

Past Tense

Graduate Review of History



The Suppleness of Stone: Spain's Valley of the Fallen,
from Dictatorship to Democracy.....Annemarie Iker

Mother and Child Were Saved: Justifying the Caesarean
Section in Nineteenth-Century England.....Kathleen Reynolds

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Discursive Iconoclasm in Sixteenth-Century Paris.....Julie M. Powell

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The Suppleness of Stone: Spain's Valley of the Fallen, from Dictatorship to Democracy

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Abstract

Four decades after the death of dictator Francisco Franco, Spain continues to come to terms with the legacy of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) and the Franco dictatorship (1939-75). Physical artifacts dating to the war and dictatorship inject urgency and complexity into debates about the past. The most conspicuous of these artifacts is *El Valle de los Caídos* (Valley of the Fallen), a monumental complex erected by Franco in the mountains outside of Madrid. Contemporary detractors of the Valley of the Fallen argue that its basilica, crypt, monastery, religious studies center, and freestanding cross—the world's tallest—exalt Franco and his military triumph in the Civil War. Critics also object to the presence of the dictator's tomb and its privileged position beneath the main altar. This article analyzes the present-day controversies surrounding the monument, arguing that the dictator's original construction of the Valley as a 'sacred' space continues to structure the limits and possibilities of its re-evaluation. Disputes over how to integrate the monument into a new, post-Franco political landscape indicate widespread uncertainty on the uses of the past in the present.

Introduction

In contemporary Spain, material records of the Civil War (1936-9) and the Franco dictatorship (1939-75) render the past uncomfortably present. Indeed, it was the 2000 discovery of a mass grave dating to the war in the town of Priaranza del Bierzo in León province that helped launch Spain's so-called "memory boom." With this exhumation began a period of intensive, prolific inquiries into twentieth-century traumas that persist to this day.¹

¹ Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, "Introduction," in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves*

This article, though, approaches the ongoing relevance of the Civil War and dictatorship through el Valle de los Caídos, a monument that requires no physical unearthing. The Valley of the Fallen is Franco's largest and most enduring built legacy. Better described as a monumental complex than a mere monument, its component parts consist of a massive esplanade, an underground basilica and crypt, a monastery, a social studies center, and the world's tallest freestanding cross, all chiselled into an imposing peak in the mountains outside Madrid [see Figure 1]. Franco ordered the construction of the Valley to honor the Civil War's Nationalist casualties—those who died fighting to overthrow Spain's democratically elected Second Republic. Over time, the monument systematically acquired more extensive meanings. During the dictatorship, the Valley served as the site of state rallies, as a destination for visiting dignitaries and heads of state, as the final resting place for over 30,000 Civil War dead, and, eventually, even became the tomb of Franco himself.²

Franco's megalomaniacal ambitions led him to design a monument that he hoped would be grand enough to "defy time and forgetfulness."³ This effort has proven puzzlingly effective. After Franco's death in 1975 and the simultaneous demise of his regime, the Spanish transition to democracy provided the country with a "new beginning"; however, the Valley of the Fallen endured.⁴ Despite the fact that the monument exalts Franco and the Nationalist triumph, it retained its physical and operative integrity after the democratic transition and still does as of this writing.⁵

Unsurprisingly, many Spaniards perceive the Valley as irreconcilable with today's democracy. Contentious debates now animate the otherwise inert monument, transforming its grounds into the site of impassioned confrontations between priests and government officials, neo-fascists, and human rights activists.

and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain, eds., Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 4.

² The exact number of casualties interred in the Valley's crypt remains unknown. According to a 2011 government report, there are 33,847 registered casualties, over 12,000 of those unidentified. See Ministerio de la Presidencia, *Informe: Comisión de Expertos para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Ministerio de la Presidencia, 2011), 3. Total numbers, though, are likely to be much higher. Justin Crumbaugh uses the figure of 70,000. See Justin Crumbaugh, "Afterlife and Bare Life: The Valley of the Fallen as a Paradigm of Government," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 4 (2011): 419.

³ All translations are the author's own. "Decreto de 1 de abril de 1940, disponiendo se alcen Basílica, Monasterio y Cuartel de Juventudes, en la finca situada en las vertientes de a Sierra de Guadarrama (El Escorial), conocida por Cuelgamuros, para perpetuar la memoria de los caídos de nuestra gloriosa Cruzada," in *El Valle de los Caídos: Idea, proyecto y construcción*, ed., Diego Méndez (Madrid: Fundación Francisco Franco, 1982), 314.

⁴ Laura Desfor Edles, *Symbol and ritual in the new Spain: the transition to democracy after Franco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 42.

⁵ As is explained in this article, the monument's physical and operative integrity has been compromised in some measure by a decline in tourist infrastructure dating to the transition, and temporary closures for renovations.

While it may seem inevitable that Franco's cherished shrine has become a controversial site in democratic Spain, in fact, this development is recent enough to bear further scrutiny. Understanding the nature of the disputes that presently embroil the monument also requires asking what took them so long to develop.

Existing scholarship on the Valley relates its iconography to the objectives and methods of the Franco regime, investigating how the dictator gave physical shape to his Civil War narrative.⁶ Building on this research, it will be suggested here that close observation of the monument's physical forms—along with the meanings ascribed to those forms by the regime through language and ritual—can also yield insights into present-day controversies. Franco's characterization of the Civil War as a Christian "Crusade" and Nationalist casualties as "heroes and martyrs" receives expression in the monument, but not as we might expect. Instead of visual depictions of Franco, the Nationalists, or the conflict, the monument features an artistic and architectural vocabulary rich in religious and historical referents. Thus the conceptualization of the Valley as a "magnificent temple" to the "heroes and martyrs of the Crusade" presents post-Franco Spain with an awkward conundrum: desecrate a church and cemetery, or tolerate a Francoist icon?⁷ The dictator's material and rhetorical construction of the Valley as a "sacred" space, it will be argued, continues to structure the limits and possibilities of integrating the site into a new, post-Franco political landscape.

The endurance of the Valley is also contingent on another less visible authoritarian legacy. Spain's transition to democracy, scholars and pundits observe, was predicated on a preference among political elites and the public alike to avoid a thorough reckoning with the country's past.⁸ From the end of the Civil War onward, the horrors of violence suffered and depravations endured caused Spaniards across the political spectrum to fear another conflict. During the dictatorship, moreover, the Franco regime successfully exploited this fear of descending into a second civil war.⁹

⁶ For the first independent, critical analysis of the Valley's conceptualization and design, see Daniel Sueiro, *La verdadera historia del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Sedmay Ediciones, 1976). Fernando Olmeda's *El Valle de los Caídos: Una memoria de España* (Barcelona: Península, 2009) bridges the gap in serious book-length scholarship on the monument between Sueiro's 1976 *La verdadera historia* and the twenty-first century. See also: Katherine Hite, "The Valley of the Fallen: Tales from the Crypt," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 44, no. 2 (2008): 110-127; Crumbaugh, "Afterlife and Bare Life," 419-438; and, Noël Valis, "Civil War Ghosts Entombed: Lessons of the Valley of the Fallen," in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed., Noël Valis (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 425-435. For a comprehensive guide to the visual arts during the Franco dictatorship, see Ángel Llorente, *Arte e ideología del franquismo, 1936-1951* (Madrid: Visor, 1995).

⁷ Méndez, *Valle*, 314.

⁸ See especially Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 149-161.

⁹ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez outlines the regime's manipulation of social attitudes, examining what he terms "the politics of fear." See Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's*

Franco and his collaborators cast the coup as a Nationalist-led “Crusade” to liberate Spain from the allegedly volatile, inept Second Republic. Until Franco’s death, the regime continued to stoke fears of imminent bloodshed.¹⁰ Thus, the transition’s aims and values can be understood both in terms of Spanish aversion to reliving war and in terms of the regime’s inflammatory Civil War narrative—which, of course, only intensified this deeply-held aversion.

Significantly, the same political premises that facilitated the transition also resulted in a long-term governmental policy of accommodating the Valley, Spain’s most explicit, divisive reminder of the Civil War and the dictatorship. Today’s lack of coherence as to how to renegotiate the meanings of this monument—and indeed, whether this is possible at all—signals deeper uncertainties in Spain about the uses of the past in the present. Accordingly, analyzing the shifting place of the Valley in Spain’s public sphere both enriches and complicates our understanding of the post-Franco interplay between history, memory, and public policy.

A Biography of the Valley of the Fallen: Words, Ritual, and Stone

The study of monuments tends toward privileging either their aesthetic composition or public reception. But as Ekaterina Haskins asserts, “Monuments are at once historically anchored expressions of particular ideologies *and* magnets for rival interpretations of identity and history”.¹¹ An integrated approach that evaluates both form and reception best suits the Valley of the Fallen, for the controversies which now overwhelm the monument hinge on the messages etched into and enacted on its premises. The Valley’s magnetic pull, in other words, derives from differing responses to the ideology and associations contained in its “anchored expressions.”

As with other war monuments, the creators of the Valley intended its forms to function as a material framework for remembrance, what James Mayo calls “a social and physical arrangement of space and artifacts to keep alive the memories of

Spain, 1939-1975 (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 18-23. See also Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 33-48, 136-148.

¹⁰ Well after the conclusion of the Civil War, Franco continued to perpetuate the fears and grievances it produced. For a speech delivered at the Valley in which he does precisely this, see “Discurso de S.E. el Jefe del Estado,” *La Vanguardia*, April 2, 1959, accessed February 17, 2012, http://www.generalisimofranco.com/valle_caidos/inagu/vanguardia03.jpg. For a scholarly account of the regime’s methods of perpetuating the Civil War, see Zira Box, *España, año cero: la construcción simbólica del Franquismo* (Madrid: Alianza Ensayo, 2010): 124-131, 286-341.

¹¹ Ekaterina V. Haskins, “Russia’s Postcommunist Past: The Cathedral of Christ the Savior and the Reimagining of National Identity,” *History & Memory* 21, no. 1 (2009): 28. Emphasis added by the author.

persons who participated.”¹² Many scholars, though, would replace “memories” with “memory,” for often monuments strive to induce a particular historical consciousness to the exclusion of others.¹³ The origins of the Valley follow this latter formula. The monument’s components and their interrelationships concretize the Franco regime’s politically expedient narrative of the Civil War, representing an attempt to replace the plural, divergent memories that Spaniards had of the conflict with the single memory of the winning side.

Pierre Nora’s assertion that *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) arise out of a lack of organic consensus about the past helps to explain Franco’s vision for the Valley.¹⁴ Franco and the Nationalists imagined that their 1936 military coup would result in a quick victory over the Second Republic. Instead, a full-blown Civil War ensued, one that lasted three years and bitterly divided the country. A large part of the Franco regime’s postwar mission thus involved the shaping of the public’s memory of the war, as well as its attitude toward the regime that initiated the conflict and emerged victorious from it. As demonstrated convincingly by Paloma Aguilar in *Memory and Amnesia*, the regime strove throughout the dictatorship era to widely inculcate a narrative of the Civil War as necessary, justified, and even inevitable.¹⁵ This effort produced a range of physical manifestations throughout Spain. To assemble a network of “mnemonics in the theaters of collective memory,” the regime re-named streets and parks, commissioned paintings and sculptures, and erected other buildings and monuments in addition to the Valley.¹⁶

In the context of the Franco regime’s comprehensive project to instill its memory of the war among Spaniards, the Valley is distinctive for its physical scope, the totality of its symbolic vision, and the specifics of its artistic and architectural vocabulary. The monument’s founding decree reflects the forces that impelled these distinctions. In a 1940 ceremony at the chosen site—before an audience that included representatives from Spain’s newly installed fascist regime, as well as ambassadors from Hitler’s Germany, Mussolini’s Italy, and Salazar’s Portugal—Franco claimed:

The dimension of our Crusade, the heroic sacrifices that victory entails and the

¹² James M. Mayo, “War Memorials as Political Memory,” *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988): 62. For a study of the public glorification of war and its participants in Europe, see George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹³ See Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials, and public statuary in post-Apartheid South Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2, 7-8, and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), x-xi.

¹⁴ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 12.

¹⁵ Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 31.

¹⁶ Andrew M. Shanken, “Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during World War II,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2002): 137. For a detailed study of the Franco regime’s deployment of art and architecture, see Llorente, *Arte e ideología*.

significance that victory has had for the future of Spain in this era, cannot continue to be perpetuated by the simple monuments so often used in towns and cities to commemorate the important facts of our History and the glorious episodes of our sons.¹⁷

By finding inadequate the “simple monuments” raised by individuals and communities throughout Spain during the conflict, the dictator signalled his intention to manage the legacy of the war through the creation of a single physical site of memory. Emboldened by the monumental constructions of his Axis allies, Franco planned to develop a new commemorative vocabulary equal to what he termed Spain’s “Crusade” and the Nationalist casualties the regime elevated to devotional status.¹⁸

Rather than figuratively represent the “glorious episodes” of the Civil War, though, Franco began to design a monument that would legitimize his rise to power—that is, that would lend the regime’s origins and rule sought-after authority and historical precedents. As Kirk Savage writes of the commemorative landscape in Washington D.C.’s National Mall, the inherent conservatism of monuments makes monument-building ideal for states seeking to represent traditional and idealized versions of themselves. Monuments are presented to the national and international public as “old and venerable, as if [they] had always been there, in more or less that form.”¹⁹

The Valley perfectly conforms to Savage’s description. Perhaps most obviously, Franco specifically strove to infuse the monument with architectural styles characteristic of civilizations he admired, with a particular reliance upon *El Escorial*, the palace, monastery, and royal pantheon built by Philip II (1527-1598) at Spain’s imperial zenith.²⁰ Also related to making the Valley appear as though it had always been there was its integration into the surrounding landscape. Each of the Valley’s components connects the monument intimately to the mountains of the Sierra de Guadarrama, which Franco prized for their geographical centrality and considered evocative of the “essential” Spain. Lastly, the monument’s all-pervasive Catholic forms and functions contribute to the sense that the Valley is “old and venerable” by connecting it to 2,000 years of Christianity.

The regime’s choice to link the Valley visually, rhetorically, and ritually to the

¹⁷ As cited in Méndez, *Valle*, 322.

¹⁸ Llorente, *Arte e ideología*, 79.

¹⁹ Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 7.

²⁰ For more information on El Escorial and the complex’s chief architect, both enormously influential to the Valley, see *Juan de Herrera y su influencia: actas del simposio, Camargo, 14-17 julio*, dir. Miguel Ángel Aramburu-Zabala and coord. Javier Gómez Martínez (Santander: Fundación Obra Pía de Juan de Herrera, Universidad de Cantabria, 1993).

Catholic, imperial Golden Age produces repercussions to this day. As we will see, the Valley's Christian forms and functions have allowed the post-Franco right to claim the monument with minimal political fallout. These same features divide the left, meanwhile, over whether religiosity can mitigate the monument's problematic history.

Franco, in collaboration with the chief architects of the Valley, conceived of the complex in spirit and form as a twentieth-century place of Christian pilgrimage. Before the architectural program for the Valley had even been developed, Franco imagined that on its grounds, "future generations will gather in tribute and admiration of those who left them a better Spain."²¹ Years later, at the inauguration of the Valley in 1959, Franco struck similar rhetorical chords. He characterized the completed monument as "a great temple to God, which expresses our gratitude and is worthy of holding the remains of those who bequeathed us their holy and heroic deeds."²² Present-day visitors to the monument can still see and feel these lofty, patently partisan sentiments cloaked in the legitimizing veneer of Catholicism.

Visitors to the Valley will first detect its soaring cross, the monument's most iconic component. As intended by the cross's architect, its towering height and geometric simplicity mark the site as Christian even at great distance. Indeed, the cross so effectively commands attention that visitors driving along the approach road that leads to the monument may overlook four small chapels atop a nearby ridgeline [see Figure 2]. However, these structures form an integral part of the narrative encoded in the Valley. As stations in the Way of the Cross, these chapels metaphorically trace Christ's final footsteps from his condemnation to death to his crucifixion. Physically, they lead the visitor to the Valley from the woods, ringing the monument's periphery along a route culminating in the main altar of its basilica, carved out of the mountain peak directly beneath the cross.

Throughout this pilgrimage route, the regime inserts itself into the Passion, equating its own wartime "sacrifices" with the sacrifice of Christ. Visitors are progressively prepared for the most explicit—and to the regime, discursively central—co-opting of the Passion, which occurs at the main altar of the basilica. The approach road leading to the monument, for instance, tilts upward, "invit[ing] the lifting of the soul."²³ Once at the monument proper, the immense, 30,000 square meter esplanade can only be crossed by climbing two flights of ten steps each,

²¹ Méndez, *Valle*, 314.

²² Franco, "Discurso," 2.

²³ Don Justo Pérez de Urbel, *El monumento de Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1959), 10.

simulating “the ascent to moral perfection inspired by faith.”²⁴ And before finally entering the basilica, the guidebook published by Spain’s federal heritage organization, the *Patrimonio Nacional*, instructs visitors to once again look up. “He who contemplates” the cross, the *Patrimonio* exhorts, “is now prepared to penetrate the interior of the temple of the Fallen and understand it”²⁵ [see Figure 3].

The “temple” itself functions as a miniature processional route, accruing volume, decorative elaboration, and lighting toward the main altar. Throughout, the regime appropriates the sacredness of the Christian nave to enfold references to its wartime experience. For visitors with the *Patrimonio*’s guidebook, specific references to the war abound. Chapels off the sides of the nave, for example, are dedicated to:

Patrons of the armies of the Land, Sea and Air: the Immaculate, Our Lady of Carmen, and Our Lady of Loreto; to the left, the Virgin of Africa, who commemorates the beginning of the war and the passage of the Strait, that of Merced, patron of captives, whose grace spread through all of the prisons of Spain during the years of the crusade, and that of Pilar, present here for being in the Ebro where the war ended.²⁶

Katherine Hite finds the sixth chapel, *Our Lady of Africa*, particularly noteworthy. She observes that the chapel identifies the continent from which Franco began the Nationalist insurgency in 1936.²⁷ Here, the reference to the Civil War is far from oblique.

Still, the main altar stands as the regime’s most explicit incorporation of its Civil War narrative into the Passion. Beneath Christ on the cross—carved from wood “cut personally by the *Generalísimo* Franco”²⁸—lie the tombstones of Franco and of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of Spain’s fascist-inspired political movement, known as the *Falange*, and “martyr” of the regime after his 1936 execution by the Republican government. Elsewhere in the Valley, the commentary of official guidebooks proves useful, even necessary, for understanding the regime’s coded self-identification with Marian virgins, warrior saints, and hooded archangels. The main altar, though, speaks for itself by drawing an unambiguous parallel between the lives and deaths of José Antonio, Franco, and Christ.

Franco’s intention to erect a Christian tribute to the Nationalists and their

²⁴ *Monumento Nacional de Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1970), 12.

²⁵ Pérez de Urbel, *El monumento de Santa Cruz*, 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁷ This conception of the “savage Muslim other” present throughout the nave is yet another indication that Franco looked toward the Catholic Kings as models and also adopted their anti-Islamic rhetoric. Hite, “Tales from the Crypt,” 116.

²⁸ Pérez de Urbel, *El monumento de Santa Cruz*, 30.

victory remained consistent from the conceptualization of the monument during the Civil War through its completion in 1959. But changing circumstances inside and outside of Spain during that twenty year period, in turn, impacted the Valley. Of particular relevance to the monument was the dictator's decision in the late 1940s to pursue relations with Western powers after a long period of international condemnation. During this phase of diplomatic outreach the regime increasingly considered the Valley an ideal place to project a carefully modulated picture of the country's religiosity.

The perception of Valley's newly global profile led to the reformation of exploitative construction practices at the monument and the refining of its strident *nacionalcatolicismo* (National Catholicism). In 1949, the regime partially suspended its prison-redemption scheme, under which political prisoners endured forced labor at the Valley and other sites in Spain.²⁹ Around the same time, the regime shelved plans to embellish the Valley's crypt and arcade with scenes of warring Christians and Muslims inspired by the Spanish *Reconquista* [see Figure 4].³⁰ A particularly potent signal of changing times came in 1958 as the regime transferred the remains of wartime casualties from their graves throughout Spain to the Valley's crypt. Contrary to Franco's original stipulations, Republicans were transferred to the crypt as well but given treatment grossly inferior to their Nationalist counterparts.³¹

In each of the above cases, impressions rather than actualities mattered. Franco now sought to give the Valley a conciliatory gloss, presenting the same monument anew to the domestic and international public as a site of postwar reconciliation. This rhetorical re-packaging is particularly evident in the 1959 guidebook published by the *Patrimonio Nacional*: "The great outstretched arms of the Cross embrace all Spaniards, without invidious distinctions, in its slender uprightness, like a lighthouse of faith, in memory of all those who lived up to their ideals in the name of Spain."³² In this description, the cross becomes a sign of God's attentive watch over Spain, and even his sanction of the regime. But while the guidebook claims that the cross "embrace[s] all Spaniards," in fact, the Valley's

²⁹ On the exploitative use of the regime's political enemies as construction laborers, see Olmeda, *Valle*, 45-9, 69-78, 85-95. For testimonies of the prisoners, see Sueiro, *La verdadera historia*, and Katherine Halper's film, *La memoria es vaga* (San Cristobal de la Laguna : Impulso Records, 2005).

³⁰ The so-called *Reconquista* was an approximately eight-hundred-year period beginning in the eighth century and ending in the fifteenth century during which Christian kingdoms regained Muslim-controlled areas on the Iberian Peninsula.

³¹ While the regime initially barred Republicans from burial at the Valley, by 1958 thousands of Republicans were being transferred to its crypt. As Crumbaugh writes, "The difference was that the Republican dead went unidentified. They were not treated as *caídos* strictly speaking but rather corpses of a lower order." Crumbaugh, "Afterlife and Bare Life," 425.

³² *Monumento Nacional*, 7.

“lighthouse of faith” shone for Spain’s Civil War victors but not its losers. The regime’s postwar repression of Republicans continued throughout the dictatorship, and the Civil War memory that the Valley perpetuated was, and is, irremediably partial.

The transfiguration of political ideology into religious iconography makes the narrative contained in the Valley at once explicit and veiled—in some ways as prominent as its cross and in other ways as buried as its underground crypt. Franco’s construction of the Valley as a “sacred” site may be compromised by the visual and historical record, but nonetheless has proven effective enough to continue to shape the place of the monument in the public sphere well after his death.

“Giving Ground”: The Valley during the Transition, 1975-82

Monuments, Sabine Marschall writes, are “society’s most deliberately designed, official, lasting, and emblematic cultural products codifying memory.”³³ As such, monuments offer insights into the ideological principles, historical outlook, cultural values, and aesthetic preferences of their creators. But equally revealing is the fate of monuments after political reversals. How do governments and societies come to terms with the commemorations left behind by earlier, controversial regimes?

As we have seen, constructing the Valley of the Fallen allowed the Franco regime to articulate its narrative of the Civil War, to assert its nationalist and Catholic values, and to stake an enduring physical claim on the future. The very success of Franco’s endeavor has proven problematic for post-Franco Spain. Since the dictator’s death in 1975—and with him, the demise of the regime—the Valley has appeared at odds with the liberal democracy Spaniards successfully created in the wake of a decades-long dictatorship. Even so, Spain’s departure from the dictatorship has not yet translated to a rejection of its most recognizable icon. While the built legacies of discredited governments in Western Europe and beyond have often been destroyed, defaced, or overhauled, the Valley stands today exactly as Franco intended.³⁴

That Franco’s legacy would endure intact at the Valley became apparent upon

³³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 2.

³⁴ For a comparative perspective on built environments and transitions to democracy, see Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2000). This account of post-WWII Munich explores, among other things, the ways in which citizens rehabilitated a cityscape deeply imprinted with the memories of Nazism. Also recommended is Sergio Luzzatto, *The Body of Il Duce: Mussolini’s Corpse and the Fortunes of Italy* (New York: Picador: 2006), which studies post-fascist Italy through the mortal remains of Mussolini.

his death, on November 20, 1975. The dictator's decision to be buried at the Valley—apparently uncertain ahead of time, but probable given his strong self-identification with the project—has marked the interpretation of the monument ever since.³⁵ Today, Franco's privileged location beneath the high altar is perhaps the greatest point of contention for critics of the monument. While calls for the removal of the Valley's cross, for instance, produce widespread outcry, Franco himself has fewer defenders.³⁶

But the dictator's funeral service was itself significant. The deep, widespread interest in the intricacies of the ceremony suggested that the event itself might contain signs as to the future of Spain. Understandably, the country was gripped with doubts: could Francoism outlast Franco? Would Spain continue along the trajectory outlined by the dictator, or would a new political cast institute systemic reforms? At the time, no one knew the answers to such questions.

Franco's funeral in fact foreshadowed the gradual, evolutionary nature of Spain's transition. For as Joan Ramon Resina contends, the shift from dictatorship to democracy was not a political or social revolution but rather, "the intergenerational handling over of institutions."³⁷ Franco's service, a decorous, well-attended, state-sanctioned celebration of the memory of the former dictator, makes this plain. During the mass led by the Valley's monks, a call-and-response ritual indicated the dictator's ongoing relevance. After the singing of *Cara al sol*, the anthem of Spain's fascist party, the crypt's loudspeakers projected "*Caudillo* [Commander] of Spain!" to which the audience replied, "Present!"³⁸ Also important was the presence of Spain's newly installed monarch, King Juan Carlos I, and his wife Sofia. In the months following this service, Juan Carlos I would preside over the legal dismantling of Francoism and the creation of Spain's democratic institutions and processes. But one of the King's first official duties was to arrange and direct the funeral service. This seeming contradiction helps indicate the careful balancing act managed by Juan

³⁵ For more information on Franco's decision to be inhumed at the Valley, see Olmeda, *Valle*, 333, 338-9.

³⁶ A 2011 government commission charged with adapting the Valley to Spain's post-Franco political and social context grappled at length with this issue. Franco's privileged position within the monument, the commission reported, impedes the stated goal of restructuring the monument so that it honors all Civil War victims. For the commission report, see Ministerio de Justicia, *Ley de la Memoria Histórica* [Ley de 52/2007 de 26 de diciembre], Public Law 52, Spanish Statutes at Large, (2006): 13, accessed on March 12, 2014, <http://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2007-22296&p=20100324&tn=0>

³⁷ Joan Ramon Resina, "The Weight of Memory and the Lightness of Oblivion: The Dead of the Spanish Civil War," in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, eds., Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 227.

³⁸ Olmeda, *Valle*, 343.

Carlos I, who led an uncertain political transformation while assuaging fears of a second descent into strife.³⁹

During the transition, Franco's legacy continued to shape political rhetoric and practice. Spain's transition-era leadership operated under an implicit agreement to avoid official condemnation of the Franco regime, culminating in the 1977 Amnesty Pact which granted a general pardon to all crimes committed during the war and dictatorship. Scholars offer differing explanations for the avoidance of reprisals and the effect of this avoidance on Spain's political and social landscape. Aguilar argues that Spaniards valued future harmony over past re-crimination, leading to a so-called *pacto de olvido* (pact of forgetting) which ultimately facilitated the transition. As she writes: "Negotiation, pact-making, giving ground, tolerance—in short, the famous consensus—were established to the point that they became, at certain crucial moments, an end in themselves rather than a means."⁴⁰ Other scholars emphasize that the vibrant cultural output related to the war and dictatorship even during this period negates the notion that Spain "forgot." And others still, like Jo Labanyi, stress the rich, detailed memories of outwardly silent Spaniards who suffered atrocities during the war and dictatorship. For them, silence was not a failure to remember but instead a means of coping with nearly four decades of political repression.⁴¹

Aguilar's notion of the "famous consensus" aptly characterized the new transitional government's engagement with the Valley, a site which starkly illuminates the many continuities between the Franco and post-Franco eras. On the six-month anniversary of Franco's death, the *Confederación Nacional de Combatientes* (National Confederation of Combatants), a Francoist organization, planned to pay homage to Franco in Madrid's *Plaza de Oriente*. According to the organization's official statements, the ceremony would demonstrate, "Before our people and before the world, our fidelity to the memory of the *Caudillo* and loyalty to his historical testament and to the Regime."⁴² The transition government prohibited the ceremony

³⁹ For a thorough chronicle of the King's influence on Spain's transition, see Paul Preston, *Juan Carlos: Steering Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy* (New York City: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004).

⁴⁰ Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, 151. See also: Omar Encarnación, "Civil Society and the Consolidation of Democracy in Spain," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (2001): 53-79, and Carolyn Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," *Annals of American Academy of Political Science* 617 (2008): 133-48. For a comparative perspective on the Spanish transition and its aftermath, see Paloma Aguilar and Katherine Hite, "Historical Memory and Authoritarian Legacies in Processes of Political Change: Spain and Chile," in *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Spain*, eds., Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 191-232.

⁴¹ Jo Labanyi, "The languages of silence: historical memory, generational transmission and witnessing in contemporary Spain," *Journal of Romance Studies* 9 (2009): 24.

⁴² "Girón acata la decisión del Gobierno: 'No habrá manifestación,'" *El País*, May 18, 1976, accessed

from taking place in Madrid, citing the intentionally provocative nature of its proposed program. But surprisingly, the Ministry of the Interior suggested the *Confederación* consider a ceremony of religious character at the Valley instead. The leadership of the *Confederación* accepted, and 5,000 Spaniards attended the organization's ceremony at the Valley. Despite the government's initial consent to a ceremony of "religious character" at the monument, the actual event featured a profusion of Falangist songs and speeches, strongly recalling ceremonies held at the Valley during Franco's lifetime.⁴³

While the *Confederación* had initially hoped to march in Madrid, its eventual ceremony at the Valley set an important precedent: Franco's supporters went on to use the Valley annually with the tacit approval of the transition government. Since 1976, Franco's supporters have convened routinely at the Valley to celebrate "20-N" (November 20th, the anniversary of the deaths of Franco and José Antonio), and July 18th, the start of the Civil War. Though attended by progressively fewer Spaniards, these gatherings violate both the transition government's original stipulations forbidding political acts at the Valley, and the sacredness of the monument's crypt. After all, this part of the monument is a basilica designated by the Vatican and the final resting place of tens of thousands of Civil War dead.⁴⁴

That the transition government allowed politically redolent events to take place in the Valley's crypt, overlooking the ways such events compromised the monument's supposedly religious nature, indicates its steadfast insistence on moderation and consensus. Even as the transition government distanced itself from Franco-style authoritarianism, its concessions to extremists like members of the *Confederación* played a key role in the continuation of the Valley as a site for the glorification of Franco and his legacy.

February 17, 2012,

<http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Giron/acata/decision/Gobierno/habra/manifestacion.html>.

⁴³ These songs and speeches are described in greater detail in "Gritos contra Fraga y aclamaciones al 'bunker,'" *El País*, May 21, 1976, accessed February 17, 2012,

<http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Gritos/Fraga/aclamaciones/bunker.html>.

⁴⁴ Although Franco's death was officially reported as occurring on November 20th, the same date as Falange founder José Antonio, a conspiracy theory quickly emerged which alleged that Franco had in fact died days earlier and that the regime concealed this from the public in order to solidify the link between Franco and José Antonio. Paul Preston's definitive biography of Franco suggests the dictator in fact died in the early hours of November 20th, after his life support was terminated at 11:15 p.m. on November 19th. Paul Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 778. In 1960 Pope John XXIII designated the Valley a minor basilica, a church distinguished by the head of the Roman Catholic Church for its religious, historical, or aesthetic significance. At the designation ceremony, the Vatican's visiting representative declared the monument a "sign of human Redemption [...] for the whole Spanish nation," even as the regime continued to perpetuate divisions dating to the Civil War. As cited in Olmeda, *Valle*, 264.

"Is the Valley of the Fallen recoverable?"

As Spain's democracy solidified, transition-era political mindsets—themselves largely conditioned by Francoism—continued to shape the place of the Valley of the Fallen in the public sphere. The monument passed above the political fray into the 1990s and the new millennium. Indeed, in 2001, Alberto Medina Domínguez declared the Valley an "empty" monument. In his cultural study of transition-era Spain, Medina Domínguez describes the once-bustling tourist attraction as silent, abandoned, and conspicuously expunged of Franco's presence—the perfect metaphor for Spain's "obsessive extermination of the memory of Franco after his death."⁴⁵

But within just several years, the Valley had become what Justin Crumbaugh calls a "lighting rod in the recent push to reconstruct and reassess the history of the war and post-war."⁴⁶ This rapid, profound transformation from vacant to explosive reflects a broader change in Spain. During the millennial "memory boom," Spaniards vigorously began to re-interpret old histories and produce new histories. Spurred in part by Argentina and Chile's serious examinations of their respective military dictatorships, Spain too pushed the past into the fore.⁴⁷ The most viscerally affecting re-examination of the past involved exhumations of graves dating to the war and post-war periods. Emilio Silva's well-known effort to locate, exhume, and rebury his Republican grandfather led to the creation of the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory) and propelled the unearthing of thousands of victims. Meanwhile, both fictional and nonfictional accounts of the war and dictatorship flooded bookstores, cinemas, and other public forums. Alongside these historical inquiries, the Valley became a key topic of deliberation and a touchstone for larger questions about the legacy of the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship.

The Valley's 'sacredness' came under scrutiny, paradoxically, following the passage of a law that classified the monument as hallowed ground. After the transition, pro-Franco demonstrations had continued at the Valley but suffered from

⁴⁵ Alberto Medina Domínguez, *Exorcismos de la memoria: Políticas y poéticas de la melancolía en la España de la transición* (Madrid: Libertarias, 2003), 14.

⁴⁶ Crumbaugh, "Afterlife and Bare Life," 419.

⁴⁷ For an exploration of this "boom," including commentary on the Valley, see Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez, "Revisiting the legacy of the Spanish Civil War," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 21, no. 3 (2008): 231-244. For an in-depth historiography of social histories of the Civil War and dictatorship produced during this 'boom,' see Julián Casanova, "History and memory: a new social dimension," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 21, no. 3 (2008): 187-200.

declining numbers and progressively negative press coverage. The Spanish media increasingly emphasized the far-right political content of these commemorations, describing not just their participants but their acts too as belonging to the political periphery.⁴⁸ Given these significant changes in public perception, it would seem as though the Valley and Franco's legacy more broadly were ready for critical rethinking after the new millennium. Spain's 2007 *Ley de la Memoria Histórica* (Law of Historical Memory) appeared poised to facilitate such rethinking.

The Law of Historical Memory had been a campaign promise of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party or PSOE) in the 2004 general elections, championed by party president and eventual prime minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. This sweeping legislative package condemned the Francoist regime and addressed Nationalist, Republican, and non-partisan victims of the Civil War and dictatorship through such means as increasing reparations for those who lost family members during the war and funding the exhumations of mass graves across Spain. Given Spain's Amnesty Law and the absence of retrospective justice measures, the law's supporters considered it a crucial step toward addressing unresolved wounds. Meanwhile the PSOE's opposition party, the conservative *Partido Popular* (Popular Party or PP), repeatedly denounced the law for the "problems and divisions" it would introduce in Spain.⁴⁹

For all of the controversy generated by the Law of Historical Memory, it in fact took a tepid approach to the Valley. The Amnesty Law contains key provisions on persisting Francoist symbols, banning these from public buildings and spaces across Spain. As stipulated by Article 15: "The offices of Public Administration, in the exercise of their authority, shall take appropriate measures to withdraw all shields, insignia, plaques, and other commemorative objects or references which extol, individually or collectively, the military uprising, the Civil War, and the repression of the dictatorship."⁵⁰ While many such "commemorative objects" had already been removed after Franco's death on the initiative of individuals and local governments, the law at last established nation-wide standards. These standards, it is safe to say, appear to apply to the Valley. The monument, after all, is itself a "commemorative object" which exalts the 1936 coup and the outcome of the Civil War. Its construction,

⁴⁸ For instance, the article in *El País* on the 20-N celebration of 1980 is titled, "The far-right commemorated the anniversary of the death of Franco and José Antonio," *El País*, November 21, 1980, accessed February 17, 2012,

http://www.elpais.com/diario/1980/11/21/espana/343609220_850215.html.

⁴⁹ "Las delegaciones del Gobierno en Aragón y Madrid anuncian la prohibición de manifestaciones para el 20-N," *El País*, November 13, 2007, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/diario/1981/11/20/espana/delegaciones/gobierno/aragon/madrid/anuncian/prohibicion/manifestaciones/20N.html>.

⁵⁰ Ministerio, *Memoria Histórica*, 12.

moreover, was accomplished only with the repression of Franco's political adversaries. As Franco's principal built legacy, it even appears that there would be no better application of Article 15 than to this very monument.

Nevertheless, the Law of Historical Memory rescues itself from passing judgment on the Valley. In Article 16, devoted specifically to this monument, the law orders that, "The Valley of the Fallen shall be governed strictly by laws of general application governing places of worship and public cemeteries."⁵¹ Thus the Law exempts the Valley from the legal standards applied to Francoist statues, street signs, and other, lesser symbols, on the basis of its status as a functioning monastery and basilica, and the final resting place for over 30,000 Civil War dead.⁵² The last half of Article 16 accentuates the irrationality of the Valley's classification as a place of worship and public cemetery. The article also orders that, "In no part of the grounds can any acts be carried out which are political in nature or which tend to extol the Civil War, its protagonists, or Francoism."⁵³ This well-meaning but baffling addition is clearly intended to authoritatively prevent, once and for all, the political rallies taking place at the Valley annually since Franco's death—rallies theoretically banned but tolerated in practice. However, prohibiting acts which honor the war and the regime in a colossal monumental complex whose every built component does precisely this seems fundamentally misguided.

The Law of Historical Memory accepts as a premise one of the regime's fictions: the notion of the Valley as a non-partisan, public, and purely religious monument. But despite Franco's rhetorical appeals to the "inclusive embrace" of the arms of the Valley's cross in the 1960s, he routinely negated the possibility of the monument serving as a site for all Spaniards. Given the corruption of the monument's religious spaces through the insertion of blatant political symbols and the contradiction of the monument's standing as a "public" cemetery through the inferior treatment of Republican casualties, the Law failed to question the Valley's legitimacy as a place of worship and a public cemetery.

Unsurprisingly, the Valley continued to generate controversy even after the passage of the Law of Historical Memory. An article in *El País* on the 2007 celebration of 20-N announced "The last 'ultra' gathering at the Valley of the Fallen."⁵⁴ But this was a premature goodbye; the years after 2007 were marked by a spate of confrontations at the monument that suggested tensions had escalated rather than

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ministerio, *Informe*, 3.

⁵³ Ministerio, *Memoria Histórica*, 12.

⁵⁴ "La última concentración 'ultra' en el Valle de los Caídos," *El País*, November 18, 2007, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/ULTIMA/CONCETRACION/ULTRA/VALLE.html>.

abated. Three years after the “last” gathering of Francoists at the Valley, for instance, newspapers reported on a “[p]rofusion of acts on the 35th anniversary of the death of Franco”⁵⁵ and “[m]aximum tension at the Valley of the Fallen between neo-Nazis and defenders of Historical Memory.”⁵⁶ The monument had been closed temporarily since the spring of 2010 due to structural instabilities, which the PSOE’s detractors construed as a politically motivated attempt to dislocate the Valley’s resident Benedictine monk community.⁵⁷ Because of the closure, the 2010 iteration of 20-N occurred alongside the road leading to the monument. Armed with Francoist and Republican flags, Franco’s supporters and detractors hurled insults that invoked memories of the Civil War, the legacy of the dictatorship, and political affairs in present-day Spain. Reporter Natalia Junquera, responsible for *El País*’s coverage of the Valley, ended her article on 2010’s 20-N with a rare bit of editorializing: “Thirty-five years after the first 20-N,” she commented, “celebratory acts of commemorating and paying homage to Franco continue. Every year more, in fact...More than three decades after the death of Franco.”⁵⁸

Clearly, the Law of Historical Memory fell short of resolving tensions at the Valley. It may even have contributed directly to the increased charge palpable in the Sierra by galvanizing liberal opposition to Franco and the uninhibited perpetuation of his legacy at the monument. Prior to 2007 the Valley was the realm of Franco’s few remaining *ultras* and *nostálgicos*; now they were met on its esplanade by the dictator’s equally impassioned and more numerous detractors. Furthermore, the Valley had acquired a disturbing relevance beyond Spain. The monument attracted neo-fascists from all over Europe, leading a member of the *Federación Estatal de Foros por la*

⁵⁵ Natalia Junquera, “Profusión de actos en el 35º aniversario de la muerte de Franco,” *El País*, November 20, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Profusion/actos/35/aniversario/Franco.html>.

⁵⁶ At the 20-N demonstration in 2010, the “defenders of Historical Memory” were members of the *Federación Estatal de Foros por la Memoria* (State Federation of Forums for the Recovery of Memory), an organization committed to locating and unearthing mass graves dating to the Civil War. Natalia Junquera, “Máxima tensión en el Valle de los Caídos entre neonazis y defensores de la Memoria Histórica,” *El País*, November 20, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Maxima/tension/Valle/Caidos.html>.

⁵⁷ That fall, the Valley’s Benedictine monks went so far as to hold several religious services in the forests that encircle the monument. The press coverage of holy men cast out of their basilica into the woods further sensationalized disputes regarding the monument. See Natalia Junquera, “Los monjes del Valle de los Caídos desafían el cierre del templo,” *El País*, November 8, 2010, accessed February 17, 2012, http://elpais.com/diario/2010/11/08/madrid/1289219059_850215.html. See also Juan Diego Quesada, “El prior del Valle de los Caídos: ‘Nos persiguen como en 1934,’” *El País*, November 15, 2010, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://elpais.com/articulo/espana/prior/Valle/Caidos/persiguen/1934.html>.

⁵⁸ Natalia Junquera, “‘Vamos a tener que volver a sacar las escopetas a la calle,’” *El País*, November 21, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Vamso/tener/volver/sacar/escopetas/calle.html>.

Memoria (State Federation of Forums for the Recovery of Memory) to claim that the monument “has been converted into the grand Nazi monument of Europe.”⁵⁹ This perhaps exaggerated statement—in reality, pro-Franco and neo-fascist gatherings were few in number and poorly attended—does help shed light on the newly polarized atmosphere at the monument. Left-leaning Spaniards apparently indifferent to the gathering of a few Francoists were incited to counter-demonstrate by the presence of neo-fascists. Thus it was only after 2007—thirty years after Franco’s death—that the Valley became a site of genuine contestation.

The provisions in the Law of Historical Memory concerning Francoist symbols were among the most difficult to draft and implement. As underscored by the 2007 comments of the PSOE parliamentary spokesman, material remnants of the war and dictatorship confront the ideals of the transition against the demands of democracy. “The transition had a very specific purpose—democracy,” said the spokesman. “And democracy is incompatible with the existence of symbols that celebrate a dictatorship.”⁶⁰ But Franco’s designation of the Valley as a consecrated site complicates this pronouncement. At the 2010 showdown between neo-Nazis and human rights groups in the shadow of the Valley’s hulking cross, one protester claimed the cross “is the same as the swastika in Germany.”⁶¹ This intentionally aggressive charge captures the degree to which the Valley is the symbol of a repressive and now discredited regime. But it also, inadvertently, calls attention to an aspect of the monument’s distinctiveness. A cross, of course, is legible outside of Francoism. The dictator co-opted this Christian icon, but it has been and will continue to be used in different contexts. So while the Valley’s cross and other components may provoke anger, shock, and pain in victims of the dictatorship and their advocates, to remove them proves more complex than removing a symbol like the swastika that is illegible outside of its ideological context.

The controversies over the Valley involve more than the prominent cleft between small numbers of remaining neo-fascists and the rest of Spanish society. Deep fissures divide even those who would like to see the monument reflect democratic change in Spain. As journalist and philosopher Josep Ramoneda asked in *El País*, the fundamental question facing Spain remains: “Is the Valley of the Fallen

⁵⁹ Patricia Campelo, “Los incumplimientos en tres años de la ley de la memoria histórica,” *Público*, December 27, 2010, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://m.publico.es/353565>.

⁶⁰ Victoria Burnett, “Bill in Spanish Parliament Aims to End ‘Amnesia’ About Civil War Victims,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2007, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/28/world/europe/28spain.html?pagewanted=all>.

⁶¹ As cited in Junquera, “Vamos a tener que volver.”

recoverable?"⁶² The proliferation of opinion pieces, blog entries, author interviews, and radio and television programming addressing this question confirm that the answer eludes consensus. To writer Antonio Muñoz Molina, "The cross, the entire basilica, the statues, all...would be a perfect educational illustration of the ethic and aesthetic of fascism."⁶³ Muñoz Molina makes the popular suggestion that a museum be added to the Valley which would document the history of Spanish fascism and its resisters. "Like the torture center in Buenos Aires or a concentration camp, the best fate possible for a place of dishonor is to be converted into a civil sanctuary of memory."⁶⁴ As appealing as this proposal may be, it provokes yet another string of questions: what "memory" would such a museum preserve? Who decides? Would the monument retain its basilica and monastery? Or, as human rights groups allege, is the site's sanctity compromised by its problematic history? Elvira Lindo's droll quip that, "The problem with the Valley of the Fallen is the Valley of the Fallen"⁶⁵ at times seems like a rare point of agreement.

After the unqualified failure of the Law of Historical Memory to resolve the predicament at the Valley, in 2011 the PSOE adopted a more actively critical stance. While the Law of Historical Memory accepts the monument on Franco's terms, as a "place of worship" and "public cemetery," by 2011 the government indicated its apparent willingness to consider a profound rupture with the past. The PSOE charged a thirteen-person commission with deciding whether the dictator's remains should be ejected from the Valley—a long-time desire of the left—and asked for recommendations that would "convert the Valley of the Fallen into a place of 'memory and reconciliation.'"⁶⁶

But despite the outward boldness of this approach, the PSOE's effort in fact bears the lingering influence of the "politics of consensus"—a tenuous approach toward rethinking Spain's most overt, conflict-ridden reminder of the Civil War and

⁶² Josep Ramoneda, "El destino de un icono fascista," *El País*, December 1, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/actualidad/1322679435.html>.

⁶³ Antonio Muñoz Molina, "Valle del Recuerdo," *El País*, November 27, 2010, accessed February 17, 2012, http://www.elpais.com/articulo/portada/Valle_de_los_Caidos/Guerra_Civil.html.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* The Buenos Aires torture center Muñoz Molina refers to is the *Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada* (Navy School of Mechanics [ESMA]). During Argentina's military dictatorship, 1976-1983, ESMA was used as a detention center and became the site of torture and executions. In 2004 the National Congress converted ESMA into a museum and cultural center that commemorates the Dirty War's victims, recounts the history of the dictatorship, and hosts events in affirmation of democracy and human rights.

⁶⁵ Elvira Lindo, "Los restísimos," *El País*, December 4, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.politica.elpais.com/2011/12/04/actualidad/1322972333.html>.

⁶⁶ As cited in Natalia Junquera, "Un arzobispo y 12 expertos dirán si Franco sigue en el Valle de los Caídos," *El País*, May 28, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/arzobisp/expertos/diran/Franco/sigue/Valle/Caidos.html>.

dictatorship. Tempering its stated readiness to overhaul the monument if necessary, the PSOE took pains to assemble a purposefully multidisciplinary and diverse group through discussions with both parliament and the Catholic Church. Ultimately, the Commission consisted of historians, anthropologists, philosophers, theologians, a Benedictine monk, and an archbishop—a group the PSOE claimed was endowed with “scientific authority and ideological plurality.”⁶⁷ Even the group’s title, the *Comisión de Expertos para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos* (Commission of Experts on the Future of the Valley of the Fallen) seemed intended as a reassuring pronouncement of the group’s expertise and the forward-looking scope of its inquiry.

The Commission’s report, released on November 29, 2011, recommends serious change at the Valley. It advises the removal of Franco’s remains along with the conversion of the monument “into a place of memory for the victims and the casualties of the Civil War.”⁶⁸ Concretely, this mandate would involve installing an artistic inscription of those interred in the crypt; constructing a meditative space; and, adjoining a museum-like Center for Interpretation. Most importantly, the report effectively proposes dividing the Valley into two parts: the basilica, to be under the authority of the monastery and Catholic Church, and the rest of the Valley, to be administered by the Spanish State. This division, of course, upholds the underlying sanctity of the basilica.

However, despite the Commission’s thorough research and thoughtful suggestions, the PSOE again averted a reckoning at the Valley. Political timing rendered the work of the Commission irrelevant. Because the Commission released its findings after the electoral loss of the PSOE and outright victory of the PP in the general elections of November of 2011, it seems certain that the report’s proposals will go unimplemented. Closer inspection of the process and its outcome reveals that more than a missed deadline crippled this latest effort. Rather, a disconcerting insistence on what Aguilar calls the “the famous consensus” again appears to have hindered the need to come to terms with this colossal legacy of the dictatorship. The PSOE granted the Commission with only recommendatory power, made the adoption of its proposals contingent on the agreement of the Catholic Church and Franco’s family, and allowed its report to be delivered after election day, to an incoming conservative prime minister who has repeatedly communicated his opposition to the Law of Historical Memory.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Natalia Junquera, “El futuro del Valle de los Caídos se decidirá después del 20-N,” *El País*, October 10, 2011, accessed February 17, 2012, <http://www.politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/10/10/actualidad.131824442.html>.

⁶⁸ Ministerio, *Informe*, 17.

⁶⁹ The hostility of the PP to the Law of Historical Memory is made plain by the party’s 2010 refusal to agree to the law’s implementation at the Valley of the Fallen. All other Spanish parties voted in favor

The PP's hostility to the Law of Historical Memory assures the improbability of changes to the Valley for the near future. It appears that the liberal PSOE will integrate the recommendations of the Commission into its political agenda, given the role it played in establishing and supporting the group. But this too is uncertain: the PSOE could conclude that the Valley is a political minefield and divert its attention away from the monument, and the divisiveness and controversy that always seem to accompany it. Simply put, it is impossible to speak of the Valley's future with certainty, except to say that the monument will in all likelihood remain a permanent fixture in debates over the past.

Conclusion

Shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War, Franco traveled to Burgos to inaugurate a monument to the Nationalist commander Emilio Mola. There, he sketched plans for a future project, a national monument of unprecedented scale and sophistication: "Our monument to victory will not be another stone mausoleum, nor a group of sculptures, a thing of the past, [but instead] will have larger dimensions, will have a basilica, monastery, and youth hostel."⁷⁰ Franco's rejection of the mausoleums and sculptures belonging to "the past" has produced consequences likely unforeseeable to the dictator. The Valley of the Fallen is simultaneously condemned as the incarnation of Franco and claimed as a holy sanctuary. The monument's religiosity emboldens its defenders and confounds its detractors, generating divisions both between and within the democratic right and left.

Since its wartime conceptualization the Valley has demonstrated surprising suppleness, acquiring and mislaying meanings with the passage of time. First envisioned as a reliquary for the casualties of the victorious Nationalists, the Franco regime eventually proffered the monument to Spain and the world as a symbol of Christian reconciliation. After Franco's death, the monument became the realm of Francoists and weekenders, the former to pay homage to the gravestones of Franco and José Antonio, and the latter "for the same reason one went to El Escorial, because it [...] pertained vaguely to the world of the historic."⁷¹ Now, the Valley injects urgency and complexity into debates about the past. Proposals for the future of the monument range from preservation to demolition, reflecting the plurality of

of the motion. See Natalia Junquera, "Todos los partidos, salvo el PP, instan al Gobierno a cumplir la ley de memoria en el Valle de los Caídos," *El País*, September 22, 2010, accessed February 17, 2012, http://elpais.com/elpais/2010/09/22/actualidad/1285143436_850215.html.

⁷⁰ As cited in Olmeda, *Valle*, 27.

⁷¹ Muñoz Molina, "Valle del Recuerdo."

interpretations of the war and dictatorship.⁷²

While the controversies surrounding the Valley no doubt signal a lack of common agreement over Spain's twentieth-century traumas and their contemporary relevance, this should not be perceived as inherently negative. In fact, public debates on the Valley signify acts of personal and collective renegotiation. As individuals, organizations, and political parties imaginatively re-situate the monument in a changed political landscape, they also help to counter the outwardly stable, hegemonic memory it represents. Admittedly, newspaper opinion pieces and abandoned commission proposals do little to chip away at the cultural power of monuments. Nonetheless, vibrant social discourse pushes against the limits of engaging with the past, thus expanding possibilities for the future of the Valley of the Fallen after Franco.



Figure 1. The Valley of the Fallen, from the approach road to the monument (photo: author, 2012).

⁷² As of this writing, the most recent controversy at the Valley involves the budget of the governing *Partido Popular*. In spring of 2013 it was revealed that the PP authorized the expenditure of nearly €300,000 in public funds for the restoration of the monument's main façade. Opposition leader Ramón Jáuregui demanded an explanation: "Does the Government consider it more important to repair the sculpture of *The Piety* than to dignify the ossuary of the 33,847 dead deposited there? Why has this site been opened to the public and to tourism, being what it is and still representing what it represents?" Nonetheless, the PP responded that it would proceed with the expenditure. Natalia Junquera, "El PSOE pide explicaciones por un gasto de 300.000 euros en el Valle de los Caídos," *El País*, May 26, 2013, accessed February 17, 2012, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/05/26/actualidad/1369598477_816389.html.



Figure 2. On the ridgeline, one of the chapels in the Valley's outlying Stations of the Cross (photo: author, 2012).



Figure 3. A view across the esplanade, centered on the cross, the Pietà sculpture, and the door to the crypt (photo: author, 2012).



Figure 4. A view of the wall behind the arcade, where plans from the 1940s would have placed inlaid reliefs of Crusade scenes. Ultimately the regime chose to leave the wall unadorned (photo: author, 2012).

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Mother and Child Were Saved: Justifying the Caesarean Section in Nineteenth-Century England

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Abstract

The Caesarean section has one of the longest continual medical histories. It has been recorded in antique medical texts, practiced throughout the medieval era, and utilized as an operative tool in modern medicine. Historians frequently understate the omnipresence of Caesarean sections by omitting the nineteenth century, instead presenting a distinct gap between medieval techniques and the “modern” operation. This implies that during the nineteenth century, physicians avoided performing the operation. However, there is historical evidence that practitioners utilized Caesarean sections prior to the discovery of anaesthesia and asepsis, despite its low survival rate. This article seeks to explain how medical practitioners selected and justified these techniques through an intensive examination of nineteenth-century medical journal articles. It focuses on the way that communal decisions, elevation of patient consent, and acknowledgements of foetal life contributed to a narrative of operative permissibility. It demonstrates the importance of the nineteenth century in establishing a mentality that justified and normalized a dangerous operation and paved the way for twentieth-century revolutions in technique.

In 1878, the physician Henry Morris presented a case of patient death to his peers. Morris published an article entitled "Clinical Remarks on a case of Caesarean Section" in the prominent British medical journal, *The Lancet*.¹ He described the procedure and risks of the operation positively and then nodded to the existence of his patient. Morris informed his peers: "I regret, gentlemen, I cannot bring the patient upon whom this operation was performed before you. As in too many cases, she does not live to justify by her presence the treatment adopted to save her. I have only

¹ Primary documents from the period under study alternate between spellings of 'Caesarean'. Sometimes the latter is used, but 'Caesarian' is also used. In this paper, I will use the more modern spelling of the former, but retain the latter spelling in quotations as used in the original material.

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these inglorious witnesses of its performance [namely] the faulty pelvis and the foiled uterus."² Despite Morris's positive evaluation of the potential and necessity of the operation, he did not have a record of success to support his claims. Nor did he consider an explicit success rate necessary, claiming that, "though the Caesarean is the most dangerous of operations, though 85 percent of the mothers and 49 percent of the children die, we must not be deterred from undertaking it in appropriate cases."³ This unusual technique of differentiating necessary intervention from measurable success characterized nineteenth-century Caesarean sections. Morris typifies the perspective of nineteenth-century obstetric operators in his description of the patient as a statement to his successful judgment in ordering an operation and diffusion of blame for her death.

Caesarean sections were performed prior to the dispersal of knowledge on asepsis and anaesthesia and despite a lack of physiological knowledge about the nature and function of the uterus during labour.⁴ Historians who understand surgical advancements in terms of successful operations thus tend to ignore the significance of the mid-nineteenth century as a period of theoretical development. However, as the case of Henry Morris demonstrated, the low survival rate of the operation did not deter practitioners from considering it to be a "necessary" procedure. The contribution of the nineteenth century to the history of Caesarean section was in the construction of a dialogue of possibility in which the Caesarean should be necessary in certain cases, and could result in the survival of both mother and child. This dialogue contributed to and enveloped advancements in surgical practice and led to the twentieth-century pronouncements of "successful" Caesarean sections in which the operation consistently saved both mother and child.

Due to the long history and many interpretations of the Caesarean section, it is necessary for me to be explicit in the terms of my study. Henry Morris defined the operation as consisting of "laying open the abdomen of the mother for the purpose of removing from the cavity of her womb the child which, from one of many causes, cannot be expelled or withdrawn through the natural outlet."⁵ To this definition I will add that, for the purposes of this paper, that the operation must penetrate both the abdominal and uterine wall, excluding ectopic pregnancies. I have also chosen to limit my research to "conservative" Caesarean sections, which aimed to preserve a functional uterus after the operation, thus dismissing the trend of "Porro" operations that involved the extraction of the child and then total hysterectomy.⁶ During the nineteenth century, there was no universal method for performance of the Caesarean

² Henry Morris, "Clinical Remarks on a case of Caesarean Section," *The Lancet* 111, no. 2850 (April 13, 1878): 527, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)43540-4](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)43540-4).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Dyre Trolle, *The History of Caesarean Section* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel Booksellers, 1982), 42.

⁵ Morris, "Clinical Remarks on a case of Caesarean Section," 126.

⁶ J.H. Young, *The History of Caesarean Section* (London: H.K. Lewis & Co. Ltd., 1944), 43.

section. Instead, it was usually taken as an operation of last resort, particularly when the female genitals were malformed and thus natural labour was impossible. This technical uncertainty did inspire discussions of proper technique, most specifically the question of where to make incisions during the operation. My paper focuses on the decision to initiate surgery and post-surgical justifications, and I have chosen to omit further discussions of technique from this paper.

My thesis is in direct opposition to the treatment of the nineteenth century in popular historical surveys of the Caesarean section. In *Get Me Out*, Randi Hunter Epstein indicated that there were four precursors to successful modern surgery: the discovery of germs and response of asepsis, the introduction of anaesthetics, the rise of hospital births which produced higher doctor control over labour, and an increased need for intervention due to physiological factors like rickets.⁷ These innovations and conditions developed over the nineteenth century, but did not gain prominence or consolidation until the twentieth century. In distinguishing eras of the operation most historians have created divisions in the style of J.H. Young, who divided its history into three stages: operations performed prior to 1500, those between 1500 and 1876, and those from 1876 onward.⁸ He determined these periods as first, post-mortem attempts to save the child; second, early attempts on a live patient; and, finally, "the development of the modern technique."⁹ Historians like Carter and Duriez perceive the nineteenth century as a period of developmental stagnation, with unchanged obstetric techniques until the 1870s.¹⁰ Indeed, most historians have dismissed the relevance of the Caesarean section in the nineteenth century. In *With Child: Birth Through the Ages*, Jenny Carter and Therese Duriez indicate that "despite isolated successes, ... [the operation] only became viable at the end of the nineteenth century."¹¹ Irving Loudon presents a similar perspective, claiming that the "nineteenth century would turn out to be more a period of stagnation than progress in maternal care" and that "the practice of obstetrics... was virtually the same in 1870 as it had been in 1780."¹² Ann Dally went so far as to omit mention of nineteenth-century surgery, claiming that the "operation that has become increasingly popular during the twentieth century is Caesarean section."¹³ My research indicates that despite these perspectives, nineteenth-century obstetricians did consider Caesarean section to be a permissible tool in their arsenal of delivery

⁷ Randi Hunter Epstein, "From Kitchen-Table to the Art of the C-Section" in *Get Me Out: A History of Childbirth from the Garden of Eden to the Sperm Bank* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 159.

⁸ Young, *The History of Caesarean Section*, 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Jenny Carter and Therese Duriez, *With Child: Birth through the ages* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co., 1986), 119.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹² Irvine Loudon, *Death in Childbirth: An international study of maternal care and maternal mortality 1800-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 172.

¹³ Ann Dally, *Women Under the Knife: A History of Surgery* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991), 211.

techniques in complicated births. They published papers detailing their procedures despite the low statistical rate of success. My research question does not deal with the existence of the operation in the nineteenth century, but instead why it was selected and how physicians and surgeons justified their use of the operation.

O'Dowd and Phillip indicate that "the [Caesarean] operation was very slowly becoming slightly more popular, or perhaps slightly less unpopular" during the nineteenth century.¹⁴ To understand this shifting popularity, I have examined the nineteenth century as a site of discussion and rationalization about situations and patients who required surgery. I focus on the nineteenth century because prior to this period there is little direct evidence indicating the regular performance of Caesarean sections by surgeons.¹⁵ In doing so, I examine the nineteenth-century process of transition toward the modern operation. This paper can be loosely divided into five sections, each exploring a crucial feature of the developing narrative of justification for Caesarean sections. I begin with a brief history of the Caesarean section and the unique English history of obstetric intervention. This contextualizes debates over the necessity and validity of the operation. Next, I explore the way that physicians decided upon the performance of the Caesarean section, looking at the way that these men acted as a collective to impart authority and share responsibility, the way that the rise of physical examinations allowed them increased knowledge of the subject, and the terms in which the Caesarean was deemed an appropriate form of intervention. Third, I examine the role of the female patient and the issue of consent, particularly the way that women were described in articles as being active volunteers in the surgery. Fourth, I deal with the issue of the unique nature of the Caesarean as an operation capable of saving two lives and the significance of including the foetus as a patient. Finally, the issue of surgical outcomes, either in failing to save one or both lives, or the description of a successful operation, concludes my research. I discuss how surgeons defended themselves against cases of patient mortality and how they described patient survival. Collectively, these sections depict the nineteenth century as a period of discussion and rationalization of an extreme surgical technique.

My sources begin in 1827 and are drawn exclusively from the medical publications of *The Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal*. The starting date is indicative of the first publication of these journals. I have chosen these publications due to the nature of journal articles, which indicate contemporary medical interest but do not necessitate the extensive involvement indicated by the publication of a full book. Practitioners could perform and publish one case of Caesarean section in a

¹⁴ Michael O'Dowd and Elliot E. Phillipp, "Caesarean Section" in *The History of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* (New York: Parthenon Publishing Group Ltd., 1994), 162.

¹⁵ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 41.

journal. Using *the Lancet* and *the British Medical Journal* provides broader access to the way that the operation was perceived by unspecialized physicians. They were selected first by the doctors for submission, then again by the editors "as reports of cases they considered interesting in some way."¹⁶ Published articles also offered surgeons the opportunity to defend themselves.¹⁷ This rhetoric of diffusing blame is an aspect of the normalization of the Caesarean section. The nature of these sources means that my research focuses on the perspectives of the writers, rather than broader social contexts or patient accounts. This bias informs the way I approach the structure of my paper, as well as my choice to focus on medical perspectives rather than social or political. I accept the historical premise that no significant procedural changes occurred between 1827 and 1881, but I also consider it necessary to examine the reality that operations were still reported. The way that surgeons described their patients and justified their operation is interesting to understand in light of this "procedural stagnation." Through examining the relationships between obstetricians, their peers, mothers and children, I aim to construct how surgeons justified performing the operation. I then move to the conclusions and remarks of surgeons, which explain how surgeons defined success and understood patient death. I thus reconstructed the context in which Caesarean operation was made permissible under unfavourable statistical odds of survival.

The nineteenth-century Caesarean section must be understood as a discreet moment within the long continual history of the procedure. Records demonstrate that the operation was performed in both the classical and medieval periods, but only began to emerge in professional dialogues in the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Despite criticism from prominent surgeons like Ambrose Pare, narratives of potential success also began to emerge.¹⁹ In 1581, Francois Rousset advocated the practice of Caesarean and began assembling cases of successful performance. He forwarded the necessity of surgery as a radical and heroic procedure, indicating that amenable preconditions included large, malformed, or dead fetuses, twins, problematic presentations, or narrow female pelvises.²⁰ However, his case notes all contained hearsay successes; he left no record of successfully having personally performed the Caesarean section.²¹ The product of late-medieval and early modern Caesarean section was not physical advancements in technique, but the production of an analogy of feasibility.²² This

¹⁶ Sally Wilde, "Truth, Trust and Confidence in Surgery, 1890-1910: Patient Autonomy, Communication, and Consent," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 83 (2009): 311.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ For further information on this subject, please see Katharine Park's, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006) and Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*.

¹⁹ See Young, *The History of Caesarean Section*, 25, and Carter and Duriez, *With Child*, 106.

²⁰ Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*, 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

²² *Ibid.*, 46.

concept dismissed mathematical qualifications of success and instead indicated potentiality. Surgeons considered themselves armed with the knowledge and skills to attempt Caesareans without the guarantee of patient fatality.

Continental Europe embraced the procedure of the Caesarean section and integrated it into the canon of obstetric practices. In England, the concern for the safety of the mother was the primary factor in choosing an operation. This primacy was assisted by unique English obstetric developments, particularly the figure of the "man midwife," documented by Adrian Wilson in *the Making of Man-Midwifery*. Childbirth was traditionally considered to be the realm of women, typified by the figure of the midwife who had intimate knowledge of the birthing process and assisted mothers in labour. Men were called into the birthing room only in extreme situations, after extraction of the foetus by women had been attempted and failed. Wilson argues that these early surgical interventions were characterized by the task of saving only the mother, as the child had been dead and often labour had continued for days before the entrance of the male surgeon.²³ However, the introduction of the tool of the forceps shifted the relationship of male medical figures with child fatality. Forceps allowed practitioners to grasp the child's head, reduce its size to mimic the natural moulding process that occurred in childbirth, and exert traction for removal.²⁴ The assumption of this medical technique provided an alternative to embryotomy through craniotomy. Practitioners could assist the natural process of childbirth with higher access to and control over foetal position. Because of the tools of forceps and a concurrent increase in male education towards female genitals, the figure of the man-midwife could now save children in difficult labours. Wilson describes this as a "benign circle" in which a successful birth inspired women to call in the male figure earlier, creating greater ease in his delivery of the child and ensuring his place in the delivery room.²⁵ Now welcome and associated with saving both mothers and children in difficult labours, the man-midwife and his forceps displaced both the female midwife and the male surgeon. As a result, man midwives were now allowed earlier and increased access to the pregnant female body. This paved the way for normalizing surgical intervention in pregnancy.

Despite the popularity of forceps, embryotomy remained a consistent feature of emergency obstetric practices in England. Embryotomy was performed specifically through craniotomy by use of a crotchet, which pierced the child's head and drained fluid and brain, allowing for skull compression and producing traction to withdraw a dead foetus.²⁶ The necessity for preference over embryotomy remained

²³ Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England 1660-1770* (London: UCL Press, 1995), 50.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

prevalent in English medicine throughout the nineteenth century, typified by the perspective of G B. Knowles that "[t]his, in short, is a general rule, which is invariably kept in view, and acted upon by every experienced and well-informed practitioner; inasmuch as the life of the mother must always be considered as more valuable than that of the child."²⁷ The mother's life was prioritized over that of the foetus, and intervention maintained her bodily integrity. This concern is pivotal in appreciating the English dialogue on Caesarean section. Any technical or surgical developments had to combat the long-established position that the primary concern of a practitioner assisting in labour was the mother's health. The male-midwife's popularity was an improvement on traditional intervention techniques, not a break of rhetoric. Their station preserved mother's life while also managing to save the child.

In this light, the Caesarean section was a particularly daunting surgical choice because it was a dangerous and frequently fatal operation for the mother, and thus compromised the primary patient of the medical interaction. To protect oneself from blame, the decision to initiate Caesarean section was never described as an individual choice enacted by a physician or surgeon. Instead, article authors made it clear that they functioned as a community of professional observers in promoting surgical intervention over embryotomy. When W.H. Thornton proposed the Caesarean section to his patient, it was after "[t]he case was now seen by three other practitioners [namely], Mr. Alfred Rhodes, Mr. G. S. Rhodes, and Mr. R. N. Halliwell; and as it was the unanimous opinion that craniotomy was impracticable."²⁸ G.E. Yarrow emphasized the authority and independence of these encounters:

Choice, therefore, had to be made between cephalotripsy and Caesarean section. Under these circumstances, I sought the counsel of Dr. Burchell, the surgeon-accoucheur to the hospital. Upon examining the patient he was of opinion that Caesarean section would give the best chance to mother and child, in which I fully concurred.²⁹

Yarrow chose a peer in a position of power and authority and indicated that Dr. Burchell established his own examination before coming to the same decision of treatment. He again distributed the perception of necessity when he indicated that, "On consultation with my partner, Mr. Sidney Turner, it was decided to perform

²⁷ G.B. Knowles, "Observation on the Caesarean Section," *The Lancet* 57, no. 1443 (April 26, 1851): 456, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)73990-1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)73990-1).

²⁸ W.H. Thornton, "On a successful case of Caesarian Section," *The Lancet* 69, no. 1752 (March 28, 1857): 314, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)20821-1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)20821-1).

²⁹ G.E. Yarrow, "Report of a Case of Caesarean Section," *The Lancet* 100, no. 2563 (October 12, 1872): 523, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)55545-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)55545-8).

Caesarean section, which was done at 11 A.M. with his assistance and that of Mr. Plimmer."³⁰ Not only did multiple professionals concur with his profession of necessity, but they also were also indicated as present during the operation and could attest to the described procedures. Peer discussion was an important method of diffusing responsibility. By acting as a collective, surgeons and obstetricians achieved dual aims. First, they protected themselves from litigation by amassing support for their decisions prior to the operation.³¹ This protection was particularly necessary in the Caesarean section because the percentage of fatality was so high. Secondly, physicians and surgeons established themselves as an authoritative community who could and did speak to necessary treatments and acted as a coherent whole. To defend against claims of malpractice, surgeons functioned in a group to indicate that they had collectively established that the operation was the only viable choice.

J. M. Munro Kerr et al. reviewed the performance of Caesarean section in the first half of the nineteenth century in *Historical Review of British Obstetrics and Gynaecology 1800-1950*. They perceived that although "the mortality rate was very high [and] indeed, some obstetricians... condemned it out and out ... the majority, however, accepted responsibility for employing it when circumstances were desperate."³² This sense of necessity rather than practice specialty is indicated in the broad range of practitioners who published their encounters with Caesarean section.³³ The majority of practitioners discussing Caesarean section in *The Lancet* made no claim to particular experience or proficiency. Instead, these operators understood the Caesarean as a final chance to save the mother and child, a situation without alternative. Practitioners like G.B. Knowles stated that in cases of contracted pelvises, "there could be no question as to the mode of practice to be adopted, and even Dr. Lee, I should think, must admit that in such a degree of deformity the Caesarean section was the only alternative."³⁴ James Hawkins stated that his peers "coincided in opinion with me that the Caesarean section was the most feasible- the only means whereby the life of the foetus could be preserved, and, under the circumstance, the most favourable to insure the life of the parent."³⁵ The nature of the Caesarean section as an emergency operation allowed surgeons to give a nod to the

³⁰ John H. Galton, "Case of Caesarean Section," *The Lancet* 117, no. 3014 (June 4, 1881): 909, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)33467-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)33467-6).

³¹ Wilde, "Truth, Trust and Confidence in Surgery," 322.

³² J.M. Munro Kerr, R.W. Johnstone, and Miles H. Phillips, *Historical Review of British Obstetrics and Gynaecology 1800-1950* (Edinburgh: E & S. Livingstone Ltd., 1954), 31.

³³ In my research, I evaluated at least thirty different authors, including twelve anonymous contributions.

³⁴ Knowles, "Observation on the Caesarean Section," 456.

³⁵ James Hawkins, "Successful case of Caesarean operation: mother and child saved," *British Medical Journal* 72 (May 15, 1858): 386-7, accessed March 5, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2251201/>.

traditional prioritization of the woman's life while still indicating the necessity of the operation. Robert Greenhalgh indicated that,

While fully subscribing to that old established axiom of British midwifery, that under no circumstances should the life of the mother be jeopardised for that of the child, still I shall endeavour to show that there are cases in which the pelvis is so much distorted, and craniotomy and extraction attended with such difficulties and hazards to the mother, that one is certainly bound to consider the child, and give it a reasonable chance of life by performing the Caesarean operation.³⁶

Thus, the life of the child became a factor particularly in cases where the mother's life was already endangered. In cases of emergency intervention, morality shifted to examine broader benefits of the operation. In this context, the life of the child could be acknowledged because this consideration did not further compromise the life of the mother. The foetus as a patient emerged as a factor of obstetric operations.

This physician confidence was supplemented by a transition in the way that surgical necessity was defined. In a heading within *With Child: Birth Through the Ages*, Carter and Duriez described the nineteenth century as "medicine becomes effective." They perceived a culmination of eighteenth-century probing of ideas and problems with nineteenth-century advancements and refinements of technique.³⁷ This contributed to a higher level of physician confidence in their ability to perform surgeries. This perspective was complimented by the ideal that good health could be a normal state of being, which it was no longer necessary to function under perpetual discomfort or pain.³⁸ The desire to avoid pain opened the door for more radical surgery with the intention to "fix" longer-term problems and terminate pain. Where previously low levels of pain were acceptable, now intervention became appealing. This perspective can be seen in literature on the necessity of the Caesarean section. Henry Morris indicated that, "we ought to operate, though we know the patient will probably die from exhaustion, haemorrhage, blood poisoning, or peritonitis. Death from either of these causes is far less terrible than death attended with the pains of labour going on unsatisfied till either the uterus ruptures or its power is exhausted."³⁹ The risk of fatality was seen as appropriate due to the potential abbreviation of the experience of suffering. In this situation, the terms of success were in flux. Physicians replaced the primacy of survival with the idea that mediating pain was the ultimate goal, regardless of later consequences. Painlessness was more important than

³⁶ Robert Greenhalgh, "A Clinical Discussion on the Caesarean Section: and its claims as an operation of selection," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 489 (November 30, 1867): 489, accessed March 5, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/20744935/>

³⁷ Carter and Duriez, *With Child*, 110.

³⁸ Guy Williams, *The Age of Miracles: Medicine and Surgery in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Constable & Company, 1981), 1.

³⁹ Morris, "Clinical Remarks on a case of Caesarean Section," 528.

avoiding fatality. Potential patient survival and the rhetoric of necessity to eliminate suffering combined in nineteenth-century Caesarean sections to make the operation appear permissible in emergency cases.

Statements of the necessity of operations were established through physical examination. The inclusion of touch in medical interactions had gradually increased throughout the early modern period. In the nineteenth century physical examinations became an expected norm. As men, physicians and surgeons had traditionally been limited in their access to the pregnant female body. This relationship shifted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as men gained increased access to the pregnant body. In "the Rise of Physical Examination," Roy Porter discusses the increasing frequency and importance of tactile examinations in medical procedure. He indicates that this tactile relationship was a "ritual enactment of the identities of being a doctor and being a patient."⁴⁰ Furthermore, he states that the role of a doctor conferred special privileges.⁴¹ In the specific case of the surgeon-accoucher and labouring mother, these privileges included the right to investigate the female abdomen and genitals and make pronouncements about the viability of birth and procedures of assistance. In turn, this access and physicality conferred increased power to the physician. They could impose their knowledge through information gained independent from female bodily self-perception.

The significance of physical exploration indicating the necessity of operation was evident in all the sources. W.H. Thornton described how he had "made an examination per vaginam, and felt what I supposed to be the head presenting, covered by the uterus, and was unable to detect any dilatation, or satisfy myself as to the position, of the os uteri. I discovered that she was the subject of recto-vaginal fistula."⁴² The action of touch was also necessary in Dr. Hare's diagnosis; he described,

I could find no entrance into the vagina, nor could I introduce my finger horizontally between the perinsum and uterus, which I had never failed to do in all other cases, however low the presenting body might be. I felt convinced, during the last examination, that the uterus adhered all round the pelvis, and that the vagina was totally obliterated.⁴³

These pronouncements indicated that through touching, physicians could establish the untenability of natural birth. This constructed situations in which Caesarean

⁴⁰ Roy Porter, "The rise of physical examination" in *Medicine and the five senses*, eds.. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 179.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴² Thornton, "On a successful case of Caesarian Section," 313.

⁴³ Dr. Hare, "Singular Case in Midwifery," *The Lancet* 9, no. 232 (February 9, 1828): 696, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)92790-X](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)92790-X).

section was possible because the vaginal canal was either too small or closed. The extent of these investigations allowed for conscientious decision making in which the Caesarean became a surgical fix.

Physical examinations contributed to establishing the nature of the Caesarean operation as a last resort. This extremity was emphasized in published physician accounts. David Johnson described attempting the range of delivery techniques before "finding it, therefore impossible to accomplish the delivery, and feeling assured that it ought not to be delayed any longer," he proposed the Caesarean section.⁴⁴ Johnson had "grasped the feet, intending to bring them down and delivery by turning... but ultimately abandoned that idea," attempted craniotomy and found that "although the whole of the brain was evacuated, ...yet with all the exertions we dared use by the aid of the crochet and Dr. Davies's forcepes, [sic] the head still maintained its position."⁴⁵ He had thus exhausted the entire repertoire of delivery techniques before resolving to perform surgical intervention in a final attempt to save the mother's life. J.G. Swayne related a similar case in which "[t]urning was attempted, but without success. Craniotomy was then performed; but it was found impossible to extract the head. Finally, the Caesarean section was had recourse to."⁴⁶ This spectrum of technique emphasized the finality of the Caesarean section. By the time it was proposed, alternative means of delivery had been discounted. In these cases, the only chance to save the mother lay through the Caesarean section.

It was at the crux of surgical decision making that authors of *The Lancet* articles integrated the patient into the decision making process. Traditionally, the fear of surgical intervention characterized the relationship between female patients and physicians because the introduction of a surgical dialogue in obstetric proceedings indicated abnormality and danger in the birthing process. Women associated operation with bodily invasion, the death of their child, and the knowledge that their own demise was imminent.⁴⁷ Despite this tension, the female patient was a predominant and active figure in the reports of Caesarean section and references to patient consent occurred in all of the records of Caesarean operation. The significance of this exchange was emphasized by cases in which consent did not promptly occur, including that of David Johnson. Although he had decided that surgical intervention was necessary, he recalled being "disappointed for several hours, not being able to gain the consent of the patient, while her friends lived ten

⁴⁴ David Johnson, "Brief notes on a case of preternatural and difficult labour, followed by the Caesarean section," *The Lancet* 80, no. 2044 (November 1, 1862): 475, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)30881-X](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)30881-X).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ J.G. Swayne, "The Address in Midwifery," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 178 (August 15, 1863): 180, accessed March 5, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2325794/>.

⁴⁷ Wilson, *The Making of Man Midwifery*, 50.

miles away."⁴⁸ Johnson eventually gained her consent and operated, but his options were limited by her approval and the provision of access to her body. Authors also assigned autonomy and significance to women through descriptions of mothers submitting to the operation bravely and calmly. Women, "courageously submitted to this operation," which in turn added to the perception of their inclusion in the medical dialogue.⁴⁹ Their courage was particularly noteworthy in the first half of the nineteenth century, in which surgical operations were performed without anaesthesia. As a result of the inclusion of the female patient perspective in publications, physicians who faced criticism could indicate that a body of willing patients existed. The brave mother transcended fear of surgical intervention in the hopes of saving herself and her child.

To emphasize the significance of patient consent, authors positively characterized the women that they interacted with. James Edmunds indicated that his patient "was a calm, intelligent woman," and in doing so he situated her as a figure of maternal authority in accepting the operation.⁵⁰ The use of the words "calm" and "intelligent" indicated that the woman had rationally evaluated his suggestions and participated in the decision of a treatment. Women were also perceived as being brave and capable during the operation. Thomas Radford was a proponent of Caesarean section without anaesthetic, and described his patient positively as accepting and thriving under operative conditions. He informed his peers that "[d]uring the whole time her mind was calm, she never even uttered a complaint. She remarked that her sufferings during the operation had been much less than what she had endured previous to it."⁵¹ Radford returned to the motif of the calm and self-controlled women throughout his publications on the Caesarean section. He objected to anaesthetic on the grounds that "it was unnecessary, she possessed in such a high degree tranquility, calmness, and resignation of mind. Moral courage is superior to anaesthesia."⁵² Creating the figure of the strong and willing female patient lessened the association of surgery with danger and blame for fatality. Self-controlled women appeared to be aligned with physicians. The role of patients as active parties in surgical decisions disassociated them with powerlessness. Therefore, the potential for narratives of blame and victimization were minimized by article authors.

⁴⁸ Johnson, "Brief notes on a case of preternatural and difficult labour," 475.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, "Caesarean Operation successfully performed twice on the same person, by Dr. G. Shenk, of Siegen," *The Lancet* 9, no. 214 (October 6, 1827): 10, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)96960-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)96960-6).

⁵⁰ James Edmunds, "On a case of Caesarean Section. Hard cancer of os and cervix uteri; six days' labour; no dilation; abdominal hysterectomy' mother convalescent, and child living," *The Lancet* 77, no. 1949 (January 5, 1861): 4, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)41216-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)41216-0).

⁵¹ Thomas Radford, "A Successful Case of Caesarean Section, with Remarks," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 13 (August 1849): 457, accessed March 5, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2487966/>.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 459.

In Sally Wilde's "Truth, Trust and Confidence in Surgery," she indicates that despite the habit of obtaining patient consent, the provision of information was relatively rare.⁵³ However, this does not seem to be true in the case of Caesarean section; submissions to *the Lancet* emphasize the degree of information provided to patients. James Edwards indicated the full scope of information he provided to his patient prior to the operation in 1849. He said,

I now explained the cause of her suffering and danger, gradually breaking to her the alternatives of her position ... I made her fully understand each procedure, with its risks and contingencies. I told her that the first would cut through a mass of diseased tissue, immensely supplied with blood vessels, whose mouths would be out of reach, and would bleed so largely that both herself and child would probably perish; that I thought the latter, by direct incision into the bowels, though so frightful to contemplate, was the less dangerous.⁵⁴

J. C. Lory Marsh indicated that,

[e]very fact connected with this case was weighed over in consultation, and it was agreed to explain to the woman her dangerous condition, both from the progressive nature of the disease in the pelvis, and the impossibility of being delivered by the natural passages without the aid of instruments, certainly fatal to the child, and in all probability to herself also.⁵⁵

This emphasis on the degree of information provided further implicated the woman's importance in the process of consent. However, this process also obscured the reality of the relationship between the patient and surgeon. Treatment technique was not chosen by the patient, but instead proposed by the surgeon. Patients were informed of dangers and then consented.⁵⁶ This balance of power can be seen at Guy's Hospital, where "Dr. Oldham... decided upon Caesarean Section, to which measure the patient at once assented."⁵⁷ In every case, discussion was made within a physician collective and then presented to the patient for approval. Thus, the extent to which the patient was involved was actually an indication of her willingness to approve the dangerous procedures selected by the professionals, emphasizing the

⁵³ Wilde, "Truth, Trust, and Confidence in Surgery," 315.

⁵⁴ Edmunds, "On a case of Caesarean Section," 4.

⁵⁵ J.C. Lory Marsh, "On a Case of Acute Mollities Ossium Occurring in a woman during her third pregnancy, upon whom the caesarean operation was performed. Preservation of the child. Subsequent death of the mother," *The Lancet* 82, no. 2098 (November 14, 1863): 560, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)59497-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)59497-6).

⁵⁶ Wilde, "Truth, Trust and Confidence in Surgery," 315.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, "Guy's Hospital. Caesarean Section; Mother and Child Saved," *The Lancet* 58, no. 1462 (September 6, 1951): 227, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)78936-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)78936-8).

knowledge and authority of physicians through the extent of patient involvement and trust.

Approval of the patients as mothers was an important step in performance of the Caesarean section, because the operation was the "only operation in which two lives are concerned."⁵⁸ As Victorian women, the primacy of the role of motherhood indicated that women were more willing to sacrifice for their children.⁵⁹ Ludmilla Jordanova explains the increasing perception that women were defined physically, psychologically, and socially by their reproductive role.⁶⁰ The female reproductive and caring role was invested with political significance during a period of concerns about the wellbeing of the family unit.⁶¹ Because reproduction and childcare were viewed as the defining features of women, room was opened for increased discussion of the responsibilities of pregnant patients to their children. Surgeons applied ideals of Victorian ideology in their expectations of the behaviour of female patients and patients accordingly submitted themselves to more invasive procedures for the health of their children. Traditionally, medieval Caesarean sections had considered the foetal life only when the mother's death was confirmed, but by nineteenth century, a shift in priority had occurred. Dr. John William Ballantyne perceived an "increase in the value set upon foetal life" in 1902 that can also be seen in surgical rhetoric on the necessity of nineteenth-century Caesarean section.⁶² This narrative was first proposed in eighteenth-century dialogues like those of William Smellie, who indicated his "great uneasiness" at "loss of children" due to unsuccessful intervention in vaginal intervention.⁶³ Smellie emphasized that, "because the mother and child have no other chance to be saved...it is better to have recourse to an operation which hath sometimes succeeded than leave them both to inevitable death."⁶⁴ This developing unwillingness to compromise foetal life made the traditional English practice of craniotomy less viable, as the threat of destroying a still-living child for the sake of the mother was always present.

The balance of foetal life and death became the most important aspect of establishing procedure in cases of intervention. J.N.C. Cooke indicated that, "the Caesarean operation is now no longer necessary, except when the child is alive, in which case, like the other French accoucheurs, he would not sacrifice the child, but

⁵⁸ Young, *The History of Caesarean Section*, 2.

⁵⁹ Jane Lewis, "'Motherhood Issues' in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries," in *Delivery Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, eds., Katherine Arnap, Andree Levesque, and Ruth Roach Pierson (London: Routledge, 1990), 3.

⁶⁰ Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 29.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶² Sara Dubow, *Ourselves Unborn: A history of the fetus in modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.

⁶³ Wilson, *The Making of Man Midwifery*, 125.

⁶⁴ O'Dowd and Phillipp, "Caesarean Section," 160.

would operate for its extraction."⁶⁵ This awareness of the foetal role in childbirth is an early indicator of the rise of consciousness regarding foetal life. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the same perspective would be demonstrated in the context of anti-abortion crusades. Increasing narratives about "foeticide" and "intrauterine murder" were indicative of the importance of the early formation of a parenting relationship with the unborn child.⁶⁶ This concern for foetal wellbeing complimented Victorian narratives about the role of the mother and instituted an earlier system of concern for the life of the child. Both mothers and physicians acknowledged that the health of the child, not just the mother, was at stake in any decision regarding pregnancy care and childbirth techniques. Acknowledgement of the foetus as a living object necessitated the transformation of the child into a patient necessary of consideration in obstetric practices.

This development was aided by one of the few "notable advances" perceived by Kerr et al. in their summary of obstetrics between 1800 and 1850, the "recognition of the foetal heart sounds."⁶⁷ This eliminated the uncertainty of establishing a time of foetal death to permit religiously sanctioned craniotomy.⁶⁸ Surgeons could identify the life of the child as independent from female perception and without observation of foetal movements that were obvious enough to be externally perceived. The moment in the examination, in which the foetal heartbeat was registered, was vividly recounted by surgeons. James Edmunds recounted that he "had heard the brisk tic-tac of the foetal heart in the left iliac fossa."⁶⁹ As a result, he indicated the necessity of performing Caesarean section because other alternatives would compromise the evident life of the foetus. Edmund's descriptive terms emphasized the viability of the foetal life. Similarly, Robert Greenhalgh tracked a connection between the sound of the heartbeat and the success of the operation. In his case notes, he explained that, "the foetal heart was distinctly heard...The child...was extracted alive and vigorous."⁷⁰ J.C. Lory Marsh also indicated the identification of the foetal heartbeat as the crux of the pre-surgical examination. He explained that he and his colleague "each listened attentively for the foetal heart, which was heard below the umbilicus towards the left side."⁷¹ The foetal heartbeat informed both the necessity and location of the

⁶⁵ J.N.C. Cooke, "Caesarean Section and Embryotomy. To the Editor of the Lancet," *The Lancet* 31, no. 787 (September 29, 1838): 67, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)82729-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)82729-5).

⁶⁶ Dubow, *Ourselves Unborn*, 18.

⁶⁷ Munro Kerr et al., *Historical Review of British Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 37.

⁶⁸ Joseph G. Ryan, "The Chapel and the Operating Room: The Struggle of Roman Catholic Clergy, Physicians, and Believers with the Dilemmas of Obstetric Surgery, 1800-1900," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76, no.3 (Fall, 2002): 464.

⁶⁹ Edmunds, "On a case of Caesarean Section," 4.

⁷⁰ Greenhalgh, "A Clinical Discussion on the Caesarean Section," 489.

⁷¹ Marsh, "On a Case of Acute Mollities Ossium Occurring in a woman during her third pregnancy," 560.

operation, so the practical benefits of locating a heartbeat also increased the practitioner's perception of their abilities. Nineteenth-century developments enabled the creation of a patient who could be evaluated as separate from the body of the mother and thus deserved separate consideration for care and treatment.

The survival of the child was emphasized as the greatest advantage imparted by performance of the Caesarean. Nineteenth-century published case studies constructed an experience of surgical practice beyond the act of incision. Authors indicated the preconditions and history of the patient and tracked the recovery of the patient to the point of their return to active life or death. These broad surgical narratives included the survival and development of newborn children. Thomas Radford reflected that he "extracted [the child] *vigorously* alive"⁷² Similar cases include that of M. Pacquinot, in which *The Lancet* correspondent indicated that "[a]s it was plain that the child was alive, cephalotriety was rejected, and the Caesarean section resolved upon...The child was alive, of the male sex, and is now thriving."⁷³ The child's survival was integral in the surgical narrative of James Hawkins, who indicated that the mother "and the baby, a fine little girl, have frequently been in my surgery, and are at present in perfect health."⁷⁴ Survival of the child was also seen as offsetting the loss of the mother's life. John Taylor continued his case notes past the death of his patient, indicating that, "the child progresses very favourably, is fed on milk and water, and appears none the worse for its unnatural mode of birth."⁷⁵ These survival cases were deemed successful and were also explicitly contrasted with the loss of life in the craniotomy. J.C. Lory Marsh observed that "[i]n deciding between the two operations, the Caesarean section and embryotomy, the fact of the foetus having reached the full period of life, and being alive at the time, demanded that its life should not be recklessly destroyed."⁷⁶ Within the spectrum of obstetric intervention, the Caesarean section was one of the few surgical procedures that did not guarantee foetal mutilation. The abdominal incision circumvented the navigation of contracted pelvises and allowed for the extraction of children who otherwise would be removed in pieces after craniotomy and dismemberment to fit the contours of the mother.

Surgeons supplemented the benefit of saving foetal lives by constructing a narrative that diffused blame for patient mortality. The most prominent theme was

⁷² Radford, "A Successful Case of Caesarean Section," 457. Emphasis added by the author.

⁷³ Anonymous, "Successful Caesarean Operation. Performed by M. Paucquinot, of Tulle, France," *The Lancet* 70, no. 1780 (October 10, 1857): 366, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)38539-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)38539-8).

⁷⁴ Hawkins, "Successful case of Caesarean operation," 387.

⁷⁵ John Taylor, "A case of Caesarian operation successful to both mother and child," *The Lancet* 91, no. 2316 (January 18, 1868): 86, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)61177-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)61177-8).

⁷⁶ Marsh, "On a Case of Acute Mollities Ossium Occurring in a woman during her third pregnancy," 561.

the issue of delays in operation. Surgeons like Thomas Radford indicated that, "of the three women who died, we are not warranted to conclude that their deaths were not attributable to the operation. We have in all of them indisputable evidence that the mischief was occasioned by protracting it..."⁷⁷ Dangers of protracted labour included being "extremely hazardous to the lives of infants, and especially so after the discharge of the liquor amnii."⁷⁸ Delays also compromised the ability of the mother to survive the operation and subsequent infections. J.C. Lory Marsh indicated that after a summary of Caesarean sections, it "will be seen that but few of its deaths are due to the operation itself. One section of the operations has been done upon patients already moribund from exhaustion, or from the occurrence of fatal injury. These deaths are to be set down to improper delay, or to misdirected interference."⁷⁹ W.H. Thornton similarly indicated that, "[t]he success of the operation depended no doubt upon its having been undertaken before any symptoms of exhaustion appeared..."⁸⁰ Exhaustion compromised the patient and detracted from the ability of success. These surgeons thus identified the nature of the operation as a last resort as the very feature that contributed to its high level of fatality; earlier operations would guarantee more survivors. The implicit solution would be increased access to patients and higher degrees of intervention. Only through physician involvement in pregnancy, childbirth, and postnatal care could patient fatality be avoided.

To emphasize the goal of survival, successes were flaunted in publications by the reminder or presence of a successful patient. Responding to the criticism of his technique by another surgeon, G.B. Knowles declared that "Lee, and others who may feel interested in this matter, that my Caesarian patient, Sarah Bate, lived five years after the operation, when she died of pulmonary consumption; her husband having died about twelve months previously of the same disease."⁸¹ This description functioned on several levels to indicate Knowles's lack of blame. Both Bate and her child survived the initial operation, and Bate lived for years after healing from the procedure. Further, Knowles observed that her death was not related tangentially to the damage to her genitals, but rather to a disease she contracted from her husband. The implication was that her surgical recovery was complete. Thomas Radford used similar rhetoric to dismiss failed cases. He claimed that "[n]otwithstanding all the preexisting dangers in Caesarean cases, several recoveries have taken place."⁸² Sally

⁷⁷ Radford, "A Successful Case of Caesarean Section, with Remarks," 457.

⁷⁸ Thomas Radford, "Further Observations on the Caesarean section." *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 321 (April 4, 1868): 321, accessed March 3, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2309907/>.

⁷⁹ James Edmunds, "Report on a second case of Caesarean section in which mother and child recovered," *The Lancet* 108, no. 2780 (December 9, 1876): 821, accessed February 26, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)49562-1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)49562-1).

⁸⁰ Thornton, "On a successful case of Caesarian Section," 315.

⁸¹ Knowles, "Observation on the Caesarean Section," 457.

⁸² Thomas Radford, "Observations on the Caesarean Section and on Other Obstetric Operations."

Wilde argued that the possibility of safe surgery was more significant than the presence of practical results in spurring an increased willingness to operate.⁸³ Through identifying successful cases with complete recovery, surgeons demonstrated to their peers that successful surgery was possible and strengthened the position of Caesarean section as a viable treatment. Cases of success combined with dismissal of failure to construct the idea that, in favourable circumstances, the operation was consistently successful. Surgeon confidence inspired them to aspire to these successes.

The most powerful rhetorical tool utilized by surgeons remained within the unique nature of the operation itself. Just as the operation endangered two lives, it also had the potential to save both mother and child. The phrase "mother and child were saved" recurs in medical literature.⁸⁴ Guy's Hospital emphasized that "[i]t is plain that such an operation offers a chance of success where both mother and child would certainly die."⁸⁵ John Taylor and his co-worker were "of opinion that nothing but the Caesarean operation could save either mother or child."⁸⁶ The potential to save two lives with one operation drastically impacted medical professionals. James Edmunds decreed that "[i]rrespective of the actually successful results, we believed that Caesarean section gave this mother a better chance than embryotomy. Therefore we incurred not the painful task of weighing the infant life against increase of maternal risk."⁸⁷ Edmund acknowledged the reality of limitations on success, but considered the necessity of practice superior to the alternative of inaction while one or both of his patients, mother and child, died. This desire to preserve the two patients aligned with the dismissal of unsuccessful cases as being due to delays in operation. Together, the two techniques indicated that if the methods of determining surgical necessity were refined, more successful cases could be presented. Surgeons invalidated the presence of statistics through their proposal that more operations were necessary.

The refinement of this narrative of reciprocal decision-making and potential success was the most significant advancement of the mid-nineteenth-century. Surgeons began to enumerate reasons for performance of the operation based on their physical investigations of the mother and acknowledgement of the foetal life. Henry Morris indicated that,

British Medical Journal 1, no. 321 (April 29, 1865): 423, accessed March 3, 2012, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2325601/>.

⁸³ Wilde, "Truth, Trust, and Confidence in Surgery," 303.

⁸⁴ This theme was particularly prominent in titles of journal articles, including James Hawkins' "Successful case of Caesarian operation: mother and child saved."

⁸⁵ Anonymous, "Guy's Hospital," 227.

⁸⁶ Taylor, "A case of Caesarian operation successful to both mother and child," 85.

⁸⁷ Edmunds, "On a case of Caesarean Section. Hard cancer of os and cervix uteri," 5.

It would be out of place in a surgical lecture to enumerate the conditions in which it is appropriate- nay, necessary, but I would epitomize the reasons for the operation as follows: - (1) To save the life of a foetus beyond the seventh month, providing the mother has not been dead for more than from twenty to twenty-five minutes. (2) To save the life of the mother and her child, or the life of the mother if the foetus is known to be dead, when delivery cannot occur in the usual way ... (3) To release the mother from suffering, even when she has little or no chance of recovering, provided that delivery cannot be otherwise affected.⁸⁸

Morris's structure indicated the importance of foetal life and the potential benefits to the mother. It outlined the operation in its traditional structure, as a final resort after either the mother or foetus was already confirmed dead. However, it also incorporated the option of voluntary surgery, with a living mother and child, framed as an operation of kindness to alleviate suffering. This rhetoric supported his position that "we must not be deterred from undertaking it in appropriate cases."⁸⁹

Appropriate cases were established in concert with other physicians and in light of thorough physical examinations. Higher access to the body supplemented physician knowledge of the childbirth process, and complimented increasing male demonstrations of authority on the subject. This access and authority developed out of the uniquely English relationship between medical professionals and childbirth, allowing practitioners the confidence that they could and should involve themselves in difficult labours. Additionally, Caesarean sections took advantage of shifting criteria of operative necessity, as the idea that assuaging pain was equally as important as preserving life came into popularity. The Caesarean provided an intervention of last resort, when natural childbirth was impossible and patient facilities were failing. The importance of the mother as an ally to surgeons helped to deter concerns about her role as a victim. Patients were characterized as strong, informed, and willing, during a period where issues of consent were not a primary feature of the surgical interaction. The role of the patient was increasingly conflated with the role of the mother, aided by Victorian perceptions of the primacy of the reproductive role and responsibility of mothers to their children, born or unborn. Independently, foetuses were increasingly recognized as patients to be acknowledged due to the acknowledgement of foetal heart sounds and the survival of the child was seen as justifying the suffering of the mother. Taken in concert, these developments allowed physicians to verbalize their potential power to save two patients through a single surgical procedure. The existence of the child, willingness of the mother, and skill of the patient were all touted in reports of the Caesarean section. It was increasingly seen as a viable option in difficult childbirth cases.

⁸⁸ Morris, "Clinical Remarks on a case of Caesarean Section," 527.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

The discoveries of F.A. Kehrer in 1881 and Max Sanger in 1882 introduced the practice of effective uterine sutures to the medical community and revolutionized the potential for success in Caesarean operations.⁹⁰ Suture practice joined the innovations of asepsis and anaesthesia. Patient fatality rates dropped from 65-75 percent in the early nineteenth century to 5-10 percent by the end of the century.⁹¹ These technological advancements were the culmination of a century of dialogue about the viability of Caesarean operations and the situations that increased successful interventions. Obstetricians persisted in performing the operation and justifying their decisions, transferring the procedure from the medieval *sectio in mortua* to a modern obstetric intervention. To do this, they created a narrative that depicted a coherent group of professional practitioners allied with an intelligent and willing patient to save the new life of the foetus. This technique dispersed responsibility for the decision to operate and was supplemented by postoperative rhetoric indicating that death was caused by delays in operation, not the act of cutting itself. Rather than criticize unsuccessful operations, authors in *The Lancet* implied that the only way to lower maternal mortality was to continue and prioritize operation. Surgical improvements responded to this context of continual practice with more effective operative techniques. The nineteenth century taught practitioners that both mother and child could and should be saved. In the twentieth century, their goal was realized.

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⁹⁰ Trolle, *The History of Caesarean Section*, 53.

⁹¹ Carter and Duriez, *With Child*, 120.

“When I Call My Mother I Speak to Her in Italian”: Language Use and Negotiation Among Italian Canadians

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Abstract

This paper employs oral testimonies from numerous sources, among them the digital files of the *Multicultural History Society of Ontario*, to examine the ways in which Italian immigrants have used language, what purposes it has served in their integration and in the formulation of immigrant identities, and how they have navigated and employed the multiple languages at their disposal for different purposes. It aims to consider not only how language is discussed by those who use it, but also how it is treated and negotiated during the oral testimony process itself. It recognizes that the issue of language is an integral element of immigrant testimonies, both as the subject of recollections, and as an active presence in the structure of the narrative. It acknowledges the evolving nature and role of languages in subsequent generations, and ultimately argues that immigrants are autonomous beings who constantly negotiate and play with the numerous languages at their disposal in a strategic manner.

In 1977, Miranda Canella sat down with an interviewer from the *Multicultural History Society of Ontario* (MHSO) to recount her immigrant experience.¹ Eloquent

¹ The title of this paper comes from an interview with Tina Campolo, whose mother immigrated to Canada and now speaks English proficiently. Tina explains that while all members of her family are able to communicate in both English and Italian, she makes a conscious choice to speak Italian to her mother. See Allyson L. Eamer, “Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation: Three Generations of Three Immigrant Families in Toronto,” (PhD diss., York University, 2008), 362.

Most of the oral testimonies referenced in this paper have been retrieved from the digital collection of the *Multicultural History Society of Ontario* (hereafter referred to as MHSO). The MHSO was founded in 1976 by a group of University of Toronto scholars and was designed as a space to

and vibrant, Canella guided the interviewer through what she considered the major events of her migration from Sicily to Toronto, following a narrative that had obviously been massaged and perfected for decades. She reminisced about life in Sicily, recounting every detail about her crossing in 1954, reflecting on the early years in Canada and on the impact of migration. Though never explicitly addressed by the interviewer, woven throughout Canella's narrative is a simple but significant theme of language; it is present when Canella remembers her difficulties settling in Toronto, when she reflects upon the importance of learning English, when she compares the use of her regional language and standard Italian in her home. In all of these cases, Canella is including a special place in her narrative for the navigation of multiple languages, which she sees as an important factor in the immigrant experience. But it does not end there. Canella's testimony is itself a reflection on how the immigrant experience is coloured by an ongoing negotiation of multiple languages, a process that is in constant flux for the duration of the immigrant's life, and which in fact propagates itself throughout generations and even throughout communities. This paper will examine the ways in which Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto have employed languages, what purposes they have served in their integration and in the formulation of immigrant identities, and how they have navigated and employed the multiple languages at their disposal for different purposes. It is a work of immigration history, one that is particularly interested in the evolution of ethnic identities and the processes of negotiation that it begets.

Linguists have long been interested in the language of immigrants. Their efforts have resulted in a vast body of literature, which has allowed for a thorough understanding of language transfer, lexical interference, and code switching within immigrant communities. Among them, Marcel Danesi and Gianrenzo Clivio's work, focusing on Italian immigrants in North America, has done much to illuminate how this particular group managed the two (or more) languages at its disposal.²

In 1985, Danesi wrote about what he called "ethnolects," which he defined as "a version of the language of origin, which, primarily as a consequence of frequent borrowing and adoption of words from the culturally dominant language [in this case, English], has come to characterize the speech habits of the immigrant

collect and preserve materials dealing with immigration and ethnicity. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the institution recorded oral testimonies with immigrants from many ethnic groups in Toronto. Although their condition varies greatly, we have access today to hundreds of recorded testimonies of Italian immigrants and their descendants. Notably, the *MHSO* is "committed to bringing to a wide public audience the positive aspects of living in a multi-ethnic province."

² See Gianrenzo Clivio and Marcel Danesi, *The Sounds, Forms, and Uses of Italian: An Introduction to Italian Linguistics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

community."³ Danesi explained that for the Italian Canadian community, an ethnolect labeled "Italiense" (a combination of "Italian" and "Inglese," or English) became a primary mode of communication within the community, in many cases even supplanting those regional varieties that had been brought from the 'Old World.' Danesi, Clivio, and others explored linguistic characteristics of the Italian Canadian community, such as vocabulary formation and the development of phonetic and grammatical adjustments.

The work of these linguists marked an important turning point that differed from previous works that explained the retention of an ethnic language as an impediment to integration. Danesi reversed this argument, arguing that it was precisely this negotiation between the two languages that proved that the immigrant was undergoing a process of gradual settlement. He argued that the ethnolect was not a permanent fixture, but that it was "an adaptive mechanism" used by immigrants to navigate the initial psychological or social realities that they faced.⁴

Despite these advances, the important contributions of linguists have remained within the confines of the technical construction of language. Their influences are limited with regard to how one understands the significance of these constructions and the particularities of when and how they are employed. In order to address these questions, this paper merges studies on language from numerous disciplines—including history, linguistics, the social sciences, and philosophy—with oral testimonies, and aims to read 'between the lines' of these accounts to consider not only how language is discussed by those who use it, but also how it is treated and negotiated throughout the account itself.

Language is not simply a way to relay information between people; instead, in specific situations, such as the initial period of migration and the unease and uncertainty that accompanied it, language could take on a very important purpose. What other roles did language play in the immigrant experience, and the experiences of subsequent generations?

In 1990, Wsevolod Isajiw attempted to understand to what extent ethnic

³ Marcel Danesi, "Canadian Italian: A Case in Point of How Language Adapts to Environment," *Polyphony* 7 (1985): 110-113.

⁴ Linguists have explored Italiense in great detail. A short but excellent example is a work by Jana Vizmuller-Zocco that explores how Italian Canadians navigate the verbal communication (what she calls the "speech act") of apologies and politeness, including an analysis of the pragmalinguistic rules of English, standard Italian, and regional varieties, and the role each of them holds in the 'speech acts' of Italiense. Works like these are incredibly informative, but they are beyond the purview of this paper. See Jana Vizmuller-Zocco, "Politeness and Languages in Contact: Italians in Toronto" *Italian Ethnicities: Their Languages, Literature and Lives. Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association, Chicago Illinois, November 11-13, 1987*, eds., Dominic Candeloro, Fred. L. Gardaphe, and Paolo A. Giordano (New York: American Italian Historical Association, Inc., 1990), 43-50.

identity could be retained from one generation to the next by studying various “ethnic patterns of behaviour” among different ethnic groups in Canada. Among the forms he studied is language. Isajiw found that among the Italians, knowledge level of the ethnic language, based on oral use and comprehension, remained relatively high in the second and third generations, particularly compared to other immigrant groups. More interestingly though, Isajiw found that for successive generations who retained the knowledge of the ethnic language, that same language changed its function. It no longer served a purely instrumental purpose, but instead became symbolic; for subsequent generations, language had shifted from a means of communication to a symbol or means of “identity reinforcement.”⁵

Linguists who subscribed to the linguistic relativity theory, which argued that the particular structure of a language determined its user’s worldview, further complicated the role of language. The hypothesis claimed that language had the power to affect how its diffusers saw and understood the world around them; simply put, language affects thought. This theory was rebuffed by scholars such as Noam Chomsky, who argued that language was, “merely a tool for expressing what [had] already been experienced and conceptualized non-linguistically.”⁶ For this group, language was divided from thought, and served only a functional purpose. This paper falls somewhere between these two schools of thought, arguing that language can be employed as a strategic tool, but that it also carries with it constructs that are unique to the experiences of its users. As such, language does, in a way, construct a worldview, albeit one that is flexible and in constant flux.

It is worth noting here that the work that follows is predominantly based on the use of recorded and/or transcribed oral testimonies. The reader should take into account the specific circumstances of the interview process: it is important, for example, to keep in mind that interviewees know that their interviewer is a fluent Italian speaker despite the fact that interviews are conducted in English. This means that any language shifts within the testimony do not pose a problem of disrupted narrative; interviewees are aware that their interviewer will follow their shifts

⁵ If we accept this interpretation of the symbolic purpose of language in succeeding generations, it presents an exciting opportunity to take up the invitations of historians such as Roberto Perin and Franca Iacovetta, who have long called for the study of immigrant history as a means of better understanding popular culture and Canadian history on the whole. A study that acknowledges this approach, in the words of Iacovetta, “considers the ways in which experiences and identities, and political and social phenomena [such as language] can be shaped by a multiplicity of overlapping and contradictory influences.” See Franca Iacovetta, “Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestic: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship” in *Labour/Le Travail*, 36 (Fall 1995) 217-252 and Roberto Perin, “Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography,” *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1983): 441-459.

⁶ Eamer, “Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation,” 5.

accordingly, a circumstance which would not occur with a monolingual interviewer, where language limitations may interfere with naturally-occurring language switches and may thus provide a testimony that does not accurately reflect the narrator's natural relationship with language. Borrowing from the linguistic relativity theory, this paper focuses on interviews where interviewees are welcome to employ all the languages at their disposal, in the hopes that doing so will prevent them from limiting or truncating their testimony due to a lack of language skill.

Alessandro Portelli, a pioneering scholar of oral history, has long argued for the importance of oral testimony as a unique tool for writing history. He contends that oral history is different from other sources in that it "tells us less about events as such than about their meaning." Portelli takes this one step further, arguing that the very testimony of the narrator is a display of the speaker's relationship to his or her own history. As such, an integral aspect of history is the element of subjectivity. To Portelli, "subjectivity is as much the business of history as the more visible 'facts.'" He goes on to note: "[w]hat the informant believes is indeed a historical *fact* (that is, the *fact* that he or she believes it) just as much as what 'really' happened...The diversity of oral history consists in the fact that 'untrue' statements are still psychologically 'true'."⁷ Thus oral history is a valuable *source*; while it does periodically fill in factual gaps of information, its true value is in its ability to elucidate the psychology and personal experience of those who lived said facts.

This characteristic can be used to shed light on the subjectivity and memory of a larger group. As Portelli puts it, such a source can tell us "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, what they now think they did."⁸ In doing so, oral sources may turn out to be more reflexive of their speakers' lived experiences than other more peripheral sources. Daniel James points out that "oral testimony is more messy, more paradoxical, more contradiction-laden, and perhaps, because of this, more faithful to the complexity of working-class lives and working-class memory."⁹ Therefore, oral history as source can be extremely beneficial when studying something as fluid, evolving, and personal as language.

Overwhelmingly, moments of code switching (alternating between two or more languages within a single conversation) occur when the speaker recounts a particularly emotional, difficult, or trying memory, and it is worth noting to what extent the ethnic language serves as an aid or a form of support for the speaker when

⁷ Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 12 (Autumn 1981): 99-100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁹ Daniel James, *Dona Maria's Story: Life, History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 242.

navigating the challenges of the specific subject matter. Nevertheless, the issue of language, whether or not it is raised explicitly by the interviewer, comes up consistently in immigrant testimonies as the subject of recollections and as an active presence in the *form* of their narrative. A closer study of these phenomena could serve to understand the place of language, and the value of oral history as method, in the Italian immigrant experience.

This paper reads not simply the stories and reflections told about language, but seeks to 'read between the lines' with the aim of mining the moments where interviewees revert or 'switch' to Italian or to their regional variety within their English-language interviews. As such, it seeks to use oral history not only as a source, but also as a *method*. As noted by Susan Geiger, "oral history only becomes a *method* in the hands of persons whose interests in it go beyond the immediate pleasure of hearing/learning the history being told. As scholars, we *use* information derived from oral history, and, in that way, it becomes a method."¹⁰

A large number of the oral testimonies used in this paper were produced by the *Multicultural History Society of Ontario*, a non-profit educational institution founded by Robert Harney (among others), a historian at the University of Toronto, in 1976. Throughout the seventies, the *MHSO's* primary mission was to fill the gaps of Canadian history by conducting hundreds of interviews with immigrants from a plethora of sending societies. The interviews would act as a voice for the 'third force,' those who had for so long been pushed to the edges of the Canadian narrative. Today, these interview tapes provide an impressively rich bank of sources, which speak as much about the *MHSO's* history as it does about its subjects.

Insofar as the *MHSO* record provides a wealth of mineable oral history, it is not without limitations. Given its age, it is not surprising that the structure of the *MHSO's* oral history project, to say nothing of the deteriorating quality of these resources, are problematic to say the least. Robert Harney's *Oral Testimony and Ethnic Studies* provides a fascinating inside look into the *MHSO's* interview process. Designed as a pamphlet to be handed out to scholars hired by the institution to conduct interviews, it introduces the major aims of the *MHSO's* project and provides a working structure of what each interview should strive to be (complete with "Topics for Discussion" and "Sources for Ethnic History"). However much Harney insisted on the fluidity of the interview process and urged the interviewer to deviate from the pamphlet as needed, it is truly a relic of its time in the structure it set forth

¹⁰ Susan Geiger, "What's so Feminist About Women's Oral History?" *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 1 (1990): 170.

and the questions asked.¹¹ As such, it presents its present-day reader with an illuminating example of the problem of 'authority' within the oral history process. In the interviews studied here, authority necessarily rested in the *MHSO's* hands, though the extent to which interviewees contested and challenged this authority has been addressed by Sheyfali Saujani in "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony." As Saujani points out, the *MHSO* was "circumspect about the power relations embedded within its own knowledge-making practices, and there is no evidence that authority was meant to be shared in these interviews." She uses Portelli's notion of the "orality of oral evidence" to hear what is on the cassettes themselves, not just the words uttered, but the aspects that fall 'between the lines': the pauses, the laughter, the silence, and the changes of tone that do not come across through words alone.¹²

This problem of authority manifests itself most clearly in the concept of 'ethnicity' and who controls the application of such a term. In 1977, a year after the foundation of the *MHSO*, Isajiw wrote in the journal of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* about the state of ethnicity in a technological society. Therein, he argues that "ethnicity is not simply a matter of individual choice—it is a matter of ancestry, of membership and belonging. In other words, ethnicity is a matter of community."¹³ Although Harney's organization advocated a dynamic approach to the study of ethnicity as an ongoing and complex process, Saujani is quick to add that,

he did not ask whether the migrants saw themselves thus. For him, they simply were ethnic, and the ascription of ethnicity did not seem particularly problematic. [...] He simply took ethnicity as given, effectively ascribing subjectivities on grounds of culture or ethnicity while also reserving the right to define the category "ethnic," an assumption of authority so implicit as to be almost occluded.¹⁴

In effect, the very fact that interviews were conducted by such an institution, with their foci specifically on how the speaker felt, acted, and *lived* 'ethnicity,' disallowed the speaker the option of *not* expressing 'ethnicity,' whether organically or contrived. Such reflections point to the problematic nature of using *MHSO* interviews as a source. Even so, using the concept of orality to listen 'between the lines,' and acknowledging the limitations inherent in such sources, the *MHSO* record

¹¹ Robert Harney, *Oral Testimony and Ethnic Studies* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978), 1-4.

¹² Sheyfali Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and her 'Disagreeable' Subjects," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 45, no. 90 (2012): 361-391.

¹³ Wsevolod Isajiw, "Olga in Wonderland: Ethnicity in Technological Society," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* ix, no. 1 (1977): 77-83.

¹⁴ Saujani, "Empathy and Authority," 381.

holds innumerable gems that continue to provide insight into the way language was used within the immigrant experience.¹⁵

The complexities of oral history are not the same in the second set of sources used here, namely written memoirs submitted by immigrants or their descendants to the *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*. The project does not provide participants with a set structure. Instead, it provides them with a blank page, and welcomes memoirs orally or in written form. The result is quite extraordinary. Some participants choose to outline the story of their family's journey from the 'Old World' to Canada in minute detail. Others contribute photographs with captions, poems of varying sophistication, or short blurbs with the narrative they have come to accept as the story worth telling. In the written format, it is difficult to get at the aurality of the testimony—but it is not impossible. While written memoirs differ greatly from oral testimonies, they too are acts of agency, conscious constructions of personal testimony. These written memoirs have been employed below with the aim of understanding the role that language played in the formulation of ethnic identity in the postwar period.

By the end of the Second World War in 1945, the Italian community in Toronto had been well established by previous waves of immigrants that had arrived around the turn of the century and had founded community churches, businesses, and social institutions. But the postwar wave was different in many ways. Approximately 450,000 Italians arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1970, with a large percentage settling in Toronto. This wave was characterized by its demographics, made up largely of families of young adults, possessing a relatively even gender ratio and large proportions of children. In contrast to an earlier wave, this one contained a large number of people who sought to make Canada their home. Lastly, this new wave was marked by low levels of education and middle to lower-class migrants, by large numbers of men and women who worked in trades and rank-and-file labour: people who sought to put their trade skills to use in their new homes across the Atlantic. In Toronto, they settled in urban zones with high proportions of Italians such as the St. Clair and College Street neighbourhoods, and thus came to live, work, and socialize among other Italians, as well as in close proximity to other ethnic group enclaves. The role that language played and would play in the lives of these people was marked by the particularities that characterized their wave of migration.

Studying language in the context of Italian immigration poses unique

¹⁵ Limitations in using oral history also include the complex role of the interviewer, and the subjectivity of memory. Scholarship that focuses on oral history and testimony, including works by Luisa Passerini, Alistair Thomson, Alessandro Portelli, and Michael Frisch tease out these concepts in far greater detail and with far more sophistication than is possible here.

problems. To begin with, the people who arrived in Canada from Italy did so not simply as speakers of Italian. More often than not they were also speakers of regional varieties of Italian. The immigrants who arrived post-World War II, made up overwhelmingly of Italians from the Mezzogiorno (the southern half of the Italian peninsula and Sicily), managed work, leisure, and daily life in regional languages, and many (but not all) had a working knowledge of Standard Italian.¹⁶ Overwhelmingly their access to Standard Italian was limited to interactions with the state. Children left the school system early, cutting short their formal instruction of the standard language, and increasingly regional varieties came to be seen as base, crude, and certainly of a lower status than the Standard Italian used in state institutions and by the upper classes of the country. As a result, and in contrast to other large immigrant groups, the large influx of Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto was exposed to English as a third (not second) language. It then entered a complex personal system where language evoked ideas of social structures, and as such, was an acute presence in the lives and minds of its speakers. In her analysis of immigrant theatre in the United States, Nancy Carnevale identifies one of the major themes in studying the Italian language in a new environment. She uses a comparative with Yiddish to highlight the highly divisive and contentious past of the Italian languages: "The greater disparity between Jewish and Italian immigrant culture is in the cohesive function that Yiddish traditionally served for Jews, that contrasts sharply with the linguistic diversity and rivalry of the dialects of Italy."¹⁷ For its part, Canada presented these immigrants with yet another new language, English, but it also exposed them to other regional varieties of the 'Italian' language, other ethnic languages, and an explosion of possibilities of language negotiation as a result.¹⁸ Moreover, the social complexities of language that had coloured life in Italy did not disappear across the Atlantic, and in fact were often exacerbated or used strategically by the newcomers in a variety of ways.

Learning additional languages to one's mother tongue occurs in different ways. In the case of English, the language was learned primarily through contact with members of the host society or educational institutions; Standard Italian and regional varieties were learned from parents, spouses, neighbours, and other Italian friends. The testimonies of virtually all participants attest to the use of formal English

¹⁶ Clifford Jansen states that 68.4 percent of Italians arriving in Canada originated in the South.

¹⁷ Nancy C. Carnevale, *A New Language, a New World: Italian Immigrants in the United States, 1890-1945* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 117.

¹⁸ The French language (and in some cases, both English and French simultaneously) was also an important new language for some immigrants to Canada. None of the interviews used here touch on the French language or on the intersections of English and French, and so it is not dealt with at length here. It is, however, an aspect of immigrant language and identity that deserves further study.

classes through churches or private institutions such as *Centro Organizzativo Scuole Tecniche Italiane (COSTI)*, without a prompt or question to introduce the subject. It is clear that formal language learning represents an important process in the immigrant experience, one that is not easily forgotten, and that continues to form part of what interviewees consider their immigrant narrative. In her written contribution to the *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, Lidia Scornaienchi's testimony captures this concept well:

I started to attend evening classes at Brockton Public school on Dufferin Ave and Bloor Street West in Toronto... My special thanks go to [COSTI] because their assistance today I can sit in front of my computer and write this short memoir note of my journey to the dream land in English. The grammar may not be accurate, but that is my reflection and also the way I speak, so I love it. I must say going to the night school was one of the most rewarding step's I ever took in my life [sic].¹⁹

In their joint recorded testimony for the *MHSO*, Renata and Mario Ori recount their experiences of learning English, and though they are quick to mention the classes at St. Philip Neri on King Street, Renata places equal importance on "the Italian ladies that I knew around here," explaining that she "found some neighbours who were really very nice" and helped her navigate the new foreign language in her new foreign city. Both husband and wife attest to the importance of shopping, friends, and the neighbourhood in learning English. Additionally, Mario's language learning experience was primarily formed in the workplace, where he necessarily interacted with monolingual English speakers. Similarly, in his written testimony, John Lucente recalls: "I don't remember actually learning English, but I must have picked it up playing with neighbourhood friends that first summer before starting school."²⁰

In some cases, and particularly in the learning of Standard Italian or regional varieties by young children or non-Italian spouses, the primary method of language learning was informal. Children learned from their parents or other family members, or from socializing within an insular Italian community. Many of them also noted the

¹⁹ Lidia Ammirato Scornaienchi and Enzo Scornaienchi, "Italian immigrants Lidia & Enzo Scornaienchi" *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, accessed January 2012, http://www.pier21.ca/wp-content/uploads/files/stories/immigrants/Italian_Immigrants_Lidia_and_Enzo_Scornaienchi.pdf.

²⁰ Mario and Renata Ori, "Italian Interview – Mario & Renata Ori" *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/321114>; Giovanni (John) Lucente, "Italian immigrant Giovanni John Lucente" *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, accessed January 2012, http://www.pier21.ca/wp-content/uploads/files/stories/immigrants/Italian_Immigrant_Giovanni_John_Lucente.pdf.

importance of Italian fixtures within the community, such as theatres and mass media, as having played prominent roles in their learning of Italian. It's worth remembering that however informal this language learning seems in comparison to the formal structure of group classes, more often than not parents made conscious decisions regarding which languages they spoke in front of and to their children, and those decisions were guided by numerous carefully considered factors. These will be discussed in further detail below.²¹

How language is learned can define how that language comes to be used by a particular group or individual. Thus English, which was learned often through occupational avenues or formalized classroom settings, became the language of work, of the street, and of the public, whereas regional varieties of Italian, learned among intimate social circles and in smaller, more private contexts, was privileged as the language 'of the home.'

But the language of immigrants cannot be divided so neatly. The migration experience is a unique one; it presents its actors with objects, places, and situations which are new to them, and which their existing language systems are incapable of communicating and effectively expressing. As such, new systems must be formed. *Italiense*, the ethnolect of Italian Canadian emigrants and their descendants, evolved precisely for this purpose. *Italiense* is unique to the place in which it is formed in that it adapts loanwords from English and develops phonetic and morphological adjustments that make speech 'sound' Italian. This fusion is not random; it has a linguistic logic that is explained elsewhere.²² But significantly, its genesis is not random either. As Danesi explains, it can serve to "fulfil a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience...It is through these newly acquired words that the immigrant comes to understand the new reality."²³ Such a conclusion implies that *Italiense* is employed as a transitory coping mechanism, one that may fall into disuse once its speakers have made a complete transition.

The creation of an ethnolect is not unique to the Italian community. It is further evidence that the Italian immigrant experience is complicated not simply by the intersection of two, but numerous languages. These include: regional varieties (which may be multiple if parents originate in different regions of Italy), Standard

²¹ Discussions of informal language learning are prevalent in most of the oral testimonies studied here. In particular, two couples that are interviewed together make repeated reference to the choice to speak dialect with each other but not to the children, and to the importance of Italian language radio and theatre productions in their children's language learning process. See Mario and Renata Ori, "Italian Interview," and Mr. and Mrs. Granzotto, "Italian Interview – Mario & Renata Ori" *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/321071>.

²² See Danesi, "Canadian Italian."

²³ *Ibid.*, 110.

Italian (often learned through school in Italy or in the case of younger generations, heritage-language classes in Canada), English, and the new construction of *Italiесе*, which may not be seen as a separate language in and of itself but which creates new structures that are often in negotiation with the others.

There are many factors that explain language choice among polyglots, and some of them are explored here. Situations where choices are made practically due to lack of option (such as in communication with monolinguals) are not explored. To begin with, one of the most pervasive factors for choosing to speak Italian or regional languages among Italian immigrants in Toronto is to connect to the past, or to appeal to a sense of nostalgia. The members of the Campolo family, for example, all described “an emotional connection to the language and culture of Italy,” which acted as a catalyst for the maintenance of their regional language as the language of the home, and which spurred Cristina, the third generation, to enrol in Standard Italian heritage language classes in Toronto.²⁴ Her mother Tina explains this emotional attachment to her mother tongue: “my sense of being, coming from an immigrant family who spoke Italian and coming from that culture...I wanted [Cristina] to benefit from being able to communicate and understand the culture that her grandmother and her predecessors [have] in terms of history.”²⁵

There are more subtle ways employed as well to display this loyalty. In all cases studied here, interviewees were introduced on tape and were asked the first question entirely in English. Many of them nonetheless chose to begin their testimony in Italian, and others still spoke in their regional language. Only upon the interviewer’s continuing English dialogue did they switch back to English. This is particularly noteworthy in the cases where the interviewee’s English was particularly strong or where it was admittedly their dominant language, and certainly their only language of communication with the interviewer and the outside world. This choice could thus be interpreted as a deliberate attempt on the part of the interviewee to identify as an Italian-language speaker, particularly in light of the situation. Under the red light of the record button, across the table from a representative of the *MHSO*, and under pressure (self-imposed or otherwise) to provide a compelling ‘immigrant experience’ story, it is not surprising that ‘being Italian’ is an important consideration for interviewees, one that many choose to display through language. In this way, language choice and code switching are dictated by a perceived need or desire to connect to a personal past, and to evoke a sense of loyalty which the

²⁴ Eamer, “Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation,” 249. There has been much debate about how to define generations. In this paper I define the first generation as the first immigrant to arrive in Canada. Cristina Campolo is thus the granddaughter of a postwar immigrant.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 254.

interview process, and the abovementioned problem of authority, necessarily calls to reaffirm.

In much the same way, language can be used as a tool to connect with other people, most often to develop or maintain a level of intimacy that may suffer without the commonality of language. In her written memoir, Luisa Martin recalls: "I can still hear the sorrowful refrain from one of my mother's favourite records, '*Terra straniera che malinconia...*' which underscored those early years."²⁶ Martin refers to the lyrics of the song "*Terra straniera*," an old Italian song popularized by a 1967 recording by Connie Francis, an Italian-American ballad singer for an album of "Italian Favourites." The interviewee's mother must have felt a connection to the song's expressions of sadness, loneliness, and nostalgia in a foreign land.²⁷ But the song does not simply reflect the sad aspects of leaving one's mother country. More than a cry for a long lost love, it is a lament for the very fact that the author now lives in a different world. The sadness here is due to the fact that the author has already forgotten, and thus the song can be interpreted as an exercise in remembering. Interestingly, this is how the interviewee seems to use it: as a tool for remembering her late mother, to whom the song was so dear. She thus manages to simultaneously affirm her personal connection with her mother, assert their shared immigration story, and evoke a sense of nostalgia to a faraway past, all through language and song.

In a 1967 article in *The Daily Star* on the success of COSTI English-language programs, Mrs. Luigi Pellegrini explains that "I no understand my bambinos unless I learna inglese,"²⁸ a concern which is echoed by Renata Ori, who says that "after I had my kids, I had to go to school [to learn English]; it was more important to know."²⁹ These women use English as a strategy to maintain their close family ties with children who are increasingly identifying with the host culture in a way they cannot possibly mirror. Similarly, others use the same strategy with their mother tongue. In

²⁶ Luisa Martin (nee Papaiz), "Italian immigrant Luisa Martin nee Papaiz" *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, accessed January 2012, http://www.pier21.ca/wpcontent/uploads/files/Italian_Immigrant_Luisa_Martin_nee_Papaiz.pdf.

²⁷ Lyrics are as follows: "Terra straniera ... Quanta malinconia! / Quando ci salutammo, non so perche / tu mi gettasti un bacio e fuggisti via, / eppure adesso, te lo confesso, / non penso a te ... / Non li ricordo piu quegli occhi belli / pieni di luce calda ed infinita ... / Mi son dimenticato i tuoi capelli / e la boccuccia ch'era la mia vita. / Ma sogno notte e di la mia casetta, / la mia vecchietta che sempre aspetta ... / L'amore del paese e della mamma / e una gran fiamma che brucia il cuor! / Questa tristezza, questa nostalgia / sono il ricordo dell'Italia mia! / Ma sogno notte e di la mia casetta, / la mia vecchietta che sempre aspetta ... / L'amore del paese e della mamma / e una gran fiamma che brucia il cuor! / Mamma ... io morire di nostalgia / se non rivedo te ... e l'Italia mia!"

²⁸ Marie Flanagan, "Small Fry Play While Mamas Tussle With English," *The Daily Star* (Feb. 3, 1967), B272548, F2117, *Archives of Ontario*, Toronto.

²⁹ Mario and Renata Ori, "Italian Interview."

a 1973 interview, Wanda Vendruscolo explains that English has become her first language, but that she continues to use Friulian, a regional dialect, primarily to keep in touch with friends and family who remained in Italy.³⁰ Tina and Cristina Campolo also use their regular visits to Italy and their use of the language there as “instrumental in strengthening ties to (non-English speaking) relatives.”³¹ In these cases, the use of regional varieties and Standard Italian is strategic, in that it serves a particular purpose that allows the actor to maintain relationships that would otherwise be compromised.

There is another more peculiar way in which immigrants use language as a means of maintaining personal relationships, one that is not as evident since it does not appear eloquently in their recollections. Sarah Ippolito, a young child of Italian immigrants in 1940s Canada, is reluctant to speak Italian. Her recollections are entirely in English and she seems hesitant to invoke the Italian language in her testimony. But there is one instance where English does not suffice: prompted by her interviewer, Sarah recounts one of the countless folk sayings that she learned from her father: “The older you get, the stupider you get.”³² Sarah herself confirms that she does not identify as Italian, that she does not speak Italian, and that she does not associate with an ethnic Italian community. And yet, in a situation where she is faced with a personal, intimate recollection between herself and her late father, English is inappropriate, and only Italian will do. Similarly, in an anonymous interview from 1977, an Italian immigrant man recounts the story of his migration to Canada. His recollection is entirely in English, save for the few instances where the man directly quotes his brother’s letters. While English is adopted by the interviewee even in the presence of an Italian-speaking interviewer, he chooses not to paraphrase, but instead directly quotes his brother’s letters in the original Italian. This can be seen as an exercise to reaffirm a bond with his brother, one that existed only in Italian, and is thus remembered and relived in that way.³³

The same occurs when a woman recalls her experiences helping other incoming Italians at the immigration office in Halifax. As with the man above, her interview is entirely in English despite the fact that her interviewer is Italian Canadian and speaks both languages, yet she feels compelled to translate *only* the

³⁰ Leo and Wanda Vendruscolo, “Italian Interview – Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo” *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/389620>.

³¹ Eamer, 251-2.

³² Translations are all the author’s own. Poor audio quality prohibited me from accessing the original text. Sarah Ippolito, “Italian Interview – Sarah Ippolito” *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/383541>.

³³ Anonymous. “Italian Interview – Anonymous” *MHSO*, January 1, 1977, accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/321161>.

portions of her testimony that evoke dialogue between herself and other migrants. In particular, dialogue exchanged between her and newly landed Italian women are directly recounted in Italian, as are the answers she receives. In some cases the woman translates for her audience, but this is rare. For a moment such as this, the Italian language affords the woman a level of privacy in her recollection of the moment, one that necessarily excludes others. In this case, the *other* includes listeners who do not belong to her language group, an *other* symbolized in the recollection by the English-speaking immigration officers who depended on her language ability and thus could not penetrate or rival the power that she held in her relationship with the newly arrived women.³⁴ In many different ways, language choices are made to build or maintain personal relationships, or to exclude others and reaffirm a bond or intimacy that is strengthened (or even created) by language choices.

A significant consideration that affects language choice is social status, which in most cases explored here refers to upward socioeconomic mobility. A recurrent theme in immigrant testimonies is English as a source of power, a tool that offers increased opportunity. For migrants who mastered English and retained their mother tongue, interpretive responsibilities flourished formally and informally. While some obtained work because of their bilingual capacity (in the immigration office, for example), others used their language skills more informally, aiding family, neighbours, and friends during the initial period of immigration with their interpretive skills.³⁵

It did not take long for the idea of equating English with mobility to take hold and affect internal family dynamics. Some examples have been given above. Wanda Vendruscolo adds that though she originally spoke to her young children in Italian, she switched and began speaking English in the home when friends warned her that children who spoke their native tongue in the home suffered later when forced to learn English in different, less adaptive environments, such as the school system. Her decision to switch the 'home language' reflects a conscious parental choice to provide opportunity for future success, at the expense of a personal preference (as Renata Ori puts it, "it's good for tomorrow, you know...").³⁶ It is interesting to note that this process is pervasive explicitly, as in the cases stated above, as well as implicitly, as in

³⁴ Anonymous, "Italian Interview – Anonymous" *MHSO*, December 5, 1977, accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/205852>.

³⁵ Ibid. For example, Wanda Vendruscolo recounts that she learned English out of necessity, since she had no one to interpret for her when she first arrived. She quickly became an informal interpreter for successive waves of immigrants to her community, most significantly her husband. Leo and Wanda Vendruscolo, "Italian Interview – Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo" *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/389620>.

³⁶ Mario and Renata Ori, "Italian Interview."

the following examples:

My younger brother spoke no English when he went to his primary grades. Yet some twelve years later, he would become a graduate from high school with the bishop's medal, and the lieutenant governor's scholarship for the greatest proficiency in Ontario, later to become the youngest graduate as an MD in Hamilton at the age of 23.³⁷

The [first] summer for me was very long. It was very hard to make new friends when one did not speak the language... I was demoralized and depressed... A few weeks later, things looked a lot brighter and I enjoyed school very much and went to university and later I obtained a professional accounting designation, which allowed me to hold several interesting and rewarding positions.³⁸

It is no accident that these stories begin by highlighting the lack of knowledge of English as an implied barrier, which, once overcome, allows for levels of success hitherto unimagined. For these people and others, the mastery of English is a marker of success, and it acts as a tool that provides further opportunities to those who master it.

Interestingly, other testimonies highlight the complete opposite, scenarios where language does not appear to be a barrier to success in the immigrant's new home. Such is the case with a man who arrived in Canada as a young adult and opened his own tailoring business in British Columbia before moving to Toronto. He is quick to point out (and to continuously return to the fact) that his business was very successful ("fantastic," he says) despite the fact that he could not speak English at all. The man does not indicate how his business succeeded without knowledge of the dominant language of the area, or if he served an Italian-speaking community exclusively, but this silence demonstrates that his method of measuring markers of success did not include language. The speaker's testimony implies that language is a barrier that could be overcome through innate ability, a strong support network, some amount of luck, and most importantly, hard work, though such a narrative may also be seen as a form of challenging the authority of the interviewer and his guided questions.³⁹

Language choice as a tool of social mobility often undergoes a hierarchical classification, particularly in the Italian case, which, as seen above, includes

³⁷ Anonymous, "Italian Interview – Anonymous" *MHSO*, January 1, 1977, accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/321161>.

³⁸ Cesidio Mariani, "Italian immigrant Cesidio Mariani" *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, accessed January 2012, http://www.pier21.ca/wp-content/uploads/files/stories/immigrants/Italian_Immigrant_Cesidio_Mariani.pdf.

³⁹ Anonymous, "Italian Interview," January 1, 1977.

negotiation between numerous languages and ethnolects. Allyson Eamer cites Frances Giampapa's work on what she calls "linguistic conflict," indicating that the use of regional varieties is generally "associated with the older generation, a lower social class, and a lack of formal education." Eamer further explains that, "the language practices of Italian Canadian families seem to reflect the language policy in Italy. The privileging of Standard Italian over regional varieties and dialects was accelerated in post-World War II Italy, and was mirrored in Canada's Italian communities."⁴⁰ Cristina Campolo unwittingly demonstrates this hierarchy perfectly in her narration: "I was on the balcony and my cousin wanted me to go play with him on the grass so Nonna's like, 'Cristina, *sutto*.' I'm like, 'No, don't speak dialect, he's two, don't teach him that. Say '*sotto*'."⁴¹ This hierarchy is often acknowledged by interviewees: most of them freely admit that they have made the conscious choice to replace regional languages with Standard Italian in the home, particularly when speaking to children. Parents recount the consensual decision to retain a regional variety as the primary language between them, but to use only Standard Italian (or *Italiane*) in the presence of children. Children of immigrants recount overhearing a regional language and explain that more often than not they can understand it but not speak it.⁴² Selections such as this reflect an ordered hierarchy of languages, one that is based on a notion of language choice as a reflection of social mobility, and which can be negotiated based on particular situations to benefit all actors.

Of the numerous ways in which language is used, the most pervasive within these testimonies is the notion of belonging to a particular group. Language is used as a means of connecting to an immigrant experience, or in the case of subsequent generations, to a uniquely Italian Canadian lifestyle. This concept harks back to Isajiw's notion of ethnicity as fundamentally a community project. Interviewees consistently plug Italian words into their English interviews, and upon closer examination, commonalities in these occurrences arise. In countless migration stories conducted in English, words such as "billeto," (ticket), "pasaporto," (passport), and "la bateria," (in reference to Ellis Island), appear repeatedly.⁴³ The words that are left without translation are most often words that readers have identified as nodal points in their migration narrative. The English language in which the interviewees recount their story is unsuitable for certain situations, such as when retelling personal interactions between immigrants ("*vene con me*"). In "My Pier 21 Story, or How I

⁴⁰ Eamer, "Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation," 257.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 256-7.

⁴² See for example interviews with Miranda Canella, Mario and Renata Ori, Mr. and Mrs. Granzotto.

⁴³ Anonymous, "Italian Interview," December 5, 1977 and Anonymous, "Italian Interview," January 1, 1977.

Vomited My Way from Tajedo to Timmins,” Luisa Martin writes, “one of my most vivid recollections is that of my father bursting into the kitchen on a bright and sunny day announcing excitedly and determinedly, ‘*Andiamo in America!*’”⁴⁴ On a less enthusiastic note, Miranda Canella’s memory of seeing the Halifax coast for the first time from the deck of the ship that brought her from Sicily is an experience unique to the immigrant experience, one which English, as the language of the host society, cannot depict satisfactorily. Canella’s smooth English narrative soon becomes interrupted with pauses: “It was...*come se dice strani?*” and “I just felt that I was *respinta*.”⁴⁵ Canella’s long-time work as an administrator in Canada has significantly contributed to an excellent proficiency in English, but faced with this particular memory, it seems to slip away.⁴⁶

In most English accounts then, it is significant that switches to Italian directly connect the speaker with aspects of the Italian immigrant experience, which seems to indicate that this experience is one that cannot be fully understood in English alone. In many ways, the use of Italian in these cases supports Michael Fischer’s concept of “inter-referencing,” which Carnevale aptly describes as the use of a language “that the immigrants brought with them as well as the language of the host country in the same speech event...along with references from the two cultures, to form a unique communication fully accessible only to insiders who have direct experience of living between two cultures.”⁴⁷ This usage and negotiation between languages serves as a method of belonging to a group, specifically, a community of immigrants or descendants who have grown up under its legacy. As Eamer explains, “there are expectations of the member [of such a group] held by both insiders and outsiders. Only by meeting those expectations can the member enjoy all the benefits and rewards of membership”⁴⁸; this concept is wonderfully exemplified by Tina Campolo’s recollection of how her husband (a fellow immigrant) navigated this tension of membership within the home: “when he sit down at the table, he want[ed]

⁴⁴ Luisa Martin (nee Papaiz). “Italian immigrant.”

⁴⁵ M. R. Canella, “Italian Interview – Miranda Romana Canella” *MHSO*, n.d., accessed January 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/321169>.

⁴⁶ A similar example is available in Lorenzkowski’s wonderful monograph on the ‘sounds’ of the German language. She recounts the story of a young German boy who writes a diary in German. After he turns 17, Louis begins writing only in English. But Lorenzkowski explains that “seemed strangely inadequate in times of despair. When his father died prematurely in the summer of 1880, Louis expressed his anguish in German, not English. He wrote the remainder of the diary for the year in his mother tongue, as if to preserve a tangible bond with his late father. If the German language had hitherto signified a world of childhood, it now transformed into an emotional bridge to the past.” In Barbara Lorenzkowski, “Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County’s Schools, 1850-1915” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (2008): 11-12.

⁴⁷ Carnevale, *A New Language, a New World*, 124.

⁴⁸ Eamer, “Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation,” 309-310.

[his daughters] to speak Italian to him. And when they call[ed] him 'daddy,' he sa[id] 'I'm not dad!... You call me 'poppa'!"⁴⁹ As such, inter-referencing in the presence of an interviewer and a recording device can also be seen as an exercise in asserting authority over the terms of the interview.

In much the same way, subsequent generations also exert their belonging to the community, albeit in different ways. Words that belong uniquely to that experience (and not to their experience as Canadians) remain unaltered. Cristina, a third-generation Italian Canadian explains: "we use Italian words when we speak [among school friends]...instead of saying 'my uncle' or 'my grandmother' – oh 'my zio' or 'my nonna'."⁵⁰ We may also attribute this quest for group membership to the enrolment of third-generation Italians in heritage language classes and Italian-heritage community groups, which reaffirms and encourages a unique structure of belonging for descendants of immigrants. In "Ethnics Against Ethnicity," Jonathan Zimmerman argues that for many immigrants, heritage language classes were rejected because they sought to impose a single language that was too rigid for groups of people who were accustomed to living among a "Babel of dialects." He argues that immigrants rejected "ethnicization" in the same way that they rejected "Americanization," and chose instead to create an ethnicity that was, in many ways, based on multiple language usage, including strong usage of English.⁵¹ To them, a genuine expression of ethnicity could not be classified uniformly by a structure of national heritage languages. Vizmuller-Zocco echoes the significance of English in Italian usage, concluding that English "has a much more pervasive role and its influence covers not only the lexical but also the pragmatic aspects of Italian."⁵²

In her written testimony, Joanne D'Agnolo explains that her languages do define her membership in a group, but she is quick to distinguish between an Italian group and an Italian Canadian group. She recalls a return trip to Italy: "Although I speak Italian fluently, I didn't feel a sense of belonging in Italy on my last visit...I will always be an Italian by birth, but I am proud to say that I am a Canadian by choice. Canada is a country that has allowed me to keep my traditions while accepting and encouraging diversity and where we can all be called Canadians."⁵³

⁴⁹ Ibid., 309.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 250.

⁵¹ Jonathan Zimmerman, "Ethnics Against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940," *Journal of American History* 88, no.4 (March 2002): 1383-1404.

⁵² Vizmuller-Zocco, "'Politeness and Languages in Contact,'" 50.

⁵³ Giovanna (Joanne) D'Agnolo (nee Iannetta), "Italian immigrant Giovanna Joanne D'Agnolo nee Iannetta" *Canadian Museum of Immigration Pier 21 Online Story Collection*, accessed January 2012, http://www.pier21.ca/wp-content/uploads/files/stories/immigrants/Italian_Immigrant_Giovanna_Joanne_D'Agnolo_nee_Iannetta.pdf.

Significantly, D'Agnolo's testimony affirms her membership by clarifying her fluency and birthright, but she is careful to identify as a hyphenated Canadian; her definition of membership is centred around a unique concept of Italian Canadianness which is neither one or the other.

This paper has outlined several ways in which language was used and negotiated by Italian immigrants and their descendants. At this point it should become clear that language cannot be discussed solely as a static tool used for communicating information. It is much more than that. But much work remains to be done. The way that language negotiation interacts with gender, for example, is an avenue in need of exploration, to say nothing of the development of negotiated language among immigrant children. The role of language in the immigrant experience is significant. As Lorenzowski notes, these "meanings of language...point to the intricate ways in which a sense of cultural identity was embedded, and expressed, in practices of language use."⁵⁴ An oral history methodology implies that language is not merely a timeline between a start and an end point. Nor is it a process of slow shift from one language to the other mediated by an intermediary period of transfer (what linguists have defined as the role of Italian within the Italo-Canadian community). This is too simplistic. Rather, a much more accurate and interesting way to see language is as a dynamic network of possibilities, where the two or more languages of each migrant play with and off of each other, where they are heightened or lessened depending on the situation, and where each serves its own unique purpose in differing circumstances. This also brings to light the autonomy of the immigrant, who is constantly negotiating, whether consciously or unconsciously, between these possibilities. If seen in this way, a much more lively picture emerges of ethnic identity formation and integration, one which is more accurate and representative of the lived experience of Italian immigrants and their descendants.

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⁵⁴ Lorenzowski, "Languages of Ethnicity," 12.

Pastoral Song and the Marian Body: Discursive Iconoclasm in Sixteenth-Century Paris

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Abstract

Amid the religious antagonisms of sixteenth-century Paris, the traditional French pastoral song reemerged from the obscurity of the fourteenth century, achieving a renewed popularity in the tumultuous capital. These bawdy pastoral songs—replete with Marian allusions—borrowed from, and engaged with, the Catholic language of body metaphor and could be heard to degrade the Marian body, stripping the image of her power at the same time that Protestant raids on Catholic churches were desecrating likenesses of the Holy Virgin and smashing the symbols of Catholic idolatry. These ostensibly secular songs were not incidental to religious turmoil, but, rather, provided a method of engagement. This examination argues that the sixteenth-century French pastoral song must be understood as a discursive form of iconoclasm, which underwrote, and gave meaning to, acts of iconoclasm in the physical realm. Moreover, it was the performance of such songs that allowed Protestants to temporarily claim space in a Catholic capital that intransigently refused to make room for them.

Genre is fluid and evolving, and shows that changing generic parameters are, at least in part, a set of historically specific responses to changing social and ideological conditions.¹

In the sixteenth century, Paris was both an epicenter of culture and a crucible for the deeply divisive, Reformation-era antagonisms that would erupt, by 1562, into the brutal violence of the French Wars of Religion. During this time, the traditional French pastoral song re-emerged from the obscurity of the fourteenth century, becoming, for a time, a fixture in the Parisian soundscape, challenging the musical hegemony of the courtly love song. The re-invigorated *chanson rustique* was not incidental to the climate of religious factionalism; rather, it provided a method of

¹ Geri L. Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 244.

engagement. The sixteenth-century division between secular and sacred culture was blurry, to say the least; so indistinct were the two musical registers that sacred and secular melodies could often be played together without the slightest dissonance. Biblical allusions likewise crossed the porous boundary between secular and sacred. Allusions to the Virgin Mary routinely found their way into secular songs of the period—pastoral and courtly—incidentally providing the raw discursive material for Protestant dissent.²

While courtly songs reified Marian virtue, pastoral chansons could be heard to subvert it. The former genre described the chaste, reverent love of an unattainable noblewoman. Pierre Certon's "*Vivre ne puis content sans ma maistresse*," published in 1538, twice in 1540 and again in 1544, is a popular example: "*Vivre ne puis content sans ma maistresse,...Languit me faict son amour en tristesse/...souhaite pour avoir fruit de l'amour commencée./Mais en chantant, respond sur ma requeste: 'Contentez vous, amy, de la pensée!'*" ("I cannot live without my mistress...I languish in sadness for her love...I wish to reap the fruit of this budding love./But in singing she answers my plea: 'Content yourself, my friend, with the thought!'.")³ The bawdy pastoral song, in contrast, featured the assignations of a lusty, pliable shepherdess, as is discernible in Jacob Clemens popular chanson "*Au joly boys je rencontray m'amy*"—published several times over in the decades following 1529. The risqué lyrical verse—"Au joly boys je rencontray m'amy./Quant elle m'aperceut elle fut resjouye./Elle m'a dit tout bas en soubriant: 'Baisez moy tant, tant,/Fringuex moy tant, tant,/Je seray vostre amy.'" ("In the pretty woods I met my sweetheart, and she rejoiced to see me. Softly she whispered with a smile: 'Kiss me some more, frig me some more, I will be your beloved.'")—became a Parisian favorite.⁴ Contrast in treatment of the Marian figure—identified most frequently through biblical associations with nature and shepherding—is stark. Significantly, the pastoral song's seemingly blasphemous degradation of the Marian body discursively stripped the image of its power at the same time that Protestant raids on Catholic churches were desecrating likenesses of the Holy Virgin and smashing symbols of Catholic idolatry.

² The confessional challenge to Catholicism remained largely inchoate for most of the period under study (roughly 1520-1560). Less Lutherans, strictly speaking, and more "sacramentarians," religious dissidents in France would, by mid-century, come under the sway of Calvin and Geneva. As such, it will be useful to use the aggregating term "Protestant" for the purposes of this discussion. When confessional peculiarities demand attention in light of their impact on the argument, Protestant denominations will be addressed in unambiguous terms.

³ Jane Bernstein, *French Chansons of the Sixteenth Century* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 26. Mistress in this context is understood as a term of deference, not a synonym for "lover." Primary source translations throughout are attributable to the editors of the chanson collections, alterations are bracketed; all future secondary source translations are the author's own unless otherwise noted.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

This study examines the role of the pastoral song in sixteenth-century Paris and what it meant for those who made it popular and filled the urban spaces with its melodies. In doing so, it bridges the analytical gap between musicology and Renaissance history, a frequently under-investigated interdisciplinary space within which the historical contextualization of music yields new understandings of culture, politics, and society in the late-Renaissance city. I aim to demonstrate likewise that the political use-value of songs in France had roots much earlier than historians had initially suspected. Robert Darnton argued in 2000 that late-eighteenth-century Parisians manipulated popular songs to craft subversive satires, heaping opprobrium upon the dissolute monarchy and the corrupt authorities of the Old Regime.⁵ The songs were but one part of the important process of de-sacralization and delegitimation of the monarchy that created the space for dissent and revolution. The popularization and appropriation of sixteenth-century pastoral songs by Parisian Protestants should be read as a precursor to the melodious politicking of Darnton's eighteenth-century agitators. Due to the timing and locus of the pastoral song's resurgence, its aural and stylistic similarities to the courtly love song and the shared engagement with Marian metaphor of the two secular genres, these sixteenth-century bucolic melodies should be understood as a discursive form of iconoclasm, the performance of which allowed Protestants to both engage in a meaningful discourse of dissent and to temporally claim space in a Catholic capital which intransigently refused to make room for them.

The Music of Sixteenth-century Paris

The rich music scene of sixteenth-century Paris can be attributed to the combined efforts of François I, who ruled France from 1515 until his death in 1547, and Pierre Attaignant, the prolific printer who called the French capital home. Despite historian Frederic J. Baumgartner's claim that François I "was somewhat less interested in music" than his predecessors Charles VIII and Louis XII, there can be no doubt that the volume of printed music, its breadth, and its tone saw important changes during his reign.⁶ Part of this can be explained by the monarch's interest in arts and letters and his desire to establish Paris as an artistic center rivalling Venice. According to musicologist Isabelle Cazeaux, François I's interest in the cultural capital of French song may have gone beyond simple patronage. The works of François I—a poet in his own right—were set to music by contemporary composers

⁵ Robert Darnton, "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 1-35.

⁶ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 113.

and an attribution of one of Attaignant's prints to "François" suggests that the king may have dabbled in composition as well.⁷ More importantly, his impact on French music of the period must be understood as a result of his expansion, in both size and importance, of the French court. In her study of the sixteenth-century court, Jeanice Brooks notes that membership in the assembly included all ranks of French society and was constantly in flux.⁸ While the court was rather peripatetic, most members, including court musicians, "did not serve the entire year in their positions, but alternated with others in periods of three months," facilitating a significant cultural exchange between the city, particularly Paris, and the court.⁹ As such, the repertory of Parisian printers was influenced as much by market demands as by personal connections with the wandering musicians of the royal assembly.¹⁰

While the printing press had made its appearance in Paris as early as 1470, the technology was not used significantly for the production of musical prints until it came under the aegis of Pierre Attaignant, who held the title of *Imprimeur du Roi en Musique* (the king's music printer) until his death in 1551. While many songs of the sixteenth century were derivative—either copied wholesale from one author to the next or with the lyrics set to a variation on the original tune—many of these initial works found their first expression in the songbooks, or *chansonnières*, of Pierre Attaignant. From 1520, when he became the first large-scale publisher to make use of the faster, cheaper, single-impression movable type for music printing, until his death, Attaignant published more than one hundred and fifty volumes of sacred and secular music, featuring over 1500 songs. Only Du Chemin came close to this volume of output, printing over one hundred *chansonnières* between 1549 and 1576.¹¹ For this reason, Attaignant's influence on Parisian music and the composition of his *chansonnières* as reflections of market demands must not be underestimated.

While the sheer volume of printed music changed during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, under the cultural patronage of François I and Pierre Attaignant, importantly, so too did its content. Cazeaux writes that "the subject-matter of chansons was, generally speaking, more varied and more cheerful in the sixteenth century than in the fifteenth." "Earlier music," she continues, "included its share of...crude songs; but the secular repertoire on the whole was courtly and often

⁷ Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 19.

⁸ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹¹ Cazeaux, *French Music*, 116-17.

sad.”¹² While the courtly song remained a sixteenth-century fixture in the Parisian soundscape, “popular” songs increasingly carved out space in the repertoires of important printers.¹³ Musicologist Courtney S. Adams notes that Attaignant’s first six anthologies “show a preference for lament-style poems rather than the light, ‘popular’ ones,” though all subsequent collections, excepting one, show an increase in the proportion of “popular” selections.¹⁴ According to Adams, evidence from earlier prints suggests that Attaignant was not opposed to lighter texts and thus the paucity of such pieces in the first collections of this period is likely indicative of the scarcity of such compositions, which by 1530, began to take up more than a third of the printed space in his *chansonniers*.¹⁵

What accounts for the shift in the production of, and demand for, the bawdy, rustic songs that seemed to mock the melodies of reverent courtly love, whose musical hegemony had remained unchallenged for more than a century? French historian Pierre de Vaissière has argued that the sixteenth century “experienced the most intimate rapprochement between the common people and the upper classes that ever took place during the Old Regime” and it is this rapprochement, according to François Lesure, that might account for the “variety of chansons—courtly and vulgar—which one finds in the collections of the period.”¹⁶ While the collapsing of the distinction between high and low culture certainly provides insight into *how* the pastoral song was able to gain a foothold in sixteenth-century Parisian musical culture, it does little to explain *why* this long-dead, fourteenth-century musical tradition saw a popular resurgence.

The Resurgence of Pastoral Song

The historiography of French renaissance music does not want for theories regarding the meaning of pastoral song, though the differing contexts in which scholars have evaluated these sources have led to various interpretations of the songs symbolism and meanings. Importantly, the division of labour between the composers of sixteenth-century French songs and the poets whose lyrics they set to music has created a host of problems in establishing authorial authenticity for compositions of

¹² Ibid., 209.

¹³ “Popular songs” for the purpose of this discussion will adhere to the range of categories of, and be interchangeable with, the “chanson rustique,” as outlined by Howard Brown. See footnote 17 for details.

¹⁴ Courtney S. Adams, “The Early Chanson Anthologies Published by Pierre Attaignant (1528-1530),” *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 4 (Autumn 1987): 528.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Cited in Cazeaux, *French Music*, 154.

the period.¹⁷ Perhaps owing to the difficulty in ascertaining authorship of most sixteenth-century chansons, as well as to the limited cultural meaning that can be derived from a poietic approach, most interpretations favour an esthetic approach to analysis. Musical semiologist Jean-Jacques Nattiez writes,

[t]he thematic material upon which a work is constructed may be intended by the composer to leave a trace in the work, but not necessarily be perceived by the “receiver” who may have other ideas about what constitutes the work’s themes... A symbolic form is not some “intermediary” in a process of “communication” that transmits the meaning intended by the author to an audience; it is instead the result of a complex process of creation (the poietic process) that has to do with the form as well as the content of the work...it is also the point of departure for a complex process of reception (the esthetic process) that reconstructs a ‘message.’¹⁸

Reception theories, such as Nattiez’s, allow us to determine the manner by which an individual apprehends an object. Music, in this case, takes on meaning when it is placed within the individual’s matrix of lived experience.¹⁹ Meaning is therefore subjective—spatially and historically specific—allowing for a variety of interpretations, depending on the context in which the material is experienced and evaluated. The application of esthetic analysis, then, goes a long way toward exposing the root of scholarly discrepancies in meaning.

Developed with strict respect to the courtly context, interpretations of the sixteenth-century pastoral song by John Haines and Jeanice Brooks, while rich and nuanced in their own right, have limited resonance in explaining the song’s urban reception. In *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, Haines argues that the pastoral song was dusted off and trotted out by François I to “glorify the nation of France by recalling its historical prestige.”²⁰ According to Haines, under the patronage of François I and Henri II—who “adopted at court the words and ways of the old chivalry”—the romantic concept of the *antiquité française* became the impetus for the revival of the “rustic, naïve, simple”

¹⁷ Howard Brown, “The ‘Chanson Rustique’: Popular Elements in the 15th- and 16th -Century Chanson,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1959): 20. Brown defines the *chanson rustique* as a popular song in which love is the subject for satire or irony and/or in which it takes on a naïve and bucolic aspect. This covers a range of overlapping classifications such as love songs, narrative songs, *chansons de mal marids et malmarides* (songs about bad husbands and wives), satirical songs, political and historical songs, pastoral songs, and more.

¹⁸ Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁰ John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 76-7.

songs which recalled France's "legendary past."²¹ "By their very vernacular nature," Haines writes, "these songs are... explicitly connected with nationalistic causes."²² Haines's analysis, which attributes the song's meaning to the aims of the patron, veers toward a poietic analysis, and so, coupled with the courtly context, has little bearing on the study of the meaning and use of the sixteenth-century pastoral song in Paris.

Brooks's examination of sixteenth-century vernacular song considers the ways in which courtly and pastoral songs contributed to the "construction of courtly ideals and identities."²³ Brooks esthetic analysis reveals that whatever the pastoral song's origins may have been, "when such songs were performed in courtly settings or polished and presented in polyphonic arrangement in prints of airs, they became representations of the rustic for courtly consumption: part of the courtly vision of the country, and equally importantly, of the court's understanding of its own operations."²⁴ While Brooks, like Haines, reads the sixteenth-century pastoral song as an allusion to a romanticized past, she importantly distinguishes her work through recognition of, and engagement with, the overt sexuality and power struggles that lay at the heart of these bawdy, rustic chansons. She writes that songs of the *vie rustique* represented a "kind of nostalgia felt by members of the military nobility, who resented the subjection to princes and patrons that the court increasingly required." The songs offered noblemen "both an unchallenged status most could not enjoy at court and the power to engage in sex with social inferiors without the ceremony or subjection demanded by court women."²⁵

Sexuality and power are critical to understanding the meaning of the sixteenth-century, French pastoral song in any context. Historian William Powell Jones writes that the "erotic element in the Old French pastourelle was emphasized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."²⁶ That this heightened eroticism provided a departure from the original thirteenth- and fourteenth-century troubadour and trouvère songs, on which sixteenth-century pastorals were based, demands attention. Geri L. Smith's analysis of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century

²¹ Ibid., 76-7, 272.

²² Ibid., 3-4.

²³ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 1.

²⁴ Ibid., 342. Polyphonic music refers to music written for several voices as opposed to monophonic music, which was written with only one singer—typically a tenor—in mind. "Airs" refer to *air de cours*, popular court songs, which had previously circulated in French music prints as *chansons* or *voix de ville* (literally, voice of the city; urban songs that traditionally circulated through oral tradition).

²⁵ Ibid., 367.

²⁶ Nancy A. Jones, "The Rape of the Rural Muse: Wordsworth's 'The Solitary Reaper' as a Version of Pastourelle," in *Rape and Representation*, eds., Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda R. Silver, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 186.

pastourelles, precursors to the sixteenth-century pastoral songs in rhythm, theme and lyric, proves particularly useful here. She writes that “while the *pastourelle* certainly is not to be read as a realistic representation of specific social categories and conditions, the fact is that texts are a reflection of the cultural contexts that engender them, a forum for the affirmation, preservation, and promotion of ideologies. They reflect social anxieties as well.”²⁷ Smith views the *pastourelle* in the context of the social and economic restructuring of thirteenth-century France and Western Europe. Urban merchants and artisan guilds were shifting the locus of power away from the landed aristocracy; rural estates were becoming increasingly fragmented and near-constant warfare had forestalled the continuation of many noble bloodlines. Identifying power as the *pastourelle*’s central theme, Smith argues that such lyrical forms “may reflect anxieties in a world marked by profoundly changing social conditions. The emerging moneyed classes were reconfiguring the very definition of power in ways that no shepherd ever could.”²⁸ Two centuries after it had fallen out of favor, the pastoral lyrical form—a microcosm of power relations and social anxieties—re-emerged on the Parisian music scene as religious tensions in the capital were reaching their boiling point. It is in this context that the sixteenth-century pastoral song, a discursive challenge to the courtly love song, derives meaning.

Marian Metaphor and the Courtly-Pastoral Dichotomy

The inversion and subversion of courtly conventions is central to the pastoral lyrical form. For this reason, Geri L. Smith asserts that it “can and should be read as a counterpoint to courtly forms.”²⁹ The most compelling aspect of the conventional dialogue between these contrapuntal musical forms is their shared engagement with Marian metaphor, representing the sixteenth-century melding of the secular and religious and attesting to the resonance of allegory in the early modern imagination. Willem Elders writes that biblical allegories became the common possession of all Christians, so therefore

the religious significance of [late] mediaeval symbolism can hardly be exaggerated. With the whole world recognized as a revelation of God, and with visible objects on every side testifying to the unseen and spiritual, it was not easy for a person to forget religion altogether and to become wholly absorbed in material things. Reminders of the divine

²⁷ Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*, 68.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-5, 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

were everywhere.³⁰

Such allusions to the divine resounded particularly in sixteenth-century secular song, which was both thematically and aurally similar to contemporary Marian devotional songs. Sylvia Huot writes that it is “commonplace that the language of devotion to the Blessed Virgin is so similar to that used to express love and devotion to ladies of this world that at times the two registers can scarcely be distinguished.”³¹ The interplay between secular and religious song was so ubiquitous that, at times, the two collapsed into one another, made harmonious by composers of polyphonic arrangements. Rothenberg argues that, “Marian devotional songs and secular love songs often sounded together within individual compositions in sonic harmony that medieval and early Renaissance readers and listeners understood to be symbolic of a spiritual harmony between diverse materials.”³²

The spiritual harmony between sixteenth-century Marian devotional songs and secular courtly love songs is hardly contentious. “*Grace, vertu, bonté, beaulté, noblesse*,” a popular song from the sixteenth-century French musical canon, premiering in 1528, is indicative of the thematic and musical fluidity between sacred song and those of courtly love: “Grace, vertu, bonté, beaulté, noblesse/Sont à m’amy; point ne le fault celer./Trop my desplaist d’en ouyr mal parler;/Je hay celui qui son honneur blesse.” (“Grace, virtue, goodness, beauty, nobility/my beloved possesses them all;/This should in no way be hidden./Much it displeases me to hear evil spoken of her;/I despise him who wounds her honor.”)³³ Roquelay’s verse—borrowed several times over for use in other sixteenth-century arrangements—is evocative, not just of the chaste, perennially unattainable object of affection so central to the courtly love song, but of the Holy Virgin, herself. According to Elder, Western literature of the period saw Mary as “the personification of grace and purity...symboliz[ing] therefore the nobility of woman.”³⁴ Claudin de Sermisy’s “*Il me suffit de tous mes maux*,” composed in 1546 and appropriated many times over for various vocal and instrumental arrangements, deals in similar allusions to the Virgin Mary: “Il me suffit de tous mes maux,/ puis qu’ilz m’ont livré à la mort./J’ay enduré peine et travaux,/ tant de douleur et desconfort./Que voulez que je face pour ester en vostre grace?/De douleur mon Coeur si est mort s’il ne voit vostre face.” (“I have had enough of all my ills,/since they have almost been my

³⁰ Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 2-3.

³¹ Cited in David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ Bernstein, *French Chansons*, 50.

³⁴ Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 151.

death./I have endured pain and hardship,/so much suffering and grief./What shall I do to win your favor?/My heart languishes if I do not see your face.”)³⁵ Such songs of reverent, pure love—while they “look[ed] and act[ed] like chansons rustiques” due to a sixteenth-century “vogue for borrowed melodies”—stood in stark contrast to the irreverent pastoral songs of lowly shepherdesses and their bucolic assignations.³⁶

While Marian metaphor is perhaps most readily apparent in sixteenth-century courtly love songs, its dialogue with the pastoral chanson—owing to their musical similarity and the combative inversion of conventions—demands a similar reading of the latter form. Rothenberg writes that while courtly songs were “easily transformed into devotional song,” by contemporary, French peoples, “[pastoral] song required more interpretive latitude.”³⁷ The link that would have resonated most with sixteenth-century listeners would have been pastoral allusions to the Old Testament Song of Songs, which had become part of the liturgy of Mary’s Assumption as early as the thirteenth-century.³⁸ Casual references to the Song of Songs in the third book of Rabelais’s *Gargantua and Pantagruel*—published in 1546—testify to the ubiquity of the text in sixteenth-century France.³⁹ Elders writes similarly that, while “in Christian tradition the [Song of Songs]...was also explained as a poetic depiction of the relation between Christ and his bride, the Church...[late] Medieval liturgy saw the bride of the Song of Songs as a symbolic representation of the Virgin Mary.”⁴⁰ Passage 6:10-12 of the Song of Songs ensconces the Holy Virgin in the natural, bucolic setting that is replicated in pastoral songs of the sixteenth century: “I went down into the garden of nuts, to see the fruits of the valleys, and to look if the vineyard had flourished, and the pomegranates budded. Return, return, O Sulamitess: return, return that we may behold thee.”⁴¹ According to Elder, the poet of the Song of Songs “describes the bride as a sweet-smelling, enclosed garden...the *Hortus conclusus* was adopted as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception.”⁴² Guillaume Boni’s “*Ha, bel accueil*” seems to mimic the scene of the Song of Songs but inverts its purity:

Ha, bel accueil, que ta douce parole/Vint traîtrement ma jeunesse offenser,/Quand au premier tu la menas danser/Dans le verger l’amoureuse carolle./Amour adonc, me mit à

³⁵ Bernstein, *French Chansons*, 104.

³⁶ Brown, “The ‘Chanson Rustique,’” 23-4.

³⁷ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁹ François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. M.A. Screech (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 403, 407.

⁴⁰ Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 160.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴² *Ibid.*

son école, Ayant pour maître un peu sage penser,/Qui sans séjour me mena commencer/Le chapelet de la danse plus folle./Depuis cinq ans dedans ce beau verger, Je vais ballant avec faux danger,/Sous la chanson d'Allégez-moi, Madame./Le tabourin se nomme fol plaisir,/La flûte erreur, le rebec vain désir,/El les cinq pas la perte de mon âme. (O Bel Accueil, how your sweet words/treacherously came to abuse my youth/when at the start you took me off to dance/the amorous carol in the orchard./Love then did place me in his school, with wicked thought as my master./Who without ado led me away to start/the rosary of the wildest dance./For five years now in this lovely orchard I have been dancing away without concern/to the tune of Allegez-moy madame./The little drum is called now 'mad pleasure',/the flute 'error', the rebec 'vain desire',/and the *cinqpace* 'the loss of my soul.')

The reference to the widely-popular song, "*Allegez-moy madame*," to which Boni refers in text, clarifies any ambiguity as to the type of activity for which the composer requires the cover of the *Hortus conclusus*: "Allégez moy douce plaisant brunette,/Dessoubz la boudinette,/Allégez moy de toutes mes douleurs./Vostre beaulté me tient en amourette,/Dessoubz la boudinette." ("Relieve me, sweet laughing brunette/Beneath the belly-button/Relieve me of all my sadness./Your beauty keeps me ready for love,/Below the belly-button...")⁴⁴ Moreover, Boni's reference to a *chapelet*, or rosary, serves to further elicit biblical connections—in this case—in both the sixteenth-century and modern imaginations.

Marian allusions to the Song of Songs proliferate in sixteenth-century pastoral chansons; the purity of the Marian figure is seemingly inverted and she is at once stripped of her virtue and her power. Elder writes:

Another Marian metaphor [which appeared in sixteenth-century devotionals] is derived from the Song of Songs 6:9...Renaissance artists often used the sun and moon as attributes of the Queen of Heaven since the Woman of the book of Revelation (12:1) is said to be standing on the moon and clothed in the sun.⁴⁵

Several other nature elements factor strongly into Marian metaphors from the Song of Songs, and appear in both secular and religious chansons. The text of Jacobus Clemens non Papa's sixteenth-century Marian devotional "*Ego Flos campi*" was derivative of the Song of Songs (2:2-2; 4:15) and referred to Mary as "the flower of the field" and "the lily among thorns."⁴⁶ A 1567 composition, "*Mignonne, allons voir si la*

⁴³ *French Chansons*, ed., Frank Dobbins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 262-266.

⁴⁴ "Allégez moy," *The Lied, Art Song, and Choral Text Archive*, accessed March 29, 2014, http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=52688

⁴⁵ Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 161.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 159.

Rose," by Guillaume Costeley—formally reprinted at least five times from 1570-1581—incorporates both the floral and celestial motifs:

Mignonne, allons voir si la rose,/Qui ce matin avait disclose/Sa robe de pourpre au soleil,/ N'a point perdu cette vesprée /Les plis de sa robe pourprée /Et son teint au vôtre pareil./Las! voyez comme en peu d'espace,/Mignonne, elle a, dessus la place,/Las! Las! ses beautés laissé cheoir!/Ô vraiment marâtre nature,/Puisqu'une telle fleur ne dure,/Que du matin jusques au soir!/Or donc, écoutez-moi, Mignonne,/Tandis que votre âge fleuronne/En sa plus verte nouveauté,/Cueillez, cueillez votre jeunesse:/Comme à cette fleur la vieillesse/Fera ternir votre beauté. (Sweet one, let us see if the rose/which this morning had opened up/its crimson robe unto the sun/has not now this same evening lost/the weaving of its purple garb/and its complexion so like yours./Alas! see how in such short time,/sweet one, she has upon the ground/alas! alas! her beauty shed./O truly harsh Mother Nature,/since such a flower can only last/from morning until evening./Believe me now, my sweet one,/in bloom of your youth,/in its most verdant freshness,/pluck it, pluck it while you may,/for, as with this flower, old age/will soon tarnish your great beauty.)⁴⁷

Reliably, one witnesses the seizure of young virtue in an idyllic, natural milieu. Howard Brown writes of these bawdy *chansons rustiques* that, "the scene is set again and again in the woods or in a garden, where 'l'amoureux' or 'le gallant' finds his beloved making flower garlands or guarding her sheep."⁴⁸

Pastoral songs that predominantly feature shepherdesses are particularly adept at eliciting Marian allusions that are derivative of both the themes of the Song of Songs and foundational Christian allegory. As early as the thirteenth century, Rothenberg writes that "composers saw in the love between shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral poetry a colorful and amusing allegory for the love between Christ and Mary, a love that was celebrated with especially vivid language and imagery from the Old Testament Song of Songs in the liturgy of Mary's Assumption."⁴⁹ Pastoral allegories abound in the Bible itself; beginning, "The Lord is my shepherd," Psalm 23:1 is perhaps the most notable passage to utilize shepherding as an allusion to the divine, but the allegory appears repeatedly throughout the Old Testament and the New Testament.⁵⁰ Importantly, pastoral images would likely have been particularly evocative for Protestants. Donald Kelley argues "the Augustinian 'congregation of the faithful'...was the model of reformation; and so...the dominant

⁴⁷ *French Chansons*, ed., Dobbins 220-223.

⁴⁸ Brown, "The 'Chanson Rustique'", 19.

⁴⁹ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 8.

⁵⁰ Including John 10:11, 1 Peter 2:25, Revelation 7:17, Genesis 49:24, Psalm 78:52 and 80:1, Isaiah 40:11, Jeremiah 31:10, and Ezekiel 34:11 and 34:15.

image became that of shepherd and flock.”⁵¹ Two songs from 1543, the first authored by Thomas Crecquillon, the second by an unknown composer, feature the lusty shepherds and shepherdesses which frequently obtained in French pastoral songs of the sixteenth century:

Un gai berger priait une bergère/En lui faisant du jeu d'aimer requête/'Allez' dit elle 'et vous tirez arrière/votre parler je trouve deshonnête/Ne pensez pas que ferais tel défaut,/Par quoi cessez faire telle prière,/Car n'avez pas la lance qu'il me faut.' (A jolly shepherd asked a shepherdess/if she would join him in the game of love./'Be off', she said, 'and get out of here,/your suggestion I find quite unseemly./Don't think that I could stoop to such a thing,/therefore give up all this pleading;/in any case, you have not the lance I need.')

⁵²

Le bergier et la bergère/Sont à l'ombre d'ung buisson./Ils sont si pres l'ung de l'autre/Qu'à grant peine les voit on./La dame a dict à son mignon:/'Reprenons nostre allaine,/Le loup emporte nos moutons, mon compaignon,/Pour dieu saulvez la laine!' (The shepherd and shepherdess/are now lying in the shade of a tree./They are so close to each other/that you can scarcely distinguish them./The lady says to her sweetheart:/'Quick let's catch our breath/the wolf is carrying our sheep away, my dearest,/for God's sake you must save the wool!')

⁵³

That the feminine stock characters of such scenes were frequently named Marion only added to their facility in eliciting biblical connections. Jean Mouton's "*En venant de Lyon*" highlights the manner in which pastoral songs could be heard as inverting Marian virtue: "En venant de Lyon, bon, bon, bon, bon/Trouvai en un buisson Robin et Marion./Il lui levait son pelison, bon, bon, bon, bon./Mais je ne sais qu'ils font./Robin a dit à Marion, bon, bon, bon, bon/'Voici bien garde mouton.'" ("When coming from Lyons, bong, bong, bong, bong,/I spied in a thicket Robin and Marion./He lifted up her long dress, bong, bong, bong, bong./But I don't know what they are doing./Robin said to Marion, bong, bong, bong, bong/'This is how to tend sheep.'")⁵⁴

Arguably, the presence of perceived Marian metaphor in French pastoral songs of the sixteenth century brought them in dialogue with courtly love songs of the period, serving as a thematic counterpoint by inverting and profaning the virtuous Marian body, which the latter form revered. Contemporary French

⁵¹ Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 96.

⁵² *French Chansons*, ed., Dobbins 158-161.

⁵³ Bernstein, *French Chansons*, 116.

⁵⁴ *French Chansons*, ed., Dobbins 18-9. "Sheep" was also the composer's name.

Christian culture would have been well attuned to Marian allusions to Old Testament Song of Songs and to pastoral biblical allegory, on which the *chanson rustique* relied for its contrapuntal potency. Such allusions were heightened by the aural similarity of secular and religious tunes. If, as I argue, such songs could be interpreted and deployed as challenges to Marian divinity and the sanctity of Catholic iconography, it would not be the first time that criticism of the Church had been expressed through the medium of secular song. Jane Bernstein argues that the lecherous monk, represented here in an anticlerical epigram by Clément Marot and set to music by Pierre Certon, was “a favorite character of the fabliau and other popular literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.” Famed French composer Clément Janequin also composed a *chanson* upon the epigram—enjoying several settings and reprints between 1538 and 1551, the song was indeed popular fare.⁵⁵

Frère Thibault, sejourne gros et gras,/Tiroit de nuyt une garse en chemise/Par le treillis de sa chambre, ou les bras/Elle passa, puis la teste y a mise,/Et puis le seing, mais elle fut bien prise,/Car le fussier y passer ne peult onc./'Par la mort bieu,' c edict le moyne adonc,/ 'Il ne m'en chault de bras, tetin ne teste;/Passez le cul, ou vous retirez donc,/Je ne sçauroys sans luy vous faie feste.' (Idle Brother Thibault, fat and well-oiled,/was hauling a wench in her smock/through the bars of his chamber-window; when arms/head, bosom and all had passed,/she got quite stuck at her backside./'For God's sake,' said the monk/'What the hell's the use of head, arms and tits?/Put your ass through, or get out/For without it, I can't delight you.')

While the *raison d'être* of such anticlerical songs was undoubtedly to censure the Catholic Church, the same cannot necessarily be said of pastoral songs of the period. Rather, it was the esthetic process, drawing upon traces of Marian allusion and Catholic body language that gave the songs their discursive power amidst the religious turmoil of sixteenth-century Paris.

French Iconoclasm and Language of the Body

Religious tensions in Paris had been growing steadily since the city's introduction to Luther's theses. Consequently, François I, “uncompromisingly hostile to Lutheranism,” partnered with Parlement and the Sorbonne to produce an *arrêt*—or executive order—seizing joint control of the Parisian book trade. The royal response was swift and decisive. R.J. Knecht writes: “a more eloquent testimony of Luther's

⁵⁵ Bernstein, *French Chansons*, 30-1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

success in the French capital could not have been given.”⁵⁷ The rise of Protestantism in the Catholic capital, and its repression, led to the type of religious dissent that would challenge Catholicism on its own terms—through a shared engagement with body metaphor. Reformation preachers emphasized the need to eliminate Catholic intercessors—such as priests, saints and the Holy Virgin—that prevented direct communion with Christ. As a result, religious imagery, deemed heretical by the urban Protestant faction, was routinely removed, defaced, and destroyed during the course of the French Reformation. Historian Christin Olivier writes that French iconoclasm in the years 1520 to 1560 should be understood “comme mode spécifique d’activisme politique et religieux,” a symbolic revolution in which, “la sélectivité des mutilations atteste...de la familiarité symbolique des iconoclastes avec l’image.” (“as a specific method of political and religious activism,” a symbolic revolution in which, “the selectiveness of desecrations attests to the familiarity of the iconoclasts with the symbolism of the imagery.”)⁵⁸ Iconoclasts readily proved their fluency in the language of Catholic body metaphor. Statues of the Virgin Mary were routinely vandalized, hitting urban Catholics—who from the sixteenth century began focusing their devotions “specifically upon the adoration of the Virgin”—right where it hurt.⁵⁹ Catholics responded in kind, with their own, lavish displays of body metaphor.

Particularly in the years 1520 to 1560, an unceasing dialectic of Catholic and Protestant body metaphor played out in the streets of Paris. In May 1528, the desecration of a Marian figure affixed to a wall in the *rue aux Juifs* led to the organization of several processions in her name, two of which were attended by François I, the second restoring the Holy Virgin to her post. The new statue was also subsequently vandalized and replaced. Historian Barbara B. Diefendorf writes that, religious processions, “reinforcing the lessons of the Mass about the meaning and importance of the Eucharist[,]...ritually enacted a vision in which civic, monarchical and Catholic symbols merged; the body social, the body politic and the body of Christ were so closely intertwined as to be inseparable.”⁶⁰ Steeped in the power of Catholic body language, processions—engaging with a contemporary increase in Eucharistic devotion, the “conformity and correspondence” of Mass to Christ’s passion and the feasts of Corpus Christi, which “reinforced the doctrine of the real

⁵⁷ R.J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 142.

⁵⁸ Olivier Christin, “L’Iconoclasme Huguenot: ‘Praxis Pietatis’ et Geste Révolutionnaire,” *Ethnologie française* 24, No. 2, (April-June 1994): 216, 222.

⁵⁹ Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe 1500-1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 104.

⁶⁰ Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 48.

presence"—became an important tool in the Catholic arsenal against Parisian iconoclasts.⁶¹

By the 1534 Affair of the Placards, both processions and sectarian violence were becoming a mainstay of Parisian urban culture. The posting of broadsheets entitled "Articles véritables sur les horribles, grands et importables abus de la Messe papalle" (Genuine articles on the horrific, great and insupportable abuses of the Papal Mass) ignited a hysteria that led Parlement to declare a general procession and initiate an exhaustive search for the culprits. Following the Affair, six Protestants convicted of heresy were burned at two sites near the processional route in a type of Foucauldian retribution.⁶² The king, calling for the purge of the social body "in such manner that if one of the arms of my body was infected with this corruption, I would cut it off, and if my children were tainted with it, I would myself offer them in sacrifice," rent the clash of bodies from the realm of the metaphoric to that of the corporeal.

Throughout the years following the Affair of the Placards, both the symbolic and real struggle between Catholic and Protestant bodies began to escalate. In September 1557, hundreds of men and women gathered clandestinely in the *rue Saint-Jacques* for Protestant worship. Arrested under the charge of holding an illicit meeting, they were defamed and assaulted for the duration of their arduous route to the Châtelet. Such acts of violence soon multiplied and, alongside formal Catholic processions, sought to challenge the increasingly aggressive iconoclasm of urban Protestants. According to Christin, "Violence catholique et violence protestante sont donc antithétiques....À la sacralité de la violence catholique se serait opposée une violence désacralisée de la part des protestants." He continues: "Il y a bien une adoption progressive de l'iconoclisme par le calvinisme français autour des années 1550. La violence catholique n'est pas étrangère à ce processus: un peu partout, de petites bandes armées se mettent en embuscade auprès d'images placées dans les rues et attaquent tous les passants qui oublient ou refusent de les saluer." ("Catholic and Protestant violence were thus antithetical." He continues: "To the sacrality of Catholic violence, there was an oppositional, de-sacralizing violence on the part of Protestants; there is a progressive adoption of iconoclasm by French Calvinists in the 1550s. Catholic violence is not estranged from this process: everywhere, small bands of armed men wait in ambush after images are placed in the streets and attack

⁶¹ Ibid., 31-33.

⁶² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 47-8. In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault argues that pre-Enlightenment "crime attacks the sovereign: it attacks him personally, since the law represents the will of the sovereign; it attacks him physically, since the force of the law is the force of the prince." Punishment thus requires the sovereign to "take revenge for an affront to his very person."

passers-by who forget or refuse to hail them.”)⁶³

Processions continued to be an integral part of the clash of bodies and body metaphor on both sides of the Parisian confessional struggle. Of at least four processions during the 1550s, three were responses to attacks on images of the Virgin Mary. The pattern established at this time, Diefendorf argues, “continued into the religious wars, when sacrileges against the host became a characteristic form of religious violence and the expiatory processions an obligatory response.”⁶⁴ The symbolism of the procession was so significant that Protestants responded with their own *processions de dérision*. During the 1562 *sacs des églises de Lyon*, Calvinist soldiers entered the homes of clergy, vandalized, and removed images of Catholic veneration and paraded them through the streets.

With the rise of iconoclasm, the French Reformation took on “une impulsion et une coloration nouvelles”—blasphemy. Christin writes that “l’iconoclisme protestant est constitué de gestes soutenus par un discours qui en rend compte et qui leur donne sens.” (“Protestant iconoclasm was constituted of actions supported by a discourse which made them comprehensible and gave them meaning.”)⁶⁵ Blasphemy in the physical realm, expressed through the desecration of Marian and Eucharistic idols, derived meaning and support from the pervasive presence of blasphemy in contemporary Protestant discourse. Beyond the rhetoric of preachers who stressed the elimination of Catholic idols—barring intimate communion between Christ and the Christian—blasphemous discourse was fed and perpetuated by “les processions de dérision, les plaisanteries blasphématoires, [and] les simulacres de liturgie.”⁶⁶ To this list of blasphemous jokes and mock processions, I would venture to add the sixteenth-century French pastoral song. The form’s lyrical profaning of the Marian body was consistent with contemporary iconoclastic practices and, moreover, formed a part of the web of discourse that reinforced them. Christin argues that Protestant iconoclasm was a symbolic revolution, which sought the seizure of political power and the appropriation of urban spaces.⁶⁷ Trading in metaphor and allegory, the popularization, and performance of pastoral song had its own role to play in the symbolic revolution, which consumed sixteenth-century Parisians of both creeds.

⁶³ Christin, “L’Iconoclisme Huguenot,” 220.

⁶⁴ Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 48.

⁶⁵ Christin, “L’Iconoclisme Huguenot,” 218.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁶⁷ Oliver Christin, *Une Révolution Symbolique: L’Iconoclisme Huguenot et La Reconstruction Catholique, Protestantisme et Images* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1991).

Performance and Space in the Capital

The pastoral song as discursive iconoclasm served two functions in sixteenth-century Paris. First, it provided a rejoinder to courtly love songs and the Catholic cult of Marian worship in the public sphere and second, the performative nature of song allowed Protestants, if only temporarily, to carve out space in the urban landscape of the Catholic capital. Brown writes of the *chanson rustique* that, "one cannot really explain the genesis of a style, but merely understand that it developed consistently."⁶⁸ The discursive power of the pastoral song lay not in its origins, but in the subjective meaning and the use-value attributed to the form by those who popularized it. For Parisian Protestants, the bawdy songs, which could be heard to blaspheme the Marian figure, functioned as Rabelaisian rhetoric—"exploit[ing] the scandalous potential of language...in order to create a text that [was] laughable....open[ing] up a space of personal and collective enjoyment and reflection."⁶⁹ The concept of text as event figures prominently in situating the pastoral chanson in the public sphere where it challenged secular and religious expressions of Marian devotion. For Protestants—indeed all sixteenth-century Parisians—the prominence of religious struggle in the urban landscape, coupled with the growing regularity of acts of iconoclasm and their processional rejoinders would inevitably have come to bear on interpretations of pastoral song. Nevertheless, it may seem surprising—particularly as inchoate mid-sixteenth-century Protestantism cohered into seemingly rigid Calvinism—that such lascivious lyrics would have been pressed into service by what was an otherwise conservative movement, whose leadership put significant stock in the spiritual power of song. This apparent incongruence deserves brief treatment here.

Though largely under the ideological sway of Calvin and Geneva, French Protestantism in the mid-sixteenth century was—by force of conditions on the ground—on a relatively loose leash. Indeed, it was not until 1557 that Nicolas de Gallars came from Geneva to direct the first reformed church of Paris and it took the 1560 tumult of Amboise to produce a cohesive French-Calvinist identity under the "Huguenot" moniker.⁷⁰ Thus, official doctrine was often hampered by distance, social conditions, and confessional incoherence within France, leaving space for the

⁶⁸ Brown, "The 'Chanson Rustique'," 24.

⁶⁹ Antónia Szabari, *Less Rightly Said: Scandals and Readers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 13-4.

⁷⁰ Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion*, (Hants: Ashgate, 2002), 68. The tumult of Amboise was a failed Protestant coup in which the attempted seizure of young King François II, the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, resulted in the deaths of more than a thousand Protestant conspirators.

unsanctioned behaviors that resulted in reactionary bouts of iconoclasm and lewd polemic. Luc Racaut argues that, despite “Genevan distaste for crude and inflammatory polemic,” French Protestants often engaged with the sexualized imagery that became standard fare in the Catholic propaganda war within the kingdom.⁷¹ He explains that, in the latter half of the century, there is a noticeable difference between the polemic which was produced in Geneva, and that produced within France. Although the council turned a blind eye once in a while, adversarial and personal responses to Catholic polemic were not usually encouraged, yet virulent Protestant defenses often followed the original Catholic texts closely.⁷²

In the face of Catholic propaganda, which frequently charged them with participation in orgies and other sexual misdeeds, French Protestants regularly responded in kind, employing the sexually libelous rhetoric of their enemies.⁷³ Moreover, while Calvin himself was arguably quite reserved, those in his ranks seemed to suffer no qualms about the judicious use of foul language and misogynistic epithets in their battle against Catholicism. While not unreasonable, the idea that French Protestants, and Calvinists in particular, would have demurred from exploiting the sexually charged content of the pastoral chanson for ideological ends pales in the face of contemporary evidence. Viewed by Protestants of a sacramentarian persuasion as a debased religion, “idolatrous...[and] materialistic to the point of obscenity,” Catholicism, its “idols,” and its adherents merited not reverence but vituperation.⁷⁴ By the 1560s, with tensions in France bursting at the seams, Calvinists pulled no punches. Confessional defector François Baudouin was vilified as a “hermaphrodite” by his former peers, the Queen mother, Catherine de Medici, was reviled as the “whore” and the Cardinal of Lorraine was derided as the man from whom “so many husbands [demanded] the virtue of their wives.”⁷⁵ The prospect of reasonable reform in a Catholic-dominated government was likened, in the 1560 pamphlet *La Manière d’appaier les troubles*, to “expecting drunkenness to be reformed by tavern-keepers, usury by bankers or prostitution by whores.”⁷⁶ These were hardly accidental associations. Théodore de Bèze, Calvin’s confessional successor, equated simony with prostitution, describing Catholicism as “Our Holy Mother Whore the Roman Church,” while Calvinist Gui de Brès referred to the

⁷¹ Ibid., 139.

⁷² Ibid., 79.

⁷³ Ibid., 78. Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 127.

⁷⁴ Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 19.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 86, 247, 266.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 270.

heresy of the Anabaptists in the following terms: “a whore will always defend her virtue more vigorously than an honest woman.”⁷⁷ Most important, is the considerable evidence that such derision was put into verse for public consumption.

By the mid-1570s, Calvinists had developed a great facility for manipulating popular chansons to their own ideological ends. Central to this process of appropriation and reinterpretation was the figure of Clément Marot. Marot was an early sympathizer to the Protestant cause who, before his death in 1544, collaborated with Théodore de Bèze to translate the Psalms into French. Yet, many of his poems—set into popular polyphonic arrangements before 1550—featured “frank sexuality, abandoned chastity, and drunken abandon...[and] include[ed] peasant lovers, ill-suited couples and errant clergy.”⁷⁸ In many cases, influential Calvinist preachers such as Simon Goulart and Jean Pasquier kept the tunes of such songs but manipulated their lyrics. This exercise in *contrafacta* served the purpose of, in the words of Pasquier, “repurgeant ces tresgracieux et plaisans accords de tant de villenies et ordures, dont ilz estoient tous souillez.” (“purging these very graceful and pleasant chords of such evils and filth with which they have been soiled.”)⁷⁹ On other occasions, immodest songs were incorporated into Calvinist *chansonnières* with minor changes, in effect, transforming their sexual overtones into a moral message. Though, perhaps most interestingly, some of the popular chansons featuring Marot’s elicit verses made it into Calvinist songbooks completely unaltered; “Monsieur l’Abbé,” the story of a drunken priest, is but one example.⁸⁰ While bawdy pastoral chansons were regularly incorporated into *contrafacta chansonnières*, graphic songs were also invented wholesale. A 1574 verse, attributed to Calvinist Nicolas Barnaud, easily disabuses one of the notion that those of his sect eschewed lewd and vituperative song: “My father was a devil in dis-Guise/ Assuming the habit of a priest,/ A deadly monster professing all vice,/ Stirring up trouble, a terrible beast,/ Coupling with that high born whore,/ Descended from the buggers of Italy,/ Nursed by the milk of a horrible fury.”⁸¹ Indeed, such lyrics—transcribed following the St. Bartholomew’s massacre and an intense escalation of confessional hostilities—render the anti-Marian blasphemy of the pastoral song quite tame in comparison.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 75. Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 34.

⁷⁸ Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 54-56.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 10, 218.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 56. The lecherous monk was a favorite of Marot’s themes; see the previously cited chanson *Frere Thibault, sejourne gros et gras*, a Certon composition of one of Marot’s anticlerical epigrams.

⁸¹ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 287. Featured in the pamphlet *Reveille-Matin*, following the St. Bartholomew’s massacre.

With an understanding that Protestants readily employed lewd or vituperative verse in the context of religious struggle, it is useful to examine the extent of its exploitation in the service of urban occupation. Catharine Randall has argued that, "Calvinist ideology...was to re-determine space by occupying it," and there is significant evidence, both within France and without, that singing was frequently deployed to such ends.⁸² Kelley writes that, "the high morale of Parisian Protestants was demonstrated...vocally during the spring of 1558, when one section of the university grounds...became the scene of regular gathering at which psalms...were sung by growing numbers of people, perhaps up to 10,000."⁸³ He notes the emergence of these "new evangelicals...whose practices of psalm-singing, marching and 'going to sermon,' exhibited a...tendency to public disorder."⁸⁴ While the contentious use of psalms is well documented, there is also significant evidence that popular and political chansons were belligerently deployed in urban spaces.⁸⁵

Popular songs, widely available prior to the vernacular psalm books and Protestant contrafacta *chansonniers*, lent themselves to the kind of impromptu, informal deployment that likewise characterized the unsanctioned, spontaneous iconoclasm of mid-sixteenth-century Paris. Many polyphonic chansons of the sixteenth century were built upon common monophonic melodies, which, in multi-part harmonies, were carried by either the tenor or the superious. Several of Clément Marot's verses were composed in this fashion and included in Attaignant's collections of "chansons tant rustiques que musicales."⁸⁶ The ease with which such chansons could be broken down into single-part melodies and sung informally added to their practicality and public utility. Alexander Fisher writes of musical confrontation in sixteenth-century Augsburg:

[a]t least a few cases suggest that polemical songs against the Catholics were not simply to be consumed in private, but were also used as weapons in public religious controversies. Jonas Losch was accused...of singing an 'offensive song about he Pope and the Jesuits' on the street...[and] the city accused the weaver Jakob Hötsch of committing a similar act: he sang at least two songs loudly in public...Both cases suggest the significant role of singing

⁸² Cited in Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*, 15.

⁸³ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 94.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, and Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, have treated, richly and at length, the Protestant use of psalms.

⁸⁶ Brown, "The 'Chanson Rustique'," 20, 23; *Chanson musicale* refers to chansons in the elevated, courtly register.

in the formation of confessional identity, and its occasional usefulness in public confrontations.⁸⁷

Surveying the combative Parisian soundscape, Kelley likewise contends, “popular enthusiasm for evangelical religion burst forth in...scandalous musical forms. As early as 1525 the Parlement of Paris heard complaints about disrespectful chansons, but there was no way to stop the chorus of musical defiance...[which included] vulgar and sometimes offensive songs.”⁸⁸ The backlash of such offences frequently included censorship, such as the 1560 ban on the singing of psalms and other “impious songs” in Valenciennes, which had seemingly threatened public order the previous day.⁸⁹ Importantly, the link between the public singing of such songs and civic tumult is made time and again.

If, as I contend, pastoral chansons functioned as a form of discursive iconoclasm—underwriting physical violence and vandalism while also performatively projecting a challenge to Catholicism into urban spaces—it is likely that they did so under two conditions. First, I would suggest that the implementation of such songs by French Protestants was informal and unsanctioned by religious authorities, likely adopted for reasons of expediency and accessibility. These songs would have been performed both prior to, and later in conjunction with, the more formal canon of Calvinist psalms and contrafacta chansons that became part of the Protestant arsenal, largely after 1550. The familiarity of Protestants with such popular songs is hardly in doubt. Many of the songs that formed the basis for Calvinist contrafacta of the 1570s were in circulation prior to 1550 and notations in Goulart’s *chansonnières* refer to the “Parisian” songbooks in a manner that assumes a significant degree of familiarity on the part of his readers with the original texts.⁹⁰ Secondly, it is likely that the iconoclastic use of pastoral chansons preceded the employment of the increasingly bitter, directly confrontational verses that marked the Wars of Religion and the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew’s massacre. Indeed, it seems that the majority of pastoral chansons—excluding those incorporated into Calvinist contrafacta *chansonnières*—were printed and reprinted in the thirty years prior to the Wars. The relationship between song and violence suggests that, as hostilities escalated, increasingly polemical and vituperative verses would have been employed, reflecting, and sustaining these realities. At which time, the bawdy, anti-

⁸⁷ Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580-1630* (Hants: Ashgate, 2004), 67.

⁸⁸ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 98.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁹⁰ Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*, 19, 176.

Marian iconoclasm of the pastoral song would have outlived its usefulness, ceding pride of place to less symbolic and more explicit denunciations.

Conclusion

I have argued that for sixteenth-century Protestants in a Catholic capital, the pastoral song—a discursive iconoclasm that seemed to defame the Marian body and underwrite the vandalism of Catholic icons in the physical realm—wielded both a rhetorical and spatial political utility. The songs, both aurally and metaphorically in dialogue with those of Marian devotion and the secular courtly love songs which mimicked them, could be—and likely were—adopted by Protestants as a method of protest and spatial occupation. That religious dissidents of the period appropriated street tunes and songs of Marian devotion for their own ends is not in doubt, attested to by the considerable body of Calvinist contrafacta and the prevalence of complaints against the singing of lewd and obscene songs. The inseparability of sacred and secular elements and the collapsing of high and low musical culture during the Renaissance allowed Parisian Protestants to attribute new, political meaning to an old lyrical form, the pastoral, which reemerged following the introduction of Luther's theses and rode a wave of popularity throughout the tumultuous decades of the sixteenth century.

If, through the esthetic process, one derives meaning that is historically and experientially specific, it is likely that urban Protestants would have understood the Marian allusions in pastoral song and pressed the apparent rhetorical inversion of Marian virtue into the service of what Olivier Christin calls the “symbolic revolution.”⁹¹ The popularity of this discursive profaning of the Marian body was consistent with mounting antagonisms between Protestant iconoclasm and restorative Catholic processions, all deeply engaged with, and operating through, the Catholic language of body metaphor. Kelley writes that there “is a behavioral continuum...between the verbal excesses of the early reformers—their vilification not only of pope and priest but also of Mary and the mass, not only of the corrupters of religion, that is, but also of its central symbols—and their civil violence.”⁹² I have suggested that the pastoral song, as heard, popularized, and performed by Parisian Protestants, was both an important thread in the tether between “verbal excesses” and “civil violence” and a method of intrusion into the Catholic spatial monopoly of the sixteenth-century city.

⁹¹ Christin, *Une Révolution Symbolique*.

⁹² Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 343.

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Davide Rodogno. *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011.

The “humanitarian decade” of 1990-2000 witnessed the global proliferation of humanitarian interventions as new conflicts emerged in the wake of the Cold War. Study of this new era of humanitarian intervention has produced a rich literature, but scholars have paid less attention to the historical roots of these operations until recently. Historian Davide Rodogno’s *Against Massacre* explores the nineteenth-century origins of humanitarian intervention in the Ottoman Empire, providing a series of cases studies from Greece in the 1820s to Macedonia at the turn of the twentieth century. In some respects, the author maintains, the contexts and sentiments associated with questions of humanitarian intervention in the 1990s echo those found in the nineteenth century. The initiation of a humanitarian intervention has remained a highly selective process based on several variables and limitations. Interventions continue to provoke suspicions of imperialism and are still hampered by misunderstandings and lessons not learned.

At first glance, *Against Massacre* seems to be covering much of the same ground as Gary J. Bass’s 2008 *Freedom’s Battle*. However, Bass devotes most of his attention to extensive study of three interventions (Greece, Syria, and Bulgaria), whereas Rodogno conducts a total of seven examinations: Greece, Syria, Bulgaria, Armenia, Macedonia, and the two forays into Crete in 1866 and 1896. Contributions to the historiography vary by case study. The book has little more to offer on the intervention in Greece, but it is more successful in contributing to the much less studied interventions in Crete and Macedonia and the lack of action to arrest the massacre of Armenians in 1894-6. The author also takes a provocative stand on the Russian 1877-8 military campaign to aid the Bulgarian rebels, questioning whether it even qualifies as a humanitarian intervention.

A notable strength of this book is the author’s discussion of the questions, assumptions, and issues surrounding humanitarian intervention in the nineteenth century. Early modern precedents, Christianity, international law, public opinion, and the “White Man’s Burden” to spread “modernization and civilization” are all considered for their influences. In addition, the author explores the context of the Ottoman Empire as the “target state” for intervention, examining the impact of developments in the balance of power. We see how the endurance of Europe’s negative perceptions kept the Ottoman state outside the “family of nations” even after it was officially included. Rodogno also illuminates the legal and moral

dilemmas and contradictions which saw the European powers apply standards to the Ottoman Empire that they willfully ignored when it came to management of their own colonial domains.

The seven case studies successfully illustrate the details of each intervention while connecting events to the underlying assumptions and issues. Connections between interventions are carefully established. Importantly, an “intermezzo” chapter discusses the transformation of attitudes toward humanitarian intervention over the course of the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, the European powers were less inclined to initiate interventions on account of appreciating cynicism towards victim populations and increased tensions between the powers as the Concert of Europe gave way to the alliance system. The failure of new generations of rebels to appreciate these changes resulted in non-intervention towards the Armenians and “nonforcible” intervention in the provinces of Ottoman Macedonia.

Confronting a century’s worth of humanitarian interventions does come at the expense of passing over some historical details. The case study chapters are of limited length, making it challenging to address the intricacies of each intervention. In places the focus shifts rather rapidly and some names and events are not always sufficiently contextualized. For example, the chapter on the intervention in Ottoman Macedonia is hurried in places, providing little examination of the politics of reform between the creation of the 1903 Müzzsteg Reform Program and its termination following the 1908 revolution by the Committee of Union and Progress, or the intervention’s qualified success in easing tensions between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire.

By the author’s admission, *Against Massacre* is far from a comprehensive account of nineteenth-century humanitarian interventions in the Ottoman Empire. The book focuses primarily on the principle liberal powers, Great Britain and France. Much remains to be studied with respect to the other European powers and the cultural, intellectual, and transnational history of humanitarian intervention. What is more, the views of the victim populations, their political organizations, and the considerations of the Ottoman Empire toward these humanitarian interventions await further study. With *Against Massacre*, Rodogno has produced a sound, overarching reference for the study and legacy of humanitarian intervention in the Ottoman Empire. The testament of this book will be the numerous studies it will inspire.

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Rebecca J. Pulju. *Women and Mass Consumer Society in Postwar France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Women and Mass Consumer Society in Postwar France effectively demonstrates how French modernization efforts intersected with changing definitions of women and family in the decades following the Second World War. In her study, Rebecca J. Pulju underscores the centrality of mass consumerism to the larger process of postwar modernization in France from the late-1940s to the mid-1960s. Perhaps more importantly, she highlights the significant role reserved for women in creating a mass consumer society. Her work thus serves to document an important characteristic of postwar France, deepening our understanding of the French Fourth Republic (1946-1958) and the role of women within it.

Pulju argues that “the concerted drive to create a mass consumer society coincided with the renegotiation of women’s place in the polity and civil society” following the liberation of France and the extension of suffrage to women in 1944 (10). The rise of a mass consumption-based economy provided an active place for women in France’s modernizing efforts while simultaneously affirming their role as domestic homemakers. Pulju argues that state initiatives to boost the French economy converged with a population yearning for an improved standard of living following years of economic hardship and austerity. This convergence forged an identity for women as “citizen consumers.” The “citizen consumers,” Pulju writes, were “buyers making purchasing decisions both for their own good and for the good of the nation” (27). Women helped boost French economic productivity by “modernizing” their homes through the acquisition of consumer durables and home appliances meant to improve quality of life. Mass consumer society was both liberating and confining, affording women a pivotal part in the rebuilding of France while relegating them to a life of domesticity. The author thus explores how conceptions of women’s citizenship were linked to consumption. She also illustrates how mass consumer society “shaped normative views of family, home, and society” while also informing ideas about culture, class, and gender in the postwar period (14).

The book has five chapters. The first chapter explores the role of consumer, women, and family advocacy groups in creating a discursive link between women’s citizenship and mass consumerism. Chapter two relates discourses on productivity and modernization in the home, as propagated by women’s magazines and other sources, to national efforts regarding increased workplace production and efficiency. The third chapter sheds light on how mass consumerism helped shape definitions of marriage and family in the postwar period. Chapter four examines how mass

consumer society impacted class consciousness in the Fourth Republic. The fifth chapter looks at the *Salon des arts ménagers*, an annual government-sponsored showcase of the latest appliances and consumer products, and its role in legitimating mass consumer society and the citizen consumer. Her book concludes with an epilogue that assesses how French society has contested some of the rhetoric and false promises concerning mass consumerism while embracing its other aspects. To support her argument, the author draws on an assortment of sources: women's magazines and journals; reports and studies produced by state modernizers and social scientists; pamphlets and other documents disseminated by advocacy groups and political organizations; and, popular fiction. Pulju uses these sources effectively to demonstrate the widespread influences linking women's social and civic identities to the burgeoning mass consumerism in postwar France.

While the author aptly demonstrates how a mélange of advocacy groups, social scientists, technocratic planners, and women's magazines *tried* to create an identity for women as "citizen consumers" in a modernized France, the work is less effective in demonstrating the extent to their influence. With the exception of the final chapter, which lists the number of annual visitors to the *Salon des arts ménagers*, the reader never has a clear sense of how influential or widespread these efforts actually were. Including more perspectives of *actual* female consumers would have strengthened her work. This is a small critique in what is otherwise a well-researched and finely written monograph. Pulju's book will be of obvious value to historians of the French Fourth Republic. It will also benefit scholars concerned with women's history in France, as well as the social, cultural, and gendered dimensions of French postwar modernization efforts. More broadly, her research raises important questions about the links between mass consumer society and social, gender, and national identities, questions that will have practical value to specialists beyond the scope of French history.

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Nancy C. Unger. *Beyond Nature's Housekeepers: American Women in Environmental History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Nancy C. Unger's *Beyond Nature's Housekeepers* offers a stimulating survey of the close relationship between gender and environment in the United States since before European contact. She cogently argues that most gender-minded environmental historians have tended to focus on specific periods of women's activism or the modern environmental movement, or constrain their studies within narrow geographical arenas (4). The phrase "nature's housekeepers" has recently come to describe women's environmental experiences through their socially-prescribed roles as mothers and caretakers. But this romantic moniker, Unger asserts, does not accurately reflect women's ever-shifting relationship to the natural world because it fails to recognize the ways in which their environmental activities and stewardship reached beyond the domestic realm. Moreover, it "overshadows women's other contributions to the environment, such as opposition to nuclear war" and "support of soil conservation" (5). She thus investigates these and myriad other instances to carefully explore the intricate interplay between environment, sex, sexuality, and gender throughout American history.

Unger's work covers an astonishing breadth of material, though her inquiry plays out rather unevenly. The chapters follow a chronological march from the pre-Columbian era to the early twenty-first century. There exists, as she points out, "no single 'woman's environmental experience' in any place in time," even though gendered environmental interactions were virtually ubiquitous in American history (9). Dozens of case studies pepper the chapters, each illustrating how gendered environmental attitudes and actions varied greatly over time and between geographic locations, races, and social classes. On the one hand, most of the chapters focus heavily on nineteenth-century white women's experiences with westward expansion and settlement, research conducted by the early-twentieth-century educated elite—white women's environmentalism during the Progressive Era receives an especially detailed discussion—or the women's and lesbian activist organizations of the 1980s. As its title suggests, the book also treats *women's* history far more thoroughly than *gender* history, turning less often to the gendered interactions with and conceptions of the environment than to women's environmental consciousness and activism. On the other hand, however, Unger makes many efforts to include a wide array of perspectives and examples, which even if lightly touched upon in this work, open several avenues for further research. She looks at everything from the gendered labor practices of early indigenous societies to the Latino/a labor demonstrations of the late-twentieth century. She

includes the perspectives of working-class European immigrants, interned Japanese Americans, and many others, in a laudable nod toward inclusiveness.

Some portions of the work also read in celebratory tones characteristic of “first-wave” scholarship. For example, Unger discusses environmental degradation by women only briefly, examining their penchant for plume-feathered hats in the early twentieth century—whose production maimed or killed millions of birds—and women’s use of toxic cleaning and beauty chemicals. But more often she highlights women’s achievements, such as their efforts to clean up urban environments or Rachel Carson’s publication of the highly influential *Silent Spring* in 1962. Many such accomplishments deserve praise, and Unger’s magnification does no harm in most cases. But in at least one instance, her acclaim for some constituencies leads Unger toward teleological and thin argumentation. She avers that African American enslaved women “hastened the coming of the Civil War,” and in turn, their emancipation, through environmentally-related acts of resistance. According to Unger’s logic, because enslaved women were more likely to serve as field hands than men, they were more attuned to the conditions necessary for successful farming. Enslaved women passively resisted orders to improve depleted soil, ultimately forcing plantation owners to seek additional land in new slave territories. This contributed to national tensions over the expansion of slavery, and in due course, led to war (32-33). Parts of this argument seem reasonable, but Unger’s causal link between enslaved women’s environmental awareness and the extremely contingent and complex coming of the Civil War implausibly assigns intent toward and awareness of their outcomes enslaved women likely did not possess.

These quibbles aside, Unger delivers a fascinating intervention into the historiographies of both gender and the environment in American history, and the broad sweep of *Beyond Nature’s Housekeepers* clears many paths for further inquiry and debate. Perhaps the signal achievement of this work, however, lies in its obvious potential for classroom adaptation. Each chapter is accessibly written, of manageable length, and addresses important issues about various times, places, and peoples. Any portion of this book is certain to spark engaging and lively discussions for undergraduate sections and graduate seminars alike.

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About the Contributors

Annemarie Iker graduated summa cum laude from Amherst College, where she majored in European Studies. She developed the article included in this volume from her senior honors thesis as a post-baccalaureate fellow in the humanities at Amherst. Her research focuses on the interplay between physical sites, memory, and nationhood, particularly in Portugal and Spain. Her current project examines the working relationship between American philanthropist and scholar Archer M. Huntington, and Spanish painter Joaquín Sorolla.

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Abril Liberatori is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at York University. She received her MA from McMaster University. Her research focuses on Italian immigration history. Her dissertation explores Italian immigrants from the Campania region that traveled to Ontario and Buenos Aires after the Second World War. She is especially interested in the development of ethnic identities and transnational intersections of community, identity, and memory.

Julie M. Powell received her BS from the Ohio State University in 2005 and is currently completing her MA in Modern European history at San Francisco State University. She will begin doctoral study in the fall of 2014, with a focus on interwar France. Through her work, she seeks to examine the relationship between mind, body and place—how a historical subject's physical presence in, and experience of, space impacts the ways in which s/he receives, interprets, and produces culture and how such processes come to bear on the construction of both personal and collective identities.