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Surrealism and Femjnisim from France to Mexico, 1914-1972

By:

Emily Wieder

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in the Discipline in
History and the Elizabethtown College Honors Program

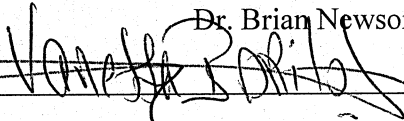
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Introduction

Freedom developed a new connotation as men climbed out of the trenches and women were dismissed from factories. Although no longer subjected to imminent attacks, veterans of World War I bore the weight of lost friends and faith. Disillusionment marked the population, especially that of battle-ridden France, yet inspired Avant-garde artists. Countering penury with nonsense, Dada emerged at Zurich's Cabaret Voltaire in 1916. The group forged transnational ties, as the German painter Max Ernst captured in his painting *Au rendez-vous des amis* [A Gathering of friends, 1922].^a With only one woman featured, the image depicts Avant-gardism as androcentric, a quality bleeding into the Surrealist movement, which formalized in Paris in 1924. With a photomontage of sixteen closed-eyed males and a nude goddess,^b the December 1929 issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* [The Surrealist revolution] intimated that Surrealism was blind to women.

Gynocentric voices nonetheless resonated in Surrealist circles and reflected the mutability of gender. In the 1920s, many women sought to retain socio-economic independence after having managed the household and earned wages while their husbands and brothers were at war. That "New Woman" transformed in the 1930s as *la crise* fostered social conservatism, including among left-leaning groups like the Popular Front. Both the latter and its right-leaning counterparts evoked familial stability, a theme that accelerated with the Vichy Regime's ideal of Republican Motherhood. After World War II, repopulation efforts continued to emphasize maternity even as French women gained voting rights and began to enter politics. This apparent

^a "A Friends' Reunion: Max Ernst," *Wiki Art*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.wikiart.org/en/max-ernst/a-friends-reunion-1922>.

^b Keri Walsh, "Review: 'Elizabeth Bowen, Surrealist,'" *Literary Visuality*, published 13 June 2012, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://literaryvisuality.wordpress.com/2012/06/13/review-elizabeth-bowen-surrealist-by-keri-walsh/>; Cahun did a self-portrait in that style too: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Unique-photo-booth-self-portrait--probab/ED711CCFE60E9A3A>.

dichotomy, along with the gradual pace of change, dissatisfied many women, particularly those of the baby-boomer generation, who joined the riots of May 1968 and organized the Mouvement de libération des femmes [Women's Liberation Movement, MLF] in 1970.

Examining the ways in which female artists adapted the Surrealist concept of liberty to the twentieth-century women's movements, this essay focuses on the political and creative productions of photographer Claude Cahun (1894-1954, née Lucy Schwob), painter Frida Kahlo (1907-1954), and writer Leonora Carrington (1917-2011). Living in France and on the island of Jersey, Cahun worked more closely with the founding Surrealists than did Kahlo or Carrington, who spent most of their careers in Mexico. From their unique vantage points—yet within the Surrealist framework—all three artists advanced equality. Though only Carrington aligned directly with the Women's Liberation Movement, Kahlo and Cahun challenged social norms in their own ways. Both painters articulated female individuality as possible and necessary in heterosexual relationships whereas Cahun lived androgynously with her partner and wanted to erase gender distinctions.

By identifying the biographical and historical contexts surrounding artistic content, this essay views a sample of Surrealist-Feminist interactions through a Post-structural lens. “Feminism/Feminist,” in this instance, refers to the American philosopher Marilyn Frye's definition as both a theory and a movement aimed at improving “women's situations” in all areas.¹ Social, political, economic, and many other considerations nuance the means by which scholars and activists effect that improvement. Post-structuralists draw from the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) who studied the structures of language, such as syntax and denotation. He distinguished between an individual's speech (*la parole*) and a linguistic community's language (*la langue*), preferring the latter as “the proper object of study.”² Through

the shared discourse, according to Saussure, language constructs itself and acquires fixed meaning. While focusing on *la langue* in written, spoken, and visual texts, Post-structuralists instead underscore meaning's flexibility and consider ever-changing connotations as well as fundamental denotations. In Feminist theory, the Post-structural approach evaluates language as a conscious and unconscious mechanism that reinforces patriarchy; yet, because language is dynamic, it can be reconfigured to achieve parity.³ Surrealism, as a cultural movement infused with Freudian psychoanalysis, also used language to reframe hierarchies. This essay specifically analyzes the development of Feminist themes during (I) Surrealism's emergence in the 1920s, (II) its engagement for the proletariat in the 1930s, and (III) its resistance against Fascist and social encroachment from 1939 to 1972.

This periodization aligns with a growing body of literature about Surrealism. Studies relating the cultural and Feminist movements emerged during the Second Wave of Feminism, reviving in 2011 and 2017 (the date of Carrington's death and the centennial year of her birth).⁴ Concerning the literature and historiography of French Feminism alone, historian Jean Elisabeth Pedersen has highlighted women's political exclusion and inclusion, noting that members of the Women's Liberation Movement generally refuted colonialism,⁵ much like the Surrealists did. From the Surrealist perspective, colonial exploitation underscored the urgency of a revolution. In Europe, North Africa, and the Caribbean as well as in the United States and Mexico, female poets and painters embraced the movement, as the Chicago-based Surrealist and writer Penelope Rosemont has documented in *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology* (1998).⁶ A French-language anthology, *Scandaleusement d'elles* [Scandalously them] (1999), likewise explores the understudied female presence in Surrealism. Providing biographies of French and French-speaking artists, *Scandaleusement d'elles* includes excerpts of written and visual works.⁷ These

Feminist-Surrealist, Surrealist, and Feminist publications, however, do not consider the thematic or situational similarities between female artists. To fill that lacuna, this essay draws attention to the profiles and techniques of three leading female Surrealists.

Cahun, Carrington, and Kahlo have been studied individually, but this paper aims to connect their particularities to their shared context. Scholars of Gender Studies frequently uphold Cahun (1894-1954) for “deconstructing” norms. In twenty-first-century terms, gender fluidity characterizes Cahun’s visual and written oeuvre. Modeling suits as well as dresses and changing her name from Lucy to the gender-ambiguous Claude, the French-born photographer promoted androgyny well ahead of the curve. Given Cahun’s explicit contestation of gender standards, recent LGBTQ+ journals and databases have linked her Feminist activities to her Surrealist ones.⁸ As a primary influence on Cindy Sherman (1954-...), among other photographers, Cahun remains a central figure in Women and Gender Studies. In contemporary artistic circles, her work stirs interest and can be found in French and in English, in Surrealist anthologies and in Cahun-exclusive volumes.⁹ Contributing numerous editorials, short stories, and poems to Surrealist periodicals as well as signing the group’s inflammatory tracts, Cahun actively supported the group’s ideology. With her overt Communist ties, Cahun also exemplified the interplay between art and politics.

Kahlo (1907-1954) similarly bore witness to a sort of intersectionality. Noted for her *Autorretrato con collar de espinas* [Self-portrait with thorn necklace, 1940],^c the Mexican painter questioned standards of beauty and ideals of motherhood. Feminist theories, however, had less of an influence on her perspective than did the Marxist notion of class struggle. It was forty years after her death that Kahlo became a symbol for Feminists and Chicanos.¹⁰ During her

^c “Self-Portrait with Necklace of Thorns,” *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://www.fridakahlofans.com/c0350.html>.

life, Kahlo, as the child of a German-Jewish immigrant and a Mexican mother, dealt with colonialism's residual stratification. She experienced further marginalization as polio delayed her entry into school and crippled her right foot.¹¹ Art had always been her refuge, a place to imagine a life without constraints. Even though Kahlo's technique and ideology aligned with those of the Surrealists, scholars often treat her as an annex to her husband, the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera (1886-1957).¹² Having lived in the United States and having befriended members of the Parisian Surrealist Group, Kahlo continues to appear in Spanish, English, and French publications.¹³ Her short yet fecund career serves as one example of Surrealism's transnational presence.

An Englishwoman who lived in France and worked extensively in Mexico, Carrington (1917-2011) also transcended borders. In fact, leading Surrealists André Breton (1896-1966) and Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) praised her authentic expression.¹⁴ Independent of her friendships with Surrealists and her marriage to Max Ernst (1891-1976), she earned a definitive place in the group, an accomplishment to which the *Complete Stories of Leonora Carrington* (2017), released on the hundredth anniversary of her birthday, attests. During her lifetime, moreover, she garnered attention among Feminists as well as Surrealists, as art historian Whitney Chadwick has argued.¹⁵ Of the three artists presented in this essay, Carrington connects directly to the Women's Liberation Movement, having founded its Mexican chapter. Of course, Carrington, Kahlo, and Cahun were not the only artists to pair creative and women's liberations. This three-person case study, rather, offers insight into broad Surrealist and Feminist trends.

Chapter I. 1919-1929: Founding the Movement

Inspired by anti-establishment Dada and post-war cynicism, Surrealists wanted to shock viewers with sensual images. At the same time, following the armistice, many women were entering a “more coherent whole in cultural terms” than were men, according to historian Susan Foley.¹⁶ Obligated to lead the household for four years, these women began to rethink intimacy and to assert themselves. As such individuals hoped to pop the domestic bubble, Surrealists were reconfiguring artistic boundaries. The so-called “Father of Surrealism,” French poet André Breton, insisted that uninhibited expression should guide art. Between 1919 and 1924, while collaborating with fellow Avant-gardists on the review *Littérature* [Literature], Breton came to perceive Dada as too nihilistic and too simplistic.¹⁷ With international and compatriot friends like Paul Éluard (1895-1952), Louis Aragon (1897-1982), and Philippe Soupault (1897-1990), Breton delineated his revolution in the 1924 *Surrealist Manifesto*, promoting liberation, dreams, and the Marvelous.

Along with the five corporal senses, Surrealists roused unconscious desires, those existing above (*sur*) reality (*réalité*). A quest for liberation, both political and creative, thus drove the movement. To achieve true freedom, argued Surrealists, individuals had to unshackle themselves from institutions.¹⁸ Intent on reducing the differences between people, Surrealists, according to French poet Éluard, uniquely elucidated humanity’s common spirit.¹⁹ The Marxist objective of unifying the populace underlay Surrealists’ dedication to creative liberation, which they sought through automatic writing. Geared toward poetry and revived from the Romantic period, automatic writing required the author to close his or her eyes and rapidly put to paper each thought. Likewise surrendering themselves to chance, artists fashioned three-dimensional objects and assembled collages, practices inherited from Dada. Catalanian painter Salvador Dalí later summarized these ambitions in his insistence that art should consume the entire body.²⁰ By

searching beyond immediate perception, an artist needed to awaken all the senses. Any medium could suit that cause, though visual artists tended to shed light onto “the spontaneity in the world” whereas poetry aimed to expose “the spontaneity in [the self].”²¹ Physical reality therefore corresponded to cerebral functions.

Adding Freudian psychoanalysis to their quest for liberation, Surrealists expanded upon the nineteenth-century Romantics’ exploration of dreams. Having worked in Paris’s Val-de-Grâce hospital during World War I, Breton and Aragon developed an interest in psychiatry.²² They communicated with neuropsychiatric patients and later referenced Sigmund Freud’s (1856-1939) works while organizing the Surrealist group. In addition to studying the subconscious, the Austrian psychoanalyst addressed female maturation to supplement the literature on children’s—most often males’—growth. Freud emphasized biological differences and discounted Feminists as “anxious to force us to regard the two sexes as completely equal in position and worth.”²³ Although the founding Surrealists did not outwardly dismiss Feminism, they concurred with the notion of sexual distinctions. Women, according to many Surrealists, were uniquely capable of enhancing men’s dreams.

In the first Surrealist manifesto (1924), Breton posited that men hardly express themselves, and when they do, it is because an idea, or a woman, has stimulated them. Women, he claimed, dissolve men and unveil their desires.²⁴ Indicating his familiarity with literary as well as scientific classics, Breton’s description of women parallels the enchantress image that French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) conjectured in the mid-nineteenth century. Chief among Baudelaire’s inspirations were women, whom he acknowledged are capable of “projecting the greatest shadow or the greatest light into our dreams.”²⁵ The holistic exploration of oneself thus has roots not only in the Romantic Movement but also in the Symbolist one more closely

associated with Baudelaire. The latter excelled in navigating between internal and exterior spaces, as his seminal anthology *Les Fleurs du mal* [The Flowers of evil, first edition 1857] and sonnet “Correspondances” [Correspondences] especially demonstrate,²⁶ and Surrealists revered him among other nineteenth-century poets.

In pursuit of the aesthetic known as the Sublime, Baudelaire described the most terrifyingly stunning aspects of nature in his verses. To twentieth-century visionaries, however, the Sublime was too exclusive and too traditional. In its stead, Surrealists sought the Marvelous, which Breton defined as “always beautiful, and it is only the Marvelous that is beautiful.”²⁷ Despite engendering an awe far deeper than appearance, the Marvelous differed from the Sublime in that it rejected, rather than reinforced, artistic conventions. Furthermore, Breton infused the philosophy with a sense of mastery, asking in 1924, “the essential, is it not that we are our own masters, and the masters of women, of love, too?”²⁸ For a movement so dedicated to liberation, early Surrealists appeared to endorse patriarchal dominance. Notably, though—in both the Sublime and the Marvelous—women replaced God as a mystical ideal. Painter Pierre Dunbrunquez and Sorbonne professor Ferdinand Alquié have cited the female characters of Breton’s prose-poem collection *Poisson soluble* [Soluble fish, 1924] to argue that women were “the new Eve, a promise of reconciliation between the old and the dream, and therefore, a promise of accessing true life.”²⁹ Though not celebrating women, Surrealists appreciated their role in overturning hierarchies and instating a Marvelous existence.

Dalí accentuated women’s ethereal connectivity to Nature in the *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme* [Abridged dictionary of Surrealism, 1938]. Defining the “Modern Style” technique as the sculpture of everything extra-sculptural, Dalí gave the example of a “femme-fleur-peau-peyotl-bijoux-nuage-flamme-papillon-miroir” [woman-flower-skin-petal-jewel-cloud-flame-

butterfly-mirror].³⁰ The hyphens signify that modern-style women had an extraordinary ability to hybridize. Surrealist depictions of the “androgynous” “femme-nature, femme-fleur, femme-fruit [...]” [woman-nature, woman-flower, woman-fruit] encouraged female artists to reclaim the feminine figure.³¹ In a Post-structural manner, these women crafted a pictorial language for themselves, that of the self-portrait, rather than allowing men to dictate their essence.³² Cahun, for example, played with her image in photographs, and Kahlo is probably most well known for her self-portraits. Carrington even approached her paintings, stories, and poems from an autobiographical stance.

Of this female trio, Cahun first underscored the synchrony between women and creative, social, and terrestrial elements. Nearing her twentieth birthday in 1914, Cahun had already joined literary circles when France declared war on Germany. Through her contributions to the Nantes newspaper the *Phare de la Loire* [Lighthouse of the Loire], she met the illustrator who would become her actual stepsister and life-long partner, Suzanne Malherbe (pseudonym Marcel Moore, 1892-1972).³³ Cahun left for Jersey in 1915, the same year that Breton was enlisted in the Nantes medical service.³⁴ There, he discussed literature and psychoanalysis with French writer Jacques Vaché (1895-1919) until being transferred to Val-de-Grâce.³⁵ Upon returning to Nantes in 1917, Cahun shared an apartment with Malherbe. By that point, she had been using the androgynous name Claude for at least a year. Underpinning her refusal of gender norms, Cahun shaved her head when she moved to Paris three years later.³⁶ At this time, Surrealism was splintering from Dada. As a friend of editor Philippe Soupault (1897-1990), Cahun contributed to the proto-Surrealist review *Littérature* and soon frequented the *Galerie Surréaliste*. Among other practices, Surrealists endorsed free love and “unconventional sex arrangements” as

methods for accessing the subconscious.³⁷ The movement's radical essence, then, meshed with Cahun's repudiation of gender binarism.

In line with the New Woman's empowerment and the expressive capacity of Surrealism, Cahun's *I am in Training, Don't Kiss Me* photographic series (1927) questions stereotypes.^d With hearts painted on her cheeks and dressed in long sleeves and athletic shorts, Cahun poses with a barbell in certain images, and in the most iconic she rests it on her lap. That angle exposes the text on both weights. On the left, "Totor [and] Popol" reference characters in the Belgian cartoon strip *Tintin*, which had amassed fans in France.³⁸ "Castor [and] Pollux" on the right are twin stars from Greek mythology: Castor (the child of Leda and Tyndareus) and Pollux (the child of Zeus and Leda).³⁹ Cahun literally balances the contemporary and the mythological in this image. Further coinciding with the 1920s New Woman, the series as a whole derides conventional poise and valorizes feminine strength. As Foley has mentioned, the tight, hourglass figure expected in the 1910s gave way to a kinetic, revealing silhouette. Women started riding bicycles, an activity that incited fears of arousal,⁴⁰ and Cahun captures this mobility in her shorts. As the non-abrasive yet impactful images reveal, the photographer had a keen social sense.

In addition to her creative efforts, Cahun reshaped norms through academic channels. Having translated Havelock Ellis' (1859-1939) *The Task of Social Hygiene* from English into French, Cahun was thoroughly familiar with one of the first psychologists to study homosexuality. Ellis' explanations appealed to Cahun, especially as she was completing *I am in Training, Don't Kiss Me*. Published in the review *Mercure de France*, Cahun's translation of the chapter "Women in Society" reached a broad public.⁴¹ In this chapter, Ellis supports female suffrage as a "reasonable condition of social hygiene" but concludes that biological differences

^d "I am in Training, Don't Kiss Me," *Mutual Art*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, http://media.mutualart.com/Images/2011_07/13/11/115755856/f0d733c3-8c02-456a-bb8b-969de175a951_570.Jpeg.

hinder equality between the sexes.⁴² Also comparing German, French, and English perspectives, Ellis reasons that many people find homosexuality disgusting, “yet disgust is a matter of taste, we cannot properly impart it into our laws; a disgusting person is not necessarily a criminal person [...]”⁴³ Originally published in 1912, this appeal to tolerance, which Ellis follows by proposing a third sex, would have braced Cahun against the marginalization she was facing in the 1920s. Even Ellis’ peers held conflicting views on homosexuality. Freud, the psychoanalyst whom the Surrealists lauded, had written “Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes” in 1925. Cahun likely would have been aware of this article and Freud’s stance that women developed “a sense of inferiority,” or penis-envy, as they entered puberty. Although most women will accept their lesser biology, Freud argued, a psychosis exists when female adults compensate by acting like men. Freud’s readers could have diagnosed Cahun as “psychotic” due to her intentionally androgynous appearance.⁴⁴ Yet in that assumed craziness lay motivation to expose and diminish oppression, an objective linking Cahun to the Surrealist goal of liberation. Class revolution, though, soon distracted from creative and social ambitions as the economy entered a crisis.

Chapter II. 1930-1939: Engaging for the Proletariat

When the Great Depression struck France in 1931, a decade of thrift replaced the Golden Twenties.⁴⁵ In the economizing spirit, Surrealists partnered their Avant-garde revolution with that of the proletariat. Fulfilling political and artistic obligations, however, became a liability throughout the decade. Firstly, between 1930 and 1936, the Surrealists’ intellectual character sparked debates in the pro-Moscow Association des artistes et des écrivains révolutionnaires [Association of revolutionary artists and writers, A.A.E.R.] and again in the anti-Stalinist organization Contre-attaque [Counter attack]. Secondly, between 1937 and 1939, Breton allied

with Leon Trotsky and redirected Surrealism toward artistic independence. Into both phases of the 1930s, Cahun, Kahlo, and Carrington projected a female voice.

The A.A.E.R. and Contre-attaque Phase (1930-1936)

Joining numerous associations, Cahun and Kahlo supported Communism. Patriarchy, like bourgeois domination, was another institution that Carrington and they resisted through their artwork. The salience of Feminist themes varied, though, because domestic and overseas exploitation occupied the Surrealists' attention.

Anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism defined Surrealist engagement of the 1930s.

Responding to the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris, the review *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* [Surrealism in service of the Revolution, the title of *La Révolution surréaliste* as of June 1930] denounced materialism and the trade of slave-labor-produced goods.⁴⁶ The oppressor-oppressed dichotomy paralleled women's experiences of subjugation, and, as Pedersen has noted, many Feminists protested the exhibition.⁴⁷ Also like the Surrealists, Feminists preferred the Communist Party for its foresight. Even though Conservatives proposed bills for universal suffrage throughout the 1920s,⁴⁸ the Parti communiste français [French Communist Party, PCF] stood female candidates when no other party would.⁴⁹ The platform of unshackling the lower class from its mundanity appealed to Surrealists, some of whom (including Breton) joined the Communist Party in the 1920s. Spurred by the economic downturn, Surrealists prioritized political engagement. In 1932, members of the Parisian group formed a chapter of the Association of revolutionary artists and writers (A.A.E.R.); in 1936, they splintered into Contre-attaque; and in 1938, they further divided into the Fédération internationale de l'art révolutionnaire indépendant [International federation of revolutionary independent art, F.I.A.R.I.].

Initiating the Surrealists' unambiguous Communist affiliations, the A.A.E.R. acted as the French section of Moscow's association for revolutionary writers.⁵⁰ Breton and fellow Surrealist writer André Thirion formulated bylaws for the A.A.E.R. in November 1930, but nearly two years passed before Moscow recognized their chapter. In that interval, the "Aragon Affair" pitted Surrealists against the French poet Louis Aragon (1897-1982). As professor of French Carrie Noland has explained, Aragon turned against the Surrealist position of "complete imaginative freedom" in literature to the Party's view that literature should be tailored to the proletariat. Aragon changed his mind in October 1930 while representing the Surrealist Movement at the Second International Congress of Revolutionary Writers, which was held in Kharkov (Soviet Russia). Throughout the congress, Aragon maintained a correspondence with Breton, to whom he lied about defending Surrealist objectives. Shortly after returning to Paris in December, however, Aragon revealed his new convictions in "Front Rouge" [Red front]. This poem, which included the line "Feu sur Léon Blum" [Shoot Léon Blum, the leader of the Socialist party and the Deputy of Narbonne], prompted the French Department of Justice in 1932 to accuse Aragon of attempting to incite unrest. Interpreting the accusation as censorship, Breton circulated a defense of figurative writing and, by extension, of Aragon. The latter, though, definitively left the Surrealist group, arguing that Breton was too concerned with literature to understand class struggle.⁵¹ To prove their support for the proletarian revolution, Surrealists renewed the A.A.E.R.'s application for Soviet recognition. Concluding that "intellectual relaxation cannot triumph over the irresistible attraction of the party of the Revolution," they demonstrated their loyalty to Moscow and won the A.A.E.R.'s approval a few months later.⁵²

Membership in the A.A.E.R. entailed rejecting capitalism and generating Communist propaganda.⁵³ Accustomed to resisting social systems, Cahun and Moore readily joined the

A.A.E.R. They, like the other Surrealists, knew that manipulating language to suit the Party countered the uninhibited expression for which Surrealism stood. With Hitler rising to power in January 1933 and France's Radical ministry falling in January 1934, the artists nevertheless felt compelled to amplify their political activity and to stick with the A.A.E.R. Workers too mobilized, protesting right-leaning parties' attempted coup in February 1934. Less than one week after the strikes, the PCF and the Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière [French section of the Workingmen's International, SFIO] formed a coalition, which with the Radical Party became the Popular Front in May 1935.⁵⁴ Looking to the next year's parliamentary elections, the left forged a powerful coalition.

The Surrealist-Stalinist alliance, on the other hand, deteriorated. In 1934, Surrealists expressed their dissatisfaction as Stalin began to purge suspected rivals. The Communist Party soon expelled them, thus terminating their membership in the A.A.E.R.⁵⁵ Exacerbating that resentment, the Congrès des Écrivains pour la Défense de la Culture [Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture] revoked Breton's speaking privileges in 1935 because his poems were deemed incomprehensible for the greater public,⁵⁶ a debate reminiscent of the Surrealist position at the 1930 congress in Kharkov. Determined to uphold freedom of expression, as he had done in the Aragon Affair, Breton countered Stalinism. His collection of essays *Position politique du Surréalisme* [Surrealism's political stance, October 1935] repositioned the movement in favor of Leon Trotsky (1879-1940), a leading Communist opponent of Stalin. In the preface, Breton underscored that "a small number of intellectuals by the free exercise of their reason" would break from the bourgeois class and foster a Marxist revolution.⁵⁷ Without tying themselves to Moscow, Surrealists remained politically engaged.

To increase their ranks, Surrealists rekindled old friendships. Breton joined the former-Surrealist Georges Bataille (1897-1962) and the anti-Stalinist leader of the Cercle communiste-démocratique [Communist-democratic circle, CCD] Boris Souvarine (1895-1984) to form Contre-attaque. Conceptualized in September 1935, Contre-attaque became a formal “union of revolutionary intellectuals” in October and counted Cahun and Malherbe among its first members. Reacting to Mussolini’s invasion of Ethiopia (3 October 1935), the founding tract urged a popular uprising, which would be composed of people of all races, against nationalism.⁵⁸ Recognizing that “a union of intellectuals” might alienate the under-served proletariat, Contre-attaque assured in March 1936 that “we are, all, for a completely united world.”⁵⁹ Published two months before the parliamentary elections and the month that Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland,⁶⁰ this flyer appealed to the working class and indicated new support for the Popular Front. Whereas Contre-attaque contended in fall 1935 that the Front was too ingrained in “bourgeois institutions” to succeed,⁶¹ the group had warmed to the Socialist candidate Léon Blum by spring. During the electoral campaign, the right dealt physical and rhetorical anti-Semitic blows to Blum,⁶² who nevertheless became the first Socialist and Jewish Prime Minister of France in June 1936. Conservative discourse even critiqued Feminism on anti-Semitic grounds. The prominent Action française member Marthe Borléy argued that Feminism was a “Jewish invention.”⁶³ Born to a Jewish family, Cahun concurred with the Contre-attaque ultimatum, “the revolutionary offensive or death.”⁶⁴ With her heritage and ideology under siege, Cahun recognized the fatality of elitism and redoubled her engagement against oppression.

It is surprising, however, that Cahun participated so fervently in Communist-aligned organizations given the Party’s hostility toward homosexuality. By the mid-1930s and through the Popular Front’s compromises, as Foley has explained, the PCF had shifted to favor

traditional gender roles. Propaganda then featured women in the home and slogans like “vote Communist so that the family may be happy.”⁶⁵ At odds with this image, Cahun found contentment in both her fight for the proletariat and her relationship with her stepsister. Other Surrealists too were uncomfortable with the rebranding, and members of Contre-attaque veered from the Party. On 5 January 1936, Bataille and Breton, as well as fellow Surrealists Maurice Heine (1884-1940) and Benjamin Péret (1899-1959), composed a tract against the “abandonment of the revolutionary position.” To them, Fascism was rooted in the masculine trinity “père, patrie, patron” [father, nation, and boss]. This patriarchal society, the writers argued, countered the “fraternal society of working companions” that was supposed to distinguish the far left from the far right.⁶⁶

As ideological lines blurred and the electoral campaign progressed, the anti-Stalinist union from which Contre-attaque emerged fractured. Bataille was organizing the secret society Acéphale [Acephalous] “to instigate a new religion,”⁶⁷ which deviated from the Surrealists’ skepticism of institutions. Furthermore, in 1929 Bataille had been excluded from the Surrealist group for labeling it “idealistic.” According to Bataille, the Surrealists focused too much on the interior state and neglected to confront the “abject” experiences hindering social revolution.⁶⁸ With that renewed friction and the ideological ambiguity of the parliamentary campaign, Surrealists broke from Contre-attaque on 24 March 1936. Signed by Cahun, Moore (as Suzanne Malherbe), Breton, and five other Surrealists, the parting declaration denounced Contre-attaque’s “surfasciste” [overly-Fascist] tendencies and intimated that the organization’s non-Surrealist members—and particularly Bataille—were encroaching upon imaginative expression.⁶⁹ Departing from Contre-attaque to affirm their “unbreakable attachment to the revolutionary

traditions of the international workers' movement,"⁷⁰ the Surrealists returned to their artistic platforms.

Cahun elaborated on the importance of tuning out political cacophony in her article "Prenez garde aux objets domestiques" [Beware of household objects]. Printed in a special issue of *Cahiers d'art* to promote the concurrent Exhibition of Surrealist Objects in Paris (22-29 May 1936),⁷¹ the article critiques rationality. Humans, according to Cahun, seek explanations for all of life's phenomena but are blind to the inanimate objects that facilitate their existence. This position mirrors that of the left-leaning tract "Pour l'art moderne cadre de la vie contemporaine" [For modern art, the framework of contemporary life] that an organization of architects and artisans, the Union des artistes modernes [Union of modern artists, UAM], had published in July 1934. The UAM wanted to secure exhibition space at the highly-anticipated, annual Salon des Arts Ménagers [Household arts show] where it could promote the latest technology and designs. In the UAM manifest, art critic Louis Chéronnet scorned ornamentation, a technique found in Art Nouveau works (1890-1910), for "empoisoning" the previous fifty years. Modern art should be practical and supple like the "sublime" creations fashioned by a worker's hand, he argued.⁷² In "Prenez garde aux objets domestiques," Cahun likewise expressed a preference for tangible art over "vain ornamentation."⁷³ With manual labors being so involved in production, she postulated, they were better suited than intellectuals to connect with their senses.⁷⁴

The debate over the intellectual's role in the worker's struggle that Cahun raised here began with the Aragon Affair (1930-1932) and resurfaced throughout her participation in the A.A.E.R. and later in *Contre-attaque*. Knowing, then, that Surrealists were often perceived as too bourgeois to honestly support the proletarian revolution but too avant-garde to fit it into the broader artistic community, Cahun gave the movement credibility by comparing its principles to

those of the UAM, which had gained public recognition through its participation in the Salon des Arts Ménagers. Like the UAM, the Surrealists believed that three-dimensional art could improve life. Whereas the UAM and the Salon focused on applying innovations, such as stainless steel,⁶ to home life, Surrealists interpreted household objects as mediums for distinguishing perception from reality. To help people see the world, “Prenez garde aux objets domestiques” encourages the manipulation and taming of inanimate things.⁷⁵ The exhibition of objects for which the article was occasioned also suggests the popular intentions of Surrealism. As the Centre Georges Pompidou has outlined, the 1936 exhibition “made little or no sign of the know-how or talent valued by the bourgeois aesthetic.”⁷⁶ “Prenez garde aux objets domestiques,” therefore, underscores the compatibility between proletarian as well as Surrealist forms.

The Artistic Independence Phase (1936-1939)

To illuminate the institutional and intellectual oppression burdening the consciousness, Surrealists blurred the line between ideology and imagination. Whether through sculpture, painting, or writing, whether individually or collectively, Surrealists advanced their revolution. The turbulence of the 1930s, in fact, provided fertile ground for the creative endeavors of Cahun, Kahlo, and Carrington.

Breaching generational divisions, Cahun collaborated with the French poet Lise Deharme (1898-1980) on a children’s book. *Le Cœur de pic: 32 poèmes pour les enfants* [The Woodpecker’s heart: 32 poems for children, 1937] appears juvenile but, in typical Surrealist manner, increases in absurdity with each poem and in each of the twenty photographs. Opening with a first-person narrator who enters the woods, the perspective shifts to third-person

⁶ Stainless steel appeared at the 1936 Salon; “Salon des Arts Ménagers,” *Musée des Arts Décoratifs Paris* [Museum of Decorative Arts], accessed 26 March 2019, <https://madparis.fr/francais/musees/musee-des-arts-decoratifs/dossiers-thematiques/marques-et-personnages/salons-des-arts-menagers>.

observations, as if the narrator is musing and walking in a state of reverie. Given Surrealism's Romantic and Symbolist roots, natural imagery was almost certainly crafted as a dissenting statement. Romantic artists denounced industrialization and glorified Nature while their nineteenth-century compatriots were seeking profits. Symbolists subsequently associated emotions with the terrestrial world, often preferring free verse over closed form to enhance the aural quality of a poem. This lyrical element manifests throughout *Le Cœur de pic*, but Deharme maintained straightforward subject-verb-object lines rather than using the convoluted grammar that certain Symbolist and even Surrealist poets tended to employ.^f Remaining true to Surrealism, the book shocks. The thirty-first poem, which coincides with the nineteenth photograph,^g particularly takes the reader by surprise:

Le nerf de ma petite dent me mord. Prends un petit bâton pointu pan c'est un petit serpent mort.	The nerve of my little tooth bites me. Take a small pointed stick bang it's a little snake dead. ⁷⁷
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The book's penultimate description, a tooth housing a snake, marks a divergence from the initial birds and flowers. Thematically, birds enjoy the freedom of flight that the land-bound creature will never experience. As the cause of discomfort, the serpent symbolizes evil and indicates that nothing, not even teeth, are safe from contamination. Treachery, as Deharme suggests, begins with oration, the almost-instinctual act of lying through one's teeth.

Alternately, teeth, rather than the serpent, correspond to temptation. The co-founder of Contre-attaque and former-Surrealist Georges Bataille, often portrayed teeth devouring females, thereby depicting sex as fatal.⁷⁸ By killing the serpent in the poem, Deharme reclaims the

^f Symbolist Stéphane Mallarmé reveled in being a cryptic writer and the Surrealists' automatic poems, like Breton and Soupault's anthology *Les Champs magnétiques* [The magnetic fields, 1920], also transgressed syntactical standards.

^g Lise Deharme, *Le Cœur de pic*, photographs by Claude Cahun (Rennes: Éditions MeMo, 1935).

symbol, an act that echoes the Post-structural concept of language as adaptable and central to reconfiguring gender notions. In the photograph, however, the cherub on the left appears both defensive and belligerent against the dark figure on the right. Despite the poem's conclusion that good has prevailed, the photograph reveals lurking malevolence. The disparity between text and image reflects the Surrealist propensity for twisting the known and going beyond reality. After encountering a Surrealist work, hoped the artists, viewers would recognize the assumptions they subconsciously made and question the basis of those thoughts.

Reframing ethnic and gender prejudgments, Frida Kahlo (1907-1954) blended Mexican folklore with the European eye. In Coyoacán, she grew up surrounded by the Aztec culture of her mother and with a deep interest in her paternal, German roots. Inspired by her father's photography, Kahlo took up drawing as a hobby and intended to enroll in medical school until a car accident debilitated her then-eighteen-year-old body. Her spirits lifted in 1929 when she married muralist Diego Rivera (1886-1957), who had studied in Paris.⁷⁹ Four years later, though, a miscarriage darkened Kahlo's perspective, and her canvases attest to life's mutability. Kahlo also learned that change is a constant during the four years that she and Rivera moved from Coyoacán to San Francisco, to Philadelphia, to Detroit, and then to New York City. When the San Francisco Stock Exchange commissioned her husband in 1930,⁸⁰ Kahlo witnessed the impact of the Great Depression in the United States. With the failures of capitalism exposed, Kahlo returned to her Communist inclinations, having been affiliated with the Party since she joined the League of Young Communists around 1920.⁸¹ Sharing this ideology, Rivera incorporated the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) into a 1933 mural, which prompted the Chicago World's Fair to rescind an upcoming commission.⁸²

Disenchanted by the infringement on Rivera's creativity, Kahlo reflected on her own displacement in the 1933 painting *Allá cuelga mi vestido* [My Dress hangs there].^h Hanging like her dress, Kahlo is caught between living in New York City and dreaming of home. As art historian Luis-Martin Lozano has noted, Kahlo placed the focus on the Juchitán *huipil* [embroidered] blouse and Tehuana skirt.⁸³ Clothing being one sign of acculturation, the Mexican attire resists the bustling consumerism, which is represented in the pile of garbage and the flashy billboard. In the background, the Mother of Exiles faces the urban chaos yet remains aloof from the reality that those "yearning to breathe free" are suffocating.⁸⁴ Elucidating Americans' blind capitalism, *Allá cuelga mi vestido* shares the Surrealist ambition to elevate human awareness while intimating that women in the U.S., despite having received suffrage in 1920, exercised little control over their lives. As Kahlo traversed the Americas and honed her philosophy, her work became more sophisticated and captivated Breton, who deemed Kahlo a Surrealist in her own right.

When Breton met Kahlo in 1938, he was searching for a balance between the political and artistic demands on Surrealism. At that time, Breton felt that battling Stalinism had diverted too much energy from the creative pursuits he had envisioned in 1924. Despite the volatility of the A.A.E.R. and Contre-attaque, Breton remained committed to the proletarian revolution and to promulgating freedom through art. His outlook corresponded to that of Leon Trotsky (1879-1940), who had been exiled from Moscow to Mexico in 1937. Because Trotsky had lodged with Rivera,⁸⁵ who kept in touch with Parisian Avant-gardists, Breton capitalized on the opportunity to meet him. At the end of February 1938, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yvon Delbos, designated Breton a cultural ambassador to a series of literary conferences that led him to

^h "My Dress hangs there," *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://www.fridakahlofans.com/c0120.html>.

Mexico and subsequently to Rivera's house.⁸⁶ Breton recognized Kahlo's skill, and even though she hesitated to declare herself a Surrealist, her raw displays of emotion resonated with the movement's interest in psychoanalysis. She continued to paint as the progenitor of Surrealism and a leading opponent of Stalinism discussed Stalin's abuse of power in the Soviet Union and the rise of Fascism in Western Europe. The Trotsky-Breton encounter led to the manifesto "Pour un art révolutionnaire et indépendant" [For revolutionary and independent art], which preceded the International federation of revolutionary independent art (F.I.A.R.I.), a loose organization of artists resisting authoritarianism without adhering to any political party.⁸⁷ Validating the Surrealists' declaration was the Soviet-Nazi Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939. By then, artists had the platform to denounce the stunning alliance. In July 1938, the F.I.A.R.I. had released an initial tract, which Rivera signed,⁸⁸ and even nonmembers, like Kahlo, were pursuing their own versions of independence.

At her first solo exhibition, Kahlo showcased works that would become some of her most famous. Among them was *Los Frutos de la tierra* [Fruits of the earth, 1938],ⁱ a painting that explores human anatomy through Surrealist eroticism. Never shying away from the body or her own physical trauma, including *three* miscarriages, Kahlo confronted taboos. Considering that the public had become more conservative in reaction to the purported decadence of the 1920s, Kahlo alluded to human anatomy through fruits. Lozano has elaborated that the "naked veins of the wood," in addition to the redolent fruits, symbolize "the natural cavities of the human body."⁸⁹ Most fruits are paired, some lie on the table submissively, but the erect gourd unmistakably shows the fruits' anthropomorphic traits. As Lozano has also noted, the symbolism indicates Kahlo's unique "synthesis of her educated and intellectual side and her use of native

ⁱ "Fruits of the Earth," *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://fridakahlofans.com/c0220.html>.

genres.”⁹⁰ Pointing to the explicit and implicit meanings surrounding reality, Kahlo affirmed her hybrid identity at the New York exhibition.

Blends of novelty and folklore likewise appear in the works of English-born painter-writer Leonora Carrington (1917-2011). While Kahlo was establishing a career independently of Rivera, Carrington was emerging as a Surrealist and living with Max Ernst (1891-1976). Deeply interested in alchemy, she depicted transformations of time and space in whimsical scenes. Born to an Irish mother, Carrington further drew inspiration from the Celtic legends, giving special attention to horses as “the image of death and rebirth.”⁹¹ Carrington often referenced the live animal as well as her childhood rocking horse. Much like Surrealists believed that children could access *surréalité* more easily than could corrupted adults, Carrington reflected on ageing, disintegration, and rejuvenation.⁹²

Highlighting the fondness for care-free youth is *Self-Portrait: Inn of the Dawn Horse*.^j Produced between 1937 and 1938 in Paris, *Inn of the Dawn Horse* marked Carrington’s debut as a Surrealist. Having met Ernst in London in 1937 and then settling with him in Paris the next year, Carrington was familiar with the movement.⁹³ In 1938, she also began to integrate Feminist themes into her work. The hyena in *Inn of the Dawn Horse*, for example, symbolizes “the merging of the male and female,” as political scientist Lisa Zanetti has explained. In contrast, male Surrealists depicted gender relationships through the praying mantis,^k which eats the male after mating.⁹⁴ Rather than perpetuating that violence, Carrington portrayed a hybridization, one comparable to Kahlo’s fusion of fruit and humans. From a Post-structural perspective, and much

^j “Self-Portrait, ca. 1937-38,” *The Met*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/492697>.

^k See for example, Alberto Giacometti’s sculpture “Woman with Her Throat Cut” (Museum of Modern Art [MoMA], New York, 1932); Salvador Dalí’s painting “Cannibalism of the Praying Mantis of Lautréamont” (Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres, 1934); André Masson’s ink drawing “Praying Mantis” (MoMA, 1942).

like Deharme and Cahun had presented the tooth in *Le Coeur de pic*, the layered meanings of a symbol reveal Feminist undertones in *Inn of the Dawn Horse*.

The portrait's rocking horse too offers "a symbolic image of sexual union" but aligns more directly with the Surrealist conviction that "[sex] would resolve the polarities of male and female into an androgynous creative whole."⁹⁵ Equally motivated to dissolve gender discrepancies, Cahun transformed her physical and artistic body into "an androgynous creative whole."⁹⁶ Like Cahun found in Surrealism a space that enhanced her identity, Carrington vindicated women through the Surrealist intention of opening spectators' minds. Carrington became more sensitive to freedom of thought in 1939, when the Nazi internment of Ernst sparked a psychological breakdown. While in recovery, she realized the need to be assured in herself, free from external judgement, before she could pursue Surrealist objectives. This conviction strengthened when Carrington sought asylum from the war in the United States, as the next section will discuss.

From contesting imperial domination to advocating for the proletariat, Surrealists during the 1930s had plenty of reasons to defend liberty. Paradoxically, Communist-sponsored organizations like the A.A.E.R. and Contre-attaque fractured more than unified the artists. To relieve artists of Party obligations without sacrificing political engagement, Breton formed the F.I.A.R.I. with Trotsky as Stalin's and Hitler's increasing authoritarianism menaced freedom of expression. Cahun, Kahlo, and Carrington added female autonomy to the Surrealists' interests, and that theme endured as Nazism forced the artists from their homes.

III. 1940-1949: Resisting Intrusion

Although excluded from the Communist Party since 1935, Surrealists maintained those ideological convictions into the 1940s and had denounced Fascism since the Spanish Civil War (July 1936- April 1939).⁹⁷ Through the A.A.E.R., Contre-attaque, and the F.I.A.R.I., Surrealists published fiery tracts against General Francisco Franco and Adolf Hitler. Upon seizing Paris in June 1940, the Nazis persecuted the Surrealist, along with many other, groups. Soon dispersed from their Parisian center, Surrealists fortified their belief in communal, universal liberation during World War II.

Thanks to a directive from Eleanor Roosevelt, intellectuals received asylum in the United States.⁹⁸ New York City became a hub for Surrealist activity between 1941 and 1944, hosting exhibitions in which Kahlo participated and welcoming exiled artists, such as Breton, who established the review *VVV: Poetry, Plastic Arts, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology (VVV)* to propagate Surrealism. Offering the review an acute understanding of the war, Ernst joined his colleagues in New York after escaping French internment. Yet news of Ernst' safety did not reach Carrington in France. Distraught for her husband, Carrington fled to the British Embassy in Madrid where she experienced a mental breakdown. After recovering in 1941, she joined her colleagues in New York for a year and then established a home in Kahlo's native country.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, Cahun and Moore remained inseparable, fleeing to Jersey in 1937 and staying there until 1954.¹⁰⁰ During the Nazi occupation of the island, from June 1940 through May 1945, the partners supported the Resistance. Their activities opposed Vichy's image of women as "queens of the home," docile wives who sustained "travail, famille, patrie" [labor, family, fatherland].¹⁰¹ Escaping to three different countries, Kahlo, Carrington, and Cahun were spared from the worst of Nazism, and that relative safety allowed them first to bolster the Resistance during the war and then to promote gender equality after 1945.

During World War II

Kahlo stayed in the Americas, stepping away from Rivera's shadow, when war erupted in Europe. Having been a devout anti-Stalin Communist and having had an affair with Trotsky, Kahlo adhered to the working-class revolution all while following her own artistic, though closely Surrealist, proclivities in Mexico and in the United States. *Las dos Fridas* [The two Fridas, 1939],¹ for example, marked a warming to the group and an affirmation of Kahlo's constant duality. During the first months of 1939, Kahlo had traveled to Paris, where she met Ernst, Picasso, and several Surrealists, and then sojourned in New York City.¹⁰² Upon returning to Mexico, Kahlo reflected on the multicultural influences in her life and began composing *Las dos Fridas*. Her sense of division heightened in January 1940 when, at age thirty-two, she divorced her husband of ten years.¹⁰³ Completed in February for the Gallery of Mexican Art's International Exhibition of Surrealism, *Las dos Fridas* captures a supremely real conflict between perception and experience. To represent the identities with which she associated, Kahlo painted herself in a white, European dress on the left and in a colorful, Mexican outfit on the right.¹⁰⁴ Rivera had married the Mexican Frida, as the locket in her hand suggests. A vein running from the locket and through both Fridas' hearts is cut by the European Frida (Kahlo herself).¹⁰⁵

Analogously, European compatriots were mutilating themselves as appeasement policies neglected the Spaniards during the civil war and failed to protect the Poles from Hitler's invasion. Furthermore, the F.I.A.R.I. had signed its tract for independent art in 1939, thus demonstrating that politics endangered cultural productions. Europe was one geographic unit pitting nuanced ideologies against each other, much like Kahlo was one person torn by

¹ "The Two Fridas," *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://fridakahlofans.com/c0290.htm>.

oppositional affinities. Revealing vulnerability yet affirming “[Kahlo’s] existence as a woman and an artist,” *Las dos Fridas* merited wide acclaim.¹⁰⁶ In this painting, Kahlo expressed an acute level of consciousness, one elucidating the question of belonging that transnational people often confront.

As a triumph of the ego over the superego, *Las dos Fridas* garnered respect from the Surrealists. They showcased it at the January 1940 International Exhibition of Surrealism in Mexico City, and the next month the painting appeared at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.¹⁰⁷ Through its travels, *Las dos Fridas* promoted the very cosmopolitanism that would, implicitly, merge both Fridas. If society acknowledged nationalistic, “us-against-them” sentiments as destructive, then personal and global relationships might be whole. Fissures deepened, however, in Kahlo’s life. Still divorced, she nevertheless adored Rivera and felt directly attacked in August 1940 when Breton accused the muralist of turning his back on Trotsky, who was murdered by Soviet assassins shortly after Rivera and he had a falling out.¹⁰⁸ United in their frustration with Breton, Kahlo and Rivera remarried in December and subsequently pursued their art in mutual growth.

Whereas Kahlo emerged from a turbulent year as a more empowered artist, Carrington fell into depression in 1940. When she was well enough to travel, she joined Breton, and to her surprise Ernst, in New York City where *VVV* was just getting off the ground.¹⁰⁹ Each issue of the short-lived review featured written pieces by Carrington, who mailed contributions from Mexico after 1942.¹¹⁰ Much like Kahlo felt most complete in Mexico, Carrington discovered independence when she moved there. This autonomy originated in her partnership with the Spanish Surrealist painter Remedios Varo (1908-1963). Notably the first duo to “sever their work from male creative models and to collaborate in developing a new pictorial language that

spoke directly to the needs of women,”¹¹¹ Carrington and Varo advanced the idea that liberation needed to meet social as well as political and creative conditions.

Carrington particularly advocated for self-liberation as the key to emancipation. Reflecting on her hospitalization of 1939, Carrington addressed the taboo of mental illness in “Down Below.” Published in the final issue of *VVV* in 1944, the short story is named for Carrington’s desire to go “down below” to Paradise following her separation from Ernst.¹¹² Thematically similar to her paintings, “Down Below” contains the motif of alchemical transformation. According to the story, one night before receiving a dose of the seizure-inducing drug Cardiazol, Carrington envisioned two horses from which suddenly detached a small white one, and that colt Carrington identified as her dying self.¹¹³ This anecdote conveys the fluidity between dreams and reality, the hybridity between human and animal, and therefore the purification for which alchemy strives. As part of her cleansing in the sanatorium, Carrington refused to eat, stopped menstruating, and imagined “transforming [her] blood into comprehensive energy – masculine and feminine, microcosmic and macrocosmic [...]”¹¹⁴ Fusing multiple elements together was Carrington’s objective; she sought internal autonomy as well as external belonging. In light of her breakdown, Carrington “rejected the idea that psychic liberation can be achieved without political emancipation.”¹¹⁵ Reflecting her struggle with mental illness, “Down Below” emphasizes that humans must be personally aware before they can recognize the corruption around them.

Having defined her identity through her name change in 1916, Cahun challenged Fascism more directly than Carrington and Kahlo did. The photographer also differed in that she lived in occupied Jersey, where she had settled with Moore in 1937, thus she regularly encountered Nazis during the war. In her innovative and audacious manner, Cahun painted in nail polish “nieder mit

krieg” [down with war] on coins, which she and Moore slipped into pockets and placed around town.¹¹⁶ To circulate resistance material beyond her neighborhood, Cahun penned an anti-Nazi tract (no date),^m which features a general on a sinking boat, flanked by fish baring their teeth, and a quatrain:

Ich glaube die Wellen verschlungen	I believe the waves engulfed
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn	Boatman and boat in the end
Und das hat mitseinem Bruellen	And that his bellowing
Der Adolf Hitler getan.	Adolf Hitler has done
Heine (Oberst)	Heine (General) ¹¹⁷

These lines bear close resemblance to a stanza from the German hymn “Die Lorelei” [The Loreley] by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856):

Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen	I believe the waves engulf
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn	Boatman and boat in the end
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen	And that with her singing
Die Lorelei getan.	The Lorelei has done. ¹¹⁸

Describing a siren sitting on the Loreley rock in the Rhine River and distracting a boatman who then drowns, the hymn was popularized by the German composer Friedrich Silcher (1789-1860).

The Jewish writer Heine was most noted for his lyric poems, and in May 1831 he was exiled to Paris because of his support for Jewish emancipation.¹¹⁹ Many of Heine’s works were banned, and later burned, in Hitler’s Germany.¹²⁰ One of those censored pieces, “Die Lorelei” corresponded to Cahun’s protest mission. By keeping the nineteenth-century hymn’s structure and filling it with World-War-II-specific language, Cahun demonstrated the Post-structural principle that linguistic meanings are boundless. The satire emphasizes the distinction between denotation and connotation, or between perception and intention in Surrealist thought. To Cahun, an androgynous Surrealist proud of her Jewish heritage,¹²¹ the Holocaust was an attack against nearly every community with which she identified. Considering the quatrain more broadly, Hitler

^m Cahun, *Écrits* [Writings], (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2002), 660.

literally caused the demise of one boatman, but figuratively he was plunging Europe into despair. By replacing the siren with Hitler in the last two lines, Cahun exposed his fault in corrupting world order.

The Gestapo interrogated Cahun and Moore in 1943, and in 1944 they were imprisoned for producing “propaganda undermining the morale of the German forces,” according to journalist Lucy Bannerman. When presented with a dossier of 350 items, Cahun informed her captors that they had more to find.¹²² Even after a suicide attempt and three months in prison,¹²³ Cahun refused to succumb to Nazi pressure. On Victory in Europe Day, 8 May 1945, Cahun posed as an elderly woman biting a Nazi badge.ⁿ As she had in the *I am in Training, Don't Kiss Me* series, Cahun wore the various masks of existence, demonstrating that identity could not be pinned to any trait and especially not to gender.

During Social Liberation Movements

Following the Allied liberation, there was a resurfacing of social concerns to which Cahun, Kahlo, and Carrington were attuned. Many women, as they had after the Great War, reevaluated their status. In France, the Vichy (1940-1945) image of a “natural woman” who tended the home and encouraged patriotism was evident in more subtle forms during the Fourth Republic (1946-1958).¹²⁴ Although propaganda no longer emblazoned Republican Motherhood, childrearing still occupied the quotidian discourse. Contraceptives and homosexuality remained illegal while the 1939 policies of guaranteed maternal leave and per-child allowances continued to incentivize families.¹²⁵ With the “new style” of 1947 encouraging repopulation too, clothes that accentuated the hips became chic.¹²⁶

ⁿ Laura Cumming, “Gillian Wearing and Claude Cahun: Behind the Mask, Another Mask - Review” *The Guardian*, published 12 March 2017, accessed 21 Nov. 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/mar/12/gillian-wearing-and-claude-cahun-behind-the-mask-review-national-portrait-gallery>.

Amid the transition from 1940s destitution to 1950s commercialism, women nonetheless had chances to leave the domicile. Despite propagating the “new style,” fashion models posed in open spaces, like parks, that were formerly considered masculine.¹²⁷ Along with a greater public presence, many French women gained political opportunities, beginning with suffrage in 1944.¹²⁸ The PCF revived its 1920s inclusion of women and developed a female chapter, which later morphed into the women’s-rights organization the Union des femmes françaises [Union of French Women, UFF].¹²⁹ By 1970, that visibility gave rise to the Mouvement de libération des femmes [Women’s Liberation Movement, MLF]. Even though Cahun and Kahlo had died in 1954, their agitation for social reforms to accompany political changes had helped lay the groundwork for their successors, like Carrington, to pursue more-directly Feminist activities.

Residing in Jersey after the war, Cahun focused on her weakened state. The months in prison and a narrow escape from the death penalty had exacerbated her health. Despite the resiliency that her May 1945 photograph conveys, morbidity seeped into Cahun’s later images.¹³⁰ Her 1947 series of self-portraits,^o for example, features her in a cemetery garden. Like the “new style” models posing outdoors, Cahun placed her body in unconventional spaces; however, she had been setting photographs in gardens since her arrival in Jersey a decade earlier.¹³¹ The 1947 portraits, therefore, situate her in the “masculine space” with which she had already been acquainted.

Hiding her body in a flowing gown and her face behind a mask, Cahun in the first portrait appears caught in a silent scream. The second portrait, by contrast, reveals Cahun’s face; she holds the mask against her breast while leaning away from a sun that seems blind her. Most

^o Louise Downie, “Sans Nom: Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore,” *Jersey Heritage Magazine*, accessed 3 Feb. 2019, <https://www.jerseyheritage.org/media/PDF-Heritage-Mag/Sans%20Nom%20Claude%20Cahun%20%20Marcel%20Moore.pdf>, 16.

strikingly, in the third portrait, she exchanges the mask for a miniature skull and her gown for a military uniform. Even though Cahun is no longer near the cemetery, the question of death nevertheless looms as does the question of liberation's meaning. This uncertainty coming from Cahun connotes the breadth of Nazi infringement given the overlapping senses of "liberation" that her Surrealist (creative), Feminist (social), and Resistance (political) activities informed. Each of these areas suffered when the Nazis imposed their censorship, patriarchy, and soldiers on foreign territories. Moreover, in the wake of World War II, death portrayed a much graver means of escape than it had in 1924. Ultimately buried in coffins, men and women were indistinguishable, as Cahun's portraits suggest. Although the Surrealist traits of shock and conscientiousness run through Cahun's post-war images, she struggled to rejoin the group, partly due to her deteriorating health. After a brief visit to Paris, Cahun returned to Jersey where she died in December 1954 of coronary and pulmonary embolism.¹³² Her resistance against gender, artistic, and political norms was pioneering for her time.

Grounded in the artistic identity that *Las dos Fridas* had affirmed, Kahlo similarly grappled with death after World War II. Her 1950 *Retrato de la familia de Frida* [Portrait of Frida's family] notably contemplates the past and the present, interrogating memory and reality.^p With her Mexican and German ancestors floating in a cloud, Kahlo depicted a clear understanding of her past while the darker hues for her contemporary relatives indicate uncertainty about the future. Referencing her miscarriages through the fetus in the tree trunk, Kahlo cast doubt into the notion of familial steadfastness. Women were expected to bear new generations, extending the family tree into new branches, but Kahlo terminated the portrait with her generation.

^p "Portrait of Frida's Family," *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://www.fridakahlofans.com/c0590.html>.

The attention lands on her father, her model who throughout “his sixty-year struggle with epilepsy, never stopped working, and fought against Hitler,” as the caption to her 1951 portrait of him delineates.¹³³ Kahlo admired her father as a photographer and adopted his sense of justice. Throughout her life, she exposed painful elements of failed motherhood and engaged in the Communist party. A week before her death, she arrived in a wheelchair to protest the U.S. intervention in Guatemala.¹³⁴ Denouncing the country in which she held many exhibitions for its hypocritical support of a dictator, Kahlo recognized that such encroachment menaced the Guatemalan population and could possibly occur elsewhere in Latin America. Even though she sympathized more with the proletariat than with women specifically, Kahlo set an example by establishing and embracing her Mexican, American, and German influences.

A need to stabilize the self before embarking on social and political liberation echoed in Carrington’s work. Attracted to Surrealism for its revolutionary nature, Carrington achieved her objectives with the group’s support. In her interpretation of Surrealism, though, Carrington perceived women not as the mediating link between men and the Marvelous but rather as entities equally capable of going above reality.¹³⁵ She adhered to that belief more earnestly in 1946 when she became a mother. Comparable to the manner in which Kahlo’s *Retrato de la familia de Frida* highlights successive generations, Carrington established three generations in her 1947 painting *Neighbourly Advice*.⁹ Painted in Mexico, the domestic scene features a godmother-like entity in blue, a woman in a green dress, a baby popping out of a basket, and a girl with her back to the women. The girl heads for the stairs where a golden boat and a group of dancers wait on the second floor. This upward notion, or a sense of life beyond the ground-level gathering, also appears with the figure climbing a ladder to the roof, just above the godmother’s head. On the

⁹ “Neighbourly Advice,” *Wiki Art*, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.wikiart.org/en/leonora-carrington/neighbourly-advice-1947>.

ground, there is only normalcy, but above there is an imaginative world to discover. *Neighborly Advice* offers no overtly Feminist message, but Carrington often used homes and “feminine” activities “as metaphors for woman's consciousness and as a way of rooting psychic awareness in the real world.”¹³⁶ Had she situated a commentary about female oppression in a fantastical realm, viewers might have perceived the theme as disconnected from actuality. Instead, by presenting a figurative message in a relatable setting, Carrington conveyed the relevance of her message.

With paintings like *Neighborly Advice* bolstering her self-assurance, Carrington treated political issues in her later work. Circulating between Mexico and the U.S. in the 1960s, Carrington responded to calls for social justice. During the previous decade, she saw emerging magazines, such as *Elle*, and Hollywood productions glamorize the female body. At the same time, access to and the quality of education improved.¹³⁷ People who applied their learning to critically evaluate their surroundings noticed that legal freedoms remained unrealized. In the U.S., the Civil Rights Movement took hold as people mobilized for racial integration. Meanwhile in France and throughout Europe, the May 1968 uprisings catalyzed revolts against every type of institution. Women too found a platform for advancing their own rights. Carrington was at the forefront of Women’s Liberation Movement, helping to form the chapter in Mexico.¹³⁸ Then, in 1972, she designed a poster, “Mujeres consciencia” [Conscientious women].[†] Paralleling the Surrealist effort to elucidate supreme consciousness, the title indicates that the women of Mexico would no longer accept subjugation. This sense of revendication manifested on the international stage too.

In France, the Women’s Liberation Movement declared its pro-choice stance in April 1971. The “Manifeste des 343” contains confessions from 343 leading women who risked their

[†] Joanna Walsh, “Leonora Carrington’s Madness and Art,” *Verso Books*, published 9 Oct. 2015, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2275-i-have-no-delusions-i-am-playing-leonora-carrington-s-madness-and-art>.

lives to receive illegal abortions. If the government would monitor abortions, then women would be safer, the manifesto argues.¹³⁹ Accentuating that clandestine abortions affected all females, not just poor women, the signers included renowned authors Marguerite Duras as well as H el ene and Simone de Beauvoir. From the movie industry, actresses and directors, such as the New Wave icon Agn es Varda, declared their solidarity. Even Lise Deharme, the poet who collaborated with Cahun on *Le C oeur de pic*, signed the manifesto. These educated, successful women attest to the way that Feminism transcended artistic mediums and styles. Surrealism provided one early outlet, and as Carrington's leadership in Mexico underscores, facilitated quests for political and social liberation well beyond France.

Conclusion

From a Post-structural perspective, this essay concentrated on the ways that three female Surrealist portrayed liberty. Two of the women examined here were tied to their husbands, a fact revealing that establishing a career depended on male support. Kahlo held her early exhibitions because of the contacts and works she made while traveling with Rivera in the 1930s. Carrington forged ties with Surrealists once she married Ernst, but her traumatic separation from him inspired her to practice self-awareness, which transferred to Feminist activism in the 1970s. Operating mostly from Mexico, Kahlo and Carrington grew distant from the core Parisian Surrealists, like Cahun, who responded to the volatility in Europe.

Founded a decade after World War I, the Surrealist movement intended to provide artists with the space to be as imaginative as possible. Tension from colonial revolts, unstable French politics, and the economic crisis of the 1930s pushed the Surrealists to forge Communist ties and engage for the proletariat. Although not all members adhered to Marxist ideologies then nor did they all actively resist Fascism during World War II, the Surrealist movement encouraged every

participant, regardless of sex, to support liberation. Cahun applied her Surrealist practices to her Resistance efforts in Jersey and to her androgynous lifestyle. Given Cahun's homosexuality and the breadth of her oeuvre, future research could explore the possible impact of Surrealism on the gay-rights movement in France. As Kahlo and Carrington's works demonstrate, Surrealist influence reached well beyond the Hexagon, and the question of how female Surrealists in colonial societies interpreted liberation also deserves attention. Despite its androcentric tone, Surrealism fostered a network of socially-minded male and female artists.

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⁴ This assessment is based on a World Cat search for “Surrealism and Feminism,” which reveals first twenty results appeared between 1976 and 1989 followed by two decades of steady scholarship and a peak in 2011 with 25 results and a second peak in 2017 with 31 results. See <https://elizabethtowncollege.worldcat.org/search?q=Surrealism%20and%20Feminism&dblist=638>

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¹⁰ Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 399.

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- ¹² See Rosemary M. Canfield, *Surrealist Poets* (Ipswich, Mass: Salem Press, 2012); Keith Aspley, *Historical Dictionary of Surrealism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010).
- ¹³ Lozano, *Frida Kahlo*. See also Willi Blöss, *Frida Kahlo, viva México* [Frida Kahlo, long live Mexico] (Barcelona: Sd Editions, D.L., 2015); and Helga Prignitz-Poda, *Frida Kahlo* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003). Anthologies containing Kahlo's work in English include Caws, *Surrealist Painters and Poets*, and Rosemont, *Surrealist Women*.
- ¹⁴ Whitney Chadwick, "Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness," *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 7, 1 (Spring-Summer 1986), accessed 4 Nov. 2018, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1358235>, 37-42. See also Leonora Carrington, *El séptimo caballo y otros cuentos* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1993); Leonora Carrington, *The Seventh Horse and Other Tales* (London: Virago, 1999). Anthologies containing Kahlo's work in English include Caws, *Surrealist Painters and Poets*, and Rosemont, *Surrealist Women*.
- ¹⁵ Chadwick, "Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness," 37-42.
- ¹⁶ Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 155.
- ¹⁷ Marguerite Bonnet, "Breton André," *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 1 Sept. 2018, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/andre-breton/>, 4.
- ¹⁸ Les Samedis de France Culture, "Les Cris du Surréalisme," first aired 2 Dec. 1972 on *France Culture*, accessed 4 June 2018, <https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/les-nuits-de-france-culture/les-samedis-de-france-culture-les-cris-du-surrealisme-1ere>.
- ¹⁹ Paul Éluard, "Extrait d'une conférence prononcée à Londres le 24 juin 1936. In *L'Évidence poétique* (1937)" [Extract of a lecture given in London on the 24 June 1936, in *Poetic evidence*], in *Écriture poétique et quête du sens du 16^e siècle à nos jours* [Poetic writing and the search for meaning from the 16th century to today], accessed 19 Jan. 2019, <http://lbdubuy.fr/data/documents/question-corpus-poesie-.pdf>, 3.
- ²⁰ Dalí originally said "l'art doit être comestible"; Pierre Dunbrunquez and Ferdinand Alquié, "Surréalisme – Histoire" [Surrealism- History], *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 28 May 2018, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/surrealisme-histoire/>, 15.
- ²¹ Dunbrunquez and Alquié, "Surréalisme – Histoire," 12.
- ²² Lisa A. Zanetti, "Musings on Feminism, Surrealism, and Synthesis," *TAMARA Journal*, 6, no.4 (2007), accessed 6 Dec. 2018, <http://ezproxy.etown.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=31950232&site=eds-live>, 210.
- ²³ Sigmund Freud, "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes" in *Freud on Women: A Reader*, edited and introduction by Elisabeth Young-Bruehl (New York: Norton, 1990), 314. Although published after the first *Surrealist Manifesto*, Freud's essay depicts his understanding of sex that could have influenced the way the founding Surrealists considered gender relations.
- ²⁴ André Breton, "Manifeste du Surréalisme" [Surrealist manifesto], originally published 1924, accessed 4 Oct. 2018, inventin.lautre.net/livres/Manifeste-du-surrealisme-1924.pdf, 4.
- ²⁵ Colville, *Scandaleusement d'elles: Trente-quatre femmes surréalistes*, 9.
- ²⁶ Paul Guth, *Histoire de la littérature française* [History of French literature], vol. 2 (Paris: Fayard, 1967), 482.
- ²⁷ Originally "Le merveilleux est toujours beau et ce n'est que le merveilleux qui est beau;" Les Samedis de France Culture, "Les Cris du Surréalisme."
- ²⁸ Breton, "Manifeste du Surréalisme," 6.
- ²⁹ Originally "Elles sont les messagères de l'Ève nouvelle, elles semblent promettre la réconciliation de la veille et du rêve, et donc l'accès à la vraie vie;" Dunbrunquez and Alquié, "Surréalisme – Histoire," 15.
- ³⁰ André Breton and Paul Éluard, *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme: 42 extraits* (La Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Georges Wildenstein for the International Exhibition of Surrealism, 1938), s.v. "Modern'style."

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- ³¹ Colville, *Scandaleusement d'elles*, 10; Breton and Éluard, *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme*, s.v. "Modern'style."
- ³² Colville, *Scandaleusement d'elles*, 10.
- ³³ François Leperlier, "Introduction," in Claude Cahun, *Écrits* [Writings] (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2002), 11.
- ³⁴ Leperlier, "Introduction," 11.
- ³⁵ Dunbrunquez and Alquié, "Surréalisme – Histoire," 2.
- ³⁶ Leperlier, "Introduction," 12.
- ³⁷ Zanetti, "Musings on Feminism," 210.
- ³⁸ Marcus Bunyan, "Claude Cahun: I am in Training Don't Kiss Me," *Art Blart*, accessed 24 Jan. 2019, <https://artblart.com/tag/claude-cahun-dont-kiss-me-im-in-training/>.
- ³⁹ "Polloux," *Mythologica*, accessed 24 Jan. 2019, <https://mythologica.fr/grec/dioscures.htm>.
- ⁴⁰ Foley, *Women in France*, 158.
- ⁴¹ Leperlier, "Introduction," 12.
- ⁴² Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, published online 17 July 2007, accessed 10 Oct. 2018, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22090/22090-h/22090-h.htm>, 85, 87.
- ⁴³ Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, 272.
- ⁴⁴ Freud, "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes," 310.
- ⁴⁵ Henry Laufenburger, "France and the Depression," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)*, vol. 15, 2 (March-April 1936), accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601740>, 215.
- ⁴⁶ See André Breton, "Tout va bien" [Everything is fine], *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* [Surrealism in service of the revolution], no. 3/4 (Dec. 1931): 10, Collection des réimpressions des revues d'avant-garde, Museum of Modern Art Library, New York City.
- ⁴⁷ Pedersen, "French Feminisms," 683.
- ⁴⁸ Jeremy D. Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2013), 236.
- ⁴⁹ Foley, *Women in France*, 181.
- ⁵⁰ Bibliothèque nationale de la France [National Library of France], "Association des écrivains et artistes révolutionnaires," *data.bnf*, last updated 15 Jan. 2019, accessed 26 Jan. 2019, <https://data.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb13146555p>.
- ⁵¹ Carrie Noland, "Red Front/Black Front: Aimé Césaire and the Affaire Aragon," *Diacritics*, vol. 36, 1 (Spring 2006), accessed 24 March 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4621059>, 73-75.
- ⁵² Originally "[l']Affaire Aragon est] un épisode sans importance où la lâcheté d'un homme ne peut même pas triompher de l'attraction irrésistible exercée par le seul parti de la Révolution;" René Char et al., "Paillasse ! Fin de 'l']Affaire Aragon'" [Slab! End of the 'Aragon Affair'], typescript dated March 1932, A.A.E.R./A.E.A.R. Folder, *André Breton*, accessed 4 March 2019, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100048670>, images 11 and 12.
- ⁵³ André Thirion, "Statuts provisoires de l'A.A.E.R." [Provisory bylaws of the A.A.E.R.], typescript dated 28 Nov. 1930, page 1, A.A.E.R./A.E.A.R. Folder, *André Breton*, accessed 28 June 2018, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100094160>.
- ⁵⁴ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 243-244.
- ⁵⁵ Bonnet, "Breton André," 6.
- ⁵⁶ Dunbrunquez and Alquié. "Surréalisme – Histoire," 6.

⁵⁷ Originally “[...] un petit nombre d’intellectuels par le libre exercice de leur raison rendus assez conscients du devoir humain pour se déclarer en rupture totale avec la classe bourgeoise dont, pour la plupart, ils étaient [[issus]];” André Breton, “Préface au *Position Politique du Surréalisme*” [Preface to *Surrealism’s political stance*], *André Breton*, printed Oct. 1935, accessed 26 March 2019, manuscript image 1, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/%2056600100399800>.

⁵⁸ See point 14 especially of Contre-attaque, “Union de lutte des intellectuels révolutionnaires” [Union of the revolutionary intellectuals’ fight]. *André Breton*. Typescript dated Oct. 1935. Accessed 4 Nov. 2018. <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100928240>.

⁵⁹ Originally “nous sommes, tous, pour un monde totalement uni;” Contre-attaque, “Sous le feu des canons français et alliés” [Counter-attack, Under the French and Allied cannon fire], *André Breton*, typescript dated March 1936, accessed 4 Nov. 2018, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100744230>.

⁶⁰ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 244.

⁶¹ Contre-attaque, “Union de lutte des intellectuels révolutionnaires.”

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Foley, *Women in France*, 192.

⁶⁴ Cahun signed this tract, which includes the line “l’offensive révolutionnaire ou la mort ;” Contre-attaque, “Sous le feu des canons français et alliés.”

⁶⁵ Foley, *Women in France*, 194.

⁶⁶ Georges Bataille, et al., “La Patrie et la Famille” [The Fatherland and the Family], published 5 Jan. 1936, *Tracts Surréalistes Tome I* [Surrealist tracts volume I], accessed 26 March 2019, https://melusine-surrealisme.fr/site/Tracts_surr_2009/Tracts_I_2009.htm#par_90.

⁶⁷ Keith Aspley, *Historical Dictionary of Surrealism*, Historical Dictionaries of Literature and Arts (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), s.v. “acéphale,” accessed 24 March 2019 <http://proxy-etown.klnpa.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=341973&site=eds-live>.

⁶⁸ Rory Dufficy, “Dream-work: Surrealism and Revolutionary Subjectivity in André Breton and Georges Bataille,” *Australian & New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, vol. 9, 3 (2017), <http://proxy-etown.klnpa.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=134041553&site=eds-live>, 48-49.

⁶⁹ Adolphe Acker, et al., “Rupture avec Contre-attaque” [Split from Contre-attaque], in Claude Cahun, *Écrits*, 553.

⁷⁰ Contre-attaque, “Sous le feu des canons français et alliés.”

⁷¹ André Breton and Charles Ratton, *Exposition surréaliste d’objets, du 22 au 29 mai 1936* [Exhibition of Surrealist Objects, from 22 to 29 May 1936] (Paris: Charles Ratton, 1936).

⁷² Louis Chéronnet, “Pour l’art moderne cadre de la vie contemporaine, manifeste de l’UAM 1934” [For modern art, the framework of modern life], *Signes*, document first published July 1934, accessed 13 March 2019, <http://signes.org/page.php?id=41>.

⁷³ Claude Cahun, “Prenez garde aux objets domestiques,” in Cahun, *Écrits*, 539.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 540.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 539.

⁷⁶ Centre Georges Pompidou, “Surrealism and the Object: 30 October 2013 – 3 March 2014,” *Centre Pompidou*, accessed 26 March 2019, <https://www.centrepompidou.fr/media/imp/M5050/CPV/82/34/M5050-CPV-d8ab589d-913f-42d8-8234-a9d1f9729676.pdf>, 3.

⁷⁷ My translation. Lise Deharme, *Le Cœur de pic: 32 poèmes pour les enfants* [The Woodpecker’s heart: 32 poems for children], photographs by Claude Cahun (Rennes: Éditions MeMo, 1935), poem 31.

⁷⁸ Zanetti, “Musings on Feminism,” 211.

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- ⁷⁹ Claude Fell, “Kahlo, Frida (1907-1954),” *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 2 Sept. 2018, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/frida-kahlo/>, 2.
- ⁸⁰ Luis-Martín Lozano, “The Esthetic Universe of Frida Kahlo,” in *Frida Kahlo*, trans. by Mark Eaton and Luisa Panichi (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 2000), 64.
- ⁸¹ Mark Eaton and Luisa Panichi, trans, *Frida Kahlo* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 2000), 236.
- ⁸² Lozano, “The Esthetic Universe of Frida Kahlo,” 89.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus,” *Liberty State Park*, written in 1883, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <http://libertystatepark.com/emma.htm>.
- ⁸⁵ Eaton, *Frida Kahlo*, 240.
- ⁸⁶ “Chronologie d’André Breton” [André Breton’s Timeline], *André Breton*, accessed 5 March 2019, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/card/Chronologie>; Bonnet, “Breton André,” 9.
- ⁸⁷ André Breton, Diego Rivera, and Leon Trotsky, “Pour un art révolutionnaire indépendant” [For a revolutionary independent art], *André Breton*, typescript dated 25 July 1938, accessed 26 March 2019, <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100358020>.
- ⁸⁸ Breton, Rivera, and Trotsky, “Pour un art révolutionnaire indépendant.”
- ⁸⁹ Lozano, “The Esthetic Universe of Frida Kahlo,” 105.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 40 and 38.
- ⁹² Penelope Rosemont, intro and ed., *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), xlvii.
- ⁹³ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 37.
- ⁹⁴ Zanetti, “Musings on Feminism,” 212.
- ⁹⁵ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 38.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ Between 1936 and 1939, Salvador Dalí and Pablo Picasso notably brought attention to the destruction in their home country. For example, Dalí’s *Autumnal Cannibalism* (1936) shows in-group fighting and Picasso’s engravings *The Dream and Lie of Franco* (1937) and his iconic mural *Guernica* (1937) illustrate civilian suffering at the hands of the dictator.
- ⁹⁸ “Réinventer le tarot de Marseille sous l’occupation, une activité surréaliste [Reinventing tarot cards during the Occupation, a Surrealist activity],” *Télérama*, accessed 2 July 2018, <https://www.telerama.fr/monde/reinventer-le-tarot-de-marseille-sous-l-occupation-une-activite-surrealiste.106473.php>.
- ⁹⁹ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 37.
- ¹⁰⁰ Leperlier, “Introduction,” 14.
- ¹⁰¹ Foley, *Women in France*, 214.
- ¹⁰² Eaton, *Frida Kahlo*, 241.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ “The Two Fridas,” *Frida Kahlo Fans*, accessed 2 Feb. 2018, <http://fridakahlofans.com/c0290.htm>.
- ¹⁰⁵ Eaton, *Frida Kahlo*, 21.

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- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 241.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lozano, “The Esthetic Universe of Frida Kahlo,” 149.
- ¹⁰⁹ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 38.
- ¹¹⁰ Rosemont, *Surrealist Women*, 102.
- ¹¹¹ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 39.
- ¹¹² Leonora Carrington, “Down Below,” trans. from French by Victor Uona, in *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology*, intro and ed. by Penelope Rosemont (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 153.
- ¹¹³ Carrington, “Down Below,” 152.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., 151.
- ¹¹⁵ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 41.
- ¹¹⁶ Lucy Bannerman, “The Gender-Bending Artist Who Fooled the Nazis,” *The Times (United Kingdom)* (1 March 2017), accessed 10 Oct. 2018, <http://ezproxy.etown.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nfh&AN=7EH122890358&site=eds-live>.
- ¹¹⁷ Cahun, *Écrits*, 660. Professor Jyl Snyder helped with the German-to-English translation.
- ¹¹⁸ Heinrich Heine, “Die Loreley: German folk song and English translation,” posted by Dr. Ludwig on 28 Sept. 2018, accessed 17 Feb. 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=num4zgWyFLU>. In “Heinrich Heine: Poems,” *Poem Hunter*, page 27, David Doggett translated this quatrain as “So, the boat is lost and the boatman, too / Engulfed, as the shores came nigh / By the beautiful face and enticing refrain / The song of the Lorelei.”
- ¹¹⁹ George F. Peters, “‘Jeder Reiche ist ein Judas Ischariot’: Heinrich Heine and the Emancipation of the Jews” [Every rich person is a Judas Ischariot], *Monatshefte* vol. 104, 2, (Summer 2012): 209, 211, accessed 2 Feb. 2019, <http://proxy-etown.klnpa.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=76282195&site=ehost-live>.
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- ¹²¹ See Michelle Gewurtz, “Equivocally Jewish: Claude Cahun and the Narratives of Modern Art,” published 2012, accessed 18 March 2019, <https://www.brandeis.edu/hbi/publications/workingpapers/docs/gewurtz.pdf>.
- ¹²² Bannerman, “The Gender-Bending Artist Who Fooled the Nazis.”
- ¹²³ Colville, *Scandaleusement d’elles*, 48.
- ¹²⁴ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 260.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., 303-304.
- ¹²⁶ Foley, *Women in France*, 243.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., 240.
- ¹²⁸ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 275.
- ¹²⁹ Foley, *Women in France*, 240.
- ¹³⁰ Louise Downie, “Sans Nom: Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore,” *Jersey Heritage Magazine*, accessed 3 Feb. 2019, <https://www.jerseyheritage.org/media/PDF-Heritage-Mag/Sans%20Nom%20Claude%20Cahun%20%20Marcel%20Moore.pdf>, 9.
- ¹³¹ Downie, “Sans Nom,” 7.
- ¹³² Ibid., 9.

¹³³ Lozano, “The Esthetic Universe of Frida Kahlo,” 22.

¹³⁴ Eaton, *Frida Kahlo*, 245.

¹³⁵ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 38.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁷ Foley, *Women in France*, 252.

¹³⁸ Chadwick, “Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness,” 37.

¹³⁹ “Le Manifeste des 343” [The Manifesto of 343]. *Le Nouvel Observateur*. Published 5 April 1971. Accessed 22 April 2018. <http://www.bok.net/pajol/manif343.html>.