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Rambling with a "New Race" of Travelers: Mary Shelley's Anglo-Italian Visioning and Margaret Fuller's "Thinking American" in Italy

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Although Italy profoundly transformed the personal and professional lives of Mary Shelley (1797–1851) and Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), critics rarely consider the British Romantic and her American counterpart in tandem. This article therefore crosses transnational boundaries to reveal how Shelley and Fuller project their Italianized awakenings in letters, editorials, and travel writing. More specifically, it traces the convergence of their ideological visions through their shared yet contrasting use of travel tropes. Just as Shelley contrasts an enlightened "Anglo-Italian" traveler from an uncultivated English John Bull, Fuller distinguishes the "Thinking American" explorer from his naïve counterpart, Jonathan. Bringing these neglected travel tropes to the foreground offers a fresh lens for understanding Shelley's and Fuller's shared feminist ideals, especially the role of mindful travel in redressing Italian stereotypes and even preserving Italian culture. Moreover, through their distinct but unwavering support for the *Risorgimento*, both authors challenge female domestic boundaries and national loyalties, gazing differently to redress British and American cultural insularity. Even today, Shelley and Fuller reach across boundaries of time and culture, inviting modern travelers to pursue a transformative pathway to global citizenship.

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Transnational Sisters in Conversation: Mary Shelley's and Margaret Fuller's Italianized Identities

While scholars recognize Italy's influence on Shelley's and Fuller's personal and professional identities, seldom do British and American critics bring these innovative travel writers into the same conversation. In the wake of Maria Schoina's *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians': Configurations of Identity in Byron, The Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle* (2009), Mary Shelley scholars have spilt much ink over whether her identity was English, Anglo-Italian, or balanced in-betweenness. Other scholars provide interesting, varied perspectives on Shelley's travel gaze. Magdalena Ożaska (2013) situates Shelley's "anthropological gaze" in *Rambles* within Grand Tourist constructs, whereas Giulia Bocchio (2021) posits that Shelley overcame her ingrained sense of British superiority. Newly unearthed Shelley correspondence by Grant Scott (2006) and Nora Crook (2013) reinvigorates conversations about Shelley's evolving identities and ideologies. Taken together, Megan Marshall's Fuller biography (2013), Ellen Dubois's Italian scholarship (2003), and Belle Chevigny's work (1986), illuminate Fuller's Ameri-Italia identity and Italianized in-betweenness. Other critics, such as Annamaria Elsden (2004), situate their analyses of Fuller's gaze and travel tropes but primarily within the frameworks of American nineteenth-century nationhood.

Despite this substantial standalone scholarship on Shelley, Fuller, and the travel gaze itself it is surprising that scholars have not crossed transnational boundaries to interweave Fuller and Shelley or explore how, albeit differently, each conveys her Italian awakenings outward—in letters, editorials, and travel writing. To redress this scholarly gap, illuminate their converging ideological visions, and reorient the travel gaze, this article foregrounds Shelley's and Fuller's shared use of bad tourist types—English John Bull and American Jonathan—and then counterpoises these figures with good traveler tropes: the Anglo-Italian and Thinking American.

By twisting familiar nineteenth-century tropes, John Bull and Jonathan, from national emblems into humorous and satirical tourist caricatures, Shelley and Fuller arguably reached a wider audience. Playful inversions, after all, can disarm defenses and open minds to novel ideas, thereby succeeding where polemical arguments fail. So, by casting John Bull and Jonathan as emblematic bad tourist types, Shelley and Fuller might expose and correct intertwined cultural ills: the myopic travel gaze that sustains cultural insularity; failed democratic visioning; and the intrusive patriarchal reach. Meanwhile, contemporary pundits successfully diverted crowds by playing up a "great likeness between" the proudly uncultured John Bull beef-eater, who preferred dogs and hunting, and his sportive, uncultivated backwoods Jonathan counterpart (Paulding 1867, 10)[1]. Across the pond, Jonathan—though "a boor, a braggart, a bigot, a hick, and a trickster", as Adee Braun notes, used wile to win independence from Britain (Braun 2019)[2]. Likewise, John Bull stood for King and Country, his staunch conservatism itself a talisman against Continental customs (Colley 1992). Even so, by ridiculing insularity, Shelley and Fuller aspire to tease readers out of the follies and missteps of John Bull and Jonathan in Italy. For, as Fuller wryly concludes after travel with a bumbling English

[1] The diverting history of John Bull and Jonathan, their father and son affinities, and silly sparring is detailed in other chapters.

[2] Braun observes that John and Jonathan later became respectable nationalist mascots. Uncle Sam later eclipsed Jonathan in pro-nativist illustrations.

family, this "man of honor, John, does not look well abroad"[3] (Fuller 1991, 87). Yet for all his bumbling and *peccadillos*, Protestant John Bull and Brother Jonathan, respectively, could be relied upon to ward off Continental culture and Catholic mummery alike.

In self-fashioning themselves as counterpoised good traveler personas—that is, the "Anglo-Italian" and the "Thinking American"— Shelley and Fuller signal distinct yet unwavering advocacy for the Risorgimento, Italian culture, and global democracy. Just as Fuller presents the "Thinking American" who transplants Italian "seed[s]" at home, Shelley's "Anglo-Italian" brings "taste" and "culture" acquired from Italy to sow the seeds of Italian regeneration in England. And, although neither relinquished all national and religious prejudice—Fuller, as Chevigny notes, detested Papal authoritarian reach—both writers exemplify the tolerance and broad-minded perspective of thoughtful travelers (Chevigny 1986, 199, footnote 37). Much like other female travel writers, as Silva Antosa and Elisabetta Marino argue, Shelley and Fuller could also capitalize "on their subaltern status as the Other" (Antosa and Marino 2021, 3). Though writing from the margins, Shelley and Fuller project an authoritative female gaze into travel discourse, and, in so doing, revise and reconfigure travel writing beyond private, epistolary, and feminine borders, all the while pivoting away from an androcentric, Grand Tourist gaze.

Today, concurrent with the resurgence of nineteenth-century style John Bull and Jonathan-like insularity, nationalism runs viral (and virile) in patriotic memes. Equally distressing, ethnocentric tourists increasingly and willfully brandish ignorance abroad, as if to signal allegiance to a national flag. In this contentious climate, Shelley and Fuller serve as exemplars, posing global-mindedness, learning, and thoughtful travel as curatives for the metaphorical "tourist flu."

Pride and Prejudice or First Impressions: Mary Shelley's "Alien Outlook"

Like many British Protestant travelers in Italy, Shelley, as Bocchio observes, grapples with "well-established prejudices" and an ingrained "colonial sense of superiority" (Bocchio 2021, 13). At first, Shelley shared an English bias against Southern, Italian doctors, preferring experts trained in Northern climes[4] (Difruscio and Rennick 2013, 71). Unsurprisingly, grief, alienation, and duress trigger tend to reinforce cultural bias.[5] Sorrowful after her child William perishes from Roman fever, Shelley laments to Marianne Hunt: "We came to Italy thinking to do Shelley's health good—but the Climate is not [by] any means warm enough to be of benefit to him & yet it is that that has destroyed my two children" (Shelley 1944, 1:74). After Percy recovers, Mary feels alone in "hateful Italy" (1: 75). Elsewhere, notably, Pisa, Shelley merely waxes peevish. In this picturesque, but "dull" town, the "ragged-haired", "shirtless" university folk, "beggars", and "dirty" cotton-downed women with "ugly faces" are redressed for sartorial sins (Shelley 1980, 1: 136–137). Holding Italians in varying shades of agreeability, she adds, "The Pisans I dislike more than any of the Italians & none of them are as yet favourites with me" (1: 136–137). In this "simple and unidimensional" view, as Difruscio and Rennick conclude, "the division of power between hegemony and subaltern" emerges. In short, culture shock reifies the idea that home culture and people are superior to foreign places and people (Difruscio and Rennick 2013, 73).

[3] John Bull's comingled gentlemanly "honor", "churlish", and "clownish" nature appears in Dispatch 8 (Fuller 1991, 87).

[4] Shelley's English doctor affirms climate bias in 29 June 1819 ltr. to Marianne Hunt. (Shelley 1944, 1: 74)

[5] Canadian anthropologist, Kalvero Oberg (1910–1973) is credited for describing and categorizing culture shock.

"Rome is my country": Mary Shelley's "Unenglishfying"

Though Shelley's Italian naturalization was neither seamless nor linear, distance from England's anti-liberal and political climate rendered life in Italy comparably freer and better. Outraged, in February 1820, Shelley declared her independence with this famous line: "Rome is my country and I do not wish to own another" (Shelley 1944, 1: 96). Though quick to add that she is not "unenglishfying", Gagging Laws, Lord Castlereagh's sanctimoniousness, and King George IVs' infamous public trial of Queen Caroline, seemingly foster Shelley's "self-designation as an exile" (Stabler 2013, 7). Occupying a marginalized position as an English wife and mother, Mary also identified more fully with the Queen's plight than Percy could. As Thomas Laquer explains, women from all classes joined ranks to protest the Queen's treatment; in her disenfranchisement was that of 'every woman' and 'every wife'" (Laqueur 1982, 443). Cheekily signifying her feminist politics, she tells Hunt, "You see what a John or rather Joan Bull I am" [6] (Shelley 1944, 1: 98). In reclaiming a wifely first name —*Joan*, not Mrs. Bull—Shelley (who Italianizes by styling herself Marina) also liberates womankind from a patrilineal, English wifely identity[7] (Paulding 1867, 12). By so doing, Shelley underscores her famous mother's tenet: "Provide women with freedom, and the world will be a better place for everyone" (Gordon 2015, 503). Seemingly, the Queen's trial added to her growing feeling of aloofness from John Bulls or, in Shelley's words, the "English, rich, noble—important and foolish" (Shelley 1980, 1: 93).

Even while residing in other Italian regions, Shelley pines for Roman pines. By 1820, six months after her son William dies in Rome, Shelley confesses to Amelia Curran, "I own that during all this time my heart is still at Rome—It is a place I cannot think of without a sigh and yet I long to be there" (Shelley 1980, 1: 127). Though plagued with domestic cares, troubled by Percy's inconstancy, misunderstood by friends, and nearly dying from a miscarriage, life in Italy did indeed fill a "blank slate", unleashing her creative self. After Percy Shelley drowned in the Bay of Spezia in July 1822, Mary lost a husband and literary collaborator. Still, misery in Italy was preferred to life elsewhere. Forced to return to England in 1823, a distraught Shelley writes, "I go—with great regret" (1: 327). In Rome, near the weed-grown wall of the Protestant Cemetery, Shelley's spirit reposed with her husband and children. "After four years of residence in Italy", as Stabler confirms, "England was no longer home" (Stabler 2013, 7).

"Dragged from her beautiful [Italian] country"— English Exile in an *Infelicissimo Paese*

"You will soon see me in England. It is not my own desire, or for my own advantage that I go — but for my boy's — So I am fixed and enjoy these blue skies & the sight of vines & olive groves for the last time" (Shelley 1980, 1: 335). In May 1823, so resignedly writes Shelley. From 1823–1825 in correspondence with Leigh and Marianne Hunt, Shelley often feels in "exile", or captive in drear England. Through use of juxtaposed weather tropes, Shelley conveys both an affinity for Italy, *bel paese*, and an antipathy

[6] See Newman White's details on John and Joan Bull and Percy Shelley's satire of this famous Battle Royale in *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

[7] In education and sentiment, it's hard to imagine a figure more unlike Mary Shelley than nosy, insular, gossipy Mrs. Bull.

toward England, the "*infeelicissimo paese*"[8] (1: 391). Only "divine Italy" and its nurturing, "affectionate heart" vanquish "clouds" of the mind (Shelley 1944, 1: 270). England is "a cold rain [which] falls on the feelings & quenches the living spark that was lighted there—it is a dreary, rainy cold *infelicissimo paese*" (1: 270)[9]. Briefly, Shelley's spark rekindles in October 1823, when "transported" by Frank Novella's "Italian face, manners and speech" and by her Anglo-Italian compatriot, Mr. Gliddon, "just returned from *patria mia*, loving [Italy] almost as much as I" (1: 274). By July 1824, frustrated with her "stupid English life, Shelley writes Leigh Hunt, "I will not be exiled for ever from that dear, dear country—my good *compatrioti* may rest assured of that" (1: 301). Interestingly, if "the concepts of exile and return imply a point of origin, a homeland", as Jhumpa Lahiri avows, Shelley's sense of being in English exile while longing for an Italian return poses Italy as an adopted homeland (Lahiri 2016, 133). In concert with Italianizing, she denaturalizes from "this England, I can no longer love" (Shelley 1980, 1: 459, 464).[10] Shelley also traverses linguistic borders, codeswitching into Italian: "*Patria mia*", "*compatrioti*", and "*infelicissimo paese"* suggest affiliation with "My adopted land, my country—Italy" (Shelley 1889, 2: 59). As late as 1848, Shelley avows, England "has been a stepmother to me, and I like her best at a distance".[11] From England, however, Shelley advocates for Italy, refashioning an ideal of cultivated travel and global citizenship through her reviews and writing.

Refashioning "John Bull" Tourist as a "New Race" of Anglo-Italian Traveler

While Shelley's letters suggest a gradual process of Italianizing, by 1826 she had begun to style herself *Anglo-Italicus* in letters and travel essays for *The Examiner* and *Westminster Review*, thereby turning her Italian affinities outward. Notably, she introduces a "new race" of "Anglo-Italian" traveler, who unlike "true John Bull", understands Italian, and thereby sidesteps John Bull's "ludicrous mishaps" (Shelley 1826, 327). Endowed with a "real taste for the beautiful", this "well-informed", "clever", and "active" Anglo-Italian emerges as a cultural ambassador for his "un-Italianized countrymen", disseminating "taste" and "knowledge" acquired in Italy to counter their predominant "stayathomeativeness" (327).

Indeed, under the cloak of anonymity, Shelley's "The English in Italy" criticizes John Bull, e.g., androcentric British pride and racial superiority, thus flipping the mirror onto English ignorance, not Italian vice. After recounting the "ridiculous mistakes" and blunders of English John Bull—his regurgitations of being "starved", "upset", and "robbed" through Italy, the author cleverly redirects blame on the negligent traveler for "utter ignorance of the Italian language".[12] One also wonders whether Shelley covertly indites Sir Timothy Percy, who restrained her womanly freedom and cut off her meager allowance, in this critique. [13] An almost certain target was the Tory-spewing, odious editor, Theodore Hook, who waged ultra-conservative culture wars in the *John Bull*

[8] "*infeelicissimo paese*" may signify England's unfeeling nature, chilling reception of Shelley, and its biting cold.

[9] See varying use of *infelicissimo.*

[10] Shelley intersperses English and Italian and writes Italian letters to Teresa Guiccioli (Shelley 1980, 1: 457–461, 471–475).

[11] These lines are extracted from a ltr. to Abraham Hayward 18 Nov. 1848 (Smith 1914: 194).

[12] In a footnote from "The English in Italy," Shelley elaborates, "innumerable are the anecdotes that might be related of the ridiculous mistakes of the Un-Italianized English in Italy", 331.

[13] Sir Timothy prevented Shelley from publishing anything on Percy Shelley until 1838. He demanded her exacting propriety in exchange for his paltry allowance.

Newspaper (Shelley 1980, 1:374).[14] Within Shelley's critique of Lord Normanby's hackneyed portrayal of an unhappy English woman's Italian marriage, Italy figures as a country for women. In her counterpoised narrative, Shelley asks readers to imagine an Italian bride "dragged from her beautiful country and sunny clime, deprived of her box at the opera, her ride on the Corso", and who exchanges "*dolce far niente*" for English domestic toils and "that thick and ample veil of [English] propriety" (Shelley 1826, 329). In this sketch, widow Shelley's double oppression by Sir Timothy Percy and British patriarchy is easy to fathom. As Bennett observes, prior to social reforms in the 1830s, British women led even more restrictive lives. (Bennett 1995, 151).

Within the genre-bending tapestry of "Recollections of Italy", Shelley again tweaks the horns of British male arrogance. Through her thinly disguised mouthpiece—the sophisticated Anglo-Italian character Malville--she constructs a hypothetical portrait of her compatriot's typically wrong-headed English approach to Italian travel:

> 'Shall I tell you,' continued Malville, with a smile, 'how you passed your time in Italy? You traversed the country in your traveling chariot, cursing the postillions and the bad inns. You arrived at a town and went to the best hotel, at which you found many of your countrymen, mere acquaintances in England, but hailed as bosom friends in that strange land. You walked about the streets of a morning expecting to find gorgeous temples [...]You came to some broken pillar, wondered what it could be, and laughed at the idea of this being one of the relics which your wise countrymen came so far to see.' (Shelley 1990, 258)

Through Malville's Socratic questions, "Recollections" shows how unprepared travel skews perceptions of national differences, flattening human complexity into stereotypes and leading to a retribalizing effect. Further, through her sharp wit, Shelley interrogates dominant national and cultural norms, posing for readers a choice: to be refined Anglo-Italian travelers or patriotic bulldogs extolling British beef, beer, and puddings. Even the character's name *Malville*, translated as "bad town", playfully critiques English provincialism.

Because travel writing is a fluid genre, it has the potential to foster new ways of being and of seeing the world. In this pliable form, then, Mary Shelley emerges as an unacknowledged legislator in the Romantic sense, cautioning against British hypocrisy, suspicion, and nationalism in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. For, despite the *Edinburgh Monthly Review's* 1821 blithe proclamation that "John-Bullism", the "laughing-stock" of the Continent was out, British ethnocentricity persisted, even among learned travel writers (Review of Galiffe 1821, 439). As Jeremy Black opines, Protestants studying art and history often returned home no more enlightened about Italian culture or Roman Catholic rituals than before their journey (Black 2003, 1–16). Others fetishized Italians, indulged vices, or extolled English virtues in what Shelley satirically calls the "true, wise English way". By way of affirming Anglo-Italianism, Shelley mocks the "spoilt by vanity" Bulwer-Lytton: "a deaf man without one word of Italian to judge of Italians in a rapid journey, of 5 months—*si da retta a un tale force*" (Shelley 1944, 2: 84). Echoing Shelley, this Edinburgh editor concludes that no other racial group is "more encouraged to threaten, defy, taunt, and insult than the populace of England" (Review of Galiffe 1821, 440).

[14] Shelley railed against Hooke and *John Bull*, for its "blasphemies", and "indecencies". *John Bull* attacked her husband, also outing Queen Caroline's supporters by publishing their names. On the ultra-conservative *John Bull* newspaper and English climate (St. Claire 2000, 52).

Becoming "What the Italians were censured for being": Feminist Rambling in Italy

In her final publication, *Rambles in Germany and Italy* (1840, 1842, and 1843), Shelley crosses the Alps into Italy again, joyfully casting off her English stepmother like "outworn and tattered [English] garments" to clothe freshly in Italian "vesture all gay" (Shelley 1844, 1: 2). In a letter composed to Elizabeth Severn from the Eternal City, Shelley opines, "I love & enjoy Rome as much as ever" (Shelley quoted in Scott 2006, 71). She feels "a tender sensation allied to that of love"; Italy's natural beauty, as Shelley waxes brightly, "wins upon you until you come to love it as a friend" (Shelley 1844, 2: 291). While serving as a guide to Italian regions and culture, *Rambles* is also a compendium of Shelley's Italian experience (Shelley 1980, 3: xxx). While advising travelers to suspend prejudice, Shelley also corrects her own youthful misconceptions. Asserts Shelley: "Nothing is more difficult than for a foreigner to give a correct account of the state of a country—its laws, manners, and customs;--the first often so different in their operation from what outwardly appears" (Shelley 1844, 2: 181). In her Milan travels, Shelley circles back to earlier tropes, distinguishing the "Curious Traveller" from the conceited "Knowing Traveller". The first is eager to see; the latter spreads "gratuitous misinformation" and cultural stereotypes. For instance, the "Knowing Traveller" chides his compatriot for having been "horribly cheated" by "Italian rogues" while buying gloves (1: 120).

With its intertwined, corrective view of Italian life, culture, religion, and politics, then, *Rambles* articulates a feminist, feminine Anglo-Italian gaze--one that affirms "taste" and beauty, while countering John Bull stayathomeaattiveness in equal measure. In the "benignant climate [that] clothes the earth in abundance", Italy figures as an "indulgent mother" fostering "dreamy contentment" rather than English "manly energy" (2: 242). Capricious wandering and immersion in Italian beauty, culture, and spectacle, as Romantic ways of seeing, counterbalance the planned travel itinerary in *Baedeker* or *The Murray Guide-Book*. Though Ożaska concludes Shelley's gaze is predominately "anthropological rather than 'Romantic"—that is, leaning toward "active interpretation" of what is seen as opposed to "solitary," or "awe"—these gazes harmoniously coexist in the spaces of Shelley's travelogue (Ożaska 2013, 115). Whether transfigured by nature's stillness or delightfully overwhelmed by art, poetry, and church music, Shelley feels at one with the divine. At the same time, Shelley encourages her readers to participate in celebrating Italy's universal beauty, musing, "When we visit Italy, we become what the Italians were censured for being, --enjoyers of the beauties of nature, the elegance of art, and the delights of climate, the recollections of the past, and the pleasures of society [...]. Such to a great degree was I while there" (Shelley 1844, 1: xvi). Her inclusive "we" feelingly invites all would-be travelers into the experience.

In proposing a sort of *dolce far niente*—that is, "to wander and ramble" beyond tourist venues—*Rambles* also coalesces feminine and feminist archetypes.[15] As desultory (or *niente*) as idling and daydreaming may seem, the title, *Rambles*, poses capricious wandering "without any definite object" (Shelley 1844, 2: 229) as both desirable and immersive, thereby, disassociates it from derogatory, feminine associations. Once again, Shelley invokes the1826 ideal "Anglo-Italian" traveler who meanders from the beaten

[15] "To wander" and rambling are interchangeable (Shelley 1844, 1: 41).

path and "ceases to visit the churches and palaces, guide-book in hand" (Shelley 1844, 2: 229; Shelley 1826, 327). Solitary wandering was also Shelley's escape from Percy and his insular, beef-loving English friends. (Ożaska 2013, 119). After all, as Rome enthusiasts know, what is more spellbinding than getting lost in beauty on a serpentine path through Rome?

Though the Young Italian movement and Italian exile Ferdinando Gatteschi inspired Shelley's travelogue, in *Rambles*, as Butler observes, "[i]t is the figure of the author rather than the revolutionary that Shelley looks to as the hope of the young nation" (Butler 2021, 61).[16] While openly announcing its intent to garner British support for Italy, *Rambles* is artfully political. For all her sympathy for "the spirit of revolt checked, but not quelled in the pontifical states" (Shelley 1844, 2: 258), Shelley cautions against youthful ardor and mob rule. In citing the American Revolution as "a successful resistance to the undue exercise of authority" (1: xi), the author, in her maternal nationalism, situates Italy as the site of universal democracy. Two *Ameri-Italias* Shelley especially admired, Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, had likewise crossed geopolitical boundaries, locating the seeds of Manifest Destiny in revolutionary Rome (Dowling 2014, 39). In championing global democracy wherever she found it, Shelley went far beyond the feminine, light and travelogue promised to Edward Moxon (Shelley 1844, 1: xvi). Her support for the Risorgimento resonated transnationally too. Both Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Margaret Fuller, as Sandra Gilbert states, sought to redeem Italy and be redeemed by Italy (Gilbert 1984).

Margaret Fuller's Italian Awakening: "Now I really live in Rome"

As Ellen DuBois observes, almost as soon as Fuller set foot in Europe in 1846, her once narrow intellectual pathway began to widen.[17] In her late thirties, Fuller, a late emotional bloomer, if ever there were, discovers in Rome's freeing atmosphere, a nascent, Italianized identity that dismantles her blue-stocking spinster self. Like de Stael's fictional *Corinne*, Fuller blooms in Rome's *bella figura* culture where female creatives and intellectuals are crowned with laurels rather than losing market value, as in America. Shelley's metaphorical use of adorning oneself in fresh Italian clothing to express delight in travel's varied scenes becomes literally true for Fuller, who refurbished her wardrobe abroad. In Fuller's case, European dress embodies *bella figura*, her stylish clothing reflecting cultivated taste, sophistication, and intellect. In Rome, the author's emotional world also expands, her romance with Italian Giovanni Ossoli blossoming under the awe-inspiring influence of vespers in St. Peter's Basilica.[18] It is this very openness to experience and less crystalized sense of self, in fact, that distinguishes Fuller from tourists, Americans residing in Rome, or even the "Thinking American." Like true travelers, Fuller had to leave her native home to discover her true self. The subsequent birth of her child also anchored Fuller in a new socio-political space.

Much like Shelley reborn in Italy, Fuller evokes familial tropes of belonging, feeling welcomed in Italy, "as a long-lost child" (Fuller 1869, 2: 220). Friendship with Mazzini and loving partnership with Ossoli solidify this assimilation, making Fuller "doubly-wedded" to Italy (Fuller 1903, x). At one with the "European mind", Fuller feels in "unnatural divorce from what I was most allied to" (Fuller 1869, 2: 222). Her sense of

[16] On Shelley's late political conversations, 1848–1850, see Clemit 2013, 27–31.
[17] Dubois says eighteen months in England and France primed Fuller for Italy (Dubois 2003, 289).
[18] Marshall thinks Fuller's new clothes attracted the handsome Ossoli (Marshall 2013, 291).

Italy as home strengthens through her observation that "English and Americans are not at home" in Rome (Fuller 1869, 2: 222). In becoming Italian—as Marshall opines--Fuller grows estranged from America, even slighting "Amerns" (with this abbreviation) to be "*simpatica*" with Italians (Marshall 2013, 305). By July 1848, Fuller even declares her independence from America to Emerson, writing "I now think wholly in Italian" (Fuller 1869, 2: 244). Figuratively, Fuller also finds "home" in her intimate relationship with Ossoli. As Dubois conjectures, Fuller's "unswerving" love fulfilled her emotional needs without compromising integrity, freedom, or writing (Dubois 2003, 300).[19] As with Shelley, Fuller left Italy for her child's sake and "suffered from parting" with "Rome, *my* country" (Fuller 1869, 2: 216; Fuller 2018, V: 275). Before their ill-fated journey to America, Fuller and Ossoli spent eight months in Florence, a city more "in spirit like Boston" than an Italian one.[20] Lost at sea along with the prospect of transplanting Italian life and culture in America during this fatal 1850 voyage home to America was Fuller's manuscript on the Italian Revolution.[21]

Margaret Fuller's Italian Awakening: "Rome has grown up in my soul"

Fuller's awakening in Italy proved as formative as Shelley's in shaping and sharpening her ideological vision. Despite their differences, both authors were Classics scholars, fluent in Italian and, to varying degrees, stakeholders in the Italian *Risorgimento*. In her capacity as America's first female war correspondent, in Italy, Fuller produced 37 Dispatches for Horace Greeley's *New-York Tribune* between December 1846 and January 1850. As Fuller's fledgling Italian self develops, she bends journalism into advocacy for Italian culture and liberty. And, while Shelley was Mary Wollstonecraft's biological child, Margaret Fuller was her American revolutionary daughter, whose landmark feminist text, W*oman in the Nineteenth Century*, as Howard Wach (2005) observes, drew from Wollstonecraft's ideals of female equality.[22] Fuller's translocation to Italy during the height of the *Risorgimento* and living in Rome under siege during "sad and glorious days" (Fuller 1991, 285) intensified her ardor for Italian liberty. As Reynolds and Smith observe in the Introduction to *These Sad But Glorious Days*, from 1848-1850, Fuller's *Tribune* reports became "more militant, more Italian" (Fuller 1991, 26). In sum, Fuller's alliance with Giuseppe Mazzini, partnership with Giovanni Ossoli (a republican guard), and Nino's birth, made her an even greater stakeholder in the Italian Revolution.

Ignorance and Intelligence Abroad: The "Anglo-Italian" and "Thinking American" Encounter British John Bull and American Jonathan

While sharing Shelley's corrective view of mindful travel, Fuller saw mid-century American consumerism eroding national core values and ideals. Spending-and-getting travelers retained neither Jonathan's redeeming honesty nor the cultivated appreciation for art, music, or literature, characteristic of the so-called decadent Europeans. As Fuller saw it, "The universalizing habits of the American bourgeois have turned against him,"

[19] See Fuller's 31 Aug. 1849, ltr. to her mother (Fuller 2018, 5: 261).

[20] See the same letter to C.S. (Fuller 1869, 2: 216).

[21] Fuller's untimely death and reluctant return home still puzzles biographers and critics. Was her drowning off Fire Island inevitable? Fatalistic?

[22] See pages 7-8 of Wach (2005) for details on how Wollstonecraft influenced Fuller's feminist ideology. Shelley also likely read an 1846 London publication of Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. On Fuller's parallels with Wollstonecraft's feminist vision, see Eliot 1855, 988.

and even flag-waving Artists became "insensible" to Italian beauty, their gaze "narrow and myopic" (Chevigny 1986, 191).

To inspire *New-York Tribune* readers, especially "Thinking Americans," to preserve Italian art and culture, Fuller situates Italy at the crossroads of a universal cultural heritage. Not unlike a harmonious Johnny Appleseed scattering apple varieties across America, Fuller envisions a "Thinking American" who cross-pollinates by planting taste and culture in his native soil (Fuller 1991, 163). Hybridization, or cross-pollination in its worst form, can interchange the English John Bull with his American counterpart, Jonathan. Both, laments Fuller, "take the same slothful and prejudiced view [of Italy]" (Fuller 1869, 2: 227). Elsewhere she rebukes "Jonathan and John" for ethnocentricity, especially for failing to support Italian democracy because "[Italians] are not like *our* people" (Fuller 1991, 257). In May 1849, after being barricaded in Rome during the French occupation, Fuller unflinchingly asserts, "I would defend Rome to the last moment", beseeching, in this same Dispatch, "true" Americans to save "the glories of art", lest humans be "forever despoiled of the most beautiful inheritance" (276). After several months under siege, Fuller's Italian nationalism solidifies; she self-designates as Italy's "sister", and "writes herself into the narrative of Italy's destiny" at the height of the revolution (Fuller 1991, 310; Elsden 2004, 36).

Perhaps nowhere does the arc of Shelley's and Fuller's ideological vision converge more humorously than in their shared objection to mass tourism. In a May 1847 dispatch, Fuller conflates "Americans" and "the traveling English, as a tribe", identifying both as "the most unseeing" of all (Fuller 1991, 132). Fuller then outlines the attendant ills of cultural insularity.

> The traveler [...] *vetturinoed* from inn to inn, *ciceroned* from gallery to gallery, Thrown, through indolence, want of tact, or ignorance of the language, too much into the society of his compatriots, sees the least possible of the country." (Fuller 1991, 131-132)

In this passage, Fuller reveals how ignorance ferried abroad undercuts the authentic experiences that make travel worthwhile: speaking with Italians, rambling, and expanding cultural and artistic horizons. Worse still, "contempt" and "unseeing" behaviors reverberate even uglier abroad (132). What is American and English "vulgarity" at home, conjectures Fuller, to that which "chatters and sneers through the Miserere of the Sistine Chapel, beneath the very glance of Michel Angelo's Sibyls,--praises St. Peter's as '*nice*,' talks of '*managing*' the Colosseum by moonlight,--and snatches '*bits*' for a '*sketch*' from the sublime silence of the Campagna?" (132). By way of further illustration, Fuller introduces two negative tourist species: the "Servile" tourist, an "utterly shallow and thoughtless" and self-indulgent being; and the "Conceited" tourist, who, despite being "profoundly ignorant" of culture, art, and history, ranks his appraisal with as of a connoisseur (163). While dismissing the first type, Fuller finds the "Conceited' type redeemable. Fuller concludes; he is "Jonathan in the sprawling state, the booby truant, not yet aspiring enough to be a good school-boy. Yet in his folly there is meaning; add thought and culture to his independence, and he will be a man of might" (163). With these lines, Fuller avows the transformative power of education and reflection. Given enough exposure to both, the conceited tourist may begin to gaze through the right end of the telescope. Even today, for all the ills that come with packaged tourism, study abroad leaders would do well to embrace Fuller's optimism rather than dismiss a tunnel-visioned tourist out of hand. Neither Fuller's Jonathan nor

today's study abroad student viewing Rome through a smartphone lens, is, after all, "a creature beyond hope" (163). Were they here today, Shelley and Fuller would continue advocating to make art and culture accessible while urging habits of self-reflection to lead travelers from narrow mental stairwells into Italian *scalas* and *vedutte.*

Advice for the Contemporary Travelers

Those who do indeed cultivate "taste", prepare to see, and curb their ingrained sense of national superiority—those knee-jerk cultural-shock first impressions that reduce Italian cultures and peoples into something flat and unidimensional—may, in transforming themselves, enlighten their home culture. More ambitiously, thoughtful travelers may follow in Shelley's and Fuller's footsteps, even becoming global cultural emissaries. Conversely, smug modern tourists, much like "culpably negligent" English John Bull and American Jonathan, will contently feed "crude impressions" and inhale recycled "coffee house intelligence" (Fuller 1869, 2: 218).[23] To be "at ease in Rome" and for its jumbling ancient, medieval, and Baroque layers to reveal themselves, as Sibyl Fuller concludes, requires "much acquaintance, much thought", and reference to books (Fuller 1991, 168-169). How much culture, taste, and knowledge, after all, may result from cultural draughts consumed during short-term travel? For, as Fuller wisely put it, "Rome is not a nine-day's wonder" (168). Even so, reading Shelley and Fuller, and identifying them as "thinking" travelers worthy of emulation, enables a similar pushback against today's agenda-driven tourism. "Rambling" solo, immersing oneself in Italian culture and language, and traveling with discerning, like-minded companions may all widen the travel lens. To gaze as Shelley and Fuller do, then, is an act of resistance against the itinerary-driven scheduled joys of tourism and ethnocentricity itself.

What may be done with those Draped in "Old Glory" or "Bathed in the Britannic Fluid"?

To see beyond one's cultural boundaries and ingrained biases, travelers would do well to emulate Shelley and Fuller: flipping the mirror inward for reflection rather than exploiting the so-called failings and foibles of foreign people and places to glorify one's nation-state. Tempting as the myth of linear cultural progress may be, egregious nineteenth-century John or Jonathan-like behaviors reach far beyond the "Connecticut Yankee" Mark Twain satirizes in *Innocents Abroad.* Shelley's so-called "Knowing" or Fuller's "conceited" tourists reconstitute themselves as innocents (or ignorance) abroad, ferrying jingoism quite literally in their sartorial choices.[24] More problematic still, those draped in Old Glory—who don their national identities brazenly on their sleeves--not only keep their biases intact but may provoke the very hostile responses they anticipated. As sartorial spectacles whose attire speaks for itself, such insensitive tourists absorb little and instead become walking memes parroting "Make [name of country] Great Again" or similarly divisive messages that hasten descent into contemporary, authoritarian nativism.[25] Locked in an echo chamber of cultural bias, such tourists do

[23] Shelley's Malville mocks the English tendency to lounge in "coffee shops" (Shelley 1990, 258).

[24] Mark Twain carries Fuller's trope into *Innocents Abroad.* He popularized *Connecticut Yankee* and Jonathan. *Brother Jonathan* (1842–1862) was an illustrated weekly publication.

[25] In 1850, the Know-Nothing Party depicted Jonathan as a defender of white privilege.

what Shelley and Fuller caution against—travel in the body not the mind. As seasoned travelers who dare to venture outside their travel tribes know, flag-waving inhibits meaningful cultural exchanges.

While some tourists—as Fuller quips--will inevitably remain "bathed in the Britannic fluid", (Shelley 1991, 159) today's study abroad leaders may take comfort in recollecting that nineteenth-century travelers were equally, if not more, culturally unenlightened.[26] Despite her brilliance, even Mary Shelley's cicerone experiment proved dispiriting. Neither her "shockingly lazy" son Percy nor his university friends who preferred England acquired any genuine appreciation for Italian art and culture (Shelley 1980, 3: 70; Ożaska 2013, 113). Much like Shelley's reluctant companions, today's tourists seek comfort in the familiar--namely, twenty-first century equivalencies of coffee houses: Rome's Hard Rock Café, the Piazza di Spagna McDonalds, or pub-crawl pilgrimages. Yet even along the way, a know-it-all, know-nothing Brother Jonathan may slouch towards improvement. How to cultivate "taste", foster curiosity, or prepare travelers for the variations, contradictions, and complexities of Italian cultures—particularly those who, like Henry James's Mrs. Miller "expect something different"—remain ongoing challenges for study abroad faculty who love Italy. For "Rome", as Fuller observes, "must be inhaled wholly, with the yielding of the whole heart" (Fuller 2018, 4: 290). Yet one thing remains certain: in this xenophobic climate, where viral patriotic memes trigger cultural wars, and, in turn, memes themselves flatten perception and incite divisiveness, the broadening power of travel is more needed than ever.[27] As study abroad leaders guiding travelers to the Eternal City, we can only hope to awaken in our students the selves made possible through mindful travel. Perhaps, in time they may, like Mary Shelley, "begin to live" to "breathe a different air" and even suffer "a sea change/Into something rich and strange".[28]

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[26] Fuller's caricature of an English lady traveller, encountered out West in her 1843 travelogue, *Summer on the Lakes, anticipates* the insularity, inflexibility, and wariness of her later Jonathan and John Bull tropes. Donning a blanket shawl and neat lace cap, "England" herself, as Fuller personifies her, stays vigilant all night, ever guarding against indecorum, as her parent country might.

[27] Donovan traces the use of patriotic memes in American history, particularly in 1776.

[28] Shelley explains why these lines from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* were placed on Percy's tomb in an ltr. to Maria Gisborne, 3 May 1823 (Shelley 1980, 1: 334).

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