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Bachelor's Essay

A New Era of Tourist Performance:

D.H. Lawrence and Travel Writing About Italy in the Early Twentieth Century

I: Introduction

The Anglo-American world has long been fascinated by Italy, which is reflected in the venerable tradition of travel to the Italian peninsula. Since 1600 an increasing flow of English travelers journeyed to Italy to gaze upon Rome, the seat of Western Civilization, marvel at Florence, a city of Renaissance art, and experience Venice, a republic with a mixed constitution and formerly a great maritime power, which England was becoming. In the eighteenth century, travel to Italy was a key part of the Grand Tour and regarded as an essential rite of passage for a young English aristocrat wishing to become a member of the nation's governing elite. In the nineteenth century, with improvements in transportation, middle class tourists flocked to Italy to show that they were worthy of being part of the genteel classes like their aristocratic betters. But in the twentieth century, travel to Italy and writing about travel to Italy came to signify something profoundly different. This study explores what changed and why and argues that whereas in prior periods travel to Italy functioned as a means of establishing the traveler as a member of the elite class and reinforced England's existing class structure, in the twentieth century travel to Italy came to signify the opposite and functioned as a protest against that structure. Even more deeply, it expressed an intense discontent with the overall development of modernity.

To understand the cultural and social function of travel, we must first analyze the ways in which travel conveys meaning. For this, I will adopt sociologist Judith Adler's view of travel as a "performed art." She explains that "travel becomes art when it is undertaken and executed with a primary concern for the meanings discovered, created, and communicated as persons move through geographical space in stylistically specified ways," and it is "distinguished from travel in which geographical movement is merely incidental to the accomplishment of other goals" (1368). She also notes that "the traveler whose activity lends itself to conceptual treatment as art is one whose movement serves as a medium for bestowing meaning on the self and the social, natural, or metaphysical realities through which it moves" (1368). One can thus think of travel as a performance in which travelers, in order to give meaning to their journeys, consciously follow a prescribed "code of performance" or deviate from that code and challenge the established conventions and norms associated with certain styles of travel (1371). An important factor of these performances is that the meanings individuals convey through their travels are not "independent of . . . [their] audiences and contexts of reception nor necessarily stable" (Adler 1369). Each travel performance and its meanings must therefore be studied in conjunction with the ways in which that performance was displayed, distributed, and received. Adler points out that travelers have left graffiti to mark their passage and others have constructed albums, written journals, collected curios, and bought gifts to "testify in the home world to" their experiences (1370). Travelers have also circulated letters among friends and family, published narratives of their experiences, and brought back artifacts for display, particularly portraits of themselves among the sites of history (Steward 54). Through these practices, they have communicated the meaning of their journey to specific audiences.

Another crucial element in how individuals endow their travels with meaning is through the evocation of powerful storylines associated with a particular place. For example, travel to Rome in the Middle Ages inevitably suggested the idea of a sacred journey to the center of Christendom (Mead 1). After the Middle Ages, it more typically evoked for the English a journey through time to the origins of Western civilization. For an eighteenth-century Englishman, travel to Venice could evoke the story of the rise and fall of a once grand maritime power. In the twentieth century, Italy became a destination that signified sun and pleasure and could evoke the storyline of a sensual and sexual adventure, as seen in the plots of many films about Americans traveling there.

In the eighteenth century, the travel performances of the English gentry going to the Continent had a crucial social function: it allowed them to become bonafide members of the patrician class in England. As William Mead explains in his history of the Grand Tour, a “man...who had not seen Paris...Venice and Florence and Rome, could not aspire to be a leader of fashionable society. Something provincial, some lack of *savoir-faire*, would inevitably betray him” (10). As Mead’s list of Italian cities suggest, travel to Italy was an essential destination in this process of status formation. Due to the density of cultural artifacts and historical sites found in Italy, which holds “more than 50% of the global cultural and historical heritage” (Borg and Costa 215), travel to the Italian peninsula allowed the traveler to acquire, display, and demonstrate the cultural authority requisite for membership in the nation’s governing class. Much of this culture and history centers around the areas one would expect: Florence, Rome, and Venice and Naples (Borg and Costa 218-219). Thus, it is not surprising that these locations constitute some of the most highly trafficked destinations for those wishing to solidify their positions within the elite class. John Wilton-Ely, in “‘Classic ground’: Britain, Italy, and the

Grand Tour,” claims that though primarily concerned with education, the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century “was often motivated by the desire to possess and display antiquities . . . and to live amongst antiquities that reflected one’s political and cultural allegiance to Roman republican values, particularly in Whig circles” (152). He also explains that various English clubs to which many of the elite men belonged, most prominently the Society of Dilettanti, became important players in the collecting of antiquities during the age of the Grand Tour (152). It is through such practices of collecting and display that Grand Tourists were able to enhance their intellectual and cultural authority, which in turn enabled them upon their reintegration into English society to move “from one place in the social hierarchy to another—from members of a provincial elite with local attachments to members of a national and transnational ruling class with a wider set of allegiances and commitments” (Bowers 6).

By the twentieth century, the meaning of Italy began to change, and this is seen in the writings of D.H. Lawrence and others. Travel there took on a much different meaning and function. No longer did it exclusively signify a journey to the grand sites of history and to the centers of classical and Renaissance art; and no longer did it solely serve as a means of enhancing one’s social status. Rather, it became a place to register one’s discontent with the social structure itself and with the socio-cultural norms of England. For Lawrence, this meant a rejection of those norms and the active effort to discover and live according to a radically different set of values. It also became a way to protest the socio-political structure in England and to explore alternate modes of living that were connected to the vital sources of nature, and that gave full expression to the needs of the mind and body.

II: The Traditions of Travel to Italy

As noted, travel to Italy has profoundly influenced English culture and society over the centuries. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Rome, the center of Christendom, was a richly meaningful destination for English pilgrims. Starting in the sixteenth century, travel to Italy was seen as necessary for the proper training of diplomats, especially at a time when “England was becoming a more significant participant in European affairs and needed civil servants who knew the languages, affairs, forms of government, and ways of life of foreign courts and cities” (Bowers 4). By the eighteenth century, travel to the Continent and especially to Italy was no longer just for those expecting to be diplomats; it grew into an established program of education for young men of the nobility and became “a dominant institution of aristocratic culture and a virtual requirement for all ambitious patricians” (Bowers 4). Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, there ensued a flood of English travelers to Italy, as anyone seeking the status of a “complete gentleman” and wishing to move in the upper echelons of English society had to go on the Grand Tour (Mead 4).

While travel to Italy in the form of the Grand Tour was touted as a necessary educational experience, in which a young Englishman would see the sites of history, learn foreign languages, converse with the learned men of Europe, it should more properly be seen as a rite of passage, in which the participant is *transformed*, changing him from boy to man and from one status in the social order to a higher one. As Bruce Redford states in *Venice and the Grand Tour*, “when the traveler leaves Great Britain, he is considered a boy; immediately upon return he is expected to fill the offices and perform the duties of an adult” (15). The traveler would leave his homeland as a gawky, provincial adolescent with a narrow perspective of the world and return as a refined, cosmopolitan gentleman with an enlarged view of human affairs ready to assume his place as a member of the governing class. As further visible proof of this transformation, young aristocrats



Portrait of Sir Gregory Page-Turner
by Pompeo Batoni (1768)
via Web Gallery of Art

would return to England dressed in the latest Continental fashions, coiffed in the latest hairstyles, and endowed with the graceful bearing of a dancing master and elegant manners, what the earl of Chesterfield referred to as “*the Graces*” (qtd. in Bowers 7). In addition to looking different from what they had been, the returning Grand Tourists would bring other signs of their new status in the world: as their audiences at home expected, they would return with artworks and antiquities that testified to their knowledge of aesthetics and history and their cosmopolitan worldliness (Redford 16, 96). To showcase such qualities, many tourists had their portraits painted with famous landscapes or classical antiquities forming the backdrop (Redford 90-96). For example, in Sir Gregory Page-Turner’s portrait, one can see Roman ruins behind him in the distance. These images served as a symbolic nod to the foundations of the Western World and associated him with those foundations.

By the nineteenth century, new technologies had arisen that made transportation easier and more affordable. Steamboats and trains made getting to the Continent safer and cost effective, thus allowing for more than just aristocrats to go abroad. As a result, the Grand Tour phased out in the 1830s (Steward 54). This was not an abrupt change by any means, but a gradual one brought about by the flow of middle-class tourists going to the Continent. Included in this increasingly large group of middle-class tourists were women. So great were the numbers of these middle-class travelers that they earned the name “Mass Tourists.”

Yet, as the Grand Tour died out, the performances, the overall meaning, and the function of travel to Italy stayed the same. Like their aristocratic predecessors, the Mass Tourists sought

to enhance their social status. In many respects, they reproduced a version of the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century but on a lesser scale. Jill Steward's "Performing Abroad" notes that "In the 1840s the average tour to Italy lasted for four to six months instead of the former two years or more" (54). She also explains that "the great bulk of British tourists continued to follow the same spatial patterns as the aristocratic Grand Tourists of the past, modified to accommodate the modern taste for sublime and romantic scenery of the kind particularly associated with the Rhine valley and the Alps" (55). In addition to following the basic route of the Grand Tour, they also followed the advice of the guidebooks that took them to and explained the same sites visited by the Grand Tourists.

As with the eighteenth century Grand Tourists, the Mass Tourists went to Italy seeking to return more cultured and cosmopolitan in the eyes of their peers. They did so by using many of the same tactics as the Grand Tourist: they sent home letters detailing the sites they had visited, kept sketches of iconic ruins, sent postcards of famous places, and published journals of their encounters with Renaissance art and classical landscapes (Steward 54, 56). The widespread dissemination of these travel accounts and artifacts was a crucial part of the performance of middle-class travelers. As Steward elaborates, the publication of reworked travel letters and journals had a positional use for their authors . . . in that they generated a wider audience before whom the demonstration of cultivation and competence as a tourist was a means of establishing the author's credentials as a member of the 'genteel' and 'cultivated classes' and its associated literary culture" (56).

With the floods of middle-class individuals eclipsing the Grand Tour, the aristocratic English formed new strategies. Rather than mixing with the Mass Tourists, they would go to lesser known sites that only those in the know would visit (Buzard 109). Functionally, this

practice did not deviate from the Grand or Mass Tour, as it was still about endeavoring to distinguish between genteel and common. Even so, the Mass Tour had forever diminished the prestige of the Grand Tour.

By the twentieth century, with those such as D.H. Lawrence traveling to Italy, the performance changes yet again. Lawrence and his contemporaries like Norman Douglas left England due to the strict enforcement of social norms. Lawrence, himself, moved to Italy with his wife Frieda's after finally getting a passport in 1919 (Burgess viii). Her German heritage left them feeling alienated by their community, which even had them banished from Cornwall in 1917 (Burgess viii). In *Siren Land*, Douglas moved to Southern Italy not to visit the great cities as the Grand and Mass Tourists did, but to seek out a life all but forgotten by time. He travels to Capri and visits its many grottos, reminiscing about the days when Tiberius had resided near them. In fact, the peasants' belief in lore of the sirens sends Douglas on a quest for the more ancient, pagan roots of Italian culture, a life far removed from the metropolitanism on which other British travelers were fixated.

Douglas, unlike Lawrence, focused more on capturing the scenes of Southern Italy through historical anecdotes, and in doing so, he exhibits his own learnedness and gentility. But the difference between Douglas and other English travelers resides in the objective of his performance. Douglas did not seek to elevate his status upon returning to England; in fact, he had no intention of going back. As we shall especially see in Lawrence, Douglas presented a subtle but persistent critique of Britain's cultural norms. Indeed, Paul Fussell goes so far as to say that both he and Lawrence had a "tendency to visit verbal violence upon the English" (122). Their travel writings constitute a reaction against life in England with its rigid sexual and behavioral mores, its stultifyingly routinized modes of living, and its bleak industrial environments, which

alienated the people from the natural world. It is not an exaggeration to say Lawrence especially saw modern England as an existential wasteland devoid of a guiding philosophy to provide a solution to its predicament. He and Douglas were among the first in a movement of expatriation through which they displayed their discontentment with modern England by “voting with their feet.” I argue that Lawrence’s travel books are of the first and most comprehensive in attempting to fill that philosophical void and address those issues, and as such signify a change in the meaning of Italy from a place to help the English move up in the social hierarchy of England to a place where one could protest England.

III: Precursors to and Contemporaries of D.H. Lawrence

Even before the publication of Lawrence’s travel writings, other writers were beginning to change their views of Italy. We see anticipations of the shift that Lawrence will articulate in the works of such writers as Henry James, Edith Wharton, and Norman Douglas. In *Italian Hours* (1909), James writes an elegant, painterly account of his travels to the centers of Italian culture: Venice, Florence, Milan, and Rome. There he describes the art and architecture he encounters. Interspersed in these descriptions are passages that anticipate a Lawrentian theme of lament. He mourns, for example, what he sees as a loss of Italian creativity and vitality: “now that Italy is made the Carnival is unmade; and we are not especially tempted to envy the attitude of a population who have lost their relish for play and not yet acquitted to any striking extent an enthusiasm for work” (313). Modern Italy has lost is freedom and imagination, something Lawrence also saw as evident. James speaks further on such themes, when describing Italian newspaper:

the *Osservatore Romano* and the *Voce della Verità* used to seem to me much connected with the extraordinary leisure of thought and stillness of mind to which the place

admitted you. But now the slender piping of the Voice of Truth is stifled by the raucous note of the eventide vendors of the *Capitale*, the *Libertà* and the *Fanfulla*. . . . For every subscriber to the *Libertà* there may well be an antique masker and reveler less. (314)

The soft voices of the traditional newspapers have been muffled by the loud and politically charged new publications of the modern Italy. Like Lawrence, James finds that Italy used to contain a certain “stillness” of the mind even in its newspapers and a playfulness, but these have been replaced by the clamorous sounds of nationalistic ideologies. Both James and Lawrence recognize the losses of older forms of Italian culture.

In her *Italian Backgrounds* (1905), Edith Wharton, an American North Easterner of the upper crust, writes with eloquence and literary sophistication. Although the elegance of her writing sets her apart from most travelers of her time, in some respects she is like them: for example, she visits the Alps just as the Mass Tourists do, and in imitation of her fellow upper-class travelers, she goes “off the beaten path,” visit such smaller Italian towns as Parma to see Correggio paintings, now out of fashion and “the emotional range of the modern traveller” (61).

But While Wharton is typical of other travelers, she does share similarities with Lawrence. Similar to Lawrence’s reverence for nature, Wharton praises the hermit who finds wholeness in the natural Italian landscape. Wharton writes that “the spirit of the hermit must have put forth tendrils of sympathy and intelligence toward the mysterious world about him. . . . Think of the wonder of entering, alone and undisturbed, into communion with this vast still world of cliff and cataract, of bird and beast and flower” (40). The hermit, as she claims, finds “communion,” spiritual wholeness, alone in nature. Lawrence takes this a step further in his discourse on the Etruscans as he describes an animistic oneness with nature through ekphrastic descriptions of the Etruscan tomb paintings.

Wharton explains that there are three types of hermits in her conceptualization of this existence. First, there is the “dull” hermit who simply seeks escape “from the turmoil and rivalry of the city, or the toil and floggings of the farm, and to live drowsily in a warm cleft of the rocks” (40). Next is the “ecstatic” hermit who is “so filled with the immanent light that he saw neither cliff nor cataract, that the various face of nature was no more to him than a window of clear glass opening on the brightness of the beatific vision” (40). Wharton is not satisfied with either of these possibilities. Type one is “dull” and desires only an escape from labors. The second is too concerned with the metaphysical, so much so that the natural world “was no more to him” than a means to give a physical form to his abstractions. The third type of hermit is one in which “divine love, instead of burning like a cold inward flame, overflowed on the whole world about him” (40-41). This, as we shall see, follows the model of the Lawrentian peasant who is often described as overflowing with passion. Though Wharton uses more Christian terms, such as divine love, the third type of hermit—the type she most admires and finds in the figure of Saint Francis—reminds readers of those characters in Lawrence’s travel books who represent a hopefulness and a symbol of life as he believes it should be lived. She even goes as far to state that hermits knew “the life of ancient days was still close to them” (41). Wharton, like Lawrence, admires this life and recognizes it in the Italian landscape.

While Lawrence’s travel writings about Italy are of the most stylistically complex and searching narratives of this genre, the themes he explores are partially adumbrated in the works of James and Wharton and more fully in those of Norman Douglas. A learned man from a wealthy family, Douglas willingly exiled himself to Italy to escape a scandal in which he paid “a boy too much attention” (Fussell 121). For Douglas, travel to Italy served as a means of critiquing the rigidity of English culture—its sexual prudery and denial of pleasure. In his works,

travel to Italy is about a search for wonder and beauty that seems to be disappearing in the modern age. The framework of *Siren Lands* reminds the reader of *Etruscan Places* as Douglas uses the history of the Capri and the ancient mythology of the siren to reconnect to a latent beauty hidden within the layered history of Italy.

Starting with Emperor Tiberius's retreat from the bustle of Rome to the stillness of Capri, he describes how many Roman Caesars have found themselves interested in these mythical women of the sea. Capri allows for a seclusion that calls the traveler back like a siren song. He notes that with Tiberius's departure from Rome, "the centre of the world was displaced" (78). The siren land then becomes a place where people go to escape the commotion of the center of the world. For Douglas, this was England.

Douglas begins with the image of a painter who fails to capture the essence of the Italian landscape, and it is an image we will see again in Lawrence's *Sea and Sardinia*. Douglas explains that Italy has a "chastened beauty [which] none save a really great craftsman, with disciplined hand and heart attuned to eternal melodies, can hope to disentangle from among the prejudices and traditions of his own mind" (28). This parallels Lawrence's statements about Mt. Etna: "The painters try to paint her, and the photographers to photograph her, in vain" (SS 1). Both men find that the beauty of the natural landscape in Italy eludes the grasp of modern man.

Both Douglas and Lawrence disapprove of a world that has forgotten the beauty of nature. For Douglas, this disapproval is expressed through a connection with classical mythology: "The elimination of mystery: what has it not done for modern Italy? Whether the disfigurements of the landscape has not reflected itself upon the race? Whether the listlessness of so many Italian townspeople, and the evil precocity of their children, be not the nymphs' revenge for Eresichthon's crime" (34)? Douglas makes Eresichthon—who cut down the sacred grove of

Demeter and was in turn plagued with eternal hunger which lead him to devour himself—represent modern Italians who defiled the land through deforestation and are plagued with an eternal hunger they cannot satisfy.

Douglas, though more sympathetic to the upper classes than Lawrence, shares the view that country-folk are more in tuned with the natural world and its beauty, and that modern urban life strips people of their capacity to connect to that beauty. He observes that living on the streets of a modernized town has stripped a young boy of his ability to see “the protean witchery of flowers and living waters,” and he asks the rhetorical question: “has any good ever come out of that foul-clustering town-proletariat, beloved of humanitarians? Nothing—never,” but, “out of the dregs of the country-folk has often arisen. . . a Lincoln, a Winckelmann, to guide men’s footsteps in the path” (15-16). In his complaint of the modern urban landscape, he presents a skeptical, mocking view of the role of duty which he labels the Moloch of modern life. The urban dweller follows this demonic manifestation of duty and like the boy of the streets becomes oblivious to nature. But visitors to *Montes Sireniani* can escape this fate because it is far removed from the negativity of duty (*Siren Land* 35).

Douglas also shares with Lawrence a respect for Italian peasants, men who work with their hands and the land. In *Old Calabria*, Douglas presents readers with a scene not unlike that of the Bavarian peasant in the first moments of *Twilight in Italy*. “I remember,” Douglas writes, “watching an old man stubbornly digging a field by himself. He toiled through the flaming hours, and what he lacked in strength was made up in the craftiness, *malizia*, born of long love of the soil. . . . Knowing this kind of labour, I looked on from my vine-wreathed arbour with admiration, but without envy” (*Old Calabria* 124). The man’s “love of the soil” and his strength to endure the “flaming hours” echoes the “blood heat” of Lawrence’s Bavarian peasant, and

though *Twilight in Italy* was published a year after *Old Calabria*, Lawrence had been working on it for many years, making the two travel books contemporaneous. Because Douglas and Lawrence were colleagues and friends, it is no surprise that the two similar minded men would share such images.

Finally, for Douglas and Lawrence, Italy represented freedom, and the two were drawn there for its opportunities of freedom with respect to sexuality and self-exploration. In his *Old Calabria* (1915), he writes:

in Italy, the domesticated Englishman is amazed to find that he possesses a sense hitherto unrevealed, opening up a new horizon, a new zest in life—the sense of law-breaking. . . . Yes; slowly the charm of law-breaking grows upon the Italianated Saxon; slowly, but surely. There is a neo-barbarism not only in matters of art. (78-79)

In this passage Italy signifies the possibly of discovering forms of selfhood previously unknown that can only be found outside the rules and conventions of the societies they are from. It represents, too, a freedom from the social restrictions on sexuality. Douglas uses the word “domesticated” to imply the lack of such freedom in England. This view of Italy as a place of freedom and a “new horizon” is something that Lawrence will explore with particular intensity and seriousness.

IV: Shadowless World of Shadows—Paradox and Searching in *Twilight in Italy*

D.H. Lawrence became a full-time writer in 1912, the same year in which he eloped with Frieda Weekley, a woman of the German bourgeoisie who had left her previous marriage to follow Lawrence on the trip that would become the subject of his first travel book, *Twilight in Italy* (1916).¹ Distancing himself from the concerns of other travelers, Lawrence presented his

¹ See Mark Kinkead-Weekes’ “D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile 1912–1922”

journeys as a search for a solution to the problems he found in Industrialized Europe, especially England. As a result, his travel books subvert the purpose of previous travel performances with his goal of leaving England to search for a new mode of life.

For Lawrence, England was synonymous with confinement, restriction, and dreariness—a dreariness intensified by the industrial landscape. Though he does not directly state this feeling in the beginning of *Twilight in Italy*, it is a fundamental motivation of his journey. And it is seen later in the narrative in his account of three exiled Italians whose fates are sealed in Swiss factories and of an Englishman from Streatham whose arduous holiday hike across the Alps only proves a short distraction from the continued suffering he will face in the English factories. In contrast to England, Lawrence was drawn to Italy by what he calls the “*spirit of the place*,” in which the Italian soul pervades the land (qtd. in Irimia 151). Lawrence writes that “the Italian. . . has avoided our Northern purposive industry, because it has seemed to him a form of nothingness” (qtd. in Irimia 151).² For Lawrence, Italy offers an antidote to this nothingness. These differences in purpose and method constitute a change in performance at even the most basic levels. Most obviously, Lawrence did not visit the same cities as the mainstream tourists. He never wrote about Rome, Venice, or Florence, or sought the cosmopolitan centers on the peninsula. In *Twilight in Italy*, he begins in Bavaria, making note of folk art rather than any famous Renaissance works, and observes the pleasures of peasant life. His travel style is humble and his interests focus more on the lives of Italian natives, including the working class, than on Roman antiquities.

² Mihaela Irimia elaborates Lawrence’s views of the English: “On his own scale of the *national character*, the English featured as the worst among the northern nations, followed by the Germans and their softer version, the Bavarians” (153).

While many of the Grand Tourists avoided the Alps, traveling to Italy by boat,³ Lawrence takes the Northern route from Germany and Switzerland. Instead of opening *Twilight in Italy* with descriptions of sublime Alpine scenery, he describes the road running from Munich and to Italy: once the route of the “imperial procession,” it is now “almost forgotten” (3). Lining the road are crucifixes, folk art that guide the path into Italy, and his interest in it constitutes one of the many distinctions that separates him from other English tourists who typically only concern themselves with high art. Lawrence imagines these crucifixes as though one was “planted” by a Pope on procession down the imperial road where it eventually “multiplied and grew according to the soil, and the race that received it” (3). Though the crucifixes are a manmade symbol of Christianity, Lawrence links it to the natural world by likening it to a seedling that grew and spread. His impressions of the crucifixes are directly influenced by their ties to the natural world and to the peasants of the area. Lawrence was fascinated by rural peasant culture, something we will see time and time again throughout his three travel narratives. Obviously, contact with the local peasants did not serve as a means of improving Lawrence’s social standing; in fact, it was an obstacle. Lawrence’s willingness to spend so much of his time in close proximity to working class people is one indicator of his desire to subvert the traditional function of travel in Italy. Lawrence esteems the Italian peasants for their simplicity of life, and since finding a remedy to a problematic way of life in the modern world is his goal, he understands that his search will lead him away from the city, the upper class, and the English.

As his first effort at travel writing, *Twilight in Italy* is in some respects a tentative work, as we often see Lawrence struggling to understand exactly what he is searching for. Antonio Traficante, author of “D.H. Lawrence's Italian Travel Literature and Translations of Giovanni

³ See William Edward Mead

Verga: A Bakhtinian Reading,” explains that the work embodies a narrator of ‘two minds,’ often at war with each other” (126). This conflict is seen in the paradoxical imagery of light and dark and in contradictory notions of stillness. The use of such paradoxes reflects Lawrence’s struggle to articulate the problems he sees in the world. While usually in opposition, the coexistence of the seemingly dichotomized images of light and dark constitutes the first paradox presented to readers. The crucifixes along the imperial road in Bavaria seem to cast a shadow over the land, struggling against the “strange” and “unnatural” light that shines through the mountains. The way in which we are to read this tension between light and dark is not entirely clear. Light, for example, takes on an almost antagonistic role. As Howard J. Booth notes, *Twilight in Italy* is “a problem text” (55). He explains that as these moments of what psychoanalyst Kristeva calls “black sun” occur, they seem to represent a “source not of light but of exclusion, loss and potentially overwhelming sadness.” There are occasions when “The ‘I’-voice wants something but also feels excluded, where at some level that exclusion is self-imposed” (60). Lawrence desires to connect to the peasants on an intimate level, but his status as stranger prevents this from coming to fruition. With the recognition that he is unable to relate with the peasants as closely as he wants, we see Lawrence’s sentences wrought with his own sadness. For example, Booth quotes Lawrence’s description of a man in San Gaudenzio who has “a sadness that gleamed like phosphorescence. . . . He seemed like a crystal that has achieved its final shape and has nothing more to achieve” (60). Booth notes that this sadness “is ascribed to the ‘I’-voice. . . . We feel the ‘I’-voice wanting to find an argument, searching for something that will address his needs and sense of lack” (60). The sadness refers not only to Lawrence’s inability to close the gap between the Italians and himself but also to the loss of the peasants’ way of life.

In addition, the paradox of coexistence between light and dark imagery reveals the

essence of the Italian wholeness Lawrence claims the peasants have. Lawrence cannot quite place this wholeness, but through his search to understand it, he takes a step toward self-discovery even in the face of longing and melancholy. While in Lago di Garda, Lawrence notes that the Italian people are called “Children of the Sun,” but that “Children of the Shadow” is more accurate. While near the church of San Tommaso, he crosses a peasant woman doing her spinning. “She was all grey,” he says, “and her apron, and her dress, and her kerchief, and her hands and her face were all sun-bleached and sun-stained, grey, bluey, brownny, like stones and half-coloured leaves, sunny in their colourlessness” (*TI* 22). We see Lawrence’s inability to reach the Italians on an individual level, as he simultaneously seizes and loses the moment, and this leaves him with a sense of lack. Something about this peasant’s ability to live within the light and the dark simultaneously echoes her wholeness. Feeling a sense of awe, he describes the spinner further: “She *was* the substance of knowledge, whether she had the knowledge in her mind or not” (25). There is something older and primitive about the woman and about the Italian peasants, but the meaning of this discovery is elusive for both the reader and Lawrence. We come close to this in the questions asked on page 27: ““Are they so far up?”” he asks, looking at the rocks along a distance cliff; “I did not dare to say, ‘Am I so far down?’”

Another such paradox is that of two types of “stillness” that appear in the text: one is a dynamic stillness characterized by a flood of sensory experience, and the other is a stultifying and numbing stillness that we see further on in the narrative. One evening, while walking by a marsh, Lawrence stumbles upon a specific crucifix that intrigues him more than the rest. In the hand of the crucified image of Christ are withered poppies, and Lawrence makes sure to note, “It was the poppies I saw, then the Christ,” once again connecting the crucifixes to nature (4). This was carved by a Bavarian peasant. He describes the image of Christ as also being a peasant,

connecting the peasant with the image of Christ. “Fixed,” and “unmoving,” the idea of being set in place is used to describe both the peasant and the sculpture. Living near the crucifix that gathers so much of Lawrence’s attention is a peasant family. As he watches one of them work, he details the experience:

It is this, this endless heat and roundness of physical sensation which keeps the body full and potent, and flushes the mind with a blood heat, a blood sleep. And this sleep, this last a crucifixion. It is the life and the fulfillment of the peasant, this flow of sensuous experience. But at last it drives him almost mad, because he cannot escape. (*TI* 5)

By likening the man to the crucifix, we begin to understand that the “darkness” is supposed to be received. The deepness of the peasant’s connection to physical labor, the natural world, and his own body provide him with a rush of “sensuous experience,” but it is this experience that both fulfills him and ends him. If we take cues from Booth, perhaps this is another instance in which Lawrence finds his own lack in the face of the peasants.

In contrast to the overflowing sensuous experience of the Bavarian peasant, the monks of Lago di Garda are made immovable with what Lawrence describes as “neutrality.” Whereas the spinner was a dynamic shadow brimming with sunlight, the monks are caught by an absence of “ecstasy” with the shadow and light cancelling one another out instead of coexisting and boiling over with physical sensation: “Neither the blood nor the spirit spoke in them, only the law, the abstraction of the average. . . . The flesh neutralizing the spirit, the spirit neutralizing the flesh” (30). It is the linking point between of the “ecstasy of light and dark together,” that comprises the “supreme ecstasy of mankind” and Lawrence seems to search for that ecstasy (31). Viewing the monks as uniform, motionless, almost mechanical proceeds into the next chapter in which he ponders the nearby lemon groves, a dull, manmade scene with no individuality among the trees. “They are the lemon plantations,” he writes, “and the pillars are to support the heavy branches of the trees, but finally to act as scaffolding of the great wooden houses that stand blind and ugly,

covering the lemon trees in the winter” (TI 48). This effort of man to intervene with nature and manipulate it as he sees fit can be paralleled to the ways in which England micromanages its people with confining artificial social constructs, and the immobility of lemons plants restricted by manmade scaffolding reflect the monks.

The paradoxes of the cohabitation of light and dark and the struggle between two types of stillness not only represent the conflict occurring within Lawrence himself, they also serve as a means of criticizing the already established ways of living in the modern world. The light and dark are able to exist simultaneously with shadows able to emit light and with sunny places holding darkness. Only the peasants and the rural areas hold this “shadowless shadow,” and it succeeds in creating an air of mystery and antiquity that precedes the Greco-Roman world. The monks represent a way of life that is characteristic of an industrial society with their mechanical nature. In contrast with the stillness of the peasant, who is likened to the crucifix, the stillness of the monks symbolizes a lack of sensation and wholeness. And if the light and dark cancel out as I suggested, the stillness is synonymous with nothingness. This jab at modern life is one of many that Lawrence makes and separates him from other English tourists and indicates the new meaning Italy is beginning to embody.

While traditional storylines linked Italy to foundations of Western civilization, Lawrence’s journey evokes storylines linked to a pre-Roman, even pre-civilized, and pastoral world. Thus primitivism and a close connection to the natural world can be found coursing through the narrative and emerge as core concepts of Lawrence’s vision of the “right” path for life. In this regard, the fact that characters and even structures are given animal-like features is significant. Thus in the chapter, “The Spinner and the Monks,” Lawrence discusses the Church of the Dove and the Church of the Eagle, showing disregard for the former (he spends no time in

describing it) and his awe before the latter, whose aura of “thick, fierce darkness” makes his soul shrink (22). People throughout *Twilight in Italy* also project avian qualities, which signify their connection to the natural world, but they do so in such a way that gives them a regal and mysterious power. The spinner is described as having the “slight motion of the eagle” (23), and as being “the wakeful consciousness hovering over the world like a hawk” (31). She is a primitive spirit that feels ageless, and she unifies light and shadow as well as humanity and the natural world. Later, in the chapter titled “The Theater,” he watches a family at a play which turns out to be an Italian rendition of *Hamlet*. Lawrence calls the father, “the real Joseph, father of the child. He has a fierce, abstract look, wild and untamed as a hawk, but like a hawk at its own nest, fierce with love” (TI 75). Watchful and fierce, the spinner and the father represent primal nature, which instills in Lawrence a sense of wonder. He describes them as regal, even god-like.

Primitivism and its relation to masculinity are found in other characters as well, and one of the best examples of this is the hawk like woodcutter in the chapter, “The Dance:”

He is fierce as a bird, and hard with energy as a thunderbolt. He will dance with the blonde signora. But he never speaks. He is like some violent natural phenomenon rather than a person. The woman begins to wilt a little in his possession . . . Every muscle in his body is supple as steel, supple, as strong as thunder, and yet so quick, so delicately swift, it is almost unbearable. As he draws near to the swing, the climax, the ecstasy, he seems to lie in wait, there is a sense of a great strength crouching ready . . . He is like a god, a strange natural phenomenon, most intimate and compelling, wonderful. (99)

Not only is he a “delicately swift” bird, he is also thunder and lightning, both powerful natural forces. Lawrence continues to use very provocative and sensual diction (“climax,” “ecstasy,” “intimate”) and describes him as a phenomenon that is violent, natural, and with crouching strength lying in wait. The woodcutter is present only briefly in the narrative, but Lawrence is moved by his raw masculinity, his primitivism, and deep connection to nature.

As these past examples indicate, masculinity proves to be a central element in Lawrence's view of the Italian peasants. As Booth points out, "*Twilight in Italy* returns to a perceived male Italian wholeness," which is yet elusive (61). Lawrence observes how one such man, Paolo, who has gone and returned from America, is "finished in his being" with an "eternal kind of sureness" (84). But much like the light and shadow dynamic, many of the depictions of the peasant men take on a somber tone, and this is seen in his description of Il Duro. Against these sad tones, the men are complete, whole. In some ways, they feel pinned down, but in many ways free and fulfilled. The masculinity that the woodcutter and other characters (such as the girovago in *Sea and Sardinia*) exude provides a model for what Lawrence himself wants to embody.

The Streatham man, in contrast, is an example of masculinity without wholeness. He had taken a grueling trip to hike the Alps but still had to return back to England and the factories following this excursion. Lawrence disapproves, writing, "Suddenly I hated him. The dogged fool, to keep his nose on the grindstone like that. What was all his courage but the very tip-top of cowardice? What a vile nature—almost Sadish, proud, like the infamous Red Indians, of being able to stand torture" (*TI* 151). He is trapped in an endless cycle of slavery to industry, and though he takes his trip to the Alps, he must return to his monotonous life in England. He represents a product of the oppressiveness of the modern world and how it holds people captive.

Furthering the theme of primitivism is the image of the faun: Lawrence finds among Italian peasants a likeness to the faun, a key figure in ancient mythology. This is yet another way in which Lawrence subverts the traditions of the Grand Tour as he cultivates primitivism, the antithesis of refinement, and looks back to the pre-modern world. A boy at the same dance during which we meet the wood-cutter, "capers in the doorway like a faun, with glee," (101). In

this instance, the faun takes on a playful tone. “Il Duro” is also described as a “faun,” especially eyes, which have a “half-diabolic, half tortured pale gleam, like a goat’s” (106-107). While Maria, the matron of the establishment where Lawrence is staying, is hostile towards Il Duro because he is not “respectable,” Lawrence is fascinated by him and says there is “a completeness about him” (107). For Lawrence, Il Duro represents a man in tune with the primitive world: “He belonged to the god Pan, to the absolute of the senses” (109). The mention of faun-like men, which recurs in Lawrence subsequent travel narratives, is more than a literary embellishment; the faun-like men constitute a direct connection to pre-modern ways of life and a living embodiment of primitive paganism. And since fauns are associated with the god Pan, the faun-like men represent a connection of the divine in nature. They are also playful and lustful, embodying the sensuality and “blood heat” that Lawrence sees in the peasant culture of Italy.

If the industrial world is draining, the natural world is life sustaining. Italy, Lawrence discovers, contains both. Despite Italy’s rich connection to antiquity and pre-modern ways of life, Lawrence sees that it was not untouched by the industrial world. He meets a group of young Italian men who have left Italy for its northern neighbor, Switzerland, and must work in the factories. “They would suffer a death in the flesh,” he predicts, “year after year in their black gloomy cold Swiss valley, working in the factory” (137). As he leaves, he reflects:

I could not bear to see them again. I liked them so much; but, for some reason or other, my mind stopped like clockwork if I wanted to think of them and of what their lives would be, their future. . . . Even now I cannot really consider them in thought. I shrink involuntarily away. I do not know why this is. (141)

In what is possibly one of the saddest moments in *Twilight in Italy*, Lawrence verbalizes his own inability, or perhaps unwillingness, to imagine the futures of these men, and likewise, the future of the Italians. With the tendrils of modern life creeping slowly in travelers like the Streatham man, in these anarchic factory workers, even Maria, modernity reaches farther.

In one of the final scenes, taken from the chapter, “The Return Journey,” this progress of modernity is depicted when he juxtaposes a peasant girl whose ankles shown “like brass in the sun” with the crude, grim description of men working on a railway in Lugano; yet he cannot get the former out of his head and cannot make himself look at the latter directly (166-167). Finally, ending in Milan, he notes that “here the process of disintegration was vigorous, and centered in a multiplicity of mechanical activities that engage the human mind as well as the body. But always there was the same purpose stinking in it all, the mechanizing, the perfect mechanizing of human life,” (168). Lawrence ends *Twilight in Italy* on a truly somber note, when he foreshadows the decay of the life he has searched for in his journey. And yet, it is this awareness that motivates his subsequent travel narrative. The endeavor to find places where industry had not penetrated is a major theme of his next travel book, *Sea and Sardinia*.

V: The Color of Conformity—Individuality in *Sea and Sardinia*

By the time *Twilight in Italy*—composed 1912 to 1913 (Burgess viii)—was published in 1916, Lawrence’s novel, *The Rainbow* (1915), had been banned, and he was struggling to make ends meet. In 1917, he and his German wife Frieda were run out of Cornwall suspected of being spies (Burgess viii). The Great War had been raging across Europe for three years by this point, and Lawrence’s marriage to a German, with whom he had eloped in the few years prior to the War’s inception, made the pair a target. By 1919, he had left England behind, choosing to live abroad. *Sea and Sardinia* was first published in 1921 and details a trip he had taken with his wife from Sicily to Sardinia earlier that same year. By this time, the war had concluded, and though Englishmen could once again travel to the Continent, there were greater restrictions imposed upon travelers. Paul Fussell explains that passports were a product of World War I, and this did not make the stifling English atmosphere any less suffocating. So, Lawrence left once again for

Italy (24). Yet, even in southern Italy, Lawrence found himself restless, and as a result, he decided to make another trip to Sardinia.

The simple act of restricting travel using passports and forcing one to definitively declare one's nation of origin was of great significance to Lawrence. In her essay, "I am Not England," Bridget Chalk explains, "the 'passport effect' in modern novels can be traced as a set of pronounced anxieties about the imposition of official identity and the accompanying loss of autonomy in the construction of self" (55). Indeed, with nationalism being problematic for Lawrence, post-war Europe's increasing security measures would prove nightmarish. Chalk elaborates that "his attempts to secure a passport and avoid conscription, and his letters during his time in Cornwall reflect the direct and severe effect the passport system had on his thinking about national identity" (56). It is no wonder that the forcing of a declaration of national identity disturbed Lawrence so. In leaving England and establishing himself in Italy, Lawrence is performing a protest, refusing to conform to the behaviors required by British nationalism. He settled by 1920 in Sicily, but as we see at the start of *Sea and Sardinia*, the settling does not last long before he is once again on the move, further deepening this protest.

Crafting an identity in the face of conformity and nationalism is a conundrum Lawrence faces in *Sea and Sardinia* and even into his personal life. Throughout the book, he struggles with his English identity. Despite his best efforts to distance himself from his nation of origin, Lawrence finds himself again the stranger. While journeying to Sardinia, Lawrence is met by a man to whom he bestows the epithet, "the mosquito," and the two engage in an argument. After the mosquito makes a comment about the women of Naples and England being "dirty," Lawrence notes that, "one should *never* let these fellows get into conversation nowadays. They are no longer human beings. They hate one's Englishness, and leave out the individual" (51).

The individual is exactly who Lawrence is trying to be. He is unable to escape his Englishness, and by living in a foreign land, he only draws attention to this. Yet he still wishes to be separated from England.

Traficante claims that *Sea and Sardinia* is “where the battle between his English heritage and the Italian other is ultimately played out,” and for many, this struggle of identity is also a struggle to find a home in the wake of the Great War. Traficante also remarks on the “Two Infinities” that Lawrence endeavors to prevent from “cancelling each other out” (46). The shadow and light in *Twilight in Italy* lead to a deadening neutrality in the monks rather than a deepened wholeness as with various Italian peasants. By his second book, we see these paradoxical images reflect the battle between his Englishness and his desire to break away and carve a place for himself in Italy. This leads him, as Traficante suggests, to relinquish both in search of another alternative. In a sense, Lawrence is still searching both for escape and for home. It is this performance of a constant searching and discontentment with his findings, of neither taking the role of English or Italian but of the eternal outsider and observer that stands as his method of protesting modernization.

To justify leaving, Lawrence points to Mt. Etna, a volcano which looms over Sicily, and which Lawrence describes as a “white witch” that “makes men mad” (*S&S* 1-2). It is in this personification of the mountain as a being with a magical power to control those below it that Lawrence forges his justification to move. “She is like Circe,” he writes, and “[u]nless a man is very strong, she takes his soul away from him and leaves him not a beast, but an elemental creature, intelligent and soulless” (2). Soon we begin to see this soullessness. Meeting a group of young Italians, he notes their tendencies to “pour themselves one over the other like so much melted butter over parsnips” (*S&S* 7). Their inseparability causes discomfort for Lawrence. Later

he invokes the image of the lemon grove, as he does in *Twilight in Italy*, but in a slightly different way. The lemon trees of Sicily, “like Italians, seem to be happiest when they are touching once another all around” (8). It is the fault of the volcano, Lawrence conjectures, and its power over men, turning them into overly sentimental, feminine beings. Particularly telling are the phrases “melt one over the other” and “touching all around,” and the images of uniform lines of planted fruit trees. Each of these hints at the conformity of the Italians in Sicily, their lack of individuality.

Lawrence devotes much of the first chapter to deciding where to go from Sicily and narrows it down to Sardinia or Spain, opting for Sardinia due to the fact that it “has no history”—or more precisely, no cultural identifiers that would categorize it with mainland Italy and the rest of Europe. Like Bavaria and Scotland, Sardinia exists between independent nationhood and territory. Sardinia is part of Italy officially, but not in practice. In this state, Sardinia has succeeded in forming and preserving its their own identity.⁴ Lawrence notes that “It lies outside; outside the circuit of civilization. Like the Basque lands. Sure enough, it is Italian now, with its railways and omni-buses. But there is an uncaptured Sardinia still. It lies within the net of this European civilization, but it isn’t landed yet” (3). With his increasing displeasure with Sicilian people, and with his disdain for the clutches of modern Europe, especially its post-war regulations, Sardinia seems the best choice for going “off the beaten path,” so much so that it heightens his well-practiced performance of avoiding larger cities.

Lawrence’s attunement to the lack of individuality that plagues Europe results in a pattern of color descriptions. More specifically, he uses the colors gray and khaki to invoke

⁴ For further reading on the economic and political climate of Sardinia and Bavaria, see Eve Hepburn (2007)

uniformity and gloominess. While still in Sicily, he writes, “The sky is all grey. The Straits are grey. Reggio, just across the water, is white looking, under the great dark toe of Calabria, the toe of Italy. On Aspromonte there is grey cloud” (9). As he reflects upon the scenery of southern Italy, he cannot help but to draw attention to the dreary sea and sky, and in addition to the lengthy description of the sinister whiteness of Mt. Etna, we are overwhelmed with stark, neutral images. Upon arriving at Mandas, he notes “Wherever you go, wherever you be, you see this khaki, this grey-green war clothing. . . . It is symbolic of the universal grey mist that has come over men, the extinguishing of all bright individuality, the blotting out of all wild singleness” (SS 71). With the passing of the first World War, the mood of Europe had become somber. The war time clothing brings Lawrence a feeling of drab uniformity, which nationalism at the time had almost demanded. His choice of Sardinia, which he hopes to have more color than the rest of the now drab continent, and his view of Europe as being washed with a gray conformity provides a visual of his view of post-industrialized England.

In going to Sardinia, Lawrence speaks out against the structures that have made Europe so inhospitable by the way he uses color in his narrative. In Sardinia, he describes color as becoming more vibrant, suggesting a turn from the dreariness of the European grey-khaki that is so prevalent early in the book. On the way to Sardinia, he mentions the “black-blue, translucent, rolling sea” and the “mass of pinkish rock” of Monte Pellegrino (SS 27). The scene is not only eye catching for its striking colors, but also takes on a luminous sheen. In Cagliari, he spends time discussing the color of a blue and red striped cotton cloth that Frieda notices. Even the blacks and whites take on more appeal: “A peasant in black-and-white, and his young, handsome woman in rose-red costume, with gorgeous apron bordered deep with grass-green, and a little dark-purple waistcoat over her white, full bodice” (SS 93). On the same page, he mentions a vista

of white mountains, stressing “How different it is from Etna . . . This is much more human and knowable, with a deep breast and massive limbs, a powerful mountain body. It is like the peasants.” Already, the neutral tones and mountain scenes take on a lively natural air, as opposed to drab Palermo and supernatural Etna. As all these examples show, Lawrence’s use of color is symbolically potent and expresses a core theme of *Sea and Sardinia*: although the khaki gray uniformity of modernity is spreading throughout Europe, the world of color—and the possibility of individuality, authenticity, and vitality—still exists for those who will search for it.

Jack F. Stewart, in “Color and Space, in Lawrence’s *Sea and Sardinia*,” notes that, although Lawrence uses the images of colorful costumes, landscapes, and foods, “he is not a tourist whose experience stops at the eye: the prime motive for his travels is the stimulus to growth and self-discovery. As Durrell puts it, ‘All landscapes ask the same question in the same whisper. ‘I am watching you—are you watching yourself in me?’” (221). Given Stewart’s insight into Lawrence’s engagement with new landscapes, the following questions arise: what sort of self-discovery does Lawrence achieve, and how exactly does he grow?

As in *Twilight in Italy*, certainly one goal of discovery for Lawrence in *Sea and Sardinia* is to retrieve a more vital self and to connect to the sources of vitality found in primitive modes of life. It is to this end that Lawrence favors basic, inelegant, and rougher modes of transportation. Thus the old wooden ship he sails on to go to Sardinia is praised, while the modern steel steamer he takes to return to the Italian mainland is denigrated; he travels second class on trains rather than first, prefers buses to personal automobiles, and expressly carries his belongings in a backpack, rather than rely on porters to carry valises. In response to an American whining about the small size of the boat on which she, Lawrence, and Freida are passengers, Lawrence proudly declares that he is “no Titanic American” (22). He does not seek

comfort or luxury; the more primitive the travel method, the better.

The attraction to older travel modes and to the primitive is perhaps part of a deeper desire to achieve a stronger sense of masculinity, which, in Lawrence's mind, is a trait that separates modernized men from those who embody the vitality of Italian peasant life. *Sea and Sardinia* often presents a struggle with masculinity due to the presence of Lawrence's wife, who is given the moniker "q-b" or "queen bee." In many cases, it is her presence that prevents him from realizing a deeper level of masculinity. This is most apparent when Lawrence meets the girovago, a nomadic peddler living only for the next day and the next glass of aqua vitae. With him is his traveling companion, and though most of the Sardinians look down on the duo, Lawrence seems to envy the masculine comradeship the girovago shares with his traveling companion. "'Yes. He's my wife because we always together,'" the girovago claims about his mate (10). Lawrence is surprised at first, but he begins to feel respect for the girovago, whose name means wanderer. Lawrence finds his aggressiveness and boisterousness refreshing; he favors him so much that he often calls him "my girovago," showing the bond he feels. Afterwards, Lawrence says that "He was something of a kindred soul. . . . I regretted my girovago, though I knew it was no good thinking of him. His way was not my way. Yet I regretted him, I did" (112).

While Lawrence is drawn to the masculinity, confidence, and carefree attitude of girovago, the other Sardinians at the Sorgono inn look down upon him and all that he represents. Mathias explains the significance of these reactions and Lawrence's view of the other guests at the inn:

While describing the concrete behavior of each man, Lawrence develops them into archetypes which evoke a powerful and additional moral meaning. This, in turn, serves as the vehicle for his scathing implicit cultural critique of 'effeminate' bourgeois society, its hegemonic modernization and concomitant destruction of skilled crafts along with the

cosmological components such as the male honor code so prevalent in the Mediterranean area. (291)

The loss of masculinity at the hands of those who see it as uncivilized and uncouth is tragic for Lawrence, and it reminds him of the loss of masculinity which he feels runs rampant across his homeland. Further, the Sardinians loathing of the girovago parallels Lawrence's own social ostracism in the wake of his controversial novels. Yet, the girovago stays optimistic and continues without regard, something Lawrence finds admirable. And his defense of the girovago and subsequent displeasure with those effeminate bourgeois reflects his spurning of English society.

As the scene with the girovago indicates, gender differences and the performance of gender roles figure prominently in *Sea in Sardinia*. In this regard, the most important character is Frieda, who is dehumanized by being referred to solely by the cognomen of "the q-b," and who is cast as the obstacle preventing Lawrence from entering a community of all-male comradery in the encounter with the girovago. She also acts as the ignorant tourist in what must have been a cringe worthy moment for Lawrence:

At last the q-b stops one of them—it is what they are all waiting for, an opportunity to talk—and asks if the weird object on the top of Pellegrino is a ruin. Could there be a more touristy question! No, it is the semaphore station. Slap in the eye for the q-b! She doesn't mind, however, and the member of the crew proceeds to converse. (28)

Lawrence's disapproval of her "touristy" behavior and her naivety in allowing her to be sucked into conversation with the crew members, whom Lawrence avoids, clearly comes through in his sarcastic tone. On top of all this, the boat ride to Sardinia, which Lawrence enjoys, makes his wife seasick.

Another key female figure is the Cagliari woman, whom Lawrence regards with utter disdain. She speaks in "that awful language which the Italians—the quite ordinary ones—call

French, and which they insist on speaking for their own glorification” (32). (In *Twilight in Italy*, we are given another Italian character who insists on speaking in French, a padrone whose broken speech causes Lawrence anxiety.) The Cagliari woman also proves to be a strong voiced character, the likes of which have not been seen since Maria of San Gaudenzio. Lawrence comments on her “deep, hail-fellow-well-met voice” (31). She is loud with a strong, assertive personality. Though accompanied by two men, she is the stronger personality of the trio.. (31). Although the girovago has these qualities, when found in the woman, it is crass. Women with this outspoken demeanor could be seen as a product of the modern world. In *Twilight in Italy*, Maria takes on this temperament, and her ambitions center around financial gain. Lawrence suspects the Cagliari woman to be similarly ambitious and conjectures that her husband might have engaged in shady business deals. Either way, the Cagliari woman is loud, vulgar, and brazen; she is a Sardinian touched by modernity.

Despite such encounters that suggest disillusionment, Lawrence finds in the people and landscapes of Sardinia the sources of individuality and life for which he yearns. The image of a peasant working in the fields in his black and white garb—a form of dress unique to Sardinia—is an especially powerful symbol of individuality and masculinity: “Here and there are peasants working on the lonely landscape. Sometimes it is one man alone in the distance, showing so vividly in his black-and-white costume, small and far-off like a solitary magpie, and curiously distinct. All the strange magic of Sardinia is in that sight” (71). The solitary peasant in his unique costume, “working alone, as if eternally” forms a sharp contrast to the “universal grey mist that has come over men” in most of Europe “extinguishing . . . all bright individuality . . . blotting out all wild singleness” (71). The power of the Sardinian landscape to nurture “individuality” and “wild singleness” is what Lawrence values most and seeks.

Here we should note that in *Sea and Sardinia* landscapes are not just visual encounters; they deal not just with the eye, but with forms of consciousness. To see the peasant working in the field, for example, is to come into contact with and potentially experience, even recapture a prior mode of feeling, thinking, and being. For Lawrence, this is what makes Sardinia and the remote landscapes of on the Italian peninsula important. It there where “Life is so primitive, so pagan, so strangely heathen and half-savage,” and where one can encounter remote forms consciousness reaching back to the times of the “early Mediterranean” (123). As Lawrence explains, “to go to Italy and to *penetrate* into Italy is like a most fascinating act of self-discovery—back, back down the old ways of time. Strange and wonderful chords awake in us, and vibrate again after many hundreds of years of complete forgetfulness” (123, italics his). To travel in Italy in the Lawrentian way is to rediscover not only modes of consciousness from the past, but within oneself in order potentially to resurrect them and break through the khaki grey malaise of the present. As Lawrence says, “Italy has given me back I know not what of myself, but a very, very great deal. She has found for me so much that was lost: like a restored Osiris” (123). As the reference to the Egyptian god of resurrection makes clear, travel to Sardinia is a mythic act of re-birth and renewal, a journey from then world to the dead (modern Italy) to life.

However, the last part of Lawrence’s journey, when he returns to mainland Italy, is presented as a struggle to maintain that sense of renewal and masculine individuality. Thus in the chapter titled “Back,” Lawrence encounters a “school-marm” and a Neapolitan and becomes enveloped in a discussion about the future of England and the question of money. Soon the labels of national identity start to impinge on Lawrence, provoking him to assert emphatically, “I am a single human being, an individual, not a mere national unit, a mere chip of l’Inghilterra or la Germania. I am not a chip of any nasty old block. I am myself” (199).

Lawrence is given one last taste of that blood heat imagery found in *Twilight in Italy* as he loses himself in the scenes of a play:

Gradually, however, I found that my eyes were of minor importance. Gradually it was the voice that gained hold of the blood. It is a strong, rather husky, male voice that acts direct on the blood, not on the mind. . . . What does one care for the precept and mental dictation? Is there not the massive, brilliant, outflinging recklessness in the male soul, summed up in the sudden word; *Andiamo!* Andiamo! Let us go on. Andiamo!—let us go hell knows where, but let us go on. The splendid recklessness and passion that knows no precept and no school-teacher, whose very molten spontaneity is its own guide. (S&S 203)

It is the search that drives Lawrence on, and though he has yet to completely find what it is that would make him reach the wholeness he desires, it is this relinquishing of thinking, and the connection to bodily sensation and masculinity that points at the answer to the question plaguing modern Europe. And, though Lawrence meets less than pleasant people in Southern Italy and Sardinia, Lawrence concludes *Sea and Sardinia* saying that he loved “the generous, hot southern blood, so subtle and spontaneous, that asks for blood contact, not for mental communion or spirit sympathy,” and that he “was sorry to leave them” (205). In many ways, the play he watches at the close of *Sea and Sardinia* provides him with the satisfaction that he had not found since meeting the girovago, a man with whom he had more of a “blood contact” with than any other Sardinian. All things considered, Lawrence knows that stillness and returning to England is not the answer, rather, he must go once again.

VI: *Etruscan Places*—A Celebration of Life and Acceptance of Death

Lawrence’s final travel book, *Etruscan Places* (1932)—published in pieces as “Sketches”—begins in a tone quite different from its predecessors. As Del Ivan Janik asserts that “In all of Lawrence’s travel writings one can discriminate between Lawrence the observer and Lawrence the thinker. . . .” yet “in *Etruscan Places* they are integrated” (195). He explains that

while “the young German archeology student. . . typifies the consciousness that is identified elsewhere in the book with the Romans, Mussolini, and modern Science,” Lawrence “represents the qualities that he seeks to identify with the Etruscans” (195). Thus, he is able to weave in his own philosophical incites as he ventures through various Etruscan tombs and analyzes paintings there. He lives more fully immersed in the life he has been searching for since his first travel book, and he draws distinction between himself and the rest of modern Europe through characters like the German boy. While he embraces of the role of stranger and appears to have even cast away his lamentations of not being closer to the Italians, he is closer to his solutions.

Italy spent much of its early modern history as a group of city states and was led by a relatively weak government. With the exception of Rome and Venetia, Italy was unified under King Victor Emanuel II of Sardinia in the span of one year (1859-1860). By 1870, the then called Kingdom of Italy finally included Venetia (after the Franco-Prussian War).⁵ In the 1920s, Benito Mussolini turned Italy into a Fascist state using classical Rome as a source of inspiration and strength.⁶ The First World War had passed, and a second loomed in the distance. During this time, Lawrence, who still traveled through Italy despite the tensions, decided to embark on his journey through the pre-Roman ruins of the Etruscans, deliberately avoiding anything Roman partially due to its new adoption by the fascist regime.

Etruscan Places begins, like his previous travel books, with Lawrence visiting sites that were overlooked by the Grand and Mass Tour, and in this case, it is the Etruscan ruins. The Roman Empire, being the powerful forefather of the Western culture, eclipsed the Etruscan civilization as a focus of tourists’ attention. Grand Tourists would bring ancient Roman artifacts

⁵ See “The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy”

⁶ For further information see Walter L. Adamson

and statues back to England and have their portraits painted with Roman ruins in the background to draw connections between themselves and the Roman civilization. Lawrence concerns himself with the older Etruscan civilization, which was stamped out by the Romans. The Romans, being a people determined to expand and conquer, reminds Lawrence of modern England, which had itself been dubbed the British Empire. It is no surprise that in Lawrence's search for a world separate from the modern world he chooses to avoid Roman ruins and to instead to turn his attention to the Etruscans (122). As he looks to the Etruscan way of life for answers even more primitive than those of the warlike Romans, he is also renouncing the values of a Western world built by that same people.

Lawrence makes sure to further estrange himself, as he has been doing throughout his travel narratives, by not to engaging in "Roman" behaviors. In "Volterra," Lawrence comments upon seeing "cheeky girls salute one with the 'Roman' salute, out of sheer effrontery: a salute which has nothing to do with me, so I don't return it" (100). Lawrence emphasizes the perceived arrogance from the girls and makes sure to include his disapproval of the Roman tradition. He says that "in an Etruscan city which held out so long against Rome I consider the Roman salute unbecoming, and the Roman *imperium* unmentionable" (100). The Roman *imperium* takes on a double meaning. In addition to ancient Rome, it also refers to Mussolini's regime in the 1920s. The *ventennio fascista*—a twenty-year period of Italian fascism which began in 1922—saw a return to the late Republican and early Imperial Roman eras with Mussolini championing the use of this *romanità* as Fascist propaganda.⁷ Lawrence, who disapproves of imperialism, modern lifestyles, and governments that micromanage their people, uses Rome as a way to not only

⁷ For further reading on *romanità* and Mussolini's Fascist Italy, see Jan Nelis

comment on England's imperialism and nationalism, but to criticize the fascist Italy and its strict government.

The idea of strangeness, or his inability to intimately connect to the characters in these travel books, manifests itself in similar ways. For example, he only mentions the Italians by name. In "Cerveteri," he travels with a man simply called "B" (reminding us of Frieda who goes by "qb" in *Sea and Sardinia*) and in Tarquinia, he visits the Etruscan tombs with a "German boy" who is always referred to as such. Further emphasizing his strangeness, Lawrence mentions that his guide to Cerveteri, a fourteen-year-old Italian boy who enlists the help of another local boy, "could not have borne to go alone with us. Not alone! He would have been afraid, as if he were in the dark" (*EP* 5). Being afraid of the two Englishmen is likened to being afraid of the dark, something that connotes blindness and the unknown. This estrangement can be seen as a symbol of the distance between the modern world and the peasants. Lawrence is unable to intimately connect with the Italian peasants because he is not himself Italian and has lived in the modern world, but he also avoids making this connection between himself and characters like the German boy due to their close involvement in the modern world that Lawrence rejects.

Lawrence brings us back to the juxtaposition of the modern and primitive worlds in *Etruscan Places*. In addition to the Etruscans' obvious connection with a pre-Roman world, Lawrence harkens back to the primitive by invoking the image of the faun once more. Lawrence, who took this trip with Earl Brewster, or "B," notes:

how rarely one sees the faun-faced now, in Italy, that one used to see so often before the war: the brown, rather still, straight-nosed face with a little black moustache and often a little tuft of black beard; yellow eyes, rather shy under long lashes, but able to glare with a queer glare, on occasion; and mobile lips that had a queer way of showing the teeth when talking, bright white teeth. It was an old, old type, and rather common in the South. But now you will hardly see one of these men left, with the unconscious, ungrimacing faun-face. They were all, apparently, killed in the war: they would be sure not to survive such a war. (*EP* 4)

The fauns, according to Lawrence, comprised a race so old that no one could pinpoint when they appeared, and here Lawrence focuses on their decline. In the Greco-Roman tradition, Faunus was a god found only in Italy, a Pan-like being specific to the area. The fauns and nymphs were the woodland creatures that called Italy their home before the introduction of man. They are animalistic but delicate and in many cases divine in a pre-Roman, pagan sense of the word. In Vergil's *Aeneid*, the ruler pre-Roman city of Latium, Latinus, was a direct descendent of Faunus. Thus, the fauns imply pre-Roman and pre-imperial connotation. They lived in unison with nature, making them the antithesis of the modern world. Pointing to the inevitable extinction of the ancient, "faun-faced" men at the hands of such a modern war as World War I, Lawrence laments at the fact that "only the deflowered faces survive" (5). Despite this, Lawrence is able to find one in a shepherd and knows that there are still more to be found in southern Italy. Still, he grieves at the knowledge that they will disappear. Their extinction signifies the ineluctable death of the "old ways."

Lawrence uses the asphodel, a Mediterranean flower and an image inherently tied to the natural world as well as the ancient, to critique the English. He launches into a description and history of the asphodel describing it as a "sparky, assertive flower with just a touch of the onion about it" and that "It has a certain reckless glory, such as the Greeks loved" (8). The Greek religion had a rich connection with the earth that, though he often associates the Greeks with focusing too heavily on the mind and on conquest, he appreciates. He recalls that an Englishman once claimed the daffodil was this flower that the Greeks praised, but Lawrence scoffs at his turning "the tall, proud, sparky, dare-devil asphodel into the modest daffodil," which he also calls the "Lent lily" (8). This "Lent lily" refers to the season of Lent, which is a period of abstinence in the Christian tradition. The word "modesty" supports the assertion that England

and Christianity focus too much on modesty and abstinence, denying bodily sensation. Through this description and nomenclature of local flora, Lawrence not only illustrates the admirable qualities of those native to the Etruscan lands but also scolds the English for the insertion of what he feels is a mundane flower.

Standing in contrast to the effortlessness of the natural world, the reach of modernism is seen in the town of Ladispoli. Lawrence notes that the villas there are a modern eyesore: “Ladispoli,” he writes, “is one of those ugly little places on the Roman coast, consisting of new concrete villas, new concrete hotels, kiosks and bathing establishments” (17). Not only does Lawrence use “Roman” as the defining descriptor—rather than *Italian*—but he also uses the repetition of the word “concrete” to invoke ancient Rome, famous for their concrete structures, and imply a dismal gray tone that is associated with concrete. In the same breath, he describes the sky as “grey and shapeless” and as having a “flat, wan evening light” (17). Reminding readers of the khaki grayness of the modern world seen in *Sea and Sardinia*, Lawrence reworks the image to include Rome, which he has already used as a symbolic representation of the modern, imperialist world.

Lawrence returns to the idea of stillness—the tranquility and wholeness of the natural world—when he mentions “a stillness and a softness in the great grassy mounds with their ancient stone girdles, and down the central walk there lingers still a kind of loneliness and happiness. . . . there was a stillness and a soothingness in all the air, in that sunken place, and a feeling that it was good for one’s soul to be there” (9). In and around the tombs and ruins of the Etruscans, Lawrence feels the peacefulness, the oneness with the natural world, and the spirit of the Etruscans who celebrated life and welcomed death. As he enters the ruins, he adds that it is a nurturing and pleasant feeling that the Etruscans have left behind. Like the stillness of the Italian

peasants in *Twilight in Italy*, this stillness signifies a wholeness that modern peoples rarely achieved. In *Etruscan Places*, it takes on a sacred, healing quality. Its loneliness is riddled with contentment rather than anguish; its stillness is energetic rather than stultifying.

The reclamation of masculinity is incorporated once again, but in *Etruscan Places*, more attention is paid to the phallus: “It is the natural beauty of proportion of the phallic consciousness, contrasted with the more studied or ecstatic proportion of the mental and spiritual Consciousness we are accustomed to” (10). B., who travels with Lawrence, is described as being “so surprised to see the phallic stones by the doors of many tombs” (13). Lawrence includes this detail, showing that the image of the phallus has been important across ancient civilizations on each end of the Earth. He elaborates that:

One can live one’s life, and read all the books about India or Etruria, and never read a single word about the thing that impresses one in the very first five minutes, in Benares or in an Etruscan necropolis: that is, the phallic symbol. Here it is, in stone, unmistakable, and everywhere, around these tombs. Here it is, big and little, standing by the doors, or inserted, quite small, into the rock: the phallic stone! (15)

Lawrence spends the last pages of the chapter “Cerveteri” describing these statues and carvings, marveling at their existence. He explains that one cannot find these in textbooks and travel writing, but writers shy away from mentioning the presences of these figures. Lawrence no doubt feels that the English omission of the phallic stones parallels their shying away from sexuality and their almost emasculation at the hands of the modern world. The Etruscan connection to the physical body, and its parts that are in modern day are called immodest, harkens back to the similar images of the “physical sensation” and “blood heat” that we see in the Bavarian peasant at the beginning of *Twilight in Italy*.

As with his other travel books, he mentions male characters who embody the raw Italian masculinity he finds so appealing. One such character is Albertino, a “manly and fatherly little

hotel manager” of only fourteen. He admires the boy for his ability to run the hotel without the help of his parents along with his “wistfulness, and trustfulness, and courage” (25). Another such figure is Marco, a “peasant, a short but strong *maremmano* of about forty, unshaven but not unclean” (91). Though he and his town are touched with malaria, Lawrence marvels at the masculinity found in him. Masculinity being something that England and the industrialized countries lack, Lawrence admits that settling there in a town where Marco and another man, Luigi live would have been nice were it not for malaria being so present. In his search for home, living with these men would have been an ideal, and remembering the girovago in *Sea and Sardinia*, we see the importance of male comradery in the ideal world Lawrence seeks.

Etruscan Places is different from *Twilight in Italy* and *Sea and Sardinia* in that it presents a philosophical discussion in a straightforward manner as Lawrence examines the walls of the Etruscan tombs. Even the way they are built stands in contrast to other civilizations in Italy: “The Greeks sought to make an impression. . . . The Etruscans, no. The things they did, in their easy centuries, are as natural and as easy breathing” (12). The words “easy,”—repeated twice—and natural imply their carefreeness. This quote is a parallel to his overarching feelings about travel with some seeking only to impress, and with him seeking a life of freedom.

The ideas of spontaneity and playfulness are also important and Lawrence frequently associates them with the Etruscans. In the “Tomb of Hunting and Fishing” Lawrence describes scenes of men diving into waters where dolphins leap and how their bodies are painted red as they go out naked during the day, a color which Lawrence sees in the tanned Italians of his time. In all, he describes the painting as “small and gay and quick with life, spontaneous as only young life can be. . . . here is the real Etruscan liveliness and naturalness. It is not impressive or grand. But if you are content with just a sense of the quick ripple of life, then here it is” (35). Lawrence

speaks plainly about his admiration of the Etruscan way of life, and perhaps it is the closest we, as readers, get to understanding Lawrence's search for solutions to the problems of modernity. Lawrence, finding modernity dull and stultifying, as we have seen in his previous works, sought a mode of existence that challenged modern life. The Etruscans were a civilization of peoples who, at least through their art, valued playfulness and living in the moment and thus were attractive to Lawrence. This was something Lawrence felt was deeply missing throughout much of Western Europe following World War I.

Closely related to playfulness and spontaneity is the Etruscan celebration of aliveness and their acceptance of life and death as natural. As he inspects the "Etruscan banqueting scenes of the dead," he notes that in these paintings is found a "profound belief in life, acceptance of life and that There is a certain dance and glamour in all the movements, even in those of the naked slave-men. They are by no means downtrodden menials, let later Romans say what they will. The slaves in the tombs are surging with full life" (36). Even in the lowest class, the slaves, Lawrence finds a celebration of life that modernity has all but forgotten. Remembering the Streatham man from *Twilight in Italy*, we find there is an obvious lack of life in the lower and working classes in England. In another Tarquinian tomb, he describes another painted tomb:

The naked slaves joyfully stoop to the wine-jars. Their nakedness is its own clothing, more easy than drapery. The curves of their limbs show pure pleasure in life, a pleasure that goes deeper still in the limbs of the dancers, in the big, long hands thrown out and dancing to the very ends of the fingers, a dance that surges from within, like a current in the sea. It is as if the current of some strong different life swept through them, different from our shallow current to-day: as if they drew their vitality from different depths that we are denied. (48)

He describes them as they run naked and without shame in spite of the fact that most in Edwardian society would associate shame with nudity. In Lawrence's description, it appears more naturally than clothing. The image of the current and the ocean also invokes the idea of

water, which implies the ease of Etruscan living and of the natural and effortless ebb and flow of their lives. Pleasure and the idea of dancing is also repeated throughout the passage highlighting the levity of the Etruscan way of life in comparison to the modern way, which is described as “shallow.” Lawrence suggests that this constant living in the moment, drawing energy from nature and life itself, is unavailable for those of the modern world, as though the Western society is so far removed from it that it is virtually unreachable. What killed it was the “power which must needs be moral, or carry morality with it, as a cloak for its inner ugliness” that has left few untouched (49). Lawrence’s journey represents a turning away from practically all of England and its denial of sexuality, the body, and natural life with its strict norms and almost inescapable industrialism.

There is a deep sense of loss and longing running throughout *Etruscan Places*, and we have seen this through Lawrence’s mentions of the encroaching modernity phasing out the peasant lifestyle in his previous two books. Janik reminds us that, as the game animals in Vulci are disappearing, “It is not the lost beauty that Lawrence regrets, but the lost wildness. . . . ‘Soon the only animals left will be the tame ones: man the tamest and most swarming’” (196). It is apparent that as the years drive on, his search is becoming more and more hopeless. Just as we see with the faun-faced men, the semblances of an old way of living are no longer able to thrive, and as Lawrence fears, will eventually go extinct.

Yet, what Lawrence admires so much in the Etruscans is their “old” way of life, their ability to dwell within and cohabitate with the natural world. Furthermore, “In his account of Etruscan religion Lawrence again presents a contrast between Etruscan naturalness and Graeco-Roman mental knowledge” (Janik 198). Even the overall narrative found in *Etruscan Places* reflects this as Lawrence moves through the Etruscan tombs and ruins and interacts with the

Italian natives with his philosophical conversations shining through the experiences, as Janik showed us through the example of the young German archaeology student who visits Tarquinia with Lawrence. He engages in a philosophical ekphrasis when examining the walls of the Etruscan tombs. In “The Painted Tombs of Tarquinia,” Lawrence describes the paintings in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing where leaping dolphins represent freedom, and the men diving into the water and the death banquet scenes represent the fullness and acceptance of life that, for Lawrence, characterize the Etruscans.

In *Etruscan Places*, Lawrence returns to the foundations of the guidebook. *Sea and Sardinia* and *Twilight in Italy* were “less concerned with providing a practical guidebook than with using direct observations to create a symbolic structure,” but *Etruscan Places* is more concerned with this structure (Janik 195). Billy T. Tracy explained that his interest and knowledge in the Etruscan civilization came from “a combination of readings in history, archaeology, and anthropology. . . . From the writings of Herodotus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy” and of what Tracy claims was Lawrence’s greatest influence, “The Cities and Cemeteris of Etruria (1848)” by George Dennis (437). Janik explains that Lawrence’s goal was not to popularize or emulate nineteenth-century scholarship but to give an account of the physical and imaginative worlds which he himself had experienced” (195). Lawrence masterfully employs the structures of the guidebook in order to convey his symbolic meanings, making it the clearest of the three travel books in its ability to convey its philosophical ideas. Christopher Hassall comments that ““on the plane where archaeological facts may be found to serve a symbolic purpose, the book was complete”” (qtd. Janik 195). In some ways, it can be seen as a way to unobtrusively convey his ideas without imposing them upon the Etruscan spaces, furthering the

idea of coexistence. This approach also incorporates the philosophical conversation with fact and observation.

Donald Gutierrez, author of “The Ancient Imagination of D.H. Lawrence,” claims that Lawrence’s writings, such as *Apocalypse*, *Women in Love*, and *Sons and Lovers*, take on a primitivistic and hylozoist ideology, a belief in which “all matter is alive, or that life and matter are indivisible” (178). If this is true, then his denunciation of the modern world, as a simulated reality and as detrimental to the natural world, makes sense. The Etruscan acceptance of life and coexistence with nature seems to fall in line with this.

Etruscan Places is, by nature, highly performative. Not only do we see Lawrence use scholarly discourse and shy away from using names, such as with *Sea and Sardinia*, to place himself in the role of observer once again, he is also careful to avoid Roman sites, abstains from returning Roman salutes, and carefully chooses the words and images he uses. His choice of location in *Etruscan Places* is extremely detailed and cautious. Rather than accounting his travels in the same wandering patter that is seen in *Twilight in Italy*, *Etruscan Places* seems to be deliberate and highly purposeful in every step of the journey, and these elements work together with themes we have seen throughout his timeline of travel in and throughout Italy to create a book that presents itself as more self-aware and understanding of its end goals than the previous two narratives.

VII: Glancing Forward

Just before Lawrence, many fictional works reflected similar attitudes, presenting Italy as a place for discovering oneself and exploring sexuality. For Anglo-Americans Italy offered a place where one could live a different life, one free from the sexual prudery of their home

countries. Like the travel books of those such as Norman Douglas and D.H. Lawrence, the travel of fictional characters often added to the social critique of rigid Edwardian England. E.M. Forster's "A Room with a View" (1908), conveys similar ideas about English society and restrictions of sexuality in the early twentieth century as Lucy Honeychurch, an upper middle-class woman, travels to Italy and finds love. Elizabeth von Arnim's 1922 novel, "The Enchanted April," sees Mrs. Wilkins and Mrs. Arbuthnot desperate for a change in their daily lives as they travel to with Mrs. Fisher and Lady Caroline Dester. Mrs. Arbuthnot, a prudish woman married to a romance novelist, is one character whose love is rekindled by seeing her husband in Italy. Mrs. Arbuthnot is able to overcome her uptight view on sexuality, and it ultimately rejuvenates her marriage.

Since Lawrence, Italy, as represented in books, movies, and popular culture have continued to share this view of Italy as a place where one could escape the sexual and behavioral norms of their home. "Roman Holiday" (1953), "Rome Adventure" (1962), and "Three Coins in a Fountain" (1954), are all movies in which see the characters finding love with other Anglo-American character. Italy allows the characters freedom and offers the opportunity to explore their sexuality whereas in their home countries they would be otherwise unable to. In "Roman Holiday," princess Ann (Audrey Hepburn) is able to find freedom as she escapes the embassy and joins a reporter (Gregory Peck) as the pair experiences the city. Even though accompanied, the princess is able to find freedom in Rome, and upon being asked which European city was her favorite, she emphatically claims Rome. Some films, such as Guy Green's "Light in the Piazza" (1962), even go as far as to critique the social norms that were so restricting. American born Clara (Yvette Mimieux) and Italian native, Fabrizio (George Hamilton) fall in love, but Clara's mental disability causes her parents to disapprove. Eventually, the pair are able to be married

without the knowledge of Clara's father, and Clara is able to find happiness. Clara's father, Noel, represents the views of modern American society and their prejudice against mental disability, and it is not until she visits Italy, away from Anglo-American sensibilities, that she finds acceptance.

While many works of literature and film have critiqued Anglo-American society, none have done so in such a comprehensive way as D.H. Lawrence, and his travel books help mark a definitive shift in the meaning of Italy and the ways in which people traveled through the country. D.H. Lawrence was prominent for his risks, and his books were often the result of his disdain for modern society and the strict social norms of his home country. As such, his move to Italy, and the three travel books published as a result, became a way for Lawrence to publicly protest the sexual prudery and stifling nationalism of England through the words of widely read travel accounts. His performance of traveler was radical and innovative, making him the first to do so to such an extent. *Twilight in Italy*, *Sea and Sardinia*, and *Etruscan Places* were able to pick up where his fiction works left off, beaming with social critique as he searches for a mode of life conducive to his sensibilities in an ever-modernizing world.

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