explains, and when West and Shepherd were travelling, the term 'tourist had accrued its current negative connotations'.[48] Peat is not the only researcher to highlight the negative connotations of the tourist; for instance, Hazel Hahn states that the tourist is 'compelled by a mechanical "need for locomotion", leading to, it could

[44] Andrew Thacker, *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 13.

[45] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 210.

[46] Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys*, p. 8.

[47] Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys*, p. 4.

[48] Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys*, p. 4.

be surmised, a disjunction between mobility and lack of reflection'.[49] This also holds true for its definition even in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. A tourist is defined here as a person 'who travels for pleasure or culture'.[50] The term traveller, on the other hand, is 'one who journeys to or has visited distant or foreign places'.[51] There is an element of the unknown in the manner a traveller journeys which the tourist cannot claim. The flâneur, on the other hand, Hahn says, 'enjoys harmony between physical mobility, exercise of vision and agility of the mind'.[52] David G. Farley writes that 'tourism is not necessarily a recreational activity, but a tool of ideology that determines not only the path of the journey and the meaning of what is seen, but what can be seen', referring to the restrictions of what a tourist sees in the land they are visiting.[53] Farley explains that modernist writers were 'influenced as much by dispersal as by concentration, by real and foreign landscapes as much as by surreal inner landscapes of the subconscious or by any group dynamic'.[54] All authors do not simply venture out into the physical unknown; they also embark on a travelling adventure into the conceptual landscape of their time's ideas.

Emily Ridge, in her work *Portable Modernisms: The Art of Travelling Light* (2017), claims that 'the figure of the modernist literary exile is undermined by the figure of the tourist'.[55] Mansfield reiterates this concern, when asked to associate with the Maori or the tourist, but nothing inbetween; in essence, by rejecting the inbetween Pakeha, she is ironically rejecting her identity. Stacy Burton

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[49] Hazel Hahn, 'The Flâneur, the Tourist, the Global Flâneur, and Magazine Reading as Flânerie', *Dix-Neuf: Journal of the Society of Dix-Neuxiemistes*, 16.2 (2012), pp. 193-210 (p. 198).

[50] Entry 'tourist', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/tourist_n?tab=meaning_and_use> [accessed 16 October 2023].

[51] Entry 'traveller', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/traveller_n?tab=meaning_and_use#17708974> [accessed 16 October 2023].

[52] Hahn, 'The Flâneur, the Tourist, the Global Flâneur, and Magazine Reading as Flânerie', p. 198.

[53] David G. Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad* (University of Missouri Press, 2010), p. 80.

[54] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, pp. 1-2.

[55] Ridge, *Portable Modernisms: The Art of Travelling Light*, p. 109.

states that there is a 'superficial mode of perception that comes to be associated with the tourist'[56] and highlights how the tourist 'is ever in a group'[57], while Petra Rau explains how literary characters denigrated other characters by referring to them as tourists.[58] All authors discussed in this thesis avoid being labelled as tourists and wish to be known as travellers or flâneurs but, in many cases, their behaviour is not too far from what a typical tourist would have displayed.

Lawrence's opinion of tourists is seen while travelling on a streamer in *Twilight in Italy*. Here, and despite his love for his German wife, Frieda, Lawrence does not hesitate to openly expresses a disgust towards a group of people whom he views as typical German tourists. More specifically, he explains how while a fight between two birds was ongoing above the steamer, 'the crow flickering above the attacking hawk, the fight going on like some strange symbol in the sky, the Germans on deck [were] watching with pleasure'.[59] His commentary on what he deems as the German tourists' inappropriate behaviour betrays Lawrence's negative predisposition to them; he views them as unable to behave in public and as unable to appreciate the important elements of a journey. Indeed, his ridiculing is unapologetic. This openly condescending attitude towards tourists is shared in all the texts discussed in this thesis, to a smaller or greater extent.

As Regis and Amigoni point out, beautiful natural areas in the centre of Europe, such as Davos in Switzerland and, similarly, northern Italy had, by the end of the 19th century, become 'in part artists' colony', 'part tourist colony and health retreat'.[60] Lawrence's behaviour and walks in rural Italy and Switzerland begs us to question Lawrence's façade of a traveller and an anti-tourist. Lawrence wished to present himself as different to the mass crowd but, ironically, the type of destination he selected, time and time again, in *Twilight in Italy*, was not so different to what tourist crowds of his day also

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[56] Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 41.

[57] Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity*, p. 42.

[58] Petra Rau, *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans, 1890-1950* (Routledge, 2016), p. 101.

[59] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays,* ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 189.

[60] Amigoni and Regis, 'The Colony, the Carpenter's Shop, and the Making of the Queer "Man of Letters": Hybridity, Art, and Sexuality in J.A. Symonds's Writing', p. 303.

chose. Indeed, the fact that these tourist 'colonies' were simultaneously health retreats must have been important to Lawrence, who wished to strengthen his weak bronchials. Not only is Lawrence not deviating from the norm for tourists of the period, but he is also, in fact, discreetly following the path that was prescribed by the medical community of the time, as I aim to show in Chapter Two of my thesis.

Shepherd's similarly negative predisposition to tourists is, however, more genuine; she, unlike Lawrence, seems to keep her word and does not give in to the social pressure to travel as a tourist. When observing a group of men heading towards the peaks of the Cairngorms mountains, she realises that the peaks are their one and only goal. While enjoying the process of the walk itself, she states that 'to pit oneself against the mountain is necessary for every climber: to pit oneself merely against other players, and make a race of it, is to reduce to the level of a game what is essentially an experience'.[61] Shepherd uses the words 'players', 'race' and 'game' to represent the action men partake in, thus making the men's action seem almost childish and immature, while hers was an experience, thus adding an element of mysticism, self-awareness and maturity to her walking. Shepherd expresses a subjective view on how walking in the mountains should be conducted for it to remain a mystical experience.[62]

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[61] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 4.

[62] The nationally promoted attitude towards mountaineering in the 1920s can be seen when keeping in mind George Mallory's, among others, expeditions to Mount Everest from 1921 to 1924. A detailed account of their ascent in 1921 is kept in *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1922* by C. K. Howard-Bury. See: Charles Howard-Bury, *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921* (Edward Arnold & Co, 1922). The title and its militaristic connotations are clear evidence of the aggressive attitude towards the mountain, in contrast to Shepherd's meanders to become a natural part of the mountain. Mallory's attitude, and that of the 1920s, is particularly evident in his own account of the journey. In it, he writes that it was necessary to 'pit our skill against the mountain' while he importantly mentions that he calls the 'final phase of the reconnaissance' the 'Assault' because they 'intended to climb as far up the mountain as we were able'. See: George Leigh Mallory, 'Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance', *The Geographical Journal*, 59.2 (1922), pp. 100-109 (p. 100). This was the era's attitude that Lawrence was writing and walking in, demonstrating that his writing, which often aimed to reach the highest spots of a mountain, are reminiscent of his era's beliefs and trends.

Robert Burden also emphasises the negative predisposition of many authors towards the term tourist. He writes:

> Older British and European, and the emergent American [travel] from the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth – frequently arises as a focus on tourism, which each of these selected writers disparage as the ruin of real travel, a problematic attitude at best, and one which stands for another sense of superiority to add to that of nationalism in the competitions of modernity.[63]

All authors reject the idea of superficially visiting a place and seek a more intellectual experience with the land in which they traverse. Attempting to be flâneurs, even if that meant to simply perceive themselves as such, was a way in which to avoid considering themselves tourists, as becoming flâneurs allowed them to wander freely and aimlessly in philosophical thought. While the tourist superficially visits a city's main spots, the flâneur delves into the city's core. The authors studied suggest a type of walking which is linked to a bodily process and being part of the land that they are exploring, similar to the relationship of a flâneur to the city and arcades in which he originally resided and in which he acted. They attempt to differentiate themselves from the mass crowd of tourists and want to appear as if they can reach a more philosophical understanding of place than ordinary people. In actuality, they often held the same prejudices that most people of their time held, as they repeated the opinions that other members of their class and network held at the time.

A final example of the time's attitude to the traveller and tourist is demonstrated thanks to Andrew Hammond. Hammond points out that Victorian explorers and their travel were particularly 'immobile in their Englishness' and their writing is a conscious means in which to promote the British Empire.[64] The modernists, on the other hand, were trying to break away from socially fixed forms.

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[63] Robert Burden, *Travel, Modernism and Modernity* (Routledge, 2016), p. 1.

[64] Andrew Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14.1 (2010), pp. 57–75 (p. 177).

Hammond uses Fussell's[65] definition of exploration as an 'athletic, paramilitary activity'.[66] Fussell further explains:

> All three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity. The genuine traveller is, or used to be, in the middle between the two extremes. If the explorer moves toward the risks of the formless and the unknown, the tourist moves toward the security of pure cliche. It is between these two poles that the traveller mediates, retaining all he can of the excitement of the unpredictable attaching to exploration, and fusing that with the pleasure of "knowing where one is" belonging to tourism.[67]

Inspired by Fussell, Hammond further writes that the traveller 'has links to the modernist, concerned with epistemology and revelation, [while] the tourist' is simply a modern man.[68] Being people of letters, all the authors I examine, wished to be linked to epistemology and revelation, rather than just simple men and women of society. Their journeys are in pursuit of newness in the self. To make sense of the world, the writers of this thesis travelled and wrote. However, they were only willing to combine travelling and walking on the condition that they were not seen as tourists. Remaining faithful to real travel, even if superficially, allowed the authors to see their travel and subsequent writing as a way to understand the world in which they inhabited. Wandering as flâneurs became for them a way in which to express their own, personal modernity compared to the people and society that surrounded them.

The flâneur and rural flânerie

[65] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1980).

[66] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars*, p. 39.

[67] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars*, p. 39.

[68] Andrew Hammond, 'The Unending Revolt': Travel in an Era of Modernism', p. 175.

The term 'flâneur', a crucial term for this thesis, is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'a lounger or saunterer'[69] while Charles Baudelaire provided the definition of a 'observer, idler [and] philosopher' in the 1860s.[70] As the term is of paramount significance, I am providing a longer extract by Baudelaire, from *The Painter of Modern Life*, which, as Richard Pope has described, influenced 'all accounts of the flâneur' to 'incorporate, or depart from' it.[71] Baudelaire describes the flâneur as follows:

> The crowd is his domain, just as the air is the bird's, and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession is to merge with the crowd. For the perfect idler, for the passionate observer it becomes an immense source of enjoyment to establish his dwelling in the throng, in the ebb and flow, the bustle, the fleeting and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, to be at the very centre of the world, and yet to be unseen of the world, such are some of the minor pleasures of those independent, intense and impartial spirits, who do not lend themselves easily to linguistic definitions. The observer is a prince enjoying his incognito wherever he goes.[72]

To begin with, it is a challenge to define the figure, Baudelaire states. This also holds true for my work on the rural flâneur. The authors I analyse share similarities as rural flâneurs but they are not identical. They are defined by their differences. Yet all authors, despite their different aims and motivations, display an observational nature within the crowd; the crowd may be represented through footsteps traversed by past walkers in nature, a packed train carriage, or a small crowd of villagers in Yugoslavia's Macedonia. In essence, however, and despite Baudelaire's limiting definition of the flâneur as a solely male figure, it is true that Baudelaire's description of the flâneur also fits in my four

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[69] Entry 'flâneur', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71073?redirectedFrom=flâneur#eid> [accessed 10 November 2023].

[70] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 8.

[71] Richard Pope, 'The Jouissance of the Flâneur: Rewriting Baudelaire and Modernity', *Space and Culture*, 13.1 (2010), pp. 4-16 (p. 7).

[72] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life,* p. 11.

authors' travelling persona. Mansfield is a 'Wanderer' in the Urewera[73] - she says so herself - and Shepherd enjoys going 'on the tramp', as she described her rough walking in the Cairngorm mountains in an interview in 1931;[74] they chose to 'remain hidden' from their respective repressive crowds, these beings the mechanised, rigid society for Lawrence, and the painfully dualistic and polemical world of WWII. They chose 'to be away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, to be at the very centre of the world'; to do so, they put to use their walking, meandering and writing.[75]

As I briefly explained earlier, the term was given new life when it was taken by Walter Benjamin in the 1930s, when, apart from being described as 'an observer, a witness, a stroller in the marketplace of society', the male flâneur is described as 'a man uprooted. He is at home neither in his class nor in his homeland, but only in the crowd. The city [functions as] a landscape and a room'[76]; 'the consummate flâneur', Benjamin concludes, 'is a bohemian, a déraciné'.[77] All authors I deal with display a bohemian nature, who is at home not in their homeland. For Mansfield, there is no definitive homeland, even as early as 1907. She tries to define her home through her travels. Shepherd defines home in nature while Lawrence's particular period under examination was the beginning of his bohemian life, which was to last a lifetime. West, perhaps the least bohemian of them all, defines herself confidently when walking and travelling far from London and Britain and creating a second emotional and intellectual home that would remain close to her until the end of her life.

Baudelaire's initial definition did not remain unchallenged. Isabel Vila-Cabanes describes how Benjamin used Baudelaire and Edgar Allan Poe to define the flâneur as 'a marginal type and bohemian artist who identifies with other destitute and liminal urban types'; the flâneur for Benjamin, Cabanes

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[73] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 105.

[74] Elizabeth Kyle, '"Modern Women Authors", Interviews with Nan Shepherd and Dot Allan', in *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland, 1918-1939: Source Documents for the Scottish Renaissance*, ed. by Margery Palmer McCulloch (Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003), pp. 204-208 (p. 206) (first publ. in *Scots Observer*, (18 June 1931), p. 4).

[75] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life,* p. 11.

[76] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 895.

[77] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 895.

explains, is 'an instance of the effects of modern capitalist culture on the urban individual, elaborating a critique of modern times partly based on the analysis of the flâneur'.[78] This holds particularly true for Lawrence, whose pose as a rural flâneur allows him to criticise the harsh industrialisation of his modern times. Benjamin, in essence, took, as all critics do of critics past, Baudelaire's definition and successfully applied it, with different results, in a different time and setting. This is only natural; new times call for new versions of the figure. As Benjamin states, the flâneur, like all the authors I deal with, wished to break away, at least temporarily, from the social restrictions of their class and find a home amidst their wanderings; the authors I have researched do so, importantly, in rurality. I aim to take Benjamin's ground-breaking work on the flâneur and assimilate the figure to our times by removing the limiting reading of the city as the sole setting of the flâneur and the male nature as its sole version.[79]

Richard Wrigley in *The Flâneur Abroad* (2014), explains that the flâneur, 'the leisurely but vigilant urban stroller – is well-known as a quintessential nineteenth-century Parisian archetype', 'a city-dweller', a 'master of the empowered male gaze, and embodiment of anguished urbanite in retreat from the inhospitable environment of the city and its threatening crowds'.[80] Jamie Coates agrees with Wrigley that the term was used as a 'reference to dandy young gentlemen, who walked, performed and loitered within the arcades of late 19th century Paris', demonstrating that the initial flâneur had little political weight, in contrast to the politically hefty connotations the figure acquired

[78] Isabel Vila-Cabanes, *The Flâneur in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture: The Worlds of London Unknown* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 10.

[79] The flâneur, as I will explain in detail in the following section of the introduction on the flâneuse, also changes in recent times again. Indeed, it was in the 21st century that scholarship uncovered the figure of the flâneuse, a pivotal figure for my thesis. As I provide a detailed overview of the history and interpretations of the flâneuse in the following section, I will now restrict myself to recent scholarship on alternative versions of the traditional flâneur, as they developed in the 20th century.

[80] Richard Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 1.

in the 1930s.[81] Perhaps because of this new reading of the figure as a political figure, the flâneur in an international context such as in Prague, Wrigley explains, is 'dispersed into forms of collective strolling'.[82] Such collective strolling was endorsed at times by all authors examined; 'flânerie *a deux*' was 'an accepted variant'.[83] The modernist flâneurs I discuss are figures which go beyond the traditional understanding of a flâneur, namely, an empowered male walker who idles about town. They take on a façade of a flâneur who, in the company of carefully chosen companions, is inextricably linked to the contemporary events happening in society's hubs. Another insight that can be taken from Wrigley's work is that the flâneur sees 'or conjures up episodes as if they were reportage, which later become transformed into myths of the everyday. As ever, ambiguity seems to be deeply inscribed within the flâneur's outlook'.[84] Wrigley's thoughts are reminiscent of Benjamin, who states that 'the journalist, as flâneur,' and as a 'literary man, ventures into the marketplace to sell himself'.[85] Such journalistic figures appear in this thesis. West's writing, when travelling through the rural Balkans, has particularly strong, reportage-like and intensely descriptive observations, as will be shown.

All these readings of the flâneur are invaluable to my research. As Isabel Vila-Cabanes remarks, and recent scholarly work confirms, Baudelaire's and Benjamin's 'renditions of the flâneur have proved to be problematic, calling, as recent criticism has pointed out, for a revision of their theories and a new characterisation of the figure.'[86] These new characterisations of flânerie manifest themselves through the invaluable research conducted by Wrigley, Bairnes, Coates, and many more. I agree with Suarez that the contemporary equivalent of the flâneur shares more ground with alternative figures such as the street walkers created (and sometimes embodied) by black and immigrant writers in the United States, whose observing and traversing of cities is conducted from the

[81] Jamie Coates, 'Key Figure of Mobility: The Flâneur', *Social Anthropology*, 25.1 (2017), pp. 28-41 (p. 1).

[82] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[83] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[84] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 11.

[85] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 446.

[86] Cabanes, *The Flâneur in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture: The Worlds of London Unknown*, p. 2.

perspective of alterity'[87]; Suarez importantly adds that 'in today's transnational, global city, defined by fluidity and multiculturalism, and emphatically inhabited by women and racialized subjects, different actors [to the male flâneur] necessarily emerge'[88]; I extend her theory to my analysis of the four texts under study so as to highlight the rural flâneur and flâneuse in modernity. By focusing each chapter on the 'different actors [which, as Suarez explained,] necessarily emerge' in the studied modernist times and places, and which replace the traditional flâneur, I draw attention to the unique types of rural flâneurs that have not been previously highlighted.[89]

An alternative reading that proved to be crucial to the hypothesis of my thesis was Michael Grimshaw's work, theorised in his article 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander' (2012).[90] By focusing on the New Zealand authors who wrote at around the same period as Mansfield, namely, D'Arcy Cresswell (1896-1960) and John Mulgan (1911-1945), Grimshaw contrasts the Pakeha rural flâneur against the urban flâneur – he writes that the 'Pakeha flâneur has never really been an urban, modern figure' - and argues that the antipodean flâneur is an antimodern flâneur and a figure found mainly in New Zealand culture. Grimshaw writes:

> While the traditional and normative use of the flâneur has been as an urban figure in an urban environment, I wish to raise its antipodean inverse of the antimodern, rural flâneur as a distinctly New Zealand contribution. The heritage of such figures may seem more linked to the Romantic and Gothic wanderer, or even further back to the prophet and pilgrim. But I wish to argue that the antimodern rural flâneur is one who, as a product of modernity, of urban

[87] Isabel Carrera Suarez, 'The Stranger Flâneuse and the Aesthetics', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 17.6 (2015), pp. 853-865 (p. 855).

[88] Suarez, 'The Stranger Flâneuse and the Aesthetics', p. 855.

[89] Suarez, 'The Stranger Flâneuse and the Aesthetics', p. 855.

[90] Mike Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 13 (2012), pp. 144-153.

> modernity, takes the position and challenge of the flâneur and wanders in and through 'landscape; responding to 'landscape' as if it is the modern urban imaginary.[91]

At this point, it is interesting to note that the meaning of antipodean, being 'a person from Australia or New Zealand', in combination with Grimshaw's remark on the nature of the antimodern rural flâneur as being distinctly of New Zealand, may imply that the type of rural flâneur that Grimshaw proposes can only be applied to a flâneur inhabiting or being of these two particular places, such as Katherine Mansfield. As my close reading, however, demonstrates, the rural flâneur figure has good basis on which it can justify its application into other settings, beyond New Zealand, such as in rural Italy and Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Scotland.

Grimshaw continues by saying that if, 'for the modern flâneur the city became the landscape of new hope and discovery, for the antimodern flâneur the limitations of antipodean urban life were counter-posed by the possibility of a new hope and discovery in the rural landscape'.[92] On the one hand, Grimshaw explains, there was Europe, which viewed cities as the new hopeful, yet tense, context for humanity, one which European and American authors abhorred but also were drawn to. On the other hand, Grimshaw explains, there was New Zealand, the most distant colony of the British Empire, the cities of which did not hold the same high status as their equivalent European ones did, in the modern, ever-changing world of the beginning of the 20th century. In contrast to vibrant London and Paris, authors in New Zealand looked upon their cities and larger towns as a suffocating prison, 'as places and spaces of limitation and constriction', which held on tightly to the old Victorian values, void of new ideas.[93] Indeed, Grimshaw makes this claim even clearer when he states: 'the limitations of New Zealand urban life do not seem to offer the possibilities of redemption to the flâneur as they

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[91] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', pp. 145-146.

[92] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 146.

[93] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 146.

may do elsewhere'.[94] For these reasons, he concludes that 'in New Zealand, the antipodean flâneur is predominantly the antimodern flâneur, the rural flâneur who goes once again into the wilderness'.[95] Grimshaw's work was inspiring in his detailed demonstration of how these particular authors took it upon themselves to replace the urban landscape that other European modernists were using as their reference point with a contrasting rural scenery that could indeed, in New Zealand, be seen as a form of escape from social oppression. I agree with Grimshaw that rural flâneurs are 'a product of modernity'; Mansfield, as an antipodean rural flâneur, but also Lawrence, West and Shepherd were all products of modernity.

Despite the fact that I wholeheartedly agree with Grimshaw that all these rural flâneurs are a product of modernity, my work in Chapter One on Katherine Mansfield demonstrates that the rural setting does not always reach the same conclusion as Grimshaw, namely that in New Zealand, the antipodean flâneur is predominantly an antimodern flâneur.[96] On the contrary, Mansfield, as a rural antipodean flâneur in New Zealand, proves herself a modernist in the making; in no way do her wanders suggest, upon closer examination, an antimodern flâneuse. Likewise, my work on Lawrence, West and Shepherd has produced similar results. I am indebted to Grimshaw's proposal and theorisation of the antipodean rural flâneur, as without his work, my thesis would not have taken the form it has taken. Here I take his suggestions and extend them, to show that the rural antipodean (and non-antipodean) flâneurs, found in unexpected settings around the world, use their rural walks and wanders as part of their interaction with modernity. The rural flâneurs I have chosen to focus on are not antimodern, as they do interact with the political and social urban world; they just do so from a distance. Rural flâneurs, rather, are a version of modernist flânerie, I aim to show. I begin the first

[94] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 146.

[95] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 146.

[96] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', pp. 144-153.

chapter of this thesis with a focus on Katherine Mansfield, not only due to the fact that, chronologically, she encompasses the start of my four examples, but also because she is a prime example of an antipodean flâneur. She also happens to be female, making an analysis of her work even more paramount for further understanding the field of female writing and flâneuring during the period.

In Chapter Two, Three and Four, I extend Grimshaw's scope and take it out of the antipodean sphere, to English and Scottish flâneurs in non-antipodean rural lands. By keeping Grimshaw's rural flâneur figure in my methodology and in my close reading, and by applying this figure to carefully chosen, non-antipodean, rural locations within a tense political atmosphere, I aim to show that all authors I have studied were not anti-modern flâneurs. On the contrary, the types of rural flâneurs they transform into may differ greatly from one another but they all, without fail, address modernity.

Female Travel Writing and Flâneuring

Taking into consideration the fact that three out of four authors that I discuss are female, this study cannot begin without first providing an overview of the flâneuse. Historical works that have proved crucial to the preliminary introduction of the flâneuse are, among many others, Janet Wolff's article, published in 1985, entitled 'The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity'.[97] Wolff claims that 'there is no question of inventing the flâneuse: the essential point is that such a character was rendered impossible by the sexual division of the nineteenth century', as set by Baudelaire.[98] In 2010, Wolff corrected the term she had used in 1985; she claimed that it 'would have done better to call [the figure] 'the impossible *flâneuse*' as 'any such person would have been hyper-visible' rather than invisible.[99] It is true that the female flâneuses found in this thesis all deal with the issue of hyper-

[97] Janet Wolff, 'The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 2.3 (1985), pp. 37–47.

[98] Wolff, 'The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity', p. 47.

[99] Janet Wolff, 'Keynote: Unmapped Spaces — Gender, Generation and the City', *Feminist Review*, 96.1 (2010), pp. 6–19 (pp. 6-7).

visibility. For instance, Rebecca West, as I discuss in Chapter Three, has to distance herself because of her gender within the Balkans by observing the people through a governmental car.

Wolff's initial thoughts on the flâneuse, that the figure is invisible, did not go unchallenged; they proved to be the fertile ground needed within feminist studies for a productive critical reaction. Recent work on the flâneuse, including Lauren Elkin's work, *Flâneuse: women walk the city in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016), have opposed Wolff's claim that the flâneuse is invisible.[100] Elkin, in particular, expresses her shock upon discovering that little work had been done on uncovering a female flâneur and that, on the contrary, there had been a general disbelief in the existence of one. Interestingly, she points out that the word flâneur most possibly comes from the Scandinavian word flana, 'a person who wanders', and highlights that a flâneur is a person, not a man or a woman, thus emphasising that the gender of the wanderer was not important before the concept was claimed by male thinkers such as Baudelaire.[101] Within this atmosphere of general disbelief regarding the existence of a flâneuse, Elkin stated:

> The joy of walking in the city belongs to men and women alike. To suggest that there couldn't be a female version of the flâneur is to limit the ways women have interacted with the city to the ways men have interacted with the city … we must try to understand what walking in the city meant to them. Perhaps the answer is not to attempt to make a woman fit a masculine concept, but to redefine the concept itself. If we tunnel back, we find there is always a flâneuse passing Baudelaire in the street.[102]

Elkin thus makes it clear, as others did before her, that the term flâneur is in need of redefining. Her own work focuses on a number of female flâneurs, or flâneuses, in various metropolises. In the end of her book, she takes inspiration from Woolf's 'Street Haunting' (1927) and proclaims that the essay 'is

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[100] Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).

[101] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 14.

[102] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, pp. 14-15.

an attempt to claim an ungendered place in the city by walking in it. Out in the street, we become observing entities'.[103] She completes her stream of thought by explaining:

> We [women] can integrate ourselves into the world of the city by becoming attentive to the shifts in the affective landscape. It is only in becoming aware of the invisible boundaries of the city that we can challenge them. A female flânerie – a flâneuserie – not only changes the way we move through space, but intervenes in the organisation of space itself. We claim our right to disturb the peace, to observe (or not observe), to occupy (or not occupy) and to organise (or disorganise) space on our own terms.[104]

Her strong claims give space for much more research on uncovering flâneuses, as my research does; importantly, thanks to Elkin, my study is much less bound by the limits set by predecessor theorists, such as Wolff, who was limited to criticising the way that women could not become flâneuses because of past social pressures. By uncovering the three modernist flâneuses I work on, much will be discussed on the topics Elkin suggests, such as the right to disturb peace, to observe, to occupy, or not occupy. Mansfield, West and Shepherd did all the above, depending on the circumstances, through walking and flâneuring; my findings show complex figures, telling of their time, of their society and powerful conflicting forces of empires and wars.

Elkin is not alone, as it was described at the start of the introduction, in paving the way for uncovering the flâneuse, or the female walker in pre-existing texts. Rebecca Solnit, too, in her work *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2001), had previously focused on women and the physical act of walking.[105] She writes: 'while walking, the body and the mind can work together, so that thinking becomes almost a physical, rhythmic act', and she claims that 'the great walkers often move through both urban and rural places in the same way'.[106] Finally, she concludes by saying:

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[103] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 117.

[104] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 117.

[105] Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (Granta Publications, 2001).

[106] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, pp. 8-9.

> Every walk moves through space like a thread through fabric, sewing it together into a continuous experience - so unlike the way air travel chops up time and space and even cars and trains do. This continuity is one of the things I think we lost in the industrial age-but we can choose to reclaim it, again and again, and some do.[107]

The loss that comes with the industrial age is seen in Shepherd's wanderings in rural Scotland, demonstrating her resistance to industrialisation during WWII. Solnit also explains how walking defines 'a history of freedom and of the definition of pleasure' for women.[108] She mentions that, concerning long distance trips, there seem to be 'three motives for them, namely, to comprehend a place's natural or social makeup; to comprehend oneself; and to set a record; and most are a combination of the three.'[109] All authors in my thesis do indeed aim for all three motives.

Although Elkin has contributed greatly to the uncovering of the flâneuse, many more, equally as noteworthy, scholarly works on the flâneuse have also helped. For instance, Catherine Nesci looks at the 'role that the position of women played in the invention of an urban culture of strolling', thus not suggesting an exact reinvention of the flâneur, as Elkin does, but rather, an assumed reality that women have always been able to take on the role of the flâneur.[110] Mansfield, West and Shepherd all serve as evidence of this claim. They too, also played a role in rural, modernist strolling even before they, as women, were accepted as travellers and walkers. Mia Keinänen & Eevi E. Beck's work focused on women intellectuals and the positive impact that walking has had on their intellectual thinking, as well as demonstrating how walking transforms itself into a method of escapism for women in today's

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[107] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, pp. 8-9.

[108] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, p. 85.

[109] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, pp. 64-65.

[110] Catherine Nesci, *Le Flâneur et let flâneuses: Les femmes et la ville a l'epoque romantique*, my translation (UGA Éditions, 2007), p. 400.

society.[111] Jeanne Scheper's article 'The New Negro Flâneuse in Nella Larsen's *Quicksand*' (2008), argues:

> As a woman on the move, Helga Crane [the black female character under examination] represents something at times imagined to be impossible, a modern flâneuse or female flâneur. By writing of the experience of the modernist black female flâneries, Larsen's work holds out the promise and possibilities of moving away from, into, and between communities and locations.[112]

West, by writing the experience of an educated, female journalist and culturally important personality; Mansfield, by writing the experience of a young, developing female writer and flâneuse in the making, and finally, Shepherd, by writing the experience of an individualist, romantic, eco-feminist female walker who felt a closeness to the land, all attest the 'promise and possibilities' of flâneuses 'moving away from, into, and between communities and locations'.[113] Other interesting interpretations of the flâneuse are found in Edwina Keown's essay on Portia, a character in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Death of the Heart*, who is interpreted as a '1930s version of Walter Benjamin's flâneur who wandered through the shopping malls of nineteenth-century Paris'[114]; Keown aptly named the figure and chapter 'The Seaside Flâneuse'.[115] This figure's location, as well as the fact that this flâneuse appears in the 1930s, provides further evidence to my study's claim, that despite past disbelief in the existence of a flâneuse and her rural variant, such rural flâneuses can, indeed, be found in 1930s texts.

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[111] Mia Keinänen and Eevi E. Beck, 'Wandering intellectuals: establishing a research agenda on gender, walking, and thinking', in *Gender Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 24.4 (2017), pp. 515-533 (pp. 1-19).

[112] Jeanne Scheper, 'The New Negro Flâneuse in Nella Larsen's *Quicksand*', *African American Review*, 42.3/4 (2008), pp. 679-695 (p. 679).

[113] Scheper, 'The New Negro Flâneuse in Nella Larsen's *Quicksand*', *African American Review*, 42.3/4 (2008), p. 679.

[114] Edwina Keown, 'The Seaside Flâneuse in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Death of the Heart*', in *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, ed. Lara Feigel and Alexandra Harris, pp. 179-189 (p. 187).

[115] Keown, 'The Seaside Flâneuse in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Death of the Heart*', p. 187.

Suh Jiyoung, in her article 'The Flâneuse and the Landscape of Colonial Seoul in the 1920-30s' (2017), states that 'the women crossed the border between labourer and consumer exploring a new form of desire in the urban sector, while contesting and negotiating with the social conditions that situated them as ethnic, classed, gendered Others in colonial Korea'.[116] Mansfield, similarly, was rigidly classed as a colonial Pakeha; she never felt wholly British, nor as belonging to the land of New Zealand. However, she also ironically despised the term Pakeha. She too, like the colonial flâneuse in Seoul in the 1920s and 1930s, was situated within a rigid social framework, inferior to a Londoner, and was subsequently othered as the colonial subject, but was simultaneously classed as the white colonial other in New Zealand. It is no surprise that her walking and her formation of this preliminary rural modernist flâneuse demonstrates such complicated feelings towards the land she originally comes from and the land on which she was born and on which she walks and travels.

Finally, Jon Cockburn's article on the mechanical flâneuse analyses the 'efficient modern woman at work in the 1920s and 1930s', thus uncovering a modernist flâneuse inspired by the industrialisation of the time.[117] Despite the flâneuses I discuss having no close connection to industrialisation, I believe it to be important to highlight that this flâneuse appears a little after Lawrence's flânerie and that he too used walking as a means to show his contempt towards industrialisation and mechanisation. Cockburn's findings further encourage my claim that Lawrence is an example of a reactive flâneur of the period. Were further research to be conducted, more authors may be uncovered. Other researchers, such as Kathy E. Ferguson, in her article 'Anarchist Women and the Politics of Walking' (2017), have focused on anarchist women within the modernist period and the manner in which they used walking to take a strong political stance against the world.[118] It is important

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[116] Jiyoung Suh, 'The Flâneuse and the Landscape of Colonial Seoul in the 1920-30s', *Sociétés*, 135.1 (2017), pp. 63-72 (p. 72).

[117] Jon Cockburn, 'Olivetti and the Missing Third: Fashion, Working Women and Images of the Mechanical-flâneuse in the 1920s and 1930s', *Fashion Theory*, 19.5 (2015), pp. 637-686 (p. 637).

[118] Kathy E. Ferguson, 'Anarchist Women and the Politics of Walking', *Political Research Quarterly*, 70.4 (2017), pp. 708-719.

to highlight that in all their variety and expression of flânerie, all my flâneuses, as does Lawrence, also use walking so as to take a political stance against what they view as the source of overbearing power or threat of peace.

By using the term political, I am drawing on Benjamin's understanding of the flâneur as an observational figure and the definition provided in the Oxford English Dictionary, as one who relates to or is 'concerned with public life and affairs as involving questions of authority and government'.[119] In this sense, the flâneurs I study also use their walking as a means in which to express their dynamic relationship to public life and authority. Mansfield reacts against the rigid British Empire, despite promoting it indirectly through her writing and walking; West reacts against the polemical threat she views as coming from the East and Nazi Germany, while Shepherd, discreetly and perceptively, promotes her anti-war, anti-mechanisation and anti-capitalist attitude within WWII. They all reveal a determined political stance in life. This stance involves female walking, solo or with appropriate company, as a transcendental experience within and with nature. All flâneuses use walking too, as did the anarchist flâneuses, to promote their political stance.

Other researchers, such as Mary Jones, a scholar and illustrator, in her article 'The Flâneuse' (2019), depicts an artistic collage, a 'mixed media artworks about urban walking'.[120] In a short extract, which appears on the first page of the following eight pages devoted to her art, she writes: 'I am a woman walking alone, in places both familiar and strange … as with all spatial geographies, it is an account of only my looking – within and without, seeing and being seen'.[121] West does not walk alone, but her strong voice brings her narration to life, setting her companions, such as her husband and Balkan hosts, as the crowd which she observes as a rural flâneuse. She walks alone as the others are part of her observations. Mansfield rarely walks alone; in the train carriage, which is an important

[119] Entry 'political', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/political_adj?tab=meaning_and_use#29490807> [accessed 12 May 2024].

[120] Mary Jones, 'The Flâneuse', *The Iowa Review*, 49 (2019), pp. 90-98 (p. 185).

[121] Jones, 'The Flâneuse', p. 185.

scene analysed in Chapter One, she tries to hide her surprise that she is seated next to a Maori man. However, once again, the other people surrounding her walks and travels, become subjects of her observations as a rural flâneuse. When free in nature, as my analysis in Chapter One shows, Mansfield demonstrates a freer bodily relationship to the land. She becomes a woman walking alone, as Jones describes, in places both familiar and strange.

In a self-application of the term 'flâneuse', Marilyn Starrett, in 2020, in her article 'Street Photography and the Flâneuse' (2020), admits that 'street photographers are closely connected to flâneuses'.[122] She draws on Susan Sontag's theory on the camera as the tool for the flâneur and ends the short introduction before sharing her photographs by proclaiming herself as 'a street photographer, a flâneuse with a Leica observing people at work'.[123] Unlike the initial term of the flâneur, an idle man of leisure and wealth, this flâneuse consciously does not remain idle; rather, she is using her strolling as a way to actively observe. She draws on Walter Benjamin's interpretation of Charles Baudelaire's flâneur, who through Benjamin had become 'an amateur detective and investigator of the city', similar to a flâneur reporter, as defined by Wrigley earlier.[124] West bears evidence of such a flâneuse photographer; her images are captured through her vivid descriptions of her walking, her detached narrative which reveals a particular and complex tone towards the British Empire, the Balkans, the Eastern threats and her own position as a female journalist.

This list of valuable recent work on the flâneuse, of course, does not end here. However, in order to remain within the set spatial scope, I will have to restrict myself to two final, recent examples, both published in 2021, in order to demonstrate the rich interpretations that flânerie has taken of late which can also be linked to my readings of my flâneuses. Prophecy Sun and Reese Muntean, on the one hand, bring attention to 'feminist artists such Sophie Calle, Lisa Birke, Ariel and Zoe Kirk-

[122] Marilyn Starrett, 'Street Photography and the Flâneuse', *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 27.3 (2020), pp. 172-178 (p. 172).

[123] Starrett, 'Street Photography and the Flâneuse', p. 172.

[124] Starrett, 'Street Photography and the Flâneuse', p. 172.

Gushowaty, and Johana Ožvold, [who] have taken up the flâneuse in new and engaging ways that challenge the invisibility of women in public spaces[125] while Surbhi Malik works on uncovering the provincial flâneuse in Bollywood filmography.[126] More specifically, Malik argues that Rumi, the central female character of her analysis, is a 'provincial flâneuse because she rewrites the provincial space that marginalises her'.[127] Rumi's flânerie 'is a changing relationship between gender formations and provincial space, accessed not only in movement or ambulation but in a narrative of space and modernity not written by hegemonic or dominant forces.'[128] All my flâneuses' wanders rewrite the spaces that marginalise them. Even West is marginalised as a powerful foreigner. Mansfield, too, is marginalised in a similar way. Despite holding power as a colonial on the island, within the Urewera she partially loses this power. Within this land, she stands out even more because of her racial identity and class position. They all rewrite, as flâneuses, rural spaces in their attempt to set their own identity as female walkers of their time.

These examples serve as instances of how the term 'flâneuse' has been taken in recent times and has been changed to serve a purpose, the essence of which remains similar to the first definition of the flâneur, a person therefore who meanders and observes, but of which the cover has now changed to reflect today's society's makeup. I hope and trust that these widely diverse interpretations and brief examples provided of what is to come in the main chapters encourage my work's validity and highlight its contribution to modernism's research scope. In the modernist world but also in today's world, with so many agents and actors, it is not simply necessary, it is, in actuality, natural that the flâneur takes on new forms. Our job is to uncover existing flâneuses in existing texts, so as to shed

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[125] Prophecy Sun and Reese Muntean, 'The Rise of Flâneuse landscapes', *Papers on language & literature*, 57.1 (2021), pp. 84-102 (p. 87).

[126] Surbhi Malik, 'The provincial Flâneuse: Reimagining provincial space and narratives of womanhood in Bollywood', *South Asian Popular Culture*, 19.1 (2021), pp. 33-45.

[127] Malik, 'The provincial Flâneuse: Reimagining provincial space and narratives of womanhood in Bollywood', pp. 33-45.

[128] Malik, 'The provincial Flâneuse: Reimagining provincial space and narratives of womanhood in Bollywood', p. 33.

light to an aspect of the first half of the 20th century that has yet to be researched with the methodology proposed.

1900-1945: Historical Context

It was not only travelling and walking that functioned as a determining factor that would change the form of writing for many authors of the time, among which are the authors in this thesis. Both world wars, and the social and political events that were linked to them, also influenced the content of the writing produced, as well as the manner in which it was produced. As Michael Levenson reflects on WWI and its consequences,

> The labour struggles, the emergence of feminism, the race for empire, these inescapable forces of social modernisation were not simply looming on the outside as the destabilising context of cultural Modernism; they penetrated the interior of artistic invention. They gave subjects to writer and painter, and they also gave forms, forms suggested by industrial machinery, or by the chuffing of cars, or, most horribly, the bodies broken in the war.[129]

It is also undeniable that the first wave of feminism, in particular, was a determining factor for the existence of female walking and for the creation of the flâneuse, as the previous section has shown. Andrzej Gąsiorek explains that 'the years between 1910 and 1914 witnessed the emergence and consolidation of all sorts of groups bent on change. Suffragette activism was at its height'.[130] Mansfield, just preceding these years, uses her writing to express these initial anxieties of her time. Industrial machinery was also a powerful force in Lawrence's writing; it was seen by him as the eternal enemy that had to be faced but to which he surrendered in many cases. The British Empire, as a powerful, global institution, too, is ever-present, directly or indirectly, in all pieces of work; it is most prominently present in Mansfield's work but it is also found in West's critique of Great Britain's relationships to its

[129] Michael Levenson, 'Introduction' in *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, ed. by Michael Levenson (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-8 (p. 4).

[130] Andrzej Gąsiorek, *A History of Modernist Literature* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), p. 125.

neighbouring countries in the interwar years. The influence of the suffragette movement can be seen even through the existence of the texts and the progression of the movement of the flâneuses throughout the decades.

Farley correctly highlights that the beginning of the 20th century saw all the positive outcomes of the technological advancements and, consequently, 'casual travel was no longer only for the intrepid or the wealthy', but also for people of lesser means, such as Lawrence.[131] He remarks how 'the period between World War I and World War II' was rich in travel writing, as the very 'nature of travel was so rapidly and substantially altered by technological, political, and social developments.'[132] Interestingly, Paul Fussell states that travelling at that time was mainly a form of escape from a period that was worth escaping from, a 'time of enervation and anxiety.'[133] I would argue that Fussell's point, although valid in many ways, limits our understanding of travelling as singularly a mode of escape. I wish to also consider how travelling is a possible transition that allows the writer in question to develop an understanding of the world, and a reaction to all current events.

Katherine Mansfield, in the first chapter, serves as a reasonable example of this escapist type of writer and traveller, reminiscent of Fussell's ideas. Mansfield, who came from a rich family, travelled mainly on foot or by train. Her travelling, thus, was a combination of a natural mode of physical movement and the beneficial results of the technological advancements that the empire and the industrial revolution had brought about. However, these beneficial results also came with negative consequences, such as the forceful move of Maori communities from their homeland in order to extend the railway. Ironically, these were the same Maori that Mansfield wanted to interact with instead of the Pakeha in *The Urewera Notebook*. At a superficial level, Mansfield presents the railway as the most equalising force with which to interact with the Maori as a Pakeha; as the best way in which to access the purest Maori land, the Urewera, and to escape the conservative city life of New

[131] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 7.

[132] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 6.

[133] Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars*, p. 8.

Zealand; even as a way in which to achieve a better understanding of her identity and self. However, it was ironic that she promoted it as an equalising force, given that it was the railway to blame for the disappearance of so many Maori communities. This paradoxical attitude pervades Mansfield's writing, as Chapter One will show.

Farley also highlights how the positive technological advancements of the British Empire and the industrial revolution as a whole, were also one of the reasons which led to the 'rise and spread of global conflicts'.[134] This was the age of modern war and a generation 'mobilised into military action', which had come about from the 'nightmarish manifestations of an age of progress and travel'.[135] Increased border controls were a direct outcome of the two wars, and of the tense atmosphere they had brought about. It is worth noting that during WWI, 'governments attempted more and more to control travel, as the unregulated flow of people across borders was seen as a potential threat to national security'.[136] These limitations, as shall be shown, directly or indirectly, influence the four walkers' travels and their writings. Indeed, although Great Britain had 'throughout the nineteenth century become increasingly drawn into the European concert,' by the beginning of the 20th century, when Mansfield was conducting her travels in the Urewera, it had grown 'more concerned about the permeability of' its border and took various steps to shore them up'.[137] Given Mansfield's travels during the period preceding WWI, we can imagine that she would have been at least aware of this tense political scene linked to the country her family very dearly considered their foremost home.

As Europe entered WWI, travel continued to be regulated by tighter travel restrictions, such as the 'Defence of the Realm Act in Britain', which was 'written into law in 1915.'[138] Lawrence had travelled and written *Twilight in Italy* in the years before these border and travel restrictions were imposed. This 1915 legislation would then have been around the time when Lawrence was revising

[134] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 7.

[135] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 7.

[136] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 7.

[137] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 7.

[138] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, pp. 7-8.

and working on *Twilight in Italy*'s revised edition to be published. Borders appear in Lawrence's walks and social observations within the text, reflecting the feeling of being governed by physical restrictions on one's movement. By 1915 Lawrence's travels would have been viewed with suspicion, considering the travel restrictions of the time, the tense political atmosphere and his German companion/wife.

These border controls, given the unsteady nature of the interwar period, continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Farley explains that although 'these wartime measures were not without precedent, their effects lingered long after the cessation of conflict', thus resulting in prolonging the 'atmosphere of wartime alarm, and contributing to the mood of post-war malaise'.[139] West, in 1937, and Shepherd, in 1940, would have felt the effects of these measures, along with more of those imposed for further precautions during WWII. West may have had to face more paperwork and checks with her husband at borders, towns and public spaces. Shepherd, as I discuss in detail in the final chapter, not only felt the effect of the war when walking after dark in the mountains to reach the one radio in the area, but also discreetly made it known to her readership (albeit thirty years after its composition) that she too related to the war effort. She states that she walked 'night after night' in 'wartime blackout', and highlights that she 'carried a torch but used it only once'.[140] This familiar walk becomes a new meander in the dark; it is also limited partly by the war's travel restrictions. By referring to her walking at nighttime, and by making her purpose discreetly known, she is making it clear to her reader that she consciously did her duty; her brief reference to avoiding the use of the torch, as any responsible citizen was instructed to do during wartime blackout, is clear indication that she respects society's rules under the threat of bombs.

As I discuss in Chapter Four, although her walking represents a rebellious stance against the patriarchal duality of war, it is also true that at times, admittedly rarely, she succumbs to the larger forces of social pressure which limit her rural wanders. In fact, by referring to avoiding the use of a torch, she is protecting herself against a possible influx of accusations for not respecting the wartime

[139] Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad*, p. 8.

[140] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

blackout and prohibition of movement. She is making it clear that she moved after dark only when she had to and with the utmost precautions. Her walking, as Mansfield, Lawrence and West, is regulated by the legal consequences of war. Just like the traditional flâneur's urban context began in the city arcades, thus defining the space in which he would meander, West's and Shepherd's contexts are defined by the war. War becomes the social architecture, what the 'city' was for the traditional flâneur, in which the rural Balkans and Cairngorm Mountains function as its modernist, rural arcades. These rural arcades, which reappear in different forms in all chapters of this thesis, play a most pivotal role in my analysis of the rural flâneur and flâneuse. Rural arcades, through which the modernist flâneurs studied traverse and meander, appear as nooks, crannies and corners in unexpectedly meaningful rural spots the four authors find themselves having wandered into. They exist as smaller parts of a complicated rural maze; through this maze the writers make their way and observe their surroundings as they move. The rural arcades discussed in this thesis are defined by the empire, mechanisation and war. They become the writers' means of being, seeing and perceiving the natural world, society and the political happenings so reach an understanding of their world and themselves.

Travel limitations, naturally, encouraged reactions against them which, as Bernard Schneider discusses, took the form of the literary figure as a political radical. Schneider discusses in detail four authors, namely George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh, Graham Green and Rebecca West, to point out how 'most of the travellers of that period, [namely, in the 1930s], were also political radicals'.[141] The 'ideological connotations of the term "fellow traveller"', Schneider explains, 'came into usage during the 1930s' also because the figure of the 'fellow traveller had not merely a figurative meaning but a literal one' too, as the term captured the link 'between travelling as a physical activity and as a state of mind or radical political orientation'.[142] Indeed, it is no coincidence, as I explained earlier, that at around this time, Walter Benjamin also expressed in detail how walking in the city and the flâneur was

[141] Bernard Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (University of Virginia Press, 2001), p. 2.

[142] Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*, p. 2.

a political stance in itself. In addition to having their own, more or less appropriate travelling companions, Mansfield also looked for fellow travellers amongst the Maori, Lawrence amongst the Italians, while West sought the company of Balkan cultural intelligentsia. Shepherd, who took on the most solitary journeys, also shared her love for walking and wandering in nature at times, with the appropriate companions; even when walking alone, she was always more than happy to share a conversation, particularly with older locals, whose knowledge of the landscape she deeply admired. All authors were political radicals in their own right and way, contesting patriarchy, mechanisation, a war, or the British Empire. They sought fellow travellers who would challenge, extend, or confirm, their understanding of the world; the writers used these fellow travellers to react against society through the physical act of travelling and walking, so as to come to terms with the world and their own selves and role in it.

Schneider also points out that 'for students of political travelling, the 1930s provide an ideal terrain for investigations into the ideological and psychological working of journey narratives'[143] and that interwar travellers 'pioneered a new tradition by employing travel writing self-consciously as a platform for voicing radical political ideas'.[144] Mansfield, albeit around 20 years earlier, consciously promotes a radical, for the time, attitude to the Maori and an equally radical, critical attitude towards the British Empire; however, she does not seem to be aware that she is guilty at times of being complicit and of indirectly encouraging the British Empire's actions towards the repression of the Maori. Perhaps Mansfield is a preliminary example which further encourages Schneider's insightful claims on travel writing in the 1930s. Schneider, along these lines, explains that many writers, as Mansfield once again confirms through her writing, 'used the vehicle of travel writing to advance specific political arguments, whether they were in favour of the British Empire, in defence of Roman Catholic hegemony, against fascist aggression, or for a socialist transformation of society'.[145] It is not

[143] Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*, p. 2.

[144] Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*, p. 3.

[145] Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*, p. 5.

only Mansfield who functions as a representative example, albeit multifaceted and complicated, of the promotion of a specific agenda; West too, in Chapter Three, uses her writing to express a positive stance towards the Balkans; a united and strong Balkan region signified for West the protection of Europe from the cultural and military threat coming from the East. All the authors under examination in this thesis promoted, directly or indirectly, particular ideological views and did so, in their own unique manner. The factor that unites all the authors under examination is, as Schneider goes on to explain, that many 1930s authors were 'restless voyagers' who 'took up ideological causes that represented the whole ideological spectrum of the time'.[146] Be that Mansfield and her Pakeha flâneuse, Lawrence and his sick flâneur, West and her detached flâneuse, or Shepherd and her ecofeminist flâneuse, their walking became the means to take up the ideological cause they believed in, so as to demonstrate a distinct and unique expression towards society's forces.

The travel restrictions were, as mentioned previously, also a social outcome in WWII. As mentioned previously, when drawing on Nan Shepherd and her wartime walk in the dark, WWII was the time when active war put an abrupt pause to travel. Many newspaper articles of the time serve as examples of these travel restrictions. For instance, a number of articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, especially articles published in 1940, show how the travel restrictions were beginning to take effect. An article published on July 6th in 1940 writes that 'owing to the heavy demands on shipping accommodation, his Majesty's Government has for some time past found it necessary to place restrictions on the grant of facilities for travel overseas'; as a result, only government workers, people on national business, or mothers accompanying young children were allowed to travel overseas.[147]

It is also interesting to note that not only in Britain, but also in Germany, newspapers reported that travelling during days off for Easter was restricted due to the conflict. More specifically, no railway travel was allowed, and people were all forced to use the 'bus, tram, and underground' to head to the

[146] Schneider, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*, p. 2.

[147] Anonymous, 'Overseas Travel Restrictions: Conditions for Permits', *The Manchester Guardian*, 6 July 1940, p. 8.

suburbs to enjoy 'the fine holiday weather'.[148] The Government refused to allow them to travel on the railways while it was also noted that car owners 'would get into serious trouble if they were caught using their cars for pleasure during the holidays'.[149] The limitations on movement and travel were felt by the whole of Europe, but especially by West and Shepherd, who wrote around this time. But, modernists, urban or rural, felt the need to travel, as we know. Conflict would not easily get in the way of that. As Marina McKay highlights, 'by the end of the 19[30s]' travelling far was not a means of escape from war but rather, represented a 'journey to a war', as now 'one no longer needed to travel to find war and war itself cut off the possibility of departure.'[150] Annabel Williams also admits that 'in a period when the genre was threatened by wartime restrictions on movement', 'a remodelling of form in late modernist travel writing was necessary for the continuation of its existence.[151] West and Shepherd undertook their 'journeys to a war' and created a 'remodelling of form' through their rural walking.[152]

All writers, Katherine Mansfield, D. H. Lawrence, Rebecca West and Nan Shepherd, and their works which are analysed chronologically in this thesis, were in an inner conflict regarding their feelings towards society and what it had become. Despite some differences that are naturally found when comparing the earliest and most modern texts studied, namely Katherine Mansfield's *The Urewera Notebook* and Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*, such as the latter's greater freedom to flâneur compared to the former, it is undeniably true that their tones, despite being almost half a century apart, reveal a dissatisfaction with society and seek a form of reconciliation with it. They all walked, as did many other authors at the time, but the main difference is that they chose to walk

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[148] Anonymous, 'The Holiday in Germany: No Railway Travel', *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1940, p. 10.

[149] Anonymous, 'The Holiday in Germany: No Railway Travel', p. 10.

[150] Marina Mackay, '"Is Your Journey Really Necessary?": Going Nowhere in Late Modernist London', *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 124.5 (2009), 1600–1613 (p. 1601).

[151] Annabel Williams, '"The pilot's periplus": Ezra Pound, Cyril Connolly, and the Forms of Late Modernist Travel', *Modernist Cultures*, 2 (2017), pp. 275-296 (p. 275).

[152] Williams, '"The pilot's periplus": Ezra Pound, Cyril Connolly, and the Forms of Late Modernist Travel', p. 275.

within a rural environment that helped to define their thinking. Their rural walks and wanderings, as shall become evident, demonstrate a new, uniquely modernist, flâneur and flâneuse in the way they co-exist and interact with their environment, thus partially breaking the figure's traditional mould. However, the essence of the flâneur, in all instances, remains, to its core, of the same nature.

As Wrigley states, the initial Parisian flâneur was the 'embodiment of anguished urbanite in retreat from the inhospitable environment of the city and its threatening crowds'.[153] In the same manner, the examined authors expressed their anguish towards a war or tense political and social atmosphere, and used the rural context as an arcade in which to ponder on the issues that were frustrating them. For Lawrence, it was the machines from the urban European North and its industry that led him to rural Italy. For Mansfield, it was, as Grimshaw highlighted, the disgust towards the conservative, Pakeha society and her wish to explore authentic, Maori land, as she saw it. She chose a region less controlled by the British Empire, on the cornerstone of its dominion. For West, it was her fear of an invasion from the East which led her to wander on the liminal space in the Balkans. For Shepherd, a Scottish author, her wanderings took place in the Cairngorm mountains, a remote corner of Great Britain, with WWII in the background, where she could express her thoughts on nature, humanity, society and life.

By close reading their flânerie in their chosen, rural settings, it becomes clear that they are not escaping, nor are they retreating. They are actively facing the conflicts, as many modernists did, through flâneuring, in a less researched rural landscape, commenting, meandering and philosophising on the topics that were plaguing their time. While Woolf acted against the conflict through her urban wanders, the authors studied in this thesis took action against the same issues but in the rural landscape. These open, natural spaces, lack of many people, the connection to the different lands and cultures that the authors were visiting, cultivated a flâneur figure who observed and meandered so as

[153] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 2.

to find answers to their concerns and fears regarding war and forceful institutions of their time. Rural flânerie is their means to face literal or metaphorical war.

Chapter Summaries

There are four main chapters in this thesis, and each chapter is dedicated to one author, with cross-comparisons and analysis provided. Chapter One is dedicated to Katherine Mansfield, Chapter Two to D. H. Lawrence, Chapter Three to Rebecca West and Chapter Four to Nan Shepherd. Chapter One, which focuses on *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, looks at the figure of the Pakeha flâneur who is constantly at odds with her complex identity. Being a Pakeha, namely, a New Zealander of European origin, Mansfield is tied to the British Empire through her life, education, strict colonial upbringing and language, but she tries to put on a façade of a liberal Pakeha flâneuse who values the Maori in society; indeed, many a time she remarks on her joy in having interacted more closely with the Maori, such as on the train towards the Urewera. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, Mansfield does not rebel consistently against social propriety; in fact, as I show in Chapter One, she discreetly encourages the policies and the power of the empire through her writings, actions and flâneuring.

Indeed, as Anna Snaith highlights, women, in this period, 'were to be sent outwards to the colonies via assisted passage', as they were encouraged to expand the 'colonial spaces which acted as safety valves' for the expansion and maintenance of the British Empire.[154] As I aim to show in Chapter One, Mansfield's walking and moving within the space of the Urewera, can also be seen as a physical transgression of the British Empire, through her body, pervading thus the land of the Maori, and attempting to expand the colonial spaces. Mansfield's walking establishes her own paradoxical and multilayered stance towards the greatest political force in her time, the British Empire.

[154] Snaith, *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890-1945*, p. 1.

Chapter Two, dedicated to D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy*, becomes the setting for Lawrence's expression of a sick flâneur, one who suffers from a fear that his own body would suffer from ill health which would subsequently bring an early and painful death. His wanders could be interpreted as a discreet nod, a response to his fear of tuberculosis. Walking was his way of preventing ill health and maintaining a strong body and mind. He seeks relief from the suffering by walking the Alps but simultaneously, he uses his walking as a means to remark on society and to express his anguish against the mechanisation of his era. Through a historicist approach and close reading of his rural wanderings, I aim to reveal Lawrence as a flâneur who uses walking in a rural context so as to also comment on society but also as a way in which to attempt to physically heal, or prevent deterioration of, the body.

Chapter Three is devoted to Rebecca West and her book *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*. Rebecca West is a detached flâneuse and tough woman who wished to examine the national and personal pain felt across Europe. She examines this deep pain with a clear political agenda in mind; she wishes to urge her readers to feel the pain she is describing so as to urge them to actively stand up to the Nazi threat. By securing a united and strong Yugoslavia, central and western Europe's polemical and political buffer zone, West hopes that European civilisation will not be lost to Nazi dominion. Her writing while flâneuring reveals her positive or negative attitude towards ethnicities and communities. She meanders in a variety of rural areas and befriends three Yugoslavians; two Croats and a Serb. To interpret her work, I employ theories of embodiment to analyse how her detached language dominates all bodies in the rural, yet politically hefty, landscape. The detached language along with her close examination of pain and of the questioning of existence, or of the 'process', as she calls it, while flâneuring, bear evidence of her attempt to make her readers relate to the land and people to whom she felt so close.[155]

[155] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

Chapter Four deals with the most modern of the four works discussed, namely, Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*. In this wartime piece of lyrical proto-environmentalist nature writing, I aim to show that Shepherd becomes an ecofeminist flâneuse, one who uses walking in the Cairngorm Mountains in Scotland to demonstrate a better way to coexist with the world. It is no coincidence that Shepherd's outlook has been so warmly embraced by its current, and growing, readership; she describes in great detail the physical act of walking and her senses which intensify when she tramps as a means to express hope in the disillusioned world of WWII. Nan Shepherd meanders throughout the seasons in the Cairngorm Mountains in Scotland and uses her writing and intense bodily relationship with nature to take on the façade of an ecofeminist flâneuse who, despite being fully immersed in nature, never fails to discreetly comment on the wider social issues, such as WWII and mechanisation, that were plaguing her time and setting. Her immersion into nature is her indirect, rebellious response to harsh modernity and restrictions on women. Nan Shepherd now enjoys the popularity she deserved in her own time; my reading of her writing and walking as evidence of her identity as an ecofeminist rural flâneur will hopefully offer new ground for research within the spectrum of the flâneuse and ecological readings of modernist studies.

Last, I will use my conclusion to summarise my findings regarding the type of rural flâneurs the four authors create. I will draw on important similarities and differences and will look at the stance of each rural flâneur so as to offer concrete suggestions regarding their relationship to society and its powerful institutions and tense happenings, such as the British Empire, industrialisation, patriarchy, WWI and WWII. Their worries, fears and hopes, as I will discuss, are reflected through the persona of the particular rural flâneurs they personify and through their chosen political and social landscape.

CHAPTER ONE

We 'walked along the white – soft road':

Katherine Mansfield as a Rural, Pakeha Flâneuse

in *The Urewera Notebook*

Introduction: Mansfield's Colonial Identity and *The Urewera Notebook*'s Context

Katherine Mansfield's *The Urewera Notebook* (written in 1907) is, as Janet Wilson highlights, a record of 'encounters with the Maori', 'in terms drawn from European stereotypes of romantic impressionism and exotic indigeneity'.[1] As explained in the introduction, I chose it as the first text in my thesis for two reasons. Firstly, it was chronologically the first text to appear out of the four texts analysed. By using a chronological order for the texts studied, I hope to show that there is a historical continuity in the appearance of the rural flâneur from the early days of the 20th century all the way to late modernism. This, in turn, will show how the whole period included this figure, making my own study as well as further analysis by future researchers of the rural flâneur or flâneuse figure even more valuable. The second reason lies in the fact that Katherine Mansfield is the closest application of Grimshaw's theory on the rural, antipodean flâneur, as I explained in the Introduction. Therefore, I commence my study of rural flânerie with Mansfield, firstly as a stepping stone before heading to non-antipodean rural flâneurs, but also as a way to challenge Grimshaw's notion that the antipodean rural flâneur is a solely antimodernist figure. Mansfield's text, and my work in this chapter, is the means by which I aim to extend Grimshaw's theory. This chapter will be dealing with this trip and how Mansfield created a settler, female, Pakeha version of the flâneur that used rural travelling and walking, as well

[1] Janet Wilson, '"Where is Katherine?": Longing and (Un)belonging in the Works of Katherine Mansfield', in *Celebrating Katherine Mansfield: A Centenary Volume of Essay*, ed. by Gerri Kimber and Janet Wilson (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 175–188 (p. 179).

as her own narrative of embodiment and her developing personal type of modernism, so as to process her mixed, conflicting feelings about the empire, the Maori and her own hybrid identity.

The holiday to the Urewera began, as Plumridge explains in her insightful introduction to Mansfield's text, with a circuit that led the campers 'along the Napier-Taupo Road, took them briefly into the Urewera, and passed through the thermal district around Rotorua and Taupo'[2] through which they 'encountered a variety of radically different societies, economies, histories and landscapes'.[3] Camping, and its nomadic nature, was also, as Plumridge explains, greatly 'apposite to describe [Mansfield's] brief, peripatetic existence', typical, as I aim to show, of her flânerie.[4] Indeed, when Mansfield undertook the camping trip into New Zealand's interior, she was living in what must have seemed like a cultural limbo. As Maxwell adds, she was 'on the verge of departing for London' for a second time, but before doing so, she decided to embark on a trip that included travelling by train, car, foot and horse in the Urewera region of the North Island, recording her observations through the form of a diary.[5]

Mansfield's relationship to travel has been analysed by a significant number of researchers. For example, Erin Mercer describes Mansfield's 'feelings of romantic awe elicited by the untamed scenery', 'in a Gothic sense', unlike the European Gothic.[6] The 'Australian and New Zealand Gothic', as Mercer highlights, lack that ancient architecture, so instead, antipodean authors frequently located 'the macabre and occult in the natural landscape'.[7] Mansfield describes such enticing natural scenery

[2] Anna Plumridge, 'General Introduction' in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, ed. by Anna Plumridge (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 1.

[3] Plumridge, 'General Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 5.

[4] Plumridge, 'General Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 3.

[5] Anne Maxwell, 'Encountering the Cultural Other: Virginia Woolf in Constantinople and Katherine Mansfield in the Ureweras', *Ariel*, 38.2-3 (2007), 19-40 (p. 21).

[6] Erin Mercer, '"Manuka bushes covered with thick spider webs": Katherine Mansfield and the Colonial Gothic Tradition', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 32.2 (2014), pp. 85-105 (p. 89).

[7] Mercer, '"Manuka bushes covered with thick spider webs": Katherine Mansfield and the Colonial Gothic Tradition', p. 89.

at the beginning of the notebook; how she 'ran down the river' and 'all round [her] the willow [was] still full of gloomy shades'.[8] This particular extract is further analysed later on in the chapter. She creates natural scenes reminiscent of gothic imagery when moving in nature in order to personify her feeling of unsettledness within the unknown New Zealand nature, the exact opposite of what her previous life in middle-class Wellington offered her.

Mansfield's sense of identity has also been strongly debated. For instance, Janet Wilson states that 'Mansfield saw herself as a hybrid, a metropolitan colonial or a New Zealand European, not a "Pakeha" [that is, a New Zealander of European descent[9]] New Zealander'.[10] Indeed, New Zealand and the identity of the Pakeha New Zealander were considered as significantly important in promoting the British Empire and being a means in which to impose the cultural hegemony of Europe over the native Maori population. Stefanie Herades correctly highlights that 'early writing in New Zealand was 'routinely criticised for its backward orientation towards the imperial centre.'[11] For instance, other female writers of travel journals, who will be analysed in juxtaposition to Mansfield later in this chapter, represented the trip from England towards New Zealand through a form of nostalgia for England as the homeland. However, as Stefanie Herades highlights, it is also true that a different type of 'colonial writer', such as Mansfield, 'transformed those conventions and adapted the local context' not solely so as to serve the British Empire, but also so as to describe the land they were living on and in an attempt to show a liberal attitude to the Maori, different to her Pakehan education and upbringing.[12]

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[8] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 89.

[9] Entry 'Pakeha', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/136131?redirectedFrom=pakeha#eid> [accessed 29 September 2022].

[10] Janet Wilson, '"Where is Katherine?": Longing and (un)belonging in the works of Katherine Mansfield', p. 179.

[11] Stefanie Herades, 'Colonial New Zealand Literature in the Global Marketplace: Then and Now', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 56.2 (2020), pp. 157-172 (p. 158).

[12] Herades, 'Colonial New Zealand Literature in the Global Marketplace: Then and Now', p. 158.

Returning to Mansfield's sense of identity, Elleke Boehmer links Mansfield's own modernism as being fundamentally shaped by her colonial background, demonstrating how marginal literature and the canon, Mansfield included, are interrelated and influence one another.[13] Eiko Nakano stresses Mansfield's position as a Pakeha writer[14] while Stephen Turner adds that the 'colonial wants to subordinate the new place to the old place' and 'to have come from here all along'.[15] As he points out, Mansfield seems to be in a 'mode of being in [New Zealand] which is discontinuous with its past'.[16]

Similarly, Mansfield's understanding of home has been analysed as vexed and hybrid. For instance, Emmanouil Aretoulakis highlights how Mansfield 'liked English tourists and the Maori because they both had roots, a cultural background, and a complete sense of the natural trajectory of human existence, from life to death'.[17] Aretoulakis explains that it is ironic that Mansfield demonstrates smugness for the 'inbetween' state of the white settler community when Mansfield herself 'occupies an in-between space […]; neither psychologically integrated into the white settler society nor completely alienated from it'.[18] Finally, Tom McLean discusses how 'settler authors like Mansfield move between radically different positions, enacting at the same time both colonisation and its resistance.'[19] I agree with all the aforementioned researchers' observations. In *The Urewera*

[13] Elleke Boehmer, 'Mansfield as Colonial Modernist: Difference Within', in *Celebrating Katherine Mansfield: A Centenary Volume of Essays*, ed. by Gerri Kimber and Janet Wilson (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 57-71.

[14] Eiko Nakano, 'Intuition and intellect: Henri Bergson's influence on Katherine Mansfield's representations of places', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 40.1 (2008), pp. 86-100 (p. 98).

[15] Stephen Turner, 'Being Colonial/Colonial Being', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 20.20 (2002), pp. 39-66 (p. 39).

[16] Turner, 'Being Colonial/Colonial Being', p. 40.

[17] Emmanouil Aretoulakis, 'Colonialism and the Need for Impurity: Katherine Mansfield, "The Garden Party" and Postcolonial Feeling' in *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)Colonial*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber and Delia da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 45-62 (p. 49).

[18] Aretoulakis, 'Colonialism and the Need for Impurity: Katherine Mansfield, "The Garden Party" and Postcolonial Feeling', p. 39.

[19] Tom McLean, 'Suspicion and Settler Literature', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 37.1 (2019), pp. 9-26 (p. 19).

Notebook, Mansfield is caught between an esoteric dilemma; she does not wish to fully belong to New Zealand for fear of betraying England, while, even if she does wish to belong to New Zealand, she is never able to do so holistically because of her national and cultural background.

Mansfield's reading, a pivotal influence on her outlook while flâneuring, included a mix of New Zealand literature and English literature. Jane Stafford explains that Mansfield would have most probably been exposed to William Pember Reeves' 1895 *New Zealand Reader*. In this anthology, one is able to see prime examples of 'authors of Maoriland', 'a late-colonial push to distinguish local writing from the English canonical tradition, from the unspecifics of the literature of the empire, and from its Australian neighbour'.[20] In order to achieve what they considered unique, the 'mechanism' that they followed, Stafford highlights, was 'the appropriation by Pakeha authors of Maori material – myths, legends, customs and histories, taken from ethnographic collections' and 'wrapped in a Romantic and orientalist glow of the noble savage and dying race.'[21] Stafford also claims that Mansfield responded to these texts through one of her stories, entitled 'A True Tale', which she wrote in 1903 when 'she was at school in London'.[22] The tale uses many techniques found in Maoriland. For instance, her description of the young Maori girl in *The Urewera Notebook* is 'replete with Maoriland markers – passion, violence, nobility, savagery – but also the girl's tragic acceptance of her status as a member of a dying race'.[23]

Contrastingly however, at the same time, in her letters and notebooks of 1906-1908, she made many 'references to English, American and European books'.[24] For instance, there is evidence through her letters that she had read and enjoyed reading the book *The Orchard Thief*, a best seller of the time,

[20] Jane Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 37.1 (2019), pp. 27-42 (pp. 31-32).

[21] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', pp. 31-32.

[22] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', pp. 31-32.

[23] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 37.

[24] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 34.

which she described as 'brilliant' and 'clever from start to close'.[25] Stafford explains that Mansfield uses her reading of the book and writing to her sister as a means to practise using her 'critical voice' which she later used in her career as an editor and reviewer.[26] Another significant book which would have most probably influenced Mansfield's education at some point is *A Century of Australian Song,* which was published in 1888, the same year Mansfield was born. Interestingly, the book's title includes only Australia, with no mention of New Zealand, demonstrating Australia's clear dominance over the promotion of New Zealand's folk tales and literature; ultimately, New Zealand was seen as culturally part of Australia's realm.[27] Adding to this, it is important to note how the songs and poems that are included in the anthology and which originate from New Zealand do, indeed, almost exclusively deal with myths and folklore from New Zealand; it is unfortunate though that the Maori authors, narrators or creators of these myths are never acknowledged. On the contrary, it is only the Pakeha writers, or one could say, collectors of these myths and legends, and their written adaptation, that is listed and praised.

Ian Reid, in his insightful essay on this anthology, describes it as 'running to nearly 600 pages' and as a 'reference point not only for historians of early Australian literary production but for poets as well'.[28] However, when giving his opinion on the quality of this collection, he describes its limitations as 'obvious enough',[29] and agrees with H. M. Green's remarks that the anthology includes 'everything that Sladen thought worth dragging in on any conceivable ground'.[30] Indeed, H. M. Green goes so far as to state that the few poems that deserve recognition are 'submerged in a sea of is at best mediocre

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[25] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 34.

[26] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 34.

[27] *A Century of Australian Song*, ed. by Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen (Cornell University Library, 2009).

[28] Ian Reid, 'Marking the Unmarked: An Epitaphic Preoccupation in Nineteenth-Century Australian Poetry', *Victorian Poetry*, 40.1 (2002), pp. 7-20 (p. 7).

[29] Reid, 'Marking the Unmarked: An Epitaphic Preoccupation in Nineteenth-Century Australian Poetry', p. 7.

[30] Henry M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature, Pure and Applied*, revised by Dorothy Green (Angus and Robertson, 1984), p. 196.

even by the standards of the day and place'.[31] The historical importance of the collection, and not its rich variety, is what Reid admires. Just like Mansfield, who used the natural landscape to create gothic imagery, Reid explains that this collection of poems, too, is filled with 'locative traces of death and mourning',[32] similar to Mansfield's depiction of the 'willow' and its gloomy shades.[33]

This provides us with an idea of the cultural, national and geographical context in which Mansfield grew up in. She would have been accustomed to reading myths and stories in her childhood, but they would have mostly been adaptations of the original Maori ones by white settlers, thus turning Maoriland literature into the norm for her reading.[34] During the period of 1906-1908, when she had returned to New Zealand from London and when she embarked on her camping trip, her letters and notebooks were full of Western literature 'in a promiscuous mix of high- and low-brow: Ibsen and E. F. Benson, Keir Hardie and Marie Corelli; Maeterlinck, Meredith and Elinor Glyn; a lot of Oscar Wilde'.[35] These names of authors give us evidence that Mansfield was interested in developing her reading and understanding of the literature of Oceania, but she was also content with following the major literary trends of her time.

The Female Flâneur and the Rural Flâneur

Initially, as it was stated in the introduction, Charles Baudelaire provided the definition of a 'wanderer with no purpose, stroller, and lounger'.[36] Michael Grimshaw, in his article, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander' (2012), focuses on two New Zealand authors who wrote at around the same period as Mansfield, namely, D'Arcy Cresswell (1896-1960)

[31] Green, *A History of Australian Literature, Pure and Applied*, p. 196.

[32] Reid, 'Marking the Unmarked: An Epitaphic Preoccupation in Nineteenth-Century Australian Poetry', pp. 7-8.

[33] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 89.

[34] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 34.

[35] Stafford, 'Did Katherine Mansfield read New Zealand Literature?', p. 34.

[36] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010), pp. 9-10.

and John Mulgan (1911-1945), and contrasts the Pakeha rural flâneur against the urban flâneur; in so doing, Grimshaw emphasises the antimodernity of the former. Few critics have dealt with the unique circumstance and form of the flâneur in the antipodean landscape. Grimshaw sees the 'antipodean flâneur [as] predominantly [an] antimodern flâneur,' because if, 'for the modern flâneur the city became the landscape of new hope and discovery, for the antimodern flâneur the limitations of antipodean urban life were counter-posed by the possibility of a new hope and discovery in the rural landscape'.[37] As I analysed in greater detail in the introduction, Grimshaw claims that 'the limitations of New Zealand urban life do not seem to offer the possibilities of redemption to the flâneur as they may do elsewhere'.[38] Although Grimshaw's focus on the New Zealand context is a basis for this chapter, the fact that he focuses solely on two male authors highlights the need to initiate new research in Mansfield's writing and *The Urewera Notebook* as a representative example of female rural flânerie.

Not all researchers agree with Grimshaw's outlook that the antipodean rural flâneur used nature as their escapist destination. For instance, Saikat Majumdar demonstrates that Mansfield, as a 'settler colonial', was 'more directly and radically marked by an irrevocable yearning for the metropolis than nearly any other colonial experience'.[39] Sarah Ailwood states that Mansfield was attracted by British culture but she was 'simultaneously repulsed by the hierarchies of class and culture which placed her there.'[40] She was clearly seen by the metropolitan centre in much the same way as colonial culture – 'accepted for what could be useful, tolerated on European terms, and repelled and devalued

[37] Mike Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 13 (2012), pp. 144-153 (p. 146).

[38] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 146.

[39] Saikat Majumdar, 'Katherine Mansfield and the Fragility of the Pakeha Boredom', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 55.1 (2009), pp. 119-141 (p. 120).

[40] Sarah Ailwood, 'Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf and Tensions of Empire during the Modernist Period', *Kunapipi*, 27.2 (2005), pp. 255-267 (p. 263).

by the high modernist elite'.[41] In her later career in British cultural life, as Ailwood points out, writers such as Virginia Woolf and others of the group, would have accepted in the metropolitan circles 'ideas, images and artists of the empire' for the 'quality of difference which they offered the modernist artistic project: simultaneously, the ideas and artists of empire needed to be "othered" to diffuse the threat which colonial liminars such as Mansfield posed to the established order'.[42] Mansfield was accepted, but only as a peripheral artist, one that could be part, but only if she accepted her sole use as the liminal other in the art world; one that was very much alike the white, English and European modernists, but not alike enough so as to be fully accepted as part of the literary group.

In Mansfield, as in the other authors I study here, we see an attempt to break from the traditional, but also a wish to find and be able to relate to a past. It comes as no surprise that Mansfield was not accepted fully in her time. She neither belonged to the modernist break from the past that was taking place in Britain and Europe, as her New Zealand, Pakeha upbringing had kept her English identity closer to one that belonged to Britain's past, nor was she able to fully relate to the cultural past of England or New Zealand, since the land on which this past belonged was either not culturally hers to begin with or she was unfamiliar with it because she had not been brought up on it. Interestingly, as Gillian Bobby demonstrates in her entry on 'Mansfield, Katherine', in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, although 'her international status is unquestioned', her place 'as a New Zealand writer is somewhat problematic'.[43] For many years she was seen as the 'only literary figure of note', but it still remains that her 'long years of absence' have led a number of readers to question 'the extent and nature of her contribution to New Zealand literature'.[44] Ultimately, New Zealand

[41] Ailwood, 'Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf and Tensions of Empire during the Modernist Period', p. 263.

[42] Ailwood, 'Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf and Tensions of Empire during the Modernist Period', p. 263.

[43] Gillian Bobby, '"Story: Mansfield, Katherine", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography'*, in *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, n.d. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3m42/mansfield-katherine> [accessed 18 May 2024].

[44] Bobby, '"Story: Mansfield, Katherine", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography'*, in *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, n.d. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3m42/mansfield-katherine> [accessed 18 May 2024].

considered her too English and England considered her too colonial. At the time the Urewera trip took place, before her final departure to Europe, which would see her never to return to New Zealand, in part due to her illness and early death, she must have been, at least to an extent, aware of these dynamics.

In contrast to Grimshaw's research examples of the rural flâneur, Mansfield is significantly different in that she is a woman, and she is significantly younger compared to Grimshaw's case studies. When meandering, she does so not with the confidence of a man like Cresswell and Mulgan, who were both in their mid-thirties when they flâneured in rurality. Mansfield, as it has already begun to be established and will also be analysed further through the close reading, commenced with the privilege and restrictions which came with being an upper-class, Pakeha woman travelling. In many ways, it required greater courage to attempt such travelling, compared to her male counterparts.

As it has already been discussed, Elkin states that the word flâneur most possibly comes from the Scandinavian word flana, 'a person who wanders', and highlights the fact that a flâneur is a person, not a man or a woman, thus emphasising the fact that the gender of the wanderer was not important before the concept was claimed by male thinkers such as Baudelaire.[45] Indeed, it is worth noting that one of the three phrases which formulated Mansfield's epigraph of her notebook and set the tone of her travel journal was 'A woman never ever knows when the curtain has fallen'[46], thus quoting Lord Henry in *A Picture of Dorian Gray*. Mansfield was greatly influenced by Wilde's work, and her own complex sexual orientation at the time most probably found a model to look up to in the famous, and highly controversial for the same reasons, playwright. In Oscar Wilde's play, the quotation is used by Lord Henry to condescendingly comment on a lady with whom he had had a romantic entanglement. The lady wished to continue the romance and wanted a better explanation from him as to why their relationship had ended. He describes her insistence misogynistically; he says that she, like any other

[45] Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016), p. 22.

[46] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 87.

typical woman, 'never ever knows when the curtain has fallen'.[47] In other words, he openly insinuates that a woman does not know when to stop. This meaning, however, has been explained as being Wilde's use of irony to draw attention to the unfair life women were forced to lead in his contemporary society. It is possible that Mansfield was drawing on this irony to also state that women, she as a rural flâneuse in this case, were not going to be told when the curtain should fall; she is using irony to comment on her context, just like Baudelaire's flâneur observed and commented on his urban surroundings. Similarly to Elkin, who had claimed that flâneuses use their walking to challenge and reclaim the space they walk, Mansfield begins her rural wanders with this aim in mind; to reclaim the land that she feels she partially belongs to; to resist the stifling provinciality of her own upper-class colonial background; and to decide for herself when the curtain should fall.

We can imagine that Mansfield would have been aware of the phrase's context, and perhaps her flânerie and travels in a way was to playfully respond to Wilde. She does not tolerate such prescriptions. On the contrary, she goes against these prescriptions through her flâneuring, walking and travelling. Her travels and flânerie do exactly the opposite of what Lord Henry had prescribed: she does not stop going against the current of Pakehan society, just like Lord Henry's rejected love interest was not willing to go quietly after being unfairly treated. Mansfield's epigraph and reference to Oscar Wilde's quote is further evidence that her walking travels in the Urewera were her means to break free from the prescriptions of society and also the ideal platform through which to voice her criticism. By becoming a rural flâneuse, she is resisting being silenced by society, but also voicing her feelings that a woman's journey or business is never ended; the world, her future and her wanderings are always open to new possibilities.[48] By focusing on Mansfield's experience as a female rural flâneur,

[47] Oscar Wilde, *The Uncensored Picture of Dorian Gray*, ed. by Nicholas Frankel (Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 132.

[48] The remaining two epigraphs were the following:

'"Rien n'est vrai que le beau", which translates into 'Nothing is true but the beautiful', attributable to the poem "Apres une lecture" by French Romantic playwright and poet Alfred de Musset (1810-1857) but

this chapter will open up new possibilities for the understanding of women writers in the context of the British Empire.

The acts of wandering in *The Urewera Notebook* are found in rural environments but are not necessarily an escape, as Grimshaw claims; rather, they become Mansfield's mental revisiting of imperial scenic beauty through her writing. For example, Mansfield intricately described how they 'drew rein - & there was 'a wide space of blue forget-me-nots – The quiet bush – sunshine on the golden moss The silent river –the ducks, the mint'.[49] She thus creates a natural landscape of escapism which is simultaneously strangely reminiscent of the British Empire's idealised images, one of which formed England as the model landscape (e.g. horse riding, the blue forget-me-nots, the moss, the ducks). This landscape is one that her readership and publishers possibly expected her to aspire to, but which she also wished for and appreciated herself, thus confirming Nakano and Turner's aforementioned claims that Mansfield's relationship to her national identity was, at the least, complex and problematic.

However, similar to Grimshaw's theory on the antipodean rural flâneur, at the beginning of Mansfield's text, and in contrast to the feeling of 'something inexpressibly charming in railway travelling', she admits that 'the child spirit – hidden away under a thousand and one grey City

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recognized as an aesthetic aphorism by 1907'. It was further popularised as a signature statement of Oscar Wilde.

'"He huruhuru te manu ka rere", Ma. From the whakatauki or proverb, "He ao te rangi ka uhia, he huruhuru te manu ka tau" or "As clouds deck the heavens, so feathers adorn the bird". Credited to the famous Wairoa chief Tama-te-rangi, who refused to lead his men into battle until given chiefly garments appropriate to the occasion. Still cited to indicate an inability to attend an event "because of a shortage of money or appropriate clothing", or as a mild rebuke to those appearing in unsuitable attire. In 1922, the proverb was recorded in the Polynesian Society Journal in the form "he huruhuru te manu ka rere, he ao te rangi ka uhia" indicating that Mansfield's wording was also in circulation. Mansfield had already deployed the phrase in the poem "In the Darkness", probably written on board the SS Niwaru en route to London in 1903'. Taken from: Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 87.

[49] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 104.

wrappings bursts its bonds - & exults within me'.[50] She openly casts the city as her set landscape aside. Essentially, in town, 'walking becomes a purpose', as Grimshaw claims. The flânerie becomes 'more focused, yet is, like all flâneurs, undertaken with a critical mind, walking against society, its values and identities'.[51] Mansfield did that, but her flânerie was critical of two societies, that of the narrow minded, almost Victorian, Pakeha society of urban New Zealand, and that of the empire's metropolis, which would never accept her wholly as one of its own. The centre of cities and towns of New Zealand, which were representative of a restrictive, conservative, Victorian, middle-class lifestyle reminded her of her English identity, which in many ways had grown sterile and much more conservative than the actual English identity in the homeland. This identity, formed by generations of her family living outside the homeland, essentially limited her creative and personal development.

It is quite possible that the cities and towns of New Zealand were, from her perspective, incomparable to London, which she had visited recently and which had had a great impact on her outlook. At the time just before the Urewera trip, Katherine was 'eighteen years old and had been at home' for 'several months.' As Jones explains, 'London alerted Katherine to her intellectual capacities' and led her to view her family life as 'boring' and as an obstruction to her 'need to exercise artistic freedom'.[52] Therefore, she may have preferred to be linked to the rural identity of New Zealand, rather than its urban reality, which, as her parents' lifestyle, was built 'around the pursuit of money and influence, an anathema to Katherine'.[53] Linking herself to rurality in New Zealand allowed her to have a unique, different identity that was not subordinate to England, nor was it provincial in its outlook like Wellington, but was, rather, unique in its creation and aesthetics. Consequently, this pure New Zealand identity would be able to stand on its own two feet and in its own right within the empire and alongside England as equally rich, culturally and geographically. Despite her attempts to create a

[50] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 88.

[51] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 149.

[52] Kathleen Jones, *Katherine Mansfield: the Story-Teller* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 66.

[53] Jones, *Katherine Mansfield: The Story-Teller*, p. 66.

separate, equally important identity for New Zealand, Mansfield proved unable to let go completely of all literary devices reminiscent of a traditionally English setting. As her actions suggest, she was choosing to keep the best of both worlds, by going back and forth between the two, depending on what she was after at that particular moment.

The image of nature as an escape and her complex identity within it is seen further on in the text, when Mansfield styles the 'silent river', whose water 'catches the light – there is a rainbow pink, blue and white'; she then describes herself, in what can be assumed to be a draft letter to someone undefined, as 'a vagrant – – a Wanderer, a Gypsy tonight'.[54] By walking in rural environments, Mansfield paves the way for a Pakeha flâneuse, a wanderer, one that is found in the natural environment of New Zealand and who is influenced by the colonial/settler background. Mansfield as a Pakeha flâneuse creates images reminiscent of England as a motherland, but also seeks to escape these constraints by freeing herself into nature and taking on a persona, such as a Gypsy and a Wanderer who travels with no aim and who goes against social norms for women of her social position. Whether she manages to materialise this person or not is not important. Her aspiration to become this person and self-proclaim herself as such, even if only for that specific evening, is what I wish to highlight. She is hesitantly expressing her wish to flâneur. When she embarks on the Urewera trip, she challenges women's restrictions, as explained above, but she also wants to be marginalised and belong to the modernist fringe of her contemporary society; in this text, as Grimshaw explained about the rural flâneur in New Zealand, she chooses nature in order to do so. Indeed, Grimshaw explains in further detail, and which detail corresponds to Mansfield's life and travels in rural New Zealand, that the Pakeha flâneur is:

> often situated in terms of an antimodern crisis of loss – the loss of coming here, the loss of staying here, the loss of being over there but longing to come back to here, the loss of not

[54] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, pp. 104-105.

> being Maori, the loss of not being European, the loss of being modern: in short too often a form of antimodern negative identity politics.[55]

Mansfield feels this complex feeling of loss, as Grimshaw describes it, and seems unable to handle it. In order to face it, she chooses to remain outside all zones. The identity she chooses to adopt, at this moment of clarity, that of a gypsy, a wanderer, is one that belongs to no land. Mansfield made a choice to describe her wanderings as nomadic, rather than touristic. Importantly, she chose a term which is widely perceived as derogatory and which was also strongly frowned upon. She chose to identify with this travelling people whose cultural identity is an amalgam of the lands on which they have inhabited over the centuries. Despite proclaiming to loathe Pakehas for being in an in-between state, her wish to become a gypsy reveals yet one more instance of Mansfield's paradoxical and complex identity. Walking freely, as a gypsy, is her way to, once again, resist the empire's prescriptions as to how she should live her life. Flâneuring in nature is an important part of Mansfield's internal resistance.

In Mansfield's biography, entitled *Katherine Mansfield: The Story-Teller* (2011), Kathleen Jones highlights how, when coming back from England and having to re-enter the narrow minded life of middle and upper-class New Zealand, Mansfield and her sisters all faced a sense of 'suffering from having spent three years in a more sophisticated, metropolitan city'.[56] Mansfield feels this loss and chooses to deal with it in a similar manner by rejecting the urban norms of New Zealand, 'roaming the world looking not for adventure but for satisfaction', as did Grimshaw's literary case studies.[57] This wish to feel satisfaction and a sense of belonging is what leads her to London and then to the Urewera, a reaction to London's rejection. However, even when attempting to find satisfaction in the antimodern setting of the Urewera, she internally discusses questions linked to the empire and her

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[55] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 151.

[56] Jones, *Katherine Mansfield: the Story-Teller*, p. 66.

[57] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 150.

identity. Elements of the empire that pervade her writing, whether intentionally or unintentionally, influence her outlook; Mansfield is in search of the imperial images with which she grew up, even in the oddest and most uncanny of places, such as in the New Zealand wilderness.

The imperial traits pervade her future writing, too. For instance, Mansfield's short story, 'The Kidnapping of Pearl Button', (written in 1912 after her trip in the Urewera and after her return to London), as Roslyn Jolly points out, is steeped in traditions 'of colonial adventure fiction' but admittedly goes against the norm by depicting 'an individually affirming but culturally subversive encounter' that a young girl, Pearl, has with the Maori and nature.[58] This story's date, given the fact that it was written only a few years after her journey in the Urewera, demonstrates that her travels did indeed influence her stories. Colour and food are used to depict the Maori and their village as another 'Garden of Eden, where Pearl finds ready and abundant nourishment';[59] in this village, in contrast to the city, children are also allowed to get messy.[60] The use of polysyndeton in the phrase 'she ate meat and vegetables and fruit and the woman gave her milk out of a green cup' demonstrates Mansfield's use of free indirect discourse to show the freedom that the girl is experiencing in the rural, Maori setting.[61] The fact that Pearl goes about 'barefoot', allowing her to have 'direct sensory contact with grass, sand and seawater', and that she removes her shoes, ultimately 'frees' her 'from the constraints of European clothing'.[62] Mansfield demonstrates, as she does in *The Urewera Notebook*, that there is 'nothing to hurt' her at the Maori village or on the beach that adjoins it.[63] The only thing she has to fear 'is the force of civilization coming to reclaim her'.[64] Mansfield romanticises nature and

[58] Roslyn Jolly, 'Children of the Empire: Rereading Mansfield's 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped (1912)', *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 16.2 (2017), pp. 86-107 (p. 105).

[59] Jolly, 'Children of the Empire: Rereading Mansfield's 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped (1912)', p. 105.

[60] Katherine Mansfield, 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped', in *The Collected Short Stories* (Penguin Modern Classics, 1984), pp. 519-523 (p. 519).

[61] Jolly, 'Children of the Empire: Rereading Mansfield's 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped (1912)', p. 522.

[62] Jolly, 'Children of the Empire: Rereading Mansfield's 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped (1912)', p. 92.

[63] Mansfield, 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped', p. 523.

[64] Jolly, 'Children of the Empire: Rereading Mansfield's 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped (1912)', p. 93.

depicts Pearl as wishing to enter nature rather than civilised English society, possibly as a means to reflect her own feelings through Pearl. In a way, Pearl becomes a type of accidental flâneuse into Maori culture, similar to what Mansfield was as an adult in the Urewera. One could claim that this story was a type of atonement for her spiritual journey, a way in which she would have liked to be adopted by Maori, but which she never succeeded in doing because of being trapped in her Pakeha reality.

Importantly, the story ends with 'little men in blue coats' who 'came running, running towards her with shouts and whistlings-a crowd of little blue men to carry her back to the House of Boxes'.[65] The 'little blue men', most possibly members of the imperial British navy or the police force, had come to take her back to where, according to society, she belonged. The nouns 'shouts' and 'whistlings' may suggest that the young protagonist does not wish to be taken away and is quite alarmed by the manner and intensity of the navy's arrival and attitude. Mansfield may be using this story to mirror her own feelings towards the 'House of Boxes', which may represent the settler society in New Zealand, and how she felt the need to escape from it. Despite this clear sense of rebellion that Mansfield expresses against Pakeha society, it should not be forgotten that she, as the author of the short story, was the one that determined the fate of the young heroine. She could have chosen an ending in which Pearl remained with the Maori, in a happy, forgotten existence, far from the rigid, Victorian-like society of urban New Zealand, but she would have faced criticism of reverting to romantic primitivism. In any case, Mansfield chose not to do so. By ending the story with the 'little blue men' and Pearl being restored to the British Empire, Mansfield, once again, conforms indirectly to the expectations of the empire, whilst always keeping her rebellious nature as the contrasting, but necessary, co-element to her social conformity.

Mansfield within the Context of Female, Colonial Journal Writers

[65] Mansfield, 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped', p. 523.

Mansfield never attempted to publish her travels in the Urewera, suggesting that she may have not considered them worth reading and exposing to the wider public. She was also not the only female author to have written travel diaries in the context of colonial New Zealand. Before moving on to more detailed close reading, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of this tradition of Mansfield's contemporary female authors and to examine how Mansfield fits alongside them. By doing so, I will consider Mansfield's narrative style and the focus of her content, thus placing her text within the context of female writers of her time. Contextually, many contemporary female writers used their travelling in New Zealand to record their experiences and memories as a means that has been frequently critiqued as a 'geographical and material process' in the modernist period, 'particularly in relation to the growing commercialism of the modern tourism industry'.[66] It was a time, as discussed in the Introduction, during which travelling replaced, at least to an extent, the 'symbolic value of the house, [which was being] put to the test by modernism's exiles and émigrés'[67]: consequently, the values of the late Victorian home were being replaced, in many cases, by female travelling.

Many examples of women writers illustrate the above claims. For example, Kirkby-Jane Hallum explains how the traveller Louisa Alice Baker depicted New Zealand as an exotic location in her fiction so to demonstrate the 'unsettledness of women's position in the colony'.[68] Anna Jackson and Lucy Alston also discuss a number of adolescent girls who were travelling to New Zealand for the first time or who were already settled there. [69] They all came from England, were aiming to settle in New Zealand and they each kept a diary recording their thoughts and experiences. Most girls demonstrate that they were aware of class differences and patriarchal expectations regarding their conduct, as well

[66] Alexandra Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys* (Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), p. 7.

[67] Emily Ridge, *Portable Modernisms: The Art of Travelling Light* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 7.

[68] Kirkby-Jane Hallum, 'The New Zealand New Woman: Translating a British Cultural Figure to a Colonial Context', *Literature Compass*, 11.5 (2014), pp. 328-336 (p. 330).

[69] Anna Jackson and Lucy Alston, 'Colonial Girlhood and the New Girl's Diary', *Women's Writing*, 21.2 (2014), pp. 259-274.

as their difference from the Maori population. Despite this social understanding, Jackson and Alston highlight that these writers, such as Laura Harper, show a clear 'lack of reflection' regarding their identity, extraordinary journey and unusual circumstances.[70] Another representative example is Irene Edwin, a female diary author who focuses solely on mundane activities such as 'cooking, reading [and] practising the piano'.[71] Jackson and Alston point out that Edwin shows 'no understanding that her life' has 'any significance in terms of contribution to a greater imperial project' while 'there is little to distinguish her account of her life from the account of a girl's life in England'; finally, Jackson and Alston conclude that Edwin does not consider that 'New Zealand itself might make interesting subject matter'.[72]

These aspects of the diaries may be explained with the help of McClintock, who argues that 'colonial women' 'were barred from the corridors of formal power' and were thus often unconscious of their imperial role, which gave them power not only over colonised women but also over colonised men'.[73] Consequently, these English women 'were ambiguously complicit both as colonisers and colonised, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting.'[74] These women often did not expect that their ideas and writing would ever be used in favour of or against the British Empire, especially when taking into consideration that they took for granted that their position and opinion did not matter within the formal realms of execution of the law. Consequently, a clearer awareness of society and their complex identity within New Zealand, as well as of the entirely new life that was awaiting them, seems to be missing from their writing.

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[70] Anna Jackson and Lucy Alston, 'Colonial Girlhood and the New Girl's Diary', p. 265.

[71] Anna Jackson and Lucy Alston, 'Colonial Girlhood and the New Girl's Diary', p. 265.

[72] Anna Jackson and Lucy Alston, 'Colonial Girlhood and the New Girl's Diary', p. 265.

[73] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

[74] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 6.

Indeed, these aforementioned diaries, in many cases, were recorded 'not for the purpose of the girls' own reflection, but for family readership and were often posted back "home" to England', [75] such as in the case of Elizabeth Herd and Agnes Christie. Consequently, 'for a girl diarist to preserve "absolute simplicity", that is, to demonstrate an innocence regarding, for instance, her sexual awakening, meant that it was impossible or even prohibited for her to acknowledge her feelings, thus causing the diaries, even before being written, to be censored by society's restrictions.[76] The diarists that Jackson and Alston focus on, such as Agnes MacGregor, saw expression of self as 'egotistical and selfish',[77] so consequently limited their writing to 'unselfish' remarks.[78] Jackson and Alston conclude that these diaries demonstrate that the female writers, despite their ignorance and their role in promoting and inculcating the empire, may have possibly had a sense 'of the genre [in which] they were writing' in, that is, a diary that would be read by other family members, so they purposefully omitted any radical 'questioning of conventions'.[79] Nevertheless, they also suggest that this type of writing 'inculcated' and promoted the more conservative aspect of the empire's ideal.[80] Although we can only assume whether this was done accidentally or purposefully, it is evident that they did not challenge patriarchal and imperial norms.

Mansfield's rural travel writing, as for the aforementioned women, was a way for her, at nineteen years old, to describe her travels but, in contrast to the women described previously, she did not write for the exact same purposes at all times. In fact, as a flâneuse she took, at times, a radically different approach to the above authors, such as when she boldly expressed her opinion regarding meeting 'Prodgers', for whom she expressed how 'splendid' it was 'to see once again – real English people – I am so tired & sick of the third rate article – Give me the Maori and the tourist – but nothing

[75] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 266.

[76] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 267.

[77] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 267.

[78] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 268.

[79] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 268.

[80] Anna McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, p. 270.

between'.[81] She articulates a clear, unflinching preference with whom she wants to interact, and this affiliation is in intense conversation with the empire and the ongoing issue of identity, acceptance and power; paradoxically, and as mentioned previously, she again shows a preference towards a clear identity rather than a hybrid, thus suggesting that she is subconsciously rejecting and going against her, naturally hybrid, national identity. Nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that Mansfield followed, at least to an extent, the style of these women authors; for instance, when describing a garden in the Urewera landscape, she focuses on the 'charming little place roses & pinks', thus highlighting the flowers, such as the rose, a common feature of a traditional, English garden.[82] Mansfield's diary, at least to an extent, follows Pakehan standards of natural beauty. Once again, her narrative and flâneuring in nature reveal a writer who is divided between the taught, prescribed loyalty towards the empire and the wish to also claim that she belonged to the New Zealand landscape.

Regardless of whether or not she prefers the Maori, the tourist and 'the in between', Mansfield importantly chooses to discuss these issues rather than ignore them; in contrast with the diarists described by Jackson and Alston she seems, at least to begin with, to be going against the current of young female settler authors. She also attempts to differentiate the focus of her travel narrative to include scenes which would not have easily incorporated female imperial travellers at the time. For instance, she describes how her party climbed up a volcano mountain, an activity which would have been frowned upon in her conservative Pakehan context. She writes:

> Bye & bye we go to see the mud volcano – meet Maoris – oh, so different – mount these steps – all slimy & grey & peer in – It bulges out of the bowl in great dollops of loathsome colour like a boiling filthy sore upon the earth in a little boiling pool below.[83]

[81] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 97.

[82] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 94.

[83] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 99.

She focuses on the senses and the bodily experience of climbing the volcano, in an activity that would have been deemed as highly inappropriate for a woman of her status. As Elkin had stated for the flâneuse, Mansfield is deviating from the path ascribed to her. She may have felt free enough to do so because she was aware that her writing, in the form of a notebook, was most possibly not going to be read by some of her conservative family members. If her family were not going to read this notebook, it is only natural that she felt much freer to discuss and express openly her opinion regarding these issues.

Mansfield maintained a tense relationship with her mother. This strained relationship plays a pivotal role on her depictions of her travelling as being that of a tourist or flâneuse. Understanding her relationship to her mother will offer insight, as shall be shown, as to when and why she changes her depiction from tourist to flâneuse and back again, according to what serves her purpose. In *The Urewera Notebook,* there are only three letters that can be found addressed to her mother. One letter was completely crossed out since it would have possibly caused problems with her.[84] Specifically, it seems as if Mansfield, in this letter from Rangitaiki, was about to discuss the details of the hotel she was staying at the time. The hotel was, as it may be safely presumed, not to Mansfield's liking and standard, and she was about to tell her mother the details as to why it was not quite satisfactory. However, she seems to have had second thoughts of sharing this information with her mother, possibly because she feared further conflicts and strain on their relationship. For this reason, it seems that Mansfield chose to cross out the letter.[85]

The second version of this letter's beginning was also crossed out and rewritten, possibly in an attempt once again to avoid mentioning any negative aspect of the trip. Significantly, the phrase 'they [the Priest Baths] are delightful, but they take it out of you to a very…' seems to be referring to issues she encountered and has been deleted in the following version of the letter.[86] It is also possible

[84] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 97 (footnote 284-6).

[85] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 97.

[86] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 101.

that she simply wished to rearrange her letter and was not willing to send it to her mother in a state that she might deem untidy, and because of this, decided to rewrite it completely.

In any case, it is clear that she took great pains to make the letters to her mother as respectable as possible and as safe as possible regarding its contents. Her flâneuring is not something she feels she can share with everyone. Her tone changes and she only admits her deeper thoughts on the land, its people and her identity, as well as the wilder nature of her rambling, only to people she knows will not judge her. For instance, when she writes to her sister, Charlotte, from the inside of the train, her tone is much lighter compared to the tone she used when addressing her mother. She also seems to be more open to her about the conditions of her travel, which would have been seen as quite unacceptable by her strongly opinionated mother for a young woman of her class. Indeed, Mansfield playfully and with a tone of humour informs Charlotte that she is 'seated on the very top of I know not how much luggage'.[87] Clearly, she feels no fear to share her unconventional way of travelling with her sister. The manner in which she shares or hides details of her rough travelling suggests that Mansfield's class and gender limitations do not allow her to fully become a flâneuse. She is most definitely willing to become one, but she does not seem able to fully immerse herself into the potential of becoming a flâneuse. She gives the idea great thought but, in most instances, does not fully cross the line to become a rural flâneuse in practice.

A few years after her Urewera trip and her move to England, Mansfield's strained relationship with her mother became more and more evident. Isobel Maddison highlights that in 1909, Mansfield was sent by her mother to a 'Bavarian spa town, Bad Wörishofen', 'to reflect on her sexual "transgressions"'.[88] Mansfield was also pregnant with a child conceived out of wedlock, which she miscarried at six months at the spa.[89] This pregnancy was but one event which demonstrates the

[87] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[88] Isobel Maddison, 'Mansfield's "Writing Game" and World War One', in *Katherine Mansfield and World War One*, ed. by Gerri Kimber, Todd Martin, Delia da Sousa Correa, Isobel Maddison and Lice Kelly (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 42-54 (p. 44).

[89] Maddison, 'Mansfield's "Writing Game" and World War One', p. 44.

different values of mother and daughter, which caused continuous friction and conflict in their relationship throughout their lives. The deletion of a number of letters in *The Urewera Notebook* strongly suggests that she felt insecure as to how she should address her mother, what she should include in her letter to keep her happy and how to maintain a balance in the family home.

In Plumridge's edition of the notebook, there is a whole, quite detailed letter that was 'neatly written on pages clearly torn' from the notebook.[90] 'It is completed and folded as if for insertion into an envelope, but was never sent.'[91] This letter, Plumridge comments, in contrast to the 'rest of her camping notes' which were 'chaotic and untidy', was written 'neatly' because she was addressing her mother.[92] Indeed, it is true that the 'quantity of objective description in the letter seems calculated to support her final assurance to her mother that she was "very happy"'.[93] It is undeniable that Mansfield had a very stimulating time during her camping trip, but it is quite suspicious that she chose to include such rich, objective description, given that otherwise she was never one to hesitate to voice her, in many cases, controversial opinions.

Indeed, as Davison and Kimber state, 'this letter bears little of the frustration that Mansfield expressed to other correspondents, or in private writing, about life in New Zealand at the time'.[94] Consequently, given that she paid such great attention to the letters she intended to send to her mother, syntactically, grammatically, content wise and even regarding the neatness of its format, in contrast to the rest of her diaries and letters, it is quite safe to assume that Mansfield did not want her mother to be aware of how free her travels really were. The rest of the diary was meant mainly to be read by her. Thus, the subject matter of the rest of her diary begins to make more sense when we

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[90] Plumridge, 'Appendix', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 113.

[91] Plumridge, 'Appendix', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 113.

[92] Plumridge, 'Appendix', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 113.

[93] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, *Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 180.

[94] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, *Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber, p. 180.

consider that she did not wish her family to read it, or at least not certain conservative members of her family, such as her father, mother and sister Vera, since she would have been afraid, and most probably rightly so, of being judged for her thoughts. Her diary was a means in which to openly express her observations when flâneuring, while hoping that they would not be read by family members with whom she did not wish to share them.

The analysis of these letters is particularly insightful as it demonstrates how Mansfield expressed her flânerie, depending on whom she was addressing in her writing. When addressing herself or her sister, Charlotte, she is much more open about her travels, knowing that there will be little to no judgement. When addressing her mother, on the contrary, she presents herself as a tourist, one that always remains within the safe zone of travel, and who does not question the status quo. Just as the flowers pervaded Mansfield's description of her walking within New Zealand's nature, so her mother, as a rigid, upper-class Pakehan, and a faithful imperial subject, pervades Mansfield's description of her flânerie. She may have flâneured much more but, given the fact that she hid her flânerie from her mother and other family members, we are never given the whole picture of her as a flâneuse. We are only given glimpses, depending on her audience. Ultimately, Mansfield wishes to but does not fully become a rural flâneuse, due to her contextual limitations.

Nevertheless, as I aim to show in the close reading, her contribution to my theoretical formation of the modernist rural flâneuse is invaluable. It is through these snippets of flânerie in her diary that we can see such a unique woman who took on social prejudices and restrictions and tried to pave her way as a rural flâneuse who challenged, if only just so, the empire's restrictions. Her writing, especially when addressing herself and her sister, Charlotte, demonstrates that hidden beneath her upper-class, Pakehan exterior, was her wish to become a rural flâneuse that could comment, wander and wonder, as well as observe the current imperial dynamics from a marginal perspective. She never fully becomes a rural flâneuse; she remains in the making, as my close reading will show more clearly. Although a few examples of her later work, such as 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped' demonstrate the Urewera's influence on her outlook and writing, it is no coincidence that

her later work was much more within the home, suggesting that, although the Urewera trip may have tempted her to become a flâneuse, in the end, she never fulfilled this particular wish. The Urewera trip was her attempt to be a flâneuse, despite this attempt not being fully successful. Analysing this attempt is still greatly insightful in how becoming a flâneuse was for Mansfield, in a manner characteristic of a modernist sensibility, a way to comment on society.

Following the analysis of the notebook's context, I will now provide two close readings to demonstrate the ways in which Mansfield flâneured. The first close reading takes place in the train which is traversing New Zealand's rurality; here, her social observations reveal her complex attitude to the empire and the Maori. The second close reading includes two scenes of flânerie; the first focuses on one of Mansfield's rare chances to meander alone in nature as a sole, Pakeha flâneuse. Within this moment of rare freedom from the restrictive, Pakeha society, Mansfield celebrates her body in nature. The second scene is the last of this chapter and focuses on Mansfield's walking in nature; in this case, she reveals her chance to flâneur freely where she belongs at this point in time. Walking in nature, I aim to show, becomes her means to express her ambivalent attitude to the restrictive fence and open road, which correspondingly signify Pakehan and British society and the authentic New Zealand which Mansfield saw in the Urewera's rurality.

The Imperial Railway as a Space for Modernist Flânerie

Mansfield's *The Urewera Notebook* begins with a railway journey in which she and her six companions were heading towards Kaitoki. The companions that were on this trip were all quite different to the crowd and world with whom Mansfield would have usually chosen to be associated. None of them were artistic, rebellious or unconventional in a particular way. The group consisted of George Ebbett, who was, by 1907, 'a figure of rising provincial importance' and dealt with 'legal work', 'sheep farming', 'borough councillor' and owned 'race horses', among other achievements; Eliza Maud Ebbett, who had 'married George Ebbett in 1900' and was the 'daughter of a Napier grocery merchant'; Hill, 'a Hastings farmer' and who 'was hired to drive the horses' but who, 'preferring to be

a member of the party, accepted no payment'; Annie Blair Purdie Leithead, who was born in Scotland and whose parents had achieved higher social status when they moved to New Zealand; Herbert James Webber, 'a well-established pharmacist' and his wife, Elsie Sarah Webber; finally, there was Margaret (Millie) Ameila Parker, who 'secured Katherine Mansfield a place in the 1907 camping trip'.[95] Apart from Mansfield, Millie seems to be the only one to have literary ambitions; in 1928 she won a national short story competition with 'The Sphynx', published in the *Auckland Star*. The story was 'a tale of two girls' encounters with mythical creatures in the heart of the Urewera bush, providing clear evidence that Millie recalled Mansfield, and their camping trip, all her life.'[96] Simple coincidence rather than a conscious decision was the cause that led Mansfield to this trip and there was no significantly close relationship with most of the members of the group.

It is likely that Mansfield's boredom as a settler and her impatience to discover the rural unknown as a colonial flâneuse are what made her decide to go on this trip. As it was discussed earlier in this chapter, Kathleen Jones suggests that Mansfield went on this trip because she was adamant that she wanted to return to England as soon as possible; however, her parents disapproved of her life choices and so, were not happy with this decision. Instead, they encouraged Katherine 'to go and see something of her native country'; perhaps, as Jones suggests, they were 'hoping she would change her mind'.[97] They encourage her to be a safe tourist within the land. Mansfield, as we know, used it as an excuse to also dabble with flânerie. Indeed, it is significant that she begins by train, a means which Edward M. Spiers has described as one of the most 'pivotal technological developments of the nineteenth century', which 'enhanced Victorian understanding of the empire through the transmission of images of peoples, places and events'.[98] In order to reach the natural, Maori land of New Zealand as a flâneur, it was necessary for a woman of her class to use the modern, imperial

[95] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 46.

[96] Margaret A. Parker, 'The Sphynx', *Auckland Star*, 12 May 1928, p. 7.

[97] Jones, Kathleen, *Katherine Mansfield: the Story-Teller*, p. 75.

[98] Edward M. Spiers, *Engines for Empire: The Victorian military and its use of railways* (Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 1.

railway as a means of transport so as to ease her way into the natural landscape. Being a tourist was her façade and a way to masquerade flânerie into a socially acceptable form. Travelling by train, though, leads to a very different kind of flânerie and the use of it, in part, reflects Mansfield's role as a Pakeha flâneur.

For the Victorian era, and as Spiers claims, the railways 'accelerated the movement of goods and people, connected disparate communities and facilitated the transmission of news, images and information'.[99] These benefits 'were felt across the empire … and enhanced the development of commerce, free trade and prosperity.'[100] Recent readings on the significance of railways in the British Empire choose to take a perspective which can be viewed as more critical towards the institution. It is also simultaneously clear that all these institutions and networks were, as Tony Ballantyne highlights, 'central in allowing colonial states to extend the geographical reach of their power, with the aim of ensuring that state sovereignty permeated the nation space'.[101] Transportation and 'communication', Ballantyne writes, were seen as 'vital to the improvement of the economy'.[102] He explains in more detail:

> More extensive and better-quality networks would also allow the state to move resources and troops more efficiently if rebellion did reoccur. In New Zealand, new roads allowed white settlements to be extended into areas previously controlled by Maori and there was hope that these routes, together with the pull of the market, would help to lace Maori more firmly into colonial life'.[103]

[99] Spiers, *Engines for Empire: The Victorian military and its use of railways*, p. 1.

[100] Spiers, *Engines for Empire: The Victorian military and its use of railways*, p. 1.

[101] Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (The University of British Columbia Press, 2012), p. 179.

[102] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, p. 179.

[103] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, p. 179.

Over time, the Maori population started to also use the railway, accepting the impact of the empire in their lives. As Plumridge pointed out, 'Maori were heavy train users by 1907, receiving concessions to attend tangi and Native Land Court hearings'.[104] The railway, thus, did most surely allow the Maori to be part of modernity, and also allowed the European, the Pakeha and the Maori to interact in close contact; but it is also clear that the railway did so, primarily, in order to serve the empire's goals of keeping the land and people under control.

Arthur Merrifield explains that during the colonisation of New Zealand, the railway was only allowed to be extended within Pakeha influenced land; however, this agreement was not always respected, which in turn led to further conflicts and dispossessed Maori in other areas of the island.[105] Location officers are described by Merrifield as 'often risking their lives, as not all Maori accepted the agreement between tribal leaders and the government' that work could start on the railway.[106] Indeed, the time when Mansfield was travelling by train has been described by Keith L. Bryant, Jr., in an older (1990), but worthy to be cited article, as 'the golden age' of New Zealand Railway, which extended from '1900 to the 1950s'.[107] It is common to see many *Manchester Guardian* articles of the time, particularly in the first two decades of the century, describing what had been built, how many men were needed and what materials were being used. For instance, there was a particular emphasis on the route covered, which could be described as connecting a number of cities and harbours to the European world. Indeed, no reference was made to the consequences this would have on the Maori population and their native land.

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[104] Plumridge, 'Footnote Comment', in *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[105] A. L. R. Merrifield, 'New Zealand's North Island main trunk railway: 1870-1908', *Engineering History and Heritage* 162.4 (2009), pp. 207-219 (p. 210).

[106] Merrifield, 'New Zealand's North Island main trunk railway: 1870-1908', p. 207.

[107] Keith L. Bryant, Jr., 'Railway Stations in New Zealand: A Case of Architectural Lag', *Railroad History*, 162 (1990), pp. 80-108 (p. 83).

Rachel Buchanan, in her article 'Why Gandhi doesn't belong at Wellington Railway Station' (2011), highlights that a significant percentage of the Maori population did not agree with the railway works, but they were ignored. The white settlers, she writes,

> had supported the invasion of Parihaka, an important Maori settlement. Most settlers supported the invasion, with the exception of a number of Irish immigrants who saw many parallels between their own battles against the English and those being fought by Maori.[108]

Clearly, the only settlers that viewed the Maori in a positive, sympathetic light, the Irish immigrants, had also been through similar plights because of the British Empire. The rest of the settlers were content to go along with the railway plans, uninterested in the consequences that would befall the Maori people. The context in which Mansfield would have been brought up in would have set her worldview as viewing her own race as the priority compared to the Maori people. Ultimately, being a tourist on a train was acceptable. But being a flâneuse was not. The train was the acceptable means to conceal her flânerie.

Mansfield's attitude to travelling by train in a carriage with other people, importantly including Maori passengers, is also evident a little further on in the text. It is 'Monday morning' and she is addressing Marie, a nickname for Charlotte, her sister and the second of the Beauchamp children. As it was discussed earlier, writing letters back home was a common practice for women authors, as they were encouraged to do so by society and their social standing. In fact, many of these diaries were, as highlighted previously by Jackson and Alston's, 'recording events not for the purpose of the girls' own reflection, but for a family readership'.[109] However, in contrast to the restricted manner in which other settler women wrote, Mansfield chose to describe her setting and herself as 'a humble servant' who

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[108] Rachel Buchanan, 'Why Gandhi doesn't belong at Wellington Railway Station', *Journal of Social History*, 44.4 (2011), pp. 1077-1093 (p. 1084).

[109] Jackson and Alston, 'Colonial Girlhood and the New Girl's Diary', p. 266.

'is seated on the very top of I know not how much luggage'.[110] Mansfield's characteristic dashes make an appearance:

> excuse the writing – This is the most extraordinary experience – Our journey was charming – a great many Maoris on the train – – in fact I lunched next to a great brown fellow at Woodville – That was a memorable meal – We were both starving – with that dreadful silent hunger.[111]

In the train, the dashes appear to signal pauses in its rhythmical movement; they seem to signify a chance for her body and mind to move in harmony and to enter a narrative stream of consciousness within the natural scenery. Conceptually, she presents the train as her escapist route, one in which she is able to leave behind her upper middle-class background and become a 'humble servant'.[112] The manner in which she is seated, on 'the top of I know not how much luggage', goes against the expectations of her upbringing and she even admits that this is the most 'extraordinary experience'.[113] She makes a point of mentioning the Maori on the train, suggesting that their presence is not natural or familiar to her. Her attitude towards them seems, at a first glance, to be positive and inclusive. She attempts to treat the Maori, the 'great brown fellow' she 'lunched next to', as an equal to her by mentioning that they sat side by side'; she points out: 'we were both starving', in a clear attempt to highlight the fact that all people, whether English, Maori or Pakeha, had identical human needs, possibly, as a way in which to show how accepting she was of them as her equals.[114] All this information and perspective is conveyed through the use of dashes.

Indeed, the use of dashes is not uncommon amongst several modernist writers. As H. R. Woudhuysen explains, Virginia Woolf used them in *Jacob's Room*, *Between the Acts* and in *Mrs Dalloway*, as a way in which to mark 'pauses, silences, suspense, repetition … and the unsaid or

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[110] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[111] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[112] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[113] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

[114] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 90.

indecipherable'.[115] Joyce, as Elizabeth Bonapfel explains, when corresponding with Grant Richards, the potential publisher of *Dubliners*, used the 'dash instead of "perverted commas" to mark dialogue, whereas Richards resisted dashes based on conventional reading expectations'.[116] Bonapfel sees Joyce as viewing dashes as 'visual marks on the page which realistically represent speech'; this change of perception, Bonapfel highlights, represented 'a changing phenomenology of representation (marking) in literature that suggest a different approach towards realism'.[117]

Mansfield's case, as Anna Plumridge highlights in the introduction to *The Urewera Notebook*, have been interpreted by Murry 'as colons, semi-colons and commas, to neatly divide and tidy sentence structure'[118] while Margaret Scott interpreted them as 'commas and full stops' that had been scribbled down quickly.[119] Anna Plumridge's edition has kept the dashes and punctuation as faithful as possible to Mansfield's original.

All these editions have most surely contributed to our understanding of the structure of Mansfield's diary, but they have yet to offer an explanation as to why she chose to use them in a number of her future stories, such as in 'The Wind Blows' and in 'Bliss' (1920), among others.[120] It may be the case that she started using the dashes experimentally in her personal journal, as *The Urewera Notebook* was intended to be, and then began to slowly find the courage to use it in her writing as a unique manner in which to demonstrate her thought process. Using dashes in her writing is Mansfield's attempt to be aware of her body in a highly modernist setting, that is, the train, or within the untouched Urewera landscape. Using modernist techniques in this rural landscape is Mansfield's way of saying that modernity is not lost in rurality; it simply appears in a different setting.

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[115] H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Punctuation and Its Contents: Virginia Woolf and Evelyn Waugh', *Essays in Criticism*, 62.3 (2012), pp. 221-247 (pp. 234-235).

[116] Elizabeth M. Bonapfel, 'Marking Realism in "Dubliners"', *European Joyce Studies*, 23 (2014) pp. 67-86 (p. 67).

[117] Bonapfel, 'Marking Realism in "Dubliners"', pp. 67-86.

[118] Plumridge, 'Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 27.

[119] Plumridge, 'Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 38.

[120] Katherine Mansfield, *Bliss and Other Stories* (Constable, 1920), pp. 95-117.

It is also worth noting Calista McRae's brief overview of the overall use, and lack of, punctuation in the modernist period. She explains that from the moment punctuation became more 'standardised in nineteenth century Europe', writers began leaving it out.[121] Punctuation, for modernists, became a compromise to the sense of verse as 'an absolute thing, a distinct and complete entity'; not punctuating was a 'desire to move past compliant, logical marks of grammar to something more essential' and many movements, such as 'Imagism, Futurism, Vorticism, Expressionism, Surrealism, and other twentieth-century movements began to omit' it[122], McRae explains. Overall, breaking the traditional rules of punctuation was a trend that appears throughout the modernist period. Their appearance in *The Urewera Notebook* reinforces my thesis' argument that Mansfield's diary deserves greater attention as an example of modernist literature which found its voice in rurality.

The train, it has been established, was an imperial creation and one still under the empire's control; similarly, the Petane Valley, where the train scene just described takes place, 'was still within the boundaries of a government confiscation', as Claire Davison and Gerry Kimber highlight.[123] Plumridge explains that 'the resistance of Pai Marire to government forces and "loyalist" Maori at Petane and Omaunui in 1866 resulted in government confiscation of 295,000 acres of Maori land in Hawke's Bay' in 1867.[124] At the time when Mansfield travelled the region, 'pockets of land were still in Crown possession, other areas were in Maori ownership, but the majority was owned, or leased out to, Pakeha as vast pastoral stations', many of which seasonally employed Maori for 'labouring jobs such as shearing, fencing, and scrub-cutting'.[125] The land therefore was not as intimidating or unfamiliar to Mansfield as she may have wanted to present it in her diary. As a young, educated,

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[121] Calista McRae, '"Now someone's talking": Unpunctuation and the Deadpan Poem', *Modernism/modernity*, 25.1 (2018), pp. 1-20 (p. 3).

[122] McRae, '"Now someone's talking": Unpunctuation and the Deadpan Poem', p. 3.

[123] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber, p. 201.

[124] Plumridge, 'General Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 6.

[125] Plumridge, 'General Introduction', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 6.

aspiring, as well as privileged, critical thinker and writer, she must have been aware that this land had not remained untouched by Britain's expansion of power. She would have also been aware of the power that her English identity provided her with within this region. Although her writing suggests an encounter beyond her familiar cultural context, an understanding of the times and of the region's historical context along with a critical close reading of particular extracts suggest otherwise.

Nevertheless, Mansfield's observation regarding the Maori man is an 'tangible' example of her 'sense of venturing beyond familiar territory'[126] expressed, Davison and Kimber highlight, 'above all, by the dominant presence of Maori packed in side by side with the travellers'.[127] All this is achieved in the train, which becomes the means and space to allow such equality, in contrast to the city that enforces a clearer segregation between Pakeha and Maori. Here, Mansfield can attempt to flâneur freely. As Burgess explains, 'railway travel detached passengers from their surroundings, bound them (and their colonised peoples) to a unified system of time embodied by the station clock, and created an artificial sense of place by hurtling persons in an enclosed car over a rapidly changing and almost indistinguishable landscape'.[128] The Pakeha flâneur and the Maori native seem, as Mansfield presents them, to become equal to one another and to put aside their cultural differences via the train. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that Mansfield flâneured and observed knowingly from a safe and privileged perspective. She observes him from a position of power.

This experience is anything but natural to Mansfield. She does not feel that she belongs naturally in this scene, otherwise she would not have described it as extraordinary, nor would she have described the man as a 'great, big brown fellow'. She would have not focused on his skin tone, nor would she have mentioned the fact that there were many other Maori travelling with her.

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[126] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber, p. 201.

[127] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber, p. 201.

[128] Douglas R. Burgess, *Engines of Empire, Steamships and the Victorian Imagination* (Stanford University Press, 2016), p. 10.

However, it is also inevitable that she would be struck by the fact that many Maori men and women were travelling with her, given that her strict, upper middle class, Anglo-Saxon upbringing would unsurprisingly include only, or mainly, white settlers. Consequently, the corollary of this was for Mansfield to highlight the fact that Maori were also travelling on the train with her. By over-focusing on her and the Maori man's similarities, such as basic human needs, and by accentuating how comfortable she feels in his presence, she tries to overcome what she most definitely feels as unnatural.

It is worth noting that such an incident also took place in 'The Garden Party', Mansfield's famous short story, published in 1922.[129] The protagonist Laura encounters a number of working-class men who have come to her house to set up the garden party for the day. She is holding her bread-and-butter, and she expresses her awkwardness by thinking to herself that she had 'wished that she had not got the bread-and-butter, but there was nowhere to put it, and she couldn't possibly throw it away. She blushed and tried to look severe'.[130] Laura expresses a feeling of expectation regarding her social status. She feels that she must take on the role of power, just like her mother would have done with such working-class men, but she does not feel able to. This need to be 'business-like', as she states in the short story, is a way to hide her awkwardness and insecurity.

Importantly, Laura, just like Mansfield on the train in the Urewera, does wish to come closer to the working-class men; a little further in the short story, when she is about to give them instructions, she thinks to herself (through free indirect discourse):

> His smile was so easy, so friendly that Laura recovered. What nice eyes he had, small, but such a dark blue! And now she looked at the others, they were smiling too. 'Cheer up, we won't

[129] Katherine Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', in *The Garden Party and Other Stories* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1922).

[130] Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', p. 60.

> bite,' their smile seemed to say. How very nice workmen were! And what a beautiful morning! She mustn't mention the morning; she must be business-like.[131]

She wishes to befriend them, but her upbringing is stopping her from feeling comfortable. Finally, when the men are setting up the marquee, she hears them calling each other: 'Matey'.[132] With this as her inspiration, she thinks to herself:

> The friendliness of it, the- the- Just to prove how happy she was, just to show the tall fellow how at home she felt, and how she despised stupid conventions, Laura took a big bite of her bread-and-butter as she stared at the little drawing. She felt just like a work-girl.[133]

In both short stories, 'How Pearl Button was Kidnapped' and 'The Garden Party', both of which were written after the Urewera trip, she demonstrates a willingness to cross boundaries but she never actually does so. Her upbringing becomes her boundary. She only manages to do so on rare occasions which tend to be awkward. In the train, she awkwardly tries to describe the Maori man but ironically reveals the level of her bias towards him. In 'The Garden Party', she tries to persuade herself to feel comfortable with the working-class men. This awkwardness with characters who are different to her, racially and socially, seems to be a boundary she is not able to cross throughout her literary career. Her identity is thus partially formed and changed by simply being and flâneuring on the train, and by her body and movement being determined by the train's imperially controlled structure. Her flâneuring in a rural environment becomes the reason to express but also to attempt to change her attitude as a Pakeha towards the Maori population.

Importantly, her attitude and narrative seems drawn to the landscape. She describes how 'the rain fell heavily drearily – on to the river & the flax swamp & the mile upon mile of ~~p~~ dull plains – In the distance – far and away in the distance – the mountains were ~~covered~~ hidden behind a thick grey

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[131] Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', p. 61.

[132] Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', p. 63.

[133] Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', p. 63.

veil'.[134] The image she creates in the reader's mind clearly has a romantic, gothic aim, reminiscent of the English and European echoes in her compatriots' written depictions of New Zealand; similar to the forget-me-nots and roses and pinks, her description of the rural landscape does not stray far from the literary expectations set by the empire's centre. From the interior of the train, she observes the natural landscape and records in detail what she can see and perceive. The train, as the car for Rebecca West in Chapter Three, becomes the transportable arcade in rurality; from here she can comfortably observe fellow Pakehas and Maori and reach a better understanding of her world and herself.

In contrast, the inner part of the train that she is travelling on is described in a negative way. She asks her sister to 'picture to yourself a great barn of a place – full of pink papered chandeliers and long tables – decorated with paper flowers – and humanity most painfully en evidence you could cut the atmosphere with a knife'.[135] Any trace of humanity and progressive facilities do not fascinate her but rather create a feeling of aversion and uneasiness. The atmosphere and actual inner decoration seem to smother her and she describes the interior of the train as a bad imitation of nature, 'paper flowers' with 'humanity most painfully en evidence'. Humanity, in the form of the people on the train, in contrast to the Maori man and the journey, is 'most painfully' obvious and tires her; the adverb 'painfully' should not be overlooked as it betrays the negative attitude she projects for the human presence. The type of humanity she seems to approve of is the Maori, not that of the decorations reminiscent of the empire.

She draws her eyes away from this scene, and focuses on the 'mountains', 'hidden behind a thick grey veil'.[136] Embodiment in nature and interaction with a man of clear identity, that of a Maori, unlike her own hybrid, Pakeha one, is what she seeks, while she avoids or expresses her abhorrence towards society and manmade structures and settings. Elkin has claimed that the role of a flâneuse is to claim her 'right to disturb the peace, to observe (or not observe), to occupy (or not occupy) and to

[134] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 90.

[135] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 90.

[136] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 90.

organise (or disorganise) space' on her own terms'.[137] The train functions as a rural, moving and highly modernist arcade for helping Mansfield to flâneur, meet and move through Maori communities, but one that simultaneously and paradoxically promotes the British Empire's goal of cultural expansion. As a flâneuse on the train, Mansfield attempts to disrupt the given order and observe; and while her observations are acute and representative of a woman who is critically engaged with her times, she does not manage to formulate her thoughts into a concrete philosophy. As Baudelaire had stated, she is a 'passionate observer', with a critical, albeit early, modernist awareness of the 'crowd' surrounding her; this early modernist awareness is the reason she perhaps was not able to form her ideas into a concrete philosophy with a 'nobler aim', such as the one Baudelaire described, nor was she able to fully occupy or reorganise the rural space she was flâneuring in.[138] Her flânerie is representative of an observer who hesitates to freely wander so as to reach this noble aim, in Baudelaire's notion.

The Rural, Pakeha Flâneur beyond the Train

The previous section of this chapter focused on the experience of the rural, Pakeha flâneur on the train. However, there are other extracts in *The Urewera Notebook* which are more representative of a rural flâneur more attuned with nature, at least superficially. In Jakesville, Mansfield describes in detail her body's relationship within and to nature in a number of extracts:

> after brief snatches of terribly unrefreshing sleep – I woke – and found the grey dawn slipping into the tent – I was hot & tired and full of discomfort – the frightful buzzing of mosquitos – the slow breathing of the others seemed to weigh upon my brain for a moment and then I found that the air was alive with birds' song – From far and near they called & cried to each other – I got up – & slipped through the little tent opening on to the wet grass – All round me the willow still full of gloomy shades – the caravan in the glade a ghost of itself – but across

[137] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 117.

[138] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

> the clouded grey sky the vivid streak of rose colour – blazoned in the day – The grass was full of clover bloom – I caught up my dressing gown with both hands & ran down to the river – and the water – flowed in – musically laughing – & the green willows – suddenly stirred by the breath of the dawning day – sway softly together – Then I forgot the tent – and was happy – _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ [139]

Even in nature, Mansfield feels constricted by indoor spaces, such as the tent, which suffocates her and does not allow her to be sufficiently free. The tent, which is the indoors in the outdoors of the natural landscape, becomes a constricted space that is heavy with human presence, as indeed she states, 'the slow breathing of the others seemed to weigh upon my brain'. Her companions' presence repels her and she seeks the open space of nature where 'the air is alive with birds' song'. Mansfield's dressing gown, which she 'caught up' 'with both hands', becomes a symbol of her colonial, middle class upbringing which she cannot remove, so she allows it to linger on her but manipulates it to fit the surroundings. When alone, as now, she is not afraid of leaving the tent, the man-made temporary settlement. On the contrary, she is expressing her wish, albeit hesitantly, to explore the Urewera freely and to wander its arcades. Alone, with no social rules to follow, she momentarily tries to free herself and flâneur freely. Her closeness to the Urewera shows a person who expresses a desire to belong to this landscape as a rural flâneur. Her body and her movement become a means to show this. Her clothes, however, place a boundary between her free, female flânerie. As with all previous examples, Mansfield proves to be a rural flâneuse whose surroundings complicate her understanding of her identity. She seems to be a preliminary example of a rural flâneuse, one who ventured but never crossed the edge of her safety zone.

She describes 'the wet grass' which touch her bare feet; the water as she 'ran down to the river' which 'flowed in – musically laughing'. The water enters and fuses with her body as did the wind on her face on the train at the beginning of her notebook. She writes: 'There is something inexpressibly

[139] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook,* p. 89.

charming to me in railway travelling – I lean out of the window – the breeze blows, buffetting and friendly against my face'.[140] In this case, just as Bernd Heine pointed out about the human body, Mansfield's human 'body provides one of the most salient models for understanding, describing and denoting concepts that are more difficult to understand, describe, and denote'.[141] It is only through her body's movement in nature, and through her narrative, that she is able to achieve and denote this sensation of freedom which she misses in the city as an upper, middle-class colonial woman. However, this sense of freedom is only provided because of the complete absence of others of her class and of the Maori. If there had been others present, we could presume that Mansfield would not have felt able to expose her body in such a way. Flâneuring in a rural context for Mansfield comes with constraints and measures, which she must follow or work around and hide in her personal diary, so as to be entitled to continue to travel in search of her sense of belonging and noble aim.

In this extract, Mansfield, as with the scene on the train, makes a significant use of dashes, which signal a particular stylistic choice. The dashes have clearly, in this case, taken on the task of replacing all types of punctuation and have become a means to demonstrate movement. They may even suggest a certain type of written embodiment to express movement and change of visual focus, e.g. 'I got up – & slipped through the little tent'.[142] Mansfield resorts to all means to denote bodily movement in nature as a way to express her feeling of belonging in it. The dashes become more and more frequent, signalling a more intense relationship of her mind to her body that is being dipped into the water. She avoids formal punctuation, and thus attempts to become a flâneur less governed by the rules set by the empire. Nevertheless, she may traverse and discreetly comment on her modernist identity within New Zealand's culture and landscape, but she cannot escape her Pakeha identity.

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[140] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 88.

[141] Bernd Heine, 'The Body in Language: Observations from Grammaticalisation', in *The Body in Language: Comparative Studies of Linguistic Embodiment*, ed. by Matthias Brenzinger and Iwona Kraska-Szlenk (Koninklijke Brill, 2014), pp. 13-33 (p. 17).

[142] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 89.

It is interesting to note that despite wanting to break free from the constraints that her upbringing had set on her, she did use methods which she had been exposed to in her childhood. As it was discussed earlier in this chapter, Mansfield would have most probably been exposed to Maoriland literature as a child and young teenager. Typical Maoriland features of literature, which include romanticising the Maori culture and presenting them as a dying nation, make their appearance in her notebook and vivid descriptions. This influence is, one could say, inevitable, given how wholly English her upbringing was. In this extract, she uses gothic imagery and exclaims how all round her 'the willow still full of gloomy shades – the caravan in the glade a ghost of itself'.[143] She is enjoying experiencing what she had been taught by her context as being the real Maori culture. In reality, she is simply echoing the manner in which many other writers of Maoriland literature depicted the land of the Maori as a mystical topos which was available to be used as the settlers wished.

In addition, these particular writers were, as discussed, trying to create a type of national literature. In order to do so, they needed to look for 'ways in which writing here might be different from elsewhere'.[144] They relied particularly on the 'landscape', which becomes a 'focus-sublime and rapturous, dark and forbidding, odd and intractable.'[145] Both these types of writers and Mansfield, by creating such images of specific types of imagination, is evidence that they were all influenced by the themes of Maoriland literature. Mansfield may have wanted to escape the restrictions of representing New Zealand through an imperial outlook but used narrative techniques she had been taught through her colonial education.

As expected of a rural flâneuse, Mansfield chooses to walk in nature. She writes:

> we crept again through that frightful wire fence – which every time, seemed to grow tighter & tighter – and walked along the white – soft road – ~~A~~ – On one side the sky was filled with

[143] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 89.

[144] *The Auckland University Press Anthology of New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Jane Stafford and Mark Williams (Auckland University Press, 2013), p. 100.

[145] *The Auckland University Press Anthology of New Zealand Literature*, p. 100.

> the sunset – Vivid – Clear yellow – and ~~p~~ bronze green & that incredible cloud shade of thick mauve.[146]

Dashes are used, once again, in order to demonstrate body and eye movement as well as an understanding of her surroundings. In contrast to running with great anticipation towards the river, as she did in the extract analysed above, in this case she uses the verb 'crept', thus making her hesitation and fear regarding the man-made structure clear. She says that the fence 'grows', as if it has a life of its own, and becomes 'tighter and tighter', thus transfusing it with a dominance that constantly wishes to strengthen its grip over her free movement.

Fences have a particular strong role in Australian literature. For instance, Kieran Dolin discusses how the fence has come to represent 'an Australian icon', 'the continuing power of settler discourse' and a 'titular symbol' of the region.[147] Similarly, Clare Bradford describes the fence as the 'most iconic – and orderly – of Australian domestic signifiers'.[148] Finally, it is worth highlighting how Ian Reid, who commented on the superficial choice of poems in the collection *A Century of Australian Song*, highlights how the 'unmarked, unfenced, unattended grave is a distinctive representation of loss'.[149] By going against the 'wire' fence, and walking 'along the white - soft road', she is going against a symbol of Australia as a settler community with great domestic signifiers. In this case, she gives in to the land's beauty and becomes a rural flâneuse, even for a fleeting moment in time. She sets herself against the pervasive nature of technology in nature, 'wire fence' and chooses to walk on the road which, as Plumridge explains in her introduction to the text, followed 'the Napier – Taupo Road across the immense mountain ranges that separate Hawke's Bay from the Central Plateau. The road led

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[146] Mansfield, *The Urewera Notebook*, p. 89.

[147] Kieran Dolin, 'The fence in Australian short fiction: "A Constant Crossing of Boundaries"?', *Australian Cultural History*, 28.2-3 (2011), pp. 141-153.

[148] Clare Bradford, 'Australian children's literature', in *The Cambridge History of Australian Literature*, ed. by Peter Pierce (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 282-302 (p. 288).

[149] Reid, 'Marking the Unmarked: An Epitaphic Preoccupation in Nineteenth-Century Australian Poetry', p. 17.

inland through the Esk Valley, before leading to fine pastoral country'.[150] The wire fence is juxtaposed to the fine nature towards which Mansfield is heading. This nature is not governed by symbols linked to the empire, nor are they enclosed, like a fence or like the 'house of boxes' in the story about Pearl Button. She attempts to cross this boundary when walking in the Urewera and become a rural flâneuse.

On the contrary, the road is described as 'white - soft' on which she 'walked', not 'crept'. Although it should be stated that the road may also be man-made, it is also true that there are no restrictions, no fences described nor any boundaries to stop her movement in nature; while walking on the road she is able to see the 'sunset – Vivid – Clear yellow'. Unsurprisingly, colours are mainly described vividly when connected to nature rather than man-made structures. As a rural flâneur, she chooses a close relationship to nature and New Zealand, wishing to enjoy a type of freedom that the fence, being representative of the settler community and human-made restrictions, cannot offer her. This little freedom is what allows her to analyse her social surroundings and attempt to make sense of her own complicated identity. However, as discussed above through the close reading, she is not able to do so wholly. Time and time again she demonstrates to the careful reader of the notebook how she was marked by her imperial education.

Conclusion

Mansfield's writing comes with many facades and layers. It would not do her or her writing any justice to say that she is a flâneur with one single aim. She is a rural flâneur, whose gender and class position also plays a great role as to how she holds herself within the context discussed. She, not uncommonly, falls prey to typical techniques of narration, such as romanticising the Maori culture and scenery. She wishes to present herself as a rebellious woman, who uses her writing and her travelling to express her rural flânerie as a way in which to defy her surroundings, values and family constraints, but fails

[150] Plumridge, 'Itinerary', in *The Urewera Notebook* by Katherine Mansfield, p. 50.

when she consciously chooses the imperial travel mode of the railway and when she uses imperial models of landscape in her observations of nature and the crowd (the Maori on the train) which surround her. She enjoys wandering and letting go of her colonial, Pakeha identity on the island, and a chance to do so is seized with a combination of eagerness and hesitation. The train, as her tourist façade, and walking, as her authentic attempt to flâneur, become a means to escape the middle-class, close-minded reality of colonial Wellington, to expose herself to the people and nature of the island that she feels she does not belong to but to which she wished she did. Caring about her identity is what makes her an early version of the 20th-century modernist flâneuse figure. Rurality was the place in which she wished to try to make sense of all this. The natural landscape, train and walking all offer her the chance to come closer to her body and her natural surroundings; it is her chance to feel as if her body and she as a person are naturally part of the scene. She wishes to be invisible in some ways, as she wishes to blend in the train and not stand out, but she inevitably is reminiscent of Wolff's notion of the flâneuse's 'hyper-visibility' when she reveals her racial and class bias through her awkwardness and her attempt to sound liberal.

By travelling and flâneuring with New Zealand as her focus, she distances herself from the unfair competition she would have had to face in London at the time, as an unknown peripheral artist of the empire. Forging a new identity and abandoning partly the colonial identity of a Pakeha, she attempts to become a rural flâneuse. As a rural flâneuse, her inspiration is found neither in the centre of the empire, which rejects her, nor in the peripheral hubs of the empire, which she snubs. Going out into the wild Urewera is for her a means to set herself apart as an artist, wanderer, traveller and writer; she does not achieve this at all times, as the empire pervades her thoughts in her writing but, nevertheless, *The Urewera Notebook* is a prime example of her early work, representative of her complex outlook towards the empire and society before leaving New Zealand for Europe and never returning. Mansfield, at this point of her life, is an example, as Frayn states, of a 'writer outside of the metropolitan avant-garde', 'inevitably marked by difference, with' her 'representation of unfamiliar

lives and landscapes often serving to obscure commonalities of experience in modernity'.[151] Mansfield offered a peripheral viewpoint, one which was a window into the lesser-known lives and landscapes of New Zealand under the influence of the British Empire.

She consciously and subconsciously deals with modernist issues, such as when she proclaims that she prefers the Maori over the Pakeha; when she runs to the river as a rural flâneuse to show her rebellious attitude to the empire and society's restrictions; when on the train, she places her body in relation to the Maori to show her liberal attitude. Even her bodily relationship to the Maori is an extension of her political and better-informed, compared to other female writers and travellers of her time, reaction to the British Empire and conservative middle-class Wellington. Ultimately, she never manages to fully cross the liminal point and become a rural flâneuse. She always remains within the empire's safety zone. She is a rural flâneuse, but as mentioned in various phases of this chapter, she is more in the making or in progress, for lack of a better term.

Given that she wrote *The Urewera Notebook* in the first decade of the 20th century, perhaps this is indicative that Mansfield is a preliminary form of the rural flâneuse; one whose hesitant wanders and social observations paved the way for future modernist flâneuses to be inspired and to venture further afield. Importantly, they will be able to venture with a kind of confidence that Mansfield's society never granted her. Understanding Mansfield as an early example of a rural, Pakeha flâneur forces us to face the intriguing question that naturally follows: If such interesting findings regarding Mansfield's identity, embodied relationship to nature and her social surroundings can be drawn through researching her façade as an antipodean, rural, modernist flâneuse, what further fascinating findings can be reached, if more such rural settings, beyond New Zealand, are studied? This question, which can also be applied to future scholarly work, brings me to Chapter Two, where D. H. Lawrence meandered in the Italian and Swiss Alps as a sick, rural flâneur.

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[151] Andrew Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', *English Studies*, 104.3 (2023), pp. 478–499 (p. 495).

CHAPTER TWO

'What could one do but wander about?':

D. H. Lawrence as a Sick, Rural Flâneur

in *Twilight in Italy*

Introduction: The Formation of a Prodigious and Sick Walker

This chapter examines D. H. Lawrence's walks in *Twilight in Italy*[1] as a prime example of a sick rural flâneur, one whose journeys are to an extent determined by his health conditions and social restrictions regarding his and others' health.[2] The journey that D. H. Lawrence describes in the Italian and Swiss Alps in *Twilight in Italy* has previously been studied as a means of escapism, a spiritual challenge and an impressive walking feat by a number of researchers. Carl Krockel, similarly, has interpreted *Twilight in Italy* as a form of 'escapism, in this case, from the weather in England'.[3] More recently, Catherine Brown has stated that the Alps represented for Lawrence a 'change of view of nature, humanity in relation to nature, and God in relation to both'.[4] Jan Morris in the introduction in *Twilight in Italy* (2015) stated that Lawrence was preoccupied by 'natural beauties, the dignity of labour, inherited craftsmanship and the overbearing threat of the Machine Age',[5] while Gifford has

[1] D. H. Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[2] Lawrence's work includes a number of non-fiction essays, which could also be read as an example of rural flânerie. For instance, *Sea and Sardinia*, as well as *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays* deal with Lawrence's meanders through Italy and Europe. Similarly, *Mornings in Mexico* provides examples of Lawrence's wanderings in America. *Twilight in Italy* serves its purpose of demonstrating an initial example of rural flânerie and where this can lead us to further understanding Lawrence's work and perspective as a modernist wanderer and thinker.

[3] Carl Krockel, *D. H. Lawrence and Germany: The Politics of Influence* (Rodopi, 2007), p. 209.

[4] Catherine Brown, 'Climbing Down the Alpine Pisgah: Lawrence's Relationships with the Alps', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, 39.1 (2014), pp. 67-78 (p. 67).

[5] D. H. Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy*, ed. by Jan Morris (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 12.

highlighted how 'nature was at the heart of Lawrence's life and work'.[6] Finally, Tim Gupwell has recently suggested that Lawrence would possibly concur with Spinoza that 'God is Nature'.[7] In this chapter, I will discuss how Lawrence uses his walking and rural flânerie in the Italian and Swiss Alps so as to adopt the figure of a sick flâneur, defined by his fear of a future tuberculosis diagnosis and by his fearful realisation that Western civilisation, especially during WWI, when he was revising *Twilight in Italy*, was facing an inevitable downfall.

Lawrence was born on '11 September 1885 in a small, terraced house on a street which runs steeply downhill from the high street in Eastwood, not many miles from Nottingham.'[8] As a child, he was first described regarding his weak health when his 'mother was pushing him in a pram while he was still a baby'; upon meeting a neighbour, Mrs Lawrence expresses her fear whether she would be 'able to raise such a delicate child'.[9] So delicate was his body, that he only began attending school regularly at 7. At the age of 16, a serious bout of pneumonia almost killed him, and it was the final bout, in 1911, when he was again 'gravely ill with pneumonia', that he was told that 'he must not go back to his job as a schoolteacher because "he was threatened with consumption".'[10] Ill health was a heavy burden throughout Lawrence's life and as we know, tuberculosis, the disease which Lawrence, and many others of his time, feared, would reveal itself as the reason that would lead Lawrence, at the age of forty-four, to his premature death.

Interestingly, Lawrence has been described by David Ellis as a 'prodigious walker' in his 'younger days'; the latter briefly mentions the 'three occasions [on which] he had crossed the Alps largely on foot', which are this chapter's focus.[11] I agree that Lawrence's walks are prodigious and

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[6] Terry Gifford, *D. H. Lawrence, Ecofeminism and Nature* (Taylor and Francis, 2022), p. 5.

[7] Tim Gupwell, 'Pluralists and Pantheists: Spinoza, Deleuze and the non-fiction of D.H. Lawrence', *Études Britanniques Contemporaines,* 60.60 (2021), pp. 1-16 (p. 9).

[8] David Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 11.

[9] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 11.

[10] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 16.

[11] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 3.

remarkable; however, my study aims to add to Ellis' understanding. By looking at the pattern of his walks, his problematic bodily relationship to himself, society, other people and nature, and combining this with an understanding of the historical and biographical context of Lawrence's essays, I aim to show that behind this 'prodigious walker', lay a sick, rural flâneur who was obsessively trying to fight his fear for ill health and tuberculosis through walking and roaming Italy's countryside and mountain heights; while meandering, and through his problematic bodily relationship to his surroundings, he offers his social commentary and criticism, in true flâneur-like fashion. As Ellis remarked, Lawrence developed 'a superstitious attachment to those places where he had experienced relief from his condition and a corresponding distaste for those which had been the scene of some crisis'.[12] I concur with Ellis and show, through my close reading, that when Lawrence walks and moves in his surroundings, he expresses this 'relief' and 'distaste' for a place through his bodily satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Because of the importance of his body in my close reading of Lawrence, I will also use, apart from theories on the flâneur, the use of which is applied throughout my thesis, theories of disability and embodiment studies, so as to clearly illustrate my arguments on Lawrence's problematic embodied relationship to his rural environment and to urban society.

The Book's Reception then and now

Twilight in Italy is a compilation of essays written in 1912, a pivotal year in Lawrence's life. This is when he travelled abroad for the first time,[13] 'left England with its philistine, repressive culture, and his job as a teacher'[14] and eloped with Frieda Weekly, née Richthofen. With Frieda, Lawrence was to spend time, 'almost penniless and partly on foot',[15] passing through and walking the Alps into Switzerland,

[12] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 4.

[13] Neil Roberts, *D. H. Lawrence, Travel and Cultural Difference* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 2.

[14] Stefania Michelucci, 'The Fortunes of D. H. Lawrence in Italy', in *The Reception of D. H. Lawrence in Europe*, ed. by Dieter Mehl and Crista Jansohn (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007), pp. 79-92 (p. 79-80).

[15] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 2.

Austria and Italy. They spent a whole year of their time in Gargnano on Lake Garda.[16] Michelucci explains that his essays were 'originally published in *The English Review* in 1913 under the title "Italian Studies: By the Lago di Garda"'[17], whereas the revised version came out as a published book by Duckworth in June 1916.[18] The book was not particularly well received, indeed, 1500 copies were made and it was only reprinted in 1924[19]; consequently, the income from the book was also not high, making it an unsuccessful venture, professionally and financially. One of the first reviews of the book, published in *The Observer* in 1916, harshly suggests that what 'Mr. Lawrence needs is education', as, despite 'passages of wonderful descriptive power, and of fanciful beauty', what 'spoils the book is Mr. Lawrence's skimble-skamble philosophy'.[20] Indeed, in another review, published the same year in the *Manchester Guardian*, the reviewer recognises that the book is no 'ordinary tourist's notebook', and acknowledges Lawrence's talent in describing 'the making of new Italy'.[21] However, the writer concludes, Lawrence, like the country itself, will come to terms with new Italy and 'Mr. Lawrence will pass out of his twilight'.[22]

In contrast, however, to the original reviewer's dismissive attitude towards Lawrence's 'skimble-skamble philosophy', it was Lawrence's philosophy which ignited the huge future academic interest and research, including my own study here. The philosophical content of this travelogue means that the essays do not limit themselves to beautiful descriptions of the scenery; they focus on

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[16] Michelucci, 'The Fortunes of D. H. Lawrence in Italy', pp. 79-80.

[17] Stefania Michelucci, 'L'Espace Perdu: D. H. Lawrence's Travel Writings', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 8.1 (2004), pp. 35-48 (p. 37).

[18] Stefania Michelucci has argued that it was Lawrence's 'wish to escape from the wasteland of mechanisation and industrialisation […] at the time of World War I, and to find an ideal … place where humankind could establish a harmonious relationship with Nature'. See: Michelucci, 'L'Espace Perdu: D. H. Lawrence's Travel Writings', p. 35.

[19] Jonathan Long, 'D. H. Lawrence and Book Publication During the Great War: A Study in Stagnation', *Etudes Lawrenciennes*, 46.46 (2015), section 4.

[20] Anonymous, 'Twilight in Italy', *The Observer*, 25 June 1916, p. 4.

[21] Anonymous, 'New Books: The Cause and Cure of War', *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 July 1916, p. 3.

[22] Anonymous, 'New Books: The Cause and Cure of War', p. 3.

nature, mechanisation, social class structure, identity and nationhood, as well as the inevitable twilight of old Italy which was being mechanised. For instance, a particular scene which takes place in the lemon gardens, and which I analyse in detail further on in the chapter, is indicative of how Lawrence uses the lemon gardens and the military path on which he is walking, as a symbol of old Italy which was being dominated by mechanisation and modernisation. As Lawrence 'walked along the military road', he remarked on mechanisation's physical impact on the Italian natural landscape: the 'enormous, unsightly buildings bulg[ing] out on the mountain-sides, rising in two or three receding tiers, blind, dark, sordid-looking places.'[23] Technology is dominating the natural landscape and Lawrence does not fail to highlight the impact of mechanisation on culture, country and land.

Lawrence's setting, unlike Mansfield's in Chapter One, is on rural European soil, the first such study in this thesis: I have moved the figure of the rural flâneur out of the antipodean context in which it was first explored by Grimshaw. Robert Burden has stated that 'in much of [Lawrence's] writing, landscape is given a greater symbolic force as the essence of the culture' and I concur with this.[24] To say that Italy was emotionally close to Lawrence would be an understatement. For all his complaints regarding Italian life at times, he returned at least two more times for lengthy periods, seeking, among many other things, its sun and open air and a contrasting land to the mechanised north. Old Italy, in the scene in the lemon gardens, is the rural area mechanised by capitalist modernity; the genuine individuality of the area is lost to the unifying, but dominating, urbanised and mechanised European North.

As referred to briefly above, the book's content is a mix of Lawrence's experiences over a period of years, ranging from 1912, when the essays were written, to 1916, when the essays were revised. The revision of the essays, therefore, took place, historically, once the seismic Great War had

[23] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 128.

[24] Robert Burden, 'Home Thoughts from Abroad: Cultural Difference and the Critique of Modernity in D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy* (1916) and Other Travel Writing', in *Landscape and Englishness*, ed. by Robert Burden and Stephan Kohl (Rodopi, 2006), pp. 137-165 (p. 145).

already begun. Importantly, Michael Bell highlights that Lawrence viewed this war as 'an expression of something in the psyche of modern Europeans; it exposed a collective condition'.[25] I argue that another product of the modern psyche of European civilisation, as understood by Lawrence, was tuberculosis, or other forms of chronic health problems. These illnesses too, in Lawrence's mind, were a consequence of society's downfall. Tuberculosis was for Lawrence, as will be shown through my close reading, an expression of the modern European psyche; a product of society's degradation, and, as I argue, also his means to criticise society through his own weak body and his walks.

The Stigma of Tuberculosis

Before I proceed to an overview of the historical context and of the theories that will be applied, as well as my close reading, I wish to address the impact of tuberculosis on Lawrence's work and to set my work within the research conducted. Firstly, I wish to make clear what I define as a sick flâneur. It is undeniably true that there is no concrete evidence that Lawrence had active tuberculosis before 1924, when Dorothy Brett recorded it, as David Ellis explains in his book *Death and the Author*. Lawrence, we are told, spat blood, was examined and was formally informed by doctors that he had the disease.[26] Ellis mentions David Garnett's claim that he spotted a bloodied handkerchief, 'crumpled in Lawrence's hand' in '1913', but firmly concludes that 'there is no other suggestion of his having tuberculosis at this time, or in the five years of the war'.[27]

Lawrence's biographers agree on this and concur that he was not sick with tuberculosis before this point, given all the historical sources that are available to us today. For this reason, it may seem odd, or perhaps unsafe, to describe Lawrence as a 'sick' flâneur, as he was not suffering from tuberculosis in 1912, nor did he suffer from it until long after the revision of his travel essays was

[25] Michael Bell, 'Freud and Lawrence: Thoughts on War and Instinct', *Etudes Lawrenciennes*, 46 (2015), section 4.

[26] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 17.

[27] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 16.

completed. Consequently, to assume that the main reason Lawrence wanted to walk was to face tuberculosis may seem unwise and presumptuous. Mark Kinhead-Weekes, for instance, in his 1996 biography on Lawrence, stated that the reason Lawrence and Frieda had decided to 'walk through Tyrol into' Italy was not merely because 'it would be cheaper' but also because they felt 'the need to adventure further beyond the boundaries of the known'.[28] I do not disagree with this reasoning. It is clear also through my close reading of *Twilight in Italy* that they wanted to adventure and meander.

However, I do wish to add that Lawrence may have, consciously or subconsciously, chosen walking and the Alps because of his weak health, his 'bronchials', as he insisted on calling them. I am not myself suggesting that Lawrence may have suffered from tuberculosis earlier than that. Indeed, David Ellis has gone determinedly against a wave of academic claims which have suggested that Lawrence may have infected Katherine Mansfield, as, if this were proven true, that would mean that Lawrence was, in fact, actively tubercular many years before 1924. As Ellis writes:

> It has been suggested that it was Lawrence who infected Mansfield with tuberculosis … to be sure that he was the source [of Mansfield's infection], we would have to know not merely that he was already tubercular in 1916, but that his disease was then in an active phase. The surviving evidence casts some doubt on at least the second of these propositions.[29]

To the best of my knowledge, Ellis does not provide the sources of these suggestions in his book. He claims that Lawrence did not suffer from active tuberculosis in 1916 but does not seem able to claim with the same level of certainty that he was not tubercular in the same year. In other words, the surviving evidence makes us sure that he was not actively suffering from the disease, but the evidence does not seem to suffice to be sure that was not tubercular from 1912 to 1916. Ellis, however, importantly highlights how 'gravely ill' Lawrence was with pneumonia in 1911, just before his travels

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[28] Mark Kinhead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence, Vol. 2: Triumph to Exile 1912-1922* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 23-24.

[29] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D. H. Lawrence Died, and was Remembered*, p. 15.

to Italy, and upon recovering, was told that 'he must not go back to his job as a schoolteacher because he was "threatened with consumption"'.[30]

Andrew Harrison too, in his own biography on D. H. Lawrence, similarly highlights that, in 1911, 'a chill' developed into 'double pneumonia' which led a doctor to instruct him not to go 'to school again' or risk being 'consumptive'.[31] Pneumonia, Harrison claims, 'promised to remove him from onerous teaching commitments and gave him the perfect opportunity to try forging an alternative career as a writer'.[32] Harrison and Ellis' interpretations as to why he did not return to school are valid, but do not consider the natural impact his bad health must have had on his mind and, consequently, on his decisions in 1911. Ellis does briefly mention that 'there were many severe psychological problems associated with admitting you had tuberculosis in Lawrence's time' but does not delve into how these psychological effects may have influenced Lawrence's decisions and writing.[33] It must also have been terrifying to have been told that at such a young age that he had just narrowly escaped death and that lung problems would affect his body throughout his life. Being told that you were 'threatened with consumption', apart from being common at the time, was also the reason you could be put in a '*preventorium*, [which is the name the French gave to the] designated institutions where those' who suffered from it might be sent.[34] Lawrence used all means available to him not to surrender his physical freedom to such an imprisoning setting.

A researcher who has expressed hesitation towards Ellis' views, and who has proved inspiring in my own development of the concept of Lawrence as a sick, rural flâneur, is Judith Ruderman. Ruderman, in her 2011 article 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', addresses Ellis' dismissive views regarding the use of illness to explain Lawrence's life and work before 1924. Contrastingly, she suggests that 'one might profitably examine Lawrence's

[30] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 15-16.

[31] Andrew Harrison, *The Life of D. H. Lawrence: A Critical Biography* (John Wiley & Sons, 2016), p. 67.

[32] Harrison, *The Life of D. H. Lawrence: A Critical Biography*, p. 67-68.

[33] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 24.

[34] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 16.

employment of the disease to interpret his environment' and interprets Lawrence's use of disease to extend 'the kinds of personal metaphors' from self to society; using illness as a metaphor 'became for him a handy way – that is, a way literally close to hand – of diagnosing society's ills'.[35] Ruderman draws on Sontag to make the claim that 'in using disease to speak of their dis-ease with society', Lawrence, alongside other authors Ruderman researches, channelled fear, dread and suffering into useful diagnoses for society.[36] As Ruderman claims, and I agree, Lawrence 'found ways to express tuberculosis beyond those of skin pallor, coughing, and blood on the handkerchief.'[37] Lawrence's disease, as Ruderman suggests (or embodied discomfort, as I prefer to name it), and his walking in *Twilight in Italy*, as I suggest, become his means in his writing to subtly refer to his fear of tuberculosis, slow deterioration of his health and his dissatisfaction with society.

Ellis', Harrison's and Michelucci's contributions have offered a sound, clear basis on which to build my research; using their ideas, and Ruderman's, I am suggesting that Lawrence may have sought for himself a destination which could cover all his needs – Italy was cheap, far from the familiarity of the confining middle-class, English, society; it was also a new beginning with Frieda, as Ellis, Harrison and Michelucci claim. However, and most importantly for this thesis, Italy, as a destination, was also a place which allowed Lawrence to strengthen his weak body.[38] I draw on Ellis again to show further

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[35] Judith Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, 36.2 (2011), pp. 72-91 (p. 74).

[36] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 78.

[37] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 78.

[38] Ellis, despite not linking Lawrence's incident with pneumonia in 1911 to his decision to walks in the high altitude of the Alps, explains brilliantly Lawrence's attitude towards the disease and how much he suffered while growing up because of his weak body. He mentions that there is 'confirmation that he was delicate and often ill' because of the 'fact that he did not attend school regularly until he was 7'. See Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 15. Ellis, however, admits in the same book that 'as a disease of the lungs, tuberculosis was by far the biggest and most consistent killer in Western Europe throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries' and that 'so prevalent was tuberculosis in the England of Lawrence's time that you would be bound to know many people affected by it'. See: Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, pp. 10-11.

evidence that demonstrates Lawrence's negative attitude to illness and how this may have contributed to his decision to walk to Italy. Ellis admits that when Lawrence was officially diagnosed with tuberculosis, he reacted in denial, and 'in the five remaining years of his life', Ellis points out that only once did Lawrence use the word 'tubercular in relation to himself', 'just a fortnight before he died'.[39] Ellis further admits that even at this final stage of life, Lawrence insisted that it was his 'bronchials' which gave him trouble, not his lungs, repeating this distinction like a 'mantra as if to protect himself from the fate of people like Gertie Cooper or Katherine Mansfield'.[40] Finally, Ellis importantly describes Lawrence as 'someone who seeks to wish away the threat of tuberculosis by refusing to acknowledge it has any relevance to himself'.[41] As I have demonstrated, Ellis makes it vividly clear that Lawrence had a lifelong feeling of revulsion towards tuberculosis and, even when there was undeniable proof that he had active tuberculosis, he still avoided using the word to describe his condition.

A particular explanation, given by Ellis on Lawrence's attitude to tuberculosis, is especially helpful in illustrating my argument. In 1920, when Lawrence wrote to Mansfield, he verbally attacked her by referring to her active tuberculosis: 'you revolt me stewing in your consumption'.[42] Ellis dismisses the notion that Lawrence may perhaps be 'implicitly comparing Mansfield's attitude to tuberculosis with his own' by saying that '1920 is long before he had been told he was tubercular' so Lawrence, he concludes, 'seems more likely [in this case, to be] expressing a general contempt for any surrender to illness'.[43] I agree that Lawrence likely did not have active tuberculosis in 1920, but, as the evidence compiled in my thesis shows, Lawrence may have, in fact, repeatedly compared his own weak health to tubercular bodies, such as Mansfield's and others, which he rejected, and to healthy

[39] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 22.

[40] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 23.

[41] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 23.

[42] D. H. Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence: Volume III: October 1916 – June 1921*, ed. by James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 150.

[43] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 29.

bodies, which he envied. Lawrence compared Mansfield's active tuberculosis to his disgust for his own lifelong bronchial problems through symptoms found in both cases, such as a consistent cough. Importantly, Ellis suggests that if Lawrence's remarks of disgust towards tuberculosis 'were meant to ward off evil and death from tuberculosis, if they were (that is) what Freud called apotropaic, then it is possible to make a case for thinking they succeeded.'[44] Ellis too admits to the appearance of emotional language in Lawrence's writing which reveals his disgust towards tuberculosis. My research does not focus on Lawrence's later years, but Ellis' suggestion further encourages my thesis' main argument that the thought of the disease sufficed to make Lawrence produce not only apotropaic thoughts but to also take action so as to ward off the possibility of tuberculosis.

In my analysis, I wish to draw attention to how Lawrence's walking in the Alps may be indicative of his own active struggle regarding his fear of tuberculosis, in the hope that this new approach will bring fresh insights into the importance and the complex role rural walking and flâneuring played in Lawrence's creative process and in his criticism of society; the disease may not have been medically active in his body, but it was, nonetheless, actively influencing his thoughts and ideas. As a consequence, it is appropriate for me to see Lawrence as a sick flâneur, as his deeply ingrained fear of tuberculosis pervades his writing and melds with his ideas on society. Ellis concludes on Lawrence and his dying days by explaining that Lawrence refused to 'acknowledge [that tuberculosis] has any relevance to himself'[45] and that he maintained his 'general contempt for any surrender to illness'.[46] Perhaps, as my thesis demonstrates, this contempt and refusal can also be found in his rural meanders in the Alps in 1912, as a way in which to express his dissatisfaction with his weak body and, by extension, with society.

This is the reason it is worth observing Lawrence from this angle of the rural, sick flâneur; by observing him as this figure, his body and flâneurings can reveal a perspective on his ideas that may

[44] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 30.

[45] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 23.

[46] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 29.

have been missed. Naturally, I concur with Ellis regarding the official date of Lawrence's diagnosis and take his suggestion that Lawrence may have used apotropaic remarks to ward off tuberculosis in his writing; I further apply Ellis' suggestion to Lawrence's travels, walks and meanders as a rural, sick flâneur. I claim, as does Ruderman, that disease can be read as a source of fear for Lawrence and a metaphor to talk about society. These written representations of this fear in *Twilight in Italy* are Lawrence's reaction to his traumatic past with his bronchial problems, as he called them, and the bout of double, almost fatal, pneumonia in 1911 which threatened him with consumption. Both must have scared him greatly, leading him to take the life-changing decision to walk in the Alps. This decision produced *Twilight in Italy*, a creative travel writing amalgam of walking, flâneuring and social criticism, as well as Lawrence's means to indirectly address his fear of tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis and *Twilight in Italy*: A Historical Context

The definition of the flâneur has already been given in the introduction, but I think it important to repeat briefly once more that the flâneur, as understood in this research, has undoubtedly been inspired by the initial definition of a saunterer, provided by Charles Baudelaire,[47] and the 1930s political dimension given to the flâneur by Walter Benjamin. In particular, Michael Grimshaw's extension of this theory to a rural flâneur in New Zealand was inspiring in creating a framework with which I could approach and analyse Lawrence's travels at the brink of WWI.[48] Stefania Michelucci has also pointed out how travelling, for Lawrence, 'was an essential part both of [his] work and of his life' and described him as a 'restless traveller'; importantly, she notes, as I also wish to highlight, he managed to be such a figure despite 'his ill health and economic difficulties'.[49] Burden highlights how

[47] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010).

[48] Mike Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 13 (2012), pp. 144-153.

[49] Michelucci, 'L'Espace Perdu: D. H. Lawrence's Travel Writings', p. 26.

Lawrence's travels are 'a quest for other ways of life where old organic relationships still obtain'.[50] Finally, Michelucci also observes that Lawrence, in *Twilight in Italy* in particular, becomes an observer and a seer, both key qualities of the flâneur.[51] I could not agree more with Michelucci; indeed, when observing the Italian workers balancing, Lawrence cannot help but admire the fact that despite Paolo being an old 'peasant of fifty-three', his body remains 'robust, with full strong limbs and a powerful chest'.[52] By treating the two separate figures, observer and seer, which Michelucci proposes, as one figure, that of the rural flâneur who meanders in his rural arcades and offers his social observations as he goes along, further findings on Lawrence's outlook are revealed.

As I briefly explained above, I will also be using theories on disability to explain the close readings on Lawrence's walks and embodied interaction with the rural environment. By disability, I refer to the medicalised term that Wasserman and Asch (2013) offer, namely that a disability is an 'impairment, injury, or disease that involves or results in the absence, loss, or reduction of normal or species-typical function'.[53] Despite not suffering from tuberculosis, Lawrence's body, from 1912 to 1916, had the aforementioned serious bouts of pneumonia, one in 1901 and one in 1911; to add to this, he also confirmed, time and time again, how much he suffered in his every-day life because of his bronchials, which expressed themselves predominantly through consistent coughs. Lawrence's bronchials caused his impairment, defined as such by the doctors who examined him in 1911; he was now not fit for the job he had been educated and trained to do; his life's normal or typical function, as stated by Wasserman and Asch, had now been reduced. In fact, he was forced to completely change life paths.

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[50] Burden, 'Home Thoughts from Abroad: Cultural Difference and the Critique of Modernity in D. H. Lawrence's Twilight in Italy (1916) and Other Travel Writing', p. 146.

[51] Michelucci, 'L'Espace Perdu: D. H. Lawrence's Travel Writings', p. 36.

[52] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 156.

[53] David Wasserman and Adrienne Asch, 'Understanding the Relationship Between Disability and Well-Being', in *Disability and the Good Human Life*, ed. by Jerome Bickenbach, Franziska Felder and Barbara Schmitz (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 139-167 (p. 140).

Because of the immense consequences of his ill health and the doctors' diagnosis on his life, and similarly to many of his contemporaries, 'Lawrence resented the dominant position science was beginning to assume in Western culture and in particular its presumption to be able to explain everything'.[54] Alongside his distrust was also his belief that 'disease had its origin in states of mind and feeling', a 'resolutely psychosomatic view of illness not surprising in someone who refused to believe that matter preceded mind'.[55] Just like he blamed the psyche of Europeans for the war, he also blamed a weak mind for tuberculosis, which, he believed, had been caused because of society's poor life conditions. By blaming mind and feeling, in addition to society, for a disease he feared, rather than bad fortune, he may have been trying to find new hope in the possibility of developing a strong, healthy body and mind through walking. It is only natural that all of these issues enter his writing. In this sense, and in combination with the above discussion on tuberculosis and Lawrence's work, I am using the term 'sick' to define Lawrence as a rural flâneur.

I will also be drawing, when appropriate, on theories of embodiment, so as to explain Lawrence's embodied reaction to the rural setting through an understanding of his cognitive fear of tuberculosis. As Tim Rohrer highlights, 'the body in pain affects how the mind works'.[56] Lawrence's weak body and chronic bronchial problems created an obsession and fear of tuberculosis; this anxiety is seen when closely examining his writing even when he is expressing rejection of the sick and disabled, as he did with Mansfield.[57] He tries to face his fear by walking to the Alps, to prove himself

[54] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 26.

[55] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 28.

[56] Tim Rohrer, 'The Body in Space: Dimensions of Embodiment', in *Embodiment*, ed. by Tom Ziemke, Jordan Zlatev and Roslyn M. Frank (Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 339-379 (p. 342).

[57] Indeed, Lawrence's relationship to disabled bodies has been noted by Michael Davidson, in his article 'Paralysed Modernities and Biofutures: Bodies and Minds in Modern Literature'. In this article he notes that 'D. H. Lawrence calls for a "lethal chamber" in which to euthanize the "sick, the halt, and the maimed,"; we see [, Davidson concludes,] the close connection between vanguard aesthetic formations and ideas of bodily health and ability. See: Michael Davidson, 'Paralysed Modernities and Biofutures: Bodies and Minds in Modern

physically capable, and therefore healthy, but his weak body pervades his mind and, subsequently, his writing, as my close reading will demonstrate. Lawrence's weak body, the antithetical version to a strong, masculine male model of a man which he admired,[58] was subject to a potential future tuberculosis and, as such, Lawrence fought this probable future outcome by, firstly, obsessively walking so as to prove to the world and himself that his body was still healthy, and by, secondly, philosophising on society's accountability for its downfall, through his problematic embodied relationship to the environment.

It is important to understand that 'in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the mere word, [that is, tuberculosis], was considered to be so potent that people were fearful of voicing it'.[59] Indeed, the *Manchester Guardian*, in 1912, mentioned that '250000 people [were] affected with consumption' in the country and that Manchester in particular 'had been combating the disease for something like twenty years', leading to a 'large number of deaths of children under five years of age'.[60] The problem, however, was not restricted there. John Worthen's biography of Lawrence notes that there were 'regular epidemics [in Eastwood, where Lawrence was brought up, and] … tuberculosis and bronchitis accounted for 17% of deaths in the area'.[61] Indeed, Lawrence had remarked just before he died that 'I have had bronchitis since I was fortnight old', thus admitting, as previously mentioned, that his health problems had plagued him chronically and since childhood.[62]

Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, ed. by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 74-89 (p. 77).

[58] Indeed, David Ellis has claimed that 'From her first meeting with him, his wife had been a great admirer of his legs and it is striking how often in his fiction his male protagonists are praised for this part of their anatomy'. See: Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 26). Clearly physical strength, agility and a healthy, masculine body meant a lot to him during that period and later on in his life.

[59] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 77.

[60] Anonymous, 'Consumption: The Conference on its Prevention. The Insurance AC', *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 June 1912, p. 3.

[61] John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence, The Early Years, 1885-1912* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 5-6.

[62] Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence, The Early Years, 1885-1912*, pp. 5-6.

This social context most certainly formed Lawrence's attitude towards the disease, as he seemed to be aware of the fate, or treatments, that many patients of diagnosed tuberculosis were forced to suffer, such as 'restricted months in a sanatorium, perhaps surgery … that did no real good: and never any certainty of cure'.[63] In *Twilight in Italy*, he shows his love for freedom of movement; 'in the morning', while setting off for his walk, he writes that 'it was sunny, the lake was blue. By night I should be nearly at the crest of my journey. I was glad'.[64] His stance and his active decisions throughout his life seem to point to the fact that he was completely 'unwilling to let that [meaning tuberculosis and being placed in a sanatorium or preventorium] happen to him'.[65]

As a consequence of avoiding such formal type of medical help, Lawrence became restless, constantly searching for a place of refuge and physical and mental serenity. This contrasts to the original definition of the flâneur, who Baudelaire defined as wandering with no purpose. On the contrary, Lawrence, as a sick rural flâneur, is not free; his wanderings are defined by his health. As in Mansfield's case, Lawrence's flânerie comes with certain restrictions. Lawrence's restlessness was also noted by his friends, such as Dorothy Brett, who in her memories of Lawrence, mentioned that he was unable to stay in one place. Brett, indeed, as Ruderman records, described him as one of 'those people', referring to tuberculosis sufferers, and then proceeds to explain that people like him, 'can't stay put … The TB people. They never can. They are always looking for the perfect spot. … They wander and wander and wander'.[66] This description fits perfectly with Lawrence, as despite not having active

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[63] 'Manuscripts and Special Collections, Chapter 9: Last Years 1928-1930', in *D. H. Lawrence Resources, Extended Biography, Manuscript and Special Collections.* <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/lawrence/extendedbiography/chapter9.aspx> [accessed 07/11/2023].

[64] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 212.

[65] 'Manuscripts and Special Collections, Chapter 9: Last Years 1928-1930', in *D. H. Lawrence Resources, Extended Biography, Manuscript and Special Collections*. <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/lawrence/extendedbiography/chapter9.aspx> [accessed 7 November 2023].

[66] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 74.

tuberculosis until later in life, as past and current research suggests, he, nevertheless, exemplified and manifested for Brett the stereotype of the tuberculosis sufferer who was always moving aimlessly from place to place, akin to a flâneur.

The long history of tuberculosis in modern England and Europe, and the social classes it affected, also helps to explain why Lawrence and many others were quite terrified by the mere thought of the disease. To set the scene for *Twilight in Italy*, I will begin my historical overview of tuberculosis at the end of the 19th century, in 1882, just three years before Lawrence was born and thus, an indication of the social context of the time in which he grew up. 1882 was the year German Dr Robert Koch made the era changing discovery of Mycobacterium tuberculosis, the bacteria that causes tuberculosis.[67] After this discovery, and during Lawrence's boyhood in the 1890s, the liquid lymph was used to try to cure the disease. The cure and its success may not have been certain but class differences were brought to the surface because of the huge discrepancies between the lower and upper social classes' access to medical care. Indeed, it is worth mentioning that one interviewed researcher of the *Manchester Guardian*, in 1890, who was 'the physician of the trade unions, and worked among the lower classes', 'only select[ed] surgical cases [of patients] which [he] deemed interesting to experiment upon'.[68] Things had improved by 1912, when *Twilight in Italy* was being composed, but tuberculosis was still a great social problem.

Regarding the success of Koch's cure, an 1890 article from the *Manchester Guardian* indirectly admits that Koch's lymph treatment was not yet to be trusted, as it concluded that 'only after all cases have been treated [successfully] at the early stages, will the new method become a true blessing to suffering humanity'.[69] As the treatment had not been applied to a high number of people, there was

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[67] E. Cambau and M. Drancourt, 'Steps towards the discovery of Mycobacterium tuberculosis by Robert Koch, 1882', *Clin Microbiol Infect*, 20.3 (2014), pp. 196-201 (p. 197).

[68] Anonymous, 'The "Consumption Cure." Expected Influx of Patients at Berlin', *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 November 1890, p. 8.

[69] Anonymous, 'The Alleged Remedy for Tuberculosis: Description of the Results', *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 November 1890, p. 7.

not sufficient validation of the ability to cure. The phrase 'suffering humanity' also demonstrates the emotionally hefty attitude the media were adopting when portraying tuberculosis patients. Similarly hesitant attitudes towards the lymph treatment can also be seen through a number of article titles of the time. For instance, 'The Consumption Cure: A Fatal Result', which described how a 'girl of 17', 'of strong physique', 'had been subjected to the Koch treatment for lupus' and died after a severe reaction to the inoculation.[70] The medical community 'came to the conclusion that it was difficult to decide the therapeutical value of the remedy'.[71] Another article, entitled 'Dr Koch's Remedy for Tuberculosis', uses the validity of 'Professor Anderson Stuart, of Sydney University' who 'considers that the precise value of the remedy has not yet been fixed' and goes so far as to say that 'in advanced cases of consumption the lymph is positively injurious'.[72] Clearly, the success of the Koch cure was, by no means, always clear.

To add to the high cost and possible dangerous outcome of these cures, was the significant number of medics who believed that tuberculosis needed specific, remote, almost segregated, venues in order to be treated successfully. For instance, 'Dr Gauvain expressed the opinion that local authorities made a mistake when they treated these cases in small institutions near or in the towns. Large institutions were needed, placed in suitable situations in the open country, and staffed by experts'.[73] By creating such remote centres, it would be possible for the greater part of society to protect the healthy population. Obviously, such a centre could also be interpreted as a way of targeting and ostracising the people that needed such centres. Lawrence, by roaming the mountains, followed the advice given by the mainstream medical community in order to stay healthy; however, when doing so, he did it without the restrictions that came with being treated in a remote medical

[70] Anonymous, 'The Consumption Cure: A Fatal Result', *The Manchester Guardian*, 8 December 1890, p. 8.

[71] Anonymous, 'The Consumption Cure: A Fatal Result', *The Manchester Guardian,* 8 December 1890, p. 8.

[72] Anonymous, 'Dr Koch's Remedy for Tuberculosis', *The Manchester Guardian*, 24 December 1890, p. 8.

[73] Anonymous, 'Consumption: The Conference on its Prevention. The Insurance AC', *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 June 1912, p. 3.

centre, cut off from outside life; he was not willing to be viewed as an ostracised, contaminated prisoner.

Overall, all these articles from Lawrence's formative years remained hesitant as to how much they trusted the results and the ability of the lymph treatment to cure the disease. This information would have been known to Lawrence as it would have been part of his social milieu while growing up. Tuberculosis was, therefore, considered at Lawrence's time, an almost certain road to a premature and slow death. To confront this fear, Lawrence exposed his ill body to the best, natural environment known at his time in order to prevent consumption; that is, sunlight and walking in the mountains. These fears made their way into his travel narrative, at times as a commentary on society, such as when he attacked the north; he writes: 'London and the industrial counties [were] spreading like a blackness over all the world'.[74] At other times, as with the Swiss villagers in the third close reading of this chapter, he explains that he 'could not bear the way they walked and talked, so crambling and material'; he expresses his disgust towards social conformity through his boot which was 'chafing two' of his toes.[75] This becomes his embodied manifestation of social discomfort.

In Lawrence's case, tuberculosis stalked him everywhere, taking the form of an ingrained fear which he could not rid of; it also became part of his body, and, as Ruderman notes, 'his personal ailment as a metaphor for the ills of the early twentieth century'.[76] Flânerie became for him a constant attempt to face a disease that he believed had been caused partially by society's gradual demise, but which, due to existing within him as a fear, did not allow him to be essentially free to roam the earth as he really pleased, as in the archetypal idea of the flâneur. As a rural, sick flâneur, his movements, like Mansfield as a Pakeha in the Urewera, are restricted. He too, like Mansfield, may wish to present himself as walking freely in rurality and rebelling against social norms and expectations; in reality, he, too, did not rebel against society as consistently as he may have wished to seem.

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[74] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[75] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

[76] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 72.

The three passages which I have chosen to close read from *Twilight in Italy* demonstrate the effect that his sick body had on his mental health, his attitude to place, society and walking, as well as the influence on his walking destination choices. The first close reading section sees Lawrence never explaining why he flâneurs when asked by a group of immigrant actors from Italy; contrastingly, he is angered when a fellow walker and countryman does not explain to him his reasons for walking. The second close reading analyses a number of scenes throughout the travelogue which see Lawrence walking and observing a variety of bodies in relation to the ongoing mechanisation. It is in this section that his flânerie reaches the revelation of its nobler aim, in Baudelaire's notion.[77] The third and final close reading section focuses on Lawrence's adopted façade of a ghost who, like a flâneur enjoying his incognito, uses rurality to observe and comment on society's poor structure. All passages reveal a flâneur who grappled with contemporary issues and whose rural writing gave voice to his disillusioned modernist contemplations, hopes and fears during WWI.

An Incognito Idler and a Passionate Moralist: Flâneuring in a Crowd of Italian Actors and Observing a Walking Englishman

Lawrence's walking, flâneuring and writing, was greatly defined by his constantly ill body, 'his dread of the disease', and the medical knowledge of the time.[78] In the first section of my close reading I focus on two separate sections of the book, entitled 'Italians in Exile' and 'The Return Journey'. Both, as Ronald G. Walker explains, are 'largely set in Switzerland and concern Lawrence's later experiences on his return trip to Italy in September of 1913'.[79] They were added by Lawrence in 1915, in the final revised version of the book. This edition, which was also the first publication of *Twilight in Italy*, was eventually published in 1916. This two-year interval, between the 'travel experiences themselves and

[77] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[78] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 74.

[79] Ronald G. Walker, 'Review of *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays* by D. H. Lawrence, ed. by Paul Eggert', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 39.1 (1996), pp. 91-95 (p. 91).

his re-vision of them in the very different context of wartime London, helps to account for the wholesale changes in the essays when Lawrence rewrote them.'[80] As Paul Eggert notes in his introduction to Lawrence's work, 'it was inevitable that the more innocent surface observation of the 1913 essays, and their chatty and anecdotal elements, would be subjected to a new, polarising intellectual tension'.[81] My analysis, too, demonstrates that Lawrence's account of his walking, and subsequent criticism of society, was affected by wartime.

In 'Italians in Exile', Lawrence is talking to a group of Italian actors, who are living and working as immigrants in Switzerland. They ask him where he has come from and the following discussion ensues: '"I am walking to Italy." "On foot?" They looked with wakened eyes. "Yes." So I told them about my journey. They were puzzled. They did not quite understand why I wanted to walk'.[82] As Jeff Wallace has pointed out, *Twilight in Italy* demonstrates 'a range of strategies for dissociating itself from tourism and from the merest suggestion that Lawrence might be anything like on holiday'.[83] Walking in *Twilight in Italy* is seen as quite unique and new and is contrasted to new modes of travel; Lawrence wishes and succeeds to stand out as a traveller. Indeed, the phrase 'I am walking to Italy' is Lawrence's way to avoid being labelled a tourist. As I suggest, the kind of figure he wants to be seen as, although he never uses this exact definition for himself, is a flâneur. Lawrence presents himself to the Italian group as a walker and a wanderer but when asked to give the reasons for choosing to do so, he vaguely writes: 'So I told them about my journey' and then proceeds to change the topic.[84] His

[80] Walker, 'Review of *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, by D. H. Lawrence', p. 93.

[81] Eggert, 'Introduction', in *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays* by D. H. Lawrence, p. lvii.

[82] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 196.

[83] Jeff Wallace, 'The Death of Interest: D.H. Lawrence, Geoff Dyer and Literary Tourism', *D.H. Lawrence Review*, 43.1 (2018), 4-24 (p. 10). It is also worth noting Alberto Lazaro's interpretation of Lawrence's travels. Lazaro suggests that Lawrence felt like a migrant rather than a tourist or a traveller to the countries in which he lived through his studies of his travels but particularly in Australia. See: Alberto Lázaro, 'The Culture of Migration in British Modernist Fiction', *British and American Studies; Timisoara,* 27.27 (2021), pp. 9-17 (p. 15).

[84] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 196.

vague explanation as to why he walks is further evidence of Lawrence as a flâneur, an 'observer' and a 'prince in his incognito wherever he goes' 'to see the world'.[85]

Lawrence never actually describes to his readers why he walked so extensively. Indeed, throughout the whole book, Lawrence fails to explain why specifically and exactly he wanted to walk. The omission of a clear explanation is a first indication that Lawrence perceived the reason he was travelling, on doctor's advice, to avoid consumption, as one that had to be kept secret. As Ruderman has noted, 'Lawrence seems to have wanted to avoid the term [tuberculosis] because of the stigma associated with the disease, evidenced when certain families were shunned in Eastwood because a family member had been treated in a sanatorium'.[86] There was an 'unspeakability of tuberculosis' for Lawrence, because of the social stigma and the literal limitations in freedom. Consequently, it should not come as a surprise that Lawrence would have wished to keep his obsessive fear for his ill health quiet – why raise suspicions and make his life difficult for something he was not even suffering from, when all he was doing was simply taking lengthy walks as a form of precaution against it? It is worth noting once again Dorothy Brett and her memories of Lawrence as a 'TB person' and as one who restlessly moved from place to place throughout his life.[87] By moving from one place to another after short intervals, no person would have the time to cross reference the evidence that would suggest Lawrence was suffering from tuberculosis. By staying in places for short periods of time, as he did in his travels, he was providing for himself an unscrutinised, aimless and undiagnosed life; one that could relate to the type of life that a flâneur should actually be leading.

This idea is revealed again, but in a different form, in the final chapter, 'The Return Journey', where Lawrence encounters another Englishman who is undertaking a similar walking journey. The Englishman explains that,

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[85] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 11.

[86] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 73.

[87] Ruderman, 'D. H. Lawrence's Dis-Ease: Examining the Symptoms of "Illness as Metaphor"', p. 74.

> He had walked round over the Furka Pass, had been on foot four or five days. He had walked tremendously. Knowing no German, and nothing of the mountains, he had set off alone on this tour: he had a fortnight's holiday. So he had come over the Rhône Glacier across the Furka and down from Andermatt to the Lake. On this last day he had walked about thirty mountain miles.
>
> 'But weren't you tired?' [Lawrence] said, aghast.
>
> He was. Under the inflamed redness of his sun- and wind- and snow-burned face he was sick with fatigue. He had done over a hundred miles in the last four days.
>
> 'Did you enjoy it?' [Lawrence] asked.
>
> Oh yes. I wanted to do it all.' He wanted to do it, and he had done it. But God knows what he wanted to do it for. He had now one day at Lucerne, one day at Interlaken and Berne, then London.
>
> [Lawrence] was sorry for him in [his] soul, he was so cruelly tired, so perishingly victorious.
>
> 'Why did you do so much?' [Lawrence] said. 'Why did you come on foot all down the valley when you could have taken the train? Was it worth it?'
>
> 'I think so,' he said.
>
> Yet he was sick with fatigue and over-exhaustion. His eyes were quite dark, sightless: he seemed to have lost the power of seeing, to be virtually blind. He hung his head forward when he had to write a post card, as if he felt his way. But he turned his post card so that [Lawrence] should not see to whom it was addressed; not that [he] was interested [, Lawrence explains]; only [he] noticed his little, cautious, English movement of privacy.[88]

Lawrence's adverb 'perishingly' highlights that being 'victorious' in walking comes with a high price to pay. Lawrence then asks him the final question, one that would come naturally to most people

[88] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, pp. 210-211.

encountering a person that was attempting such a strange and difficult feat: 'Why did you do so much? … Why did you come on foot all down the valley when you could have taken the train? Was it worth it?', to which the Englishman replies 'I think so'.[89] The Englishman, as Lawrence had done before him with the Italian actors, does not give Lawrence a clear answer as to why he walked so much. Lawrence asks again and points out to himself an inconsistency between the Englishman's narrative and his appearance; despite the Englishman stating that the extreme walking journey was worth it, the Englishman still seemed, to Lawrence, 'sick with fatigue and over-exhaustion'. It seems as if Lawrence is guiding the reader to also wonder and ponder on the Englishman's walking.

Lawrence, in the conversation with the Englishman, seems to take on the role that the Italian actors took on when they found his own travelling and walking absurd and outrageous. He presents himself to the reader as if not able to understand why the Englishman has decided to undertake this journey; indeed, he is intrigued by it, but he does not openly applaud it, as he had applauded the physical movement and walking of the Italian workmen. Lawrence also wishes to appear different to him too and so points out his 'little, cautious, English movement of privacy'. He superficially identifies or at least admires the healthy, walking bodies he comes across, such as the Italian workmen.

Walking bodies that are, on the other hand, tired, worn and weak, he discreetly or directly rejects by presenting them as unliving; the Englishman, Lawrence writes, was 'sick with fatigue and over-exhaustion' while his 'eyes were quite dark, sightless', an indirect reference to his eyes that had been harshly exposed to the sun rays.[90] These weak bodies are in limbo between the living and the dead, and consequently, are a surplus to a society that requires constant contribution to the machine: the Englishman has only two weeks' holiday; this may be the factor that sets his punishing pace. Lawrence declares certain that this man will diligently head back to London, taking the train, one day at a different place, before reaching the empire's centre. There, he will continue living in the rat race that he has come to see as normal. The victory of exploration has become one to be undertaken in

[89] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 210.

[90] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 210.

the brief holidays allowed to the worker. In contrast, Lawrence presents himself as having the time to meander and ponder on his surroundings, thus reminiscing an 'observer, idler', and 'philosopher', otherwise known as a flâneur.[91]

Chapter One demonstrated the many ways in which Mansfield went against what she had previously claimed. Lawrence is no exception. Lawrence's choice to walk in the Alps, and simultaneous rejection of artificial treatments, was his rebellious stance against society; he makes this clear many times, as analysed. Lawrence viewed society as segregating chronically ill patients to protect the healthy and productive population, and therefore, as stripping these patients of their freedom. Lawrence's response was to walk in the Alps himself, free but still following doctor's orders, as they say. Freedom and a healthy body are, for Lawrence, so important that he was willing to stress his body beyond normal limits for the sake of never having to face living in a medical centre in the future. His tone towards the Englishman is not particularly friendly, nor inclusive. The Englishman, it is true, also seems to keep himself to himself, but Lawrence does not seem to wish to befriend him further.

The language used by Lawrence to describe him sounds almost as if it is one that only superficially admires the feat, but, in fact, deeply pities his situation. The Englishman can never be his equal as, for Lawrence, the quality of a man is determined by his physical power and strength. Perhaps the Englishman's physical appearance triggered Lawrence into conjuring an image of what his future may behold; and this future terrified him, leading him to his aggressive expression of this anger and frustration through his walking and writing. Lawrence already related partly to the Englishman's feelings of exhaustion, despair and never-ending determination, which he too felt while walking. It was agonising, but still worth it. The Englishman may thus have been the perfect opportunity to project his emotions.

What is important for the theme of secrecy that I am discussing is that, throughout the extract, the Englishman's motive for walking so far, in such a short period of time, is left unsaid but suggested

[91] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 8.

through subtle hints. Of course, it should be admitted that the Englishman may have simply wanted to take on an individual journey in the mountains, as a personal challenge and in order to come close to nature. But Lawrence and the Englishman do not claim this. However, given all the above analysis regarding tuberculosis, and knowing that a high number of sick people did not have the money or the willingness to be put in a sanatorium, there may be actual validity in the hypothesis that Lawrence interpreted the actions of the Englishman as trying to face the problem or threat of tuberculosis alone, just like he was trying to boost his own body through walking.

The Englishman personifies and exemplifies the nature of Lawrence's own painful walking journey, at its most extreme, and Lawrence sees what his own journey, combating his weak body, looks like from an outsider's perspective; he is fascinated and in awe of how maddening it must seem to the outer world. Just like a number of researchers have suggested that Lawrence was mirroring his own situation in Mansfield's tuberculosis, so here Lawrence is possibly mirroring his fears about his health through the Englishman, his 'countryman'. They are not the same type of travellers, as the Englishman personifies the type of mountaineering tourist who struggles to reach all of his goals in a limited number of days, similar to the mountaineering men Shepherd comments on, as it shall be discussed in Chapter Four. Lawrence, at least partly, has managed to escape this fate by choosing a unique, wandering life within the rural landscape. The Englishman remains a tourist; Lawrence attempts to become a traveller and a flâneur.

Lawrence has the time to linger and observe, just like a flâneur observed from an arcade the urban happenings. He is commenting on society's rat-race structure, and how it has rendered a fellow countryman a mere shadow of what he could have been. Being a flâneur and observing and commenting on all these issues is Lawrence's attempt not to fall prey to this overpowering social structure. Lawrence is all but naming out loud the actual reason he personally thinks the Englishman is travelling in the Alps, namely, because of tuberculosis or some other chronic health problem. He

says that he feels 'sorry for him' as he views him as 'cruelly tired', possibly in his attempt to hide the fact that he was projecting his own worries and fears onto this man's walking.[92]

The negative effect that walking has had on the unnamed Englishman's body is further accentuated. Lawrence describes that 'he hung his head forward when he had to write a post card'.[93] Though Lawrence is drinking beer, the Englishman consents only to drink 'another glass of hot milk'.[94] Lawrence focuses on the fact that he is drinking milk quite extensively, which could strike as strange, given the unimportance of such a subject in the scene. I argue that this focus on milk is Lawrence's manner to indirectly highlight that, unlike himself, the Englishman is unable to drink alcohol, possibly suggesting that he is in need of the comforting, nutritious effect that warm milk would have on his fatigued body. As a response to Lawrence's interest in the Englishman's breakfast arrangements, the Englishman seemed 'slightly uncomfortable', as Lawrence points out; 'he did not like me to know what he would have for breakfast'.[95] Just like Lawrence had been secretive with the Italian actors and his readers regarding the reasons for his walking, the Englishman is again secretive with Lawrence regarding his dietary choices that may betray his condition.

Lawrence then notes that watching the Englishman 'drinking his milk, his will, nevertheless, so perfect and unblemished, triumphant, though his body was broken and in anguish, was almost too much to bear. My heart was wrung for my countryman, wrung till it bled'.[96] Despite Lawrence's ironic disgust towards the Englishman's weak body and polite, restrained manner, the distance between Lawrence and the Englishman, at this moment, is annihilated. In this pivotal extract, Lawrence is revealed as deeply relating to the Englishman's experience as his own, current one, or as an experience which was his fear for his future. His walking in rurality becomes a means to grasp his ideas and opinions on highly contested, and modernist in their nature, subjects of debate, such as the human in

[92] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 210.

[93] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 210.

[94] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 211.

[95] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 211.

[96] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 212.

relation to mechanisation. Had it not been for this rural perspective that Lawrence used, these modernist ideas, fears, and worries for the future may not have been noticed.

When the Englishman leaves without saying goodbye, Lawrence narrates that he found his 'name in the book. It was written in a fair, clerkly hand. He lived at Streatham. Suddenly I hated him. The dogged fool, to keep his nose on the grindstone like that. What was all his courage but the very tip-top of cowardice? What a vile nature—almost Sadish, proud' of 'being able to stand torture'.[97] Lawrence has been fooled by the middle-class walker to believe that he was a flâneur. All of Lawrence's sympathy disappears in an instance. The Englishman exemplifies the rat-race and the mechanisation of the north of Europe; he could never comprehend Lawrence's nobler aim, evident in his flânerie and commentary, the author seems to be suggesting.

Observations on Bodies, Mechanisation and Society in WWI: Idling in Rural Italy in Search of the Sun

The following close reading begins with the first sentence of the last section of the book, added in the 1915 revisions and therefore reflecting Lawrence's thoughts on WWI. I begin with this sentence as it contains an important reference to the direction of his walks. Lawrence describes that, for him, it was proper, when 'one walks, one must travel west or south'.[98] His rebellious act of walking against the mechanised European North goes hand-in-hand with the advice given by the medical community of the time on tuberculosis. As explained in the previous section of the chapter, many doctors and medical professionals placed great importance on being able to spend time in the sun in order to face tuberculosis, as the sun was seen as the main way through which to successfully treat the disease.[99] Consequently, it should come as no surprise that Lawrence wanted to spend time in the south of Europe in 1911 and 1912, when he had just recovered from the almost fatal bout of

[97] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 212.

[98] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 207.

[99] Anonymous, 'Electric Light Treatment of Tuberculosis', *The Manchester Guardian,* 8 April 1914, p. 16.

pneumonia. The focus of walking towards the light was paramount for Lawrence, as it can be seen when reading Lawrence's further thoughts:

> When one walks, one must travel west or south. If one turns northward or eastward it is like walking down a cul-de-sac, to the blind end.
>
> So it has been since the Crusaders came home satiated, and the Renaissance saw the western sky as an archway into the future. So it is still. We must go westwards and southwards.
>
> It is a sad and gloomy thing to travel even from Italy into France. But it is a joyful thing to walk south to Italy, south and west. It is so. And there is a certain exaltation in the thought of going west, even to Cornwall, to Ireland. It is as if the magnetic poles were south-west and north-east, for our spirits, with the south-west, under the sunset, as the positive pole. So whilst I walk through Switzerland, though it is a valley of gloom and depression, a light seems to flash out under every footstep, with the joy of progression.
>
> It was Sunday morning when I left the valley where the Italians lived. I went quickly over the stream, heading for Lucerne. It was a good thing to be out of doors, with one's pack on one's back, climbing uphill. But the trees were thick by the roadside; I was not yet free. It was Sunday morning, very still.[100]

Lawrence states that walking and travelling towards Italy has been the right choice. Walking towards the light and Italy for Lawrence becomes a way in which to indirectly refer to his health but also to express his grievances with society and the mechanisation that he felt was taking over the world. He says, at the end of the passage, that he 'was not yet free' because 'the trees were thick by the roadside'.[101] He needs open air and land that will not limit his breathing and sight. He states that 'it

[100] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 207.

[101] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 207.

was a good thing to be out of doors, with one's pack on one's back, climbing uphill'.[102] He takes great pride and clear satisfaction in his physical movement. As a rural sick flâneur, who tries to present himself as healthier than his social circle knew him to be, he is in his favourite environment when walking and climbing uphill. His physical ascent towards the light becomes another beginning to a flâneur's stroll and to social commentary as an observer. His body, however, being sick, pervades his writing, as we shall see in the following examples; when that happens, his physical pain is manifested through his writing to reveal his dissatisfaction with modernity.

Indeed, in the centre of the book, in the chapter entitled 'The Lemon Gardens', Lawrence makes his feelings about the future of Europe clear while walking in Italian rurality. He describes a moment when they, meaning he and the Signor di Paoli, who was showing him his estate, 'walked along the military road on the mountain side'.[103] The adjective 'military' offers the road a symbolic value of rigidity and order. Walking on this road, within its unnatural, man-made existence, is easy and prescribed, with no bodily obstructions. Indeed, Lawrence's walk on the military road is contrasted to the movements of 'two [Italian] men, talking and singing as they walked across perilously, placing the poles …[while] in their clumsy zoccoli they strode easily across, though they had twenty or thirty feet to fall if they slipped.'[104] The Italians are workmen in the area and Lawrence observes, akin to a flâneur in his arcade watching the crowd, how the men are walking 'on the top of the lemon gardens, [on which] long, thin poles laid from pillar to pillar … [and were] talking and signing as they walked across perilously'.[105]

The Italians' walking is presented by Lawrence as defying danger, as childlike, in that it has no actual understanding of the danger of death or injury. Lawrence may also be implying that these dangerous movements are the result of the men's inability to understand the risks that a chronically

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[102] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 207.

[103] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 128. I have already briefly discussed the symbolism of the characters and land in the introduction of this chapter.

[104] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 128.

[105] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 128.

ill person, such as himself, may feel. Lawrence admires the men's bodies in relation to nature. Their bodies, in contrast to the Englishman, are healthy and robust. He admires their fearless attitude, and possibly felt jealous of their healthy bodies and risky attitude towards their physical safety when walking on the poles. They embodied a trust in life and a happy and successful future which Lawrence was not privileged to feel. He admires them but despises them for not being able to have their body and life. Once again, he is limited as a rural flâneur.

Admiration towards a healthy, male body is a recurring theme throughout Lawrence's writing. Indeed, as Judy Suh demonstrates in her chapter dedicated to Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy* is an example of Lawrence's depiction of 'throttled masculinity in Italy, in part effect by what he understands to be the unjust supremacy of the female-led domestic sphere'.[106] Lawrence's 'restless migrations', as Burden explains, led him to refer to the Italian landscape as 'degenerate', a place where 'masculinity has become sterile'.[107] Indeed, Lawrence's walking transforms him into an unconventional 'person' for a travel book, a 'device for portraying the characters whom he meets', Neil Roberts explains.[108] By walking on the military road - possibly a subtle hint to WWI - Lawrence comments on the men and controls their depiction from a distance, expressing a 'desire to perceive them as unseeing, and to assimilate them to the land', as Roberts has suggested.[109] Just like Baudelaire's flâneur wished to remain invisible, Lawrence does not care to be noticed by the subjects of his social observations. The military road becomes Lawrence's rural arcade, from where he comments on the men as if they were objects in the rural landscape.

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[106] Judy Suh, 'D. H. Lawrence's Anti-Tour of Fascist: Sea and Sardinia and Etruscan Places', in *The Legacy of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture*, ed. by Lisa Colletta (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), pp. 93-113 (p. 103).

[107] Burden, 'Home Thoughts from Abroad: Cultural Difference and the Critique of Modernity in D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy (1916) and Other Travel Writing*', p. 149.

[108] Roberts, *D. H. Lawrence, Travel and Cultural Difference*, p. 4.

[109] Roberts, *D. H. Lawrence, Travel and Cultural Difference*, p. 3.

Burden has noted that Lawrence viewed landscape as the essence of culture.[110] The Italian men's carefree walking may also be attributed to their familiarity with the terrain which, consequently, becomes an extension of their identity. Indeed, as a sick flâneur, who does not have the physical strength to balance his body as easily as the robust, Italian men, Lawrence is limited to the military road, linked to the organised, mechanical north of Italy and the north of Europe. Lawrence wishes to appear different to his English readership, an anti-tourist, one who delves into the real identity of the land he is commenting on.

His meanders among the lemon gardens are his attempt to show that he is going beyond the usual tourist destinations known at the time among the upper-middle or middle class, which would have been his audience. However, a closer look into his writing reveals that his walking does not always coincide with the image of the anti-tourist. In this case of the scene in the lemon gardens, he never strays away from the military road, therefore consciously retaining his outsider's position; even though he wishes to align himself to Italy, and, within a wider context, to the south of Europe, which he perceives as more natural compared to the mechanised north, he finds himself unable to do so, so remains on the military path. As Mansfield remarked how happy she was to walk on the 'soft road', but admittedly, rejected 'the fence', as a strong example of Australian provinciality, Lawrence too remains within the safety of the military road, but tries, at least initially, to reject the mechanised north.

Indeed, and as explained in the introduction of this chapter, the particular choice of land for his flâneuring and social commentary, these lemon gardens, is another subtle reference to the threat mechanisation symbolised for Lawrence. It is no coincidence, as Michelucci explains, that he wrote in and about these lemon gardens. As she highlights in her introduction to *Twilight in Italy* (1997), the lemon gardens in that region of Italy were facing financial worries because of imported lemons from

[110] Burden notes: 'in much of [Lawrence's] writing, landscape is given a greater symbolic force as the essence of the culture. See: Burden, 'Home Thoughts from Abroad: Cultural Difference and the Critique of Modernity, p. 149.

Sicily, which were cultivated faster and easier.[111] Consequently, the regional economy and community was being dominated by faster and more efficient mechanisation, originating from the north of Europe. Given that *Twilight in Italy* is about the twilight of English, Italian and European civilisation, as Lawrence saw it, it is not unimportant that he chose to walk in this particular area, and through his weak body, construct his thoughts on the ills that had befallen this region of rural Italy.

The land which he, as a sick rural flâneur, chose to meander on, albeit on the rigid military road, is, from his point of view, a southern European victim of the north's modernisation and mechanisation; Lawrence wants to refer to the version of Italy which he thinks is disappearing because of capitalist modernity. He expresses his admiration for a healthy, strong, male body, his despair because of the overbearing power of mechanisation in the European south, and his commentary on his surroundings. Similar to Benjamin's understanding of the flâneur as 'a man uprooted', who is 'at home' neither in 'his class nor in his homeland, but only in the crowd', Lawrence observes the healthy and weak bodies in his rural flânerie as a means to comment on urban society's downfall and degradation. His rural flânerie proves to be highly modernist in its outlook. Baudelaire, as we know, defined the flâneur as a moralist, among other things, as well as an idler and a philosopher.

In the same passage of the book, Lawrence walks on the roof of the lemon-house. The lemon house becomes another rural arcade for Lawrence's wanders and social commentary. While there, his mind is driven to London. He writes:

> I thought of England, the great mass of London, and the black, fuming, laborious Midlands and north-country. It seemed horrible. And yet, it was better than the padrone, this old, monkey-like cunning of fatality. It is better to go forward into error than to stay fixed inextricably in the past.

[111] Stefania Michelucci, 'Introduction', in *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays* by D. H. Lawrence, ed. by Stefania Michelucci (Penguin Classics, 1997), pp. xv-xlix (pp. xv-xvi).

> Yet what should become of the world? There was London and the industrial counties spreading like a blackness over all the world, horrible, in the end destructive. And the Garda was so lovely under the sky of sunshine, it was intolerable. For away, beyond, beyond all the snowy Alps, with the iridescence of eternal ice above them, was this England, black and foul and dry, with her soul worn down, almost worn away. And England was conquering the world with her machines and her horrible destruction of natural life. She was conquering the whole world.[112]

From his Italian vantage point, Lawrence, as a sick, rural flâneur, can describe London as a 'great mass' and the Midlands and north-country as 'black, fuming [and] laborious', 'spreading like a blackness over all the world'. Lawrence perceives 'laborious' England as governed by economic growth; however, this growth does not allow society to be free, Lawrence believed. The Alps, on the other hand, and 'Garda, [were described by Lawrence as] so lovely under the sky of sunshine, it was intolerable'.[113] The Alps, for Lawrence, are characterised by the 'iridescence of eternal ice', lovely under a 'sky of sunshine'.[114] Sunshine is repeated for its almost magical connotations. The scene creates a sense of exaggerated beauty. The Alps, with their clear air and clean sunshine, unobstructed by society's mechanisation, are contrasted to the practical, cold-blooded industry that the north of Europe represented. Lawrence sees the Alps and its climate as a fantasy in his mind, one that personifies his need to believe in nature as a form of saviour to society's ills and his own health's problems.

Importantly though, Lawrence concludes that, despite all of modern day's ills, 'it is better to go forward into error than to stay fixed inextricably in the past'.[115] Despite Lawrence's constant arguments against modernity, he, like Mansfield before him, surrenders to the changes and new

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[112] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[113] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[114] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[115] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

times.[116] Going forward in error, reminiscent once again of the movement of someone walking into an uncertain future, in the midst of WWI, when Lawrence revised this essay, was better than staying in the past, he is saying. As Andrew Frayn argues, 'disenchantment is not solely attributable to the war years of the 1920s. It is a product of social conditions which were already ingrained. The language of disenchantment that exists before the war gives authors the means to criticise it'.[117] Lawrence's proclamation to go forward into the future, even if in error, is his admittance that he, too, has experienced this disenchantment in his revision of the book in 1915. The need for this intense and unavoidable disenchantment is war-torn Europe and WWI which become a torment to his thoughts while idling in Italy. By 1915, he was aware that there was no going back to a Europe of the past – the past could not be revived, and this realisation which came through his rural flânerie, was his disenchantment. Lawrence concludes by demonstrating that he is, in fact, a modernist rural flâneur; he does not use rurality as a means to escape, but rather, as a means to face reality. He admits that he too believes it is better to go along with the new norm and accept the disenchantment. As a modernist and rural flâneur grappling urban modernity through the prism of rurality, he walks in an attempt to go against the possibility of a future, active tuberculosis diagnosis.

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[116] Lawrence echoes Freud and his thoughts on the war during the same period; in his essay 'Our Attitude Towards Death', Freud proclaims that war 'cannot be abolished; so long as the conditions of existence among nations are so different and their mutual repulsion so violent, there are bound to be wars'. He is left wondering if it is perhaps humanity who 'should give in, who should adapt' itself 'to war'; this, he argues, may be 'in some respects a backward step' but it 'has the advantage of taking the truth more into account, and of making life more tolerable for us once again'. Lawrence's flânerie is an extension of Freud's ideas and an indication that the thoughts that he developed while flâneuring in rurality were inextricably linked to urban modernity. See: Sigmund Freud, 'Our Attitude Towards Death', in *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement: Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, Vol. XIV (The Hogarth Press, 1957), pp. 289-300 (pp. 299-300).

[117] Andrew Frayn, *Writing Disenchantment: British First World War Prose, 1914-30* (Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 7.

Lawrence continues by saying that England was 'conquering the world with her machines and her horrible destruction of natural life'.[118] This is England at its height, the centre of the British Empire. Lawrence suggests that his contemporary society, that of war and empire, was incapable of understanding nature's value to creating a holistically improved society. The society that Lawrence had to face would, he claims, take the 'vast masses of rough-hewn knowledge, vast masses of machines and appliances, vast masses of ideas and methods' and would use 'swarms of disintegrated human beings seething and perishing rapidly away amongst it, till, the people, 'quite dead', 'disappeared, swallowed up in the last efforts towards a perfect, selfless society'.[119] Society and its mechanisation has turned the rat race into a race to a slow but painful death. Society is what makes people ill, Lawrence is suggesting.

Indeed, Ellis points out that in *Sons and Lovers*, written around the same time as *Twilight in Italy*, Lawrence obsesses over his health and expresses his opinion that 'one is ill because one doesn't live properly – can't. It's the failure to live that makes one ill, and humiliates one'.[120] I agree with Ellis; how could one learn how to live properly, Lawrence is wondering, if England and 'her machines' were 'conquering the world' and destroying natural life? It was not possible to live naturally, within or besides nature, because society, Lawrence is saying, and its mechanisation, has stripped all people, even those who may need a natural life to strengthen their body, from this particular human right. For instance, Ellis explains, Lawrence was 'convinced that his mother's cancer had been brought on not only by repression of natural feeling but also by anxiety, stress or worry'.[121] Similarly, when explaining the reasons behind Lawrence's early death, Ellis writes that his obituarist in the *Manchester Guardian* remarked 'poignantly' that Lawrence had been 'early exposed to the life-killing conditions in which a mechanistic industrialism has entangled mankind'.[122] Although this obituary was written quite a few

[118] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[119] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 132.

[120] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 53.

[121] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 54.

[122] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 195.

years after *Twilight in Italy*, it is undeniable that Lawrence's negative attitude towards society and his belief that it caused the destruction of natural life can also be seen in this extract. Society's mechanisation, therefore, according to Lawrence, was the cause of stress, worry and anxiety, especially among the working class that felt its heavy consequences on their lives and their living conditions; this led, he believed, to a number of diseases and the disappearance of natural life. Not knowing how to live and not being allowed to live, as in his mother's case, brought chronic health problems and in the extreme scenario, as in 1914, was manifested as a collective reaction of global conflict. Lawrence condemns this outcome through the perspective of the rural flâneur.

In another attempt to criticise society from the position of a rural flâneur, Lawrence, in the chapter entitled 'San Gaudenzio', placed in the centre of the travelogue, contrasts socially expected behaviours and relationships to the light, open, ideal for walking, days, and to the sunshine, found high up in the mountains. More specifically, he states that he 'could not bear to live down in the village anymore, now that the days opened large and spacious and the evening drew out in sunshine'.[123] He was desperate for 'the mountains', which 'shone in clear air'.[124] He had decided that 'it was time to go up, to climb with the sun', demonstrating that the high altitude and clear sky and sun symbolised for him a mental and physical clarity and wellbeing which could not be found in the city or civilised village.[125]

To illustrate further evidence as to why Lawrence wished for the sun, I provide a representative number of newspaper articles, dedicated to the medical approach at the time to tuberculosis and other lung conditions. For instance, the *Manchester Guardian* in 1914 promoted the use of electric light as a treatment for tuberculosis; 'it [was] expected that treatment [for tuberculosis] by artificial light in many cases [would] give better results than the prolonged and expensive treatment

[123] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 155.

[124] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 155.

[125] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 155.

by high sunlight'.[126] Other instructions, such as by the Heads of Connecticut Sanatoria in the *New York Times*, in 1922, directed that 'all forms of the disease yield to the sun care' and that 'pure sunlight, instead of sunlight filtered through windows [was] demanded'.[127] The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, in 1924, stated clearly that 'heliotherapy is a sunlight, not a sun heat, treatment. It is most effective in the times when the sunlight is bright, but not hot … Heliotherapy is only effective in places where the atmosphere is reasonably free from cloud, fog, moisture, soot, smoke and dust.'[128]

As I have shown, Lawrence rejected mainstream medical treatments conducted in medical centres, such as electric light, but took the medical community's advice regarding exposure to sunlight. His choice, as we know, involved the more natural approach of walking in natural sunlight and high altitude as his means of preventing the tuberculosis threatened by his doctors after his pneumonia. Lawrence rejected artificial methods, such as the X-ray therapy that Mansfield undertook in Paris, which advertised its similar effect to sun-therapy on treating tuberculosis; he hid his ill health and frequent bronchial problems and so, resisted turning into a product of mechanisation itself.[129] He does not wish to be placed in a mainstream medical centre, which, for him, would signify his transformation into a product of mechanisation.[130] The artificial light and medical centres would be, for Lawrence, an

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[126] Anonymous, 'Electric Light Treatment of Tuberculosis', *The Manchester Guardian,* 8 April 1914, p. 16.

[127] Anonymous, 'Say Sun Treatment Cures Tuberculosis: Heads of Connecticut Sanatoria for Children Report Success in Their Institutions', *New York Times (1857-1922)*, 29 September 1922, p. 17.

[128] W. A. Evans, 'How to Keep Well: Sun Bath for Tuberculosis.', *Chicago Daily Tribune (1923-1963)*, 24 August 1924, p. B8.

[129] *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 421.

[130] In a 1921 letter, Mansfield expresses her worries and hopes regarding the painful, but believed at the time as a cure for tuberculosis, X-ray treatment. She notably writes, 'one dares not speak of these things … yet one cannot stop thinking… thinking… imagining what it would be like to run again or take a little jump'. Mansfield, like Lawrence, focuses on physical disability. See: *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1: Letters to Correspondents A – J*, ed. by Claire Davison and Gerri Kimber (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 421.

unnecessary intervention in what should be a natural interaction between the wanderer and their rural, clear air and sunny setting. He insists on being a flâneur rather than a tourist or a patient.

Later in his literary career, in 1926, just four years before his death because of tuberculosis, Lawrence wrote his short story, 'Sun'.[131] Here, the female protagonist, through free indirect discourse, walks and lies naked in the sun in the south of Italy, following the doctors' orders. Although initially 'sceptical of the sun', she 'permitted herself to be carried away, with her child, and a nurse, and her mother, over the sea'.[132] She enjoys lying and walking in the sun and is infatuated by a local peasant, whom she asks for permission to walk between the two podere (farms). He responds that his local padrone 'would wish' her 'to walk wherever' she 'like[d] on his land'.[133] In this short story, Lawrence transforms Juliet, his middle-class protagonist, into a rural flâneuse with the local padrone's blessings. The story's climax takes place 'in the hot morning when she had been walking naked';[134] there she contemplated bearing the peasant's child. However, she is abruptly brought back to reality when she asks her husband: '"Will you walk about in the sun, too, without your clothes?"', to which he responds, '"Why—er—yes! Yes, I should like to, while I'm here—I suppose it's quite private?"'.[135] Despite the fact that he 'smelled of the world' and although she admits that the peasant 'would have been a procreative sun-bath to her, and she wanted it', her husband 'would dare to walk in the sun, even ridiculously'.[136]

She concludes, as Lawrence determines her to, that, 'nevertheless, her next child would be Maurice's. The fatal chain of continuity would cause it'.[137] The woman submits to society but succeeds in introducing her husband to the sun. It is a compromise that she must accept for the sake of society's

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[131] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, 2nd edn (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19-39.

[132] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 19.

[133] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 38.

[134] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 38.

[135] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 39.

[136] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 39.

[137] D. H. Lawrence, 'Sun', in *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, pp. 39.

continuity. Kirsty Martin has noted that 'the abrupt ending of the story, with Juliet's helplessness, is akin to Lawrence's own experiences with medical sunlight therapies', such as when, she highlights, 'Lawrence found himself taking sun-baths in Gsteig in the Swiss Alps late in his life, after becoming seriously ill in Florence'.[138] She notes that his letters reveal that he was 'watching himself like a doctor, trying to make sense of his feelings'; despite the sun offering 'opportunities for literary creativity', it 'abruptly falls short', she explains.[139] Similarly, I am claiming that Lawrence did so even from the time when he wrote *Twilight in Italy*; here and while walking, he observed himself and expressed a similar fear regarding his health and society and was discreetly following the sun and heights. Lawrence put the blame on major centres of power of the time and contrasted them to walking and wandering far above in the Alpine nature. Nature became a means for him to criticise the urban centres.

Wandering as a Ghost in the Crowd: The Rural Flâneur's Physical and Social Discomfort

In 'The Return Journey', Lawrence passes through a village and sees many Swiss villagers, typically middle-class in their attire and attitude, walking home from church on a Sunday morning. Lawrence writes:

> There was fat agricultural land and several villages. And church was over. The churchgoers were all coming home: men in black broadcloth and old chimney-pot silk hats, carrying their umbrellas; women in ugly dresses, carrying books and umbrellas. The streets were dotted with these black-clothed men and stiff women, all reduced to a Sunday nullity. I hated it. It reminded me of that which I knew in my boyhood, that stiff, null 'propriety' which used to come over us, like a sort of deliberate and self-inflicted cramp, on Sundays. I hated these

[138] Kirsty Martin, 'Modernism and the Medicalisation of Sunlight: D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and the Sun Cure', *Modernism/modernity*, 23.2 (2016), pp. 423-441 (p. 433).

[139] Martin, 'Modernism and the Medicalisation of Sunlight: D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and the Sun Cure', p. 433.

> elders in black broadcloth, with their neutral faces, going home piously to their Sunday dinners. I hated the feeling of these villages, comfortable, well-to-do, clean, and proper.
>
> And my boot was chafing two of my toes. That always happens. I had come down to a wide, shallow valley-bed, marshy. So about a mile out of the village I sat down by a stone bridge, by a stream, and tore up my handkerchief, and bound up the toes. And as I sat binding my toes, two of the elders in black, with umbrellas under their arms, approached from the direction of the village.
>
> They made me so furious, I had to hasten to fasten my boot, to hurry on again, before they should come near me. I could not bear the way they walked and talked, so crambling and material and mealy-mouthed.
>
> Then it did actually begin to rain. I was just going down a short hill. So I sat under a bush and watched the trees drip. I was so glad to be there, homeless, without place or belonging, crouching under the leaves in the copse by the road, that I felt I had, like the meek, inherited the earth. Some men went by, with their coat-collars turned up, and the rain making still blacker their black broadcloth shoulders. They did not see me. I was as safe and separate as a ghost. [140]

Lawrence reacts negatively to this scene by saying that 'he hated these elders in black broadcloth, with their neutral faces'. He 'hated the feeling of these villages, comfortable, well-to-do, clean, and proper'.[141] The cleanliness and propriety that characterise the villages triggered a reaction in Lawrence; it forms a reminder of the restrictive society in which he was brought up. This negative feeling and reaction towards society subsequently becomes clear through the actual physical manifestation and embodiment. More specifically, when Lawrence expressed his antipathy towards what he views as the small-minded villagers, their Church, and their 'proper', but pretentious and

[140] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, pp. 207-208.

[141] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

submissive to society's restrictions, households, this antipathy seems to come to the surface through his 'boot, [which] was chafing two of [his] toes.'[142] Just like tuberculosis and his fear of the disease expresses itself through Lawrence's need to escape towards the high altitude and strong sunlight, his antipathy towards this small community was demonstrating itself through problematic embodiment. His anger for society's ills and his own fear of ill health is expressed through his problematic bodily relationship.

Interestingly, this embodied discomfort is also seen in Katherine Mansfield's letters. Mansfield mentions in her letters that, when ordered by her doctor to rest in bed, she felt that she was lying 'in a kind of furious bliss'.[143] The embodied discomfort leads Mansfield, as it does Lawrence, into feeling anger for her condition; Lawrence, subsequently, directs this physical discomfort and anger towards society, thus leading himself to wander in a futile quest for health and answers to society's troubles. Lawrence does not wish to blend in with the crowd – just like a traditional flâneur. He remains an outsider but always remains within the centre of action. As an outsider, he most possibly feels able to notice and observe objectively everything happening around him. Indeed, Mansfield, Ellis explains, remembered Lawrence's 'outbursts of uncontrollable rage' in '1916', which was also when Lawrence reviewed and rewrote passages for *Twilight in Italy*; these outbursts convinced Mansfield that Lawrence 'must already have been suffering then from the disease', Ellis explains.[144]

Ellis hesitates to believe Mansfield's account as he advocates that Lawrence had 'moments of frenzy' from 'his early youth'; interpreting these outbursts as a symptom, Ellis maintains, would be to 'stretch the onset of his tuberculosis a long way back'.[145] Interestingly, however, he highlights that Lawrence felt the 'anger at having to leave the world too soon' that an ill or tubercular person feels.[146] I wish to argue that Lawrence's outburst of anger is an extension of this feeling that Ellis describes.

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[142] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

[143] Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 264.

[144] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 15.

[145] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. 15.

[146] Ellis, *Death and the Author: How D.H. Lawrence Died, and Was Remembered*, p. xiii.

Lawrence felt anger for not being equally healthy to others, regardless of whether or not he had active tuberculosis or not. Tuberculosis was a fear which he faced through walking but when asked to confront reality, which included the unfair and random distribution of healthy and unhealthy bodies in society, he loses self-control and reverts to an expression of bodily dissatisfaction.[147] He felt the anger and dissatisfaction any person who fears for the life in the long run feels.

Returning to the text, as Baudelaire, Elkin and Benjamin define the figure of the flâneur and flâneuse as one who does blends in the crowd, but also remains an outsider and observer from within, Lawrence remains in the centre of these rural happenings, but wishes to remain invisible so as to comment on his surroundings and society. His walks are not prescribed, at least not in this aspect, as the villagers' are (to Church and back home). As with the Englishman, Lawrence is not limited by the same restrictions. He presents himself as a rural flâneur who comments but wishes to remain invisible in rurality so as to observe freely.

His aversion towards this type of society continues to be exhibited further on when he states that he 'could not bear the way they walked and talked, so crambling and material and mealy-mouthed.'[148] The men's walking seems to be antithetical to the type of carefree walking Lawrence strives for. It is symbolic of society's 'material' mechanisation, and not clear in their intentions, 'mealy-mouthed'. Indeed, the adjective 'crambling', also seems to be of importance. The *OED* defines

[147] As it has already been stated, Lawrence was a great admirer of the strong, male body, despite never boasting one. Michael Davidson has also noted the importance of masculinity for Lawrence, elsewhere in his life. He notes how 'Sir Clifford Chatterley in D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) lives as a paraplegic in a wheelchair. He becomes a negative foil to the hypermasculine groundskeeper Mellors, the titular lover of the novel'. See Michael Davidson, 'Paralysed Modernities and Biofutures: Bodies and Minds in Modern Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, ed. by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 74 - 89 (p. 85). Striving for a traditional image of masculinity plagued Lawrence throughout his life.

[148] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

'cramble' as 'to crawl, hobble, walk lamely, decrepitly, stiffly, or feebly'[149], while Eggert's definition is 'feeble, shaky (dialect)'.[150] Lawrence chooses a word which, even in his time, was predominantly used in the north of England; he places this particularly rural English word to describe embodied walking within a central European rural setting and narrative. By choosing this word, Lawrence discreetly identifies with a much more rural, regionally English individuality and differentiates himself from the villagers who are representative of rigid, middle-class austerity. Through his walking and physical manifestation of embodied discomfort, as well as the physical movement of the Swiss men, Lawrence discreetly snubs this rural form of middle-class imprisonment and comments on society's structure. By placing Frieda in the background and by highlighting his persona as a sole traveller, he comments on society, as many other acclaimed modernists did, in order to be a 'flâneur' – and a rural one, at that. His worries and fears regarding society's structure and consequences on the individual are exactly what constitute him a modernist at the core.

In order to avoid the men, Lawrence describes, in the studied extract, how he hid and took pleasure in his 'homeless' situation, 'without place or belonging'.[151] Indeed, when the men do not see him, he explains that he felt 'as safe and separate as a ghost'.[152] In a paradoxical, positive light, he compares his wanderings to that of a ghost, therefore placing himself more so within the world of death, or at least, in limbo between the living and the dead. His happiness in his homeless situation is a reminder that he takes pleasure in wandering, without place, and therefore, without belonging; like a flâneur, he meanders the rural Alpine arcades, in his case, in search of clear mountain air.

It is worth noting the difference in tone that Lawrence applies when speaking about the working-class Italians and the middle-class Swiss. Lawrence spoke positively about the working-class

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[149] Entry 'cramble', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/cramble_v?tab=meaning_and_use#7969722> [accessed 06 November 2023].

[150] Eggert, 'Explanatory Notes', in *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays* by D. H. Lawrence, p. 296.

[151] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

[152] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 208.

Italians, while when describing the respectable, middle class Swiss villagers, his commentary is negative. Lawrence's commentary on other's mode of walking depends on his outlook; their rural walking is determined by the social class in which they belong. In this case, the working-class Italians seem to be favourably described as undertaking a type of walking that Lawrence is envious of, as it is free, spontaneous and natural, as the traditional movement of a flâneur should be; the Swiss villagers' walking, on the other hand, is dismissed as embarrassing and awkward, as a way for Lawrence to highlight how these middle-class people have, in contrast to the Italian workmen, already surrendered to social restrictions. His commentary as a rural flâneur is subjective and aims to highlight society's inequality.

Conclusion

The final extract which I will analyse, and which will also form the beginning of this chapter's conclusion, is also found at the end of the section 'The Return Journey', in one of the book's final scenes. It is set when Lawrence was returning to Italy, his final stop. Lawrence is about to treat himself to some further food as a reward for his walk; as Lawrence writes, 'After all, why should I not eat, after the long walk?', making it clear that he, too, like the Englishman, was proud of his walking feat.[153] The rural setting, his completed walk and the 'faint noise of the stream', become the trigger to wonder: 'Why am I here, on this ridge of the Alps, in the lamp-lit, wooden, close-shut room, alone? Why am I here?',[154] giving hope to the reader that Lawrence will, at last, reveal the reason behind his flâneuring. Lawrence shamelessly evades the topic: 'Yet somehow I was glad, I was happy even: such splendid silence and coldness and clean isolation'.[155] He described how he 'was free', in this 'heavy, ice-cold air, this upper world, alone'.[156]

[153] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[154] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[155] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[156] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

Firstly, it is worth noting the paradoxical fact that Lawrence was most probably not alone as he would have been accompanied by his wife, Frieda. Once again, Lawrence does not give a clear reason why he undertook such a strenuous walking challenge, despite walking, impressively for most people, being his main mode of travel in the whole travelogue. To add to the paradoxical secrecy that Lawrence retains around his reasons for walking, all we have to remember is how Lawrence pays close attention, many a time, throughout his travel essays, to his own walking patterns and styles, and that of others, as a means to comment on society. When considering how willing he was to award himself for his walking, as well as how willing he was to share his opinions on a great number of other controversial topics of his time, it seems only natural that his readers would expect an explanation as to why he chose to walk, even if this was only given to them at the very end of the travelogue. I argue that Lawrence is the true essence of a flâneur and 'artist perpetually in the spiritual condition of the convalescent', as Baudelaire claimed.[157] In this state of convalescence, 'like a child, [he] enjoys to the highest degree the faculty of taking a lively interest in things'; this feeling of convalescence is why Lawrence did not reveal his reason for walking.[158] This would provide evidence to his readership about his fear for his health; and Lawrence, as I have demonstrated, was not willing to risk that information coming to the surface.

The following extract, which appears just below his inner questionings in the book, shows how his rural flâneuring became his inspiration to comment, once again, on society's ills. Lawrence writes:

> London, far away below, beyond, England, Germany, France—they were all so unreal in the night. It was a sort of grief that this continent all beneath was so unreal, false, non-existent in its activity. Out of the silence one looked down on it, and it seemed to have lost all importance,

[157] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 9.

[158] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 9.

> all significance. It was so big, yet it had no significance. The kingdom of the world had no significance: what could one do but wander about?[159]

The Alps, once again, become for Lawrence his rural flâneur's setting to comment on society. Ultimately, these countries' 'activities', representative of 'mechanisation', operate, in Lawrence's eyes, in order to limit the naturally free, rebellious Alps. He says that 'the kingdom of the world had no significance'.[160] The whole world, society, 'the kingdom' of Lawrence's world in 1915, in war-torn Europe, is insignificant and useless - there is nothing left of importance to do but to wander and observe.

Lawrence expresses the flippant rhetorical question: 'what could one do but wander about?'.[161] The act of rural wandering and flâneuring inspired Lawrence to compare the industrial European North to the naturally free Alpine mountains; this, in turn, led him to believe that, within the chaos of modernity, wandering would lead him to a solution or, at least, to an understanding 'of the fleeting and the infinite' of modernity.[162] As shall be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, such a purely natural environment also becomes the perfect rural setting in wartime for Nan Shepherd to comment on society's past, present and future. Lawrence reveals himself in this chapter, through his walking and critical comments, as a figure who sees the European continent as 'so unreal, false, non-existent in its activity'; nature, where truth for Lawrence lies, becomes his arcade to criticise the northern European, development-driven society.

To end this chapter, I draw on the book's final paragraph; Lawrence writes: 'I dared not risk walking to Milan: I took a train'.[163] Here, 'in Milan, sitting in the Cathedral Square', 'drinking Campari and watching the swarm of Italian city-men drink and talk vivaciously', he 'saw that here the life was

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[159] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[160] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[161] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 217.

[162] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 9.

[163] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 226.

still vivid', engaged 'in a multiplicity of mechanical activities that engage the human mind as well as the body'; 'the same purpose [was] stinking it all, the mechanising, the perfect mechanising of human life'.[164] He ends his rural travelogue by reflecting in the urban centre about urban reality; for a short moment, he becomes an urban flâneur. Just like Juliet, the female protagonist in 'Sun', came to terms that it would be her frail husband, rather than the healthy, married Sicilian peasant who would father her a child, Lawrence does not resist the mechanised society once he is in it. Juliet gave in for the sake of the fatal chain of continuity, while Lawrence himself surrendered, similarly, because of the purpose that could not be ignored, the perfect mechanising of human life. Walking in the sun allows them both to reach this realisation. Just like Mansfield used her rural flânerie to rebel only when in the Urewera, Lawrence too does not keep up his rebellious walking and commentary once he is outside that spectrum. He observes the city and its people briefly, but his travelogue has come to an end. A city like Milan is no place for a rural flâneur to meander and think. Lawrence seals his identity as a rural flâneur.

Lawrence reveals himself as a rural, sick flâneur who, at his core, is a modernist in his pursuits and worries. Although he mostly rejects mechanisation when flâneuring, he prefers to go along with the new norm and accept social disenchantment, despite not agreeing with it. Lawrence, as the sole example of a rural flâneur amongst flâneuses in my thesis, is a modernist, sick and rural flâneur who fought society's and his own ills, as he perceived them, through walking in rurality. This chapter's work has hopefully shown the rich possibilities available to the scholarly community, were Lawrence to be further analysed and read as a rural flâneur. His many other travels in Europe, but also elsewhere in the globe, offer ample material for researchers to study and uncover a variety of flâneurs, spanning his years-long writing career, offering new and unique perspectives to our understanding of Lawrence as a modernist walker, wanderer and thinker of the early 20th century. Following Lawrence, my thesis finds itself chronologically at the brink of WWII. Here, Rebecca West, as a rural, detached flâneuse,

[164] Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert, p. 226.

meandered the rural, 'semi-civilised', Balkans, in search of a better understanding of herself as a privileged, female flâneuse in the patriarchal society in which she moved, as well as an understanding of Britain and its position in relation to the political world in a pivotal moment for global history.[165]

[165] Andrew Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14.1 (2010), pp. 57–75 (p. 58).

CHAPTER THREE

'Her eyes filled with painful speculation':

Rebecca West as a Detached Flâneuse

in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*

Introduction

In this chapter, I am dealing with Rebecca West as a detached rural flâneuse in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (written in 1937 and published in 1941). A few years prior to West's travels in Yugoslavia, in 1930, and just after Lawrence's death, West wrote and shared her thoughts on his genius and his travels. West writes that despite having 'less reason for this journeying', Lawrence's journeys 'were the journeys that they mystics of a certain type have always found necessary'.[1] 'Entranced' by Lawrence's attempt to travel so as to get a 'certain Apocalyptic vision of mankind, she 'knew what he [Lawrence] was doing was right'.[2] West admired Lawrence's quest for the truth, which she saw exemplified through his travelling, writing and commenting on his social and natural surroundings. A few years later, from 1936-1938, West undertook a similar feat of her own, which is this chapter's focus. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is a close examination of the history, people, and politics of Yugoslavia, discussing three trips that West took between 1936 and 1938 while interweaving her travel narrative with a thorough history and ethnography of the region. Bernard Schweizer describes it as a 'monument to the ideologies of national self-rule, anti-imperialism, and feminism'[3] while Timothy Wientzen praises it as a 'massively ambitious 1941 travelogue' which offered a 'meditation on the history and culture of the Balkans [;] … a region West (rightly) feared would soon come under

[1] Rebecca West, *D. H. Lawrence* (Martin Secker, 1930), pp. 24-25.

[2] West, *D. H. Lawrence*, pp. 24-25.

[3] Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (University of Virginia Press, 2001), p. 80.

the domination of fascism'.[4] Andrew Hammond professes that the book would 'most surely be considered one of the greatest works of the modernist period if only it had not been written in a genre (travel writing) and on a region (Eastern Europe) marginalised alike in British literary studies'.[5] Indeed, Yugoslavia, as a region, has been described by Michelle Dean as a 'patchwork country', created by the Allied Powers to unite Slavic people in a single territory:[6] by the '1930s', Dean writes, 'it was a grand experiment that had totally failed'.[7] West, as I aim to show, took on the Allied Powers' outlook, despite also criticising it at times, and used her flânerie to ensure the survival of a united Yugoslavia in the future global scene.

Dean, importantly for this chapter's focus, also highlights West's sharp voice as 'unafraid of showing emotion in her work' throughout her life, as one who 'rarely equivocated in her writing' and finally describes West's voice as able 'to overwhelm you with her personality'.[8] Importantly, Dean explains that all this, which 'looks like confidence,' 'was actually a very elaborate mask' for West so as to conceal the fact 'that she worried about everything' whenever she 'delivered such deceptively assured opinions' on 'just about every subject'.[9] Dean's study is invaluable to my current understanding of West as a rural flâneuse and I agree that West was unafraid to represent emotion in her work; her praise of the Slavs as 'quarrelsome, courageous, artistic, intellectual, and profoundly perplexing to all other peoples' is evidence of this.[10] However, I aim to show that the manner in which she expressed her emotion was, at times, somewhat different to Dean's claims.

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[4] Timothy Wientzen, 'An Epic of Atmosphere: Rebecca West, Black Lamb, and Reflex Author(s)', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 38.4 (2015), pp. 57-73 (p. 59).

[5] Andrew Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14.1 (2010), pp. 57-75 (p. 66).

[6] Michelle Dean, *Sharp* (Grove Press, 2018), p. 50.

[7] Dean, *Sharp*, p. 50.

[8] Dean, *Sharp*, p. 39.

[9] Dean, *Sharp*, p. 39.

[10] Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia*, intro. by Geoff Dyer (Canongate Books, 2006), p. 4.

To reach my explanation as to why West expressed emotion differently to what Dean imagined, I draw on Carl Rollyson and Deborah Nelson. Rollyson, in his book, *The Literary Legacy of Rebecca West*, points out that West 'evinced a wonderful lack of sentimentality, refusing to smugly suppose that what she knew,' would benefit the Balkan people; I concur with Rollyson, as this chapter will show.[11] Similarly, Deborah Nelson's study, *Tough Enough*, which focuses on six tough women of the mid to late 20th century who use 'unsentimentality as a subject of their work' to examine pain, provides me with the tools to view and 'activate unsentimentality as a choice,' when dealing with West.[12]

As I have already mentioned, I agree with Dean that West showed emotion in her work; I claim that she does so through free indirect discourse, hidden under the façade of detachment and objectivity, as another 'tough' woman, according to Nelson's notion. She, thus, succeeds in not exposing herself explicitly as the source of the pain she is describing and thus, maintains a detached posture. The emotion she feels is presented as deriving from a different person than herself; thus, she abdicates responsibility for the emotion she, in fact, is expressing. Paul Fussell, in his anthology on travel writing in 1987, wrote that 'successful travel literature mediates between two poles: the individual physical things it describes, on the one hand, and the larger theme that it is "about" on the other'.[13] Similarly, Casey Blanton suggests that travel literature 'contains a balance of these two elements: impersonal and personal' and that successful travel books are about the 'interplay between the observer and observed, between self and world,' which 'allow the writer to celebrate the local while contemplating the universal'.[14] By keeping a distance, West, similarly to Blanton's analysis, protects herself from the accusation of oversentimentality and emotional subjectivity but without having to sacrifice her emotional reaction to pain.

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[11] Carl Rollyson, *The Literary Legacy of Rebecca West* (Open Road Distribution, 2016), p. 120.

[12] Deborah Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil* (The University of Chicago Press, 2017), p. 3.

[13] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5.

[14] Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing* (Routledge, 2002), p. 5.

I argue that within this geographical and historical context, West becomes a detached rural flâneuse who meanders the Balkan region as an upper-class, educated, financially comfortable female journalist and state representative. Along with historical facts and eugenically hued arguments, she attempts to strengthen her argument that Yugoslavia deserves Western support. Her perspective reveals a flâneuse who is seeking answers as to why the world has reached such a dangerous point in 1937, echoing Lawrence's concerns on mechanisation global conflict discussed in Chapter Two. Their similarities do not end there; West, as a detached, British flâneuse is also similar to Lawrence, and indeed Mansfield, in that they attempted to prove a relationship between the land and its people. West, too, meanders the rural, Balkan landscape and through her own close, detached examination, is looking for evidence that land and people are interlinked. A united Yugoslavia will provide her with hope regarding Europe and Britain's safe future. While flâneuring, she never fails to praise Yugoslavia's virtues. Indeed, the opening of West's prologue begins in media res; she writes that 'this train was taking us to a land where everything was comprehensible, where the mode of life was so honest that it put an end to perplexity.'[15] On the move, Yugoslavia attains mythical status in West's narrative; it is here where she feels she can make sense of the madness, 'perplexity', an allusion to the imminent war, and where she can reach a better understanding of the ever-changing world around her.

West meanders on foot in a number of instances in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* but does not limit herself to that; she also moves in a number of other modes, ranging from car, train to a cart. Similarly to Mansfield, who observed her surroundings through the train window, West, when leaving Sarajevo and heading to Serbia, describes the train journey as 'characteristic, leisurely and evasive and lovely'.[16] As a state representative, sent to give 'some lectures in different towns before universities and English clubs', West has to maintain a formal and serious stance.[17] Her social position enforced on her a specific mode of travel, such as a governmental car, which would help her maintain the

[15] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1.

[16] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 447.

[17] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 22.

appropriate formality. Conducting herself solely on foot would mean risking a certain hue of respectability in her social circle. Similarly, so as to maintain a detached frontier for her readership, which she knew she had to (and wanted), she also had to avoid explicitly describing her physical embodiment in the surroundings. She prioritises her mind over her physicality in her mode of flânerie and focus of observation. Despite being a representative of the British Government in Yugoslavia, and despite being treated with respect, undeniably, because of this affiliation, she cannot meander completely freely. She wanders, as Mansfield and Lawrence did, with society's restrictions in mind.

By uncovering West as yet one more variant of a rural flâneuse, a greater understanding of this pivotal period will be reached as well as a better understanding of yet one more overlooked rural female modernist. Like Mansfield and Lawrence, West is a complex rural flâneuse; she meanders so as to understand herself and the crumbling world around her at the dawn of WWII. In what follows, I will proceed with the overview of the historical context, the book's reception, and the relevant theories, such as the rural flâneuse, detachment and cold modernism. The second half of the chapter will consist of my close reading of selected extracts, and a conclusion, summarising my findings.

The first close reading highlights the affective dynamics between Constantine, Gregorievitch and Valetta that West observes while flâneuring from the train station in Zagreb. The second close reading takes place in Macedonia; while West flâneuses in the rural villages, she notices the role of land and race in a young Yugoslavian widow's speech. The third passage focuses on an old woman who meanders the rural Macedonian landscape and becomes the epitome of a rural flâneuse who ponders on her existence. Finally, the last extract I focus on takes place on Sheep's Field; West observes an annual sacrificial rite that takes place in spring. This scene is where West meanders on foot and reaches her flânerie's revelation regarding observing, walking and meandering in relation to her crumbling contemporary world. On Sheep's Field, West explains her thought process behind her flânerie and reveals her thoughts on the western world's attitude to sacrifice itself rather than stand up for its culture and civilisation against the Nazi threat. As with all great authors, the theories and

methods I apply to analyse her work reveal West as a contradictory, yet highly late modernist flâneuse, defined by the multiple forces that were shaping the era.

The Book's Historical Context

West's book extends to some half a million words (or about 1150 pages in recent editions) and gives an account of Balkan history and ethnography through West's eyes during her six-week trip to Yugoslavia in 1937. Beryl Pong highlights the era as a time when the 'need to confront' the possibility of a second global conflict was accentuated; she highlights that during the 'decade-long build-up to' it in the 1930s, writers and intellectuals observed the steady rise of fascism'.[18] West too, displays clear antifascist feelings in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*. For instance, when travelling, she states that 'Mussolini and Hitler came to power because they offered the victims of capitalism a promise of relief by a magical rite of regimentation'.[19] Her book is a monument to 1930s antifascism, as she understood it, and her rural flânerie is her means to fight for her beliefs.

The need to confront a potential upcoming war can be seen as West's primary reason for flâneuring, especially given the fact that she admitted to her total lack of knowledge on Yugoslavia before the threat of war. Indeed, when beginning her flânerie from the train, she exclaims that she 'had never seen the place till 1936' and that the first time she 'ever spoke the name "Yugoslavia"' was 'only two and a half years ago, on October the ninth, 1934'.[20] As Catherine Toal explains, 'West gave up novel-writing temporarily during the interwar period, finding real-world matters too pressing'.[21] Indeed, the necessity to return to Yugoslavia is captured by West's ending of her prologue: 'in a panic

[18] Beryl Pong, *British Literature and Culture in Second World Wartime: For the Duration* (Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 4.

[19] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 481.

[20] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1.

[21] Catherine Toal, 'Inventory of another country: Rebecca West and the legacy of 1918', *Journal of European Studies*, 51.3-4 (2021), pp. 292-303 (p. 293).

I said, "I must go back to Yugoslavia, this time, next year, in the spring, for Easter"'.[22] West's previous self-admitted ignorance about the land, combined with her outspoken need to travel so as to confront a pivotal, historical moment is proof that the purpose and perspective of her rural wanders is, indeed, highly modern. West's flânerie and observations, just like Mansfield and Lawrence did before her, is challenging Grimshaw's claim that the rural flâneur, or flâneuse, equals an 'antimodern figure'.[23]

To provide a commentary and review of the country, she meanders in different corners of the state and meets a variety of people. West's journey begins by travelling to Zagreb. Here, along with her husband, she is shown the city by Constantine, a Serbian poet, a Jew and Government official, and two Croats, the mathematician Valetta, a young separatist, and a journalist, Marko Gregorievitch, a believer in a united Yugoslavia.[24] While there, she and her husband meander, mostly by car and train, in numerous places and discuss and interact with the aforementioned characters, amongst a multitude of others. They then make their way, by train, to Dalmatia; she visits the island of Rab, as well as places such as Trogir and Dubrovnik. Having visited Herzegovina and Sarajevo in Bosnia, they then travel to Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro.

It is true that West travels with her husband and, therefore, is not always a lone flâneuse. Her husband, Henry Maxwell Andrews, a banker who, despite a number of infidelities on both sides, provided her with a stable and comfortable life, was also, importantly for this chapter, her main companion on her travels.[25] Such vast, rural regions in the 1930s were seen as no place for the western world's 'astutest feminine intelligence', such as West.[26] She needed her husband as she needed a specific mode of travel so as to retain her respectability. Despite his importance to her, anonymity remained paramount, and his name never appears throughout the travelogue, apart from West's

[22] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 23.

[23] Mike Grimshaw, The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 13 (2012), pp. 144-153 (p. 145).

[24] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 83-84.

[25] Lorna Gibb, *The Extraordinary Life of Rebecca West* (Counterpoint, 2014), p. 8.

[26] Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', p. 58.

bibliographical note, found right at the end of the book. West only refers to him as her husband and a person who, for instance, becomes her helper on the railway station in Belgrade, when she mentions how her husband and Constantine 'looked for a lost suitcase'.[27] She removes active agency from him and he becomes a character who exists mainly in relation to her as the flâneuse.

Her husband is also presented as a combined source of consolation and respectability, such as when West proclaims that upon hearing of King Alexander's assassination in 1934, when she 'lay in bed and looked at her radio fearfully', she decided to call her husband 'on the telephone, as one does in times of crisis', playfully adding 'if one is happily married'.[28] I would link West's role as an accompanied flâneuse to Wrigley's claim that the figure of the flâneur in an international context is often part of 'collective strolling'.[29] This collective strolling goes hand in hand with Richard Wrigley's idea that the flâneur became 'emblematic of a new generation of empowered citizens, equipped with the high degree of self-awareness' required to 'navigate' a 'dramatically uncertain and changing' landscape and 'a nascent political culture'; Wrigley claims that for these flâneurs, 'locality' is one important dimension to 'mobility as an element in political participation'.[30] Finally, Wrigley has also challenged the 'virtual monopoly on thinking about the subject derived from Walter Benjamin's characterisation of the type', 'centred on Charles Baudelaire's vision', which 'renders the flâneur a strangely apolitical creature'.[31] Apart from the fact that she is a woman, rather than a man – indeed, Wrigley states that the figure should be 'thought of as a type of male' – and the fact that she meanders in rurality, rather than in the city, Wrigley's definition of the flâneur undeniably also rings familiar to West's stance as a flâneuse in Yugoslavia.[32] She meanders with great awareness of herself, the

[27] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 458.

[28] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 14.

[29] Richard Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 12.

[30] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[31] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[32] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

surroundings and with a sharp political and critical outlook. She ventures into the rural crowd, as a flâneuse with a nobler aim in mind.[33]

Just like Lawrence with Frieda and Mansfield with her travel companions, West uses her husband to complement her thought process and presents him as her source of consolation at her times of need. Perhaps appropriately, given all the aforementioned information, she only mentions his name at the very end of the book, in her bibliographical note. Here, she ends her flânerie feat by thanking him 'for the patience with which he watched me'.[34] Including him in the bibliographical note accentuates the importance that West places on propriety in her writing. It is also interesting to note that she happily admits that she was 'watched' by him, thus confirming Cohen's suggestion that West 'the historian' should not be confused with 'West the historical subject'; indeed, she is happy as the subject of her husband's gaze. Ultimately, West supports the social norm for a woman of her social standing and acknowledges the importance of her spouse in her life and career. She concludes by thanking him for his 'great faith' in her, 'for which I am most grateful'.[35] Ultimately, her husband exists as her main way to confirm her respectability and safe movement within the patriarchal and rural Balkan space in which she is flâneuring.

The rural landscape's status was a contested and complex topic in the interwar period. One particular fascist slogan, namely, 'blood and soil', was used by the Nazis and other fascist groups to promote the geographical pride of their population for their land, thus linking land to race, and ultimately mobilising the rural to serve their eugenicist agendas.[36] By meandering the rural landscape

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[33] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010), p. 12.

[34] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1158.

[35] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1158.

[36] Jesse Callahan Bryant explains how 'many of us are familiar with the anti-pluralistic ingroup-outgroup political rhetoric of fascism. In Mussolini's Italy, this political binarising took place along the lines of political philosophy—the enemy was the communists. In Hitler's Germany, this binary played out most clearly along techno-eugenic lines—the enemy was any genetic makeup that might pollute the pure Aryan race. But a second dimension was at play, too, namely the quasi-spiritual notion that along with a pure Aryan race must

and making her observations, she reclaims the rural landscape; flânerie is her means to do this. Further on in the text, when visiting Macedonia and flâneuring from a government car in Serbian villages, West notices that their houses were built 'side by side', so as to protect themselves against 'raids from Turkish troops and the various armed forces begotten by the maladministration'.[37] The rural context and the Serbians' relationship to it become West's focus. She then comments that the 'most discouraging features of agricultural life, as we know them in England and America, the loneliness of the women and the development of eccentricities due to isolation' were not present in these 'very large villages' 'in the Balkans'.[38] She presents the land as connected to the people, and this is a criterion through which she evaluates their culture and sense of community and belonging. To make her observation, she reverts to her sociological comparison so as to strengthen her argument that the Serbian villages have founded a successful structure on which to base culture and life.

Eugenics also plays a discreet, yet important role in West's flânerie and observations. Given its popularity amongst a variety of respectable circles, it assisted her in building and strengthening her argument as to why Yugoslavia should exist and should be supported by the western world. Indeed, in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, when West is idling within the Vrdnik monastery in Frushka Gora, she recreates in her narrative the image of Karageorge, a Serbian fighter and leader who was active in the early 1800s. She describes him confidently, as a man who can rightfully boast a 'superb physique', 'tall even for a race of tall men, with burning eyes [and] wild coal-black hair.' 'He was a born warrior', West

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come a pure Aryan land from which those people make their lot. This belief is what would be codified in the Nazi ingroup slogan, blood and soil. But the Third Reich did not invent this entangled vision of people and environment. Instead, as political parties do, they activated a set of beliefs that already laid latent in the German people. By the mid-19th century, in both Germany and the United States, philosophical movements were underway that were obsessed with the notion of a pure and spiritual nature in revolt against a polluted, dirty, materialistic culture'. See: Jesse Callahan Bryant, 'Ecos, Ethnos, and Fascism', *Contexts*, 21.3 (2022), pp. 51-53 (p. 52).

[37] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 673.

[38] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 673.

concludes.[39] Karageorge's image, as conjured by West, is one that is influenced by eugenic thinking. She could not have known what he looked like, given that he was active during the early 1800s, yet she did not hesitate to focus on his physique, nor did she forget to mention to her readers that Serbian men are a 'race of tall men'.[40] By emphasising features that she knew her readers could relate to and which she knew they considered models of physical beauty, she was also securing a greater number of readers who would empathise with this particular leader that she wanted to present under a positive light.

Eugenics, as a theory, 'in most western countries in the first four decades of the 20th century was based on the idea that genes control most human phenotypic traits'[41] and was mainly found 'in Britain and the United States'.[42] West could not have escaped it, given its influence into the political right and left; indeed, it would inevitably also pervade mainstream media.[43] Numerous articles in the 1930s discussed the positive aspects of eugenics in maintaining the Northern European stock. Dr Robert Sutherland, who, as stated in the *Manchester Guardian*, dealt with 'the future of the race', specified that if 'present tendencies went unchecked there could not fail to be a progressive

[39] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 520.

[40] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 520.

[41] Garland E. Allen, 'Eugenics and Modern Biology: Critiques of Eugenics,1910-1945', *Biology Faculty Publications & Presentations*, 75.3 (2011), pp. 314-325 (p. 325).

[42] Allen, 'Eugenics and Modern Biology: Critiques of Eugenics,1910-1945', p. 325.

[43] Frank W. Stahnisch, 'The Early Eugenics Movement and Emerging Professional Psychiatry: Conceptual Transfers and Personal Relationships between Germany and North America, 1880s to 1930s', *UTP Journals*, 31.1 (2014), pp. 17-40 (p. 33). In the early 20th century, the national mood in the US and Great Britain moved away from 'internationalism and toward isolationism soon after the Great War ended'. Eugenics became the scientific means used by political parties in the USA so as to promote the benefits of restricting 'immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe'. The political atmosphere, along with the laws applied, would most certainly have led West's readers, and even possibly West herself, to have viewed Balkan people in a derogatory manner. See: Jason McDonald, 'Making the World Safe for Eugenics: The Eugenicist, Harry H. Laughlin's Encounters with American Internationalism', *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 12.3 (2013), pp. 379-411 (p. 381).

deterioration of the race'.[44] Childs, in *Modernism and Eugenics*, claims that 'although not all writers were eugenicists or sympathetic to eugenics, eugenics touched upon the interests – if not the very lives – of many more of them than were eugenicists' and proceeds to include West in his list of authors influenced by the ideology.[45] Under the fear of Nazi Germany, gathering all Slavic components to work as one against this threat was West's eugenically hued solution to the threat that Fascism was posing. To legitimise her argument, she presented a number of different nationalities as one people under one unifying umbrella; that of Slavic people who were united under the governance of Yugoslavia. By accentuating their cultural similarities to Western Europe, she was aiming to influence her Western readers to feel cultural solidarity towards the Slavs.

West stated that Balkan people are not of 'far Asiatic origin' thus suggesting that the Balkans deserved to be supported by the Western world as equally significant and culturally as important as European nations in the fight against the imperial powers that were threatening and surrounding them.[46] Indeed, in Jonah Corne's view, Rebecca West 'foresaw the catastrophic conflict that would engulf Europe and the world' and was attempting to express these fears through her descriptive narrative.[47] It is true that West describes how the Hungarian and Croatian people were unlikely to assimilate, despite living for two centuries under the same crown: she explains how 'the Hungarians or Magyars are a people of far Asiatic origin, akin to the Finns, the Bulgars, and the Turks, and the Croats are Slav, akin to the Serbs, the Russians, the Poles, and the Czechs'.[48] Ironically, in her epilogue she accuses 'the racial theory of Hitlerism', as it was 'obvious that Nazi conquerors of France would have no interest in protecting French Nazis simply because they were not German'.[49] Nevertheless,

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[44] Anonymous, 'Birth-Control Conference: Preserving the Race Medical Officer's Pro', *The Manchester Guardian*, 2 December 1935, p. 12.

[45] Donald J. Childs, *Modernism and Eugenics* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-13.

[46] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 49.

[47] Jonah Corne, 'Regicide on Repeat: The Pensive Spectator of Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*', *Criticism*, 60.1 (2018), pp. 47-73 (p. 66).

[48] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 49.

[49] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1123.

West, by reverting to a sociological comparison and analysis in her flânerie, offers the appropriate detachment through which she can prove her political point that Yugoslavia should remain united against the impending Nazi threat.

Chronologically, West belonged to a group of 'artists, writers, journalists and architects who were active during the interwar and war years and who, until now,' Kristin Bluemel rightly highlights, 'have been treated as modernism's others, if they were treated at all'.[50] It is true that West's text has sometimes been overlooked as it does not fully align to concepts of modernism nor of postmodernism, similar to the texts that Bluemel researches. The time in which West travelled was a transitional one, as Marina MacKay and Lyndsey Stonebridge explain. As they discuss, the period after WWII was defined by a 'new post-war consensus [which held that] there was no room for the social and political isolation that had been so crucial, albeit in different ways, for the modernist novel'.[51] The *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, being so highly political, but having been written in the 1940s, meant that West's travelogue was within this overlooked period of literary research. Bluemel's inspiring study of such overlooked writers and artists, which she defines as 'intermodernism', is the way in which this gap can be addressed.

This chapter is an extension of Bluemel's invitation to research such personalities like Rebecca West as reflective of intermodernism. Importantly, Bluemel reminds us 'that conceptions of modernism go well beyond aesthetic concerns and that modernism, in all its ideological forms, has generated dozens of stories about itself and its making'.[52] West created such a story which, despite being primarily known for its other high, aesthetic qualities, has shone in particular for its ideology, for its sharp intellectuality and political observations on current issues. West, as other

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[50] Kristin Bluemel, *Intermodernism: Literary Culture in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 6.

[51] Marina MacKay and Lyndsey Stonebridge, 'British Fiction after Modernism', in *British Fiction after Modernism: The Novel at Mid-Century*, ed. by Marina MacKay and Lyndsey Stonebridge (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

[52] Bluemel, *Intermodernism: Literary Culture in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 3.

(inter)modernists, was facing an impending war and, like Lawrence and Mansfield, used rural flânerie as her means to face the challenges of her time.

West's story, in Bluemel's sense, was about war and its making. David Farley, in particular, highlights that for West, 'the desire to travel was in part bound up with the desire to recognise and identify the events that could potentially lead to another war'.[53] West does not hesitate, for Yugoslavia's sake, to critique British and English inefficiency in the war context. She states that 'Englishmen have usually been foolish about the Peninsula, being imbued with the imperialist idea that it is good to have and therefore apt to draw the false conclusion that those who have not are not good.'[54] In other passages in the book, the tone of which, as Andrew Hammond highlights, 'prefigure contemporary postcolonialism', she stated that she felt anger for the ignorance and iniquities of Western imperialism.[55] West goes so far as to criticise the 'Western world's weakness to think that distant people became civilised when we looked at them, that in their yesterdays they were brutish'.[56] West staunchly believed that Yugoslavia's existence and strong presence was to Britain's and greater Europe's interest and therefore, it should be Britain's aim to help the nation. Catherine Toal explains that West, in particular, called for a 'defence of the Versailles settlement, urging a Britain still hesitating in 1938 to present German expansion to protect the young Yugoslav state'.[57] Ultimately, West's reason to flâneur in the region was to find evidence of a united and supported Yugoslavia, which would increase hope that a greater united front against Nazi Germany was beginning to form.

West was a woman who retained until the very 'last minute an impious *Grande dame* authority in the literary world of London, suited to her rank as Dame Commander, Order of the British Empire'; it was, therefore, no surprise to the literary and cultural scene that it was West, in particular, who was instructed by the British government to undertake the task of recording the people and

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[53] David Farley, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad* (University of Missouri Press, 2010), p. 11.

[54] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1095.

[55] Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', p. 66.

[56] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 49.

[57] Toal, 'Inventory of another country: Rebecca West and the legacy of 1918', p. 293.

happenings of such a politically unstable region.[58] Perhaps sending West could be interpreted as a strategic move by Britain, who may have estimated that an equally intelligent and confident male wanderer and observer on their behalf would be seen as a threat by the locals and other powers in this diplomatically unstable period. To further understand the negative connotations that the rural and the wild Balkans carried for West and her contemporaries' minds, it is useful to look at sources which reveal the wider British attitude towards the Balkan region.

The Balkans were seen as culturally, technologically, politically and socially regressive and far behind 'developed' western Europe. Andrew Hammond illustrates this point by looking at an article in a 1912 edition of *The Graphic*, under the title 'Why the Balkans Attract Women'; the journalist found it hard to understand how 'those rough, wild, semi-civilised and more than half Orientalised little countries, [could] appeal so strongly to some of our [meaning Western] astutest feminine intelligence'.[59] It was beyond the writer's comprehension to understand what about this mystery and ruggedness enticed Western women to travel to the area. Generally, 'Eastern Europe as a whole [was] considered a place of disunion and barbarism, full of ignorant peasants and antipathetic races which the Ottoman Empire control[led] simply by turning them against each other'.[60] West, on the contrary, argued that:

> We are not as rich in the West as we think we are. Or, rather, there is much we have not got which the people in the Balkans have got in quantity. To look at them you would think they had nothing. The people who made these dresses looked as if they had nothing at all. But if these imbeciles here had not spoiled this embroidery you would see that whoever did it had more than we have.[61]

[58] D. A. N. Jones, 'A Son's Story: Anthony West', *Grand Street*, 4.1 (1984), pp. 163-174 (p. 163).

[59] Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', p. 58.

[60] Hammond, 'Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans', p. 61.

[61] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 23.

West's omniscient voice claims to 'look' at them, reminiscent of a flâneuse's gaze. She urges her readers to acutely observe them through her eyes and perspective. She asks the readers to admire the embroidery and clothes she observes as evidence of a higher, distinctly Slavic culture which Western Europe lacks.[62]

Just like Mansfield and Lawrence, West, despite travelling frequently, rarely considered herself a tourist, but a traveller, in the mode that Sanguin used the term: one involved in 'serious work'; 'an acceptation, a legitimate purpose in itself' and by choosing the remote Balkans, she was only but accentuating this adopted role of an intellectual and determined traveller.[63] She shows respect towards a traveller and likens herself as one more than once. For example, while flâneuring in Macedonia, she says that 'sometimes a country will for days keep its secrets from a traveller, showing him nothing but its surfaces, its grass, its trees, the outside of its houses. Then suddenly it will throw him a key and tell him to go where he likes and see what he can'.[64] She describes the Germans she sees, meets and interacts with as 'tourists', resorting to a sweeping, collective definition to describe the particular nation which she and other intellectuals of the time viewed as the principal threat for peace in Europe.[65] Laura Cowan emphasises that West strongly disagreed with 'the blind adherence

[62] Another fascinating travelogue which is worthy of future study is Olivia Manning's *Balkan Trilogy* (published 1960). The book, Codruta Gosa explains, is an example of a semi-autobiographical, fictional trilogy which focuses on 'the alter ego of Olivia Manning', 'Harriet Pringle', 'an English woman and the wife of a lecturer for the British Council in Bucharest. She follows her husband to his post and like West, Pringle 'finds herself in the middle of a strange new world, at the gates of Orient and in the middle of World War II about to erupt in this part of the world, too'. A potential future reading of Mannings' work will surely reveal interesting findings as to how and if Manning also flâneured, and in what manner, in urban centres or the rural periphery.' See: Codruta Gosa, 'Through A Reader Looking Glass. Olivia Manning's The Balkan Trilogy', *Romanian Journal of English Studies*, 16.1 (2019), pp. 54-64 (p. 55).

[63] Andre-Louis Sanguin, 'Montenegro in Rebecca West's Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: The Literature of Travellers as a Source for Political Geography', *Geoadria,* 16.2 (2011), pp. 253-260 (p. 254).

[64] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 786.

[65] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 37, 41.

to totalitarian systems'.[66] She calls attention to the fact that West supported the opinion that 'cultures, countries, and individuals need vital traditions', as she viewed traditions as 'essential to healthy individuals and healthy countries'.[67] According to West, the Germans she encounters as tourists would not be able to come in contact with these traditions; she is indirectly claiming that only a traveller, like herself, could do so. Only by immersing herself into the rural landscape and society as a detached flâneuse will she be able to show the value of Yugoslavia and the value of examining pain to the Western world. Yugoslavia's value and painful stories constituted the 'nobler aim' of her rural flânerie.[68]

The Flâneur and the Flâneuse

As with the previous chapters, I cannot approach West as a flâneuse without first placing her in relation to the primary idea of the flâneur, as defined by Baudelaire. Baudelaire's definition of the flâneur undoubtedly influences West's attitude of detachment:

> The crowd is his domain, just as the air is the bird's, and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession is to merge with the crowd. For the perfect idler, for the passionate observer it becomes an immense source of enjoyment to establish his dwelling in the throng, in the ebb and flow, the bustle, the fleeting and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, to be at the very centre of the world, and yet to be unseen of the world, such are the minor pleasures of those independent, intense and impartial spirits, who do not lend themselves easily to linguistic definitions.[69]

West, as I have already argued, uses the detachment associated with the flâneur consciously as a literary technique. She does evoke emotions in her writing and is, as I aim to show through this

[66] Laura Cowan, *Rebecca West's Subversive Use of Hybrid Genres: 1911-41* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 4.

[67] Cowan, *Rebecca West's Subversive Use of Hybrid Genres: 1911-41*, p. 4.

[68] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[69] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, pp. 10-11.

chapter, a passionate observer, but one who also aspires to her detachment. Detachment, apart from being a practical way to successfully navigate the male dominated world of journalism and manage to publish her book, was also a way in which to propound her belief in a united Yugoslavia. As with Lawrence and Mansfield, both Isabel Vila-Cabanes' call for a 'new characterisation of the flâneur'[70] and Elkin's, similar, call 'not to attempt to make a woman fit a masculine concept, but to redefine the concept itself' inspired my study on West.[71] Indeed, Elkin's claim that 'if we tunnel back, we find there is always a flâneuse passing Baudelaire in the street' can be read under a greatly different light now.[72] West is not just any flâneuse passing Baudelaire. In her *grand dame* manner, she is responding to and reacting against his set definition and creating her own version of this precise figure. While flâneuring, she adopts the gaze Baudelaire had initially defined and transforms this detachment into her tool to examine the pain of a war-ridden Yugoslavia and Europe.

As with Mansfield and Lawrence, I am making particular use of Grimshaw when linking the figure of the flâneuse to the rural setting and I aim to suggest that West was a highly modernist rural flâneuse in her observations and flânerie as a means to directly critique regional and global issues. I am also greatly influenced by Wrigley's understanding of the development of the flâneur in an international context, such as in Prague, where the flâneur becomes an 'inherited idea dispersed into forms of collective strolling'.[73] Importantly for my thesis' whole argument, not only West, but also Mansfield, Lawrence and even at times Shepherd, took part in 'collective strolling'.[74] Flânerie 'a deux', which was how West travelled with her husband, was 'an accepted variant'.[75] Richard Wrigley, in his article, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', has also challenged the 'virtual monopoly on

[70] Isabel Vila-Cabanes, *The Flâneur in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture: The Worlds of London Unknown* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 2.

[71] Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016), pp. 14-15.

[72] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, pp. 14-15.

[73] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[74] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

[75] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 12.

thinking about the subject derived from Walter Benjamin's characterisation of the type' which is 'centred on Charles Baudelaire's vision' and subsequently, 'renders the flâneur a strangely apolitical creature.'[76] By contrast, he states:

> [The flâneur is] emblematic of a new generation of empowered citizens, equipped with a high degree of self-awareness required to inhabit and navigate not only a dramatically uncertain and changing urban landscape but also and more significantly a nascent political culture, as it took form in, and indelibly imprinted itself on, the identity of Paris's public spaces. However, as I will suggest, it is in fact by virtue of a desire for independence, evading reduction to one of a small number of labels based on "parti" or "classe," that the proto-flâneur's true political identity should be understood. In the same way that such observers step aside from being reductively labelled, they are also at one removed from public spectacle. Such distance renders them more—not less—keenly observant.[77]

West too chose to distance herself, in rurality rather than in the city, so as to become more keenly observant of these premonitions of the impending war. Wrigley also highlights that 'anonymity' is another characteristic of the flâneur; 'rather than corresponding to faceless insignificance, or the blurring of individual identity, anonymity', he explains, 'can be thought of as a more positive condition of existence—what we might call prudent detachment, avoiding moments when identity had to be checked—in a growing city that continued to witness successive political transitions and shocks'.[78] There were 'practical advantages of establishing a sense of' being 'removed from the public culture of politics' and of practising 'circumspection'.[79] Finally, he highlights the importance of freeing 'the flâneur from its assumed dependency on the passages (arcades)' and of addressing the 'apparent

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[76] Richard Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', *Journal 18: A Journal of Eighteenth-Century Art And Culture*, 15 (2023), <https://www.journal18.org/6771> [accessed 3 August 2023], paragraph 2.

[77] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 3.

[78] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 8.

[79] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 8.

contradiction that declarations of the flâneur as quintessentially Parisian seem to applaud mindless wandering as much as they acknowledge that this type also embodied a certain local knowledge'.[80] I take Wrigley's insightful claims and highlight West as a successful example of a flâneuse who used prudent detachment as a more positive condition of existence when wandering the rural roads and paths of Yugoslavia as her arcades of certain local knowledge, in Wrigley's notion.

Finally, Wrigley, in *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, also defines the flâneur as a political analyst who conjures 'up episodes as if they were reportage, which later become transformed into myths of the everyday'.[81] West's journalistic style, lengthy sentences, multiple uses of commas and descriptive, yet simultaneously detached, voice become her means to narrate all episodes as a particularly well-crafted reportage. For instance, when driving through Kolashin, a region in Montenegro, West compares the countryside to Coniston in the Lake District, thus drawing on familiar images for her readers to relate to. With minute observation, she describes the landscape and transforms it into 'a myth of the everyday':

> This idyllic country, fresh under every dawn as Nausicaa going down to bathe with her maidens, unmarred by a railway system and possessing no modern nor indeed even medieval town, which is but pastures and woodlands and mountains and primitive villages, set on earth sweet as new bread taken from the oven.[82]

Her lyrical language, for the sake of a journalistic attitude, is prevalent and reminiscent of Mansfield's narration in the Urewera landscape, where she conjured images of the English countryside despite being in New Zealand's dramatically different natural landscape. West's flâneuse echoes Walter Benjamin's definition in the 1930s, when he states that 'the journalist, as flâneur,' and as a 'literary

[80] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 13.

[81] Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives*, p. 11.

[82] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1015.

man, ventures into the marketplace to sell himself'.[83] Indeed, West is selling herself to her readers, the government, and to the locals in her Yugoslavian's wanders and is setting herself as a respected author and public figure. Collective strolling in rurality, in combination with her facade as a political analyst and respected female journalist, served her modernist flânerie well.

Pain, Detachment and Cold Modernism

Beryl Pong's poignant reminder of British culture's 'emphasised stoicism and "stiff upper lip"', serves the purpose of introducing my claim that Rebecca West chose to take on a detached voice in her writing persona.[84] Detached, as an adjective, is defined in the *OED* as 'disconnected, disengaged, separated' and 'isolated'.[85] Importantly for this chapter, and as explained previously, Baudelaire described the flâneur as a figure which aspires to 'l'insensibilité', as it he wrote it originally in French, or in 'cold detachment', as it has been translated in most cases.[86] Baudelaire is unwilling to call the figure a 'pure artist', as the flâneur 'himself rejected this title,' Baudelaire explains, 'with a modesty tinged with aristocratic restraint'.[87] West, as 'Dame Commander, Order of the British Empire', suits this description well.[88]

As explained in the first pages of this chapter, particularly important to my understanding of West as a detached flâneuse examining pain is Nelson's book *Tough Enough*. In this book, Nelson takes on six women of the mid to late twentieth century who, she claims, 'argued passionately for the

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[83] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 446.

[84] Pong, *British Literature and Culture in Second World Wartime: For the Duration*, p. 55.

[85] Entry 'detached', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/detached_adj?tab=meaning_and_use#7044427> [accessed 20 March 2024].

[86] Charles Baudelaire, 'Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne', *Le Figaro*, 1863. This edition: Charles Baudelaire, *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne* (Editions Mille et une Nuits, 2010), p. 8.

[87] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 10.

[88] Jones, 'A Son's Story: Anthony West', p. 163.

aesthetic, political, and moral obligation to face painful reality unsentimentally'.[89] The North-American female artists that Nelson discusses are Simone Weil, Hannah Arendt, Mary McCarthy, Susan Sontag, Diane Arbus and Joan Didion. Nelson calls them 'tough' because of their 'self-imposed task of looking at painful reality with directness and clarity and without consolation or compensation'.[90] As Rollyson highlights, West condemned 'appeasers, who sidle[d] out of conflicts and commitments', such as when she critiqued the Allied Powers for their hesitancy to face the impeding Nazi threat.[91] Her flânerie was her means to apply her tough outlook to reality.

Nelson importantly emphasises that the 'conventions of emotional expression differ between women and men' and admits that 'decades of feminist scholarship' point out that 'the demand for female warmth and sympathy are more insistent'.[92] She flags the dangers of taking 'heartlessness and coldness as mere quirks of personality' when studying such women, as this would 'deprive ourselves of alternatives to intimacy and empathy'.[93] She demands that we view such women not as simply 'psychologically cold', but rather as 'engaged in an ethical project with different assumptions'.[94] Being cold, for Nelson, is 'a choice', 'a lifelong project, one that gets worked out with a great deal of self-consciousness'.[95] Nelson's overview of the historical use of the unsentimental has also proved useful in my understanding of West. Nelson explains that 'sensibility emerged in the eighteenth century as a term of approval for a person's susceptibility to tender emotions'.[96] In the nineteenth century, she writes, 'sensibility and sentimental parted ways'; sensibility enjoyed 'society's approval' while sentimental became 'the disapproving term for the indulgence in emotion'.[97] Finally, Nelson points

[89] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 1.

[90] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 1.

[91] Rollyson, *The Literary Legacy of Rebecca West*, p.115.

[92] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 3.

[93] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 9.

[94] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 9.

[95] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, pp. 3-4.

[96] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, pp. 3-4.

[97] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 4.

out that 'by the modernist period,' 'sentimental had become permanently and irrevocably associated with bad taste and moral simplicity and "unsentimental" with good taste and moral acuity'.[98] Therefore, when West was called unsentimental in a review, it was essentially a compliment to her work at the time. Given that she was a woman who fiercely sought success, it should come as no surprise that she aimed to use this tone of voice in her writing.

West, along with other writers who faced 'mid-century's disasters', Nelson contends, 'decried the inadequacy of the formal tools they had inherited' from the previous generation of core modernists'.[99] West, just like the women that Nelson discusses, a few of whom were born just a few years after her, used a detached voice so as to also challenge the literary tools at her disposal. Nelson's aim to 'contribute a chapter to the story we have been telling ourselves about our relationship to suffering – our own and others – in the decades following World War II', is also the main aim for this chapter on *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*.[100] In the texts that Nelson studies, 'display of feeling is minimised if not outright excluded, but [the text] insists on an encounter with suffering that is serious, engaged, and often painful'.[101] I will provide a final quotation from Nelson, which I trust echoes everything I have said so far about West. Nelson explains:

> [The] work of such tough women constitute[s] a critique of Enlightenment secular modernity with its master narrative of human perfectibility. In the drama of human perfectibility, every source of pain is subject not merely to remediation; it is already located somewhere on the path to elimination. As modernity's fantasy of itself as an increasingly pain-free world imploded in the first half of the twentieth century, these women were willing to admit pain into the sphere of aesthetics and politics. They demanded that feeling pain, a result of

[98] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 4.

[99] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 6.

[100] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 7.

[101] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 8.

> considering in detail and with accuracy the conditions of pain and suffering, was a legitimate, even necessary, enterprise.[102]

Similarly to West, these women writers 'believed this practice to be crucial to the fate of the postwar public sphere' and even to 'human civilisation itself'.[103] Just as West believed for herself, these women were realists 'of a certain kind', Nelson explains.[104] Indeed, West shows the importance that she places on being a realist towards her flânerie and its legitimate purpose when she calls herself an idiot. More specifically, at the beginning of her travelogue, she condemns her own idiocy, in the ancient Greek sense of the word, of a person that is not partaking in public affairs, and thus insinuates that it is because of her ignorance of current public affairs that she has become an idiot, in 20th century terms. She explains that her 'idiocy was like [her] anaesthetic' and continues by saying that 'during the blankness it dispensed I was cut about and felt nothing, but it could not annul the consequences'.[105] However, these consequences, or 'the pain', as West importantly claims, 'came afterwards'.[106] The pain West refers to is the pain felt by Yugoslavians and the whole of Europe blighted by war.

This pain reaches its apotheosis at the sacrificial stone at Macedonia's Sheep Field, on St. George's Eve; here she observed with disgust the rite during which animals, such as young lambs, are sacrificed for the purpose of bringing fertility to barren women. She highlights the paradox that the ending of a life is used to symbolise the bringing of a new life and compares it to the barbarity of humankind to kill the most good thing on Earth, manifested through Christ's crucifixion. West's work corresponds to Nelson's interest in that, throughout her travelogue, she also, through a Western European's flâneuse's eyes, heroically engages with the sensitive issues of national identity and religion in the Balkans and Europe and highlights the pain that is inflicted on nations by maintaining a

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[102] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 8.

[103] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 10.

[104] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 13.

[105] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 14.

[106] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 14.

detached front. These women, Nelson argues and I agree, 'insisted on facing suffering with clarity, alone but in the company of others'; as we know, West surrounded herself with her husband and other local men and women, but also retained a detached observation of her context.[107]

Knowing Nelson's findings, it was intriguing to come across Christopher Hitchens's remark in his introduction to *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* In 2007: to 'admire West', he writes, 'is to admire the toughness of her mind and steadiness of her gaze'.[108] Hitchens's remark echoes my claim that West's gaze and her tough demeanour is of importance to our understanding of her writing. I am taking Hitchens's description and I am formally framing it within my reading of West as a rural, detached flâneuse, in Nelson's mode. Finally, I draw attention to Nelson's admittance that the six female writers she focuses on are, indeed, 'not the only women to raise the issue of heartlessness'.[109] Her belief in the existence of more such 'tough' women further encourages my study to participate in this conversation; I claim that West is another female writer who adopted a detached tone in her rural flânerie, similar to the tone that Nelson saw in her own female subjects, so as to survive in her contemporary, male dominated world, blighted by war. The close readings of four extracts follow below. These will serve as representative examples of how pain is examined by West in her rural flânerie. Feeling and analysing the pain that was felt across the whole of Europe was West's legitimate and necessary nobler aim when flâneuring; her final, highly modernist in its outlook, aim was to save European civilisation from Nazi dominance.

Entering the European Periphery: Examining Pain through Detached Flânerie

The first extract which this chapter deals closely with is found at the beginning of this vast travelogue. West meets the three main figures of her book with whom she interacts: namely, Constantine, Valetta

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[107] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 13.

[108] Christopher Hitchens, 'Introduction', in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* by Rebecca West, intro. by Christopher Hitchens (Penguin Classics, 2007), p. 33.

[109] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 2.

and Gregorievitch. She explains that the men, 'our three friends', as she journalistically refers to them, 'were waiting in the rain on the platform of the real Zagreb'.[110] West refers to this setting as the 'real Zagreb' as she is comparing it to her previous reference to 'Zagreb-Sava', a 'suburb three or four miles out of the main town', where 'German' tourists were heading.[111] Already, her anti-tourist attitude is becoming evident. The tourist destination is juxtaposed to the authentic destination, as seen from West's peripheral arcade. The central train station in this small city becomes a key setting for her flânerie.

West's arrival is marked by a sense of international power over her hosts. She uses the power that her British nationality and social class have gifted her so as to gaze, observe and comment while keeping this expected distance. By observing the dynamics, she is drawing attention to the subverted pain she believes previous empires have inflicted on the different people of Yugoslavia but she always maintains a detached front through implementing free indirect discourse. West describes Gregorievitch: 'as he sits in his armchair, resentment at what he conceives to be a remediable injustice will draw him inches nearer to the ceiling, despair at an inevitable wrong will crumple him up like a concertina'.[112] We learn that 'for sixteen years before the war he was an active revolutionary, fighting against the Hungarians for the right of Croats to govern themselves and to use their own language. Enduring 'poverty and imprisonment and exile' meant that Yugoslavia is to him the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.[113] Constantine, she then explains, 'who was still a student in Paris when the Great War broke out, and who had been born a free Serb, seems impious in the way he takes Yugoslavia for granted'.[114] West says that 'to Gregorievitch, Valetta', who is a young, separatist Croat, 'is quite simply a traitor.

[110] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, intro. by Geoff Dyer, p. 41. Please note that all subsequent footnotes with reference to *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* in this chapter, unless stated otherwise, refer to the edition mentioned in this footnote.

[111] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 41.

[112] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 42.

[113] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 42.

[114] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 42.

Only a sorcerer could make [Gregorievitch] realise that the AustroHungarian Empire ceased to be when Valetta was six years old, and that [Valetta] had never known any other symbol of unjust authority except Yugoslavia'.[115]

West's use of free indirect discourse reveals her own emotions. Through her detachment we hear Gregorievitch's voice, but as distorted by West. She presents herself as detached, so as not to set herself as the one defining them. West claims, as I have been showing, that she is there, as were Nelson's subjects, to observe and comment on the painful dynamics; not to participate in them. However, as the examples of Gregorievitch and Valetta demonstrate, she does not refrain from emotion as strongly as it appears at first. West breaks into omniscient narration and voice; 'only a sorcerer', she writes, thus discreetly blending her own voice with Gregorievitch's. West also avoids the use of 'I' in such extracts, presenting the interaction not as her personal understanding, but rather as an objective recording of events. West is exemplifying the initial idea of the flâneur, defined by Baudelaire where he states that the flâneur is a 'passionate observer' of society;[116] however, she is simultaneously an observer whose 'display of feeling' is paradoxically 'minimised if not outright excluded'.[117] This observer, as West does in the tough manner that Nelson has defined, 'insists on an encounter with suffering that is serious, engaged and often painful'.[118] This was her necessary enterprise so as to prove that a united Yugoslavia was worthy of respect and attention in Europe's politically and culturally elite spheres. Her detached observations were her 'legitimate, even necessary, enterprise' for 'the fate of the postwar public sphere' and to 'human civilisation itself'.[119]

Indeed, she describes Constantine, Valetta and Gregorievitch standing in the rain waiting for them. She highlights the affective dynamics at work:

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[115] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 43.

[116] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 11.

[117] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 11.

[118] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag, Weil*, p. 7.

[119] Nelson, *Tough Enough: Arbus, Arendt, Didion, McCarthy, Sontag*, *Weil*, pp. 8-10.

> They are standing in the rain, and they are all different and they are all the same. They greet us warmly, and in their hearts they cannot greet each other, and they dislike us a little because it is to meet us that they are standing beside their enemies in the rain. We are their friends, but we are made from another substance. The rich passions of Constantine, the intense, graceful, selected joys and sorrows of Valetta, and Gregorievitch's gloomy Great Danish nobility are all cut from the same primary stuff, though in very dissimilar shapes. Sitting in our hotel room, drinking wine, they showed their unity of origin. A door opens, they twitch and swivel their heads, and the movement is the same. When these enemies advance on each other, they must move at the same tempo.[120]

In order to keep a social balance of power in front of their Western friends, who have the main power, the three men hesitate to show their real emotions. West nevertheless suggests that the manner in which 'they twitch and swivel their heads' 'shows their unity of origin'. They are 'all different and they are all the same,' she paradoxically writes. As Nelson's subjects, West coldly observes the men who feel unease towards the concept of a united Yugoslavia. The Balkan voices become West's peripheral actants who are not able to hide their bodily discomfort. West has to admit the undeniable pain they feel towards the concept of a united Yugoslavia. She takes it on herself to define them and suggests that their prejudice towards one another, expressed through bodily unease, stops them from being able to see their physical and behavioural similarities which might lead to greater unity.

Despite their unease, West uses her omniscient narration in her flânerie to examine the painful interaction between the men and to present them as unquestionably of shared culture and origin. This extract, apart from echoing Nelson's theory, is also reminiscent of Wrigley's ideas on the flâneur as adopting 'prudent detachment' as their outlook, and as being 'emblematic of a new generation of empowered citizens, equipped with the high degree of self-awareness'.[121] West

[120] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 43.

[121] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 2.

overlooks the scene with the awareness that her observations have power in this challenging political landscape. She does so with a carefully maintained distance and a prudent detachment for the sake of her narrative and her persona as an objective travel writer and journalist, similar to Benjamin's notion of the flâneur. Finally, it is also true that by observing the dynamics at work between the men, West becomes another intermodernist, in Bluemel's notion, who fought against the social and political isolation that had been imposed by the previous literary generation. In this short extract, West demonstrates how rurality can serve to discuss modernist issues and become her means to promote a united Yugoslavia and Europe.

Flâneuring in Skoplje's Black Mountain: Land, Race and Nation

For the second close reading of this chapter, I am focusing on a scene where West performs her rural detached flânerie in Skoplje's Black Mountain. She flâneurs around a group of villages, travelling from one to the other in the government car that Constantine is driving. She observes and comments and while doing so, she links land, race and nation as part of a greater successful whole. It is worth noting that this particular example was already provided and briefly analysed earlier in this chapter; I am using it to elaborate further on my argument that West uses detachment in her rural observations so as to examine pain.

At the opening of the scene, she uses vivid imagery to describe her rural surroundings: 'We took a road across the wide valley, through fields of young corn that were edged by the first poppies, and bumped up to the range of hills that is known as the Skopska Tserna Gora, the Black Mountain of Skoplje'.[122] While flâneuring, she comments on the paradox that the 'disadvantageous political conditions of the Balkans produced an indubitable social benefit in keeping the villages large and compact', exemplified by the houses built 'side by side'.[123]

[122] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 672-673.

[123] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 672-673.

The physical proximity of the houses and the human interaction in such a compact and isolated space, is why, West claims, the loneliness and human isolation found in urbanised Western modernity is not prevalent in the Balkans. The land has also helped them preserve their national identity, exemplified in their fierce character and material cultural expression through embroidery, as West importantly highlights.[124] She observes the importance of rural and agricultural life as overlooked aspects of modernity that explains issues that appear in urban Western centres. Once again, she uses a detached, sociological approach rather than an emotive one to make her point. Having made her way in a room of one of the Serbian-feeling villages, she observes the villagers discussing a possible pact with Bulgaria. She describes the woman holding a child and whose speech had a great impact on the patriarchal community. The woman proclaims that the Bulgarians are 'non-brothers', as the other men had proclaimed before her; she accuses them of killing her fellow Serbian men 'without mercy, as if they were not Christians but Turks'.[125] West concludes with her own thoughts on her detached observations:

> It was horrible to hear these primitive people speak with such savagery, and to realise that they were savage not because they were primitive but because they had been deliberately corrupted by the Great Powers. The prime cause of Macedonian violence is, of course, five hundred years of misgovernment by the Ottoman Empire.[126]

This instance exemplifies how West evokes emotion by using the young woman to speak. The young woman is restraining herself from showing overt emotion and so gains the respect of the male villagers. She is following her community's conventions of male and female expression of emotion. West admires this stance and highlights that the woman's statement 'was even stronger that it sounds to Western ears, because of the special tie that exists between Serb brothers and sisters'.[127] As with

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[124] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 672-673.

[125] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 676.

[126] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 676.

[127] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 676.

Gregorievitch and Valetta, West is presenting the pain she imagines the woman and the men in the room are feeling, 'these primitive people speak with such savagery', as an objective reality rather than her own assumption.[128] She is using the woman to project her own emotions on the political situation. As a detached flâneuse in this Serbian village, she links the land to its people and observes the great pain they feel. This pain is linked to the land and their national identity. It is exemplified through Turkish raids and Bulgarian atrocities and it is purposefully heard in the young widow's voice, so as to superficially detach West from the suffering she is describing.

It is important to also highlight that West contradicts herself; despite praising Yugoslavia and the Macedonians, she describes them as 'primitive' and speaking with 'savagery'.[129] This could be reason to assume that she does not feel sympathy for the woman speaking. Perhaps West knew her readers' prejudices and wished to encourage their empathy. Importantly, West insinuates that the removal of all misgovernment committed by the Ottoman Empire would allow Yugoslavia's various people to revert back to their natural, uncorrupted and unsavage state. West is implying that Yugoslavia's people natural state is not one close to the Ottoman Empire; if not similar to the west of Europe, Rebecca West, at the very least, is implying that all types of Yugoslavians, whatever their ethnicity, possess a naturally distinct, cultural identity of their own, the development and progression of which, she believes, was paused due to the Ottoman Empire's misgovernment. As this 'savagery' is not innate, but imposed, she argues that Yugoslavians can, with the correct guidance (insinuating the Allied Powers), revert back to their civilised state, as understood by West, and form a stable shared identify.[130] She urges her readers to also adopt this positive view and to feel the people's pain as she indirectly depicts it. Her main aim and modernist outlook, once again, is to highlight the pain that she believes will trigger a unison of Europe against the Nazi threat. The woman was important as the subject of West's 'local knowledge', as explained by Wrigley, so as to 'inhabit and navigate' an

[128] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 676.

[129] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 676.

[130] This is Rebecca West's view, not my own.

'uncertain and changing urban' and rural, as I show, 'landscape'.[131] West focuses on the woman's words so as to encourage her readers to adopt her attitude towards the country. For Yugoslavia and the Western world to continue to exist, West examined and presented the pain in this peripheral corner of Europe, on the bridge of East and West; she is urging her readers, seemingly through the woman's eyes, thus encouraging her readers to relate to the woman and her pain and try to begin to feel and face Europe's pain and impending war.

Observing A Rural Flâneuse's Pain in Montenegro's Mountains

In this third extract, which is found towards the end of the travelogue, in rural Montenegro, West encounters an old woman who becomes an archetype of a rural detached flâneuse in West's vast travelogue. Before meeting her, and from the privilege of the governmental car, her portable rural arcade, West compares the rural countryside to the epitome of grand English landscape. She writes:

> So it seemed. Then the road looped round the mountainside to a steeper mountain, and wound up to yet another pass, so high that as we rose the noontide sky showed pale above the distant peaks, though it was deeply blue above us. The country, which here is highly variable, changed its character again; it was Buckinghamshire on this cool northward slope, so tall the beeches, so dense the woods they drove to the skyline, so gardenish the grass. Up and up we drove until we had to stop, to cool the engine. We none of us regretted it, for there were many gentians on the banks beside the road, and below us the woods lay like bonfires of green flame on the mild rolling turf, and further the distant infinity of mountains was blue as wild hyacinths. We sat there so long that a woman we had passed on a lower curve of the road overtook us, halted in her trudging, came up to the car, and laid her arm along the frame of the open window, looking round at us all.[132]

[131] Wrigley, 'The Revolutionary Origins of the Flâneur', paragraph 2.

[132] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 1010-1011.

Just like Mansfield had used the forget-me-nots to recall images of natural beauty, West compares rural Balkan beauty to her readers' idea of a model countryside, such as English Buckinghamshire; this, of course, is a conscious choice. However, when West observes the surroundings, she does so from the comfort and safe distance of her car, another reasonably new means of transport of the time. Technology, personified through the train in Mansfield's notes and through the car in West's, detaches West from the environment but gives her the power to observe.[133] West is looking for familiar images to make her readers able to relate to the scene; when she identifies such scenes in her flânerie, she highlights them accordingly. Rurality serves as a conscious political purpose to draw attention to the similarities of Yugoslavia to the west. The woman who appears reveals herself to be the epitome of a detached rural, and local, flâneuse who examines her own pain.

At this point, I find it worth noting Wolff's claims in 2010, which I referred to earlier in the thesis. As I have already explained, Wolff suggested that a better term for the potential flâneuse would be the impossible flâneuse, as most women up to a certain age, are 'impossible *flâneuses*', as 'any such person would have been hyper-visible'.[134] Wolff further suggests that, in our hyper-capitalist, patriarchal society, the 'continuing invisibility of older women might be seen as a great advantage – this is where the idea of the older woman as *flâneuse* presents itself as a rather avant-garde possibility.'[135] I concur with Wolff and analyse the following female walker as such a, albeit dramatic in her wanderings, older flâneuse in Wolff's notion of the term. Such characters, as 'older women', 'are not "seen", either by denizens of the city or by the sociological eye'. Wolff writes:

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[133] It is worth noting that a similar scene is found in D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* when Connie Chatterley drives past and acutely observes and comments on Tevershall and the changing world via the distance the car offers her. See: D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. by Michael Squires (Penguin Classics, 2006), p. 153.

[134] Janet Wolff, 'Keynote: Unmapped Spaces — Gender, Generation and the City', *Feminist Review*, 96.1 (2010), pp. 6–19 (pp. 6-7).

[135] Wolff, 'Keynote: Unmapped Spaces — Gender, Generation and the City', pp. 6-7.

> older women (and other invisibles) are free to pass and, within certain limits, to engage in all kinds of activities that would be otherwise policed. The very condition of being 'unmapped' translates into freedom from rules, and it could be that older women benefit rather than suffer from their marginality to the social script(s). I think this is an interesting direction to pursue, and I wonder what an ethnography of older women's lives would reveal.[136]

The older woman is granted freedom of movement because of her advanced age within the society she is. West writes that Constantine asked the woman:

> 'Can we not give you a lift to where you are going?' 'That you cannot do, though you mean so kindly,' she said, 'for I am not going anywhere. I am walking about to try to understand why all this has happened. If I had to live, why should my life have been like this? If I walk about up here where it is very high and grand it seems to me I am nearer to understanding it.' She put the ball of wool to her forehead and rubbed it backwards and forwards, while her eyes filled with painful speculation. 'Good-bye,' she said, with distracted courtesy, as she moved away, 'good-bye.'[137]

This woman's misfortunes, which led her to meander the rural landscape for answers regarding her cruel fate, could be summed up as follows: having married young, her first husband was killed by the Austrians. Her son was then killed as a soldier in war and her daughter died in the camp where she, the old woman, and her daughter had been sent to. Upon exiting the camp, she had remarried a much older man and bore two children with him, both of whom also passed away at an early age. Her husband, old and ridden in grief, had grown cruel towards her, she explains.[138]

Despite all these hardships, the woman admitted that she was not poor. She is able, even at first glance, to examine the hardships and privileges of her life, without that meaning that she limits

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[136] Janet Wolff, 'The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 2.3 (1985), pp. 37–47.

[137] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

[138] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

herself to simply accepting them as they are. She wishes to understand and this is evidenced once again through West's omniscient narration, when she observes the old woman's eyes, 'filled with painful speculation'.[139] To explain and examine this pain, the woman has begun wandering high up in the mountains; here, she claims, 'she is nearer to understanding' why 'all this has happened' to her.[140] She, too, like West, is seeking answers to her questions by examining her pain in a detached manner, with 'distracted courtesy' and 'painful speculation', as West writes, within the rural landscape.[141] Nevertheless, West admits:

> [This woman] was of no importance. It is doubtful whether, walk as she would on these heights, she would arrive at any conclusion that was of value even to herself. She was, however, the answer to my doubts. She took her destiny not as the beasts take it, nor as the plants and trees; she not only suffered it, she examined it. As the sword swept down on her through the darkness she threw out her hand and caught the blade as it fell, not caring if she cut her fingers so long as she could question its substance, where it had been forged, and who was the wielder. She wanted to understand the secret which Gerda denied, the mystery of process.[142]

Despite claiming that she doubted how impactful walking 'on these heights' would be on the woman's attempt to 'arrive at any conclusion', West, nevertheless, confesses to seeing the woman 'as the answer to her doubts'.[143] This woman did not simply accept her pain: she examined it and looked for the root of the issue so as to understand herself in relation to it, her life and the world. As Nelson's subjects, the old woman is tough and felt the need to confront reality for the sake of her sanity. West admires this woman's attitude as one that should be praised for its detachment and close examination

[139] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

[140] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

[141] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

[142] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

[143] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

of pain. I claim that West admires the older woman as an older flâneuse, who is granted permission by society to walk undisturbed and think. It is true that this woman is in despair, but West seems to envy the freedom of movement that old age had gifted her. As a younger flâneuse, West observes the older woman and comments on the impressions she has left on her. Wolff, in her 2010 article, claims that the 'motivated gaze is rarely focused on the older woman – and its absence' is 'a fact of life'. She adds that 'this is, after all, the existential state of the classic *flâneur*,' to walk 'the streets quite unnoticed'.[144] Both flâneuses, West and the older woman, play their roles well. West makes use of her motivated gaze to focus on and interact with this older flâneuse. These 'occasional, unpredictable social encounters experienced in those moments of visibility – encounters with those who, for whatever reason, are not blind to the officially marginal (perhaps because of their own experiences of cross-generational consciousness) – is a bonus', Wolff writes.[145] West exemplifies Wolff's idea of an individual who is sensitive to the officially marginal; West is the observer with the motivational gaze providing a stronger voice to the invisible older flâneuse, in Wolff's notion, who wanders in her rural arcades. The arcade in this case is on the side of a rural road in Montenegro's mountains. Here, she observes and listens to the older flâneuse's story and reflects on her reflection of life and the mystery of process. In this rural arcade she comes to the realisation that in order to save European civilisation from imperial threat, it was necessary for all people to 'want to understand the secret', namely, the mystery of process.

Her awareness of the necessary 'process', as West calls it, is what gives West hope for the future of humanity. This old woman 'wanted to understand the secret which Gerda denied, the mystery of process'.[146] In contrast to her, Gerda, Constantine's racist wife and Nazi sympathiser, is unable to understand the process West is highlighting and poses a problem in reaching peace and understanding between nations in Europe.

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[144] Wolff, 'Keynote: Unmapped Spaces — Gender, Generation and the City', p. 17.

[145] Wolff, 'Keynote: Unmapped Spaces — Gender, Generation and the City', p. 17.

[146] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1012.

Finally, West proclaims that 'if during the next million generations there is but one human being born in every generation who will not cease to inquire into the nature of his fate, even while it strips and bludgeons him, some day we shall read the riddle of our universe'.[147] The woman's outlook to life and her fate is the thought process that West is searching for in her own rural flânerie. West claims that the old woman's attitude can help in the preservation and development of human civilisation, just like Nelson had claimed for her tough female authors. It is only natural that this ill-fated woman who, despite all her misfortunes, found the courage to freely meander the Balkan rural landscape was greatly admired by West.

Despite the faith she places in this woman's outlook, West fails at times to find consolation in her attitude to life and understanding of the process. She describes how both the chauffeur, whose stubborn insistence to lead them back through the hills on a wrong path almost cost all their lives, and Constantine, whose adopted German outlook, contribute to her fear that it is impossible for the Yugoslavians to reach this understanding of the 'process'.[148] She writes:

> [Th]e woman we had met walking on the mountains that afternoon seemed not such a consoling portent as I had thought her. On the great mountains she was so small; against the black universal mass of our insanity her desire for understanding seemed so weak a weapon.[149]

West fears that most people, even Yugoslavians, will be unable to adopt the old woman's outlook; her desire for understanding, she writes, would not easily be adopted by the average citizen, thus making it harder to face the Nazi threat. Despite expressing her fear, the fact remains that West was inspired

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[147] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1013.

[148] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 1016-1023. Indeed, this is another example of West's rural flânerie on foot. Due to lack of space, and because this extract does not focus particular on pain, which is this chapter's focus, I have had to omit this example and a number of others. However, studying these particular extracts would surely produce fascinating findings on West's flânerie and walking.

[149] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 1022.

by the old woman's rural detached flânerie; her outlook is West's solution to beginning to successfully unravel the great mass of political and polemic complexity that was tormenting Europe at the time.

Flâneuring in Sheep's Field: Observing Sacrifice and Pain in Rural Macedonia

The fourth and final extract I am studying sees West beginning her flânerie from a car but ending it on foot on Sheep's Field, in rural Macedonia. The Eve of St. George, West explains, saw various fertility rites being observed. These were particularly important to both 'Christians and Moslems', and were celebrated by both communities, on this particular night in spring.[150] Before visiting Sheep's Field, she is taken by Mehmed and Militsa, an educated couple with a family history dating back to significant intellectual and military figures of previous centuries, to Tekiya, a form of Moslem sanctuary. West observes women leaving a coin in a collection box while embracing a particular stone within the sanctuary; their aim is to make their fingers meet. If they succeed, belief dictated that their wish, which West explains is almost always to cure their barrenness, would be granted.

West praises Militsa for wishing for something different; in particular, Militsa wishes for something 'really terribly drastic politically'; like the old woman, Militsa does not accept reality but challenges it, even if that is through a wish that West does not believe in.[151] At St. George's tomb, and in 'murky darkness', West 'took a path up the hillside to a little chapel and joined the crowd that pressed into it'.[152] There, she observes with a detachment she has expressed throughout, the cross that lay on the tomb, and 'round the cross, lay a heap of women in ritual trance', in hope that their barrenness would be cured.[153] West sympathises, in a detached voice, with the women; she observes that 'this was an act of faith, very commendable in people who had so little reason to feel faith, who

[150] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 811.

[151] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 815.

[152] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 815.

[153] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 815.

had received so little assurance that existence was worthy of continuance'.[154] She detachedly admires their perseverance to live despite the difficulties. This admiration is not reiterated on Sheep's Field, in the early hours of St. George's Day.

West and her guides leave St. George's tomb at 'half-past five' in the morning, as they hope to have the time to catch the final moments of the sacrificial rite that takes place on Sheep's Field. The particular rite that takes place on Sheep's Field, having been adopted by all religious and social groups, draws people from all types of backgrounds, from educated and rich, to nomadic and poor. Likewise, all attendees believe in this rite's magic. For instance, West makes a point to highlight the fact that the educated wife of a Macedonian politician, who also successfully ran a pharmacy, 'a plump and handsome young woman in Western clothes', admits that she too believes in the rite: 'It is a very interesting rite, and I think there is something in it, to judge from my own case'.[155] West seems surprised that belief in magic and science can go hand in hand. The chemist explains that she went to Sheep's Field two years ago to cure her barrenness; to do so, she threw her jar from the rock down on the ground so as to break it; but, she explains, 'it would not break, and still I have no children'.[156] This is proof enough, as far as she is concerned. West, however, categorically refuses to believe that these magic beliefs are true in any way; 'I had not found anything being done which was likely to give children to women who were barren for physiological reasons', she writes.[157] Detachment and cold logic remain consistently prevalent in her observations when flâneuring.

Apart from believing in the rite herself, the chemist explains the communal character of the day. She describes to West that she is on her 'feet from morning till night before St. George's Day'; she is the main supplier of 'powder', 'rouge' and 'lipstick', among other things, for the 'women who go to the monasteries', but who first visit the chemist to 'get themselves up for the outing'.[158] The day

[154] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 816.

[155] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 821.

[156] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 821.

[157] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 825.

[158] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 821.

unites all people, regardless of class, ethnicity and religion. Similarly, Militsa shares her opinion with West; 'how beautiful are these rites', she says to her.[159] Mehmed goes so far as to compare the rites and the day to the day, in 1914, when he fled Vienna and escaped certain death by the Austrian authorities. This day, St. George's eve, he puts simply, yet meaningfully, 'as a day, is good'.[160] West, as I show with the following quotations, does not agree. On a cart, a more, aptly so, primitive moving arcade, West heads to the top of Sheep's Field. From this rural arcade she observes the landscape and the people which form society in this periphery of Europe:

> It became apparent that we were approaching some focal point, which was not a village. The track was running along the crest of one of the land-waves, and though this was not very high it gave us an advantage over the countryside for several miles. We could see a number of people, perhaps twenty in all, who were travelling in every direction away from some spot on the next crest, a spot which was still not to be discovered by the eye. Some of these people were walking, some were in carts, some of them rode on pack-horses.[161]

Her detached gaze observes the landscape as offering a journalistic account. She comments on the number of people, where they are coming from, and in which mode they are travelling. When the observations are coming directly from her, she takes care to maintain her detached front. She describes the sacrificial rock and her walk towards it. Here she comes to the realisation and admittance of her own and Europe's deep-rooted and self-inflicted pain. She introduces the scene:

> Our car left the track and struggled up a stretch of pasture till it could go no further. When we got out we were so near the rock that we could see its colour. It was a flat-topped rock, uneven in shape, rising to something like six feet above the ground, and it was red-brown and gleaming, for it was entirely covered with the blood of the beasts that had been sacrificed on

[159] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 826.

[160] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 821.

[161] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 822.

> it during the night. A dozen men were sitting or lying at the foot of the rock, most of them wearing the fez; and one man was very carefully laying a little child on a rug not far away. The grass we walked on from the car was trodden and muddied and littered with paper, and as we came nearer the rock we had to pick our way among a number of bleeding cocks' heads. The spectacle was extremely disgusting. The colour of spilt blood is not properly a colour, it is in itself discoloured, it is a visible display of putrescence. In every crevice of the red-brown rock there had been stuck wax candles, which now hung down in a limp fringe of greasy yellow tails, smeared with blood. Strands of wool, some of them dyed red or pink, had been wound round the rock and were now daubed with this grease and blood. A great many jars had been thrown down from the rock and lay in shards among the cocks' heads on the trodden grass. Though there was nothing faecal to be seen, the effect was of an ill-kept earth closet.[162]

West's embodiment in the scene is now starkly different to the romanticised Yugoslavian countryside that West had previously described as resembling English nature. The grass is red, dirty and filthy; West points out the dead bodies of the lambs and cockerels that have been sacrificed. The hill becomes the ground on which this ritual, segregated from but also intertwined with various religious ideas that made up the social makeup of Yugoslavia, is performed. West cannot help admitting 'the rite of the Sheep's Field was purely shameful. It was a huge and dirty lie', she writes.[163]

Having built up a detached front in her narrative, she now freely allows herself an outburst of thoughts regarding European civilisation. In contrast to the locals, such as her educated guides and other attendees she talks to who are taking part in the rite, for whom the rite was an opportunity to gather, celebrate and cast aside many of their differences, West expresses shock and disgust towards the bloody rock; she highlights the religious and, most importantly, Christian connotations that are linked to the rite and which are the revelation of her worldly outlook.

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[162] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 823.

[163] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 825-826.

As the following extract shall demonstrate, West's outlook towards religion is complex. She endorsed Christianity, as she was indeed drawn to Serbian Orthodoxy throughout her life, but she also believed that Christianity has been perverted to such an extent in the west of Europe that, as she supports, they have reached a point of becoming themselves, as a culture, the lamb which offers itself as a sacrifice for all sins.[164] She accuses western politicians of endorsing such a self-sacrificial view which she believes will lead to the surrender of their culture and civilisation to Nazi dominance. In the end, however, West staunchly proclaims that 'it is not possible to kill goodness. There is always more of it'.[165] Her understanding of the Christian story prevails. She uses Christ and his Easter resurrection to prove that being the slaughtered lamb should not be seen as an option for Europe because, in the end, goodness, which is personified through Christ and, by extension, through the Allied Powers who were fighting Nazi Germany, will prevail. In self-reflection and hope, she gazes on this rock in the midst of rural Macedonia and unravels her thoughts on pain, sacrifice and resurrection with the hope that her readers will be implored by her flânerie's observations. She writes:

> I knew this rock well. I had lived under the shadow of it all my life. All our Western thought is founded on this repulsive pretence that pain is the proper price of any good thing. Here it could be seen how the meaning of the Crucifixion had been hidden from us, though it was written clear. A supremely good man was born on earth, a man who was without cruelty, who could have taught mankind to live in perpetual happiness; and because we are infatuated with this idea of sacrifice, of shedding innocent blood to secure innocent advantages, we found nothing better to do with this passport to deliverance than destroy him. There is that in the universe, half inside and half outside our minds, which is wholly adorable; and this it was that

[164] It is worth noting that West's secretary has claimed that at a particularly harsh period of bereavement for 80-year-old West, it was a Serbian Orthodox priest who 'after at least an hour' of conversation with her, managed to console her. West's secretary highlighted that the priest seemed to have 'helped her immensely that day'. See: Elizabeth Leyshon, 'Rebecca West and the Sliding Boundary', *Women's History Review*, 20.3 (2011), pp. 459–478 (p. 476).

[165] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 827.

> men killed when they crucified Jesus Christ. Our shame would be absolute, were it not that the crime we intended cannot in fact be committed. It is not possible to kill goodness. There is always more of it, it does not take flight from our accursed earth, it perpetually asks us to take what we need from it.[166]

She recognises that the west has been wrong in supposing that they have to take on the role of the innocent victim, namely, the black lamb. She reaches the realisation that Western civilisation has tried to kill what is theirs and is adorable and good. Just like the old woman had gone against convention in examining her pain and thus becoming West's hope for humanity in her flâneuse's outlook, West, too, agrees that, against all odds, 'it is not possible to kill goodness' as 'there is always more of it'.[167] At this pivotal moment, West's façade of detachment has disappeared and her thoughts are expressed directly.

Through this outpouring of emotion, and her parallelism on ritual, sacrifice and the meaning of religion, she is asking her mainly British and American readers not to give in to this self-sacrificial attitude and not to sacrifice European civilisation because of the misinterpretation of Christianity. She claims that the people of Europe do not have to be the sacrificed black lamb to the Nazi falcon. By focusing on this extreme underlying pain which she sees as hiding beneath European philosophy and worldly outlook, West is urging the readers to face this particular pain and overcome it for the sake of human civilisation. She is urging her readers not to let Christ's sacrifice go to waste. It is pivotal for West that her readers understand the importance of the lamb's and therefore, of Christ's, sacrifice for the sake of European civilisation. West makes an important proclamation when walking on this hill. She states:

> It is not to the credit of mankind that the supreme work of art produced by Western civilization should do nothing more than embody obsession with this rock and revolt against it. Since we

[166] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 827.

[167] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 827.

> have travelled thus far from the speechless and thoughtless roots of our stock we should have travelled further. There must be something vile in us to make us linger, age after age, in this insanitary spot. But some were not with us at the rock, but with the sunlight which the stench only so faintly disturbed, which shone inviolate above the mountains. That is the special value of Mozart.[168]

West warns readers that 'a part of us is enamoured of the rock and tells us that we should not reject it, that it is solemn and mystical and only the shallow deny the value of sacrifice'.[169] However, as she claims, this is but 'a perfect myth' for a 'fundamental but foul disposition of the mind'.[170] With her own intense examination and analysis of her contemporary pain, which is all the more evident in this intensely rural landscape, she implores the Allied powers and readers not to let this disposition of the mind influence their outlook for the future of European civilisation.

On this hill, a pivotal rural arcade for her work, while flâneuring on foot in the wild rural landscape – a rarity for this *grande dame*, she admits her own strong feelings and her gaze and flânerie turn her into the 'passionate observer', as Baudelaire had defined the flâneur.[171] By commenting on the rural landscape and local and peripheral folklore and tradition, West was commenting directly on her urban reality, as a typical modernist of her time.

Conclusion

West is a detached flâneuse who meanders the rural landscape of Yugoslavia at the brink of WWII. My chapter has attempted to focus on one aspect of West's masterpiece, namely, how her narrative is detached not because of her personality but because it was her own conscious narrative choice as a

[168] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp. 830.

[169] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 831.

[170] West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, p. 831.

[171] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 11.

way to examine pain. As I hope the examples provided in this chapter have successfully demonstrated, West does indeed use detachment with a nobler aim in mind in her flâneuring.

She did so when observing Constantine, Valetta and Gregorievitch and the dynamics that she perceived as existing between them. Her perspective and emotion pervaded the passage despite her apparent detachment and revealed a growing unease which West highlighted in order to emphasise the similarities of the characters she was gazing on. Her detachment reappears in many more instances in the narrative. She observes with a neutral gaze the woman holding her child in her arms, who demands respect through her own restrained expression of powerful emotion regarding her life, land and its people, history and community. She admires the woman's stance and the momentary respect that she can gain from men through it. In both examples, West is discreetly allowing emotion, through free indirect discourse and detachment, to promote the concept of a united Yugoslavia to her reader.

She admires the old woman's flânerie in rural Macedonia, as she is consciously trying to face her own pain and to make sense of it. Indeed, the final scene analysed, which takes place on the sacrificial hill, demonstrates that West was waiting for this pivotal point in her flânerie to explore further the connotations of the lamb, the sacrifice, the process and the pain that, as West claims, has to be faced by Europe. They all make sense to her when she is called to face this pain. This disgust she felt, along with the shock, is what forced her to reach the resolution that all people in Europe have to face the pain and inquire as to their fate; they should not simply accept the tragic fate of Nazi dominance that appears to be a one-way path for Europe; West urges them to face what is not beneficial and legitimate to human civilisation, as Nelson stated for her tough female subjects, and so, to face Nazi Germany's illegitimate claim to dominance of Europe.

Without rural flâneuring and her detached narrative, Rebecca West would not have succeeded in presenting all the dots of her complicated structure of argumentation. By wandering through the rural landscape and discovering corners in mountains and remote villages, she ultimately also comments on issues that were tantalising the urban world. She is a tough woman, in Nelson's

notion, who flâneured and, instead of avoiding pain, faced it through a detached manner so as to reach a better understanding of the process and history of Europe; this was her legitimate nobler aim of flânerie. West's flânerie is a call to collective arms which addresses the whole of Europe which was being called to face Nazi Germany.

I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter West's thoughts on Lawrence's travels; she wrote that he 'travelled, it seemed, to get a certain Apocalyptic vision of mankind that he registered again and again and again, always rising to a pitch of ecstatic agony'.[172] When travelling and flâneuring in Yugoslavian rurality, just a few years after having written her thoughts on Lawrence, West displayed similar tendencies. By travelling on foot to the sacrificial rock, she is also creating a cutting point in time, her own 'vision of mankind', which she felt had to fight against the self-inflicted 'ecstatic agony' that the western world had imposed on itself and which could, she feared, assist an ultimate Nazi dominance. Rural flânerie was not an antimodern escape; once again, as with Mansfield and Lawrence, the rural periphery was West's network of arcades in which she could, as a female, detached and tough, flâneuse, wander and react to the urban and central happenings of late modernity and Europe in the midst of WWII. In the face of a European future with a leading Nazi Germany, West attempted to face the pain which WWII had brought to the surface; this, she hoped, would be the determining factor in persuading her readers to relate and feel the pain she was describing and thus, stand up again the Nazi threat, for the sake of European and human civilisation.

[172] West, *D. H. Lawrence*, pp. 24-25.

CHAPTER FOUR

'I have walked out of the body and into the mountain':

Nan Shepherd as an Ecofeminist Flâneuse in *The Living Mountain:*

A Celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland

Introduction: Setting Nan Shepherd as an Ecofeminist, Rural Flâneuse

The final chapter of this thesis deals with Nan Shepherd's highly esteemed nature writing, *The Living Mountain,* which discusses her walks on foot in the Cairngorm Mountains. In this final chapter, I present Nan Shepherd as an ecofeminist, rural flâneuse who used walking in her rural arcades to demonstrate the impact of mechanisation and war on the rural environment, as well as the human, animate and inanimate community. *The Living Mountain* was written, as Shepherd explained in the foreword of the book, 'during the latter years of the Second War and those just after' but was finally published in 1977.[1] Gillian Carter has highlighted the book's complexity in demonstrating the 'relationship of both the individual and the community to the land with which they interact and within which they act'.[2] Carter describes it as a book based 'on hill-walking, a tribute to the Cairngorm Mountains and a spiritual journey'.[3] Ken Wilson called it a 'walking pilgrimage' of 'decades spent rambling'; he claims that her 'intimacy with' the mountain is 'only possible because of the many hours Shepherd has spent walking and observing and training herself to observe'.[4] Indeed, Kerri Andrews describes Shepherd as a 'prolific walker and mountain writer', whose 'knowledge of the hills comes

[1] Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, intro. by Robert MacFarlane (Canongate Books, 2019), p. xliii.

[2] Gillian Carter, '"Domestic Geography" and the Politics of Scottish Landscape in Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*', *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 8.1 (2001), pp. 25-36 (p. 29).

[3] Carter, '"Domestic Geography" and the Politics of Scottish Landscape in Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*', p. 26.

[4] Ken Wilson, 'Place and Space in Walking Pilgrimage', *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 8.1 (2020), pp. 3-10 (p. 5).

only through direct encounter and "attention"', which, for Shepherd, is so acute that her very 'being' 'merges' with these 'beloved places'.[5] Louisa Gairn has stated that 'ways of looking' 'become more and more important for post-war Scottish writers'.[6] Attention, encounter and observation are all key elements of this chapter as they assist in highlighting Shepherd's nature as a flâneuse. The various lochs, path, unpaths and open spaces within the mountain become the rural corners in her natural maze of arcades. From this unique perspective, she comments on society.

Samantha Walton's recent inspiring study on Shepherd and environmental thought has praised *The Living Mountain*'s 'striking perspectives on place, animals and plants and its tender account of the mountain that is "living"'.[7] Shepherd, indeed, admits to 'have written of inanimate things, rock and water, frost and sun; and it might seem as though this were not a living world'.[8] But she explains that she had 'wanted to come to the living things through the forces that create them, for the mountain is one and indivisible'.[9] 'All are aspects of one entity, the living mountain', she writes.[10] The mountain gains equal, if not greater, importance to humanity.

Walton's reading of Shepherd has played a particularly pivotal role in my understanding of her walking in nature as a form of ecofeminist flânerie. Indeed, she rightly highlights how Shepherd's text, despite being overlooked until recently, is representative of the Scottish literary Renaissance as it 'addressed modernisation later and from a more rural perspective' compared to the rest of the UK.[11] Indeed, Walton comments on Macfarlane's view that *The Living Mountain* is an ecological text and argues that, in fact, the book is closer to 'proto-environmentalist' writing.[12] Shepherd revealed in an

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[5] Kerri Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking* (Reaktion Books, 2020), p. 177.

[6] Louisa Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 126.

[7] Samantha Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), p. 8.

[8] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 48.

[9] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 48.

[10] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 48.

[11] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 36.

[12] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 27.

interview in 1931 that she loved 'tramp[ing] in open country' as she loved 'few things on earth' and that 'indeed, a great deal of [writing] material is worked out and wrought into shape while' she was 'on the tramp'.[13] As I aim to show by the end of this chapter, Shepherd reclaimed the natural space of the Cairngorm mountains as a female, independent rural walker and ecofeminist flâneuse; this was her means to express hope amidst the disillusioned dystopia of World War II and a means to suggest a new way of coexisting with and within nature. Her wandering and walking suggest a preliminary form of environmentalist action.

Walton's analysis of Shepherd's environmental thought importantly 'connects Shepherd's work with scientific, political and philosophical culture of the 1930s and 1940s'.[14] She highlights how Shepherd has been 'long overdue recognition as a significant ecological thinker and writer' and, like Gairn, highlights how in Shepherd's writing 'the eye provides entry into the physical world, like all the senses, each of which is a "way in to what the mountain has to give"'.[15] Further, Walton's reading of Shepherd's senses, particularly of her sight as the means of her observation echoes Baudelaire's definition of the flâneur; an 'observer, idler, philosopher'[16] and a figure who, while 'walking or quickening his pace', 'goes his way, for ever in search'.[17] My contribution to Walton's reading of Shepherd as a proto-environmentalist text is thus to connect it with the figure of the flâneuse.

Shepherd's role as a female walker, a trait found in the flâneuse, as defined by Elkin[18], has also been highlighted by Kerri Andrews. She explains that Shepherd's walking 'to, and with, the mountains'

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[13] Elizabeth Kyle, '"Modern Women Authors", Interviews with Nan Shepherd and Dot Allan', in *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland, 1918-1939: Source Documents for the Scottish Renaissance*, ed. by Margery Palmer McCulloch (Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003), pp. 204-208 (p. 206) (first publ. in *Scots Observer*, (18 June 1931), p. 4).

[14] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought,* pp. 1-2.

[15] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 16.

[16] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010), p. 8.

[17] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[18] Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016), p. 14.

brings on her 'a profound transformation'.[19] The 'walking self undergoes a complete change,' she writes, 'impelled by a quasi-mystic process that moves the body – literally and psychically – from "profound harmony" deeper into a trance state'.[20] For Andrews, 'entranced, the walker is sublimated from the corporeal to the ethereal'.[21] Although Shepherd took great pleasure in 'rough walking', I agree with Andrews that the 'following of paths also played an important part in how she understood the mountains, and her place within them'.[22] Indeed, Andrews writes:

> [Shepherd] is alone, and is yet in the company of numberless others who have trodden the routes visible from her lofty vantage point, whose marks on the rock have remained visible long after they passed. It is a kind of haunting, though a companionable one; the landscape is littered with the physical traces of people perhaps now dead, but those traces are evidence of people's lives and experiences. Shepherd's isolation is therefore only partial; total separation from other humans may not be possible where there are paths, which serve as links between not only places, but people, and which cross not only space but time.[23]

Andrews' work is insightful in its focus on her walking. I aim to apply this work within Walton's understanding of Shepherd's proto-environmentalism. Similarly to Andrews' claims, Charlotte Peacock, in her biography of Shepherd, writes that the hills 'suited Nan, who would rather walk alone than with the wrong sort of companion',[24] ringing familiar to Baudelaire's idea of the flâneur, a 'solitary mortal endowed with an active imagination, always roaming the great desert of men'.[25] She too, like Baudelaire's flâneur, is 'unseen' as a discreet walker in the Cairngorm Mountains, enjoys her 'incognito

[19] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking,* p. 180.

[20] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking,* p. 180.

[21] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 181.

[22] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, pp. 199-200.

[23] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, pp. 199-200.

[24] Charlotte Peacock, *Into the Mountain: A Life of Nan Shepherd* (Galileo Publishers, 2017), p. 29.

[25] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

wherever she goes', yet still remains a 'passionate observer'.[26] Indeed, while flâneuring, she explains how she 'trembles' when thinking of the impact of mechanisation on the crested tit, 'whose rarity is a proud distinction of these' particular woods.[27] She writes:

> I have heard people say that they have watched in vain for these exquisite tits, but, if you know their haunts (I shall not give them away), they can be conjured easily from a tree by simply standing still against its trunk.[28]

The bird's importance is pivotal to understanding her outlook. As a flâneuse, she knows her arcades - 'if you know their haunts', she writes - but, as a true artist and flâneuse who wishes to retain an air of mystery around her, Shepherd informs the reader that she shall 'not give them away'.[29] To see them up close, she has to stand still and become one with the environment. Only this way will Shepherd remain unseen, incognito; this 'solitary mortal with active imagination', roams the green corners of Scotland as her own version of Baudelaire's 'desert of men'.[30] Ecofeminism, as Shepherd demonstrates, does indeed make 'the personal political', as Serylin MacGregor states.[31] Shepherd thus becomes an invisible observer who haunts the purest of rural arcades in search of answers to her philosophical and social observations.

As I have already explained, Grimshaw's theory on the antipodean rural flâneur initiated my study in this area.[32] Shepherd is the most intensely rural flâneuse of all, in that the rural environment she wanders in is the most natural. I aim to take Walton and Andrews' ideas on Shepherd as a walker

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[26] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[27] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 56.

[28] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 56.

[29] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 56.

[30] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[31] Serylin MacGregor, 'Making Matter Great Again? Ecofeminism, New Materialism and the Everyday Turn in Environmental Politics', *Environmental Politics*, 30.1-2 (2021), pp. 41-60 (p. 42).

[32] Mike Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 13 (2012), pp. 144-153.

and environmental thinker and to apply their thoughts to my close readings; while I do so, I will refer to Baudelaire, Grimshaw, and, importantly, Elkin's theory on the flâneur and flâneuse. Within the current 'popular and academic revival' of Shepherd's short masterpiece, my study, following others before me, suggests that her walking becomes an expression of a modernist writer and an ecofeminist flâneuse, who forges an individual, embodied relationship with nature that could not yet be appreciated in its time.[33]

As with the previous chapters, in what follows I will first provide an overview of the book's historical context, its critical and historical reception, as well as key definitions of theories, such as the flâneur, the flâneuse, ecocriticism, and feminism; while doing so, I will analyse representative short quotations from *The Living Mountain*. Finally, I will provide four close readings of longer passages which demonstrate Shepherd's ecofeminist flânerie in the rural landscape. The first close reading focuses on her acute observation of aeroplanes in various passages the Cairngorm Mountains; from her rural arcades, she witnesses the movements and sounds and how they interact and impact the natural environment. The second close reading focuses on Shepherd's walking in the dark. In the dark, she realises the necessity of eyesight in observing and flâneuring successfully in the rural landscape. The third close reading focuses on walking naked in water in a loch under the strong midday sun; walking in water, in this remote rural arcade, becomes Shepherd's ecofeminist reaction to social restrictions regarding women's movement. Finally, the fourth close reading highlights Shepherd's quintessence of walking as an ecofeminist flâneuse; here, while walking and focusing on the actual sensation, she describes its essence and, in a trance-like state, she succeeds in fully immersing body,

[33] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 1. Indeed, WWII led to a retreat to the countryside for life and walking since the city had become the setting for bomb attacks. Shepherd's walking has found a new audience in our time which, similar to hers, is seeking to escape the 'horrors of war, politics and pandemics by taking on the outside world and hoping we'll know our human bodies better in the process', as Alice Vincent described. See: Alice Vincent, 'How Nan Shepherd shaped modern nature writing', *The New Statesman*, 17 January 2023 <https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/books/2023/01/nan-shepherd-birth-modern-nature-writing-alice-vincent> [accessed 11 March 2023].

mind and soul into the landscape. Through the act of walking, she senses the eternal within the transient in nature; this was her flânerie's nobler aim, as defined by Baudelaire, and her way to face the absurd world of WWII.

***The Living Mountain*'s Historical Context**

Shepherd was born in a middle-class family in Westerton Cottage, Cults, and after moving as a child to Dunvegan, Cults, she never called another place home – at least nor formally so.[34] She was an avid walker of hills and of the Cairngorm Mountains, and her whole life is exemplary of a woman who valued education and physical freedom as a gift that her era and all of its influences had offered her, including the suffragette movement, WWI and the loosening of strict social rules. Having decided not to marry, she pursued an academic career, lecturing at the Aberdeen College of Education; she used her position to help other women progress further than society prescribed, but also as a means to promote Scottish literature.[35] Her life was exemplary of an emancipated woman, who enjoyed and lived her freedom to the fullest, mental and physical, capacity.

Travelling in Shepherd's time, as has been discussed in previous chapters of this thesis, was extensive, as 'more people than ever before were moving around the world, and the experience of taking trains, boats and aeroplanes to far-flung places excited a new sense of wonder'.[36] However, with this sense of wonder came also the inevitable 'growing commercialism of the modern tourism industry'.[37] Shepherd had an ambivalent stance to tourism. She did travel 'widely – including to Norway, France, Italy, Greece and South Africa -' but she overall remained close to home and pursued the arcades of her neighbouring rural mountains.[38]

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[34] Peacock, *Into the Mountain: A Life of Nan Shepherd*, p. 23.

[35] Peacock, *Into the Mountain: A Life of Nan Shepherd*, pp. 138-139.

[36] Alexandra Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys* (Taylor and Francis Group, 2010), p. 4.

[37] Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys*, p. 7.

[38] Robert Macfarlane, 'Introduction', in *The Living Mountain*, by Nan Shepherd, p. 7.

Her ambivalent stance towards tourists is seen in her recording of her flânerie. 'One spring afternoon', she writes, while 'idling among the last trees on the Speyside end of the Lairig path, watching the movement of tits', two 'weedy', 'lanky, pasty and pimply' boys of nineteen, railway workers from Manchester, asked her for directions.[39] Walton rightly points out Shepherd's initial snobbery and hostility towards the young tourists, but it is also undeniable that her snobbery is followed by an inner regret and instant change in her attitude.[40] Shepherd has remembered how an older man in the past had dismissed her mountain meanders as belonging to a person too young and inexperienced to be taken seriously. She takes care not to repeat this condescending attitude with the young boys.

Although feminism will be discussed in more detail throughout the relevant overview on the flâneur and the female walker in the following section, it is worth mentioning Julie Kuznetiski and Kadri Tuur, who have highlighted how feminism is 'built on sensitivity to various forms of injustice and a strong intertwining of environmental, social and political concerns on both local and planetary levels'.[41] Shepherd seems to endorse this complex sensitivity to social injustice on a national level; she concludes that she 'liked those boys' and that she hoped 'they saw an eagle. Their informed enthusiasm— even if only half informed— was the right way in'.[42] Shepherd's attitude was open to self-reflection as her faults are part of the holistic balance she was promoting.

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[39] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 63. David Mazel, in his 1994 study on women mountaineers, also mentions that 'following the Second World War, a new sort of climber appeared in Britain. In many ways the antithesis of the well to do mountaineer who had been the norm and for whom climbing was a genteel pastime, the new breed was young, typically working class, only sporadically employed and often, especially in the years after the war, hard up for cash.' See: David Mazel, *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers* (Texas A&M University Press, 1994), p. 154. These young boys in Shepherd's meanders fit Mazel's description and also highlight how different was Shepherd's walking compared to the prevalent trend in mountaineering before WWII.

[40] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 48.

[41] Julie Kuznetski and Kadri Tuur, 'Estonian Literature and Ecofeminism', in *The Routledge Handbook of Ecofeminism and Literature*, ed. by Douglas A. Vakoch (Routledge, 2023), pp. 233-244 (p. 241).

[42] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 64.

As mentioned, *The Living Mountain* was written in the midst of WWII. Perhaps the war, and its accompanying feeling of complete desolation, was what led Shepherd to traverse the landscape at that particular historical time. The time's restrictions regarding civilians' movement and holidaying would mean that Shepherd's familiar Cairngorm Mountains would be comparably empty; thus, paradoxically, the grave circumstances of war provided her with the time and the space for the necessary introspection into the rural arcades.[43] Manuel Braganca explains that there were 'many different experiences of war' which were often 'tangential' to the national narrative: *The Living Mountain*, as we know, being one of them.[44]

Nevertheless, and as Braganca explains, the war meant that a sense of unity among British people was essential so that, 'were invasion to come', the nation would be able to confront it.[45] Shepherd's work and her alternative, and easily misunderstood, recording of walking, nature and the war, did not easily fit in this context. Indeed, the time period *The Living Mountain* was written makes it almost contemporary to *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, had Shepherd managed to publish it at that time. In contrast to West's text, which explicitly urged her readers to unite themselves against the Nazi threat, Shepherd retained a subtle, independent and alternative stance in her commentary. Shepherd's individual way of confronting the war was through roaming or 'tramping' and immersing her body, mind and soul in the mountains.[46]

Michael Paris focuses on the fact that the 'declaration of war against Germany in September 1939 was greeted, not with the hysterical patriotism of 1914, but in a sombre mood of grim

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[43] Most people felt the pressure of these restrictions; a substantial number was noted to have responded, when asked about past and future holidays in 1941, that they were 'unconditionally in favour of wartime holiday [and that] at least a week is essential for everyone … the government are defeating their own ends by working at high pressure all the time'. See: Chris Sladen, 'Holidays at Home in the Second World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 37.1 (2002), pp. 67-89 (p. 68).

[44] Manuel Braganca, *The Long Aftermath: Cultural Legacies of Europe at War* (Berghahn Books, 2018), p. 78.

[45] Braganca, *The Long Aftermath: Cultural Legacies of Europe at War*, p. 78.

[46] Kyle, '"Modern Women Authors", Interviews with Nan Shepherd and Dot Allan', p. 206.

determination'.[47] This determination can be seen, for instance, in the second close reading of this chapter, when Shepherd walked, 'night after night', across the moor to hear news regarding the war.[48] Her walking was persistent and determined, as was the nation's feeling. Charlotte Peacock, in her 2017 biography on Nan Shepherd, states that, during WWII, the mountains were for Shepherd 'her refuge. An escape from the "domesticity of Dunvegan", 'somewhere she could just be'.[49] Shepherd herself wrote so in her foreword that 'in that disturbed and uncertain world' it her 'secret place of ease'.[50]

This, however, did not mean disinterest on her part towards the political world's impact on the landscape's flora and fauna. On the contrary, it was here that Shepherd discreetly pointed out the previous conflict's impact on the minute 'flaming crimson' 'blaeberry' leaf; she notes that this leaf is the 'loveliest of all in the Rothiemurchus Forest, where the fir trees were felled in the 1914 War'.[51] The Cairngorm mountains represent Shepherd's conscious choice of landscape to face the war through walking and observing; here, she knew, she could ponder on all the issues that were troubling her and society. She could have chosen not to include the detail on the felling of the trees because of WWI, as she could have chosen not to include many other such details which I draw attention to in this chapter. She chose, as a typical modernist, to focus on the minute details of natural beauty but to also highlight the reasons that led to the mechanised reality dominated by war; and she did so through walking and flâneuring the Cairngorm mountains.

The Historical and Critical Reception of *The Living Mountain*

The Living Mountain's reception, albeit carrying a strange history, was overall positive, once it was actually published. As it has already been mentioned, the book was written in the 'latter years of the

[47] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation* (Reaktion Books, 2000), p. 186.

[48] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

[49] Peacock, *Into the Mountain: A Life of Nan Shepherd*, p. 29.

[50] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. xliii.

[51] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 54.

Second World War',[52] was rejected on its completion in 1945 by Batsford Books, and was not published until 1977.[53] Stringent paper controls imposed by the war meant that alternative publications, such as *The Living Mountain*, were seen as out of touch with the reality of WWII that was dominating all fields, including the publishing world, of society.[54] Shepherd's writing could not easily be appreciated in these times.[55]

Fortunately, the decade in which *The Living Mountain* was published, namely, the late 1970s, proved greatly fruitful in allowing the book to receive its current deserved fame. More specifically, Karen Ya-Chu Yang, explains:

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[52] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. xliii.

[53] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. xliii. It is worth noting Peter Lowe's observations on Batsford's publications and their recurring themes in the early and mid 1940s, which is when Shepherd wrote and attempted to publish *The Living Mountain*. Lowe highlights that the end of WWII saw Batsford books, which focused on Britain's natural, rural and semi-rural landscape, embrace a 'familiar Batsford theme: the value of the nation's man-made and natural heritage as a measure of centuries of tradition, spiritual life and human endeavour.' Batsford's 'postwar visions' urged 'the reader to appreciate that a "new" Britain will be happiest if it remains at heart a Batsford country – a land where the rural and the modern could blend harmoniously for the good of all'. See: Peter Lowe, 'Rural Modernity in a Time of Crisis: Preservation and Reform in the Books of B. T. Batsford' in *Rural Modernity in Britain: A Critical Intervention*, ed. by Kristin Bluemel and Michael McCluskey (Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 255-269 (p. 268). Within this context, it would not have been easily feasible for Shepherd's writing to be chosen for publication. As Lowe's findings suggest, the publishing house must have interpreted *The Living Mountain*'s highly subjective and personal description as out of touch with Britain's post-WWII society. It was certainly unlikely to promote the greater co-existence of the rural and the modern, the 'new' Britain, which Batsford publishing envisioned.

[54] For instance, an exemplary article, written in 1941 in *The Manchester Guardian*, is suitably titled, 'You should know the books that are selling', lists at least eleven categories, almost all of which are linked to the ongoing war. The unknown author of this overview of popular books, goes so far as to call Return via Dunkirk 'the most vivid piece of writing that the war has yet produced' and its author, Gun Buster, 'the literary discovery of the war'. See: Anonymous, 'You should know the books that are selling', *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 June 1941, p. 2.

[55] Anonymous, 'Salvage of Paper Still Urgent', *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1947, p. 3. See also: Anonymous, 'Stock Exchange and Paper Shortage', The Manchester Guardian, 23 July 1940, p. 5. See also: Anonymous, 'Paper Salvage: From Waste to Gun-Wad', *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 June 1942, p. 3.

> [In] 1974, Françoise D' Eaubonne boldly coined the term "ecofeminism" in her foundational text *Le féminisme ou la mort*. D' Eaubonne introduced the idea to raise awareness about interconnections between women's oppression and nature's domination in an attempt to liberate women and nature from unjust subordinations.[56]

As Patrick Murphy explains, ecofeminism importantly recognised and utilised 'the convergence of gender and environmental issues'.[57] To actualise it as a practice, Mitten and D'Amore explain, women should spend 'time in the natural world' so as 'to forge a reparative relationship between women and the natural environment'.[58] Through ecofeminism, they claim, women do 'social comparison with nature and notice that nature is filled with beautiful imperfect beings'; they notice the trees, 'other vegetation, and animals, learning that there is beauty in imperfection'.[59] Shepherd, when meandering, describes the moss campion, Silene, 'the most startling of all the plateau flowers, that in June and early July amazes the eye by its cushions of brilliant pink scattered in the barest and most stony'.[60] Beauty is in imperfection and in the contrasts, in the 'brilliant pink scattered in the barest and most stony', in Shepherd's text.[61] As with the peaks, Shepherd does not aim for the most beautiful landscape but in what is tangible to her senses and, in particular, to her sight.

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[56] Karen Ya-Chu Yang, 'Introduction', in *Women and Nature?*: *Beyond Dualism in Gender, Body, and Environment*, ed. by Douglas A. Vakoch and Sam Mickey (Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), p. 3.

[57] Patrick D. Murphy, 'Ecofeminism and Literature', in *The Routledge Handbook of Ecofeminism and Literature*, ed. by Douglas A. Vakoch (Routledge, 2022), pp. 1-15 (p. 1). One of its earliest references can be found in *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution*, written by Carolyn Merchant in 1980. See: Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (Harper and Row, 1980).

[58] Denise Mitten and Chiara D'Amore, 'The Nature of Body Image: The Relationship Between Women's Body Image and Physical Activity in Natural Environments', in *Beyond Dualism in Gender, Body, and Environment*, ed. by Douglas A. Vakoch and Sam Mickey (Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), pp. 96-116 (p. 112).

[59] Mitten and D'Amore, 'The Nature of Body Image: The Relationship Between Women's Body Image and Physical Activity in Natural Environments', p. 108.

[60] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 50.

[61] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 50.

Ecofeminism has also been described, by Mary Phillips, as seeking to 'transform through initiating and supporting activism and through engaging with academic, theoretical debate'.[62] Regarding the trees that were 'felled in the 1914 War'[63], they have now have found a new life, Shepherd notes, as 'round and out of each stump blaeberry grows in upright sprigs'.[64] By haunting the mountains' past, she observes that the impact of war on the landscape is still felt, but, thankfully, she claims, it is not permanent; nature still lives on. Shepherd is engaging with a debate of a moral nature. Why should the forest be sacrificed for the sake of human war? she seems to ask. The forest, that was felled, brought on a disruption to the life of the Blaeberry leaves and this brought a disruption to the mountain as a whole.

Samantha Walton's contribution to this chapter has been significant, as already mentioned, and further assists in an understanding of the current critical reception of Shepherd's work. When defining ecocriticism, Walton, writes:

> [It is] concerned with the philosophical, political and practical challenges raised by anthropogenic ecological change. These challenges have an inherently cultural dimension: involving narrative and storytelling, meanings and values, fears and hopes. For this reason, they can't only be addressed by scientists but must incorporate the distinctive perspectives of the humanities, meaning the study of culture and what it means to be human.[65]

Walton is not alone in highlighting the political and practical challenges with which ecocriticism concerns itself. Eleonora Federici also points out 'new voices' are reiterating ecofeminism's 'major aim', namely to highlight 'the centrality of women in ecological battles for a better and equal world'.[66]

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[62] Mary Phillips, 'Re-Writing Corporate Environmentalism: Ecofeminism, Corporeality and the Language of Feeling', *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 21.5 (2014), pp. 443-458 (p. 444).

[63] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 54.

[64] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 54.

[65] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 3.

[66] Eleonora Federici, 'Why Ecofeminism Matters: Narrating/translating ecofeminism(s)', *Iperstoria*, 20 (2022), pp. 66-77 (p. 75).

This chapter, through its study on Shepherd as a rural flâneur, reiterates Walton and Federici's aim, and highlights the centrality of Shepherd as a female walker, observer and thinker who, for the sake of a fairer and better world, faced an environmentalist war within the wider war that was engulfing the world. Shepherd's walking in the Cairngorms Mountains was her ecofeminist attempt to preserve nature against the attempt of the modern, capitalist and mechanised world to destroy it.

In the two following decades, scholars 'continued to attack oppressions of women and nature and called for their joint emancipation from Man's oppression and subordination' through concepts of ecofeminism; the *The Living Mountain*'s outlook was arguably in sympathy with this attitude.[67] As Ya-Chu Yang remarks, they undertook this attack through 'criticising and demolishing the sovereignty of Western dualistic thinking'.[68] While meandering, Shepherd criticises how male mountaineers are always after the summit – she admits that at one time, like other beginners, she too walked because she 'wanted the startling view, the horrid pinnacle'.[69] The male mountaineers' walking is defined by a harmful duality that does not allow the observer to rest, gaze and ponder without the pressure of competition; flâneuring is not encouraged in the male dominated mountaineering world.[70] Shepherd criticises the competition for dominance over other walkers and the landscape. For her, walking and wandering should have a transformative aim in its process and application.

Taking into consideration the book's history, *The Living Mountain*'s first reviews were not until the early 1980s, making them necessarily belated in terms of Shepherd's cultural context. One of the earliest reviews, written by Erlend Clouston in 1984, introduced Nan Shepherd as 'a climber, a hill walker, a novelist and a poet' who found 'pleasure' 'tramping round the Cairngorm plateau' and states that '*The Living Mountain*, just re-printed, is a stunning and loving analysis of the lure of high and

[67] Ya-Chu Yang, 'Introduction', p. 4.

[68] Ya-Chu Yang, 'Introduction', p. 4.

[69] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 15.

[70] It is worth noting that Mazel's previously mentioned study on women mountaineers, despite its insightful findings, fails to mention Nan Shepherd.

lonely places'.[71] Alice Vincent has claimed the book was slow to 'wake up the publishing world': it was included 'alongside her three novels as the *Grampian Quartet* in 1996' while in 2011 it was published solely as *The Living Mountain*, with both books published by Canongate.[72] Vincent highlights that it was after this point in time that *The Living Mountain* started experiencing a revival of critical and popular interest.[73] Walton agrees with this date but also acknowledges Louisa Gairn's contribution in 2008 to our current understanding of Shepherd as an ecological writer.

Indeed, Gairn's study, *Ecology and modern Scottish Literature*, precedes *The Living Mountain*'s publication and popular revival in 2011 and deals with Shepherd at a time when her fame was growing in spheres beyond academia.[74] This intermediate state of fame that Shepherd enjoyed during that time is highlighted when Gairn writes that her study was also aiming to 'set apparently "marginal" [Gairn's quotation marks] rural writers like Nan Shepherd' firmly 'into the centre of the Scottish literary culture'.[75] She explains that Shepherd offers 'as a counterpoint to the depersonalisation of war what might be called a phenomenology of wildness, focusing on the experience and sensations evoked by direct physical contact with the natural world'.[76] Importantly for this study, Gairn claims that Shepherd's 'scientific observation and practical knowledge are combined with an acute sense of the sacred, and a fundamental respect for the natural environment';[77] by 'continually searching for modes of observation and expression' into something more 'meaningful', more 'pure', Shepherd, I argue, was facing modern politics and technologies.[78] This chapter's outlook agrees with Gairn's outlook and includes its insights in the formulation of Shepherd as an ecofeminist rural flâneuse.

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[71] Erlend Clouston, 'Upland worlds', *The Guardian*, 16 August 1984, p. 16.

[72] Alice Vincent, 'Nan Shepherd's high places', *The New Statesman*, 152.5700 (2023), pp. 48-51 (pp. 50-51).

[73] Vincent, 'Nan Shepherd's high places', pp. 50-51.

[74] Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, p. 3.

[75] Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, p. 3.

[76] Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, p. 124.

[77] Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, p. 124.

[78] Gairn, *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, p. 124.

Despite Gairn's praise, *The Living Mountain* was to enjoy the popular success it deserved after 2011, as Walton explains. It was this renewed interest in Shepherd that slowly cemented her as a 'modern Scottish icon', firmly established in the national feeling with, for instance, 'her appearance on the Royal Bank of Scotland five-pound note in 2016'.[79] To add to this, Walton writes, *The Living Mountain*'s return to print in 2011 was further promoted as 'the subject of BBC radio and television documentaries presented by the nature writer Robert Macfarlane' and as a prime example of 'new nature writing', a term 'coined in 2008', which has quickly gaining popularity.[80] A review in *The Guardian* in the same year wrote that 'if you read it, you too will feel changed. This is sublime, in the 18th-century sense, when landscapes like these were terrifying'.[81] Robert MacFarlane, in his article on Shepherd in *The Guardian*, fittingly titled his article 'I walk therefore I am'.[82] He described Shepherd as 'a fierce looker' with a belief in 'bodily thinking' that gives the work 'its contemporary relevance'; 'walking, for Shepherd,' he points out, 'is the best way to "live through"'.[83] In her recent article on Shepherd and female pleasure (2022), Iratxe Puig states:

> The current debate about ecological literature is poised between encouraging more environmentally conscious behaviour through literary descriptions of beautiful landscapes and a more critical, radical and engaging attitude.[84]

Shepherd grapples with both. From a different perspective, Claire Skea and Amanda Fulford draw on Shepherd's work to argue that it 'provides perspectives on being in the outdoors that offer rich

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[79] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 8.

[80] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, pp. 8-9.

[81] Nicholas Lezard, '*The Living Mountain* by Nan Shepherd – review', *The Guardian*, 20 September 2011 https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/sep/20/living-mountain-nan-shepherd-review [accessed 20 February 2023].

[82] Macfarlane, 'I walk therefore I am', *The Guardian*, 30 August 2008 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/aug/30/scienceandnature.travel> [accessed 20 October 2023].

[83] Robert Macfarlane, 'I walk therefore I am', *The Guardian*, 30 August 2008.

[84] Iratxe Ruiz De Alegria Puig, 'Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*: Making Female Pleasure Visible', *Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*, 44.2 (2022), pp. 170-186 (p. 174).

educative possibilities'[85], while Anne Pirrie stresses how Nan Shepherd's years as a 'teacher-educator' and her 'way of being in the world, is a 'necessary corrective to the various forms of self-aggrandisement that have become the norm in educational discourse in recent years'.[86] Shepherd's unique way of living and of placing herself within nature have enjoyed a multitude of recent, highly insightful readings, especially regarding its strength to relate to ecology.

Concerning the book's structure, Gillian Carter, in her article mentioned at the opening of this chapter, highlights that Shepherd focuses on the 'regional landscape' to the extent that the 'narrative arrangement of her work is spatial rather than temporal, and that the individual is not, in fact, central, but exists as a part of a place and as part of a community'.[87] This is true, and is also further evidence of the spatial understanding of the environment, typical of a flâneuse who meanders from one arcade to the next. As Elkin has stated, 'space is not neutral. Space is a feminist issue';[88] Solnit similarly highlights that 'most public places at most times have not been as welcoming and as safe for women'.[89] Creating a book which is structured around space is a conscious choice to reclaim the space through her ecofeminist flâneuse's perspective. Such are the Cairngorm Mountains through Shepherd's gaze; they are 'remade and unmade, constructed and wondered at'.[90] *The Living Mountain* is, fittingly for a flâneuse, divided into chapters, that focus on close observation: 'The Plateau', 'The Recesses', 'The Group', 'Water', 'Frost and Snow', 'Air and Light', 'The Plants', 'Birds, Animals, Insects', 'Life: Man', 'Sleep', 'The Senses', 'Being'.[91] Every region becomes her natural arcade, each of which

[85] Claire Skea and Amanda Fulford, 'Releasing Education into the Wild: An education in, and of, the Outdoors', *Ethics and Education*, 16.1 (2021), pp. 74-90 (p. 74).

[86] Anne Pirrie, '"It's a Grand Thing to Get Leave to Live": The Educational Legacy of Nan Shepherd, *Scottish Educational Review*, 50.2 (2018), pp. 73-85.

[87] Carter, '"Domestic Geography" and the Politics of Scottish Landscape in Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*', p. 29.

[88] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 16.

[89] Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (Granta Publications, 2001), pp. 111-112.

[90] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 16.

[91] Shepherd, 'Contents', in *The Living Mountain*.

becomes a window through which to describe the sensual experience but also to ponder on wider social issues. The ever-growing interest and popularity in *The Living Mountain* highlights the necessity to research its multiple layers, such as the one exemplified through the rural flâneuse.

Walking and Flânerie in *The Living Mountain*'s Context

Walking has been discussed by a number of inspiring researchers in recent years.[92] Rebecca Solnit explains that 'women have routinely been punished and intimidated for attempting that most simple of freedoms,' such as 'taking a walk'; to walk 'for pleasure', she elaborates, one 'must have free time, a place to go, and a body unhindered by illness or social restraints. Free time has many variables'.[93] Shepherd had all variables. She was healthy, tied to no husband nor children, with a stable, comfortable income and a willingness to walk to her heart's desire. Solnit highlights that even in today's world, 'access to public space, urban and rural, for social, political, practical, and cultural purposes' is 'limited for women by their fear of violence and harassment'.[94] Walking becomes a political act in itself; a resistance to socially imposed fear. Kerri Andrews reads the mountain in Shepherd's work as a confined space, an inside, 'a fortress', with 'towering mountain walls';[95] its power lies in accessing 'awkward, obscure places' through her 'determined pedestrianism', she writes.[96] This chapter is altering this focus, reading the mountain and its inside as a large arcade in which lay many minor ones, through which Shepherd traverses not only as an environmentalist means to fight for her natural surroundings, but also as a means to comment on her times.

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[92] It is rather fitting that Nan Shepherd's name appears in the article 'Stories from the Walking Library', which described how the Walking Library consisted of 'more than 90 books suggested as books 'good to take for a walk'. Shepherd's book was described as being 'essential reading on an overnight camp'. See: Deirdre Heddon and Misha Myers, 'Stories from the Walking Library', *Cultural Geographies*, 21.4 (2014), pp. 639-655 (p. 647).

[93] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, pp. 111-112.

[94] Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, p. 114.

[95] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 203.

[96] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 184.

Walking for Shepherd was greatly determined by the fact that she was a woman. As MacFarlane has highlighted, most 'works of mountaineering literature have been written by men, and most male mountaineers are focused on the summit' while Shepherd, over time, learned to go into the hills 'aimlessly'.[97] The adverb 'aimlessly' is of great importance to this work, as it highlights Shepherd's intention not to walk the mountains with a specific purpose in mind; indeed, she wrote that 'often the mountain gives itself most completely when I have no destination, when I reach nowhere in particular'.[98] Her walking, in the mode of the flâneur, allowed her to rediscover the mountains without the pressure of having a strategy to conquer the natural landscape.[99] She does not hold in high esteem those walkers, many of whom were men, whose main and sole aim was to 'plant flags on all six summits in a matter of fourteen hours': this, she says, 'may be fun, but [it] is sterile'.[100] It becomes clear that, from the very beginning, walking in the mountains for Shepherd means not competing against nature. The conflicting binaries of winner versus loser and of man versus nature do not resonate with her. She wishes to be part of the mountain and respects its power.

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[97] Macfarlane, 'Introduction', in *The Living Mountain* by Nan Shepherd, p. xvi.

[98] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 15.

[99] Similarly, F. S. Smythe, in *The Observer* in 1935, highlights that 'it has been said of women that they are endowed with a sense of balance more delicate than that possessed by men, and that this, in conjunction with their physical limitations, tends to produce many fine rock climbers, but few all-round mountaineers'. Smythe claims that the female author of the book under review, *Climbing Days* by Dorothy Pilley (Mrs. I. A. Richards), goes against this notion and that 'the charm of her writing lies in the fact that you do not forget, nor want to forget, that she is also a woman mountaineer'. See: F. S. Smythe, 'A Woman Mountaineer', *The Observer*, 2 June 1935, p. 8. See also: Dorothy Pilley (Mrs. I. A. Richards), *Climbing Days* (G. Bell & Sons, 1935). It is also quite probable, given that *Climbing Days* was warmly received upon its publication, that Shepherd had read and had been influenced by her memoir. Dorothy Pilley, Smythe highlights, like other successful men mountaineers, enjoyed climbing peaks, following the male fashion of the time. A 1970s article also shows that the time was ripe for Shepherd's masterpiece to be welcomed. See: Anonymous, 'Three members of an all-women expedition to the Himalayas', *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1978, p. 12.

[100] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 4.

Lauren Elkin too highlights the importance of walking in understanding the figure of the flâneuse. She writes that 'walking is mapping with your feet' and that 'somehow, it's like reading'.[101] Elking addresses the reader to describe walking:

> [When you walk, she writes, y]ou're privy to these lives and conversations that have nothing to do with yours, but you can eavesdrop on them. Sometimes it's overcrowded; sometimes the voices are too loud. But there is always companionship. You are not alone. You walk in the city side by side with the living and the dead.[102]

Elkin's insightful comment brings, in turn, to mind Kerri Andrews' thoughts that even when Shepherd walks on a path alone, she is actually walking 'in the company of numberless others who have trodden the routes' she is traversing.[103] Haunting and walking with the living and the dead, which both Andrews and Elkin highlight, in turn, link to Baudelaire's initial description of the flâneur as a figure who adores his 'incognito' in a desert of men.[104] The flâneuse, like Mansfield and West, 'may take the bus or the train when she's tired', Elkin explains, but 'mostly', and like Shepherd, 'she goes on foot'.[105] Walking was important to Shepherd; it was her literal and conceptual way to formulate her environmentalist battle and reaction against WWII.

As it has been already defined a number of times throughout the thesis, when researching the term 'flâneur', the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the figure as 'a lounger or saunterer, an idle "man about town"'.[106] When the term first appeared via Baudelaire, it was translatable into a 'wanderer with no purpose, stroller, and lounger'.[107] Importantly for this essay, and building on the

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[101] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 18.

[102] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 18.

[103] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, pp. 199-200.

[104] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life,* p. 11.

[105] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 18.

[106] Entry 'flâneur', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71073?redirectedFrom=flaneur#eid> [accessed 10 November 2024].

[107] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, pp. 9-10.

aforementioned definition of the flâneur, Michael Grimshaw has highlighted that 'the flâneur wanders now as much through and against ideas and texts as they do the physical experience of the modern city'; he highlights that the 'landscape is often overlooked in discussions of the flâneur' despite offering 'rich possibilities for re-thinking and relocating the discussion of the flâneur into a reassessment'.[108] This chapter is a response to this call for re-locating and rethinking the flâneur.

This thesis began with Mansfield, the first rural, yet still antipodean, flâneuse in the early 20th century, and has reached a northern corner of Scotland in the midst of WWII. My study is evidence that Grimshaw's claim holds true; landscape does indeed offer rich possibilities in rethinking and reevaluating the flâneur. However, as with all previous authors, when reevaluating Shepherd, I treat her as a modernist, not antimodernist. Walton, when discussing her reading of Shepherd through an environmental perspective, explains that 'the very existence of *The Living Mountain* and the fact that Shepherd wanders as a "vagabond" demonstrate that one can find a way into place, whatever one's background'.[109] I keep the term 'vagabond' to describe the manner Shepherd walks as a flâneuse in the mountains; she meanders in random, yet meaningful, routes and makes every arcade her temporary home to observe nature's beauty and mechanisation's impact on it. Indeed, when referring to Rothiemurchus Forest, Shepherd focuses on the butterfly effect of war; its ramifications from the minute to the great environmental misuse on the flora and fauna allow her to see a continuity in the landscape's destruction from at least as far back as the Napoleonic wars.[110] She highlights the impact it will have on the crested tits and deer population; she is aware and recognises that the deer population can be a problem to the environment but she does not hesitate to also admit that the deer remain a necessity for the local human economy. As with the young Mancunian tourists, she tries to reflect when observing.

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[108] Grimshaw, 'The Antimodern Manifesto of the Rural Flâneur: When D'Arcy and John Go for a Wander', p. 144.

[109] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 51.

[110] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 55-56.

Lawrence Buell's work focuses primarily on ecocriticism and the flâneur, thus coinciding greatly with my study's focus but differing in the important fact that his study focuses on the ecofeminist outlook of the urban, rather than the rural, flâneur. Buell importantly highlights how 'the device of the roving observer knows no limitation of setting', suggesting therefore that an ecocritical reading of the flâneur need not be limited in the city.[111] My study of Shepherd as an ecofeminist and rural flâneuse is a response to Buell's observations. For reasons relating to space, Buell explains that he was forced to solely focus on the city landscape, but he trusts that 'nature writing' surely holds more such figures, were they to be researched.[112] His hypothesis encourages my study. I take his aim to read certain writers who endowed 'their flâneurs with something like an environmentalist consciousness' and apply it to Shepherd.[113]

As it has already been mentioned in previous chapters, Elkin's definition of the word flâneur and its etymology includes the Scandinavian word flana, 'a person who wanders', highlighting the fact that a flâneur is a person, not a man or a woman; the gender, therefore, of the wanderer was not important before the concept was claimed by male thinkers such as Baudelaire.[114] She proceeds to describe the flâneuse:

> [She is] not merely a female flâneur, but a figure to be reckoned with, and inspired by, all on her own. She voyages out and goes where she is not supposed to; she forces us to confront the ways in which words like home and belonging are used against women. She is a determined resourceful individual keenly attached to the creative potential of the city and the

[111] Lawrence Buell, *Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U. S. and Beyond* (Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 89.

[112] Buell, *Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U. S. and Beyond*, p. 89.

[113] Buell, *Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U. S. and Beyond*, p. 89.

[114] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 14.

> liberating possibilities for a good walk. The flâneuse does exist, whenever we have deviated from the paths ascribed to us.[115]

Shepherd began and remained free in her meanders and thoughts, allowing only restrictions imposed by war to limit her walks. She was able to do so possibly because this land was her home but also because this land had not suffered too much, at least not yet, from human and technological interruptions. Flâneuring in nature encourages a woman's emancipation, in Shepherd's case.

Louisa Gairn highlights the importance of 'strong women' in Shepherd's outlook to life; they range, she writes, 'from city-working mountaineers to elderly crofters in remote places'.[116] Big Mary, for instance, Sandy Mackenzie's second wife, before dying 'at ninety', was described by Shepherd as an eldritch who had stated herself that she '"liked the outdoor work best, and the beasts"'.[117] Shepherd gave voice to Big Mary's outlook and life and admires how she 'belonged there' and 'she knew it'.[118] When observing, she also gives voice to her environmental outlook through Big Mary; it is she who despairs at the thought of the cow not being talked to when milked. Old and less able to take care of the cow, she admits that "We have not the time to be speaking to them, and will she let down the milk without you speak?"'.[119] The old ways, as well as the local and personal interaction of the rural community with the flora and fauna is being replaced by organised structures of farming, Shepherd observes in her highly modernist flânerie.

Shepherd's focus on the rural community brings to mind Frayn's inspiring study on Norman Nicholson's poetry. Frayn observes that 'rural modernity is not only about the aesthetics and impact of industry, but about the relationships among people, and of people with place' and explains that 'while Nicholson is often considered a writer of place, he is also profoundly a writer of people and

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[115] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, p. 22.

[116] Louisa Gairn, 'Aspects of Modern Scottish Literature and Ecological Thought' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2004), p. 203.

[117] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 86.

[118] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 86.

[119] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 87.

politics'.[120] My study of Shepherd also reveals a similar trait in her writing. She tolerates the idea of industrial modernisation under the condition that the small communities would continue to exist and live in peace. When interacting with the politics of the area, she discreetly, yet firmly, makes her sympathy to the local communities known.[121]

Shepherd praises the locals who 'respect, whether they share it or not, your passion for the hill'.[122] She writes that she 'shall never forget the light in a boy's face, new back from the wars and toiling by his father's side on one of these high bare mountain farms'; she asked him: 'well, and is Italy or Scotland the better? He didn't even answer the question, not in words, but looked aside at [her], hardly pausing in his work, and his face glimmered.'[123] Interestingly, Walton has claimed that despite the feeling of 'displacement and a loss of a sense of "home" among Anglo-American modernists', the boy whom Shepherd encounters, 'experiences no such rupture: his connection to the mountain is strengthened, rather than frayed, by his excursions in Italy'.[124] I draw attention to the way in which the boy was 'toiling by his father's side on one of these high bare mountain farms'.[125] The boy's walk, 'toiling', denotes connotations of labour and hard work as connected to the land. Shepherd interprets this toil as exemplary of the boy's connection to the land through this hard labour. She sees his walking

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[120] Andrew Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', *English Studies*, 104.3 (2023), pp. 478–499 (p. 480).

[121] The urban centres' great advancement and growth has led a number of young people to leave the area, Shepherd explains. The old, slow way makes them 'restive'; 'they resent the primitive conditions of living, despise the slow ancient ways, and think that praising them is sentimentalism. These clear out. They take, however, the skills with them (or some of them do), and discover in the world outside how to graft new skills of many kinds onto their own good brier roots.' The young people who do remain on the land, despite the financial difficulties and the harsh living conditions, are praised in Shepherd's narrative. She writes that 'not all the young want to run away. Far from it. Some of them love these wild places with devotion and ask nothing better than to spend their lives in them. These inherit their fathers' skills and sometimes enlarge them'. See: Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 82.

[122] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 83.

[123] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 83.

[124] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 41.

[125] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 83.

as representative of his nationality; he takes pride in his movement and walk. Shepherd is discreetly nodding to one of the nation's main enemies, namely, Italy; doing so cannot be but a clear indication to her modernist outlook, albeit from an alternative setting. She is praising the soldier to the reader; linking the person, and his walking in particular, to the place becomes a means for Shepherd to comment on the war and political situation. These people, as the young Scottish boy returning from the front, Shepherd proclaims,

> are bone of the mountain. As the way of life changes, and a new economy moulds their life, perhaps they too will change. Yet so long as they live a life close to their wild land, subject to its weathers, something of its own nature will permeate theirs.[126]

The consequences of a capitalist economy loom over this idyllic landscape. Shepherd maintains her belief that closeness to the land, as the one she has kept throughout her life, allows one to maintain their essence. Walton questioned, 'what sense might a future reader make of *The Living Mountain* if winter no longer brings snow to the Cairngorms?'[127] Similarly, I wonder: Were a researcher or a contemporary flâneur to record the Cairngorm landscape today, in a harsher capitalist world, how would they record the landscape and the people in their literary observations? Undoubtedly, they will be dramatically changed, even if remnants of the past continue to haunt today's landscape. Shepherd's book is a glimpse into a world and land just before fully entering this age.

Shepherd cannot deny the great changes that are taking place in the social background. At a time when environmentalism did not exist as a concept, Shepherd undertook flâneuring on foot to observe and comment tactfully on the consequences of mechanisation, industrialisation and war.[128] This mountain was living, despite the attacks it was facing. In a world in which her cause had not even been articulated into a formal concept and in which her walking was restricted by war restrictions,

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[126] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 89.

[127] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 139.

[128] Frank Uekotter, *The Turning Points of Environmental History* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), p. 120.

Shepherd, against all odds, fought quietly yet firmly, for the Cairngorms Mountains and every female walker's right to move freely and aimlessly wherever she wished.

Observing Aeroplanes in the Natural Landscape

Although the following extracts do not constitute a single passage, I wish to address them as such due to their common theme. As the title of this section shows, all extracts are exemplary of Shepherd's flâneuring in the mountains while also observing the wrecked or moving aeroplanes in the natural landscape. They become an ecofeminist means through which she can comment on mechanisation and the war's impact on the rural human and natural environment. As such, Grimshaw's claim that the rural flâneur is mainly antimodern is, once again, contested through Shepherd's wanderings and observations.

For instance, when flâneuring and observing the wild birds that fly in the Cairngorms, Shepherd explains:

> it was this strong undeviating flight on steady wings that made a member of the Observer Corps (my friend James McGregor reports— the Observation Post was in his highest field and his croft, I believe, is the highest in Scotland) cry out in excitement, 'Here's a plane I can't identify! What's this one, do you think?' McGregor looked and said, without a glimmer, 'That's the one they call the Golden Eagle.' 'Didn't know there was such a one,' said the other; and he could hardly be convinced that he was looking at a bird and not a plane. And just this morning, in my own garden on Lower Deeside, fifty miles from the eagle country, I caught sight of three planes very high against white clouds, wheeling in circles round one another, and my first amazed reaction was 'Eagles!'.[129]

Shepherd does not escape the impact of war on the community. She remarks, while using James McGregor as her guarantor, on the military observer's inability to distinguish between an aeroplane

[129] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 61-62.

and a Golden Eagle. Despite expressing her doubts for the man's expertise and ability to observe the landscape successfully, Shepherd, nevertheless, admits that she too had been tricked into thinking that aeroplanes were eagles when, at another time, she gazed upwards from her garden. Technology does not only trick the governmental observer and intruder on the landscape; it also tricks the rural, and local, flâneuse's eyes.

Aeroplanes linked to the war appear continually in the book. For instance, Shepherd refers to the storm on 10th January 1945, which saw 'five Czech airmen' crash into Ben A'Bhuird and plunge to their deaths. Their bodies were only discovered on 19th August 1945 when two hill walkers came across the wreckage.[130] That the crash had occurred in deep snow was made 'clear from the condition of the engines, which were only a little damaged', Shepherd writes.[131] Lives dedicated to war are sacrificed and tricked by nature. In this observation, nature dominates over technology, war and man. Lives were lost but the snowy plateau continued to exist. The snow and the plateau offered a graveyard to the aeroplane; and while the aeroplane rusted in time, the plateau and the mountains remained intact. Shepherd highlights the power of nature.

In another passage of her rural flânerie, having highlighted 'the sharp and intense' 'shadows' found in the 'rarified' air of the plateau.[132] She urges the reader to 'watch the shadow of a plane glide along the plateau like a solid thing, and then slither deformed over the edge'.[133] Even when a plane crash is avoided, there is a hint of danger and fear in Shepherd's gaze. The clear air of the mountain heightens the effect of the plane's movement, and its 'deformed' shape when 'slithering' 'over the edge' is yet one more reminder of humanity and technology's fragility against the enormity of nature. Aeroplanes and their pilots cannot be trusted to meander the landscape quietly and incognito.

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[130] 'ASN Wikibase Occurrence #17537', *Aviation Safety Network*, https://aviation-safety.net/wikibase/17537 [accessed 21 April 2024].

[131] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 37-38.

[132] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 41.

[133] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 41.

At one point, after having walked 'all day', Shepherd gazes on the plateau and observes that 'man's presence too is disturbingly evident, in these latter days, in the wrecked aeroplanes that lie scattered over the mountains. During the Second World War more planes (mostly training planes) crashed here than one cares to remember'.[134] She writes:

> [these] new travellers underestimated the mountain's power. Its long flat plateau top has a deceptive air of lowness; and its mists shut down too swiftly, its tops are too often swathed in cloud, pelting rain or driving snow, while beneath the world is in clear sunlight, for liberties to be taken with its cruel rock.[135]

This 'swiftness of the mist', she concludes, 'is one of its deadliest features, and the wreckage of aeroplanes, left to rust in lonely corners of the mountain, bears witness to its dreadful power'.[136] Technology and humanity do not respect nature's power and Shepherd highlights the inevitable consequences.

Aeroplanes keep making their appearance in her observations and flânerie. Shepherd explains that she 'stood one day on the Lurcher's Crag', her rural arcade for that moment; from there, she hears 'the engine of a plane'; the plane's disturbing noise defines it as an outsider in the landscape.[137] Shepherd notices, with acute observation, that 'its wing-tips seemed to reach from rock to rock'[138]; she fears that it will crash. However, she writes:

> [She] knew that this was an illusion and that the wings had ample room; that the boys who shoot their planes under the arch of a bridge, or through the Yangtze gorges, had the same exuberant glee as the boys below me were doubtless experiencing; yet if mist had suddenly swept down, that passage between the crags would have been most perilous. And even in the

[134] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 77.

[135] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 77-78.

[136] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 79-80.

[137] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 78.

[138] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 78.

> brief time needed to negotiate a plane through the Lairig, mist might well descend in this region of swift and unpredictable change.[139]

Perched on Lurcher's Crag, Shepherd highlights nature's unpredictability. Shepherd refers to the pilots as 'boys', echoing the nation's fond attitude towards men in service of the country at a time of war. As with her conscientious attitude towards using a torch at nighttime, Shepherd's reference to the pilots as boys is evidence that she subtly showed that she resonated with the national effort in WWII. With environmental consciousness, Shepherd observes that the dangers of nature need to be respected. Grimshaw's claim that the rural flâneur is one that is antimodern, once again, seems not to always hold true. Shepherd's many detailed references to the aeroplanes' impact on the landscape are evidence that she was, in fact, intensely preoccupied with modernity and with technology and war's inevitable impact on the landscape and the community. As with Mansfield, Lawrence and West, Shepherd is facing modernity in rurality.

Walking in the Dark: Sight as a Rural Flâneuse's Necessity

The second case study for this chapter takes place in the dark and is a prime example of how Shepherd faced WWII through rural walking at night-time. Paths and 'unpaths' both appear in Shepherd's writing and the night-time setting blurs these concepts. On the one hand, as Kerri Andrews points out, paths shape 'Shepherd's isolation' which is only 'partial', 'as the paths she traverses' serve as 'links between not only place, but people'.[140] On the other hand, however, Shepherd reminisces fondly on 'a small friend's response' to her father; 'I like the unpath best', she said, when called by 'her father to heel';[141] Shepherd's 'small friend' becomes one more subtle call for female emancipation through her rural flânerie.

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[139] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 78.

[140] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 200.

[141] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 51.

In this instance of night-time flânerie, found in Chapter Six, 'Air and Light', Shepherd endorses walking on a path. She describes her night walking as being barely accepted by the locals: 'they accept mountain climbing', but that they only just tolerate 'oddities like night prowling',[142] which Shepherd endorsed. Shepherd does hold a degree of respect for the other locals, but she does not sacrifice her freedom, as exemplified through rural walking. Indeed, it is true that this walk is conducted on a path which, as Shepherd reveals, she took numerous times so as to hear news regarding the ongoing war; her walking, in this case, is not aimless, as a flâneur's should be. Andrews, however, highlights Shepherd's use 'of paths' as playing 'an important part in how she understood the mountains, and her place within them'.[143] I concur with Andrews. In the dark, I argue, the familiar path becomes a new and unknown arcade, as she herself admits; in it, a new reality and landscape is revealed.

The darkness, a war restriction which did not allow the use of the torch, is the factor that forcefully turns the path into the unknown; in it, she has a final aim in mind, that is, to reach the village, but to reach it she traverses new terrain and is guided only by all senses other than her sight. Thus, a familiar walking route becomes a meander in a dark maze; she is looking for the way out but takes her time while traversing it to meander and to reflect on her surroundings and the war. As with the previous authors analysed, here I will provide longer extracts, helpful to the reader to fully appreciate the atmosphere of flânerie conveyed. Shepherd writes:

> Walking in the dark, oddly enough, can reveal new knowledge about a familiar place. In a moonless week, with overcast skies and wartime blackout, I walked night after night over the moory path from Whitewell to Upper Tullochgrue to hear the news broadcast. I carried a torch but used it only once, when I completely failed to find the gate to the Tullochgrue field. Two pine trees that stood out against the sky were my signposts, and no matter how dark the night the sky was always appreciably lighter than the trees. The heather through which the path

[142] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 84.

[143] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, pp. 199-200.

> runs was very black, the path perceptibly paler, clumps and ridges of heather between the ruts showing dark against the stone and beaten earth. But it amazed me to find how unfamiliar I was with that path. I had followed it times without number, yet now, when my eyes were in my feet, I did not know its bumps and holes, nor where the trickles of water crossed it, nor where it rose and fell. It astonished me that my memory was so much in the eye and so little in the feet, for I am not awkward in the dark and walk easily and happily in it. Yet here I am stumbling because the rock has made a hump in the ground. To be a blind man, I see, needs application. As I reach the highest part of my dark moor, the world seems to fall away all round, as though I have come to its edge, and were about to walk over. And far off, on a low horizon, the high mountains, the great Cairngorm group, look small as a drystone dyke between two fields. Apparent size is not only a matter of humidity. It may be relative to something else in the field of vision. Thus I have seen a newly-risen moon (a harvest moon and still horned), low in the sky, upright, enormous, dwarfing the hills.[144]

Similar to when she literally turned her head upside down so as to gain a new perspective on the landscape, the dark becomes her new angle, not necessarily spatial but sensual, from which she observes with all the senses but the one most necessary to a flâneuse, that is, sight.[145] This is familiar terrain to her; 'I carried a torch but used it only once'.[146] Even without sight, she is able to make her way through the dark space on most occasions. Only at the top of the dark moor do her flâneuse's eyes gain enough power to control her gaze and therefore, her outlook. Up to that point, her feet did not remember the particular cracks and bumps on the path. The memory is in the eye rather than the

[144] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46-47.

[145] Indeed, Shepherd writes: 'By so simple a matter, too, as altering the position of one's head, a different kind of world may be made to appear. Lay the head down, or better still, face away from what you look at, and bend with straddled legs till you see your world upside down. How new it has become!'. See: Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, pp. 11-12.

[146] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

feet, she realises. Through her temporarily disabled embodiment, she realises that she needs her eyesight to traverse and comment on the landscape.

Shepherd walks in order to hear news about the war. Reminding me of Lawrence in the lemon gardens, she describes how 'as I reach the highest part of my dark moor, the world seems to fall away all round, as though I have come to its edge, and were about to walk over'.[147] The world, as with Lawrence, becomes the centre of an apocalyptic scene. She is in awe of what she sees. Shepherd's sense of jeopardy and the world 'fall[ing] away', I claim, is the same feeling that Lawrence and West also expressed when they felt the outer world imperilled by the war. While the world falls 'away all round', Shepherd sees the great mountains look disturbingly small. The dark and the humidity have twisted reality and a new perspective is gained. The world is collapsing; Shepherd seems to be commenting on the ongoing war in the background which haunts her walk. Her walking, 'night after night', on paths that were renewed every night, made flânerie possible even on familiar ground; it was her expression of being an active part of the war effort while drawing attention to the wonder of the Cairngorm mountains.

Walking and wandering in the mountains can be a way for herself and others, if they decide to do so, to face the world falling 'away all round'.[148] She is practising what she preaches; walking in nature means facing modernist reality. Marc Wiggam has noted that the blackout in WWII was more easily accepted within rural communities, as the natural 'link between the dark and rural life' already existed even before the blackout was implemented.[149] Shepherd herself admitted to 'night prowling' as her pastime.[150] The blackout, Wiggam highlights, 'was a problem of modernity'; 'problems suffered by rural populations during the blackout were largely a result of urban' life 'extending into rural

[147] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

[148] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

[149] Marc Wiggam, *The Blackout in Britain and Germany*, 1939-1945 (Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), p. 54.

[150] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 84.

spaces'.[151] Shepherd was aware of this dynamic and was facing these urban imported issues in her rurality. Paradoxically, the WWII blackout also carried an unexpected benefit. Not being allowed to use a torch, she frees herself from another one of her time's forceful impositions, that is, the use of technology. This enables her to become more aware of her body, her feet moving, her steps taken, and to successfully navigate and rediscover her surroundings as a means to face the harsh reality of global conflict.

The term 'dark' carries a number of widely accepted negative connotations. It is chiefly, as described in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the 'state or condition of being concealed, unknown, or obscure'.[152] In contrast, 'light' is described as 'mental illumination; enlightenment, knowledge'.[153] Through her movement, Shepherd contradicts these widely accepted connotations of light and dark and uses the dark setting for her walking as a means of hope; a quiet form of optimism, the 'grim determination' which Paris spoke about, which was felt by the whole nation, even in the remote Cairngorms.[154] Shepherd's recalling of her contemporary wartime blackouts link to Beryl Pong's thoughts on the blackouts during the Blitz, which, as 'a historical phenomenon … often incited feelings of the strange and the uncanny'.[155] As Pong states, 'because darkness can atomize the human sensorium, sharpening some senses while confounding others, the blackout was felt to be a depersonalising and disembodying force'.[156] Undoubtedly this is true, and it is only remarkable that Shepherd, 'oddly enough' as she states herself, was able not only to avoid being faced with a depersonalising and disembodying force, but rather, she used this blackout to her personal advantage,

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[151] Wiggam, *The Blackout in Britain and Germany, 1939-1945*, p. 54.

[152] Entry 'dark', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47294?rskey=IK7OuA&result=1#eid> [accessed 10 November 2023].

[153] Entry 'light', *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/108172?rskey=uoTc6t&result=1#eid> [accessed 10 November 2023].

[154] Paris, *Warrior Nation*, p. 186.

[155] Beryl Pong, *British Literature and Culture in Second World Wartime: For the Duration* (Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 56.

[156] Pong, *British Literature and Culture in Second World Wartime: For the Duration*, p. 56.

sharpening certain senses, such as her 'feet', so as to 'reveal new knowledge about a familiar place'.[157] Her feet, and her body, replace her eyes. The darkness seems to be working for her in reverse; it is assisting, rather than obstructing her hope and optimism for society and its failure.

In order to hear news regarding the outside world and as hope for the future, she had to immerse herself into this natural darkness. Shepherd chooses to wander rurally, despite the darkness that has been imposed by external political forces. She transforms this rural space into her own type of arcade, possibly in an attempt to recreate, from her point of view, the feeling and atmosphere that many of her compatriots were feeling at the time. As a modernist, she is relating to the suffering that the whole nation had to endure, albeit from a peripheral corner. Her purpose as a flâneuse is double but always focused on society. Darkness serves her as it encourages her to rediscover her body and surroundings; it gives her a new perspective that allows her to view the outcome of war in a positive light. Through nature, walking and meandering as a flâneuse in the dark, she expresses her belief that there is hope for the world if people were open to a new perspective. It has been established that Shepherd was part of the national effort in the midst of WWII while also drawing on the impact of technology and war on the natural landscape through her rural flânerie. Shepherd further used her walking to address other contemporary issues. In the close reading that follows, she challenges social restrictions regarding women's free movement and mode of existence in nature through walking in water.

Walking in Water: Immersing into the Mountain

The third passage studied in this chapter is found in Chapter Two, 'The Recesses'. As with the dark, I chose this particular passage because it highlights a different natural setting in which walking can take place and can be transformed into a means of challenging her given reality. In this case, water is the natural force that dominates the landscape; it reveals a different world and reality and offers an

[157] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 46.

opportunity to challenge social norms regarding women's movement. As with the previous extract studied, I will provide the longer version, as it is necessary in order to convey the atmosphere that Shepherd was creating on paper. Elkin had noted about the urban flâneuse, that by 'walking where they're not meant to', 'where other people (men) walk without eliciting comment', is taking part in a 'transgressive act'.[158] Shepherd describes how she swam in Loch Evan, one of 'the most inaccessible places in the Cairngorms', as Peacock points out.[159] Shepherd writes:

> I first saw it on a cloudless day of early July. We had started at dawn, crossed Cairn Gorm about nine o'clock, and made our way by the Saddle to the lower end of the loch. Then we idled up the side, facing the gaunt corrie, and at last, when the noonday sun penetrated directly into the water, we stripped and bathed. The clear water was at our knees, then at our thighs. How clear it was only *this walking* [my italics] into it could reveal. To look through it was to discover its own properties. What we saw under water had a sharper clarity than what we saw through air. We waded on into the brightness, and the width of the water increased, as it always does when one is on or in it, so that the loch no longer seemed narrow, but the far side was a long way off. Then I looked down; and at my feet there opened a gulf of brightness so profound that the mind stopped. We were standing on the edge of a shelf that ran some yards into the loch before plunging down to the pit that is the true bottom. And through that inordinate clearness we saw to the depth of the pit. So limpid was it that every stone was clear.
>
> I motioned to my companion, who was a step behind, and she came, and glanced as I had down the submerged precipice. Then we looked into each other's eyes, and again into the pit. I waded slowly back into shallower water. There was nothing that seemed worth saying. My spirit was as naked as my body. It was one of the most defenceless moments of my life.

[158] Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, pp. 17-18.

[159] Peacock, *Into the Mountain: A Life of Nan Shepherd*, p. 78.

> I do not think it was the imminence of personal bodily danger that shook me. I had not then, and have not in retrospect, any sense of having just escaped a deadly peril. I might of course have overbalanced and been drowned; but I do not think I would have stepped down unawares. Eye and foot acquire in rough walking a co-ordination that makes one distinctly aware of where the next step is to fall, even while watching sky and land.[160]

Walking in water, in this case, allows Shepherd to literally immerse into the landscape; her walking is what provides her with this mental and physical clarity. Indeed, the human body has been used, Bryan S. Turner explains, as a way to provide a plethora of metaphors about 'social and political relations'.[161] Shepherd, similarly, trusts her body and through rough walking she is able to coexist with nature. The passage is full of references to her body and walking, 'idled up', 'at our knees', 'thighs', 'waded'; 'how clear it was, only this walking' could reveal, she writes. Sarah France has argued that 'by walking into nature,' a woman is 'able to walk out of the phallogocentric urban space' and simultaneously 'resists the structure of the male urban space that disallow her participation in flânerie'; 'exploring the spaces in the female-associated nature' allow her 'the potential to write her mind and body'.[162] I agree with France and argue that Shepherd too was trying to challenge the structure of the male domination over nature; her walking naked into the loch is evidence of this. I extend France's ideas and wish to add that 'by walking into nature', Shepherd creates her own space of flânerie and faces 'the phallogocentric urban space'.[163] Her walking in water, naked and in an inaccessible loch with her female companion, is her political reaction to the male dominated world.

Through walking, she challenges the given reality for women of her time. In order to enter the landscape, she strips naked, and in this state, she can belong to the landscape as any other living being.

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[160] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 13.

[161] Bryan S. Turner, 'Introduction: The Turn of the Body', in *Routledge Handbook of Body Studies*, ed. by Brian S. Turner and others, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2012), pp. 1- 20 (pp. 3-4).

[162] Sarah France, 'Walking Out of Dualisms: Material Ecofeminism in Olivia Laing's to The River', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 20.4 (2019), pp. 39-51.

[163] France, 'Walking Out of Dualisms: Material Ecofeminism in Olivia Laing's to The River', pp. 39-51.

To observe the clarity of the water and the world under its surface, Shepherd has to walk. In this secret place of ease, her companion, despite remaining unnamed, is a woman; 'she came', Shepherd writes. Shepherd embarks on collective walking; her walking, as Wrigley has stated for the international flâneur, is representative of a 'new generation of empowered citizens, equipped with the high degree of self-awareness' required to 'navigate' a 'dramatically uncertain and changing' landscape.[164] This collective walking becomes a form of quiet, pacifist resistance to the harmful, patriarchal and dualistic world.

Walking becomes the means to understand and come in contact with the inner part of the mountain; this is the knowledge which others do not have of the landscape. She describes how her 'spirit was as naked as her body'.[165] She is claiming the space as her own through her body's existence and movement in the landscape. She admires the inner part of the mountain, but she also fears it and she reiterates her opinion that the mountain needs to be respected. She expresses trust in her body's abilities to coexist with a harsh natural setting, 'I do not think I would have stepped down unawares', she writes.[166] She trusted that 'eye and foot acquire in rough walking a co-ordination that makes one distinctly aware of where the next step is to fall';[167] the rough walking and her naked body allow her to perceive details in her walking. She is a flâneuse, after all. She ignores the 'deadly peril' and places her trust in the natural environment. As a woman in a world facing war and the unjust domination of man over nature and women, she liberates her body from social expectations and allows it to find its way naturally in the landscape through flâneuring in inaccessible places. Her walking, as was West's, was collective in its purpose. When walking in water, naked and in the companion of a female walker who shares her love for the mountain, she discreetly challenges her time's restrictions regarding women's movement; she, for one, did not abide by such restrictions. Walking, analysing her

[164] Richard Wrigley, *The Flâneur Abroad: Historical and International Perspectives* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 12.

[165] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 13.

[166] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 13.

[167] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 13.

surroundings and highlighting her body as a natural part of the mountain is her subtle act of resistance as an ecofeminist rural flâneuse.

Walking as Essence: An Ecofeminist Flâneuse's Battle

I end this chapter with a passage devoted to walking in its purest, simplest form. In this passage, Shepherd states that she has 'found what she set out to find' in her 'journey of pure love'.[168] Like West, Shepherd's walking has led her to her moment of revelation. Walking and, importantly, meandering and flâneuring is the means, once again, she uses to reach this sensation. While on the plateau, in the final chapter of her masterpiece, importantly entitled 'Being', she writes:

> Walking thus, hour after hour, the senses keyed, one walks the flesh transparent. But no metaphor, transparent, or light as air, is adequate. The body is not made negligible, but paramount. Flesh is not annihilated but fulfilled. One is not bodiless, but essential body.
>
> It is therefore when the body is keyed to its highest potential and controlled to a profound harmony deepening into something that resembles trance, that I discover most nearly what it is to be. I have walked out of the body and into the mountain. I am a manifestation of its total life, as is the starry saxifrage or the white-winged ptarmigan.[169]

Walking is what allows her to transgress and acquire this new understanding of herself and the world. Shepherd walks: she repeatedly brings attention to her physical movements and steps taken. Walking allows her to use her body to transgress her spirit and body; then, as a whole, she enters the mountain. Shepherd's cause was to walk for herself, for women, for the bush, for the rock, for the tree, for the fox, for the crested tit, for the ptarmigan; for all that is natural and overlooked in the world. Walton has highlighted that choosing to mention the ptarmigan and the saxifrage is no coincidence; neither leaves the mountain. Shepherd, like them, is a permanent resident in this maze of arcades; in that

[168] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 106.

[169] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 106.

'brief experience – a trance which passes' – she is the manifestation of the mountain.[170] Thus, Walton explains, Shepherd succeeds in challenging 'fundamental understandings of the autonomy of the human subject and personhood'.[171] In this 'instant', the 'imaginative divisions which separate humanity from ecology are erased, and the material reality of our ecological entanglement becomes the medium in which she walks'.[172] Her ecofeminist experience has reached its apotheosis through this meditative walking. Her flânerie and observations within rurality provide her with the tools to express her political, yet still highly personal, message.

As Gilman highlights, 'Shepherd's physical contact with the elementals on the mountain leads her to conclude that the mountain and its landscape are living' and are endowed with metaphysical characteristics, tied to the Scottish landscape;[173] these, I claim, contrasted the fascist, hyper-political European reality of WWII. It also is evidence of her ecofeminist stance. Rita M. Gross writes:

> [Ecofeminism and Buddhist thinking are both] fundamentally non-dualistic. Buddhists have long talked of all-pervasive interdependence, of a self interdependent with its matrix, of the interconnection of all things in the phenomenal world and have found enlightenment in the midst of this very world rather than someplace else. These fundamental Buddhist insights, which ecofeminists are just discovering, are the basis of Buddhism's relevance to sound ecological vision, which many ecological thinkers, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, have already noted some time ago.[174]

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[170] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 80.

[171] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 80.

[172] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, p. 80.

[173] Rachel Gilman, 'Reading the Word: Spirit Materiality in The Mountain Landscapes of Nan Shepherd', *Dialogue*, 52.4 (2019), pp. 29-38 (p. 37).

[174] Rita M. Gross, 'Buddhism and Ecofeminism: Untangling the Threads of Buddhist Ecology and Western Thought', *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 24.2 (2011), pp. 17-32 (pp. 27-28).

Shepherd noted and demanded, as other ecofeminists, a 'worldview adjustment', and found enlightenment in her walking in the mountains.[175] She considers herself part and interdependent of the greater whole of nature. Although Shepherd may not have endorsed Buddhism formally in her life, it is nevertheless clear that she was influenced by its outlook in her rural meanders and observations.[176] Claudia Dellacasa has similarly highlighted that 'decentralisation of one's own point of view also chimes' with Buddhist ideas.[177] Shepherd's outlook as being a mere part of a greater whole is testament to this. Similarly, Dellacasa emphasises that the 'ecological sense of interdependence that considers the environment a complex ecology of human and other-than-human selves is referred to by Shepherd in terms of "mountain's wholeness"'.[178] Andrews highlights that for Shepherd, 'the walking self undergoes a complete change' impelled by a process that 'moves the body – literally and psychically – from "profound harmony" deeper into a trance state'.[179] The 'walker[, she writes,] is sublimated from the corporeal to the ethereal. The body is left behind – though the self-remain intact – and enters "into the mountain"'.[180]

Finally, Andrews highlights that Shepherd, when describing what she was 'hungering' for, was not able to describe it but that it was something that was between the 'walker and the mountain'.[181] She writes:

> Walking, writing and comprehension, therefore, must be the same – neither walking nor writing is the means of comprehension but are themselves two aspects of understanding, and

[175] Gross, 'Buddhism and Ecofeminism: Untangling the Threads of Buddhist Ecology and Western Thought', pp. 27-28.

[176] Walton, *The Living World: Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought*, pp. 11-12.

[177] Claudia Dellacasa, 'Antonia Pozzi's and Nan Shepherd's Mountains: A Matter of Affect', *The Italianist*, 43.3 (2023), pp. 423-438 (p. 432).

[178] Dellacasa, 'Antonia Pozzi's and Nan Shepherd's Mountains: A Matter of Affect', p. 432.

[179] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 183.

[180] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 183.

[181] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 183.

> comprehension is both walking and writing. Neither body nor intellect alone is sufficient to satisfactorily articulate the nature of the relationship between human being and mountain.[182]

Baudelaire had described that the flâneur is in search of 'a nobler aim than that of the pure idler', of more than 'the fleeting pleasure of circumstance'.[183] He claims:

> [The figure] is looking for that indefinable something we may be allowed to call 'modernity', for want of a better term to express the idea in question. The aim for him is to extract from fashion the poetry that resides in its historical envelope, to distil the eternal from the transitory.[184]

As were West, Lawrence and Mansfield before her, Shepherd was looking for a way to describe her understanding of modernity that could be recorded in the eternal; to eternalise the moment and walk in that particular transitory turbulent historical moment. Solnit is right in pointing out Shepherd's comprehension, which I call observation, and her walking as necessary and complementary aspects so as to describe the nature of the relationship between the human being and the mountain; she is representative of Baudelaire's description of the flâneur, as she, too, sought to eternalise these transient moments of her wanders. Shepherd, as an ecofeminist flâneuse, uses her walking and her observations to make sense of the world around her and of her relationship to nature.

Conclusion

For Shepherd, flâneuring in the mountains, as shown in this chapter, was her means to ponder on urban society; as with Mansfield, Lawrence and West, Shepherd's rurality is forever tied with the urban. It became her means to define her political battle and belief in nature as a means to express her stance for female walking against war, mechanisation and patriarchy, and a new way of life and

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[182] Andrews, *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, p. 183.

[183] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

[184] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

interaction with nature and the environment. Her focus on detail in nature and her personal interpretation of her surroundings is exemplary not only of modernism, but of a flâneuse, in the mode of Baudelaire, whose meanders served as a way to ponder on the transient and the eternal, and of Elkin, who wished to challenge a male dominated space.

Shepherd wishes to become part of the whole mountain and uses her walks to do so. She used this philosophy to face the upcoming religion of politically organised fascism and patriarchy that was dominating the world; this unique ecofeminist outlook encouraged Shepherd to find her answers to her modernist questions through walking in nature. She did so for the sake of individual and collective hope in a world dominated by war and a harmful duality of dominance. Her lyrical language and sharp eye when walking in a trance is exemplary of ecofeminism and assisted her walking and flâneuring in becoming a subtle fight and struggle for her multifaceted beliefs. Shepherd, albeit not as directly as West, invited her audience to adopt a new attitude to their surroundings; one that would prioritise a deconstruction of the dichotomy of patriarchy, war, mechanisation and capitalism and would promote a collective coexistence of mind, body, soul and nature.

By walking, Shepherd is able to give her own meaning to a modernist world she feels has betrayed her; walking is her calling, a battle, a cause, an end and the means to that end. She walks aimlessly but with a 'nobler aim' in mind.[185] This allows her to actively fight against the literal war but also the war on the environment and women's freedom. In a world where ecofeminism did not even exist as a concept, Shepherd sought fiercely to find a way to articulate the same worries that concern today's environmentalists and ecofeminists. The tools she had at her disposal were limited; her determination and love for walking and the mountains, alongside her talent to observe all minute detail, were her means of flânerie with which she succeeded in addressing the war and mechanisation's consequences. Being able to walk, despite wartime blackouts and restrictions imposed by a patriarchal society, encourages her to forge a new physical relationship with nature and

[185] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

rediscover herself in relation to it. Through her walking and acute observation, she dealt with issues tantalising her times, such as WWII and its impact on the rural Scottish community and women's right to move freely. Shepherd, as a modernist, eco-feminist flâneuse meandered the Cairngorm Mountains to observe and record; this was her means through which to approach her collapsing world in World War II.

CONCLUSION

To Flâneur in Rurality: A Modernist Act

Following the close analysis of the four texts studied, developed with the assistance of a number of researchers, importantly including Baudelaire, Elkin and Grimshaw, I will now reflect on my findings regarding the modernist rural flâneur. What has this study brought to the surface, and what can it further propose? What are rural flâneurs, and how can they assist us in our understanding of the modernist era? I contend that rural flâneurs in modernism are walkers and observers; they meander and comment, place and move their bodies in relation to the environment they are within, always in an attempt to make sense of their world. Their walking and wandering is always a stance and a political act, whether it be exemplified through an open attitude towards the Maori, a social commentary on Italy's mechanisation from peripheral lemon gardens, a cry of disgust at the scene of animal sacrifice or a walk in the dark during wartime blackout.

Before proceeding to explain my findings regarding the modernist period and rural flânerie, which is the main focus of my study, it is crucial to also ponder, albeit briefly, on the connections that can be drawn between our time and the time under examination; this will allow me to reflect on my study's implications within the contemporary literary and academic world. All authors wrote within a tense political background. For Mansfield, Lawrence, West and Shepherd, the rural context is the perfect place to clear their mind, to discuss their fears and hopes for the future. Indeed, our recent dehumanising experiences of living, walking and moving under harsh Covid19 lockdowns, echo WWII blackout conditions and travel restrictions. In many cases, people chose to face these restrictions in a similar manner to the rural modernist flâneurs under study. The organised and spontaneous walks which many of us went on during these lockdowns, as well as the skyrocketing popularity of walking in rural areas from 2020 to 2022, are evidence of this. Meandering became a rebellious act against governmental control for some, or fearless determination to live life despite the threat posed by the life-threatening virus.

The 'Keep your two-metre distance' sign, which was stuck, hung, or advertised on all media, streets, signposts and entrances during these pivotal years for the 21st century, led people to search for safe, outdoor spaces where they could follow the medical community's advice and the spread of Covid could be controlled. Lawrence, too, sought open, outdoor spaces to prevent the possible development of tuberculosis in his body; similarly, Shepherd's location in the remote Cairngorm mountains afforded her the freedom of movement many of her compatriots in urban centres could only wish for. As in Shepherd's and Lawrence's day, the Covid lockdowns, in a pivotal time of multiple war fronts and dramatic changes on a political and social level, encouraged people to walk in rurality so as to better understand themselves in relation to the world in the 21st century. Thus, this study's methodology may perhaps prove useful to scholars who are researching contemporary voices in rural writing in the 21st century.

Returning to the modernist period and my findings, I conclude my thesis by drawing again on Andrew Frayn's recent (2023) article on Nicholson's rural modernist work, which I referred to in the Introduction and Chapter Four. Frayn, after analysing Nicholson's interaction with his rural environment, encourages fellow scholars to 'read rural modernists as distinctive and valuable'.[1] By 'recognising these tropes,' he contends, we will be able to 'identify further writers of rural modernity and formally, what [he argues] we can define as rural modernism'.[2] Doing so, he claims and I agree, a 'wider shift in viewpoint can come about'[3] and will allow our understanding of modernism to grow. For the sake of this change in viewpoint, Frayn ends his essay by directly inviting us, 'next time', to also 'take that turning'.[4] My study has been a response to his invitation to recognise representations

[1] Andrew Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', *English Studies*, 104.3 (2023), pp. 478-499 (p. 496).

[2] Andrew Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', *English Studies*, 104.3 (2023), pp. 478-499 (p. 479).

[3] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 496.

[4] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 496.

of 'rural modernity, in a form of rural modernism'[5]; my attempt saw me drawing attention to Katherine Mansfield, D. H. Lawrence, Rebecca West and Nan Shepherd's travelogues, as exemplary of rural modernists who traversed the landscape as rural flâneurs. My study strengthens Frayn's claim that flânerie in rurality should be studied as a modernist form and trope which will help us further structure a formal shape to rural modernism. The 'distinctive and valuable' contribution of these rural modernists to rural modernism is, as my thesis has demonstrated, multifaceted.

Grimshaw's claim that the antipodean flâneur is rural was what ignited my research. As my research has shown, Grimshaw was right to bring attention to this particular figure. Without his study, I may indeed have not developed my own theory on Mansfield. I agree that the antipodean, and not only, flâneurs and flâneuses found in this time period are, indeed, found in rurality and are not confined to the city; I add that these figures are not necessarily antimodern, as my study has shown that they are highly modernist in their outlook, walking and meandering. Mansfield's attempt to record the landscape she is gazing upon is distorted by the British Empire's standards and her early modernist preoccupations with her complex national and cultural identity; similarly, Chapter Two, Three and Four serve as fruitful examples that Lawrence, West and Shepherd also actively engage with contemporary issues. Indeed, Lawrence, West and Shepherd, unlike Mansfield, share a greater awareness of the impact of mechanisation on society and the natural landscape. Through their eyes and walks in rurality we indeed see the world changing in Europe.

My chosen authors used nature to respond, often critically, to modernity but this, however, does not make them antimodern. My thesis has shown that all my authors, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, dealt with the key topics of their time through walking in rurality. They escaped the urban, but they then faced it from nature, their own maze of rural arcades for their flânerie. Frayn, too, contends that 'writing of rural modernity must not be seen as a failed version of urban and metropolitan forms, but must be understood by theorisation of its own concerns and

[5] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 496.

agendas, the vital importance of and attachments to place, and the cultural forms generated.'[6] By focusing on Mansfield's, Lawrence's, West's and Shepherd's concerns, attachment to the places and to cultural forms, as well as direct or indirect interaction with the social and political happenings of the time, my study has evidenced that modernist rurality not only belongs to modernism, but that it is, in fact, a fundamental aspect of it.

Searching afield for modernist literary flâneurs, beyond the urban setting, such as in remote rural corners of New Zealand, Italy, Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Scotland, we can see the manner in which modernist thoughts pervade overlooked landscapes and narratives. The natural setting is not a criterion with which we define authors as modernists or antimodernists. On the contrary, this natural setting for the flâneur should be seen for what it is, a previously overlooked angle, method and setting from which we can now analyse recurring and newly discovered modernist themes. Therefore, the need to set the parameters for the analysis of rural modernity is paramount, especially for the further understanding of overlooked voices and themes. By uncovering 'representations of rural modernity, in a form of rural modernism', as Frayn proposes we should do, such lost or ignored voices of rural walkers in modernism can then 'be identified'.[7] This thesis is a response to what I hope will be a long and fruitful scholarly discussion in the future on uncovered rural modernists and, in particular, rural flâneurs.

I do not claim to have exhausted the topic, nor have I reached a definite conclusion. To claim this would be unwise. I hope, however, that my study has brought attention to the fact that this topic is highly worthy of further study. Other authors that I came across in the early stages of my research, and which could be used for further research on rural flânerie, notably included George Orwell in Catalonia and W. H. Auden as a queer flâneur within the remote, Icelandic rural landscape on the brink of WWII. The list could go on to D. H. Lawrence's travels to Mexico, Dorothy Pilley's rural walks in the Swiss Alps, Vita Sackville-West's travels to the East, or Susie Rijnhart, a colonial flâneuse with a strong

[6] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 484.

[7] Frayn, 'Rural Modernity, Rural Modernism and Deindustrialisation in Norman Nicholson's Poetry', p. 496.

religious influence. My thesis is just one glimpse into the possibilities the concept of a rural modernist flâneur can open up to us; and I am positive of the existence of many more such possibilities.

All authors, from Pakeha Mansfield, sick Lawrence, detached West to environmentalist and ecofeminist Shepherd, demonstrate one common trait – they all want to be known and remembered as travellers, not tourists. They relish the idea of being admired as true interpreters of the land; in turn, the main way in which they avoid the stigma of the tourist is by searching and uncovering the hidden nooks and creeks in the periphery in which they are walking and idling. Mansfield through the Maori, Lawrence through the Italian workmen, West through the Macedonian old lady and Shepherd through the local community alongside its flora and fauna. The evidence I came across while writing my thesis urged me to suggest that there is a collective development and progression of the flâneur throughout the decades. Typical of a flâneur observing, they formed these questions depending on their degree of self-awareness.

Mansfield, at 19 years old, at the beginning of the 20th century, was better aware than other contemporary female travellers who had yet to form even a simple understanding of their implication in the British Empire's expansion; even so, Mansfield does not form a clear question regarding her identity or the idea of nationhood in her notebook. Her flânerie, as defined in Chapter One, is more in the making. Lawrence, just before WWI, wanted to escape the dominance of mechanisation in England but he ultimately faced this exact mechanisation when observing the Italian landscape; simultaneously, he is also aware of the impending war that is looming in the background. 'What can one do but wander about?', he asks.[8] Nevertheless, despite challenging the status quo, it has been shown that his walking may have also been a way to follow the medical community's advice to what he feared might be evidence of tuberculosis in his body. West, almost thirty years later, was not asking, as Lawrence was; she was turning a similar question into a statement and a necessity that had to be addressed for the sake of European civilisation. West's awareness of the necessity to walk and ponder

[8] D. H. Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. by Paul Eggert (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 217.

on one's existence was, for her, a necessity at the brink of WWII so to push back the Nazi threat and to contemplate the future of European civilisation. Finally, Shepherd, who composed *The Living Mountain* in the 1940s, but who wrote her foreword to the book's first publication in 1977, approaches flânerie, walking and thinking with even greater defiance. Her observations are put discreetly but firmly. 'I am', she confidently, yet humbly, observes in the final lines of her walking record.[9] 'To know Being, that is the final grace accorded from the mountain'.[10] Her observation represents her outlook, a minor yet present outlook of her time which, for all reasons mentioned in Chapter Four, deserves our attention.

Their awareness of the importance of walking and observing, as a conscious act, seems to have progressed chronologically along with my study. Ultimately, the essence of their observations derives from a common route. Flânerie, walking and observing in rurality is a means for these flâneurs, as Baudelaire had initially claimed in *The Painter of Modern Life*, to search for a 'nobler aim than that of the pure idler, a more general aim, other than the fleeting pleasure of circumstance'.[11] They aim 'to extract from fashion the poetry that resides in its historical envelope, to distil the eternal from the transitory'.[12] Observing and walking through the rural arcades of their era within modernity, they turned their observations on the ephemeral and transitory to proclamations about wider issues tormenting humanity.

I end this study by expressing my hope that I have done all figures, authors and theorists justice; I also hope that I have succeeded in providing more evidence to justify the necessity for further research into the figure of the rural flâneuse and flâneur. The figures deserve our attention not despite the choice to meander in rurality, but because of it. Walking, meandering, idling, wandering, toiling, paving, stepping, wandering; these are just a few of the words used by the rural flâneuses and flâneur

[9] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 108.

[10] Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 108.

[11] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, trans. by P. E. Charvet (Penguin Books, 2010), p. 12.

[12] Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, p. 12.

studied to express the different types of walking they adopted. Given the scholarly community's growing call to delve into the rural modernist figures, now is the time to look at a rural scene and flânerie. This thesis has been my attempt to delve into the modernist world, so as to bring light to a new angle with which to approach the texts of the period. I wish that my study is seen as a successful stepping stone on the scholarly path to extend the scope of modernist studies and that it motivates fellow scholars to search for more modernist flâneuses and flâneurs in the literary world. My thesis uncovered some of the questions my case studies formed regarding themselves and their position in their ever-changing world and in an era pivotal in the history of today's world; I trust that future research on the rural, modernist flâneur and flâneuse will reveal unknown authors, resurface forgotten ones and bring new interpretations and meaning to their aimless, yet meaningful, walks.

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