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**‘On foot... it is impossible to be out of
touch’: Laurie Lee and Patrick Leigh Fermor
walking in Europe 1933-36**

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**‘On foot... it is impossible to be out of touch’: Laurie Lee and
Patrick Leigh Fermor walking in Europe 1933-36**

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Contents

Introduction	5
Chapter One: Vast and Sensual Landscapes	19
Chapter Two: Cultural Encounters on Foot	26
Conclusions	34
Bibliography	37

Introduction

They have become folklore in certain quarters (in my experience, Spanish holidays, Christmas family drinks parties and hitchhikers' motorway underpasses): in December 1933, 18-year-old Patrick Leigh Fermor set out on foot from the Hook of Holland and walked to Istanbul (he called it Constantinople). Then, in June 1934 in the Cotswolds, 19-year-old Laurie Lee unburdened himself of his mother, walked first to London and then across Spain. Much later, Lee's account of his walks was published as the second of his trilogy of memoirs, the first of which had been *Cider With Rosie* (1959): he called it *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (1969).¹ Then, Leigh Fermor's walk became a trilogy alone. First came *A Time of Gifts* (1977), which took readers as far as Hungary, next *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986) took them to Romania, and after his death in 2011 the final section of an unpublished early draft was turned into *The Broken Road* (2013), the final leg.² They were never a pair of writers—of different style, Lee lyrical, Leigh Fermor intricate and knowledgeable—and I have found no evidence that they ever met, but as a pair of walkers they have always seemed a good fit to me: within months of each other both set out on foot to discover alien lands, both young, both men, both English and both only wrote their accounts in middle age.

They came from disparate origins. Lee's was a modest childhood. He was born in June 1914 in Stroud in Gloucestershire, the third child of four, the son of the town's

¹ Laurie Lee (hereafter LL), *Cider with Rosie* (London, 1959); LL, *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (hereafter *AIWOOMM*) (London, 1969).

² Patrick Leigh Fermor (hereafter PLF), *A Time of Gifts* (hereafter *ATOG*) (1977); PLF, *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986); PLF, *The Broken Road* (2013).

Co-op grocery manager and his former housekeeper, she having served in stately homes as a teenager. Mother and children quickly moved about two miles to the village and valley of Slad, minus Lee's father, who had joined the Army and later joined the Civil Service, and sent money but only ever visited once or twice a year thereafter. In Slad, Lee grew up an aspiring artist or poet, and left on a bright summer's morning, his mother 'waist-deep in the grass and caught there like a piece of sheep's wool', 'to discover the world', 'propelled by... the small tight valley closing in around one... the cottage walls narrowing like the arms of an iron maiden, the local girls whispering, "Marry, and settle down."'”³ Leigh Fermor, like Lee, had rural early memories, but also other privileges. His parents lived in India, where his father, a naturalist, was head of the Geological Survey of India. He was born, the second child, in London in February 1915, where his pregnant mother had remained after one of their regular visits to England. Afraid of being sunk by a German submarine as a British ship recently had, she left 'Paddy' in England in the care of the Martin family when she went home, in the Northamptonshire village of Weedon Bec. When she returned, he was sent to preparatory schools and later the King's School, Canterbury.⁴ But expelled from King's—his housemaster's penultimate report called him 'a dangerous mixture of sophistication and recklessness'—back in London, and having given up on the idea of joining the Army and set upon becoming a writer, he decided to 'change scenery'; to 'set out across Europe like a tramp': 'A new life! Freedom! Something to write about!'⁵

³ V. Grove, *Laurie Lee: The Well-Loved Stranger* (London, 1999), 1-6; LL, *AIWOOMM*, 11, 12.

⁴ A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor: An Adventure* (London, 2012), 1-20.

⁵ PLF, *ATOG*, 9, 10, 12-13.

By the time of their walks, modern transport technologies, by then well developed, were transporting British men and women of all classes around Europe. Since around 1600, the Grand Tour had taken privileged young men around the continent, first as what has been termed the ‘classical Grand Tour’, whose object was the scholarly study of galleries, museums and high cultural artefacts, and then by the nineteenth century as the ‘romantic Grand Tour’, in which ‘scenic tourism’ took hold, and a personal appreciation of beauty and the sublime.⁶ By the 1930s, there were modern ‘tourist’ industries—distinguished in part by their mass appeal and commercialism—in Spain, where I focus my attention in Lee’s case, and Germany, where I focus in Leigh Fermor’s. In sociologist John Urry’s mind, tourists travelled to break to some extent with everyday norms, and ‘to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and the mundane’.⁷ Taking advantage of steamships and an ever-denser network of railways, British people had travelled to Germany in significant numbers since the second half of the nineteenth century. After the establishment of the Third Reich in 1933, tourists continued to come, and were the largest group of foreign visitors when Leigh Fermor arrived.⁸ Spain was less popular but had its own developing industry. British guidebooks had appeared as early as the 1840s, and Thomas Cook’s first tour in the country was in 1872. By 1912 it was possible to reach the most popular resort, San Sebastián, in 23 hours on the train. In 1933 1,205 British tourists checked into the city’s hotels and two years later 5% of the population

⁶ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (Newbury Park and London, 1990), 4.

⁷ Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, 2.

⁸ R. Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism & Ambivalence, 1860-1914* (Basingstoke, 2012), 51; A. Schwarz, ‘British Visitors to National Socialist Germany: In a Familiar or in a Foreign Country?’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 28 (1993), 488.

was reported as speaking English.⁹ But Lee and Leigh Fermor chose to walk in the same countries and at the same time as these visitors, in doing so raising questions about why and how we move for pleasure and what that movement means.

In choosing to move in this most fundamental way they also positioned themselves within a broad history of humanity's transition from a pedestrian race to a predominantly sedentary one in which walking is done more out of choice than necessity. After anatomical changes about six million years ago allowed humans to stand on two feet, walking was the primary means of movement for the majority until the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Then, literary scholar Anne Wallace has written, modern transport technologies, primarily the railways, swept more and more people off their feet, walking was no longer stigmatised as an arduous necessity and over the course of the century became a chosen activity for increasing numbers of people of all classes in the West. While others literary scholars have disagreed on the chronology and causation of this history—Jeffrey Robinson, for example, has argued that traditions of walking had developed in England before the rise of the railways—they have all emphasised the role of the Romantics. Wallace, Robinson and Robin Jarvis have each concluded that it was Romantics in Europe and America in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, William Hazlitt and Henry David Thoreau—who first espoused the benefits of walking, to the body, the mind and to society, in doing so beginning a

⁹ J. Walton, 'British Perceptions of Spain and their Impact on Attitudes to the Spanish Civil War: Some Additional Evidence', *Twentieth Century British History* 5 (1994), 285-6, 288.

¹⁰ T. Ingold, 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet', *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (2004), 316; J. Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York, 2004), 2.

tradition which endures in recreational walking.¹¹ In the Romantic ‘art of walking’, demonstrate these scholars, walkers sought to escape the industrialising the city, society and its sociability, wander through the mind and self as much as the countryside and re-connect with ‘nature’ that was not only sublime but morally regenerative.¹² As Wallace summarises their view, ‘the natural, primitive quality of the physical act of walking restores the natural proportions of our perceptions, reconnecting us with both the physical world and the moral order inherent in it, and enabling us to recollect both our personal past and our national and/or racial past—that is, human life before mechanization.’¹³

A number of writers have recognised that this tradition has never been singular, and have sought to add complexity to the study of historical and contemporary modern walking. Each seeks to answer two important questions: why and how do people take to foot in societies where they do not need to? Anthropologist Tim Edensor has noted different strands of rural walking, each with different ambitions and practices. In the eighteenth century, for example, Foster Powell and Captain Barclay prioritised covering huge distances in short periods of time over aesthetic or moral concerns, and between the wars in the twentieth century European male ‘ramblers’ distinguished themselves by the same axes.¹⁴ Walker-writer Robert Macfarlane has identified ‘subdivisions’ of walkers: ‘marathon men’; flâneurs; psychogeographers (who explore the physical environment’s impress on the human psyche); and

¹¹ A. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993); J. Robinson, *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image* (Norman, 1989); R. Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke, 1997).

¹² T. Edensor, ‘Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape’, *Body and Society* 6 (2000), 83.

¹³ Wallace, *Walking*, 13.

¹⁴ Edensor, ‘Walking’, 94.

'wander-wonderers' (including the Romantics).¹⁵ Geographers George Kaye and Norma Moxham have argued that contemporary 'recreational walking is so diverse and dynamic that it merits careful classification of its many different forms'. They posit two broad strands of rural walking: conventional forms which are easy, practiced by many, and often sociable, and esoteric forms which are challenging, often cover long distances and are practiced by few.¹⁶ Geographer Hayden Lorimer has coined the term 'new walking studies' to encapsulate this emergent multidisciplinary research into walking practices. Answering Kaye and Moxham's call for classification, he has begun by identifying four strands of historical and contemporary modern walking: walks as the products of places (where site-specific walks are undertaken in landmarks of historical or symbolic importance such as hilltop cairns and historical settlements); walks as an ordinary feature of everyday life; 'self-centred' walkers (thinkers such as the Romantics who have used walking for self-exploration, philosophical inquiry and to orientate themselves with the world); and walkers who are 'wilful and artful' (including political marchers and walking artists).¹⁷ But Lorimer has admitted that his categories are 'incomplete', and that significant further research is needed into 'the different sorts of cultural resonance that walking can have'.¹⁸

¹⁵ R. Macfarlane, 'Afterglow, or Sebald the Walker' in *Waterlog: Journeys Around an Exhibition*, exhibition catalogue, Film and Video Umbrella, Arts Council England (2007), 79.

¹⁶ G. Kay and N. Moxham, 'Paths for Whom? Countryside Access for Recreational Walking', *Leisure Studies* 15 (1996), 174-75.

¹⁷ For 'new walking studies' see, for example, Edensor, 'Walking', 81-106, and J. L. Vergunst and Ingold (eds.), *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot* (Aldershot, 2008); H. Lorimer, 'Walking: New Forms and Spaces for Studies of Pedestrianism', in P. Merriman and T. Cresswell (eds.), *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects* (Farnham, 2011) 19-32.

¹⁸ Lorimer, 'Walking', 20.

It is this call that I answer in analysing the walks of Laurie Lee and Patrick Leigh Fermor. I argue that Lee and Leigh Fermor walked in ways which differed not only from the Romantics but also from other traditions of walking which have been identified. Edensor has written that 'walking articulates a relationship between pedestrian and place'.¹⁹ Lee and Leigh Fermor both walked, above all, to articulate an intense relationship with place. They perceived their walks as sensual and social cultural encounters with alien places. They spared little thought for the kinds of benefits of walking proclaimed by others, and had no concern for moral regeneration. They walked not to escape society and sociability but to access these as intensely as possible. In this way, their walks were noticeably similar to the intentions of the conventional tourists they disdained later in life: they also travelled simply to 'engage with a set of stimuli which contrast with the everyday and the mundane'.²⁰ Yet walking allowed them to achieve this more fully than conventional tourism. Walking, not only could they perceive immersion in alien landscapes that conventional tourists did not; they could also experience the wide social interaction and intensive cultural encounters they sought where conventional tourists did not. Since Lee and Leigh Fermor privileged the external worlds through which they moved, it is these which form my chapters. First, I assess their treatments of their movement through physical space, the landscape, arguing that their attitudes to the landscape differed from those of the Romantics and other walkers, noting that they walked indiscriminately through town and country, and arguing that by disrupting prevailing conceptions of time and space walking encouraged perceptions of sensual immersion. Second, since they conceived and remembered their walks as series of cultural encounters as much as

¹⁹ T. Edensor, 'Walking', 82.

²⁰ Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, 2.

physical movement through space—Leigh Fermor remembered a ‘series of lantern slides’—I assess their interactions with alien people and culture.²¹ I demonstrate that not only was social interaction at the forefront of their minds but that walking enabled them to have this social interaction and encouraged them to build up relatively complex ‘imaginative geographies’ of Spain and Germany.²² In order to demonstrate this, I contrast their interactions and perceptions of these countries with those of contemporary British visitors. ‘Landscape’ and ‘culture’ are of course not exclusive terms, and each invades the other’s chapter, but I find them useful for thinking about walks which were both physical movements in space and encounters with the ways of life found in that space.

My approach is informed by studies in the broad history of human mobilities which has become the focus of much research in recent decades.²³ As Tim Cresswell has pointed out, all human movement and movement induced by humans is socially produced. Mobilities, walking included, are the result of unequal power relations and have social and cultural meaning.²⁴ Attention to variant cultural meanings of walking thus informs my study. I borrow my approach particularly from studies of the influence of mobilities on subjectivity and social interaction, primarily Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s account of the railways, which argues that in the nineteenth century they revolutionised perceptions of time and space and influenced social behaviour, but also Stefan Hohne’s study of the New York City subway, which argues that the

²¹ PLF, ‘A Youthful Journey’, Corrected Typescript, c.1963, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 13338 163.

²² E. Said, ‘Orientalism’, *The Georgia Review* 31 (1977), 162-206.

²³ For an introduction to mobilities see M. Sheller and Urry, ‘The New Mobilities Paradigm’, *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006), 207-26.

²⁴ T. Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London, 2006), 2-3.

subway created new subjectivities, and numerous scholars' work on 'automobility' which so forcefully shaped twentieth century perceptions of time and space.²⁵

As well as to the histories of walking and mobilities, I contribute to the study of travel writing which has been invigorated in the past few decades and now has its own journal.²⁶ *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (1969) and *A Time of Gifts* (1977), both of which are successful travel books but both of which have been so far overlooked by scholars of travel writing, are my central sources, along with earlier drafts of these texts, which in Lee's case are housed in the British Library and in Leigh Fermor's the National Library of Scotland.²⁷ My argument is the result of a comparison of these texts. Like others who have used travel writing, I have engaged in close reading of the texts. Unlike many others, I do not attempt a comprehensive assessment of the writers' treatment of others, apart from where I find walking to have influenced it, since walking is my main concern rather than twentieth century British attitudes to Spain or Germany. I also attempt to answer James Duncan and Derek Gregory's call for greater attention to 'corporeal subjects moving through material landscapes' in the production of travel writing. Travel writers are first travellers and then writers, yet Duncan and Gregory find too much scholarship tells us much about the literary cultural contexts in which travel writers write and very little

²⁵ W. Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialisation of Time and Space* (Berkeley, 1986); S. Holne, 'The Birth of the Urban Passenger: Infrastructural Subjectivity and the Opening of the New York City Subway', *City* 19 (2015), 313-21; For 'automobility' and perception, see, for example, P. Merriman, *Driving Spaces: A Cultural-Historical Geography of England's M1 Motorway* (Oxford, 2007); N. Thrift, 'Driving the in City', *Theory, Culture, and Society* 21 (2004), 41-59.

²⁶ *Studies in Travel Writing*.

²⁷ Laurie Lee Papers, London, British Library, Add. MS 88936; Sir Patrick Leigh Fermor Archive, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Acc.13338.

about the physical means by which they engage with the places they encounter.²⁸ This may be the result of more literary scholars than historians or geographers studying travel writing.

Since my concern is this physical engagement rather than literary culture, I do not attempt to explain Lee and Leigh Fermor's representations of Spain and Germany using British cultural contexts of the 1960s and 1970s. Revisionist literature on British twentieth century perceptions of Germany illustrates the difficulty in doing so. Giving weight to Duncan and Gregory's concern, historians have demonstrated that these perceptions were less fixed and more dependant on individual circumstances than had previously been assumed. Challenging simple earlier narratives of shifting Anglo-German 'antagonism', these historians have shown that apart from simple trends, such as the ubiquity of depictions of Germany's Nazi past in British popular culture from the 1960s onwards, it is difficult to identify real prevailing attitudes between the countries.²⁹ The same should logically be said of Spain. Whilst certain stereotypical characterisations of the country and its people have been identified, these in themselves depended on circumstances.³⁰ Alon Confino has also argued that historians of memory have been too quick to explain individual memories by looking to contemporary collective ones, in doing so failing to recognise that individual memories shape collective memory as much as collective memory shapes individual memories.³¹ Lee and Leigh Fermor's associations with and memories of Spain and

²⁸ J. Duncan and D. Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London, 1999), 5.

²⁹ J. Rüger, 'Revisiting the Anglo-German Antagonism', *The Journal of Modern History* 83 (2011), 586, 589.

³⁰ B. Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (Manchester, 2006).

³¹ A. Confino, 'Telling about Germany: Narratives of Memory and Culture', *The Journal of Modern History* 76 (2004), 407-8.

Germany were completely abnormal. Alongside their service in the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War respectively, their unique youthful walks across these countries were the most significant events of their lives in shaping their perceptions of them. Further, whilst Lee wrote his account at home in Slad in the English countryside, Leigh Fermor wrote in his rural home in the Greek Peloponnese, where he lived for most of his adult life.³² These were individualistic men whose representations of these countries depended on their own unusual experiences. It is thus these unusual experiences which are the focus of my attention.

In Paul Fussell's pioneering study of British interwar travel writing he called the form 'a sub-species of memoir', and it should be treated with the same caution as memoir.³³ Upsettingly, both Lee and Leigh Fermor's journals from the parts of their walks which concern me have been stolen, Leigh Fermor's whilst on his walk, in Munich by his bed neighbour in a hostel, and Lee's in tragic irony from a car in Spain during a return to the country for the BBC in 1969, in Segovia, a town whose honesty he had just finished lovingly describing. They wrote the accounts I use over a number of years—both were meticulous writers—Lee on and off over the entire 1960s, and Leigh Fermor first in 1963 as 'A Youthful Journey', which was commissioned as a magazine article on 'The Pleasures of Walking' but which ballooned into 60,000 words, and then in the 1970s. Lee, who said he did not have a good memory, was able to use his diary before it was stolen, whilst Leigh Fermor had to rely only on memory, but both added significant knowledge and reflection in hindsight, and both

³² Grove, *Laurie*, 90-109, 381; Cooper, *Patrick*, 122-98, 325-61.

³³ P. Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (London and New York, 1980), 203.

works were ultimately the creations of their middle-aged writers looking back.³⁴ It is therefore their perceptions of their walks in these years that I study.

Their attitudes to the literal truth of these perceptions only add to the usefulness in studying them. In the 1960s Lee wrote in the *New York Times*, 'Ours is a period of writing particularly devoted to facts, to a fondness for data rather than divination, as though to possess the exact measurements of the Taj Mahal is somehow to possess its spirit' and that 'there is no pure truth, only the moody accounts of witnesses.'³⁵ Leigh Fermor, later asked by the *Daily Telegraph* if he thought travel writers embellished the truth, said, 'I think one does improve on things; it's irresistible sometimes. After all, one is telling a story. I am a bit worried that I've got a slightly 'disinfectant' memory, as if some goblin had washed out the gloomy parts and let the luminous ones survive.'³⁶ Each was aware of the subjectivity of their writing and Leigh Fermor particularly of the way in which time since walking had shaped it. But since it is perceptions that I study, these problems become helpful. Compelling cases for the fallibility of memoir and autobiography in recreating the past have been made, but as Paula Fass and Ruth Franklin have each pointed out, accurately or not, memoirists like Lee and Leigh Fermor do attempt to recreate actual past experiences; historians can therefore learn from what they perceive to be important, meaningful, or even the best version of their story.³⁷ I ask, What did Laurie Lee think

³⁴ Cooper, *Patrick*, 48, 391, 325-61, 350; Grove, *Laurie*, 389, 381, 383.

³⁵ LL, 'The Idea Was to Live Over Again Both the Good and the Bad', *New York Times*, 30 August, 1964.

³⁶ PLF, quoted in J. Owen, 'Rotterdam to Istanbul [sic] by foot', *Daily Telegraph*, 19 February, 2000.

³⁷ See, for example, P. J. Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-invention* (Princeton, 1985); P. S. Fass, 'The Memoir Problem', *Reviews in American History* 34 (2006), 121; R. Franklin, 'A Thousand Darkneses', *New Republic*, 20 March, 2006. [accessed March 20, 2016].

was the 'spirit' of his walk in the 1960s? What did Patrick Leigh Fermor think was the best 'story' of his walk in the 1960s and 1970s? And what do these things tell us?



Figure 1, Map of the first leg of Patrick Leigh Fermor's walk across Europe, courtesy of John Murray (Publishers).

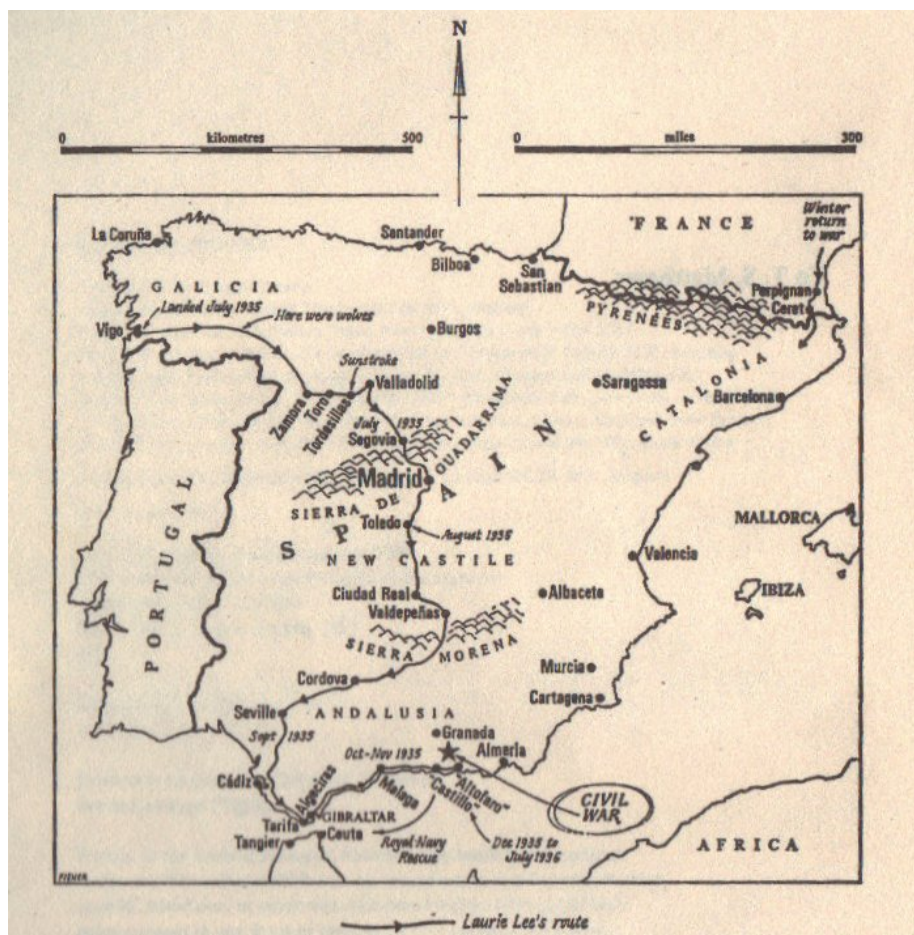


Figure 2, Map of Laurie Lee's walk across Spain, courtesy of Penguin Books Ltd.

Chapter One: Vast and Sensual Landscapes

Using the example of British twentieth century ballroom dancing, which, he argues, was a response to 'freak steps' in the United States, Cresswell has suggested that 'particular types of mobility are produced in relation to each other'.³⁸ Wallace has positioned non-functional walking as a product of the 'transport revolution', primarily the birth of the railways, and whilst Lee and Leigh Fermor's walks cannot be explained solely by their relationships with other forms of mobility, each of them walked in part for the perceptive qualities they saw in walking but not trains and cars.³⁹ Each simply described walking as the 'obvious' way to travel, but had they not wished to immerse themselves in the landscape, moving more quickly might have seemed more obvious.⁴⁰ Both had been in cars, trains and Leigh Fermor on ships to go on holiday before, and both interrupted their walking at times: they took ships from England to mainland Europe, Leigh Fermor took a steamship a few miles down the Rhine and Lee, bored walking through London's suburbs, took the underground.⁴¹ Walking was not a mobility to which they piously stuck but one which, most of the time, allowed them to immerse themselves in the landscapes through which they moved. Lee compared his mobility with that of a car, foreseeing academic studies on the vehicle's wide-reaching perceptive influence.⁴² Unlike the car, he moved slowly—he wrote that landscape which took the driver 'a couple of hours' to cross took him 'the best part of a week'; unlike the car, he was sensorily exposed to the landscape—he used the metaphor 'smelling its different soils' to allude to this; and unlike the

³⁸ Cresswell, *On the Move*, 23.

³⁹ Wallace, *Walking*, 17-66.

⁴⁰ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 12; PLF, *ATOG*, 13;

⁴¹ Grove, *Laurie*, 15, 26; LL, *AIWOOMM*, 43, 24PLF, *ATOG*, 1-10, 34, 44; Cooper, *Patrick*, 16.

⁴² Merriman, *Driving Spaces*; Thrift, 'Driving'.

walker, the driver was denied vision, the sense, it has been argued, most elevated in modern Western culture: the ‘hunched-up traveller’, he wrote, sees ‘less than a dog in a ditch’.⁴³ Similarly, Leigh Fermor only allowed himself to take a lift if it had some ‘intrinsic fascination’, or if ‘the country were intolerably boring’, but this rarely happened, because he was ‘virtually unboreable’.⁴⁴ This chapter demonstrates that Lee and Leigh Fermor walked for this feeling of fascinated sensual immersion in the landscape; first, unlike the Romantics and other walkers, they walked indiscriminately through town and country; second, where they did, like others, walk in the countryside, it was to expose themselves to the landscape as an end rather than a means for mental exploration; and third, walking disrupted conceptions of time and space which modern forms of mobility produced, encouraging these perceptions of immersion.

Unlike other walkers, Lee and Leigh Fermor walked indiscriminately through urban and rural landscapes, marvelling at each in equal measure. Strands of walking since the Romantics have privileged certain material settings as suitable. Recreational walking has often carried with it anti-urban sentiment. Romantics walked to escape the city—Hazlitt, for example, wrote that he left town ‘in order forget the town and all that is in it’; in the nineteenth century railways took walking groups out of the city into ‘picturesque’ landscapes; and in the year Lee’s account was published, popular guidebook author Alfred Wainwright called rural walking ‘a cure for urban depression’.⁴⁵ There have also been traditions of urban walking. The walking *flâneur*

⁴³ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 14; Urry, cited in Edensor, ‘Walking’, 86.

⁴⁴ PLF, ‘A Youthful Journey’, Manuscript Draft, c.1963, NLS, Acc. 13338 162.

⁴⁵ Ingold, ‘Culture’, 322; Wallace, *Walking*, 65-6; A. Wainwright, *Pennine Way Companion* (Kendal, 1969), xix, cited in Edensor, ‘Walking’, 84.

is a central cultural image of 'modernity', and whilst Lee and Leigh Fermor were trudging through Europe, Virginia Woolf, amongst others, was wandering the streets of London.⁴⁶ But as illustrated by Figures 1 and 2, Lee and Leigh Fermor's settings were entire countries, and in Leigh Fermor's case, the breadth of a continent, with everything these contained. Leigh Fermor remembered with as much verve the port of Cologne, with its 'Tramp steamers and tugs and barges and fair-sized ships' where 'cafés and bars were raucous with music' as he did wintry countryside.⁴⁷ Lee, having set out from the countryside, marvelled not only at London, but also Madrid, his 'second major city', in which some of the world's best seafood was served, 'rushed to the capital in special trains' from the coasts.⁴⁸

Where they did describe rural walking, they emphasised sensual immersion in the landscape, without the concerns for exploring the mind and self that the Romantics had and those who follow them continue to. As Figures 1 and 2 visualise, they did spend hours alone in the countryside, Lee zig-zagging south towards Andalucía and Leigh Fermor in Germany roughly following the Rhine and then the Danube. (Leigh Fermor, as many Romantics had, wanted to be guided by the physical lay of the land.)⁴⁹ And like the Romantics, they relished what anthropologist Thomas Csordas has called 'being-in-the-world': the sensory experience of their physical environments.⁵⁰ As the Romantics had, they described all five senses, with vision foremost, and in their fond descriptions of woodland and mountain views we might detect something like what Urry called the 'Romantic gaze', but where the Romantics

⁴⁶ D. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford, 2000).

⁴⁷ PLF, *ATOG*, 41.

⁴⁸ Grove, *Laurie*, 43; LL, *AIWOOMM*, 97, 98.

⁴⁹ Edensor, 'Walking', 91.

⁵⁰ T. Csordas, *Embodiment and Experience* (Cambridge, 1994), 10.

had used the countryside as a means of exploring what Robinson calls the 'inner life', Lee and Leigh Fermor were only interested in their sensory engagement with their external surroundings.⁵¹ In his 87-page account of the German leg of his walk, Leigh Fermor once described the Bavarian landscape as 'meditative and consoling', but went no further in describing his mental state, and quickly went on to describe the sun setting, the temperature dropping and he ending up 'huddled in a barn', 'stirring every few minutes to stamp and flap my arms'.⁵² Similarly, Lee described the Spanish landscape stimulating his senses, but in his case, it could destroy his sense of self and thoughts completely. Walking on the hot central plain, he began 'to forget what I was doing on the road at all', and 'was conscious only of the hot red dust grinding like pepper between my toes.' Like Leigh Fermor, he had to seek refuge, in his case in a roadside tavern, 'croaking, desperate with thirst'.⁵³ Cultural critic Rebecca Solnit's recent history of walking represents a continuation of the Romantic tradition: 'the mind, like the feet, works at about three miles an hour', she writes, and 'walking travels both' 'the world' and 'the mind'.⁵⁴ Lee and Leigh Fermor's cases reveal that this is a particular attitude to walking: they walked to travel the world; the mind was simply a means of accessing it.

Because they were walking, and particularly because they walked long distances, these minds conceptualised time and space in different ways from those that modern forms of mobility encouraged, and this fed their perceptions of deep immersion in the

⁵¹ Urry, 'The Tourist Gaze "Revisited"', *American Behavioural Scientist* 36 (1992), 172-86; Robinson, *Walk*, 4.

⁵² LL, *AIWOOMM*, 73; PLF, *ATOG*, 105-6.

⁵³ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 72.

⁵⁴ W. Hazlitt, 'On Going A Journey', in *Table Talk Vol. 2* (London, 1822), cited in Robinson, *Walk*, 17; Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (Chicago, 2000), 10, 13.

landscape. Space was vast and interconnected. In the nineteenth century, as Schivelbusch has demonstrated, and in what Karl Marx called the 'annihilation of space by time', the fast-moving railways had made space feel much smaller.⁵⁵ But having walked, Lee thought of 'the immense plain of La Mancha', and for Leigh Fermor, mentally imagining walking as well as the physical act encouraged perceptions of vast space. He remembered, before setting out, the 'two great rivers' of Europe coiling across his mind's eye.⁵⁶ A number of social scientists have also identified, in the academic and non-academic discourse of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, conceptions of space as separated, autonomous, in Doreen Massey's words, 'already divided-up'.⁵⁷ The clearly demarcated nation state has been a key example.⁵⁸ And as Schivelbusch described, rail passengers moved from destination to destination, separated from the landscape between by carriage windows.⁵⁹ Lee and Leigh Fermor's perceptions of European space demonstrated that prevailing conceptions were, although cultural, always dependant on physical engagement with space. Simply by walking, they perceived space as fluid and without rupture, and individual 'places' were not isolated or exclusive of each other but relational and constituent parts of the landscape. Moving linearly through eight nations and describing this as continuous narrative, Leigh Fermor most clearly illustrated this, but Lee also perceived connected space, describing seeing cities as he came to them 'from a distance' or 'far down in the valley'.⁶⁰ In this way, walking

⁵⁵ K. Marx, quoted in Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, xiv.

⁵⁶ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 96; PLF, *ATOG*, 13.

⁵⁷ D. Massey, *For Space* (London, 2005), 65; A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992), 6.

⁵⁸ R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁵⁹ Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 52-69.

⁶⁰ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 117, 124.

allowed them to perceive space not only as vast, but as it identifiably was: fluid and interconnected.

Walking, Lee and Leigh Fermor also did not think about regulated space and time, allowing them to walk and rest as they pleased, free to be in the landscape. The cases of speed-walkers Powell and Barclay, or walks such as the Appalachian Trail in the United States or the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage in Spain, which are clearly mapped out and come with recommendations for how much distance to cover in how much time, demonstrate that even walking practices which profess to escape from the rhythms of modern life regulate and measure time and space.⁶¹ Neither Lee nor Leigh Fermor mentioned in their accounts how far they travelled, Leigh Fermor frequently detoured on his journey to Istanbul, and Lee took pride in having no direction, claiming that he chose to walk to Valladolid because he ‘liked the sound of its syllables’.⁶² In refuting regulated time they were like some Romantic-influenced walkers—avid walker Robert Louis Stevenson declared that the urban dweller was ‘so dominated by clocks and watches and chimes that he has no time to live’—but for them ‘time to live’ meant exposing themselves to alien places. Both of them frequently stayed longer than they had planned in places where they made friends, and for Lee, the freedom of being ‘fat with time’ not only meant he could move slowly, but that he could rest, motionless, in a place he had never experienced before:

‘Sometimes I’d hide from the sun under the wayside poplars, face downwards, watching the ants. There was really no hurry. I was going

⁶¹ Edensor, ‘Walking’, 94; A. Holt, *The Origins and Early Days of the Ramblers Association* (London, 1995), 13.

⁶² LL, *AIWOOMM*, 59.

nowhere. Nowhere at all but here. Close to the spicy warmth of this foreign ground a few inches away from my face.⁶³

For Lee and Leigh Fermor, walking as they did thus both illustrated their desires and allowed them to perceive intense sensual exposure to their physical environments. This was part of their wider priority, different to those of the traditions of walking scholars have identified, to access place.

⁶³ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 90.

Chapter Two: Cultural Encounters on Foot

Writer Nick Hunt recently retraced Leigh Fermor's footsteps across Europe.⁶⁴ When he arrived at Istanbul he felt an overwhelming sense of deflation. His journey was over; he had taken his last step. He came to realise, however, that he had never had one destination, but 'multiple points of arrival' along the way, each one its own unique pleasure.⁶⁵ Lee and Leigh Fermor remembered their walks as much for the cultural encounters they found—new food, new architecture, new politics, new religion, new faces and new language—as they did the 'natural' landscape. And as they did the landscape, they described these in sensory terms. 'Everything I saw heard or smelt touched and ate or read was brand new,' wrote Leigh Fermor. 'The intake was total and continuous, crowding in to bursting point.'⁶⁶ As Lee's ship docked at Vigo, he 'listened to the first sounds of Spain — a howling dog, the gasping spasms of a donkey, the thin sharp cry of a cockerel'; 'for the first time in my life I saw, looped round the bay, the shape of a foreign city.'⁶⁷ Diverging from other traditions of walking, Lee and Leigh Fermor walked to expose themselves not only to alien landscapes but also alien people and their ways of life. It is the contention of this chapter that their walks were not only remembered as cultural encounters but that walking allowed them to encounter that culture comprehensively. As Leigh Fermor wrote, reflecting on the bond he had felt with the Dutch people despite his lack of

⁶⁴ N. Hunt, *Walking the Woods and the Water: In Patrick PLF's Footsteps from the Hook of Holland to the Golden Horn* (London, 2014).

⁶⁵ N. Hunt, 'Travelling Quickly is a Waste of Time', TEDx Talk, December 4, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSF8FZDklf0>. [accessed 30 March, 2016].

⁶⁶ PLF, 'Youthful Journey'.

⁶⁷ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 46.

language, ‘On foot, unlike other forms of travel, it is impossible to be out of touch.’⁶⁸ I argue that Leigh Fermor’s sentiment was at least partly correct. Walking made it difficult to be ‘out of touch’, and being in touch as they were encouraged Lee and Leigh Fermor to build up relatively complex imaginative geographies of Spain and Germany.

Most British visitors to Spain and Germany in the 1930s interacted with their hosts in limited and socially structured ways. They largely only went to major cities and holiday resorts. In Germany, resorts on or close to the Rhine and accessible by steamship such as Bad Homburg, Wiesbaden and the Black Forest had in the nineteenth-century been significant spaces of cultural interaction—what linguist Mary Louise Pratt calls ‘contact zones’—and remained so in the 1930s.⁶⁹ And studying British accounts of visits to Nazi Germany, Angela Schwarz has noted that the vast majority were restricted to urban centres.⁷⁰ In Spain, as well as to San Sebastián, in the north British visitors went to Santander and on the steamship from Southampton to La Coruña—‘the Spanish Blackpool’—and in central and southern Spain wealthy British tourists would have been there with Lee in the historic cities of Seville and Córdoba, and also in Toledo, Madrid and Málaga.⁷¹ But these were tourist industries of the kind Urry has described, where visitors largely only interacted with those who served them, were sold and perceived alien culture in terms of reductive aesthetic

⁶⁸ PLF, *ATOG*, 29.

⁶⁹ D. Blackbourn, ‘Taking the Waters: Meeting Places of the Fashionable World’, in M. Geyer and J. Paulmann (eds.), *Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford, 2001), 435-57; M. L. Pratt, ‘Arts of the Contact Zone’, *Profession* (1991), 33-40; A. Rose, Review of Scully, *British Images*, *The Journal of Modern History* 86 (2014), 877.

⁷⁰ Schwarz, ‘British Visitors’.

⁷¹ Walton, ‘British Perceptions’, 289; E. Fodor, *1936... on the Continent* (London, 1936), 257-9, cited in Walton, ‘British Perceptions’, 289.

images—‘spectacles’—and looked on places with what he has called the ‘tourist gaze’.⁷² In Spain, tourists stayed in hotels where, they were told, staff would speak some English—interaction was expected to take place on the visitors’ rather than the hosts’ terms—and only the few motorists and those who took mixed trains, whom, studying British perceptions of Spain, John Walton has called ‘intrepid’, reached rural areas or communicated (apart from being served) with Spaniards without wealth.⁷³ In both countries there were identifiable ‘spectacles’: one contemporary writer described ‘the poster world’ visitors sought in Santander as ‘of gamboge and cerulean blue, of singing and lounging and carnations in the mouth’; and although she does not give examples, in travel accounts Schwarz claims there was a ‘pictured idyll’ to which visitors to Germany aspired, a ‘fairytale romanticism’ usually associated with the country as a holiday destination.⁷⁴

In contrast, walking inverted these power relations and enabled Lee and Leigh Fermor the wide cultural interaction they sought. The physical space in which walking put them—quiet country roads and rural inns, for example, often at dusk and dawn—combined with variant social and cultural meanings of walking in 1930s Spain and Germany meant they were given access to conversation and food and gazed not as paying tourists but as guests. Their appearances—as young men walking, impecunious, both at times blistered, Lee in sandals, Leigh Fermor in an old Army coat and hobnail boots—put them at the behest of their hosts.⁷⁵ Leigh Fermor remembered the Germans being ‘used to wandering youths’; ‘Again and again I

⁷² J. Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, 3, 85.

⁷³ Walton, ‘British Perceptions’, 290.

⁷⁴ K. O’Brien, *Farewell Spain* (London, 1937), 29, cited in Walton, ‘British Perceptions’, 289; Schwarz, ‘British Visitors’, 498.

⁷⁵ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 54; PLF, *ATOG*, 14.

found myself in the house of some kind family without quite knowing how I had got there.⁷⁶ Lee remembered Spaniards pitying his walking but caring for him equally. Having received the staggering young man in the roadside tavern, a group drove him 'like a corpse' to nearby Valladolid. 'On foot?' he remembered a woman asking. 'It is not to be thought of!' He also remembered once being described as 'A poor devil who is walking the world.'⁷⁷ Walking demonstrably altered the class relations of conventional tourism, and even 'intrepid' motoring and mixed rail travel; Lee and Leigh Fermor interacted with hosts of all classes and with power in the hands of hosts. A truck driver once picked Leigh Fermor up out of the snow and addressed him as "Du" rather than "Sie"—'a sign of inter-working-class mateyness' and reminiscent of George Orwell, down and out in London a few years before, remembering being called 'mate' for the first time.⁷⁸ And Lee remembered a 'peasant' with a 'twinge of agony in his face at the sight of my road-worn feet', giving him a stick and showing him up the mountain to a meal in his village.⁷⁹ Particularly in Germany, where the Nazi 'Strength Through Joy' leisure movement, enthusiastically researched by some British ramblers, had recently begun, walking had cultural meaning which literally and figuratively opened doors.⁸⁰ Leigh Fermor was asked to stay as a guest in a Heidelberg inn as soon as he mentioned he was walking. Later confirmed by the innkeeper's grandson, he was shown the city, its famous university and some swords of the 'Mensur' fencing tradition.⁸¹ He wrote the phrase—'I am

⁷⁶ PLF, 'Youthful Journey'.

⁷⁷ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 73, 61.

⁷⁸ PLF, *ATOG*, 77; G. Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London, 1933, 2003), 137.

⁷⁹ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 123-4.

⁸⁰ Holt, *Origins*, cited in Edensor, 'Walking', 94.

⁸¹ PLF, *ATOG*, 56; 'Travellers' Century: Patrick PLF', BBC Four, 7 August 2008.

travelling on foot from London to Constantinople’—in Greek in the back of the diary he later kept, evidently important that it was to him.⁸²

Those contemporary British travellers who moved in restricted ways and interacted narrowly with their hosts tended to treat Spain and Germany as monolithic wholes. Reductive representations of others are frequently identified and perhaps even inevitable features of travel accounts, and this was no less true of those examined by Tom Buchanan as well as Walton and Schwarz.⁸³ Buchanan demonstrated that correspondents for British political pamphlets and newspapers often explained political unrest in Spain in the early 1930s with stereotypical notions of ‘the Spanish character’, which was cruel and violent, lazy and inefficient and individualistic and anarchistic.⁸⁴ Walton has noted that guidebooks and travel accounts treated the Spanish positively but no less simplistically, generally describing them as easy-going, lackadaisical and welcoming hosts.⁸⁵ And Schwarz has shown that although the nature of British visits to Germany—where people went, how long they stayed, whom they met, for example—shaped their perceptions of the country and its people, all, regardless of why they had visited, explored in their writing whether or not the Nazi regime reflected authentic German culture, and whether or not the German and British people were alike.⁸⁶ Together these studies demonstrate both that the reasons for and nature of visits shaped perceptions of these countries and that

⁸² PLF, ‘The Green Diary’, NLS, Acc. 13338 471.

⁸³ See, for example, M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 2007).

⁸⁴ T. Buchanan, “‘A Far Away Country of Which We Know Nothing’? Perceptions of Spain and its Civil War in Britain, 1931–1939”, *Twentieth Century British History* 4 (1993), 1-24.

⁸⁵ Walton, ‘British Perceptions’.

⁸⁶ Schwarz, ‘British Visitors’.

visitors generally returned with limited notions of the complexity of the culture they had encountered.

Conversely, Lee and Leigh Fermor were able to see complexities and diversity within Spanish and German culture. This is not to suggest that walking was the only force in shaping their perceptions; they were individuals who reflected for many years on their walks before putting pen to paper. Nor is it to suggest that their accounts were infinitely appreciative of cultural complexity. But there are identifiable ways in which moving slowly through the breadths of these countries and interacting as they did enabled them to appreciate certain complexities. Lee simply saw too many diverse scenes, either as he trudged slowly past them, sat resting when he was tired, or was invited to spend the night, to be able to sum up the archetypal Spaniard or his 'character'. Having learnt the language, seen and heard so much, he described a heterogeneous rather than monolithic nation of rural and urban life, of kindness and also cruelty, conscientiousness and laziness, of rich and poor—he contrasted the 'fat bug-eyed rich' with 'men scrabbling for scraps in the market'—where there was regional as well as a national identity. He remembered, for example, he having wandered into a bar in Madrid, a man from Asturias in the north boasting of his homeland and how he hated the central region of Castille.⁸⁷ Lee's treatment of Spain was not merely of cultural difference between his home and the place of his adventure, but of intricate difference within that place, and that cultural exploration was the result of his walking.

⁸⁷ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 128, 103.

Leigh Fermor's perception of Germany, perhaps because he aspired to be 'an errant scholar', was even more noticeably nuanced by his walking. Not only did he, like Lee, detect cultural variation and prejudice between regions—he remembered, for example, anti-Prussian jokes in Bavaria—but also cultural disparity on a minute spatial scale. On Christmas Eve in an inn on the banks of the Rhine he was surprised to hear girls singing carols which were unknown to him rather than the ubiquitous *Stille Nacht*. 'It had been much in the air in the last few days, but it is a Lutheran hymn and I think this bank of the river was mostly Catholic,' he wrote. Only moving a handful of miles each day and interacting with the people who inhabited those miles could he perceive, simply by travelling rather than reading, that on one side of the river religion and therefore culture was different to the other. Since he was also a keen linguist, he picked up German, but also distinctions between Low German and High German, and these were acutely important in his perception of his journey. The truck driver was the first person to use the verb "gehen" instead of "laufen" ('go') and diminutive suffix "-le" instead of "-chen". 'I felt I was getting ahead now, both linguistically and geographically, plunging deeper and deeper into the heart of High Germany,' he wrote.⁸⁸ Schivelbusch has written that 'the railway put an end to [the] intensity of travel' in which travellers were aware of the minutiae of their physical surroundings; yet this was an intensive experience of travel guided and perceived not only by material surroundings but by language, sound, the 'unknown syllables' he was exposed to.⁸⁹ And his perception of National Socialism was conditioned by walking. Echoing writer Victor Hugo's description of the 'streaks, of red or white' instead of individual flowers he saw from the train, a British guest at a Nuremberg

⁸⁸ PLF, *ATOG*, 13, 107, 77, 53, 63, 93.

⁸⁹ Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 53; PLF, *ATOG*, 13.

rally who arrived in a car remembered seeing 'a sea of colour and swastikas everywhere'.⁹⁰ Leigh Fermor, however, remembered individual symbols, 'the last picture of the Führer' and swastika armbands he had seen as he left Germany and the first swastika he had seen as he entered, behind it 'snow-laden trees and the first white acres of Westphalia'. Walking across the country, he had detected regional variation in Nazi support, and it is tempting to suggest that walking slowly past individual Nazi symbols and on into countryside influenced how he wrote about Nazism: as present, powerful, but not absolutely, and existing within a vast human and natural German history that had predated the political movement and, since he was writing after the Second World War, would endure afterwards.⁹¹

Overall, Lee and Leigh Fermor remembered their walks, in contrast to discourse of modern walking which has been studied, as intense encounters with alien cultures. The influence of mobility in shaping travellers' perceptions of alien culture has become a more familiar theme in recent studies of travel writing. Roxanne Wheeler, for example, has argued that fearful English depictions of Africa in the first centuries of colonialism were partly produced because the English had not ventured past the exterior of the continent.⁹² The cases of Lee and Leigh Fermor suggest that it is not only the direction of mobility which shapes perception of others, but also the nature of that mobility. Walking with the aims that they did, Lee and Leigh Fermor were never 'out of touch'.⁹³

⁹⁰ V. Hugo, quoted in Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 55; Schwarz, 'British Visitors', 491-2.

⁹¹ PLF, *ATOG*, 30, 118, 107.

⁹² R. Wheeler, 'Limited Visions of Africa: Geographies of savagery and civility in early eighteenth-century narratives', in Duncan and Gregory (eds.), *Writes*, 14-48.

⁹³ PLF, *ATOG*, 29.

Conclusions

Analysis of Laurie Lee and Patrick Leigh Fermor's walking reveals a practice which should be thought of as separate from those that scholars have so far identified. Lee and Leigh Fermor each walked in order to immerse themselves in the sensuality and sociability of alien places. In 1980, with tourism an increasingly large industry all over the world, Fussell wrote, 'I am assuming that travel is now impossible and that tourism is all we have left'.⁹⁴ James Buzard has described nineteenth and twentieth century British tourists' keenness to be identified as 'travellers' rather than 'tourists', pointing out that there was no identifiable distinction between their behaviours.⁹⁵ Yet Lee and Leigh Fermor demonstrated that travellers' attitudes towards travel and nature of mobility do shape physical engagement with place. Further than the direction of mobility shaping perceptions of difference, the mode of mobility does. Denying Fussell's claim that 'travel' and 'tourism' existed in different ages, by walking, Lee and Leigh Fermor had entirely different experiences of Spain and Germany as did other British visitors who were there with them. Tourism and advances in transport technologies were thus not constituent parts of an all-encompassing 'modernity', but were, although related, unique histories which each day through their institutions—restaurants, hotels, resorts and railways, for example—produced certain perceptions and social interactions. Each time someone travelled by train or holidayed in a resort, they perceived space and interacted socially in certain ways. Although Lee and Leigh Fermor's walks were equally

⁹⁴ Fussell, *Abroad*, 41.

⁹⁵ J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993).

'modern', identified in part in relation to modern forms of mobility, they demonstrated that if one walked, one experienced these differently.

The cases of Lee and Leigh Fermor also reveal truths about the history of walking. They suggest that a combination of Wallace and Robinson's theses is needed to explain walking's development as recreation in the West. Whilst Lee and Leigh Fermor identified their walking in part for the perceptive qualities they saw in it but not in other mobilities, and whilst Leigh Fermor remembered the Germans being used to the idea of a young man walking, Lee remembered Spaniards pitying him. That some had a car and drove him suggests that the existence of modern mobilities alone does not explain walking as recreation.⁹⁶ A range of social and cultural factors is needed. Perhaps Western walking cannot be explained without the eighteenth century pioneers Robinson has described, but its rise not without the railways to which Wallace has given weight.⁹⁷ And these variant cultural meanings of walking, apart from intriguingly demonstrating how far the meanings of mobilities can influence journeys themselves, also emphasise that although Lee and Leigh Fermor walked for similar reasons, they had different experiences. A social scientist might call them both 'travel walkers': they walked distances, as many now move in various mobilities, not to 'travail', from which our word came, but to experience, to learn, 'to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and the mundane'.⁹⁸ They are not alone, and others have since made similar walks, not least Nick Hunt, who, echoing each of them, wrote, 'What better way to know Europe than to expose myself to it

⁹⁶ LL, *AIWOOMM*, 14, 73; PLF, 'A Youthful Journey'.

⁹⁷ Robinson, *Walk*; Wallace, *Walking*.

⁹⁸ Wallace, *Walking*, 19; Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, 2.

completely, to be aware of each splatter of rain, each stone beneath my feet?⁹⁹ But categorising the past can only take us so far. Only historical detail can truly illuminate these stories. The history of modern walking, ultimately, is as diverse as the 'toeprints' on the feet which made it.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Hunt, *Walking*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ N. Harrison, 'Are toeprints unique, like fingerprints?', *Science Focus*, 23 September 2010. <http://www.sciencefocus.com/qa/are-toeprints-unique-fingerprints>. [accessed 4 March 2016].

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