6-6-2019

Penn History Review, Volume 26 Issue 1 (Spring 2019)

Penn History Review

Journal of Undergraduate Historians

Volume 26, Issue 1 Spring 2019

Shiri Gross
on the Macchiaioli Artists of
Nineteenth-Century Florence

Brooke Krancer
on Memory, the Great War, and
the Rise of Scottish Nationalism

Victoria Reeser
on Female Identity in Francoist
Spain

Lizzie Johnson
on Baryshnikov's Nutcracker *as*
Anti-Soviet Statement

Penn History Review

Penn History Review

Journal of Undergraduate Historians

Volume 26, Issue 1 Spring 2019

ABOUT THE REVIEW

Founded in 1991, the *Penn History Review* is a journal for undergraduate historical research. Published twice a year through the Department of History, the journal is a non-profit publication produced by and primarily for undergraduates. The editorial board of the *Review* is dedicated to publishing the most original and scholarly research submitted for our consideration. For more information about submissions, please contact us at phrsubmissions@gmail.com.

Cover image:
"Giovanni Fattori, Battle of Magenta," originally uploaded to Wikiedia on May 2, 2009, accessed May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Fattori,_Battle_of_Magenta.jpg.

Penn History Review

Volume 26, Issue 1 Spring 2019

Contents:

Letter from the Editor

On behalf of the editorial board, I am excited to present the newest issue of the *Penn History Review*. Since 1991, the *Penn History Review* has been dedicated to promoting historical research conducted by undergraduates. For these twenty-eight years, *PHR* has published the finest of this research written by student at the University of Pennsylvania and schools across the United States. Our Spring 2019 edition includes essays that explore such diverse subjects as Italian art movements, female Spanish identity, Scottish cultural memory, and Soviet-era ballet. Each one of these pieces exemplifies the values that *PHR* strives to embody: originality, thorough research, and quality writing. It was truly a pleasure to review these essays, and I hope that this edition of the *PHR* will prove both intellectually engaging and enjoyable to read.

In our first piece, *Le Polemiche al Caffè Michelangiolo*, Shiri Gross explores the intersection of art and politics embodied by the 19th-century Italian artists of the Macchiaioli group. By analyzing certain events and primary documents produced during the group's active years, as well as publications by group members decades later, she challenges historiographical notions of the group's central identity within a shared set of artistic or political values. She ultimately concludes that the group was not organized under any definitive philosophy but was primarily polemical, unified only in opposition to existing cultural and societal structures.

The next article, *"Winning Little Bannockburns": Memory, the Great War, and the Rise of Scottish Nationalism*, was written by Brooke Krancer. She traces the popular memory of Scotland's military history as it pertained to the rise of Scottish nationalism in the interwar period. She considers first the memory of Scottish martial tradition, especially the Wars of Independence, as a source of pride and patriotism used, somewhat paradoxically, to recruit Scottish volunteers for the British armed forces in World War I. During the interwar period, memory of the Great War shifted as

economic and social conditions deteriorated in Scotland. Initially hailed as "a noble cause worthy of sacrifice," Krancer writes, the conflict became increasingly viewed as a tragic and unnecessary waste of life. She ultimately concludes that this new narrative of the Great War precipitated a change in Scottish perception of its longer martial history that facilitated the rise of nationalist organizations.

In the third paper, *Exploring Female Identity in Francoist Spain*, Victoria Reeser examines the marked contrast between the realities of life as a woman in Francoist Spain and the ideologies put forth by the Sección Femenina in its attempts to created a unified nationalist feminine identity. To do so, she considers the semi-autobiographical novels of Ana Maria Matute, Carmen Laforet, and Carmen Martín Gaite, examining the extent to which their female characters identify with the SF's ideal figures of woman, wife, and mother. She comes to the conclusion that most women in Francoist Spain were unwilling or unable to meet the ideals of the SF and that, in fact, social realities often required women to construct their identities in distinct contradiction to these ideals.

Our final piece, *Defecting to the Land of Sweets: Baryshnikov's* Nutcracker *as Anti-Soviet Statement*, comes from The College of William & Mary student Lizzie Johnson. She traces the subtle evolution of Tchaikovsky's beloved ballet, focusing on the different interpretations offered by choreographers and dancers over time. Her discussion culminates in an analysis of Mikhail Baryshnikov's 1977 film version, the dancer's first venture into choreography. She studies his psychological performance, with its sexualized components and deviations from the traditional plot, against the backdrop of his defection from the Soviet Union three years prior. She concludes that Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* presents a window into the Cold War era by representing the rejection of socialist values and the common struggle of Soviet defectors during that time.

Additionally, this issue includes abstracts submitted by seniors at Penn who undertook the challenging, but rewarding, process of writing honors theses for the History

Department. In doing so, the *PHR* hopes the promote additional research and scholarship in the field of history by offering its readership a preview of this fascinating variety of topics. Congratulations to all of the senior honors students who achieved this impressive accomplishment.

The editorial board would also like to thank a number of people without whom this edition of the *PHR* would not have been possible. The Penn History Department continues to generously provide funding and institutional support for our publication. In particular, we are extremely grateful to Dr. Siyen Fei, the Undergraduate Chair of the department, and Dr. Yvonne Fabella, the Associate Director of Undergraduate Studies. They have both offered helpful advice and encouragement throughout the editing and publishing processes. In addition, we would like to thank the faculty members at Penn and other universities who promoted our publication, as well as all of the students who submitted papers for consideration. Thank you as well to our contributing authors, who worked patiently and diligently to refine their articles for publication.

Finally, I would like to thank our editors for their exceptionally hard work on this issue of the *Penn History Review*. I would especially like to recognize the contributions of our graduating seniors, Julia Barr, Courtney Carpinello, Bryce Daniels, Eric Eisner, Justin Estreicher, and Sarah Marron. Their enthusiasm and commitment over the years have continued to make the *PHR* a platform for outstanding historical scholarship. It has been a truly enjoyable experience to work with each of them throughout my time on the board, and we will all miss them greatly. In particular, I would like to thank Courtney Carpinello, our Editor-in-Chief *emeritus*, for her invaluable advice and assistance throughout this semester. Without her guidance and dedication to the *PHR*, this edition would not have been possible. At the same time, I would like to recognize three new editors we were especially fortunate to have added to the board this semester, Noah Kest, Logan Nantais, and Hannah

Nasseri, who have already made a positive impact on our journal. Congratulations again to all of the authors and editors who participated in this publication of the *Penn History Review*!

Helen Catherine Darby

Helen Catherine Darby
Editor-in-Chief

Le Polemiche al Caffè Michelangiolo

Shiri Gross

The Macchiaioli have been defined as a group of Italian artists, democratic intellectuals, and activists who emerged in the social and political context of the Italian Risorgimento. Although scarcely existent in today's public cultural consciousness when compared with the nearly concurrent French impressionist movement, Italians recognize the Macchiaioli for their definitive role in the artistic, intellectual, and political life of nineteenth-century Florence. Considered by theorists today to be early modernists, a movement of its own distinct from impressionism, the group distanced itself from the traditional standards of the *Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze* and were recognized by their community for their innovative experimentation with *plein-air* studies, tonal opposition, sketch-like effect, and a thematic focus on nature and the quotidian. Their radical identity in the realm of art is considered inseparable from their political values in support of the Risorgimento and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Within their community, they had gained a notorious reputation for their fervent support of their polemical views and were disparaged publicly by those with more traditional values. As the state-of-affairs changed in Tuscany and the Kingdom of Italy was announced in 1861, the artists aligned themselves with political leaders and society elites who shared their nationalist values. This enabled them to form a base of support, but quickly after the group had essentially dissolved.[1]

Despite the apparent clarity of this narrative, retrospective attempts to define the Macchiaioli movement have faced serious theoretical challenges in delineating a framework of time, membership, and shared values.[2] While the Macchiaioli artists are considered within historical scholarship to have been a cohesive group that pushed for radical change in art and politics, these values in relation to their multifaceted group at the time were not

as definitive or explicit as it may seem. Examining retrospective attempts to distill their artistic, philosophical, and political ideas with skepticism, a reconsideration of articles produced contemporaneously with the short life of the group, from roughly 1848 to 1862, along with supporting historical facts brought to light since by recent scholars, indicates a challenging conclusion. When considering the definition of a group as "a collection of individuals who have relations to one another that make them interdependent to some significant degree," the Macchiaioli can only be understood as a group defined in that they united in opposition to existing structures in their culture and society. The strength of their shared values in the absence of the challenges presented by the Florentine art world, politics, and general public is dubious—hence the dissolution of the group shortly following the events of and reception at *L'Esposizione Nazionale*.

It is not an undeveloped argument within the current literature that the Macchiaioli positioned themselves in opposition to the Accademia and the art criticism world of their day. However, through their writings, these artists illustrate an indiscriminate polemic against their cultural and social world, leading them even to admit their own exaggeration.[3] Though they certainly distanced themselves from the Accademia, their artistic values were never in direct opposition to those of the institution, but nonetheless served as a mechanism for their ideological connection to one another and their definition to the public. Likewise, their rejection of the critics was necessitated by journalists' attacks on their artistic legitimacy, and there is no proof that this was more than a defensive reaction. Perhaps their patriotism could have been seen as the initial driving value which united them in battle, in ideology, and in painting; however, the decision to reject the awards bestowed upon them by the newly united Kingdom of Italy at the National Exposition in 1861 cannot be disregarded, as most scholars have done, as a trivial action since this public rejection signifies a lack of integrity in this "fundamental" group principle.

It is perhaps for this reason that a closer examination of their actions during the Italian National Exposition of 1861 is warranted. Contemporary scholars and members of the Macchiaioli themselves cease to characterize the artists as an active group once political and cultural circumstances had changed by 1862: they stopped frequenting their local caffè, diverged in artistic explorations, and ceased to collaborate in public entirely. Examining the short span of time during which these artists united with increased skepticism, the Macchiaioli can best be characterized as a group that united in opposition to what they were not, rather than representing independent, cohesive, and binding ideals that necessitated an ongoing union.

This discussion will focus primarily on understanding their brief union in relationship to the social, political, and cultural landscape within which the group was functioning, and propose that the retrospective impression of their identity as a cohesive group is afforded by their radical disposition in the circumstances of their epoch. The present argument therefore will place interpretive emphasis on several articles: Signorini's articles in *La Nuova Europa* in 1862, Giuseppe Abbiati's publication in *La Gazzetta del Popolo* in 1861, the Altamura's defensive response to a commentator published in *La Nazione* in 1861 all use the group's later writings and historical information to further support these articles. In the end, the evidence considered together will illustrate the constructive nature of the group's identity in relationship to their society. Unlike other historical assessments of this group, the present study will question the entire notion of their group identity set forth by their later spokesmen, Adriano Cecioni, Diego Martelli, and Telemaco Signorini. The discussion will also address a set of three articles written during the National Exposition which have yet to be reproduced in the literature or addressed in any substantial way. Examining their controversial rhetoric within the Florentine community, especially in regard to these particular articles, a fuller understanding of how the group's reactionary formation can be discerned, and later notions of their

central identity can be challenged.

Who Were The Macchiaioli and How Do We Know?

As touched upon earlier, the Macchiaioli were a group of Italian artists active from roughly 1848 until about 1862 who worked and lived in Tuscany. The core members of the group as considered today are Cristiano Banti, Vito D'Ancona, Giovanni Fattori, Silvestro Lega, Serafino De Tivoli, Vincenzo Cabianca, Giuseppe Abbati, Odoardo Borrani, Adriano Cecioni, Raffaello Sernesi, and Telemaco Signorini, although many peripheral members are also cited and will be mentioned in this discussion.[4] Early members of the group formed at the Caffè Michelangiolo on via Larga, today via Cavour, where the artists congregated in their own back room, off-limits to the normal clientele.[5] Many of the group who participated in the battles of independence, including Serafino De Tivoli, Gerolamo Induno, Giovanni Costa and others, found themselves next to Garibaldi in the resistance. Giuseppe Abbati, for example, participated in Garibaldi's 1860 campaign and lost his right eye at the Battle of Capua. Likewise, after the revolution of April 27th 1859, Lega, Signorini, Cecioni, Borrani, and Diego Martelli joined in combat in the Lombardian campaign against the Austrians that summer.[6] Interestingly, the Macchiaioli included artists from all regions of Italy, Giuseppe Abbati hailing from Naples, Vincenzo Cabianca coming from Verona, and Silvestro Lega growing up in Modigliana, to cite a few examples. Individuals from other geographical areas fled their "indigenous subordinated cultures" or were displaced by the turbulent revolutionary years and gathered in Florence where they could find patriotic, like-minded others to discuss revolutionary ideas with at the Caffè Michelangiolo.[7] Thus, these experiences as artists on the battlefield forged a bond among the members of the group who expressed support for a cohesive "Italian" identity in both politics and art.

The Macchiaioli movement has been considered "the first flowering during the modern period of a truly indigenous

Italian art." In general, the artists shared the desire to capture the true quality of light and sensation through their painting. Thus, the unfinished quality of their later work was derived from their emphasis on "transitory effects of light and color" that intended to reflect lived visual experience and subjective feeling.[8] The Macchiaioli's collective artistic production consists of a rich diversity of style and subjects. Many of the artists produced paintings of historical themes and battles, aligning with their general interest in fostering a national identity. Paintings such as Stefano Ussi's *The Expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence* (1861), Vincenzo Cabianca's *Florentine Story-Tellers* (1860), and Giovanni Fattori's *The Italian Camp After the Battle of Magenta (Event of 3 June 1859)* (1859-62) illustrate this stylistic commonality within the movement. Then, their early experimentation with chiaroscuro, inspired by the work of Neapolitan painter Domenico Morelli and French artists Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps,[9] is represented in works such as Morelli's *Tasso and Eleonora D'Este* (1863), and his *Mocking of Christ*. Between 1854 and 1855, the Macchiaioli began to experiment with outdoor sketching, such as Signorini's *The Street Vendor of Spezia* (1858-59).[10] They also became interested in depicting contemporary Italian life and scenes of nature. They traveled all around Tuscany to locations such as Castiglioncello, Livorno, and Montemurlo to study and capture the effects of light, which can be seen in work such as Banti's *Gathering of the Peasant Women* and Cabianca's *Peasant Women at Montemurlo* (1860-62). Thus, the artists, although definitely cohesive in their emphasis on innovative visual effects and their break from academic tradition, encompassed a variety of stylistic phases and themes within the body of work that is attributed to the group at large.

The artists were not considered historically as a nineteenth-century artistic movement until their rediscovery in the beginning of the twentieth century, attributable to their first exposition as a group. In 1905, Cristiano Banti's private collection was exhibited

after his death in an exhibition entitled *Arte Toscana: Prima Esposizione.* After the *Esposizione Retrospettiva* of 1910 held by the *Società delle Belle Arti di Firenze*, the artists finally gained critical appreciation and reputation within all divisions of the Italian artistic community, and an aesthetic preference for the artists' less traditional style began to be expressed.[11]

Caffe Michelangiolo, Adriano Cecioni, 1861

Following this heightened interest in the indigenous Italian modern art movement, the first recorded attempt to retrospectively survey the Macchiaioli movement took place in 1965 with the intention of celebrating the centenary of the group in an exhibition at the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* in Rome.[12] The exhibition directors were presented with a set of challenges in uncharted historical territory, introducing thematic and temporal issues historians have since had to consider. To begin, they had to decide which painters could be considered part of the Macchiaioli and which should be excluded. In addition, they had established date for the group's formation that did not correspond with the writings from Signorini and Martelli claiming that the early *aggruppamento* (grouping) at the Caffè Michelangiolo took place in 1848. However, it is understandable that the group would initially be seen as having formed in 1856, as Dario Durbé notes, due to the multi-phased nature of the movement.[13] Art historians have noted the return from the 1855 Universal Exposition in

Paris[14] as the initiation of the experimentation with light and shadow, deriving inspiration from the *chiaroscuro* of Decamps and Troyon, as well as *ton gris* which had gained popularity in Paris at the time. It was in the beginning of the 1850s when the most heavily involved painters began meeting to develop their figurative language about their art and pushed against the institutional artistic standards set forth by the Florentine Accademia. Signorini notes the shift in focus from the battlefield to the canvas in his *libretto*:

> *From the years 48 to 55, as a result of the time, the conspiracies and pranks prevailed, from 55 to 60 with Tivoli's and Altamura's return from Paris and with the Esposizione italiana getting closer… the crazy people from Via Larga did less pranks and got extremely passionate about their art.*[15]

To further confuse chronology and definitions within the movement, Signorini designated 1855 as the year the *macchia* was born and 1862 as the year that it died.[16] The *macchia* movement, as Signorini defines it, was characterized as such because of a cohesive usage of a violent chiaroscuro inspired by trends in France and the Neapolitan painter Domenico Morelli.[17] Between 1855 and 1862, roughly, the artists had been instead described by critics as *effettisti* and other similar disparaging names that sought to attack the sketch-like quality of their work. However, the term "Macchiaioli" first appeared as it was derogatorily applied to them by Giuseppe Rigutini under the pseudonym *Luigi* in the Florentine journal *Gazzetta del Popolo* on November 3rd, 1862.[18] Until then, Broude notes, they did not utilize the term *macchia* nor call themselves the Macchiaioli, and "the *macchia* had never been, nor was it ever to become, a codified aesthetic that imposed stylistic and procedural rules."[19] Thus, ironically, 1862 is the year of the "death" of the *macchia* experimentation, yet also the year that the term Macchiaioli itself was adopted by the group. Even

more ironically, 1862 marks the last year in which the group has been recognized by scholars to associate as an artistic and social unit. Hence the term Macchiaioli had been adopted almost retrospectively, especially by later auto-biographical writings and essays of Signorini, Martelli, and Cecioni, and was by no means a name they called themselves during this period of experimentation.

Stefano Ussi, The Expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence, 1861

Besides their obvious similarities in style, the way that the Macchiaioli have since come to be understood as a distinct group with a set of ideals is through specific members' retrospective, autobiographical narratives. It is the writings produced by Diego Martelli, Telemaco Signorini, and Adriano Cecioni that attempted to define what these friends, who shared the desire to experiment with more progressive styles of painting, were doing between the years 1848 and 1862. In 1867, Signorini and Martelli created the *Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno* with the aim of promoting critical writings addressing what had happened, and at the time was still happening, in the field of art within Italy and Europe in general, mostly regarding themes pertaining to the Macchiaioli. Likewise, Signorini's *libretto* entitled *Caricaturisti e Caricaturati al Caffè 'Michelangiolo'* was published in 1893 as a tribute to the group's friendship and reunions at the caffè. Adriano Cecioni, a sculptor, painter, and early friend of the group, published critical prose and polemical writings in defense

of the Macchiaioli art, which he published sporadically in artistic journals roughly twenty years after the dissolution of the group.[20] He also collaborated with Signorini and Martelli in establishing the *Giornale Artistico* in 1873. Martelli was an international figure, prominent in both the Italian and French art criticism world and played a large role in shaping historical conceptions of the group through his polished, cohesive arguments in defining their philosophies and through the formation of these periodicals as platforms from which group members could narrate their story.

In an 1877 lecture entitled *Su L'Arte*, Diego Martelli presented the Macchiaioli group to the Circolo filologico in Livorno. Like Luigi, an important critic in defining the Macchiaioli movement who will be discussed later, Martelli argued that the *macchia* did not intend to mean opposition to form, but instead *macchie* (patches) of color or tone. However, Martelli's attempts to appropriate this term, which had been originally used as an insult, to define the movement have been criticized as anachronistic attempts to align it with intellectual currents in European philosophy, in order to establish a "serious" definition of the group's aesthetic. Broude references Martelli's familiarity with the philosophy of Bishop Berkeley of perception of his day, as he was particularly interested in the work of physicist Hermann von Helmholtz who "denied any correspondence between sensations and things they are supposed to denote," proposing instead a theory that "our perceptions are merely signs or abstract symbols."[21] There was no documentation within the primary Macchiaioli literature to suggest that the group was opposed to form. Nevertheless, Martelli's work played an important role in initiating the idea of a "macchia theory" that was later expanded on by Cecioni around 1880.[22]

In the context of art criticism of his day, scholars note the importance of Cecioni's originality in blending aesthetic principles and mechanics of art while pushing the group towards established notions of modern realism.[23] In a series of

essays written around 1880, Cecioni combined his biographical recollections of the artists with his "theoretical presentation of the macchia aesthetic" largely associated with Martelli's work. According to Cecioni, the practice of art necessitated a backing theory: "*...A piece of art can not be considered as such if it's not supported from the principles that hold the same art, in front of which one can not reach a compromise.*"[24] Following a positivist conception of art, Cecioni stated in his writings that the *macchia* is not an "*abbozzo*" (sketch) but "*una scienza*" (a science).[25] The push for a 'methodology' can be discerned in Cecioni's demand for "*Just one color stain for the face, another one for the hair, another one for the napkin.*"[26] Expanding on the scientific, inquisitorial nature of the artists' approach towards their world, he writes:

> *The macchiaioli, for those who don't know the meaning of this word, were the first people that started to search and to study the true reason of the effects, with many drafts of stains and with the local colors and they were now trying an effect of the sun, the shadows or of the rain. They were looking to find a way to get a right division between light and shades, without the interaction of the two.*[27]

Broude warns, however, that although it is tempting to appoint Cecioni as the group's "philosopher," as the critics in the early twentieth century certainly did, his writings about the group's aesthetics were colored by "subsequent changes in his own aesthetic attitudes and knowledge of later events in the history of European art."[28] Though he had always been preoccupied with defining the group's technique, other writers such as Signorini point out the limited effect of this influence at the time of the actual experimentation. Cecioni's retrospective writings regarding the scientific conceptualization of art can more clearly be linked to later writers such as Émile Zola than the Macchiaioli's actual practice and insight in regard to what they were doing as a "group."[29]

Further to this point, in his later writings Signorini rejected any notion that the group gathered at the Caffè Michelangiolo had any higher philosophy guiding their conversations and experimentations. In his article "Caffè Michelangiolo" in 1867, Signorini reprimanded a Milanese journalist for calling the group "*La Chiesa dell'Arno*." This characterization, put forth in an artistic review, illustrates that the artists' frequent reunions at the *caffè* and their identity as a group were certainly recognized by the public at the time and deemed ideological by their critics. However, Signorini emphatically argues that the group did not follow any set of values, citing the decentralization of the group as further proof of the validity of this claim,

> *Our decentralization only proves what we were not, neither are we the priests of a new idea, nor are we affiliated with an artistic lobby, if we were, we would still live in a brotherly organization, how the priests of any association live.*[30]

A church, as he continues, does not cease to exist with the loss of its followers. He characterizes the group instead as having a strong sense of irony and self-awareness, resulting in an ambivalence towards establishing a rigorous, comprehensive philosophy. As Signorini explains, they were not interested in being considered priests of a religion, and throughout his writings he continually recognizes the confining constrictions their political affiliations placed on them and their identities as artists within Florentine society.[31] He depicts the artists, therefore, as benign progressive thinkers construed as polemical only by their adversaries. In his article in the *Gazzettino di Disegno*, he suggests that the artists desired to theorize less and create more:

> *And if you met a deserter of our renunion you would tell him:*
> *- Oh, why did you not come last night at the Caffè?*
> *- What do you want, we only discuss and fight and we don't*

have fun like we used to do, I think it's a lot better to work
more and to discuss less.
- Yes, but you don't understand that to discuss the life of art,
and to make progress it is necessary to see each other….
- Yes, yes you're correct…. Goodbye.[32]

Evidently, Cecioni, Signorini, and Martelli's retrospective presentations of the Macchiaioli group contradict one another. Cecioni took notable issue with Martelli's retrospective presentation of the group, stating:

> *Il signor Martini si e anche dimenticato che, rammentando*
> *il caffè michelangelo, egli rese doppiamente necessaria quella*
> *lettera, la quale par fatta a posta per rispondere al modo con*
> *cui egli riporto l'aneddoto; modo col quale non mise*
> *solamente in dubbio i meriti dei macchiaioli, ma si provo a*
> *beffeggiarli, e dopo ch'io ebbi compiuto il dovere di rimettere*
> *le cose al loro posto, dicendo e dimostrando che i macchiaioli*
> *eran ben altra cosa di quello che il signor Martini volveva*
> *far credere al pubblico, egli osserva che, ciò facendo, mi sono*
> *divagato perché nessuno egli dice ha mai sognato di porre in*
> *dubbio i loro meriti. E carina l'idea!*[33]

Comparing Cecioni, Martelli, and Signorini's writings, it becomes apparent that the cohesiveness of a Macchiaioli methodology and philosophy depends on the view of the beholder. Though fundamental and useful sources for understanding the Macchiaioli movement, the writings of Signorini, Cecioni, and Martelli are inevitably tainted by the twenty or more years of distance from when the group's activity had taken place, and therefore put forth narratives that may be slightly illusory. Due to their irreplaceable insights these texts must inevitably be utilized in any discussion of the group, but they must nevertheless be considered with skepticism and in tandem with other sources in an attempt to gain a more accurate understanding the group in its time.

Giovanni Fattori, Soldati Francesi, 1859

<u>The Accademia and the Critics</u>

Perhaps the second most distinctive value that the group held in common, after their patriotism, was a closely-related disdain for the Florentine formal and thematic standards of the official Accademia. As Leopoldo II lost popularity and became increasingly dependent on Austrian reinforcement, the Accademia became symbolic of foreign domination of Tuscan institutions, emanating messages of royalty and imperialism.[34] Since the formation of the Accademia in the mid-sixteenth century, founding members such as Vasari and Borghini were deeply connected politically to the Grand Duke—Cosimo I de' Medici at the time of its founding.[35] When Tuscany was taken over by Habsburg-Lorraine, however, the connection between the Grand Duke and the Accademia remained strong regardless of foreign ducal origins.[36] Paintings such as "Portrait of His Imperial and Royal Highness, the Grand Duke Leopoldo II, our Lord" (1840)[37] by Carlo Morelli demonstrate the ideological stance of the institution in the mid-nineteenth century. During this time, the Accademia continued to promote the schools of neoclassicism and romanticism, styles which art historians describe as imposed on the Italians "as a result of military conquest and political domination."[38] The Macchiaioli took issue with the foreign origin of these styles in the official program, and instead demonstrated a desire to return to Italian glory in painting, pointing to the

chiaroscuro of Italian Renaissance painters such as Caravaggio.[39]

Although they all began their training in regional academies, Cecioni, for example, is described by Diego Martelli as having been favored by the Accademia as a young student, both he and the other artists came to reject the academic pedagogy. The Accademia stressed methodological and "painstaking study" of perspective, anatomy, ornament, and drawing from plaster casts and the nude body.[40] In the context of a *capo-lavoro* tradition that favored finish and detail, sketch exercises utilizing the *chiaroscuro* effect, meaning they emphasized the sharp contrast of dark and light, were not deemed worthy practices to implement into the official program of the Florentine Academy.[41] Sketching practices were not considered totally irrelevant, as they did play a vital role in the evolution of a masterpiece. In direct disapproval of the Macchiaioli's practice, however, academicians suggested that true skill could be demonstrated by the ability to "sustain the original effect of the sketch in the final tableau without sacrificing order, *finish*, and detail."[42] However, the Macchiaioli's practice became increasingly harmonious with the principles of realism as they focused more on exposing the texture of the brushes on the surface of the work and emphasized effect. A work with these qualitative properties could only be considered a mere sketch in their eyes, and thus accepting it as finished work was equivalent to leaving a work in a state of incompletion. This particular aspect of the group's aesthetic principles constituted a huge controversy and a break with the traditionalists.[43] Therefore, the group's interest in sketch, effect, and landscape, has been noted in scholarship "as a form of resistance to the practices of the grand-ducal Florentine academy."[44]

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, the market for Florentine contemporary art rested upon the commissions of the Grand Dukes and the promotional function of the annual expositions of the Accademia. As grand-ducal patronage diminished and commissions more generally ceased to exist, artists, especially painters, needed to find new outlets to market

their work.

The decrease in relevance of the formal academies for modern painters was a trend taking place across Europe during this era as well. Under these circumstances, the *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti* was founded in 1843 with the help of four-hundred Florentine citizens in the cultural and artistic world, including important artistic and cultural figures such as Anatolius Demidoff, Gino Capponi, Paolo Ferroni, Alfonso La Marmora, Giuseppe Bezzuoli, Francesco Nenci and Tommaso Gazzarrini, and sponsored by the Grand Duke himself.[45] The promotrice generally rejected historical paintings, erotic sculptures and religious paintings, and instead took interest in scenes of contemporary life and nature, baffling art critics of the day and inviting the presentation of the Macchiaioli artists' work.[46] With the opening of the *Società Promotrice*, the official Accademia slowly ceased to be considered a valid promotional vehicle for contemporary art, further illustrating the instability of the Accademia at this point in its history.[47] It was within this context that the Macchiaioli artists were able to promote their work and separate themselves from the practices of the Accademia.

In his later writings, Cecioni consistently described the macchia movement as a revolt against the academy and everything for which it stood.[48] Cecioni fervently described the Macchiaioli's relation to the Accademia as such: "*A significant number of young people detached themselves from any type of academic teaching, and they only took nature as their teacher*."[49] Likewise, Signorini acknowledges that the Macchiaioli were publicly recognized as "*A significant number of young people detached themselves from any type of academic teaching, and they only took nature as their teacher.*"[50] Signorini also wrote of the polemical hypocrisy of the Accademia, stating that *la vecchia scuola accademia* had to defend its territory only to discard it when their opponents fully coexisted with their ideas. All across the writings of the Macchiaioli artists, including those who did not write frequently, such as Fattori,[51]

the artists espoused anti-Accademia sentiments in a polemic euphony. Hence, in combination with their vastly differing aesthetic principles from the academy, a characterization of the group as inherently anti-academic is natural.

It is Signorini's writing, however, that elucidates the exaggerated nature of some of Cecioni's oppositional proclamations. Denied academic commissions, as Signorini noted in his article, the Macchiaioli *had* to severely break from the values expounded by the Florentine school, and thus bind closer together in order to create a progressive definition of art.[52] In another 1874 article in *Cose d'Arte*, Signorini makes a very important distinction about the group's relationship to the Accademia:

> *In the year 1855, Morelli, Altamura and Tivoli, back from Paris Exposition, found a major defect in the official academic Italian art of the day, the absolute lack of solidity, the absolute deficiency of chiaroscuro… the art of the past sanctioned the new researches - Rembrandt and Velasquez, Caravaggio and Tintoretto…. Thus art, brought back to a recovery of those qualities that academic teaching seemed to have banished forever, took its first step, which was excessive, as every revolution that bears fruit is, and exaggerated its principles to an extreme, producing the macchia, which was nothing more than a violent chiaroscuro. Nevertheless, these artists, who were inventing nothing new, provoked many angry polemics and were called innovators, subversives, rebels, and worse.*[53]

To support his later claim, Signorini's writings published in 1862 in *Nuova Europa* echoed the previous statement, lamenting,

> *Although in all other cities in Italy where Societies for the Promotion of the Arts exist, exhibitions are held in the rooms of the Academy, in Florence for some unknown reason and*

on account of some inexplicable duplicity, new rooms have been chosen for the purpose with a consequent waste of money and a lesser concourse of visitors. Thus modern art, being little exposed to the public eye, loses its moral and educational influence, and the neglected artists are not spurred on to further effort.

Thus, this openly antagonistic relationship must certainly be considered as reciprocal at minimum, if not entirely instigated by those in support of the Accademia, and only gradually integrated into the Macchiaioli's identity as a defensive response.

Broude extends Signorini's argument, explaining that the artists were not so much rejecting the formal values of art as objecting to a loss of vigor at the "hands of its nineteenth-century academic guardians." Their espoused argument was thus not rooted in an anti-academic sentiment nor anti-traditionalist values. As Boime also suggests, "their dissent took the form of anti-academicism, but in fact it was aimed at the foreign, specifically Austrian, domination of Tuscan institutions."[54] Likewise, they were not the first in the Florentine community to take issue with the Accademia for its disconnect from the greatness of the Italian artistic past.[55] Broude continues to argue, in fact, that the Accademia's pedagogical practice, as discussed previously, was not fundamentally opposite to the Macchiaioli's experimentation, and that many of them utilized the *plein-air* sketching techniques that they learned from the academies even as they were distancing themselves from the institution itself.

Likewise, the Florentine Academy ran competitions for the execution of a *bozzetto a olio d'invenzione*, in which many members of the Macchiaioli participated. Silvestro Lega won the triennial painting competition in 1852 with a *bozzetto* on a biblical theme, and Adriano Cecioni won a prize for a *bozzetto in bassorilievo d'invenzione* in 1857.[56] Thus it becomes evident that their artistic practices were not entirely divorced from what they had learned from, and what remained in favor within, the

academies. In addition, even Cecioni, the anti-academic himself, still associated himself with the institution to a certain degree. Though it is clear that the artists had some ideological differences with the institution, especially politically, later dogmatic attempts to define themselves as completely oppositional to the institution appear exaggerated. Rejection of the Accademia at the time perhaps reflects a striving for ideological cohesion with one another as they were experimenting with progressive ideas in art and being condemned for that experimentation.

The artists also faced scathing criticism from journalists who supported traditional notions of the distinction between sketch and finish. The war with the press was so fundamental to the identity of the Macchiaioli that the name itself, "Macchiaioli," had originally been a derogatory term launched against them in an infamous public battle with a critic after the first official exposition containing many of their works following their grand reception at the National Exposition a year prior.[57] This specific battle, between *La Nuova Europa* and the *La Gazzetta del Popolo*, is worth examining as a rich exemplar of the group's relationship to the critics and the main arguments espoused by both sides. Signorini first published an article in *La Nuova Europa* on October 10th, 1862 under the pseudonym X as an act to generate publicity for the expositions. Since being recently divorced from the Accademia, he explains, "the works of many young artists, who are striving to free art from the bonds of the old methods…. hang completely unnoticed and abandoned in these rooms."[58] Signorini laments,

> [A] city proverbially known as a cradle of the arts, is, at the same time, extremely unfair to the artists themselves, who, in the exercise of their normal profession ask not only for a scrap in order to keep body and soul together but beg more eagerly for the moral satisfaction of publicity and a constant flow of visitors.[59]

However, once they received a derogatory response published in the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, Signorini fully applied himself in the public battle. Signorini published his public defenses in *La Nuova Europa* against comments made in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* written by Luigi, the pseudonym for Giuseppe Rigutini (1829 - 1903).[60] Rigutini was a "noted linguist and philologist" who was active in the contemporary art world and known as "one of the three editors the *Gazzetta del Popolo*."[61] Thus, the paper, which was a recurrent enemy of the Macchiaioli group, was also "a moderate conservative and anti-Mazzinian journal" supporting the constitutional monarchy of Vittorio Emanuele II.[62] The *Nuova Europa*, alternatively, was a short-lived periodical that only ran from April 14th, 1861 to October 15th, 1863. It was a republican opposition paper supportive of Mazzini and Garibaldi and supported by bourgeois professionals, artists, and intellectuals.[63] Using terms such as "new Europe" and "old Europe," the paper aimed to convey the "new Europe" as one centered on social justice and political egalitarianism, in contrast with the older Europe's "feudal and semi-feudal structure of privilege."[64]

Functioning within these respective socio-political contexts, Signorini and Rigutini engaged in a quintessential progressive modernist versus traditionalist debate. "A new European, Mr. X," Rigutini mocks, "offered our Macchiaioli a consolation the other day. He informed us that although their school of painting is a failure in old Europe it will certainly be a rage in the Europe that is to come… if brains are re-fashioned to follow the sayings of the prophets!"[65] In response, Signorini retaliates by warning that progressive innovation, especially in art, must take place, "unless we want to see the blind cult of the past leading us to a period of decadence equal to that which lies immediately behind us."[66] Signorini invokes the progressive values of the *philosophes*, stating: "What of the Encyclopedists, Diderot and D'Alembert? We … are still prostate in adoration dreaming of the past in the temples of our glory!"[67] Within the thinly

veiled socio-cultural debate between the two, scathing aesthetic criticisms are also made in direct reference to the Macchiaioli's distinctive style. In this article, like many other reviews of the group, their emphasis on effect and sketch is severely chastised. "Be logical, dear Sir," Luigi ridicules, "and tell me how we should reproach the real Macchiaioli, who never do anything else but merely sketch out their pictures?"[68] He goes on to directly attack the group's emphasis on effect in their work: "There certainly has to be an effect - but it is going too far when the effect destroys the design and even the form."[69] In response, Signorini defends, "as if art [has] any recognized limits and the progressive activity of the human mind in all fields [has] any boundaries!"[70]

Luigi was not the first journalist to attack the group's emphasis on sketch and effect, echoing earlier criticisms of the group. The reviews of the various expositions attacked the Macchiaioli viciously. Their critics were mainly concerned with what they deemed to be stylistic issues rather than thematic ones.[71] Pietro Selvatico, who reviewed their art at the *Esposizione Nazionale* in 1861, wrote of Cabianca's work *The Florentine Story-Tellers*, it "could be described as no more than a simple sketch."[72] Likewise, the Livornese critic and journalist Pier-Coccoluto Ferrigni, under the name Yorick, wrote of the same painting, "*Mr. Cabianca's painting could have been a nice painting if the painter would have finished it.*"[73] Another contemporaneous writer of an Exposition guidebook dismissed these "*effettisti,*" the original derogatory term for the group, as "creators of pictorial illusions, which please most people when seen from a distance; but just approach these almost impoverished canvases and you will see that they look just like sketches, so fractured is the drawing and roughly applied the color."[74] Many of these critics aligned with the academic conceptualization of painting, and of what constitutes skill in painting. They were concerned with traditional standards of "descriptive clarity" and finish, the debate which ultimately defined the Macchiaioli in the press with the article by Luigi. Although their reviews of the artists were not

always entirely negative, only foreign critics, such as the British journalist John Stewart, noted some of the qualities for which the artists are known today, namely, their "paint into genuine atmosphere and light."[75] Thus critical reception of the group at the time extended from the traditional values of the academy, and was not in direct response to the artists' emphasis on "expressive patterns of luminary effect," but instead a preoccupation with the general execution.[76]

The bitter battle between Luigi and Signorini not only illustrates the challenges the group faced in establishing their stylistic choices as legitimate practice, but also provides an example of how the group proactively responded to criticism. Signorini boldly stated at the beginning of his initial response to Luigi,

> *Although we appealed to the press in an earlier article on the exhibition, in order to provoke some discussion upon certain principles which we consider fundamental to the development and future of modern art we see with regret that we have failed to achieve our aim, we would be untrue to our beliefs if we did not reply logically to those who seek to dismay us by using the blunt and vulgar weapon of ridicule.*

Many of the writings of the Macchiaioli similarly serve the function of correcting or reprimanding the faulty image of them created by their critics, and attempt to explain their true artistic values. Cecioni's series of essays written around 1880, as discussed earlier, intended to systemize the macchia into a "unit of artistic vision and sketch execution," essentially re-appropriating the term and defending its legitimacy in the art world. Likewise, essays within the *Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno*, such as Signorini's article "Il Caffè Michelangelo," which specifically references his debate with Luigi and against the Milanese critic who considered the artists as cult members, used these platforms for defending their artistic, political, and cultural beliefs against ferocious

public criticism.[77] Extensive explanations of the significance of the artists' innovative works can be found in the writings of Martelli as well.[78]

Ferdinando Martini (1841 - 1928), an Italian journalist and politician, noted that the artists appeared anxious for the judgment of the public and excessively sensitive to journalistic criticism, even if made by mediocre, unimportant writers.[79] This observation is seemingly accurate when considering the polemic writings of Cecioni which contain statements such as: "*If the critics are mean, which happens almost all the time, then a poor copier's opinion will influence the critic's whole material.*"[80] Alternatively, even when the critiques are good, he complains, they utilize "improper and ridiculous wording"; critics can do no right according to Cecioni. Likewise, encountering opposition from academic authorities and the art criticism world, Signorini explains that the Macchiaioli's circumstance necessitated a certain rebellious state of mind:

> *These details are not useless when we think that those brains, once convinced about healthy ideas about art, had to accept, laughing, the biggest self-denials, with the smile on their face and rejected by the academic commissions and by the government, they had to accept the disgust of the journalists, with the great sense of humor that characterizes those who a peaceful state of mind in their conscious.*[81]

Thus, Martini's observations that the group reacted with a self-justifying, defensive approach appear correct, as even Signorini himself, the primary defender of the artists in their time, will admit in his later writings. Similar to their polemic against the Accademia, their expressed disdain for journalists and art critics grew out of debates that forced them to define their works' artistic value against criticism. To argue that the group was inherently opposed to art criticism would suggest that they would have rejected positive responses to their work, an interpretation that is

not compatible with Signorini's famous battle with Luigi, nor his later interpretations of the group's response to opposition in their social environment. Their disdain for the critics seems to arise more from the critics' complete misunderstanding of the value of their work, and to be essentially a defensive response.

L'Esposizione Nazionale Italiana di 1861

Since the sentiments of art critics and traditional academic values were so closely linked, it is not surprising that the Macchiaioli had antagonistic relationships with both the journalists and the academic commissions. Arguably, the dichotomous relationship between the Macchiaioli's antipathetic public actions at the National Exposition and their close relationship to the Italian political elite, as well as their promotion of Italian nationalist ideals, is the more challenging dynamic to integrate into a cohesive group identity. Perhaps for this reason this dichotomy is only briefly mentioned, or entirely ignored, in scholarship about the group.[82] A full examination of the decision to reject the award at the National Exposition and what it means in relationship to the general understanding of the Macchiaioli seriously undermines any argument for a stable identity based on shared core values. Thus, looking at this action in tandem with their defensive relationship to social and cultural structures in Florentine society further elucidates the Macchiaioli as a group founded upon and subsisting only in opposition.

So, the question of the Macchiaioli's relationship with Florentine society culminates in an analysis of the most important cultural-political event of their era: *L'Esposizione Nazionale Italian* of 1861. After years of traveling to Paris and London to witness the innovative work on display in other parts of Europe, the Macchiaioli were likely eager to share their own progressive artwork in the glowing context of a newly united Italian kingdom. Selim Peabody, a contemporary writer who played a role in the Paris Exposition, World's Columbian Exposition, and Pan-American Exposition, explained, "the World's Fair is an epitome of the world's progress; a history and

a prophecy. The latest discoveries, the newest inventions, the triumphs in art, in science, in education, in the solution of social and even religious problems, are here arrayed."[83] The expositions represented what the Macchiaioli had been pushing for in the realm of art: progress. As Peabody aptly describes, "the exposition becomes a great clearing-house for the exchange of new, startling and progressive ideas, and becomes a means for their widest and swiftest distribution."[84]

The *Esposizione Nazionale Italiana* 1861 was a largely symbolic event in the history of both Italy and of the Macchiaioli artists. Walking past the main façade at the Stazione Leopoldo, "a lavishly wrought gateway" led to octagonal towers, producing an overall design that synthesized elements of the Crystal Palace, Paris Palais de l'industrie, and a Florentine palazzo.[85] As the first exposition of a united Italian kingdom, the event was intended to promote a powerful "Italian" identity "by exhibiting products of its national labor and artistic genius."[86] Opened on September 15th, 1861 by the king Vittorio Emanuele and Camille Cavour, the leaders hoped to bind the peninsula into a "psychological whole."[87] The political message was made clear in the inaugural address delivered by Prince Eugenio on August 20th 1861 which, as Boime describes, "emphasized the exposition's relationship to the major military and political events of the *Risorgimento*."[88] Similarly, the famous critical guide of Yorick Figlio di Yorick "Viaggio Attraverso L'esposizione Nazionale Italiana del 1861" illustrates the event's political agenda by opening with a satiric description of the equestrian statue of Vittorio Emanuele: "*The person of the king is sacred and inviolable, that's what the Statute says!*"[89] The press likewise discussed the importance of this event, illustrating the large space it held in Florentine consciousness during that year. La Nazione had a column dedicated specifically to the exposition, discussing updates every week for nearly five months prior to the opening. On the day of the opening, *La Nazione* published an enthusiastic front page describing the exposition that proclaimed, "*[t]he first time that Italy will be fully represented.*"[90]

In rejecting the foreign, imperial standards of the Accademia, the Macchiaioli instead had fully immersed themselves in the Tuscan *Risorgimento* cultural movement, as demonstrated by their participation in the Ricasoli Competitions under the Provisional Government. The call for submissions had been placed in local pro-government newspapers and read, "Considering that in Tuscany the fine arts were always the noblest part of its civility, and that a National Government has the obligation to support them in whatever way is worth of them, [we] summon them to eternalize great deeds and great men."[91] The competitions took place on September 23rd, 1859, serving as a sort of propaganda campaign calling for works entirely surrounding themes of Florentine history and *Risorgimento* events. Aligning in a desire for the expulsion of the Grand Duke and political interest in "preventing the fallen dynasty of Lorraine from returning to Florence,"[92] the Macchiaioli demonstrated support for Ricasoli, as is seen in a portrait of him done by Raffaello Sernesi. The Macchiaioli were closely connected to this seminal cultural event, with close friends such as Domenico Ingundo serving on the jury. In the end, they benefited from the patronage of leaders such as Giuseppe Dolfi, Anatolio Demidov, and Bettino Ridolfi resulting from this competition. Cecioni won a prize for his model of a statue of Carlo Alberto, Altamura was commissioned to paint the Marius Conqueror of the Cimbri, Antonio Pucci's composition of the *King Receiving the Tuscan Delegation Presenting the Decree of Annexation* received a first prize, and Lega and Borrani won awards for their paintings of military scenes. Most notably, perhaps, was the main prize in the battle category which went to Fattori's sketch for the *Battle of Magenta*.[93] Thus a bond was cemented between Tuscan elite and risorgimento leaders and the Italian painters, setting the stage for favorable attention at the National Exposition.

A brief two years later, these new patrons of the group, and other elites, including Dolfi, Ridolfi, Ricasoli, and Demidov, played a large role in the administration and organization of

L'Esposizione Nazionale of 1861. Ridolfi, who was the new minister of the interior under the Tuscan regime, owned a landscape painting by De Tivoli purchased after the Ricasoli competition. Connections to the administrators can be discerned as relatives of the Macchiaioli, such as the London-based relative of Serafino De Tivoli were permitted to exhibit their work in the exposition as well. Likewise, Vito D'Ancona's brothers Sansone and Cesare, and his uncle Laudadio Della Ripa were heavily involved in the exposition;Vito's older brother Sansone served on several of the juries and was named to its chamber of agriculture, industry, and commerce, while Ceasere, a botanist and ecologist, was a judge for the class of floriculture and horticulture, and directed the biweekly newspaper *La Esposizione Nazionale del 1861,* which reported on the events. In addition, Laudadio was granted an award for his olive oil. The Macchiaioli therefore were not outsiders in this event, as their connections to the organizers and other participants attests to an inclusive treatment for the group. Understood in this light, their public refusal of their awards does not seem trivial. The message sent by rejecting the awards appears remarkably inflammatory when considering that it was not in conflict with their academic adversaries, but rather speaking against those who supported them.[94]

Silvestro Lega, I Fidanzati, 1869

In the midst of this grand cultural moment, the exposition marked a turning point for the Macchiaioli group. Several of the Macchaioli paintings that had won the Ricasoli competition,

such as Stefano Ussi's *Duke of Athens*, were exhibited again.[95] Many of the Macchiaioli's historical and patriotic themes within their work were received well by the public due to their political timeliness. It was this event that consolidated the Macchiaioli's patronage, which, as Boime described, "essentially derived from the new political and social alliance represented in the show."[96] As Broude describes, their work in the exposition reflected "the entire spectrum of influences that had been affecting artists in that city over the past decade."[97] Thus there were not only themes of battles, such as Giovanni Fattori's *Battaglia della Cernaja*, but paintings representative of the *macchia* period, such as Signorini's *Street Vendor of Spezia*. The awareness that resulted from the exposition hence not only established their patronage base but also created their group identity within the popular press, as seen a year later in the battle between Luigi and Mr. X and in the responses they received from Yorick, Selvatico, Stewart, and other critics such as Tullio Dandolo.[98]

Although the Macchiaioli artists were undoubtedly recognized by and connected to the Tuscan elite organizing the exposition,[99] and their reception at the event proved vital to their independent careers, they provocatively rejected their awards. On November 16th, 1861, the artists published the following statement in the *Gazzetta del Popolo*:

> *To the painiting judge from the Italian exposition-*
>
> *In the Gazzetta del popolo's 234th publication we said certain words regarding the judge responsible for paintings in the current exposition, and we noted how the effect replied to the intention, the judgement needs to form itself from another principle; finally giving up certain methods that belong to a different era, and finally applying a logical method that is fundamental to us, the election. What certainty is there for the audience that the decision will be fair and final, if the nomination of those who have to give that judgement does not come from an authority recognized*

by the experts of the arts?[100]

The jury's judgment about the paintings was exactly what we had feared: and the judged aritsts, the audience and even the members of the jury disapproved. Only a few artists were recognizable and the majority was formed by people who were strangers to the art of painting, and there were no technical tasks, without those tasks a judgement will always be uncertain and incomplete. That's why we saw that this prize was given without a fair judgement, the results are not valid; no honor to the winner, there is no inferiority for those who did not win the prize. We also have to say a few harsh words towards those members of the jury that, in such solemn circumstances for Italy, did not take responsibilities by accepting a task that implies that you should be artistically superior or at least on the same level of those being judged.[101]

These serious inconvenient that we predicted could, we repeat this once again, have been avoided if a more logical, modern, fair and free method was applied, such as an election of judges with a vote by the representatives; a method partially used in France for the exposition in London, after our first idea was proposed by us: a method that would have given a different value and authority to the winner, and that would have given a noble value to the first Italian exposition.[102]

This was their public opinion and they directed this with this declaration:

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE REAL COMMISSION

When the members of the jury was made public, the undersigned gave their opinion about the way that this

jury was formed, and they predicted the inconveniences that would have emerged. Since we are coherent with our opinion, we are sadly having to refuse the medal that was given to them. Perugia that the SS. VV. will want to appreciate the reasons that made them come to this conclusion, we stand with the most profound consideration.[103]

- Abbati Giuseppe - Altamura Saverio - Ancona d'Vito - Bechi Luigi - Celentano Bernardo - Gordigiani Michele - Induno Girolamo - Morelli Domenico - Paglione Elenterio - Scorsati Luigi - Ussi Stefano - Valentini Gollardo - Vertunni Achille

It should be noted that *La Gazzetta del Popolo* is the same periodical that Rigutini ran as an editor and where the inflammatory statements about the group would be published a year later. *La Gazzetta del Popolo* was a daily newspaper that supported Vittorio Emanuele. The paper was founded that year and ceased to exist by 1869. Arguably the journal did not yet have an established readership, and perhaps the publication of the Macchiaioli's inflammatory letter served a sensationalist purpose. Indeed, this article received significant backlash from other journals such as *La Nazione*. It is evident, however, that Rigutini did not approve of the group, and perhaps this initial letter played a significant role in the publication of his disparaging comments against Mr. X a year later.

The artists united in rejecting the honor, essentially claiming that the awards were meaningless since they were given by non-experts in the field. There was a strong reaction in the press to what was deemed a highly unpatriotic act. In the *Fatti Diversi* section of *La Nazione*, a journalist repudiated the group for this decision. Emphasizing that these were the first awards given by a united country, the act was seen as extremely rude and inopportune. The writer proposes a challenge to the artists,

asking:

> *Why was the board considered to be incapable to judge while*
> *stating that one was not participating in the contest?*
> *Wouldn't it have been better to lose that competition instead*
> *of having the double satisfaction of winning the prize and*
> *then rejecting it? Why then discredit the institution if one*
> *did not respect and trust the people of the jury, even though*
> *they were highly respected people?*[104]

This journalist clearly found the act to be a sensationalist move on the part of the Macchiaioli, although he makes no speculation as to why they would do such a thing. Saverio Altamura wrote a direct response to this publication further explaining the artists' intentions, which was also published in *La Nazione* on November 24th.[105] They did not, as he explains, reject the symbolic significance of these awards, but rather the credentials of the jury. Thus, he defends their values and connections and implicates the jury instead. He describes the question of the choice of a judge whose intelligence will compromise the future of an artist, of a principle, and the glory of the nation, as one of supreme importance. He thus presents this defiance as an act of civic duty and argues that the artists stood steadfast for their own principles despite misinterpretation of their intentions. In addition, he justifies their decision to reprimand the committee after having won the awards:

> *The author of the article added petty personal considerations*
> *to the censored act; since the artists did not state not to take*
> *part in the contest, he would like them to silently accept the*
> *judgement of the jury. To fear that mistake was natural; the*
> *convicted would have been unfair and would have helped*
> *whoever likes to maliciously criticize noble intentions.*[106]

It would not have been possible, essentially, for the artists to have

stood against the jury prior to winning because they may have been either disqualified or lost credibility. Less convincingly, he argues that it would have been unjust and detrimental to their argument to condemn them prematurely.

It is difficult to comment conclusively on the significance of this debate given the gaps of information at present. Since no documentation has been found stating exactly who these jury members were or why exactly they were unqualified, it is challenging to discern the validity of Altamura's justification. However, given what information is available, several important concerns can be raised. First, if the quality of the judges is the issue at hand, Altamura's rationale that the group's fear of error led them to believe that a pre-emptive condemnation was unjust, and would have brought further criticism upon the group, appears extremely suspect. A moral act defined only retrospectively by the actor as moral after the outcomes are already decided is inherently unreliable. Altamura essentially argues that waiting until they were in a position of artistic authority - an authority only provided to them by the jury themselves - enabled them to finally stand up for their beliefs. The simultaneous reliance on the status gained from the awards and the devaluation of this status confuses their argument. Perhaps even more concerning is Altamura's admission that the artists had a fear of being wrong initially which inhibited any preemptive action on their part. Without outlining for their audience what changed in their minds between their entry into the exposition and their reception of the awards, it seems that the only difference became the status conferred with the awards. This ambiguity severely undermines their righteous, "self-sacrificing" integrity. *La Nazione*'s criticism that the artists took the unnecessary satisfaction of receiving the award prior to rejecting it was insufficiently addressed in Altamura's response. Additionally, considering the connections they appear to have had with the organizers, it is alarming that they would have handled this protestation in this public and seemingly sensationalist manner, which essentially humiliates

those with whom they had recently established favorable relations.

Hence, this public act undermines a simplistic characterization of the group as patriotic artists who opposed the Academy in hopes of recognition of their progressive values of art. Boime argues that the National Exhibition proved "decisive in the fortunes of nineteenth-century [artists] by attesting to an authentic national school complementary to the ideological projections of the 1861 exposition."[107] Out of twenty-two paintings they exhibited, five of them represented Risorgimento themes. Stefano Ussi's *La cacciata del duca d'Athene* and Borrani's *The 26th of April 1859,* both representing nationalistic Risorgimento ideals, were official favorites and popular successes. Though never acknowledging that the artists rejected their awards, Boime noted that every winning entry at the exposition was cited in the official exposition documents for "its treatment of light effects." He cites D'Ancona's painting, *Incontro di Dante con Beatrice*, as an example of a work praised for its "very beautiful effect of light in the sky."[108] Even though Borrani's work was more independent and experimental, deviating from the academic standard, he still received recognition for his work. In a moment that it seems the Macchiaioli had been waiting for - one in which the officials of the community recognized and appreciate their work for its progressive nature - the Macchiaioli remained on the defensive. While the journalists seemed not to grasp the value of what the artists were doing, and only focused on their execution, it appears that the commission recognized the Macchiaioli artists in the manner they had expressed a desire to be recognized.[109] Thus despite their ideological commitment to the united Italy, a promotion of their ideas to the public, and the officials' favorable response back towards them, the artists rejected the awards with an arguably insufficient rationale. It appears that the rejection of their awards served no justifiable ideological purpose except to react in opposition to their social environment. Considering their bold actions in direct variance with their espoused values further elucidates their utmost value as being no particular value

at all, but rather an identity formed on the basis of opposition.

This under-discussed event in the Macchiaioli's history serves as a reminder not to simplify this complex movement in the hopes of creating cohesive synthesis of their activities and writings. On the surface it is easily stated that the artists were patriotic, nationalistic, progressive, modern, and anti-academic, and while these characterizations are valid and supported, they do not sufficiently illuminate the indiscriminate reactionary nature of the artists' union as a group. During the short period of its existence, it seems that the Macchiaioli group united in defense against foreign rule on the battlefield, the critics in the press, and the academy in public reputation. By 1861, with a newly united Italian kingdom and a growing base of public acceptance and upper-class and political patronage, the artists had little incentive to bind together. The disintegration of the group roughly after the "Macchiaioli" title was placed upon them in 1862 also supports the idea that by the time of this period of relative stability the group had lost its *raison d'être*. Lacking a provocative stimulus, the artists opted instead to act at the National Exposition in defense of nothing particularly threatening. Though the validity of Altamura's claim cannot be investigated thoroughly, it seems unjustified in context of their alliances and espoused political views, hence suggesting that it was purely a polemic action.

Concluding Remarks

Although it is tempting to take the group's identity as an *a priori* assumption and integrate ideas into an existing schema of what this identity entailed, a re-examination of the entire notion of their classification as a group provides the opportunity to understand their ideological connection authentically. It is important to restate here that the Macchiaioli artists only publicly identified themselves as a group once their union had essentially dissolved. Retrospective attempts by Cecioni and Martelli to define what they were doing during that period provide interesting insight regarding how they elected to present themselves, but generally fail to acknowledge

the most fundamental role situational circumstances played in the connection between the artists. Yet still, a reassessment of several published articles, including Signorini's battle with Luigi in *La Nuova Europa* and *La Gazzetta del Popolo* and Altamura and Abbati's articles in *La Nazione* and *La Gazzetta del Popolo* still proves necessary in gaining insight into their actual shared values in relation to Florentine society. Their artistic values were never in direct opposition to the academies they originated from, but their opposition to these authorities, by whom they felt belittled, allowed for a cohesive identity as progressive artists in the face of criticism. Likewise, their rejection of the critics was a defensive reaction to their social environment, not a core value of their group, as Cecioni later attempts to claim in his essays. Their patriotism also seems to fluctuate circumstantially. While they were united in opposition to the Austrians, and this served as a salient, unifying value, when they were awarded recognition by the Kingdom of Italy, they rejected support from their *Risorgimento* political and cultural leaders without sufficient rationale. Though the group shared friendships, political ideals, and artistic interests, primary documents between the years 1861 and 1862 suggest that the only thing that definitively united these progressive painters at the time was a reaction against contemporary cultural and societal structures.

Artists of the Macchiaioli group

Notes

1 Palazzo Bricherasio, *I Macchiaioli: Sentimento Del Vero* (Milano: Electa, 2007).

2 John Sillevis, "Recent Literature on the Macchiaioli," The Burlington Magazine 131 no. 1033 (1989): 298–301.

3 Telemaco Signorini, "Caffe Michelangelo," in *Gazzettino Delle Arti Del Disegno*, Ed. Diego Martelli. No. 1-40, 1867.

4 Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 10.

5 Piero Bargellini, *Caffè Michelangiolo* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1944), 168.

6 Bricherasio, 43.

7 Boime, 75.

8 Ibid., 72.

9 Norma Broude, *The Macchiaioli: Italian Painters of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 47.

10 Ibid., 61.

11 Ibid., 296.

12 Ibid.

13 Dario Durbé, *I Macchiaioli* (Roma: De Luca, 1978), 15.

14 See p. 31 for an examination of the National Expositions.

15 Signorini, 76. Original text: "*Dal 48 al 55, in conseguenza dei tempi, prevalsero le cospirazioni e le burle, dal 55 al 60 col ritorno da Parigi del Tivoli e dell'Altamura, coll'avvicinarsi della prima esposizione italiana…. i cari matti di via Larga burlarono meno e si appassionarono molto più all'arte loro.*"

16 Broude, 47.

17 Ibid., 55.

18 Ibid., 96.

19 Ibid., 97.

20 Enrico Somaré, "Introduction" in Adriano Cecioni, *Opere e scritti* (Milano: Edizioni "L'Esame," 1932), XI.

21 Broude, 269.

22 Ibid.

23 Somaré, XXVII.

24 Ibid. Original text: "*… un'opera d'arte non si può considerare come tale se non e sostenuta da qui principii che regono l'arte medesima, di fronte ai quali non si può in nessun modo transigere.*"

25 Adriano Cecioni, *Scritti e Ricordi.* (Firenze: Domenicana, 1905), 157-158.

26 Ibid. Original text: "*una solo macchia di colore per la faccia, un'altra per i cappelli, l'altra mettiamo, per la pezzuola.*"

27 Ibid., 134. Original text: "*I macchiaioli, per chi non conosce il significato di questa parola, furono i primi che si diedero fra noi, agli studi buoni, e che*"

cominciarono a cercare e studiare la vera ragione degli effetti, a forza di prove o bozzetti appena macchiati con le tinte locali dei diversi colori o toni che avevano parte in un dato effetto, ed ora tentando un effetto di sole, era di riflesso o di poggia, elaboravano il modo di ottenere una giusta e propria divisione fra la luce e l'ombra, senza dar luogo a transazioni di sorta alcuna."

[28] Broude, 268.

[29] Ibid., 279.

[30] Telemaco Signorini. *Caricaturisti e Caricaturati Al Caffè "Michelangiolo."* (Firenze : G. Civelli, 1893), 198. Original text: "*la nostra decentralizzazione non prova altro che non fummo, ne siamo i preti di una nuova idea, ne gli affiliati di nessuna loggia artistica, che se lo fossimo vivremmo ancora in associazione fratesca e fraterna, come appunto, vivono ancora i preti di qualunque associazione, casta, consorzio o camorra.*"

[31] Ibid., 198.

[32] Signorini, "Caffe Michelangiolo," 176. Original text: "*E se per via incontravi uno dei disertori della nostra riunione e gli dicevi: O perche non venisti ieri sera al Caffè? Che vuoi, non si fa che discutere e non ci si diverte più come prima, mi pare che sia molto meglio lavorar di più e discutere meno. Si, ma non capisci che la discussione e la vita dell'arte, che per far dei progressi e necessario di vedersi…. Si si dici bene…. Addio sai.*"

[33] Cecioni, *Opere e Scritti*, 138.

[34] Boime, 75.

[35] Ibid., 90.

[36] Ibid.

[37] *Libro terzo degli Atti della 1o classe dell'I. E R. Accademia Belle Arti di Firenze* (Florence, 1840) "Esposizione dei quadri del 1840."

[38] Broude, 14.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Boime, 91.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., 91-94.

[44] Boime, 94.

[45] Monica Ncentini and Claudia Borgia, "Patria nostra maestra nelle arti. Da Firenze all'Italia. Promozione e produzione artistica nelle esposizioni della Società delle Belle Arti (1843-1861)." Mostra di documenti e materiali iconografici dall'archivio della Società delle Belle Arti di Firenze, (Firenze: Cornelio Timpani Editore, 2011).

[46] Ibid., 11.

[47] Spalletti, 9-11.

[48] Broude, 13.

[49] Cecioni, *Opere e Scritti*, 138. Original text: "*gli apprezzamenti ed i giudizi di*

quel nucleo di ribelli alle discipline accademiche, significavano la dichiarazione di guerra che l'arte nuova faceva alla vecchia."

[50] Signorini, 150. Original text: "*un numero non indifferente di giovani si empancipó affatto da qualunque insegnamento accademico, e preso solo maestro la natura.*"

[51] Broude, 95.

[52] Signorini, Caffè Michelangelo, 150.

[53] Telemaco Signorini, "Cose d'arte," *Il Risorgimento*, 1874. Reprinted in Somaré, p. 256. Translated by Norma Broude.

[54] Boime, 75, see L. Biagi, *L'Accademia di belle arti di Firenze* (Florence 1941) 19 - 21; C. I. Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle arte del disegno in Firenze* (Florence, 1873) 53-61.

[55] Broude, 14.

[56] Boime, 92.

[57] See p. 31 for this discussion.

[58] Articles reproduced and translated in *The "Macchiaioli," (The First "Europeans" in Tuscany)*, ed. Emilio Cecchi and Mario Borgiotti, Presented by the Tuscan Organization of Arts "Europa Oggi" (Florence: Olschki, 2013), 25.

[59] *La Nuova Europa* in *The "Macchiaioli,"* 25.

[60] Signorini, 206.

[61] Boime, 96.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *La Gazzetta del Popolo* in *The "Macchiaioli,"* 28.

[66] *La Nuova Europa* in *The "Macchiaioli,"* 31.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *La Gazzetta del Popolo* in *The "Macchiaioli,"* 28.

[69] Ibid.

[70] *La Nuova Europa* in *The "Macchiaioli,"* 30.

[71] Broude, 95.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Yorick (Piero-Coccoluto Ferrigini), *Viaggio attraverso L'Esposizione Italiana del 1861*, (Florence: Bettini Editore, 1861), 181. Original text: "*quadro del signor Cabianca, potrebbe essere un bel quadro se l'autore si fosse dato la pena di finirlo.*"

[74] Broude, 95.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Signorini, 'Il Caffè Michelangiolo," 198.

[78] Diego Martelli, Francesca Dini, and Ettore Spalletti, *Dai Macchiaioli Agli*

Impressionisti: L'opera Critica Di Diego Martelli (Firenze: Artificio), 1996.

[79] Cecioni, *Opere e Scritti*, 16.

[80] Ibid., 213. Original text: "*se [i critici] sono cattivi, avvera ciò che avviene quasi sempre, che il parere di un povero copiatore e quello che forma tutto il materiale del critico.*"

[81] Ibid., 175. Original text: "*Questi particolari non sono inutili quando si voglia pensare che i cervelli di simile struttura, dovevano un giorno convinti da sane idee dell'arte accettare ridendo le piu grande abnegazioni, passare il calvario della ricerca moderna, col sorriso della facezia sulle labbra e rigettati dalle Commissioni Accademiche e dalle governative, accettar l'anatema degli autorevoli e lo sprezzo della plebe giornalistica, colla grande ironia che caratterizza chi e convinto nella serenità della propria conoscenza.*"

[82] Norma Broude and other Italian scholars such as Ettore Spalletti make a brief note of it, while Albert Boime's historical treatment of the group's relationship to the Risorgimento completely neglects to mention this event despite dedicating a significant part of the book to the Exposition.

[83] Selim H. Peabody, *World's Fairs: Universal Expositions the Milestones Along the Highway of Human Progress* (St. Paul, Minnesota: 1902), 6.

[84] Ibid., 8.

[85] Boime, 171.

[86] Ibid., 172.

[87] Ibid., 170.

[88] Ibid., 172.

[89] Yorick, 44. Original text: "*La persona del Re è sacra e inviolabile, lo dice lo Statuto!... dunque aggiungono i monello, l'artefice e rio di lesa maestà.*"

[90] *La Nazione* September 14th, 1861. Original text: "*la prima volta che a luogo determinato vedrassi rappresentata tutta l'italia.*"

[91] Boime, 140.

[92] Ibid., 136.

[93] Ibid., 141-145.

[94] Ibid., 91-94.

[95] Boime, 165.

[96] Ibid., 170.

[97] Broude, 94.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Boime, 166.

[100] Giuseppe, et. al. Original text: "*del giurì di pittura nella esposizione italiana - nel no 234 della gazzetta del popolo dicemmo alcune parole a proposito del giurì di pittura per l'attuale esposizione, e notammo come a volere che l'effetto rispondesse alla intenzione, e fosse proporzionato ad una occasione così solenne, quale si è quella ove doveva convenire il tiene dell'intelligenza, e far mostra di sé l'operosità della nazione, il giurì dove formarsi derivando tutt'altro principio;*"

e, smettendo finalmente certi sistemi che appartengano ad altr'epoca, si cercasse di mostrarsi più logici coll'applicare anche ad esso il principio fondamentale del nostro edificio, l'elezione. Ed infatti quale guarentigia per il pubblico, e per gli esponenti che la sentenza del giuri sarà giusta e inappellabile, se la nomina di coloro che debbono comporlo non deriva da un'autorità riconosciuta da ognuno competente in materia di Belle Arti?"

[101] Ibid., Original text: "*il giudizio del Giurì di Pittura è stato quale fu da noi temuto; e i giudicati, e il pubblico, e gli stessi membri del Giurì lo disapprovano. In caso non si notavano che alcuni artisti, e fra questi poche notabilità, e la maggioranza era formata da persone estranee all'esercizio dell'arte, e prove di quelle nozioni tecniche, senza le quali un giudizio sarà sempre incerto ed incompleto. è perciò si è veduto senza pieno discernimento conferito e non accordato questo premio, argomento di nobile ambizione; il risultato è nullo; nessun onore al premiato, nessuna inferiorità risulta per l'escluso dal premio. Non possiamo poi astenerci da una parola severa verso quei membri del giurì, i quali in una circostanza così solenne per l'Italia, non pesarono la responsabilità che assumevano accettando un mandato che suppone nel giudicante nozioni superiori o almeno uguali a quelle del giudicando.*"

[102] Ibid., Original text: "*questi gravi inconvenienti da noi previsti potevano, ripetiamo ancora una volta, esser prevenuti coll'adottare il sistema il più logico e il più adatto a tempi di progresso e di libertà, quello della elezione dei giudici per mezzo del suffragio degli esponenti; sistema in parte adottato in Francia per la ventura esposizione di Londra, dopo che la prima idea fu proposta fra noi; sistema che avrebbe rivestito di ben altra autorità questo consesso premiatore del merito, e che avrebbe inaugurato con un gran principio la prima Esposizione dell'Italia risorta.*"

[103] Ibid., Original text: "*Tale essendo la opinione pubblicamente significata dai sottoscritti, essi hanno indirizzata la seguente Dichiarazione: AGLI ONOREVOLI COMPONENTI LA COMMISSIONE REALE*

Allorché fu fatta pubblica la nomina dei componenti il Giuri per la classe di Pittura, i sottoscritti emisero la loro opinione rapporto al mondo tenuto nel formarlo, e previdero gl'inconvenienti che ne sarebbero derivati. Ora a prevenire ogni sinistra interpretazione delle loro intenzioni, e per esser coerenti alla opinione espressa, essi si tracce nella spiacevole necessità di dover rinunziare alla medaglia conferita loro. Perugia che le SS. VV. vorranno apprezzare i motivi che li hanno fatti venire a questa determinazione, essi passano a dichiararsi colla più profonda considerazione ec."

[104] *La Nazione* September 14th, 1861. Original text: "*Perché se si riteneva incapace il Consiglio a giudicare, non si chiaro, esponendo, che non si concorreva al premio? non era meglio perder tal risoluzione allora, anzi che voler godere la doppia soddisfazione di ottenere il primo e rifiutarlo? Perché poi arrogarsi il diritto di gettar il discredito contro le risoluzioni di un Corpo che, se non riconosceva la*

fiducia e la stima di alcuni esponenti, era pur composto di persone rispettabilissime?"
[105] Saverio Altaura, "Invitati ai termini della legge pubblichiamo il seguente articolo," in *La Nazione*, November 24, 1861.
[106] Ibid., Original text: "*Veda ora l'autore dell'articolo come Egli s'ingannava attribuendo a meschine considerazioni personali l'atto censurato ; e come a torto vorrebbe che non essendosi chiamati fuori di concorso fin da principio gli Artisti avessero in silenzio subito il giudizio. Il temere l'errore era naturale; il condannato preventivamente sarebbe stato ingiusto, e avrebbe forse dato appiglio a chi si piace di giudicare malignamente nobili intenzioni.*"
[107] Boime, 167.
[108] Ibid., 182.
[109] *La Nuova Europa* in *I Macchiaioli*.

Images
Page 15: *"*Caffe Michelangiolo by Adriano Cecioni 1861," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on November 21, 2010, accessed May 6, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caffè_Michelangiolo_by_Adriano_Cecioni_1861.jpg

Page 17: "Stefano Ussi," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on March 29, 2011, accessed May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Picture.Stefano_Ussi.jpg.

Page 22: "Giovanni Fattori, Soldati Francesi '59," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on May 8, 2010, accessed May 6, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:GiovanniFattoriSoldatiFrancesi59.jpg.

Page 35: *"*Lega, I fidanzati," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on February 5, 2018, accessed May 6, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lega,_I_fidanzati.jpg.

Page 43: "Gruppo di macchiaioili al caffè michelangelo, primi del '900," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on March 24, 2009, accessed May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gruppo_di_macchiaioili_al_caff%C3%A8_michelangelo,_primi_del_%27900.JPG.

"Winning Little Bannockburns": Memory, the Great War, and the Rise of Scottish Nationalism

Brooke Krancer

On June 20, 1914, at the sexcentenary celebration of the Scottish defeat of the English at the Battle of Bannockburn, former British prime minister Lord Rosebery addressed the youth of Scotland:

> Do you children feel that you, too, might grow up to be heroes like them; to be ready, if necessary, to die for your country, your freedom, and your King; and if that chance do not come, as I hope it may not, to be heroes, as you may all be in your daily lives, winning little Bannock burns for yourselves over the forces of evil? Try.[1]

Mere weeks later, Britain was embroiled in the First World War. The sort of rhetoric used by the English Lord Rosebery was exceedingly common during the war, appropriating the memory of Bannockburn and Scotland's martial history of victory against England in the Wars of Independence to reinforce the idea of a British rather than Scottish identity and encourage Scottish people to die for a British king and country.[2] After the conflict, the Great War itself would be folded into this mythologized memory of Scotland's history and likewise used for ideological and political reasons by different groups with varying goals. However, as the realities of Scotland's dismal postwar position set in, popular memory of the recent war began to shift. The conflict was progressively perceived more as a tragic waste of Scottish lives and used by nationalists as a tool to further their causes, and rhetoric drawing on Scotland's longer martial history, particularly relating

to the Wars of Independence, was reapplied accordingly. With this adoption of the memory of Scotland's recent and early history in the interwar period, the roots of Scottish nationalism began to take hold and would culminate in the formation of the Scottish National Party in 1934. An examination of the context within which Scottish martial history underwent a reorientation from a unionist function toward a nationalist one reveals how the popular memory of this history was a significant factor that contributed to the rise of Scottish nationalism in the interwar period.

The Robert the Bruce monument at the site of Battle of Bannockburn

Scotland Before and During the War

At the outbreak of war, memory of Scotland's martial tradition was used largely to reinforce ideas of British identity among Scottish people and strengthen their commitment to the war effort. Far from a wartime invention, this idea of a Scot-

tish identity as belonging to a larger British sense of self shaped the dominant image of Scottish national identity in the Victorian period. In particular, the participation of Scottish people in the British Empire greatly influenced how Scottish people understood themselves.[3] The idea that Scotland was an equal partner to England in the creation of the "greatest empire the world had ever known" was fundamental to Scottish identity in the nineteenth century, and the idea of Scotland's martial tradition played no small part in that perception.[4] The image of the naturally militaristic Scottish soldier conquering and defending distant lands for the empire was a point of national pride.[5] This sense of Scottish patriotism fitting easily into a greater identity within the Union embodied what Graeme Morton has termed "Unionist-Nationalism," much of which was shaped through a reclamation of Scottish history to celebrate Scottishness while upholding the Union with England.[6] The popularity of historical novels in Victorian Scotland vividly illustrates unionist-nationalism at work. Jane Porter's 1810 book *The Scottish Chiefs*, a fictionalized account of William Wallace's life, was reprinted in 1831 and again in 1840.[7] Walter Scott, credited with creating the modern historical novel, also published wildly popular novels exemplifying pride in Scottish history; his 1814 novel *Waverley*, focusing on the Jacobite risings, sold over a thousand copies in the first two days after it was released.[8] The creation of numerous Scottish history societies, numbering approximately twenty-seven by 1909, also points to the coexistence of Scottish patriotism and unionism in the nineteenth century, as the trend took shape alongside a sense of satisfaction with Scotland's place in the Union.[9]

Unionist-nationalism was put to use during the Great War and focused particularly on the mythology of the Wars of Independence. The media employed popular perceptions of Scottish history in an effort to recruit Scottish soldiers. An illustration for a recruitment advertisement published in the widely read *People's Journal* in August 1914 uses the figure of Robert the

Bruce to frame an image of Britannia accepting volunteers—a quite literal manifestation of Scottish identity giving way to an overarching British identity.[10] The slogan at the bottom, "Shades of Bruce—The Same Spirit Still Lives!" demonstrates how the idea of the Scottish martial "spirit" was used for the expressly unionist purpose of encouraging Scottish men to volunteer for the British armed forces during the war.[11] The seemingly ironic use of a figure of the Wars of Independence such as Bruce to promote Scottish loyalty to Britain illustrates the extent to which the Union-minded British establishment had sanitized symbols of Scottish defiance of England by the beginning of the twentieth century. This evolution points to the malleable nature of public perceptions of Scotland's history: the symbol of Bruce, the king who was immortalized for resisting the English, could be effectively used to endorse Scotland's place alongside England in the United Kingdom.

It is important to note that the mythology of Scottish history was not exclusively used to enforce ideas of unionist-nationalism before and during the war. In anticipation of the sexcentenary of Bannockburn, in February 1914, the Glasgow Corporation held a discussion concerning celebrations of the anniversary in which the Galleries Convener insisted that a commemorative painting capture "undaunted determination to maintain Scotland's absolute freedom."[12] However, despite this push for a nationalist sentiment in the event's artistic tribute, the selection of an English artist fundamentally dealt a blow to any underlying suggestion of nationalism, and the English *Manchester Guardian* wrote that the Sexcentenary Committee "sent a loyal message to the King."[13] The reporting on this event as one that upheld the Union even as the Galleries Convener explicitly wanted it to encourage notions of Scottish freedom highlights how memory of an event such as Bannockburn could serve two opposing political functions simultaneously—and indeed often did in Scotland in this period. There were thus some evident traces of nationalist sentiment in commemorations of Scottish historical events such

as the sexcentenary. The fact that the Union flag was flown next to the Royal Banner of Scotland during the celebration and a gold medal in honor of the occasion was sent to King George V afterwards, however, indicates the extent to which Scotland's history was used to advance mostly unionist ideology immediately before and during the war.[14]

The memory of Scotland's martial past bled into the present during the war. Beyond the Wars of Independence, this mythology encompassed "the Covenanters, the Jacobites and the service of Scots in British units in the eighteenth century,"[15] with Scottish recruits during the Great War supposedly the next in a long line of natural Scottish warriors. However, this perception, too, was a myth. While Scottish soldiers made up a disproportionate part of the British army of the eighteenth century, this was no longer the case by the nineteenth.[16] Still, this popular perception of the Scottish martial identity served an important purpose during the war: keeping up morale among soldiers. Motivation was bolstered by the "highly positive self-image" that arose from the mythology surrounding the Scottish soldier.[17] Despite the view of Scottish troops as having distinctive identities in the British military, the Scottish experience of the war was largely consistent with that of the typical British soldier.[18]

Scottish soldiers during the First World War dressed in distinctive regional uniforms

At first examination, the use of mythologized Scottish history—especially that of the Wars of Independence—to reinforce British identity among Scots during and immediately before the war seems paradoxical. However, the cognitive dissonance that allowed Scottish people to take pride in the character and might of their forebears in the Wars of Independence while simultaneously ignoring their inherent association with conflict with England[19] is likely due to the secure place that Scotland felt in the Union up to the interwar period. As Victorian Scottish identity hinged largely on imperial success, and the Scottish saw themselves as equal partners in the Empire, they felt no need to question the status quo of the Union. Rather, they saw themselves as having progressed past these antipathies, with "those who were then [Scotland's] fiercest enemies […] now [its] closest friends and brothers."[20] This unionist-nationalist acceptance of Scottish popular history as contributing to the unionist identity therefore relied on the notion that England did not swallow up Scotland in the Union, but rather that "both remain unswallowed."[21] The postwar conditions of Scotland as compared to England, however, would call that perceived equality into question among Scottish people.

The Aftermath of the War and National Decline

Historian E.W. McFarland has noted the speed with which the war was "written into formal 'history.'"[22] Indeed, immediately after the end of the Great War, memory of the conflict was folded into the larger cultural memory of Scotland's history. Despite the fairly consistent war experience among British people, the greater visibility and relatively large number of Scottish volunteers gave rise to a mythologized Scottish experience of the war and, importantly, the notion of a "Scottish sacrifice."[23] This idea of a Scottish sacrifice was interpreted in different ways by groups of different political leanings. For their part, unionist establishment figures saw this as a noble sacrifice of the Scottish people in defense of Britain and the Empire. Nationalists, on the

other hand, felt that the soldiers who sacrificed their youth and their lives were betrayed by the deteriorating conditions in Scotland after the war.[24] While the former interpretation was more common immediately after the war, as the grim realities of life in postwar Scotland set in, the latter view would become increasingly dominant.

The war memorial in Paisley, erected in 1924, clearly illustrates the integration of the First World War into Scotland's mythologized past. Titled "The Spirit of the Crusaders," the image of a medieval knight surrounded by four soldiers from the recent conflict is a physical manifestation of the belief that the war followed a long-established Scottish martial tradition.[25] In a nation suffering losses estimated to fall somewhere between 74,000 and 147,000 dead, the desire to transform immense personal loss into something more meaningful by infusing it with a greater Scottish historical significance makes sense.[26] This perception of the war as meaningful in the immediate aftermath of the conflict is revealed by the monuments that were built in what Lord Rosebery referred to as the "hurricane season of memorials" in 1919–22.[27] These monuments presented two themes that reinforced the perception that the Great War was a continuation of a deeper Scottish history: sorrow and a "sober pride in Scotland's military achievements […] grounded in a unique 'national character.'"[28] Like the memory of the Wars of Independence before and during the conflict, the historical grounding of the war in its immediate aftermath affirmed unionist-nationalist ideas of Scottish identity. The Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle, proposed in 1917 and completed a decade later, serves as the most significant intersection of this early popular perception of the Great War as both fitting into Scotland's broader history and upholding its place in the Union and the Empire. The monument's historical references, from statues of Wallace and Bruce to details of the origins of the regiments to whose fallen members it pays tribute, affirm the incorporation of the war into the memory of Scottish history.[29] In the wide interpretation of

the Scottish community that it includes—with inscriptions to the "Scottish" of London, Ireland, and South Africa—and visual symbolism including the "Tree of Empire," it asserts Scotland's place in Britain and the Empire.[30] However, by the time the memorial was unveiled in 1927, Scotland's postwar situation had already begun to turn the memory of the war in a different direction.

The interwar period in Scotland was a time of acute struggle. This was most evident in the decline of Scotland's economic situation brought on by the Great Depression, coinciding with downturns in countries around the world. As a country with a largely industrial economy, Scotland felt the effects of the Depression with particular severity. By 1933, over 25 percent of the insured workforce was unemployed, compared to just 1.8 percent in 1908.[31] Only three new factories opened in Scotland, compared to 467 in the rest of the United Kingdom in 1933; industrial production was lower in 1931 than it had been in 1913. Even fishing and farming were in decline.[32] Significantly, these economic issues were not shared by England. Unemployment in Scotland was about 50 percent higher than in England, and control of the country's economy was falling into English hands; management of the country's railroads moved to London, and four of Scotland's main banks experienced London takeovers.[33] Scottish people in the 1920s viewed this with suspicion, with the nationalist George Malcolm Thomson writing in 1927, "The capture by English capital of banks and railways are only two instances of a general process of removing the control of Scottish administration, commerce, and industry four hundred miles further South."[34] In addition to economic hardship, social and political challenges emerged in Scotland after the war. By the mid-1930s, skilled workers were emigrating in large numbers, and the country's infant mortality rate, linked to such indicators of poverty as overcrowding and low income, was higher than that of almost any other western European country.[35] Increasing attention was paid to how little time was devoted to Scottish

issues in Parliament, and English bills were regularly applied to Scotland despite its different legal system.[36] Seeing their nation in decline, the Scottish people began to experience a crisis of national self-confidence, perceiving their once proud nation to be relegated to simply "an annex […] of English civilization."[37]

Shipyards like this one in Glasgow that saw heavy use during the war would decline steeply in production in its aftermath

With the reality of Scotland's national decay becoming clear throughout the 1920s, memory of the war began to shift from a noble cause worthy of sacrifice to a tragic waste of life. Veterans who fought through the horrors of the war only to come home and fight for employment "[struggled] to reconcile the magnitude of the conflict with the shrinking hopes of the postwar decades."[38] The change in perception of the war can be detected in the disparity between narratives from war diaries and the popular view of Scottish battalions that emerged in the interwar period. While accounts written during the war tell of survival and perseverance, the narrative that developed in the years following the war was one of "doomed battalions of high-spirited youth" who marched into battle only to be slaughtered in minutes.[39] A particularly poignant example of this shifting memory

may be found in the difference between the 17th Highland Light Infantry's regimental history, published in 1920, and that of the 15th Highland Light Infantry, published in 1934. While the former is a straightforward account of the regiment's service in the war, the latter, written after survivors had realized the bleak postwar reality of their home country and felt the perceived betrayal of the Union for which they fought, is a more deliberate affair. Titled *An Epic of Glasgow*, it presents the regiment's experience as a tragic journey, fitting into the newly developed popular memory of the war as such.[40] Tellingly, the author speaks of "the Great Disillusion" of Scotland's postwar society with its mythologized past.[41] A reference to "the greatness and grandeur of ordinary men" is also notable.[42] This scaling down of the public view of the war—from a necessary conflict for the defense of the Union and the Empire to a testament to the greatness of individual Scottish men—reflects the transition of the identity of Scottish people from Imperial or British to a more localized frame of reference. As a result of this shifting perception of the war and of Scottish identity, the previously dominant unionist-nationalism began to give way to nationalism.

The evolution of Scottish perceptions of the Great War over the course of the 1920s transformed popular memory of the conflict from heroic to tragic. As it was seen as a British conflict—recall the image of Bruce framing the image of Britannia, as if asking the Scottish people to lend their military prowess to the Union—the view of England as swallowing up Scotland in the aftermath of the war proved problematic to the initial Scottish sense of pride in the war effort. Viewed instead as a waste of Scottish life by the late 1920s and 1930s, the recent conflict could no longer be used effectively to advance unionist-nationalism; in fact, the originator of the term argued that, by 1920s, the conditions that allowed for unionist-nationalism were no longer in place.[43] With this reorientation away from the previously dominant view of Scottish identity, Scottish people began to rethink what it meant to be "worthy of those men, of Bruce

and his fellows,"[44] turning the use of Scotland's martial history increasingly towards a separatist nationalist cause.

<u>Mythologized History and the Roots of Scottish Nationalism</u>

As Richard J. Finlay argues, the pessimism that arose out of the grim conditions in interwar Scotland caused increasing numbers of Scottish people to turn to nationalism by the 1930s.[45] With the increasing desire for greater control of Scottish affairs, Scotland's history began to be used by nationalists to further their political cause. Since the memory of the Great War had been incorporated into the country's longer history, the recent conflict increasingly became a tool for the nationalist cause as well. As this shift in the use of Scotland's cultural memory unfolded in the 1920s and 1930s, Scottish people formed nationalist political organizations in increasing numbers, culminating in the creation of the Scottish National Party in 1934. The mythologization of both Scotland's recent history and distant past therefore played an essential role in the rise of the Scottish nationalist movement.

While Scotland's medieval history primarily served to affirm ideas of a Scottish identity within the Union before and during the war, this was no longer feasible in the conflict's aftermath. If the Victorian-era satisfaction with their place as equal partners in the Union was what allowed Scottish people paradoxically to take pride in their forebears' military might in the Wars of Independence while being content in a union with England, then the postwar turn only makes sense. With their English neighbors seeming to prosper despite their country's postwar decline,[46] Scots' satisfaction was gone, replaced by suspicion and resentment. Scottish nationalist groups thus started to reframe popular memory, especially that of the Wars of Independence, to promote their own ideology.

One manifestation of the changing use of the memory of the Wars of Independence in particular is the shift of focus from Bruce to Wallace. Whereas Wallace was perceived as a freedom-

loving Scottish patriot, Bruce was increasingly seen as a more compromised figure: he owned land in both England and Scotland and even fought against the Scots at the famous battles of Stirling Bridge and Falkirk before ultimately joining the Scottish cause.[47] It is no coincidence then that during the war it was Bruce who was "employed as a model of patriotic solidity," with Bannockburn "used as a means of recruiting patriotic Scots to the allied war effort."[48] While Wallace was also invoked frequently by unionists in the years leading up to and during the war, with Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*, for instance, referring to both figures,[49] Bruce held a significant place in national memory prior to the 1920s. By the interwar period, however, Bruce was cast aside in favor of Wallace, and Wallace was employed specifically by nationalists starting immediately after the war. Future National Party of Scotland founder Lewis Spence, for example, wrote a children's book in 1919 about Wallace as a mythologized hero figure in which he emphasizes mistrust of kings and nobility such as Bruce.[50] Only eight years later, George Malcolm Thomson would write of the "wicked and heartless persons of title" who drove out tenants in the Highland Clearances,[51] indicating that Spence was not alone in his idea of a corrupt nobility historically leading the Scottish people astray. In the wake of a war fought for the British king that left thousands of Scots dead, his meaning could not be clearer. Spence was not the only future Scottish nationalist leader to point to Wallace immediately after the war. R.B. Cunninghame Graham, another future founder of the National Party of Scotland, spoke about Wallace at the 1920 Wallace Monument celebration, saying that he paved the way for Scottish home rule.[52] Tom Johnston, who would go on to become the Labour Party's Scottish affairs spokesman and who supported home rule, also focused on the proletarian soldier of the Wars of Independence in lieu of the nobility, writing in 1920 that it was "unthinkable that when Bannockburn was fought and won they would go back to the old settled slavery."[53]

A statue of William Wallace in Aberdeen

While the foundations of these postwar nationalist ideas were laid by leaders such as Spence, Cunninghame Graham, and Johnston immediately after the war, nationalist views were not widespread at the beginning of the interwar period. Nationalist feeling had largely been led by the left in the early 1920s, placing it on the fringes of Scottish politics.[54] The famed "Red Clydeside," or radical political leftism that occured in Glasgow during the war, raised class consciousness among the average Scottish worker and resulted in numerous strikes during and immediately after the war.[55] However, with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the Scottish middle class began to fear a leftist revolution in their own country.[56] Thus, the association of Scottish nationalist sentiment with the political left helped to discredit nationalism to the average middle-class Scottish citizen. This also helps to explain the use of the memory of both the recent conflict and Scotland's longer martial history by unionists into the 1920s; as they presented an opposing force to the corrupting left, their grip on the Scottish public was still strong, and Scottish people

therefore still accepted their narrative of unionist-nationalism. However, following the same trajectory of the use of this popular memory, the reality of interwar conditions made the middle class grow increasingly disgruntled with the political establishment and with their place in the Union.[57] By the end of the 1920s, nationalism was growing increasingly mainstream, and nationalist rhetoric like that of Spence, Cunninghame Graham, and Johnston that was once considered radical was becoming increasingly accepted. As such, nationalist interpretations of the Wars of Independence began entering into mainstream popular memory. By the 1930s, for instance, nationalists had secured the famous Bannockburn battlefield—the same site where the Union flag was flown next to the Royal Banner of Scotland during the 1914 sexcentenary celebration only weeks before the outbreak of war.[58]

Like the memory of Scotland's medieval past, the memory of the Great War and the perception by the late 1920s that it had been wasteful would be used for the nationalist cause. Here the notion of the Scottish sacrifice takes on particular significance.[59] The idea that Scotland's casualties were disproportionate compared to those of the rest of the Union caused resentment and was even used by nationalists to represent exploitation of Scottish manpower during the conflict.[60] What was once viewed as Scottish troops' inheriting the martial tradition of their country was now seen as British elites' putting Scottish youth in the line of fire. This perception in turn gave rise to the myth that the country's war losses were partially to blame for the postwar economic decline, as the deaths of the nation's young university students supposedly robbed Scotland of the men who would have gone on to become leaders. This assertion had no basis in truth, as graduates of Scottish universities actually increased after the war,[61] but it exemplifies how, after only a few years had passed, the war had already become mythologized. Much like the stories of the Wars of Independence, such as Bruce taking inspiration from the perseverance of the spider in the cave,[62] narratives of

the Great War began to develop in the years after the war. Also like the legends of the Wars of Independence, the mythology of the recent war was being used by the end of the 1920s to further the Scottish nationalist cause.

Returning to the Scottish National War Monument, the memorial's opening in 1927 points to the development of popular Scottish perceptions of the war throughout the decade. The committee was comprised of elites who were largely Conservative and therefore unionist, and in many ways it upheld the aforementioned ideas of unionist-nationalism.[63] However, even this structure that was undeniably created with unionist ideology in mind—one needs to look no further than the inclusion of Scottish people from the furthest reaches of the empire to see the inherent unionism—has been interpreted as containing nationalist symbolism. The historian Angus Calder, for instance, interpreted the inclusion of the Royal Arms of Scotland in the monument's "Tree of Empire" along with shields of New Zealand, Canada, and other dominions of the British Empire as a call for Scotland to have dominion status.[64] That even this unquestionably unionist structure could, in its finished state in 1927, be interpreted later as having nationalist attributes speaks to the extent to which the First World War was associated with nationalist feelings by the end the decade. The Scottish National War memorial is just one example of many monuments that were created to commemorate the war; indeed, Great War memorials remain Scotland's most widespread public monument even today.[65] The importance that the war held in Scottish cultural memory—and therefore the importance that it held in the nationalist cause that used it—cannot be overstated.

When looking at the rise of the nationalist political movement in this period, it is important to take a step back to look at what was occurring in mainstream politics in Scotland at the time. Historian Ewen A. Cameron captures the political processes of the period succinctly: "Liberal demise, Labour breakthrough, Unionist consolidation."[66] While Liberals had dominated Scot-

tish politics in the years before the war,[67] Liberal MPs elected by Scottish constituencies did not exceed 28.4 percent of Scottish MPs at any point during the interwar period and dropped as low as 6.7 percent in 1935.[68] By the 1930s, the Liberal Party was eclipsed by the Labour Party and the Unionist Party (the Scottish branch of the Conservative Party) and Scotland had settled into a two-party structure.[69] Between the Unionist and Labour Parties, the Unionists generally pulled ahead. Middle class fears of a socialist revolution contributed to the preeminence that the Unionist Party enjoyed over the Labour Party during the interwar period. On its own, the fact that Unionists were the dominant political party in Scotland in the interwar period appears to indicate that nationalist sentiment had not yet begun to take hold. Several aspects of Unionist politics during this time indicate that this is not actually the case. It must first be noted that Unionist success in Scotland at the time was less than Conservative success in England,[70] indicating that Unionist strength in Scotland was less significant than it appears without taking the rest of the United Kingdom into account. More important is that even Unionists began to turn to nationalist ideas in the wake of Scotland's economic crisis.[71] Similar to nationalists, Unionists felt that Scottish affairs did not get enough time in Parliament,[72] and even felt that England was taking control of Scotland's industry and economy.[73] The conditions in Scotland were therefore so dire that by the 1930s even many Unionists had resorted to nationalist ideology.

The reason that even members of the Unionist Party began to accept aspects of nationalism can be traced back to Scottish identity being rooted in imperialism. Unionist ideas of Scotland as a nation were exemplary of the views of the Victorian period of Scotland as a nation taking pride in its place in the world's greatest Empire. This manifested itself in several ways. For example, Unionists took pride in Scotland's industrial prowess, especially with Glasgow as the "second city of the Empire."[74] The emigration of Scottish people worldwide helped to spread Scottish ways

of life all around the globe. This imperial identity, however, was shattered by Scotland's perceived postwar decline and, with it, the Unionist sense of self-confidence began to falter. The decay of Scotland's industry stripped Glasgow of its place as the industrial heart of Britain.[75] Emigration was no longer offset by immigration as it was in the Victorian period and was increasingly viewed as Scotland hemorrhaging its best people, since primarily skilled workers were leaving.[76] With the pillars of their identity falling one by one, even Unionists questioned Scotland's place in the Empire and therefore in the Union. Their turn towards nationalism thus came from the same crisis of self-confidence that caused Scottish people of all political alignments to turn to nationalist ideology.

Scotland's economic decline, political realignment, and the new narratives of both the First World War and Scotland's longer history formed the backdrop for the creation of several nationalist organizations. The first of these was the Scottish Home Rule Association, which was originally founded in 1886 but dissolved with the start of the war. Reformed in September of 1918 by Roland Eugene Muirhead, its political goal was simple: Scottish home rule.[77] Another of the earliest nationalist political groups after the war was the Scots National League, formed in 1920. Shaped in part by Tom Gibson,[78] this organization became the first nationalist group to break away from larger British political parties due to their English majorities, advocate for a new party focused solely on achieving Scottish self-government, and run a candidate in an election.[79] By 1928, the SNL's idea of a new, nationalist party had caught on and the National Party of Scotland was formed, taking Muirhead with it and leaving the less organized SHRA as a casualty.[80] In 1930, George Malcolm Thomson and Andrew Dewar Gibb set in motion the creation of the Scottish Party as a right-wing alternative to left-leaning nationalist groups,[81] and in 1934 the NPS and the Scottish Party merged to form the Scottish National Party.[82] Today the SNP is one of the largest parties in Scotland, although it saw little

mainstream success until the second half of the 20th century.[83] Indeed, none of these nationalist parties were particularly successful in the interwar period.[84] The sheer number of parties and organizations advocating for Scottish nationalism in various forms, however, shows that the seeds of nationalism had been firmly planted in Scottish soil and were beginning to put down roots.

The evident rise of nationalism in the interwar period cannot be separated from nationalist use of memory of the Great War and appropriation of Scottish history. In fact, the nationalist organizations that formed at the time expressly sought to reshape Scottish history to push nationalist rhetoric. The SNL, which laid the ideological foundation for the SNP, attempted to change contemporary Scottish historical interpretations to create "the necessary cultural base upon which [the Scottish people] could build their national aspirations."[85] Like NPS founders Spence and Cunninghame Graham, SNL historians used the image of Wallace to promote ideas of Scottish freedom. They also invoked the Wars of Independence more generally to point to England's immoral, imperial nature in its attempted conquests of Scotland.[86] Like British recruiters during the war, the SNL used their own interpretations of Scotland's martial history to fit their own needs. From nationalist leaders like Spence and Cunninghame Graham using the memory of medieval history to promote nationalism to home-rule advocates like Johnston directly linking the First World War to the Wars of Independence through comparisons to Bannockburn, these groups show how popular memory was deliberately used for the nationalist cause after the war. And they did so successfully—even with the threat of another impending war in the late 1930s, interest in nationalism continued throughout the end of the interwar period.[87]

Scotland's cultural memory of its martial history—from the medieval wars of independence to the First World War— was vitally important to the creation of the Scottish nationalist movement. While popular memory was used before and during

the war by unionists to affirm unionist-nationalist ideas of Scottish identity, the same history was appropriated by nationalists for their own means after the war ended. This use of memory cannot be separated from the foundations of the movement that created one of the main parties in Scotland which, 100 years after the start of the war, would eventually hold a referendum in which 45 percent of voters chose Scottish independence. One hundred years after Lord Rosebery asked the youth of Scotland if they would be willing to die for their country—to him meaning empire—and their freedom like their forebears at Bannockburn, nearly half of the country voted for independence from the Union which he supported. The Great War and the use of cultural memory in its aftermath changed the way in which the Scottish people thought about their country, their history, and themselves. One hundred years after Lord Rosebery's address, the First World War had fundamentally changed what it meant to the Scottish to be "winning little Bannockburns."[88]

Supporters of Scottish independence in the 2014 referendum, or "Yes" voters, marching at Bannockburn in 2018

Notes

[1] "The Bannockburn Celebration: Lord Rosebery's Message to the Children of Scotland," *Scotsman*, June 20, 1914, 9, quoted in Graeme Morton, "Bruce, Wallace, and the Diminished Present, 1800–1964," in *Scotland and the First World War: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Bannockburn*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017), 38.

David Goldie, "Shades of Bruce: Independence and Union in First World War Scottish Literature," in *Scotland and the First World War: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Bannockburn*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017), 208, notes the significance of the occasion on which Lord Rosebery spoke.

For an in-depth treatment of the Battle of Bannockburn, see Michael Brown, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles, 1307–1323* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

For biographical information on Lord Rosebery, see John Davis, "Primrose, Archibald Philip, Fifth Earl of Rosebery and First Earl of Midlothian (1847–1929), Prime Minister and Author," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified December 13, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35612.

[2] For background on the Wars of Independence and their significance to the relationship between Scotland and England in the medieval period, see Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214–1371* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

[3] Esther Breitenbach, "The Impact of the Victorian Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, eds. T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 549.

[4] Richard J. Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis: Politicians, Intellectuals and the 'End of Scotland,' 1920–1939," *History* 79, no. 256 (1994): 255.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 209.

[7] Morton, "Diminished Presence," 30–31.

[8] Ibid. For a history of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and its influence on the British Empire, see Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[9] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 209–10.

[10] Ibid., 206.

[11] Ibid., 205.

[12] *Irish Times*, February 20, 1914, 8, quoted in Fran Brearton, "Missing Dates and Magic Numbers: Reflections on 1914," in *Scotland and the First World War: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Bannockburn*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017), 3.

[13] *Manchester Guardian*, February 18, 1915, 5, quoted in Brearton, "Missing Dates," 6.

[14] Morton, "Diminished Presence," 37–38.

[15] Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 103.

[16] Ibid.

[17] E.W. McFarland, "The Great War," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, eds. T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 558.

[18] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 104.

[19] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 209.

[20] "Lord Rosebery's Message," *Scotsman*, June 20, 1914, quoted in Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 208.

[21] Ibid.

[22] E.W. McFarland, "Introduction: 'A Coronach in Stone,'" in *Scotland and the Great War*, eds. Catriona M.M. Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 3.

[23] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 104–05.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Stefan Goebel, "'The Spirit of the Crusaders': Scottish Peculiarities, British Commonalities, and European Convergences in the Memorialization of the Great War," in *Scotland and the First World War: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Bannockburn*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017), 125.

[26] Cameron, *Impaled Upon A Thistle*, 121–22; Goebel, "'The Spirit of the Crusaders," 125–26.

[27] *Scotsman*, February 20, 1919, quoted in McFarland, "The Great War," 564.

[28] McFarland, "The Great War," 564.

[29] Jenny Macleod, "'By Scottish Hands, with Scottish Money, on Scottish Soil': The Scottish National War Memorial and National Identity," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 85–87.

[30] Ibid., 88–89.

[31] *Christopher Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998), 73.

[32] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 246.

[33] Ibid., 245.

[34] George Malcolm Thomson, *Caledonia, or the Future of the Scots* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1927), 43.

[35] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 125–27.

[36] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 250.

[37] McFarland, "The Great War," 567; Thomson, *Caledonia*, 45.

[38] McFarland, "The Great War," 567.

[39] Ibid., 558.

[40] Ibid., 567–68.

[41] T. Chalmers, *An Epic of Glasgow: History of the 15th Battalion HLI* (Glasgow, 1934), quoted in McFarland, "The Great War," 568.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Macleod, "'By Scottish Hands,'" 75.

[44] "Lord Rosebery's Message," *Scotsman*, June 20, 1914, quoted in Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 209.

[45] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 259.

[46] Ibid., 246.

[47] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 214.

[48] Ibid., 215.

[49] Morton, "Diminished Presence," 30.

[50] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 219.

[51] Thomson, *Caledonia*, 24.

[52] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 219.

[53] Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1900-2015* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 107–08; Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (Glasgow: Unity Publishing, 1920), 16, quoted in Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 220.

[54] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 246.

[55] McFarland, "The Great War," 554.

[56] Richard J. Finlay, *Modern Scotland* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 28–30.

[57] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 246.

[58] Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 219.

[59] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 104–05.

[60] McFarland, "The Great War," 567.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Morton, "Diminished Presence," 30.

[63] Jenny Macleod, "'By Scottish Hands,'" 79.

[64] Ibid., 89.

[65] McFarland, "The Great War," 565.

[66] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 150.

[67] Finlay, *Modern Scotland*, 24.

[68] Harvie, *No Gods*, 96.

[69] Ibid., 105.

[70] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 164.

[71] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 247.

[72] Ibid., 250.

[73] Ibid., 247–48.

[74] Ibid., 255.

[75] Finlay, "National Identity in Crisis," 255.

[76] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 125.

[77] Richard J. Finlay, *Independent and Free: Scottish Politics and the Origins of the Scottish National Party, 1918-1945* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1994), 1.

[78] Ibid., 48.

[79] Ibid., 29.

[80] Ibid., 23–24.

[81] Finlay, *Independent and Free*, 36.

[82] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 168.

[83] Harvie, *No Gods*, 96.

[84] Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, 169–70.

[85] Finlay, *Independent and Free*, 36.

[86] Ibid., 37–38.

[87] Harvie, *No Gods*, 108.

[88] "Lord Rosebery's Message," *Scotsman*, June 20, 1914, quoted in Goldie, "Shades of Bruce," 208.

Images

Page 51: "Robert Bruce statue, Bannockburn," originally uploaded to Wikipedia by Kim Traynor on March 30, 2011, accessed May 4, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robert_Bruce_statue,_Bannockburn.jpg.

Page 54: "The London Scottish during the First World War," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on April 25, 2015, accessed May 4, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_London_Scottish_during_the_First_World_War_Q53391.jpg.

Page 58: "Glasgow Shipyard- Shipbuilding in Wartime, Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Scotland, UK, 1944," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on January 30, 2013, accessed May 4, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Glasgow_Shipyard-_Shipbuilding_in_Wartime,_Glasgow,_Lanarkshire,_Scotland,_UK,_1944_D20847.jpg.

Page 62: "William Wallace Statue," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on September 10, 2007, accessed May 4, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Wallace_Statue_,_Aberdeen2.jpg.

Page 68: "Yes March," originally uploaded to Flickr, accessed May 4, 2019 via Flickr, https://c1.staticflickr.com/1/888/42979530311_c4750f0902_b.jpg.

Exploring Female Identity in Francoist Spain

Victoria Reeser

One can hardly research Spanish female identity during the Franco regime without also studying the *Sección Femenina* and their desire to create a unified nationalist feminine identity. Many historians have presented the *Sección Feminina* as the most intrusive organization in Spanish women's lives from 1939 through the 1970s. Indeed, the *Sección Feminina*'s prominence continued to grow throughout the entire regime as they had the greatest influence over women's education and media, and young women were required to enroll in their Volunteer Service schools. The organization's programs were built to train women to embody its nationalist and Catholic ideologies in their roles as wives and mothers. An analysis of the formation of female identity within the semi-autobiographical novels of Spanish writers Ana Maria Matute, Carmen Laforet, and Carmen Martín Gaite reveals a counter-narrative to that of the *Sección Feminina*'s rhetoric. Repression, famine, and poverty, created a culture of political silence, making it difficult for most women to embody the nationalist's ideal female figure of wife and mother. The works of Matute, Laforet, and Martín Gaite demonstrate the various ways in which women were forced to form their identity between the contradictions of the *Sección Femenina*'s ideal and the socio-economic and political realities of Francoist Spain. Their works indicate that many women did not reflect the ideologies of the *Sección Femenina* in the formation of their identity as women, wives, and mothers. Instead, their texts reveal that despite the *Sección Femenina*'s attempts to create a unified nationalist feminine identity, women formed their identity more in reflection of the realities of Francoist Spain.

The authors and their works chosen for this paper are

representative of the formation of female identity and Spanish culture during the Franco regime. Matute, Laforet, and Martín Gaite were all born just before the start of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and died after the end of the Franco regime (1975). In addition, they were all a part of the generation that experienced the violence of the war and the continued oppression of the regime, which in large part influenced the formation of their feminine identity and the identities of most adult Spaniards until 1975. All three female authors were also members of the Spanish upper-middle and middle classes. Besides upper-class women who were expected to act in accordance with similar ideals to that of the *Sección Feminina* (from here forward: the SF), as the SF's ideals were largely modeled after customs of the upper class, middle-class women were most receptive to adopting the SF's nationalistic feminine identity, which was innately Catholic and supported the notion of female subordination.[1]

Because the works *Nada* (1945), *Fireflies* (1955), *The Trap* (1969), and *The Back Room* (1978) are semi-autobiographical, they reflect the formation of identity for each writer and account for the effects of SF ideals and the greater Spanish culture during years of Francoist repression. Their publication dates span the decades in which the Francoist regime and SF actively shaped Spanish culture and collective identity, and are representative of the period. The popularity of these works further affirms their worth as being reflective of the ideas of Spanish women. Laforet's *Nada* won the Premio Nadal, Carmen Martín Gaite's *The Back Room* was awarded Spain's National Prize for Literature, and Ana Maria Matute also won various awards for her works, including the Premio Nadal.[2] Overall, the demographics of the authors, the nature of their works being semi-autobiographical, and the critical acclaim these works received confirms their strength as sources concerning female identity during the Francoist regime.

Originally, the SF was a political group that acted as the women's section of the Falange, the major quasi-fascist political party that supported Franco's initial rise to power. As they ex-

panded to have the greatest influence over shaping women's lives during the Civil War, their nationalist rhetoric continued into the post-war regime. The SF aimed "to encourage national syndicalist spirit in all aspects of life and the promotion of love of the Patria."[3] Nationalist rhetoric was therefore built into their ideals. Distinct gender roles were also central in the formation of Spanish nationalism.[4] All of the SF's programs, from primary education to the Volunteer Service Schools, were designed to create a specific nationalist female identity in which women were united in their roles as the wives and mothers of the Patria to preserve the sanctity of the home.[5] If a woman was unable to be married, the other option was to devote herself to the State through membership within the SF. None of the leaders of the SF were ever married because being a wife would have taken precedence over their position as a party member. The SF believed that women's political participation should be supportive of male figures who were active in the public sphere. Certain sections from the creed of the SF exhibit their subordinate role as political actors:

> 3. Do not comment on any order; obey without hesitation.
> 5. Action is not yours; encourage others to act.
> 6. Let the man in your life be the best patriot.
> 11. Try always to be the wheel of the cart and let the one guiding it be in control.
> 12. Do not stand out; help someone to excel.
> 18. There is no glory comparable to the glory of having given everything for the fatherland.[6]

The SF taught that working within the home to support male family figures and raise the next generation of nationalist children was the best way to support the Patria. Tasks such as cleaning the home and rearing children were considered a large part of a woman's nationalist duty. By nationalizing housework and motherhood, the SF politicized female Spanish identity.[7]

Carmen Laforet

Besides their assertive stance on women's active (though subordinate) role in promoting nationalism, Catholic conservatism was central to the SF's formation of the ideal Spanish woman. The SF believed the Catholic religion to be a pillar of Spanish identity.[8] Religion did not figure separately in its statutes; traditional Catholic values were implicit in the vision of the ideal Spanish woman it projected. Pilar Prima di Rivera the founder of the SF, explained,

> We cannot think of our comrades as having two separate identities: part Falangist and part Catholic. Rather, we understand these two elements making up the whole, in the same way as body and soul together are part of every human being and as a person one is both Catholic and Spanish.[9]

According to the SF, the ideal Spanish woman must also be Catholic. Indeed, the "perfect woman" as described by Francoist ideology was a dedicated and submissive wife, educated in the

Catholic faith.[10] The SF's commitment to Catholicism explains the subordinate role they assigned to women in their ideology; many of their reasons for this position were related to Catholic beliefs.[11] The use of Catholicism in SF doctrine, furthermore, provided moral endorsement for their ideals, though the SF often promoted more modernist ideologies than the Church. With the help of the Church, the SF was able to educate girls separate from boys, giving them the ability to cater girls' education to their ideals for women.[12] The SF formed the ideal female figure in accordance with Catholic education, forging together the SF's nationalist agenda and the promotion of Catholic identity. On the topic of education, Pilar (Primo de Rivera) declared, "We will teach women to take care of their children because it is unforgivable that so many children should die because of the ignorance of their mothers; Children that are God's servants and future Spanish soldiers."[13] Not only was the SF's ideal female figure supported by the Nationalist government but because their ideologies were reflective of Catholic conservatism, their rhetoric further permeated Spain's social systems.

The realities of Francoist Spain and the rhetoric of the SF, however, were contrasted one another. Spain underwent massive social and ideological changes after the end of the Civil War in 1939. The regime's attempt to eliminate the country of liberal ideologies and Republican supporters both legally and forcefully caused wartime repression to continue until Franco's death in November of 1975. As a result, a culture of fear and seclusion was evident throughout the regime as Spaniards avoided interacting with politics in order to save themselves from the possibility of violent repression.[14] As the economic practice of autarky did little to eliminate famine or repair the economy, the war continued to affect citizens throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s. Women were needed in the workforce in order to feed their families. At the same time, however, the government and the SF passed legislature that discouraged women from working outside the home in order to promote their conservative ideals.[15]

Famine and poverty were blamed on the immorality of liberalism, meaning the government did little to pass legislature to alleviate its citizens' misfortunes. In addition, the problems of those who suffered the most from hunger and poverty (usually former Republicans) were blamed on individuals for acting immorally.[16] The massacre by the Nationalists against republicans at Badajoz in 1936, for example, created an influx of widows without any source of welfare, and many of them resorted to prostitution. The SF deemed these widows morally corrupt without recognizing the fault of the Nationalist government in the matter. To this day, pro-Francoists deny that the massacre occurred.[17] Spaniards felt isolated from their government and the rest of the country as they were forced to deal individually with the misfortunes of authoritarianism. Limited by poverty, famine, and a culture of fear, women were often unable or unwilling to form their identity to that of the SF's ideal.

The ideals of the SF were not only state rhetoric to which women could aspire, but were directly taught to all women through the channels of education and media. The SF was the most intrusive group in women's lives throughout the Francoist regime.[18] They believed that all women could become the ideal nationalist woman. The SF had the most influence over women's primary education, and created a curriculum that taught them specific skills related to wifedom and motherhood. Outside of primary education, women were required to complete the *Servicio Sociale*, or Volunteer Service, especially if they wanted a passport, driver's license, or to work in the public sector. This volunteer Service was a mandatory six month, unpaid program in which participants worked in hospitals, schools, orphanages, and food kitchens, and more importantly were instructed in Nationalist politics. These women learned specific ways of performing certain tasks like cleaning and child-rearing that were associated with being a wife and mother, as opposed to following local/regional traditions. For example, the SF encouraged women to go to a doctor and not a local woman when seeking maternity

care. In this way, the organization intended to create a nationalized female identity by distancing women from their traditional, regional practices.[19] The SF continued to promote its domestic training through radio and magazines. The two most famous women's magazines in Francoist Spain, *Medina* and *Y*, instructed women in various domestic tasks such as dressing their child for first communion, and reminded them of their position as support for the Patria. These ideals of the SF were not only a fantasy of the upper classes; women from all socioeconomic classes were specifically taught how to identify with them, and were expected to express the SF's teachings in their roles as women of the Patria.

Becoming Female

The Civil War had an immense impact on the formation of Spanish female identity. For most Spaniards, memories of the war were painful. Martin Gaite's work, *The Back Room*, is an exploration of her memories and identity having grown up during the Civil War and later under the Franco regime. Her memories of the war were often distorted; when remembered all at once, they were painful.[20] Martín Gaite likened her memory of the war as if it existed in the back room of her mind, hidden and jumbled yet ever present. She wrote that her grandmother and mother had spent much time in the back rooms of her childhood home, hinting at a continuation of the war's effect on women.[21] This is also the case in Laforet and Matute's works, in which their main characters' identities are affected by continued consequences of the war. Famine, poverty, repression, and the rise of conservative policies continued after the end of the war and became the daily realities of many Spanish women and girls living under Franco's regime. They affected how the war was remembered, how women responded to post-war educational and religious programs, and how receptive women were to the ideals propagated by the SF. This section will explore how these realities of Francoist Spain and the ideals of the SF affected the formation of Spanish women's identities.

Despite the SF's nationalistic rhetoric, the Spanish Civil War created a culture of distrust among Spaniards. Distrust is a reappearing theme in Matute's *Fireflies* and Laforet's *Nada*. Sol, the main character of *Fireflies* and a youth during the Civil War, realizes throughout the work that people cannot be trusted to help one another. Because her father died and her mother could not work, Sol was starving. When she asks Cloti, a teenage refugee, to help her find a job, Cloti warns, "trust no one. Everybody will always try to bamboozle you."[22] Sol first learned this lesson with her boss, who was sexually inappropriate with her. Later, the "friends" of her brother were continually unreliable. They, like Sol, were starving. Famine was a continuous issue in Spain as Franco's policy of autarky prevented Spaniards from obtaining imported foods and materials. This culture of distrust had already affected *Nada*'s main character, Andrea, when she arrived in Barcelona in the 1940s to live with her aunts and uncles. Andrea was introverted and had only one continuous friend, Ena. This friendship, though, was easily disturbed by Andrea's reluctance to share information about her life, and by her assumption that her friendship with Ena would end sometime in the future. Her family, though individually unreliable, was a source of continuity in her life. Cazorla Sanchez wrote that the most decisive tool to surviving autarky and famine was family.[23] When Andrea's Grandmother suspected Gloria was pregnant, she reluctantly told Andrea, stating that before the war she would not have told her, but since the war, she was unsure of who she could trust.[24] The Civil War and the resulting famine caused women to be distrustful toward others outside of their immediate families, an attitude that was not consistent with the SF's nationalistic agenda.

The Spanish Civil War was also a turning point for female ideals regarding social rhetoric. The Second Republic was the most liberal period in Spanish history.[25] During this time, women were allowed to vote and gain political positions, to divorce, and to have abortions. After Franco's victory, feminism

and egalitarian reforms were attributed to moral decay, the corruption of women, and denial of their 'natural' mandate as mothers.[26] Immediately after the war, all liberal rights were revoked, forcing women to form their identities within a conservative society in which they had few rights. The works of Martín Gaite and Matute show a connection between this drastic change in the perception of women and how women formed their identity. In *The Back Room*, Martín Gaite wrote that as a child during the Civil War she had been bold and rebellious, but after the war she became silent due to fear.[27] In *The Trap*, Matia, the main character of the work, admitted, "In the first years, my character was undisciplined and rebellious; but in my second school (where I was a boarder as soon as the war was over) I changed completely… I became a respective, timid adolescent."[28] The premise of the work, which is a diary of the main character, is to tell her story after years of personal silence. As an adult, she able to recognize how drastically the results of the war had affected the formation of her identity as she was forced to grow up in the Franco regime. As liberal ideologies were replaced by conservative ideologies, female identities shifted from bold to silent in response.

Post-war repression had an immense effect on the lives of Spaniards. Immediately after the war, 50,000 people were executed for having ties to the Republican army. By 1960, The total number of people killed by the Francoist government was 200,000.[29] Repression was used as a mode of enforcing political dominance and recreating Spanish identity under Franco's conservative and nationalist rhetoric. Prisons, especially women's prisons, were full of people who had ties to the Republican army or expressed beliefs in liberal ideology. It was in this ideological repression that the SF began their first school. Held in a women's prison, the SF taught religion, politics, and specific ways of doing domestic work.[30] Women who went through the one-year program were released, though they would continue to be repressed throughout the regime. All persons associated with the Republicans were subjected to limitations, such as lack of access to aid

or jobs. The culture of submissiveness to Franco's rule was apparent across society. For example, at the cinema, the audience had to clap when Franco appeared on the screen.[31] Any action that could be construed to be anti-Franco could be met with violence. As a result of repression and the promotion of only one ideology and way of life, Spaniards were forced to suppress their opinions, questions, and memories. Martín Gaite, in her work, reminded herself twice not to think of what happened to her uncle.[32] Evidently, Spaniards decided it was better to give up their freedoms by remaining silent in order to maintain peace.

Given the population's political silence, it is not surprising that the topics of patriotism and nationalism are not widely discussed in the works analyzed. Only Matute's work directly addresses the topic of nationalism during the Regime. Isa did not love her country, and believed it was "fervently ignorant" though she still felt connected to it. Further, she believed that women did not have a role in society in which they could promote the Patria. Despite the SF's assurances that subordination within the private sphere was beneficial to Spain, Isa did not consider it to be true. She thought, "Solitude and ignorance are [Spain's] natural patrimony."[33] Matute's work illustrates that nationalism, and women's roles as supporters of the Patria were unrealistic ideals that did not reflect the culture of repression that was so prevalent throughout the regime.

Education was an important element in the creation of a national female identity. From the beginning of the regime, Pilar had emphasized the Catholic belief that in order for women to learn their proper roles as a wife and mother, their education should be separate from men's. Almost immediately after the Nationalist victory, boys and girls were separated in primary schools in order to receive gender appropriate education. All subjects from history to physical education were designed to train young girls to one day become good wives and mothers. The SF believed that education was essential for women in order for them to perform their nationalist duties to educate their children

and to provide suitable companionship to their spouses.[34] They believed that literate mothers were more likely to bear healthier children than illiterate mothers. Education was thought to be so imperative that a woman who was lacking in femininity could regain proper character through education.[35] The SF encouraged parents to enroll their children in schools, and they were successful in increasing the student population, though the percentage still remained low. Education became one of the greatest sources for the SF to promote Catholicism and nationalism as part of the ideal female figure.

University education had a more noticeable impact on the formation of individual female identity. Like primary education, the main goal of the Spanish university was to instill morality and patriotism, reinforcing the ideals of conservatism and Catholicism.[36] Unlike primary education, university was not separated by sex. At first glance this would appear to make higher education less gender biased, but, in reality, women were strongly encouraged to enroll in certain subjects such as letters or nursing, as they were believed to be the most suitable for educating future wives and mothers. These courses were not useful in attaining most career paths available to men. This discrepancy between the value of women's and men's education is noticeable in the literature. *Nada*'s main character, Andrea, moved to Barcelona to go to university and study letters. Throughout the work Andrea mentions that she has to finish translations from ancient Greek and Latin. Later in the work, she is asked by a classmate what she plans on doing with her degree. Andrea realizes that her degree is only beneficial to becoming a teacher or a wife, two vocations she has no desire to pursue.[37] There were few academic options open to women that would allow for a public career path. Translating texts from ancient languages would have been a normal coursework for women but was only useful in attaining a secretarial position. Andrea's character illustrates a lack of fulfillment from education as it was designed in order for individuals to identify with conservative ideology and not to prepare them for a public

role in Spanish society.

Despite the importance of Catholicism to the state and everyday functions, people's individual relationships with religion were a point of contention. The Catholic church was one of the most powerful entities in Spain.As the moral force behind the Franco regime, the church had legal control over education and marriage. Catholicism touched every aspect of a woman's life from birth to death. Despite the church's position, many women were not firm in their faith. In these authors' works, the main characters question their faith, and realize throughout the book that they do not believe in God. In *Fireflies*, when Sol is a child, she has questions about Catholic doctrine. She identifies her questioning as making her different from her mother and brother who first seem to be firm in their beliefs. When she questions a nun at her school about theology, the nun is quick to dismiss her to the point of saying her questions were heretical.[38] Left with unanswered questions, Sol no longer identifies herself as Catholic nor believes in God. Regardless, she is forced to continue her Catholic education. During the Regime, Catholicism became more of a tradition than a faith for many women. In *Nada*, Andrea associates going to mass as a task she did with her Aunt Angustias.[39] Once her Aunt joined a convent, Andrea ceased going to mass. The character's lack of association with Catholicism attests to a lack of receptiveness to the SF's ideals.

Despite the invasiveness of the SF's ideals in Spanish society, the authors ascribe a counter attitude to their characters with which they more closely identify. Historian Inbal Ofer noted that almost all of the SF's texts included feminine traits such as "*carihosa* (affectionate), *compasiva* (compassionate), *abnegada* (self-sacrificing) and *graciosa* (gracious), as well as other less gender-specific traits such as *animada* (animated), *disciplinada* (disciplined) and *tranqiula* (tranquil)."[40] None of the female protagonists use this rhetoric when referring to themselves or other women like them. In *The Trap*, Isa confesses that "selfishness, lack of understanding, and solitude are still... the common and

vulgar experience of women like me."[41] Later, she recollects the memory of leaving her hometown after the unpleasant ending of a romantic relationship. She realizes then that her "true force of will" had been suffocated "because a girl must appear submissive and sweet, although she is not sweet, but caustic."[42] Martín Gaite also believed that these feminine traits were emotionally stifling and that she did not identify with them. Her work is the latest of the works and reflects the greatly changing culture of Spain as consumerism and contact with Europe began to modernize Spanish culture. Though the culture still remained largely traditional, standards for women were beginning to loosen.[43] She was willing to admit to a near stranger that she didn't have the right makings of a wife and mother according to the standards of the SF.[44] Though Martín Gaite is more prideful of her non-conformity than Matute's character, she still harbored a sense of bitterness. In the text, she imagines a mirror image of herself as an eighteen-year-old saying to her as she held a rag in her hand, "well I never thought I'd see you do that," to which Martín Gaite replied, "I haven't let myself be brainwashed."[45]

Monument to Carmen Martín Gaite in Salamanca

Becoming a Wife

Through childhood and adolescence, women were encouraged to become wives and to perform specified duties assigned to that role. Marriage, an institution which led to the procreation of children essential to the well-being of the Patria, was encouraged by both the state and the church. In the Nationalist context, marriage was more than the primary unit of the State, it was a natural institution that went beyond the boundaries of human law.[46] In the religious context, marriage represented the ultimate goal for a Christian woman, allowing her to accomplish motherhood.[47] In the SF's view, all women worked for the state through their domestic duties as a wife.[48] The SF promoted a specific gender dynamic in marriage in which women took the subordinate role. Instructional guides written by the SF described domestic labor as essential to being a good wife. A guide book published for their Volunteer Service school instructed that women should be happy performing domestic chores because that is what made a husband happy. The guide book further promoted subordination in the ideal wife figure by instructing that they remain silent though they may have many things to say because to listen to her husband, and to record what he says, is essential to a happy marriage.[49] Being a wife was a job in itself, and it is not surprising that marriage was meant to be the sole work for women. This further perpetuated the conservative ideal in which the men were the sole financial providers of the family unit, and women were to play the supportive role at home. This section will explore the extent to which women identified with the SF's ideal wife figure and its effect on their role as a wife.

Whether a wife was able to forfeit external work after marriage or not, the notion of the ideal woman remaining only in the domestic sphere had an effect on her identity. The SF and government programs attempted to make it more economically viable for married couples to only rely on the man's salary through subsidizing his wages.[50] Despite the fact that education for women and mandatory volunteer service was designed to reflect the

SF's belief of female domesticity, due to the economic realities of Spain, many women worked outside the home. As consumerism became part of the dominant culture in the 1950s and 1960s, the SF was forced to acknowledge the desire of women to make money, and in 1961, it was the major force behind the passing of the "Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women." If women wanted to work, the SF made sure that they would have equal rights in the workforce.[51] The SF continued to promote their ideals of domesticity. Idealistically, wives were only supposed to work if absolutely necessary and only for the benefit of the family unit, meaning that it should not be to advance a wife's individual career but only as a short-term necessity.[52] In *The Back Room*, Martín Gaite explored the contradiction between the SF's ideal and reality. A founding member of her university's first female literary review, she desired a self-fulfilling career as a writer.[53] She achieves this for herself, but throughout her work she is reminded of the domestic position she was supposed to have.[54] The contradiction existed in her understanding of who she was as a writer. For women who continued to work, the ideals of the SF become points of contention within their identity as a worker.

In the works analyzed, none of the female protagonists who are married reflect the ideologies of the SF's ideal wife character. As discussed, being a wife was one of the greatest female identities as it "naturally" leads to motherhood. The SF promoted the duties of being a wife, such as cleaning and rearing children, as leisurely activities that make women and their families happy when done properly. Historian Richard Hudson notes that because the SF attempted to encourage housework as a leisurely activity (images beside domestic instructional guides show women smiling) strongly implies that women did not actually enjoy doing it.[55] In *Nada*, Ena's mother, Margarita, feels unfulfilled in her marriage. As a woman of the upper-middle class, Margarita is expected to become a wife, but in marriage she does not feel in love with her spouse nor is she happy.[56] She recognizes that she is supposed to feel happy in maintaining the house and noted that

her husband, so long as the house was clean, did not understand why their relationship was not loving. The birth of Ena causes her emotional suffering as she believes that one day her daughter will also be unfulfilled in marriage.[57] It is not until she realizes that happiness is not dependent on her role as a wife that she becomes happy. Other women not born in the upper class were still exposed to the SF's ideal wife figure through the Volunteer Service schools. Matute, a woman from the middle class, knew before she was married that she would not be a good wife or mother by the standards of the SF because she had failed the Volunteer Service school.[58] Regardless, her marriage had been fulfilling. To act in defiance of the SF's instructions for wifedom, that cleaning and subordination meant a happy marriage, became a large part of Matute's identity. Both Laforet and Matute show that despite the SF's attempt to train women to be their ideal wife figure, women did not always accept it.

Ena's Mother's confession to Andrea is also important as Laforet shows that young women were aware that SF's ideal wife figure was not naturally fulfilling to women. Upon hearing Margarita's confession, Andrea, whose experience with courting had been ended because Pons' social class was higher than her own, would have been further influenced to believe that marriage was not as naturally fulfilling as she was supposed to believe. Though the ideal wife was an image that was promoted in many modes, unmarried girls would learn from married women like Ena's mother that cooking, cleaning, and childrearing were not what made a woman happy, nor did it improve the love between husband and wife. Therefore, though unmarried girls were aware of the ideal wife figure, they did not always form their own identity as a future wife to this ideal.

Conservative marriage laws restricted the ability of women to become a wife. During the Second republic, marriage could be obtained legally through the state without the consent of a Priest. Divorce was also legalized. After Franco's victory, marriage was only attainable through the church and divorce once

again became illegal. Further, the law stipulated that any marriage not officiated by a priest was illegitimate. The passing of this law created much social chaos. Overnight, thousands of children and marriages became illegitimate, and any divorces made were considered illegal. To make matters more complicated, some priests refused to ordain state officiated marriages because by the church's standards the couple had been living in sin.[59] This chaos put women, especially, in difficult positions as most of their social worth was in the success of their family unit. In *Nada*, Aunt Angustias represents the female character who wishes to uphold the SF's rhetoric as a wife, but is unable due to the marriage laws. The man she desires to marry is already bound in marriage to another woman, though it is understood that he also wished to marry her. Aunt Angustias tells Andrea that there are only two honorable choices for women: marriage or the convent.[60] As an unmarried woman of middle age, Aunt Angustias was unlikely to become a wife. Because she is unable to fulfill the role of an ideal woman, though she desired to do so, she decided it is better for her to leave society rather than exist in a state of social limbo. Laforet brought attention to the contradictions between legal realities and ideals that greatly affected the ability of women to form their identity as they desired though Aunt Angustias' tragedy.

Spain's culture of female subordination, exacerbated by the rhetoric of the SF and culture of machismo, was greatly influential to the formation of female identity. For some women, the culture of female subordination resulted in unhappy and even violent marriages. In *Nada*, Gloria is often verbally and physically assaulted by her husband, Juan. Unfortunately, most of the family do not try to relieve Gloria's situation directly. Only Gloria's sister wants to help her, but Gloria has to be careful not to accept too much financial help or else anger Juan who desires to be the only financial provider for Gloria and their son. The culture of machismo promoted men to be the only financial provider. When she is caught accepting help, Juan reacts violently. The family is sympathetic to Juan's financial issues and tends to make

life easier for him in order to appease his emotional instability. The domestic abuse is never addressed by members of the family. Andrea ignores it as one of the unpleasant realities of her family life, and helps only when Juan is especially violent toward Gloria. Through Gloria's experience Andrea learns to accept it as a reality of life. Gloria tells her, "you know I can't live here? I can't… He'll kill me."[61] Later, Andrea sees them consoling each other after Román's suicide, and thinks that their story might have been beautiful but that only happened in novels, in real life everything "is ruined by the living."[62] Andrea could not believe that Gloria would leave or the cycle of violence end. Instead, Gloria and Andrea were forced to make decisions around a possibility of being abused because of their subordinate role in society.

The relationship between Gloria and other members of the family further attests to Carmen Laforet's awareness of women's suffering due to society's reluctance to acknowledge the failure of encouraging female subordination. Compared to Gloria, Andrea's other aunts are images of ideal Spanish wives. Their husbands have good jobs, they live in nice accommodations, and have a few children each. Like Aunt Agustina, they are likely in social circles that chat about what is decent or indecent of other women. As discussed, Spanish culture was unaccepting of women who were sexually active outside marriage and believed that sexual immorality was the cause of unhappy marriages. Throughout the work, Aunt Agustina, Román, and the other aunts often accuse Gloria of sexual immorality. On various occasions Román hints that she wanted to have sex with him. No family member rejects Román because he is believed to be sexually active outside marriage. The family blames Gloria's situation on her supposed sexual immorality. As the work progresses, the reader learns that they were incorrect accusations. Gloria has to be secretive about where she goes in the middle of the night because she is visiting her sister who is providing them with financial support. Her sister assures Juan one night that men had propositioned her at the bar but Gloria always refused.[63] Gloria admits to Andrea that it

is Román who was trying to coerce her into sex with him.[64] The aunts' refusal to acknowledge a greater issue causing domestic abuse is representative of Spanish society's system of continually encouraging female subordination. Ideally, if Gloria ceased her sexual immorality, as Andrea's aunts believed, then her situation would have been resolved. Unfortunately, Laforet's focus on this injustice shows that some women would continue to suffer alone as a result of this ideal.

Becoming a Mother

As part of the national effort to increase the Spanish population, the SF strongly encouraged women to be mothers. Both religious and nationalistic rhetoric were endorsed by the government and the SF to unite women under a common female destiny due to their reproductive capabilities.[65] Motherhood was part of a woman's national duty, and the relationship between being a mother and being an active player in promoting the wellbeing of the Patria were closely related. The ideal mother was one who would have many children, provide them with a holistically clean home, and teach them Catholicism so that they may become proper Spaniards in the standards of Francoist Spain and the SF.[66] In the repressions and social disorder of Francoist Spain, the extent to which women were able to uphold this ideal is questionable. Very little academic discussion has been provided in English about whether women felt they had internalized the SF's ideal motherly figure. The topic of motherhood has been addressed in the works of these authors as being a point of internal strife for the mother characters as they were both aware of nationalist ideals and struggled with social realities. This section will analyze fictional mother characters as well as the results of prenatal policies to argue that women were largely unreceptive to the SF's idealized mother and the government's attempts to increase the birth of children.

The mother characters in Laforet and Matute's works do not identify themselves as mothers. In *Nada*, the mother of Ena

recounted that she did not have the desire to be a mother. She admits, "When Ena was born, I didn't love her… I hadn't wanted her."[67] As discussed, her marriage was unhappy and she felt as though she was not in a position in which she could be happiest. Motherhood, the "natural" progression of marriage, was to her "another of life's brutalities added on to the many others [she]'d had to endure."[68] In the years following, she grew to enjoy motherhood, though she was motivated neither by a love for the Patria nor an identification with the maternal role. Instead, Ena reveals to her the best qualities in herself and her husband, repairs their marriage, and encourages her to have more children. But still she does not feel that she, "dissatisfied and egotistical," was a natural motherly figure.[69] Matute also echoes this lack of identification as a mother. It is known throughout *The Trap* that her main character, a close representation of herself, is distant both physically and emotionally from her child, and by the end, their relationship is even more strained. Speaking through the voice of her main character, Matia, she wrote, "[My son] knows that I cannot behave like mothers usually do. (I shall not say good mother because that definition turns out to be too compromising for me)."[70] For Matute, to be a good mother is too complicated an ideal for her character to uphold. Laforet and Matute's works indicate a sense of inability for women to be idealistic mothers, not only that which the SF promoted, but also the ability to love their children as they believe a mother is supposed to love her child.

It is important to note that the tone in which both characters spoke is confessional. Confession implies that the individual has done something they felt was wrong or against what was expected of them. Ena's mother admits to Andrea her personal turmoil about motherhood in a way that made Andrea feel like she was hearing a deeply personal secret.[71] It is not hard to imagine the difficulty it would have been for Margarita to admit she had not loved her child even in today's standards. Despite state sponsored programs to increase procreation and encouragement

from the SF, Margarita did not desire motherhood because the role was unfulfilling to her. She believes that she is not acting as a mother should, and therefore can not identity as one. In *The Trap*, the physical and emotional separation between Matia and her child was due to the Civil War. Her husband left to fight for the Republicans, and she, a woman who was not able to be self-supportive, especially as she was not applicable to subsidies given to Nationalist women, allows her child to be raised by relatives throughout his life. Matia confesses to herself that she can not be a "good mother" after she left him with more distant relatives. Laforet and Matute's characters built their understanding of what a motherly figure should be based on the ideal of the SF, but, forced to deal with the realities of Francoist Spain, they did not feel they could identify as a mother.

Many women were fearful of ever becoming mothers due to the social and political landscape, and practiced birth control or resorted to abortion. After years of pre-Civil War social reform that allowed access to birth control, women of the Francoist age did not want to devote their entire life to bearing children. They did not feel it was their duty despite rhetoric that promoted it.[72] Despite governmental attempts to limit access to birth control and the illegalization of abortion, both practices continued. By the 1960s women were known to openly ask for an abortion, but in the years following the war, legal repression caused birth control and abortion to be crude ordeals. Historian Antonio Cazorla Sánchez argues that abortions may have killed an average of one percent of the female population.[73] His numbers of recorded deaths as a result of abortion highlight the desperation of women to avoid having a child and, by default, become a mother. The works of Matute and Laforet explore the position of would-be mothers as they struggled with repression, famine and abuse, and, as a result, did not desire to be mothers.

Laforet and Matute would-be mother characters, Gloria and Cloti, display an aversion to motherhood due to their social position. In *Nada*, Gloria, who was already the mother of one

child, is fearful and upset when she believes that she may be pregnant.[74] Though it turns out she is wrong, her open aversion to another pregnancy is cause for alarm. She, her husband and child are starving during the years of famine after the war, and they do not have access to proper sanitation. She is also unsafe due to domestic abuse. Though set during the Civil War in Madrid, Cloti's position as a refugee is still reflective of many lower class families who suffered from famine and poverty during the immediate post-war years. When she becomes pregnant out of wedlock, she is not in any position to support a child. Further, the father refused to accept the child.[75] She decides that she is going to ask an old lady to perform an abortion despite remembering a local girl who died screaming in blood as a result of an abortion. After Sol asks her whether she could love the baby, Cloti replies, "I cannot love him. I cannot, it is impossible for me."[76] Given their situation, neither Gloria or Cloti are able to be the idealized version of motherhood well known to Laforet and Matute. As a result, the characters reveal an aversion to being a mother, and in this aversion they do not desire to identify as the idealized mother.

Ana Maria Matute in 2010

It is unsurprising given these characters' lack of identification with and aversion toward motherhood that the Francoist government and the SF's attempts to increase birth rates were largely unsuccessful. There were many prenatal policies during the Franco regime, and yet, the fertility index of Spain was steadily below that which it had been before the Civil War (from 4.13 in 1922 to no greater than 2.97 through 1965).[77] The family subsidizing policies of the government were provided through the father's paycheck. This was part of the machismo culture, as by giving the money directly to the head of the household the government furthered his economic claim on the family. The autonomy of the mother was not recognized. The social program, *Plus de Cargas Familiares*, would cease to give money to the father if the mother began working.[78] Further, the socio-economic reasons for Spain's poor fertility rate were blamed on theories of moral decadence, religious decline and moral apathy.[79] Though the SF also greatly stressed proper hygiene, because women's access to this was often limited, it seems not to have greatly increased fertility rates. These failed family social programs have lead historian Mary Nash to claim, "There is no evidence that suggest that women unquestioningly accepted their biological destiny according to the norms of the regime or that they identified with the ideological implications of the prenatal policies of the 'New State.'"[80] Because these programs failed to acknowledge female autonomy in bearing children and socio-economic realities, it would have been difficult for many women, especially women in nontraditional positions, to feel that they could have been "good" mothers in their social situations.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

This paper has explored the extent to which the *Sección Feminina* and the realities of Francoist Spain had an effect on the formation of Spanish female identity through the works of Matute, Laforet, and Martín Gaite. Their works have indicated that though the SF had a great effect on the formation of female iden-

tity, women build their identity in contradiction to it, either willingly or unwillingly. Repressions of the authoritarian regime created a culture of fear and political silence that was contradictory to the SF's nationalist woman whose identity was formed in her desire to promote the Patria. Though education and mandatory Volunteer Schools were structured to make all women become ideal wives and mothers, famine and poverty were major deterrents to accomplishing this ideal. For those who became wives, many did not feel fulfilled in the prescribed submissive role, and, therefore, they did not identify as the ideal wife figure. In light of their unhappiness as wives, women did not feel they were able to become a "good" mother as they had understood through the SF's influence. The government, acting in accordance with conservative ideologies and failure to aid famine and poverty, further deterred motherhood. Overall, the works of Matute, Laforet, and Martín Gaite have revealed that despite the intrusion of the SF's ideals into women's lives, most women were either unwilling or unable to identify as the ideal female figure.

Notes

[1] Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (London: Routledge, 2003), 102.

[2] The Premio Nadal is the major Spanish literary award that has been given every year since 1944.

[3] Mercedes Carbayo Abengozar, "Shaping Women: National Identity Through the Use of Language in Franco's Spain," *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no. 1 (2001): 79.

[4] Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 9.

[5] Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 25.

[6] Translation by Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 25.

[7] Richard Hudson, "Women Want to Work," *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 2 (2015): 92.

[8] Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 53.

[9] Pilar Prima di Rivera (1907-1991) was the daughter of Spanish dictator General Miguel Primo de Rivera and the sister of Jose Primo de Rivera who was a founder of the Falangists. She dedicated her life to public service through the SF and was the prevailing advocate of the SF's control over women given her family position and political spirit. Following her own advice, she never married, choosing instead to devote herself to the Nationalist cause.
Pilar's speech at the 1942 SF national conference, in Primo de Rivera, Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera, p. 5.

[10] Mary Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 160-177 in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s* (London: Routledge, 1991), 161.

[11] Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 9.

[12] Ibid., 44.

[13] Pilar Prima De Revera, Speech at the Castle of La Mota, trans. in Carbayo Abengozar, "Shaping Women," 81.

[14] Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975* (Chichester, U.K. : Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 33.

[15] Mary Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain."
Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 38.

[16] Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 165.

[17] Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 36.

[18] Carbayo Abengozar, "Shaping Women," 90.

[19] Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 20.

[20] Carmen Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 64.

[21] Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 85.

[22] Ana María Matute, *Fireflies*, trans. Glafyra Ennis, in *Catalan Studies*, vol. 21 (New York: P. Lang, 1998), 88.

[23] Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 70.

[24] Carmen Laforet, *Nada*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: Modern Library, 2008), 83.

[25] The Second Republic (Segunda República) was Spain's second attempt to form a democracy. Lasting only between 1931 and 1939, the government passed a series of laws, including depleting the role of the church in public institutions, allowing access to birth control and abortion, and allowing divorce, which were considered quite liberal by European standards at that time. The Nationalist invasion in 1936, which began the Civil War, was a stark counter-narrative to the Republican government's liberal policies.

[26] Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 161.

[27] Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 51.

[28] Ana María Matute, *The Trap*, trans. Robert Nugent and María José de la Cámara (Pittsburgh, PA: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1996), 30.

[29] Cazorla Sánchez, Fear and Progress, 20.

[30] Richmond, Women and Spanish Fascism, 15-16.

[31] Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 30.

[32] Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 51, 110.

[33] Ibid., 48.

[34] Hudson, "Women Want to Work," 91.

[35] Inbal Ofer, "Historical Methods, Contemporary Identities: The Sección Femenina of the Spanish Falange and Its Redefinition of the Term 'Femininity,'" *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 4 (2005): 673.

[36] Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 80.

[37] Laforet, *Nada*, 153.

[38] Matute, *Fireflies*, 16.

[39] Laforet, *Nada*, 21.

[40] Ofer, "Historical Methods, Contemporary Identities: The Sección Femenina of the Spanish Falange and Its Redefinition of the Term 'Femininity,'" 672.

[41] Matute, *The Trap*, 123.

[42] Ibid., 123.

[43] Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 142.

[44] Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 36.

[45] Ibid., 68.

[46] Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 170.

[47] Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 38, 89.

[48] Hudson, "Women Want to Work," 89.

[49] This comes from the "Good Wives Guide," which was handed out at the

Volunteer Service schools in the 1950s, http://baro-ciberespacio.over-blog.com/article-la-seccion-femenina-y-el-servicio-social-de-la-mujer-109965599.html.

50 Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain."

51 Hudson, "Women Want to Work," 100.

52 Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 22.

53 Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 87.

54 Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 68.

55 Hudson, "Women Want to Work," 92.

56 Laforet, *Nada*, 196.

57 Ibid., 197.

58 Martín Gaite, *The Back Room*, 36.

59 Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 92.

60 Laforet, *Nada*, 79.

61 Ibid., 202.

62 Ibid., 206.

63 Ibid., 204.

64 Laforet, *Nada*, 208.

65 Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 160.

66 Carbayo Abengozar, "Shaping Women," 82.

67 Laforet, *Nada*, 196.

68 Ibid., 196.

69 Ibid., 198.

70 Matute, *The Trap*, 64.

71 Laforet, *Nada*, 198.

72 Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 168.

73 Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 171.

74 Laforet, *Nada*, 83.

75 Matute, *Fireflies*, 90.

76 Ibid., 91.

77 Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 164.

78 Ibid., 172.

79 Ibid., 165.

80 Ibid., 174.

<u>Images</u>

Page 77: "Portrait, Carmen Laforet," originalul uploaded to Wikipedia on April 26, 2016, accessed on May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_Carmen_Laforet.jpg.

Page 86: "Salamanca - Monumento a Carmen Martin Gaite," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on January 5, 2010, accessed on May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salamanca_-_Monumento_a_Carmen_Martin_Gaite_(plaza_de_los_Bandos).jpg.

Page 95: "Anna Maria Matute," originally uploaded to Flickr by Pablo A. Mendivil on April 8, 2010, accessed on May 7, 2019 via Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/vladek/4504471173.

Defecting to the Land of Sweets: Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* as Anti-Soviet Statement

Lizzie Johnson (The College of William and Mary)

The 1977 film version of Mikhail Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker*, a lavish but altogether darker look at Russia's most famous ballet, is an overlooked cultural artifact of the Cold War. Staged just two years after his defection, *The Nutcracker* was Baryshnikov's experiment in complete creative freedom, challenging Russian ballet in front of an American audience. His psychological interpretation of the famous piece, which has roots in the work of shunned Soviet choreographers like Alexander Gorsky, Fyodor Lopukhov, and Leonid Yakobson, but also appealed to his own notions of drama and sexuality, was a dialogue with Soviet ballet through the accessible medium of American television.[1] However, notions of Russianness, celebrity, and the mythic status of Soviet defectors have obscured the value of this version of *The Nutcracker* in dance and Cold War scholarship. This paper will discuss Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* as an artistic rejection of socialist realism through dance, and will establish the film's merit as a piece of Cold War media and *Nutcracker* canon.

The lack of scholarly attention paid to Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* is surprising, especially considering the growing amount of scholarship in dance as Cold War culture since the 2000s. Fortunately, a firm foundation has been built by the research of Catherine Kodat, David Caute, Christina Ezrahi, and Janice Ross. With their help, I have read this version historically, placing it in the context of Baryshnikov's highly publicized defection, contrasting it with previous productions, and decoding the anti-Soviet sentiments within. I argue that defection was both a catalyst and a theme of Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker*, and through a close reading of the film, explore the idea of Baryshnikov's Clara

as a defector figure and a reference to the apolitical pre-Soviet ballerina. Perceptions of Baryshnikov as a defector also clearly shaped how American dance critics viewed this *Nutcracker*, and how Baryshnikov presented himself to the world. For those who grew up watching it during the Cold War, this *Nutcracker* is primarily an encapsulation of a tumultuous time, now tinged with nostalgia. Baryshnikov's version feels firmly rooted in the past, though in which past is sometimes hard to tell. Besides the stylistic choices and political context of the late seventies, it is also a product of the surprisingly complicated history of *The Nutcracker*, and perhaps even the posthumous influences of past Soviet choreographers Lopukhov, Vainonen, and Yakobson on Mikhail Baryshnikov.

The story of Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* really begins with his defection to Canada in 1974, the media coverage of which was second only to Rudolf Nureyev's in 1961. After dancing the final night of a tour with the Bolshoi ("on loan" from the Kirov), Baryshnikov slipped away during the curtain call, into a getaway car, and escaped to a farmhouse in Canada.[2] "[The Bolshoi] took me to that tour with the understanding and assurance that I would behave," Baryshnikov joked in a 2013 interview, "and I didn't."[3] Baryshnikov admitted, however, that his decision was the result of only "a couple of days" of planning.[4] "When I was in Toronto, I finally decided that if I let the opportunity of expanding my art in the West slip by, it would haunt me always," he told *The New York Times* in 1974, just days after defecting. Shortly afterward, Baryshnikov was offered a place at the American Ballet Theatre in New York City. Like other defectors before him, Baryshnikov framed his decision as "an artistic choice, not a political one."[5] Yet, with the ballet world at his beck and call, and complete creative control—in short, all the artistic freedom he could want—Baryshnikov chose *The Nutcracker* as his first choreographic project. This ballet, highly familiar to American audiences yet still undeniably Russian, provided Baryshnikov with both a perfect template for creative dialogue, and a guaranteed Western

audience for it. To fully understand Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* as a piece of Cold War media, however, we must first take a critical look at the staging as it appeared on television in 1978.
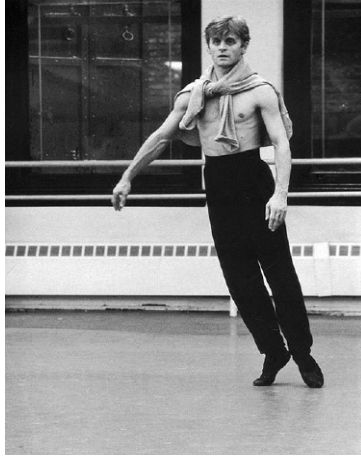
Mikhail Baryshnikov

Though Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* has been noted for its "boldly revised" plot and sexual subtext, Act I of this version is very similar to the original.[6] Clara (Gelsey Kirkland), an adolescent in this version, is given a nutcracker by her godfather Drosselmeyer (Alexander Minz) on Christmas Eve. The Nutcracker transforms into a Prince (Mikhail Baryshnikov) and spirits Clara away in a sleigh after she helps him defeat the Mouse King. In Act II, Clara is welcomed to the Land of Sweets, and she and the Prince watch performances in her honor. It is at this point that the ballet shifts from a tale of childhood Christmas to a coming-of-age story.

Baryshnikov made several critical cuts to the Land of Sweets dances, including the Arabian or Coffee dance, which is defined by its exoticism and sensuality. Cutting this dance places further emphasis on the Act II *pas de deux*, which usually belongs to the Sugar Plum Fairy (absent from this version) and her consort.[7] In Balanchine's version especially, it is a beautiful but staid finale, and portrays a courtly kind of love. Yet, for Baryshnikov, the *pas*

de deux is the romantic climax of the ballet—so much so that it becomes a *pas de trois*, wherein the Prince and Drosselmeyer vie for Clara's love, passing her back and forth in a series of lifts. Clara chooses the Prince, but is powerless as Drosselmeyer ends the dream, and the ballet ends with her staring wistfully out a snowy window.[8] Every Christmas from 1978 to 1991, this was *The Nutcracker* beamed into American homes.

But critical responses to this "deeply serious, even psychological" *Nutcracker* were mixed. "It's lively, it's different, it's clearly popular," wrote *Variety* dance critic Land, "but it's not really *The Nutcracker*.[9] The Russian ... has used but also abused nostalgia."[10] Joseph Mazo at *Women's Wear Daily* found Baryshnikov's interpretation firmly rooted in the past, calling the plot changes "neo-Freudian" and the aesthetic reminiscent of "19th century Russian form."[11] In 1986, *Los Angeles Times* dance critic Lewis Segal revisited Baryshnikov's staging and dubbed it, "a fantasy of male power and manipulation"— though, admittedly, this review was also in the wake of Gelsey Kirkland's memoir, which gave the details on her rocky personal and professional relationship with Baryshnikov.[12] Indeed, when discussing Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker*, critics almost always ended up talking about Baryshnikov himself. In their preoccupation with "The Russian," "the defector-star," or, according to Segal, the misogynist, many of these critics missed the fact that Baryshnikov referenced and built on a tradition of controversial Soviet *Nutcracker*s.

Baryshnikov's version has clear roots in the experimentations of Soviet choreographers Gorsky, Lopukhov, and Vasily Vainonen. In her article, "Dancing Through the Cold War: The Case of 'The Nutcracker,'" Catherine Kodat chronicles the ballet's many versions, from its premier in December of 1892 to Balanchine's 1954 rework. The original *Nutcracker*, a collaboration between composer Tchaikovsky and librettists Petipa and Ivanov, was written in a hurry and, according to dance historian Andrew Johnson, was being critiqued "almost

from the day after it premiered."[13] In particular, Petipa's original *Nutcracker* was criticized for its lack of "a subject," or frame story, to narrativize the dances. Ironically, it was this "plotlessness" of the original that George Balanchine would capitalize on in his 1954 version.[14] However, the first attempt at reworking the ballet came in 1919, when Alexander Gorsky debuted a "somewhat psychological" *Nutcracker*, which added a dose of balletic realism to the fairy story.[15]

Gorsky, probably through mime or costume, framed the Sugar Plum Fairy as "Clara's idealized version of the beautiful adult woman she would like to grow up to be."[16] This dynamic added something new to the *Nutcracker*, but also mirrored the hierarchy within Soviet ballet, in which the star ballerina dancing Sugar Plum was a figure of both idolisation and competition for any ambitious student dancer cast as Clara. Gorsky's version was also more in tune with the company's needs, creating more opportunities for adult dancers with the removal of children from the ballet. The roles of Clara and the Prince were played by adults for the first time in this version, though they still had little to do in Act II except watch others dance.[17]

But while Gorsky's version was full of mostly superficial changes, the next iteration of *The Nutcracker*, by Fyodor Lopukhov in 1929, dared to experiment with choreography. In *Like a Bomb Going Off*, a biography of Lopukhov's contemporary Leonid Yakobson, dance historian Janice Ross briefly discusses how Lopukhov was initially successful in updating several classic ballets with Soviet ideology. With the addition of "non-dance vocabulary" like "constructivist decor, allusions to sport and physical culture, and acrobatic movements" Lopukhov aimed to make each ballet "more accessible for new proletarian viewers." When applied to *The Nutcracker*'s already flimsy narrative, however, this formula "severely backfired."[18] Critics immediately denounced Lopukhov's choreography for The Waltz of the Snowflakes, which mimicked to "a Western chorus line."[19] The most extreme change was to the *pas de deux*, which now began

with series of cartwheels and ended with the Sugar Plum Fairy "lifted head downwards and doing the splits."[20] The result was something most ballet audiences of the time did not recognize as a *pas de deux*. Though Baryshnikov's version does not feature any "acrobatic tricks," his addition of Drosselmeyer into the dance, which turns a traditional "showpiece" for a prima ballerina into a *pas de trois*, appropriates the dance in a similar fashion.[21] Gelsey Kirkland's Clara, now in the arms of two partners, hardly touches the ground for most of the adagio.[22] Consequently, both Lupohov and Baryshnikov challenged audience's expectations of a *pas de deux*, twisting norms in ways that, we will see later, were highly incompatible with socialist realism.

Finally, Vainonen's 1934 staging, which "represents the first fruitful effort to...create a work of sustained dramatic interest across two acts," is perhaps the closest to Baryshnikov's version.[23] Where Petipa's original libretto left a blank slate, Vainonen and Baryshnikov attempted to weave a story. Like Baryshnikov, Vainonen's version confined child dancers to the party scene, aged Clara up to adolescence, and had the *pas de deux* danced by Clara and the Prince.[24] The result was a more adult, and perhaps even more individualistic story, in which Clara is a distinct character, and less of an avatar for the audience. Baryshnikov also used Vainonen's choreography for the Waltz of the Snowflakes in his version---something critic Joseph Mazo picked up on in 1978, even if he did find it "unappealing to Western eyes."[25]

The Waltz of the Snowflakes in
George Balanchine's 1954 Nutcracker

But while Mazo recognized this link between Baryshnikov and Vainonen, his disparaging tone is telling. Many American critics plainly saw Baryshnikov, and by association, his work, as foreign, and disliked what they saw as a "remov[al] of childhood," and "diminish[ment] of Christmas, reindeer, and snow" from a holiday tradition.[26] To Mazo, Segal, and their contemporaries, Baryshnikov was still thawing out from austere, old Russia, or was perhaps, too wrapped up in his own "fantasy of male power"[27] to craft a *Nutcracker* on par with Balanchine. But Baryshnikov's version, for all its flaws, was neither lazy nor self-obsessed, but a fiery debate with Soviet ballet tradition. It turns out there was plenty of Soviet experimentation and rebellion to draw from.

When Baryshnikov came to the West, he brought *Vestris*, a ballet by his mentor, Soviet choreographer Leonid Yakobson, with him. Janice Ross's book *Like a Bomb Going Off: Leonid Yakobson and Ballet as Resistance in Soviet Russia* is the first ever biography of Yakobson, a contemporary of George Balanchine, and a fascinating analysis of ballet under the Soviet regime. The rebellious qualities of Yakobson's work meant that "little official effort" was made to preserve his legacy—in fact, Yakobson's name was "prohibited from mention in the major newspapers...including his death in 1975, when no formal obituary appeared."[28] Furthermore, Ross writes that, "[d]uring Yakobson's lifetime, Soviet authorities had permitted essentially no major books, films, profiles, articles, or regular reviews of him and his work." Without "the usual historical traces of critical reception and contemporaneous scholarship," Ross relies on the most personal of primary sources. Through "scores of interviews with those who knew Yakobson or his work," his widow's rare recordings of performances, and letters, Ross reveals Yakobson to be so tireless in his art that he was even choreographing from his deathbed in 1975.[29]

Ross posits that it was this creative drive, as well as his revolutionary roots, that kept Yakobson pushing the boundaries

of the state until the end. Born in 1904, Yakobson witnessed the birth of the Soviet state and the heydey of modernist dance in the 1920s. In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, he published various essays on why the new Soviet Republic should do away with classical ballet just as it had [with] the Tsars and the bourgeoisie, to prevent "artistic stagnation."[30] However, when Lopukhov's experimental production of *The Nutcracker* got him fired as director of the Leningrad State Academic Theatre for Opera and Ballet, Yakobson reevaluated his loyalties. He now understood, according to Ross, "the treachery of accomodation and the fickleness of party judgements."[31] And yet, unlike Lupukhov, Yakobson realized his own position of power within this narrative. As Ross writes, "Yakobson fulfilled an important but risky function for Soviet officials. He and his art were needed but feared." And while authorities "could try to shape his dances from outside, command, forbid," they were powerless to stop the creative processes taking place in the rehearsal room.[32]

Similarly, in *Swans of the Kremlin*, Christina Ezrahi describes how, even with the enforcement of Lenin's socialist realist theory and its notions of *partiynost* ("party consciousness"), *narodnost* ("orientation toward the people"), *ideynost* ("ideological content"), and *klassovost* ("class content"), all of which were intended to "preclud[e] an individual voice in art" classical ballet was still "by its very nature difficult to control by a censors hand."[33] Perhaps, then, the secret to Yakobson's ability to evade censors was that he never underestimated the audience. In contrast to the West, where ballet was mostly enjoyed by the elites, ballet had a huge audience in Russia. And as Ezhai points out, "Since the medium of ballet was movement, not text, the ballet was seen as particularly accessible for the sizable illiterate post-revolutionary audience in the Soviet Union."[34] Yet, unlike Lopukhov, who in his efforts to make a *Nutcracker* for the proletariat, journeyed into the abstract, Yakobson worked through suggestion, checking all the socialist realism boxes, but with choreography that offered just "a glimpse"[35] of modernist dance technique. Yakobson "often

worked deliberately against expectation" by casting against type, and encouraging dancers to portray characters who were often old, ugly, or suffering.[36] Even after being "dismissed" from the Kirov as a "Cosmopolitan" in 1951, Yakobson continued to create, and, like any good revolutionary, he saw the potential in working with students. Ironically, Yakobson's work during this period was "scrutinized less for ideological correctness."[37]

But the "Thaw" following Stalin's death brought Yakobson back to the professional stage. In 1969, Yakobson choreographed *Vestris*, about the scandalous life of 18th century ballet dancer Auguste Vestris, for Kirov soloist Mikhail Baryshnikov. Describing his time with Yakobson to Ross, Baryshnikov emphasized his own inexperience: "[*Vestris*] was a real, serious, meaty project [and] my first choreographic experience with a really great master. I knew instinctively he was really one of probably two choreographers of that originality."[38] The ballet was an "unpredictable" juxtaposition of the "classically pure" and the ugly,[39] with Baryshnikov executing beautiful jumps one minute and affecting a "tottering posture of decrepitude"[40] the next. Yakobson, a Jewish man himself, even made Baryshnikov wear a prosthetic nose that suggested the appearance of an anti-semitic caricature.[41] "One of the things that made Yakobson's *Vestris* difficult for authorities," Ross writes, "was that it depicted aspects of reality so outside the sanctioned Soviet dance norm."[42] Indeed, in portraying one of ballet's forefathers as painfully human, ethnically ambiguous, yet also technically beautiful, Yakobson challenged and changed Soviet ballet tradition by teasing complexity.

And just as Yakobson dared to portray an icon of ballet in his own image, so too do many of Baryshnikov's character choices in *The Nutcracker* feel like deliberate reclamations of Soviet ballet tradition. As Ezrahi explains in *Swans of the Kremlin*, in regard to culture, the Bolsheviks were "propagandists seeking to capitalize on the power of pre-revolutionary cultural symbols by recasting them in their own [Soviet] image."[43] The ballerina was no exception, and, through the magic of socialist realism,

was to be transformed in Ezrahi's words, from "a mindless doll into a socially conscious citizen." Ballerina Viktorina Kriger used similar imagery of decadence and frivolity in an op-ed in 1928, admitting that, before the Revolution, the ballerina was, "a toy" who could "only drink champagne, which is just as sparkling and reproachful as her art. She is...as light as a dandelion. But what about intellect?" However, as Ezrahi points out, this attempt at repackaging the ballerina as "a social activist," like most of socialist realism, "promoted a view of Soviet life that had little to do with reality."[44] The only ballerinas who made any kind of political statement were the ones who defected.

Baryshnikov in the role of Vestris

What, then, are we to make of Gelsey Kirkland's Clara, who is one of the dreamiest, most passive portrayals?[45] At times, it seems the goal of Baryshnikov's choreography is to make her the "dandelion" ballerina of old who "now flies away in the breath of a breeze."[46] And what about the erasure of the Sugar Plum Fairy, which increases Clara's importance in ballet, but places her on an emotional rollercoaster of adolescent love with no female role model to speak of?[47] In fact, Baryshnikov's fusion of the Clara and Sugar Plum roles, two of the most active ballet heroines, according to Olena Ushchapivska's essay, "The Representation of Female Characters in the Music of Russian Ballet"[48] is another

function of his romantic, ultimately anti-Soviet interpretation. Rather than choose between archetypes, Baryshnikov crafts the perfect romantic heroine in the West's more "ambiguous" style[49]—mortal, a bit immature, but with the lightness of the apolitical, passive, pre-Revolution ballerina.

Nevertheless, during the Cold War, Baryshnikov kept his criticism of Soviet ideals in the artistic realm. In his first interview after defecting, Baryshnikov painted himself as an artistic martyr: "What I have done is called a crime in Russia...but my life is my art."[50] He also insisted that the decision to defect was not political, as if the censorship from which he had fled was not part of an oppressive political regime. Yet, for Baryshnikov, the question of his political significance may have seemed obvious, even boring. Baryshnikov's body and the art he created with it had long since become a political propaganda tool in the Soviet Union. Baryshnikov was such a symbol of Soviet triumph that for years after his defection, officials peddled the narrative that he was kidnapped, and preserved his apartment to create the illusion that he might come back.[51] Unlike Makarova or Nureyev, he never did, perhaps because, for Baryshnikov, the chance to use the phrase "my art"—to essentially own his talent and to glorify himself rather than the collective—was the biggest lure of America. His defection was not the simplistic "leap to freedom"[52] the media portrayed, nor was he really the "tormented artist"[53] Gelsey Kirkland imagined him to be. Instead, Baryshnikov, perhaps better than anyone else, understood that the only way to escape the Soviet narrative was to be removed from it. Having seen the erasures of Nureyev and Makarova, he defected with the knowledge that as his star rose in the West, his image would simultaneously be erased from posters in the Soviet Union. Faced with the choice between a planned career at the Kirov and attaining the mythic status of a dancer defector in America, Baryshnikov chose the West.

Additionally, whether he wanted to discuss it or not, Baryshnikov was defined, in the media at least, by his experience

of defection. And at various points in his career, he actually capitalized on this. In the 1976 film, *The Turning Point*, for example, Baryshnikov played Yuri, a recent defector breaking hearts at an American dance company. A decade later in *White Nights*, he played a Kirov star who agonizes over whether or not to flee the Soviet Union.[54] These early film choices show how, as an artist and a public person, Baryshnikov not only demonstrated that he understood the lens with which Western audiences viewed him, but showed a willingness to play to it. In the context of these performances and through a close reading of the ballet's choices, Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* is clearly an allegory for defection.

In Baryshnikov's version especially, Clara can easily be read as a defector figure. During the Christmas party scene, she appears as privileged and pampered,[55] perhaps, as any Kirov star, surrounded by opulent decorations and presents. Though shown dutifully greeting guests and fulfilling her role as the decorative daughter, Clara is also noticeably bored by the party's rigid rituals. Later, her adoration for the nutcracker is ridiculed by the other young people, who are perfectly happy with their identical gifts. Clara is also constantly chaperoned and minded; when her nutcracker's jaw is broken (in this version by a tipsy guest and not her brother, Fritz) she is quickly consoled by Drosselmeyer before being shepherded off to bed by her governess. After a rash decision, not unlike Baryshnikov's spur-of-the-moment defection, she is spirited away to the Land of Sweets, a place of prosperity and dreams, where multiple nationalities dance together.[56] There is a similar sense of magic, and of being transported to "a different world" in the defection narratives of Nora Kovacs and Istvan Raab.[57] Raab's descriptions of the sensory delights of defecting to the West, like tasting a banana for the first time in years, or seeing beautiful department store windows,[58] hint at the same sense of fairy tale wonder in Hansel and Gretel's gingerbread house, or the idea of candy coming to life in the Land of Sweets.

Baryshnikov's expansion of Drosselmeyer's role adds yet

another dimension to this 'defector' reading. Drosselmeyer never truly leaves Clara's side in Baryshnikov's version, but instead reappears periodically throughout Act II. With every subsequent appearance, he radiates a sense of betrayal of the *Rodina*, or homeland.[59] Drosselmeyer, in other words, is a walking guilt trip, and, like the letters many defectors received from pleading friends and family, a firm reminder of what Clara has left behind. "Your soul is Russian," Natalia Makarova's friend and fellow dancer Alla Osipenko wrote to her, "it will not survive what you are doing."[60] Drosselmeyer seems to have a similar concern for Clara's soul. During the *pas de deux* turned *pas de trois*, he is waiting at the end of every lift to collect Clara and take her back to the real world. Despite ultimately choosing the Prince, Clara is still affectionate towards her godfather, and continues to seek his approval. Clara thus exhibits a sense of conflict between duty to one's homeland and the pursuit of one's own desires. Such was the unique loneliness of Baryshnikov and other dancer defectors during the Cold War, whose politicized bodies sparked notions of Russian souls and Western ones. While one cannot say that Baryshnikov directly reproduced his experience of defection through *The Nutcracker*, the various parallels between the story and the staging's real life context speak to the power of the defector as an icon of the Cold War era.

The tension in Baryshnikov's version is more apparent when compared with the 1993 film version of George Balanchine's *Nutcracker*. Decidedly thin in plot and technically beautiful, Balanchine's staging premiered in the United States in 1954, and, as Catherine Kodat discusses in "Dancing Through the Cold War," appealed to the "dominant social and sexual ideologies of the period."[61] Balanchine accomplished this not just with his depiction of "idealized middle class life,"[62] but also his use of defined female archetypes, such as the maternal Mother Ginger, and the queenly Sugar Plum Fairy.[63] Balanchine's version was perfectly attuned to a populace stressed by the early years of the Cold War, eager for childhood wonder. It was this innocence

and elegance of Balanchine's version that spawned a ballet craze lasting until the 2000s, and an "American" ballet aesthetic of pink tutus and music boxes. Most importantly, Kodat argues, Balanchine's version became a part of American culture, "the template" for other productions, and "remains to this day the only ballet many Americans have ever seen."[64] Like Balanchine himself, who left the Soviet Union in 1924 but became known as the Father of American Ballet, the 1993 film, despite its Russian subject material, is fully Americanized.[65] It is also undeniably a Christmas story, complete with a soothing narration, lots of snow, and Macaulay Culkin as the Nutcracker Prince. And while the soft focus, fade transitions, and dreamy closeups of Baryshnikov's version anchor it firmly in the style of the 1970s, the Balanchine film is ageless, with the aura of any professionally filmed ballet performance.[66]

Yet, as I have shown, the very things that make the Baryshnikov film less accessible today—the dated elements, the strays from the familiar plot, and the re-Russified star— are exactly what make it such a fascinating piece of Cold War art and media. As the debut choreographic project of a recent defector, this *Nutcracker* is more than just a retooling of a classic ballet. Taken in context, not only in terms of Baryshnikov's defection, but also the censorship struggles of choreographers like Gorsky, Lopukhov, Vainonen, and Baryshnikov's mentorship by Yakobson, this *Nutcracker* is a charged, even self-reflexive reevaluation of Soviet ballet. That this version was preserved on film, much less broadcast for Western audiences throughout the Cold War, is yet more proof of its place within Cold War media history. Unlike a live performance, Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* appears today exactly as Cold War audiences saw it on their television screens. Forty-one years later, Americans can still watch Baryshnikov dance in his prime and relive the Christmas broadcasts. The value of Baryshnikov's version, however, does not stop at nostalgia, as the lack of scholarship on it suggests. Unlike Balanchine, Baryshnikov's interpretation is not universal or easily

adapted. And much like the Cold War itself, its complexities are sometimes over-simplified. This version is about more than "fairy-tale mist"[67] or even Baryshnikov's technique, just as the Cold War was about more than just the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus, while Baryshnikov's *Nutcracker* is far from a definitive version, it is an ideal artistic window into the Cold War and the surprising, polarizing power of the dancer-defector.

Notes

[1] Catherine Gunther Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War: The Case of 'The Nutcracker,'" *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 33, no. 3 (2000): 1-17.

[2] "Baryshnikov, Defecting Dancer, Says Decision Was Not Political," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1975, https://www.nytimes.com/1974/07/07/archives/baryshnikov-defecting-dancer-says-decision-was-not-political.html.

[3] Ian Brown, "Interview with Baryshnikov is a tricky pas de deux," *The Globe and Mail Online*, August 17, 2013, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/interview-with-baryshnikov-is-a-tricky-pas-de-deux/article13825689/.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Baryshnikov, Defecting Dancer, Says Decision Was Not Political."

[6] Lewis Segal, "Ballet Theatre: Baryshnikov Version of 'Nutcracker,'" *The Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1986, Np., Para. 3.1, http://articles.latimes.com/1986-12-11/entertainment/ca-2099_1_ballet-theatre.

[7] A dance between two partners, usually a male and female.

[8] *The Nutcracker*. Directed by Tony Charmoli. New York: Jodav Productions, Inc., 1977.

[9] Segal, "Ballet Theatre: Baryshnikov."

[10] Land, "Dance Reviews: Baryshnikov's Nutcracker," *Variety* 287, no.4 (1977): 74.

[11] Joseph Mazo, "Arts & People: Dance," *Women's Wear Daily* 134, no. 99 (1977): 22

[12] Segal, "Baryshnikov Version of 'Nutcracker,'" Para. 3.2.

[13] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 5.

[14] Ibid., 5-7.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 5-6.

[18] Janice Ross and Lynn Garafola, *Like a Bomb Going Off: Leonid Yakobson and Ballet as Resistance in Soviet Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 18.

[19] Ibid., 92.

[20] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 7.

[21] Ross, *Like a Bomb Going Off*, 92.

[22] Segal, "Baryshnikov 'Nutcracker,'" Para. 6.3.

[23] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 5.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Mazo,"Arts & People: Dance," 22.

[26] Mazo, "Arts & People: Dance," 22.

Land, "Reviews," 2.

27 Segal, "Baryshnikov," para. 3.2.

28 Ross, *Like a Bomb Going Off*, 7-8.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 85.

31 Ibid., 95.

32 Ross, Like a Bomb Going Off, 58.

33 Christina Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin: Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 235.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 11.

36 Ibid., 16.

37 Lynn Garafola, foreword to *Like a Bomb Going Off*, x-xi.

38 Ross, *Like a Bomb Going Off*, 14.

39 Ibid., 12.

40 Ibid., 15.

41 Ibid., 17.

42 Ross, *Like a Bomb Going Off*, 24.

43 Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin*, 235-236.

44 Ibid., 30.

45 Segal, "Baryshnikov."

46 Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin*, 236.

47 Segal, "Baryshnikov," para. 5.2.

48 Olena Ushchapivska, "The Representation of Female Characters in the Music of Russian Ballet," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 48, no. 1 (2017): 57-69, JSTOR.

49 David Caute, "The Ballet Dancer Defects," in *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 468.

50 "Baryshnikov, Defecting Dancer, Says Decision Was Not Political." *The New York Times* (1975): 34.

51 Caute, "The Ballet," 497.

52 Ibid., 468.

53 Gelsey Kirkland, *Dancing On My Grave*, (New York: Berkley Books, 1992), 164.

54 "Mikhail Baryshnikov," filmography, *Internet Movie Database*, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000864/.

55 Caute, "The Ballet," 470.

56 *The Nutcracker*, Jodav Productions, 1977.

57 Caute, "The Ballet," 470.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., 468.

[60] Ibid., 496.

[61] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 3.

[62] Ibid.,9.

[63] *George Balanchine's 'The Nutcracker.'* Directed by Emile Ardolino. Burbank: Warner Bros, 1993.

[64] Kodat, "Dancing Through the Cold War," 2.

[65] "George Balanchine," *New York City Ballet - Discover*, nycb.com.

[66] *George Balanchine's* The Nutcracker, 1993.

[67] Ushchapivska, "Representation," 62.

Images
Page 104: "Mikhail Baryshnikov," originally uploaded to Flickr on March 23, 2012, accessed on May 7, 2019 via Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/53035820@N02/6861700356.

Page 107: "Snowflake Waltz NYC Ballet 1954," originally uploaded to Wikipedia on April 20, 2013, accessed on May 7, 2019 via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Snowflake_Waltz_NYC_Ballet_1954.png.

Page 111: "Baryshnikov in the role of *Vestris*," courtesy of The Reborn Art Charitable Foundation, accessed May 6, 2019 via www.reborn-art.ru.

Senior Honors Thesis Abstracts

What They Can Do Themselves: Agency and Politics in South Texas Colonias, 1945-95
Parker Abt

Colonias are impoverished communities near the US-Mexico border outside the jurisdiction of cities. They lack basic services like potable water, drainage systems, indoor plumbing, or emergency services. The economic realities of the border region created the need for colonias in the Lower Rio Grande Valley around 1950. Despite their deficiencies, colonias were culturally acceptable, which allowed their numbers to grow until the 1980s when hundreds of thousands called them home. In that decade, colonia families rallied to bring $500 million in state funding to build the basic infrastructure their communities lacked. Analyzing the history of community organizing in the colonias up to this victory demonstrates that even the poorest of Americans could make massive gains through engaging the political systems of the late twentieth century.

"Nobody Roots for Goliath": The Blitz, the Bombing of Germany, and British National Identity
Julia Barr

The bombing of Germany in World War II remains a contentious subject in British history and memory. While celebrated during the War, Bomber Command's morality and contribution to defeating Germany were immediately called into question upon Allied victory. Criticism of Bomber Command was constructed upon notions of and challenges to British national identity. The Blitz provided the language for this: as British society was plunged into chaos and social norms disrupted, so too did the bombing of Germany represent a break with perceived standards

of conduct; thus both experiences posed challenges to Britain's preconceived national identity. Following the War, Britain was forced to grapple with the reality that it too had conducted its war effort as a despotic power, problematizing Britain's diametric understanding of the War as one between good and evil. This crisis of identity was further exasperated by the triumph of Clement Attlee and the Labour party in the 1945 elections, and the transition from wartime to peacetime government created a political rift that served to cultivate condemnation of Bomber Command. The rise of the Welfare State further shaped the trajectory of criticism of Bomber Command by setting new expectations of how a government should care for its citizens. This intensified outrage at the sacrifices that the government and military leadership had required from both its airmen and citizens during the War. Even amidst different sociopolitical contexts, resurgent criticism of Bomber Command continually harkened back to the language of national identity that developed during the War itself. exposed to the values underlying them.

Defining America: Noah Webster and Educational Discourse in New England's 19th Century Unitarian Controversy
Courtney Carpinello

This project explores the impact of religious turmoil in nineteenth-century New England on the creation of public schools in the region. Puritans had settled in the area in the seventeenth century, and for generations, their descendants' had continued to practice Calvinist Congregationalism. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, however, the relative religious uniformity that New England had long benefited from began to erode. Tensions emerged as many elites in the region chose to reject the religious conservatism of their ancestors and instead, adopted a far more liberal, interpretative approach to Christianity under the name Unitarianism. At the same time, there was a growing sense of awareness that public schools were

about to become widespread, and classrooms were going to offer an unprecedented opportunity to impress certain values onto the American public; thus, schools became one of the battlefields on which Unitarians and Congregationalists fought for control over the national consciousness. This thesis traces the ensuing conflict through the lexicographer Noah Webster, who after undergoing a spiritual re-awakening in his adult life committed himself to creating schoolbooks that would inculcate children with the values of conservative Congregationalism. Webster's religious motivations have been almost entirely ignored by historiography; Unitarians at the time, however, recognized these motives and dealt with him accordingly as an opponent. Despite their resistance, by the time Webster died in 1843, almost every American schoolchild had learned to read and write using his books, and therefore, they had also been exposed to the values underlying them.

The Heart of Indian Pedagogy: Religion, Language, and the Anglicist-Orientalist Controversy (1770-1854)
Arjun Doshi

Embedded deep in the historiography of British colonial education in India, a debate known as the "anglicist-orientalist controversy" (1833-1835) often evades scrutiny. The debate, which determined the language of instruction in colonial Indian public education, was the culmination of decades of intercourse among the colonial officials seeking to optimally govern India, the Indian intelligentsia trying to ignite a cultural renaissance, and the various missionary circles seeking to expand Christendom and propagate its virtues. In the 1770s, due to administrative changes and the newly realized transformative potential of public education, officials began to lay the foundation for educating Indians. The ensuing six decades saw the agendas of the British, the Indians, and the missionaries become closely intertwined in a history that has often escaped revision. This process is necessary

for understanding colonial politics' underlying ideologies which have only gained theoretical complexity due to the popularity of broad-ideas such as Edward Said's *Orientalism*. The first chapter (1770-1811) consists of a recalibration of orientalism in the context of the educational policy. Chapter two (1811-1828) explores the intricacies of varying agendas of the decision makers during the process of setting up educational institutes. In the final chapter, the debate is presented as a product of its pre-history and is critiqued for its reductive contemporary scholarly understanding. By considering the various philosophical and philological arguments presented in this controversy, it becomes apparent that Indian education became essential to the whole colonial enterprise and provided an opportunity to reshape Indian national character.

"The Most Generous, Disinterested, and Philanthropic Motives": Religion, Race, and the Maryland Jew Bill
Eric Eisner

In 1826, after an eight-year debate, the Maryland legislature amended the state constitution to allow Jews to hold political office—a law known to supporters and opponents alike as the "Jew Bill." Just sixteen years earlier, however, the state had disenfranchised free blacks. Whereas previously all men with property could vote, after 1810, the state restricted the franchise to white men. What can explain Maryland expanding political rights for Jews and reducing political rights for free blacks in the same generation? The experience of Jews and blacks in Maryland illustrates America's Jacksonian turn in the early nineteenth century, as the eighteenth-century grounding of political rights in property and faith gave way to the nineteenth century emphasis on race and sex. The basis for political inclusion shifted from "exterior" qualities—what a person possessed—to "interior" ones—what a person was. At the same time as Maryland was disenfranchising its black population, it also eliminated the

property requirement to vote. In a speech in favor of the Jew Bill, a Maryland legislator insisted that Thomas Kennedy, the law's principal champion, had only "the most generous, disinterested, and philanthropic motives." Kennedy supported slavery as a positive good, and the proponents of the Jew Bill, in fact, opposed black rights more vigorously than the critics of Jewish rights. There has not been a linear path to equal rights in the United States. In the early nineteenth century, Jews pressed ahead and African Americans fell back on the winding road to equal rights.

Celebrating Conquest: Broken Treaties, World's Fairs, and Constructions of Native American Savagery, 1875-1905
Justin Estreicher

Paradoxically, between 1875 and 1905, international audiences gathered in the United States for public celebrations of the "noble savage" at the very time that Native American cultures were actively being suppressed. A careful analysis of representations of native people at three World's Fairs—those in Philadelphia (1876), Chicago (1893), and St. Louis (1904)—and in such other venues as Wild West shows is the key to reconciling this paradox. Official fair publications (guidebooks, promotional weeklies, and souvenir books) and the unpublished writings of academics involved in planning Indian displays for international expositions provide insights into the terms under which the public could celebrate Native Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Notions of "ignoble savagery" constructed to justify the violation of treaties with native peoples stood at the heart of a logic of conquest that World's Fairs and Wild West shows extended by presenting a contrasting conception of "noble savagery," based on either progress toward "civilization" or the disappearance of a fictionalized noble past. In light of the latter standard of "nobility," the representation of an ostensibly vanished people became a right of conquest. The invocation

of "savagery" in justifying duplicitous dealings with Indians in centuries past forces the modern observer to question whether a sense of the contemptible backwardness of indigenous people opposed to modern development persists in debates over such issues as the construction of oil pipelines under Lakota lands, a possible present-day analogue of gold mining in the Black Hills in the 1870s.

The Third World In Paris: Intercolonialisms and Internationalisms Between the Wars
Meerabelle Jesuthasan

Paris of the 1920s and 1930s has many reputations; among them is the one penned by American author Roger Baldwin, who called it "the capital of the men without a country." The Union Intercoloniale, founded in 1921 as a branch of the French Communist Party (PCF), was perhaps the most striking emblem of this sentiment. Originally conceived as a method of expanding the PCF's reach with colonial subjects, the group soon became a center of activism for those with the common goal of overthrowing imperialism. Such solidarity might seem to mirror the emerging Third Worldist movement of the '50s and '60s. However, the UIC was not as successful as this later iteration. By the 1930s, many new groups had replaced the Union Intercoloniale, which was dissolved in 1928. Although some aimed to promote intercolonial alliance, many of these groups' ideologies and goals tended to be more rooted in race or nationality-based conceptions of identity, which eventually supplanted the intercolonial ideal. How did this vision of internationalism evolve in this context of ever-changing alliances and ideologies? While many well-known nationalist movements were developed in the broader interwar period, the intercolonial solidarity represented by the UIC is an important instance of internationalism that provided opportunities for radical exchange across barriers of class and race, the latter of which was

to become an important basis of later anti-colonial ideologies. The intellectual and social interactions between colonial and non-Western people in the context of the Parisian sociopolitical sphere offers an opportunity to explore how these interactions shaped the anti-imperialist ideologies that fueled conflicts and alliances well into the latter half of the twentieth century.

Soldier-to-Soldier Diplomacy: Joint U.S.-Russian Peacekeeping in Bosnia, 1995-1996
Bryce Klehm

The Dayton Accords of 1995 ended the Bosnian genocide and stipulated that a peacekeeping implementation force (IFOR) would occupy Bosnia for one year after the agreement. IFOR consisted of soldiers from European countries including Russian soldiers under American command, the result of an agreement negotiated months before the Dayton conference by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Defense Secretary William Perry. It seems unusual that Russia would cooperate with Americans close to its border. This Honors History Thesis answers various questions about US-Russia relations while examining the narrative of Russia's implementation into IFOR. Why did US-Russian cooperation occur when it did? Could this have been a sustainable partnership?

Study in Contradiction: Jewish Parisians in Pursuit of Emancipation in the French Revolution (1789)
Madeleine Lamon

On 26 August 1789 the delegates of the Estates General issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen — a revolutionary document that extended civil rights to qualified men throughout France. This document was not, however, universal as it did not extend the rights of citizenship to women, racial minorities, or non-Catholics. At the same time, roughly

40,000 Jews lived in disparate communities in the French kingdom. Only 500 resided in two distinct and geographically separate communities within the walls of Paris. This group, though small, was politically significant as leaders from both the Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities of Paris called upon local and national political bodies to extend the rights of citizenship to all Jewish men living in France. This thesis examines the political maneuverings of Parisian Jews from the outbreak of Revolution in 1789 to the full civil emancipation of French Jews in September 1791 as well as the effects upon the members of the Jewish communities in the capital in the aftermath of emancipation.

"The Voices of Jacob": Journalism and Jewish Consciousness in Nineteenth Century British Jewry
Celeste Marcus

From 1841 to 1848, a community in transition created The Voice of Jacob, the first Jewish newspaper in Britain. Jacob Franklin, its founder and the editor in chief for five of the organ's seven years, established a publication whose pages were peppered with many different sorts of characters. Its authors had contradictory theories. They disagreed about the definitions of patriotism, Jewish loyalty, and religious and social progress. While it certainly promoted rigorous study and careful philosophical thought, not all of its readers were intellectuals, and not all of its intellectual articles were written by scholars or religious authorities. The community for and by which the paper was created is preserved in its pages. The characters, style and the many relationships its members had with Judaism, England and each other are explored in this thesis. Special focus is given to the history of the Jewish community in England, Jewish Christian relations, Jewish reform and the effects of the press on Modern Jewry.

"Una Lucha Fratricida": Violence and Repression in Seville During the Spanish Civil War

Sarah Marron

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was an extremely violent conflict that pitted citizens, neighbors, friends, and families against each other and transformed the country's political, social, and economic framework. Despite the overall failure of the right-wing, Nationalist military coup d'état on 18 July 1936, Nationalist General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano triumphed in the south; quickly and forcefully occupied Seville, which had remained loyal to the legitimate government of the Republic; and initiated a ferocious repression meant to subjugate all potential resistance. Within the past ten years, there has been considerable academic and popular debate in Spain about the origins, objectives, execution, and consequences of this repression: most contemporary scholarship either condemns or praises the right (Franco and his allies) or the left (parties that supported the Republic). Seville, a majority Republican city under complete Nationalist control since the start of the war, presents a historically unique environment in which to study repression from various contemporary perspectives. Stripping away years of partisan scholarship and layers of historiographic debate surrounding repression in Seville during the Spanish Civil War exposes its fundamental nature. Irrespective of nationality, political disposition, place or time, the repression at its core was rampant, reckless, and ruthless.