

**Gendered Representations of The Spanish Civil War: the
Self, the Journey and the Other in Silvia Mistral's *Éxodo*.
Diario de una refugiada española.**

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Abstract

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) marked a key turning point in both European and Spanish national history, and still casts a shadow over contemporary Spain because of the brutal nature of the violence. The defeated Republicans were erased from Spanish history and society during General Francisco Franco's dictatorship—killed, imprisoned or exiled. Silvia Mistral's *Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*, republished in 2009, documents La Retirada, the fourth phase of the Republican journey into exile, from its inception in January 1939 to her arrival in Mexico in July 1939. The protagonist chronicles her own journey in relation to the experience of others through the means of a diary, in an attempt to represent the collectivity of the female exilic experience and the multiplicity of female identity at this specific historical juncture. Through close textual analysis, the thesis explores the representations of the Self, the Journey and the Other through their gendered construction, with the aim of demonstrating the power inscribed into women's autobiographical acts and their contemporary relevance to Spain as it begins to reverse the process of invisibilisation of Republican voices and memories.

Dedication

To the women of The Spanish Civil War, may your voices at last be heard.

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I have never been a person of few words so it would be absurd to change the habit of a lifetime now.

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Introduction: Asserting authority in autobiography

On 1st April 1939, General Francisco Franco and his forces proclaimed their victory of the Spanish Civil War. The inauguration of the Francoist dictatorship led to the most brutal and repressive period in modern Spanish history, which even today remains a heated point of contention. After his death in 1975, Spain became a new country, a new Constitution was drafted and approved and a new government was elected at the price of ‘el pacto de olvido’; a pact of historical amnesia in which all parties agreed to forget the atrocities committed on both sides during the war, leaving them unpunished and unexplained (Gassiot Ballbè, Oltra Puigdoménech, Sintes Olives and Wolfe Steadman 2007). Yet as Spain has emerged as a key figure in European politics and as an international presence, it has become clear that the burden of ‘disremembering’, disregarding the pact of historical amnesia, is simply too difficult to forget (Resina 2000: 113). The descendants of war victims are searching for the truth, demanding answers to their questions about the war and the atrocities committed and are refusing to allow the memories of their deceased loved ones to be relegated to the forgotten annals of history (Leggott 2009).

Cardús i Ros (2000: 24-25, 27) defines the concept of historical memory as ‘the specificity of an established space for knowledge of history without reference to political objectives showing that in contrast the social function of memory is not to be truthful but to simulate the creation of solid foundations for all those things that are as contingent and precarious as the exercise of power’. He later states that there must be a reversal of the ‘invisibilisation’ of alternative, censored and delegitimized accounts of the Civil War to

propagate that which was made irrelevant. Leggott (2008: 42) states that ‘... the Spanish Civil War must be considered as a watershed event, an episode whose repercussions have been omnipresent in the cultural memory of Spain.’ Many other academics echo this sentiment, citing the importance of the Spanish Civil War as a key historical occurrence in both its national and European history (Kenwood 1993; Pérez and Aycock 2007; Preston 2011). In order for Spain to advance as a nation, it is of paramount importance to rewrite the officially documented versions of the war through the study of the cultural production to include both sides of the political spectrum, to combat this phenomenon of ‘invisibilisation’. It is not only a testament of the struggle for power between both warring factions, whose version is most important; it is also a question of national development. If contemporary Spain is able to deal with the trauma of the past by examining its value in the present, these issues may be confronted in the future.

As Spain continues to address its relationship with its traumatic past, the official, documented history of the war and Franco’s dictatorship is being challenged openly in a legal context for the first time since the end of the regime and being watched on an international stage. Most recently in June 2011 the Real Academia de la Historia published twenty-five of its fifty-volume ‘Diccionario Biográfico Español’, which includes more than 40,000 biographical entries of notable individuals, the majority of whom are male, over the course of Spanish history from antiquity to contemporary Spain. The entry for General Francisco Franco (hereafter referred to as Franco) has been subject to most controversy as he is defined as ‘un general valeroso y católico, que participó en un golpe de Estado contra

un gobierno caótico con el único fin de restaurar la monarquía democrática [...] Montó un régimen autoritario, pero no totalitario' (Constenla 2011). The author of the definition, Luis Suárez, is a historian famed for his right-wing political allegiance as he has connections with the Fundación Francisco Franco and is President of the Hermandad del Valle de los Caídos, the site of Franco's grave. The publication of the definition not only hints at the Real Academia de la Historia's political affiliation with the right but it has also reneged on the process of rewriting Spanish history to include Spanish Republicans, for which they have striven since the advent of democracy in 1978. To further discredit Spanish Republican perspectives, the preceding government of Juan Negrín has been described as 'prácticamente dictatorial', which reinforces the positive image of Franco's dictatorship whilst discrediting the progression brought about in the Spanish Second Republic (Durán 2011). It also negates parts of the 'Ley de Memoria Histórica', passed in 2007, which seeks to condemn the Franco regime and recognise its victims and the violence committed against them for the first time by acknowledging it legally. The definition of Franco, coupled with the definition of Negrín's government does not acknowledge the distress inflicted by the regime and disregards the experiences of exiled Spanish Republicans and others who Franco considered to be his enemies.

There has been a growing interest in literature produced after the Civil War by Spanish Republicans in exile as the severe censorship carried out under Franco's regime meant that these texts were neither available nor accessible within the Iberian Peninsula (Burke 1989; Thomas 1990: ix; Abellán 1998; Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 2000:

4). By analysing Silvia Mistral's '*Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*' (henceforth referred to as *Éxodo*), I wish to contribute to the ongoing debate over historical memory, which focuses on who has the right to remember, when they choose to remember the past and what memories constitute their version of historical events.

The overarching aim of the thesis is to analyse Silvia Mistral's '*Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*' in terms of its narrative structure, historical background and its content to demonstrate its capacity to represent the construction of the female Self, the journey into exile and the process of 'Othering'.

Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española

James E. Young (1987: 404) states that 'violent events—perceived as aberrations or ruptures in the cultural continuum— demand their retelling, their *narration*, back into traditions and structures they would otherwise defy.' Therefore the quote suggests that the process of memory recuperation that the Ley de Memoria Histórica advocates is necessary and the retelling of events from the perspective of such marginalised groups is the sole means through which their testimony can be interpreted and most importantly, included.

In the preface to *Éxodo*, the editor of the edition to be examined, published by Icaria Antrazyt in 2009, states that in particular there has recently been a growing interest in Spanish female exile autobiography (Colmeiro 2009b: 7). The process of studying exile literature and attempts at reversing the invisibilisation of the exiles became organised in 1993, with the formation of the Grupo de Estudios del Exilio Literario (GEXEL) at the

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. It has since been active in organising conferences and publishing books to commemorate the literary exile of 1939, which it terms as literary testimonies ‘sobre la historia concreta del exilio’ and ‘la historia del exilio que yace tras estas literaturas’ (GEXEL 2001: 375) and has been fundamental in the growing interest surrounding female autobiography written in exile.

The diary documents a journey which bears resemblances to the author’s individual journey into exile. Silvia Mistral was one of the literary pseudonyms used by Hortensia Blanch Pita, a Spanish journalist and writer born in Cuba (Colmeiro 2009a: Mestre 2011). She wrote short stories to supplement her income and published another book, received with notable success yet as she was a relatively, unknown female exile writer, there is a ‘relative erasure’ in terms of her background (Colmeiro 2009b: 17).

Éxodo first appeared serialised in the magazines ‘Siempre’ and ‘Hoy’ in 1939 and was first published in its entirety in Mexico in 1940 by Editorial Minerva, the first publishing house founded by exiles, including Mistral’s husband (Colmeiro 2009a: 251-260). It was published with little success, in a letter to a friend (quoted in Colmeiro 2009a: 259) she states «Tenía 24 años. Dada las condiciones que vivía nunca pensé que podía ser editado, ni siquiera publicado». Despite her best intentions, Colmeiro (2009b: 24) speculates that the diary was most likely to have been subject to a process of editing, revision and correction, which fits Culley’s (1998: 219) assertion that female diarists read, re-read and edit their diaries, rendering their self-construction and reconstruction more complex. Yet the journey recounted takes place during La Retirada, the fourth phase of Spanish Republican exile, the

single largest influx of refugees ever known in France from Spain, which took place in 1939. Dreyfus-Armand (1999) alludes to the confusion over the exact number of people who sought refuge in France at this point but states that it is likely to have affected over 400,000 Spaniards.

It is for these reasons that *Éxodo* is important as it was one of the first female diaries to be published and is a direct form of contact, albeit mediated, with the preliminary moments of La Retirada, recounted from the perspective of a female exile writer. Colmeiro (2009b: 8) describes Mistral as a ‘mujer a pie’, which grounds her experiences as one of the many female exiles at this time but as one of the few female writers who received unprivileged treatment and experienced exile ‘on the ground’. Its importance is exemplified by its re-publication in 2009, seventy years later, as part of a series entitled ‘Mujeres, voces y protestas’. The series focuses on women’s writings during the Civil War and highlights the status of women as ‘triplely subjugated’ (Mangini 1995) at this specific historical juncture. It is of interest to study *Éxodo* because the voice of the exiled Spanish woman was disregarded by both sides as male exilic texts took precedence and were more widely available in comparison (Mangini 1995; Cedena Gallardo 2004; Martínez-Gutiérrez 1997).

Éxodo begins two days before Franco’s proclamation of victory in 1939, recounting the journey from Barcelona to France and finally to Mexico from the perspective of a Spanish woman. The narrative begins on 24th January 1939 with a rudimentary description of the female narrator’s journey to work from the outskirts of Barcelona to its centre. The first entries of the diary describe the fall of Spanish Second Republic from Barcelona, the final city

to be defended by Republican supporters. The advancing of enemy troops means that the protagonist is forced to leave and begin the journey from Barcelona to the French border, where the Spanish exiles are to be interned in one of the many French concentration camps, Argèles-sur-Mer on 8th February 1939. It is from this point onwards that the narrator uses the text as a space in which to articulate her memories to try to make sense of all that has occurred and what is occurring in her present reality as she takes the decision to leave the camp and is placed in a village called Les Mages. It is in this village that the female protagonist is able to confront the atrocities committed in Spain and also where she is able to think about her future by aspiring to live in Mexico. After what seems like an eternity for the protagonist, it is confirmed on 5th May 1939 that she will be leaving for Mexico on board the ship 'Sinaia'. However due to illness, she is unable to go and finally leaves on the ship 'Ipanema' on 6th June 1939. The journey on board is the last stage in the process of reflection and contemplation for the female narrator, as the diary ends on 8th July 1939 with her safe arrival and that of the Spanish Republican exiles on board in Veracruz, Mexico.

Sherry (1988: 2, 6, 24) considers diaries written by women to provide fascinating insight into women's lives, emotions and opinions as they are best placed to write about their daily activities and give more description. It is this particularity of the female writer at this specific moment in Spanish history, where Spanish exiled women not only shared the loss and suffering of their homeland with male exiles but also lost the advancement made during the Republic in terms of equality that makes *Éxodo* insightful and important. This could be perceived as what Leydesdorff (2007: xiv) considers as the special type of suffering

Civil War creates for women. The need for the female protagonist's voice to be heard rather than ignored and the methods employed by the author to assert it, its urgency, is the focus of my investigation. The gendered representations of the Self, the Journey and the Other are pivotal to the specificity of *Éxodo* and the aim of the thesis is to analyse the text and acknowledge the plight of the exiled Republican women on a collective and individual level.

Entitling memory

In this part of the introduction I shall explore the implications of the terms '*Éxodo*', '*Diario*' and '*refugiada española*' in order to be able to frame the analysis of the gendered representations of the Self, Journey and Other within the text.

Young (1987: 408- 409) describes the biblical book of Exodus as having historical authority and emerging 'not only as a paradigm for the myths of exile, freedom and return but also a textual prototype for subsequent "documentary narrative" — the quintessential *sifrut ha-edut* or "literature of testimony".' Biblical connotations are a recurrent theme in Hispanic literature because of Spain's historical Catholic associations (Martínez 2007: 14). In religious tradition the phenomenon of 'mass exodus' is the precursor to the liberation of the Jews. Ilie (1980: 25) explains the use of terms renowned for their association with the 'classical Judaic experience' as seeming 'to fit the Spanish context' thus perpetuating the notion of the Spanish Republican exiles as 'the chosen people'. Through the parallels drawn between Judaic exile and Spanish Republican exile, it can be inferred that the text has a claim to some kind of level of historical authority. Its portrayal of the Spanish Civil War from

an alternative, previously censored and unheard perspective endows the text with such authority. The comparisons made to the Judaic experience of exile reinforce the case for this alternative perspective to be included in Spanish history as it is already familiar within Spanish culture because of its Biblical context, which has the potential of assigning the narrative with a level of prestige reserved only for religious doctrine.

To add to the sense of authority created through the use of established literary associations, the term '*diario*' is used. Kaplan (1992: 132) considers texts which identify personal histories with particular communities at given historical junctures to be 'cultural autobiographies'. The implications of the terms 'diary' and '*refugiada española*' indicate the position of the narrator at the specific historical juncture of the Spanish Civil War. Through the connotations of the term 'diary' which Clarkson, Mase and Pentland (2001: 271) define as 'a [hand-made] record of the day-to-day emotional state and salient events in someone's life' and the term 'exodus', *Éxodo* can be defined as a cultural autobiography as it expresses a historical fact that has cultural consequences written from the perspective of an individual Self that is able to represent its collective. The brutal repression by Franco's regime was the strategic implementation of his intention to 'purify' Spain of its Marxist roots, to eradicate all of his political opponents by negating their existence and silencing their voices. Hogan (1991: 105) states that the diary has been for many women 'a tangible form for saving their lives', therefore the use of the diary, an established autobiographical form, not only renders female testimony of vital importance but also what Warnock (1987: 102) defines as a

passion for truth through memory, memories which now need to be shared and represented.

However it must be highlighted that diary writing is not a specifically female activity, particularly at this historical juncture. The focus of Eusebio Cedena Gallardo's thesis 'El diario y su aplicación en los escritores del exilio español de posguerra' in 2004 exemplifies this fact as he analyses the diaries of many male diarists such as Max Aub, Juan Ramón Jiménez and Juan Larrea. The characteristics of a diary are indispensable to the process of life-writing termed by Smith and Watson (2010: 1) as 'a matter of observing the subject of investigation, remembrance and contemplation'. In order to be able to analyse *Éxodo* effectively in terms of its cultural importance, it must be made clear that its autobiographical form dictates the engendering of the Self, Journey and the Other. Chamberlain and Thompson (2004: 17-18) state that memories which are revealed are the empirical data required to narrate experiences but it is the 'collective forms and genre through which life experience was narrated also provided the vital clues for interpreting what was being told'. The use of the diary form is a distinctive characteristic which embodies the protagonist's gender through representing her experiences via her relationships with others, the nature of the journey she is undertaking and the need to assert her voice and for it to be acknowledged.

Smith and Watson (1998: 19) affirm that through the reading of women's autobiographical texts 'the historically and culturally specific discourses of identity through which women become speaking subjects' are contemplated. It is this process of

contemplation of how the Spanish Civil War is represented through the protagonist's diary and from her perspective as a woman, which codifies its analysis.

Outline of Chapters

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The aim of Chapter One, entitled 'Genre as Gendered Self-Representation' is to address genre as a term that aids comprehension of life writing as a means of understanding the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath from a feminist viewpoint. Couser (2005: 139) concludes his article 'Genre Matters: form, force and filiation' by stating that which is important 'is not classifying but clarifying life writing, exploring what genres are in order to understand what they do'. In order to be able to clarify life writing and the significance of *Éxodo*, the way in which agency is constructed must first be examined by deconstructing it. The journey into exile is documented in diary form, an established sub-genre of autobiography, which is not only associated with practices of self-representation but also as a female form of self representation, thereby allocating importance to genre as a form and in its engendering function (Hogan 1991; Culley 1998; Brodzki and Schenck 1988). It is through the scribing of her life and her memories that she explores her relationships to others that her own gendered experiences are highlighted.

The focus of Chapter Two, 'Representing the Gendered Journey', is the examination of how the gendered journey is constructed in physical and emotional terms to represent the process of self-transformation and self-discovery. Russell (1983: 13) states that 'it is easy to dismiss [women travellers] as oddities, as indeed they are, to be relegated to the bedlam

of flat-earthers, free-fall divers or indeed writers. That they exist cannot be denied, but the strange uncomfortable world they occupy lies well outside of everyday experience, and can be dismissed, we tell ourselves, as an irrelevancy.' The re-publication of *Éxodo* has guaranteed that the journey which is recounted is documented and not cast into historical oblivion. The acts of travelling and scribing the journey have a dual function as they openly challenge the process of documenting history taking place in Franco's Spain, which erased the exiles' presence, through the protagonist's refusal to remain in Spain and to remain silent.

Chapter Three, Representing the Other addresses the issues of becoming the Other, alterity and contested pasts. Through the use of Hodgkin and Radstone's (2003) definition of 'contested pasts', the aim of the chapter is to address the concept of alterity in terms of the construction of the protagonist's identity with reference to her gender and national identity. It argues that exile is a process of 'Othering' whereby the protagonist assumes an alterior Spanish national identity, which is in conflict with Franco's vision of the nation. The chapter also explores the Republican vision of Franco's Spain and the Republican's own vision of the nation.

Chapter One: Genre as gendered self-representation

The aim of the chapter is to address genre as a term that aids comprehension of life writing as a means of understanding the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath from a feminist viewpoint. Butler (1990: 24-25) states that 'identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results'. I argue that the act of writing, the act of scribing the protagonist's individual memories is an expression of her identity through literature. The categorisation of literature into specific genres according to their shared attributes and distinctive qualities has a long history (Strelka 1978; Swales 1990; Couser 2005) as I now explore.

Defining genre- the recognition of limits in *Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española*.

In his essay 'The Law of Genre', Jacques Derrida (quoted in Kaplan 1992: 117) states that the moment the word 'genre' is sounded and there is an attempt to conceive of it, a limit has been drawn. Kaplan (1992: 116-117) develops this further by affirming that the 'law of genre' is based on a 'counterlaw', whereby the possible existence of genre limits is always already undermined by the impossibility of maintaining them. The drawing of any such limit establishes a set of norms, which dictate that which is and is not acceptable and that which does and does not belong to that particular group of texts.

It would appear simple, at this point, to cast out the texts which do not fit the set of norms correctly, or indeed share some defined characteristics but not all. In response to Derrida's 'law of genre', Kaplan (1992: 119) later proposes a theory of 'out-law genres',

which mixes conventionally 'unmixable' elements and allows the 'master' genres to be deconstructed to reveal the 'power dynamics embedded in literary production, distribution and reception'. The proposed theory not only incorporates the notion of genre as an inclusive, categorising tool but also embraces its exclusive nature, established through the drawing of limits; discerning that what a text is and that what it is not. If autobiography is considered as the master genre in this case, *Éxodo* in turn becomes a challenge to it as an 'out-law' as it incorporates the characteristics of autobiography in the guise of what appears to be a partially fictitious narrative and uses a recognised form of autobiography, a diary, in a heteroclitic way.

The use of the diary form is a stylistic literary device employed by the author as it reflects the protagonist's situation as a woman at this specific point in Spanish history; having transcended the gendered boundaries between public and private only to lose hope of further progression in resolving women's issues. The Spanish Second Republic brought the focus of female emancipation to the foreground of the public sphere, especially in politics and led to the emergence of women writers, politicians and activists such as Federica Montseny and Dolores 'La Pasionaria' Ibárruri. At the turn of the twentieth century, Catholic religious doctrine still influenced the ideal of a woman (as 'ángel del hogar' and 'perfecta casada' — daughters, wives, mothers, home-makers), which led to widespread female illiteracy (Mangini 1995; Nash 1995).

It is therefore of notable interest that the protagonist had political ideals, could write and had already travelled as it demonstrates that she was the antithesis of the prevalent

ideal of a woman, due to her awareness of her own voice and the necessity to assert it. Smith (1987: 56) states that women have sought 'to appropriate the language of the patriarchs commanding the full resources that language makes available to man, resisting "silence, euphemism or circumlocution" in pursuit of equal access to public space.' The act of writing therefore becomes an act of defiance as she not only employs the language of the structures that have systematically oppressed her, contesting patriarchy using its own method of communication, but she also records the journey into exile from an exiled female perspective which was distinctively lacking in Spanish society. In addition to this, Kavolis (1992) draws attention to the inherent masculinity of the exile experience, stating that exile has been perceived as male because of 'its conception as a punishment for independent political or intellectual activity in a system of nation-states', a system in which women were unable to participate. Therefore the duality of the protagonist's acts of undertaking the characteristically male journey into exile and scribing it, becomes a direct challenge to the double marginalisation women faced at this specific historical juncture, which potentially makes the text a historical source; a travel document and an autobiographical testimony.

The use of genre as a 'clarificatory tool rather than a classificatory tool' (Swales 1990) prevails here; by describing *Éxodo* as 'autobiography' or 'travel writing' or 'exile literature', genre becomes a means of facilitating its analysis and a method of placing *Éxodo* within the canon of Spanish exile literature. Philippe Lejeune (1989: 147) states that:

Genre is based upon presuppositions of permanence and autonomy. It therefore implies belief in a kind of identity, which can be produced only by a series of

distinctions and precepts that are intended both to isolate the genre from other productions and to hierarchize and centre the domain enclosed in this way.

Therefore the classification of a text is not only a form of distinction, setting it apart from all other texts through identifying what a particular text is and what it is not, but it also becomes a limitation. The concept of permanency in *Éxodo*, something which is fixed, unmovable and stable, cannot be a viable foundation on which to base a literary analysis as each reading of the text is a new level of interaction between the narrator and the reader (Rimmon-Kenan 2002). The concept of autonomy as the will of one individual's actions is also questionable in context of *Éxodo* as the amount of input the female protagonist has into the decision to go into exile is minimal and cannot be measured. Yet her persistence in scribing her vivencias does denote a concept of autonomy. In accordance with Lejeune's definition and in the context of *Éxodo*, genre is perhaps best interpreted as a form through which the narrator is able to represent her identity both in and on her own terms.

Constructing the Self within the community

Weedon (2004: 20) asserts that identity in all its forms is 'never singular but plural, fractured and reconfigured by gender, ethnic and class relations' and its constructions are always historically specific. The Spanish Civil War was a politically charged struggle for power which resulted in the Francoist dictatorship becoming an assertion of this power. Hall (2000: 17) states that it is 'precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside discourse we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within

specific, discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies'. If we thus consider genre to be a discursive enunciative strategy through which the female protagonist is able to negotiate her fragmented gendered identity, the use of the generic form of a diary has the capacity to portray the immediacy of events as and when they occur whilst highlighting the urgency with which they are recounted. The aim of this section is to emphasize the protagonist's construction of her Self as relational at the outset, which is supported by the distinctive qualities of a diary.

Couser (2005: 129) argues that rather than determining what genre is, it is more appropriate to determine what it is that genre does and to consider the interrogation of literature's form as a means of understanding its function, its force and its potential to shape culture and history. In regard to genre as a self-representing, enunciative strategy and the text, it is paramount to contemplate what the protagonist's identity stands for and what can be learnt about this specific period in history.

In her 2007 monograph, which dedicates a chapter to *La Pasionaria's* autobiography, Kristine Byron (2007: 10) states that in their autobiographical writings, women defined themselves in relation to others and in the same vein, they have been defined by others. She quotes Nancy Miller who maintains that 'female autobiographers know that they are being read as women; women [...] known for (or even through) their liaisons with famous men'. Silvia Mistral, whose husband Ricardo Mestre was relatively known, can be considered somewhat as an example of this in the literary sphere because the author of the prologue to

Éxodo was written by her friend León Felipe, a revered poet, who in 1939 published a poem called 'Español del éxodo y del llanto'. Felipe (2009: 55) asserts:

Las mujeres saben ustedes contar bien y con sencillez. Usted tiene una voz inocente y maternal para contar cuentos. Cuente usted, amiga Silvia, cuéntenos usted otra vez el cuento español de la Buena Pipa para que no se nos olvide nuestra historia. El cuento es viejo y la tragedia también, pero nadie la tachará a usted de anacrónica.

By writing the prologue, Felipe frames the text, relegating it to the status of women's 'cuentos', implying a difference between male and female testimony whilst acknowledging its importance for Republican history. He alludes to the lack of female activity in the political sphere and the inherent masculinity of exile because of its political nature by adding that she will not be accused of any wrongdoing by recounting her experiences, suggesting that this has been different for men before. Felipe's prologue can be interpreted as a legitimisation and justification of the text; a challenge to the staunchly patriarchal spheres of politics and literature. Colmeiro (2009a: 261) describes Felipe's prologue as '«autoriz[ando]» así el texto de una joven autora desconocida y recién trasplantada a México, en unas condiciones difíciles para darse a conocer.' The prologue therefore not only serves as an introduction to the text but the permitted presentation of a new writer and her personal experiences to the wider exile community.

The text begins by describing the 'barriada obrera' where she lives in the outskirts of Barcelona as 'ofrece un aspecto normal' and 'la gente, con brusca socarronería catalana, se

burla de la consigna «resistir, resistir»' (Mistral 2009: 55). Her descriptions quickly change, reflecting the reality of war-torn Spain: 'La verdad es ésta: Barcelona sucumbe silenciosamente' and the speed with which things transform, when she explains 'no había el tren de empleados, habitual a esa hora, en la Estación del Norte. Ya no cruzaban los camiones. Los tranvías, abandonados sobre los raíles, parecían negros fantasmas' (Mistral 2009: 60; 61). The change in verb tense is noteworthy here as the shift from the present to the past is a recurrent theme throughout the text (Mistral 2009: 78-79; 95; 109; 141). It can be perceived to represent the psychological burden of exile and of her own individual memories, remembering Spain for what it once was. The 'negros fantasmas' refer to the haunting presence of these memories and the difficulty of living 'in-between' the past and the present.

As the diary progresses, it is soon decided that the narrator will leave. In the moments leading up to this, she shares her own individual emotions using the first person singular form of the verb, which vary from defiance, disbelief and finally the despair at having to leave (Mistral 2009: 55; 59; 61). She first refers to her parent's anguish: 'Ninguno de los dos llora, pero se les cortan las palabras en la garganta' (Mistral 2009: 61) and later to her own despair: 'Ahora yo parto también. La primera hija marcha a tierras extrañas, el último hijo yace en tierra amiga, sepultado por un obús extranjero' (Mistral 2009: 65). The poignant description of her parents' emotions, her own romanticised aperçu and the aforementioned range of emotions at this particular, traumatic event is evidently quite personal in nature and characteristic of events included in a diary. She places her departure

within a rather private, familial context, firstly from the perspective of her parents losing their daughter after the death of their son, which portrays the devastating impact of the Civil War. This contradicts Colmeiro's (2009a: 253) assertions that there are few personal details in the diary as the author actively excludes them throughout the text, because it has been demonstrated that they are definitively included in the initial entries of the diary where she refers to her own individual situation. The reference to her brother's death, another private matter, and her departure both draw attention to the inevitable losses experienced as a result of the divisive nature of war and highlights the different, gendered realities of war as men sacrificed their lives in defence of the Republic and women remained, subjugated by their veils of silence.

Schenck (quoted in Smith and Watson 1998: 11) states that women's writings emphasize personal and domestic details, describing their connections to other people, thereby miming the everyday quality of their lives. The protagonist is only able to recount her version of events from her own perspective as an exiled woman yet the way in which she seeks to represent other perspectives using the diary form is a characteristic of a female diarist (Hogan 1991; Culley 1998; Bottoms 1995). It is perhaps the difficult situation that women found themselves in at this particular point in history which made it difficult for women to assert their voices especially in writing and the complexity involved in placing themselves at the forefront of their own narrative due to their subjugation. Nolte Lensink (1999: 154) attributes the diary form as a means of 'making women's experiential lives coherent' and its use to reflect the multiplicity of female identity; a woman as a daughter,

wife, mother, teacher, widow. The female autobiographical self has been considered to be constructed in relation to others by many scholars (Brodzki and Schenck 1988; Hogan 1991; Friedman quoted in Smith and Watson 1998; Herrera Postlewate 2003), which explains the predominant focus on the protagonist's relationships and encounters with both men and women in the text.

Engendering the Self

Bradley (1996: 82) states that 'every aspect of our individual histories is subtly affected by the fact of being male or female'. The allusion made in the first entry to the 'luto de mujeres' for which the Left are fighting is explained by Mangini (1995: 57) who states that women, especially proactive women, suffered a 'double tragedy' at the end of the war firstly as they had invested their hopes and aspirations for equality into the five-year Republic and secondly as the advances made were destroyed. It is this oppression that indicts women to tell their stories in relation to their gender as it is a category that socially defines them.

Gender differences are highlighted upon the arrival of people from Barcelona to Gerona, where 'las mujeres y los niños son enviados a las colonias fronterizas' (Mistral 2009: 68). The gender separation is confirmed by Mangini's (1995: 152) assertion that women were 'invariably directed' along with children, the elderly, maimed and injured soldiers to makeshift camps thus implying that the protagonist's gender was a form of disability which hampered her participation and usefulness in battle. It is not only highly disparaging but it is also a testament to the widely-held, patronizing attitudes which existed within European

societies at the time, which Foucault (quoted in Bradley 1996: 83) describes as the 'hysterization' of women where a woman is defined solely by her reproductive organs, therefore making women seem weak and vulnerable, unable to cope with 'men's work'. As the protagonist is simply grouped into this collective, partly because of the large number of Spanish Republicans seeking refuge, partly because of her gender, it is evidently difficult for the narrator to construct her Self without referring to being part of this collective.

The beginning of her journey is very personal as it chronicles her own, individual journey to work and then across the border, documenting what she is thinking, how she is feeling and what she sees. However, it is after the decision is taken to leave that she begins to use the first person plural form with regularity. For example before they cross the border, the protagonist states: 'Acampamos cerca de una acequia en lo alto de una de las montañas que rodean Llansá. Nadie sabe qué hacer; si retornar al pueblo o proseguir la marcha hacia Port-Bou' (Mistral 2009: 75). The uncertainty with which the group of Spanish Republican exiles are faced is conveyed here in the desperation of not knowing what to do at this particular moment, whether to return or to continue to pursue their journey. There are several instances of this shared emotion of fear and uncertainty in the text (Mistral 2009: 68; 73; 82; 88; 110; 129). It is the use of the first person plural form in these instances which portrays the collectivity of the exilic experience and represents La Retirada as an emigration en masse. Friedman (quoted in Smith and Watson 1998: 18) states that a woman's autobiographical self 'often does not oppose herself to all others, does not feel herself to exist outside of others, and still less against others, but very much with others in an

interdependent existence that asserts its rhythms everywhere in the community'. The construction of the Self in the text does reflect Friedman's assertion as in the face of uncertainty and fear, rather than documenting her own emotions, the group's feelings are documented as it is a memory shared by a community, not to be forgotten nor forgiven, cast into exile and therefore oblivion. Warnock (1987: 107) affirms that it is the capacity of the diary form which makes it possible to pin down and capture a fleeting moment. By including instances where she does not know what is going to happen or what course of action to take (Mistral 2009: 62; 75; 78; 95; 118), she documents the harsh reality of exile and its ever-changing nature, which in turn affects her perception of her Self and identity as things that were certain and definitive before, change and she becomes defined as part of this collective.

Through recounting the shared emotions using the first person plural form of the verb and the form of a diary, the credulity in the narrative is strengthened. Young (1994: 718) credits the consideration of women as a collective, giving feminism its specificity as a political movement. It is in fact the specificity of the exiled female collective that strengthens the narrative agency not only as their voice is the result of what Mangini (1995: 57) deems to be 'the urgent voice of collective testimony [...] the political exigency of protest, a unified, primordial scream of solidarity' but also through the use of a recognised form of autobiography, which is congenial to women because of how they perceive their relationships with others (Hogan 1991: 105; Bottoms 1995: 111).

For example, when the protagonist speaks of arriving at Cerbère she begins by explaining their decision to continue their journey:

Decidimos proseguir la marcha y llegamos a Cerbère, muy entrada la noche. En la carretera, junto al mar, unos gendarmes nos colocan en grupos, separadas de los hombres. Era inútil declarar que eran padres, esposos, hermanas o hijos.

Implacables, herméticos, los gendarmes arrancan a las familias de su unidad. No puedo explicarme este sistema de acogimiento. Entre nosotros hay una sorpresa dolorosa. (Mistral 2009: 77)

By identifying herself firstly as an individual then as part of a wider collective, the group of exiles leaving Spain together, it encompasses what Sommer (1988: 108) calls the process of the singular representing the plural. She describes her own incapacity to understand the French method of welcoming and identifies the wider, distressing effect on the group of Republican exiles. She continues to describe the welcoming as ‘un leve empujón de mano gala y el primer «allez, allez»..’ (Mistral 2009: 78). Dreyfus-Armand (1995: 70) define the first contact between the Spanish refugees and the French using this term and state that this first memory of crossing the border was widely recounted in Spanish Republican exile literature. It is the way in which the protagonist seeks to represent her own experience in relation to the exile community that is notable here. Sheridan (quoted in Thomson 1995: 166) considers the dominant meaning of ‘representativeness’ to focus on the individual single voice which can only represent themselves not through ‘what they say’ but in ‘who they are’ as defined by socio-economic factors. Throughout *Éxodo*, the reality of the Civil War is narrated by a

female protagonist who, because of her individual life experiences and education, was able to scribe the experiences of women as daughters, wives, mothers and widows at this specific historical period to demonstrate their fragmented identity. As the Spanish Republican refugees are considered as a mass, a collective of individuals, it is therefore clear that her narration of events is representative of this conception of collectivity. Her decision to document a common memory is ultimate proof of her relational Self as she describes her own surprise at this welcoming system but places it into the context of the orders given at the time.

Young (1994: 718) suggests that without conceptualising women as group in some sense, oppression cannot be conceptualised as a systematic, institutionalised, structured process. If the narrator was to attest to her own isolated experiences without alluding to the others with whom she travels, the effect of the text would not be as striking. Although she asserts her own confusion at the situation through referring to the shared pain at separation, she reminds the reader of the fact that she is not the only one leaving her homeland, that she is one of many escaping. Her experiences are not unique, there were many women who made this journey and suffered because of their gender and their precarious circumstances, yet it is the way it is recounted — the fact it is narrated at all, that is important.

The experiences of separation — leaving their homeland and losing their male companions are gendered as they are recalled from a female perspective. Despite the fact that this separation was to become normal throughout her stay in France, women endured

this pain in many ways. The protagonist later identifies the different ways in which exiled men and women dealt with the concentration camps, stating: 'la desesperanza nos vence y lloramos lágrimas amargas sobre la tinta y el papel. Es curioso observar cómo ningún hombre, ya esté en Argelès, en Barcarés, en Saint Cyprien o en Agde, adopta tonos melancólicos cuando escribe a las mujeres de su familia (Mistral 2009: 107). The inclusion of the letter allocates space for the perspective of male exiles, which strengthens her construction of her Self. The aforementioned 'unified, primordial scream of solidarity' is ultimately executed in the use of the first person plural verb form, something which is identified and is highlighted here as the exiled men choose to see the positivity in reorganising their lives , rather than focusing on the unsanitary living conditions. The inclusion of soldiers' testimonies episodically also reinforces *Éxodo* as a gendered representation of the war because she provides an overview of both perspectives but focuses on her own experiences, facilitated by the means of a diary (Mistral 2009: 57; 67; 103).

As the journey progresses, the narrator identifies the two other women with whom she is travelling, whom she refers to as Encarnación and Esperanza. The most important example in the text of representing exile as a collective experience and representative in terms of different perspectives is perhaps the conversation between the female protagonist, Encarnación, Esperanza and another woman, who questions their motives for leaving:

-Señora- le respondí- salí por no tener que enfrentarme con los asesinos de mi hermano, por no ser otra víctima entre sus manos. Voy con los míos.

-Por mi parte- contestó Esperanza- los desprecio. No podría jamás convivir con ellos. Resistiré a todas las penalidades aunque duren años y ni amenazas, vejaciones y la horrible vida del campo de concentración, bastará para hacerme volver allá.

-Yo soy- intervino Encarnación- la que acaso vuelva pronto. No tengo ideas políticas, he trabajado siempre con uno u otro régimen y entré en Francia con poca voluntad; por eso resistiré poco.

La miramos a los ojos y comprendimos que no era nada: una pobre campesina riojana, ignorante, egoísta, e incapaz de dar un solo paso sin que la empujaran. Por eso se unió a nosotras. (Mistral 2009: 87)

Referring to the idea of a mass of Spanish Republican exiles once more being forced to leave, it is more persuasive for the female narrator to testify to the experiences of the voiceless as part of the marginalised collective rather than simply stating her own individual reasons for leaving. Aside from the potential to seem quite selfish, it would be detrimental to the metaphor of the Republicans as 'the chosen people'. By placing her own opinions in between those of Esperanza, Encarnación and another woman, the differences between women is highlighted at the most basic level. The range of opinions shared here are representative of the diversity of exiled Spanish women. It is demonstrated here that although they were clustered together and identified as 'Spanish Republican exiles', the

enemy, they were a collective of individuals. There is the politically active female protagonist, who could not face those who killed her brother; Esperanza who could never live with 'them' because of their barbaric behaviour and Encarnación, who travelled to France reluctantly and expressly states that she has always complied with the ruling regime and will return as soon as possible to continue to do so. Although the female protagonist is horrified by Encarnación's statement and demonstrates it by describing her as 'nothing more than a poor, ignorant, selfish peasant woman from Rioja', the inclusion of her opinions is used to justify the narrator's authority as an individual speaking for the collective that she knows what she is talking about. Sommer (1988: 114) states that women writers could 'address their double marginalisation by helping to portray other women..'. The readiness and willing of the protagonist and Esperanza to express their opinions illustrates that they are self-aware women, who will stand up for their principles and values and refuse to be victims, reinforcing the air of authenticity endowed to the narrator.

Young (1994: 736) considers the gendered being of women's groups as arising 'from the serial being of women, as taking up actively and reconstituting the gendered structures that have passively unified them'. In the frank discussion of their reasons for leaving referred to in the previous example, it is clear that although they did not know each other before, it is their situation, their status and their refusal to be forced to acknowledge Franco's regime as legitimate that bind them together. In addition to this, it is the pro-masculine discourse of the regime, the religious doctrine that a woman's primary function is to be an 'ángel del hogar', confined to the house, focused on domestic matters that Esperanza and the

protagonist simply could not bear (Nash 1995; Mangini 1995). It is further highlighted at the end of this entry in their decision to leave this group of women they were travelling with because of their overpowering and dictatorial nature. It is here that the use of a diary form allows her to be at the forefront of her own narrative, albeit not explicitly at all times but successfully so later on, demonstrating her own self-consciousness and the desire to assert her own voice, despite never being given the opportunity to do so previously.

Fragmentation of Self

The diary presents the gendered reality of the multiplicity of the female identity of the collective as wives, widows and mothers. For example, she barely refers to her own role as a wife aside from briefly mentioning 'Él' intermittently (Mistral 2009: 61; 68; 94; 97; 134). Yet one of the most emotive instances in the text occurs just after she crosses the border when a wife sees her husband being led away in a crowd of exiles, after being cruelly separated and describes her as 'dando un grito enorme, parecía una loca, rompe el cerco de soldados, lanzándose en brazos de su marido, es una escena conmovedora' (Mistral 2009: 78-79). By breaking through the group of soldiers after making herself heard, the public actions of the unnamed woman is a testament to the anguish that women felt at being mistreated and a sign of their frustration at their loss.

In addition to this testament of the role of women as wives, there are several instances where the sui generis experiences of mothers are at the forefront of the narrative (Mistral 2009: 73; 74; 80; 118; 160; 164). One particular example in the entry dated the 4th

February where a mother implores the group to stop, not for her but for her five-year old son is compelling because her pleas are ignored (Mistral 2009: 74-75). This instance is accompanied in the diary by a black and white illustration of a group of figures casting a glance at the woman lifting her son, which coupled with the narrator's description emphasises the brutal reality at this specific point in history. The use of such an example, a mother who is no longer able to care for her child, is extremely powerful as it provides another perspective on the reality of war from the viewpoint of a mother.

There are eight images, by Francisco Carmona, in total included in the diary (Mistral 2009: 57; 63; 74; 79; 85; 104; 108; 150) as well as extracts of letters; quotations from poems and books and fragments of newspaper articles (Mistral 2009: 129; 97; 91). The inclusion of illustrations, always at key moments in the narrative, can be perceived to be a characteristic of the discursive enunciative strategy of a diary as the images and the text itself will serve as a lasting testament to their struggle. Byron (2007: 122) states that revolutionary women often confess aspirations of 'historical revisionism', authoring autobiographical works aware that they will be read against official history. In terms of *Éxodo* the use of fragments of other sources reflects the gendered construction of her Self in relation to others which makes the act of writing the performative act of expressing her identity.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, the concept of life-writing has been shown to be the discursive enunciative strategy of the protagonist's identity formation. The construction of her Self in relation to

others is representative of a female diarist's outlook on her world and a reflection of the patriarchal society of the mid-twentieth century. Sommer's notion of the singular representing the plural can be seen to be a feminine discursive strategy as at this specific historical juncture, women were unable to assert their own individual voices. The protagonist's encounters with others form the basis of the diary and exemplify the various gender roles assigned to women at this specific time, which is fundamental to the engendering of her self-representation.

By using Swales' consideration of genre as a clarificatory tool rather than a classificatory it was demonstrated that in the case of *Éxodo* that genre is the form which the protagonist's memories assume and it is from this that she is able to construct her identity, as it becomes the literary expression of her identity.

Chapter Two: Representing the Gendered Journey

Colmeiro (2009b: 7) states that few personal diaries which document the first moments of exile have been published, which makes it even more important to consider the journey the female protagonist (forcibly) undertakes in *Éxodo*. As previously discussed, the female protagonist is conditioned by her gender which precludes her, to a certain extent, from making her own decisions and attesting to her own lived experiences in Spain. Through *Éxodo*, the protagonist creates the opportunity to recount her own memories and make her voice heard. The aim of the chapter is to examine the representation of the journey: the physical and emotional dimensions and its gendered meaning. In order to explore the representation of the journey effectively, the different dimensions of her journey must be examined. The emotional journey is characterised by her reasons for leaving and the transformation which takes place as a result of the exile that she is forced to endure. The physical journey will be considered as the process of going into exile; the fleeing of the homeland and the eventual arrival at the new 'home'. Three stages to the physical journey are to be examined: the first journey to France from Spain, which takes place between 24th January 1939 to 6th February 1939; the journeys she makes whilst she is in France between Argelès-sur-Mer (9th February 1939), Port-Vendres (9th February 1939) and Les Mages (10th February 1939), and the final journey on board the Ipanema from France to Mexico via Martinique on 9th June 1939.

Valis (2000) discusses the original use of the word exile as representing the banishment from one's home, which later shifted to signify the physical destination, which

encapsulates the emotional and physical dimensions of the term. As the protagonist's journey is conveyed through diary form, her eventual destination is not known and each entry usually describes the journey to one place, rather than explaining the route which she takes. Perhaps it is because she did not know which route she would take or where she was going, that the objective of her journey was to leave Spain all together in order to escape the subsequent persecution that she knew she would face as a woman with strong political views. The risks of incarceration were always high, as demonstrated by Mangini's (1995: 101) reflections on prison texts.

Colmeiro (2009b: 13) describes Mistral's life as 'marcada por los exilios' yet within the text the narrator she only references it once briefly stating 'Haber cruzado tres veces el Atlántico no me evita el mareo' (Mistral 2009:149), which is an indication of her desire to focus on this particular journey as an omniscient, heterodiegetic narrator, perhaps to aid the process of remembering the past. Colmeiro (2009b: 13) states that Mistral's father had anarchist sympathies, which led to their journeys into exile from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and of Machado. The nature of the journey into exile is evidently political; Ugarte (1989: 11) states that the Spanish exilic texts are anti-canonical, in terms of the Spanish literary canon as social discourse, because the authors have been exiled for their rebellion against 'a particular social or political order and by shifting the locale of writing, they question the canon's authority'. The narrator chooses to focus on this particular journey perhaps because it is the first journey into exile that she makes of her own volition as the ultimate decision is made that she cannot—and will not—remain in Spain. Through the

portrayal of a journey that is seen by official doctrine as traitorous, the protagonist legitimises its undertaking by allocating her 'unofficial' memories a place and an order whilst providing documentary evidence of its occurrence through the scribing of her diary. Young (1987: 406) identifies literary testimony as becoming for many victims of the Holocaust the sole reason for survival. In terms of the Spanish exodus of 1939, Faber (2002: 4) states that as the exiled writer is cut off from daily life and their social reality, their cultural activity is the sole, continued connection to their former life. There are several instances where the protagonist refers to the diary as a lifeline, stating 'me vuelco en el «Diario de una refugiada» con toda el alma' (Mistral 2009: 108) and come to terms with the irreversible consequences of her journey.

Frederick and Hyde (1993: xvii) contemplate the gendered meanings of journeys and state that 'journeys prove significant transits, in which each woman's gender invests her journey with a meaning that both comments on and differs from that of men's journeys.' It has already been established in Chapter One that women were treated differently to men as a result of their gender and their social status, so it follows that their journeys are also significantly different. It is imperative to explore the aspect of the protagonist's journey in terms of its gendered meaning not only because it is inherent but also because the testimonial nature of a diary is one of its identifiable characteristics.

The theme of uncertainty, juxtaposed to the former stability of women's rights (during the Spanish Second Republic) identified in Chapter One, prevails throughout the text, as the protagonist states: 'Voy a partir. ¿Cómo y a dónde? No lo sé.' (Mistral 2009: 62). The

short sentences can be seen to reflect her train of thought; the panic that she feels that she is leaving everything that she has ever known, without knowing her eventual destination, her route or even if she will ever see her parents again. Her departure is evidently a traumatic process and she recalls the death of her brother. The protagonist laments: 'Pienso si era necesario que mi hermano haya muerto, a los diecisiete años de edad, después de año y medio de lucha voluntaria—sacrificios, dolor y muerte—, mientras se entregaban poderes de fuerza bruta a tipos carentes de conceptos humanos. Recuerdo una carta en que me decía << Mi sacrificio y el de tantos y tantos compañeros, no será en vano>>' Mistral (2009: 64). At this early stage of the narrative, the third entry, it is clear that her departure brings back some traumatic memories. The use of the fragment of her brother's letter is a source of external verification, a means through which she is able to provide another form of evidence that testifies what has happened and her disillusionment with the defeated Republic and its politicians. Smith and Watson (2001: 6) state that for life narrators the usefulness of other kinds of sources, such as letters, photographs and conversations, lie in the way in which the evidence is employed to 'support, supplement, or offer commentary on their idiosyncratic acts of remembering'. The way in which the protagonist deploys this fragment, at the height of an emotional entry she is preparing to leave without any knowledge of where she is travelling to and has just been thrown out of the Casal Carlos Marx, is to persuade the reader of her version of experience. Although the theme of asserting her own voice dominates the text, it is particularly noteworthy here as it shows the desperate reality of her emotional state through the disclosure of such personal information, which also

demonstrates the potency of the diary form. The inclusion of a fragment at this point metaphorically symbolises her identity which becomes more fragmented as a result of the journey she will undertake.

As the entry progresses, she evokes the memory of her mother's cry at the news of her brother's death. The psychological burden of this memory is evidently traumatic, the protagonist states: 'Cuando mi madre grite, ¡qué grito no será el suyo!' (Mistral 2009: 65). The point at which this memory is evoked, as she departs, demonstrates that she is saying goodbye to everything that she has ever known as her brother did when he left to fight in the war. It is also an indication that things will never be the same again. She bids farewell to her former life, representing it as a death, which follows Mangini's (1995: 155) assertion that some writers view exile as the embodiment of the death of their former life and rebirth. The protagonist describes the Republicans leaving as 'Nosotros: los muertos, los que nos vamos en carros de dolor, y aquellos que se quedan para morir o continuar la lucha, poseemos la razón' (Mistral 2009: 65). She refers to herself as belonging to part of a group that either had to leave Spain or stay to continue fighting and face the prospect of death. Ugarte (1989: 82) states that 'In exile a life ends, yet it continues; the effect is that the self is split by a notion of temporality which allows the present self to inspect and to re-create the former one, to give it a new birth.' The theme of 'a new beginning' permeates the narrative because the rebirth of the self is dependent upon and facilitated by the undertaking of this journey into exile. The severity of the situation that she faces is a matter of life and death, which strengthens the idea of exile as her rebirth, although she does not portray it as something

positive within the text. Once the protagonist crosses the border, all prior connections to the land are broken which initiates the process of her 'rebirth'.

The female traveller— crossing borders, traversing boundaries

In the entry entitled 'Sombras blancas', the protagonist crosses the border from Port-Bou with the French ideals of 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité' firmly in mind, expecting to be treated with kindness and empathy, but most of all to be welcomed to France. The protagonist describes her crossing of the border: 'El terror nos invade a todos, cuando una escuadrilla de aviones aparece sobre el mar y ametralla a los carros de campesinos y a los camiones llenos de gente. No hay ninguna defensa: por un lado, el precipicio, y por el otro, la alta montaña. Mujeres, niños, caballos, todo se mezcla sobre el asfalto de la carretera. No hay perdón posible, ni olvido' (Mistral 2009: 76). The simple description of crossing the border, demonstrates the fact that she has no other option but to leave and journey into France and also portrays how difficult and dangerous it can be. The lack of defence from the air bombardment shows the vulnerable and extremely dangerous physical position in which the exiles placed themselves, in order to flee Spain. She also mentions that the incident will not be forgotten, echoing the necessity to document her experiences as a means of attempting to comprehend her current, precarious situation.

Giuliana di Febo (quoted in Cates-Arries 2004: 24) identifies the national border as a place of memory. She defines it as both a place of 'national demarcation' and a 'metaphorical marker of separation' and highlights its purpose as a 'bridge between two key

geographical sites'. The national border as a bridge between the two key geographical sites in the protagonist's life is demonstrated in this entry as the mountains become the physical demarcation of the division of her life into two stages. After crossing the border via the mountains and leaving her former homeland, upon realising that she has lost her belongings and writes: 'No encuentro mis libros, mis artículos, mis pequeños objetos de arte, y esa pérdida parece separar mi vida en dos etapas' (Mistral 2009: 78). She crosses the border, leaving her possessions, albeit unintentionally and her homeland behind, arriving in France with nothing. Her personal objects, which evidently were of sentimental value, are now lost and irretrievable, seemingly similar to the exiles' relationship to their homeland. Whitehead (2009: 16) states that memory is suspended between what we wish to retain, the conscious effort we make to retain it, and what impresses itself upon us, that which is passively experienced. The loss of her personal objects as she crosses the border, the containers of memories which the protagonist wished to retain, symbolises the break with the past she is forced to make, therefore giving primacy to her memories of enforced exile, which she passively experiences. The objects here have the same significance as the fragments of her brother's letter; they were possessions that verified her former life as her mother specifically chose to pack these items out of necessity and possibly as sources of future comfort.

In the entry that follows, she describes the chaotic scene that awaits her across the border; hundreds of Spaniards waiting in line to be separated. Her confusion is demonstrated when she states: 'En la carretera, junto al mar, unos gendarmes nos colocan en grupos, separadas de los hombres. Era inútil declarar que eran padres, esposos,

hermanas o hijos. [...] No puedo explicarme este sistema de acogimiento. Entre nosotros hay una sorpresa dolorosa.' The unpredictability of the journey coupled with their hopeful expectations, forms the basis of their distressing surprise as she is then interned in the concentration camp (the French means of accommodating the refugees), Argelès-sur-Mer.

Argelès-sur-Mer — Femme libre, souviens toi

The entry entitled 'Argelès-sur Mer' begins with the following statement:

En Argelès es más fácil entrar que salir. Una playa inmensa y nada más. Ni caseta, ni agua, ni comida, ni enfermeros, ni medicinas. Sólo la arena y el mistral. Y los senegaleses [...] Nadie puede imaginarse cómo es esta playa con el frío y en la noche. No hay una venda para los heridos ni un poco de agua hervida para los enfermos. NADA. 75.000 o 100.000 hombres duermen bajo el rocío, sin mantas muchos de ellos. Por la mañana algunos amanecen secos, congelados por el frío (Mistral 2009: 82)

The inhumane conditions which are described in more detail than usual in the text, the nullity of the space itself, the lack of water, the low temperatures and the overcrowding, evidently horrify the protagonist as she was expecting to be treated with dignity and respect. The above description is similar to the description given by Cates-Arries (2004: 22) as a 'negative space, [an] empty transitional zone between the place of home (Spain) and the place of exile (Mexico).' Jaime Espinar (quoted in Cates-Arries 2004: 22) continues to describe it as an 'absolutely vacuous space of death.' The concept of a concentration camp is

by nature negative yet it is to become the most negative site of memory within the text, simply because of its nothingness. The initial shock is perhaps even more acute because it surpasses her expectations in the worst way possible, not only does she have to attempt to comprehend the fall of the Second Republic, the impact of the Civil War and her subsequent journey into exile, but she is faced with yet another disheartening twist of fate: the definitive French principles that she had clung to in a desperate bid to overcome the feeling of loss, she now knows to be false. The protagonist is confronted with the reality of being placed 'nowhere', uprooted from all that she knows, surviving through writing, battling the erosion of her identity and attempting to address her memories, which are all that she has left of her homeland. The feelings of loss that the protagonist experiences, the severing of all ties with her homeland in exchange for the cruel reality of an empty space in France, intensifies the negative feelings associated with the space of the concentration camp. Although it is an empty space which Cates-Arries (2004: 21) considers as 'nowhere, a location paradoxically defined by its lack or absence as a place', it becomes associated with these feelings of frustration, the harsh reality of exile because although physically speaking she is surrounded by empty space, her identity is shrouded in the psychological burden of the past which she carries with her. It is here, precisely nowhere, where she will have to reconstruct her identity, which Cate-Arries (2004: 33) considers a requirement in order to be capable of 'nurturing and sustaining the expression of a collective memory and history outside of Spain'.

The negative feelings she holds towards the concentration camp are exemplified in a later entry after she has left the camp: 'Aquí parecemos ovejas perdidas. Un día es igual a otro día, una hora igual a otra hora. Si llueve pensamos en los campos, si hace viento también. Y si aún hubiera alguna esperanza. Pero nada, nada, sólo tristes noticias' (Mistral 2009: 106). The emotions she describes, the constant reminders of her experiences at the concentration camp such as simple things like the rain or the wind, demonstrate the importance of the camp in her experience and fit Pierre Nora's criteria for a site of memory. Nora (1997: 1) states that 'un lieu de mémoire dans tous les sens du mot va de l'objet le plus matériel et concret, éventuellement géographiquement situé, à l'objet le plus abstrait et intellectuellement construit'. The concentration camp itself as a geographical fixture and the associated feelings of trauma at being 'interned' there aptly fit Nora's definition and in turn become a focal point of the narrative. The depth of the negative feelings that the protagonist associates with it is shown by the fact that such a small daily occurrence is enough to make her relive the horrific nothingness of the camp, where she was further mistreated and repeatedly forced to reflect upon her state of exile.

Dreyfus-Armand and Temime (1995: 71) refer to the exiles' feelings of being treated like animals, 'ganado', placed in restrictive spaces as a temporary measure with the hope of moving to unknown destinations. The reality of the mistreatment of the Spanish at the hands of the French is described when the protagonist first arrives in France: 'En las aceras, se concentran todas las mujeres, esperando hallar algunos de sus familiares extraviados. [...] Pegan a los jóvenes, empujan a los heridos que, debido a su estado, no pueden andar

deprisa. Estamos, cruelmente, todos separados para el tiempo que dure la estancia en Francia. Es todo tan horrible que mi compañera y yo decidimos partir' (Mistral 2009: 78). As she states, upon their arrival in France, women were grouped together on the pavement until the soldiers moved them on using force regardless of their age or their health. The protagonist once again decides to leave because of the mistreatment and of the way in which people are separated. The few, active decisions that she is able to make on her journey, helps her to become her own individual to a certain extent, constructing a life outside the home. Yet these decisions are not made wholly of her own volition, the restrictions placed on her as a female traveller still often dictate her choices.

The politics of location

Although it could be argued that the protagonist is better off in terms of location as she is no longer in Spain, the emotional transformation that takes place as a result of her exile changes her life irreversibly. Frederick and Hyde (1993: xxiii) state that embarking upon a journey is a risk that is well-worth taking as it is a means of self-transformation and self-discovery for women. In *Éxodo*, the narrator chronicles her journey recounting her gender-specific experiences as a means of negotiating her former identity with her forced exile. It is not until the end of documenting a memory that she is able to see the journey in such a positive light as her initial reaction is to lament for what she has lost rather than what she will gain. For example, the overwhelming sense of loss that she inevitably feels as a result of leaving Spain is properly addressed when she arrives in Les Mages: 'Estoy sola sin protección, en un pueblo triste. Me he abrazado a mí misma y he llorado largo rato, con el

llanto amargo de quien ha perdido la alegría de ver, de andar, de vivir en una palabra' (Mistral 2009: 89). She is then assigned a place to live, 'Le Maison du Peuple', with a group of people, which only makes her sense of loneliness more acute. It is demonstrated in this instance that despite her portrayal of 'España peregrina' as a collective to which she belongs and whose principles she defends voraciously, her own individual emotions are overwhelming and at times consume her. The display of emotion, her bitter tears at her desperate situation and describing herself as having lost the will to live, presents the intense emotional burden that is exile, which she cannot perceive as a positive situation. The realisation that she will call the small town of Les Mages her home for the meantime indicates that the rift between the narrator and her home will always be present, yet she understands the grave dangers that she could have faced as a woman with strong political views in Spain. The fragment of the letter received on 1st April states: «Si te contara historias serían del estilo de las de Edgar Allan Poe» (Mistral 2009: 110). The allusion of the horrific nature of Poe's stories to the early stage of Franco's dictatorship is different to the glory of victory portrayed by Francoist historians. The protagonist describes this statement as 'suficiente', which conveys the fact that she has made the right decision in undertaking this difficult journey because the literary reference to a revered figure of Gothic Romance informs her of the atrocities taking place in Spain. In addition, by choosing to cry in the Café de Paris as opposed to the Paseo de Gracia and the various other locations she has travelled to, where she was physically unable to cry, the protagonist designates Les Mages as a safe

place, where she is able to cry freely and live freely to a certain degree and where she can earnestly attempt to come to terms with the journey thus far.

Les Mages provides her with a sense of security that staying in one place for a while gives an individual until the Spanish women are accused of scandalising the town and placed under house arrest. The protagonist declares: 'Escapar es absurdo. No se llegaría más lejos de dos o tres estaciones, sin el correspondiente pasaporte' (Mistral 2009: 95). The lack of options that Mistral has and lack of communication depresses her even more so as she is unable to live her life as she should wish, her fundamental human right. It causes her to revert back to her childhood practice of collecting 'toda clase de papel que halla en la calle o en el monte' (Mistral 2009: 98). By regressing back to this childhood practice, she demonstrates her vulnerability and her feelings of uncertainty. Her fragile emotional state, as a result of undertaking the journey into exile and designating Les Mages as a safe place, conveys the destabilising nature of the emotional dimension of the journey.

Frederick and Hyde (1993: xix) name home as the point of departure, a fixed point to which all other places will be compared. The process of the journey from home to her new 'home' is marked by the difficult physical and logistical aspects; finding a means of transport to travel to a destination unknown, ensuring that she eats and keeping her belongings safe. Simple everyday acts become a focus of worry and panic exacerbated by the fact that she no longer has a place to call home. This is really the crux of the emotional journey, the sense of loss and despondency that she feels and the burden of remembering and recalling what she had in the past and most importantly what she has lost. She is

consistently reminded of the fact that the Maison du Peuple is not home and it will never be. For example, when the Sous-Prefet of the town writes to the Spanish women about their 'mala conducta' and forbids them to leave the Maison without permission, the narrator states: 'Lo cierto es que somos prisioneras' (Mistral 2009: 128). Understandably, the protagonist reacts furiously to the accusation that the women have been leaving the Maison without permission and causing 'scandal' in the town and writes a letter to the Prefet asking for an explanation and protesting their innocence. The fact that he is able to imprison them at will demonstrates the vicious attitudes towards the female Spanish refugees and also demonstrates that in France, they were 'kept' women.

A new beginning, Mexico and Ipanema as sites of memory

The protagonist's final destination, unknown at the beginning of the diary, is Mexico, where the government of President Lázaro Cárdenas welcomed tens of thousands of Republican refugees. The first reference made to Mexico in *Éxodo* is in the entry, 'Argelès-sur-Mer', where she arrives at the French concentration camp. It is described as:

La obsesión de México se manifiesta, también, trágicamente un joven
teniente anunció a sus amigos:

— Me voy del campo.

Le vieron cómo recogía sus maletas y su raído abrigo, y partía.

— ¿A dónde vas? — le preguntaron.

— A México, a México.. — contestó alegre.

E iba, hacia el mar, adentrándose en el agua. Los amigos corrieron hacia él. Marchaba a México, por el mar, como Jesucristo, sobre las olas. Había perdido la razón (Mistral 2009: 83)

It is established at the outset that the idea of Mexico, similar to the idea of leaving, has become an obsession amongst the exiles, as they desperately attempt to cling on to some form of hope to ease the harsh reality of exile. Mexico, a country which supported the Republican cause, becomes a beacon of hope, a destination where the exiles aspire to be and begin a new life, away from mistreatment and repression. The fact that the young man described above is disillusioned enough to believe that he can walk to Mexico on water like Jesus Christ demonstrates the extent to which the obsession with Mexico and leaving France once and for all manifested itself. Cate-Arries (2000: 227) states that the forms of the obsession is 'not so much on the nature of the geographical, "real" place but on the traveller's perspective— and pre-existing cache of images— that inform the textual contours of that reality'. His mind is not only pushed to the borders of sanity and insanity, the narrator herself describes him as having taken leave of his senses, which exemplifies the pressure of exile and the necessity to ascribe meaning to places in order to maintain a healthy state of mind. Mexico is therefore introduced as both a future prospect but also as a dangerous infatuation which can lead the exiled individual to the brink of their sanity because of the impossible situation the refugees are placed in.

When it is confirmed on 6th June 1939 that the narrator will travel to Central America, the tone of the entries changes as she finally has a prospect to look forward to despite the fact that she is ill: 'Mi alegría es tan grande que la debilidad de que estaba poseída se transforma en fuerza. De casa en casa, y corriendo por medio de la callejuela, anuncio mi partida...' (Mistral 2009: 135). The fact that she runs from house to house announcing her departure demonstrates her happiness at the prospect of a final destination. Despite the snide whispers of the French who refer to Mexico as 'le pays sauvage', the protagonist's elation at finally being able to leave France is not affected. The expression of the joy that she is feeling is the most positive emotion shared throughout the course of the diary as she is finally about to embark on the trip to the 'promised land', which is what Mexico became as a result of the difficult conditions in France. Cate-Arries (2000: 227) states that the concept of Mexico as a political utopia, 'the perfect reflection of their own defeated Republic' is a recurrent theme in exile literature. Through portraying the young man as pushed to the borders of insanity and sanity the protagonist demonstrates the pressure of exile and necessity to ascribe meaning to places in order to maintain her own sanity. It is France where she has endured the psychological burden of remembering the atrocities of the Civil War; experienced the brutality of life as a refugee of fleeing from her homeland to an alien, unwelcoming 'nowhere' and began reconstructing her identity and her Self. The onboard magazine reinforces this idea of Mexico as a promised land by describing it as 'una nota de consecuencia espléndida, leal, desinteresada [...] Por eso vamos a México; porque se nos presenta como una prolongación de España' (Serrano Migallón 2006: 214).

Once on board the ship that is travelling to Mexico, the protagonist shares her jubilation at the prospect of ‘recobrar la seguridad que siempre había tenido y que perdí en los cuatro meses de exilio en Francia’ (Mistral 2009:152). By coming to terms with what her time in France has taken away from her, she is able to move forward and relish the idea of starting afresh somewhere new. Mexico thus transforms from being a metaphorical symbol of hope to becoming a very real site of prospective memory on which she will be able to build future memories. In the magazine distributed on board, Mexico is referred to as the place where ‘Vamos a intentar volver a vivir y lo conseguiremos; pero eso no quiere decir que renunciemos a nuestra vida anterior’ (Serrano Migallón 2006: 146). It is clear that Mexico will be able to provide a stable place where the exiles will be able to reconstruct their lives and will most importantly welcome them and celebrate the achievements of Republican Spain.

As the ship passes Spain a group of passengers write a message to their compatriots, put it into a bottle and throw it out to sea. The message, which encourages the remaining Spaniards not to lose hope and reminds them to keep their spirits high, exhibits the sense of national pride that the exiles still feel. It is shown by the protagonist as she describes Spain as ‘algo más que un nombre, una patria, un lugar o una familia. Es la tierra donde se labraron, a surcos de sangre, los espíritus, esos que fueron arrojados, por millares, a los Pirineos Orientales’ (Mistral 2009: 143). Rodríguez (2005: 11) asserts that the condition of a female exile will be accepted if they know that the situation is temporary because they will remain living ‘in-between’ their present and their past. She explains that women rarely sever

all ties with their homeland, which eases the loss that all exiles suffer. The inclusion of this point of the journey where they are able to say a goodbye of sorts to their homeland indicates that although the bitter reality of living in France allowed resentment to fester, the protagonist is still hopeful for a return home in the future.

Her much anticipated arrival on Mexican soil becomes the focus of the last entry, where the protagonist attests:

Venimos con la ilusión de empezar una vida deshecha por los horrores de la guerra. Somos todos pobres. Traemos solamente el recuerdo de las cosas que quisimos formar y que se perdieron en la guerra o en el éxodo. Nos queda el alma, elevada y purificada por las angustias del exilio, el afán de recobrar lo perdido, para nosotros y para aquellos que gimen bajo el manto fatal de la tragedia.

Cuando emprendo ruta, bajo el cielo del puerto jarocho, hay una intensa emoción en mi corazón y un recuerdo hacia los que aguardan, en los campos inhóspitos de Francia, el horizonte de una nación libre (Mistral 2009: 167)

She describes the wealth of experience and knowledge of the exiled individuals to Mexico and their fervent desire to rebuild their lives. Cates-Arries (2004: 24) considers the French concentration camps as 'ground zero', neutral territory upon which the exiles are able to construct their new identity and sentiments of place. However, I would argue that the exiles arrive in France with their own pre-conceived ideals, which are dramatically repudiated as it is clear that the French do not empathise with the Spaniards, least of all identify with the

persecution that they have suffered. The site of memory which acts as 'ground zero' in *Éxodo* is Mexico because the exiles take their 'purified souls' and their hopes of building new lives and are permitted to do so, as demonstrated by the publication of the diary in Mexico in 1940. Mexico acts as a site of recuperation, a place where the exiles are able to write freely and remember fully, without the trauma of political repression because they are removed from the European context.

Conclusion

Bartov (1998: 271) states that the trauma of loss leads an individual to search for the past and involves the construction of a new identity. The protagonist through chronicling her journey, clearly undergoes a process of self-transformation using her diary as a place of self-discovery as she constructs a new identity. Martínez (2007: 16) observes that literature has become a place of memory, a conscious space where obscurity is evaded and also a maxim of the traumatic past at an individual and collective level. It is the undertaking of the journey into exile which irreversibly changes the female protagonist, who is transformed as a result of this process both physically and emotionally. The supposed immediacy of the diary form, with which she is able to capture the specifics of her journey, the uncertainty of where the group is headed, the events that occur within the fixed space of her temporary home and the crossing of national borders, add to the impact of the text because it creates the illusion of chronicling history as it happens.

The separation of the journey into stages reflects the fragmentation of her identity: as a woman, as a traveller, as a conscious individual, as a writer. The theme of loss penetrates the journey that the narrator is making, as she pushes forward to escape the misery of her exiled life in between locations. As she remembers Spain and recounts her journey thus far, the narrator persistently reminds the reader of her exiled status and the mistreatment she receives as a result of her gender. The emotional journey which she makes takes her from war-torn Barcelona to Mexico is one of self-discovery and self-transformation. It also reflects the process of life and death, as she looks forward to her new life in Mexico as her rebirth. Although the physical journey that she makes is demanding, as she travels for hours by car, by train and by foot to reach a particular destination, the emotional journey takes her further away as she says goodbye to everything she has ever known and battles the erosion of her own identity. The image of her exile as a rebirth due to the death of her former life is extremely powerful as it encapsulates the negativity of her feelings of loss and the positivity of starting anew; the consciousness of her Self.

The protagonist's construction of her journey, her life without a home, openly escapes Franco's ideal of women being at the centre of the home, bound to the private sphere. By documenting her experiences as a female traveller, the protagonist demonstrates that she is as able as any man to endure the process of exile to live her life as she decides.

Chapter Three— Representing the Other

Chapter One demonstrated that through the act of maintaining a diary and scribing her vivencias, the female narrator was able to consciously represent her Self as a distinctive individual, belonging to a wider collective of Spanish Republican exiles. Chapter Two identified the journey as a key process of self-transformation and discovery; the means through which the protagonist was able to articulate and represent her Self. The aim of Chapter Three is to examine the protagonist's gendered representation of her Self in relation to the Other, whilst exploring her journey into exile as a process of 'Othering', whereby she assumes an alterior Spanish national identity.

Richards (1998: 7) describes the Spanish Civil War as a conflict which divided (and continues to divide) Spain in two halves: Spain and 'Anti-Spain'. The protagonist makes it clear in the entry 'Port-Vendres', examined in Chapter One that she could not bear to stay and face her brother's murderers and instead decided to flee. The persecution suffered by those who remained is still subject to debate even today (Constenla 2011; Durán 2011; Hitos 2012; Vázquez 2012). It led to the mass exodus— the process of becoming the Other and having to accept alternative identities.

Contested pasts: the Other-story

Gender has already been acknowledged as a key aspect of the text and is integral to the protagonist's self-representation and identity construction. Loureiro (2000: 1) quotes Gusdorf's definition of autobiography as the 'true creation of the Self by the Self, enabling

access to a new, more profound sense of truth'. Loureiro (2000: 24) develops his own definition of autobiography as a derivative of the Other and therefore derived for the Other. If we consider the construction of the Self for the Other, female autobiography would therefore be a response to the male 'I' and the result of the process of individuation; in the narrator's case, the creation of a diary. Within the text, the Other can therefore be interpreted as anyone who is contrary to or in juxtaposition to the female narrator and her values. Yet with Franco's ascension to power, as Richards (1998: 7) confirms, any association with the Republic became a sin to be 'confessed, recounted, suppressed and negated'. The protagonist describes the fall of the Republic as transforming her optimism to 'un absoluto desconocimiento de la realidad', which leads to her spending time 'rompiendo fotografías de archivo y carnets, correspondencia y recibos' (Mistral 2009: 58; 61). The act of destroying traces of the Republic's presence demonstrates that as Franco's troops surrounded Barcelona, there was an acute awareness and fear of the brutal repression that would ensue with his victory. It is the act of leaving Spain because of this fear that begins the process of 'Othering'; whereby the Republicans become the Other —a group of people ostracised and placed on the margins of Spanish society.

In his description of the aim of the Civil War, Franco (quoted in Navarrete 2005) declared that: 'Luchamos para formar un solo frente nacional contra los judíos y las logias de masones, contra Moscú y las sociedades obreras de tipo marxista'. His aim of re-constructing Imperial Spain to restore mid-twentieth century Spain to its former glory, clearly involved the removal of all hallmarks of the Spanish Second Republic especially its supporters. If we

consider Benedict Anderson's (1983: 3) concept of the nation as an 'imagined community', imagined both as 'inherently limited and sovereign', it is clear that in Franco's Spain, the epitome of the Nationalist vision of the nation, there was no place for the Republicans. This is further supported by Franco's infamous statement, 'En España, no habrá comunismo'. The limitation of Republican involvement in the Spanish nation was to the extent of definitive exclusion, through negating their right to be heard and silencing their voices. It is here that the sovereignty of the nation comes into force as all that defines Franco's Spain remains and all that is contrary to his vision disappears with the emphasis placed on the Nationalist concept of 'Hispanidad'. The implementation of this single, unitary national vision is a testament to the power of the Nationalists as the most dominant hegemonic group. Within *Éxodo*, it is referred to several times as 'la gran tragedia' by the narrator and even in the prologue by León Felipe (Mistral 2009: 106; 118; 143; Felipe 2009: 53). The desperate struggle between two competing visions of the nation and conflicting versions of the war lead to what Hodgkin and Radstone deem to be 'contested pasts'. Hodgkin and Radstone (2003: 3) state:

The idea of contest in the literal sense is apparently a straightforward one: it evokes a struggle in the terrain of truth. If what is disputed is the course of events— what really happened— new answers, particularly by groups whose knowledge has previously been discounted, may challenge dominant or privileged narratives. But to contest the past is also, of course, to pose questions about the present, and what the past means in the present [...] The focus of contestation, then, is very often not

conflicting accounts of what actually happened in the past so much as the question of who or what is entitled to speak for that past in the present. The attempt to resolve meaning in the present is thus often a matter of conflicts over representation: where a memorial should be sited, what artefacts a museum should include, whose views should be sought in television interviews. In these debates the contest is often over how truth can best be conveyed, rather than what actually happened.

After the fall of Barcelona, Franco implemented various strategies to stifle the Other voice; the discourse of the Left, the discourse of women, the discourse of dissidence. Kristeva (1986: 296) states that to be a woman was a form of dissidence, especially in the midst of the staunchly patriarchal society. The perspective offered by *Éxodo* on the war is therefore a binal contestation to Franco's version of events, from the perspective of a political opponent and from a distinctly female viewpoint through the focus on women's experiences. It is only now, as Spain attempts to address its traumatic past that the narratives of the exiled, in particular of the women during that specific historical period, can start to be included and examined.

Hall (2000: 17) states that identities are constructed through difference, that it is only through relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its 'constitutive outside' that its construction is possible. Yet what is most important is the alternative perspective of the Spanish Civil War that it provides; the testimony of the voiceless. Exiled Republicans became the Other not only because they fundamentally disagreed with Nationalist rhetoric and did not wish to be included but also

due to the fact that they were always displaced, removed from the centre of society (its government) and placed on the margins. Bhabha (quoted in Yuval-Davis 1997: 60) considers the idea of 'counter-narratives' which emerge from the nation's margins from those national or cultural 'hybrids' who have lived (due to migration or exile) in more than one culture. She describes Nationalist Spain as 'hollada por el sable y el látigo' and refers to Republican Spain as 'algo más que un nombre, una patria, un lugar o una familia' (Mistral 2009: 164; 143). It is demonstrated that despite the general consideration of Republican Spain as the 'Anti-Spain', the protagonist seeks to counter it and narrate her experiences against it. Both Spains are placed at odds with each other here, a reflection of the reality that is still somewhat true today that both visions of the nation cannot be reconciled. However it is of paramount importance to examine how the nation is presented in *Éxodo* as it is a perspective that has been excluded, to the detriment of the progression of the modern Spanish nation and its history.

An alterior identity can therefore be perceived to be something which contradicts or poses a threat to Franco's ideal of the Spanish nation. Exile is not always something which the protagonist embraces. In fact her initial resistance to accept her situation as an exile allocates her perspective with its specificity. It is highlighted when she leaves Barcelona and whispers '¡quiero volver a Barcelona!' throughout the journey and later explains her reasons for leaving (Mistral 2009: 64-65; 75; 87; 109; 119; 126; 143; 164).

La gran tragedia and its documentation

Croce (quoted in White 1990: 28) asserts that where there is no narrative, there is no history. The enforcement of the stringent censorship legislation facilitated the purging of Spain's Marxist roots and the eradication of the Republicans from history, which in turn invited Republican narrative and made it a necessity. The female Self is perhaps best placed to provide this alterior perspective as it is often constructed in relation to others; the wider exile community, other exiled women and soldiers (as demonstrated in Chapter One), groups who were not given the chance to assert their voices.

In the prologue, Felipe (2009: 53) claims rather ironically 'nuestra tragedia va a acabar en un tema coreográfico para el ingenio zarzuelero', yet it cannot be resolved in this typically Spanish way because it can never just become 'agua pasada'. This great tragedy involved a significant number of people who in the narrative of the Spanish nation were cast into oblivion; written out and their struggles remain undocumented. The protagonist describes the immediate shock and suffering caused by exile as 'Desde esta fecha solamente quedará el hoy, presente de dolor uniforme' (Mistral 2009: 68). The references to the shared suffering and their disconnection to time are compounded as she travels North lamenting: 'Este pueblo no lo recordará nadie mañana. Es un detalle español perdido en la gran tragedia que nos conmueve' (Mistral 2009: 71). The references made to being forgotten and their presence becoming a lost Spanish detail demonstrate the psychological trauma of going into exile, being punished and cut off from everything the exile has ever known. The process of 'Othering' can be seen to have already begun at this point as the mass exodus of people

results in thousands journeying through Northern Catalonia in pursuit of the border, escaping to safety and assuming their alterior identity as 'exiled'.

Preston (2011) and Ilie (1980: 25) both use terms ('Holocaust' and 'Diaspora', respectively) related to the Judaic experience of exile, which perpetuates the notion of the exiles as 'the chosen people'. There are several instances in the text where the protagonist makes allusions to this notion and challenges the negative associations of Franco's enforced process of 'Othering'. For example, just before the exiles cross the border, the protagonist declares: 'Marcha toda la fuerza vital de España. Nadie quiere quedarse. Se pierde la guerra; pero algo conmueve a todos saber que una masa de cuatrocientos mil personas desprecian el fascismo' (Mistral 2009: 75). By referring to the exiles as 'the vital force' of Spain, it is suggested that Spain will not be able to survive without such a significant part of its population. Ilie (1980: 34) states that 'A nation cut off from one segment of its citizens' vitality cannot be regarded as a whole culture', especially if its purpose is self-restoration. As a consequence of excluding such considerable amount of people, Franco's vision of the Spanish nation could never have fully achieved its pursuit of restoring itself to its former glory because it goes against the very fabric of Spanish history— the persistent political struggles between Right and Left. The idea of the Republicans being forced to leave but retaining their principles, their disdain of fascism, presents the reality of the exiles claiming the moral high ground, which is ultimately the price paid for their sacrifice of assuming their alterior identity. The protagonist also refers to the exiles as a vision of 'judíos errantes'

(Mistral 2009: 80), which further perpetuates the notion of the Republicans as outcast and displaced.

Dupláa (2000: 35) states that the mere fact of having a 'cuerpo femenino' led to double the humiliation, torture and indignity of the Civil War, first as defeated then as women. There are several instances in the text where the protagonist vents her frustration at the lack of compassion and empathy towards the refugees by the French (Mistral 2009: 76; 82; 96; 98; 109; 124; 139). For example, upon their arrival in France and their separation from their male companions, the protagonist describes the humiliation and vulnerability that the women feel at being vaccinated in full view of a group of sailors who lewdly watch their every move. It is being the object of the male gaze that leads the protagonist to lament at her situation: 'Abandonadas las mujeres en las rutas de Francia, pierden la confianza y suspiran por el hogar perdido. Yo me pregunto: ¿es cierto que hemos dejado la guerra atrás y estamos en un país de paz garantizada?' (Mistral 2009: 86). It is the first instance since crossing the border that the protagonist realises that the process of 'Othering' transcends national boundaries and that she feels the reality of exile; becoming displaced, rootless, without ties to her homeland. It is clear that France is not to become somewhere she can refer to as home, that it has the potential to be as unbearable as Franco's Spain as she is also excluded from French society. The narrator describes their contempt which resulted in the female refugees being treated as beasts, whom other women avoided (Mistral 2009: 82; 89). It is perhaps the scorn of other women which affects the protagonist the most. She

describes her frustration at being unable to explain her situation, after a group of French women make snide comments:

Me entran ansias de gritar a mí también, de decirles que muy pronto ellas se volverán locas, que sentirán los obuses y las bombas, que verán su casa destruida y sus hijos muertos, que marcharán de pueblo en pueblo sin apoyo, en busca de cobijo que nadie les brindará de buena gana, que sentirán hambre, frío y dolor. Que gritarán sin que nadie las escuche, que llorarán sin que nadie recoja sus lágrimas, que caerán y alguien las empujará con el pie para que rueden [...] Tenemos dolor, mucho dolor, pero también tenemos rabia (Mistral 2009: 119).

By sharing her innermost thoughts with the reader at this particular point, the narrator demonstrates the reality of alterity and the psychological burden of being outcast. By venting her frustration, she encapsulates her feelings and experiences- the anguish of separation, the despair of always being regarded as second-class citizens, the lack of support, and the devastating effects of war, in a succinct and salient way. She describes her situation using the technique of free indirect discourse, although she begins by addressing the French women the entry finishes as if she has finally explained her most private thoughts and asserted her testimonial voice. The process of 'Othering' has clearly taken its toll and it is here where she is able, albeit only in the act of writing rather than saying it aloud, to attest to what she has seen, her own experiences of war and quite poignantly her own feelings of exasperation at being a victim of circumstance. Her desperate situation is further highlighted as she describes her search for shelter, wandering from place to place. The journey into exile

is the process of becoming the Other in Franco's Spain and the burden of being excluded from the nation, completely cut out of its history, is too much for the narrator to bear and results in this outburst of intense emotion. She refers to the women's attempts at asserting their voices and being heard, only for them to be rebuked at every level. The gross sense of injustice that is conveyed here using the first person plural form highlights the collectivity of the exilic experience through the description of intense emotions. It is in this extract that through the use of free indirect discourse she is able to attest to her experiences, at the point of heightened emotions she is able to recount not only for her Self and her companions but she is able enunciate her experiences for her Other. She accuses the regime of being the cause of widespread hunger, death and suffering, proclaiming that their marginalisation, which Young (1990: 53) determines as 'the most dangerous form of oppression', has shattered her identity and has left her destitute.

Implications of La leyenda roja

Reinforcing the notion of becoming the Other, alien in their native land and in Europe, is an excerpt from the magazine available on board the Ipanema: 'A nuestro alrededor se ha creado una leyenda roja para quitar grandeza a la epopeya que hemos escrito con nuestra sangre, en la más cruenta de las luchas por la conquista de nuestra libertad y de la del mundo entero cada día más amenazada por los enemigos, de ella' (Serrano Migallón 2006: 229). Here it is clarified that what the protagonist refers to as la gran tragedia is in fact documented by Francoist propagandists as 'the purging of a cancer by the Iron Surgeon [Franco]' (Morcillo 2010: 24). Almost as if in response to the Nationalist propaganda, the

'diario a bordo' talks about 'un virus fascista' from which Europe is keeping its distance (Serrano Migallón 2006: 252), which is mirrored in *Éxodo* as the protagonist constructs her Self in relation to Franco and his supporters as the other. The use of such strong, hateful language proves that these conflicting ideologies are difficult to reconcile, which is a reflection of the brutality of the Civil War. The protagonist addresses this by stating: 'Yo preferiría la cárcel a un regreso, el calabozo a tener que escuchar las risitas entre dientes' (Mistral 2009: 110). Her clear stance on the possibility of returning to Spain is significant as it shows her acceptance of the circumstances and the negativity of her assumed, alterior identity.

The derisory impact of the leyenda roja for women is portrayed to in the text when they are menacingly referred to as '«Rojas»' by gendarmes (Mistral 2009: 95). Dreyfus-Armand and Temime (1995: 77) define the term as derogatory, 'une sorte de pestiféré ou du criminel' and 'bête curieux'. However as Mangini (1995: 9; 106) observes it was worse to be a 'roja' as aspersions would be cast on her character of a sexual nature, to make her feel like a misfit and 'the most ignominious misfit was a whore.' The protagonist refers to this dimension of her gendered, alterior identity twice; once when she is offered 'trabajo (?)' in Marseilles, which is well paid and is accompanied with a residence permit and again when the Sous-Préfet of Les Mages places the female exiles under house arrest (Mistral 2009: 122; 128). The particularly negative connotations of the female, alterior identity and its widespread diffusion in Europe demonstrate the power of the leyenda roja and the impact on the construction of her gendered Self.

On 18th April 1939, the group of female exiles who she is living with in France are sent for because the refugees have been called back to Spain. She includes an excerpt of the 'discurso patriótico', in which they are told that anyone who does not offer their skills, support and perseverance to the 'proyecto nacional' does not deserve to be Spanish. There is also a direct address to the exiled women: 'Vosotras, mujeres españolas, volveréis a vuestros hogares y en ellos os sentiréis felices, porque aunque halléis vuestras casas en ruinas sentiréis la alegría, la inmensa alegría de la paz, de la reconstrucción. Se os dan toda clase de facilidades y podéis dirigiros a donde os interesa u os plazca' (Mistral 2009: 125). There is a mixed reaction from the group of exiles, some respond by expressing their desire to return home to see their mothers but the protagonist is outraged that what is now the Spanish authorities would even dare to address them. This demonstrates the belief that the Nationalist forces discredited those who were forced into exile and sought to suppress their resistive tendencies. It is also documentary evidence that the female role in Franco's Spain was to be relegated to the domestic sphere, enforcing gender stereotypes and patriarchal subjugation.

The protagonist later declares as she is waiting to board, that returning to Spain would not only destroy and bury all that has occurred but 'quedarse es consumirse física y moralmente' (Mistral 2009: 144). As she has specifically identified herself as 'different', not belonging to this Spain, she becomes alienated from the geographical territory of Spain. Grodzins (quoted in Nettler 1957: 671) considers alienation to be '... the state in which individuals feel no sense of "belonging" to their community or nation' and defines the

alienated person as the 'potentially disloyal citizen'. It encompasses the protagonist's feelings well as she already identifies with the Other, the opponent constructed as 'purificada por las angustias del exilio' (Mistral 2009: 167). What Grodzins terms the potentially disloyal citizen is the very essence of the Spanish Republicans who, regardless of their geographical location, maintained their right to speak out against the repressive others, who attempted to silence and eradicate them from the annals of Spanish history. It is made even more difficult for the protagonist as a woman because she is not always necessarily included in the political assertions of the exiled collective, where male voices took precedence despite her political ideals. This is best exemplified earlier in the text when the protagonist's hopes of freedom upon her arrival to France are dashed and she states: 'Al entrar se me cayó el alma a los pies. No la recogí porque el alma de una refugiada debe de tener muy escaso valor' (Mistral 2009: 84). It not only conveys that she is forced to accept her situation, her mistreatment and the perception of being the 'Other' it shows that she has been convinced by Nationalist rhetoric, demonstrating their strength as the hegemonic group.

Breakwell (1983: 13-14) determines the value of an identity imbued with negative connotations as a fundamental threat to the construction of identity, so long as the individual accepts the legitimacy of those connotations. It is clear that the process of 'Othering' has shattered her identity as she is forced to break ties with her family and her homeland. This is emphasised by the extent to which the narrator is forced to accept her situation, the mistreatment she endures and the perception of being the 'Other'. It also

demonstrates the harsh reality of exile — the mass of exiles being treated as animals, which is indicative of the negative attitudes of the French (other examples include Mistral 2009: 82; 89; 96; 102; 128). She describes her situation:

De nada han valido nuestros razonamientos: la ausencia de familiares, el peligro a las represalias y el deseo personal de no querer convivir con los que fueron causa indirecta de la muerte de los seres queridos, así como la enorme diferencia ideológica que nos separa por siempre (Mistral 2009: 109).

The lack of empathy of their plight, for their experiences, frustrates the protagonist as the French hold a generally dismissive attitude towards them. Dreyfus-Armand (1999) refers to the deep-seated ignorance of the French, who believe in the persuasive '*leyenda roja*'. It is for this reason, to combat ignorance of their plight that the protagonist continues to maintain her diary and include instances where the exiled are continually alienated and placed at the margins of both Spanish and French society, unable to actively participate in either. She also attempts to organise an exhibition to showcase Spanish culture (Mistral 2009: 111-115). Yet the French solution to the Spanish problem, was to create concentration camps, limiting their freedom to travel; continually offering to repatriate refugees thus accentuating their alterity.

Alterity as darkness

The process of 'Othering' has already been identified as the process of being forgotten, made invisible and irrelevant and being cast into oblivion. The war and exile is portrayed

throughout the diary as a dark experience, through references to Edgar Allan Poe and the description of the protagonist's life as a 'círculo cerrado' from which there is no escape (Mistral 2009: 128). The first reference to darkness is made when describing the 'humo negruzco', the result of the bombing, which obscures their vision (Mistral 2009: 70). The next reference '...negrura en el ambiente y negrura en el alma' (Mistral 2009: 76) describes the frustration at the constant threat of bombing from airplanes overhead and her exasperation at what seems to be the eternity of travelling. The theme of darkness is best represented in the following passage written whilst she is in Les Mages:

No puedo comprender cómo un pueblo tan pequeño e insignificante como éste, llegue a oprimirme tanto. Sus habitantes me parecen pulpos gigantes, que alargan sus tentáculos para ahogarme. Y me ahogo en el, me asfixio.

[...] El miserable pueblo, mirado desde arriba, parece un gallinero. Lejos de la jaula me siento más yo. Sólo la lluvia puede arrastrarme a abandonar estos paisajes tan llenos de fuerza natural, por el patio inmundo donde picotean las volátiles (Mistral 2009: 105).

The disturbing image of being asphyxiated represents her reality of being forced into exile and to accept the patriarchal systems which subjugate her. Furthermore, it is a testament to the erosive power of exile in regard to her identity as it leaves her with nothing. Not only is exile a process of self-transformation, it is also a continual cycle of suffering which is as inescapable as she is continually perceived as the unwelcome Other. The theme of darkness

could represent the shroud of shame associated with the phenomenon of exile or it could represent the figurative situation of the exile being uprooted from their homeland, cast out of their nation, cut out of their nation's narrative and therefore cut off from their nation's time. Lejeune (2009: 181) states that 'a diary is a dark room that you can enter from a brightly lit exterior'. The darkness in becoming the Other, assuming the identity of the unwanted is represented as something unknown that cannot be escaped. She later describes her frustration at not knowing anything about her situation, being kept in the dark about events occurring around her (Mistral 2009: 62; 80; 88; 129). She states: 'la guerra y el éxodo barrieron muchas cosas, sólo la humana camaradería puede unirnos' after having being '... lanzado al mar como en las tragedias bíblicas' (Mistral 2009: 133; 150). The references to Judaic exile and the inherent loss she feels reinforce her representation of the other.

It is only as her journey comes to an end that the protagonist is able to feel positive about her new life in Mexico and is exemplified by her encounters with 'el otro racial'. For example, when a black woman tries to sell a doll to a Spanish man for an outrageous price, a French guard hits her in order to punish her for asking such a price. Astounding both the Martinican woman and the French guard, the Spaniard berates the guard and asks:

—¿Por qué maltrata a la negra? Es una mujer como todas las mujeres, como las inglesas y como las francesas; quizás mejor que ellas, más humana, más sencilla, más buena. Su risa es franca, su mirar, sincero su gesto, tranquilo, ¿por qué la enseña a odiar? (Mistral 2009: 159)

The inclusion of this incident in the entry not only places the Spanish Republican man in a favourable light; the advocate of all women's rights but also someone who pursues justice and seeks to change the narrow-mindedness of patriarchal society. The eloquent description of the qualities of the Martinican woman, which he points out are of the same value as English and French women, not only demonstrates the affinity shown between two groups defined as 'the Other' but is reminiscent of the previous inclusion of fragments within the text. It is also reinforced in the 'diario a bordo' where the people of Martinique are described as '...nos dedican sus mejores sonrisas, nos acogen con la mayor simpatía, procuran sernos todo lo agradable que cabe en ellos porque la diferencia de color no es para nosotros motivo para creernos superiores y porque nuestras intenciones no son la explotación de otras gentes de color' (Migallón 2006: 223). Colmeiro (2009b: 38) considers this instance to as exemplary of the human values of the Republicans, indicative of their progressive ideals. By alluding to the differences between the exiles and the Martinicans, who she describes as 'tratadas de igual a igual, compartiendo las alegrías de los blancos' for the first time, she demonstrates the difference between the barbaric ways of Spain and the civilised 'Anti-Spain' thus representing la leyenda roja as farcical (Mistral 2009: 158).

Conclusion

The protagonist's alternative perspective is based upon her gender and political sympathies, which leads to the new, gendered representation of Franco's Other. Young (1990: 46) states that 'our identities are defined in relation to how others identify us and they do so in terms of groups which are always already associated with specific attributes, stereotypes and

norms'. It follows that the protagonist constructs her identity in opposition to the values of Franco's Spain where the woman is relegated to the domestic sphere. The sense of injustice that prevails through her representation of her alterior identity presents Franco as her other and provides documentary evidence of how the protagonist constructs her identity specifically by contesting his vision of the nation, including perspectives that have previously been disregarded.

Conclusion: New Beginnings

Alonso (quoted in Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga 2003: 22) states that history is a central focus of social contest because the meanings of the past define the stakes of the present. The overarching aim of this thesis was to analyse Silvia Mistral's *Éxodo. Diario de una refugiada española* to demonstrate its representation of a gendered perspective of The Spanish Civil War and to suggest its contemporary relevance to Spanish society as it attempts to reverse the invisibilisation of the Republicans. As the Spanish national question grows ever more pertinent, the 'nation in exile', that is the Republican exiled community written out of the national narrative, must be written back into this tradition and their version of events acknowledged. Weedon (2008: 29) contemplates that misrepresentation and non-representation of the voices which shape the narrating and perspectives from which the past and present are understood, can be damaging. It is now of the utmost importance for the Spanish government to build upon the Ley de Memoria Histórica and continue making steps towards beginning the process of reversing the invisibilisation of the Republicans. It is only through analysing the cultural production of the period that we are now able to learn about their experiences and identities, which is the start of incorporating the history of the marginalised into Spanish society.

Chapter One demonstrated the capability of genre as clarificatory, a means through which the narrator articulated her memories, scribed her vivencias and was able to create the impression of bearing witness to the chronicled events as and when they occurred. The immediacy with which each entry is narrated provides us with great insight into the

emotional trauma of exile and the inner turmoil of the marginalised. It is especially relevant in terms of a female viewpoint as the protagonist not only narrates her own experiences but mediates them via others, such as other female exiles and soldiers, to demonstrate her fragmented identity— the result of undertaking the journey into exile.

Chapter Two contemplated the journey, its emotional and physical dimensions and its gendered meaning. It highlighted the experiences of women as markedly different to those of men as her voyage becomes a process of self-discovery and self-transformation. As the diary progresses, the narrator develops as she is initially unable to see past the horror of war and the suffering it brings but then realises that she will be free to live her life by her own principles and beliefs in Mexico, which was idealised as an extension of the Spanish Second Republic. The portrayal of the exiled collective as ‘España peregrina’, a recurrent theme in Spanish Republican Exile Literature, provides a perspective that has been delegitimized through Franco’s regime but resonates within the corpus of exilic texts. The end point of the narrative, the arrival of the exiles in Mexico is significant as it confirms that the process of reconfiguring their identity is somewhat complete.

Chapter Three explored the concept of alterity, the effects of marginalisation and exile as a process of ‘Othering’. Whilst emphasizing the importance in the differences between the competing visions of the Spanish nation the protagonist justifies her (forced) decision to leave and begins the process of identity formation. Through articulating her memories freely she is able to discern her own principles and beliefs and constructs her own identity (and the narrative) in opposition to Franco and his regime. Her encounters with the

French are pivotal in this identification of that what she is and what she is not, as their vehement attitudes, mistreatment and lack of compassion reinforce her Republican beliefs.

The experiences narrated in *Éxodo* are by no means unique— thousands of Spaniards constituted La Retirada but the fact that the experiences are scribed from this distinctive, gendered viewpoint and represented makes *Éxodo* significant in this process of incorporating the Republican voice. Yet it is only when the Spanish nation as a whole can confront these issues and achieve a resolution that the Spanish Civil War will no longer be at the centre of great controversy.

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