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Anglo-Italian Literary Identity in the Writings of
Margaret Collier, Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori

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Introduction

The British Maternal Line in the Galletti-Salvadori Family

This thesis will focus on an intertextual literary study of the writings of three generations of female writers in a relatively unknown Anglo-Italian family, the Galletti-Salvadoris. Margaret Collier Galletti di Cadilhac (1846-1928), her daughter, Giacinta Galletti Salvadori (1875-1960), and her granddaughter, Joyce Salvadori Lussu (1912-1998) were all unconventional travellers, writers, and activists. Their writings are powerful testimonies to the historical and intellectual changes in Europe from the end of the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. The inheritance of a maternal British background influenced the later Anglo-Italian generations of this family. It informs their multicultural identity, their international political and social consciousness, and their creation of an Anglo-Italian literary subjectivity, especially before, during and after the Second World War. Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori are products of a British maternal legacy that developed into a plural and progressive perspective on the European historical and intellectual context expressed in writing. Anglo-Italian Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori are not specifically British or Italian. Their struggle to find a narrative language which allows the representation of their familial, cultural and literary subjectivity, identifies concerns about the definition of a European identity and its literary dimension.

This study will uncover the dialogic interactions between the published and unpublished works of these three women, revealing the development of an intellectual representation of a cross-cultural Anglo-Italian female subjectivity. Although it recovers their literary writings by a combination of archival research and translation into English of the works written in Italian, this thesis analyses a selection of their travel and autobiographical writings in which the family's literary influences

are revealed as ‘intertextual dialogue[s]’.¹ In the introduction to her autobiography written in Italian, *Portrait (cose viste e vissute)* (Portrait: The Things I Saw and Experienced, 1988), Joyce Salvadori claims of her family that their ‘dissenting vein descends from their female kinsfolk, most of whom were English’.² This thesis identifies a British maternal legacy and its influence in the representation of an Anglo-Italian identity in writing. The female descendants of the Galletti-Salvadori family present an original response to the complexity of a bilingual and bicultural identity. In the development of an Anglo-Italian consciousness, Margaret Collier, Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori embraced the difficulties, as well as the benefits, of a bicultural identity in their writing.

The intertextual approach is essential for disclosing the full potential of the intergenerational ‘intertextual dialogues’ articulated in these three women’s writings and highlighting the adaptation, translation and transformation of an Anglo-Italian heritage. In her essay, ‘Word, Dialogue and Novel’ (1969), Julia Kristeva derives her notion of ‘intertextuality’ from her interpretation of Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of ‘dialogism’. A text is not a closed place but an open dialogic space coming into being through the interaction of linguistic structures, described by Kristeva as ‘the three dimensions of textual space’,³ or as ‘coordinates of dialogue [which are] writing subject, addressee, and exterior texts’.⁴ Kristeva understands intertextuality as a dialogical intersection of internal and exterior texts whose textual space is created by the three dimensions of the dialogue, including the productive subject of the writing process.

¹ Roudiez, (ed.) 1980. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* by Julia Kristeva, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p. 71.

² ‘La vena contestativa dei miei genitori, deriva dalle donne di famiglia, di buona parte inglesi’, in Lussu. 1988. *Portrait (cose viste e vissute)*, Ancona and Bologna: Transeuropa, p. 14.

³ Roudiez, (ed.) 1980. *Desire in Language*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66. Kristeva previously indicates the exterior texts as ‘the contemporary or earlier cultural context’, while describing Bakhtin’s concept of the ‘literary word’ as an ‘intersection of textual surfaces’ (p. 65).

Following Roland Barthes's announcement of 'the birth of the reader [...] at the cost of the death of the Author',⁵ Kristeva perceives writing as a draining process which empties its productive agent of an independent significance outside its product, that is the text. Susan Stanford Friedman has reacted to Barthes's remark by reviving the author and claiming what she has referred to as 'the (re)birth of the author'.⁶ In 'Weavings: Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author' (1991), Stanford Friedman points out the importance of the reappraisal of the author in the close reading of literary texts engaged by critics such as Harold Bloom, Elaine Showalter, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, Nancy Miller, Homi Bhabha, and Henry Louis Gates. Their studies are influenced by the Bakhtinian notion of dialogic discourse incorporated in the theory of intertextuality, and its recognition of the dialogic nature of the construction of identity through the exploration of 'the other'. Their critical interest is in the politics of representation and the construction of a text. They highlight the productive agency of writing, the concepts of adapting and translating, which transform the texts previously experienced and read by the productive subject either as the writer or the reader. As Stanford Friedman argues, the writer, as the productive subject, is one of the intersecting texts together with the reader, 'the addressee' and the 'exterior texts'.⁷ It is 'the writer [who] makes that transition from the not-yet-written to the written happen',⁸ and it is this process which is important to highlight in understanding the shaping of the Galletti-Salvadori's Anglo-Italian literary heritage.

To free the text from the imposing normalisation of the author's interpretation, Kristeva, as well as Barthes, denies the interweaving of the author's

⁵ Barthes. [1968] 1996. 'The Death of the Author', in Lodge, (ed.) [1988]. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*, London and New York: Longman, p. 172.

⁶ Friedman. 1991. 'Weavings: Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author', in Clayton and Rothstein, (eds). *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, Madison, Wisconsin, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

influences into the text, asserting the anonymity of intertextuality, and the absence of the author as its precondition. Although the literary text is an independent structure, its productive subject does not result in emptiness. Stanford Friedman reasserts the link between the literary text and its productive subject. The writer does not disappear but is present as a signature embedded in the text (and usually on the cover of the text) that can lead to the place of production. In the Galletti-Salvadori family, texts lead to a literary place of production in which the ancestor's texts are translated, adapted and reinterpreted by younger generations in their individual creative processes of production. In selected texts of Collier, Galletti and Salvadori, this thesis will examine the process of production and its producer as writing and reading subjects of texts, negotiating the politics of representation in an attempt to establish a literary voice of an Anglo-Italian identity.

My interpretation of intertextuality is influenced by the critical works of Nancy Miller and Susan Stanford Friedman and their reassertion of the productive process of a literary text as a dialogic intersection of internal and external texts.⁹ In this intertextual study of the three generations of female writers in the Galletti-Salvadoris, intertextuality is interpreted as the textual space of polyphonic incorporations of two cultures, two languages and two literary traditions, negotiating the forms of stability and changeability of the politics of representation of a cultural identity. It is a polyphonic encounter of plurality where texts intersect, crossing cultures, linguistic and national boundaries. In *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* (1998), Stanford Friedman highlights the two-sided development of cultural identity, analysing its dependence on 'a dialogic of sameness and difference: the identification with others as a bond based in similarities

⁹ My interpretation of intertextuality developed with my participation in a five-year project entitled, 'European Intertexts: A Study of Women's Writing in English as part of a European Fabric' (2000 - 2005), funded by the British Academy and co-ordinated by Dr Patsy Stoneman. Annually it explored issues and methodologies of intertextuality, and the literary representation of Europe in women's writing, in a different literary contextual approach and in a different European country.

and that can be grasped only through a sense of difference with the other.’¹⁰ It is this process of the formation of the Anglo-Italian cultural identity of the Galletti-Salvadoris in their literary voices that will be explored in this thesis through a comparative analysis of the travel writings of Collier, Galletti and Salvadori. This intertextual approach emphasises the productive agency of writing, and the concepts of adapting and translating as *modus operandi* in the transformation of texts previously experienced and read by the productive subject, either as the writer or the reader.¹¹

This literary study has been inspired by the common feature of travel in the formation of personal, social, as well as intellectual experiences of European female writers. It is led by an understanding of travel as a concept, encompassing travel as a literary genre, a fictional trope, and a metaphor for journeys in search of ‘the other’ inside the self, of the individual identity and its linguistic representation. I also apply the concept of ‘nomadism’ developed by Rosi Braidotti in *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (1994). In Braidotti’s conceptualisation, a nomadic subject is defined as a ‘critical consciousness that resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behaviour’.¹² This thesis introduces the female writers of the Galletti-Salvadoris as nomadic subjects who narrated their adventurous journeys in autobiographical travel writing and represented unsettled subjectivity in fictional travelling heroines.

Dennis Porter introduces his volume, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (1991), by stating that ‘written accounts of foreign places and their peoples are of interest for an important reason. They have

¹⁰ Friedman. 1998. *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p. 153.

¹¹ See Miller. 1988. *Subject to Change: Reading Feminist Writing*, New York: Columbia University Press.

¹² Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 5.

traditionally been the vehicle by which our knowledge of things foreign has been mediated.’¹³ The travel writings of these three writers are not only interesting because they are a vehicle for the analysis of ‘foreign’ and ‘other’, but also because they stretch the boundaries of the genre. They combine the personal experiences of travelling in the geographical world with the challenge of a self-exploration into memories, cultural backgrounds and the politics of representation to give voice to their identity. Mary Louise Pratt defines travel writing as one of the most polyphonic of genres ‘partly because it has never been fully professionalized or “disciplined”’.¹⁴ In their travel writings, either autobiographical or fictional, these writers create a polyphony in which the use of overt intertextuality and literary intertextual dialogues indicates common literary genres, narrative strategies and themes; similar political and social issues allow for the identification of external intertexts created by the authors’ familial, cultural, political and social contexts.

Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori are readers of texts written by preceding family members and become writers of original texts in which the previous literary experiences are, to use Kristeva’s terminology, ‘absorbed and transformed’,¹⁵ composing a fabric of influences, quotations, references and translations. Following in the steps of their British ancestor, Galletti and Salvadori discover their subjectivity through travelling. It is with the discourse of ‘the other’ as the foreign that they adapt and develop their internal concept of difference which is partially created by a subjectivity socially and politically produced and ‘the inner other’ perceived in the memory of the British ancestor and interpreted by reading her literary works. It is engaging in the intertextual dialogue with their predecessor that

¹³ Porter. 1991. *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing*, Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p. 3.

¹⁴ Pratt. 1985. ‘Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen’, in *Critical Inquiry*, Autumn, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 141.

¹⁵ Roudiez, (ed.) 1980. *Desire in Language*, p. 66.

they find a previous perception of sameness in a similar attempt to portray an Anglo-Italian subjectivity.

Travelling implies moving on; discovering and exploring 'the other'; comparing and contrasting the known with the unknown, the self with 'the other'. In this thesis travel is interpreted literally as physical movement from one place to another and figuratively with reference to Braidotti's concept of nomadism in which '[i]t is the subversion of set conventions that defines the nomadic state, not the literal act of traveling'.¹⁶ Collier, Galletti and Salvadori are nomadic polyglot subjects whose interactions, experience and knowledge are expressed in writing and reading as well as physical movement. A traveller, as well as a writer and a reader, observes 'the other' and interprets it using the accumulated baggage of previous texts to guide her in the new experience. A traveller is a comparatist, an interpreter and a translator.

In Salvadori's writing, the traveller not only represents a reader, a writer, and a translator, but also what I envisage as an intertextual traveller. In the textual space, the younger generation travels back to their originator's writing and recollects her literary voice. In the Galletti-Salvadori intergenerational intertextuality, selected texts travel between generations becoming the means of absorbing, adapting and disclosing an Anglo-Italian female literary heritage. After participating in the literary tradition of the family with the narration of her travels, Salvadori recovers her grandmother's text and re-inscribes her name, becoming aware of, using Miller's terms, 'the signature of her female precursor.'¹⁷ In her case, Collier is the family's literary precursor who worked in travel and fictional writing to adapt an Anglo-Italian subjectivity as narrator and fictional character. Having translated Collier's

¹⁶ Braidotti, 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Miller. 1986. 'Arachnologies: The Woman, the Text, and the Critic', in Miller, (ed.) *The Politics of Gender*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 288.

travel book into Italian and narrated her life in a historical novel,¹⁸ Salvadori, in her last fictional work, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* (Sherlock Holmes. Anarchists and Torpedoes, 1982), re-reads the cultural, historical, social and literary contexts of her grandmother's contemporary Europe to re-inscribe her as a renowned writer in a detective novel.

This thesis begins with the literary analysis of Collier's first travel book, *Our Home by the Adriatic* (1886), and ends with the analysis of Joyce Salvadori's last novel, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* in order to demonstrate how Collier's literary work becomes a transitional object that connects the past to the future generations. The detective story *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is analysed as a literary quest for an ancestor by means of translation, manipulation, intertextuality and citation. *Our Home by the Adriatic* becomes an integral part of the creative process in Salvadori's *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*. The intergenerational dialogue between Collier and Salvadori exemplifies what Miller defines as 'intergenerational intertextuality',¹⁹ for it is an encounter between generations of writers which is only possible on the pages of a book.

Collier and Galletti are introduced by this thesis to the international field of literary studies for the first time. The thesis provides up-to-date bibliographies of their published and unpublished material based on my archival research conducted in the private Salvadori-Paleotti Archive in Fermo, Italy, and in some of the most important libraries in Great Britain, such as the British Library and the Bodleian Library. Their biographical contexts are grounded in an extensive consultation of

¹⁸ Lussu. [1970] 1999. *Le inglesi in Italia: storia di una tribù anglo-franco-marchigiana in un angolo remoto degli Stati Pontifici*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale; Lussu, (ed.) 1997 [1981]. *Margaret Collier. La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale.

¹⁹ Nancy Miller developed this concept in the plenary lecture given at the international conference on Contemporary European Women Writers: 'Gender and Generation', held from the 30 March to 1 April 2005, at the Department of European Studies and Modern Languages and Centre for Women's Studies, University of Bath, UK. See Giorgio and Waters, (eds). *New Women's Writing in Western Europe: Gender and Generation and Literary Legacies*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Press, forthcoming 2007.

published and unpublished material which is available on members of the Collier and Salvadori families in Italy and Great Britain. Some of the information was also collected by interviewing descendants of the Collier and Salvadori families: Clara Muzzarelli Formentini, William Collier, and Giovanni Lussu. At present, Margaret Collier's great-granddaughter, Clara Muzzarelli Formentini, is in charge of the Salvadori-Paleotti Archive. This family archive was founded in 1957 by her mother, Gladys Salvadori Muzzarelli (1906-2000), who was Giacinta Galletti's eldest daughter. The archive was officially recognised by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Environmental Conservation in 1994. It holds a large collection of works written by Collier, Galletti and Salvadori, which are mostly out of print.

This thesis is interested in Salvadori as a descendant of the anti-fascist Galletti-Salvadori family. It focuses on her Anglo-Italian heritage and her representation of the Galletti-Salvadori's British maternal 'dissenting vein' in literature.²⁰ In Italy, it is possible to trace some of Salvadori's texts which are still in print. Salvadori has a recognisable, although marginalised, role in Italian Studies as the wife of Emilio Lussu (1890-1975), the founder of the Sardinian Activist Party and of the anti-fascist movement *Giustizia e Libertà*, a hero of the First World War and of the Italian Resistance, a member of the Parliament, and later of the Senate, in the post-war Italian Democratic Republic and an esteemed writer.²¹ Her political activism as a Resistance fighter in the Second World War is often attributed to her as Lussu's wife.

²⁰ Lussu, 1988. *Portrait*, p. 14.

²¹ Emilio Lussu founded the Sardinian Action Party in 1919 and was elected Member of Parliament in 1921 and 1924. In 1929, he was one of the founders of *Giustizia e Libertà* with Carlo Rosselli, Gaetano Salvemini and others. In 1945, he was one of the leaders of the Partito d'Azione (Action Party). He was a member of Parri's government in 1945 and of the first elected government of the Italian Republic in 1946. He was a Member of the Parliament for twenty-three years and a Member of the Senate until 1968. A member of the Italian Socialist Party, he joined the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity in 1964. See Fiori. [1985] 2000. *Il cavaliere dei Rossomori: vita di Emilio Lussu*; Minoia. [1945] 1997. *Emilio Lussu. Un anno sull'altipiano*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore.

In *Joyce L.: una vita contro* (Joyce L.: A Life in Opposition, 1996), Salvadori clarifies her use of her husband's surname by affirming that it is her 'political and cultural decision'.²² She notes:

women do not possess their proper name. Women always have the name of a man, either their father's or their husband's name. I found myself with my father's name but I chose my husband's name because this choice has a touch more autonomy.²³

Although Salvadori claims the use of her husband's surname from a feminist perspective, this thesis refers to Joyce Salvadori Lussu as 'Joyce Salvadori' since this literary study identifies the British maternal line in the Galletti-Salvadori family. It will therefore refer to the three female writers by using their maiden surnames because these signify the two Anglo-Italian families: the Collier-Gallettis and the Welby-Salvadoris.²⁴ The Collier-Galletti family was formed in 1873 when Margaret Collier married the Italian Count, Arturo Galletti di Cadilhac (1843-1912), a former Garibaldian officer, then Lieutenant Colonel in the Italian Artillery. The Welby-Salvadori family originated from the marriage of Ethelyn Welby (1817-1895) from Lincolnshire and the Italian Count, Luigi Salvadori-Paleotti (1816-1910). These two Anglo-Italian families resided in the province of Ascoli Piceno in the Italian region of the Marche. Giacinta Galletti di Cadilhac married a member of the Welby-Salvadori family, Guglielmo Salvadori Paleotti (1879-1953), in 1903. They had three children: Gladys Salvadori, Max Salvadori (1908-1992) and Joyce Salvadori.²⁵

As married women, both Collier and Galletti published under their husbands' surnames. While Galletti's case is a common example of the disappearance of a woman's individual historical contribution under the social label of 'the wife of', in

²² *'una decisione politico-culturale'*. Ballestra. 1996. *Joyce Lussu: una vita contro*, Bologna: Baldini e Castaldi, p. 190.

²³ *'le donne non hanno un proprio nome. Le donne devono sempre portare il nome di un uomo, o è il padre o è il marito. Il padre me lo sono trovato, il marito me lo sono scelto: c'è un briciolo in più di autonomia'*. *Ibid.*

²⁴ See the family tree in Appendix 1.

²⁵ See the summarised biographies of the three female writers in Appendix 2.

Collier's case the use of her Italian married title is interesting because it has created instances of inaccuracy due to its spelling. Galletti is spelt as 'Galetti' in two stories, 'The Vergaro: A Tale' (1876) published in *The New Quarterly Magazine*, and 'The Immortelles' (1877) issued in the *Victoria Magazine*, and in her novel, *Some Annals of an Italian Village* (1895). Previous bibliographies of Margaret Collier were not complete; for example, in the British Library written and electronic catalogues, *Some Annals of an Italian Village* is listed under 'Madame Galetti'. On the cover of *Our Home by the Adriatic, Babel* (1887) and *Prince Peerless: A Fairy Folk Story Book* (1887), the author is 'The Honourable Margaret Collier' and her married surname is in parentheses. In the *Lady's Realm* her name appears as 'The Countess di Cadilhac', 'The Countess Galletti' and in the Italianised version as 'The Contessa Margherita di Cadilhac'. In this last instance, the noble title is left in Italian and her first name is translated into Italian too. In these three stories, at times her English title is in parentheses. The emphasis is therefore on her Italian connection and she appeals to the reader as a British woman who has an Anglo-Italian family.

Collier was a member of what has been defined as 'an interesting dynasty',²⁶ founded by Robert Porrett Collier, first Baron Monkswell (1817-1886).²⁷ She was educated in a progressive, liberal intellectual and political atmosphere in London. In 1873, she started her life as the English wife of an Italian Count in Italy. There she became a writer whose writing appealed to the British readership because of her Italian connection. The first chapter of this thesis places her work in literary studies especially in the field of nineteenth-century British travel writing, with a special interest in analysing her travel book *Our Home by the Adriatic* in comparison with previous and contemporary descriptions of Italy by other women travel writers. In

²⁶ Jenkins. 1995. *Gladstone*, London: Macmillan, p. 369.

In 1872, Gladstone appointed Robert Porrett Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

²⁷ Pugsley. 2004. 'Collier, Robert Porrett, first Baron Monkswell (1817-1886)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5921> [Accessed: 20 July 2005].

the family's history, *Our Home by the Adriatic* has a particular value as it narrates the first decades of Collier's life in the Marche and her struggles in settling in a remote rural area to which the average British traveller would not go.

Her daughter, Giacinta Galletti participated in the historical events of the Interwar period and the Second World War as an anti-fascist journalist. She expressed her Anglo-Italian perspective in the international opposition to Fascism as a political refugee, prisoner and journalist. In an unpublished letter to her daughter-in-law, Clara Salvadori Galletti (1880-1939), Collier refers to her daughter's anti-fascist articles which were sent to the *New Statesman* by her brother John Collier, who lived in London. In typing the manuscript, Gladys Salvadori adds in parentheses that the articles 'were written by [her] mother' but signed by her father.²⁸ Chapter two of this thesis identifies Galletti's little known Anglo-Italian contribution to the anti-fascist propaganda especially by analysing her interview with the Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), which resolved his public stand against Mussolini's Italian Fascism in 1926. Chapter three focuses on the analysis of her letter writing as an Anglo-Italian mother whose children fought against Italian Fascism as militants in the Resistance. The letters collected in *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941* (Giacinta Salvadori's Letters 1933-1941, 1953) were written to Max Salvadori before the beginning of the war until her imprisonment in 1940. *Giacinta Galletti: lettere fermane* (Giacinta Galletti: Letters from Fermo, 1989) includes letters Galletti wrote to Joyce Salvadori during her imprisonment and after the liberation of Rome in 1943.

The final chapter of this thesis centres on Joyce Salvadori's interest in her British female ancestors and their contribution to the southern province of the Marche. In telling the stories of her ancestors who moved to the Marche, Salvadori

²⁸Unpublished typescript, 1906-1928; Salvadori-Paleotti Archive, p. 29 (hereafter, SPA).

interprets, adapts and, in particular, cites Collier's *Our Home by the Adriatic*. Collier's work increasingly became an intertextual reference in Salvadori's historical and auto/biographical works in the 1970s. In 1982, she wrote her only detective novel, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, in which the British detective created by Arthur Conan Doyle travels to the Marche in 1908 in order to solve a case related to the presence of a submarine laboratory in Ancona.²⁹ Salvadori adapts her writing skills to a different genre, re-creates London at the beginning of the twentieth century and casts her grandmother as one of the characters. She re-presents her grandmother in London as a novelist renowned among the Bloomsbury Group. Sherlock Holmes asks to meet her before travelling to the Marche because no one else can give him information about this Italian region on the Adriatic coast. Having her books with him, Holmes embarks on the same journey that Collier had undertaken in 1873.

In Salvadori's detective novel, her grandmother becomes a literary signifier. After a decade of research on her family's history and its Anglo-Italian context, in this novel she restores Collier's representation of the Italian context at the end of the nineteenth century as a British traveller and then migrant. Her grandmother is cast as a sixty-two-year-old woman who lived in Italy for twenty years and whose Anglo-Italian family is still based in the Marche. Collier is a writer of travel books and novels set in Italy which, in the fictional text, are read by Virginia and Vanessa Stephen. She is introduced as Salvadori's literary predecessor, as the original author in the Galletti-Salvadori family. At seventy years of age, Salvadori engages in a postmodern parody which narrates Sherlock Holmes's journey to Italy, intertwining overt and literary intertextuality which echoes the translations of the British author's texts, fictional creativity with biographical and historical research. Her literary and

²⁹ *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* was written in Italian. For the purpose of this thesis, I have translated all extracts into English. I have translated into English all other citations, unless otherwise specified.

historical material interplay with her individual memories and the documents kept in the Salvadori-Paleotti Archive.

Mindful of a European geographical and historical map, this thesis places Margaret Collier, Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori in a British and Italian literary, historical and social context. Collier is identified as a Victorian travel writer at the end of the nineteenth century; Galletti as an anti-fascist activist in exile, or in prison, in the Interwar period; and Salvadori as a member of the Resistance in the Second World War, an atypical traveller, translator and writer who was politically and socially active throughout her life. This study analyses intergenerational ‘intertextual dialogues’ and how they reflect the individual literary response of Collier, Galletti and Salvadori to Anglo-Italian identity.

Chapter One

Margaret Collier's Italian Country Life

A novelist, short story, fairy tales and especially, travel writer, Margaret Collier has not yet achieved literary status in the field of English literature.¹ Her story is not unique as she is one of the many Victorian women who travelled to Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century and revealed her literary talent through writing. Victorian women travellers have been the focus of research especially for their unusual lives which have inspired definitions such as “exceptional spinsters” and “proto-feminists”. Since the beginning of the 1990s the academic interest in women travellers has particularly increased in the field of biographical studies.² Their travel adventures and desire for independence and self-improvement have often been interpreted as the first active impulse towards the women's movements for female emancipation.³ Collier is not an ‘eccentric’, ‘exceptional’, or ‘adventurous’ traveller because her journeys were to the Grand Tour's primary destination.⁴ Hence, she has not yet found a voice in the expanding literary field of women's travel writing. However, her autobiographical and fictional works tell an unusual story of a British migrant to an Italian region unexplored by tourists and rarely mentioned in previous

¹ Collier is not listed in the *National Dictionary of Biography*, or any other biographical source on women writers or Victorian women writers, such as *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* (1993), *The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in English* (1999) and *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (2000). However, she is included in the *Biography and Genealogy Master Index* (1981-) and in three previous bibliographical publications: *A Checklist of Women Writers, 1801-1900: Fiction, Verse, Drama* (1990), which is a list collected and published by the British Library, *Who Was Who: A Cumulative Index 1897-1980* (1981), and *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (1988).

² Sara Mills correctly affirms that, as a subject of study, Women's Travel Writing is often enclosed in the field of Social and Cultural Studies, especially as part of Women's history. See Mills. [1991] 2000. *Discourses of Difference*.

³ See Birkett. 1989. *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*, Oxford: Blackwell, and, 1991. *Women and Travel*, Hove: Wayland; Hamalian. 1981. *Ladies on the Loose: Women Travellers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company; Middleton. [1965] 1993. *Victorian Lady Travellers*, Chicago: Academy Chicago Press; Mills. [1991] 2000. *Discourses of Difference*; St. Aubin de Terán, (ed.) [1998] 2001. *The Virago Book of Wanderlust & Dreams*, London: Virago.

⁴ After the adoption of the term in the title of the translation into French of Richard Lassels' *Voyage or a Compleat Journey through Italy* (1670), in British literature ‘Grand Tour’ has referred to the journey to the European continent. It was considered an essential part of a British gentleman's education from the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century. See Wilton and Bignami, (eds). 1996. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery.

English literary accounts. They depict the southern province of the Marche, and narrate the life of an Anglo-Italian family Collier refers to as a north-south union. This chapter gives voice to Collier's story as the originator of an Anglo-Italian family whose women contributed to the European literary context for three generations by sharing their love for both England and Italy.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a specific literary interest has been defined in the influences of Italy in British women's travel writing and their involvement in the European cultural fabric. In *Desiring Italy* (1997), Susan Cahill selects a range of extracts from women writers on Italy, from the eighteenth century to the end of the twentieth century, including Mary Wortley Montagu, Muriel Spark and Lisa St. Aubin de Terán. In a recent collection of essays, *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy* (2003), Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler end their introduction by asking for more effort in 'unfolding' the writing of other women travel writers. They joined the appeal launched by Cahill to collect the still unheard 'stories of women's passions for Italy'.⁵ This study of Collier's writing is informed by a similar motivation insofar as it unfolds her passion for the Italian region of the Marche.

This thesis introduces Collier to the field of English literature as a British female travel writer. She wrote exclusively in English and published in Great Britain while living in Italy. This chapter acknowledges some of her works but it specifically focuses on her more comprehensive description of her life in Italy, her first and most appreciated travel book, *Our Home by the Adriatic* (1886). As Sara Mills emphasises in *Discourses of Difference: an Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991),⁶ travel writing has been the most common form of

⁵ Chapman and Stabler, (eds). 2003. *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 14.

⁶ Mills, Mills. [1991] 2000. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, London: Routledge.

writing by women from the fourteenth century. Although these works were popular at the time of their publication, they have remained out of print for many years and, at times, have not been considered literary enough. Some of them have recently enjoyed a revival, inspired by the initiative of publishing houses such as Virago, and the increasing interest of feminist critics. Nevertheless, there are still more difficulties related to the study of women's writing, especially in the Italian academic context, due to the lack of material in print and its perceived low literary status. *Our Home by the Adriatic* is an out-of print, nineteenth-century travel book which requires academic attention because of the historical, social and cultural knowledge it provides on the people of the Marche. In this thesis, it inspires deeper interest as the exploration of an Anglo-Italian difference in an isolated multilingual and multicultural family.

In *Our Home by the Adriatic*, Collier finds a comfortable space in the travel book where she can describe all the social classes constituting the 'Marcheggiani' alluding to her Anglo-Italian family in the Marche indirectly through travel writing. She marginalises her private sphere and family relationships while still using a first person narrative. As Valerie Sanders points out in *The Private Lives of Victorian Women* (1989), travel memoirs dominated autobiographical expressions in the nineteenth century, and 'by the middle of the century women had claimed [the travel-journal] as their special field'.⁷ Being centred on the account of curious characteristics of a foreign country, a travel journal offers a freer autobiographical expression in which personal events and speculations are inserted as part of the evidence of the travel experience. Collier's account lacks detail about her familial life, focusing on the main aim of the narrative: verbalising social and cultural

⁷Sanders. 1989. *The Private Lives of Victorian Women*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 12.

information about the Marche and its inhabitants based on more than twenty years' experience of Italian life.

This thesis studies Collier's *Our Home by the Adriatic* as the narration of the origins of the Galletti-Salvadori family and its development into a means of passing down a literary legacy. The literary analysis aims to highlight the features which mostly influenced the writings of Giacinta Galletti and Joyce Salvadori. They quoted, adapted and translated *Our Home by the Adriatic*. Collier's works are not included in any anthology of British women's travel writing, or more generally of British writers and Italy. They are only available in the major British national libraries. It is the Italian translation of *Our Home by the Adriatic*, entitled *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico* (1981), which survives in print.

Margaret Collier's literary context

Collier's journey to Italy was not unusual for an aristocratic British woman of the time. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, European continental journeys became the primary destination for most British travellers once again. The Italian peninsula had always been a most desirable destination for a British traveller. In Italy the British ruling classes admired the ruins of a glorious past that influenced most European cultures and to which they felt they were heirs. They compared the lost grandeur of a celebrated Italian classical and Renaissance civilisation with the rising commercial progression of the British Empire. The impoverished reality of the Italian territories demonstrated the present role of nineteenth-century Britain as the responsible successor of the values of Western European culture.

It was her marriage to Arturo Galletti that introduced Collier to a different and complex political situation. Collier acknowledges in *Our Home by the Adriatic*,

‘Anglo-Italian marriages [were] very common, but not all [were] very happy’.⁸ However, she formed an Anglo-Italian family at a time in which Italy gained an identity as a national state and not simply as a geographical entity. Her husband was involved in local and, later, national politics, becoming a member of the new Italian national government. In addition, she lived this transitional period in a rural Italian region far from the more famous travelling routes which had been dominated by the Papal States for centuries.

The influences of Italy and its Romantic and archaeological images in the works of British artists and writers have inspired many interdisciplinary research projects producing important works which contribute to an understanding of the development of cosmopolitan Western European culture. They often concentrate on the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a historical period defined as the golden age of European travel.⁹ Since the evolution of the Grand Tour into tourism in the 1840s, ‘[n]o European region was more thoroughly “done” than Italy’,¹⁰ and travel writing demonstrates this, by listing Italy as the ubiquitous destination in most of the written accounts of continental journeys. Collections of essays and anthologies on travel or literature about Europe tend to have extracts or essays concerning Italy.¹¹ In the field of literary criticism, research studies have contributed to a deeper understanding of the pattern of links between Italy and British authors’ journeys and writing, producing anthologies, essays and collections of essays, such as Kenneth Churchill’s *Italy and English Literature 1764–1930* (1980), which lists authors ranging from Gibbon to D. H. Lawrence, and refers to Hester Lynch Piozzi and Germaine de Staël,

⁸ Collier. 1886. *Our Home by the Adriatic*, London: Richard Bentley and Son, p. 50 (hereafter, OHA).

⁹ See *The Golden Age of Travel* (1951); *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (1996); *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600 – 1830* (1999); *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (2000).

¹⁰ Buzard. 1993. *The Beaten Track. European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 165.

¹¹ See, for example, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800 – 1930* (1993) and *The British and the Grand Tour* (1985).

George Sand, Anna Jameson, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Vernon Lee, George Eliot and Ouida.

In the nineteenth century, Italy obtained a political image in the poems of the second generation of British Romantic poets, such as Lord Byron and Percy Shelley, and in the writing of British women writers and journalists, such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope and Frances Power Cobbe. It was the image of the occupied Italian peninsula fighting for freedom that fascinated the Romantic travellers. After the 1815 Congress of Vienna, the peninsula's geographical boundaries were replaced and the domination of foreign European monarchies restored without consideration for the aspiration of the Italian people to a united nation.¹² In this period a rediscovery of multiple images of Italy was led by British female travel writers who engaged with the political country as well as the aestheticised space depicted in Lord Byron's poetry and Germaine de Staël's novel, *Corinne, ou L'Italie* (1803). This was the first romantic fiction written by a woman based on her own travel experiences.

Corinne, ou L'Italie is not a travelogue, or an autobiographical account of a journey, but a novel based on the author's journeys to Italy. The first translation into English of *Corinne, ou L'Italie* appeared in 1807.¹³ Between 1830 and 1870, there were thirty-two French editions and twenty-two editions of the 1833 English translation. This novel was constantly quoted and referred to by most Victorian women travellers setting out for Italy. Its influence can be found in many of the literary works of nineteenth-century British female writers, such as *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *Middlemarch* (1871-72), in which Eliot's heroines cite Corinne

¹² The north-east of the Italian peninsula was under the occupation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and north-west governed by the Kingdom of Sardinia; the centre was divided into smaller territories controlled by Napoleon's wife, Marie Louise, Francis IV of Habsburg-Este, Marie Louise of Bourbon-Parma, Ferdinand III of Habsburg-Lorraine, and Pope Pious VII; the south was under the Bourbons' domination.

¹³ Staël de. 1807. *Corinne, or Italy*, 3 vols, London: Samuel Tipper.

both as the novel and the fictional heroine.¹⁴ In the second half of the nineteenth century, the historical identity of Italy acquired a special interest for British female writers, such as George Eliot and Vernon Lee, who, for example, were attracted by the Italian Renaissance.¹⁵ Renaissance Italy, for instance, is the setting of George Eliot's *Romola* (1863). In this novel the heroine is the translator of classical knowledge obtained through absorbed Greek-Anglo-Italian adaptations. Like Corinne, Romola wants to teach future generations of women the classics, a subject from which women were excluded in the nineteenth century. The same educational aim is reflected in Collier's fictional heroines who aspire to become teachers. Her heroines, however, are not women of the past but of the united Italian nation.

Often descending from a liberal intellectual tradition, British upper and middle-class female travellers and writers of the nineteenth century supported *Risorgimento*, the Italian independence movement. Italy became a united state after the liberation of Rome on the 20 September 1870. Its independence was an inspiring example for those British women who began to demand a politically responsible role. Italy represented a modern liberal quest for legitimate independence: it became the place of professional and artistic freedom, of vocation and identity for Victorian female travel writers and journalists. Their voices constructed a political portrait of Italy as a 'scarcely possible Heaven',¹⁶ but an emergent modern nation. These British female writers were mainly concerned with the contemporary historical and social contexts of a country traditionally represented in ideal Romantic and Renaissance terms as the space of artistic freedom, the place for a possible paradise.

¹⁴ In *The Mill on the Floss*, Maggie recognises the image of a Romantic tragic figure in the dark-haired Corinne (chapter four). In *Middlemarch*, Mary cites Corinne while listening to examples of fictional heroines who fall love with men they have not always known (chapter fourteen).

¹⁵ See Chapman and Stabler, (eds). 2003. *Unfolding the South*; Churchill. 1980. *Italy and English Literature 1764-1930*.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Barrett Browning's letter addressed to Sophia May Eckley David as cited in Chapman and Stabler, (eds). 2003. *Unfolding the South*, p. 76.

Brought up in a British liberal aristocratic family, Collier was influenced by such political, social and literary romantic images of Italy. In 1871, when Collier headed for Rome with her mother, she experienced the romantic encounter with the foreign and the other, participating in the trend of wealthy Victorian women who travelled to the Continent. The improvements in transport had made travelling easier, and more affordable. It had developed into a lucrative business: travel agencies, such as 'Thomas Cook and Son', had begun to organise continental tours in detail for their clients, minimising the risks of danger and uncertainties.

With the development of travel into tourism, Victorian women found the facilities and security to travel on their own:¹⁷

clothed in long skirts and armed with umbrella or sunshades according to the climate, the nineteenth-century woman traveller covered thousands of miles – writing, painting, observing, botanizing, missionizing, collecting and, latterly, photographing.¹⁸

Victorian ladies travelled for culture, health, leisure, or simply to demonstrate their financial status. Most of them travelled with their husbands, relatives or in groups. They belonged to the rich and professional classes, and were often in their forties. They embarked on European journeys as well as the explorations of continents such as Africa and Asia. Mostly they had an inadequate knowledge of the classics, but they revealed an impulse for cultural improvement and individual achievement, educating themselves while travelling. For example, they collected information by reading travel and fictional writing. In *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (1993), James Buzard argues for the complementarity of travelling and reading as a 'cyclical ritual in which readers both

¹⁷ Paul Fussell explains that, before the development of tourism in the nineteenth century, travelling was conceived to be a journey to study cultural, historical and social contexts of a previously explored country. The tourist makes a journey which has been organised and prepared for her, or him, by a travel company and its publicity. Nowadays, he adds, it is the motives that distinguish the tourist, because travel is impossible in a society only left with tourism. See Fussell. 1980. *Abroad. British Literary Travelling between the Wars*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 37-49.

¹⁸ Middleton. [1965] 1993. *Victorian Lady Travellers*, p. 4.

shaped and relived their past travels, through texts'.¹⁹ Travellers also created expectations by reading travel books in preparation for their journeys.

Collier travelled to Rome the same year *Middlemarch* was published. Like Dorothea Brooke, Collier went back two years later, on a 'wedding journey to Rome'.²⁰ According to the family myth included in Salvadori's historical novel on the Galletti-Salvadori family, Collier went to Rome to forget the tragic end of her love for a poet who died of consumption.²¹ Her previous journeys had been to Switzerland, a fashionable destination in the middle of the nineteenth century, and frequently visited by her family.²² There are no written accounts of Collier's first impressions of Italy; her need to write developed when she moved to Italy and had different expectations from those of a tourist.

On the 19 April 1873 Collier's marriage to a former Garibaldian officer seemed to fulfil the plot of a romantic fiction. Collier was fascinated, as with many British women were, by the political and social ideals of equality and liberty reflected by Arturo Galletti di Cadilhac's belief in *Risorgimento*. He represented the values of a family whose members actively took part in the *Risorgimento* fighting for national freedom. His father, Bartolomeo Galletti di Cadilhac (1812-1877), supported Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini.²³ The Italian struggle against the oppression of foreign states was supported by the British population and, especially, by British women who created Romantic heroic portraits of Italian activists Garibaldi and Mazzini. When Garibaldi arrived in London in 1864, the *Times*, stated, 'one of the most remarkable men in Europe will set foot on these

¹⁹ Buzard. 1993. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 160.

²⁰ Eliot. [1871] 1956. *Middlemarch*, Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, p. 139.

²¹ See Lussu. 1999 [1970]. *Le inglesi in Italia*, pp. 139-140.

²² See Birkett. 1991. *Women and Travel*.

²³ Bartolomeo Galletti di Cadilhac was with Garibaldi when the Italian troops defended Rome from the French invasion of 1849. See Lussu. 1999 [1970]. *Le inglesi in Italia*.

shores.’²⁴ For Collier, Galletti echoed a similar image of heroism and romance. He also represented the mystery and danger of the unknown. In her description of Italian and Anglo-Italian male characters, whether they are Romantic heroes or dangerous impostors, Collier reflects Galletti’s characteristics. A fascination with Galletti’s persona is also noticeable in the writings of other members of the Collier family.²⁵

By marrying Galletti, Collier became a British migrant who entered the community of the ‘*Marcheggiani*’ of whom she had no previous knowledge. This area was also unfamiliar to her husband. Galletti was born in Rome where he spent his childhood and returned after a political exile in Paris and London due to his father’s involvement in the revolutionary movements for the unification of Italy. An atheist, Galletti bought land in the area of the Marche, which used to belong to the Roman Catholic Church.²⁶ He bought a chapel called San Venanzo, and transformed it into their residential house where they settled with their family, in a rural region in which the economy depended entirely on agriculture.

Collier soon became aware of the uniqueness of her life as a British resident in San Venanzo. Usually in the tourist destinations, new British travellers to Italy would be welcomed by established communities of their compatriots. For example, an Anglo-American intellectual community of international repute was based in Florence where Vernon Lee and Elizabeth and Robert Browning hosted the most

²⁴ *Times*, 24 March 1864, p. 8.

²⁵ There are two records of the fascinating the figure of Arturo Galletti aroused in the Collier family in the diaries written by Collier’s sister-in-law, Mary Josephine Hardcastle, and her cousin, Rosie Collier. Rosie Collier visited Collier in San Venanzo twice, in 1881 and 1883. She travelled together with Margaret Collier’s eldest brother, Robert Collier and his wife, Mary Josephine. In Mary Josephine Hardcastle’s journal, Arturo Arturo’s image as a Romantic hero is conveyed by the uniform of the new Italian State. He is described as ‘very tall and slim, with a rather small but handsome & refined face & small hands & feet; he was in a blue uniform.’ Rosie Collier also refers to his uniform and stresses his handsome look, ‘Arturo appeared at breakfast in his uniform of Capt. of Artillery’. See Collier, Hon. E. C. F., (ed.) 1944. *A Victorian Diarist: Extracts from the Journals of Mary, Lady Monkswell 1873-1895*, London: John Murray, p. 7; Collier, Rosie, unpublished typescript, 1881-83. p. 14, SPA.

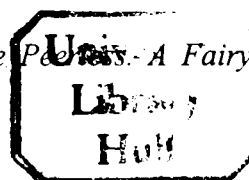
²⁶ The Kingdom of Italy allowed the selling of lands owned by the Roman Catholic Church at an affordable price.

renowned literary salons. It was referred to as ‘Belgravia-in-Italy’.²⁷ Collier did not move from her native Belgravia in London to ‘Belgravia-in-Italy’. Instead she migrated to an isolated hill in the Marche, in an unknown Italian countryside to which no tourist tracks led. She understood the novelty of her position and decided to participate in the contemporary English literary context depicting the unusual landscape of which she was a part. She established an affinity with the Marche’s landscape and its seasons. She focused on the people whom she came into direct contact with, constructing a dialogue which enabled her to multiply the ways of codifying ‘the other’ as the Italian. She did not present a homogenising portrait of the ‘*Marcheggiani*’ but based her descriptions on individuals.

From the beginning, Collier mainly published short stories and novellas set in Italy. A few stories which are set in England have Anglo-Italian, or Italian characters. There are two early exceptions, two short stories entitled ‘The Shadow World’ and ‘The Matterhorn’ which were both published in 1877 in the *Victoria Magazine*. ‘The Shadow World’ is a ghost story told by an anonymous narrator. It tells of the nightmares of a child called Una. In the end, the ghosts disappear as Una’s mother’s voice intervenes and the reason for the dreams is explained by Una’s high fever.²⁸ ‘The Matterhorn’ is a tragic love story that ends with the death of the female character. It is partly set in Switzerland but the main interest is in the narrator. The story is about two English friends travelling to Switzerland to go on an excursion to the Matterhorn and it is told from a man’s perspective but the narrator remains an unnamed first person. Her first collection of stories, *The Camorristi and Other Stories*, was published in 1882. It included the already published ‘The Vergaro’, ‘The Camorristi’, which had previously appeared in *Good Words* (1881).

²⁷ See Chapman and Stabler, (eds). 2003. *Unfolding the South*.

²⁸ A version of ‘The Shadow World’ was included in *Prince Peep: A Fairy Folk Story Book* (1887).



and 'The Bambino'. These stories were inspired by experiences and events that the author lived. In the transcription into a written form, they become the means for an anthropological analysis and exploration of historical, social and cultural differences.

Collier does not challenge the established nineteenth-century traditional travel book: her narrative style is realistic and the narrator has the traveller's point of view. The subject is well known, a foreign country whose pre-existent imagery has been previously inscribed underlining the existing differences between contemporary Britain and Italy and their respective ways of life; what she adds to the literary comparison is the singularity of her picture of the Italian country. Differences exist between the famous tourist sites of Italy and an unknown region such as the Marche. Her first person narrative immediately proposes that the reader travel to a new, unexplored Italian landscape:

Yet a blasé tourist in search for novelty would find much to amuse and interest him in the habits and manners of the inhabitants of 'Le Marche' - the 'Marcheggiani', as they call themselves.²⁹

Collier affirms her authoritative voice on the Marche and their inhabitants. She points out the lack of information about this region, minimising the knowledge British tourists have of Italy in general. She also appeals to the stereotyped idea of the search for the unknown and "other", as well as to a description of social phenomena. She writes about her own experiences finding a comfortable space between private and public. She describes her family's domestic life in direct relation to the local community. Moving among the social environments, she studies the local culture, values, traditions, the oral history, and the dialect.

In analysing textual attitudes in travel writing, James Buzard summarises two recurrent observations made of British and American writers' accounts of their European journeys after the Napoleonic Wars:

²⁹ Collier. 1882. 'The Vergaro: A Tale', p.431.

first, that the Continental tour seemed to be surrounded and regulated by a variety of guiding texts; second, that by writing one's own travel record one had to work within the boundaries mapped out by those prior texts and somehow to stake out new territories with one's own text.³⁰

Collier struggles to create a narrative which would communicate her intuitive knowledge of the Marche gained through experience. Her writing does not fit the literary context that she acknowledges but she searches for an adaptation of the English literary travel writing tradition for the issues and topics she experienced. There is no previous scientific study she can rely on, or predecessor by whom she can be influenced. She lives an experience similar to that of Byron and Corinne, but her circumstances are inevitably different as well as problematic in their originality. She is part of the picture: she sees, she is seen and she perceives people's opinion of her as different.

Unfolding the Marche

With the exception of Collier's writing, the Marche is an object of interest in only two works of British travel writers, Vernon Lee (pseudonym of Violet Paget, 1856-1935) and Amelia Louisa Vaux Le Mesurier Gretton (1823-1894). In 1847, Gretton visited the city of Ancona in the Marche as the guest of relatives. The region was then part of the Papal States. Since the eighteenth century it had represented the native land of many Popes, including Pope Clemens XI Albani, who strongly supported the Catholic pretender to the English throne, James Stuart.³¹ However, Ancona featured in de Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie*:

³⁰Buzard. 1993. *The Beaten Track*, p. 156.

³¹ See Mangani, (ed.) 2005. *The English in the Marche*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale.

The mountains and the sea give the town a very fine situation, and the many Greeks who sit in the oriental manner, [...], together with the varied dress of the Levantines one sees in the streets, make Ancona look unusual and interesting.³²

Lord Nelvil stops in Ancona and the city is defined as “unusual” because of its landscape and “interesting” as it presents traces of oriental connections.

Since the fifteenth century, Loreto had been a famous sacred shrine in Italy for the presence of the Holy House and the Black Madonna. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century accounts of the Grand Tour at times refer to Ancona. British travellers would usually arrive in Italy through France and continue on the Italian major routes: Turin-Genoa, Milan-Parma-Bologna, Turin-Alessandria-Parma; from Bologna they would go on to Florence, Rome and Naples. On their return north they would again include Rome to reach Venice through Loreto, Ancona, and Ravenna.³³ A popular route to Rome was through Ancona via Loreto, Spoleto and Terni, crossing the central Apennine in Umbria.³⁴ In *The English Woman in Italy: Impressions of Life in the Roman States and Sardinia during Ten Years' Residence* (1860), Gretton describes Ancona, its harbour and its Jewish community as well as the nearby countryside, but her interest is political and very contemporary.³⁵ She supports the political movements fighting for the unification of Italy and is keen to portray the transition of the Marche from the Papal domination to its independence as part of the Kingdom of Italy.³⁶ Vernon Lee's interest in the Italian historical past and the memories of the landscape of the northern province of Pesaro-Urbino inspired

³² Raphael, (trans. and ed.) 1998. *Madame de Staël. Corinne, or Italy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 13.

³³ Wilton and Bignamini, (eds). 1996. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery.

³⁴ Black. 1985. *The British and the Grand Tour*, London: Croom Helm.

³⁵ Gretton. 1860. *Englishwoman in Italy: Impressions of Life in the Roman States and Sardinia, during a Ten Years' Residence*, 2 vols, London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers; Giochi and Sfrappini. 2003. 'Introduzione', in Oriani, Zompanti, (trans.) *G. Gretton. La forestiera: impressioni di una signora inglese sulla vita nelle Marche dell'ottocento*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale; Mori. 2005. 'Note', in Mangani. (ed.) *The English in the Marche*.

³⁶ The Marche joined the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1860.

her ghost story, 'Amour Dure', which was published in her collection *Hauntings* (1890). Lee visited Urbino, Raffaello Sanzio's (Raphael) birthplace.³⁷

The Marche is seldom portrayed in Italian literary tradition. In anthologies of Italian female writers, it is rarely mentioned, either as a birthplace, or as fictional setting. The only exception is Clarice Tartufari (1868-1933), who describes the northern area of the Marche in her fictional works.³⁸ She spent her childhood in the county of Pesaro-Urbino, whose landscape is represented in the settings of novels, such as *Il miracolo*, in which the protagonist admires the sea in Pesaro. Urbino was rarely remembered as Raphael's birthplace and Pesaro as the birthplace of Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868). However, as the narrator in *Our Home by the Adriatic* reminds the reader, there is one Italian writer who immediately comes to mind when thinking of this region, the poet Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837):³⁹

the great poet Leopardi, who is not, I believe, better known in England than Tennyson in Italy. Although the *Marcheggiani* are very proud of having produced him, [...], he did not return the compliment, and hated no place so much as his native Recanati (OHA: 152).

The narrator refers to the pessimism of Leopardi's philosophical writing. According to Iris Origo, Leopardi defines Recanati as 'the deadest and most ignorant city of the Marche, which is the most ignorant and uncultivated province of Italy'.⁴⁰ Isolated in the family's library, the poet engages in a poetic dialogue with a regional landscape that reveals the routine of rural life as well as infinity. The sentiments are displaced and textualised in a landscape that does not give comfort or nurture but, inspires the

³⁷ Pennell. 1925. *Adventures of an Illustrator*, [s. l.]: Fisher Unwin.

³⁸ Morandini. 1980. *La voce che è in lei; antologia della narrativa femminile italiana tra '800 e '900*, Milan: Bompiani Editore; Russell. (ed.) 1994. *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press.

³⁹ In *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Leopardi is introduced as the only Romantic Italian poet who 'has enjoyed a reputation in English comparable to his canonical status in Italy'. However, in his life his prose was translated long before his poetry'. See France, (ed.) 2000. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 468.

⁴⁰ Origo. 1953. *Leopardi: A Study in Solitude*, London: Hamish Hamilton, p. xiii.

idyllic images of his most famous poems, which, in Italian literature, are usually defined as the '*canti recanatesi*' (the Recanati cantos).

Leopardi's isolation was mostly intellectual. He claims the Marche was an ignorant province in which even the upper-middle classes were not interested in literature. The theatre was the commonest cultural amusement for its appeal as a social gathering. Writing was also Collier's means of breaking her intellectual isolation by contributing to a literary genre, travel writing, through which many female writers found their literary voice. This 'polyphonic' genre offered Collier the opportunity to insert her picture of the Marche into the commonly framed idea of Italy as Tuscany,⁴¹ a region that for many British people still symbolises the entire Italian nation. The same texts that created her inexperienced image of Italy were the inspiring influence through which she struggled to find her own voice. It was the Marche's agricultural area that became the scenery she admired from her house in San Venanzo. She looked back to her precursors to find the stimulus to write her original autobiographical experience.

Gretton, writing in 1860, clarifies her reasons in dwelling on describing the social and cultural context in Marche for most of her two-volume travelogue by claiming the relevance of her original descriptions. She writes:

The foregoing pages were written solely with the view of describing the social and domestic condition of a part of Italy little visited by travellers, but which present features of quaintness and originality, not easily met with in this era. Even in the Marche these peculiarities risk speedy annihilation. Should they be fortunate enough to be included in the emancipation from Pontifical government, of which the neighbouring Legations now seem secure, these sketches in ten years' time will be looked upon as monstrous caricatures. Should they on the contrary undergo no change of *régime*, what I have said will be as applicable a hundred years hence as it was six months ago.⁴²

⁴¹ Pratt. 1985. 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', in *Critical Inquiry*, Autumn, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 141.

⁴² Gretton. 1860. *The English Woman in Italy*, vol. 2, pp. 126-127.

‘In 1860 three quarters of the population over ten could neither read nor write, with illiteracy highest in the south’.⁴³ When Collier describes the Marche, the political system had changed but its social and political conditions had not improved. The region is part of a young united nation in which ‘less than five percent of the male population could vote’,⁴⁴ and democracy and social reforms struggled to develop in a country with an illiterate majority. After deep conflicts between the Roman Catholic Church and the Italian state over education, primary education was made compulsory in 1877, ‘but [its] enforcement was still sporadic’.⁴⁵ Private education at home or in a convent was still the commonest choice for young girls. In the 1890s, a married woman did not possess her own money; her property legally belonged to her husband. She could not sign a cheque, or give evidence in a legal court without his presence. Going out unaccompanied was improper.

In positioning herself as an authoritative voice, Collier defines the Marche as:

that “other side of Italy”, where we had made up our mind to settle – that land of mysterious interest to me, since I had been told that Cook and his tourists had not found their way thither, and that there I should see Italian ways in all their unsullied primitiveness (OHA: 7-8).

Since the 1840s, ‘Thomas Cook and Son’ had planned transport, accommodation and currency exchanges for British tourists travelling in the continent.⁴⁶ Their first tour of Italy was organised in 1864. The narrator, referring to preparatory research on the area, suggests that ‘Cook and Son’, the most renowned British travel agency, could not provide information on the southern province of the Marche. British travellers would find all the information concerning their Italian destinations in the handbooks written by John Murray and Karl Baedeker, but Collier could not rely on them either.

⁴³ Kramer. [1976] 1988. *Maria Montessori: A Biography*. [s.l.]: Da Capo Press, p. 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ See Black. 1985. *The British and the Grand Tour*.

The area she migrated to appeared unspoiled by the industrial development but it was also underdeveloped in social and cultural terms.

The use of the word ‘primitiveness’ when referring to life in the Marche, is influenced specifically by the comparison to Victorian England and London. The Marche has a backward social and technological development in comparison to the Victorian concept of civilisation. Confident of the cultural tradition she inherited, Collier describes and evaluates the Italian community she lived in, noting the lack of interest in social and cultural events in the high and middle classes and the illiteracy of the poorer classes. The term is embedded in the Romantic idea of primitive pastoral life in the attempt to recover direct contact with nature. Reviewing *Our Home by the Adriatic*, H. F. Brown’s suggests it was also the product of an elitist intention to be ‘English always and everywhere.’⁴⁷ These words summarise Collier’s initially biased attitude. As Brown points out, ‘Mdme Galletti does not sympathise’.⁴⁸ Her narrative does not favour the richer over the poorer classes. Her interest in the local oral culture seems to prevail.

Collier studies the people of the Marche from a socio-anthropological point of view. She is concerned with describing and transcribing local dances, songs, traditions and customs, as the population itself lacks the means, or the interest, in providing testimony. Like Gretton, she does not pursue the archaeological attitude in representing Italy, but participates in the creation of the contemporary image of a modern Italian nation in formation. In her description of customs and traditions of the different social *strata*, Collier shares similar interests with Gretton. They both prefer observing the “originalities” of the farming community, especially women’s activities. Collier’s travel writing develops through encounters with members of the community.

⁴⁷ *The Academy*, vol. xxx, 6 November 1886, p. 304.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

In the first chapter of *Our Home by the Adriatic*, for example, Collier conveys the originality of her perspective on Italy by setting geographical signposts whose position determines a novelty. She describes the Marche as ‘a fertile undulating’ land that lies ‘between the Adriatic and the Sibylline range of the Apennines’ (OHA: 1). The traveller is invited to change the point of observation and place the Marche in a representation of the Italian peninsula which is not perceived from North to South but from East to West, or vice versa. She then guides the traveller inside the walls of a typical medieval village of the area and introduces him to representatives of the different classes of the local community.

As the narrator, Collier places the travellers in the landscape with her. The traveller needs to accept a new location in the Italian landscape and to have the ‘curiosity’ to discover the contemporary life of the village whose mediaeval walls suggest echoes of Gothic novels. The local specificity of Collier’s narration deconstructs a picture of Italy which corresponds with generalised assumptions based on the travellers’ experiences of Rome, Florence, Milan, or Venice. According to Loredana Polezzi in *Italian travel writing studies by travellers to Italy*, there is still a preference in studying a romanticised representation of Italy and ‘its pre-eminent role in the progress of European “civilisation” and “high culture”.’⁴⁹ This is an image of Italy which precedes the unification of the country and which, although it stresses a glorious past, it perpetuates the rhetorical divide between the North and South of Italy, in which the North reflects modernity and progress, while the South represents obsolescence and decadence.

The expectations of Victorian women, linked to the terms ‘foreign’ and ‘journey’, were generally derived from their readings of eighteenth-century Gothic and Romantic novels, which were often written by writers, such as Ann Radcliffe,

⁴⁹ Polezzi. 2001. *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation*, Hants, England and Vermont, USA: Ashgate, p. 30.

who did not travel outside their homeland. Their fictional settings and characters derived from imaginative travels; their knowledge of the foreign contexts was superficial and, at times, inaccurate, based on travel books, Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, and paintings.⁵⁰ Italy was a famous destination in the Victorian era for culture, health and pleasure but the general expectations were mostly influenced by the imaginative Italy and its representation as the place of the forbidden, excess and transgression where the desire for otherness and novelty could be fulfilled, leading to dangerous, even fatal, consequences.

The traveller-narrator represented the geographical movement from the North of Europe to the South in an imaginative narrative discourse describing the foreignness and otherness in constant comparison with her, or his, native land. The 'imaginative topography' was translated into a discourse of binary oppositions in which, as explained by Chloe Chard in *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830* (1999), the cold North acquired sincerity and responsiveness, qualities defined as masculine, and the warm South was attributed a supposed effeminate tendency towards immoderation, luxury and passion.⁵¹ At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, fictional female writers applied these forms of language to the narrative of Gothic novels in order to represent the impossibility of reciprocal love and union between a heroine from the South of Europe, who represents passion, and a British aristocrat, who represents rationality, because of differences in cultural values as it was famously described in *Corinne, ou L'Italie*.

⁵⁰ See Churchill. 1980. *Italy and English Literature 1764-1930*, London: Macmillan.

⁵¹ Chard selects the terms 'imaginative topography' or 'imaginative geography' to name both particular regions, in their roles as fantastic representations of foreignness, and the activity of mapping out and delimiting them. She borrows the terms used by Christian Jacob in his definition of the concept of map as an imaginative geography. See Chard. 1999. *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 10.

Collier's romantic expectations were soon contradicted by the contact with an Italian region which was deeply different from the cities of Rome, Milan, Florence, Venice, and Naples. In introducing her first published story, 'The Vergaro: A Tale', she claims that there are still European sights which have not been corrupted by tourists and she sets the scene in a village of the Marche by underlining the rare knowledge she has of the area as a foreign resident as:

Few people have seen more of the Adriatic coast than a week at Venice affords them; and though some, perhaps, may have visited Ancona, and more have dashed along the line in the express to Brindisi, whence they embark for Corfu, or India, who has ever the curiosity to become acquainted with any of the quaint towns and villages they pass, perched each on the summit of a hill?⁵²

Collier claims her authority as an expert of an Italian rural area which has been contemplated as an interest. She underlines her different perspective on Italy as the Marche. It is Italy, in the sense of the new nation, and it is different if compared to the archaeological attitude of the majority of British tourists. Collier's attention to "the other side of Italy" derives from a desire to acknowledge the variety of landscapes and social, cultural and regional contexts which constituted the complicated pattern of the peninsula. She participates in a longstanding literary tradition by inserting the landscape of the southern Marche in the common series of literary representations of Italy.⁵³

Collier's attempt to claim the Marche as part of Italy is recognised in the reviews of *Our Home by the Adriatic*, as they give full credit to the regional context of the book. In *The Academy*, Brown dwells on the geographical specification of the location and admits that, '[i]n talking about Italy one must carefully distinguish

⁵² Collier. 1877. 'The Vergaro: A Tale', in *New Quarterly Magazine*, vol.5, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, October to January, p. 431.

⁵³ Collier's expression, "the other side of Italy", is echoed in the alternative image of Italy later created by D. H. Lawrence in his last work *Etruscan Places* (1921). In describing Sardinia and Sicily, Lawrence criticises contemporary modern European civilisation by focusing on the traces of a more archaic civilisation which preceded the Romans, the Etruscans. In Porter's *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing*, this is referred to as 'the other Italy'. See chapter eight in, Porter. 1991. *Haunted Journeys*.

which part of Italy one means.’⁵⁴ He agrees with Collier and affirms, ‘we have no intimate acquaintance with the peasantry of the Marche.’⁵⁵ The review in *The Saturday Review* also stresses the novelty of Collier’s book and states that ‘[o]ne of the attractions of Italy is the great variety of popular types that it affords. The inhabitants of one province differ from those of another in their thoughts, their feelings, and their way of life’.⁵⁶ In *The Saturday Review*, *Our Home by the Adriatic* is not only praised as, ‘a most interesting and original account of one phase of the Italian life’ but it is also immediately highlighted for the originality of its contents:

[It] contains no idyllic picture of pastoral life; but still there is none of the bitterness of a lost illusion in it. [...] She confines to her subject, the social conditions around her; and as she has observed both closely and intelligently, her book not only makes capital reading, but also affords valuable materials for those who desire to form a clear conception of the real life of modern Italy.⁵⁷

Collier’s personal experience in the Marche is underlined as the distinctive feature of her knowledge and the evidence of her realistic description of facts, local behaviours, beliefs and phenomena. The book is defined as an important source of information not only on this region but also on the newly united Italy.

Both these reviews underline Collier’s attempt in depicting contemporary Italy and its regional situation as it stands out in comparison to the multitude of books on Italy:

In conclusion, we have only to express our gratitude to the author for the most readable, sincere, well-informed, and, on the whole, impartial book on the social life of Italy that has fallen into our hands for several years.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *The Academy*, vol. xxx, 6 November 1886, p. 304.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, vol. lxii, 9 October 1886, p. 486.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, vol. lxii, 9 October 1886, p. 487.

Brown concludes by suggesting, '[h]er book may well be read as a counter irritant to the many exaggerated and heightened descriptions of Italian life.⁵⁹ Collier's portrait of the Marche stands out among the contemporary publications about Italy because of the novelty of subject as much as for the sincerity of the narration. Her contemporary readers perceived the accuracy of information she acquired living in the area in direct relation with the people she described.

This quality is also recognised in Collier's collection of stories, *The Camorristi, and Other Tales*. Commenting on the short story entitled, 'The Camorristi', an anonymous reviewer in *The Saturday Review* states:

The story is throughout interesting and stirring, and is particularly valuable as a picture of a peculiar phase of Italian life, evidently given by a writer who knows it thoroughly well from the inside, and not only as it can be known by an observant traveller.⁶⁰

Collier's writing gains a distinctive realistic quality, even in the fictional form, and this is perceived by the English readership. Her reconstruction of a specific Italian region at the beginning of a united Italy is based on the combination of literary creativity with personal memories of local people, their behaviours, traditions and sayings. They are the characters of most of her stories. In her narrative the English language absorbs the local Italian names of places and people and some common expressions and sayings in their dialect without translation. Her ideal readers have some knowledge of the Italian language as the Italian language and the local dialect appear on the page mostly without translation.

By analysing the manners and customs of the '*Marcheggiani*' through the portraits of the people she knows, she brings out the multiplicity and variety of these people and their culture, questioning the collective homogeneous image of the Italian

⁵⁹ *The Academy*, vol. xxx, 6 November 1886, p. 304

⁶⁰ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, vol. liv, 12 August 1882, p. 224.

country embedded in English literature. She is aware of the difference between the portrait she depicts and the ones which preceded, so she apologises to the reader:

If I have given a shock to the traditional romance attached to them, I sincerely regret it, and can truly say that no one was more disposed than I to take an interest in these, the only human beings with whom I came much in contact (OHA: 126-127).

She describes the landscape as pastoral and uncorrupted as it has not yet been discovered by tourists. On the other hand, she is aware that the romanticism fades away when the details are added to the whole picture. She does not depict a superficial picture of Italy but an informed representation of the social and cultural contexts of the '*Marcheggiani*' with whom she interrelates. The '*Marcheggiani*' are portrayed in their social activities and in relation with the author. She disappoints the readers' expectations because she narrates the difficulties encountered in connecting with the '*Marcheggiani*'.

In *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851), Barrett Browning portrays Italy through the microcosm of Florence that she observed from the windows of her residence. Her gaze leaves the building while the crowd's noises enter from the open window. From San Venanzo, Collier's view has no borders; it opens boundlessly onto the surrounding rural panorama that stretches from the central Apennine on the West to the Adriatic Sea on the East, encountering small villages on top of the highest hills and sporadic farm houses. The countryside is described through its seasonal changes as, 'charming' 'beautiful', 'enchanted', and 'picturesque' (OHA: 53-58). However, once the perspective moves from the outside to the inside, Collier discovers that the landscape she admires is not commonly appreciated by the locals and that she is 'the object of unrestrained curiosity' (OHA: 37), especially for the younger women who question her about her daily routines and her clothes. They wonder at her admiration for the countryside and ask:

What could [she] do with [herself] in campagna [countryside] all day?
There could be no looking out of windows, when there was nothing to
look at, except mountains and sea (OHA: 37).

Mountains and sea are not objects of observation in the local young women's opinion.

In *The English Woman in Italy: Impressions of Life in the Roman States and Sardinia during Ten Years' Residence*, Gretton expresses similar astonishment when she is questioned about her walking habits. She notes that the upper-middle-classes have little knowledge of country life and perceive her interest in the farming community as 'an agreeable contrast.'⁶¹ Gretton and Collier share an interest which contrasts with the local understanding of class difference. They both describe the conditions of women in the Marche and are especially fascinated with the independent life women have in the farming community. In their travelogues, they both portray in detail these women's clothes, jewellery and straw hats. Gretton associates them with 'engravings of Raphael's Fornarina'.⁶² Both Gretton and Collier represent these women's independence by depicting a woman walking 'barefooted, and carrying, admirably poised upon her head, a large pitcher of water, with another of equal size supported on her hip'⁶³. This image of a female amazes these two British women writers for the visual impact of strength produced by the proud upright posture of a woman who walks while 'carrying all weights on the head' (OHA: 115).

In the Marche, upper-middle-class women live confined in their houses looking at the limited view out of windows in mediaeval urban centres. Gretton acknowledges how little popular contemporary novelists were read. In *Our Home by*

⁶¹ Gretton. 1860. *The English Woman in Italy*, vol. 1, p. 146.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 149-150.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

the Adriatic, staring outside the window is defined as one of the commonest activities of the local women. The most important activity for young girls was the embroidery for their trousseau. Remaining inside the house, looking at village life from the windows seemed the only way these women took part in social and cultural life. Collier describes a traditional educational path of a young local aristocratic girl explaining that, after being educated in a convent from the age of ten or twelve, a young woman respects a discipline similar to that of a convent:

They may never leave the house except with their father, neither mother nor brothers being considered escort enough. They are not allowed to read any books but fashion-books, not even the “Promessi Sposi”, and they are locked into their rooms at night (OHA: 104-105).

Young women were prevented from reading novels. While Gretton comments on the lack of literary interests among men and women, Collier highlights the extreme of this prohibition by noting that even the reading of the most important Italian historical novel, Alessandro Manzoni’s *I promessi sposi* (1827, *Betrothed Lovers*, 1844),⁶⁴ a deeply Catholic novel, was forbidden. The Catholic Church exercised absolute control over education. Access to education was difficult for those who were not Catholic. For example, in 1860, Gretton returned to England in order to provide an education for her son.⁶⁵

Collier partakes in the local community and the people she interacts with are the subjects of her writing from the start of her literary career. Her first fictional story, ‘The Vergaro: A Tale’,⁶⁶ is set in the Marche and the characters are based on the local people. The protagonist is a strong heroine, Ermenegilda, who has the courage to love even if it means breaking the imposed limits of social class. Finding herself alone, she decides to earn her own living by teaching but, confined by the local social constraints, she cannot be free to establish her profession because she is

⁶⁴ France, (ed.) 2000. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, p. 490.

⁶⁵ See Mori. 2005. ‘Note’, in Mangani, (ed.) *The English in the Marche*.

⁶⁶ Collier, M. 1876. *The New Quarterly Magazine*, vol.5, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, January.

not married and she is not allowed to work because of her upper-class social status. She then marries the *vergaro* (a local term that specifies the status of a farmer who owns his own farm) and is then able to teach as part of the lower social class. Collier was interested in the social independence of the '*vergara*'. The '*vergara*' (female name for *vergaro*) was a woman who had responsibility for the farm in relation to all activities except farming. Collier was amazed by the fact that these women could participate in the harvest.

The attention given to the independence of women of the rural class in comparison to the noble and middle-class women is a distinctive task of Collier's narrative as a female writer. As the reviewer in *The Saturday Review* highlights, she observes 'the existence of the women, whom male strangers never see except in their best dress and manners'. She makes a clear distinction between young noble and rural women, explaining:

In that class of life [the farmhands] the young people take the conduct of their affairs more into their own hands; a pretty peasant girl will change her betrothed many times before she finds one to her mind (OHA: 172).

In her writing, passionate Italian rural heroines are not victims of their situation but independent women who work and choose their partners. It is in the comparative analysis of her fictional heroines with the protagonists of contemporary works of British women writers that Collier acquires a distinctive voice. Although influenced by the Anglo-Italian Romantic heroine of Germaine de Staël, her narrative transforms the stereotypical Anglo-Italian protagonist into an independent and successful woman.

Collier suggests to the reader, step into the canvas and interrelate with the people who give shape to the Italian landscape. She acknowledges the many difficulties due to language and cultural misunderstandings. Her previous travel

experiences and reading on Italy could have supported her direct dialogue with the specific community:

The picturesque and romantic view of this arcadian life, however, is only for the outsider, and not apparent to one whose lot is cast in the midst of it, as mine was. I had to grapple with its difficulties, and the poetry melted away very completely as I came into close contact with its prosaic and ugly details (OHA: 6-7).

Through direct experience, the term 'picturesque' acquires a wider semantic meaning containing "prosaic and ugly details". A deeper comprehension of the elements of this panoramic landscape breaks the superficial illusion of its perfect beauty which so many British travellers admired, looking for the Romantic primitivism firstly expressed by James Macpherson's fraudulent collection of epic poems, *The Works of Ossian, The Son of Fingal* (1762) at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ As in Macpherson's poems, the 'picturesque' landscape discloses its contrasting elements. The Italian landscape could offer picturesque views of people working in harmony with the natural elements and becoming decorative ornaments, a balance between human actions and nature that Great Britain had been losing due to its industrial development. The pastoral scene painted by Collier, especially in *Our Home by the Adriatic*, exposes rural life in its entirety, including cultural and social contrasts and differences that existed not only between Victorian England and a united Italy but also between the variety of regions that constituted the new nation.

Our Home by the Adriatic

Clearly autobiographical in its factual content, *Our Home by the Adriatic* places its primary purpose within travel writing. Collier presents the 'Marcheggiani' within a social investigation based on her life-experiences, as much as on analytical

⁶⁷ See Fussell. 1980. *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*.

observations with an anthropological aim. Having experienced Italy both as a tourist and as a resident, she is confident of the importance of her work as a guide for the British traveller who wants to discover the Marche. A previous version was published in two parts in the *Cornhill Magazine* under the title, 'Country Life in Italy', in November and December 1881.⁶⁸ A very popular literary magazine, the *Cornhill Magazine* had serialised one of the most popular English novels set in Italy of its time, George Eliot's *Romola*, in 1862. At the end of 1881, Leslie Stephen was the magazine's editor.

Our Home by the Adriatic does not present any precise chronological and geographical co-ordinates. The first-person narrator immediately sets the scene 'south of Ancona' (OHA: 8) but does not offer any other precise information, preferring to depict picturesque landscapes and local activities. It outlines the family's journey into a cultural and social environment that puts their intellectual and moral values to the test. Her narrative is directed to a constructed reader, a British audience who previously visited the usual Italian tourist sights and wants to discover an original portrayal of the country. The reader is invited to be guided by the narrator inside the picturesque scenes of local life:

If, attracted by the mediævalism of its outward aspect, the traveller should have the curiosity to pass through the archway, and see how life goes on inside the little town, the illusion that he has been suddenly carried back to a past age will not be dispelled (OHA: 3).

The narrator is unnamed; the subjects are designated as 'I', a first-person plural narrator, 'We', and a capitalised 'A', standing for her husband's first name, Arturo. While the first person narrator does not reveal her identity, all the local characters are introduced with their names and a description of their social status.

⁶⁸ Collier. 1881. 'Country Life in Italy', part I, in *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 46, July to December. London: Smith, Elder & Co., pp. 604-618; 'Country Life in Italy', part II, in *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 46, July to December, London: Smith, Elder & Co., pp. 684-695.

The narrative conforms to the established nineteenth-century tradition of the travel book, which as Mills states, creates a dimension in which the traveller, as the textual subject, and the writer, as the individual, are together on the road. It invites a traveller/reader to join the journey in the memories of an original experience in Italy.⁶⁹ The narrator has a British perspective and compares the Italian contemporary context of a newly independent united country with the Victorian one. It addresses an ideal general 'traveller' (OHA: 1-2), who then becomes an 'Englishman' (OHA: 10) who represents a constructed British reader sharing Collier's cultural and social knowledge and moral values.

Collier directly refers to the reader as the 'English traveller' or the 'Englishman', by using the male gender as a universal category. This ideal reader is guided into the reality of an Italian village which presents a different, unknown image of the variety of regional realities constituting a nation struggling to identify common necessities and perspectives. The reader is introduced to the '*Marcheggiani*', their social and political context, habits and customs. The account describes both the gratification and the unexpected difficulties which the protagonist's family encounters in the interaction with the local rural and urban communities. Her husband is a landowner who wants to improve the agricultural production of the area, introducing a sharecropping system called '*mezzadria*'. The narrator is directly involved in the attempt to improve the social conditions of the local children. Deeply concerned with the extent of illiteracy, she partakes in the management of the local school and establishes a nursery school open to all the children of the surrounding area, providing a free educational option which differed from the Roman Catholic Church's institutions.

⁶⁹ See Mills. 1991] 2000. *Discourses of Difference*.

The narration focuses on the description of local people in their social, religious and political contexts. Only two chapters share more standard narrative features with most travel books. The first chapter, 'Installation in My New Home' is a geographical introduction to the area of San Venanzo, in which the narration is set. In 'Our Excursions', which precedes the final chapter simply entitled 'Conclusion', the narrating voice describes the surroundings of San Venanzo which her family visits on excursions. The nine chapters in the middle present a division based on social characters and cultural interests, as some of the titles suggest: 'The Sindaco' (The Mayor), 'Cittadini' (Citizens), 'Contadini' (Farmhands), 'Occupations and Amusements', 'Courtship', 'Religion and Superstition', and 'Politics'.

The narration does not follow a chronological account of events; the interest is in all the social levels of the local community and the relations of its social phenomena. It does not trace a physical journey but it describes the pleasant as well as the problematic consequences of the migration of an aristocratic British woman to a poor, small village located on the Italian map in a precise historical time of political changes. The encounters with people create the possibility for sociological and cultural reflections as well as stories. Their manners and costumes are recorded in English adding Italian terms that, at times, are specific to the area, such as '*vergaro*' and '*vergara*'. Some linguistic expressions from the local dialect are explained or translated; other Italian words are simply agglomerated in the sentences. The use of foreign languages was common in contemporary literature as the higher and middle classes would commonly speak one or two European modern languages. By retaining some non-translated terms and expressions, the narrative gives sound impressions of the local language in addition to descriptive adjectives, adverbs, similes and metaphors. The intended British reader would be accustomed to infer the meaning of the few words they would not know from the context. Those who want

to discover “the other side of Italy” become aware of its linguistic world. Conversely, its multilingualism reflects the difficulties and sense of alienation experienced by the narrator. There is an echo of daily life in the linguistic demands of Collier’s text and its reflection of its differentiating singularity.

Collier’s Italian intellectual life was revitalised by her writing which constructed a literary dialogue with the outside world, and specifically, with an English audience. Writing was her means of expressing herself in her mother tongue:

I [...] often pined for a little social intercourse, more especially for an opportunity of speaking my own language (OHA: 46).

In the chapter entitled ‘Alleviations of My Lot’, the difficulties due to the local dialect are exposed in episodes of linguistic misunderstandings with the inhabitants of the village. Her personal linguistic isolation, which echoes a Christian suffering as suggested by the chapter title, is eased by the comfort of the landscape, the arrival of letters and the exceptional presence of ‘an Anglo-Italian colony, whose society has been more pleasant and useful [...] than [the narrator] can say’ (OHA: 47). In the light of my research, this Anglo-Italian colony is of the greatest significance. The Salvadoris descend from the female line of an English family who settled in Porto San Giorgio, a town on the Adriatic coast, fifty years before the development of Collier’s own Anglo-Italian family. These two Anglo-Italian families of the Marche were united in the marriage of Collier’s daughter, Giacinta Galletti, with Guglielmo Salvadori, the grandchild of Ethelyn Welby Salvadori, one of the three British grandmothers described in *Our Home by the Adriatic*.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See the family tree in Appendix 1.

The Salvadoris represent Collier's possibility of communicating in English but also the result of previous attempts to combine English with the local ways of life:

although they have never been to England, yet [they] speak English, and keep up energetically many English traditions. They form a little society apart, for two generations have not sufficed to bring them into complete harmony with their surroundings (OHA: 47).

The Salvadoris can give support to Collier who finds a space where she is accepted as Margaret without being the 'Inglesina' (the little English lady) as she appears to be defined by her servants. After the difficulties she admits to in mastering the local dialect, she enjoys the company of a multilingual family in which English, French and Italian are spoken. She is amazed by this family who 'partly owned three different nationalities, and spoke three different languages' (OHA: 48). The similarities of the two families' situations create a fount of knowledge to which she can refer in supporting her decision to educate her family as Anglo-Italian, in importing all the cultural stimuli and technological comforts of modern Victorian society:

[m]y Anglo-Italian friends were a very united family, and the strange blending of races, and consequently of ideas, lent their conversation and their habits an originality which I thought very charming (OHA: 51).

In Collier's opinion, the Salvadoris represent the ideal Anglo-Italian family in which the cultural differences are preserved as they enhance their identities as Italian residents. Collier describes the three British grandmothers in a garden that symbolised their Anglo-Italian identity. The garden epitomises their Englishness in the flowers and plants listed and an image of children playing croquet.

The chapters entitled 'Installation in My New Home', 'More Trials', 'Alleviations of My Lot', and 'The *Sindaco*' are an account of the family's many problems caused by their progressive ideals of equality and liberalism. Their active commitment to developing better and equal social conditions causes animosity. The

political and religious authorities try to hinder their attempts and, at first, the changes are also misunderstood by the inhabitants. The different political and religious attitude of the Anglo-Italian family creates worries and discontent. The political engagement of Galletti in the new Kingdom of Italy scares the local community as much as the domination of the Roman Catholic Church. The connection of the mayor with the Camorra, the local mafia, puts their lives in danger but the intervention of a governmental official saves them, demonstrating the hypocrisy of the local public administrators and their corruption, proving the Gallettis' honest involvement in the village's community.

The initial clash between the Anglo-Italian family and the local community leads the narrator to a social analysis of their attitudes. A longer acquaintance with the farmhands allows the discovery of the different attitudes to life between the richer class and the poorer one. Critical of her Italian peers, the narrator becomes interested in the life of the rural class because, using her words, 'though lowest of all in the social scale, [...], yet "noi altri contadini" [we, farmhands], as they call themselves cheerfully, see no reason to be dissatisfied with their lot, and seldom seek to rise a degree above their own' (OHA: 111-112). Their self-esteem caused the initial difficulties of communication between the aristocratic woman, who was often shocked, offended by their behaviour, and the farmhands and workers, who found her attitude to be arrogant and her behaviour peculiar.

The narrator regains firm faith in progress and the possibility of socially reforming the local context, constructing better conditions for future generations.

The tone of the narration modifies and provides a wider space for the observation:

Now, as I look back upon it through the softening haze which distance lends, the whole comes into proportion and harmony; only the salient points stand out from the misty background, and details, which assumed at the moment such undue proportions, sink into their proper insignificance; while the freshness and pleasantness of the first impressions revive, and cast a glamour over my reminiscences (OHA: 7).

The initial cultural astonishment develops a wider view through experience and knowledge of the local social structures and cultural circumstances. Some habits and behaviours, which might have been misinterpreted, come into proportion allowing a better understanding and collaboration.

As the narrator, Collier analyses the contemporary local economic, social and religious issues. The difficulties and dangers have not spoiled the ideal image of enchantment and romance which seduced her. The local rural community, in her terms, 'this primitive state of society refreshing to one weary of our artificial existence' (OHA: 6), becomes understandable:

The purely unsophisticated outdoor life of the peasant is, I think, very much to be preferred to that of the richest and most important dweller in one of these puny cities (OHA: 110).

The pejorative term 'puny' refers to the sophisticated and aristocratic centres of cultural life in Italy, such as Rome, Naples and Venice, in which she could not find any form of sympathy. She judges them negatively because of her disappointment with their hypocritical and superficial intellectual contexts where women do not share equality in culture and education. She resists the Italian cultural and religious conventions and prefers to be accepted in the rural community which openly enquires about her different cultural and religious values. It is the rural community that provides the most interesting cultural subjects.

Although illiterate and unaware of the national and European context outside the regional borders, the farming community appears ready to converse, for they too are curious about Collier's English background. The narrator is aware of a cultural gap which is identifiable on both sides:

But I believe their naïveté and ignorance did not astonish me as much as mine did them, and my want of knowledge on subjects familiar as household words to them led to an amusing over-estimate of my ignorance (OHA: 59-60).

In these words Collier finally breaks the wall of superiority constructed by her Victorian background, and positions herself as the subject of interest of “the other”. There is the admission of an equal attempt at knowledge and understanding due to her own lack of comprehension. Her language succeeds in portraying the reciprocal difficulties of the local community in understanding her way of life. This quotation creates an image of the narrator as part of a cultural exchange. The narrative lacks objectivity, focusing only on the observer’s point of view. In the attempt to support the validity of her voice, the narrator tends to position herself at a superior level of knowledge.

While experimenting with scientific methods, Collier’s writing struggles to achieve an objective tone, lacking a language which would not be embedded in class bias. In the Victorian era, new scientific and philosophical theories, such as Materialism and Positivism, highlighted the need to reproduce reality without idealising it. The scientific experimental method began to be applied to knowledge and the human being soon became the subject of new disciplines, such as sociological ethics and sociological studies.⁷¹ The individual was perceived as the product of the influences and pressures of its heredity and environment. The scientific approach also shows the potential, analytical quality of a British woman whose main task is the description of that rural Italian life that is often idealised as ‘arcadian life’ (OHA: 6).

Moving among the social environments, the narrator analyses the habits and manners of the people working in her house and the families of farmers that cultivate her husband’s land. She refers to them by their first names. Nevertheless, they are voiceless. The written presence of their voices depends on the writer’s transcription on the page which is in English, except for some words left in Italian. These are the

⁷¹ See the influential works by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832); Karl Max (1818-1883); Charles Darwin (1809-1882); Auguste Comte (1798-1857); Hyppolite Taine (1828-1893).

words that Collier identifies as typical of the area and decides to adopt as linguistic evidence of her realistic picture of the Marche.

As the author, Collier gives credibility to her observations by applying an anthropological perspective and avoiding idealisation.⁷² She does not idealise the reality she depicts but she gives her opinions of it. She describes their occupations and amusements, trying to understand an oral culture based on a contrasting mixture of religious faith and superstition. She inserts transcriptions of dialect songs and legends of rural Italy including their translations into English. When reporting a story she was told by the local people, the narrator is careful to specify the source of her information, such as ‘The following is the literal account given to me by a mother [...]. I give the narrative in her own words’ (OHA: 160), or ‘The following is also a true account of a search for a wife, the confidence coming this time from the gentleman’s side’ (OHA: 162). However, she fails to specify the identity of the speaking subject as in the previous case. The local people are identified by their social class, or their job. She emphasises that, at the beginning, ‘everything was strange to [her]’ (OHA: 174). Then, being more comfortable with her knowledge of the manners and customs of her neighbours, she enlarges her views to include the rural community’s opinions of her. She becomes their subject of observation and curiosity. She includes their opinions of her nationality and the ‘curiosity [...] often displayed about that strange country Inghilterra (England)’ (OHA: 59). The local people express an interest in ‘the English Signora (Lady), who [is] always so anxious for her letters’ (OHA: 66) and reads ‘by the roadside’ (OHA: 60).

In the previous examples, the narrator is identified as a literate subject who communicates with the world outside the region by means of writing. She is in contact with this idealised rich country from which she comes by receiving letters

⁷² See Mills. [1991] 2000. *Discourses of Difference*.

and books. They ask about her Englishness and her Protestant faith, her rich native land. Her father is pictured as a Lord who can ‘whisper in Queen Victoria’s ear’ (OHA: 86). They have no knowledge of political and social contexts outside the Marche, but their independent, proud attitude fascinates the narrator. In the chapter entitled ‘Occupations and Amusements’, the narrator describes how her Anglo-Italian family became the subject of a Carnival masquerade:

Hearing rumours of it, and wishing “to see ourselves as others see us”, we offered a reward if it came to the house; but conscious, I suppose, of the inadequacy of the yellow paper which represented the stripes on my husband’s uniform, or thinking that I might feel it *infra dig.* to see myself mounted on no nobler steed than a donkey, the procession did not present itself (OHA: 142).

A cultural tradition that often fascinated British travel writers is an occasion to analyse how the locals perceive the narrator’s family and, in this particular case, parody them. In the description of the musical events, the narrator includes the Carnival and its dances, giving a philological note on the origin of the word, but she fails in understanding the parodist nature of the festivity.

Carnival masquerade is not about realist effects and pleasing the upper-middle class audience. The carnivalesque spirit celebrates the temporary alteration of hierarchical categories by mocking authorities and officials. The ritual festive procession exposes the narrator’s difficulty in participating in the liberating ritual. The absence of her family from the social event confirms it. In maintaining the hierarchical social structure by requesting the masquerade to pass by her house, Collier does not understand why herself and her husband have inspired the subject of a masquerade in the village. On the other end, it is after the narration of this episode that she transcribes three songs in the local language and then translates them. In the same chapter, there are also detailed descriptions of the local dance called *salterello*.

The narrator explains another event from the locals' perspective at the end of the chapter, 'Occupations and Amusements'. She describes how she decorated a Christmas tree for the children's amusement. Memories of the first Christmas tree comes to the narrator's attention because 'no one in the village, except the schoolmaster, had ever heard of a Christmas-tree' (OHA: 154-155). The modern social customs of Victorian society appear to the inhabitants of Torre San Patrizio through the image of a Christmas tree decorated for the school children. Christmas is a religious event and the narrator needs to solve a few problems caused by the negative opinion of the Catholic community in relation to her Protestant belief.

The locals fear her different religious belief and do not trust her commercial image of Christmas, firstly because it is new and secondly because they do not trust her different behaviour. Collier is commonly defined as 'a heretic' (OHA: 155). The problems are surmounted and the Christmas tree is decorated with 'blazing wax lights, [...], to the admiration not only of the children and our villagers, but deputations from all the villages for many miles round, who came attracted by its fame' (OHA: 156). The Christmas tree project was assisted by 'all the village notabilities' during all its preparation and the narrator's fulfilment with the result of her efforts is exemplified by the children's 'contentment' (OHA: 156). The mistrust described by Collier, demonstrated by the villagers towards her initiatives, is evidence of the critical perception of her different habits and beliefs and of the modern progress she appears to spread.

The Gallettis acquired their role in the local community as they were involved politically and socially in the activities of the nearest village, Torre San Patrizio. The improvement of the local administration and educational structure relied on the active interest of Galletti and his wife. The volume of a local historian, Giuseppe Branca, *Fra i Sibillini e l'Adriatico: notizie e impressioni, ombre e figure*

(Between the Sibylline and Adriatic. Information and Impressions, Shades and Figures, 1896) offers an example of the admiration of the higher classes for the family. In a chapter dedicated to the figure of Galletti, Collier is defined as an English lady 'of the highest nobility, a well renowned author in the literary world'.⁷³ Describing the landscape of San Venanzo, the author adds that the beauty of the place inspired some of the most appreciated pages of 'donna Margherita, the daughter of Lord Collier of Monkswell and noble, kind and intellectual partner of Galletti'.⁷⁴

Branca shows a great admiration for Collier and her literary talent, comparing her writing with recognised British literary talents inspired by Italy, such as Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, to enhance her image as the British writer of the province of Ascoli Piceno. The title of his work recalls the first line of *Our Home by the Adriatic*. In a chapter entitled 'Da Fermo al Vettore' (From Fermo to Mount Vettore), he inserts the translation of a comment directly from her travel narrative. In both books, there is the account of an excursion to Mount Vettore in which both Collier and Branca participated. Branca's book is dedicated to 'Donna Margherita Galletti di Cadilhac, nata [née] Collier di [of] Monkswell'.⁷⁵ He praises her as a literary figure inspiring the local writers who often neglect their native region. In his opinion, the British writer succeeds in describing the natural beauty of the place, which became her family's home.

Our Home by the Adriatic concludes with a description of the excursions the narrator and her family embarked upon in the area. Travelling appears again as a means of education and improvement. Collier adds a final summary of the

⁷³ 'una gentildonna della più alta nobiltà inglese, scrittrice assai reputata nel mondo letterario'. Branca. 1896. *Fra i Sibillini e l'Adriatico: notizie e impression, ombre e figure*, Florence: G. Passeri, p. 68.

⁷⁴ 'figliuola del lord Collier di Monkswell, gentile, affettuosa, intellettuale compagna del Galletti.' *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

achievements obtained together with her husband in San Venanzo, explaining that they 'have taken root in the province, as only a family whose head is Italian could have done' (OHA: 249). A candidate for the national Parliament, her husband becomes a symbol of the ideal improvement not only of the local area but of the entire country. His patriotic and liberal ideals are the common resources uniting all Italians, in her positive but naïve words, 'despite all the superficial differences and all party quarrels, in one great brotherhood' (OHA: 250). The narrator's exceptional journey to the Marche seems to have passed the test: with the Gallettis' commitment the conditions and expectations of their rural Italian area have improved. Her husband now looks at a future in national politics.

The contrasts and difficulties of a united Italy reflect the frictions between the British and the Italian perceptions of the values that they have experienced. Although there is an optimistic message of love and future moral improvement, the narrator does not include herself in this final image of the fraternal sentiment of the union of the Italians because she does not define herself as Italian. The same pronoun 'we', which is used to refer to the Anglo-Italian couple as a unit, is also used as 'we English' (OHA: 171) in the narrative. The narrator is always conscious of her British nationality. She seems to exclude herself from the final political image portraying the united Italy. While her husband shares the sympathies of his compatriots, the narrator claims an outsider's point of view because of her different nationality. She does not belong to the final portrait of Italy as an Italian wife but she stands outside it together with her Anglophone readers, as a British travel writer. In the conclusion, the pronoun "we" referring to her family inspires a figure of unity represented by a synecdoche, a head of the family. In the Italian nation, her Anglo-Italian family is socially identified by her Italian husband. The authority of the narrating voice remains her identity as a British migrant in the Marche.

In *Our Home by the Adriatic*, Collier's travel writing develops a dialogic comparison between the other, the foreign, and her own British identity, which remains implicit. Scenes and events of local rural life in the Marche reappear, developed and fictionalised producing vivid literary accounts of original sights of Italy in which a British traveller has contact with Italian characters. In Collier's case, fiction allows a more comfortable, liberated autobiographical activity in which she negotiates the possibilities of a cathartic liberation of her emotions and memories transferred to fictionalised characters and events. Her most interesting fiction is set in England and the Marche, and deals with identity issues derived from a sense of belonging to two countries equally and, consequentially longing for them both. Her novel, *Babel* (1887), for example, is a fascinating representation of Anglo-Italian identity which subverts the Romantic tragic expectations produced by a core text on the Anglo-Italian relationships, Germaine de Staël's *Corinne, ou L'Italie*, by creating an Anglo-Italian travelling heroine who wants to travel to her mother's country, England.

When she arrived, Collier subscribed to the common image of two countries, trusting a possibility of union between the ideals of sensuous rural Italy and Victorian England's moral principles and insistence on progress. Conscious of the differences, she did not lose faith in her efforts to represent her family as a north-south union for future generations. From a British Victorian liberal and Protestant perspective, she travelled and observed the other, the Marche and the "*Marcheggiani*". In writing about them, she interpreted herself and addressed the multiplicity of positions which constructed her Anglo-Italian identity, including the representation of herself as "the other" constructed by the locals. In Stanford Friedman's words, Collier discovered herself through 'a dialogic of sameness and difference'. In travel writing, Collier's voice could speak in a way which

autobiography did not allow. In other forms of writing, she was Margaret, 'Madge', 'Rita', 'Mum' or 'Grannie',⁷⁶ depending on the addressee. In *Our Home by the Adriatic* she could avoid the complexity of these names using an unnamed 'I' only, so as to confound the dialogic voices behind the persona identified by the subjective first person pronoun. In her narrative she could also inscribe the family history, transforming her travel book into a means of transmission of the roots of her family's identity based on the mediation of an Anglo-Italian union.

Collier created her example of cosmopolitan identity in the south of the Marche and transmitted her experiences to those British travellers who would follow, finding a means of knowledge about the Marche and the "*Marcheggiani*". This written account of an actual journey and the consequential personal growth of an English lady would also pass down to future generations of her Anglo-Italian family. Collier's non-fictional travel account combines the geographical and the internal exploration creating a "dialogic space" in which a displaced subjectivity struggles to define itself under the categories of British traveller, or migrant, or the wife of an Italian and a British mother, failing to affirm her own name in the narrative.⁷⁷ As

Porter has stated:

the most interesting writers of non-fictional travel books have managed to combine explorations in the world with the self-exploration. They submitted themselves to the challenge of the travel and, in the process, managed if not always to make themselves over, then at least to know themselves differently.⁷⁸

Collier succeeds in combining a record of the local community to which she migrated with the exploration of her multiple voices. In her attempt to describe what surrounds her, she observes herself through different eyes and sees herself in relation

⁷⁶ Unpublished typescript, 1906-1928, 44 pp; SPA.

⁷⁷ This expression is inspired by Julia Kristeva's concept of intertextuality in her essay 'Word, Dialogue and Novel'. See Roudiez, (ed.) 1980. *Desire in Language*, p. 71.

⁷⁸ Porter. 1991. *Haunting Journeys*, p. 5.

to “the other”, she constructs an open dialogic place coming into being through the interaction of various scenes and multiple portraits among which she does not depict her own. In Porter’s opinion, travel writing offers an author great freedom of association stimulated by the interest in the unfamiliar that attracts the attention and the displacement of the subject who is, then, invited to a form of self-disclosure and retrospective auto-analysis.⁷⁹ Pratt and Porter underline the dialogism stimulated in travel writing by the undefined encounter of cultural borders which creates an open area of mediation between sameness and difference aroused by the observation of other ways of life. The analysis of the acknowledgement of the sameness and the difference stimulated by the encounter with ‘the other’ inspires the reflection on the sameness and difference of the self in relation to a centred idea of identity and nationality. Thus, Collier’s account offers a stimulating narration of a learning process in understanding “the other” through the trials encountered by transforming the individual subject.

As a Victorian woman, Collier put her life on the edge of social and cultural parameters defined by her chronological and geographical circumstances. She gave a positive answer to the possibility of love and life, forming an Anglo-Italian family in respect of the humanistic intellectual liberal values of her upbringing. As a British female travel writer, she put into words her acquaintance with the Marche, creating a literary space in which to attempt a multilayered image of the “*Marcheggiani*”. At times judgmental, and at others naïve, *Our Home by the Adriatic* remains important written evidence not only of the nobility in this area, but also of the rural population, their way of life, including that of children and women and rare transcriptions of oral traditions. Although the narrator gives a problematic picture of the ‘*Marcheggiani*’,

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

as they are nameless or speechless subjects of observation, Collier depicts realistic portraits of these people.

Nowadays, it is still possible to identify Collier's travel book as a realistic account of Italy which contrasts with the common romanticised pictures of nineteenth-century Italy as the reviewers of *The Academy* and *The Saturday Review* remarked at the time of its publication: a 'readable, sincere, well-informed, and, on the whole, impartial book on the social life of Italy that has fallen in our hands'.⁸⁰ An example of its historical relevance is given by the research of the freelance editor and writer Rita Kramer who wrote the biography of Maria Montessori (1870-1952), a famous woman of the Marche. Montessori was born in Chiaravalle in the province of Ancona in 1870. Kramer bases her analysis of the woman's social and cultural condition in the Marche partly on *Our Home by the Adriatic*. In concluding a description of a middle-class woman's empty life, she adds a detail by quoting directly from Collier's travel book and introduces her as:

An English woman who married an Italian nobleman and went to live in a village on the Adriatic coast, not far from Maria Montessori's birthplace, wrote of the provincial bourgeois Italian women.⁸¹

Kramer quotes from *Our Home by the Adriatic*, but she does not acknowledge her name in the chapter. Here Collier's name is of secondary importance to her text. Collier's 'amusing and instructive'⁸² description of a defined regional area of Italy in a precise historical time is today as significant as is her representation of a north-south union. The translation into Italian of two of her works, *La nostra casa*

⁸⁰ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, vol. lxii, 9 October 1886, pp. 486-487. See also *The Academy*, vol. xxx, 6 November 1886, p. 304

⁸¹ Kramer. [1976] 1988. *Maria Montessori: A Biography*, p. 30.

⁸² *Ibid.*

sull'Adriatico and *Babele* (2000),⁸³ edited by her granddaughters, Gladys Salvadori and Joyce Salvadori, have transformed her into a rare case of a Victorian female writer whose works translated into Italian are in print in Italy but not in her native country. Her name and two of her works, however, are better known in Italy, specifically in the area in which she lived.

⁸³ Lussu, (ed.) [1981]. 1997 *Margaret Collier. La nostra casa sull'Adriatico* (Margaret Collier. Our Home by the Adriatic); Salvadori, (ed.) 1998. *Margaret Collier. Babele* (Margaret Collier. Babel). Ancona: il Lavoro Editoriale.

Chapter Two

‘A Conversation with Tagore’: Giacinta Galletti’s ‘Contribution to the World’

In 1926, Collier’s Anglo-Italian daughter, Giacinta Galletti Salvadori, who was a travel writer, a journalist and a keen writer of letters, unexpectedly came to international notice in connection with the public stand taken by the Bengali poet and Nobel Prize Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) against Benito Mussolini’s (1883-1945) Fascist Italian government.¹ Galletti, who had previously published a brief travelogue, entitled ‘The Sibilline Mountains’ in *The Hindustan and Kayastha Samachar Review*,² gained public renown as an Anglo-Italian witness to the rise of the violent, dictatorial Italian Fascist government by co-authoring the article, ‘A Conversation with Tagore’. This chapter argues this article is evidence of Galletti’s powerful anti-fascist testimony.

Tagore’s official visit to Italy in 1926 created controversial reactions. On 5 August, a letter he wrote to his friend, C. F. Andrews (1871-1940), entitled ‘Philosophy of Fascism’, was published in the *Manchester Guardian*.³ In this letter he clarified his position in relation to Italian Fascism by condemning it. On 7 August, Tagore reasserted his denial of support for Mussolini in ‘A Conversation with Tagore’ by giving credit to the person who exposed for him the inherent threat of Italian Fascism. This person was Galletti. Tagore acknowledges Galletti’s essential role as an interpreter of Fascism by defining her activism as a “contribution

¹ The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines fascism as ‘similar nationalist and authoritarian movements’ in other countries’ than Italy. In this thesis, the use of a capital letter ‘F’ specifies the Italian form of fascism. In 1919, Mussolini launched a movement in Italy which then developed into the Fascist Party in 1921.

² *The Hindustan and Kayastha Samachar Review* was an Indian journal published monthly featuring reviews of British new publications and articles about educational legal, medical and scientific works. See Salvadori. 1904. ‘The Sibilline Mountains’, in *The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, vol. X, no. 2, August, pp. 145–154.

³ Tagore. 1926. ‘Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore’, in *Manchester Guardian*, 5 August, p. 9.

to the world”. The subtitle to this article is, in fact, ‘Her contribution to the world’.⁴ In the words of the Italian intellectual, Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957), this ‘interview had a decisive result’.⁵ This chapter establishes Tagore’s interview with Galletti as a turning point in his disapproval of Fascism.

I will demonstrate the relevance of Galletti’s contribution to the historical and literary contexts of the first half of the twentieth century by studying her construction of an Anglo-Italian subjectivity in her public voice. This chapter presents, for the first time, a study of her political testimony, highlighting its importance in the contribution to the international condemnation of the Italian Fascist regime in the interwar period. The interview used for the article ‘A Conversation with Tagore’ is the only available evidence of her testimony to these historical events. Due to the initially covert and later open censorship implemented by the Italian Fascist regime, many articles condemning the regime and its violent policies were anonymously authored, despite the fact that they were written in English and published outside Italy.

In Galletti’s case, the evidence of her political writing is also supported by her daughters’ claims. In the introduction to a selection of letters her mother wrote between 1941 and 1948, Joyce Salvadori explains, ‘My mother wrote correspondence from Italy for two English left-wing journals, the *New Statesman* and the *Manchester Guardian*, describing the fascist reality.’⁶ In an unpublished letter of Margaret Collier, Gladys Salvadori notes in parenthesis that the articles were written by Galletti and signed by her husband, Guglielmo Salvadori.⁷ Galletti directly refers

⁴ Salvadori and Tagore. 1926. ‘A Conversation with Tagore’, in *Manchester Guardian*, 7 August, p. 10 (hereafter ACT).

⁵ ‘*Quel colloquio ebbe un effetto decisivo*’. Salvemini. 1957. ‘Tagore e Mussolini’, in *Esperienze e studi socialisti in onore di U. G. Mondolfo*, Florence: La Nuova Italia, p. 202.

⁶ ‘*Mia madre scriveva corrispondenze dall’Italia per i periodici inglesi di sinistra New Statesman e Manchester Guardian, descrivendo la realtà del fascismo.*’ This letter is dated 25 February 1924. Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Galletti: lettere fermane*, Ancona and Bologna: Il Lavoro Editoriale, p. 51.

⁷ Unpublished typescript, 1906-1928, SPA; p. 29.

to a letter she published in a 'Paris paper' while introducing herself to Tagore.⁸ These are the only references to Galletti's political activism, except 'A Conversation with Tagore'. Nevertheless, this single instance of Galletti's contribution, published in England and in India, reached a wide international audience.

As an appeal for international help, 'A Conversation with Tagore' preceded those of prominent anti-fascist activists, such as Gaetano Salvemini, Emilio Lussu, Fausto Nitti and Carlo Rosselli, who founded the anti-fascist movement, *Giustizia e Libertà*.⁹ It is the source for an analysis of the original Anglo-Italian perspective of her subversive activism in opposition to a form of belligerent nationalism which denies civil and political freedom. This chapter examines how Galletti's contribution to anti-fascism has been neglected, although she roused Tagore's international public stand against the Italian Fascist government.

Her Anglo-Italian activism stands as an example of Braidotti's concept of a polyglot. In Braidotti's words, a polyglot is 'a person who is in transition between languages, neither here nor there, is capable of some healthy skepticism about steady identities and mother tongues'.¹⁰ As a polyglot, Galletti is 'in transition between' Italian, English and German and her fluency in moving from one linguistic referential system to another opens the understanding of the same world from multiple and diverse perspectives. Although her national identity and her mother tongue do not belong to limited and stable categories, her linguistic nomadic consciousness offers her a standpoint from which the world is never perceived as

⁸ Galletti refers to 'The poet and the murderer: Rabindranath Tagore in Rome', which appeared in *Il corriere degli Italiani* on 16 June 1926. See Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', in Majumder, (ed.) 2000. *Rabindra-Viksha*, vol. 38, India: Rabindrabhavan, p. 51.

⁹ '*Giustizia e Libertà*' was founded by Gaetano Salvemini, Alberto Cianca, Carlo Rosselli, Fausto Nitti and Emilio Lussu in Paris in 1929. The movement became the centre of activities for all anti-fascists in France, Britain and America. See Brigaglia, (ed.) 1976. *Emilio Lussu e "Giustizia e Libertà"*, Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre; and 1976. *Emilio Lussu: per l'Italia dall'esilio*, Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre.

¹⁰ Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 12..

obvious or given.¹¹ The world is constructed differently not only according to different languages but also to cultural, economical and political systems. It is through language that the world is produced and deciphered. In a time of totalitarianism and strict censorship, Galletti finds in her multilingual critical consciousness ‘a vantage point in deconstructing’ the Fascist propaganda discourse and its false picture of a unanimous national and international approval of the Fascist regime.¹² I will argue the importance of Galletti’s political writing as an attempt to construct a public voice in representation of a complex, multilingual and heterogeneous Anglo-Italian subjectivity in a historical period in which political and war propaganda defined nationalities in steady binary oppositions by categorising the individual either as a countryman, an ally or an enemy.

Galletti was one of many Italian citizens who opposed Fascism from its violent conception. Her story could be included in a study of both literary and autobiographical testimonies of the Second World War. She was an activist in the interwar period and she survived the war as a civilian and a prisoner, but her name did not survive as she has been silenced by her marital status. In this chapter, I locate Galletti among women, such as Storm Jameson, who, ‘turned [...] into pamphleteers and amateur politicians’ because of the threat of fascism.¹³ Galletti’s impulse to oppose Fascism through writing recalls that of examples that are already recorded, such as Nancy Cunard (1896-1965), Winifred Holtby (1898-1935), and Storm Jameson (1891-1986). Nevertheless, her voice precedes theirs.

¹¹ My argument has been influenced by the participation in the ‘Writer’s Round Table Discussion’ at the international conference ‘Contemporary European Women Writers: Gender and Generation’ held at University of Bath between 30 March and 1 April 2005. During this session, the comments of two contemporary bilingual novelists, Michèle Roberts and Laura Freixas were helpful to clarify the connections between writing, creativity and bilingualism.

¹² Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 12.

¹³ Jameson. 1969-70. *Autobiography of Storm: Journey from the North*, 2 vol., London: Collins and Harvill Press as quoted in Joannou, (ed.) 1999. *Women Writers of the 1930s: Gender, Politics and History*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 123.

Since the end of the 1980s, academic scholars, such as Gilbert and Gubar,¹⁴ have retrieved testimonies of the two world wars by women and non-combatants which were previously omitted in key literary works on war writing. Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975) illustrates the conceptualisation of war writing in relation to the first-hand experience of the trenches. An ex-soldier himself, Fussell assumes, in Lynne Hanley's words, 'that war literature is written by and about soldiers at the front.'¹⁵ By deconstructing the dominant androcentric definition of war writing, Hanley, among many, has reclaimed fictional and memorial works by women, such as Vera Brittain (1893-1970), Rebecca West (1892-1983), and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), in the field of war writing.¹⁶

The devastation of the Second World War was experienced by civilians as well as by soldiers. The events of the Second World War demanded a broader understanding of words such as 'war zone', combatant and non-combatant, to include the realities of the home-front, concentration camps and Resistance movements in which civilians and combatants took similar risks. In reporting a statistical survey published in New York in 1993, Yvonne Klein highlights that in the Second World War civilian casualties outnumbered military deaths by a wide margin, perhaps as much as three to one'.¹⁷ The importance of the memories and testimonies of those women who described their experience of humiliation and loss, collaboration, opposition, or survival is emphasised by this figure as it reveals the enormity of the

¹⁴ Gilbert and Gubar. 1989. 'Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War', in *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

¹⁵Hanley. 1991. *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory*, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, p. 26.

¹⁶ On the history of women's responses to war in the twentieth century see also Randolph, Jenson and Collins, (eds). 1987. *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press; Hanley. 1991. *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory*, Ouditt. 1994. *Fighting Forces, Writing Women: Identity and Ideology in the First World War*, London and New York: Routledge; Klein, (ed.) 1997. *Beyond the Home Front: Women's Autobiographical Writing of the Two World Wars*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press; Joannou, (ed.) 1999. *Women Writers of the 1930s: Gender, Politics and History*; Ouditt. 2000. *Women Writers of the First World War: An Annotated Bibliography*, London and New York: Routledge.

¹⁷ See Klein, (ed.) 1997. *Beyond the Home Front: Women's Autobiographical Writing of the Two World Wars*, p. 9.

impact of the war on European life and also the wide variety of its perceptions. This vast number of civilians who experienced war undermines a limited distinction constructed between the civilian and military perspective on the war. In her journalism, Galletti reports the facts concerning a population subdued by violence and censorship.

Giacinta Galletti's Literary Context

This thesis constitutes the first critical literary study of Galletti's writing. The autobiographical material that is available today has survived thanks to her children's collections, translations and publications of some of her works, especially her letters. Her son, Max Salvadori published a selection of the letters he received from 1933 to 1941 under the title, *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941* (Giacinta Salvadori's Letters).¹⁸ Her younger daughter, Joyce Salvadori posthumously published a biography entitled *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermane* (Giacinta Salvadori: Letters from Fermo, 1989). Salvadori collects original unpublished material written by Galletti, and contextualises it biographically and historically. She includes an Italian translation of Galletti's short story, 'A Summer of My Life', and a selection of the letters Galletti wrote her daughter between 1941 and 1948 which survived the Fascist censorship and the war. As Salvadori admits herself, the biographical narrative is concise but not completely satisfying because '[m]aybe [Galletti's] personality

¹⁸ Salvadori, Max, (ed.) 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, Porto San Giorgio: Tipografia Segreti. As the date at the end of the introduction shows, Max Salvadori edited this collection when he was NATO secretary in Paris (1952-53). This collection, published while Giacinta Galletti Salvadori was alive, appears to be a family or limited or locally founded publication, as it does not present a publishing house but only the name of the printing office, Tipografia Segreti. Nevertheless, Max Salvadori, Emeritus Professor of History in the United States, includes it in his *curriculum vitae* in the anthologies section. See Luzi, (ed.) 1996. *Max Salvadori: l'uomo, il cittadino* (Max Salvadori: The Man and The Citizen), Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore, pp. 179-189.

stands out better in her own writing'.¹⁹ By including Galletti's short story and letters, Salvadori limits her biographical frame but, for the first time, publishes an Italian translation of Galletti's earlier writings.

In later years, Galletti's older daughter, Gladys Salvadori wrote a very short booklet in Italian on her mother's artistic achievements as a painter.²⁰ More recently, a speech given in memory of Galletti by her granddaughter, Clara Muzzarelli, was published in the monthly newsletter, entitled *Il Corriere Sociale* (The Social Mail), of the "Società Operaia di Mutuo Soccorso Giuseppe Garibaldi", ("Trade Society for Mutual Aid Giuseppe Garibaldi") in Porto San Giorgio, Italy.²¹ Muzzarelli includes a clear reference to Galletti's interview with Tagore by presenting it as a 'contribution Salvadori rendered to the anti-fascist cause, which is very important but nonetheless little known'.²² Max Salvadori had previously referred to Galletti's meeting with Tagore but only in a footnote.²³ Unlike Max Salvadori, Muzzarelli specifies the date of the meeting. However, neither of them mentions 'A Conversation with Tagore', the article published in the *Manchester Guardian*, or any account of the interview published in India.

Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941 and *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme* acknowledge Galletti's participation in the European historical events of the twentieth century, but no critical attention has been given to her literary contribution in inserting an Anglo-Italian perspective in war writing. Past and recent historical accounts of the interwar period and the Second World War have rarely acknowledged the role played by multinational or multilingual activists and

¹⁹ 'Forse la personalità di mia madre risalta meglio dagli appunti che lei stessa scriveva.' Lussu. 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*, p. 11.

²⁰ Salvadori, Gladys, 1989. *Artisti dilettanti* (Amateur Artists), Porto San Giorgio: Tipografia Segreti.

²¹ Muzzarelli. 1996. 'Ricordo di Giacinta Galletti', in *Il corriere Sociale*, anno XXX. no. 1, Porto San Giorgio: Società Operaia di M. S. "G. Garibaldi", p. 6. This monthly publication is distributed to all the members of this trade society for mutual aid in Porto San Giorgio, Italy.

²² '[...] un contributo reso da Giacinta Salvadori alla causa antifascista, che è molto importante, anche se poco conosciuto'. *Ibid.*

²³ Salvadori, Max, (ed.) 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p. 7.

intellectuals, such as Galletti. According to the obituary published in *The Times*, Galletti's contribution to the events of the first half of the twentieth century 'should not pass unnoticed.'²⁴ Those who met her, such as Tagore, acknowledged her firm anti-fascist stand and support for the victims of persecution in their personal memories. Her critical Anglo-Italian consciousness, her acute interpretation of the European political context, and her confidence in the triumph of freedom and justice can be brought to light by the literary analyses of her written testimony.

Nowadays, Galletti is occasionally mentioned as "the wife of Professor Salvadori" in some biographical works on Tagore and on Romain Rolland (1866-1944). In 1926, Tagore visited Switzerland as a guest of the French intellectual and Nobel Prize Laureate, who was a great admirer of Tagore.²⁵ The most important of Tagore's biographies published in the United Kingdom, Krishna Kripalani's *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography* (1965) and *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man* (1995) by Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson, provide evidence of Galletti's interview with the poet. She is briefly mentioned as a first-hand witness who described to Tagore atrocities committed by the Italian Fascist government. The meeting between Galletti and Tagore is not acknowledged directly and the article 'A Conversation with Tagore' is not discussed.²⁶

²⁴ L. C. 1960. 'Countess Salvadori', in *Times*, 7 September, p.17.

²⁵ Rolland's commitment to the pacifist movement and his antiwar writing, collected in *Above the Battle* (1913), were perceived in France as the activity of a traitor. Thus, he had migrated to Switzerland in 1914. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1915. He had previously met Tagore in Paris in 1921. See March. 1971. *Romain Rolland*, New York: Twayne Publishers; Starr. 1971. *Romain Rolland. One Against All: A Biography*, The Hague, Paris: Mouton; and Francis. 1999. *Romain Rolland*, Oxford and New York: Berg.

²⁶ Kripalani identifies Galletti as 'Signora Salvadori' by referring the title used in the published interview. Dutta and Robinson refer to her as 'Salvadori's wife' (p. 271). They provide references to 'A Conversation with Tagore' in the endnotes and cite from it in the epigraph to a chapter on Tagore's visit to Italy in 1926. The caption says, 'comment to Signora Salvadori, Vienna, July 1926' (p. 266). Although the quotation and the interview's date are correct, they wrongly affirm the meeting occurred in Vienna. They specify that Tagore received 'accounts of brutality from two Italian exiles, Salvemini and Salvadori (who was unable to travel after his beating in Italy)' (p. 270). 'Salvadori' refers to Galletti's husband, Guglielmo Salvadori. In a letter addressed to Rolland, P. C. Mahalanobis reports that Tagore received 'a letter from Salvemini and two letters from Guglielmo and Giacinta Salvadori. See Kripalani. 1962. *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography*. London: Oxford University Press. p. 329; Dutta and Robinson. 1995. *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man*, pp. 266, 270, 271; Rolland. 1960. *Inde: Journal (1915-1943)*, Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, p. 160.

Another incomplete account of the meeting between Galletti and Tagore, which contrasts to the acknowledgement of the importance of its outcomes, is in Bakshi's *Indian Freedom Fighters, Struggle for Independence: Rabindranath Tagore*. Galletti is presented here merely as '(the wife of a distinguished Italian professor in exile)' in parenthesis.²⁷ The most exhaustive biographies of Tagore are in Bengali. The groundwork all Tagore scholars call upon is *Rabindrajibani o Rabindrasahitya Prabeshak* [1933-1956] by Prabhat Mukhopadhyay. In the third volume (1952), Mukhopadhyay touches on Tagore's meeting with Galletti by specifying she attended the interview instead of her husband, as he was in poor health. The biographer also adds that the Salvadoris had left Italy because of torture.²⁸ Prasanta Kumar Pal's most detailed biography in chronological volumes under the title, *Rabijibani*, does not include an account of his visit to Italy.²⁹

In analysing the relationship between Rolland and Tagore, some of the most recent biographies in English of Rolland share a common aim with Dutta and Robinson's *Rabindranath Tagore. The Myriad-Minded Man*.³⁰ They underline Tagore's indecisive response to Italian Fascism and Rolland's efforts in publicly acknowledging 'the sufferings of individual Italians'.³¹ Rolland is described as the organiser of the meetings Tagore had with intellectuals such as Georges Duhamel, J

²⁷ Although the date of the interview is incorrect, this account identifies the outcome of the meeting between Tagore and Galletti in the letter entitled 'Philosophy of Fascism'. See Bakshi. (ed.) 2000. *Indian Freedom Fighters, Struggle for Independence: Rabindranath Tagore*, vol. 81. Faridabad: Om Publications, p. 209.

Other important critical works on Tagore in English relate the importance of 'Philosophy of Fascism' without specifying the events that lead to it, such as Mary Lago's *Rabindranath Tagore* (1976) and Gangadhar Devran Khanolkar's *The Lute and the Plough: Life of Rabindranath Tagore* (1963), translated by Thomas Gray.

²⁸ Mukhopadhyay. 1952. *Rabindrajibani o Rabindrasahitya Prabeshak*, Calcutta: Visva-Bharati, p. 255. This is a four-volume biography which has not been yet completely translated into English. An English abridged version appeared in 1975 under the title, *Life of Tagore*, but it is much shorter and addressed to a general readership.

²⁹ Pal. 2003. *Rabijibani*, vol. 9, Kolkata: Ananda Publishers. Pal has published nine volumes until now and the most recent one narrates Tagore's life from 1923 to the first half of the year 1926. I am grateful to Dr Kalyan Kundu, the executive director of 'The Tagore Centre UK', for the information on the Bengali texts.

³⁰ See March. 1971. *Romain Rolland*; Starr. 1971. *Romain Roland. One Against All: A Biography*; Francis. 1999. *Romain Rolland*.

³¹ Dutta and Robinson. 1995. *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man*, p. 270.

G. Fraser, Forel, and Bovet.³² However, he is not linked to Tagore's interview with Galletti and her pivotal testimony. R. A. Francis and Harold March describe the crucial role Rolland had in ensuring that Tagore understood the dangers of Italian Fascism. Nevertheless, they do not acknowledge the interview with Galletti. They generally refer to Italian expatriates and first-hand witnesses.

A primary reason for Tagore's European journey was to pay a visit to Rolland. Rolland personally describes his guest's staying in Villeneuve, Switzerland, in his journal, *Inde: Journal (1915-1943)* (1951),³³ which includes part of his correspondence with Tagore and his travelling companion and secretary, Prashant Chandra Mahalanobis. Rolland describes his direct involvement in explaining to Tagore the violent facts coinciding with the rise of the Fascist movement in Italy and in contacting Salvadori by telephone and Salvemini by letter. During Tagore's European tour, Mahalanobis kept a detailed account by describing the appointments and events the poet was invited to and taking notes at all of the interviews with Tagore, including that with Galletti. Part of Mahalanobis's notes were published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in October 1926 but his full account was lost. The Indian Statistical Institute recently found it and allowed its publication in 2000 in *Rabindra-Viksha*, under the title 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926'.³⁴

Those who witnessed their encounter testify the relevance of Galletti's testimony as the motivation for Tagore's anti-fascist stand but its historical status has since been undermined. The difficulty in collecting material on Salvadori could be a

³² See Kripalani. 1962. *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography*; Dutta and Robinson. 1995. *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man*.

³³ It includes two letters in which Tagore and Mahalanobis describe the profound effects of the interview with 'Madame Salvadori' but he leaves out Mahalanobis's personal notes taken during the interview as they are in English.

³⁴ *Rabindra-Viksha* is a bi-annual journal published by the 'Rabindra Charcha Prakalpa', which is a research unit of the 'Rabindra Bhavana' or 'Institute of Tagore Studies and Research'. Founded in 1942, the 'Institute of Tagore Studies Research' is part of the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan. It holds Tagore's manuscripts, correspondences, painting, audio-visual recordings, sketches, his personal library and a museum.

reason for neglecting the episode.³⁵ Nevertheless, the scarcity of information on Galletti is certainly not Salvemini's reason for identifying her simply as Salvadori's wife in the only article written in Italian that discusses the consequential debate developed in the international press after Tagore's Italian visit. This article is entitled 'Tagore e Mussolini' (Tagore and Mussolini, 1957) and analyses the events from Tagore's first visit to Italy in 1925 to Tagore's international condemnation of the Italian Fascist government in the summer of 1926.

A friend of the Salvadoris, Salvemini does not introduce Galletti by name:

Here [in Zurich], on 8 July, [Tagore] did not see Mr Salvadori, who could not attend the meeting, but his wife. She was of English origins and could speak English with Tagore without an intermediary. She was a woman of a splendid character and fine intelligence.³⁶

The date for the meeting is wrong, but Salvemini's comments on the moral depth of Galletti are interesting. Salvemini uses letters addressed to him, citations from autobiographies of people who participated in the narrated events, and extracts from newspaper articles as primary sources for his article. He specifies that 'in front of [him he has] the account of the interview which that exceptional woman sent me while I was in England.'³⁷ Salvemini clearly refers to a previous correspondence with Galletti and describes her as an 'exceptional' woman. By using the quotations in the article, it is possible to maintain that Salvemini received a copy in Italian of the account Galletti wrote for Tagore and published with Mahalanobis's notes. There is only one difference; Salvemini provides the names of the victims of the violent episodes Salvadori described to Tagore in the interview. Although he refers to two

³⁵ I am grateful to Dr Kundu for providing a copy of the *Rabindra-Visksha* and the photocopies of an original letter Guglielmo Salvadori wrote to Rabindranath Tagore on 16 July 1926 in which he discusses his wife's interview with Tagore. The letter is in the 'Tagore Centre' in Santiniketan, India, (handwritten, 1926. 8pp; Tagore Centre).

³⁶ 'Qui l'8 luglio incontrò non il Salvadori, che era stato impedito di venire, la sua signora. Questa, di origine inglese, poteva parlare con Tagore senza intermediario; era per giunta donna di magnifico carattere e di bella intelligenza.' Salvemini. 1957. 'Tagore e Mussolini', in *Esperienze e studi socialisti in onore di U.G. Mondolfo*, p. 201.

³⁷ 'Ho innanzi a me il resoconto del colloquio, che quella donna eccezionale mi fece pervenire in Inghilterra.' *Ibid.*

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of the articles published in the *Manchester Guardian*, he does not mention 'A Conversation with Tagore'.

In parenthesis, Salvemini cites Galletti's collections of letters, *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933 -1941*, to strengthen his representation of Galletti as a reliable testimony. He clarifies Galletti's authorship as an individual subject by presenting her full name but he underlines the relevance of her multilingual skills. By acknowledging Galletti's English origins, he highlights her knowledge of the English language. Salvemini argues for the importance of the interpreter's role. He specifies who interpreted for Tagore and who spoke to him without the help of an interpreter. Tagore's visit to Italy in 1926 created a propaganda intrigue based on Tagore's ignorance of Italian politics and language; therefore, no other misunderstanding would be acceptable. In this article, Formichi is cast as the corrupted translator who manipulated Tagore's words and understanding of Italian Fascism. Intellectual wives, such as Galletti and his own wife Fernande,³⁸ are nameless but direct mediators of facts for Tagore.

A Fortuitous Interview

The understanding of the context in which Tagore and Galletti encountered in 1926 is essential to provide a clear definitive account of events. Tagore's denial of any form of support for Mussolini was of primary importance to the Italians who opposed the Fascist regime. As Mary Lago highlights in her essay, 'Restoring Rabindranath Tagore',³⁹ Tagore's critique of the Western ideologies of nationalism and

³⁸ She met Tagore in Paris on 28 July 1926. See Salvemini. 1957. 'Tagore e Mussolini', in *Esperienze e studi socialisti in onore di U.G. Mondolfo*,

³⁹ Lago and Warwick, (eds). 1989. *Rabindranath Tagore: Perspectives in Time*. Houndmills and London: Macmillan. See also Nandy. 1994. *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism: Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of the Self*, Oxford, New York and New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Sen. 1998. 'Tagore and His India'. Available at: <http://www.nobel.se/literature/articles/sen>. [Accessed on: 10 May 2004].

public speeches.⁴⁶ Salvadori and Galletti had direct access to the British media. Galletti's uncle, John Collier, acted as an intermediary between the Salvadoris and the *New Statesman*, as Margaret Collier's unpublished correspondence demonstrates.⁴⁷

The Salvadoris' intellectual anti-fascist activism became a topic of interest in the British press in 1924. At the advent of Italian national elections,⁴⁸ Guglielmo Salvadori published 'Fascism and the Coming Italian Elections'.⁴⁹ In this article, he accuses the Fascist Party of an illegal and violent strategy employed in order to ensure its electoral victory. A journalist and an editor, Mussolini saw the press as the most effective way to influence public opinion and began the institutionalisation of censorship with the press in 1924. In two years time, all Italian papers became dependent on the government's permission for financial support and permission to publish.⁵⁰

Salvadori's article claims illegality as the 'salient feature' of Italian Fascism and gives examples of violent attacks. It highlights how Fascist Black Shirts constantly violated the right to freedom of speech and information by admonishing those who criticised Mussolini's government. Salvadori rectifies the British audience's 'want of knowledge' by interpreting the Italian political situation for the

⁴⁶ On the subject consult, for example, Giovanna Farrell-Vinay 's 'The London exile of Don Luigi Sturzo (1924-1940)', and Salvemini's autobiographical *Dai ricordi di un fuoriuscito 1922-1933* (Memoirs of a Political Refugee, 1960). Farrell-Vinay points out that Luigi Sturzo's position was 'a rare privilege' (p. 163) because he lived with his translator.⁴⁶ Salvemini acknowledges Isabella Massey's and Marion Enthoven Rawson's help in teaching him English and translating his work. See Farrel-Vinay. 2004. 'The London exile of Don Luigi Sturzo (1924-1940)', in *The Heythrop Journal*, vol 45, issue 2, Oxford, UK and Cambridge MA: Blackwell, p. 163; Franzelli, (ed.) 2002. *Gaetano Salvemini. Dai ricordi di un fuoriuscito 1922-1933*, Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, p. 45.

⁴⁷ See unpublished typescript, 1906-1928; SPA, p. 29.

⁴⁸ In 1919, Mussolini's political movement named 'Fasci Italiani di Combattimento' (Italian Fighting Fascists) failed to obtain representatives in Parliament at the national elections but the Fascist action squads attracted public attention with violent attacks. When the Fascist squads marched into Rome on 28 October 1922, King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini, the leader of a party without a majority, to form a new government. This established the beginning of the suppression of democratic and parliamentary freedom in Italy. In 1924, the Fascist Party prepared to win at all costs.

⁴⁹ Salvadori, Guglielmo. 1924. 'Fascism and the Coming Italian Elections', in *New Statesman*, vol. XXII, no. 567, 1 March, pp. 596-7.

⁵⁰ See Margolin, (ed.) 1976. *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion in World War II*, London and Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

English readership.⁵¹ In his opinion, the only explanation for '[t]he strange admiration which so many English papers and British people show for Fascism'⁵² is in their need to see the violent nature Italian Fascism conceals.

In the private environment of their family as well as in the public sphere of political writing Salvadori and Galletti shared the need to provide a different perspective from the one offered by the national, authoritative media to the British audience. This is the main issue Galletti expressed when she met Tagore two years later. Salvadori's article was one of the first publications in English to describe Italian Fascism and reveal its illegal and violent actions – unreported in the Italian media – by raising serious doubts about the violation of democratic principles. Hence, it caused the Fascist government's reaction and Salvadori himself became a victim of an attack. On 1 April 1924, Guglielmo Salvadori was brutally attacked by Black Shirts.⁵³ The physical and the psychological scars of this attack remained forever but the threat did not diminish the Salvadoris' commitment to the opposition of Italian Fascism. The Salvadoris left Italy and lived in exile in Switzerland until 1933.

The attack on Salvadori was unreported in the Italian press.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, an anonymous article entitled 'Assault on a Florence Professor' was published in the *Times* under the heading, 'Fascisti and Their Critics', on 11 April 1924 acknowledging Salvadori's British relatives as the source of the facts. The attack is described in *The Fascist Dictatorship*,⁵⁵ and in the introduction to the latest Italian edition of Salvemini's *Dai ricordi di un fuoriuscito*, Mimmo Franzelli uses the

⁵¹ Salvadori, Guglielmo. 1924. 'Fascism and the Coming Italian Elections', p. 596.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Anon. 1924. 'Assault on a Florence Professor', p. 13.

⁵⁴ The attack is described by autobiographical accounts of his children, Max and Joyce Salvadori. See Lussu. 1988. *Portrait*; Lussu. 1992. *Lotte, ricordi e altro*, Rome: Biblioteca il Vascello; Luzi (ed.) 1996. *Max Salvadori: L'uomo e il cittadino*.

⁵⁵ The account includes Salvadori's personal detailed description of the attack, which he wrote for Salvemini on 27 August 1927. See Salvemini. 1928. *The Fascist Dictatorship*, London: Jonathan Cape, pp. 244-247.

spreading of the account of Salvadori's ordeal as an example of clandestine anti-fascist publications. The Italian police reported the confiscation of brief folios entitled '*I fasti del Duce e del fascismo*' (Displays of the Duce and Fascism),⁵⁶ which included the description of Salvadori's attack as it was recorded in *The Fascist Dictatorship*, in 1928.

The *New Statesman's* editorial staff was 'warned that if [they] put [Salvadori's] name to his article he might be murdered by the agents of Mussolini'.⁵⁷ The assault proved the violent nature of Fascists' methodology of consent and corroborated the importance Salvadori's decision in signing the article. It verified the strength of his testimony in English and its viability as a means of communication. His political attack on Italian Fascism receives international attention because it is in English, published by a British journal and it remains compelling even when it is admonished through violence. As it is specified in the *Times*, Salvadori's English relations '[could] speak without fear of further reprisals'.⁵⁸ Their English family informed the British press about the serious consequence of Salvadori's courageous act. They also revealed his English heritage, reinforcing the dialogue he created with the British audience by writing in English. His English appeal reached across national borders and broke the admonition of silence and proceeded in disseminating evidence of Fascist violence. Salvadori's honesty is confirmed by his Anglo-Italian family.

In her autobiographical *Lotte, ricordi e altro* (Struggles, Memories and Other, 1991), Joyce Salvadori reflects on the slow response of the international community

⁵⁶ Franzelli, for example, explains that twenty copies of the British edition of *The Fascist Dictatorship* were bound with the fictitious cover of Liam O'Flaherty's *The Life of Tim Healy*. Franzelli. 2002. 'Introduction', in Gaetano Salvemini. *Dai ricordi di un fuoriuscito*.

⁵⁷ Anon. 1924. 'Assault on a Florence Professor', p. 13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

to the murders and imprisonment of Italian anti-fascist intellectual and politicians,⁵⁹ and observes:

Matteotti's assassination, Gramsci's arrest, and the deaths of Amendola and Gobetti did not move the European public opinion. The first stone to stir the waters was the escape of Lussu, Nitti and Rosselli from Lipari. They brought their experiences to the English and French press personally.⁶⁰

With irony, Salvadori comments on how the adventurous escape of three political prisoners obtained the active response that the sufferings and deaths of many others could not. The conquest of freedom of three intellectuals had, using Salvadori's words, 'the spectacular side' that made the story more attractive to the international media.⁶¹ They were indeed the first prisoners to evade a Fascist prison. Salvadori describes the interest created by Lussu, Nitti and Rosselli's escape by highlighting the presence of the journalist Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956),⁶² who went to Paris to interview them. Steed defines the escape as 'too daring an exploit to be altogether ignored'.⁶³

In Joyce Salvadori's words, the European public indifference towards Italian Fascism before 1929 is represented by the metaphor of a stagnant pond. In Steed's words, Lussu, Nitti and Rosselli's appeal cried 'in the wilderness of European and

⁵⁹ The murder of the parliamentary member, Giacomo Matteotti (1885-1924) was murdered in the summer of 1924. In 1926, Giovanni Amendola (1894-1926) and Piero Gobetti (1909-1926) died because of the consequences of physical assaults. Salvemini, Don Sturzo (1871-1959), and Filippo Turati (1857-1932) went into exile.⁵⁹ Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was arrested on 8 November 1926.⁵⁹ Emilio Lussu, Fausto Nitti (1899-1974) and Carlo Rosselli (1899-1937) were imprisoned, and then deported to confinement in the island of Lipari. See Lussu. [1968] 1978. *Marcia su Roma e dintorni*, Cles (TN): Arnaldo Mondadori Editore; De Caro. 1970. *Gaetano Salvemini*; Brigaglia, (ed.), 1976. *Emilio Lussu e "Giustizia e Libertà"*; 1976. *Emilio Lussu: per l'Italia dall'esilio*.

⁶⁰ 'L'assassinio di Matteotti, l'arresto di Gramsci, la morte di Amendola e di Gobetti non commossero l'opinione pubblica europea. Il primo sasso nello stagno fu l'evasione da Lipari di Lussu, Nitti e Rosselli, i quali portarono direttamente le loro esperienze alla stampa di Parigi e di Londra.' Lussu. 1992. *Lotte, ricordi e altro*, p. 35.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Henry Wickham Steed was head of Foreign Department at *The Times* from 1914 to 1919 and editor from 1919 to 1922. At the time of the escape he was editor of the international periodical *Review of Reviews* (1923-1930). He wrote the introduction to the English translation of Emilio Lussu's *Marcia su Roma e dintorni, Enter Mussolini: Observations and Adventures of an Anti-Fascist*, in 1936.

⁶³ Rawson, (trans.) 1936. *Emilio Lussu. Enter Mussolini: Observations and Adventures of an Anti-Fascist*, London: Methuen and Co, p. vi.

transatlantic indifference'.⁶⁴ Salvadori's bitterness and Steed's imagery reflect the awareness of the painful frustration of those anti-fascists, such as her mother and father, who left no stone unturned to obtain the same effective results on the international apathy. Their anti-fascist commitment and testimony was not of minor value because of its lack of exceptionality. In 1929, in fact, '*Giustizia e Libertà*' could rely on a network of committed exiles in France, Great Britain and the United States.

In Switzerland, the Salvadoris were in contact with the activists of '*Giustizia e Libertà*' and participated in this international network of Italians and Europeans who opposed the Fascist regime from outside its geographical borders. In Florence, they had lived in the centre of anti-fascist opposition and intellectual refusal to collaborate in the creation of a national cultural image of Fascist values. In Rinaldina Russell's words, 'Florence became the center of literary abstention'.⁶⁵ In 1925, for example, Carlo and Nello Rosselli together with Ernesto Rossi founded *Non Mollare* (Do Not Give Up). Promoted by Salvemini, this journal openly criticised the Italian government. Consequently, Florence became the site of some of the most violent reactions carried out by the Black Shirts, as the attack on Salvadori demonstrated.

In exile, the Salvadoris found the opportunity and safety to persevere in demanding a democratic and moral right to be Italian and anti-fascist, a right to fight for freedom of expression and opinion. The Salvadoris translated the Italian political

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁶⁵ Russell, (ed.), 1994. *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, p. xxvi. Russell explains that Florentine literary journals, such as *Solaria* and *Letteratura*, were more interested in European modernist movements than in promoting the regime. She exemplifies the presence of women in the Florentine liberal literary circles by mentioning two novelists and critics who were university students at the time, Gianna Manzini (1896-1974) and Anna Banti (1895-1985). In the 1920s and 1930s Manzini and Banti aspired to the futurist experimental image of womanhood represented by an upper class university woman, sportswoman, pilot and car racer. This apparent support for equality for women was overturned by Fascist propaganda with the promotion of a concept of womanhood traditionally represented by the soldier's mother and wife.

and social situation into English and established a form of communication with the European culture of which they felt part and could contact directly: the British. The Anglo-Italian identity provided Galletti with the skills to engage directly in anti-fascist propaganda for a foreign readership and called for official opposition to the Fascist regime. Galletti met Tagore on 5 July 1926 as a representative of the exiled Italians who demanded his support against Fascism. She gave him an English translation of her husband's 'The Poet and the Murderer: Tagore in Rome' and a first-hand testimony of Fascists' violence.

On his way to London from Italy, Tagore visited Rolland in Villeneuve. He was surprised at Rolland's criticism of his Italian visit. Rolland alerted Tagore to the consequences of the interviews he gave in Italy and to Italian expatriates' disappointment.⁶⁶ Rolland recalls that Tagore was 'indignant'⁶⁷ at discovering that Italian newspapers misused his statements in order to show his enthusiastic appreciation. With Duhamel, Rolland insisted on obtaining a strong denial of the statements from Tagore without results. On Mahalanobis's suggestion, Rolland contacted some of the exiled Italians who could personally describe episodes of Fascist violent methods to Tagore because '[he was] only sensitive to direct impressions of human contacts'.⁶⁸ Tagore was drawn to Salvadori's article, 'The Poet and the Murderer: Tagore in Rome', published in *Il Corriere degli Italiani*, a journal edited by exiled Italians in Paris. This article was in Italian and, as Tagore states in 'Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore', he was 'ignorant of

⁶⁶ Rolland had his first experience of Italian Fascism's violence in 1922 when his sister, Madeleine Rolland, had to relocate the conference of the 'International Women's League' from Varese, in Italy, to Lugano, in Switzerland. In 1923, he launched an international magazine entitled *Europe* in opposition to nationalism. In 1927, he became honorary chairman of the first great international anti-fascist meeting together with Albert Einstein and Henri Barbusse. In 1929 he became a member of the 'Union des Écrivains Démocrates'. In 1933 he accepted the honorary chairman of the 'Comité Antifasciste International'. See Francis. 1999. *Romain Rolland*; Starr. 1971. *Romain Rolland. One Against All: A Biography*.

⁶⁷ 'Tagore en a été indigné'. Rolland. 1960. *Inde: Journal (1915-1943)*, p. 120.

⁶⁸ '[Tagore] n'est sensible qu'aux impressions directes, aux contacts humains.' *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Italian',⁶⁹ therefore, needed to understand the reasons of the 'concern among the Italians in exile in Switzerland' (ACT: 10) about his interviews released in Italy. A meeting between Tagore and Guglielmo Salvadori was arranged as it 'had been asked for'.⁷⁰ On that day, Galletti took her husband's place.

'A Conversation with Tagore'

'A Conversation with Tagore' uncovers the important tasks of those people, like Galletti, who committed their lives to the triumph of democracy. In the specific case of the Salvadoris, they engaged in the events by profiting from their Anglo-Italian identity. They demonstrated the importance of the network of European anti-fascists and the role played in it by women. It was also a positive instance of what Gabriele Griffin and Rosi Braidotti call the 'trans-European condition',⁷¹ and a 'post-nationalist sense of European identity',⁷² at a time when individual identity was defined by nationalist discourses. Those who did not conform lived in fear of being identified as the enemy. Galletti interpreted her Anglo-Italian consciousness as a strength in which her activism benefited.

In 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', Mahalanobis introduces the transcript of the interview between Galletti and Tagore saying:

An incidence of considerable importance was the interview with Signora Salvadori, the wife of Prof. Salvadori, an exile from Italy. She gave first-hand information about the Fascist regime, and told the poet about atrocities she had witnessed with her own eyes of a husband being killed before his wife and children, of children being punished before the eyes of the parents and other things. The poet received a terrible shock.⁷³

⁶⁹ Tagore. 1926. 'Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore', p. 9.

⁷⁰ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 55.

⁷¹ Griffin and Braidotti, (eds). 2002. *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies*. London and New York: Zed Books, p. 12.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The interview with Galletti is defined as an episode of ‘considerable importance’. Her married title is left in Italian, as it is in the article ‘A Conversation with Tagore’. Thus, it gives more relevance to her identity as an Italian refugee. Contemporary publications show, the use of the Italian titles *Signore* and *Signora* in the English text was common.⁷⁴

In Mahalanobis’s account, there is no mention of Galletti’s Anglo-Italian identity. Her direct experience of Italy and its Fascist reality is of primary importance. Her testimony focuses on the consequences of the Fascist violence on the family. Her examples demonstrate how Fascists destroy a family’s structure through forms of extreme violence. Mahalanobis stresses the reaction aroused in the Hindu poet by Galletti’s testimony. Tagore begins ‘Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore’ and a letter addressed to Rolland with the same line, ‘My mind is passing through a conflict.’⁷⁵ What is defined as a terrible shock in Mahalanobis’s words, is described by Tagore as an inner conflict between his ‘own ideal picture’ of Italy and the situation revealed by Galletti’s testimony.⁷⁶

In Vienna, Tagore met another exiled Italian who had personal experience of Fascist violent action, Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani, who participated in Matteotti’s trial on behalf of the family. Modigliani was accompanied by an interpreter, Angelica Balabanoff (1878-1965), who had worked with Mussolini as his deputy editor at the Italian Socialist Party’s official organ, *Avanti*, from 1912 to 1914.⁷⁷ Balabanoff and Modigliani corroborated Salvadori’s picture of Italy with their first-hand information. In her autobiography, Balabanoff recalls the meeting

⁷⁴ In *The Fascist Dictatorship*, for example, while Salvemini is introduced by his academic title of Professor, other characters are preceded by the title of *Signor* including, ‘Signor Mussolini’. Salvemini. 1928. *The Fascist Dictatorship*, p. 239.

⁷⁵ Tagore. 1926. ‘Philosophy of Fascism’, p. 9; ‘The Poet’s Letter to Romain Rolland’, in Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. ‘Rabindranath Tagore’s Tour in Europe in 1926’, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Tagore. ‘The Poet’s Letter to Romain Rolland’, in Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. ‘Rabindranath Tagore’s Tour in Europe in 1926’, p. 61.

⁷⁷ See Balabanoff. 1938. *My Life as a Rebel*, London: Hamish Hamilton; Sarfatti. [1926] 1932. *Dux*. Milan: Mondadori.

with Tagore by stating he wanted to know about her impression of Mussolini. She reports him as saying, 'You are the second person who has given me any idea of what Fascism is. The first one I met also after I left Italy. You may be sure that I will make a statement of what I think about the Fascist régime'.⁷⁸ As Tagore reassures Balabanoff about his intention to make a stand against Fascism, he recalls his meeting with Galletti. Although her name is left unspoken, the impression of her testimony stays in Tagore's mind.

In his notes, Mahalanobis describes Tagore's impression of his interview with Galletti as an event of deep importance by saying:

No words can convey the profoundly moving character of this interview with the exile. On the 7th July the poet sent a telegraphic communication contradicting the report that he admired the idea and methods of Fascism. He was extremely disturbed and became very restless which led to a recurrence of the old heart troubles. We therefore decided to proceed to Vienna for medical consultation without further delay.⁷⁹

Galletti becomes 'the exile', a figure that has neither gender nor nationality. Her name does not seem as relevant as the effects of her testimony on Tagore. Her words touch the poet's heart and achieve a reaction. In a letter addressed to Rolland, Tagore himself compares his interview with Galletti to a spiritual experience:

In Zurich, I had an interview with Mrs Salvadori, of which you will see the results later. I am to go through with a ceremony of purification from the blemish to which I submitted myself in Italy.⁸⁰

The poet understood the consequences of his Italian visit and found the resolution to act upon it. The denial of support for Mussolini's Fascism is an action of redemption for him.

⁷⁸ Balabanoff. 1938. *My Life as a Rebel*, pp. 342-343.

⁷⁹ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 57.

⁸⁰ 'A Zurich, j'ai eu une entrevue avec Madame Salvadori, dont vous verrez le resultat plus tard. J'ai à passer par une cérémonie de purification, pour la souillure à laquelle je me suis soumis en Italie'. Rolland. 1960. *Inde: Journal (1915-1943)*, p. 159.

In her account of the meeting, Galletti shares a similar humanist perspective as she depicts the gravity of the occasion by resorting to Christian imagery. Tagore stands in front of her as ‘the poet of love, whom [she] had come to ask how he had been induced to fellowship with the apostle of hate.’⁸¹ In Galletti’s depiction, Tagore is tempted by Mussolini’s friendship, as he appears to be an apostle. However, the Italian leader betrays the trust of the poet. As Tagore agrees to help her cause publicly, she expresses her relief returning to the Christian imagery and defining Tagore as ‘a powerful friend [Italy has] in the spiritual field.’⁸² She refers to Tagore’s fame as a spiritual master and compares him to Saint Michael: ‘by the light of truth, as Saint Michael, the great angel of Justice, places his heel on the dragon’s neck.’⁸³ Tagore is portrayed as the archangel that shines of spiritual light. In the last line of her account, Galletti sees Tagore’s support for the anti-fascist cause as an act of justice. She trusts Tagore as a defender of Italian people against Fascism.

Tagore’s first reaction to his interview with Galletti was the publication of ‘Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore’, in the *Manchester Guardian* on 5 August 1926. In this letter, written on 20 July in Vienna, Tagore refuses the claims of the Italian press by denying any form of support for Mussolini’s Fascism. He then condemns Nationalism and Imperialism as ‘a moral aberration’.⁸⁴ Kripalani concludes his account of the events that occurred in Italy and Switzerland by referring to this letter saying that it condemned Fascism ‘in no uncertain terms’.⁸⁵ Dutta and Robinson state this letter ‘was widely published’.⁸⁶ In Bakshi’s biography, the impact of Galletti’s testimony as a first-hand witness is highlighted and linked to the writing of ‘Philosophy of Fascism. A Letter from Tagore’:

⁸¹ Salvadori. 1926. ‘Signora Salvadori’s Account of Her Visit to Rabindranath Tagore on the 5th July 1926’, in Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. ‘Rabindranath Tagore’s Tour in Europe in 1926’, p. 54.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Tagore. 1926. ‘Philosophy of Fascism’, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁵ Kripalani. 1962. *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography*, p. 329.

⁸⁶ Dutta and Robinson. 1995. *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man*, p. 270.

The Poet is shocked and writes a strong letter to *Manchester Guardian* condemning the regime which sanctions the perpetration of such atrocities.⁸⁷

According to Mahalanobis's account, it is important to report the emotional participation of Tagore to the sufferings of Italians caused by the Fascists' brutalities and his distress in knowing that the Italian press used his visit as evidence of his support to the regime. However, the contribution of the woman who provoked Tagore's reaction and succeeded in urging him to political action is silenced.

'Philosophy of Fascism: A Letter from Tagore' provoked the desired interest, widening the number of people who would listen to Galletti's testimony to the violence perpetuated by Italian Fascism towards those who do not conform to unanimous consent. Through Tagore, it became the international cry about the menace of fascism to democratic and liberal values.⁸⁸ The *Manchester Guardian* published on 6 August 1926 an article signed by the London editorial staff which welcomed the poet to Great Britain. It focuses on his denial of admiration for Mussolini's Fascist government in Italy.⁸⁹ This article cites the letter to C. F. Andrews published the day before and discusses his official visit to Italy and Tagore's inability to break the superficial wall of unanimous praise of Italy's political leader. Tagore notes that even the British Ambassador to Italy has a positive opinion of Mussolini. There is no mention of individual anti-fascists the poet met in Switzerland; they are represented by a sensitive image of human

⁸⁷ Bakshi, (ed.) 2000. *Indian Freedom Fighters, Struggle for Independence: Rabindranath Tagore*, vol. 81, p. 209.

⁸⁸ In 1927 Tagore was ready to participate in an international committee organised by Gaetano Salvemini which aimed to assist victims of fascism and found anti-fascist groups and journals together with other personalities, such as Rolland, Einstein, and Wells. Salvemini's enterprise did not work but he succeeded in constituting a smaller association named 'Friends of Italian Freedom'. On 1 January 1931, he also published an appeal signed by British personalities such as Arnold Toynbee, Bolton King, H. W. Seton Watson, Leonard Woolf and Walter M. Citrine. See De Caro. 1970. *Gaetano Salvemini*; Fiori. [1985] 2000. *Il Cavaliere dei Rossomori*.

⁸⁹ London Staff. 1926. 'Tagore in London', in *Manchester Guardian*, 6 August, p. 10.

suffering: ‘Those who had suffered from the hands of Fascists came to him, and he gradually learnt the truth about the atrocities that had been committed’.⁹⁰

On 7 August 1926, the *Manchester Guardian* published ‘A Conversation with Tagore’ and an editorial on the issues concerning Tagore’s relationship with Mussolini’s regime entitled ‘Dr Tagore on Fascism’.⁹¹ This was then published in the Indian journal, *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, in October 1926.⁹² The two versions of the interview are very similar. In the text published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, there are three stylistic alterations and the absence of subsections. The text published in the *Manchester Guardian* includes a passage from Tagore’s lecture given at the University of Rome during his visit in 1926. However, while the title in the British newspaper focuses on Tagore’s personality, in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* the title, ‘Rabindranath Tagore’s Interview with an Italian Exile’s Wife’ identifies Galletti by her social role as a wife of an exiled Italian. The title of the article in the *Manchester Guardian* does not introduce Galletti by name but it brings to light the importance of her contribution to Tagore’s acknowledgement of the violent means perpetrated by Italian Fascism.

Mahalanobis recorded Galletti’s interview with Tagore in Zurich in detail and included Galletti’s own narration of her visit. In ‘Rabindranath Tagore’s Tour in Europe in 1926’ the interview is divided into two parts: ‘Account of Signora Salvadori’s Interview with Rabindranath Tagore in the Dolder [*sic*] Grand Hotel, Zurich, on the 5th July 1926’, which presents Mahalanobis’s notes of the conversation between Tagore and Galletti, and ‘Signore [*sic*] Salvadori’s Account of Her Visit to Rabindranath Tagore on the 5th July 1926’, which is Galletti’s personal description of the event. While the content of the first part is similar to the article

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Scott. 1926. ‘Dr Tagore and Fascism’, in *Manchester Guardian*. 7 August, p. 8.

⁹² The publication of the journal *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* started under Rabindranath Tagore’s editorship in 1923. *Visva-Bharati* is the name of the University Tagore founded in Santiniketan, India, in 1918.

published in the *Manchester Guardian*, the second part is published for the first time. The two parts are reproduced again at the end of the account.⁹³ This time the title of Galletti's own record is different. It is an 'Account of my visit to Rabindranath Tagore' and the signature at the end reads, 'An Italian Mother.'⁹⁴ As the following comparative literary analysis of the different descriptions of the event will show, this autobiographical account has material, not included in the *Manchester Guardian*, which enriches an understanding of Galletti's testimony and her influence in Tagore's public stand against Fascism. As a polyglot she connected with Tagore through her Anglo-Italian transitional perspective and she obtained his apology and his public denial of his support for Fascism.

'A Conversation with Tagore' represents a way into the reasons which induced Tagore's closer analysis of the Italian Fascist regime, his responsibility for his visit to Italy and the need for a public denunciation of Fascism as a menace of violence for all Western society. This article, conversational in style, has two subtitles and is divided into five parts. Galletti and Tagore take turns in questioning, answering, or providing explanations. The first subtitle, 'Why He went to Italy', highlights the importance of the poet's explanations for his official visit and the consequential concerns aroused 'among the Italians in exile in Switzerland' (ACT: 10). The second subtitle, 'Her Contribution to the World', brings to light Galletti's significance in the international understanding of the Fascist threat to human freedom and progress.

While Mahalanobis provides evidence that Galletti and Tagore exchanged letters in order to finalise their account of the conversation for publication, the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Charles Prestwick Scott (1846-1932), gives weight to the interview with his editorial. An advocate of universal suffrage and an opponent

⁹³ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', pp. 66-72.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

to the Boer War and the First World War, Scott highlights the importance of Tagore's denial of support for Fascism, as the poet was the author of a philosophical analysis of the threats of nationalism. In *Nationalism*, he claims Tagore effectively argued that 'you cannot go on violating moral laws in the name of your nation and yet enjoy their advantage as individuals'.⁹⁵ Most probably, Scott was the final editor of the version of the conversation that appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*. 'A Conversation with Tagore' has edited subtitles and an initial paragraph which describes the context of the meeting between Galletti and Tagore in Switzerland, and introduces Galletti, who was unknown to the general British audience, as the wife of Prof. Salvadori.

'A Conversation with Tagore' opens with the circumstances of Galletti's interview with Tagore and then continues in the form of a dialogue. As in 'Philosophy of Fascism', the poet is keen to describe the reasons for his visit to Italy, by including the 'magnificent gift' (ACT: 10) sent by Mussolini for his institution, and his lack of Italian. Tagore explains he could not investigate his feelings of uncertainty in relation to his experiences in official Italy when supporters of the government surrounded him. He adds that the British Ambassador 'highly admires Mussolini and his doings, and was quite sure that Mussolini was the one man who could have saved Italy from utter bankruptcy and disorganisation' (ACT: 10). This was a common understanding of Mussolini's role diffused among conservative classes. As a matter of fact, Tagore stresses the social status of those people who supported Mussolini's government. He acknowledges his passivity in the managing of his visit by underlining the responsibility in the encouragement of his Italian friends, Prof. Formichi and Dott. Tucci, who worked at his University, in

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Santiniketan.⁹⁶ His incapacity in questioning the organisation and the circumstances of his visit leaves an impression of naivety on his part. In ‘Signore [*sic.*] Salvadori’s Account of Her Visit to Rabindranath Tagore’, Galletti describes how Tagore assumes that the newspaper articles could not expose his opinion on Italian Fascism as what he repeated ‘did not constitute an opinion’.⁹⁷ She needs to clarify that ‘the average readers’ are not used to read between the lines and, therefore misinterpreted the allusions to an opinion.⁹⁸

In ‘A Conversation with Tagore’, Tagore concludes the introductory explanation saying, ‘So at last I came to Italy and was taken to Rome’ (ACT: 10). The choice of the verb tense stresses Tagore’s passivity. Once in Italy, he appears incapable of controlling his movements and the outcome of his interviews. He points out the responsibility of others for his visit and does not acknowledge any concern created by unexplained delays in organising a meeting with the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866-1952). The philosopher was effectively under house arrest in Naples and Tagore asked Mussolini to meet Croce. However, Tagore could only see him through a clandestine meeting.⁹⁹

In the *Manchester Guardian* editorial, Scott expresses the pain caused in Tagore by the discovery that his opinions were ‘not only captured but mutilated’ in a process facilitated by the need for interpreters to achieve communication.¹⁰⁰ The necessity of a translation highlights the arbitrary nature of language and the responsibility of the selection applied by the interpreter, or translator, in transmitting a concept into another language. In ‘Philosophy of Fascism’, Tagore acknowledges that the interviews he gave in Italy ‘were the products of three personalities – the

⁹⁶ In 1901 Tagore established the Bolpur Bramhacharyaashram School at Santiniketan. In 1921, he established the Visva Bharati University at Santiniketan. See Kripalani. 1962. *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography*.

⁹⁷ Salvadori. 1926. ‘Signore Salvadori’s Account of Her Visit to Rabindranath Tagore on the 5th July 1926’, p. 55.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ See Tagore, Rabindranath. 1958. *On the Edges of Time*.

¹⁰⁰ Tagore. 1926. ‘Philosophy of Fascism’, p. 9.

reporter's, the interpreter's, and [his] own'.¹⁰¹ He does not speak Italian and must trust the ethical consciousness of the interpreter in translating his answers into Italian.¹⁰² Tagore's comments on issues of interpreting and translation suggest the importance of his conversation with Galletti, as it did not demand the interference of any interpreter. They both had a multilingual subjectivity and their British documents would have recognised them both as partly "equal" and partly "the other". Born in Bengal, a land partitioned in 1905, Tagore was a Bengali literate in India, a British colony. Their understanding was united by their knowledge of the English language and British culture. Their travelling experiences also provided reciprocal respect and participation.

In 1900, Galletti travelled to India to visit her brother, Arthur Galletti,¹⁰³ and developed a deep interest in the literature and the culture of this country, including Tagore's poetry. Her own account of the conversation with Tagore reveals her attention in referring to the people that accompany the poet as 'Hindu'. The Italian and British press tend to refer to Tagore as the 'Indian poet', reflecting an imperialistic perspective on his national identity. She respects his religious identity and takes notice of his daughter-in-law, who listens without speaking and is adorned 'in the charming fashion of her country'.¹⁰⁴ While Galletti's bilingualism is generally taken for granted, in her autobiographical account published in the *Rabindra-Viksha*, her skills as a translator are manifest as she foresees the linguistic

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Mahalanobis's account of Tagore's European visit presents many remarks on the different people who interpreted for Tagore. Rolland's biographers, William Starr and Harold March, both explain the important role of Rolland's sister, Madelaine Rolland, as his interpreter and translator. Madelaine Rolland was the interpreter between Tagore, who did not speak French, and Rolland, who did not speak English, and the translator of their letters and essays. See March. 1971. *Romain Rolland*; Starr. 1971. *Romain Roland. One Against All: A Biography*.

¹⁰³ With her mother, Galletti travelled to Madras to visit her brother Arthur Mario Collier Galletti di Cadilhac (1877-1967). Born in London, he had dual nationality. After his studies at the University of Oxford, he became a governmental official and worked thirty years in the Indian Civil Service at Madras. In a footnote to a letter of Galletti in which she discusses the interest of the Indian press in Giuseppe Mazzini's liberal principles, her son writes, that 'she continued to be interested in Indian matters' after her visit to India. See Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 54.

struggle due to Tagore's lack of knowledge of Italian and brings with her the English translation of 'The Poet and the Murderer: Tagore in Rome'.¹⁰⁵ Galletti's testimony as an Anglo-Italian representative of those who suffered because of Fascism is enhanced by her multilingual identity. As an Italian resident, she is a witness to the violence implemented by Fascists to crush the freedom of speech; as the daughter of a British citizen, she can transfer her Italian experience into an English context and avoid Fascist censorship.

Galletti inserted her name in this public sphere of activists accidentally because of her husband's ill-health but she left a record of her commitment, an example of the precious role played by bilingual and bicultural Italians during the Fascist dictatorship. Many of the courageous acts of Italian anti-fascist activism are due to the multilingual subjectivity of a generation descending from Italian fathers and British or American mothers, such as Giacinta and Guglielmo Salvadori and Lauro de Bosis (1901-1931),¹⁰⁶ or to British wives and companions, such as Marion Cave Rosselli (1896-1949) and Ruth Draper (1884-1956).¹⁰⁷ These anti-fascist activists share what Iris Origo defines in the title of her biographical work as 'a need to testify'. By benefiting from linguistic abilities that are attributable to family background, political or sentimental choices, they bear witness to the Fascist

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁶ The son of Adolfo de Bosis and Lilian Vernon, an American citizen, Lauro de Bosis sacrificed his life in order to fly over Rome and drop leaflets exhorting the Italian people and the King to refuse any involvement in Fascist activities on 3 October 1931. 'The Story of My Death', his testament, was published in *Le Soir*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Sunday Times*, *Vorwärts* and the *New York Times*. De Bosis wrote it in French and posted it with a letter to Francesco Luigi Ferrari.¹⁰⁶ It was translated into English by his companion, the American monologist Ruth Draper, and into Italian by his friend Salvemini. See Origo. 1984. *A Need to Testify: Portraits of Lauro de Bosis, Ruth Draper, Gaetano Salvemini, Ignazio Silone and an Essay on Biography*, London: John Murray.

¹⁰⁷ Marion Cave was Carlo Rosselli's wife and the person who helped him, Emilio Lussu and Fausto Nitti to escape from the prison on the island of Lipari in 1929. See Lussu, Emilio, [1968] 1978. *Marcia su Roma e dintorni*. The relationship between Lauro de Bosis and Ruth Draper lasted just over three years. She was forbidden to cross the Italian border after de Bosis' heroic sacrifice.

dictatorship in foreign communities to whom they appeal for intervention.¹⁰⁸

When Galletti met Tagore in Zurich, it was her duty to unfold the stories of those people who suffered beatings, threats, imprisonment, and death because of their opposition to Fascism. In 'A Conversation with Tagore', she is identified as 'the wife of one of their leaders, Professor Salvadori' (ACT: 10). The reference to her husband as 'Professor Salvadori' links her name to the previous accounts of the attack on his life reported in the British press. Her testimony is therefore strengthened by her husband's authority as a man who was 'punished most brutally for the honest expression of his opinions'.¹⁰⁹

Galletti cannot be easily placed in the context of intellectual anti-fascist activists, as she did not publish pamphlets or autobiographical accounts. Her contribution is minor in quantity but precedes the more famous examples listed in this chapter. Activists such as Lauro de Bosis and Antonio Gramsci among many others, have become figures comparable to martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the cause of freedom. Galletti's is a critical testimony to the events that preceded the Second World War.¹¹⁰ She experiments with stylistic characteristics later developed by a younger generation of anti-fascist activists but her voice does not belong in either traditions completely. She is compelled by the same moral need to bear witness to her contemporary events. She has what Gordon calls 'the authority of having been there' and suffered.¹¹¹ Like other anti-fascist refugees, Galletti experienced Italian Fascism as a direct threat to her own life, her family, her freedom

¹⁰⁸ Born in England and brought up in the United States, London, Kilkenny and Florence, and married to an Italian landowner, Iris Cullen Origo (1902-1988) herself narrates the events of the Second World War as a resident in a country which is at war with her country of origin in the autobiographical, *War in Val d'Orcia: An Italian War Diary 1943-1944* (1947).

¹⁰⁹ Anon. 1924. 'Assault on a Florence Professor', p. 13.

¹¹⁰ In their studies on historical figures who opposed Italian Fascism, Iris Origo and Robert S. C. Gordon attempt a definition of testimony as a heterogeneous twentieth century literary genre that integrates 'elements of autobiography, the *Bildungsroman*, the historical novel, and others.'¹¹⁰ While Origo's work is biographical, Gordon's analysis of Primo Levi's testimonial narrative of the Holocaust includes an analysis of testimony and its origin in jurisprudence and theology.

¹¹¹ Gordon, Robert S. C. 2001. *Primo Levi's Ordinary Virtues: from Testimony to Ethics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.1.

of speech, but she firmly testifies the violence she witnessed as an observer. She witnessed a national and international opposition that suffers censorship and coercion. In Levi's words, her 'claim to greatness is the greatness of [her] suffering' shared with the Italian communities in specific and human society in general.¹¹²

Like Cave and Draper, Galletti has been remembered as a companion to an anti-fascist heroic figure and as the mother of historical figures of the Italian Resistance in biographical and autobiographical studies. However, her unplanned interview with Tagore revealed her name to the public arena of international politics. A woman who remained in the shadow of her husband's work, Galletti accepted the circumstances and became a public figure in order to secure Tagore's attention and through him that of the international community. The anxiety of the occasion is sensed in her own account when she comments, 'I feel I have spoken badly, for the words did not come with the flow and eloquence the gravity of the subject demanded'.¹¹³ Galletti is aware she lacks the rhetorical skills of her husband. Her authority and credibility depends on her husband as a recognised leader of the exiled anti-fascist community. It is to his argumentative style that she turns initially, by basing her argument on political and economical data and facts. She then resorts to an emotional appeal directed specifically to English public opinion.

The responsibility of her testimony is defined as grave by Galletti and she doubts the effectiveness of her argument at the end of her account. Nevertheless, it works. Tagore says, 'leaning his forehead on his hand, "I am sorry" and then, with greater energy, "If I had known, I would have had nothing to do with it".¹¹⁴ It is Tagore's penitential body language and apology that makes her realise that, 'He had

¹¹² Levi. 1997. *Opere*, vol 1, Turin: Einaudi, p. 1384 as cited in Gordon. 2001. *Primo Levi's Ordinary Virtues: from Testimony to Ethics*.

¹¹³ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 57.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

been struck by the human experience of what [she] had told him'.¹¹⁵ Although she is not confident about her exposition, Galletti achieves her goal as Tagore apologises to her and admits his responsibility in harming the anti-fascist cause.

In an unpublished letter dated 16 July 1926, Guglielmo Salvadori adds some remarks about the edited version of the interview between Galletti and Tagore which undermine her persuasive ability. In parenthesis, he suggests that Tagore might have misunderstood because Giacinta 'expressed herself badly'.¹¹⁶ The respect towards the eminent international figure remains intact, because Salvadori alludes instead to Galletti's inexperience. In his letter, Salvadori is direct in demanding Tagore's clear denial of support for Fascism and specifically for Mussolini. He tries to persuade Tagore in removing any reference to an emotional perception of Mussolini's personality as it spoils 'the whole of the interview and, if published, will greatly damage our Cause'.¹¹⁷ Although Galletti seems to share her husband's opinion on her communicative skills, Tagore disagrees with them both and insists in publishing Galletti's emotive appeal to the public opinion in support of anti-fascism. Tagore believes in the strength of her argument based on common human suffering.

In the *Manchester Guardian*, 'A Conversation with Tagore' presents two initial sections entitled 'Personality of Mussolini' and 'English Praise of Him', in which Tagore explains his reasons for visiting Italy and his impressions of Mussolini. The following four sections contain the most emotional stages of the conversation as the subsections' titles suggest: "It is Not True", 'Italy's Past Contribution', "I Wish I had known" and "This Great Period of Pain". This article allows more room for Tagore's explanations and evidence of his misunderstanding as it includes quotations from lectures and interviews he gave in Rome. The other three titles

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Salvadori, Guglielmo to Rabindranath Tagore, (handwritten letter, 1926. Tagore Centre, p. 1).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

emphasise their revelatory content and the primary aims of the publication: Tagore's denial of support for Mussolini. Galletti has less space to develop her argument.

The accounts of the conversation published in the *Visva Bharati Quarterly* and in *Rabindra-Viksha* leave more room for Galletti's opinions and present her voice in its full strength from her firm explanation of the reason of her interview with Tagore:

We have seen in the paper that after your interview with Mussolini, you have expressed your admiration for him and for the fascist movement. We are feeling very unhappy about this. We know there is some misunderstanding. We are fighting for the cause of freedom, and it is very sad for us what [*sic*] we are not getting your support. We, who have been exiled from Italy on account of Fascist regime, have been feeling unhappy ever since we heard that you had come to Italy.¹¹⁸

She introduces herself and her husband as fighters 'for the cause of freedom' and their regret in discovering that he is not one any more.¹¹⁹ In the second paragraph she still uses 'we' but the pronoun this time refers to those 'who have been exiled from Italy on account of Fascist regime'. Her testimony becomes the voice of the exiled people who left Italy in search for safety and freedom. She represents the concern of this community and their appeal for support. The anti-fascists are represented as freedom fighters without a nationalistic flag. They fight for the ideal of freedom.

Like her husband, Galletti argues that it is a 'want of knowledge' that can explain the casual admiration of Italian Fascism or Mussolini.¹²⁰ Unlike her husband, she understands reactions of curiosity to Mussolini's personality. Foreigners, she comments, might repeat the general conventional opinions about Mussolini, his unquestioned power and his role as Italy's saviour because they might not have 'opportunities to understand'.¹²¹ There is in her argument sympathy for

¹¹⁸ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 51.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Salvadori, Guglielmo, 1924. 'Fascism and the Coming Italian Elections', p. 596.

¹²¹ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 53.

foreigners' difficulties in understanding internal Italian politics. In the representation of Fascist supporters she does not generalise into opposing categories but distinguished a 'few honest Fascists who do not know the violent side, and who, not knowing, sincerely believe in Fascism' (ACT: 10).

Galletti aims to deconstruct those images that are constructed by Fascist propaganda on the unanimous consent and admiration of Mussolini. Like her husband in 'Fascism and the Italian Coming Elections', she diminishes the presumed achievements of Mussolini's government by giving data on the social and economical situation of Italy. Mussolini is not a master, but 'a cancer which is ever growing in size out of the illness of the whole people'.¹²² The simile is meaningful as it dramatically reflects characteristics of his politics. Italian Fascism is perceived as a matter of internal national politics whose consequences might spread in Europe. In the 1930s, Rolland similarly developed an image of Fascism as a growing deadly virus. In a letter dated 14 May 1933, he writes that Fascism is 'an infection that can develop in all the media of culture as well as ignorance'.¹²³ In anti-fascist propaganda, Mussolini is not the "saviour of Italy", but a fatal illness that can infect. Mussolini is a 'gorgeous clown' that puts in an appearance of power and respect,¹²⁴ but maintains 'his power by violent terrorism and by crushing the freedom of speech'.¹²⁵

In 'A Conversation with Tagore', Galletti deconstructs the image of Italy and its people's support the Fascist propaganda of Mussolini's regime. The British conservative press interpreted Mussolini's regime as a positive reaction to the decline of Western society's traditional values, and as a successful opposition to communism. Intellectuals such as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, G. B. Shaw and G. K.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.52.

¹²³ 'Son infection peut se développer dans tous les bouillons de culture - ou d'inculture', Rolland. 1935. *Quinze Ans de Combat (1919-1934)*, Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, p. 206.

¹²⁴ Mahalanobis. [1926] 2000. 'Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe in 1926', p. 56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Chesterton regarded Mussolini's regime as an answer to the European scepticism,¹²⁶ as a new political figure of a new positive, progressive Italy. Mussolini gained also a romantic image among British women writers such as Winifred Holtby, an anti-fascist activist who was still in love with image of Italy despite the Fascist threat.¹²⁷

Galletti describes the Italian leader's success as the consequence of other parties' electoral failure. She emphasises that Mussolini built his consensus on violence and censorship. However, she does not depict a strong contrary portrait of him as her husband does in the previously mentioned unpublished letter addressed to Tagore. Guglielmo Salvadori argues Mussolini is 'a great criminal, and a man affected by syphilis and megalomania, a man unsound in body and mind and morally insane'.¹²⁸ Salvadori refers to medical reports as evidence of Mussolini's health. Tagore defines Mussolini's personality as 'striking' and 'masterful' (ACT: 10). While Galletti respectfully claims she understands the poet's fascination, Guglielmo Salvadori strongly attacks Tagore's remarks, as he fears this international fame of the Italian leader constructed on his individuality. He argues for 'Mussolini's morbid nature' and compares him with historical figures known to have been murderers, such as Nero, Cesare Borgia and Machiavelli's Prince.

Galletti bases her argument on the differentiation between *Risorgimento's* patriotic values and Fascist patriotism. She identifies patriotism as the moral value of freedom for a country developed by the Italian fight for independence led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, and the Fascist imperialist aspiration as 'morbid patriotism' (ACT:10). In the nineteenth-century *Risorgimento* movements for the independence

¹²⁶ Most interesting on Mussolini and the perception of his personality in Europe is chapter five in De Felice. 1974. *Mussolini il duce: gli anni del consenso*, vol. IV, pp. 534-596. See also Margolin. (ed.) 1976. *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion in World War II*.

¹²⁷ Holtby used the figure of Mussolini as a romantic hero in her fictional work. In *South Riding* (1936), Robert Carne is compared by two female protagonists, Sarah Burton and Mrs Beddows, with Mussolini. He is described as 'a big heavy handsome unhappy looking man [whose] white face was not unlike that of photographs of Mussolini'. See Holtby. [1936] 1999. *South Riding*, London: Virago, p. 4.

¹²⁸ Salvadori, Guglielmo to Rabindranath Tagore, (handwritten letter, 1926. Tagore Centre, p. 5).

of Italy, intellectual and political activists believed in civil and patriotic ideals based on the moral and political right to human dignity. They sacrificed their lives to free Italy from foreign oppression and form an independent united nation. They had democratic and liberal prospects for the creation of a civilisation which could not be confused with the aggressive politics and violent, repressing methods of the Fascist Party.¹²⁹

The Fascist principles of nationalism stated, using Tagore's own words, 'national self-glorification [...] and the pursuit of greed'.¹³⁰ In 'A Conversation with Tagore', Tagore cites the most famous of the *Risorgimento* leaders, Giuseppe Garibaldi, as a man who fought for an ideal of independence 'which was not restricted to his own country' (ACT: 10). In 'Mussolini's New Rome 1922-1945', Anthony Rhodes defines Garibaldi's name as 'sacred'.¹³¹ He was not only the father of Italian unification but also a memorable guest of London in 1864 and an inspirational freedom fighter. *Risorgimento* activists such as Garibaldi and Mazzini found support in London. In the Second World War, the Allied propaganda regarded Garibaldi as an effective figure to use in their pamphlets. Allied propaganda asked Italians to trust them too and support them against the German army. In the 1920s, anti-fascist activists, such as the *Salvadoris*, referred to *Risorgimento* leaders in the hope of being helped and listened to. They founded their credibility on those who successfully preceded them in asking for help.

In 'A Conversation with Tagore', Galletti contradicts the stereotypical image of Italy as the beautiful country by describing it as 'the land of violence and persecution'. In the final part of the article, she also asserts Italy 'is now buried in

¹²⁹ See Pazzaglia. [1979] 1991. *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 3, Bologna: Zanichelli Editore.

¹³⁰ As quoted in Kopf. 1989. 'The Bengali Prophet of Mass Genocide: Rabindranath Tagore and the Menace of the Twentieth Century Nationalism', in Lago and Warwick. (eds). 1989. *Rabindranath Tagore: Perspectives in Time*, p. 60.

¹³¹ Rhodes. 1976. 'Mussolini's New Rome 1922-1945', in Margolin, (ed.) *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion in World War II*, p. 87.

lies everywhere' (ACT: 10). In the nineteenth century, English speaking women writers, such as Barrett Browning and Margaret Fuller, deconstructed the picturesque image of rural Italy to describe the internal political turmoil in which they participated by supporting the *Risorgimento* movement and embraced contemporary Italian issues. Similarly, Galletti directs Tagore's attention towards Italian contemporary politics. She stresses the responsibility in participating in that present moment of history while Tagore seems attached to an archaeological perception of Italy from the classical Roman and Renaissance past. While Tagore's hope is linked to Italy's past 'exuberant impulse of creation which once overflowed the western continent' (ACT: 10), Galletti worries about the future of the younger generation who endure institutions in which they are taught 'love for Fascism' (ACT: 10). In their final condemnation of the Italian Fascist regime, their different representations of Italy still reveal a different attitude towards political activism. Whilst Tagore transcends the Italian situation into an example of the 'demoralisation produced by Nationalism and Imperialism',¹³² Galletti affirms the immediate need for an international intervention, for a tangible solution to a practical situation.

Galletti is aware of her responsibility and chooses direct and clear language. Lies and misunderstanding caused the anti-fascists' demand for Tagore to stand against Mussolini, and she cannot risk any misconception. The interview is important for the anti-fascist cause and her goal is Tagore's firm denial of support for Mussolini. She leaves room for Tagore to explain the reasons for his visit to Italy; then, she clarifies her position by saying, 'what makes us unhappy is that you have unintentionally helped to support Fascism' (ACT: 10). Although she understands his circumstances, as a member of the anti-fascist movement, she must stress that what matters is the effective results of his actions. The Italian Fascist government is a political structure that does not represent the majority of the Italian people and she

¹³² Tagore. 1926. 'Philosophy of Fascism', pp. 9-10.

reasserts the presence of foreigners and Italians who have resisted the totalitarian regime inside and outside the country:

Foreigners who are not friendly to Fascism cannot give free expression to their opinion in Italy. People who hold contrary views were not allowed to see you (ACT: 10).

While the Fascist propaganda portrays complete support for the regime, Galletti bears witness to suffering opposition. Her family were members of a community who maintained a different and subversive cultural conscience against the violent power of the Fascist regime.

Galletti provides a broader description of the nature of the support for Fascism. She argues that rather than a dichotomy of support for or against the regime, the nature of the support varied from those who believed in Fascism to those who resisted it, and those who consented to it. She builds her argument on a rational ground of verifiable data. She denies Tagore's misconceptions of unanimous support for the regime, the improvements in Italy's economical situation and, most strongly, the greatness of Mussolini's personality. As Tagore claims evidence in support of Fascism, Galletti answers by repeating, 'It is not true' (ACT: 10). Her denial of truth is a powerful repetition which is emotionally charged. While it might reveal her apprehension in delivering her testimony, this repetition creates a human connection between the two parties. The silence of traumatic memories is broken by her loud denial of common misconceptions of ordinary life in Italy in the repetition of 'It is not true' (ACT: 10).

Tagore is eager in justifying his position and Galletti is keen in obtaining the international support for the anti-fascist cause. Tagore's name secured the attention of an international audience, and Galletti could not miss such an opportunity. Although two years had already passed since her husband's article and Matteotti's murder, the international community still had not recognised the Italian Fascist

government's use of violence. Galletti utters the frustration of the anti-fascist campaign without finding a convincing argument in her political activism. Her persuasive case comes from her testimony as a resident in Florence:

But nothing appears in the papers in Italy. They dare not publish anything. [...] You do not know what we have suffered. I myself heard the screams of a woman whose husband was killed before her eyes. But nothing in the papers —never (ACT: 10).

Galletti finally tells the stories of suffering denied by a fictitious picture of Fascism arranged by the Italian regime's propaganda machine. She describes the scenes in a minimal way, avoiding personal comments and using colloquial expressions. She is anxious to reveal the unspeakable traumas she witnessed as an accidental first-hand witness. By building up her emotional denial of Fascist truths, Galletti's testimony achieves the emotive power that touches Tagore.

In the end, the interviewee is receptive to her message and declares:

I wish I had known for certain the dark deeds that were being done in Italy then, I would not have come to that country—I certainly would not. I had not met any of the people who suffered. But, now that I have seen you, I realise my own responsibility (ACT: 10).

Galletti is a witness of the violence and one of those who suffers persecution but does not want to tell Tagore her story. She merges her personal experiences in the communal story of many Italians who resist the Fascist regime. She perceives how the failure to comprehend the urgency of the situation depends on the lack of information on the atrocities committed, on a general 'not knowing' achieved through the denial of the freedom of speech (ACT: 10). With Tagore's help, the international community would attest to the Italian internal situation.

Tagore's acknowledgement of his responsibility allows Galletti's final appeal for help:

We have no means, we are helpless, we have no money, and we cannot do anything. We do not know how to inform other people. I hope you will help us (ACT: 10).

She expresses hopeful expectations in his participation in the cause of all the Italians who are victims of Fascist violence. The 'we' transcends the reference to the specific Italian community in exile and partakes in their suffering. In Tagore she can see their international representative. By using the second person 'you', Galletti refers to the interlocutor of the dialogue who can also be disclosed as the common international audience that has received only misinformation about Italian Fascism.

Galletti does not identify the pronoun 'we' in the exiled anti-fascist Italians but she concludes her paragraph stating, 'We who have suffered know what it is in reality' (ACT: 10). She appeals to what Tagore calls 'the true meeting place of all human races' (ACT: 10) for help locating her expatriate community in the common human experience of oppression and tyranny. The international communities need to go beyond their 'own self-interest' (ACT: 10) to perceive the suffering experienced by the Salvadoris and those who lived similar events. It is not only Tagore's individual responsibility to help the anti-fascist fight but of the whole 'different peoples of the worlds' (ACT: 10).

Galletti's Political Contribution

Although the publication of 'A Conversation with Tagore' might have been accidental, her contribution was important as it transformed her verbal testimony into an appeal to the wider international English speaking community. In 'Tagore e Mussolini', Salvemini explains how the Italian readership had 'some glimpses' of 'Philosophy of Fascism', 'at least two weeks afterwards'.¹³³ The pro-Fascist Italian newspapers criticise Tagore's behaviour by representing him as a minor, old poet who accepts the hospitality of a country and then despises it. He quotes from the

¹³³ 'gli italiani ebbero qualche barlume due buone settimane dopo.' Salvemini. 1957. 'Tagore e Mussolini', p. 205.

official newspaper of the Fascist party, *Il Popolo d' Italia*. Together with *Il Regime Fascista*, this newspaper had followed and amplified the success of Tagore's visit to Rome in May and June daily; on 25 August, it published an article in which Tagore is not a poet anymore but 'a mystifier'.¹³⁴

In 'A Conversation with Tagore' her authorship as Galletti is silenced. However, her testimony is evidence of a life spent in firm opposition to all forms of tyranny, which has been disregarded by literary or historical scholars of Italian, English or European studies as well as by Tagore scholars. The detailed study of the evidence in this thesis is a contribution to a wider understanding of European history through the activism of those people who risked their lives for freedom and an ideal of European identity that transcends nationalist concepts and borders. 'A Conversation with Tagore' had a political relevance which was not only due to Tagore's standing as a severe critic of all forms of nationalism and imperialism. Three publications dated 1926 testify to the interest of the British audience in India and its demand of independence: Sylvia Pankhurst's *India: An Earthly Paradise*; Annie Besant's *India Bond or Free? A World Problem*; and Lord Curzon's memoirs.

Galletti's interview with Tagore initiated an international debate which continued in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*. The editor Scott summarised the reason for Professor Carlo Formichi's letter published on 25 August 1926. On 15 September, the correspondent from Rome described the reaction of the Fascist press to the debate in an article entitled, 'Fascist Way with Tagore. Anathematised, but Suppressed.' On 20 September, another letter written by Tagore and addressed to Scott was published. In it, Tagore highlights his interest in improving the cultural relationships between India and Europe yet he expresses his concern about the

¹³⁴ 'mistificatore'. *Ibid*, p. 206.

‘dominance of ruthless coercion that stood darkly hidden the screen on which was thrown the shadow picture of prosperity and peace’.¹³⁵

In the letter addressed to Scott and published under the title, ‘Dr Tagore in Italy: His Two Interviews with Signor Mussolini’, Professor Formichi describes Mussolini as a generous facilitator to Tagore’s visit to Italy. Nevertheless, Formichi takes responsibility for organising, translating and interpreting for him in Italy. He affirms his honesty as a translator stressing that the majority of journalists could talk directly to Tagore. However, his honesty is questionable as his account of the meeting between Tagore and Croce is contradicted by the account related by Tagore’s son, Rathindranath Tagore.¹³⁶

At the end of the letter, Formichi lists the letters he received from Tagore after he had left Italy to prove that the poet had an initial enthusiastic opinion of Mussolini. He writes, ‘[a] second letter dated July 7 from Zürich then reached me’.¹³⁷ In this letter, Tagore explains he discovered methods of Fascism which ‘prevented him from remaining silently neutral’.¹³⁸ Tagore indeed refused any collaboration with Formichi. The letter mentioned by Formichi was written two days after Tagore and Galletti’s meeting on 5 July 1926. Tagore was still in Zurich when he wrote it and had not met Modigliani. His meeting with Modigliani and Angelica Balabanoff occurred on the 14 July 1926. The letter Formichi refers to is the first in which Tagore confronts his Italian friend, translator and interpreter in relation to the Italian media’s claim of his support for Fascism. This letter proves the effects of the conversation between Tagore and Galletti. It testifies to the success of Galletti’s participation in the public domain.

¹³⁵ Tagore. 1926. ‘Dr Tagore and Fascism’, in *Manchester Guardian*, 20 September, p. 6.

¹³⁶ See Tagore, Rathindranath, 1958. *On the Edge of Time*.

¹³⁷ Formichi. 1926. ‘Dr Tagore in Italy: His Two Interviews with Mussolini’, in *Manchester Guardian*, 25 August, p. 16.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

With the violent ascendancy of the Italian Fascist party, Galletti opted, in an act of resistance, to translate the Italian political situation for an English speaking audience. It was a dangerous act yet she committed herself to it as an Anglo-Italian representative of anti-fascism both in Italy and in exile. The article 'A Conversation with Tagore' demonstrates Galletti's assertive political Anglo-Italian voice which significantly contributed to breaking the image of Fascist Italy promoted by the propagandistic picture of progress and wealth controlled by the dictatorship. She can delineate the difference between the ethnic and cultural definitions of Italy as a nation and the Italian political state. She affirms a distinction between Italians, as the people who are terrorised and suffer, and the Italian government, as Mussolini and the members of the Fascist party who, using her own words maintained power 'by violence and by crushing the freedom of speech' (ACT: 10).

'A Conversation with Tagore' is today a document exemplifying Galletti's courageous participation in the events in the interwar period which would be otherwise transmitted simply in family history. Evidence of her constant political commitment remains in her private correspondence to her children, Max Salvadori and Joyce Salvadori Lussu, which are the primary texts used in the following chapter. These letters describe the issues of an Italian rural area transformed into a battleground in the Second World War and a civil war between fascists and anti-fascists. While losing the gravity of the political commitment of an Anglo-Italian political commentator and interpreter, they capture the private voice of an older woman who firmly opposes Fascist policies even if it means facing imprisonment.

Chapter Three

Giacinta Galletti's Autobiographical Writing: A Study of Anglo-Italian Subjectivity

In 1933, Giacinta and Guglielmo Salvadori left Switzerland to return to Italy. An ageing couple, they decided to retire to the country house he inherited for financial reasons and to avoid repression and attacks. A year earlier, Guglielmo Salvadori reached an agreement with the Fascist government which forbade any form of public activity and demanded isolation in the countryside of the Marche under the strict control of the authorities. At a time when anti-fascist propaganda developed into a major issue of international political debate in the press, Giacinta Galletti could not participate in it. The Salvadoris had lost the international connections developed during their ten years of exile in Switzerland and could not openly participate in anti-fascist underground movements. Nevertheless, Galletti's voice was not silenced. Her correspondence from 1933 to 1948 represents attentive observations of all phases of the Second World War from the Italian isolated country house which became a shelter for 'escaping Allied Prisoners of War',¹ Resistance fighters and Jews. Her understanding was widened by international information received through friends' and relatives' letters, British and Swiss newspapers and journals, and the radio.

This chapter will show how Galletti's Anglo-Italian identity is voiced in her autobiographical works and her private correspondence. The first part of this chapter examines the issues of knowledge and subjectivity in Galletti's representation of her Anglo-Italian identity by looking at her difficulties in placing her narrative voice. I will analyse Galletti's first publication, 'The Sibilline Mountains', together with her

¹ Todhunter. 1960. 'Countess Salvadori', in *Times*. 15 September. p. 18.

autobiographical story, 'A Summer of My Life'.² She wrote these two texts before her exile in Switzerland. The comparison with Collier's *Our Home by the Adriatic* shows Galletti's creation of an English literary dimension in which the texts disclose atemporal literary spaces where mother and daughter share a literary bond. Galletti redefines her individual identity by acknowledging her mother as a British traveller who migrated to Italy and created a heterogeneous Anglo-Italian family.

Secondly, this chapter focuses on Galletti's correspondence with her children, Max and Joyce Salvadori, before and during the Second World War.³ Galletti interrupted her autobiographical experiments when she went into exile and never resumed them after the Second World War. Virginia Woolf, while reviewing a biography of Horace Walpole by Ketton-Cremer, defined letter writing as 'the humane art which owes its origin to the love of friends.'⁴ Galletti's case shows that letter writing also finds its origin in the love of family members. In the extreme circumstances caused by the Italian Fascist dictatorship and the Second World War, her letters became the only communicative space possible for a fractured family. Galletti's representation of her subjectivity was secondary to her need to testify, to take responsibility and participate in the historical moment.

In Italy, the Gallettis' contact with the international community was dependent on the receipt of letters, newspapers, journals and books by post, and information by radio. Galletti narrates the years of the war, the Resistance and Italy's liberation as a letter writer. The letters that are preserved through publication are the ones she addressed to her children. In these letters, private memories become part of the collective memory of a rural community who cannot voice its historical

² Salvadori. 1905. 'A Summer of My Life' (hereafter ASML). unpublished typescript. 53 pp: SPA. translated into Italian by her daughter, Gladys Salvadori, and published in 1989 by Joyce Salvadori in Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*.

³ See Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*; Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*.

⁴ Woolf. [1940] 1942. 'The Humane Art', in *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays*. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 41.

consciousness because of widespread illiteracy. Her account is evidence of the experiences of people who are not recognised in official accounts. It testifies the direct domestic consequences of a conflict in which the military front moves through civilian communities. Although at present her correspondence primarily creates a commemorative and historical interest, her letters were not meant for publication though they engaged with the resonance of national and international politics in daily life.

A Juxtaposition of Private and Public Identity: Naming Cynthia Salvadori

In the public arena Galletti was recognised as ‘Signora Salvadori’. However, she was known to her family by an English name: Cynthia. As her eldest daughter Gladys Salvadori notes in the description of her mother’s achievements as a painter, Galletti was ‘known as Cynthia’ in the family circle.⁵ Collier’s unpublished correspondence and Joyce Salvadori’s writings support this claim. In her introduction to *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*,⁶ her younger daughter constantly refers to Galletti by her English name. After her death in 1960, the *Times* published an obituary entitled ‘Countess Salvadori’ in which Galletti is ‘Cynthia Salvadori’.⁷

The obituary begins by stating:

The death in Italy on August 28 of Cynthia Salvadori should not pass unnoticed in England, for she was one, and not the least remarkable, of that remarkable group of Anglo-Italians who, ever since the Risorgimento, have contributed so much to Italian political and cultural life.⁸

Galletti’s British heritage is outlined in her definition as Anglo-Italian, identified by her English name as well as her Italian married surname. There is no reference to her

⁵ Salvadori, Gladys. 1989. *Artisti dilettanti*, p. 3.

⁶ Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*.

⁷ L.C. 1960. ‘Countess Salvadori’, in *Times*, 7 September, p.17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

as 'Giacinta Galletti'. The use of her informal English name, combined with her married surname, creates an immediate visual representation of her Anglo-Italian background. This juxtaposition of her private and public identities uncovers her multiple cultural and linguistic background. England has a duty to commemorate her death and her contribution to the European society as an Anglo-Italian.

The use of Galletti's informal name in the obituary allows the probable identification of the initials of the author, 'L.C.', as either her cousin, Laurence Collier (1890-1976),⁹ or her first cousin once removed, William Adrian Larry Collier (1913-1984), the fourth Baron Monkswell.¹⁰ References to Galletti as 'Cynthia' only appear in her mother's letters and her children's writing. The author of the *Times*' obituary was part of the English maternal side of the Collier-Galletti family descended from the first Lord Monkswell. In Galletti's correspondence, there is evidence that Galletti was in contact with her cousin, Laurence Collier.¹¹

The obituary points out her personal anti-fascist stance as well as her husband's and children's involvement in the Resistance to the Fascist regime, her exile and her political confinement. What Tagore defines as a 'contribution to the world' (ACT: 10) becomes the 'remarkable' actions of an Anglo-Italian anti-fascist whom the English audience should remember.¹² Although 'her experiences were [...] typical of what Italians of openly liberal views suffered under Fascism',¹³

⁹ As a diplomat in the Foreign Office, Laurence Collier helped Galletti's son and his nephew, Max Salvadori, when he was sentenced to five years of political imprisonment in Ponza, Italy, in 1932. He was then released in 1933. The British diplomacy could intervene in the basis of Max Salvadori's dual nationality. He was born on 16 June 1908 in London. He was involved in underground activities for the anti-fascist movement, '*Giustizia e Libertà*'. See Goldstein, 2004.

'Collier, Sir Laurence (1890-1976)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Luzi, (ed.) 1996. *Max Salvadori: l'uomo, il cittadino*.

¹⁰ He adopted his christian name of Larry in 1934 and renounced his peerage in 1964. See *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Debrett's Illustrated Peerage*.

¹¹ In a letter to her son, Max Salvadori, dated 29 February 1963. Giacinta Salvadori discusses the funeral of George V by referring to a letter she received. The collection includes only an extract from Galletti's letter and the name of the correspondent is not provided but she specifies that her correspondent saw the funeral from the Foreign Office. Laurence Collier was a diplomatist in the Foreign Office.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Galletti was also ‘Cynthia’, an Anglo-Italian woman who opposed Fascism. Galletti did not take a stand based on nationalist ideologies but on the humanist ideals of freedom and progress. Instead of fitting into a category as either an ally or an enemy, she maintained her nomadic subjectivity by risking her life and opposing tyranny whether it was in Italian or in English. This chapter unfolds the voice of Galletti’s Anglo-Italian identity as it is visually represented by the name ‘Cynthia Salvadori’.

‘The Sibilline Mountains’ and ‘A Summer of My Life’: A Mother-Daughter Intertextual Dialogue

Galletti initially depicted the Marche’s rural scenery in the brief travelogue entitled ‘The Sibilline Mountains’,¹⁴ and published in *The Hindustan and Kayastha Samachar Review* in 1904.¹⁵ This was her first publication and, like her autobiographical story, ‘A Summer of My Life’, originated from her childhood memories of the countryside in which her family spent summer and the exceptionality of her cosmopolitan family of English, French and Italian origins. Like Collier, she describes the landscape of the Italian region in which her Anglo-Italian family lived to an Anglophone readership. In ‘The Sibilline Mountains’, Galletti describes a specific chain of mountains which are part of the central Italian Apennines. In *Our Home by the Adriatic* (1886), Collier emphasises the beauty of the view on the ‘snowy mountains that bounded the opposite horizon’ (OHA: 223) of the Adriatic Sea, and the narrator’s desire to climb them. In the chapter entitled ‘Our

¹⁴ Salvadori. 1904. ‘The Sibilline Mountains’, in *The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, vol. X, no. 2, August, pp. 145–154 (hereafter, TSM). Her husband published an article on Herbert Spencer in this same journal the month before. See Salvadori, Guglielmo. 1904. ‘Herbert Spencer’, in *The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, vol. X, no. 1, July, pp. 13–16.

¹⁵ This is an Indian journal published monthly featuring reviews of English new publications and articles about educational legal, medical and scientific works.

Excursions', she narrates the family's first excursion to ascend 'Mount Vettore, nearly eight thousand feet high' (OHA: 225) on the Sibilline range. It is described by a plural first-person narrator whose point of view includes her husband and ten-year old Giacinta.

Collier spells the name of the mountains as 'Sibelline' [*sic*] (OHA: 223) but the detailed account of the journey leaves no doubt about the identification of the place. Galletti leaves the Italian denomination of the chain, which is Sibilline Mountains. Mother and daughter appear to share a profound admiration for these mountains, which are now a national park: they both, in fact, describe the beauty of its wild nature. *Our Home by the Adriatic* and 'A Summer of My Life' begin with a powerful description of San Venanzo's aerial view from the East, the Adriatic coast, to the West, and the Apennine chain. The rural landscape then becomes a literary feature, a safe place in which to address feelings and emotions which are silenced. Whilst Collier focuses more on the details of the ascent by listing all the means of transport and the places they travel through or stop to rest, Galletti offers a more detailed description of the interesting local flora, fauna, and activities that a tourist could enjoy. She does not give an account of the itinerary to reach the Sibilline Mountains but describes in five subsections, five specific sites which are unique to these mountains.

In Galletti's account, the climbing is not difficult because there are tracks 'everywhere' (TSM: 145), 'Mountain ascensions in this style are not fatiguing, and if inglorious, are pleasant, giving one plenty of time to admire the surroundings' (TSM: 145). Collier develops a romantic expectation in emphasising the difficulties in finding forms of transport and places in which to stop. Nevertheless, like her daughter, she claims the different physical demand between climbing the Apennines and the Swiss Alps. Galletti highlights the magnificence of the Sibilline Mountains

and adds that climbing them does not demand much danger therefore, the traveller cannot claim 'particular glory' (TSM: 145). The natural beauty of the surroundings and a direct encounter with it are the real interests of the narrating voice. Both mixing the English and Italian languages in reporting the names of the different sites, Collier and Galletti describe the magnificence of a landscape that '[f]ew tourists visit' (TSM: 145) but which inspires an admiration that is similar to 'the glory of the Alps without their gloom' (OHA: 230). Galletti's tourist is not a romantic hero but an acknowledged globetrotter who is interested in discovering a specific Italian locality.

The travelogue's first person narrator does not introduce her identity but highlights her direct knowledge of the place stating, 'That which I have seen and admired I have attempted to describe in the following pages' (TSM: 145). The nameless, but gendered, narrator assures the audience that she has been to these mountains and that her admiration is based on personal experience. This article is aimed at an English speaking readership. The narrator communicates in English but does not reveal any information about her national identity. The language becomes the means of encounter between the narrator and the reader but the signature at the end of the article might cause a different reaction. Her signature strengthens the authority of her personal experience on the Italian mountains but it leaves much ambiguity about the authorial voice. The reader could verify her identity by looking up a name which would still link her to her husband's paternal line without revealing any sign of her English maternal descent. Giacinta and Guglielmo Salvadori's British female ancestors are effaced from legal documents.

If the use of the English language can be considered a representative element of the English contribution to Galletti's identity, then the narrator chooses to express its Italian cultural background through an accurate and detailed knowledge of a

relatively unknown Italian region. No reason is given for the narrator's deep knowledge of this part of the Italian Apennines. In the part of the travelogue entitled 'The Cross on the Vettore', the narrator reports the encounter with two priests on Mount Vettore. The narrator uses a plural first person pronoun to identify herself and her travelling companion by stating, 'we two girls' (TSM: 152). This enables the reader to understand that the narrator is a woman. The two women are questioned about their national identity by the two priests:

great was the curiosity we two girls inspired them with. "Who were we? Where did we come from? Were we French? Or Italian? Or English?" (TSM: 152).

Although the setting is Italian, the narrator speaks English and, suddenly, the reader is reminded that the narrator might not be of British nationality. The narrator simply relies on the use of the word 'ladies' (TSM: 152) to refer to the 'two girls', a definition which implies the narrator herself. Galletti alludes to her ability to pass as any of the previous nationalities but does not state her Anglo-Italian origins and ends the article with a signature that silences her multiple identity. At a time in which European countries developed definitions of national identities and an imperialist context simultaneously, Galletti and her brothers represented a different concept of identity that did not belong to a simplified coding of the world into binary categorisations.

Galletti's unanswered questions echo another intertextual link with the chapter entitled 'Our Excursions' in Collier's *Our Home by the Adriatic*. In this chapter, while the children pick up some flowers, the narrator asks the guide, a member of the Italian Alpine Club who accompanies the party, about foreign visitors to the Sibilline Mountains. He answers that '[s]ometimes even English' (OHA: 233) tourists come to pick up 'certain stones' (OHA: 233), and exclaims, 'What funny people the English are!' (OHA: 233). The narrator clarifies her ethnic nationality by

sharply affirming, 'I am English' (OHA: 234). The astonished guide does not understand as she speaks '*aperta*, like us' (OHA: 234). Although she has an open Italian pronunciation, as another guide points out, Collier distinguishes her behaviour by 'the way she sits her mule' (OHA: 234). It is the narrator that explains further, saying that 'the mule had a man's saddle, on which [she] sat sideways, which is not the fashion of Italian ladies here' (OHA: 234).

To assert her Anglo-Italian identity, Galletti cannot offer a brief answer; she has to explain the story of her family in order to identify her different multilingual identity. These possible assumptions about her national and cultural identity could be a cause for her decision to express her dual cultural identity going back to the place of her childhood memories through writing. Writing becomes a means to access the past, to those events that determined the development of her Anglo-Italian subjectivity into a 'nomadic subject' which subverts conventions and norms.¹⁶ In her case, the nomadic mode is a journey outside the European continent.

In 1900, she travelled to India to visit her brother Arthur Galletti di Cadilhac, who chose British citizenship and became a British governmental official of the Indian Civil Service in the Madras Presidency.¹⁷ Galletti left her Italian residency to discover a British colony in which she could probably pass as a British citizen. She was with her English mother, and her brother. As she briefly remembers in 'A Summer of My Life', she was 'a school-girl away in England' (ASML: 53). Her British nationality would be easily assumed and she would not need to give complex explanations about her family's background. There is a gap between self and other, between her subjectivity and its representation but, she experiments with what

¹⁶ See Braidotti, 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*.

¹⁷ See Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*.

Braidotti calls 'that margin of non-belonging'.¹⁸ as a difference she could enjoy and explore.

When she married Guglielmo Salvadori in 1904, Galletti migrated with him to Germany. Brought up by a German speaking Swiss nanny, whom she recalled as Fraülein Dürst,¹⁹ Galletti was fluent in German. Once again, she was in a foreign country and able to pass supposedly for a conventional nationality. These experiences of 'nomadic travelling' could have provoked the need to define her Anglo-Italian identity. Surrounded by the German language, she produced a representation of the time and the place of her childhood in San Venanzo writing in English, her mother's tongue. Thus, she developed a bond with her mother's literary heritage in which her Anglo-Italian family succeeded in finding a place.

In 1905, she was conscious of her difference and wrote an autobiographical account of the last summer all the members of her Anglo-Italian family spent at San Venanzo in 1898. In this country house she grew up in a situation that her mother compares to 'the Tower of Babel' (OHA: 223), because of the multiplicity of languages and cultures. San Venanzo was the haven in which she did not need to define her national and cultural identity; she could develop her Anglo-Italian subjectivity adopting a 'both/and thinking' which recognises both similarities and differences.²⁰ She preferred to identify her complex multiple subjectivity by communicating in English an accurate specific knowledge of a little known Italian region.

'A Summer of My Life' exemplifies her initial determination to seek self-knowledge focusing on the representation of original domestic scenes and local folklore about the countryside she grew up in and her relationship with people not

¹⁸ Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 40.

¹⁹ Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermate*, p. 102.

²⁰ See Roberts. [1994] 1998. 'The Place of Imagination' in *Food, Sex & God: On Inspiration and Writing*, London: Virago.

only of different nationalities, but also different educational and social backgrounds. In the specific rural scenario of the south of the Marche, her Anglo-Italian family represents an unusual household in which various European languages were spoken and different cultural customs, traditions, and religions were adopted redefining cultural and social borders in order to understand differences and regionalism. Galletti needs to cross these cultural and social borders to affirm a 'polyglot nomadic subject'.²¹ She is not as English as her mother; she is not as Italian as her father. She represents a development of both that seems to be defined by a word such as 'Anglo-Italian' which graphically conjoins the two linguistic and cultural national identities. The subjectivity Galletti constructs develops a literary voice that has a multiple cultural and social knowledge, an education, and a gender but does not voice an identity defined by nationality. It is not the order in the linguistic construction that matters but its versatile fluidity.

'A Summer of My Life' is a fifty-three page unpublished autobiographical story in which Galletti expresses her perspective of that world described by her mother in travel and fictional writing. There is no evidence that 'A Summer of My Life' was ever intended for publication. The publication of its Italian translation in Joyce Salvadori's *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermane* (1989) occurred posthumously. In 'A Summer of My Life', the difficulties of expressing a 'nomadic subjectivity' are clear from the first chapter of her story in which the narrative fails to combine autobiography and travel writing. Divided into six chapters, the story presents an introduction addressed by the unnamed narrator to "the traveller". Both 'A Sibilline Mountains' and 'A Summer of My Life' begin with a direct interaction with 'the traveller to the Marches' (ASML: 1), and then become pretexts for representing the self in relation to the other. This other is a foreigner like the hypothetical traveller, or a member of the local rural community in San Venanzo, or

²¹ See Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*.

a member of the Gallettis' heterogeneous household. Under the pretext of a description of the Italian area of her childhood to an Anglophone traveller, Galletti's travel writing is enriched by personal memories.

The traveller's identity is generalised in a male third person. 'He' (ASML: 2). His identity is not specified but alluded to by the use of the English language. The addressee might be travelling south on a train 'which runs down the seacoast from Ancona to Brindisi' (ASML: 1), as often happens in Collier's fictional works. The narrating voice is positioned between a detailed knowledge of an original Italian area, which is not a usual tourist destination, and a sympathetic attitude to a foreign traveller who would discover the Marche by chance. Once again travel writing appears to disguise autobiographical writing. The representation of a stereotypical English globetrotter, as well as the depiction of the regional landscape, reveals similarities with Collier's *Our Home by the Adriatic*.

Mother and daughter share words such as 'civilisation', 'great cities', and 'survival of medieval customs'. While Collier's narrator uses the word 'primitive' to describe the local community (OHA: 6), the narrator of 'A Summer of My Life' prefers to define it as 'backward' (ASML: 2). They both highlight the rare occasion of a traveller in this area and they both try to interest the hypothetical travelling reader with references to a medieval past and the beauty of the landscape. They both refer to gothic medieval castles set on hill tops keeping the secrets of tyrannical legends. The scenery is depicted more poetically in 'A Summer of My Life'. The landscape is in fact the dominant element in Galletti's writing while her mother is more interested in describing the local inhabitants and their folklore.

Galletti prefers the visual power of similitude to the faithful report of details, as the beginning of her story shows. The narrator expresses her love for the panoramic view of San Venanzo which stretches from the Sibilline mountains in the

West to the Adriatic Sea in the East, embracing the whole valley of the river Tenna. She likes sitting ‘for hours on the terrace at the top of the house’ (ASML: 3) to watch storm clouds approaching:

‘[A] dragon vomiting fire and hail along the valley of the Tenna, which [she] can trace from its source between the mountains to its mouth, where it changes the colour of the blue Adriatic; and finally disappear [sic.] rumbling and thundering sulkily over the sea on its way to Dalmatia (ASML: 3).

In her imagination Galletti finds a means to interweave her admiration for the natural beauty of the Marche with a multiple cultural knowledge which allows her to visualise a mythical figure of Old English literature and Sacred Scriptures on San Venanzo’s horizon. A landscape which possesses the echoes of the myths of regional legends in the names of its elements, such as the mountains of the Sybil – Sibilline – is transformed by the presence of the image of a foreign dragon that has the power to change the colour of the Adriatic. In her imagination the Sybil and the dragon look at the open view of her family home but, in this instance, they do not descend with the storm as the hill of San Venanzo ‘remains basking parched in the sun’ (ASML: 3).

The narrator is twenty-three years old and her observations and opinions are based on memories. As Michèle Roberts points out, ‘imagination, that strange internal organ of making, strongly inflects [the creation of a piece of reality] with meanings to do with the future’.²² Imagination itself is also influenced by the past: ‘the past exerts a terrific pull on our imaginations [...]; not for nothing did the Greeks name Mnemosyne, memory, as the chief, or mother, of the Muses’.²³ In discussing her concept of ‘strangeness within ourselves’,²⁴ Kristeva claims the child as ‘the strange within us’.²⁵ In the conflicts between the self and the other, she

²² See Roberts. [1994] 1998. ‘The Place of Imagination’, p. 18.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See Roudiez, (trans.) 1991. *Julia Kristeva. Strangers to Ourselves.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

analyses 'the infantile desires and fears of the other'.²⁶ Childhood remains active in the adult's consciousness and occurs, as a form of an uncanny feeling, 'in the encounter with an unexpected' other.²⁷ The reconstruction of childhood memories provokes suspension of boundaries between imagination and reality. In the comparison analysed previously, Galletti recalls the landscape surrounding her childhood country house, and describes an epic storm that spares her home and passes by. Although serenity is the predominant image in the initial pages, the image of storm clouds seems to allude to the possibility of a completely different scenario at San Venanzo.

The literary similarities create an intertextual bond between mother and daughter which increases in the following pages in a continuum of allusions to characters, places and episodes which Collier previously described or fictionalised in her own writing without providing personal names or dates. The initials used by the mother can be identified in the daughter's writing. Although Galletti leaves the names of her immediate family's members out, by reading 'A Summer of My Life' it is possible to solve some of the mysteries related to the identities of some of Collier's characters. In *Our Home by the Adriatic*, Collier summarises her Italian experiences from 1873 to 1886, but it is twelve years afterwards that they can become personal family accounts in Galletti's memories of 1898. At the age of thirty, Galletti recalls a difficult summer of her youth in which she failed to oppose her father and change the social prospects of one of the young girls who worked in San Venanzo. She attempts a reconstruction of a summer in which something terrible but unspoken happened.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

A married woman who is not yet a mother, Galletti represents herself as unmarried in San Venanzo. She reconstructs a younger self who practises painting, and teaches literature to the children of the women working in San Venanzo. Galletti lives most of the time in Rome where her eighteen-year old brother, Clemens, studies engineering and her father participates in national political life as an MP. Her other brother, Arthur, is twenty-one years old and studies in England. She loves spending her summers in San Venanzo as this is the place in which she does what she likes, ‘nobody interferes with’ her (ASML: 3), ‘and nobody tells of [her] so long as [she] keep[s] within prudent limits’ (ASML: 3). San Venanzo is a literary trope signifying freedom that is opposed to the social constraints of public life in Rome.

Whereas the English traveller constructed by Collier is invited to enter the streets of the medieval villages to discover the little known Italian region, Galletti imagines a traveller who ‘will pass and wonder [...] and speculate how the more cultured inhabitants manage to combine in their lives the mixture of new and old’ (ASML: 2). This seems to summarise an aim for the story: the description of the inhabitants of San Venanzo and how they combine new and old. The narrator does not specify which old and new elements are interconnected by the characters or, more interestingly, any influence determined by the encounter of two European cultures in this combination of new and old. The interest the narrator shares with the traveller is a speculative analysis of how the British and Italian backgrounds interrelate in San Venanzo giving life to a new generation that develops in the freedom of the rural isolation and, then, struggles to formulate its different subjectivity outside it.

‘A Summer of My Life’ attempts to narrate the last summer the Collier-Galletti family spent together at San Venanzo from Galletti’s point of view. After the introduction, the narrator plunges abruptly into the description of a family context

of which it is part but whose name is never revealed. Having invited “the traveller” to challenge a stereotypical perception of Italy and its inhabitants, the narrator sets the scene directly in the household without introducing any of the characters, and forgets about the traveller. In the attempt to recreate a past lived as a child and as a young woman, Galletti discovers in the imagination that inner “safe place” in which awareness and the unconscious, memories and fantasies are mixed in her childhood memories. A bilingual author who was born of a French mother and an English father, Roberts suggests imagination is the place at the heart of culture and society and defines it as ‘a safe place, in which to let go of old certainties, let boundaries dissolve, experience the kind of chaos necessary for new life, new ideas.’²⁸ It is the place in which autobiographical and fictional writing, memories and wishes in their unconscious encounter ‘inside us’.²⁹

Thus, Galletti finds her identity in that place of the mind in which experience and imagination encounter and motivate writing. She prefers forms of writing which allow her to experiment with the borders of the spheres of private and public, fiction and personal experience. Autobiography and travel writing are literary genres which belong to a plurality of definitions and heterogeneous heritage, and integrate multiple forms, such as diaries, journals, memoirs, and letters, facts and fiction, past and present. Recent studies on both travel writing and autobiography deal with, using Laura Marcus words, their ‘instability or hybridity’,³⁰ showing that contemporary debates on both fields tend to approach the issues looking at the dialectical relationships between ‘self’ and ‘other’: self and world, inside and outside, private and public, subjectivity and objectivity. In *Travel Writing: the Self and the Other* (2002), Casey Blanton, for example, conducts her study focusing on ‘travel writing’s

²⁸ Roberts. [1994] 1998. ‘The Place of Imagination’, p.22.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Marcus. 1994. *Auto biographical Discourses: Theory, Criticism, Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 7.

long entanglement with the other'.³¹ Travel writing encompasses the foreign world, the foreigner, in the interpretation of the concept of otherness. As Linda Anderson points out in *Autobiography* (2001),³² autobiography and travel writing share 'critical controversies' on contemporary issues of 'authorship, selfhood, representation and the division between fact and fiction'.³³

In Galletti's texts the dialectics between the self and 'the other' often presents 'the other' as 'the foreign other'.³⁴ In his groundbreaking study on the Orient as a construct of the Western European representations of a defined geographical area, Edward Said brought attention to the way in which 'the European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self'.³⁵ While the observation of 'the foreign other' can fortify the definition of subjectivity in the creation of an opposition, it could also question the security based on it.

From her experience as an expatriate, Kristeva claims that 'the foreigner comes in when the consciousness of [her] difference arises'.³⁶ In *Strangers to Ourselves*, she argues uncanny foreignness moves freely across the borders of conscious and unconscious as the supportive means of analysis of ourselves. Galletti explores unconscious memories of a traumatic summer in writing, as writing activates that 'safe space' in which memories, knowledge and desire interact.³⁷ She sets a travel book in the Marche which recalls an unmarried Galletti who reacts to the events which irreversibly changed her family relationships. Her memories take over the initial intention to write a travelogue. Her need to voice an unspeakable trauma, at times, sets in motion an autobiographical mode which is not consciously

³¹ Blanton. 2002. *Travel Writing: The Self and the Other*, New York and London: Routledge, p. xiv.

³² Anderson. 2001. *Autobiography*, London and New York: Routledge.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp 1-2.

³⁴ Said. [1978] 2003. *Orientalism*, London: Penguin Books, p. xix.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁶ Roudiez, (trans.) 1991. *Julia Kristeva. Strangers to Ourselves*, p. 1.

³⁷ Roberts. [1994] 1998. 'The Place of Imagination', p. 22.

confessional until the concluding chapter when she reflects upon her inability to help Assunta and Bianca – two of the women that work in San Venanzo.

Galletti's narrative is influenced by a European tradition of autobiography based on historical consciousness, on a mode of understanding of individual subjectivity in relation to the social world and as a process, 'a temporal frame which integrates each experience into a broader context'.³⁸ In the text, for example, the narrator cites Johann Wolfgang von Goethe by heart. This autobiographical story presents a precise chronological and geographical setting and the internal dynamics of a family, but it omits some of the first names. Galletti inscribes her signature on the last page of the story and dates it '1905' (ASML: 53). Her parents are nameless characters. Her father, Arturo Galletti, is referred to with the abbreviation for a nickname, "F. M.". Her mother is simply called "my mother", except for one occasion in which she is 'the lady of the house' (ASML: 14). The nationality of the various characters is not identified. Instead, the regional identity of the women working in San Venanzo are specified: Orsola, the housekeeper, grew up in Sorrento, Mistress Ada, the school teacher, was brought up in Egypt, and the childhood of Assunta, Collier's personal maid, was in Tivoli. The setting is precisely located on the Italian map. The Gallettis move to San Venanzo from Rome and the local characters are portrayed in scenes of regional folklore.

The knowledge of this Italian countryside is deep and detailed but it is described explicitly in English in ways with which an English-speaking readership can sympathise. The final signature could presume an author of Italian nationality but her brothers' names are Arthur and Clemens. Her parents' nationality is not mentioned but, in chapter two, the narrator implies Collier's nationality by noting what is recognised as a typically English custom: 'At five o'clock there is the

³⁸ Marcus, 1995. 'The Faces of Autobiography', in Swindells, (ed.) *The Uses of Autobiography*. London: Taylor and Francis, p. 15.

institution of afternoon tea, one of the customs my mother brought from her English home' (ASML: 15). Afternoon tea becomes a distinctive cultural symbol for Collier's identity as the foreigner. The narrator defines it as an 'institution' revealing the perception of afternoon tea as an established routine which is recognised but also regulated by rules or expectations probably imposed by Collier. No representation of customs or behaviours can symbolise Galletti's identity. She struggles to define her literary subjectivity, except by leaving a signature at the end of her work which does not solve a riddle.

As the narrator states, the abbreviation "F.M." stands for, '(Fat Man, a nickname invented by my brother when a schoolboy) because we don't like to call him father' (ASML: 6). The parenthetical explanation highlights the parental dichotomy constructed in the description of the family's context: the "I" does not approve of her paternal figure. There are conflicts between her parents and the 'I' takes a side: she supports her mother. The narrator is confrontational towards the paternal figure but her reasons are not explained or exemplified in episodes. She portrays an imposing father who appears to take decisions for the whole household. Those who are close to him seem to submit to his will except his daughter.

The "I" is silent in critical moments between her parents and does not confront her father to protect her mother. Partly she is asked by her mother to refrain from her intervention but she also seems to miss important information about facts that are kept secret from her. The narrator specifies that she avoids attending the drawing room when her father is there and does not participate in conversation when the family has lunch or dinner. In the last chapter she explains:

I find myself tête-à-tête every meal with the F.M., which I dislike very much, but which doesn't make me any more conversational than I was before. I answer politely when I am spoken to, as I would to a stranger, but that is all (ASML: 43).

She compares her father to a stranger. Strangers and foreigners are a common presence in San Venanzo as many friends of the family travel to visit them. In 'A Summer of My Life', her mother is a foreigner in Italy. Nevertheless, the only one who is assimilated to the concept of unfamiliarity is her father. He symbolises imposition and tyranny. In the local and national political context, he is in a powerful position but in the family his moral and ethical values are diminished. Galletti reconstructs her subjectivity in reciprocity to her mother and in conflict with her father. Her father stands for everything she does not accept in the social context but she cannot succeed in opposing his power. In the story, the suspense does not lead to a major event but only to the closing word, 'failure' (ASML: 53).

There is no desire to avoid the reality of San Venanzo but the narrator's inability to change it is reflected in the impossibility of completing the story. Galletti fails in telling a painful story of abuse towards Bianca, a nineteen-year old maid to whom she was closely attached. While in 'A Conversation with Tagore', she tells the stories of violence and suffering silenced by the Fascist dictatorship, in 'A Summer of My Life', the narrator leaves a young woman's trauma unspoken. The narrator writes about Bianca's childhood, when she was nine and moved to San Venanzo. The narrator was twelve and taught her how to pray and read the Bible.

In the summer of 1898, she detects the symptoms of a trauma in Bianca's behaviour. Bianca does not talk about the past winter but trembles if she is asked about it. She is scared of Galletti's father. When she is alone, Bianca sings and 'her cheerful voice becomes louder and the usual want of expression gives place little by little to a feeling that rises in tragedy, until [the narrator] shudder[s] and think[s] of the cry of a soul in hell' (ASML: 44). Bianca's pain is represented as the tragic pain of a sinful soul in hell. The narrator does not accuse her father of abusing Bianca directly, but she highlights that 'F. M. looks uncomfortable' (ASML: 44) at Bianca's

singing a folk song about a violent act of jealousy of a mother who killed her son's father.

Bianca's episode marks the end of 'A Summer of My Life'. The failure of the narrator's attempt is inscribed in the title of the last chapter, 'Failure', and in the last word at the end of the story, '[t]hus this chapter of my life closes with the word "failure"' (ASML: 53). In 1898, Galletti compares her feelings to the rider in Goethe's ballad *Erlkönig*, previously cited in German. They both have struggled with 'an unseen evil' (ASML: 53) and failed to save a victim. Her thoughts are contradictory as she explains how she has tried to advise Bianca because she has 'higher education' (ASML: 53). Subsequently, she affirms her stupidity. She accepts her failure but she does not lose her trust in independence and the fight against hegemony.

At the beginning of 'A Summer of My Life', the narrator describes the landscape she admires from the open view of San Venanzo and summarises the story of this country home. The longitudinal horizon depicted displaces a stereotypical expectation to approach Italy from North to South as well as the assumption of a North-South divide. San Venanzo's horizon entails a diversion, a subversive movement that allows the discovery of an area of the Marche that is connected by railway lines to the coast, and a speculation on a different Italian reality. Secondly, the specific and atypical point of observation, San Venanzo and its characters become the subject of interest and inquiry. The perception of the horizon is changed again and the landscape is pictured from the mountains to the Adriatic Sea: in either way the view appears limited by natural elements which are transformed into national, or regional borders by juridical institutions. The water of two countries converge in the sea and the peaks of the Apennine Mountains stand in between regional borders acquiring a geographical definition depending on the direction they

are approached from. Then the characters become part of the scene. The narrator prefers to portray the local people who work in San Venanzo in their usual domestic or working activities.

Although the narrator does not provide any suggestion of her mother's literary career, Collier is ambiguously characterised in Galletti's book. Her interest in reading is affirmed but it is not clear whether she sits with a book of which she is the author as well as reader. Her mother teaches for an hour a day the children of the housekeeper and 'sits under the shade of a tree with her work or book' (ASML: 28). In 1898, Collier had already begun her literary career. Except for the previous quotation, her mother's activities seem mentioned only in relation to her role in the local nursery school she founded. She introduces saying, '[m]y mother keeps to herself, and tries hard to believe that F.M. has a few virtues left (she says he had plenty when he was young and before he degenerated)' (ASML: 6). Collier likes to be on her own, in touch with the past, with those memories that take her back to the beginning of her married life in Italy. Her father presents a double identity which reflects a radical change from the person he was in the past. The present "F.M." is defined with negativity whilst his virtues are honoured, with sad irony, only in his wife's memories.

The narrating voice dedicates more room to opinions on her father's behaviour in and outside the family:

He is a deputy of the backstairs kind - [...] -: the government is kind to him and listens, because he can be trusted to vote any and every ministry; which is so convenient. He has also got a high rank in the Free Masonry [*sic*] (ASML: 22).

The father's political activity is seriously criticised. His political achievements are undermined. He is not a leading political figure but somebody who sits back and takes advantage of political games of convenience whenever he can. His political behaviour is compared to his aggressive tactics in the family. It appears that,

although he imposes his will without exception, his paternal role is actually undermined.

The narrator highlights her mother's financial wealth and her father's dependence on her brothers' financial help to solve his economic failures: 'I think that my mother doesn't lay nearly enough stress on everything being hers; she thinks it ungenerous to do so' (ASML: 40). In the first chapter, it is clear that her 'mother bought it [San Venanzo] with the surrounding property.' (ASML: 4) and has identified her as the 'rich wife' (ASML: 20) her father married before moving to San Venanzo. She knows that the authority her father appears to exercise depends on the wealth of her mother's family and she stresses the power relationship between the couple by narrating an episode, occurring that summer, in which he needs to convince his wife to ask her brothers for financial help. This exemplifies the severe use of psychological and verbal abuse that her father uses on her mother.

Galletti does not share past memories of a happy united family with her mother. The multilingual "home by the Adriatic" described by her mother is an image that does not belong to her memories. Galletti is not able to remember how close her parents were when they first moved to San Venanzo and transformed it together into the place she loves; therefore, she does not understand her mother's attitude to her father. In noting that the local inhabitants compare her mother to 'a saint [because she is] able to stand F.M.' (ASML: 28), she openly admits she thinks it is 'a mistaken saintness' (ASML: 28). From the narrator's point of view, Collier is another woman who cannot break free from her father.

Galletti's childhood memories are interwoven with more recent images in which the heterogeneous San Venanzo is instead more similar to the fictional setting of her mother's novel, *Babel*. The biblical image of the falling tower has echoes of misunderstanding due to the simultaneous, multiple languages suddenly spoken by

the community. It also symbolises multilingualism as a punishment but, on the other hand, it affirms pluralism as the solution to the dangerous ambition of individuals who want to raise their community to divine status. Difference appears to be one of the key elements of human survival. Foreign languages represent difference as the common denominator of being a human individual. The notion of ‘strangeness’, of ‘otherness’, is within every individual as subjectivity in general is a syncretism of conscious and unconscious.³⁹

Throughout the story, the narrator constructs an opposition between the natural beauty of San Venanzo, in which she enjoys peace and the company of the animals she loves, and the human presence in the house of San Venanzo. In the text the single common noun ‘man’ refers to one member of human kind in particular, F.M., the only character whose subjectivity is not represented by his first name, his role in the family, or his social role, but a sarcastic nickname which refers to his physical appearance. In recreating San Venanzo, Galletti cannot select one of its images but portrays all the sides of its domestic reality, representing both the beautiful and quiet countryside and the family life; both the place of childhood memories and a literary trope firstly developed by her mother.

The coexistence of San Venanzo and what her mother renames as “our home by the Adriatic” and “Babel”, allows her to give voice to events and feelings which are not acknowledged in her mother’s writing. She decides on local colloquial ways to refer to San Venanzo, using the Italian abbreviation for the word ‘*san*’, saint: S. Venanzo. The echoes of the Italian language are felt also in the use of the local people’s name and the anglicised abbreviation of the name of the nearby village, ‘the Torre’ (ASML: 20), alluding to Torre San Patrizio. In this setting, Galletti formed her identity. Beginning with the beauty of the longitudinal horizon of San Venanzo,

³⁹ Roudiez, (trans.) 1991. *Julia Kristeva. Strangers to Ourselves*, p. 192.

she reconstructs the literary trope of the “home by the Adriatic” and, then, she develops it into an attempt at a critical analysis of its prospects and problems.

Whereas the nameless narrator of *Our Home by the Adriatic* offers helpful travelling advice and details based on first-hand experiences, in ‘A Summer of My Life’ the traveller disappears. The peculiarities of the location and its inhabitants gain the spotlight as an ideal free place in which borders do not matter as they are continuously crossed. San Venanzo takes the shape of the literary context in which ‘both/and thinking’ becomes possible, despite the difficulties. The narrator exposes a conscious knowledge of the existing difficulties in the first chapter:

Not that I expect things to go well at San Venanzo, with the heterogeneous company there assembled. The head of the house is the chief element of disorder, with his violent scenes and unreasonable exigencies (ASML: 6).

The narrator is aware of the difficulties of a heterogeneous context but wants to develop its positive multiple sides becoming a ‘nomadic subject’ who ‘makes those necessary situated connections that can help her [...] to survive, but she [...] never takes on fully the limits of one national, fixed identity’.⁴⁰ However, F. M., her father’s figure represents an abusive crossing of social and moral borders. Descriptions of his behaviour with the domestic servants allude to his abuse of power in verbal or physical acts. The narrative does not provide explicit evidence of sexual abuse, but women are the victims of unspeakable traumas in San Venanzo.

In the narrator’s perspective, San Venanzo is the ideal space for the nomadic subject because it offers a setting in which identities are not defined depending on languages and nationalities. Here Galletti retrospectively draws a landscape in which her identity was represented. The narrator tries to articulate the power-based construction of subjectivity and ‘the active quest for possibilities of resistance to

⁴⁰ Braidotti. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 33.

hegemonic formations'⁴¹ by showing forms of resistance to social and patriarchal structures. In the family, she has a subversive attitude exposed not only in her opposition and silent strategy against her father but also in her preference for the company of the local inhabitants:

I like to join it all, and am ready to cut the corn [...] or husk the maize by the light of the moon on the threshing-floor, or dance the salterello, with no feeling that by thus doing I diminish my dignity. Italian peasants, when they choose, are gentlemen and ladies, and their society is infinitely preferable to that of most of the middleclass [*sic*] (ASML: 35).

In the first chapter the narrator has already told the reader how her mother 'rebukes' (ASML: 7) her for preferring to stay in the kitchen than with her parents in the drawing room. In this quotation, the narrator expresses appreciation for joining in the activities performed by the locals during rural summer activities which become social occasions. Although she prefers their company, the language she uses to define their identity is still patronising. She categorises them in terms of social class, such as 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' but they are initially referred to as 'Italian peasants'. Suddenly, her tone appears detached. Once again the narrator defines 'the other', expressing her preferences for a form of otherness, instead of specifying her identity. This allows her to be simultaneously a part of and different from the local community as well as in the family context.

The narrator's difficulty in identifying her nationality is echoed by her consciousness of the difficult relationships between women of different social classes. Although she is identified as part of the 'drawing-room folks' (ASML: 5) by one of the young maids, she leaves the drawing room, if her father is there. To avoid her father's presence, she goes to the housekeeper, Orsola, 'who usually behaves well to [her]' (ASML: 7), and her children, Graziella and Silvio. Her relationships with the local women, especially Orsola, are different from her mother's. The mention of a difference in their behaviour implies complex relationships which are

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

not accounted for but, nevertheless, this enlightens the social class border on which the narrator's identity is situated and from which she moves crossing from one side to the other. The narrator crosses social boundaries to explore a concept of femininity that does not conform to Victorian middle-class ideals. She is close to her mother but perceives the contrasts between her mother's submissive status as a wife and the independence of local working women, whether married or not, who do not comply to middle-class values.

Galletti sees the independence and freedom to work exhibited by the local women with admiration. Crsola and Assunta, and the teacher, Mistress Ada, who comes to the house twice a week, are not married. Mistress Ada is the only one who shows a desire to marry; the other female characters, who fascinate the narrator, are images of women who are free to work, especially those who work with men such as Christina 'who is celebrated for working like a man for a woman's pay, viz: 50 centimes from sunrise to sunset' (ASML: 12). Equal opportunities for women is a theme in the story that the narrator does not develop plainly but implies in the description of the equality of Christina's working skills to the men she works with, and in her explanation of the attitude of her brother Arthur towards her accounts of their father's meanness:

When I try to tell him, he thinks it is feminine exaggeration [*sic*] – he has had so little to do with women that he has funny conventional ideas about their inferiority (ASML: 38).

In the example of Christina's work, Galletti criticises the financial inequality of pay between men and women. She does not only ironically define her brother's patriarchal thinking as "funny conventional ideas" but she also implies a critique of an educational system that opens the doors only to men constructing a context in which the society is falsely represented as women are not entitled to an academic education.

Arthur Galletti attended Cheltenham College and was a student at Oxford University; he was part of that system of universities and public schools that Woolf criticises in *Three Guineas* (1938) claiming their failure in protecting the cultural, democratic and intellectual ideals of individual liberty and equal opportunities. Here the narrator sees the limitations of the conventional, sedentary, binary constructions of subjectivity by affirming the authority of one category on the basis of the negative difference of the other. The difference is sexual and is authorised by the academic knowledge Arthur absorbs in Oxford. She understands the borders of conventional education and explores the mobility permitted by her unusual education in her multilingual private home.

In 'A Summer of My Life', the narrator shows a typically Victorian British upper-middle class knowledge stretching from various modern languages and literatures, to botanical, astronomical and geological sciences, but she also reveals knowledge of local agriculture, historical culture and folklore. She is continuously updated about the latest technologies and discoveries by her English relatives and brothers. She prefers reasoning to sentimentalism and argues using naturalist and positivist approaches. Her strength is in the positive belief in difference as it provides the multiple foundations of her nomadic subjectivity.⁴²

By experimenting in autobiographical and travel writing, Galletti develops her authoritative voice through a nameless first person narrator. In both 'The Sibilline Mountains' and 'A Summer of My Life', it is the final signature that provides a name for the author, the narrator and the protagonist of the story. These first two works are interesting evidence of her awareness of the issues of an Anglo-Italian identity. Her search for self-knowledge is enhanced by her first-hand experience of otherness as national, international and regional forms of cultures.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Galletti's understanding of autobiography is not based on the nineteenth-century secular tradition of autobiographical accounts of great personalities, or that of the chronological development of the individual and self-consciousness as in a *Bildungsroman*. Although her work presents quotations from Goethe and Luther, her writing seems to subvert the assumption of unitary self and unitary consciousness of Western literary tradition. The occurrence of a traumatic event leaves room to suppose that the short story attempts to bear witness to a critical moment in her life. Using Laura Marcus' words, in Salvadori's case 'the autobiographical is mediated, displaced' through others' stories.⁴³ She tells the stories of other women who live in San Venanzo but she does not voice directly her personal experience.

The reconstruction of her home at San Venanzo generates a recollection of memories and free associations which become the primary interest of the narrator who reflects upon events and emotions which are briefly suggested by songs, atypical behaviours and sudden changes, but not yet voiced. These associations are not always fully pursued. The fragmentation could suggest that the story was not meant for publication at this stage. The manuscript conserved and typed by the family was, in fact, translated into Italian by Gladys Salvadori, and then published posthumously, in a biography edited by Joyce Salvadori.

In *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*, Salvadori divides Galletti's life into three main periods: her youth, the imprisonment and the Second World War. She includes examples of her writing from each period. In this biographical frame, 'A Summer of My Life' has a distinctively autobiographical mode enhanced by the subheading on the cover, 'The pages of a diary and family chronicle of an anti-fascist

⁴³ Marcus, 'The Faces of Autobiography', p. 21.

woman between the two wars in the Marche'.⁴⁴ The typed transcript of the manuscript I have consulted is not a diary.

In a preface entitled, 'Ancestry', Salvadori introduces a biographical sketch of Galletti's life by remembering her child's envy towards older cousins who had met her great-grandfather; she 'thought that, if she could talk to him herself, [she] would have lived more'.⁴⁵ A grandmother herself, Salvadori thinks of her own grandchildren and their need to communicate with their great-grandparents and chooses to transmit matrilineal memories in writing. Galletti's texts will also help the future generations "to live more" by reflecting on the influences and effects of history on family past. In the postscript, Salvadori clarifies her opinion on the importance of transmitting family memories by comparing similarities in political commitment to generational resemblances. In her opinion, they are both recognisable because 'a written text, a letter (like these ones), or a sentence said many years ago can become present and useful'.⁴⁶

In one of the letters included in the volume, Galletti herself urges her daughter to write her own autobiography: 'When you are about my age, and you seem to have more time, [...], then you should write your autobiography, and narrate all of your travelling, war and political adventures'.⁴⁷ Salvadori followed her mother's suggestion and wrote her autobiography, *Portrait (Cose viste e vissute)* when she was a grandmother, one year prior to her biographical homage to her mother. In the conclusion to the preface, Joyce Salvadori underlines the importance of autobiographical writing by claiming:

⁴⁴ 'Le pagine-diario e la cronaca familiare di una donna antifascista nelle Marche fra le due guerre.' Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermate*.

⁴⁵ 'Mi pareva che se avessi potuto anch'io parlare con [il bisnonno], sarei vissute di più.' *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ '[U]no scritto o una lettera (come queste), o una frase detta tanti anni fa che diventa attuale e utile nel presente'. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴⁷ 'Quando sarai arrivata verso l'età mia, quando sembra che si abbia più tempo.[...], allora dovresti scrivere la tua autobiografia, e tutte le avventure di viaggio, guerra e politica'. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

This biographical record is not very satisfactory. Perhaps, my mother's personality better stands out in her own notes, such as the following ones dated 1898, which describe her last summer in her paternal home at San Venanzo and concludes the period of her early youth.⁴⁸

Salvadori undermines her biographical attempt in order to give room to her mother's autobiographical writing. In her opinion, Galletti's writing is more representative even if the available text is not accomplished.

As the editor, Salvadori reiterates the authenticity of her mother's work and the value of autobiography as a way to learn about the past. At the same time, she precludes a discussion of the unspecified identity of the first person narrator and the uncertainty of the literary genre. Salvadori's understanding of 'A Summer of My Life' in the family context undermines the time distance between the events' occurrence and the year in which they were narrated. While the constructed biographical frame influences the reading of the Italian adaptation, the English unpublished typescript leaves the feeling of a draft, of a work left unfinished by a young woman writer who experimented in representing her Anglo-Italian identity.

'A Summer of My Life' does not reflect the autobiographical form developed by Italian female writers at the beginning of the twentieth century either. After the initial examples of *Una donna* (1906, *A Woman*, 1979) by Sibilla Aleramo and *Le seduzioni* (Seductions, 1909) by Amalia Guglielminetti, Italian female writers narrated the development of their creativity constructing new exemplary images of femininity. In the interwar period, autobiographical works, such as *Stella mattutina* (1921, *Morning Star*, 1930) by Ada Negri, *Il gomitolo d'oro* (The Golden Hank, 1924) by Clarice Tartufari and *Cosima* (1936) by the Nobel Prize winner, Grazia Deledda, were 'in general widely read and reviewed' in Fascist Italy.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ 'Questi appunti biografici non sono molto soddisfacenti. Forse la personalità di mia madre risalta meglio dagli appunti che lei stessa scriveva, come il seguente del 1898, che descrive la sua ultima estate nella casa paterna a San Venanzo, e chiude l'epoca della sua prima giovinezza.' *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Pickering-Iazzi, 1997. *Politics of the Visible: Writing Women, Culture and Fascism*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, p. 58.

In her exploration in Italian women's writing in the Fascist regime, Robin Pickering-Iazzi reclaims the influential talent of female writers, such as Alba De Céspedes, Maria Goretti, Gianna Manzini, Liala, Sibilla Aleramo, Grazia Deledda, Paola Drigo and Ada Negri. At present their work is 'virtually absent from literary histories and anthologies,'⁵⁰ but in the interwar period they contributed to the formation of literary canons, especially of autobiographical writing. Although Piero Jahier's *Ragazzo* (A boy, 1919) and Gabriele D'Annunzio's *Cento e cento e cento pagine del libro segreto di Gabriele D'Annunzio tentato di morire* (One hundred and one hundred and one hundred pages of the secret book of Gabriele D'Annunzio tempted to die, 1935) are now listed as exemplary autobiographical texts, in the interwar period the self-representation of the female writers previously listed had captured the attention of critics and public. As Pickering-Iazzi demonstrates, they were 'critically recognised and popular writers [who] contributed to short fiction and poems to literary journals, magazines, and the flourishing women's press, as well as to the highly esteemed cultural page of nationally distributed newspaper'.⁵¹ For example, some of their works were so popular that they were available in English translation.⁵²

Galletti's autobiographical writing belongs to a tradition of women's autobiographical writing as defined by Shari Benstock:

a means by which to create images of "self" through the writing act, a way by which to find a "voice" – whether private or public – through which to express that which cannot be expressed in other forms.⁵³

Galletti's autobiographical writing expresses her loss of San Venanzo, the fear of failure and is means to a cultural identity that cannot be voiced in another form.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Ada Negri's *Stella mattutina* was translated in 1930 under the title, *Morning Star*; Alba De Céspedes's *Nessuno torna indietro* (1938) was published as *There's No Turning Back* in 1941.

⁵³ Benstock, (ed.) 1988. *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*. London: Routledge, pp. 5-6.

Benstock's definition also highlights the importance of the language in forming subjectivity, in the imposition of a narrative form on the reconstruction of fragmented memories and of a fragmented self.⁵⁴ In her essay, 'Women's Autobiographical Selves', Stanford Friedman highlights how, as a psycho-political approach, 'women's autobiography comes alive as a literary tradition of self-creation'.⁵⁵ In the hybridity of autobiographical and travel writing, Galletti finds the 'safe space' in which she voices her presence and creates her self by subverting categories of identities culturally constituted *a priori*. She contributes to women's writing in the understanding of cultural identity as ductile, plural and polyglot.

Giacinta Galletti's Correspondence

Galletti's search for new ways to translate the place of transit between linguistic binary categorisations into writing changed its aims in the 1920s, when the hegemonic discourses she resisted were not determined by her father any longer, but they were articulated by Italian Fascism. Tyranny, as prefigured by her father, was fought in a familial circle; with the advent of Fascism, Galletti's opposition to it became public. Facing Fascist violence, she represented her nomadic subjectivity to the British audience as the wife of an exiled Italian anti-fascist leader. This became her recognised historical subjectivity represented in her journalism.

Once Giacinta and Guglielmo Salvadori settled back in the Marche, letter writing was the only form of communication left. Galletti's private correspondence with her children, which spans from 1933 to 1948, is evidence of constant political commitment to the liberal values of progress and liberty in the Second World War.

⁵⁴ See Henke, 1998. *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing*, Houndmills and London: Macmillan.

⁵⁵ Friedman, 1988. 'Women's Autobiographical Selves', in Benstock, (ed.) *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, p. 55.

Her letters describe the consequences of an international war that develops into a civil war in a countryside which is transformed into a battlefield. Although they do not retain the weight of public attention as political historical acts, they depict a wider understanding of the reception of the events in the Italian poorer classes as well as the European intellectual anti-fascist community. They describe the repercussions of the national and international events of the Second World War at the micro-level of a family and its neighbourhood. In her journalism Galletti's political conscience is concerned with informing Europe about the atrocities committed by the Italian Fascist dictatorial government. The following analysis will show her private correspondence focuses on the normality of domestic life in contrast with the horror of the historical events which becomes secondary.

Galletti, a letter writer who is 'always in touch with the living',⁵⁶ notably describes the signals of an imminent war, the echoes of far away battlefields and the transformation of the local communities into the front line of a war that is not simply against an enemy but also a civil war. As a letter writer, she 'hold[s] out a hand to each generation in turn',⁵⁷ as she gathers memories of family life for her own grandchildren. The cycle of life is suggested in the continuous references to the rural landscape that surrounds her and the recurring agricultural seasons.

Her letter writing stretches from memories and readings to the future with anecdotes and stories. The narrative quality of her letters is of equal interest as they explore human relationships in a time of extreme difficulties. In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, Shoshana Felman claims that 'testimony is the literary – or discursive – mode par excellence of our times, and that our era can precisely be defined as the age of testimony'.⁵⁸ In Galletti's case,

⁵⁶ Woolf. [1940] 1942. 'The Humane Art', in *The Death of Moth and Other Essays*, p. 44.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Felman and Laub. 1992. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, New York and London: Routledge, p.5.

letter writing becomes her discursive mode to bear witness to the historical events in her isolated villa in San Tommaso, as well as in imprisonment. Her letters describe a fractured country in which the local community is divided between supporters of the Fascist regime and opponents.

In her essay, “‘Letters are *everything* these days’: mothers and letters in the Second World War”, Jenny Hartley states that ‘[d]uring a war letters assume a heightened significance, and the Second World War can be seen as the last golden age of letter writing. More letters were probably written, posted, lost and received during the war than at any time before or since’.⁵⁹ Although Hartley uses evidence based on data of the Post Office Commercial Accounts of Great Britain, it is likely that this was the case in other countries that participated in the Second World War. Letter writing became a patriotic duty especially for women whose husbands, sons, and daughters were involved in the conflict and the postal service alone provided news of friends and family. Distance was a cause due to various reasons including ‘evacuation, war work and military service’.⁶⁰

In the case of the Salvadori family, separation was a result of anti-fascist political activism: Max and Joyce Salvadori were both refugees and members of ‘*Giustizia e Libertà*’; subsequently he joined the British Army and she became a Resistance fighter. In Italy, Galletti was the mother of two children who fought the war against the Italian Fascist regime and the grandmother of grandchildren she could not always meet. Her children’s anti-fascist activism was also a reason for the constant censorship of correspondence arriving or leaving the Salvadoris’ house in San Tommaso. In 1937, even some of their close relatives, fearful of the Fascist

⁵⁹ Hartley. 1999. “‘Letters are *everything* these days: mothers and letters in the Second World War’”, in Earle, (ed.) *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*. Aldershot, Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, p. 183.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

police, interrupted their correspondence. The letters she addressed to her children are however collected in the two separate published edited volumes analysed below.

When Galletti was still alive, Max Salvadori published *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933 – 1941*. Joyce Salvadori posthumously edited the collection *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*, which includes a selection of letters that Galletti wrote during and after her imprisonment in 1941. On 22 April 1937, Galletti was subjected to a two-year admonition by the local county commission because of her opposition to the regime. She had ‘to avoid any reason for suspicion, any form of association with suspicious people, or visiting any brothels or inns’.⁶¹ Arrested on 26 August 1941, she was defined as ‘dangerous to the State’s political orders because of her opposing feelings to the present Regime.’⁶² She was imprisoned for three weeks in the county prison in Ascoli Piceno, and then, at the age of sixty-six, sent to political confinement for two years in a mountain village called Montereale, in the Abruzzi. Salvadori’s collection ends with a selection of Galletti’s letters written between 1944 and 1947 after her release.

The Salvadori’s Anglo-Italian identity created an atypical situation which needs to be identified to contextualise Galletti’s correspondence. She kept in touch with her children Max and Joyce, who could not enter Italy legally without being arrested. They participated in events as anti-fascist rebels in different ways because of nationality rights and gender. Before obtaining permission to enlist in the British Army, Max Salvadori’s life was one of an itinerant wandering between Switzerland, Africa and America. Joyce Salvadori was in exile until the landing of the Allied troops in Sicily in 1943. The letters addressed to Max Salvadori testify to

⁶¹ “di non dar ragione a sospetti”, “di non associarsi a persone sospette”: “di non frequentare postriboli e osterie.” Lussu, 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*, p. 54.

⁶² Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p. 126.

the difficulties created by an Anglo-Italian identity in the event of a war, a situation previously fictionalised by Collier in an unpublished story entitled, 'A Deserter', written in 1916. The protagonist of the story has an Italian mother and an Austrian father. At the advent of the First World War, he decides he 'would not fight for Austria or against her. He could not fight for Italy or against her'.⁶³ Given his pledge to the Italian Army, he faces up to his decision to refuse fighting in his father's Austrian Army and is 'shot for a deserter'.⁶⁴

At the advent of the Second World War, the Salvadoris had a daughter and a son who took sides by fighting for the ideals and values represented by a country, to which they do not belong because of obligations of citizenship. They fought against the Italian Armed Forces by collaborating with the Allied Forces. In the notes Max Salvadori wrote for the new 1990 edition of his own work, *Resistenza ed azione* (1951, *The Labour and the Wounds: A Personal Chronicle of One's Man's Fight for Freedom*, 1958), he describes the difficulties of the period between 1939 and 1943. He knew it was his duty to join the British Army, as Great Britain 'was the only nation – [...] you could trust to stop the Third Reich [...]; the only nation that voluntarily would fight from the beginning to the end'.⁶⁵ In 1939, his request to join the British Army as a volunteer was denied because of his dual nationality.⁶⁶

In her letters, Galletti refers to the uncertainty caused by the validity or invalidity of a passport. In the first letter of Max Salvadori's collection, dated 1933, Giacinta reports a visit of the police to the house and highlights the importance of her son's British. In a few letters, she also discusses her passport because the police

⁶³ Collier, 1916. 'A Deserter', unpublished typescript: SPA, p.11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ 'l'unica nazione sulla quale – [...] si poteva fare assegnamento per frenare il Terzo Reich [...]; sola nazione che di sua volontà combatterà dal principio alla fine -.' Luzi, (ed.) 1996. *Max Salvadori: l'uomo, il cittadino*, p. 169-170.

⁶⁶ His recruitment started in 1943 in the Special Operations Executive. He was then promoted from the rank of second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel and was rewarded with the Military Cross and the Distinguished Service Order: *Ibid.*

would have not issued, or renewed it. For example, in 1937, she requested a passport to go to Switzerland where her children, Max and Joyce were refugees. She had not seen them for four and three years respectively. She writes that the governmental militia refuses her a passport 'because of public safety'.⁶⁷ Conversely, in 1939, she obtained a valid passport to go to Switzerland where she saw Joyce. It was Salvadori's last journey before the beginning of the war and her imprisonment. The police report dated 22 April 1937 states that, under questioning, she 'confesses that she is not a fascist and has claimed it several times before. She affirms she cannot be one because her son, Max, is imprisoned without reason'.⁶⁸ She is classified as dangerous and 'hardened anti-fascist',⁶⁹ because she confirms her opposition to the regime as a mother.

In the Fascist dictatorship the woman's role was procreative. Bearing a child was her service to the state and she was rewarded on the basis of the number of her children. The official Fascist propaganda constructed two female images: the *donna-crisi* (woman-crisis) and the *donna-madre* (woman-mother).⁷⁰ The positive national image of a prolific, healthy and rural woman was opposed to that of an urban, liberal, hysterical and sterile woman who was concerned with issues of social and political emancipation. There was only one good woman and she was the prolific mother. She was publicly celebrated on Mother's Day. In 1933, the twenty-fourth of December became the special day to publicise the national role of women as a means of procreation.⁷¹ As Victoria De Grazia points out, the falling of Mother's Day on

⁶⁷ 'per ragioni di pubblica sicurezza.' Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p 67.

⁶⁸ 'confessa di non essere fascista, di averlo più volte dichiarato e di non poterlo essere essendo il figlio Massimo confinato senza motivo.' *Ibid.*, pp. 65- 66.

⁶⁹ 'antifascista irriducibile'. Giacinta and Guglielmo Salvadori are so defined in a police report dated on 6 May 1941. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷⁰ See the chapter entitled 'Motherhood' in De Grazia, 1992. *How Fascism Ruled Women, Italy, 1922-1945*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press.

⁷¹ De Grazia's *How Fascism Ruled Women, Italy, 1922-1945* (1992), provides a thorough description of the Fascist regime's pronatalist population policies.

Christmas Eve was 'a choice that exploited the Catholic cult of the Virgin Mary'.⁷² The exemplary Fascist mother bore the nation's children who would then be sacrificed to the national cause in war time.

In the streets of Rome in 1943, a recruitment poster portrayed an old woman in black wearing the medal for gallantry of a son who died in action. She urges the Italian youth to join the army 'for the salvation of the country'.⁷³ The old mother admonishes the younger generation not to betray their mothers and grandmothers as their sons will curse them. In the moment of military decline the appeal for new recruits is visually represented by an image of a matriarchal tradition of the values of self-sacrifice and subordination to the national cause. As the photograph included in Max Salvadori's collection reminds, Galletti was herself an ageing woman but her message to her children and the Italian youth was extremely different. She advised them to sacrifice their lives but for a humanist understanding of freedom, not for a flag. She supported her children's involvement in the Second World War as free Italian citizens whose identity was multilingual and multicultural and who objected to the standardisation of Italian nationality under the nationalistic and racial policies of the Fascist regime.

The two commemorative collections edited by her children present Galletti as a historical figure as well as a caring mother. While Joyce Salvadori is more concerned with the autobiographical mode of her collection, Max Salvadori, as a historian, presents a collection of letters enriched by footnotes, documents and historical explanations. His collection includes transcripts of police reports on his parents' anti-fascist behaviour, the admonition towards Galletti and part of the trial

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷³ A reproduction of the poster is in Rhodes, 1976. *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion in World War II*, p. 87.

record in which it states the sentence of a two-year political confinement. In Max Salvadori's collection, there are 227 extracts of his mother's letters stretching from 1933 to 1941.⁷⁴ In the introduction, he also decodes the system of abbreviations used by his mother: most of the people are represented by their first name initials. When the person is part of what she would define as a close family they are identified by the initial of their familial nicknames. The letters reveal a mixture of narrative genres and registers, depending on the addressee and the situation. They refer to national, international and local events, describing personal and local reactions without listing any specific data. Her letters contain information and support as well as silences filled in by the receiver. It is important to notice that in a volume that was willingly published in the Italian language, when Galletti refers to her mother, as her children's grandmother, Collier appears on the page with the English affectionate name of 'Grandma'.⁷⁵ Thus, the maternal line's mother tongue resists translation and remains in the original.

Joyce Salvadori's work is a commemoration of her mother through her writing. It has a chronological structure divided into three parts, entitled '*Antenati*' (Ancestry), '*Il ventennio fascista*' (The Fascist Period) and '*Lettere ferme*' (Letters from Fermo); each part is introduced by biographical comments which highlight the transformation of private letters into published texts accessible to the readership. Salvadori enhances the biographical frame by including personal memories of her mother. She also adds a biographical summary of Giacinta Galletti's life until 1941 as a preface, and a postscript in which she describes her mother's death 'as an

⁷⁴ He specifies when the original was written in English in brackets and clarifies when the letter was originally addressed to his wife. All the extracts present a date and a title.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

absence, a distance, a journey' from which the person does not come back physically but sends thoughts, drawings, paintings, writings and letters.⁷⁶

Salvadori's personal involvement as a translator and an editor stresses her auto/biographical approach as she partly reconstructs her experiences by recollecting her mother's correspondence. Salvadori finds a narrative in her mother's letter writing that relates events and situations chronologically when she lived in very precarious and dangerous conditions. By reading her mother's letters, Salvadori retrospectively reconstructs events which kept them apart and traumatised their lives. Nevertheless, Salvadori mainly investigates the life of her mother as a woman of historical interest and analyses how her mother's letters provide the information to fill in the gaps and realise a wider picture of the addressee's life, as well as that of the whole Salvadori family.

In her collection, Salvadori's letters are a means of dialogue with her mother. As atemporal spaces constructed in solitude by her mother, the letters perform the only possibility of conversation:

Dear Joyce,

There is nothing special to talk about; but, today, I perceived that sudden "feeling of presence" that happens at times, as if you were close to me. Since I can't talk to you at least I can write to you. Where are you at present? Has anything special happened? Would you think of me? Or is it simply the effect of my imagination? I do not have a bad feeling, quite the opposite. Anyway, I feel a deep desire to see you but, I am satisfied with beginning a letter.⁷⁷

The beginning of the first letter in Salvadori's collection, exemplifies how the composition creates a suspended reality outside time and space in which Galletti can communicate with her children. The historical circumstances are adverse and the

⁷⁶ 'come un'assenza, una distanza, un viaggio.' Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere ferme*, p. 109.

⁷⁷ 'Cara Joyce, / non c'è niente di speciale da dire, ma oggi mi è venuto repentinamente quel "senso di presenza", come se tu fossi vicina che si ha qualche volta; e non potendoti parlare, almeno ti scrivo. Dove sarai ora? Sarà successo niente di speciale? O avrai pensato a me? O semplicemente è tutto effetto della mia immaginazione? Non ho la sensazione di niente di male, piuttosto il contrario. In ogni modo sento più che mai il desiderio di vederti, e mi contento invece cominciando una lettera.' *Ibid.*, p. 55.

uncertainties of the actual vicissitudes of the Salvadoris are many, but the letter, although it is in itself a precarious means of communication, remains the only communicative form to reconstruct the family.

Addressing the letter to her children, Galletti creates a family space for posterity that is denied by historical wartime circumstances. Salvadori explains:

If it was very difficult to contact her after she returned to Italy, it became impossible at the end of 1941. For years, we did not receive news of each other. Finally, in June 1944, at the liberation of Rome, we came to know that we were all alive. We discovered that, despite the war, the bombs, the armed rising, the OVRA and Gestapo, we had never doubted, not even for a single moment, that we would meet again.⁷⁸

This certainty is expressed by the “feeling of presence” Galletti tries to define in the previous quotation. While the links with the members of her family are destroyed or intercepted by the Fascist police organisations, Galletti’s letter writing becomes the virtual family space in which the present is intertwined to past memories and future hopes of happiness represented by the new generations. Although she does not meet them as soon as they are born, by writing letters she speaks with her grandchildren and plans future activities with them.

Although Galletti’s letters can be classified as those of a mother, it is difficult to compare them with letters written by the mothers of soldiers who addressed their worries to Mussolini. In his anthology of texts concerning Italian Fascism and anti-fascism, Stanislao Pugliese includes letters of women to Mussolini as ‘a valuable window onto the dictatorship’ and examples of public opinion.⁷⁹ While there is no lack of patriotic admiration, these women’s letters also offer evidence of many concerns which women of all social classes wanted to expose to their leader. They

⁷⁸ ‘Se dopo il ritorno in Italia era stato molto difficile comunicare, dalla fine del ’41 divenne impossibile, e per anni non avemmo nessun anotizia gli uni degli altri. Solo nel giugno ’44, alla liberazione di Roma, apprendemmo che eravamo tutti vivi. E scoprimmo che nonostante la guerra, i bombardamenti, l’insurrezione armata, OVRA e la Gestapo, non avevamo mai dubitato un istante che ci saremmo tutti rivisti.’ Lussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere termane*, p. 65.

⁷⁹ Pugliese, (ed.) 2001. *Italian Fascism and Antifascism: A Critical Anthology*, p. 11.

discuss the declaration of war to nearby countries, such as France, the racial code, the lack of food, or the loss of a child. In Galletti's letters, Mussolini rarely appears as a proper name. She commonly refers to him as 'our *master*'.⁸⁰ She only uses his name when she reports the comments of other people. In her familiar language, Mussolini is compared to a local landowner who is generally referred to as the 'master' by the farmers.

Galletti's ironic tone becomes openly critical in expressions such as 'our beloved *master*',⁸¹ 'our master's word',⁸² and 'the master's voice'.⁸³ In the first instance, she describes Mussolini's visit to a nearby village to unveil a monument in honour of a local personality after whom the village had been renamed. While she points out that there is a fine for using the village's old name, she uses it herself and refers to the Prime Minister as a 'beloved master'. She then adds that, for his arrival, many people preferred to stay safely away and others were arrested. She concludes the paragraph by specifying that, although the press describes 'the ecstasy of joy for the arrival of the master',⁸⁴ the local community shares her feelings, therefore, 'there will be regret because they won't be able to attempt his life!'⁸⁵

In the second instance, the references to Mussolini gain the power of biblical language but it is from this association that the irony develops. Mussolini is compared to an omnipresent God but his presence is not sacred or divine as it depends upon modern media such as the press and the radio, which his regime controls through rigorous administrative censorship. Galletti undermines the leader's god-like ambition, and compares the Italian people to the obedient people of Israel who understand and respect the oral as well as the written word of God. Her

⁸⁰ 'il nostro *padrone*' (italics in the original). See Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, pp. 38, 40, 43, 49, 50, 59, 61, 89, 111.

⁸¹ 'beneamato *padrone*'. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸² 'il *verbo del padrone*'. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸³ 'La *voce del padrone*'. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁸⁴ 'un *delirio di gioia per la venuta del padrone*'. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸⁵ 'il *che è tutto un rimpianto perchè sarà impossibile un attentato!*' *Ibid.*

Mussolini is closer to the tyrannical paternal figure in 'A Summer of My Life' than to a nation's dictator.

In Galletti's letters, the local people in the Marche, aware of censorship, do not trust Mussolini's word, either spoken or written. Events of discontentment and uproar expressed were not reported in the local press. Galletti describes how they 'are anxious to receive information and they search for them by listening to the radio then reading newspapers'.⁸⁶ Since a small number of people in the rural community were literate, the radio was the favourite source of information, offering the possibility to tune to foreign channels and listen to news broadcasts in Spanish or English. For example, she describes how her daughter, Gladys, was asked to translate from Spanish into Italian,⁸⁷ and refers to Roosevelt's speeches.⁸⁸ Radio was a propaganda instrument and Mussolini used it to broadcast his open-air speeches in the whole country and, mainly, to educate the younger generations. Galletti's image of the community listening to the radio all together provides another layer of ironic meaning. Her use of the expression 'the master's voice' recalls the name of the record label, the Gramophone Company.⁸⁹ In the image of the diligent and amazed dog reflects the Italians who obediently listen to their master's voice. Although the Italian leader wants to appear omniscient, he does not possess complete control. In Galletti's letters, Mussolini is a desperate master who 'does not know how to keep on going and, to get out of the problems he created himself, the war becomes inevitable'.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ 'Ansiosi di avere notizie, le cercano alla radio piuttosto che nei giornali.' *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁸⁹ It was known as 'His Master's Voice' (HMV) because of its trademark, a painting so entitled created by Francis Barraud and used by the company since 1900. See Martland, 1997. *Since Records Began, EMI The First 100 Years*. London: B. T. Bafford.

⁹⁰ 'Si dice che il nostro padrone non sa proprio come andare avanti e levarsi dagli impicci che si è creato, e che perciò la guerra è inevitabile.' Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p. 111.

In the letters addressed to her son, Galletti highlights the importance of accessing the international press. Until the participation of Italy in the Second World War, she occasionally received the *Journal de Genève*. The delivery of the *New Statesman* and *Punch* stopped at the end of 1938. While in 1935 she writes that '[t]he postal censorship is quite relaxed – the *New Statesman* and the *Journal de Genève* discuss topics that we would have never thought could cross the border and arrive regularly'.⁹¹ After her admonition, she does not receive her international publications as easily: 'This morning I have not received either the *New Statesman* or the *Punch*. The last might arrive late but the other certainly won't arrive anymore'.⁹² She rejoices when she receives journals and books from England as they give her long-awaited news. Her joy is shared by the anti-fascist local community as well as the rural community who likes to call and ask for news.

In a letter to Max Salvadori, she describes some communist dissidents who pass by their house, as they are 'thirsty for news'.⁹³ She describes how when the *New Statesman* arrives, 'the cover is so well rolled up and tightly gummed that it is clear that nobody opens it'.⁹⁴ Another example of the devices used to avoid the postal censorship is given when she celebrates the arrival of the English translation of Emilio Lussu's *Marcia su Roma*: 'Emil's book in English arrived. It is very well translated. Blackwell wrapped it up in a different cover so that it could arrive safely'.⁹⁵ Holtby describes strategies used to distribute prohibited anti-fascist propaganda in a journalistic article entitled, 'Hitler and the German Relief Committee'.⁹⁶ She specifically explains how copies of *The Brown Book of the Hitler*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹⁶ The article was published in the *Time and Tide* on 21 October 1933. Berry and Bishop, (eds). 1985. *Testament of a Generation: The Journalism of Vera Brittain and Winifred Holtby*. London: Virago, pp. 168-169.

Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag (1933), published by the 'World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism', 'were printed in microscopic letters, bound in plain yellow paper, about two inches by three, easily slipped from one hand to hand and into pockets'.⁹⁷ She describes how the German paper, founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1918, *Die Röte Fahne*, 'was printed on four flimsy sheets, the size of ordinary book pages, easily rolled into the shape of a cigarette'.⁹⁸ Although these examples apply to German anti-fascist activism, they convey a visual representation of the methods used by anti-fascist propaganda all over Europe.

As time goes by, Galletti refers more and more to older publications. She reads books published by family members, and books they have in the house, admitting, '[a]s journals and newspapers are not delivered any more, I read old books which are in the house'.⁹⁹ These included *Il giro del mondo colla Ristori: note di viaggio del Generale Bartolomeo Galletti* (The World Tour with Mrs Ristori: the Account of the Journey by General Bartolomeo Galletti, 1876) by her grandfather, Bartolomeo Galletti, and *A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a Winter Residence at Philadelphia* (1821) by Guglielmo Salvadori's English great-grandfather, Adlard Welby.

The letters collected by Joyce Salvadori in *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermane* can be compared with the literature produced by Italian anti-fascist prisoners, such as Antonio Gramsci, and anti-fascist activists condemned to political confinement in remote rural places or islands such as Natalia Ginzburg, Cesare Pavese, and Carlo Levi. As Pugliese points out, '[t]he experience of *confino* would prove to be politically decisive for many anti-fascists and generated some important

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ 'Visto che non vengono più riviste e giornali, lego i vecchi libri dentro casa': *Ibid.*, p. 119.

literature as well'.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, intellectual testimonies to Fascist methods of torture and imprisonment do not diminish the significance of unspoken or forgotten stories of women and men that survived or died because of them.

An undated and anonymous pamphlet, entitled 'Fascist War on Women: Facts from Italian Gaols' and published by Martin Lawrence in London, reports how thousands of women were arrested in Italy because they were suspected to be related to man who fought.¹⁰¹ Rolland refers to this pamphlet in an article he wrote in support of Antonio Gramsci's release in September 1934 specifying that it was published under the title '*Femmes antifascistes dans les geôles de Mussolini*' (Anti-fascist Women in Mussolini's Prisons) by Éditions des Patronati italiens pour la défense des victimes du fascisme (Italian Charitable Institutions in Defence of the Victims of Fascism) in Paris.¹⁰² The pamphlet explains 'mostly of the peasant and working-class' women were arrested and condemned since 1927 and associates them with the most talked about case, Antonio Gramsci's imprisonment. It reveals the unhygienic conditions of the prisons in which many died of tuberculosis.

Like Gramsci's private correspondence,¹⁰³ Galletti's letters do not describe conditions in prison as such but the human conditions of the prisoners as a community. They tell the stories of the people with whom she shares these prison conditions and their families. They tell about an attempt to form a routine and normality in relation to her lost family life. Letters are fundamental to communication outside the prison as well as a means to update information about a family world. Both Galletti and Gramsci are eager to know about the development of the younger members of the family: his children in Gramsci's case and her

¹⁰⁰ Pugliese, (ed.) 2001. *Italian Fascism and Antifascism: A Critical Anthology*, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Anon. undated. 'Fascist War on Women: Facts from Italian Gaols'. London: Martin Lawrence, p. 3.

¹⁰² Rolland, 1935. *Quinze Ans de Combat (1919-1934)*, Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, p. 224.

¹⁰³ See Spirano, [1947] 1971. *Antonio Gramsci. Lettere dal carcere* (Antonio Gramsci: Prison Letters), 16th edition, Turin: Einaudi.

children and grandchildren in Galletti's letters. When Gramsci was arrested on 8 November 1926, Julia Schucht, his wife, was pregnant with their second child, whom he never met.

Galletti's letters bear comparison with those of Natalia Ginzburg (1916-1991). First of all, they are both confined in the Abruzzi. Secondly, although Ginzburg is of a younger generation – she is almost the same age as Joyce Salvadori – the concerns she voices in her work are similar to the ones developed in the letters Galletti wrote in confinement and after the liberation of Rome.¹⁰⁴ In '*I nostri figli*' (Our Children), Ginzburg demands parents for 'social sense; in other words, genuine sharing in the life of our neighbours'.¹⁰⁵ She believes in the need for social responsibility and participation as an ideal to teach children and a quality to have in life. She reflects on the issues of what she defines as 'family egoism',¹⁰⁶ as a basic cause of fascism. Although the desire to protect children is a natural instinct, she calls for historical conscience and the need to oppose the regime even though it might put the life of our closest family members at risk, including children.

Ginzburg could have used Galletti as an example to strengthen her argument, as Galletti was just such a parent and grandparent. Galletti's worries are not about the survival of her children as such but on the survival of the ideals of liberty in them and through them. Although aware of the risks in their children's lives, she asks them not to come back but to keep on being active opponents to the Fascist regime. In the Galletti's nuclear family, anti-fascism was the norm. Ginzburg refers to the majority of those who decided to oppose the dictatorial regime later when the experience of disruption and pain would reach inside the family. Ginzburg's

¹⁰⁴ David Ward republished articles Natalia Ginzburg published in 1944 and 1945: '*I nostri figli*' (Our children), '*Chiarezza*' (Clarity) and '*Cronaca di un paese*' (Chronicle of a village). They were all published in *L'Italia libera*, the newspaper of the Action Party. Ward, 1996. *Antifascism. Cultural Politics in Italy, 1943-46: Benedetto Croce and the Liberals, Carlo Levi and the "Actionists"*. London: Associated University Press.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

husband, Leone Ginzburg died in prison while she was still confined with their children. Galletti and Ginzburg share an awareness of the tragedy and the need to reach the future generation so that the same tragedy will not be repeated. In both cases, a unique family's experience of Fascism becomes a commemoration of the collective memory of different Italian communities.

The comparison of Galletti's letters with Ginzburg's article 'Cronaca di un Paese' (Chronicle of a Village) offers an interesting contrast in the description of the regional context in which they are confined. Having been brought up in Turin, Ginzburg focuses her interest on the social and cultural tradition of an Italian region she did not know. Galletti grew up in a rural context and is fascinated by the regional mountain landscape. In Galletti's case, the imprisonment is not a teaching experience about the other but about her self: 'my stay here is like an oasis in life'.¹⁰⁷ In her case, her time in confinement becomes time to spend in activities she enjoys such as reading, letter-writing, painting, knitting, and walking. She is in a beautiful landscape that recalls memories of her childhood and has time to dedicate to activities which would otherwise be relegated to her spare time. Her interest is more in the community of people confined there and their activities.

The historical circumstances compelled Galletti to bear witness to the events of the Second World War in the countryside. She describes the daily routine of the countryside and how the regime and the war interfere with it. She refers to facts which are not reported in the national and international media constructing an interesting rural context of war in which the exceptionality of the war coexists with the cyclical rural life. The landscape becomes the canvas of this difficult coexistence as it shows preparation for war. Her priorities are human relationships without distinction of national, religious, political or cultural identity.

¹⁰⁷ *'la mia permanenza qui, un'oasi nella vita.'* *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Although constantly aware of censorship, Galletti does not silence her Anglo-Italian consciousness. She is aware she has wider access to information, especially international news, and shares them. Her activism is exemplified in daily actions: she gives information to farmers and neighbours. She reads for them, explains new laws and taxes, and helps them to voice their political rights. In a nation in which illiteracy is the norm in rural areas, Galletti helps people understand the governmental requests often circulated in manifestos and official letters. Her house becomes a shelter for Allies, Jews, and anti-fascists in general. In her letters, there are no references to the people secretly accommodated in the house and she never reflects on the risks taken.

A clarifying example is narrated by Brigadier E. J. Todhunter who explained, in the obituary published in the *Times* on 15 September 1960, how Galletti saved his life:

Having been told that she was “a kind lady and not a Fascist” (surely one of the great understatements of all time), [he] knocked on the door of San Tommaso on a dark wet night in March, 1944. She opened it herself as she always did, so as to be the first of her family to encounter trouble, and, when she heard who [he] was, said quite simply: “Do come in; you must be hungry”. In a short time three very untidy officers were being entertained as if they were expected guests who had arrived rather late.¹⁰⁸

Todhunter highlights how courageously she is the first to open the door and welcome the Allied prisoners. Galletti invites them ‘as if they were expected guests’ offering unconditioned hospitality.¹⁰⁹ The brigadier’s words reveal emotional memories of reaching an Italian house in which a woman speaks to them in English. At a time in which British soldiers are prisoners of war in Italy, he is touched by the warmth of a woman who provided them with a moment of domesticity. The mother of a member of the British Armed Forces who had previously been in prison as an anti-fascist activist, Galletti does not simply offer them a safe place but also care and attention.

¹⁰⁸ Todhunter, 1960. ‘Countess Salvadori’, in *Times*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Galletti's letters were not meant to be published but to reach the addressee and keep the familial bonds alive. In both collections, the letters are published in Italian but some of them were originally written in English. Galletti uses more than one language in her letters without translation as she is certain of being understood by her addressees. While Max Salvadori specifies whether a selected letter has been translated into Italian from the English original, Joyce Salvadori does not indicate the original language but, at times, she leaves the final English greetings in the Italian text. For example, at the end of a letter written after the landing of the Allies in Italy, Galletti explains that her habitual English closure, 'With much love, [...] seemed a secret code to the authorities as they used to transcribe it'.¹¹⁰ In this letter, dated 26 June 1944, Galletti narrates that her son presented her with the file the county police office kept on her, and comments that she enjoyed reading it. In the file, there were some of the letters she wrote to her daughter while in prison which were censored. She explains that the police used to transcribe the letters sent by her aunts Clara and Ethel and adds, 'the postcards sent by aunt Ethel caused suspicion: she signed Aunt Ethel, but they interpreted as Amet Ethel. They searched for this dangerous man everywhere'.¹¹¹ These examples might suggest that some of her letters were written in Italian because English sentences aroused concern in the censors. She wanted her letters to reach the addressee and letters in Italian could have been subjected to censorship but they could be deciphered efficiently.

Because of the time span of the first collection, censorship is often an issue voiced in the letters which Galletti writes to her son. She refers to it directly by affirming that his letter had been opened and then resealed and asking whether he did

¹¹⁰ 'With much love, (*questa frase sembrava loro in codice segreto: la trascrivevano*).' Iussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermate*, p. 69.

¹¹¹ 'Le cartoline di zia Ethel destavano gran sospetto: si firmava Aunt Ethel, e loro avevano capito Amet Ethel. Cercarono dappertutto questo individuo pericoloso.' *Ibid.*

it himself.¹¹² In a letter written in 1939, she complains about another letter she did not receive. She presumes her censor kept it 'in order to possess a recent photograph' of Max Salvadori and comments on the procedures the censorship has 'to deny her not only to see him, but also to see his photograph'.¹¹³ The photographs, as well as the letters, possess a physical quality of presence in the hands of the receiver which is linked to the hands who touched the same paper by writing the letter and including the photograph. The photograph also possesses a visual power as it shows the present image of a beloved person who is distant and unreachable. The Italian authorities had often denied Galletti the permission to visit her children abroad, so letters and photographs, which could instead travel, represented a possibility to visualise loved ones.

Galletti is always aware of an uninvited censoring reader who would unseal and read the letters she sent and received to evaluate their political content. The police authorities want to locate her son and daughter as they are political activists. In one instance, Galletti is confrontational towards the translator of her letters: being told that her letters are 'terrible',¹¹⁴ she explains that she 'never use[s] a single adjective when [she] talk[s] about the regime, and generally [she does] not say much because [she] know[s] little'.¹¹⁵ She is aware her use of a foreign language demands translation and acknowledges the identity of the person who provides it. Her husband's family is also Anglo-Italian but most of its members are supporters of Fascism. She is aware of this process and, consequently, careful. She comments that it is 'funny' that 'all [her] English letters end there'.¹¹⁶ She refers to the internal

¹¹² See Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p. 8.

¹¹³ 'di impedirmi non solo di vedere te, ma neppure la tua fotografia!' *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹¹⁴ 'atroci'. Salvadori, Max. 1953. *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ 'non adopero mai un aggettivo parlando del regime, e in generale dico poco perché so poco.' *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ 'Finiranno lì tutte le mie lettere in inglese? Sarebbe buffo!' *Ibid.*

conflict in the Salvadoris due to the support or opposition to the regime. In a footnote to a letter dated 28 December 1937, Max Salvadori explains that 'his aunt was entrusted [...] with reading the letters his mother would write or receive in English'.¹¹⁷ He does not specify her name.

In Galletti's letters, censorship is also defined as a cause of isolation. After the admonition, the Salvadoris saw very few people and they mainly lived in touch with the people who worked in their garden and their home. She points out those who do not visit them any more, friends as well as relatives who are too scared of the police control. She refers to the people who do not attend the Salvadori's house after the admonition and ironically points out:

I am a negative influence on the farmers... None of our sharecroppers has entered in the *Fascio* as well as none of the women are members of the rural housewives society. I do not tell them to avoid these associations, but they know I approve of them when they resist.¹¹⁸

Censorship is not the only issue that disrupts the illusion of privacy of letter writing in Galletti's case. Both her children have selected and modified the letters. Although Galletti's letters survived the uncertainties of censorship and the postal service, they do not appear in their fullness in the published collection. Most of the time, they are presented as extracts with added titles in Max Salvadori's *Lettere di Giacinta Salvadori 1933-1941*.

In Joyce Salvadori's collection, a few letters are transcribed in their entirety except for their formulaic frames. Salvadori does not add summarising titles to the letters. Both Max and Joyce Salvadori do not provide a description of their editorial process. They are more concerned with the biographical aspect of their works in which the letters are historical evidence. There is no literary approach to her letters

¹¹⁷ 'Era questa zia che per incarico [...] leggeva le lettere in inglese che i Salvadori scrivevano o ricevevano'. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹⁸ 'Ho un cattivo influsso sui contadini ... Nessuno dei nostri coloni è entrato nel fascio Nessuna delle nostre contadine fa parte delle massie rurali. ... Non dico mica ai contadini di non far parte di queste associazioni, ma sanno che hanno la mia approvazione se resistono'. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

as their mother's self-representation in epistolary form. Her letters have a historical significance as an original testimony of the Second World War in the Marche but they also tell Galletti's stories, her contribution to future generations.

Galletti's autobiographical writing is her performative act as Cynthia Salvadori, a consciousness in which British and Italian identity co-exist rather than exclude each other in the same way as, in her letters, private and public coincide in an understanding of private as political. In her correspondence to her children, she also reflects on the value of writing as a medium for the transmission of memory as well as identity. In writing, Galletti becomes an interpreter of the historical present as imbued with the past for future generations who are in Italy, Great Britain and the United States of America. In her letters, she constantly discusses the texts she reads, the ones she receives, the ones her children have written, are in the process of writing and will write. When they are abroad, she reminds them of members of the family who experienced similar journeys in the past. She contributes to their writing by gathering information for Max Salvadori's essays, and commenting on Joyce Salvadori's short stories 'in English' as well as her poetry.¹¹⁹

The final lines of Aleramo's *Una donna* express the importance writing assumes when distance is the issue. In both cases the distance between a mother and her child does not simply represent the space that keeps them apart but also the difficulty in passing down a story. Aleramo dedicates her autobiographical story to the son she had to abandon by explaining that he is the reason for her writing. She is concerned with memory; she does not mind if her son hates her, but she does not want him to forget her:

¹¹⁹ '[I] tuoi racconti in inglese'. Iussu, (ed.) 1989. *Giacinta Salvadori: lettere fermande*, p. 71.

Nor might I be anymore ... I will not be able to tell him my life, the story of my soul ... and tell him that I have waited for him a very long time! This is why I wrote. My words will reach him!¹²⁰

By writing her own story, Aleramo, like Collier, has the certainty she will pass it down to her child. Like Aleramo and Collier, Galletti believes in the importance of writing as a means to tell her female ancestors' stories.

Writing becomes a female medium of transmission, of asserting difference as cultural, linguistic and moral. It enriches the understanding of the individual's identity in discovering a multiplicity of origins erased by the father's surname. By becoming a writer, the mother becomes a historical interlocutor and gains a means to interpret her story. Her story does not reflect life as the individual's development into social and political success, like in a *Bildungsroman*, but locates the basis of that development in the relational nature of the individual. In writing Galletti passes down her Anglo-Italian identity. She exemplifies a polyglot nomadic subject who subverts set conventions by living in transition between countries, languages and cultures 'and yet [is] sufficiently anchored to a historical position to accept responsibility'.¹²¹ She did not accept the violent restrictions of the Fascist institutions and opposed them by refusing to change either her moral values or her intellectual activities. In exposing herself to the violence of the Fascist regime, she promoted democratic values and participated in the propaganda against Mussolini's regime.

¹²⁰ 'O io forse non sarò più... Non potrò più raccontargli la mia vita, la storia della mia anima... e dirgli che l'ho atteso per tanto tempo! / Ed è per questo che scrissi. Le mie parole lo raggiungeranno.' Aleramo, [1906] 2003. *Una donna*. Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, p. 165.

¹²¹ Braidotti, 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*, p. 10.

Chapter Four

Joyce Salvadori's Literary Investigation: *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*

The work of Joyce Salvadori, a prolific poet, writer and translator has been overlooked as Italian and Anglophone scholars primarily have remembered her as a historical figure, or a political activist.¹ However, she heralded political, literary and translating interests which are relevant to today's multicultural and multilingual global society. The importance and originality of her thoughts and the interdisciplinary variety of her publications alone ask for academic attention. The richness of Salvadori's life experiences, as well as of her production of poetic, literary, political and historical texts and translations could each be the topic of specific research projects. However, this thesis focuses on her literary experiments in conveying a nomadic subject's perspective. It identifies her as the female writer who succeeds Collier and Galletti as part of the female Galletti-Salvadori genealogy. It places her in a maternal line that has developed a literary legacy in search of an alternative, subversive voice which could assert difference as positive.

In her poem '*Un giornalista mi ha chiesto*' ('A Journalist Asked Me'), an unnamed interlocutor, identified as a friend, argues that the poetic voice is not successful because her books are not best sellers, she is not invited to attend television programmes or to write articles for famous weekly magazines, and feminist groups 'have always looked down on' her.² In this poetic dialogue, the

¹ The most interesting contribution to the study of Salvadori available in Italian at present is an issue of the quarterly journal *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli* (The Rosselli Circle's Notebooks) entitled, *Joyce Lussu: il più rigoroso amore* (Joyce Lussu: The Most Severe Love, 2002) edited by the 'Circolo Fratelli Rosselli Fondazione' (Foundation of the Rosselli Brothers Circle). It contains the proceedings of a one-day conference dedicated to Salvadori, held on 6 April 2002 in Florence. In the British context of Italian Studies, Sharon Wood identifies Salvadori as a writer and a political activist in a literary excursus of the Italian literary production from the Fascist dictatorship to the reconstruction of the country after the Second World War in her volume, *Italian Women's Writing 1860-1994* (1995).

² '*ti hanno sempre snobbata*'. Lussu. [1989] 1998. *Inventario delle cose certe* (An Inventory of Reliable Things), Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore, l. 20.

initial, positive answer is defended by means of linguistic evidence based on the etymology of the word 'success'. In the fifth and final stanza, the 'I' recalls the linguistic root that the Latin noun *successus* shares with the Latin infinitive *succedere*, by conjugating the Italian verb for 'to succeed' in the past, present and future tense. By displacing the signifier 'success' from its more popular semantic field, the successful woman suggests different signifieds, which refer back to original meanings, in order to stress the importance of the past in relation to the future:

“Success is a curbstone
a milestone
that signposts the path trodden.
However, how much more beautiful is the way that is left to travel,
the way to go along, the bridge
to cross
towards an unforeseeable horizon
and a surprising tomorrow
that you too have created ...”³

The woman of success is not interested in the present as the celebration of her achievements but as a possibility for future projects and expectations. She does not celebrate past achievements but is passionate about the fluidity and prospects of the verb *succedere*, that is, to follow or come after, to take place or come into being subsequently. Success is being part of this fluidity by actively creating a legacy for future generations.

As the *Oxford English Dictionary* explains, 'succession' is an obsolete meaning of the word 'success'. This chapter presents Salvadori as the successor of the Anglo-Italian Galletti-Salvadori family by concentrating the literary analysis on the intertextual dialogue between three generations of female writers in the same

³ “Il successo è un paracarro/ una pietra miliare/ che segna il cammino già fatto./ Ma quanto più bello il cammino ancora da fare/ la strada da percorrere, il ponte' da traversare/ verso l'imprevedibile orizzonte e la sorpresa del domani/ che hai costruito anche tu ...”. *Ibid.*, 1. 28-36.

family as revealed in her later writing. The intertexts uncover a dialogic play between a granddaughter, who published in Italian at the end of the twentieth century, and her grandmother, who published in English at the end of the nineteenth century. Salvadori takes on the role as the interlocutor between generations as a writer by telling the stories of her ancestors. She succeeds in passing on difference in its multiplicity and polyphony through literature by focusing on the collaborative dialogism between generations of women writers in her family. The book becomes the medium of transmission of the Galletti-Salvadori Anglo-Italian legacy.

This chapter will briefly refer to various works by Salvadori, but, in particular, it will analyse her only detective fiction, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* (Sherlock Holmes: Anarchists and Torpedoes, 1982), for it exemplifies her literary search for her ancestor as she positions herself in her female family literary context by writing a story her grandmother noted down in an imaginary letter but never narrated. By analysing some of its intertextual echoes, I will demonstrate that *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is the result of an auto/biographical literary investigation which Salvadori had begun in a historical context but found its full potential in her fictional creativity.

Although it might appear an anomaly in her writing career, this detective story shows a most interesting creative motivation in relation to the historical and cultural regional interest Salvadori developed in the later part of her life, when she moved to the Marche. After a life spent participating in the international political and literary community, she studied the birth place of her family and discovered that, in the legacy of her parents' Anglo-Italian families, there were not only physiological inheritances but also a literary heritage connected to her British maternal lines. In order to understand the intertexts interwoven in *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*,

it is necessary to position this literary investigative project in relation to Salvadori's previous literary production.

Joyce Salvadori's Literary Context

Born in Florence into an openly antifascist family, Salvadori grew up and studied in exile. In 1924, she moved to Switzerland with her family and lived there in exile until 1934. As a political refugee, she fought against Fascism and finally went back to Italy in 1943, after Mussolini's resignation. She left Florence at the age of twelve and, at thirty-one, she was back in a country at war as a Resistance fighter. The daughter of a second generation Anglo-Italian father and a first generation Anglo-Italian mother, she had experienced Italy as a nation whose borders were crossed with illegal documents in order to take national school exams, distribute underground material of anti-fascist propaganda, and fight for democracy and freedom. Italy was also a country to dream of, the country in which her family originated and in which she longed to be again. However, as 'a woman who finds herself in the middle of a terrible war organised and led by men',⁴ she chose to fight on 'the front line' in opposition to the Italian Fascist dictatorship,⁵ firstly as a militant of *Giustizia e Libertà*, and then as a Resistance fighter together with her companion, Emilio Lussu, whom she married in 1944.

Salvadori began writing at ten years of age,⁶ and started her literary career at the age of twenty-seven, when she published her first collection of poems, *Liriche* (Lyrics), edited by Benedetto Croce in 1939.⁷ In his literary review, *La Critica* (Critique), Croce himself announces her poetic debut by praising her understanding

⁴ 'una donna che si trova nell'occhio di una guerra terribile, organizzata e condotta dagli uomini'.

Lussu. 1989. *Portrait*, p. 61.

⁵ 'la prima linea'. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶ In an unpublished letter, dated 1923, (SPA) Collier transcribed a poem written by Joyce Salvadori at the age of ten.

⁷ Salvadori. 1939. *Liriche*. Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore.

of human sorrow and her denial of desperation or prostration. In specifying that most of her poems were composed in Africa,⁸ he points out how she ‘does not wander into the curiosity and superficiality of the exotic or picturesque. Those villages, scenes and figures have been internalised, melted with her soul to represent her feelings’.⁹ Her first collection of poems reveals an interest she shared with Collier and Galletti: travel writing.

After the conflict, Salvadori published her autobiographical account *Fronti e frontiere* (1944 *Freedom Has No Frontier*, 1969),¹⁰ the narration of four years of her life, from her return to Europe from Africa in 1938 to the liberation of Rome by Allied Forces. It is a travel book in which her journeys across European borders as they became war fronts also reflect a more personal life journey as she participated in the defeat of Fascism, she re-entered her family and started her own family. In this account, a journey to Plymouth reminds Salvadori of her grandmother. This first representation of Collier was then erased in the second edition.¹¹ *Fronti e frontiere* arouses historical interest because it offers an understanding of relationships between the Allied and Italian Resistance movements, and describes the heroic action which won her the silver medal for military valour and the rank of captain. In Salvadori’s own words, ‘On 20 September [1943], the Americans were still south of Salerno and the English had not yet reached Foggia’.¹² She successfully crossed the German-American front and acted as a liaison officer in creating contacts between the

⁸ The collection includes twenty-four poems of which five are written in German. The poems were written between March 1933 and May 1938. In those years, Salvadori travelled in Africa while making a living as an au-pair, after interrupting her studies of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, Germany.

⁹ Croce. 1939. ‘Due libri di versi’ (Two collections of poems), in *La Critica*, vol. xxxvii, no. iii, Naples: Laterza and Figli Editori, p. 153.

¹⁰ Lussu. 1944. *Fronti e frontiere*, Rome: Edizioni U. Laterza published a revised edition in 1967. A third one appeared in 1969 by Mursia. This edition was translated into English by William Clowes and published under the title *Freedom Has No Frontier* by Joseph in London in 1969. At present, this is the only published English translation of a whole work by Salvadori.

¹¹ See Lussu. 1944. *Fronti e frontiere*, Rome: Edizioni U.

¹² ‘Gli americani, il 20 settembre, erano ancora a sud di Salerno e gli inglesi non erano ancora arrivati a Foggia.’ Lussu. [1944] 2000. *Fronti e frontiere*, p.132.

Comitato Nazionale di Liberazione (CNL, Committee of National Liberation).¹³ and the newly formed Italian government supported by the Allies.

The second edition of *Fronti e frontiere*, published in 1967, was described in the *Times Literary Supplement* as a ‘saga of clandestine life [but] told in the most unassuming, easy style’.¹⁴ Antifascist activism appears ‘the most natural thing in the world’.¹⁵ The reviewer introduces Salvadori as ‘a daughter of the well-known anti-Fascist Salvadori family’,¹⁶ and adds that she lived in exile and studied in Heidelberg and at the Sorbonne to comment that ‘[h]er languages and general culture were to serve her almost as much as her spontaneous singleness of purpose’.¹⁷ In highlighting Salvadori’s outstanding historical contribution, the reviewer also points out her family’s exceptional circumstances. Her book is acclaimed ‘as a classic of the Italian resistance [or] as an adventure story of the highest class’.¹⁸

Most Italian literary and historical studies do not acknowledge *Fronti e frontiere* as either a resistance classic or a high-class adventure story. A rare citation is in *Dal Fascismo alla Resistenza*, in the chapter dedicated to testimonies of the resistance and the partisan war. *Fronti e frontiere* is praised for a ‘brilliant’ representation of the clandestine life of the political refugees.¹⁹ As the *Times Literary Supplement*’s review, Marcella Tedeschi also compares its mode to an adventure story. She does not refer to Salvadori’s anti-fascist family but compares

¹³ Allied troops landed in Sicily on 8-9 July 1943. On 25 July 1943, Mussolini was removed and Marshal Badoglio became prime minister. Italy signed the armistice with the Allies on 8 September. On 9 September 1945, the armed Resistance established the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale* which included five parties: Action, Christian Democrat, Communist, Liberal, and Socialist. See Pugliese, (ed.) 2001. *Italian Fascism and Antifascism: A Critical Anthology*; Cooke, (ed.) 1997. *The Italian Resistance: an Anthology*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

¹⁴ Anon. 1967. ‘Travels of an Anti-fascist’, in *Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 1967, p. 794.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ ‘brillante’. Tedeschi. 1980. ‘Resistenza e guerra partigiana: testimonianze’, in Contarino and Tedeschi, (eds). *Dal fascismo alla Resistenza*, Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, p. 171.

her writing to her husband's autobiographical writing. While Emilio Lussu's memoirs of the First World War and the Resistance are recognised as canonical examples of the genre, Salvadori's *Fronti e frontiere* does not appear together with 'the best known' accounts of the Resistance such as, *L'Agnese va a morire* (Agnese Goes to Her Death, 1949), a neo-realist account of a woman's experience by Renata Viganò.²⁰

In *Fronti e frontiere*, the narrative mode is autobiographical and the first person narrator acknowledges her public political role. She represents the people's complex reaction to the German invasion, the Allied intervention, and the civil fight between Italian Fascists and anti-fascists. She voices an experience as an anti-fascist intellectual and Resistance fighter who opposed Fascism publicly. In her account, the simplified dichotomy between the opponents and supporters of Italian Fascism is deconstructed in order to show the intricacies of divided political opinions, groups and families. In her own family she could see the reflection of the conflict between the Italian citizens who opposed Fascism, such as her parents, and those who supported it such as her paternal grandfather who 'turn[ed] some of his employees into the centre of the local Fascist action squad'.²¹ Thus, Salvadori feels a responsibility in highlighting what, in Calvino's words, is defined as 'a distance that is now inconceivable' between a general criticism of Fascism and an anti-fascist political commitment.²² She recognises collaboration of many women and young

²⁰ Caesar. 2000. 'The Novel, 1945-1965', in Panizza and Wood, (eds). *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

Like Calvino, Viganò provides a documented chronicle of the Resistance through the eyes of a fictional character instead of narrating her personal active experience as a member of the Garibaldi brigades. In Calvino's *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno* (1947, *The Path of the Nest of Spiders*, 1956) the fictional frame is constructed through the point of view of a young boy, she recreates the Resistance through the eyes of Agnese, an old woman who is illiterate and distanced from political struggle supported by civilians.

²¹ 'aveva fatto dei suoi dipendenti il centro della reazione squadrista locale.' Lussu. [1944] 2000. *Fronti e frontiere*, p. 9.

²² As quoted in Barenghi and Falcetto. [1991] 2004. 'Cronologia' (Chronology) in *Italo Calvino. Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno*, Milan: Mondadori, p. xxix.

people with the Resistance movements as the strength of the democratic united commitment behind the Italian national rising and the final victory in 1945. Conversely, Salvadori's representation of the political fractures behind the Italian resistance has prevented the Italian appraisal of *Fronti e frontiere* 'as a classic of the Italian Resistance'.²³

Female writers often represented the exceptionality of the war lived by women in Italy during the Second World War through private memories of daily routines transformed by the consequences of war.²⁴ Viganò's novel, as well as Salvadori's autobiographical account, represents the participation of women in the Resistance, fighting for the liberation of Italy as militants in the conflict. The number of women who were involved in the clandestine liberation movement is difficult to quantify especially because of the attempt of Christian Democrat governments, which dominated the Italian political scene after the war, to 'remove the Resistance from the political and cultural agenda'.²⁵ In the introduction to *Italian Women Writing* (1993), Sharon Wood reports that 'while over 43,000 women were active combatants, anything up to two million women provided essential support services'.²⁶ In his introduction to the anthology, *The Italian Resistance*, Philip Cooke claims that historians had 'largely' ignored the contribution of so many women who fought armed,²⁷ or 'carried weapons and information between

²³ Anon. 1967. 'Travels of an Anti-fascist', in *Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 1967, p. 794.

²⁴ Two examples are *Croce sulla schiena* (A Cross on the Back, 1953) by Ida d'Este and *I giorni veri* (Truthful Days, 1963) by Giovanna Zangrandi, pseudonym of Alma Bevilacqua. Both authors were in the Resistance as despatch riders.

²⁵ Cooke. (ed.), 1997. *The Italian Resistance. An Anthology*, p. 13. Recently Silvio Berlusconi's government attempted a similar historical removal with *Italiane* (Italian Women, 2004), a biographical dictionary, promoted free of charge by the Ministry of Equal Opportunity under the minister Stefania Prestigiacomo. This three-volume dictionary caused many controversial reactions as it undermines the role of two patriotic and political figures, Carla Capponi and Tina Anselmi, by denying their participation in the Resistance. Joyce Salvadori is not included.

²⁶ Wood, (ed.), [1993] 1996. *Italian Women Writing*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 3.

²⁷ Cooke, (ed.) 1997. *The Italian Resistance: An Anthology*, p. 14.

brigades'.²⁸ In 1980, Salvadori testified with her own story to the role played by women in the anti-fascist Resistance by participating in a film documentary by the Dutch director and journalist Yvonne Scholten (1943-) entitled *Donna: Vrouwen in Het Verzet* (Women in the Resistance).²⁹ Scholten collected the testimonies of various Italian women who were involved in the Resistance.

After the war, Salvadori was involved in politics and feminism, peace and environmental movements.³⁰ Her antimilitarist and feminist commitment influenced her studies of the history of women and of the majority of people who are suppressed by the dominant minority in *Padre, padrone e padreterno* (Father, Master and God Almighty, 1976), which is a historical *excursus* on the female condition, *L'acqua del 2000* (Water in the Year 2000, 1977), in which she develops a study of the Western technological progress in relation to the deterioration of the environment, and *L'uomo che voleva nascere donna: diario femminista a proposito della guerra* (The Man Who Wanted to Be a Woman: a Feminist Diary about the War, 1978). In *Italian Women's Writing 1860-1994* (1995), Wood refers to Salvadori in the section focused on Italian Feminism after the Second World War. In discussing the involvement of influential middle-class Italian feminists with Fascism, she cites Salvadori's 'uncompromising [...] condemnation' of these Italian feminists,³¹ and international women's suffrage movements as 'structurally antiproletarian'.³² In the

²⁸ *Ibid.*

See also Carla Capponi (1921-2000)'s testimony of the women's participation in the Resistance in Rome entitled 'Le donne della Resistanza' (Women of the Resistance) in Pugliese, (ed). *Italian Fascism and Antifascism: A Critical Anthology*.

²⁹ This film documentary was broadcast by IKON, a Dutch television broadcaster. From 1969 to 1981. Yvonne Scholten was a foreign correspondent for various Dutch newspapers, magazines, radio and television in Rome. Available: http://www.vvoj.nl/conferentie_2004/spreckers/bio_scholten.html [Accessed 5 February 2006].

³⁰ In 1944 Salvadori was among the founders of the Italian feminist movement, 'Unione Donne Italiane' (U.D.I., Union of Italian Women) and participated in the first Italian local elections as head of an electoral list in 1946, the same year in which women obtained the vote in Italy. In 1965, she became secretary of the Italian branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. See Livi, (ed.) 2000. *La vita è infinita: ricordo a più voci di Joyce Lussu*, Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore.

³¹ Wood. 1995. *Italian Women's Writing 1860-1994*, p. 101.

³² 'strutturalmente antiproletarie.' Lussu. 1988. *Portrait*, p. 64.

past contributions of Emmeline Pankhurst, Alice Paul and Teresa Labriola, Salvadori perceives the same forms of dominant exclusivity which reinforced the gap between the acculturated elite and the masses. She claims a legacy for the women of lower classes who fought against the system 'in the Parisian Commune, in the farmers' leagues and in the workers' movement'.³³

In *Padre, padrone e padreterno*, Salvadori contrasts the life conditions of those women who were in the dominant classes and those who belonged to the dominated *strata*, by studying the stories of women that were silenced in the official historical records. She claims that in the Western normalised concept of civilisation the welfare of a few prevailed on that of every person. Thereafter, in her autobiography, *Portrait (cose viste e vissute)*, she expresses her approval of the feminist movements that developed at the end of the 1960s. She explains that these younger generations of women were 'politicized' and 'involved in all kinds of debates',³⁴ and rejected a reproduction of an old division of roles which related women to sexuality and psyche and men to politics and power.

In *L'acqua del 2000*, she affirms that '[I]t is true that the personal is political, provided it is made political, that it is an experience shared with other experiences, energy that is added to future choices, for the benefit of the majority of people.'³⁵ She believes in the private and personal as important aspects of the political, because they form the *stimuli* of any direct and creative activism. She shares her historical research by explaining her personal involvement and interest in a specific project first:

³³ 'le donne della Comune di Parigi, delle leghe contadine, del movimento operaio'. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64

³⁴ 'politicizzate, che si occupano di tutto'. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³⁵ 'È vero che il personale è politico, purché lo si renda tale, ossia esperienza in mezzo ad altre esperienze, energia che si aggiunge alle scelte per il futuro, all'interesse maggioritario.' Lussu. 1977. *L'acqua del 2000*. Milan: Gabriele Mazzotta editore, p. 11.

I need to know the filter through which I receive points of view, interpretations that illuminate the facts. This filter is the person who writes, with the conditioning, reactions and background this person lived.³⁶

The personal 'filter' is relevant to the whole of her writing. For example, *Padre, padrone e padreterno*, *L'acqua del 2000*, *L'uomo che voleva nascere donna*, *Tradurre poesia* (Translating Poetry, 1967), *Le inglesi in Italia: storia di una tribù anglo-franco-marchigiana in un angolo remoto degli Stati Pontifici* (English Women in Italy: the Story of an Anglo-French-Italian Family from the Marche in a remote corner of the Papal States, 1970), *L'olivastro e l'innesto* (The Olive and Its Graft, 1982), *Il libro perogno* (The Perogno Book, 1982) and her autobiography, *Portrait (cose viste e vissute)*, begin with a direct explanation of the personal reasons, or circumstances, of that specific work. As the author, she defines her political perspective by placing the specific work in relation with past experiences, and possible future outcomes, within national and international contexts.

'how much more beautiful is [...] the bridge to cross'

In '*A giornalista mi ha chiesto*', the woman of success claims the beauty of future possibilities built on bridges reaching unknown horizons. After her death, Salvadori's name reappeared in the public cultural arena in relation to the adventures she embarked upon in order to translate poetry. In the 1960s and 1970s, she crossed linguistic bridges by translating into Italian the poetic works of African, Albanian, Afro-American, Inuit, Kurdish, Turkish and Vietnamese writers who gave voice to what she defines as 'effective poetry',³⁷ such as Agostino Neto, Jose Craveirinha,

³⁶ 'Ho bisogno di conoscere il filtro attraverso il quale mi giungono i punti di vista, le interpretazioni che illuminano i fatti. E il filtro, è la persona che scrive, con i suoi condizionamenti, le sue reazioni, la formazione che ha vissuto'. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁷ Lussu. 1998 [1967]. *Tradurre poesia*, p. 18.

Nazim Hikmet and Ho Chi Minh.³⁸ In her opinion, they bear historical and social witness as the interpreters of situations in which people were subjected to ignorance, poverty, colonialism, or of ethnic identities which ‘exist in [the people’s] consciences but not on a map’ – such is the case of Inuit and Kurdish poets.³⁹

Salvadori returned to poetry as a translator. She crossed politically recognised geographical borders to meet these anti-colonial activists and translate their poems. She transformed poetry into a medium of cultural translation, of poetic expressions neglected by the customary occidental literary traditions:

The great literary traditions in the major languages have their specialists and you can discover them through their studies. However, minor literatures and languages that are only spoken by a few, also have great poets, who are still unknown in Italy – except to a few philologists. Being a philologist is not enough in order to reproduce a poet in your own language. By translating them, I introduce them to Italy.⁴⁰

Her interest was in poetry as an expression of committed political activism and evidence of people’s history. As a translator, she sees herself as an interpreter of those languages and literatures which are rarely of interest in Western society.

Salvadori’s translations introduced political and historical discourses addressing concepts of identity constructed on ideals different from Western culture. She responded to her Anglo-Italian identity by developing an interest in undermined cultures. In her Anglo-Italian legacy, she found the means of crossing the borders of Western literature to voice those cultures often still defined as ‘minor’ and ‘other’. In the role of the translator, she discovered for the first time her potential as an

³⁸ See in 1961 *Nazim Hikmet. La conga con Fidel*, Milan: Edizioni Avanti and *Nazim Hikmet. In quest’anno 1941*, Milan: Edizioni Avanti; 1963. *Canti esquimesi*, Milan: Edizioni Avanti!; 1963. *Agostinho Neto. Con gli occhi asciutti*, Milan: Il saggiatore; 1966. *Alexandre O’Neil. Portogallo, mio rimorso*, Turin: G. Einaudi; 1966. *Jose Craveirinha. Cantico a un dio di catrame*. Milan: Lerici; 1967. *Ho-Chi-Min. Diario dal carcere*, Rome: ITER; 1968. *Tre poeti dell’Albania di oggi: Migjeni Siligi Kadare*, Rome: Lerici; 1977. *La Poesia degli albanesi*, Turin: ERI; 1992. *Nazim Hikmet. Paesaggi umani*, Rome: Fahrenheit 451; 1993. *Nazim Hikmet. Poesie d’amore*, Milan: Mondadori.

³⁹ ‘che esiste nelle loro coscienze, ma su nessuna carta geografica’. Lussu. 1988. *Portrait*, p.106.

⁴⁰ ‘Le grandi letterature delle grandi lingue hanno i loro specialisti, e si possono conoscere attraverso i loro studi. Ma le piccole letterature, le lingue parlate da pochi, hanno anch’esse grandi poeti, che in Italia rimangono sconosciuti – salvo che a pochi filologi: e non basta essere filologi per ricostruire una poesia nella propria lingua. Traducendoli, li porto in Italia.’ Lussu. 1998 [1967]. *Tradurre poesia*, p. 157.

interlocutor for stories which were outside the conventions of Western culture. These had not been discussed in the Italian political and literary context until she provided an Italian voice for them and made them available. Although she mostly published monographic collections, Salvadori especially treasured her collection *Tradurre poesia*. This volume does not simply present a selection of poems she translated but it also includes her many adventures as a woman in her fifties who was ‘a little foolish’ but passionate about literature and ignorant of the political aspects of life.⁴¹

Nowadays the collection of poems of the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet (1902-1963) entitled *Poesie d'amore* (Love Poems, 1963), is Salvadori's publishing success.⁴² However, in the region in which her family originated and to which she moved after her husband's death in 1975, she is also remembered for her research on the Marche as a place of different cultures, languages and religions. In the 1970s and 1980s, she developed a close interest in the study of history through an anthropological and cultural approach, which continued until her death. Her study of the local varied cultural heritage, otherwise silenced in national educational discourses, developed into publishing projects focused on two Italian regions:

⁴¹ Lussu. 1998 [1967]. *Tradurre poesia*, p. 98. On Joyce Lussu's *Tradurre poesia*, see Capancioni. 2006. ““Border-Crossing” English: the Poetic Communications of Joyce Lussu”, in Macedo and Pereira, (eds). *Identity and Cultural Translation: Writing Across the Borders of Englishness*. Oxford and Bruxelles: Peter Lang.

⁴² The Italian movie, *Le Fate Ignoranti* (Ignorant Fairies, 2001, released with the title *His Secret Life* in the USA), by the Turkish director Ferzan Opzetek has brought attention to *Poesie d'amore*. Although Salvadori's name is never cited in this film, her book is transformed into a transitional object that connects people beyond cultural, social, and sexual differences. It is a medium of encounter of two sides of Rome, the Italian upper-middle class and the multicultural and multigendered neighbourhood in which expatriates, transsexuals and homosexuals live. After this cinematic success, in 2002, the publishing house Arnoldo Mondadori Editori included *Poesie d'amore* in the popular edition called Oscar Mondadori in the series *Classici Moderni* (Modern Classics). In the same year, Newton Compton Editori published a second edition of a collection of Hikmet's poems, which Joyce Salvadori introduced and co-translated with Velso Mucci, in the popular edition called *Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton*. It was firstly published in paperback in 1972. See Lussu and Mucci, (trans.) [1972] 2002. *Nazim Hikmet. Poesie*, Rome: Newton Compton Editori.

Sardinia,⁴³ her husband's birthplace, and the Marche.⁴⁴

Having become a grandmother herself in 1971, Salvadori became especially interested in her British grandmother's literary inheritance as a new bridge to cross. In Collier's travel writing, she found details of a rural life, anthropological observations and examples of customs and oral traditions of the south of the Marche at the end of the nineteenth century, which is rarely represented in historical accounts. She interpreted the Marche as the meeting place for foreign travellers, especially British women, who had crossed bridges to create the two Anglo-Italian families from which she is descended. These English middle-class women described their discovery of an Italian area which appeared at times so different from a romantic image of Italy. Their books are primary sources for the study of regional traditions and customs otherwise commonly transmitted aurally. In Salvadori's experience, books are once again dialogic media. This time they facilitate the encounter between past and present; her study of her familial past and the beginning of the analysis of her 'personal filter' of her family history, Margaret Collier. In the Collier family, she traced the stories of members of the Women's Suffrage Movement, the pacifist movements supported by Bertrand Russell, and the Bloomsbury Group.⁴⁵

Salvadori narrates the story of her Anglo-French-Italian family of the Marche in an unusual historical novel based on the stories of her great-great-grandfathers, *Le inglesi in Italia: storia di una tribù anglo-franco-marchigiana in un angolo remoto*

⁴³See Lussu. 1982. *L'olivastro e L'innesto*, Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre: 1982. *Il libro perogno*. Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale.

⁴⁴See Lussu. 1970. *Storia del fermano: dall'arrivo dei piceni al regno napoleonico*, Rome: Lerici; [1970] 1982. *La Storia del fermano: dalle origini all'unita' d'Italia*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale; 1989. *Comunanze picene: appunti e immagini tra storia e attualità*, Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore; 1991. *L'uovo di Sarnano*, Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore; 1992. *Lo smerillone*, Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore; 1995. *Itria e le lontre*. Fermo: Andrea Livi Editore.

⁴⁵ In *Portrait (cose viste e vissute)*, Salvadori remembers her aunt, Lily Ermengarde Fanny, as a suffragette. She had married Giacinta Galletti's first cousin, Gerard Collier, in 1910, and lived with her children in Switzerland after the death of her husband in 1923.

degli Stati Pontifici. In the last chapter, dedicated to her great-great-grandfather, William Rose Rose, her grandmother is the main character of interest. This is Salvadori's first biographical description of her grandmother. She introduces her as 'the daughter of Izzy [Isabel Rose Rose] and Robert [Collier], Margaret, who came to Italy, married the son of Meo [Bartolomeo] Galletti and Anna Cadilhac, and then moved to the Marche, just a few kilometres away from [Salvadori's] the descendants of [her] great-great-grandfather [Adlard] Welby'.⁴⁶ She is especially interested in the encounter between the British culture represented by her grandmother as aristocratic, well-educated and progressive and the rural culture of a region which the Papal States governed for centuries. In order to provide evidence, she includes many quotations from Collier's travel book, *Our Home by the Adriatic* in her own chapter.

Salvadori introduces her grandmother's text by saying that *Our Home by the Adriatic* 'was [Collier's] first book',⁴⁷ and that she also published 'a series of novels and novellas set in the Marche [...] under the pseudonym of Isabella Snow'.⁴⁸ The bibliographical details are incorrect and, in translating into Italian the title of her grandmother's travel book, she writes in parenthesis *La nostra casa vicino all'Adriatico* (Our Home Near the Adriatic Sea) which suggests that the Italian translation of Collier's travel book had not been finalised. The complete Italian translation of *Our Home by the Adriatic* was published in 1981 under the title *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*. Her sister, Gladys Salvadori translated the text, she introduced it and together they dedicated the book to 'the memory of [their] mother'.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ 'della figlia di Izzy e di Robert, Margaret, la quale venne in Italia, sposò il figlio di Meo Galletti e di Anna Cadilhac, e andò poi a vivere nelle Marche, a pochi chilometri dai discendenti del trisnonno Welby.' Lussu. [1970] 1999. *Le inglesi in Italia*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ 'nel suo primo libro'. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴⁸ 'a questo seguì una serie di romanzi e novelle di argomento marchigiano che pubblicò sotto lo pseudonimo di Isabella Snow.' *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Salvadori cited her grandmother in *Storia del fermano: dalle origini all'unità d'Italia*, (The History of Fermo: from Its Origin to the Unification of Italy, 1970) by referring to her as 'an English woman, the wife of Arturo Galletti'.⁵⁰ In 1977, Collier simply appears as a British woman in *L'acqua del 2000*. When *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* (Sherlock Holmes: Anarchists and Torpedoes) was published in 1982, Salvadori cast her grandmother as a character who is immediately identified as a British female writer. In the Galletti-Salvadori family, literature creates a space in which past and present generations interact, where the Anglo-Italian difference is autonomously represented. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Salvadori's literary quest reveals a literary precursor who is a specific ancestor whose literary works are no longer available but whose contents reside in childhood memory and storytelling. The younger generation found access not only to the publications but also manuscripts and correspondence of their British grandmother and great-grandmothers. These texts are an integral part in the creative process of the younger generation as an intergenerational dialogue that takes place in writing by means of translation, manipulation, citation and intertextuality.

***Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*: A Case of Literary Investigation**

In the first instance, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* might seem an exception in Salvadori's literary career. Nevertheless, it shows various links to her previous publishing projects in relation to the topic, setting and characters. This is her only detective story, but it has elements in common with her historical and auto/biographical works. This detective story is set in London and in the Marche and presents a social and cultural Anglo-Italian context as represented by the Galletti-

⁵⁰Lussu, (ed.) [1970] 1982. *La Storia del fermano: dalle origini all'unità d'Italia*, p. 121.

Salvadori family by means of two characters. Collier epitomises her British maternal legacy and Tommaso Salvadori (1895-1923), Salvadori's great-uncle, personifies her paternal Anglo-Italian progressive and Protestant heritage, which also descended from a British maternal line. The characters Margaret Collier and Tommaso Salvadori help Sherlock Holmes carry out a secret mission in the Marche. While Collier is Holmes' English interpreter of the Marche's social and political context, Tommaso Salvadori is his detective's Anglo-Italian interpreter in the Marche.

In this detective fiction, Collier's literary works, specifically *Our Home by the Adriatic*, become the transitional object that connects the past to the present of future generations. *Our Home by the Adriatic* exemplifies a form of intertextual dialogism that Nancy Miller has defined as 'intergenerational intertextuality' by becoming a means of connection between a granddaughter and her grandmother's literary inheritance.⁵¹ It is a source of the cultural traditions of a regional community, an account of family history, and a means of transmitting values and memories from the older to the future generations. In Salvadori's writing, intertextuality shows polyphonic interweavings of a plurality of cultures, languages and literary traditions in which Collier's texts are 'absorbed and transformed',⁵² by means of citation, references, translation and adaptation. In Miller's words, her intertextuality can be defined as 'political intertextuality' because Salvadori, as the productive subject, places herself 'at a deliberately oblique (or textual) angle of intervention' in the attempt to negotiate her literary and cultural identity 'within the dominant social text'.⁵³ By engaging in an intertextual dialogue with her British grandmother, Salvadori explores the politics of representation of an Anglo-Italian

⁵¹ See Giorgio and Waters, (eds). *New Women's Writing in Western Europe: Gender and Generation and Literary Legacies*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Press, forthcoming 2007.

⁵² Roudiez, (ed.) 1980. *Desire in Language*, p. 66.

⁵³ Miller. 1988. *Subject to Change*. p. 112.

identity by subverting the dominant Western cultural, historical and social texts and their ideological roots.

Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri is set in 1908. The Minister of War asks Holmes to investigate the presence of secret Austro-Hungarian laboratories, in which scientists develop torpedoes as weapons for submarines, in the Italian region of the Marche. Holmes travels to Italy and solves the case by contacting Italian anarchists and socialists. Back in London, he disappears, leaving some autobiographical notes with Dr Watson. At the end of this detective fiction, Salvadori intervenes as a character, the author, and describes the finding of a manuscript among her grandmother's papers with a sealed envelope which contains a letter she then transcribes. In the letter, her grandmother narrates how Watson left her Holmes's diary of his Italian mission.

In the fictional narrative frame, the granddaughter keeps it as an inheritance for future generations to tell the story her grandmother was unable to write. She includes the letter as part of the text. Hence, Salvadori's *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* uncovers its parodic nature in a postmodernist sense. It is not a frivolous detective story based on Doyle's protagonist, but a postmodernist parody as defined by Linda Hutcheon. Hutcheon claims parody has a serious political impact and argues that 'postmodern parody is a value-problematizing, de-naturalizing form of acknowledging the history (and through irony the politics) of representations'.⁵⁴ Salvadori uses parody to create a connection between past and present and subverts historical and literary representations by transforming common people into the heroes and heroines of a detective fiction focused on the famous fictional English detective. In her analysis of parody as central to postmodernism, Hutcheon analyses

⁵⁴ Hutcheon. 1989. *The Politics of Postmodernism*, London and New York: Routledge, 94.

the potentials of postmodern parody as a means to reveal processes of continuity and difference in the politics of representation. In adapting parody, Salvadori specifically experiments with 'humanist assumptions about artistic creativity and uniqueness',⁵⁵ by destabilising the readers' expectations in relation to a Sherlockian detective story and to the authorship of such a story.

Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri creates literary interest as one of the innumerable parodies of Doyle's stories of Sherlock Holmes. There is, in fact, an emerging interest in Salvadori as a member of the community of authors who are devotees of the 'Sherlockian' canon, that is the sixty works, four novels and fifty-six short stories collected in five volumes, written by Doyle.⁵⁶ Indeed, her name circulates on the World Wide Web as the author of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* in two articles published in the *Sherlock Magazine*, an Italian magazine published by the Cultural Institution Delos Books.⁵⁷ In both articles, the interest in Salvadori's detective fiction depends on the location of her parody.

Luca Crovi maintains his main interest in Salvadori's text as an Italian parody in which Doyle's private detective is transported into the Italian political context at the beginning of the twentieth century. In his important chronological excursus in the tradition of detective fiction in Italian literature, comics and television series, entitled *Tutti i colori del giallo: il giallo italiano da De Marchi a Scerbanenco a Camilleri* (The Whole Shades of Yellow: Italian Detective Fiction from De Marchi to Scerbanenco and Camilleri, 2002), Crovi lists Salvadori's detective story in the chapter entitled 'Sherlock Holmes in Italia' (Sherlock Holmes in Italy) and, then,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵⁶ Joyce Salvadori's personal membership to 'The Sherlock Holmes Society' of London is kept with her documents by her son.

⁵⁷ 'Sherlock Holmes e il Conero' (Sherlock Holmes and the Mount Conero, May 2005) is signed by the editorial, and 'Ancona, nuova musa degli autori polizieschi' (Ancona, a New Muse for Crime Novelists, May 2005) is written by Luca Lorenzetti. Available: <http://www.sherlockmagazine.it/giornale.php> [Accessed 28 August 2005]. Another Italian online magazine of similar interest is *Uno Studio in Holmes* at <http://www.unostudioinholmes.org>.

mentions her name again in the chapter, 'Morire dal ridere' (Dying with laughter).⁵⁸ In both cases, he is more interested in the humour of Salvadori's parody as it describes the famous English private detective 'struggling with [Italian] anarchist groups and aristocratic salons',⁵⁹ than its historical or regional location. However, he mistakes the title of Salvadori's detective fiction by adding the name of the region to the original title. In the only citation it appears as *Sherlock Holmes nelle Marche: anarchici e siluri* (Sherlock Holmes in the Marche: Anarchists and Torpedoes).⁶⁰

In the narrative frame created by Doyle, the favourite narrator, Watson, describes the quantity of material he has at his disposal and from which he chooses the best cases which expose Holmes's deductive skills:

When one considers that Mr Sherlock Holmes was in active practice for twenty-three years, and that during seventeen of these I was allowed to co-operate with him and to keep notes of his doings, it will be clear that I have a mass of material at my command. The problem has always been, not to find, but to choose. There is the long row of year-books which fill a shelf, and there are the dispatch-cases filled with documents, a perfect quarry for the student not only of crime, but of the social and official scandals of the late Victorian era.⁶¹

Watson constructs his authority as a privileged witness who is in a position to select the cases; he directly refers to more than one hundred cases whose stories are not told. He underlines his testimony as based on his unique knowledge not only of first-hand information but also his personal 'co-operation' with Holmes. Being part of Holmes' private life, Watson has an exclusive insight into the detective's deductive theories and investigative methods.

The production of new stories inspired by Holmes began simultaneously with Doyle's stories. It was his friend, and later author of *Peter Pan*, James Barrie who

⁵⁸ Crovi. 2002. *Tutti i colori del giallo: il giallo italiano da De Marchi a Scerbanenco a Camilleri*, Venice: Marsilio Editori. A previous unpublished version of the chapter 'Sherlock Holmes in Italia' appears on line on the website of Puntozero Editrice publishing house. Available: http://www.puntozero.net/pspot/deli_i1.htm [Accessed 15 June 2005].

⁵⁹ 'alle prese con circoli anarchici e salotti nobiliari.' *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Doyle. [1927] 1951. 'The Adventure of the Veiled Lodger', in *The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes*. London: Penguin, p. 206.

wrote 'the first known period pastiche',⁶² *The Late Sherlock Holmes*, in 1893 but the publication of stories referring directly to the cases Dr Watson cites but does not describe, did not occur until the death of Doyle. As the introduction to *The Alternative Sherlock Holmes: Pastiches, Parodies and Copies* (2003) specifies, '[t]he writing of pastiches and parodies began within five years of the first Sherlock Holmes story',⁶³ but in Italy the phenomenon began later. The first Italian translation of Doyle's stories appeared in 1895, when the publishing house Verri collected three stories in a single volume entitled, *Le avventure di Sherlock Holmes* (The adventures of Sherlock Holmes). The first Italian detective fiction began with Emilio De Marchi's *Il cappello del prete* (The Priest's Hat) in 1887, the same year in which Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet* was first published. Italian readers waited until 1889 to be able to read Holmes' adventures almost simultaneously with the British readership, when they were finally published weekly in the magazine, *La Domenica del Corriere*.

Since then many Italian writers have paid literary homage to Holmes with pastiches and parodies. Salvadori's *Sherlock Holmes: anarchi e siluri* appeared at a time when Italian detective fictions raised public and academic interest. Covi affirms that, in the 1980s and 1990s, many writers of detective fiction won literary prizes and obtained an appreciation of a wider readership such as, Andrea Camilleri, Carlo Lucarelli, Marcello Fois, Laura Grimaldi, and Silvana La Spina, Anna Maria Fassio, and Danila Comastri Montanari,. In particular, Umberto Eco's *Il nome della rosa* (1980, *The Name of the Rose*, 1983), which was published on the fiftieth

⁶² Watt Ridgway and Green. 2003. *The Alternative Sherlock Holmes: Pastiches, Parodies and Copies*, p. 78.

⁶³ Watt Ridgway and Green. 2003. *The Alternative Sherlock Holmes: Pastiches, Parodies and Copies*, Hants, England and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, p. 1. In *Sherlock Holmes: the Unauthorised Biography* (2005). Nick Rennison gives a figure of 1,800 possible cases in Holmes' investigative career, of which only sixty are narrated, leaving 'more than ninety-six per cent' of Holmes' investigations' without record. See Hickling. 2005. 'Mycroft = Moriarty', in *Review, The Guardian*, 26 November, p. 16.

anniversary of Doyle's death and preceded that of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* by two years, has inspired international literary as well as popular interest.

In comparison with the international context of alternative stories of Holmes, Salvadori's *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is a new story that directly refers to the original canon. In the second chapter, Holmes is introduced as a man of about fifty years of age who 'was born twenty years previously, in 1887, at the age of thirty, in the imagination of the English doctor and historian Doyle'.⁶⁴ Salvadori adapts Holmes as the protagonist of a story of international espionage in which the Italian anarchists' political stand against the Austro-Hungarian imperial oppression slowly becomes his ulterior motive for investigation.

In his essay 'Sherlock Holmes on the Continent', Michael C. Kaser points out Holmes' European reputation. Holmes is approached by personalities such as the kings of Scandinavia and Bohemia and undertakes enquiries 'at the express desire of His Holiness the Pope'.⁶⁵ In *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, the case concerns the Vatican cameos and, in 'Black Peter' (1904), Holmes investigates the death of Cardinal Tosca. However, in Doyle's canon, Holmes does not travel to Italy. There are clear references to journeys to Odessa, France and Switzerland as part of Holmes' investigation of a few cases but the accounts are not detailed.⁶⁶ Watt and Green report examples of period pastiches in English that set new adventures of Holmes in Italy by adding that 'probable visits to Italy are well supported by references in the Canon'.⁶⁷ In Doyle's stories, Holmes escapes 'from [the] weary

⁶⁴ 'Era nato venti anni prima, nel 1887, già quasi trentenne, dalla fervida fantasia del medico e storico inglese Arthur Conan Doyle'. Lussu. 1982. *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale, p. 13 (hereafter SHAS).

⁶⁵ Doyle. [1905] 1981. *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, London: Penguin Books, p. 139.

⁶⁶ See Roberts. 1984. 'A Biographical Sketch of Sherlock Holmes', in Shreffler, (ed.) *The Baker Street Reader: Cornerstone Writings About Sherlock Holmes*; Haining, (ed.) *Sherlock Holmes Compendium*, London: W. H. Allen.

⁶⁷ Watt Ridgway and Green. 2003. *The Alternative Sherlock Holmes: Pastiches, Parodies and Copies*, p. 89.

workday world by the side door of music' by listening to opera.⁶⁸ and frequents 'garish' Italian restaurants.⁶⁹ Covi's research shows that Italy has become a new setting for Holmes' adventures since Dante Minghelli Vaini's *Shairlock Holtes in Italia* (Shairlock Holtes in Italy, 1902), which was published under the pseudonym, Donan Coyle.⁷⁰

The originality of Salvadori's setting is its specific regionalism. The Marche is not a traditional geographical setting of detective fiction, or a place with a tradition of detective fiction writers. This Italian region does not possess special literary and historical connections with Great Britain and it has not yet become a favourite holiday destination of British tourists. It is specifically in Salvadori's family memories that the Marche and Victorian London meet as demonstrated by her grandmother's literary work examined in the first chapter. By means of Holmes, she portrays the Marche as a land of encounter and exchange between Great Britain and Italy. The setting of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* between London and Ancona reflects her Anglo-Italian family's understanding of an indissoluble and reciprocal interdependence between local and cosmopolitan, national and international, familiar and foreign. Through the objective analysis of the famous fictional private detective, she looks at the implications of local politics to international espionage, and highlights the way in which the Salvadori family embraced a dual perspective interrelating local, national and international and perceiving the local context in its relevance to a wider landscape. The Anglo-Italian everyday life of the Salvadori family becomes part of Holmes' adventure in the Marche as well as in London.

⁶⁸ Doyle. [1927] 1951. 'The Retired Colourman', in *The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes*, p. 244.

⁶⁹ Doyle. [1917] 1997. 'The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans', in *His Last Bow*, London: Penguin Books, p. 103.

⁷⁰ See Covi. 2000. *Delitti di carta nostra: una storia del giallo italiano*, Bologna: Puntozero Editrice; Covi, L., 2002. *Tutti i colori del giallo: il giallo italiano da De Marchi a Scerbanenco a Camilleri*.

Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri is a parody that creates interest in relation to the historical political context in which the story is set as well as its location. While it recreates the historical and geographical domains of Doyle's canon in London 1908, it also transports Holmes to the Marche on the basis of a journey to Italy due to an international case of espionage in which the British Vice-consul in Ancona is involved. Holmes is personally entrusted with an investigative case in the Marche by the Minister of War, Richard Burton Haldane (1856-1928), and the Prime Minister, Henry Campbell-Bannemann (1839-1908). It is a British secret mission which involves international politics and military projects implicated in the development of new technological weapons: torpedoes for submarines.

As a period parody, it recalls Doyle's stories set in the Georgian era in which the detective becomes an unofficially claimed national hero who defends the country from a foreign threat. Salvadori's re-creation of Holmes is mainly influenced by the atmosphere of some of the adventures collected in *His Last Bow*, especially 'His Last Bow' (1917), a story set in 1914 in which England is not ready to step in the conflict to support France or Belgium because it is not prepared 'for submarine attack',⁷¹ and 'The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans' (1908), whose title refers to the secret plans of the Bruce-Partington submarine. Whether asked by Whitehall or by a private citizen who works in the Foreign Ministry, in these cases, Holmes reveals the threats of international espionage by moving from the crimes of London's street to the highest social levels.

In 'His Last Bow', for example, Holmes is an agent of the establishment and is directly involved in international espionage. In London, there are talks of the arms race, submarines and naval rivalry, especially between Germany and Great Britain. At the end of the story, looking at the English Channel, Holmes tells Watson:

⁷¹ Doyle. [1917] 1997. *His Last Bow*. London: Penguin Books. p.184.

There's an east wind coming all the same, such a wind as never blew on England yet. It will be cold and bitter, Watson, and a good many of us may wither before its blast. But it's God's own wind none the less, and a cleaner, better, stronger land will lie in the sunshine when the storm has cleared.⁷²

There is a propagandist tone in Holmes's words. In the storm's wind he feels the First World War approaching. The war is compared to an exceptional storm which will demand the sacrifice of many including themselves for Britain to become a better place. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, the characters discuss the Triple Alliance and the inevitable war approaching but, in the end, the British national hero discovers a different image of its consequences. The war does not simply demand the sacrifice of those who want to defend their countries in military uniform but also of innocent citizens such as children.

In relation to Doyle's narrative frame, the adventure of Holmes in the Marche precedes the events described in 'His Last Bow', which chronologically represents Holmes' last case.⁷³ Although Doyle published adventures of Holmes until 1927, all of his subsequent stories are set in the pre-1914 period. In his biographical sketch, Roberts places the interruption of Holmes' retirement in about 1912 when he travels to Chicago entrusted by the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister with a secret mission.⁷⁴ In the gap of three years created by the presumed death of Holmes at the Reichenbach Falls in 1891 and his return in 1894, the famous private detective travels to as far away as Tibet and asks his elder brother, Mycroft Holmes, to look

⁷² Doyle. [1917] 1997. *His Last Bow*, pp. 197-8.

⁷³ This short story was originally published in the *Strand Magazine* with the subtitle, 'The War Service of Sherlock Holmes', in September 1917. It narrates how, in 1914, Sherlock Holmes finally closes his case by capturing the German spy, Von Bork, and saves the British military secrets. In the collective volume, *His Last Bow* (1917), the story 'His Last Bow' has a different subtitle, 'An Epilogue of Sherlock Holmes'. See Kestner. 1997. *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History*. Aldershot, Brookfield, USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate.

⁷⁴ See Roberts. 1984. 'A Biographical Sketch of Sherlock Holmes'.

after his flat and send him money. As Mycroft is at Whitehall, there is the possibility Sherlock Holmes works for the Foreign Office, 'probably at Mycroft's request'.⁷⁵

In Salvadori's literary creation, Holmes does not spend his retirement in Sussex in 1908, but instead he is in London. After Watson's marriage, Holmes enjoys visiting the Bloomsbury Group at the Stephens' salon, 'instead of relieving his melancholic solitude simply by playing his Stradivarius or injecting himself with morphine' (SHAS: 13).⁷⁶ After the mission in the Marche, Sherlock Holmes disappears. As Mrs Hudson summarises in the last chapter, he had spent only twenty-four hours in his flat and left. In the postscript, it is possible to deduce that Holmes went back to Baker Street, then was 'reported missing' in 1909.⁷⁷ In the original stories, the last information on Holmes is dated 1914.

In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* the story is told by an unknown third-person narrator but here the anonymity of the narrator is complicated by a postscript written at the end of the fiction by Salvadori as the author. With a meta-narrative twist, she seems to claim authorship by explaining the reason for writing 'a book which is so different from [her] usual and dealing with a genre [she] had never tried' (SHAS: 122).⁷⁸ In contrast with a biographical tradition which aims to prove the existence of Doyle's character, started by William S. Baring-Gould in 1962,⁷⁹ Salvadori does not doubt the reality of Holmes's person but challenges the authority

⁷⁵ Roberts. 1984. 'A Biographical Sketch of Sherlock Holmes', in Shreffler, (ed.) *The Baker Street Reader. Cornerstone Writings about Sherlock Holmes*, London: Greenwood Press. p. 51.

⁷⁶ 'invece di alleviare le malinconie della solitudine soltanto con gli esercizi al suo stradivario o con le iniezioni di morfina.'

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷⁸ 'questo libro così diverso dai miei soliti, affrontando un tipo di narrativa col quale non mi ero mai cimentata.'

⁷⁹ Two of the most recent examples of biographical studies of Sherlock Holmes are Leslie Klinger's third volume of *The New Annotated Sherlock Holmes* (2005) and Nick Rennison's *Sherlock Holmes: the Unauthorised Biography* (2005). The fictional character Sherlock Holmes has a statue outside Baker Street station in London as a proper British historical hero and an honorary fellowship of the Royal Society of Chemistry for applying scientific methods to detective investigation, which was granted in October 2002. See the photograph entitled, 'Doctor's Order. Watson honours Holmes' taken by Matt Dunham and published in *The Guardian* on 17 October 2002, p. 7.

of Holmes's biographers, Doyle and Dr Watson. She questions the conformity of the official portrayal of Holmes by claiming his independence from Doyle's authority.

In the postscript, Salvadori defines her destined role as a narrator of a story Watson could not tell. She becomes a biographer in a way in which Watson could not be as she describes Holmes's development of a different understanding of nationalism in his encounter with Italian anarchists and socialists by his encounter with the Galletti-Salvadori Anglo-Italian family. Salvadori's detective story is based on the manuscript of Holmes' journal of his adventure in the Marche which Salvadori found with her grandmother's manuscripts and papers. Collier supposedly kept Holmes's manuscript together with an envelope containing three pages of her diary in which she describes the visit of Watson to her residence in Plymouth and his decision to leave Holmes's account with her. Salvadori transcribes her grandmother's diary and creates a link between her parody and the original by assuming the role of Holmes's biographer instead of Watson.

At the beginning of 'The Adventure of the Veiled Lodger' (1927), Watson refers to Holmes' professional discretion, as a selective method, and in 'The Five Orange Pips' (1891), he describes the difficulty in selecting the most interesting cases among so many he annotated in his 'notes and records'.⁸⁰ In this instance, he explains he will not narrate the cases which 'have already gained publicity through the papers' or those which did not offer an opportunity to analyse Holmes' 'peculiar qualities',⁸¹ although Watson did not always witness Holmes' scientific method. Holmes investigated cases before his collaboration with Dr Watson. For example, in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), Watson transcribes extracts from his diary and

⁸⁰ Doyle. [1892] 1981. *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, London: Penguin Books, p. 100.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

reports in letters that he sends from Devonshire in order to allow Holmes 'to do the theorizing' in Baker Street.⁸²

Holmes's mission to the Marche is not to be found among the many papers securely kept in a dispatch box located, as Watson himself explains in 'The Problem of Thor Bridge' (1922), at the Charing Cross branch of the Cox and Co. bank.⁸³ In Salvadori's literary creation, Watson does not want to keep Holmes' personal journal in his dispatch box and cannot destroy it but refuses the responsibility of narrating its story and leaves it with Collier. Watson has 'been [Holmes's] faithful biographer for decades' (SHAS: 124),⁸⁴ but cannot accept Holmes's 'sympathy for anarchists and socialists' (SHAS: 124).⁸⁵ He entrusts Collier with the destiny of Holmes's manuscript. Collier recognises Watson's role as a 'friend and biographer' (SHAS: 122) of Holmes,⁸⁶ who is defined as 'an anthropologist and a criminologist' (SHAS: 122).⁸⁷ In remembering her first meeting with Holmes in London, she adds:

I must say that I had a very good impression of Holmes when we talked at length about Italy and the Marche, [...]. On the contrary, I have always had a much worse opinion of the stories of his biographers, Watson, Arthur Conan Doyle and all the others who have tried to narrate the adventures of this nice character, who is, in my opinion, largely misunderstood (SHAS: 122-123).⁸⁸

While the existence of Holmes is never under scrutiny, Collier questions the authority of previous works by real and fictional Holmes's biographers. This older Collier is fascinated by an investigative case set in both Great Britain and the

⁸² Doyle. [1902] 1981. *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, London: Penguin Books, p. 57.

⁸³ See Doyle [1927] 1951. 'The Problem of Thor Bridge', in *The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes*, p. 134.

⁸⁴ 'che sono stato suo fedele biografo per decenni'.

⁸⁵ 'delle simpatie per gli anarchici e per i socialisti'.

⁸⁶ 'amico e biografo'.

⁸⁷ 'Antropologo e criminologo'.

⁸⁸ 'Debbo dire che Holmes mi aveva fatto un'ottima impressione e avevamo parlato a lungo dell'Italia e delle Marche, [...]. Impressione molto meno buona mi hanno fatto invece i racconti dei suoi biografati, da Watson a Arthur Conan Doyle a tutti gli altri che hanno voluto descrivere le avventure di quel simpatico e, secondo me, largamente incompreso personaggio.'

Marche. She perceives the importance of the story in understanding Holmes but, as a writer, she did not have the strength to change literary genre. She leaves the task to her descendants. It is Salvadori who takes the responsibility to read Holmes's journal and tell a story in which new aspects of his persona are revealed. This story especially redefines Holmes's feeble understanding of politics.

Initially, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* does not deviate from convention. In Catherine Belsey's words, Doyle's stories of Holmes 'begin in enigma, mystery, the impossible, and conclude with an explanation which makes it clear that logical deduction and scientific method render all mysteries accountable to reason'.⁸⁹ In Salvadori's story, the scene opens with a dialogue between Holmes and sergeant-major MacAllister, who had accompanied Richard Haldane to a meeting with Holmes the previous evening in the same office of the 'Thomas Cook & Son' agency in London. They discuss Holmes's journey to Ancona. No details are revealed about the mission until the third chapter, when Holmes has already begun his journey to Dover and reflects on the conversation with Haldane. Holmes is entrusted with a military mission of great importance and secrecy. He must locate the secret laboratory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire where new torpedoes for submarines are developed in preparation for a forthcoming war. The British Vice-consul in Ancona received a visit from an old man named Giovanni Lupis who claimed to know the location of the laboratory. The report of the British Vice-consul is transcribed at the beginning of the fourth chapter.

In the first chapter, the focus of the conversation, either between Holmes and MacAllister or between Holmes and an employee of the 'Thomas Cook & Son' agency, is about his Italian destination. MacAllister is concerned about the

⁸⁹ Belsey. [1980] 2001. *Critical Practice*, London: Routledge, p. 102.

practicalities of Holmes's journey to Ancona and the secret mission. but Holmes does not want to travel under cover and claims, 'I am an eccentric researcher who, at this point in life, decides to be an eccentric tourist' (SHAS: 6).⁹⁰ He declines Mac Allister's collaboration but accepts an informative ministerial dossier and a *Baedeker*. As an 'eccentric tourist' he can explain his preference for 'the least touristic of all areas' (SHAS: 6) in the Mediterranean,⁹¹ in which he can 'gather some data to write an article for the new anthropological journal edited by Burnett Tylor, who was [his] professor at Cambridge' (SHAS: 6).⁹² The narrator highlights Holmes's preference for anthropology, a social science which was then in its infancy, and refers to biographical assumptions about the fictional character Holmes, such as his studies at Cambridge University.

Holmes is not interested in geographical co-ordinates, topographical details or lists of hotels and restaurants. He affirms, he needs 'a key to enter into this world which is new to [his] knowledge' (SHAS: 6).⁹³ He requires reliable instruments to analyse unknown social and cultural circumstances and uncover the reasons behind unaccountable events. He wants 'detailed reliable information on all aspects of life in those places' in order 'to act in an appropriate manner' (SHAS: 5).⁹⁴ His request highlights the importance of anthropological knowledge for his deductive powers. The interest is on Holmes' studies of people and recalls his encyclopaedic knowledge of street life in London. The narrator does not discredit his deductive powers but leaves the detective himself to acknowledge his lack of understanding of Italian society by demanding a possibility of absorbing an appropriate knowledge of life in the streets of Ancona. The narrator highlights Holmes' great accuracy in applying

⁹⁰ *'Io sono uno studioso eccentrico che a un certo punto decide di fare del turismo eccentrico.'*

⁹¹ *'La meno turistica delle zone.'*

⁹² *'raccogliere qualche dato per scrivere un articolo sulla nuova rivista antropologica di Burnett Tylor, che è stato mio professore a Cambridge.'*

⁹³ *'Mi occorre una chiave per penetrare questo mondo per me nuovo.'*

⁹⁴ *'un'accurata e attendibile informazione su tutti gli aspetti della vita di quei luoghi, affinché io possa muovermi in maniera adeguata.'*

his deductive capacities in the cultural specificity of a regional community. Later, in a conversation with Leonard Huxley, Holmes identifies this necessary ‘key’ in a British citizen who has visited Ancona. In the second chapter, Collier is cast as the British citizen who can provide the necessary information for him to interpret life in the Marche.

Holmes does not find reliable information on the Marche easily. This Italian region is unknown to the general British traveller. The *Baedeker* can only provide him with historical information on the city of Ancona, and even an assistant at the ‘Thomas Cook’ travel agency can only offer train schedules and a generalised picture of the Marche as a land between ‘the clear blue Adriatic Sea and the bright green Italian Apennine’ (SHAS: 10).⁹⁵ These are the two landmarks that create the initial picture of the Italian region in the opening lines of *Our Home by the Adriatic*, Salvadori’s grandmother’s autobiographical travel book, published one year before *A Study in Scarlet*, in 1886. Collier introduces the Marche as the ‘undulating’ land [b]etween the Adriatic and the Sibylline range of the Apennines’ (OHA: 1). She experienced similar difficulties in gathering information about this Italian region in 1873, the year she moved to San Venanzo, ‘some thirty miles south of Ancona (OHA: 8). In the same way, she cites the ‘Thomas Cook’ agency in order to emphasise the novelty of the topic of her work. ‘Thomas Cook’ Italian tours included the Italian Alps, Milan, Parma, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Livorno, Genoa and Turin, with optional excursions to Venice from Milan and to Rome and Naples from Florence.⁹⁶ The ‘Thomas Cook’ agency represented the average British tourist and their inability to provide information on a location would imply this are had not

⁹⁵ *l'azzurro trasparente del Mare Adriatico e il verde brillante dell'Appennino italiano*.

⁹⁶ See Withey. 1998. *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*. London: Aurum Press.

yet been explored by British tourists. In 1886, Collier presented her work as the first guide to the future British traveller to the Marche. However, *Our Home by the Adriatic* is not a travel guide for the average tourist; it is a study of the traditions, customs and lifestyle of the Marche. Hence, it offers exactly the kind of knowledge Holmes requests.

Holmes finds some help in the house of the children of ‘his old friend, Sir Leslie Stephen’ (SHAS: 12),⁹⁷ where the members of the Bloomsbury group meets. Stephen had been the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine* in which Collier published. In his daughters’ literary salon, Leonard Huxley suggests he contact John Collier’s sister, Margaret Collier, who is ‘a British citizen to whom the name [of this Italian city] would recall something’ (SHAS: 15).⁹⁸ The fictional context is never suspended as the narrator affirms the origin of Holmes in Doyle’s creative mind. To the predictable physical and character aspects, the narrator briefly adds he has a disposition which:

Dr Sigmund Freud, the renowned psychologist from Vienna, defined, by using modern terms, as “manic-depressive”; in other words Holmes went from periods of frenetic and very lucid activities, in which he showed extraordinary mental and physical energies, to periods of stillness, of almost lethargy’, marked by sceptical and sarcastic pessimism (SHAS: 13).⁹⁹

The hero of logical deduction and scientific method is qualified by his rational and unconscious powers. Psychoanalysis seems to clarify behaviours described by Watson in the original stories, but whose nature and ethical implications are not discussed as they appear as eccentricities. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*,

⁹⁷ ‘del suo vecchio amico Sir Leslie Stephen’.

⁹⁸ ‘un cittadino britannico al quale questo nome ricordi qualche cosa.’

⁹⁹ ‘il dottor Sigmund Freud, il noto psicologo di Vienna, definiva in termini moderni “manico-depressivo”; ossia Holmes passava da periodi di frenetica e lucidissima attività, in cui esprimeva energie mentali e fisiche al di sopra del normale, a periodi di stasi quasi sonnolenta, tinte di scettico e sarcastico pessimismo.’

psychoanalysis explains them by alluding to the unconscious side of Holmes' mind, and the unpredictability of human behaviour.

Belsey argues Doyle's canon is an example of classic realism in which positivism pushes the margins of experience to the inexplicable and reveals its ideology, by analysing how women's sexuality in the stories is concealed in silence and has 'dark and magical quality which is beyond the reach of scientific knowledge'.¹⁰⁰ Although Doyle's detective stories aim to describe the solutions to mysterious cases, women's sexuality becomes a subject that cannot be scrutinised. In Salvadori's historical parody, the narrator does not sympathise with Watson's vagueness, omissions and silences, but examines explicitly Holmes' sexuality as well as the consumption of stimulant drugs. Salvadori's portrayal praises his exceptional deductive skills but does not undermine his contradictory excesses. As in one of the cards catalogued in Holmes's own index, his biography summarises his career as a detective, and his interesting characteristics either physical or behavioural without omitting the use of drugs to cure melancholia.

The narrator is interested in reporting the contradictions between his rational and his Romantic qualities, and the ways in which he has been trying to solve them. Although with difficulty, Holmes has, in fact, attempted to improve his social skills and the Stephens' salon relates to one of his new resolutions. Instead of escaping to the isolation of drugs, he enjoys the company of other exceptional figures of his time. In *A Study in Scarlet* (1887), Watson defines Holmes as ignorant of literature but, in the following stories, Sherlock Holmes demonstrates that his 'Knowledge of Literature [does not equal] Nil',¹⁰¹ as he cites authors such as, Horace, Hafiz, Flaubert and Goethe, and reads Shakespeare and Petrarch. Salvadori's protagonist does not simply cite literary works but, as an acquaintance of the Bloomsbury Group,

¹⁰⁰ Belsey. [1980] 2002. *Critical Practice*, p. 104.

¹⁰¹ Doyle. [1887] 1981. *A Study in Scarlet*, London: Penguin Books, p. 20.

he is well informed about contemporary literary and art movements, as well as recent historical, social and philosophical research, and reads Collier's works. In the list Watson provides in *A Study in Scarlet*, Holmes' knowledge of politics is defined as 'Feeble' but there is no mention of his linguistic skills. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, it is stated on the first page that Holmes 'is not very skilled in Romance languages and Mediterranean geography' (SHAS: 5).¹⁰² His attempts to communicate in Italy also show he is not fluent in French.

In entitling one of his stories 'The Red Circle', Doyle points to the name of a Neapolitan criminal society that expanded in the United States. His interest in criminal organisations can also be seen in *The Valley of Fear*, but it is interesting that while the final stories tend to deal with secret societies found in other countries, in the case of 'The Red Circle', a previous provisional title, 'The Adventure of the Bloomsbury Lodger' referred to the secret societies in London. By contrast, in the second chapter of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Holmes is a regular guest at the Stephens' salon. The omniscient narrator introduces the members of the salon as the radical intelligentsia of London, 'named, with ironic conceit, the Bloomsbury Group, or the *bloomsberries*' (SHAS: 12),¹⁰³ by 'the traditional and conformist London' (SHAS: 12).¹⁰⁴ The list includes the philosopher Bertrand Russell, the economist John Maynard Keynes, and writers such as, Edward Morgan Forster, Herbert George Wells and Rebecca West. The narrator provides a few essential biographical and bibliographical details. The fictional protagonist interacts once again with real-world historical figures of the time.

¹⁰² 'Poco esperto in lingue romanze e in geografia mediterranea'.

¹⁰³ 'soprannominati, con ironica sufficienza, il gruppo di Bloomsbury, o i *bloomsberries*'.

¹⁰⁴ 'La Londra tradizionale conformista'.

The real-world figures become fictional characters by ‘maintaining their properties’,¹⁰⁵ including their proper names. Umberto Eco defines a real-world person who coincides with a fictional character as a ‘transworld identity’. The boundaries of Salvadori’s fictional world are unsettled by the appearance of real-world persons’ proper names as her detective story turns into historical fiction. With her postmodernist revisionist twist, fiction becomes history and history becomes fiction. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, transworld identities maintain their identities as members of the Bloomsbury Group. Adapted from a pre-existent fictional context, Holmes interacts with identifiable real historical identities and relatively unknown contemporary figures who belong to the Salvadori’s English maternal lines of family tree. Eco suggests that a recognisable parallel fictional world facilitates the readers’ reliability in the given narrative frame as they limit the possible logical consequences within it.

By revealing the origin of the official Holmes in Doyle’s fictional writing, Salvadori demystifies the renowned canonical fictional character and by doing so she introduces the apocryphal version as a type of Sherlock Holmes. In *Reflections on the Name of the Rose*, Eco argues ‘there are three ways of narrating the past’ and *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is a novel that narrates the past in two of these ways.¹⁰⁶ At first glance it appears to be a ‘swashbuckling novel, [a] cloak-and-dagger stor[y]’,¹⁰⁷ in which the past is recognisable as the characters represent real historical figures included in the encyclopaedia who ‘perform actions that the encyclopaedia does not record [...] but which the encyclopaedia does not contradict’.¹⁰⁸ In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, some of the characters are

¹⁰⁵ Eco. [1979] 1998. *Lector in fabula: la cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi*, Milan: Bompiani, p. 143.

¹⁰⁶ Weaver, (trans.) [1985] 1989. *Umberto Eco. Reflections on The Name of the Rose*, London: Secker & Warburg, p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

imagined; others are real historical figures that are not commonly included in the official encyclopaedia.

In sketching the Bloomsbury Group through the publishing careers of some renowned transworld identities, Salvadori creates a fictional reference frame in which the reader can place the names of unfamiliar real-world persons casually included. They are members of her family whose contribution to the literary or scientific world is not often recognised at present. At the beginning of the second chapter, for instance, John Collier appears between Robert Trevelyan, Duncan Grant and Leonard Huxley. As explained later, Collier's younger brother was Leonard Huxley's brother-in-law. Transworld identity between the fictional characters and real-world ancestors of Salvadori blurs the boundaries between fiction and history. It also questions what is fictional and what is historical, and the detective story seems to reflect on the reliability of encyclopaedic history by suggesting history as a form of narrative. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, the intertwining of fictional and historical contexts, of celebrated and forgotten historical figures, reflects this postmodern historical novel's revision of the official historical record. The interplay between official history and apocryphal history creates a space in which the content of the historical record is revised and reinterpreted to include names and stories which were previously excluded. Significantly, it expands the borders of the acclaimed literary community of London to include Collier.

At the Stephens' house in Gordon Square, Holmes discusses his journey to Italy with Leonard Huxley while the general conversation deals with the consequences of the invasion and annexation of Bosnia on the 'fragile balance' (SHAS: 14) of the Triple Alliance.¹⁰⁹ Reflecting on the associations of the words 'Marche' and 'Adriatic', Leonard Huxley has an idea and asks Virginia and Vanessa

¹⁰⁹ 'fragile equilibrio'.

Stephen ‘whether [they] have by chance at home a copy of the book by John Collier’s sister on her Italian experiences’ (SHAS: 15):¹¹⁰

“I think that we all have Margaret’s works” said Vanessa. “There is a two-volume novel entitled, *Babel*, and a collection of short stories entitled, *I Camorristi*”.

“Previously, another novel was published”, added Virginia. “It is entitled, *Our Home by the Adriatic*. I recently read it and enjoyed it very much. I shall go and see if I can find it” (SHAS: 15).¹¹¹

Virginia and Vanessa Stephen are familiar with Collier’s writing. It is Virginia who specifically comments on *Our Home by the Adriatic* by highlighting she has read and enjoyed it. This is the book that has been haunting Salvadori’s detective story since the beginning with ‘echoes of intertextuality’.¹¹² In Eco’s words, ‘books always speak to other books, and every story tells a story that has already been told’.¹¹³ Holmes’s Italian destination is still the main focus of the narrative and the similarities between the circumstances of Holmes and Collier’s journeys produce echoes of intertextuality that becomes overt when *Our Home by the Adriatic* gains physical substance in the Stephens’ library. While Huxley summarises Collier’s unsuccessful marriage to an Italian Garibaldian officer, Virginia comes back ‘carrying a tray with two glasses of sherry and a book with a light blue cover. “I have found *La nostra casa sull’ Adriatico*” she said’ (SHAS: 16-17).¹¹⁴ It is Collier’s most famous text which is carried in Woolf’s hands. This text becomes the means of Collier’s introduction to Holmes who will then identify her with her literary work.

¹¹⁰ ‘se per caso avete in casa il libro della sorella di John Collier sulle sue esperienze italiane.’

¹¹¹ “Credo che i libri di Margaret li abbiamo tutti” disse Vanessa, “C’è un romanzo in due volumi intitolato *Babel* e un volume di racconti intitolato *I Camorristi*.” / “Prima ne era uscito un altro” aggiunse Virginia. “Si chiama *La Nostra casa sull’Adriatico*.” L’ho letto di recente e mi ha molto divertito. Vado a vedere se lo trovo.”

¹¹² Weaver, (trans.) [1985] 1989. *Umberto Eco. Reflections on The Name of the Rose*, p. 20.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ ‘reggendo un vassoio con sopra due bicchieri di sherry e un libro dalla copertina azzurra. “Ho trovato *La nostra casa sull’Adriatico*” disse.’

The Italian region of the Marche is the reason why Collier's name is first mentioned. Huxley then refers to her as John Collier's sister, Vanessa Stephen simply calls her Margaret, adding a personal touch which implies that the two sisters know Collier or her writing quite well. It is, in fact, Virginia Stephen who adds Collier's travel book to her sister's list of two of her works. Not only does she specify its title but she comments on it saying she read and enjoyed it. At the beginning of the novel, the narrator ensures Virginia Woolf is recognisable as the unmarried Virginia Stephen by indicating that she is 'engaged to the Fabian writer, Leonard Woolf' (SHAS: 12).¹¹⁵ Collier is the author of a book which Woolf possesses and appreciates. She agrees to lend Holmes her copy only 'if he promises to return it' (SHAS: 17),¹¹⁶ indicating how much she values it. Woolf is recognised 'as one of "the historical mothers"' of women's writing.¹¹⁷ In *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, Ann Hallamore Caesar points out that Woolf was a 'distinct' literary influence in Italy because 'her Italian readers were highly conscious of her significance as a role model for the committed woman writer'.¹¹⁸ Italian female writers such as Anna Banti, Natalia Ginzburg and Gianna Manzini were admirers of Woolf, especially of 'Woolf the essayist [and] the author of *A Room of One's Own*'.¹¹⁹ Woolf's research on female writers, such as Jane Austen, Christina Rossetti, Madame de Sevigné and Sara Coleridge, influenced Italian female writers' literary research.

The representation of Woolf as a reader of Collier's works attaches importance to the figure of Collier as a female writer. In the story, when Leonard Huxley tells Holmes about Collier's life, he emphasises her independent spirit. She

¹¹⁵ *'fidanzata con lo scrittore fabiano, Leonard Woolf'*.

¹¹⁶ *'se promette di restituirlo'*.

¹¹⁷ Rasy. [1984] 2000. *Le donne e la letteratura*, Rome: Editori Riuniti, p. 16.

¹¹⁸ Caesar. 2000. 'The novel, 1945-1965', in Panizza and Wood, (eds). *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, p. 207.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

is described as a woman who left her country against her family's opinion for love and was able to claim her independence as a writer and divorce her husband when she could not sustain married life anymore. Although her works were published under her married name, her husband's surname is never mentioned. Her fictional character is identified as the female writer 'Margaret Collier'.

The casting of the future Woolf sparks off intertextual interactions with some of the texts she wrote on the issues of a woman's literary career, such as *A Room of One's Own* and 'Professions for Women', in which she urges the new generations of female writers to fall on 'the road [...] cut "by famous" originators', but also to recollect their unknown or forgotten voices.¹²⁰ At the end of *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf claims the famous female writers of the past are 'inheritor[s] as well as originator[s]' of literary texts and that the voices of the precursors, either recognised or not, are not dead as their talent is a continuing presence in the new generations that 'only need an opportunity to walk among us in the flesh'.¹²¹ Salvadori gives Collier this opportunity in *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*. Firstly she transports her grandmother's text into another linguistic context and modern readership; secondly, she casts her as a fictional character.

Salvadori as the author does not engage with Woolf's texts but with the figure of Woolf as the female writer respected by following generations. She seems more interested in echoing Woolf's effort in bringing women writers to life and defining a tradition of women writers. Woolf's reflections on women and their literary career in essays and lectures share the intertwining of private and public, historical and personal that Salvadori shows in her own historical, fictional and autobiographical research in which her topics are entangled in a family perspective. Stanford

¹²⁰ Woolf. 1931 [1993]. 'Professions for Women', in Barrett, (ed.) *Virginia Woolf. A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, London: Penguin, p. 356.

¹²¹ Woolf. 1929. *A Room of One's Own*, in Barrett, (ed.) *Virginia Woolf. A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, p.102.

Friedman summarises the international resonance of Woolf as a symbol of women's writing, saying that she 'has travelled world-wide - as the writer embodied in her texts, as icon, as a figure to be mythologised, idealised, reviled, or argued with. Above all, she has travelled as a "woman writer" - [...], as the writer linked with feminism'.¹²² In Salvadori's work, Woolf appears in the role of an active woman who is engaged with the literature as well as the politics of the time. She is, in fact, represented as the host of the Bloomsbury Group.

At the end of the second edition of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, published in 1987, Salvadori's postscript is followed by an alphabetical list of all the real-world characters' names.¹²³ It is entitled 'Personaggi e interpreti' (Characters and Cast) and it lists all the real-world historical characters with brief biographical and bibliographical details. Here the character Virginia Stephen appears under the name Virginia Woolf. Among her achievements, the Hogarth Press precedes the date of her first publication, *The Voyage Out*, which is also the only title listed. Except for a mention of her 'intense and very famous' literary production,¹²⁴ the biography describes Woolf's personal involvement in the events of her times:

¹²² Friedman. 2005. 'Migration, Encounter, and Indigenisation: New Ways of Thinking about Intertextuality in Women's Writing', in Stoneman, Sanchez-Arce, with Leighton, (eds). *European Intertexts: Women's Writing in English in a European Context*. Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang, p. 234.

¹²³ This second edition, published in a collection entitled *Storie*, which also includes *Fronti e frontiere* and *Il libro perogno*, presents significant changes. One of the differences is due to the addition of 'Personaggi ed interpreti' at the conclusion of the story. Lussu adds one more final chapter, which is set in Great Britain, and makes a few stylistic changes, which tend to add psychological depth to Sherlock Holmes's traumatic experience. In dreams, Holmes's unconscious combines memories of past events with future premonitions connected with the anarchist Giovanni Lupis. For example, in the sixth chapter Holmes dreams of Mata Hari and the anarchist who asks for help before arriving to Ancona. It is the second edition that has been recently republished by Robia Edizioni in Italy in 2000. On the importance of rewriting in Joyce Salvadori's texts, Gigliola Sulis published an informative essay entitled, 'Note sulle varianti d'autore di *Fronti e frontiere*' (Notes on the author's changes made to *Fronti e frontiere*). See Sulis. 2002. 'Note sulle varianti d'autore di *Fronti e frontiere*', in Consigli, (ed.) *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli. Joyce Lussu: il pi' rigoroso amore*, anno XXII, issue no. 78. Florence: ALINEA Editrice, pp. 35-42.

¹²⁴ 'La sua produzione è intensa e molto nota' Lussu. [1986] 1987. *Storie*. Ancona e Bologna: Il Lavoro Editoriale, p. 217.

She also lived the traumas of her time intensely: the death of her nephew, the son of her sister Vanessa, during the war in Spain where he fought alongside the republicans, and the outbreak of the Second World War scarred her deeply.¹²⁵

This is a description that points out not only how the historical events touched Woolf's private life but also how her family participated in them. It builds similarities between Woolf's family and Collier's. They are both recognised in the Bloomsbury Group and they both have relatives who died in the tragic events of the 1930s and 1940s opposing Fascism as journalists or soldiers.

Previously, Salvadori referred to Woolf in connection to her grandmother when she wrote the introduction to the Italian translation of *Our Home by the Adriatic, La nostra casa sull' Adriatico* (1981). Here, the older Collier who moved back to England is described in a modern London in which she finds difficulties settling down again:

In her family the young had undertaken a cultural and political development from which she had been cut out. They were Fabians like Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw, pacifists like Bernard Russell, and feminists like Virginia Woolf. In the Huxley family, the young generations wrote science fiction, and the younger among them prepared to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics. The Collier family was sympathetic to the October Revolution, so much so that several members of the family of both sexes joined the English Communist Party. Among them, the heir to the title went to fight Spanish fascism in the international brigades together with Virginia Woolf's nephew.¹²⁶

Members of Collier's family participated in the movements, parties and groups that developed at the beginning of the twentieth century but Salvadori creates the atmosphere by exposing recognisable names of personalities of the time. Woolf is firstly a feminist: her image is that of a female writer linked to feminism as discussed

¹²⁵ 'Vive anche intensamente i drammi del suo tempo: la morte del nipote, figlio della sorella Vanessa, nella guerra di Spagna dove combatte a fianco dei repubblicani, e lo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale la segnano profondamente.' *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Capancioni, (trans.) [1981] 2005. 'Note by Joyce Lussu', in Mangani, (ed.) *The English in the Marche*, pp. 51-52.

by Stanford Friedman but, at the end of the paragraph, she reappears as an aunt. Her mourning for Julian Bell (1908-1937) is shared by Collier's grief and worry for her own nephew.¹²⁷ While there is a kinship between the Colliers and the Huxleys, the relationship that links Collier's family to Woolf's remains in the midst of storytelling as Salvadori does not specify which member of the family she refers to. The Nobel Prize suggests Andrew Fielding Huxley who won the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1963. The reference to science fiction indicates Aldous Huxley. The name that gains visual importance is Woolf which underlines a legacy that is not simply an English heritage due to familial bonds but also to literary and intellectual influences. When she introduces the translation of her grandmother's work and when she fictionalises London at the beginning of the twentieth century, Salvadori recalls the image of the 'mythologised' female writer, Virginia Woolf.¹²⁸

In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, the title of Collier's autobiographical travel book is always presented in Italian. Although the detective fiction is written in Italian, other works by Collier are cited in their original English titles, except *Our Home by the Adriatic*, which is quoted by the title of its Italian translation, *La Nostra Casa sull'Adriatico*. When Virginia Stephen comments on Collier's work she cites the title of its Italian translation, but in the scene there is a clear visual reference to the original English publication of *Our Home by the Adriatic* dated 1886. The image of the book with a light blue cover, brought into the room by Woolf, evokes the English edition of *Our Home by the Adriatic*. Although the title is in Italian, it refers

¹²⁷ There is no evidence to prove Salvadori's claim. The elder son of Robert Alfred Hardcastle Collier, 3rd Baron Monkswell (1875-1964), Gerard (1878-1923) died in 1923. The first son from his second marriage, Robert Douglas (1926-1946), did not inherit the title as he died on active service in 1946. There is no mention of his participation in the Spanish Civil War. It was Gerald's elder son who inherited the title of fourth Baron in 1964, William Adrian Larry (1913-1984). See *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*.

¹²⁸ Friedman. 2005. 'Migration, Encounter, and Indigenisation: New Ways of Thinking about Intertextuality in Women's Writing', p. 234.

to the English original. The intertextual dialogue between the granddaughter and the grandmother is voiced using the character Collier and the book, *Our Home by the Adriatic*, which appears in the narrative as *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*. In the section entitled 'Personaggi ed interpreti' at the end of the detective story, Salvadori identifies Collier as a novelist and a writer of short stories but only lists one of her works. It is this Italian translation that becomes central and its legacy as a testimony to the oral cultural traditions of the Southern area of the Marche.

In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Collier and her literary works are the key to Sherlock Holmes' success as they give him a means to decipher the clues and deduce the solution to this foreign case. While drinking a glass of sherry and smoking his pipe, Holmes starts reading *Our Home by the Adriatic* as soon as Woolf lends it to him and promptly exclaims:

Margaret seems able to be very sincere about herself and others. She is sharply observant. She presents an anthropological study without acknowledging it. I would like to meet her (SHAS: 17).¹²⁹

His comments recall the introduction that Salvadori includes in *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*, as she underlines the relevance of her grandmother's work as a written historical record and anthropological study of the local cultural legacy of the Marche. This viewpoint is also reasserted by another real world character in the fiction, Tommaso Salvadori. Holmes meets him on the train to Ancona. When he shows him the books by Collier he has been reading, Tommaso Salvadori explains his family relationship to her and proceeds in describing the legacy of her travel book in the region after more than two decades.

Leonard Huxley answers Holmes's request and organises an interview with Collier 'who is a guest of her older brother, Lord Monkswell' (SHAS: 17).¹³⁰ in

¹²⁹ 'Questa Margaret sembra capace di molta sincerità verso se stessa e verso gli altri, ed è dotata di un acuto spirito di osservazione. Fa anche della antropologia senza saperlo. Mi piacerebbe incontrarla.'

¹³⁰ 'credo che sia ospite di suo fratello maggiore Lord Monkswell.'

London. Holmes goes back to Baker Street with Virginia Stephen's copy of *Our Home by the Adriatic*. The morning after, Collier arrives at his address accompanied by Leonard Huxley and his sister, Ethel Huxley, Collier's sister-in-law:

Leonard Huxley appeared at the doorstep between two old ladies, dressed in simple style. Although having their brims in front in the latest fashion, their hats were of modest size; without a profusion of colourful feathers, artificial flowers and tulle veils dictated by the great *modistes* to the ladies of Paris who wanted to be *à la page* and to shine at social gatherings from Ascot race course to the casino in Monaco (SHAS: 18).¹³¹

Collier is cast as a character who helps Holmes by sharing her knowledge of the Marche. Her fictional portrait is based on Salvadori's childhood memories of an old woman who moved back to England and came to visit. Therefore, she is depicted as an elegant old lady who is still fashionably and modestly dressed. She is 'tiny but still slim, upright and well proportioned. Her face is pale and drawn with a few, deep wrinkles that reveal the troubles of a difficult life. Her splendid green eyes are wide open and bright' (SHAS: 18).¹³² The visual representation of an elderly Collier uncovers eyes that are open windows on her bright observant skills while the wrinkles on her face are the traces of difficult decisions. The novelist, Margaret Collier, can help Holmes with her vivid memories of the Marche.

At Baker Street Holmes welcomes Collier by saying:

"Your book has not only amused me as pleasant reading, but it will also be very useful in the journey I am about to embark on" (SHAS: 18-19).¹³³

¹³¹ *Leonard Huxley apparve sulla soglia tra due anziane signore, vestite con sobria eleganza. I loro cappelli, con la tesa proiettata in avanti come richiedeva la moda, erano però di modeste proporzioni; senza la profusione di piume colorate, fiori artificiali e velette di tulle che le grandi modiste di Parigi avevano imposto alle dame desiderose di essere à la page e di brillare nei ritrovi mondani, dalle corse di Ascot al Casinò di Montecarlo'.*

¹³² *'era piccolina, ma ancora snella ed eretta e ben proporzionata, con un viso pallido e tirato, dalle poche rughe profonde che rivelavano i molti travagli di una vita difficile, e due splendidi occhi verdi molto aperti e luminosi.'*

¹³³ *'Il suo libro non solo mi ha divertito come piacevole lettura, ma mi sarà anche molto utile per il viaggio che intraprendo.'*

Collier is once again admired for the entertaining quality of her literary work but also for its utmost importance as a study of cultural anthropology. It is acclaimed as the only key to interpret the social and cultural contexts of the Marche for a British audience. She advises Holmes on how to interpret the interaction among the different social classes and common behaviour. In the fictional conversation with Holmes, the character Collier focuses on the landscape and the local community as Collier the Victorian female writer does. She describes the beauty of the rural landscape and the interaction between the different social classes and explains she preferred 'talking with the farmers who at least [had] their own culture and real practical knowledge of many various rural and craft activities' (SHAS: 19-20),¹³⁴ and a dignity and culture that the local landlords and their ladies lack. The stress is on her deeper understanding of social and cultural structures enhanced by her experience of an Anglo-Italian family. The conversation lasts two hours without interruption as Collier and Holmes discuss their understanding of anthropology, a subject he discovered at Cambridge. Holmes then arranges a carriage for 'the honourable Margaret Collier' (SHAS: 20) and leaves.¹³⁵

In Italy, Holmes discovers the Italian members of her Anglo-Italian family and the opinions the local people have of them. Her literary works have a key function in Holmes' investigation. They offer him an insight into the social and political structures of the Marche. They also create, using the words of the real-world character Tommaso Salvadori, 'mysterious and unforeseeable threads',¹³⁶ which connect the characters in spite of the national frontiers. The functions these texts have in the solution of Holmes's mission reflect their importance in the intertextual dialogue between Collier and Salvadori as a means of transmitting a

¹³⁴ *'Preferivo parlare con i contadini, che almeno avevano una loro cultura e una competenza reale in tutta una serie molto varia di attività agricole e artigiane.'*

¹³⁵ *'per l'onorevole Margaret Collier'.*

¹³⁶ Lussu. [1986] 1987. *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*. in *Storie*, p. 131.

female literary inheritance. Salvadori needs them to find her ancestor's legacy as much as Holmes needs them to locate the secret Austro-Hungarian laboratory. In both cases, it is Collier's work as a study of cultural anthropology that appears of greater importance. It is acclaimed as a rare means of understanding the traditions and folklore of the local people for the contemporary British readers of Holmes and Collier, as well as for the Italian and international readership. The third chapter opens with another image of Holmes as a reader of Collier's texts.

In Salvadori's fictional world, Holmes personifies the ideal English traveller to whom the narrator of *Our Home by the Adriatic* describes the Marche's landscape and life. Holmes describes himself as a tourist who does not only admire the landscape and the history of Italy but who also wants to understand the social and political scene especially 'the roars of war' that disturb the calm Adriatic Sea (SHAS: 59).¹³⁷ Like the traveller, Collier suggest visiting the little villages of the Marche, Holmes discovers the underground political life of the region. Salvadori's Holmes has an intellect ready to comprehend other cultures and contexts. The protagonist of this detective fiction is not a ready-made transposed Holmes but a fictional character which unfolds his personality thanks to the absence of Watson's narrating voice.

At the end of the second chapter, Collier disappears as a character. Nevertheless, her name and her works haunt the rest of Holmes's journey. Travelling from London to Dover in a first-class train carriage, Holmes reads Collier's texts set in Italy. The narrator has the opportunity to list *Babel* and *I Camorristi* and to refer to her short stories published in magazines, such as the *New Quarterly Magazine* and the *Victoria Magazine*. The narrative tone has changed as

¹³⁷ 'fremiti di guerra'.

the third-person narrator describes the English and Italian contemporary political circumstances and how they are engaged in the European scene. The details of the mission are finally exposed. The anonymous omniscient third person narrator fluently combines historical background and political opinions including the British, Italian, European and familiar circumstances. Watson could not know biographical references of the Galletti-Salvadori family ancestors. The third-person narrator allows the freedom to insert details known exclusively to the Galletti-Salvadori family through amusing and ironic comments. Political opinions and emotional memories are incorporated through comparisons and detailed descriptions in dialogues and in the narrative flow. They support a different level of investigation which leads to Collier and her Anglo-Italian family.

Collier's texts echo throughout the chapters of the detective fiction set in Italy as the landscape of the Marche becomes an important feature to reflect the characters' emotions. The rural landscape, the blue sea and the green hills contrast with the enclosed rooms of Holmes's flat, the Stephens' salon and the office of the 'Thomas Cook & Son' agency. While London is represented by the secrecy and exclusiveness of enclosed spaces, the Marche is presented through its natural landscape and specific geological features such as Mount Conero. Life in Italian communities is in constant relation with the land and its products while life in London appears dominated by technology and industrial progress. The stronger intertexts are in the ninth chapter when Holmes travels from Ancona to Porto San Giorgio and visits Tommaso Salvadori who welcomes him to Villa Marina and its garden. This is the garden created by the 'three English grandmothers' (OHA: 48) who welcomed Collier and offered her a refuge in which she could speak her language. In *Our Home by the Adriatic*, Collier describes her days spent at 'two or three of [these women's] Anglo-Italian country-houses are amongst [her] pleasantest

recollections' (OHA: 48), and Salvadori always pictures her grandmother and her great-grandmother socialising in the garden.¹³⁸

Before discovering the Salvadori family and their Anglo-Italian heritage, Holmes travels to Italy via the new European route from London and Paris to Istanbul made possible by the opening of the Simplon tunnel in 1905. In the fifth chapter, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* shows a similar atmosphere to British detective stories such as the famous *Murder in the Orient Express* (1934) by Agatha Christie (1890-1976) and *Stamboul Train* (1932) by Graham Greene (1904-1991). This chapter is set on the Venice – Simplon Orient Express. On the train, Holmes is followed by an Austro-Hungarian spy and he is assaulted by a beautiful woman who happens to be the legendary Mata Hari. By referring to another real world person, Salvadori's fictional world deals with Holmes's sexuality and drug addiction. Salvadori interprets the incongruity and silences of the identity of Doyle's fictional hero to direct the spotlight on other problematic issues relating to identity such as moral values and patriotism. The attention is solemnly on the issues of war in moral terms and there is no room for inquisitions on Holmes's excesses. Although his eccentricities and excesses are not central to Doyle's character, there are important elements of his personality which characterise him as 'other'. As Timothy John Binyon correctly points out, Holmes 'is another proud, alienated hero, superior to and isolated from the rest of humanity; a sufferer from spleen and ennui, who alleviates the deadly boredom of existence with injections of cocaine and morphine'.¹³⁹ In Salvadori's context, the human traits that define Holmes as 'other' are functional to his interest and sympathy towards the anarchist Giovanni Lupis.

¹³⁸ See Lussu. [1970] 1999. *Le inglesi in Italia*.

¹³⁹ Binyon. 1989. 'Murder Will Out': *The Detective in Fiction*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, p. 10.

In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Holmes describes his sexuality:

I would never assault and rape a woman because I am not interested at all in women from a sexual point of view. It is possible that I am a pederast, but I do not transform my tendencies into practical actions because it is too tiring and dangerous and, after all, depressing. I prefer sublimating them with a very intense activity of the brain and, at times, with an injection of morphine (SHAS: 51).¹⁴⁰

A confident Holmes admits his homosexuality and the use of morphine and suggests Freud's essays to study the subject better. In Kestner's words, Doyle's hero is an icon possessing all the qualities defined as masculine in Victorian society, such as 'observation, rationalism, factuality and logic, comradeship, daring and pluck',¹⁴¹ but in *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, the exceptionality of Holmes's deductive skills does not contrast with a sexuality that could define him as an outsider. The representative of Victorian masculinity is up against a female legend of the early twentieth century whose fame is based on her representation of otherness as a dancer, and her execution for passing information to a German naval attaché.

Mata Hari represents the myth of the female spy, the *femme fatale* who uses her sexuality as a weapon during war in the spy novels of the 1930s.¹⁴² In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, she appears on the Orient Express, as a mysterious woman who is not successful in attracting Holmes's attention. He provides a detailed description of her clothes and perfumes but he feels no sexual attraction. At night this 'angel-like vision gave a very shrill cry and became a furious wild cat' (SHAS: 47).¹⁴³ Mata Hari accuses Holmes of attacking her; he denies this by

¹⁴⁰ 'Non aggredirei mai una donna per usarle violenza perchè le donne, da un punto di vista sessuale, non mi interessano affatto. È probabile che io sia tendenzialmente un pederasta, ma non trasformo queste mie tendenze in azioni pratiche, perchè troppo faticoso, rischioso e alla fine deprimente. Preferisco sublimarle con un'attività cerebrale molto intensa, e qualche volta con un'inezione di morfina.'

¹⁴¹ Kestner. 1997. *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History*. p. 2.

¹⁴² Wheelwright. 1992. *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage*. London: Collins and Brown.

¹⁴³ 'l'angelica visione, lanciando un urlo acutissimo, si trasformò in un gatto selvatico inferocito'.

affirming his homosexuality. The police in Milan are supposed to solve the incident but Mata Hari disappears as soon as the British consul exposes her identity as ‘the famous exotic dancer’ (SHAS: 51),¹⁴⁴ whose beauty conquered the British king. While the fiction presents her as Margaretha Zelle MacLeod, a Dutch national who married an official of Scottish origins and became an exotic dancer in Java, Holmes has no doubts that she is a spy. In his opinion, Mata Hari is there to hinder his mission.

Salvadori’s Mata Hari speaks English, smokes, and most probably works as a spy for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Both British and French authorities suspected that she was a German spy. She was executed in France as a German spy and her legend has survived as a model for the representation of female agents in wartime, although, as Julie Wheelwright affirms, it ‘bear[s] little relation to reality’.¹⁴⁵ In giving his information to Sherlock Holmes, the British consul is interested in explaining the multicultural background of Mata Hari’s experiences. Wheelwright’s study of the myth of Mata Hari in espionage analyses how she signified ‘the complex struggles about gender, identity and race which were the undercurrents of the war’.¹⁴⁶ Mata Hari was a French resident who had an affair with a German attaché when she was arrested in 1917. She did not claim a single nationality and continued to travel throughout Europe during the First World War. She created difficulties for customs and police officials who perceived women ‘from neutral countries or with mixed ethnical parentage’ as spy-suspects.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ ‘*la famosa danzatrice esotica*’.

¹⁴⁵ Wheelwright. 1992. *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage*. p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

For example, German women who lived abroad were potential spies and American, English and French women married to Germans were suspected of passing information.

In this respect, the chapter set on the Orient Express is an excellent example of multilingualism. The detective fiction is written in Italian but uses words and expressions in other languages including English, German and French. In *Joyce L.: una vita contro* (Joyce L.: A Life in Opposition, 1996), Salvadori discusses her need for a form of writing that is visual, which she calls ‘some kind of cinematographic writing’,¹⁴⁸ and uses her detective story as an example. The opening scene in the restaurant carriage of the Orient Express shows passengers of many nationalities. These are not included in their descriptions but are suggested by cultural and social details, such as their clothes, accessories, taste in food, or accents. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, the readers have visual and resonant perceptions of characters. As the characters appear on the scene, their presence is described visually and as soon as they intervene in conversation their voice is marked out too. In the first scene, for example, Holmes has ‘a refined Cambridge pronunciation’ (SHAS: 5),¹⁴⁹ while Major MacAllister has ‘a Scottish accent (SHAS: 5).’¹⁵⁰ Mata Hari’s voice is ‘melodious, with a low and slightly muted tone’ (SHAS: 45).¹⁵¹ Holmes describes Tommaso Salvadori’s English as ‘excellent’ (SHAS: 56),¹⁵² which contrasts with Holmes’s ‘hesitant French’ (SHAS: 56),¹⁵³ which is ‘anything but excellent’ (SHAS: 50).¹⁵⁴

Holmes makes Tommaso Salvadori’s acquaintance on the fast train from Milan to Bari when he tries to communicate in French with the ticket inspector. Tommaso Salvadori is introduced as Holmes’s interpreter in the Marche, but his task is not limited to linguistic translations. He is a key interpreter in Holmes’s understanding of the regional political and social context and the anarchist and social

¹⁴⁸ Ballestra. 1996. *Joyce L.: una vita contro*, p. 119.

¹⁴⁹ ‘un raffinato accento di Cambridge.’

¹⁵⁰ ‘accento scozzese’.

¹⁵¹ ‘con voce melodiosa, dai toni bassi un pó velati’.

¹⁵² ‘ottimo inglese’.

¹⁵³ ‘nel suo francese incerto’.

¹⁵⁴ ‘tutt’altro che eccellente’.

movements. He welcomes Holmes to the Marche and introduces him to his friend Luigi Paolucci, a veterinary surgeon who is an amateur geologist; and to the socialist Nanni Felici, a tinsmith and a member of the trade union in Porto San Giorgio, who secretly hosts the anarchist Giovanni Lupis. Paolucci is Holmes's guide to Mount Conero in Ancona and Lupis is the person who solves the investigative case by destroying the secret Austro-Hungarian laboratory which is located in the 'Slaves' Cave', a natural cave hollowed by the sea in Mount Conero.

Tommaso Salvadori is chosen to represent Salvadori's paternal Anglo-Italian line. The British maternal line in the Anglo-Italian Salvadori family was a generation older and influenced its members differently. Salvadori refers to two members of this side of her family, her father's uncle, Tommaso Salvadori and her own father, Guglielmo Salvadori and defines them as outcasts. They created a 'scandal' in the family by becoming intellectuals instead of landowners. Tommaso Salvadori was a famous ornithologist, involved with the British Museum. Guglielmo Salvadori was a philosopher with interests in socialism and anti-colonialism. In the fictional context, Tommaso Salvadori is aware of the local anarchist, socialist and republican groups because Guglielmo participates in them. Through Tommaso Salvadori, the British detective discovers all the Anglo-Italian generations of the Salvadori family as Salvadori inserts the last link of the chain connecting Salvadori to the novelist Collier. Tommaso Salvadori explains that Collier's daughter married his nephew Guglielmo.

Salvadori's *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* deals directly with politics. Holmes and Tommaso Salvadori discuss the inevitable war that approaches, touching upon the internationalist perspective of socialist and anarchist political groups which refuse to enter into a conflict simply by supporting one nation's victory against the defeat of another. Holmes reflects upon his pacifist friends of the Bloomsbury

Group while Tommaso Salvadori talks about the Italian anarchist Enrico Malatesta (1853-1932). The anarchist Lupis is the character who argues against war most strongly. He is an old man who feels he must condemn, even sacrifice his life to avoid it. An engineer, he represents the ethical concerns and the consequences of the use of scientific progress for military purposes. His project has become a military weapon and he now wants to stop its development because he fears many people will die because of his invention.

Fiction and history intermingle again in the creation of the character Lupis. Historically, Captain Giovanni Luppis (1813-1875) collaborated with the British engineer Robert Whitehead (1823-1905) in the creation of the first torpedo at the Stabilimento Tecnico Fiumano, a company in Fiume, Rijeka, which today is in Croatia.¹⁵⁵ In the nineteenth and twentieth century this city was fought over by the Austrian, Hungarian, Croatian and Italian governments. Luppis served in the Austrian navy but had Italian origins. Fiume was then an Austrian-Hungarian city with a large Italian ethnic minority. The Whitehead-Luppis torpedo was developed from Luppis's invention, 'salvacoste' (coast saviour). It changed the military employment of submarines which 'without the modern automobile torpedo [...] becomes valueless as an instrument of warfare'.¹⁵⁶ In Salvadori's detective story, the engineer who invented a prototype of a military weapon, becomes an anarchist who regrets his invention because he foresees its future use as an instrument of death:

I hate war, sir, this terrible devastation which takes us back in history and causes unspeakable suffering. But the war will occur and I will not be able to be an impassive and impartial witness (SHAS: 36).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ See Hoar. 1916. *The Submarine Torpedo Boat: Its Characteristics and Modern Development*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁷ 'Io odio la guerra, signore, questo immane sconvolgimento che ci riporta sempre indietro nella storia e causa sofferenze inenarrabili. Ma la guerra ci sarà, e non potrò assistervi impassibile al di sopra delle parti.'

An old and sick Lupis expresses his opinion on war and political activism to the British consul in Ancona, after having clarified the difference between his Italian origins and his citizenship in his passport. Although he has ‘Italian language and nationality’ (SHAS: 30),¹⁵⁸ he is an Austrian citizen. He solves the case by sacrificing his life in order to destroy the secret laboratory. In the second edition of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Holmes compares Lupis to Saint George highlighting their similar ‘fight against imaginary and real monsters’.¹⁵⁹ He knows the creation of his imagination has been transformed into a deadly weapon and decides to fight against this destructive use of knowledge.

The traditional Sherlockian plot is modified as the famous detective does not reach the solution alone. In Ancona, Holmes shares his investigation with the British consul Edward Kane, Giovanni Lupis and a young orphan called Domenico. Thirteen-year old Domenico accompanies Holmes and Luigi Paolucci to Mount Conero. He is eager to learn and travel. Although they are not related, Lupis and Domenico represent an intergenerational relationship. Young Domenico helps Lupis in finding the location of the laboratory. When they meet on the top of Mount Conero, Domenico and Giovanni Lupis share their stories. Domenico calls the old engineer ‘grandfather’ (SHAS: 113),¹⁶⁰ and narrates his adventurous story. An orphan, Domenico is the responsibility of society and Lupis teaches him a new understanding of citizenship. Holmes and Kane are on Mount Conero too and listen to the dialogue between an old man who is close to death and a young boy who has just discovered the thrill of adventure. Lupis is a disillusioned engineer who is ready to die in order to destroy the laboratory but he lets Domenico tell his exciting story

¹⁵⁸ ‘di lingua e nazionalità italiana’.

¹⁵⁹ ‘i mostri fantastici e reali’. Lussu. [1986] 1987. *Storie*, p. 182.

¹⁶⁰ ‘nonno’.

with secret passages, risks and fantastic fish. His young mind interprets the submarines as ‘very beautiful silver fish which are tapered and as big as whales with a little house on their backs which reminded me of the ones carried by elephants’ (SHAS: 108).¹⁶¹ The torpedoes are not weapons but smaller fish of a similar shape and ‘sparkling’ (SHAS: 108-109).¹⁶² Domenico understands they are not real fish but metal objects but in his memory their images gain fantastic qualities. He does not know what a laboratory is but he compares it to the shipyards in Ancona. With the old man’s help, Domenico tries to interpret the reasons of his instinctive fear and compares the men he saw to soldiers, who look alike and move mechanically.

Domenico does not know the nature of war, but has an instinctive fear of it.

In this intergenerational conversation, the description of war is Lupis’s duty:

[W]ar is the most horrific thing humankind invented. My son, I wish you would never experience war. Look always for people who hate war and love peace, and stay close to them, work with them (SHAS: 112).¹⁶³

As an engineer who is conscious of his role in creating military weapons, Lupis suggests future generations to activists for the cause of peace. He believes in the importance of being involved in political activities and suggests Domenico to be a pacifist, a person who would care about the welfare of people inside and outside national borders. Lupis is concerned with the concept of honesty and civilisation as ‘inalienable ideals’ (SHAS: 111).¹⁶⁴ He affirms they are represented by an individual’s love for ‘soldiers, the country, or the king’ (SHAS: 111).¹⁶⁵ In the anarchist’s words, a nationalist understanding of citizenship is deconstructed to

¹⁶¹ *‘bellissimi pesci d’argento tutti affusolati, grandi come balene, con sulla schiena una specie di casetta che mi fece pensare a quelle che portano gli elefanti’.*

¹⁶² *‘luccicanti’.*

¹⁶³ *‘la guerra è la cosa più orrenda che l’uomo abbia inventato. Ti auguro di non conoscere mai una guerra, figlio mio. Cerca sempre le persone che odiano la guerra e amino la pace, e sta vicino a loro, lavora con loro.’*

¹⁶⁴ *‘ideali irrinunciabili’.*

¹⁶⁵ *‘i soldati, la patria e il re’.*

represent a wider understanding of the individual in relation to local, national, and international. Lupis transmits a message of peace to thirteen-year old Domenico and leaves him with a legacy while he proceeds in destroying the laboratory. He invites Domenico to tell his story. The older generation's sacrifice represents a means of liberation for future ones. Transmission happens between a symbolic grandfather and his grandchild but war seems to act cruelly towards both of them.

This detective fiction does not have a positive ending. The traditional plot is complicated by the death of both Domenico and Lupis. They are both silenced while Holmes is traumatised. The case is solved but it is no longer the main subject. The intergenerational transmission is the final issue as Domenico is killed by a stray bullet. The British consul and the Austrian spy challenge each other to a duel. They intentionally miss the target but they cannot avoid the utterly accidental involvement of an innocent. Lupis sacrifices his life and, in Holmes's words, Domenico represents 'the first victim of the great world war. Don't you know that you win a war by killing old anarchists and young thirteen-year old boys?' (SHAS: 119).¹⁶⁶ Domenico's story signifies the death of many unknown, unaware, citizens who happen to be involved in a war inadvertently. The loss of soldiers' lives symbolised by monuments dedicated to the 'Unknown Warrior' is here replaced by the image of Domenico's dead body held in Holmes's arms. Domenico's story is a testimony to an unofficial history of citizens' stories which remain untold and unrecognised, especially of the old and the children who die as victims of a minority's decision.

The first edition of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* ends with the image of Holmes carrying Domenico's body and the crying, 'Go to hell' (SHAS: 119), against Kane's interpretation of the mission as successful. However, as the speaking voice of Salvadori's poem, '*Un giornalista mi ha chiesto*', quoted at the beginning of

¹⁶⁶ '*primo caduto della grande guerra mondiale. Non lo sa che le guerre si vincono ammazzando i vecchi anarchici e i ragazzi tredicenni?*'

this chapter, Holmes cannot celebrate the completion of his mission. He grieves for a future without legacy or prospects. The second edition has a new final chapter. The narrator expands on the psychological effects of the traumatic deaths of Giovanni Lupis and Domenico on the British detective. In an adjunctive chapter, Leonard Huxley, John Collier, Virginia and Vanessa Stephen, and Leonard Woolf visit Sherlock Holmes's flat and discover his drawings of an old man and a young boy in conversation. Holmes's traumatic memories create symbolic images of dialogue but also explosion and blood in which a black tie symbolises Lupis's anarchism and scary silver fish describe Domenico's adventure.

The narrator points out an old man's face which at times expresses happiness and at times pain; especially his mouth is at times 'half open as if he spoke, at times torn by red strokes of blood'.¹⁶⁷ Lupis passed down his pacifist values to a young boy who died but Holmes listened to the intergenerational exchange and would now be able to pass it down himself. The dialogue between Domenico and Lupis and their sacrifice could be forgotten and disappear among other memories. However, the story ends without response. Holmes's location and activities are left unknown. The open ending creates suspense in relation to the spying activities between the British and the Austro-Hungarian Empires as the narrator describes a conversation between the British First Lord of the Admiralty, Richard Haldane, and the arrival of a waiter with 'black tea',¹⁶⁸ who looks exactly like Baron von Windischgratz. *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* leaves a final visual input determined by black tea poured in cups, which are specifically identified as a product of the East Indian Company. In the final scene, the terrible consequences of international politics' response to national movements are represented in the simplicity of a normal daily

¹⁶⁷ 'bocca dischiusa come se parlasse, ora lacerata da rossi tratti di sangue.' Lussu. [1986] 1987. *Storie*, p. 205.

¹⁶⁸ 'tè nero'. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

routine in British culture: a cup of black tea. The relation between a political minority and the majority of the population is perceived in the domesticity of a cup of tea while the specification of the tea's colour announces the arrival of war.

In this second edition, there is still uncertainty about Holmes's final role in relation to the story he participated in and his future as a storyteller. However, *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* does not end with the detective fiction. After an appendix which lists the First World War data related to the use of submarines and torpedoes, and Mount Conero's cave, known as *grotta degli schiavi*, Salvadori establishes a direct dialogue with the reader as the author of the detective story. In a postscript she gives her own account of Holmes's story by alluding to a letter of her grandmother she transcribes 'word for word' (SHAS:122).¹⁶⁹ On 11 March 1920, Watson visited Collier and left Holmes's journal with her. Collier has kept Holmes's account which is:

[A]musing but also moving and interesting, because it is set in both my countries: England and the Marche. At my old age, I did not feel I could accept the challenge of a new literary genre and write a detective story. Those of my descendants who find this document will do as they want with it' (SHAS: 124).¹⁷⁰

Collier's emotional attachment to Holmes's story is due to its Anglo-Italian setting. Watson does not approve of Holmes's interest in anarchism. Collier is moved by the originality of its setting. Salvadori combines her interest in her family's Anglo-Italian legacy with her political values and acknowledges the importance of a story's survival.

¹⁶⁹ 'testualmente.'

¹⁷⁰ 'divertenti e anche commoventi e interessanti; tanto più che gli avvenimenti si svolgono nelle mie due patrie, l'Inghilterra e le Marche. Ma non me la sono sentita, alla mia età, di cambiare genere letterario e di mettermi a scrivere una detective story. I miei discendenti che troveranno questo documento, potranno farne quello che vogliono'.

The authorship of *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is complicated by the generational handing over. Holmes narrated his mission in Italy in writing but his biographer, Dr Watson, leaves it with Collier who transforms it into a literary legacy for her descendants. She keeps the document and leaves them free to interpret it and tell its story. The issue of authorship loses relevance as Holmes's journal passes from hand to hand; it is its survival that matters. In the written form, Holmes' testimony of Lupis and Domenico's story survives and can be reproduced for the readership. It is translated, interpreted, and manipulated, but it is not forgotten. In Brian McHale's words, a detective story is 'the epistemological genre *par excellence*',¹⁷¹ and Salvadori extends its epistemological themes to include an investigative research in her family's maternal literary tradition as well as reinterpreting the local past in connection to the international politics of the beginning of the twentieth century. Salvadori ends the postscript, affirming:

I took the documents, read them, and decided to do what [my grandmother] had not done. I changed literary genre and wrote a detective story (SHAS: 124).¹⁷²

The Italian text ends with the English word, 'detective story', and with a signature, which identifies the link between the narrating voice and the author but Salvadori does not designate her 'responsibility for producing the whole text'.¹⁷³ She interprets the historical events from a different perspective, that of an unacknowledged majority of common citizens. Among them she selects those who understand their identity as multiple, different and other.

¹⁷¹ McHale. 1987. *Postmodernist Fiction*, New York and London: Methuen, p. 9.

¹⁷² 'Presi gli appunti, li lesi, e decisi di fare quello che lei non aveva fatto: cambiare genere letterario e scrivere una detective-story [sic].'

¹⁷³ See Lejeune. 1982. 'The Autobiographical Contract' in Todorov, (ed.) *French Literary Theory Today: A Reader*.

In the detective story, family history and fiction are interwoven and create a space in which the intertextual collaboration between a granddaughter and a grandmother is possible. In accepting her legacy, Salvadori passes down a story Collier could not write. *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* shows Joyce Salvadori's dialogic engagement with the dual historical and cultural background of her Anglo-Italian family as an example of 'political intertextuality'. The intertextual dialogism uncovers the search for an explicit literary precursor who is a family ancestor. It crosses the ontological boundaries between historical and fictional contexts to construct the literary encounter of two generations of women writers. Salvadori is the reader of her grandmother's works but also her rewriter, translator and fictional transcribe who represents her grandmother as a female writer and a literary ancestor who foresees the future generations' literary talent. By transcribing a hypothetical letter written by Collier, Salvadori articulates the Anglo-Italian legacy transmitted and developed into writing by the female members of the Salvadori family.

Conclusion

Joyce Salvadori's Legacy

In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, family history and fiction are interwoven and create a textual space in which the intertextual collaboration between Salvadori, a twentieth-century writer, and her grandmother, Collier, a nineteenth-century writer, is possible. This detective story shows that Salvadori's dialogic engagement with the dual historical and cultural background of her Anglo-Italian family background is an example of 'political intertextuality'.¹ The intertextual dialogism uncovers the search for an explicit literary precursor who is a family ancestor. It crosses the ontological boundaries between historical and fictional contexts to construct the literary encounter of two generations of female writers. Salvadori is not only the reader of her grandmother's works but also her re-writer, translator and fictional narrator who represents her grandmother as a female writer and a literary ancestor who foresees the future generations' literary talent.

By transcribing a hypothetical letter written by Collier, Salvadori articulates the Anglo-Italian legacy transmitted and developed into writing by the female members of the Galletti-Salvadori family. She accepts her literary legacy by narrating a story Collier could not write. She does not write a new story but narrates the story of her British and Anglo-Italian female ancestors. It is not the originality or the authenticity of her story that matters but the narrative process. She subverts detective fiction and transforms it into a medium of intergenerational transmission. Family stories kept in a mother's memories and in the folders of an archive are integrated in the literary genre to become alive through narration. After a generational gap, Galletti's auto/biographical direct challenge to Collier's writing

¹ See Miller. 1988. *Subject to Change*.

and her correspondence are successful links in passing down an Anglo-Italian difference with a literary status.

In the literary context of Italian women writers, the twentieth century presents a tradition of autobiographical writing in which recognised female writers, such as Ada Negri, Grazia Deledda and Sibilla Aleramo, found the freedom to narrate their development as writers and their achievement of a literary career by developing a literary matrilineal genealogy. For example, in *Stella mattutina*, Negri writes about her grandmother, mother, herself, and dedicates the book to her daughter.² Salvadori does not find autobiography an appropriate form for historical and anthropological research. Hence, she does not write her grandmother's biography. She does not give an autobiographical account of how she became a writer, but instead prefers a literary genre developed in the Anglophone literary world. Specifically, she creates a parody based on the famous British fictional detective, Sherlock Holmes, to cast those ancestors who represented the rebel side of her two families; to acknowledge publicly the two sides of her family descended from British mothers who confidently passed down an Anglo-Italian identity fed by values of intellectual openness, knowledge of foreign languages and liberalism, humanism and progress.

Salvadori casts her grandmother as the author of *Our Home by the Adriatic*. In her literary investigation, she has appropriated this text through translation, citation, and intertextuality. In translation, Collier's writing becomes part of Salvadori's historical and cultural regional studies. In Salvadori's postmodernist detective fiction, *Our Home by the Adriatic* is identified as her grandmother's literary achievement. It is an example of 'intergenerational intertextuality.'³ *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is Salvadori's contribution to the Galletti-Salvadori's literary legacy. She affirms the importance of rewriting, reinterpreting and sharing

² See Pickering-Iazzi. 1997. *Politics of the Visible: Writing Women*.

³ Miller. in Giorgio and Waters, (eds). *New Women's Writing in Western Europe*. forthcoming 2007.

the past in writing, firmly locating herself in an Anglo-Italian identity through her family's British maternal line.

Salvadori's quest for a female ancestor has echoes of recent philosophical discussions developed from what has been defined as the Symbolic Order of the Mother in Italian Feminism as it recalls, Luisa Muraro's work entitled, *L'ordine simbolico della madre* (The Symbolic Order of the Mother, 1991).⁴ Luisa Muraro and Adriana Cavarero have inspired a quest for the female genealogy. Salvadori's study of her Anglo-Italian female genealogy is not satisfied by an historical and biographical perspective but is influenced by literature. She does not tell her ancestor's life but narrates her stories by reading, adapting and quoting a dialogic interaction of published and unpublished works as a productive subject. In the intergenerational literary interaction, Salvadori locates and identifies her role as a narrator, a storyteller rather than an author. She transmits the stories by reproducing the stories rather than inventing them. Cavarero identifies 'the womanly art of narration' and exemplifies it with the figure of Scheherazade who tells a story to keep herself alive:

At the center of the ancient art of telling stories lies the figure of the narrator, not that of the author. Scheherazade read a lot and knew how to tell stories.⁵

Salvadori responds to her Anglo-Italian identity by constructing a literary role as an Anglo-Italian narrator who travels across London and the Marche, the English and the Italian language, and British and Italian literary traditions by means of intertextuality. As the intergenerational narrator, she subverts the literary canons to locate a new Anglo-Italian female literary heritage and unfold the stories of two unconventional but remarkable female writers, Collier and Galletti.

⁴ See Rasy. [1984] 2000. *Le donne e la letteratura*.

⁵ Kottman, (trans.) [1997] 2000. *Adriana Cavarero. Relating Narrative: Storytelling and Selfhood*. London: Routledge, p. 141.

In chapter four, the intertextual literary analysis demonstrates that, published as *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*, *Our Home by the Adriatic* has a new life in the Italian literary context. This is Salvadori's contribution to the transmission of her grandmother's works. This Italian translation is at present the only existing version of Collier's travel book in publication. Transported into Italian, *Our Home by the Adriatic* has been indigenised in the regional literary context of the Marche. It has a new status as a travel book that introduces the Italian contemporary traveller to the Marche, to the history and customs of this region. The curious and detailed observation of rural life in the Marche of an aristocratic Victorian female writer is the written testimony to oral traditions that have been disappearing. Today the book causes interesting scenes in the regional airport in Ancona. While the local residents perceive the historical interest in *La nostra casa sull'Adriatico*, the English-speaking tourists, who arrive from London, can find it in the bookshop at the airport. Although they notice the name of Collier on the cover, they cannot discover her life in the region in 1880s unless they read Italian. The Tourism Department of the Marche region has demonstrated some interest in promoting the Marche in English by means of Collier's travel book by sponsoring an editorial project in English entitled *The English in the Marche* (2005) which includes two chapters from *Our Home by the Adriatic*.

When Salvadori positions herself as her grandmother's copyist by transcribing a letter of Collier which rises to the status of a literary testament for future generations, she suggests writing is her Anglo-Italian family's legacy as well as her means of passing on a multicultural and multilingual inheritance from one generation to another. The detective story *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri* is a granddaughter's tribute to her grandmother as a literary figure discovered and appreciated by the most famous of the Victorian fictional detectives, and the most

Collier, Galletti and Salvadori are successful women because they succeed in passing down a female Anglo-Italian literary legacy. They narrate their ancestors' stories to succeed in creating bridges which connect the older generation with future ones. In the Galletti-Salvadori family, three generations of female writers find their means of passing on their understanding of Anglo-Italian identity in the hybrid genres of travel and auto/biographical writing; genres in which the individual's changes and progress are described in relation with 'the other'. They affirm the validity of travel and autobiographical writing as a means of transmitting an individual, different cultural and political identity. By acknowledging the past, Galletti and Salvadori find the confidence in responding positively to an Anglo-Italian identity that defines them at odds with a Fascist interpretation of nationalism. In their Anglo-Italian heritage, they perceive the multiplicity of choice as well as the origin of a distinctive, subversive, political and literary voice. Due to her historical circumstances, Galletti accepted her link in the generational succession by circumscribing her storytelling to her private correspondence. In *Sherlock Holmes: anarchici e siluri*, Salvadori recognises her role in the Galletti-Salvadori's legacy by passing it on in literature. She includes an Italian audience and, in particular, the local young community of female writers in the family context.

In Salvadori's historical fictional representation, the garden of San Tommaso is the place of a legend:

In the garden of San Tommaso, young Margaret and Adlard Welby's daughters looked fragile with white hair and white dresses. They sat around the pewter teapot among the laurel hedges and talked about a fantasised England and a love they had tried to create for their new country.⁶

⁶ 'Sedute attorno alla teiera di peltro tra le siepi di alloro del giardino di San Tommaso, la giovane Margaret e le figlie di Adlard Welby, fragili e bianche negli abiti e nei capelli, parlavano di una favoleggiata Inghilterra ma anche dell' amore che avevano cercato di costruire per la nuova patria.' Lussu. [1970] 1999. *Le inglesi in Italia*, pp. 148-149.

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She pictures her British great-grandmothers, Casson and Ethelyn Welby, and her grandmother Collier discussing their two countries at San Tommaso, the house she inherited and moved to in the 1970s. Salvadori transformed San Tommaso into a place of literary encounters between older generations and younger generations of writers, especially local ones. The place which had signified her Anglo-Italian maternal identity was open to generations of women united by their friendship with Salvadori and their interest in writing. The contemporary Italian novelist Silvia Ballestra was one of them. In the introduction to *Joyce L.: una vita contro*, Ballestra ironically describes the group of women and a few men who regularly came together at Lussu's house by saying:

We were a group of "witches" gathered at her house, each of us with some of our original pages to let them be examined by the others; in particular by Joyce.⁷

Young writers, historians and teachers were members of this group. Most of these women are today the founder members of the 'Centro Studi Joyce Lussu' (Joyce Lussu Centre for Studies), in Porto San Giorgio, Italy. Under the present leadership of Grazia Vergari Picciotti, the centre participates in projects which are directly linked to Salvadori and the dissemination of her work or to the intellectual and social interests they shared with her. They are invaluable supporters in consulting out-of-print material and discover private anecdotes on Salvadori.

⁶ 'Sedute attorno alla teiera di peltro tra le siepi di alloro del giardino di San Tommaso, la giovane Margaret e le figlie di Adlard Welby, fragili e bianche negli abiti e nei capelli, parlavano di una favoleggiata Inghilterra ma anche dell' amore che avevano cercato di costruire per la nuova patria.' Lussu. [1970] 1999. *Le inglesi in Italia*, pp. 148-149.

⁷ 'Eravamo una schiera di "streghe" riunite a casa sua, con, ciascuna, alcune pagine nostre da sottoporre all'esame delle altre. All'esame di Joyce, in particolare.' Ballestra. 1996. *Joyce L.: una vita contro*, p. 9.

While the members of the 'Centro Studi Joyce Lussu' focus their energy on keeping alive the works and memories of the writer Salvadori, Ballestra responded to the legacy transmitted by Salvadori in writing. She has a special personal relationship with Salvadori as their families were related. Ballestra summarises:

Joyce's family and [hers], bound by distant family ties, both descended from those two strange Anglo-Italian clans – English women who turned up in the Marche at the beginning of the nineteenth century and, then married local men who were more or less bold - whom Joyce herself refers to in some parts of this volume and wrote about in various previous occasions.⁸

Nonetheless, they met by reading each other's works first. Ballestra admired Salvadori's poetry because it is 'understood by everybody including the illiterate and younger children',⁹ but it was Salvadori who asked to meet her. In her eighties, Salvadori wanted to meet the young writer from the Marche who had just published her first novel.¹⁰ As a literary mother, she supported Ballestra's studies and her writing career.

Joyce L.: una vita contro is a record of the meetings between the two generations of female writers, a testimony of a woman's experience and how it develops in the future generations. In 2005, Ballestra developed Salvadori's literary legacy by publishing, *Tutto su mia nonna* (All About My Grandmother),¹¹ an auto/biographical memory of her own grandmother. In Ballestra's work, the specificity of the local female testimony takes the place of the Anglo-Italian identity which influenced the female writers in Salvadori's family. In the Marche, the legacy

⁸ 'La famiglia di Joyce e la mia, legate da remoti vincoli di parentela, discendono entrambe da quelle due strane tribù di anglo-marchigiani – donne inglesi piovute nelle Marche ai primi dell'Ottocento e poi maritatesi con dei più o meno fieri uomini del posto – di cui la stessa Joyce riferisce in alcune parti del presente volume e attorno alle quali ha scritto, anni or sono in diverse occasioni'. Ballestra. 1996. *Joyce L.: una vita contro*, p. 9.

⁹ 'comprensibile a tutti, anche gli analfabeti e ai più piccoli.' Ballestra. 2004. 'Gli occhi di Joyce Lussu', in *Unità*, 27 August. Available: <http://www.ilportoritrovato.net/html/bilbiojoycelussu.html> [Accessed 28 August 2005].

¹⁰ Silvia Ballestra published her first novel, entitled *Il compleanno dell'iguana* [Iguana's Birthday], in 1991 with the same publishing house Joyce Salvadori worked with at the time, Transeuropa. See Panizza and Wood, (eds). 2000. *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

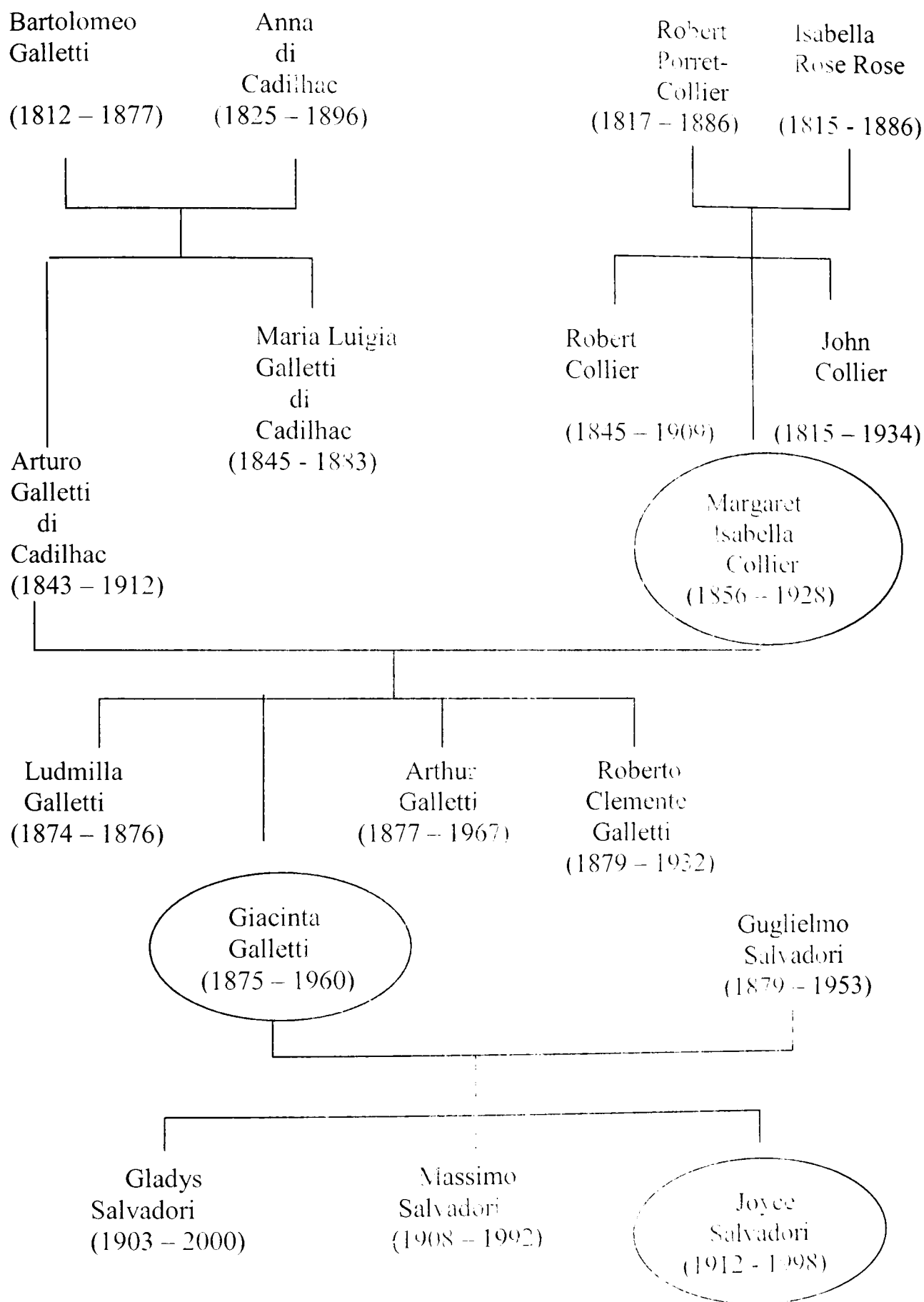
¹¹ Ballestra. 2005. *Tutto su mia nonna*, Turin: Einaudi Editore.

of Salvadori's quest for the female literary ancestor has developed into auto/biographical attempts by other women to unfold the stories of other local grandmothers who could not write the story of their own life.

By studying an Anglo-Italian literary legacy which began with the nineteenth-century British novelist, Margaret Collier, continued with the Anglo-Italian anti-fascist activist, Giacinta Galletti, and ended with the Italian poet, anti-fascist heroine and novelist, Joyce Salvadori, the thesis uncovers the stories of three generations of female writers and explores their distinctive responses to Anglo-Italian identity in writing. Their writings are testimonies to the historical, intellectual and literary changes in Europe from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. These three generations of female writers contribute to the understanding of the representation of an intellectual and social awareness of Anglo-Italian identity in the European context.

Appendix 1

The Galletti-Salvadori Family Tree



Appendix 2

Margaret Isabella Galletti di Cadilhac, née Collier, (1846–1928), a novelist and short story writer. The daughter of the first Baron Monkswell, she was born in London and brought up in a cultivated intellectual, liberal, and progressive environment. She married an Italian Lieutenant Colonel, and former Garibaldian officer, the Count Arturo Galletti di Cadilhac (1843–1912) in 1873. They had a daughter and two sons: Giacinta (1875–1960), Arthur (1877–1967), and Roberto Clemente (1879–1932). After her husband's death she came back to England and lived for the rest of her life in Plymouth. Her novels and short stories reflect her experiences in Italy.

Giacinta Salvadori, née Galletti di Cadilhac, (1875–1960), a short story and travel writer. She was born in Torre San Patrizio, a small village in the Marche, Italy. The daughter of Anglo-Italian parents, she grew up in a multicultural and multilingual environment. She studied painting under the painter Gioia, in Rome. In 1900 she travelled in India with her brother Arthur. She married Guglielmo Salvadori (1879–1953), a Professor of Philosophy, in 1903. They had two daughters and a son: Gladys (1906–2000), Max (1908–1992), and Joyce (1912–1998). Together with her husband she fought Fascism.

Joyce Lussu, née Gioconda Salvadori (1912–1998), a prolific author and non-conformist translator. Born in Florence, she grew up in the multicultural and multilingual environment of the Fellowship School in Switzerland during her family's exile. Like her father, she studied philosophy at the German University of Heidelberg. An active member of the Italian Resistance, she became a historical figure crossing the border to inform the Allied forces about the locations of the German troops in Italy during the Second World War. In 1941 she married Emilio Lussu (1890–1975), an active politician and partisan who became an MP and minister after the war. They had one son, Giovanni (b.1941).

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