

**Antisemitism and the Construction of French National Mythology during the
Dreyfus Affair:**

The Case of *Psst...!* (1898-1899) by Jean-Louis Forain and Caran d'Ache

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Abstract

The thesis aims at examining the process of constructing French national mythology through the usage of antisemitic stances during the Dreyfus Affair, taking as the main source the anti-Dreyfusard and antisemitic illustrated journal *Psst...!* (1898-1899), launched by two famous caricaturists of the late 19th century France – Jean-Louis Forain and Emmanuel Poiré, better known under the pseudonym Caran d’Ache. The research argues that the French national mythology is formulated through the usage of the populist binary worldview dividing the world into “good” and “evil”, as well as using the figure of the “enemy” for defining the nation in the opposition. The “malicious” part of this polarized worldview and an embodiment of the ultimate “enemy” in *Psst...!* appears to be embodied in the antisemitic “Jewish” myth. The analysis of the multilayered construction of the French national mythology in *Psst...!* allows to demonstrate the complexity of the antisemitism, which acquired an unprecedented scale during the Dreyfus Affair. The latter, in its deep, was shaped by the profound uncertainty in the face of modernity and its transformations on the part of the French population, as well as by the need to find the definition of “Frenchness” in the context of the ideologically heterogeneous and divided country.

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Introduction

The Dreyfus Affair (1894-1906) was a political scandal that broke out in 1894 around a French officer of Jewish origin, Alfred Dreyfus, who was accused of communicating secret military information to the German Embassy in Paris and convicted of treason¹. Even though the Jewish captain was perceived by the majority of the French population as “modern Judah” and his sentence was received with ardent antisemitic excitement², there were people who doubted his guilt, and the year 1898 constituted a new turn in the Affair with the outburst of the public campaign in support of Dreyfus, which resulted in the revision process of the first court’s decision in summer 1899³. The trial, however, left the initial conviction of Dreyfus unchanged much to the delight of the anti-Dreyfusard camp⁴. Short in time, the Revisionist period of the Affair, nevertheless, ascribed this event with great political significance and drove it to the level of the main national scandal, which divided the French society of *fin-de-siècle* into two mutually agonistic parts⁵, accelerated the development of modern antisemitism in the country⁶ and shaped the formation of French nationalistic sentiments in the late 19th century⁷.

In the context of the Affair, one of the main means to influence public opinion and mobilize the audience was the printed press⁸. For instance, the event, which the army wanted to keep secret, became initially widely known due to the antisemitic weekly *La Libre Parole*, established and guided by the core figure for stirring up hatred toward Jews in late 19th century France – journalist Edouard Drumont – who, receiving the news from an informant, published an article calling

¹ Paula E. Heyman, *The Jews of Modern France*, (California: University of California Press, 1998): 99.

² Ibid., 102.

³ Ibid., 103-104.

⁴ Ibid., 106.

⁵ Richard I. Cohen, “The Dreyfus Affair and the Jews” in Shmuel Almog, ed., *Antisemitism Through the Ages* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988): 293.

⁶ Heyman, *The Jews of Modern France*: 99.

⁷ Michel Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998): 114-115.

⁸ Michael R. Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism” in Norman L. Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 52.

Dreyfus the traitor of France and insisting on his Jewish roots as an explanation for the betrayal⁹. The Revisionist phase of the Affair also owes its beginning to a publication – this time to an open letter *J'accuse* published in the journal *L'Aurore* by intellectual and writer Émile Zola, who claimed the injustice of the guilty verdict toward the Jewish captain and accused the army and the government of antisemitism¹⁰. The importance that the press acquired in the political and social life of *fin-de-siècle* France can be explained, first, by the implementation of the freedom of the press legislation in 1881 that canceled censorship and allowed the pluralism of opinions to be liberally expressed throughout the published production¹¹ and, second, by the wide introduction of advanced technologies, which enabled cheapening the process of printed matter's production and significantly increasing its reproduction and circulation¹². As a result, communication media became an integral part of the daily experience of people and a major source in forming public opinion about unfolding events¹³. However, not only the written word was mobilized for the political battle – the images also played an important role over the course of the Dreyfus Affair. One of the main arenas where the rhetorical power of visual representations found expression was the illustrated journal, which acquired wide popularity for political satire in the second half of the 19th century¹⁴. This type of media used images not as mere illustrations but as independent meaningful mediums, prescribing them with the major rhetorical and semantic force of transmitting the ideological message to the audience with a minimum appeal to the written word. One of the most influential antisemitic and anti-Dreyfusard journals of this kind that appeared during the Revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair was an illustrated weekly *Psst...!* (1898-1899), which was launched by the two prominent caricaturists of *fin-de-siècle* France – Jean-Louis Forain (1852-1931) and Caran d'Ache (1858-1909) – and was named by its contemporaries to be one of

⁹ Heyman, *The Jews of Modern France*: 101.

¹⁰ Cohen, "The Dreyfus Affair and the Jews," 293.

¹¹ Christian Delporte, "Presse et Culture de Masse En France (1880-1914)", *Revue Historique* 299, no. 1 (1998): 113.

¹² Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 87.

¹³ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility [First Version]", *Grey Room* 39, (2010): 11-37.

¹⁴ Patricia Mainardi, "The Invention of the Illustrated Press in France." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 35, no. 1 (2017): 34-48.

the most successful attacks against the Dreyfusard camp¹⁵. This journal is taken as the main primary source for the thesis.

Politically-engaged satirical images covering large-scale conflicts and aiming at influencing public opinion by the propagation and development of a certain ideological program reach beyond their widespread scholarly usage as a mere confirmation of a historical fact or social tendencies. Caricaturists, seeking an easy understanding of their works by the audience and quick intellectual and emotional response from it, often operate by visual and verbal national codes and biases rooted in the public imagination and popular politics while constructing a narrative about happening events and figures involved¹⁶. At the same time, besides being a mirror, visual satire appears to be a core means for political and ideological campaigns aimed at shaping public opinion due to its ability to reinforce, develop and weaponize certain theoretical stances through visual embodiment, producing a stronger influence on the audience¹⁷. Thus, the illustrated anti-Dreyfusard and antisemitic weekly *Psst...!* represents a rich material, opening a door for a broad scope of problems and discussions related to the Dreyfus Affair, antisemitism and *fin-de-siècle* France in general.

This thesis reconstructs the process of creating French national mythology in the context of the Dreyfus Affair with the usage of the antisemitic stances. It analyses the pillars of the construction of the hateful “Jewish myth” in *Psst...!*, defines the ways by which the “authentic” French population was visually and semantically formulated, as well as identifies the understanding of the “true” and “corrupted” French politics through the representation of female symbolic figures. All the above is achieved through the careful examination of a large iconographical and semantic vocabulary instrumentalized by Forain and Caran d’Ache, the establishment of the relation of their visual tropes and motifs with economic, political, historical

¹⁵ Robert F. Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.” *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 3 (1950): 255.

¹⁶ Ernst H. Gombrich, “The Principles of Caricature”, *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17, (1938): 123.

¹⁷ Ernst H. Gombrich, “The Cartoonist’s Armoury” in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London: 1963): 132.

and artistic contexts of *fin-de-siècle* France, as well as the identification of the rhetorical ways, by which hateful stances toward the Jews were instrumentalized for securing strong emotional response on the part of the audience to the constructed national mythology. Thus, the thesis presents a comprehensive discussion of the ways by which “Frenchness” was understood, shaped and communicated in *fin-de-siècle* with the usage of the hateful “Jewish” myth. It also demonstrates the complexity of the French antisemitism of the time and proves that the hatred toward the Jews constituted only the surface of the Dreyfus Affair, while its core consisted of finding ways for defining the “Frenchness” in the context of transformations introduced by modernity.

The appearance of the antisemitic weekly *Psst...!*: ideological aim of the journal and political views of its authors

In February 1898, two famous caricaturists Jean-Louis Forain and Emmanuel Poiré, better known under the pseudonym Caran d’Ache, who were already familiar to the *fin-de-siècle* French audience through their previous illustrated albums¹⁸ as well as the collaboration with the journal *Le Figaro*, decided to enter a pejorative Anti-Dreyfusard campaign through launching an antisemitic illustrated journal. The first issue of *Psst...!* appeared on 5 February 1898, approximately a month after the publication of a scandalous letter *J’accuse* by Zola, and had been published until the end of September 1899, when the second conviction of Dreyfus took place, and contained 82 drawings by Forain and more than 250 by Caran d’Ache. The physical construction of *Psst...!* consisted of four pages for each issue, where the first one, with a rare exception, was occupied by a drawing by Forain¹⁹, and the other two or three with that by Caran d’Ache. One page was dedicated to one black-and-white drawing with a mere word accompaniment in the form of the title, the personages’ speech or the authors’ legends – short textual notes, emphasizing the

¹⁸ For Jean-Louis Forain – *La comédie Parisienne* (1892), *Les Temps Difficiles : Panama* (1893), *Doux Pays* (1897) and his journal *Le Fifre* (1889). For Caran d’Ache – *Nos Soldats du Siècle* (1890) and *Carnet de chèques* (1892).

¹⁹ These exceptions were no. 31, (3 September 1898), no. 32, (10 September 1898), and no. 72, (17 June 1899).

satirical core of the image. The close semantic relation between the images by two caricaturists within one number was not established, so each of the drawings constituted an independent visual message. The last page usually contained the advertisement of the two authors' illustrated albums, not related to the Dreyfus Affair and other press or book novelties. This type of journal was welcomed by the audience with great interest.

As was noted by the journal's contemporaries, *Psst...!* had a large success with the public²⁰. The latter can be explained by two main factors: the high reputation of its authors and the vast advertisement that the journal received among the anti-Dreyfusard camp and politically conservative wing. Thus, it was mentioned by the Catholic journal *La Croix*²¹ and the conservative political daily *Le Gaulois*²², as well as greeted by the antisemitic daily *La Libre Parole*, which praised the anti-Dreyfusard mission chosen by Forain and Caran d'Ache²³, and right-wing daily *L'Intransigeant*, which described the journal as carrying the "mortal blow for the party of traitors"²⁴. The Dreyfusard camp, in its turn, perceived the launch of the journal as a serious threat, which can be shown by the fact that twelve days after the appearance of *Psst...!* they initiated their own illustrated weekly in response. The first issue of *Le Sifflet* was published on 17 February 1898 by Archille Steens and aimed at weakening the conservative "alliance of the Church and the army" propagated by the anti-Dreyfusards, as well as established a certain visual dialogue with *Psst...!* borrowing its iconography and semantically reworking it on a Dreyfusard way²⁵. *Le Sifflet*, however, didn't find the same popularity as its adversary prototype and was closed in June 1899 after the court agreed on the Revision of the first conviction of Dreyfus²⁶. As for the Jewish

²⁰ Gaston Méry, "Au jour le jour", *La libre parole*, (6 February 1898) : 1.

²¹ "Echos de Partout", *La Croix*, no. 4538, (5 February 1898) : 3.

²² "A travers la presse", *Le Gaulois*, no. 5937, (5 February 1898) : 2.

²³ Méry, "Au jour le jour" : 1.

²⁴ "Forain and Caran d'Ache", *L'Intransigeant*, no. 6415, (5 February, 1898): 1.

²⁵ Phillip Dennis Cate, "The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair" in Norman L. Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 92. The comparison of the drawings in *Psst...!* and *Sifflet!* can be found in Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*: 176-177, and Elisabeth Everton, "Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst!*" in Maya Balakirsky Katz, ed., *Revising Dreyfus* (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 226-228. We leave this line outside the brackets of this thesis.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

response, the main French Jewish press, such as *Univers israélite* and *Archives israélites*, which closely followed the Affair²⁷, remained silent on the launch of *Psst...!* and didn't respond to its hateful antisemitic rhetoric.

The ideological aim of the journal was formulated by Forain in two interviews that he gave when the journal was launched. He noted that “since the beginning of the odious campaign undertaken by the criminal conspiracy – infamously known as “Dreyfus syndicate”, together with Caran d’Ache, they felt that their duty is “to take the field and fight” with “this cosmopolitan peat”, which “like a slow but insidious poison, seeps into the body and mind of the French nation” willing to corrupt and dishonor it²⁸. The “fight” was perceived by Forain as the act of stigmatizing the “unhealthy element” of the French society, which, from his perspective, consisted of the supporters of the Jewish captain, “Dreyfus Syndicate”, and the Jews themselves, who were seen as being behind “all these dirty businesses”²⁹. The launch of the journal with such a mission and rhetoric was seen by Forain as a way of behaving as good “French”³⁰. That is why, when Dreyfus was again found guilty and sentenced by the court-martial in Rennes in September 1899, the journal ceased its activity, noting in the last issue from 16 September 1899 that “the debate is closed for all the good Frenches” and their mission is accomplished, as well as expressing the hope that their “battle” contributed to the final decision made by the court³¹. Thus, already on the level of the journal’s description without going to the close examination of its images, it can be established that the ideological construction of the general narrative developing in *Psst...!* has two main poles: one, consisting of all the negative connotations and embodied in the figures of the Jews and Dreyfusards, seen as “foreign” and “corrupted” elements of the French society³², and another one,

²⁷ Heyman, *The Jews of Modern France*: 110.

²⁸ A. Guignery, “Interview de Forain. Psst! Psst!”, *La Patrie*, (6 February 1898) : 1.

²⁹ Guignery, “Interview de Forain. Psst! Psst!”: 1. Gaston Méry, “Au jour le jour”: 1.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Jean-Louis Forain, Caran d’Ache, *Psst...!*, no. 85, (16 September, 1899) : 4.

³² Guignery, “Interview de Forain. Psst! Psst!”: 1.

implying the French nation itself and its “good” people. In the context of the Dreyfus Affair, according to Forain, the latter is endangered by the former and should fight back.

But what were the political aspirations of the authors of *Psst...!* beyond their anti-Dreyfusard commitment that could give a hint on the specificities of the construction of their political and antisemitic narrative? Jean-Louis Forain, who was born in a deeply religious family and received a Catholic education, gravitated toward right-wing political views and described himself as a reactionary³³. Starting his artistic career with the Impressionist circle, he became close friends with Edouard Degas, a devout antisemite and a constant reader of the works by Edouard Drumont targeting the Jews³⁴, who continued to influence the caricaturist even after his shift from an artistic career to that of a political satirist³⁵. Caran d’Ache, who was born in Russia as his grandfather settled in Moscow after the Napoleonic campaign of 1812, went to France in 1878 at the age of eighteen to pursue military service and formed his national and political identity as a loyal French citizen relying on such pillars as devoted patriotism, a strong belief in the army, admiration for Napoleon and hatred toward Jews³⁶. Both Forain and Caran d’Ache due to their work in the field of political satire were closely engaged with the Montmartre artistic circle formed in the late 19th century³⁷, which was marked by strong antisemitism, the example of which can become Adolphe Willette, who participated in the elections to public office as an antisemitic candidate in 1889³⁸. Additionally, the circle expressed a strong contempt toward bourgeois morals and way of living as well as an ardent critique toward the Third Republic due to its “bourgeois” interests³⁹. Thus, the political orientation of both authors can be summarized as conservative,

³³ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 256. Joseph C. Sloane Jr, “Religious Influences on the Art of Jean-Louis Forain.” *The Art Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (1941): 200.

³⁴ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 253. Linda Nochlin, “Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite” in Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*: 96.

³⁵ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 250-251.

³⁷ Within the main participant of the circle besides Forain and Caran d’Ache, were Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Adolphe Willette, Louis Anquetin and Henry Somm. Cate, “The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair” in Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*: 63.

³⁸ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 249.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

antisemitic, anti-bourgeois and anti-Republican, which already manifested itself in this combination in their previous political visual works, for instance, in albums dealing with the Panama scandal – *Les Temps Difficiles : Panama (1893)* and *Doux Pays (1897)* by Forain, as well as *Carnet de chèques (1892)* by Caran d’Ache. The interconnection of these political and ideological stances mentioned above will be found in *Psst...!* as well, making its antisemitic and anti-Dreyfusard narrative more complex than hatred toward the Jews.

Historiographical approaches to the Dreyfus Affair: the connection between the French antisemitism and nationalism. Formulating novelty of the research

As historian Paula E. Heyman noted, the overall bibliography of the Dreyfus Affair could form a hefty volume⁴⁰. Indeed, various ways of approaching and interpreting this event were established until the current day⁴¹. However, for this thesis, the most important scholarly direction is the one dealing with the role that antisemitism in *fin-de-siècle* France played in the outburst and unfolding of the Affair, as well as in the construction of the French national identity in the late 19th century. The antisemitism within the scholarly literature dealing with the Dreyfus Affair, as Heyman states, was marginalized and perceived as insignificant for the event until the 1980s⁴². The same observation was made by historian Pierre Birnbaum, who noted that the classic studies on the Third Republic remained almost profoundly silent regarding this issue⁴³. However, as Birnbaum states and proves, antisemitism *was* a social fact in late 19th century France and constituted great ideological and political significance for understanding not only the scandal developing around the Jewish captain but *fin-de-siècle* France in general⁴⁴. It is due to the

⁴⁰ Paula E. Heyman, “The Dreyfus Affair: The Visual and Historical”, *Journal of Modern History* 61, (1989): 88.

⁴¹ Within these ways can be noted such as, the perception of the event by the Jewish community and its response to it, the role of the Church, the engagement with the Affair on the part of the rural population, the role of the intellectuals in public life, etc. Paula E. Heyman, “New Perspectives of the Dreyfus Affair”, *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques* 31, no. 3, (2005): 335-337. Cohen, “The Dreyfus Affair and the Jews”: 291.

⁴² Heyman, “New Perspectives of the Dreyfus Affair”: 338.

⁴³ Pierre Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism in France: A Political History from Leon Blum to the Present*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992): 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3. Pierre Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000): 144.

multilayered nature of the French antisemitism, which, having the Jews on the surface, in its deep became an embodiment of the economic tension of the period⁴⁵, hostility and anxiety regarding the transformations introduced by modernity to all spheres of life⁴⁶ and the rivalry between two different approaches to the understanding of French national path marked by Dreyfusards and Anti-Dreyfusards⁴⁷. Regarding the latter, the Dreyfusard camp chose justice, universalism and human rights as its main pillars, while the Anti-Dreyfusard wing appealed to conservative nationalism, based on authority, exclusivism and social preservation⁴⁸. Historian Michel Winock makes the argument that this nationalism was profoundly based on antisemitism, which consisted of the introduction and propagation of the “mystified” figure of the external enemy and was used for strengthening national cohesion that was seen as endangered by modernity⁴⁹. This antisemitic myth was also used for explaining all the tendencies unfolding in French society, which were perceived by conservative nationalists, having Edouard Drumont as the core figure, as being signs of decline and corruption⁵⁰. Thus, the attack on Dreyfus was extended to the Third Republic itself and the values it propagated⁵¹, as the conservative right wing opposed its secularized politics and liberal reforms introduced to various spheres of the country’s life including, for instance, education and economics⁵². In this regard, the Jewish myth was instrumentalized through the exaggerated emphasis on the Jewish presence in high positions in the State and politics⁵³, as well as by calling the Revolution and the Jacobin victory the result of the Jewish conspiracy that allegedly wanted to destroy everything that constituted “old France”, implying not the monarchy but the traditional way of living, often seen by conservative nationalists as the “healthy” French path⁵⁴. This type of

⁴⁵ Heyman, “New Perspectives of the Dreyfus Affair”: 342.

⁴⁶ Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Antisemitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1892): 90, 459, 626

⁴⁷ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 114-115.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁵⁰ Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*: 106.

⁵¹ Heyman, “New Perspectives of the Dreyfus Affair”: 342.

⁵² Richard I. Cohen, “Recurrent Images in French Antisemitism in the Third Republic” in Robert S. Wistrich (ed.), *Demonizing the Other* (London: Routledge, 1999): 187.

⁵³ Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*: 144.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

nationalistic politics, taking antisemitism as the main means, needed an event such as the Dreyfus Affair for proving and strengthening their stances, that is why by Drumont's weekly *La Libre Parole* and his followers, the Affair was extended to the level of a national scandal⁵⁵. Therefore, all the above demonstrates that the Dreyfus Affair and French antisemitism were not so much related to the Jews themselves⁵⁶, but were tightly connected to the question of establishing and propagating the "authentic" way for national identification and further development of France in the face of various transformations⁵⁷.

This thesis continues the historiographical approach described above by establishing the connection between the antisemitic "Jewish" myth and the construction of the French national identity in the context of the Dreyfus Affair, adding for the first time a comprehensive visual dimension to this discussion. Additionally, the research proves, based on a large scope of primary sources that the Dreyfus Affair used hatred toward the Jews as a rhetorical and ideological instrument for forming a foundation, in the opposition to which the "Frenchness" could be formulated and shaped. This way of approaching the illustrated journal *Psst...!* constitutes the novelty of this thesis, as previously, this material was analyzed regarding the question of antisemitism in France as such with the aim of discovering the visual layer of the construction of the hateful rhetoric toward the Jews⁵⁸. The work that engages with this journal in a more complex way is a recent article by Elizabeth Everton "Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst...!*" published in 2013. She separates the narratives of Forain and Caran d'Ache, following the division that was established before regarding the specificity of their artistic language⁵⁹, and analyzes the journal intending to establish, how did two caricaturists understand the Affair and their role in it, as well as how did they interpret political unfolding of the scandal, the possible

⁵⁵ Ibid., 115.

⁵⁶ Marrus, "Popular Anti-Semitism": 56. *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 96, 99.

⁵⁷ Winock, *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 115.

⁵⁸ Cate, "The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair": 62-96.

⁵⁹ Bertrand Tillier, *Les artistes et l'affaire dreyfus (1898-1908)*, (Paris : Champ Vallon, 2009) : 199.

ending of it, composition of allies and adversaries, etc⁶⁰. The hateful image of the Jews is touched upon along the discussion of other negative personages (for instance, Dreyfusard politicians), while the question of national identity is also mentioned yet is rather secondary and consists of the argument that the “true” French is mostly defined by his active action against the Dreyfusard camp, while the boundaries between these two poles within the journal’s narrative are named by the author to be ambiguous in many cases⁶¹. Thus, the research by Everton remains on the political level of the Affair, the question of the national identity remains insignificant and mostly uncovered, while the connection between the “Jewish myth” and French national mythology of the late 19th century is not established. This thesis, in contrast, argues that it is more productive to draw the connection between the two authors, since their aim in launching the journal was the same as well as their political views in many aspects, and proves that the visual and semantic division between the “true” Frenchman and the “Other” in *Psst...!* was clear and formulated in a very detailed way with the instrumentalization of a large pool of historical, artistic, symbolical and literary references, which this research identifies and thoroughly analyses.

Providing the context for the research: why the Jews were so important for the creation of the conservative national mythology in France?

Before proceeding to the close examination of visual, semantical, and ideological levels of the narrative created in *Psst...!*, the context concerning the place that Jews occupied in *fin-de-siècle* France and the response to their position by the French population should be addressed. It will be accomplished by finding an answer to the question, which arises concerning the stances described in the previous part – why did the Jewish population, which at the beginning of the 1890s in France counted only around 80.000 people⁶², play such an important role for the construction of the French national mythology?

⁶⁰ Everton, “Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst!*” in Katz, (ed)., *Revising Dreyfus*: 217-269.

⁶¹ Ibid., 257.

⁶² Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*: 144.

In the book *Obstinate Hebrews*, Ronald Schechter asks the reason for the interest toward the Jews on the part of the gentile population of France dealing with the period of French history from 1715 to 1815. He argues that in the context of the 18th century the Jewish population and, especially, its stereotypical image constructed by the religious and cultural production, received great attention on the part of the French Christian people to the extent that exceeded the “objective” importance of this ethnic minority⁶³. The stereotypes related to the Jews provided a set of characteristics, which could allow the Gentiles, first, to easily recognize the Jewish people and, second, mark them as strangers⁶⁴. This clearly formulated and largely known stereotypical vocabulary in comparison to other ethnic minorities, as well as negative stances ascribed to the Jews, such as the relation to commerce⁶⁵ and moral corruptness, made them perfect “others” and allowed use them while reflecting on important contemporary problems, which implied the comparison of “good” and “bad”, such as agriculture and commerce, sincerity and insincerity in human relationships, the possibility of the human perfectibility, etc,⁶⁶. Thus, one of the possible explanations for the interest in the Jews on the part of the French gentile population was mostly intellectual and ideological, since they facilitated the formulation and conceptualization of several important ideas for the contemporaries, due to their simultaneous familiarity and “otherness”, often ascribed with negative connotations⁶⁷. However, it should be noted that Schechter engages with the years before the Revolution and the first two decades after it, thus, the Jewish emancipation and assimilation, which were initiated in 1791 by granting the Jews citizenship and equal rights⁶⁸ didn’t manage to reach the scale that it will acquire further in the second half of the 19th century. Therefore, the explanation for the interest in the Jewish myth in the context of the Third Republic

⁶³ Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 7-8.

⁶⁵ Christianity saw usury as a vice. John 2:13-16 (NIV).

⁶⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Jay R. Berkovitz, “The French Revolution and the Jews: Assessing the Cultural Impact.”, *AJS Review* 20, no. 1 (1995): 25

will be more complex, as the Jews will acquire a certain power and will be much more integrated into French society and state on various levels.

The process of emancipation of the Jewish population of France, gaining momentum throughout the late 19th century, offered the Jews an opportunity for social mobility and opened a door for entering the spheres that previously were closed for them – politics and government administration⁶⁹. Pierre Birnbaum states that in this context, in addition to already existing and not losing force religious form of stigmatizing the Jews, political antisemitism was developing, within which the Jews were transformed into perfect scapegoats for the modern changes perceived with hostility by certain political and ideological camps⁷⁰. Two main discursive directions can be identified for the unfolding of this process in the French context – a tight connection of the Jews with the Republican State, as well as capitalism and finances⁷¹. The tendency of linking the Jews to the Republic was already introduced in the previous part as an important part of the development of the conservative national mythology with the usage of antisemitism, and within this level of discussion, the background of this discursive line will be explained. As it was the French Revolution and the further development of its ideals under the Third Republic that granted the Jews citizenship and equal rights, they demonstrated great devotion to this political structure and its securing⁷². For instance, the French rabbis compared the results of the Revolution with the exodus from Egypt while the Jews in the State, for instance, the president of the Chamber of Deputies Léon Gambetta and his secretary Joseph Reinach admired this “French civilization” and put their forces on defending such pillars of the Republican regime, as secularism, education and equality of citizens from various conservative and nationalist isms developing at the time⁷³. However, this connection between the Jews and Republic was reworked in a highly negative way

⁶⁹ Pierre Birnbaum, Ira Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 117.

⁷⁰ Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism in France: A Political History from Leon Blum to the Present*: 5.

⁷¹ Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 97.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 117.

⁷³ Boulangism can be taken as an example. *Ibid.*, 114, 119.

by the conservative groups and adherents of Catholic identity, hostile to capitalist modernization, liberal reforms, as well as the division between church and state⁷⁴. The Jews, who openly proclaimed their devotion to the Revolution and the Republican State, were perfect figures to become an embodiment of the Republic as well as responsible for it for its adversaries: the ancient pool of associations they had been already ascribed with by the religion, such as, for instance, the hatred toward the Christian population and vicious relation to the commerce⁷⁵, was easy to connect with the stances of the Republican politics, which the Right-wing opposed. The presence of the Jews in the upper echelons of the administrative staff, whose number was, however, greatly exaggerated within the creation of the hateful mythology⁷⁶, eased this purpose even more. Thus, the old suspicion toward Jews was united with the hostility to the Republic and mutually reinforced, which the conservative camp used for their hateful campaigns to better conceptualize the alleged “enemy” and create the embodiment, toward which could be directed the anxiety that a part of the population showed concerning the changes introduced by modernity and the new political regime⁷⁷. The goal behind it, as was already mentioned in the previous part, constituted the unification of the nation in the fight against the common “enemy”⁷⁸.

In the common imagination of 19th-century France, Jews were also connected with capitalism and finances⁷⁹. This trope took its roots from and found personification in the figure of James de Rothschild and the Rothschild banking family in general, since in the first part of the 19th century, they played a significant role in the Central Bank – an important French financial institution that contributed to various modern changes in the country, such as, for instance, construction of the railroads, thus, connecting the Jews also with modernity⁸⁰. The myth of the

⁷⁴ Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism in France: A Political History from Leon Blum to the Present*: 17, 19, 20.

⁷⁵ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815*: 10.

⁷⁶ Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*: 144.

⁷⁷ Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism in France: A Political History from Leon Blum to the Present*: 20. Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Antisemitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair*: 91.

⁷⁸ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 10-11, 101-102.

⁷⁹ Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 97.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 101-102. Michael Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996): 53.

Jewish power over the bank system was strong during the second half of the 19th century as well⁸¹. It should be mentioned, however, that this mythology again operated by exaggeration, while, as historians note, the Rothschilds' control over the Central Bank, in reality, was limited⁸². This myth played a central role in picturing the Jews as scapegoats for economic failures, by accusing them of two large economic crises that took place in the second half of the 19th century. The first one was the collapse of the Union Générale bank in 1882, which was founded by the Catholic forces for resisting the alleged power of Jewish and Protestant families over the sphere of French finances⁸³. The alleged responsibility of Jews for the crash was supported and propagated by the conservative press, which largely covered the event, blaming the “evil financial machinations” of the Jews, mostly implying the Rothschilds⁸⁴, for the crisis, ignoring the fact that the bank collapsed because of the incompetency of its leadership⁸⁵. Another event of this kind was the Panama Scandal that erupted in 1892 and consisted of the bankruptcy of the company that was responsible for constructing the Panama Canal, which led to massive financial losses of the French population⁸⁶. As main perpetrators, again, two figures of Jewish origin were taken – banker Baron Jacques de Reinach and businessman and politician Cornelius Herzl⁸⁷. The antisemitic discourse regarding this event was forced and popularized by, again, the conservative press, as, for example, *La Libre Parole*⁸⁸. All the above led to the widespread antisemitic myth picturing the Jews as “manipulative financiers of unproductive money”, who damaged the wealth and prosperity of the French Christian nation⁸⁹. Again, Jews were an easy target for the conservative and nationalists politics to conceptualize them as “enemies” and take as an embodiment of the anxiety of the population, this time, related to the difficult financial situation and the decline of the “traditional”

⁸¹ Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France*: 84.

⁸² Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 103.

⁸³ Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism”: 52.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 52. Jeannine Verdès, “La presse devant le krach d'une banque catholique: L'Union Générale: 1882”, *Archives de sociologie des religions* no. 19, (1965) : 127.

⁸⁵ Robert F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950): 172.

⁸⁶ Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism”: 52.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Thomas P. Anderson, “Édouard Drumont and the Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism.”, *The Catholic Historical Review* 53, no. 1, (1967): 31.

⁸⁹ Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 110.

economy due to large capitalism, urbanization and industrialization⁹⁰ – crises and changes of modernity, to which Jews were also connected in the common imagination.

Taking into account all the above, the answer to the main question shaping this discussion – why did the Jews acquire such importance for the conservative French national mythology – can be formulated. The latter, as the previous part demonstrated, needed an enemy and a scapegoat, and the Jews due to their “image” in the common imagination of the French Gentiles perfectly fitted this role. This image, however, very often didn’t reflect the real state of affairs and exceeded the “objective” importance that the Jews actually had. In the 19th century, the social, economic and political status of the Jewish population in France changed, but their perception by gentiles remained the same. Old religious biases, which fueled the interest to them on the part of the French Christians in the 18th century, were enhanced by the economic and political ones, making the Jews the embodiments of and driving forces behind modernity and its changings, which often provoked anxiety and was welcomed with hostility on the part of the French population and conservative forces. Thus, the Jews were an easy and effective target for the negative conceptualization, allowing nationalistic politics to unite previously separated sources of anxiety and suspicion on the part of the French gentile population by exaggeration and manipulations with the usage of the press. Besides perfectly fitting the role of the “enemy”, the Jews also remained profoundly “foreign” in the eyes of the French gentiles. Emancipated French Jews, willing to proceed with economic, political, or governmental careers, were not obliged to convert to Christianity and often remained loyal to their Jewish identity, frequently trying to adapt Judaism to rationalism and Christian society⁹¹. This tendency was embraced by the nationalists and again reworked in a pejorative way, picturing the Jews as universalists, unable to become French citizens⁹². For supporting these stances, they referred to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, established in 1860

⁹⁰ Michael R. Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism”: 57.

⁹¹ Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 117, 120-121.

⁹² Edouard Drumont, *La France Juive*, (Paris: C.Marpon et E. flammariion, 1886), II : 11-12.

for supporting the emancipation of the Jews, secure their equality of rights, as well as transfer the benefits of the “French civilization” to the Jewry worldwide⁹³, and named the latter to be the means for the “universal Jewish conspiracy” endangering the Christian population⁹⁴. Thus, the Jews could be easily pictured not only as “enemies” but as “external” and “non-French” hostile forces that gave birth to the slogan “France for the French!”⁹⁵ and allowed the conservatives to form a manipulative populist binary opposition dividing the world into “good” and “evil” in the form of “French” and “non-French”, “Jewish”.

Conceptual Framework and Thesis Outline

As was already mentioned above, the nationalistic politics operated by the manipulative construction of a binary worldview while constructing the French national mythology in the context of the Dreyfus Affair, choosing the Jews as the negative and “evil” countertype, in opposition to which, an image of the “genuine” French nation could be formulated. The term “genuine” is used here regarding the positive myth of the nation, implying the “authenticity” and “truthfulness”, meaning the embodiment of all the ideals perceived as “good” on the part of the myth-makers, while Jews are pictured as “fake” French, as well as “malicious” and “corrupted” in their nature through the deviation from the “positive” ideals⁹⁶.

Thus, since the image of the alleged “enemy” appears to be crucial for national myth-making, this research starts by formulating the “evil” part of the populist polarization of the world within the visual narrative in *Psst...!*. Chapter 1 engages with the antisemitic construction of the “Jewish” myth as it develops in the images by Forain and Caran d’Ache, identifies and analyzes the main hateful motifs used by the caricaturists, as well as explains their antisemitic roots in a

⁹³ Catherine Nicault, “L’Alliance au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale : ruptures et continuités idéologique”, *Archives juives* 1, no 34, (2001) : 23.

⁹⁴ Drumont, *La France Juive*, II : 11-12.

⁹⁵ Birnbaum, Katznelson, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*: 120.

⁹⁶ The usage of the term “genuine” as “true” regarding the understanding of the nation and its picture in the context of cultural production can be found in the following scholarly work: Dan O’Meara, et al. *Movies, Myth, & the National Security State*. Boulder, (CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2016): 3.

broader context of the 19th century France. The first part closely addresses the male “Jewish” personages and establishes two main discursive lines of the hateful narrative – their alleged “inferiority”, communicated through the reference to the pseudo-scientific theories and the figure of the “intellectual” as a type of the degenerated masculinity, as well as “corruptness”, marked by the close relation of the “Jews” to money and the access to power through it. The second part of the chapter deals with the construction of the antisemitic figure of the “Jewess” in *Psst...!*, which strengthens the general image of the “Jews” as ultimate enemies of the French nation, but this time operates by the idea of the “malicious” and “diseased” sexuality, communicated through the figures of the prostitute and *femme-fatale*. The construction of these tropes unfolds in *Psst...!* through the references to modern art and *fin-de-siècle* culture, which are identified and conceptualized within this chapter.

Two other chapters of the thesis closely engage with another part of the populist binary opposition – the definition of the “genuine” “Frenchness” and the construction of the French national mythology. Chapter 2 examines this tendency on the example of the male personages in *Psst...!* that unfolds in two main discursive directions – Frenchman as a soldier and Frenchman as a peasant. The first part of the chapter establishes that the French glory was understood in *Psst...!* through the appeal to the army and its symbols, as well as military victories of the past. These pillars of national pride are portrayed by the caricaturists as endangered by the “Jews”, transforming this motif into a story of the lost glory – manipulation aimed at uniting the nation by the desire for revenge toward the “Jews”, who also represent a countertype to the “masculine” French soldier within this level of discussion. Besides a close examination of the drawings in *Psst...!*, the previous artistic production of the journal’s authors, the literary context of the epoch, as well as the discussions around masculinity unfolding at the time are included in the analysis for strengthening the argument. The second part examines the definition of a “genuine” Frenchman as a peasant, which allows the authors to ascribe the national myth with the connotations of “traditional”, “close to the soil” and “Christian”. The peasantry is also portrayed

as endangered by the “Jews”, who are, in their turn, represented as “corrupted” and “oppressive” forces. The visual analysis of the drawings is supported by the discussion of the position of the French peasantry in the late 19th-century context, the identification of the ideological grounds for the instrumentalization of the peasantry within the nationalist and antisemitic discourses, as well as by the establishment of certain iconographical references to the French artistic context, enriching the discussion.

Chapter 3 identifies the “corrupted” and “genuine” French politics within the conservative national mythology in *Psst...!* through the French symbolical female figures – Marianne and Joan of Arc. The first part of the chapter offers the theoretical conversation explaining the absence of “real” female personages in the journal’s narrative while defining the “true” nation and the appearance of women in *Psst...!* only through symbols or national heroines. The second part examines the process of reworking the positive personification of the Third Republic to its ardent critique by making Marianne a “Jewish” companion and a marker of the “corrupted” politics. The third part identifies the “true” political path of France as understood by the caricaturists, which was communicated through the figure of Joan of Arc, implying the “genuine” as conservative and Christian. For strengthening these rhetorical lines, the thesis engages with the monumental production of the epoch, previous works of the caricaturists and ideological battles unfolding around these symbolical figures at the time.

In Conclusion, the construction of the French national mythology through the antisemitic myth in the context of the Dreyfus Affair in the case of *Psst...!* is summarized.

Chapter 1 – Examining the main pillars of the antisemitic narrative in *Psst...!*

1.1. Construction of the “Jewish myth”: “inferiority”, power of money and bad intentions

– Intellectuals and *Les Rois de l’Epoque*

As was demonstrated in the Introduction, the nationalistic politics tended to create the binary opposition of “French” as “genuine” and “Jewish” as “evil” – and in this chapter, the semantical and visual construction of the allegedly “malicious” part of this manipulative binary worldview in the boundaries of the antisemitic weekly *Psst...!* by Forain and Caran d’Ache will be examined. Before turning to the analysis itself, it should be stated that a certain generalization and selection of motifs will be applied to a large number of hateful tropes used within the journal’s narrative to stigmatize the “Jews”. It is due to the fact that the thorough analysis of the antisemitic vocabulary of *Psst...!* is not the main goal of this work but is rather intended to provide a foundation that will allow achieving the main purpose of the research – identify how the French national identity in the late 19th century was constructed through the usage of the “Jewish” myth as it developed in relation to the antisemitic theories of the time. The selection was accomplished through the comparative examination of the iconography and plots developing from the first to the last issue of the journal in the works by Forain with that by Caran d’Ache, which allowed to identify two main semantical and visual “arcs” within the definition of the “Jews” that were shared by both authors. These main pillars appeared to be the “inferiority” and “corruptness” of the “Jews” – the motifs, which on a general level of the journal’s narrative were supposed to strengthen the image of the “Jews” as “enemies” and “treacherous” elements of French society endangering the prosperity of the country and its nation. Within a further narration, a closer analysis of the visual and semantic specificities, by which these hateful tropes were introduced in *Psst...!*, will be conducted as well as the sources of its ideological grounds will be identified.

At first, the motif of the alleged Jewish “inferiority” will be addressed, which unfolds on two levels – the physical appearance of the “Jews” and their occupation. The former is closely related to the new racial doctrines developing in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, which in the French context were pioneered in the 1850s by the intellectual Ernest Renan. In his works, he concentrated on the categories of “Semite” and “Aryan”⁹⁷, stating that in comparison with the Indo-European race, Semites represented “an inferior combination of human nature”⁹⁸. Even though Renan opposed biological racism⁹⁹, the physiological categorization that he introduced was further absorbed by other figures, who used this juxtaposition as an excuse and legitimization of the aggression toward and discrimination against the Jews. For instance, one of these people was the revolutionary socialist Gustave Tridon, who in the 1860s depicted the “Semite race” as “the embodiment of all the negative traits of the mankind”¹⁰⁰ and proclaimed the fight with Jews and “their ideas” to be the main aim of the “Indo-Aryan” race that was named superior¹⁰¹. Tridon’s argument was elaborated 20 years later by the core figure for the increase and widespread of antisemitism and nationalism in *fin-de-siècle* France – Edouard Drumont. One of the rhetorical pillars of his antisemitic bestseller *La France Juive* (1886) was the opposition between “Semitic” and “Aryan” races: the latter was endowed with such traits as “enthusiasm, heroism, honesty and chivalry” and put in the dimension of “war” and “feat”, while the former, in contrast, was portrayed as “mercantile, greedy and cunning”¹⁰² as well as biologically predisposed to betrayal and evil intent¹⁰³. The physical signs of the alleged Jewish “inferiority” and “maliciousness” were described by Drumont the following way: “this famous hooked nose, the blinking eyes...the protruding ears...the torso too long, the flat foot, the ankle extraordinarily outward, the soft and melting hand of the hypocrite and the traitor”¹⁰⁴. These physical traits

⁹⁷ Robert D. Priest, “Ernest Renan’s Race Problem”, *Historical Journal* 58, no. 1 (2015): 309–330.

⁹⁸ Gustave Tridon, *Du molochisme juif : études critiques et philosophiques* (Bruxelles : Edouard Maheu, 1884) : 6.

⁹⁹ Robert D. Priest, “Ernest Renan’s Race Problem”: 315.

¹⁰⁰ Gustave Tridon, *Du molochisme juif : études critiques et philosophiques* : 13.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.: 6.

¹⁰² Drumont, *La France Juive* I : 9.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 12, 34.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 34.

marking “Jewishness” became widespread within the antisemitic caricatures of *fin-de-siècle* France, however, were not unique to the French context of the time, as they have started to be widely implemented within the antisemitic caricatures of different European countries since the late 18th – beginning of the 19th century¹⁰⁵. The novelty, which Drumont added to the hooked nose and other pillars of the hateful “Jewish” physical vocabulary, consisted of a tight connection to pseudo-scientific racial theories that made these specificities of physiognomy and appearance to be not only markers of the “Jewishness”, but also, according to his concept, visual signs of their alleged “hypocritical” and “treacherous” nature¹⁰⁶.

The visual features used by Forain and Caran d’Ache in depicting the “Jewish” personages in *Psst...!* greatly correlate with the iconography described by Drumont. While the stylistic specificities of the implementation of these traits in the journal differ concerning the author and his artistic manner, the pillars of the antisemitic visual vocabulary remain the same. The hooked nose, fleshy lips, protruding ears and soft hand, which is portrayed reaching for the lockbox to steal the documents (Figure 1) or holding famous *bordereau* – the information that Dreyfus allegedly sold to the Germans (Figure 2). All these traits used by the caricaturists were supposed to provoke suspicion and disgust toward the “Jews” on the part of the viewer, as well as, taking into account the wide popularity of Drumont’s concepts, to transmit the idea of their alleged inferiority and racial predisposition to betrayal.

¹⁰⁵ Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, (Munchen: A. Langen, 1921): 41, 95, 97.

¹⁰⁶ Drumont, *La France Juive* I : 34.

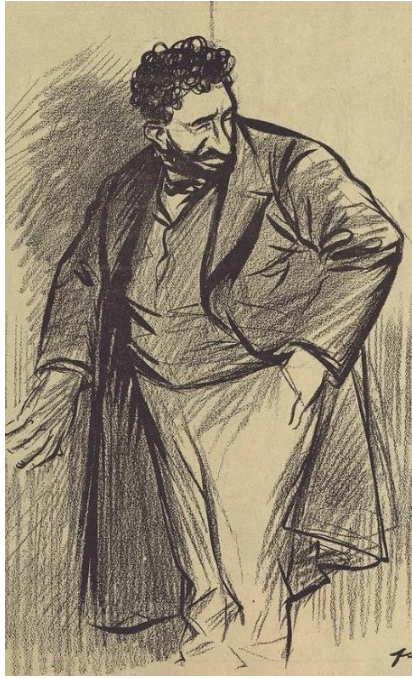


Figure 1. Jean-Louis Forain, “Le Coffre-fort”, *Psst...!*, no. 6, (12 March, 1898) : 1. (Fragment)



Figure 2. Caran d'Ache, “La fête de Grand-Papa”, *Psst...!*, no. 3, (19 February, 1898) : 3. (Fragment)

The idea of the alleged “Jewish” inferiority transmitted through the visual appearance was supported by the introduction of the trope regarding the “specificity” of the “Jewish” French-language speech. In the 19th century, it was stated that the Jews are unable to speak the Christian languages properly without the alleged Jewish intonation, *Mauscheln*, because of the difference in the structure of a nose and chin, which was named to be the marker of their “difference” and “infirmity”¹⁰⁷. Both Forain and Caran d’Ache referred to this concept and often portrayed the “Jewish” personages speaking with a strong Yiddish accent, which consisted in changing the sound “p” to “b”, “d” to “t” or “j” to “ch”, etc. (Figure 3).

— Eh bien, et ce dîner?
— Charmant! Bersonne n’a osé me barler de l’affaire Treyfus.

Figure 3. Jean-Louis Forain, “Un succès”, *Psst...!*, no. 9, (2 April, 1898) : 1.

¹⁰⁷ Sander Gilman, *The Jew's body*, (London: Routledge, 2013): 135, 180.

The motif of the alleged “Jewish” treason, in its turn, was strengthened on the level of the plots by showing the “Jews” being engaged in cooperative actions with Germany. The alleged German-Jewish alliance for dishonoring France was mostly pictured by Forain and Caran d’Ache through the secret meetings between the “Jews” themselves or the gentile participants of the “Jewish Syndicate” with the German soldiers and politicians¹⁰⁸. This discursive line had a great rhetorical and manipulative force for provoking hate toward the Jews on the part of the audience, since after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, Germany was perceived as the main enemy of the country and its people¹⁰⁹. This negative attitude was enhanced even more by the events of the Dreyfus Affair, as it was in favor of the German state that the betrayal of France was committed.

Another rhetorical line, used by Forain and Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!* for communicating to the audience the alleged “inferiority” of the “Jews”, consisted of portraying them as intellectuals, which further strengthen their identification as physically “defective”. The iconography of this antisemitic type within the journal’s narrative was mostly constructed through the figure of a “Jewish” man with a hooked nose, dressed in a tailcoat or a costume and wearing glasses or a monocle. As an example can be taken a drawing by Caran d’Ache called “The Dreyfus Regime”, where the already mentioned visual features marking the figure as a “Jewish” intellectual are supported by a big pen and ink, the bottle of which is accompanied by the word “poison”, for better communicate to the viewer the hateful idea that the products of the “intellectual” occupations of the Jews are hostile and contaminating in their nature (Figure 4). The pen and ink can refer to the Jewish journalists engaged in the Dreyfusard campaign by their writing¹¹⁰, while the elegant tie and top hat can imply the figure of the dandy, which, within the discussions about masculinity

¹⁰⁸ For instance, Jean-Louis Forain, “L’Affair Dreyfus”, *Psst... !*, no. 27, (6 August, 1898): 1. Caran d’Ache, “Chez eux”, *Psst... !*, no. 4, (26 February, 1898) : 2.

¹⁰⁹ Laurent Dornel, “La fabrication de l’ennemi “héréditaire” allemand (de 1815 à 1914) in Jean-Claude Caron, Laurent Lamoine, Natividad Planas (eds.), *Entre traces mémorielles et marques corporelles. Regards sur l’ennemi de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, (Clermont-Ferrand : Presses de l’Université Blaise Pascal, 2014) : 43.

¹¹⁰ For example, Bernard Lazare.

unfolding in the 19th century, was perceived as “unmanly” man¹¹¹. The question of masculinity is important and will be developed within the further narration.



Figure 4. Caran d'Ache, “Le Regiment Dreyfus”, *Psst... !*, no. 81, (19 August, 1899) : 3.

An additional iconographical way of portraying the “Jewish” intellectuals shared by Forain and Caran d'Ache was that of the “intellectual” salon, which was perceived by the caricaturists as a space for the development of the “Jewish” conspiracy against France (Figure 5, Figure 6). Thus, within this visual narrative, the officially dressed “Jewish” intellectuals were portrayed as a big group, which, either occupying a quiet angle or making a circle, was leading a discussion. The content of their conversation, according to the antisemitic narrative of the journal, consisted of building the plans for destroying France – as Forain shows in his drawing “The dream of the Jews”¹¹² (Figure 6), a group of “Jewish” intellectuals is discussing the way by which they will subordinate the French army to the foreign forces by replacing the French generals with the

¹¹¹ George L. Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 142.

¹¹² In his drawing, Forain uses a vulgar and antisemitic term, which appeared in the 19th century, *Youpin*.

German ones, thus, strengthening the association between the “Jews” and the subversive activities toward France even more.



Figure 5. Caran d'Ache, “Salons intellectuels”, *Psst... !*, no. 45, (10 December, 1898) : 2.



Figure 6. Jean-Louis Forain, “Le rêve des Youpins”, *Psst... !*, no. 60, (25 March, 1899) : 1.

But what are the grounds for the introduction of this trope in *Psst... !* and its purpose for the general antisemitic narrative of the journal? One of the reasons, lying behind the appearance of this motive in the drawings by Forain and Caran d'Ache was rooted in the open and fierce opposition, which burst out during the Revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair between those, who defended the innocence of the Jewish captain and those, who stigmatized him and all the Jewish population of France as “traitors”. And unlike the heterogeneous anti-Dreyfusard coalition, within which, apart from the journalists and caricaturists, numerous military figures were present, the most active actors among the Dreyfus camp were people engaged in intellectual activities¹¹³. Even though a large number of those who supported Dreyfus through the means of journalistic and literary production were non-Jewish – for example, such important figures as Émile Zola and

¹¹³ Journalists Bernard Lazare and Émile Zola, novelist Anatole France, editor of the journal *L'Aurore* George Clemenceau, editor of the journal *L'Humanité* Jean Jaurès, director of the journal *Le Siècle* Yves Guyot, etc.

Anatole France – all of them were branded as “Jewish” intellectuals since they were authors and defended Dreyfus. However, the fight with the adversary camp was not the only reason for the instrumentalization of the figure of the intellectual. This trope could strengthen even more the semantics of the alleged Jewish physical “inferiority” in comparison to the French population. It is rooted in discussions unfolding around masculinity in *fin-de-siècle* France. The scholars note that masculinity, in its semantical and visual embodiment, was supposed to communicate the notions of virtuous morality and exemplary behavior as it was understood by a particular society¹¹⁴. Nevertheless, in late 19th century Europe, including France, masculinity was marked by a crisis¹¹⁵ due to, for instance, the growing number of men leading homosexual lifestyles or women, identifying themselves as lesbians, which challenged the traditional gender roles, as well as ways of living, behaving and looking determined by them¹¹⁶. Thus, the traditional understanding of “masculinity” was perceived as endangered, and the conservative parts of the society were seeking to preserve and strengthen it. In order to keep the illusion that the masculinity of Christian men maintained its strength, it was invented an antithesis – Jewish men who were doomed to be “weak,” “humiliated,” “ugly” and therefore must be “defeated”. Traditionally, the opposition to the “virtuous” manliness was represented by ethnic minorities, such as, for instance, Jews, who in the context of 19th century Europe were perceived as “unmanly” men or even only partly men¹¹⁷ due to the widespread prejudice, within which the circumcision was consciously confounded with the castration¹¹⁸. However, in *fin-de-siècle* France, in addition to the Jews, the intellectuals were also perceived as “feminized” and “unmanly”. This stereotype was formed, first, due to the widespread association of the intellectuals with the sedentary and, thus, unhealthy way of living, and, second, through their alienation from any physical activity or labor due to the mental occupation¹¹⁹. These

¹¹⁴ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 4.

¹¹⁵ Christopher E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 9.

¹¹⁶ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 88.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 63.

¹¹⁸ Sander Gilman, *The Jew's body*: 119.

¹¹⁹ Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*: 13, 73.

traits were emphasized and strengthened as marks of the physical and mental “viciousness” within the conservative anti-Dreyfusard narrative, which propagated the image of the intellectual as a challenge of the social order, as well as the embodiment of hysteria and decadence – all terms understood by this camp as pejorative and negative¹²⁰. Thus, uniting these two types of masculinity deviating from the norm in the figure of the “Jewish” intellectual, Forain and Caran d’Ache doubled the negative connotations of this trope in the perception of the 19th-century audience. Therefore, the conclusion can be made that through various semantical and visual motifs, within the antisemitic narrative in *Psst...!*, Jews were portrayed as “inferior” in comparison to the “genuine” French people, “diseased” and “vicious” through their deviation from the norm and “malicious” in their intentions. These tropes will be further developed through the figure of the “Jewess”, as will be seen in the second part of this chapter.

While the first layer of the creation of the “Jewish” myth in *Psst...!* was discussed, another main visual and rhetorical narrative concerning the figure of the “Jew” in the journal – his alleged “corruptness” through the relation to money and the access to power by the financial wealth – remains to be addressed. It should be mentioned that the close connection of the Jews with money in a negative sense is far from being new, since it appears to be rooted in the anti-Jewish biases of the middle-ages claiming the Jews to be vicious due to their work as usurers that was marked by the Church as indecent and sinful¹²¹. Thus, when Drumont in *La France Juive* proclaimed Jews as attached to money, connecting them with the Stock Exchange, and claiming their desire to monopolize all the money of the universe¹²², he was just reworking in a modern way the hateful anti-Jewish stances, which were already widespread in the Christian context a long time ago. Interestingly enough, *Psst...!* leaves a hint for the viewers to grasp the old Christian grounds of the money-related antisemitic trope by moving the narrative from the current state of affairs in France to the timeless dimension through the appeal to the religious iconography. Thus, Forain, in

¹²⁰ Ibid., 71.

¹²¹ Malcolm Hay, *The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism*, (New York: Freedom Library Press, 1981): 174.

¹²² Drumont, *La France Juive* I : 329.

his drawing titled “For the Light” (Figure 7), depicts a figure of the “Jewish” capitalist, marked by the hooked nose, staying in the center of the kneeling crowd, reaching out to him, as if they were praying. His white hat creates a halo around his head, referring to the iconography of Christ, while the reason for the exalted praying on the part of the men around him – coins that he shares. It could become a literal visual translation of the antisemitic trope rooted in Early Christianity, marking the “Jews” through the formula “Money was their God”¹²³. This rhetorical line, used in *Psst...!*, not only creates a tight connection between the “Jews” and the money in a fetishistic way but also pictures them as “faithless” through the replacement of the “spiritual” with “material”, “true God” with money. This motif outlines the semantics of alleged “Jewish” “corruptness”, which will be clearly demonstrated further.



Figure 7. Jean-Louis Forain, “Pour la Lumière”, *Psst... !*, no. 41, 12 November, 1898) : 1.

Within the French antisemitic narrative of the 19th century, money was perceived not only as the “Jewish” God and faith but also as the means of power and control over the country. This trope was theoretically shaped in the work *Les Juifs, Rois de l'époque* by Alphonse Toussenel,

¹²³ Hay, *The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism*: 141.

published in 1845. Being inspired by the utopist socialism of Saint Simon and Fourier¹²⁴, he built the polar opposition of “labor”, which was seen as the act of creation, representing genuine richness, and “unproductivity”, represented by the lazy minority parasitizing on the work of the laborious people and appropriating the monetary results of their endeavors¹²⁵. Additionally, elaborating on the connection between the Jews and money, Toussenel drew a personage of the “Jewish king” – an image, which had Rothschild as a prototype, portraying a capitalist Jew as using the power of money for replacing the legitimate governor¹²⁶. Forain and Caran d’Ache decided to include this metaphor of the “Jew” as a crowned ruler through the power of money in the narrative of the journal. Forain depicts a giant figure of the “Jew”, whose hyperbolized antisemitic iconography of a hooked nose, fleshy lips and big ears makes him look like a beast rather than a human (Figure 9). His unproportioned body is dressed in antique drapery and rises above the classical landscape, presented in the background, giving the scene a timeless impression. The author’s legend tells “Emperor”¹²⁷, which is also marked by the crown on the head, and the source of his power is present – the bag of coins that he holds in his hand. Caran d’Ache, in his turn, also appeals to the figure of the “Jewish” king in the drawing the “1st of January in the Hell” but elaborates a bit more on the character of this rule in a highly antisemitic way (Figure 8). He portrays the beginning of the year 1898 – the year, when in January, Zola will publish his *J’accuse* and the Revisionist period of the Affair will be started – in Hell. The ruler of the latter is a crowned “Jew”, who is represented in an extremely hateful way as Satan with the horns and the animal’s legs. He welcomes a messenger who holds a few rolls of paper with the names of Alfred Dreyfus and Georges Picquart – colonel, who uncovered that the *bordereau* was written not by Dreyfus but by Major Ferdinand Esterhazy. The author’s legend states – “The triumphant entering of the year 1898”. Thus, continuing the trope of the “Jewish king”, Caran d’Ache tends to communicate to

¹²⁴ Jean-Philippe Schreiber, “Les Juifs, rois de l’époque d’Alphonse Toussenel, et ses avatars : la spéculation vue comme anti-travail au XIX^e siècle”, *Revue belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 79, no. 2, (2001) : 534.

¹²⁵ Alphonse Toussenel, *Les Juifs, Rois de l’Époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière*, (Paris : Gabriel De Gunet, 1847): I-V.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 103-105.

¹²⁷ In the drawing, the word is written with the already described Yiddish accent – *Embereur*

the audience the allegedly “corrupted” nature of such a ruling – he depicts France becoming Hell and being ruled by the forces supporting elements, which are “hostile” to the “true” French nation.



Figure 9. Jean-Louis Forain, “L’Embereur”, *Psst...!*, no. 34, (24 Septembre, 1898) : 1.



Figure 8. Caran d’Ache, “1er Janvier aux Enfer”, *Psst...!*, no. 49, (7 Janvier, 1899) : 2.

This narrative of the “Jews” receiving power through money introduced by Toussenel will be continued and elaborated by Drumont in his *France Juive*, where he will portray the Jews as controlling all the spheres of the French Republic and controlling all its government institutions. This discursive line will be of interest to the authors of *Psst...!* as well. However, this tendency will be addressed more closely in Chapter 3.

1.2. Portrayal of the “Jewess”: “diseased” and “malicious” sexuality – prostitute and *femme-fatale*

While the antisemitic construction of the “Jewish” myth concerning male figures in *Psst...!* has been closely addressed above, the biased image of the “Jewess” in the journal remains to be addressed. It should be noted that the female Jews appear far less than male Jews in the journal,

and, in the case of Forain, they are deprived of a discursive role. Caran d'Ache, however, in contrast to his colleague, pays more attention to the image of the "Jewish" woman, the figure of which allows him to "enrich" his hateful rhetoric with a large pool of the prejudices, cultural and social, tightly bound up with the figure of the latter in the context of 19th century Europe. Nevertheless, the appearance of the "Jewess" in the journal on the part of Caran d'Ache doesn't unfold simply for mirroring the biases existing among the antisemitic network but has a more general role within the larger hateful narrative toward the Jews developing in *Psst...!* – it contributes to continuing and strengthening the idea of the "degeneration" of the "Semites" and their allegedly "malicious" intentions. The communication of these hateful ideas to the audience, as will be shown within the further narration, develops through the representation of the "Jewish" woman as a prostitute, which implies a moral "degenerated" and "dissolute" sexual nature, as well as through depicting the "Jewess" as a *femme-fatale*, which creates a contrast to the traditional understanding of the "virtuous" woman through the "threatening" character of her sexuality.

The first trope regarding the representation of the "Jewess" in *Psst...!*, which should be closely addressed, is her portrayal as the prostitute that was introduced by Caran d'Ache in one of the drawings titled "The woman's caprice", showing the scene of the conversation between a man, who guts the fish, and a woman, lying on the couch (Figure 10). On the level of iconography, the depicted female figure cannot be clearly identified as "Jewish" at first sight – she doesn't have a Yiddish accent, which the caricaturists often use as a "Semitic" sign, while an omnipresent antisemitic physiognomic feature of a hooked nose is only outlined in this case without being clearly emphasized, which doesn't allow to use this detail as the main marker of the "Jewishness". Thus, to prove the allegedly "Jewish" belonging of this figure, a closer look should be taken at a broader antisemitic context for establishing the pillars of the image of the "Jewess" in the European context of the time and compare them to the image by Caran d'Ache.

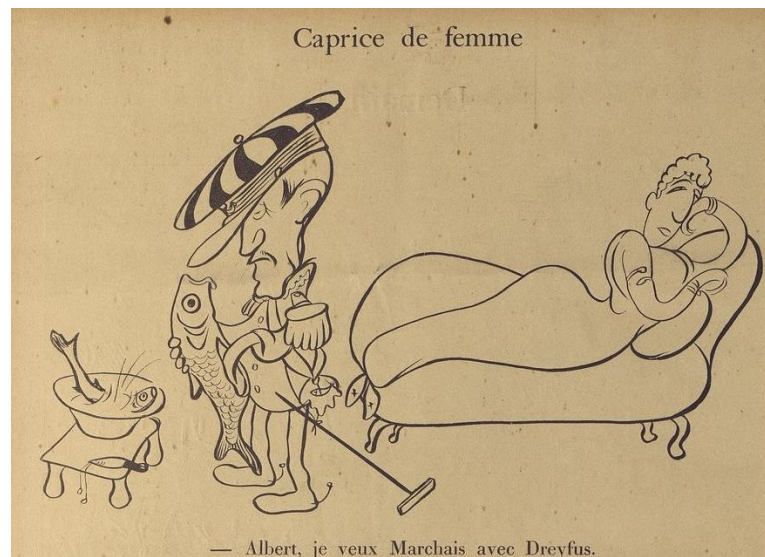


Figure 10. Caran d'Ache, "Caprice de femme", *Psst... !*, no. 76, (15 July, 1899) : 4.

As scholars note, the image of the "Jewess", which appeared in the European cultural scene by the late 18th century and initially had positive and even biblical connotations in opposition to the "vicious" and "malicious" "Jewish" man, was tightly bound up in the common imagination with such characteristics as "Oriental" and "exotic"¹²⁸. One of the ways to visually transmit the "exoticism" of her figure can be found already in the Romantic literature and consisted of the emphasis on the specific traits of her physiognomy and appearance, such as the wavy hair, large shadowed eyes, "Semitic" nose and a small mouth¹²⁹. All these features can be found in the female figure depicted by Caran d'Ache. The "Oriental" character of her look in the drawing is also strengthened by the clothes and treatment of her body: the massive bangles on her wrists and the bracelets in the form of snakes in the upper parts of her hands, as well as the sleeveless dress, emphasizing curves of her figure that together with her pose and the relation to man within the plot, creates an eroticized impression. This sexualization of her image is symptomatic of late 19th century Europe, including France, when the trope of *La Belle Juive* was reworked in a pejorative and antisemitic way, ascribing the "Oriental" character of her figure with the emphasized sexuality

¹²⁸ Janis Bergman-Carton, "Negotiating the Categories: Sarah Bernhardt and the Possibilities of Jewishness", *Art Journal* 55, no. 2, (1996): 55-56.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 56.

understood as “corrupted” and “dangerous” in the intention to seduce for manipulate¹³⁰. The allegedly “malicious” intentions of the depicted “Jewish” woman are supported by the drawing’s plot itself. The “Jewess” addresses her words to the man, telling him that she would like to *Marchais* with Dreyfus. *Marchais* can be translated as *walking* (marcher) but at the same time as *trade* (marchander), referring to the word *merchant* (marchand), associated with money and, thus, with the “Jews”. Whatever the exact meaning of this particular expression, the semantics lying behind her phrase is clear – the connection and the collaborative activities with Alfred Dreyfus, and, therefore, with the alleged enemies of the French nation. The depicted male figure, in his turn, is a gentile, which can be identified through his physiognomy and appearance, lacking the traits of the biased iconography of “Semites” as a hooked nose, fleshy lips, curved dark hair, etc. However, within the semantic boundaries of the plot, Caran d’Ache positions him to the “hostile” camp of the “accomplices” of Dreyfus, first, through his connection, most probably sexual as will be further demonstrated, to the figure of the “Jewess” and, second, by picturing him as gutting a fish, which emphasizes the “maliciousness” of his intentions. In early Christian art and literature, the fish was considered an important sign of Christianity and Christ himself¹³¹, therefore, within the journal’s narrative, the process of gutting it on the part of the alleged enemy of France, acting under the influence of the “vicious” “Jewess”, could be understood as the intention to endanger and destroy the Christian population of the country. Nevertheless, one question still remains to be uncovered – that of the depicted “Jewess” being not only a companion but a prostitute. For this goal, her iconography should be put in a broader French artistic and cultural context, which allows identifying two main references on the part of Caran d’Ache – to the portrait of Sarah Bernhardt, an extremely popular actress of Jewish origin, by Georges Clairin and to the painting “Olympia” by Edouard Manet.

¹³⁰ Sander L. Gilman, “Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the “Modern Jewess”, *The German Quarterly* 66, no. 2, (1993): 198, 206. Jacques Poirier, *Judith: Échos d'un mythe biblique dans la littérature française*, (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004) : 88.

¹³¹ Magda Teter, *Blood Libel: on the Trail of an Antisemitic myth*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020): 129.



Figure 11. Georges Clairin, *Portrait de Sarah Bernhardt*, painting, 1876, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris

Clairin depicts Sarah Bernard lying on a couch with a hand behind her head (Figure 11), which greatly correlates with the iconography used by Caran d’Ache, even though the portrait doesn’t use an exaggerated “Oriental” treatment of her figure¹³², which can be found in *Psst...!*. The reference to Bernard is not accidental, and allows the caricaturist to reinforce the idea of *La Belle Juive*, ascribed to the nameless woman represented in *Psst...!*, by connecting her with a particular widely known figure from the *fin-de-siècle* context. Sarah Bernard, in the late 19th-century culture, became an embodiment of the sexual *Belle Juive*, often taken with antisemitic connotations¹³³, which can be illustrated by one of the memoirs that appeared in France in 1883, where Bernard was described as “money-hungry and promiscuous Jewish woman”¹³⁴. Thus, this reference allowed Caran d’Ache to strengthen the audience’s perception of the depicted female personage in *Psst...!* as the “Jewess” marked by sexual promiscuity, as well as form the basis for the understanding of the “Jewish” woman as a prostitute, which will be developed on the second level of the iconographical reference.

¹³² The Oriental features are present in Clairin’s painting, for instance, the decoration of the pillows, the character of the tissue and colors, but connected to the atmosphere around Bernard and not herself, in contrast to Caran d’Ache, who emphasizes the “Oriental” character of the depicted woman through her physical appearance.

¹³³ Gilman, “Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the “Modern Jewess”: 203.

¹³⁴ Ibid.



Figure 12. Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, painting, 1863, Musée d'Orsay

The iconography of Caran d'Ache differs from that chosen by Manet for Olympia (Figure 12) in such aspects as the choice of nakedness and the position of the hand, however, the composition itself is quite similar, which allows implying the possibility of conscious reference. This work became a great provocation of the *Salon* of 1865 and is named by scholars to be the most scandalous representation of a prostitute in 19th-century painting¹³⁵. A naked young woman lying on the sofa was largely perceived by the *fin-de-siècle* public and art critics to be a figure of a prostitute that can be illustrated by the critical reviews concerning the *Salon* of 1865, ascribing Manet's *Olympia* with the following characteristics – “the expression of the face is that of a being prematurely aged and vicious”¹³⁶, “a courtesan with dirty hands and wrinkled feet”¹³⁷, “this Olympia from the rue Mouffetard”, the street marked by the prostitution activity¹³⁸, etc. We will not go deeply into analyzing the artistic and psychological specificities by which the sexuality of Olympia is communicated to the viewer and will not repeat the large body of the art history texts dealing with this figure, as it is beyond the goal of this work. The most important aspect in this regard is the fact that the perception of Olympia among the 19th-century Parisian audience as a sexualized figure of a prostitute was not marginal but common and shared. Thus, Caran d'Ache,

¹³⁵ Charles Bernheimer, “Manet's Olympia: The Figuration of Scandal.” *Poetics Today* 10, no. 2 (1989): 254.

¹³⁶ T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, (New York: Knoph, 1985): 288-289.

¹³⁷ Bernheimer, “Manet's Olympia: The Figuration of Scandal.”: 256.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

could be certain that this artistic reference and the pool of meanings and associations it brings to the plot will be recognized and understood by the audience.

The tight connection that Caran d'Ache builds on the visual level of his image between the "Jewish" woman and the prostitute, on the semantic one, strengthens the discursive line of the already mentioned allegedly "malicious" intentions of the "Jews" as well as implies the topic of degeneration. The latter is rooted in the myth constructed around the figure of a prostitute, which consisted in perceiving her as "diseased" and "contaminating" through her sexuality, and was supported in 19th-century France by the widely known book by Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, called *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (1836). In his work, aimed at analyzing the situation of prostitution in the French capital while also raising the questions of hygiene and morals, Parent-Duchâtelet pictures the prostitute as spreading dangerous diseases, such as, for instance, syphilis, among the male population of the country¹³⁹. Thus, the nature of her sexuality provoked anxiety on the part of the population and was perceived as "destroying" and "degenerated" through the possibility of contamination with sexual diseases. In the example of Victorian London, the scholar Sander Gilman named the latter to be the embodiment of the degenerated female genitalia¹⁴⁰. It should be mentioned, however, that the hateful trope about the "diseased" and "contaminating" nature of the Jewish body takes its roots much earlier than in the 19th century and initially applied to the male Jews as well. In the context of Venice of the late 15th-first half of the 16th century, Jews were seen as the main culprits for the spread of syphilis among the Christian population of the city, and the anxiety toward them was so high that it was believed that the disease can be transmitted not only through contact with the prostitute but from a mere touch to the Jewish body¹⁴¹. Tightly associated with the Oriental lure and the freedom of any boundaries that the religion can pose on the Christian population concerning, for instance,

¹³⁹ Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris : Chez J.-B. Bailliere, 1837) : 246.

¹⁴⁰ Sander Gilman, *The Jew's body*: 120.

¹⁴¹ Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone : The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1996): 215-216, 223-224.

sensuality, their touch was taken as seductive and containing the threat of contamination¹⁴². All these antisemitic connotations, which received a revival and a widespread in the 19th century, were used as a basis for the creation of the hateful myth around the “Jewess”, but this time the “contamination” and “degenerated” nature of her sexuality consisted not of the physical disease that she can transmit but of the “Semitic” corruptness. For instance, Drumont, in his antisemitic bestseller, *La France Juive* stated that Jewish women constituted the main contingent of prostitutes in big cities¹⁴³ and argued that Jewess were seducing gentile men with the desire to take over Christian countries – “Prostitute...serves Israel and performs a sort of the ruining mission in destroying and pushing the sons of the aristocracy to the dishonor¹⁴⁴”. This discursive line was supported in the book *Les Femmes d’Israël* (1898) by Raphaël Viau and François Bournand, which was dedicated to Drumont¹⁴⁵ and continued his antisemitic stances, portraying the “Jewess” as using her seductive forces for conquering France and putting it under the power of Rothschild¹⁴⁶. This trope about the alleged manipulative intentions of the “Jewish” woman can be found in the drawing by Caran d’Ache as well, who implies that the Dreyfus Affair and all the allegedly “malicious” acts against France are unfolding as a caprice of the “Jewish” woman, who transfer these “contaminating” ideas to the gentile men, making them accomplices of Dreyfus and the Jewish Syndicate through the seductive power of her promiscuous sexuality.

Another type of picturing the “Jewess” used by Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!* within which the nature of her sexuality acquires the increased intention for destruction – the figure of the *femme-fatale*. The image of a woman with evil intentions who, through sexually tempting a man desires to destroy and kill him¹⁴⁷, appeared, as well as *La Belle Juive*, in the Romantic era¹⁴⁸ and in 19th

¹⁴² Ibid., 223-224, 216.

¹⁴³ Drumont, *La France Juive* I: 88.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 89.

¹⁴⁵ The first page of the book states “For the leader of antisemitism Edouard Drumont, Respectful homage”. Raphaël Viau, François Bournand, *Les Femmes d’Israël*, (Paris : A. Pierret, 1898).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 155-156, 170, 180-181, 212.

¹⁴⁷ Helen Hanson, Catherine O’Rawe, (eds.), *The Femme Fatales: images, Histories, contexts*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan): 1.

¹⁴⁸ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 74.

century France was popularized both through the artistic and literary production¹⁴⁹. This female type, characterized by “malicious” and “destructive” sexuality, was tightly bound up with the figure of the “Jewish” woman – as the image of *femme-fatale* as “dark”, concerning her black hair and eyes¹⁵⁰, was connected to the Western trope of the “blackness” of the “Jewess”¹⁵¹ understood through similar visual features¹⁵², which Caran d’Ache uses as well. In the drawing titled “In the country of the “cads””, he depicts a woman, whose physiognomy and appearance correlate with the iconography of *La Belle Juive*, described above, but appears to be reworked in an exaggerated antisemitic way, echoing the features of portraying the “Jewish” man – a hyperbolized hooked nose, fleshy lips, big ears and black curly hair (Figure 13).



Figure 13. Caran d’Ache. “Au pays des goujats”, *Psst... !*, no. 75 (8 July, 1899) : 3.

In the plot, she is portrayed as a princess of this “country of the “cads””, which is indicated by the crown in her curved black hair, who orders the donkey, dressed in the military uniform with the

¹⁴⁹ As an example can be taken paintings by Gustave Moreau, who depicted Salomé as a *femme-fatale*, or the popular novel by Joris-Karl Huysman *A Rebours*, where he presented this female type as poisonous and willing to destroy. Ibid., 103.

¹⁵⁰ Hanson, O’Rawe, *The Femme Fatales: images, Histories, contexts* : 179.

¹⁵¹ Gilman, “Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the “Modern Jewess”: 202.

¹⁵² Ibid., 202.

epaulets, to hit the portrait of the French army officer. Within the antisemitic orientation of the journal, this act can imply the alleged desire of the Jews to dishonor France by weakening its army. The connotations of “maliciousness” are emphasized even more by the numerous dead male bodies in the background, hanging on the trees or lying on the sand of this alienated island, surrounded by the sea. While on the level of the plot itself the sexual connotations of the “Jewess” are missing, her iconography, marked by “Orientalism” and “Blackness”, easily recognized by the audience of the *fin-de-siècle* France together with the visual details, showing her as killing men and collecting their dead bodies, as well as the intention to “dishonor” and “destruction” allows to perceive her figure as a “Jewish” *femme-fatale* – “the image of the evil, which act through the treachery in favor of her people”¹⁵³. Thus, in the process of the nationalist antisemitic myth-making, the figure of the “Jewish” woman reinforces the image of the “Jews” as ultimate enemies – “vicious”, as well as “malicious” to the “genuine” French population, which was already introduced through the male personages. However, concerning the female figures, the main sign and means for the allegedly “corrupted” “Jewish” nature appears to be sexuality, portrayed as “manipulative” or “destructive”.

Therefore, the grounds for the creation of the “Jewish” myth in *Psst...!* both through the male and female figures are examined, and, keeping in mind all the tropes and tendencies discussed above, we can proceed to the establishment of the “genuine” French characteristics in the journal created in the opposition to that marked as “Jewish”.

¹⁵³ Poirier, *Judith: Échos d'un mythe biblique dans la littérature française* : 90.

Chapter 2 – Defining a “genuine” French population through the representation of male figures in *Psst...!*

2.1. A Frenchman as a soldier: the story about the lost glory

The quest for identifying and asserting the traits, which would shape the national identity of the country and constitute the idea of “Frenchness”, occupied a critical place within the scientific discussions unfolding in 19th-century France¹⁵⁴. One of the scholars who played a crucial role in developing the definition of “nationhood” was French historian and philosopher Ernest Renan (1823-1892), whose works had an impact on both opposing political camps on the turbulent political landscape of the Third Republic – free-thinking Republicans and conservative Right-wing¹⁵⁵. In his book *What is the Nation?*, which appeared in 1882, while reflecting on the construction of the French national identity, Renan attributed great importance to the sense of glory, which should be experienced and shared by the country’s population for the strong feeling of national belonging. According to him, the entity of the people of the nation is determined by their ancestors, and, therefore, the heroic past created by “great men and glory” represents the “social capital”, on which rests the idea of the nation in the present¹⁵⁶. The shared desire to save and increase this glory in the current times and in the future also constitutes an important part of the path toward a strong national identity on the part of the population¹⁵⁷. Forain and Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!*, in their choice of deductive tropes for identifying the pillars of the “genuine” French nation and creating its image also appeal to the idea of past and present glory of the country. Within the visual narrative of the journal, the glory of France appears to be embedded in the army and the figure of the soldier. This choice can be explained both by the nationalistic, patriotic and anti-

¹⁵⁴ Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900-1945*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992): 2-3.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 3.

¹⁵⁶ Ernest Renan, *What is the Nation? And other Political Writings*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018): 262.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

Dreyfusard ideological direction of *Psst...!*, as well as by the reactionary political sympathies of its authors. Thus, in the latter half of the 19th century, the army represented one of the main grounds on which French nationalism was developed. First, it was greatly shaped by the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 when the emotive and sentimental attitude to the “wounded” country increased and the army became a symbol of the national unity, as well as the epitome of all the patriotic aspirations¹⁵⁸. Second, the importance of the army for national identification process was continued and politically instrumentalized in the populist-nationalist rhetoric of the 1880s-1890s, which made *Vive l’Armée!* one of the major slogans of its campaigns, proclaiming the army to be one of the main pillars of the French unity, as well as indispensable condition for the safety and prosperity of the country¹⁵⁹. For the latter, the Dreyfus Affair became one of the catalysts, as the French military, its honor and power were perceived to be endangered. The stances described above were shared by the authors of *Psst...!*. Forain was describing himself as a reactionary¹⁶⁰, thus, belonging to the camp, which perceived the army and the church as the main pillars of the country’s stability, and, as was noted by scholars closely working on his personal and artistic development, during the Dreyfus Affair, he perceived the army as the only institution, which could defend the “traditional” France from its alleged enemies, such as cosmopolitan “Jews”¹⁶¹. However, it should be mentioned that before the launch of *Psst...!*, the military subjects were almost entirely absent from his works, which allows approaching the journal's images as one of the first visual manifestations of his devotion to the army. With all the patriotic fervor, the latter manifested itself fifteen years later, during World War I, when Forain voluntarily went to the front at the age of sixty-two and, cooperating with several weekly journals, was creating the war drawings, glorifying the French soldiers in the face of hostilities¹⁶². Caran d’Ache’s pro-army stances, in his turn, were formed through his own experience, as he had served in the military

¹⁵⁸ Raoul Girardet, “Pour Une Introduction à l’Histoire Du Nationalisme Français.” *Revue Française de Science Politique* 8, no. 3 (1958): 511-512.

¹⁵⁹ Zeev Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français* (Paris : A. Colin, 1972) : 320.

¹⁶⁰ Robert F. Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.” *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 3 (1950): 256.

¹⁶¹ Bertrand Tillier, *Les artistes et l’Affaire Dreyfus (1898-1908)*, (Paris : Champ Vallon, 2009) : 144.

¹⁶² Jean-Louis Forain, *De la Marne au Rhin, 1914-1919*, (Paris : Editions Pierre Lafitte, 1920).

himself for five years since the age of eighteen¹⁶³. Interestingly, for some images in *Psst...!*, he decided to refer to the time he spent on duty, changing the pseudonym “Caran d’Ache” for that of “Caporal Poiré”, consisting of his family name and the title he was wearing, therefore, possibly emphasizing the importance of the military for the journal’s narrative. The topic concerning the glory of the French army had already been a part of his graphic works preceding both the Dreyfus Affair and the launch of *Psst...!*. For instance, in 1890, he published an illustrated compilation called *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, where he depicted the French soldiers from 1789 till 1889, carefully examining and communicating to the viewer the changings of the uniform, the approaches to the *art of war* and the military morals¹⁶⁴. Caran d’Ache’s convictions regarding the army and its place within the French national identification process were formulated in the opening note for this book, which stated the following: “The soldier...for the children represents the future; for men – the courage and dedication; for the old people, he reminds the ancient glories”¹⁶⁵. But what was the artistic and semantic appearance of the French soldiers in the *Psst...!* by Forain and Caran d’Ache? Within the following visual analysis, the development of this narrative in the journal, as well as its politicized usage by the authors in the context of the Dreyfus Affair will be examined. The drawings in *Psst...!* will be put in comparative perspective with other anti-Dreyfusard production touching upon this topic, for identifying the journal’s specificities in comparison to a broader artistic context, then two separate iconographical lines developed by Forain and Caran d’Ache will be examined individually concerning their iconography, as well as ideological and political messages, and, in conclusion, the place that the army and soldiers occupy within the formulation of the “genuine” French nation, its glory and its enemy developed in *Psst...!* will be established.

Among the anti-Dreyfusard visual production, the French army and the soldiers as such are rarely taken as the main subjects of the artistic narrative – the attention is mostly attached to the figure of Alfred Dreyfus, which appears to be portrayed in various semantic and iconographic

¹⁶³ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 251.

¹⁶⁴ Caran d’Ache, *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, (Paris : E. Plon, 1890).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 1.

ways with the main emphasis on his alleged betrayal and connection to Germany, as well as his Jewish origin¹⁶⁶, which provokes the creation of plots around the theme of the “Modern Judas”¹⁶⁷. Attention to the army as an institution was paid in 1895 concerning the public military degradation of Alfred Dreyfus, during which he was stripped of his officer rank. This event was largely covered by the press, and among the journals, which have chosen to dedicate their front pages to illustrating the degradation ceremony, could be named such periodicals as *Le Petit Journal*¹⁶⁸ and *Le Petit Parisien*¹⁶⁹ – the weeklies developing the conservative agenda and constituting the most widely circulated and read media publications in the country at the time¹⁷⁰, as well as Parisian *L’illustration*¹⁷¹ and *Le Progrès Illustré*¹⁷², appearing in Lyon. The latter demonstrates the importance and interest that was attributed to this event from the people both in the capital and beyond. The iconography used by all these journals was similar in composition, semantics and emotional coloring. Images portrayed the army’s troupes arranged in the court of the *Ecole Militaire* with neat rows of the officers dressed in the uniform, who are staying still with straight backs, while the soldiers on horseback are observing the scene from the background, creating an image of the discipline and order (Figure 14, Figure 15). Dreyfus, named by the journals’ titles as the “traitor”, is undergoing punishment preceding his imprisonment, which was artistically communicated by the deprivation of him of the symbols constituting the belonging to the French military institution – his epaulets are thrown away, the red stripes from his uniform trousers are ripped off and lying on the ground in front of him, while his saber is broken into two parts by a

¹⁶⁶ While composing this argument, I was mostly relying on the catalog of the visual production related to the Dreyfus Affair created by the Jewish Museum in New York in 1987, which united and presented more than 300 objects, including the production of such influential antisemitic journals as *Le Rire* and *La Libre Parole*. All the above are united in the compilation Norman L. Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art Truth and Justice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 154-266.

¹⁶⁷ One of the examples of this trope could be an image created by Lionel Royer in 1895 called “Great French allegory for the punishment of Dreyfus”, depicting Dreyfus with the bag of coins exiled from France to hell by the female allegory of justice. Lionel Royer, “Grande allégorie française pour le châtiment de Dreyfus”, *Le Journal Illustrée*, 6 janvier, 1895.

¹⁶⁸ Henri Meyer, “Le Traître”, *Le Petit Journal*, 13 January 1895.

¹⁶⁹ “A l'Ecole militaire : La dégradation du traître Dreyfus”, *Le Petit Parisien*, 13 January 1895.

¹⁷⁰ Fred Kupferman, Philippe Machefer, “Presse et politique dans les années Trente: le cas du “Petit Journal”, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 22, no. 1, (1975) : 7.

¹⁷¹ Frederic de Haenen, “La dégradation de Capitain Dreyfus”, *L’illustration*, 12 January 1895.

¹⁷² “La dégradation militaire du traître Dreyfus”, *Le Progrès Illustré* 5 January 1895.

general. As was mentioned by the witnesses of the event, the ceremony was accompanied by insults toward Dreyfus on the part of a large crowd, which gathered to observe the public punishment, calling him “Judah” and “betrayers”, interspersing with the shouts, proclaiming *Vive la France*¹⁷³. Thus, within this commonly shared visual narrative, the French army, and through it the entire nation, is portrayed as “triumphant” and “avenged” – the alleged “foreign”, “hostile”, and “undignified” element of the military is publically dishonored before the eyes of the French population, which greets this process, and the glory of the military is restored, which is visually communicated to audience by the victorious iconography.

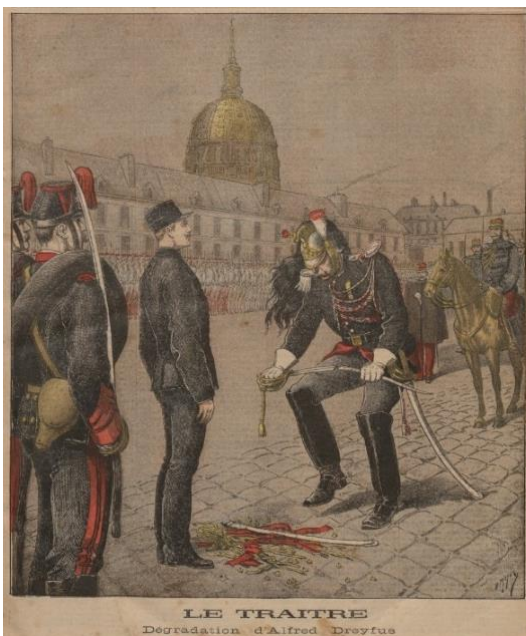


Figure 15. Henri Meyer, “Le Traître”, *Le Petit Journal*, (13 January 1895) : 1.



Figure 14. Frederic de Haenen, “La dégradation de Capitaine Dreyfus”, *L'Illustration*, (12 January 1895): 1.

Three years later during the Revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair, *Psst...!*, reflecting on the French army, its role for the nation and the situation it found itself in the context of the scandal, operates by the iconography and plots that are distinct from that described above, as well as communicates to the audience a quite different semantics. For instance, Caran d’Ache, reflecting on the current state of affairs in France, alienated his army-related plots from the contemporary features, appealing to the French military history and going back to the aftermath of the French

¹⁷³ “Le Chatiment: l’ex-capitaine Dreyfus dégradé publiquement à l’Ecole Militaire”, *Le Matin*, 6 January 1895.

Revolution for constructing his nationalistic and antisemitic narrative. In one of the drawings, he sets the aim of reflecting on the “glorious France”, which he indicates in the image’s title. The drawing portrays a French officer staying on the battlefield near the horse – he is calm and confident, looking straight at the viewer and smoking a pipe (Figure 18). His military uniform refers to the times of the Napoleonic wars (1799-1815), which can be identified through the appeal to the already mentioned illustrated book by Caran d’Ache dedicated to the one century of the French military uniform *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, created 8 years before *Psst...!*. Thus, a richly decorated multi-layered jacket can be found in an image, portraying a Napoleonic soldier returning home after the victory in 1810 (Figure 17), while the cap with a feather on the top is portrayed as a part of the officer’s uniform dating back to 1807 (Figure 16). In the background of the image in a distance a large number of soldiers both infantry and cavalry can be recognized, communicating to the viewer the idea of power and force of the depicted army. The author’s legend at the bottom of the drawing states – “time when we had a little more of glory and a little less of Reinach”.



Figure 16. Caran d’Ache, ‘Tamboureur d’infanterie de ligne et Carabinier’, *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, (Paris : E. Plon, 1890)



Figure 17. Caran d’Ache, “La Victoire le rend à l’amour”, *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, (Paris: E. Plon, 1890).

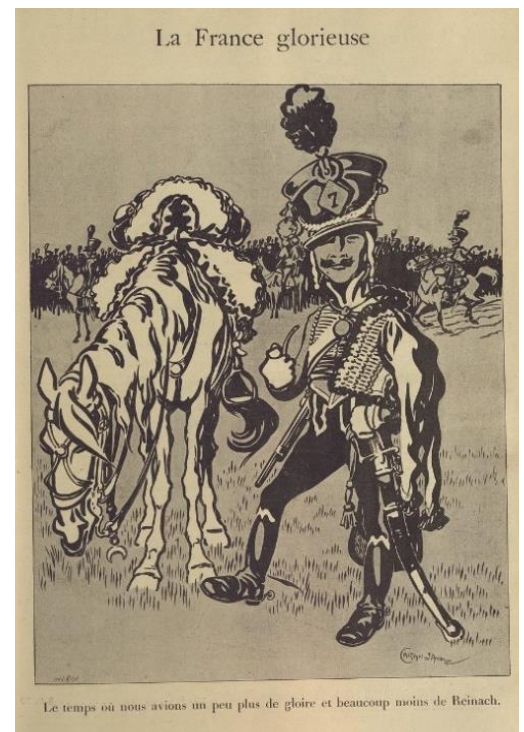


Figure 18. Caran d’Ache, “La France glorieuse”, *Psst...!*, no. 66, (6 May, 1899) : 2.

The appeal to the epoch of French history, when the country was ruled by Napoleon Bonaparte is not accidental and is determined both by the personal convictions of the author, as well as the nature of the French nationalism in the 19th century. As scholars' working on the figure of Caran d'Ache note – he felt a great admiration toward the figure of Napoleon that was rooted in his family history, as his grandfather was an officer in Bonaparte's army and could transfer to the grandson the myth of the Napoleonic greatness¹⁷⁴. Additionally, the figure of Napoleon I was of great importance to the French national consciousness. The historical period of his power was perceived as the advancement in various spheres of the State life – the dynamic development of the economics, the social peace and, most importantly the military power¹⁷⁵, as until 1812, the French military campaigns were successful. The memory of the Napoleonic times as heroic was alive in the Third Republic as well, especially in the Right ideological camp. An example can be taken from the book *Les déracinés* (1897) by the writer and politician Maurice Barrès, a devout nationalist and anti-Dreyfusard, where, in one of the chapters, he describes five young men who arrived at the capital from the province, visiting the tomb of Napoleon in Hôtel des Invalides. In this episode, Barrès describes Napoleon as a concentration of audacity and will, as well as depicts his tomb as being full of the heroic murmur, which is still felt many years after his death by the young people of France and is offering them the inspiration and courage for further glorifying and supporting the country¹⁷⁶. Thus, within the narrative constructed by Caran d'Ache, France appears to be represented by the figure of the soldier, pointing out the core role that the army plays within the definition of the “genuine” French nation for the nationalistic conservative rhetoric that the journal belonged to. The “glory” of the country, in its turn, consists of the past French military victories during the Napoleonic era, when the country was ruled by a patriotic leader willing to multiply military victories of France. However, in the context of the Third Republic and the Dreyfus case, the French glory appears to be endangered and decreased due to Joseph Reinach –

¹⁷⁴ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art.”: 251.

¹⁷⁵ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 168.

¹⁷⁶ Maurice Barrès, *Les déracinés : le roman de l'énergie nationale*, (Paris : Emile Paul, 1911) : 217-219.

a French politician of the Jewish origin, who was active in advocating for the Dreyfus' liberation during the Revisionist period and, within the antisemitic journal was a part of the "Jewish Syndicate", allegedly attempting to dishonor France – as Forain described in his interview regarding the launch of *Psst...!*, "this criminal conspiracy...Dreyfusard Syndicate... like a slow but insidious poison, seeps into the body and mind of the French nation for corrupting it with pernicious doctrines, to steal it and, which the heinous crime, to try to dishonor it"¹⁷⁷.

Forain continues the rhetoric line about the "Jews" attempting to dishonor France and its nation, portrayed through the image of the army, but chooses different visual language and timeframe for these plots. First, he decides not to picture soldiers themselves and instead takes two features of the military uniform, which can be easily recognized by the audience – the officer's hat and the epaulets – making them emotive symbols through which the "lost glory" of the nation can be communicated. This artistic decision can be explained first, by the character of Forain's artistic method, characterized by his contemporaries as "synthesizing" and "philosophical", consisting of the constant search for summarizing several lines in one¹⁷⁸ and, thus, allowing a more concentrated and powerful effect on the audience. Second, this iconography allows to larger pull of associations and meanings, which the viewer can attribute to the features of uniform, when it is not strictly linked to a particular personage or time. While the visual characteristics of the caps and epaulets were changing over time, and Forain clearly represents the features of the Republican army, they, however, for a long time were a part of the French military uniform. Thus, their usage allows a more capacious deductive effect, as allows the audience to ascribe these signs of belonging to the military not only to the current events, but a large pool of connotations regarding the French army's "glory" and "honor" from the history of France, therefore, making the symbols more emotive for the viewers, and the audience more sensitive to the narrative that Forain tries to create using these features. For instance, in one of the images, Forain portrays a man, dressed in the magistrate dress,

¹⁷⁷ Guignery, "Interview de Forain. Psst! Psst!" : 1.

¹⁷⁸ Méry, "Au jour le jour" : 1.

staying with his back to the viewer and kicking the officer's hat with his leg, throwing the latter far away (Figure 19). The title of the image states on in Latin – *Cedant arma togæ*, which signifies the submission of the military power to the civil authority”¹⁷⁹. The author's note on the bottom of the image states, referring to the audience – “and we are putting up with this”.



Figure 19. Jean-Louis Forain, “Cedant arma togæ”, *Psst...!*, no. 3, (19 February, 1898) : 1.

Thus, on the visual level, Forain condemns the representative of the civil and administrative power for attempting to getting rid of the army, portrayed by the military cap, and appeals to the viewers for finally changing the situation. But what is wrong with the magistrate? For answering this question, the entire visual and semantic development of Forain's narrative in the *Psst...!* should be taken into account. The figure of a magistrate representative first appears on the third number of the journal on 19 February 1898 (Figure 19), and a few months later, in the number from 15 October 1898, Forain appeals to this figure again, this time providing a visual explanation for the criticism toward this institution of the “civil authority”. The image shows an office at night, where a “Jewish” man recognized by the antisemitic iconography of a hooked nose and fleshy lips holds a lamp in his hands and uses it for pressing down toward the piles of papers on the table a

¹⁷⁹ Kleeblatt (ed.), *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*: 176.

magistrate worker, recognized by the official dress. The author's note states: "An enlightened magistrate", claiming that magistrates and the whole judiciary system of France are controlled and suppressed by the "Jews" (Figure 20).

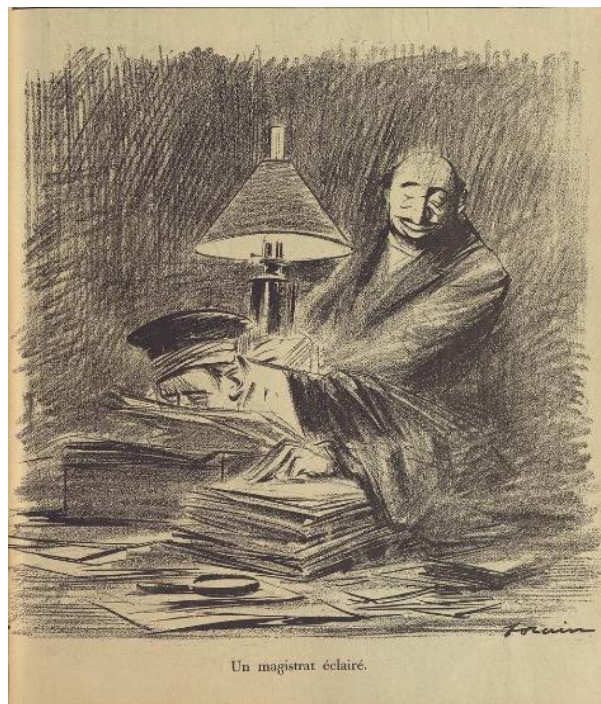


Figure 20. Jean-Louis Forain, "Un magistrat éclairé", *Psst....!*, no. 37, (15 October, 1898) : 1.

This artistic trope was inspired by the widespread suspicion on the part of the anti-Dreyfusard camp toward the magistrate. The latter was in charge of revising the proofs used in support of Dreyfus' guilt for making the decision regarding the revision of this case¹⁸⁰. As the revisionist process was launched, the magistrates were accused on the part of anti-Dreyfusard in favoring their "adversaries"¹⁸¹, as well as of being bought by the "Jewish" capital¹⁸². Thus, while Drumont proclaimed all the governmental institutions of the Third Republic to be in the hands of the "Jews"¹⁸³, Forain adds to this the trope about the alleged corruptness of the judicial and administrative systems caused by the "Jewish" enemies of the French nation¹⁸⁴. In this context, the

¹⁸⁰ Piers Paul Read, *The Dreyfus Affair : The Story of the Most Infamous Miscarriage of Justice in French History*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2012): 250, 354.

¹⁸¹ Everton, "Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst!*": 238.

¹⁸² Read, *The Dreyfus Affair : The Story of the Most Infamous Miscarriage of Justice in French History*: 95.

¹⁸³ Drumont, *La France Juive* I: 291, 383.

¹⁸⁴ It should be mentioned that Caran d'Ache also included this trope in his narrative. For instance, in one of the drawings from 28 January 1899, he depicts three "Jewish" men, recognized by hooked noses and glasses, dressed in the official form of the magistrate and whispering, while one of them says: "Silence, messieurs, I see a French". Caran d'Ache, no title, *Psst....!*, no. 52, (January 28, 1899): 2.

army appears to be the only “genuine” institution, clear of the “hostile” and foreign influences, and, therefore, within the antisemitic and nationalistic narrative of the journal, the alleged enemies, “Jews” and their “allies”, are portrayed as trying to get rid of the French army through dishonoring and destroying it, as perceive the latter as dangerous for their “malicious” plans. In another example, Forain adds the epaulets to the French military symbols and more thoroughly touches upon the “enemies” of the army and, thus, that of the nation itself. He portrays a “Jewish” man, who stays on the street with a German, whose historical personality I didn’t manage to identify but who in previous works by Forain was named as the “expert from Berlin”¹⁸⁵. The “Jew” holds the German by his coat telling him to stay as the celebration is about to start. Under the “festive event”, he means the scene unfolding in the background, where a large crowd is agitated by the epaulets and cap from the French military uniform thrown away from the window and willing to destroy them (Figure 22). The crowd is most probably the one which was already portrayed by Forain as supporting such slogans as *A bas l’Armée*, *A bas la France* and *Vive l’Anarchie*, thus, representing within the nationalistic and antiemetic orientation of the journal, the inner “enemies” of France and desiring to destroy and dishonor the symbols of the only “genuine” French institution and through it the “true” French population (Figure 21). In this drawing the opposition between the crowd consisting of the national “enemies” and the soldier, as a positive figure is set.

¹⁸⁵ Jean Louis Forain, “Au Syndicat”, *Psst... !*, no. 49 (January 7, 1899) : 1.



Figure 22. Jean-Louis Forain, no title, *Psst...!*, no. 68, (20 May, 1899) : 1.

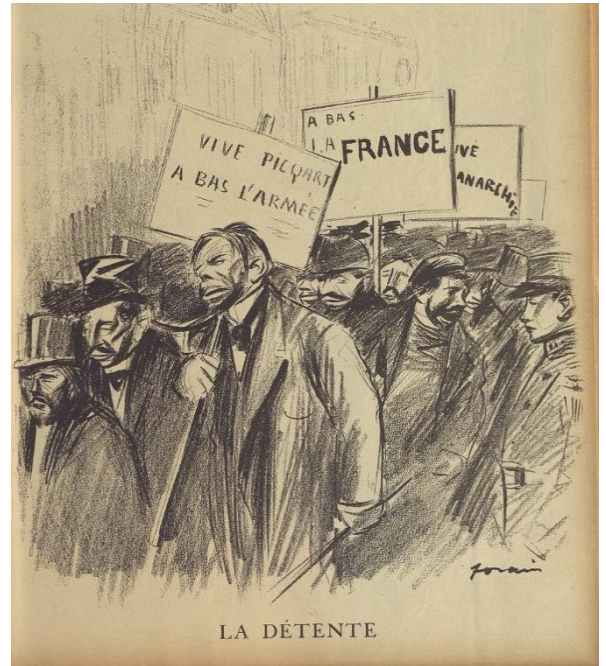


Figure 21. Jean-Louis Forain, “La détente”, *Psst...!*, no. 36, (8 October, 1898) : 1.

Thus, in *Psst...!* both Forain and Caran d’Ache, while creating the narrative about the “genuine” French population, appeal to the national sense of glory, which they represent through the army and military victories of the French history. The figure of the soldier and the features of his uniform, in their turn, become the definition of the nation and an example of the “genuine” Frenchman. The deductive force of the figure of the military officer and the features of his appearance was already explored by Caran d’Ache in his book *Nos Soldats du Siècle*, where he noted the strong patriotic sentiments that his figure can provoke in the people of France of all ages, and this discursive line was developed and politicized by both artists in *Psst...!* using various iconographic directions. This trope becomes a meaningful characteristic of the “genuine” French nation within the nationalistic and antisemitic narrative of *Psst...!*, first, through the definition of the army as the only uncorrupted institution in France, as was shown by Forain, and, second, by the visual and semantic polarized populist opposition that it allows to build regarding the “manhood” between the “French” and the “Jewish”. As was shown in Chapter I, the “Jews” in *Psst...!* were portrayed as “feminized” and “weak” through their belonging to the intellectuals,

which was perceived by the conservative camp as a pejorative term¹⁸⁶, as well as through the “masculinization” of the “Jewish” women. The figure of the soldier was ascribed with totally opposite connotations. In the cultural context of 19th-century Europe, the figure of the soldier became an embodiment of exemplary masculinity¹⁸⁷, while within the national building process became a symbol of such virtues as discipline, willpower and bravery¹⁸⁸. As an example of such a discursive line, a speech from 1898 by a famous Dominican preacher Henri Didon, who was also an educator and propagator of sports activities for the youth in late 19th century France, could be mentioned. In his statements, Didon glorified the army in opposition to the intellectuals through the notion of the physical force, proclaiming the army to be “the highest expression of the material human force” and the sign of the grandeur of the country, as well as describing the military spirit as marked by the “force and robustness”¹⁸⁹. Thus, the opposition of the “heroic”, “strong” and “weak”, as well as “virtues” and “corrupted” was set. This discursive line was of great importance for the conservative nationalistic camp, to which the journal belonged, willing at preserving the “traditional” France that was seen as endangered due to the modifications brought by modernity¹⁹⁰, due to the developing decadence, within which the “masculinity” and “manhood” were seen endangered due to the tendency toward the homosexual lifestyle, which was demonstrated by several men of art and culture¹⁹¹, as well as feminist movement, attempting to challenge the patriarchal structure of the society¹⁹². However, the narrative of the French military splendor, powerful in strengthening the sense of national belonging, as was stated by Renan, goes together with the subject of the loss of glory at the hands of the “alleged” national enemies. This shift of semantics and visual language can be explained in its core by the character of the Revisionist

¹⁸⁶ Christopher E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 71.

¹⁸⁷ Neil R. Davison, “The Jew” as Homme/Femme-Fatale: Jewish (Art) ifice,” *Trilby*”, and Dreyfus.” *Jewish Social Studies* 8, no. 2/3 (2002): 101.

¹⁸⁸ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 164.

¹⁸⁹ Henri Didon, *L'Esprit militaire dans une Nation*, (Paris : J. Mersch, 1898) : 23, 27. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*: 209.

¹⁹⁰ Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*: 71, 143.

¹⁹¹ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 88.

¹⁹² Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*: 51

period itself – while in 1895, antisemites and nationalists were celebrating the victory of their hateful campaign, starting from 1898, when the “culpability” of Dreyfus was put into question and the additional trial was scheduled, they perceived their stances challenged and endangered. In this case, the discursive line of the lost glory of the army and through it of the entire nation could be of great importance for the populist nationalistic direction of *Psst...!* and its aim at “fighting” with the alleged “hostile” elements of the French society, as it could allow mobilizing the audience through appealing to their desire of revenge for those, who were portrayed as one of the main pillars of the national identity. As scholars note, the sense of revenge as a force, which could help to establish social cohesion was an important pillar of the nationalist populist politics of the late 19th century¹⁹³.

2.2. A Frenchman as a peasant: the “Christian” population oppressed by the “Jews”

Another trope, that can be identified regarding the definition of a “true” Frenchman in *Psst...!*, which was developed exclusively by Caran d’Ache, is the figure of the peasant. The implementation of the peasantry in the national identification process of the country is not unique to the French context and appears to be symptomatic of this period of time for several European countries, which employed this motif as a core for creating a myth about the timeless soul of the nation¹⁹⁴. In the French case, however, the scholars note a highly manipulated character of the discursive usage of the peasantry within the national-building process, since the figure of a peasant had been ascribed with a large variety of meanings and connotations depending on the political discourse by which the latter was instrumentalized¹⁹⁵. In the context of late 19th France, as historians point out, the quest for the definition of “Frenchness” was profoundly political and was marked by the ideological rivalry between the free-thinking, cosmopolitan Republicans and the

¹⁹³ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 116.

¹⁹⁴ Stefan Berger, “On the role of myths and history in the construction of national identity in modern Europe”, *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3, (2009): 495.

¹⁹⁵ Susan Carol Rogers, “Good to Think: The ‘Peasant’ in Contemporary France.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (1987): 56–57.

Right-wing¹⁹⁶. The latter, defending the traditional structure of the state and leaning toward the ahistorical image of the country, understood the allegedly authentic way of living as regional and rural¹⁹⁷. In this case, the figure of the peasant was of great rhetorical importance and appeared to be instrumentalized by the conservative camp for opposing “modernity”, which they resisted and that was embedded from their perspective in the reforms introduced by the politics of the Third Republic¹⁹⁸. Thus, the rural way served the political purpose of establishing the opposition of “traditional” and “timeless”, as “genuine”, and “modern”, as “hostile”¹⁹⁹. The grounds for this antithesis were already prepared, since within the common imagination of the time in France was a widespread opposition between the image of the “peasantry” as “archaic” and “French”, “citizen” as “modern”²⁰⁰, and the Right-wing had only to rework it on the anti-Republican way. But what was the appearance of the figure of the peasant within the nationalistic anti-Dreyfusard rhetoric tending to create a polarized opposition between the “French” and “Jewish” both ideologically and iconographically? This question regarding the French context remains mostly undiscovered in a broad scope of scholarly literature, especially concerning the visual material, and will be closely addressed within the further narration on the example of *Psst...!*. Thus, a close analysis of the drawings by Caran d'Ache, where the figure of a peasant was taken as a deductive center, will be conducted, the construction of the relationship between the “genuine” French peasantry and the “Jews” will be addressed, as well as possible ideological and artistic influences for this discursive line will be analyzed. All of the above will allow establishing an additional visual and rhetorical way to define the “genuine” French population through the appeal to the figure of the “Jew”.

¹⁹⁶ Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900-1945*: 8.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹⁸ Edouard Drumont can be taken here as an example, as he blamed the politics of the Third Republic for such reforms, seen as “progressive” and “modernized” by the Republicans, as the secularization of education, the support of the entrepreneurial banking and the physical changings in the Parisian urban landscape. Richard I. Cohen, “Recurrent Images in French Antisemitism in the Third Republic” in Robert S. Wistrich (ed.), *Demonizing the Other* (London: Routledge, 1999): 187.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ James R. Leuning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 182.

Caran d'Ache follows the conservative tendency and portrays the “genuine” Frenchman as a peasant. For instance, in one of the drawings, he depicts a working man, whose face and hands are tanned brown by the sun, staying in the middle of the plowed field in a simple rough shirt and trousers with the pickaxe in his hands (Figure 23). His legs are drowning in the earth, emphasizing his belonging to this land and closeness to the soil. The peasant turns his head toward the road situated between two fields in the distance, where a guard on horseback guides a column of prisoners, who are recognizable by the shackles on their hands. The last figure in this procession appears to be a “Jewish” intellectual who is marked by a hooked nose and glasses. The title at the top of the image poses the question, “Finally?” while the author’s legend on the bottom states “Relief”, reflecting the alleged sentiments of the portrayed French peasant when he sees a “Jew” punished and driven out.

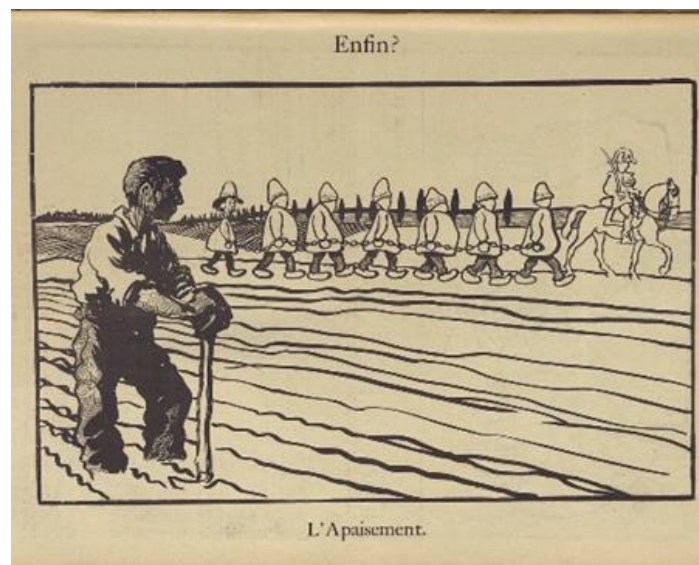


Figure 23. Caran d'Ache, “L’Apaisement”, *Psst....!*, no. 43, (26 November, 1898) : 3.

While the figure of the peasant is the visual center of the work, on the semantic level, he is not taken as an independent medium for forming the national identity, but the “Frenchness” is constructed and communicated through establishing a set of visual and semantic oppositions to the “Jewish”. The first antithesis represents the “rootedness” and “closeness” to the soil of the French peasant while the “Jew”, shown here as a prisoner, is depicted as “hostile” “outsider”, who should be expelled, so the “genuine” French population can feel relief. Another opposition that the

caricaturist builds resides on the antithesis between physical labor and the “intellectual” occupation. The elevation and “goodness” of the labor are rooted, first, in the stances propagated by Toussenel in his book *Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque*, where he comprised the labor as a “genuine” richness of the nation in comparison to money and capital that were portrayed as “corrupted” and “oppressive”²⁰¹, and, second, in the concepts formulated by the famous 19th-century preacher Henri Didon, who tightly bound up the moral force and goodness with the physical activity and endurance²⁰². The grounds for the “vicious” nature of the intellectual occupation, as was already discussed in Chapter I and recalled in the previous part related to the figure of a soldier, consisted of the ambiguity and decrease of “manhood”, while the latter was perceived as a “virtue”. All the above is supported by the iconography and composition. The “Frenchman” is portrayed as physically strong, which is shown, for instance, through his hands with swelled veins from the labor, while the “Jewish” intellectual is depicted as bodily weak and insignificant, which is marked, first, by the thinner body shape in comparison to other prisoners in the line and, second, through the composition he looks much smaller than the peasant being put on the background.

The portrayal of a “genuine” French population as peasants continues in another drawing, which shows a working man with the pickaxe, staying in the middle of the plowed land in front of a person, who can be recognized as a judge through his official clothes and a document, titled “judgment”, which he places on a column (Figure 24). The judge appears to be a “Jew” that is communicated through the antisemitic iconography of a hooked nose, which again implies the opposition and the confrontation between the “French” and “Jewish”. The author’s legend states: “The hat of Gessler”.

²⁰¹ Toussenel, *Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière*: I-V.

²⁰² Henri Didon, *Influence morale des sports athlétiques*, (Paris: J. Mersch, 1897) : 7-8.

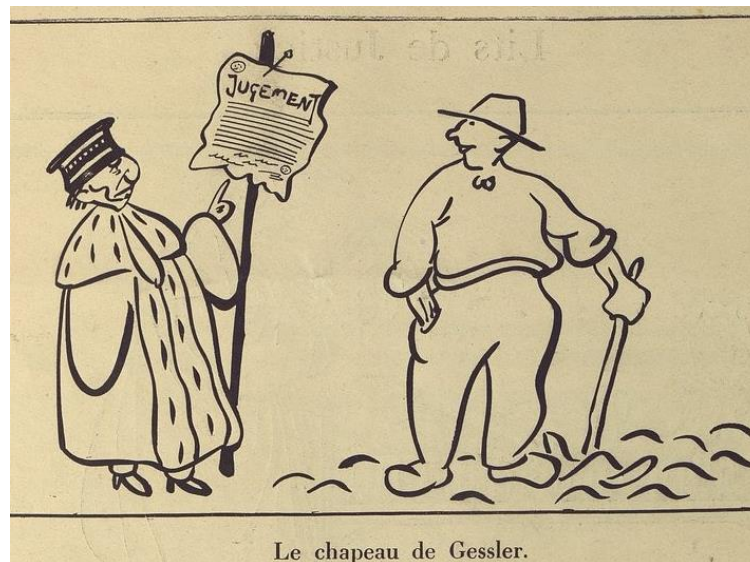


Figure 24. Caran d'Ache, "Le chapeau de Gessler", *Psst...!*, no. 51, (21 January, 1898) : 4.

The title refers to a Swiss legend, which dates back to the XIV century – times of the power and pressure of the Monarchy of Habsburgs over the Swiss land – and consists of the opposition between William Tell, a crossbowman, who within the plot of the legend represents the Swiss people living under the tyrannical regimes, and the bailiff Gessler²⁰³, who imposes on the population the necessity to bow and greet his hat as an exercise of obedience²⁰⁴. Caran d'Ache takes this legend, familiar to a part of the 19th-century French audience²⁰⁵, and reworks it for antisemitic and nationalistic purposes of the journal through making some changes. First, while in the legend, Tell was a crossbowman, the caricaturist decides to reconsider his figure with the usage of the iconography of a peasant. Second, the agent of Habsburgs from the legend appears to be depicted by Caran d'Ache as a "Jew" and as a judge with a clear antisemitic iconography. The "Jewishness" of this figure, who within the legend's plot represents the German-speaking "foreign" and "hostile" power, can allude to the omnipresent in the common imagination trope regarding the alleged Jewish closeness to the Germans developed, first, due to the nature of the Dreyfus Affair, and, second, because of the tight connection between the Jews and the annexed

²⁰³ Jean-François Bergier, "Guillaume Tell. Légende et réalité dans les Alpes au Moyen Âge", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2, no. 128, (1984) : 323.

²⁰⁴ Joseph Jurt, "les humains nés libres, nés égaux". Guillaume Tell dans la tradition francophone", *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 105, no. 2, (2005) : 290.

²⁰⁵ In 19th century Europe, this story was popularized through cultural production, such as, for instance, the play "William Tell" by Friedrich Schiller (1804) and the opera "Guillaume Tell" by Gioachino Rossini, the premier of which took place in the *Opéra de Paris* in 1892.

territories of Alsace-Lorraine. His portrayal as a judge, in its turn, can refer to the trope of the “corrupted” and allegedly Jewish-controlled magistrate, which was developed in *Psst...!* as was shown in the previous part. Thus, the dramatic opposition of the Suisse people to the foreign power of Habsburgs over their land appears to be reworked by Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!* and presented as the resistance of the “genuine” French population to the alleged “Jewish” domination. In this case, the appeal to the ancient legend is not accidental and possesses a certain rhetorical power for the hateful antisemitic narrative that *Psst...!* develops. First, it allows him to go beyond the current state of affairs in France and present Jews as old and even historical enemies of the “true” French-speaking population, and, second, this trope helps Caran d’Ache to communicate to his readers the idea of fight against the “enemies”, as well as the allegedly victorious end of this anti-Jewish rebellion, which, taking into account the core of the instrumentalized legend, would be an act of liberation for the French nation.

The final example that will be addressed within this layer of discussion is also constructed through the appeal to past events with the purpose of constructing the narrative concerning the alleged “Jewish” oppression over the genuine “French” population. This time, however, Caran d’Ache refers to the episodes of French history, reworking them in an antisemitic way as he did before with the Swiss legend. In the drawing entitled “Why did we do 1789?”, he divides the artistic dimension into two parts, presenting on the top the difficulties of the peasantry before the Revolution under the monarchical regime and on the bottom, showing the alleged current state of affairs in France. Caran d’Ache argues that the parallel could be drawn within these two timeframes and situations (Figure 25).

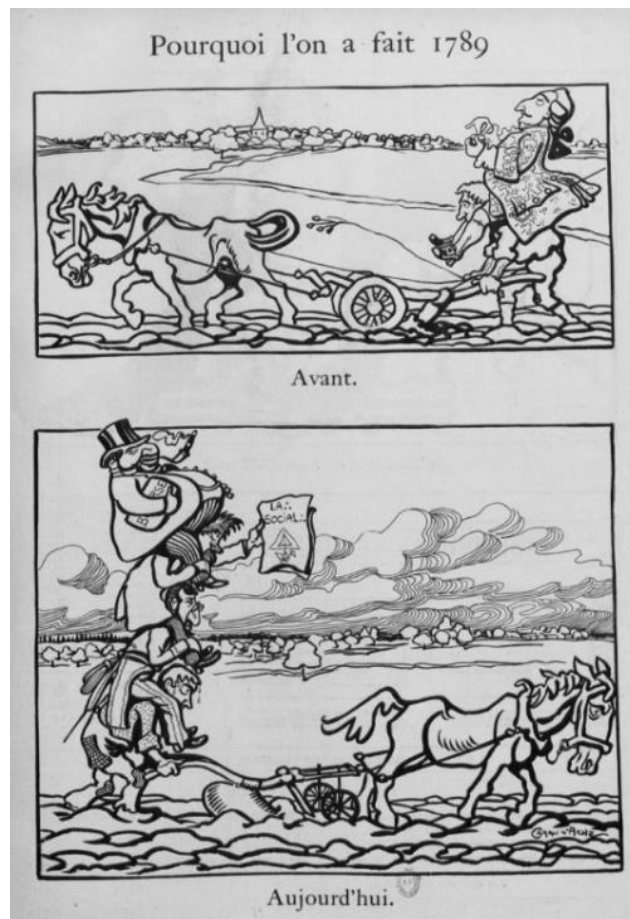


Figure 25. Caran d'Ache, "Pourquoi l'on a fait 1789", *Psst... !*, no. 37, (15 October, 1898) : 3.

In the upper part of the drawing, representing the alleged life of the rural population under the monarchical regime, Caran d'Ache depicts a peasant in a field, who holds the plow pulled by a horse and on the shoulders of whom sits a king or an aristocrat. The latter, recognized by a rich dress and a wig, is interested in his own manicure, while the peasant in simple rough clothes hardly moves forward because of the weight he is doomed to bear on his back. The idea of the "parasitic" power using and oppressing the population of the country is evident. In the lower part, an identical image is presented with the single distinction that, according to Caran d'Ache, this scene takes place in late 19th century France. The peasant is shown to be in an even more victimized position "today" than "before" as his clothes seem to be poorer with numerous patches on them, and he is doomed to hold three alleged enemies in comparison to one. This "oppressive" pyramid consists of, first, a "Jewish" capitalist, who can be recognized by a hooked nose, rich dress, cigar and a newspaper titled the "Stock-exchange". Second, a freemason, who is identifiable by the triangular

symbol with an eye in the center, which is depicted on the paper that he holds in his hand. Third, a “Jewish” intellectual, who is marked by a hooked nose and glasses. “Jewish” bankers and “Jewish” intellectuals constitute already familiar tropes as the alleged enemies of France within the antisemitic narrative of *Psst...!*, while the figure of a freemason is new in the journal’s hateful vocabulary and can be taken as a reference to the popular rhetoric developed by Drumont. The latter, for instance, proclaimed freemasons to be the main accomplices of Jews in the desire to destroy the French nation²⁰⁶ as well as those who together with the “Dreyfus Syndicate” captured the power over the Republic²⁰⁷. The opposition of “productivity” and “unproductivity” is still present but this time, Caran d’Ache openly demonstrates the antisemitic trope formulated by Toussenel in *Les Juifs, Rois de l’Époque*, where the latter claimed the Jews to be parasitizing on the labor of the workers and appropriating the monetary results of their work, thus, oppressing them and bringing to poverty²⁰⁸. Thus, it can be stated that while certain details of the plot can vary, the pillars of this nationalistic and antisemitic line in *Psst...!* remains the same – the oppressed position of the laborious and traditional “genuine” population of France in the face of the parasitic, “vicious” Jews, having power. But what are the ideological grounds lying behind the surface of the drawings?

The major source, which propagated the emphasis on the peasantry concerning “Frenchness” in the context of the Dreyfus Affair and tightly bound up this discursive line with the “Jewish” myth, was Edouard Drumont. In *La France Juive*, he formulated two images of an “exemplary” Frenchman through the idea of the “land” and “soil”. One was portrayed as a “worker” – “the father of an irreproachable family, a good Christian and indefatigable worker... of the fields or cities”, who is “calm on the soil where there is no one but the French as himself”

²⁰⁶ Drumont, *La France Juive* I : XI, 490.

²⁰⁷ As he was claiming, “no one can ignore the fact that the government of France and all our administration, is exclusively in the hands of Jews and freemasons”. Edouard Drumont, *La Libre Parole Illustrée* (12 August 1893) cited in Anderson, “Édouard Drumont and the Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism”: 35.

²⁰⁸ Toussenel, *Les Juifs, Rois de l’Époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière* : I-V.

²⁰⁹. The other one was depicted as a “peasant” – “who risks his life to obtain the sheaf of wheat” and “who dances in the evening with bagpipes” ²¹⁰. The image of these people, whose alleged “truthfulness” is rooted in their “honesty”, “traditional way of living” and “closeness to the soil” doesn’t stand alone and, as in Caran d’Ache’s images, finds its rhetorical power in relation to the “Jewish” myth. Thus, Drumont introduced the motif of “victimization” and portrayed the “genuine” French population to be oppressed and crushed by the alleged monopoly of the “Jews”, who are, in their turn, shown in his book as cosmopolites deprived of the fatherland, whose God is replaced by the Stock Exchange and Money²¹¹. The idea of the “endangered” position of the “genuine” French population by the “Jews” was continued in the *Testament d’un antisémite* published in 1891, where Drumont compared himself to Christ in his aim of protecting the poor and oppressed people from the “exploiters and thieves”²¹². For proving for his readers the alleged desire of the Jews to oppress the Christian population Drumont also appealed to religion, referring to Talmud and quoting that “the money of the gentiles is for the Jew; so it is possible to rob and trick them”²¹³. Thus, to an already established set of oppositions can be added that of the “Christian” and “Jewish”. It should be mentioned that the usage of the figure of the peasant for the image of “victimization” that Drumont was seeking to create could be partly determined by the economic and social situation in which the peasantry found itself in the second half of the 19th century. Modernity brought profound modifications to the economics of the country, which lead to the decline and gradual disappearance of rural industries in the face of large capitalism and the competition with modern market goods²¹⁴. As a result, the rural population found itself in the “endangered” position and could be easily used by nationalistic populist politics, marked by the tendency of using ideological polarization for helping to strengthen national unity²¹⁵, for creating

²⁰⁹ Drumont, *La France Juive* : 287, 419.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 287, 515.

²¹¹ Ibid., 329.

²¹² Edouard Drumont, *Le Testament d’un antisémite* (Paris : E. Dentu, 1891) : 2.

²¹³ Thomas P. Anderson, “Édouard Drumont and the Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism.”: 36.

²¹⁴ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976): 211, 222.

²¹⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991): 53-54.

a situation of anxiety and opposition, in this case, between the traditional economy and capitalism²¹⁶. However, the active role that the nationalists ascribed to them within the fight with the “malicious” and “corrupted” Jewish element is historically groundless and also constitutes a “myth”. As scholars agree, while the gradual politicization of the peasantry took place in the second half of the 19th century, the Dreyfus Affair, which was a burning event in Paris and certain provincial capitals, left the rural population rather indifferent²¹⁷. This fact allows making an argument regarding the anticipated audience of the journal and arguing that, when using the image of a “genuine” Frenchman as a peasant with a highly likely reference to Drumont, Caran d’Ache didn’t appeal to the peasants as such and didn’t perceive them as main players in the fight against the alleged “Jewish” enemies of the country but rather used them as a “myth”, meanwhile appealing to the population of the capital or big provincial cities, who were much more engaged with the event. But why does the Parisian audience was supposed to identify itself with the image of the peasantry? For answering this question, the artistic context concerning the figure of the peasant as such and its role for the French national identification should be taken into account.

In his drawings, presenting the rural dwellers as the “genuine” population of France, Caran d’Ache didn’t appeal to any particular region of the country either through the specificities of the landscape or through the particularities of the clothes, and since the figure of the peasant as such tends to be universal, the question arises concerning the details of the iconography, which could allow viewers to visually recognize the represented figures as exactly *French* peasants to identify itself with. For answering this question, a closer look should be taken at the broader cultural context of the Third Republic. The artistic interest in the rural context and its people in France increased in the 19th century due to the profound changing in the lifestyle considered “traditional”, as well as the decline of rural prosperity due to the gradual modernization of the various spheres

²¹⁶ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914*: 222.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 244. Michael Burns, *Rural Societies and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair, 1886-1900*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): 140.

of the country's life through the power of the large capital, industrialization and urbanization²¹⁸. Among the French painters of the first row, who chose the countryside as a subject for their paintings were Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) and Jean-François Millet (1814-1875). Their most known works dedicated to rural life, such as *The Stonebreakers* (1849) by Courbet, showing two poorly dressed men, one young and one old, breaking up the stones under the scorching sun (Figure 26), and *The Gleaners* (1857) by Millet, depicting three women working in the field, were received by the majority of the public with hostility during their exhibition in the *Salons* under the Second Republic (1848-1852) and Second Empire (1852-1870) accordingly. The reason lying behind this negative reception was the same in both cases – the increased naturalism in depicting the poorness and the difficulty of the labor conditions of these people, which were often perceived as social criticism on the part of the painters²¹⁹. This attitude toward the works of Courbet and Millet, engaging with the subject of rural France in a realistic way, was changed under the Third Republic, which proclaimed these artists to be the representatives of the “true” art of the nation in its quest for establishing the pantheon of the French “national” art that could strengthen the sense of national belonging and unify people within the heterogeneous population of the country through a certain vocabulary of the visual images²²⁰. Thus, two works by Millet on rural and regional subjects, such as *The Gleaners*, which was already mentioned, and *The Angelus*, depicting two peasants, a man and a woman, staying in the middle of the plowed field in the process of praying by the end of the workday (Figure 26), were included in the 1880s-1890s in the major French artistic collections and proclaimed within the public discourse to be the symbols of the national pride and patriotism²²¹. The figure and art of Courbet underwent the same tendency, being proclaimed by

²¹⁸ Monica Juneja, “The peasant image and agrarian change: Representations of rural society in nineteenth-century French painting from Millet to van Gogh,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 15, no. 4, (1988): 445.

²¹⁹ Bradley Fratello, “France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined Fates of *The Gleaners* and *The Angelus*,” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4, (2003): 685. T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, (Berkeley: university of California Press, 1999): 133.

²²⁰ June Hargrove, Neil McWilliam, *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870-1914*, (New York, National Gallery of Art, 2005): 10. Linda Nochlin, “The DePoliticization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic,” *October* 22: 66, 67.

²²¹ Fratello, “France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined Fates of *The Gleaners* and *The Angelus*”: 690.

the critics in the 1880s to be the representative of “great” French artistic tradition, naming his works to contain and transfer the elevating and nationalistic motifs, which, according to the “official” narrative, would be able to shed the light on the glory of the Third Republic²²². Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the artistic model for representing the French peasantry was already set, and its semantic coloring as the “national” symbol was already popularized by the time *Psst...!* was launched. Additionally, due to this popularizing campaign, the late 19th-century public of the French capital was greatly familiar both with the iconography and the discourses of the national identity and pride developing around these works, as well as their “rural” and “peasant” motifs. In this case, the suggestion can be made that Caran d’Ache could decide to implement these widely known iconography and semantics to the nationalistic narrative of the journal while creating the image of the genuine Frenchman as a “peasant”, as it would allow him to make the image more appealing to the viewers. This assumption will be confirmed if we compare already discussed drawings by Caran d’Ache (especially Figures 23 and 24), with already mentioned *The Stonebreakers* by Courbet (Figure 27) and *The Angelus* by Millet (Figure 26). The drawing *Enfin* (Figure 23) by Caran d’Ache echoes Courbet’s iconography of a peasant dressed in a rough blouse and trousers working under the sun with the pickaxe, while *The Hat of Gessler* (Figure 24) can refer to the image of another man in Courbet’s work – one in simple clothes, who wears the hat and again works with the pickaxe. The poetry of the plowed field, in its turn, present in both images by Caran d’Ache can refer to the rural and peasant “myth” created by Millet in his paintings, including *The Angelus*.

²²² Nochlin, “The DePoliticization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic”: 67.



Figure 27. Gustave Courbet, *Les Casseurs de pierres*, painting, 1849, now destroyed



Figure 26. Jean-François Millet, *L'Angélus*, painting, 1857-1859, Musée d'Orsay

However, not only the presence of this trope within the artistic national identification discourse of late 19th century France could be the reason for appealing to this iconography within the nationalistic narrative in *Psst...!* but also the attachment of these iconographical motives to the conservative and anti-Republican discourses. The Third Republic made efforts to decrease these associations and semantics through the art critique, insisting on “idealism”, “beauty” and the interest in the traditional lifestyle of rural France instead of its naturalism in depicting poorness and the hardships of labor, which could contain the social criticism²²³. Nevertheless, the controversy around this iconography was still present. Regarding Millet, some 19th century critics underlined the conservative ideological direction of his paintings on the rural subject²²⁴, consisting in communicating to the viewers the opposition of the “rural” and “modern” with the emphasis on the former²²⁵. Concerning Courbet, the polemic was sharper. The artist participated in the events of the Paris Commune in 1871, marked by the devotion to the socialists' ideas, participation of the revolutionary working class and anarchists along with the hostility toward the bourgeois Third

²²³ Fratello, “France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined: Fates of The Gleaners and The Angelus”: 685. Nochlin, “The DePoliticization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic”: 74.

²²⁴ Fratello, “France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined: Fates of The Gleaners and The Angelus”: 690.

²²⁵ Maura Coughlin, “The Artistic Origins of the French Peasant-Painter. Jean-François Millet: Between Normandy and Barbizon”, PhD diss., (New York University, 2001): 192.

Republic²²⁶, as well as participated in the destruction of the Vendome Column, a symbol of the French militarism, during these events²²⁷. As a punishment, Courbet was sent in exile to Switzerland until his death²²⁸. Thus, the increased naturalism of his depiction of the poor working people of the rural France can be perceived as a socialist criticism with possible anti-bourgeois connotations²²⁹, which will then find an active manifestation in his political life and the participation in the Commune. Therefore, the artistic layer of the trope developed by Caran d'Ache in *Psst...!*, defining the “genuine” French population through the figure of a peasant, strengthens even more the conservative and antisemitic message that constitutes a core of the nationalistic opposition that he builds in the journal between the “French”, understood as “rural”, “laborious” and “victimized”, and “Jewish” – “capitalistic”, “parasitic” and “oppressive”.

²²⁶ David A. Shafer, Collective Forgetting: Textbooks and the Paris Commune in the Early Third Republic, *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 49, no. 3-4, (2021): 332.

²²⁷ Nochlin, “The DePoliticization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic”: 64.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ As one of the journalists, Jules Vallès, stated after the death of Courbet, it was the Commune that can shed light on comprehension of the artist’s works: “He, who painted ... The Stonebreakers... inevitably had to be – the day when he had to choose – on the side of labor, poverty and paving stones”. Nochlin, “The DePoliticization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic”: 76.

Chapter 3 – Identifying “genuine” and “corrupted” French politics through the symbolical female figures in *Psst...!*

3.1. Women out of the national-building process in *Psst...!*? Discussing the relation between female figures, nationalism and symbolic politics

Turning to the examination of female figures in *Psst...!*, the first aspect that strikes the eye is the general rarity of their appearance and the minor role they play in the formulation of the “genuine” French population within the visual narrative of the journal. This numerical minority and lack of agency on women’s part can be explained by the extreme “maleness” of the Dreyfus Affair in terms of the main actors and spheres incorporated within its unfolding, as well as by the explicit “masculinity” of the nation-state concept regarding the distribution of social, political and economic roles. Thereby, the scandal erupted around the military officer and the army, which was perceived as male duty and placed at the center of the debates around manhood at the time²³⁰. Additionally, it was tightly bound up with the sphere of politics, which was dominated by male figures, that can be illustrated by two propaganda posters published in 1898 portraying the main anti-Dreyfusard and Dreyfusard political actors: 5 persons for the former, 11 for the latter – all of them are men²³¹. Finally, within the antisemitic and nationalistic campaigns developing on the grounds of the Affair, the economic sector was touched upon, where men, being major bearers of the large capital, represented the principal players²³². Thus, by the composition of forces and spheres in question, the Dreyfus Affair was predetermined to become a political, intellectual and ideological combat between *men* around *male* themes and areas of influence. The national building

²³⁰ Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*: 209.

²³¹ “Dreyfus est un traître” [Dreyfus is a traitor], poster, 1898, Archives Nationales of Paris in Normna L. Kleeblatt, *The Dreyfus Affair : Art, Truth and Justice*: 210. Depicts five Ministers and Generals: Cavaignac, Mercier, Zurlinden, Billot et Chanoine. “Dreyfus est innocent” [Dreyfus is innocent], poster, 1898, Boston Public Library in Normna L. Kleeblatt, *The Dreyfus Affair : Art, Truth and Justice*: 211. Depicts eleven Politicians, Journalists and Intellectuals: Guyot, Trarieux, Zola, Scheurer-Kestner, Clémenceau, Picquart, Joseph Reinach, Jaurès, Lazare, Labori and Pressensé.

²³² Charles Sowerwime, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics and Society* (New York: Palgrave, 2001): 63.

and national identification processes both on ideological and political levels didn't leave a lot of space for active agency for women either. Although the fundamental nationalism theories by such scholars as Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Eric J. Hobsbawm put aside the gender question, mechanisms of the creation of the national consciousness lying in the center of their concepts, such as the rapid expansion of the print-capitalism²³³, political control over different aspects of social life²³⁴ as well as development of various institutions aimed at ordering cultural, intellectual and practical spheres²³⁵, implies the access to certain levers of power for being included in the process of shaping a community as nationality. The unequal access to the labor market, politics, education and cultural institutions leads to the situation when women become underrepresented in the sphere of direct action, where the image of the "nation" is constructed and the national belonging is claimed²³⁶. The set of non-Jewish female personages belonging to the dimension of the "everyday" life in *Psst...!* illustrate these tendencies – they are deprived of a homogeneous set of characteristics or acts, which could have allowed to define them as "French" within the nationalistic discourse of the journal, as well as limited to the role of speechless men's companions or house servants²³⁷. In this case, the question arises, if the male figures are the main bearers of the national agency and women are mostly doomed to the minor roles within the everyday life dimension, what could be the way for female figures to be included in the visual and ideological reflection about the nation?

Scholars note that when the socio-political factors displace women from the active sphere of the national-building, they do not profoundly disappear from its landscape but turn out to be placed in the symbolical and metaphorical dimension²³⁸. Within this tendency, two main types of

²³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991): 37-46.

²³⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983): 3-7.

²³⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 80-101.

²³⁶ Joan Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003): 156-159.

²³⁷ "Au Syndicat", *Psst... !*, no. 49 (January 7, 1899), "L'heure du courrier", *Psst...!*, no. 23 (July 9, 1898), "Sur la tombe de Ravachol", *Psst...!*, no. 11 (April 16, 1898).

²³⁸ Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family." *Feminist Review*, no. 44 (1993): 62.

their appearance as visual and semantic national symbols were introduced: invented female allegorical representations and women figures taken from the category of national heroes alienated in time from the current events. In the example of late 19th-century France, the most frequent representation of female allegories within the process of defining and claiming “Frenchness” was in the form of visual embodiments of a particular political structure, event or territory: the Republic and its virtues, the Revolution or certain regions of the French land, accordingly²³⁹. This type of images was often produced in the form of sculptural monuments, envisioned to be placed in public and government places and aimed both at offering a visual embodiment of intellectual concepts for easier communication to the audience and transferring certain values to the population²⁴⁰. The national heroines, among which the most important in the French case was Joan of Arc, were perceived both as a sentimental image of a nation and an embodiment of certain national virtues, such as, for example, patriotism²⁴¹. These female figures were particularly efficient in appealing to the viewers’ emotional response due to the myth existing around them and their life and death, often strengthened by the country’s literary, cultural and theatrical production of various epochs, improving its image in the common imagination as a part of the national heritage²⁴². These specificities made the symbolical figures of national heroines a very well-working tool for appealing to the nation in times of trouble for the country²⁴³.

Psst...! mirrors the tendency described above: while “ordinary” female personages appear to be deprived of the agency within the nationalistic narrative of the journal, French female symbols, such as Marianne – multi-meaning allegory, which in *fin-de-siècle* France was mostly used as the personification of the Third Republic – and Joan of Arc, acquire an important role within the reflection on the nation and its path by Forain and Caran d’Ache. However, their place

²³⁹ Michael R. Orwicz, “Nationalism and representation, in theory” in June Hargrove, Neil McWilliam (eds.), *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870-1914*: 25-27.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, (London: Vintage, 1991): 265-266.

²⁴² Ibid., 218-237. Venita Datta, *Heroes and Legends of fin-de-siècle France: gender, politics and national identity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 142-179.

²⁴³ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*: 266.

within the journal's definition of the nation is different from that, transferred through the male figures, as was described in the previous part. Female French symbols allow artists to uncover another layer of the nationalistic discourse – evaluation of contemporary French politics, formulation of the “genuine” political path of France and the reflection on its obstacles. How does it happen? The establishment and communication to the collective memory of certain symbols identified as “national” happen with certain political purposes on the part of the nation-state, such as, for example, establishing social cohesion or legitimizing institutions of authority²⁴⁴. These politically determined symbols are often not invented out of nowhere but are rooted in the country's history and culture²⁴⁵. Thus, conceived to be timeless and appealing to all people of the nation, they, nevertheless, often end up being controversial due to the various meanings they acquired during their existence in changing historical and political circumstances. The late 19th-century Third Republic (1870-1940) and its “statuomania” is an excellent example of this complexity. A young Republic propagated the figures of Marianne and Joan of Arc as national symbols aiming to set a consensus within a divided country²⁴⁶. However, both figures had connections to events endangering the Republican regime, which was felt and weaponized by its opponents. Thus, Forain and Caran d'Ache played on this controversy, reworking their “traditional” visuals and reshaping the “official” meaning according to their perception of the “corrupted” and “true” path of French politics in their images in *Psst...!*, which will be explored within the further narration.

²⁴⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 9, 11.

²⁴⁵ Amos Funkenstein, “Collective memory and historical consciousness”, *History and memory* 1, no. 1 (1989): 20.

²⁴⁶ Winock, *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 103.

3.2. Marianne – from a symbol of the Third Republic to the “Jewish” companion.

Identifying the “corrupted” French politics

Psst...! introduced a new image of Marianne both iconographically and semantically, profoundly reworking her “official” symbolical figure and making her the main discursive means for showing the “corruptness” of the French politics of the late 19th century. The critique of the Republican regime in France was not new, had been conducted from various political wings, sometimes even directly opposed to one another, and received a strong catalyst on the part of the Dreyfus Affair. Among the diversity of the discursive lines and tropes chosen for the authorities’ critique, *Psst...!* instrumentalized the female personification of the Third Republic – the artistic decision, which was very rare on the caricatural scene of the time²⁴⁷. The visual analysis of the iconography of Marianne, as well as the plots in which she appears, developed by Forain and Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!* and other works preceding the launch of the journal, will allow to formulate the definition of the “corrupted” French politics within the nationalistic and antisemitic discourse of *Psst...!* and trace its roots in a broader political landscape of the late 19th century French politics. Additionally, it will indirectly contribute to the scholarly direction, which deals with the history of the symbolical figure of Marianne through discovering new material for the analysis and examining an alternative way of treating the Republican allegory – in the realm of political and antisemitic caricatures, which remains underrepresented in the scholarly landscape. To understand the striking break with the “official” iconography of Marianne in *Psst...!*, the evolution of her symbolical representation in the French context should be traced first.

The figure of Marianne started to enter the rank of national allegories after the Revolution of 1789 as the symbol of the rupture with the Monarchical regime and the proclamation of the

²⁴⁷ The only example besides *Psst...!*, where Marianne was portrayed with negative connotations is the journal *Le Pierrot* (1888-1889) by Adolphe Willette.

Republican virtues²⁴⁸. Her image was accompanied by the Phrygian cap²⁴⁹, which was associated with the granted freedom as a sign of emancipated slaves in antiquity²⁵⁰ and prescribed with revolutionary connotations during the events of 1789, being one of the main characteristics of the Jacobin costume²⁵¹. Embraced in the romantic painting by Eugène Delacroix (1830)²⁵², who was interested in the revolutionary ardor of her figure, and shown as a Republican sign of opposition to the Monarchy in graphic works by Honoré Daumier (1840)²⁵³, the official recognition and widespread introduction of Marianne as the national and state symbol happened with the proclamation of the Third Republic in 1870. The recently installed regime faced an objective to unify a highly heterogeneous collective memory for the sake of governmental stability²⁵⁴, and one of the possible ways to achieve it was the strengthening of civic-mindedness built on the commemoration of important events and respect toward the new set of civic virtues²⁵⁵. The monumental production was seen as an important means for this purpose²⁵⁶, and the propagation of the allegorical figure of Marianne as the personification of the Third Republic and its political virtues was initiated²⁵⁷. In this case, the search for an appropriate iconography was of great importance. One of the iconographical decisions made for Marianne as the personification of the Third Republic was the ahistorical and passionless character of the representation²⁵⁸, depriving her of any contact with the current state of affairs in France and any emotional coloring, which could derive the viewer from perceiving her as a timeless symbol. The statute of Marianne, established

²⁴⁸ Maurice Agulhon, "Marianne, réflexions sur une histoire", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 3 (1992) : 313.

²⁴⁹ Maurice Agulhon, "Esquisse pour une archéologie de la République. L'allégorie civique féminine", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28, no. 1, (1973): 6.

²⁵⁰ Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France", *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2, (1987): 53.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*: 66.

²⁵² Eugène Delacroix, "La Liberté guidant le peuple", painting, 1830, Louvre Museum.

²⁵³ Honoré Daumier, "Dernier conseil des ex-ministres", lithographie, 1848, National Library of France.

²⁵⁴ Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, "Esthétique Officielle et Art National Sous La Troisième République." *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 131, (1985): 111.

²⁵⁵ Orwicz, "Nationalism and representation, in theory": 23-24.

²⁵⁶ Agulhon, "Esquisse pour une archéologie de la République. L'allégorie civique féminine": 18-20.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Also, it should be mentioned that this tendency in the 19th century was not unique for France – female personifications of the state can be found also in Germany – Germania – and Great Britain – Britannia. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*: 21, 101.

²⁵⁸ Hobsbawm, Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*: 272.

on the Place de la République in 1883 by Léopold Maurice (Fig. 28), illustrates this tendency. The passionless character of her figure, referring to forms of the ancient Greek sculptures characterized by restraint and noble simplicity²⁵⁹, on the ideological level represented signs of moral beauty and respectability, which corresponded to the common set of state virtues and the main stances of the desirable self-positioning of the Republic²⁶⁰. Her belonging to antiquity is especially emphasized by the drapery she is wrapped in, the laurel wreath on her head, and the olive branch in her hands.



Figure 28. Léopold Morice, The statue of Marianne on the Place de la République (1883).

The tendency of keeping away from the national past, whether recent or alienated, can be explained by the divisive role that history since 1789 played in French politics and society²⁶¹, which reached such an extent by the late 19th century that allowed historians to describe the Third Republic of that period as “a facade behind which forces dedicated to its destruction waged the civil war”²⁶². This interplay of competing political directions can be summarized as the monarchist-clerical-authoritarian movement of the Right, on one side, the Left, preoccupied with the socialists’ ideas and aiming at declaring war on capital, on another one, and the Center, to which belonged political

²⁵⁹ Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*: 10-13.

²⁶⁰ Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*: 29, 36-37.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Raymond Aron, *The Century of Total War* (New York: Doubleday and Co, 1954): 257.

elites of the Third Republic, trying to balance between the interest of the peasantry and Middle class²⁶³. In this context, Marianne, shown in an antique way, was seen on the part of the authorities as the least controversial figure, which could be commonly accepted by rival political directions²⁶⁴. Thus, the main “official” pillars of her portrayal, such as atemporality and passionless, became the pillars of the sculptural and monumental production, which invaded public places and governmental buildings in the capital, becoming easily recognizable by the French population and inseparable from the late 19th-century Parisian urban landscape²⁶⁵.

Forain and Caran d’Ache took the symbolical figure of a young woman on the Phrygian cap, strongly associated with the Republican regime and the representation of its virtues in the collective imagination, and transformed her from an “elevated” and “timeless” symbol into a young bourgeois girl, spending her time in cafès and apartments interiors. The antique drapery of the symbolical Marianne was replaced by the dress *à la mode* of the *fin-de-siècle* with the corset, plunging neckline and jewelry to the extent that distinguishing Marianne from an ordinary middle-class girl from the salon (Fig. 29) appears to be possible only by the Phrygian cap (Fig. 30).



Figure 30. Caran d’Ache, “Salons intellectuels”, *Psst... !*, no. 45, (10 December, 1898): 3. Fragment.



Figure 29. Caran d’Ache, “Réveillon”, *Psst... !*, no. 48, (31 December, 1898) : 2. (Fragment)

²⁶³ Kent Forster, “Stability versus Instability in the Third Republic - 1894-1914”, *The French Review* 32, no. 5 (1959): 435-437.

²⁶⁴ Orwicz, “Nationalism and representation, in theory”: 26.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

The latter underwent certain iconographic changes as well, envisioned to additionally decrease the allegorical level of the figure, playing a role of a nightcap, combined with the nightgown that Marianne wears in a few images by Forain (Fig. 31) or representing a curious accessory, being a part of the woman's high coiffure, in works by Caran d'Ache (Fig. 30). This positioning of Marianne in the sphere of private and intimate life, along with the underlined femininity and sensuality of her bodily appearance in *Psst...!* contradict one of the main prescriptions for symbolical female representations – the absence of any signs of sexuality and closeness to the physical world, which allows the figure to become a timeless and unattainable symbol transferring ideals of a political regime and mobilizing the sense of the national belonging on the part of the audience²⁶⁶.



Figure 31. Jean-Louis Forain, “La plainte du Sémite”, *Psst...!*, no. 19, (11 Juin, 1898) : 1. (Fragment)

Thus, initially on the level of iconography, without a look at the plots, the allegorical personification of the Third Republic undergoes the sharp demolition of the majestic allegorical features and turns to be portrayed on a satirical way. It happens, first, by the mere fact of being represented within the realm of the “low” art, which caricature was generally assigned to²⁶⁷, as the

²⁶⁶ Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*: 90-114.

²⁶⁷ Donna J. Cox, “Caricature, readymades and metamorphosis: Visual mathematics in the context of art.” *Leonardo* 25, no. 3 (1992): 295-302.

latter operates by humor, classified as a “low” dimension within the artistic hierarchy, in comparison to “high” genres, operating by sublime²⁶⁸. Second, by the fact that the figure, which was commonly tightly associated with authority and perceived as “alienated”, “elevated” and “respectable”, was represented in a “frivolous” and “unrespectable” way, being placed in a “mundane” decorations and costumes. Third, by the ascribing her figure to the middle class, since Forain was widely known at the time for his ardent critique of the bourgeoisie. This bitterness was rooted, first, in his life path – the period when he was going through financial difficulties as a painter who couldn’t gain popularity within the conservative *Salon* and public²⁶⁹. Second, in the populist trend that he developed through his satirical works for the weekly journal *Le Figaro*, as well as in the pages of his illustrated compilation *La Comédie Parisienne* published in 1892, which was entirely dedicated to the critique of the bourgeois mores and way of living²⁷⁰. The roots of the close connection between the middle-class and the Third Republic lies in its economic characteristics. Thus, in the 1890s, the capitalistic economic forces were dominant and the authorities granted them the liberty to play freely within the liberal economic orientation of the Government²⁷¹. This state of affairs led to the situations, where certain groups of businessmen made approaches to legislators to persuade them to conduct some changes in the law, which was disturbing them from receiving a better enrichment, that resulted in the large corruption by capital in the Parliament²⁷². The outcomes of this “cooperation” became the Panama Scandal on 1892, which led to the massive financial losses of the French population²⁷³.

The satirical attitude toward the Third Republic in *Psst...!* was added with the open provocations through the features that Marianne was represented with – such as the Phrygian cap itself and the cockade on it. Within the late 19th century Third Republic, the cap became

²⁶⁸ Fowler, Alastair. "Genre and the literary canon." *New literary history* 11, no. 1 (1979): 111.

²⁶⁹ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art”: 252.

²⁷⁰ Jean-Louis Forain, *La comédie Parisienne* (Paris: G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1892).

²⁷¹ Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic 1879-1992*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993): 51.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism”: 52.

controversial, due to the events of the Paris Commune (1871), when socialists and anarchists seized power for 72 days and then were overthrown by the army that caused a high number of deaths from both sides²⁷⁴. Under these circumstances, the young woman in the Phrygian cap became a symbol of the left-wing Socialists Revolution that Communards dreamed about²⁷⁵, thereby acquiring anti-bourgeois connotations hostile to the official political line, while the Third Republic was characterized as the bourgeois establishment²⁷⁶. Due to the adversary political connotations and the bloodiness of this episode, the Government advised avoiding the cap and replacing it with more neutral attributes from the ancient symbolical vocabulary in the official iconography of Marianne²⁷⁷. The Phrygian cap, however, was included in the journal's narrative, which some scholars note to be a conscious provocation on the part of the artists²⁷⁸. Caran d'Ache went further in his provocative intentions and added the cap with the cockade, which decreased its atemporality and tightly connected with the Jacobins, as it was they who introduced the tricolor cockade for the Phrygian cap²⁷⁹. Therefore, a strong connection was built between the Republican regime and another bloody episode of the French history – the Terror of Jacobins that followed the creation of the First Republic (1793-1794), emphasizing the controversy both of the Republican regime's creation and its development.

The critique of the Third Republic transferred through the figure of Marianne in *Psst...!* was already familiar for the journal's contemporaries from previous works by Forain. He greatly contributed to the development of a new caricatural iconography of Marianne a few years before launching *Psst...!* in two illustrated books, dedicated to the political visual satire. One of the first

²⁷⁴ Robert Tombs, "Victimes et bourreaux de la Semaine sanglante", *Revue d'Histoire du XIXe siècle – 1848*, no. 10 (1995) : 81-96.

²⁷⁵ Agulhon, "Esquisse pour une archéologie de la République. L'allégorie civique féminine": 14.

²⁷⁶ Robert Stuart, *Marxism at work: Ideology, class and French socialism during the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 32.

²⁷⁷ Agulhon, "Esquisse pour une archéologie de la République. L'allégorie civique féminine": 27.

²⁷⁸ Cohen, Richard I., "The Visual Dreyfus Affair – A New Text? On the Dreyfus Affair Exhibition at the Jewish Museum, New York" in *Art and Its Uses: The Visual Image and Modern Jewish Society*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1990): 80.

²⁷⁹ Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789-94." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 3 (1981): 285.

appearances of Marianne as a contemporarily dressed bourgeois girl, engaged in the scenes of everyday life, whose symbolical roots can be visually recognized only by the Phrygian cap, appeared in the illustrated compilation *Les Temps Difficiles: (Panama)*, published in 1893. In this work Forain reflected on the country's crisis in the aftermath of the Panama Scandal of 1892 and aimed at "saving France", as he stated in the opening note²⁸⁰. Although the appearance of Marianne in *Les Temps Difficiles* is rare, as Forain is still in the process of discovering the artistic and discursive potential of this iconography, the usage of her figure for the critique of the Third Republic is already evident. For instance, one of the drawings portrays contemporarily dressed Marianne sitting in a chair in a pensive pose (Fig. 32). A man in front of her, smoking a cigar, asks the subject of her reflections, and Marianne responds that she is considering returning to her parents in Belleville.



Figure 32. Jean-Louis Forain, no title, *Les Temps Difficiles: Panama*, (Paris : G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1893)

The choice of Belleville is unexpected and provoking – a working-class neighborhood of Paris was tightly bound up in a common memory with the events of the Paris Commune, as it was one

²⁸⁰ A l'épargne de France. Jean-Louis Forain, *Les Temps Difficiles : Panama*, (Paris : G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1893) : 1.

of the major spots for the “red” meetings²⁸¹ and the Communards’ resistance to the army, as well as the place of a last barricade that fell on the final day of the revolutionary government²⁸². In this plot, Forain instrumentalizes the duality that the figure of a young woman in a Phrygian cap acquired during the Commune, being chosen as its symbol, and appeals to the revolutionary background of her appearance. The satirical effects consist in the fact that Marianne, being now an allegory of the bourgeois Third Republic, got so bored in the “satisfied and hypocritical”²⁸³ middle-class milieu of the capital that dreams of returning to the environment, hostile to the bourgeois orientation of the current politics. Thus, even the allegory of the Third Republic intends to leave it. It should be noted that the Commune is touched upon, not due to Forain’s sympathy to the social democratic aspirations of Communards, which he was opposing, identifying himself with the reactionary camp²⁸⁴, but rather as an important manifestation of the opposition to the bourgeois and capitalist Third Republic, which was already used within the nationalist rhetoric at the time. For instance, Drumont, in one of the books, continuing the stances of *La France Juive*, claimed that the working class can count on them – nationalist populist politicians – in the next Commune, as they will not touch revolutionary workers, knowing now, “who are the true makers of civil wars”, and aspiring the unity of the workers with the army for the fight against the main “enemy”²⁸⁵. Interestingly enough, Forain, commenting on the Panama scandal in this compilation, very rarely includes Jews in the narrative, insisting on capitalism and incompetent politicians as the main vice, in opposition, for example, to Caran d’Ache, who published an illustrated book *Carnet de chèques* in this regard in 1892, where Jews were pictured as main perpetrators²⁸⁶.

²⁸¹ Martin Phillip Johnson, *The Paradise of Association : Political Culture and Popular Organizations in the Paris Commune of 1871*, (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1996): 118.

²⁸² Mathilde Zederman, "Memories of the Paris Commune in Belleville since the 1980s: folklorization and new forms of mobilization in a transforming quartier." *History & Memory* 26, no. 1 (2014): 111.

²⁸³ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art”: 253.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

²⁸⁵ Edouard Drumont, *La France Juive devant l’opinion*, (Paris : C. Marpon & E. Flammarion, 1886) : 5. Michel Winock, “Édouard Drumont et l’antisémitisme en France avant l’affaire Dreyfus”, *Esprit* 5, no. 403, (1971) : 1097.

²⁸⁶ Caran d’Ache, *Carnet de chèques* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1892).

The figure of Marianne as a critique of the Third Republic developed further in another illustrated book by Forain *Doux Pays*, which appeared three years after *Les Temps Difficiles*. Published in 1897, it had the same purpose of reflecting on the French political situation and its drawbacks. In this book, the representations of Marianne occupy a much larger place, and one of them appears already on the title page, pointing out to the anti-Republican character of Forain's narrative in this compilation. Marianne is again contemporarily clothed and wears the Phrygian cap, but the treatment of her body is changed: she is portrayed as an obese girl, whose dress is noticeably too small for her (Fig. 33). Men looking at Marianne from the crowd say: "And people say that she was so beautiful under the Empire".



Figure 33. Jean-Louis Forain, no title, *Doux Pays*, (Paris : Librairie Plon, 1897): 1.

Here Forain explores an additional way of dismissing the symbol – this time through the misogynistic treatment of the body, deviating from the canonical feminine beauty of the late 19th century France²⁸⁷. This artistic and semantic means consisted in making the alleged external “imperfection”, as some perceive it, the mirror of the alleged inner “corruptness”, and was

²⁸⁷ In France at this period the slender waist was considered as an important feature of the feminine attractiveness. Mary Lynn Stewart, *Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s-1930s*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001): 11.

previously introduced in the dimension of poetry by Paul Verlaine, who was a friend of Forain and contributed to the development of his hatred toward the bourgeois Republic in the early stages of the artist's career²⁸⁸. Thus, in 1881, Verlaine published an anti-Republican poem *The Bust for the City Hall*, which portrayed the allegory of the authority in the following way – “Marianne is very old and approach its centennial...She is with thinning hair, without teeth and losing her mind”²⁸⁹. Also, one should not be misled by the reference to the Empire – there is no mention of Forain's sympathies to the Monarchy either in primary sources or in the secondary literature, and appealing to this political direction can be perceived here as the reference to one of the forces, opposing the Third Republic, as was described above concerning the Paris Commune. In other works, Forain shows Marianne as a romantic companion for the Third Republic politicians, such as Presidents Sadi Carnot (1887-1894)²⁹⁰ and Jean Casimir-Perier (1894-1895)²⁹¹, which reaches its culmination in a work, depicting Marianne and a person from the General Staff of the French Army according to the uniform, whose personality we were unable to detect, staying together in a solitary area (Fig. 34). The subtext of this image is clearly sexual: the man, staying behind Marianne, put his hand on her waist while Marianne tries to push it away, telling him that they have known each other only for eight days. Thus, Forain pictures the Third Republic as a woman, who can be seduced by

²⁸⁸ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art”: 252.

²⁸⁹ “Marianne est très vieille et court sur ses cent ans...//

...La voici radoteuse, au poil rare, et sans dents”, Paul Verlaine, “Buste pour Mairie” in *Paul Verlaine : Œuvres Poétique Complètes*, (Paris : Gallimard, 1959) : 710.

²⁹⁰ Jean-Louis Forain, *Doux Pays* (Paris : Librairie Plon, 1897): 33.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 44.

man, developing a plot that constitutes an antithesis of the “respectability” that the authorities wanted to transfer through their newly established symbols.



Figure 34. Jean-Louis Forain, no title, *Doux Pays*, (Paris : Librairie Plon, 1897) : 47.

Finally, in this compilation, Forain firstly draws a close visual connection between the personification of the Republic and the Jews. In a drawing called the “Anarchic danger”, he pictures Marianne staying in front of the table, on opposite sides of which are placed a knife and a pear (Fig. 35).



Figure 35. Jean-Louis Forain, “Péril Anarchique”, *Doux Pays*, (Paris : Librairie Plon, 1897) : 46.

The knife, in the iconography developed by Forain, represents a sign of anarchists, while a pear, having traces of human physiognomy, refers to a well-known political caricature *The pear*²⁹², created by Charles Philipon in 1831, where he criticized a corrupted politics of the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) through turning his face into a pear with the King's main facial features. Forain transfers this artistic decision to his work, endowing the pear with a widespread antisemitic iconography of a hooked nose. Thus, the artist reflects on the situation, in which France found itself in the aftermath of the murder of the President Carnot by an anarchist in June 1894 through the figure of Marianne, who stands puzzled between the two alleged directions for the future – one, guided by anarchists, what is shown by the knife, and another one, represented by the alleged “Jewish” power in the government, which is marked by the pear. However, the homogeneous line of politically critiquing the Republic is still not chosen – Forain appealed both, to revolutionary social democrats and monarchists, without identifying himself with either of them, while reflecting on the hostile forces of the current authorities, and remained constant only on the “bourgeoisness” and “unrespectability” of the Republican symbol.

All the visual and semantic directions of evaluating and criticizing the Third Republic through the figure of Marianne, previously outlined by Forain, find the crystallization and the clear discursive line in the pages of *Psst...!*. In this case, the development of the bourgeois Marianne's iconography unfolds not only on the part of Forain but on that of Caran d'Ache as well, who continues the endeavors introduced beforehand by his senior colleague and appeals to Marianne even more frequently within the journal's narrative than the latter. The major artistic adjustment to her iconography, which constitutes the specificity of *Psst...!* and reveals an additional layer in the definition of the “corrupted” characteristics of French politics, in addition to its “bourgeois” orientation, within the nationalistic narrative of the journal, is the portrayal of the allegory of the Third Republic as the “Jewish” romantic companion. Thus, while in the previous works, Forain

²⁹² Charles Philipon, “Les Poires”, lithographie, *La Caricature* no. 56, (24 novembre 1831). Collection Ségolène Le Men.

gave a hint that the Republic, as a woman, can be seduced by a man, in *Psst...!* authors claim that the man who actually manages to seduce her is a “Jew”. For instance, in one of the works by Caran d’Ache, he depicts Marianne with a bouquet of flowers in her hand, staying barefoot on a stool to take a look at the other side of the wall, while a man, playing the role of her father within the plot, holds her by the bottom of the dress and tells her to go down quickly (Figure 36). The title of the image states “In order to see the Merchant”, clarifying the unfolding scene, which represents the forbidden romantic rendezvous of an unmarried woman with a man without witnesses, which goes against the definition of “respectability” and, again, decreases the positive symbolic connotation of Marianne’s figure. “Merchant” can be perceived as a hint to the “Jewish” origin of the figure due to the close connection between the Jews, money and the market omnipresent in the common imagination of the epoch²⁹³.



Figure 36. Caran d’Ache, “Pour voir Marchand”, *Psst...!*, no. 69, (27 May, 1899) : 3.

In such a way, Caran d’Ache draws a clear connection added with romantic connotations between the allegory of the Third Republic and the “Jews”, whose figure in the context of the Dreyfus Affair was understood as “hostile” and “foreign”²⁹⁴. The discursive line of Marianne as a “Jewish”

²⁹³ Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism”: 52.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 59.

companion continues in another drawing, this time by Forain, where he portrays the personification of the Republic, sitting in the nightdress in the chair with a sad look on the face, and a “Jewish” man, who is recognized by the hooked nose, curly hair and the image’s title, which states “the complaint of a Semite”, standing behind her back (Figure 37). Marianne is berating him for not being content with tampering and manipulating, and instead, getting involved with something more serious, possibly, meaning the large-scale Dreyfus case, which affected the results of their plans. Thus, in this drawing Forain tends to convince the audience that the personification of the Third Republic is not only a romantic companion of “Jews” but also their accomplice, supporting and guiding the alleged “Jewish” sabotage against the French nation.



Figure 37. Jean-Louis Forain, “La plainte du Sémite”, *Psst...!*, no. 19, (11 Juin, 1898) : 1.

This line reaches its culmination in a work by Caran d’Ache, where he depicts Marianne using the old antisemitic iconography of the Wandering Jew. Marianne, recognized by the Phrygian cap and the cockade on it, is represented sitting with her back to the viewer on a little hill with a long stick in her hand, being surrounded by a large field, which runs into the distance toward mountains, boundless water and the sky, emphasizing the endlessness of the road and the lack of the destination point (Figure 38). All the above clearly refers to the traditional image of the Wandering Jew, which legendary appearance as an immortal man doomed to walk from place to place all

around the Earth until the Second Coming of Christ as he was laughing at Jesus carrying his cross to the Golgotha, was widely known by the French audience in the 19th century and instrumentalized for the antisemitic purposes²⁹⁵.



Figure 38. Caran d'Ache, no title, *Psst...!*, no. 51, (21 January, 1899): 2.

An important role in the popularization of his figure in France in the visual form played the artistic production by Gustave Doré (1832-1883), both in the form of the series of twelve engravings exploring the legend of the Wandering Jew with a romantic emphasis on the loneliness of his path²⁹⁶, and through his antisemitic caricatures, one of the most widely known of which appeared in 1852 in the satirical journal *Le journal pour rire*, where the figure of the Wandering Jew with a walking stick was bearing clear antisemitic features such as, for example, a hooked nose²⁹⁷. Thus, in this work, the motive of the close connection of Marianne with “Jews” turns to the symbiosis of the two by showing the allegory of the Third Republic as a “Jewish” figure itself with the usage of the antisemitic iconography easily recognized by the audience. However, this discursive line

²⁹⁵ Richard I. Cohen, "The 'Wandering Jew' from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor." *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times* (2008): 148, 155-158.

²⁹⁶ Gustave Doré, *La légende du Juif Errant*, (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1856).

²⁹⁷ Gustave Doré, "Le Juif Errant", *Le journal pour rire* no. 36, June 5, 1852 : 1.

has an additional layer, within which Marianne acquires a certain “victimization”, being shown as a weakened and unwillingly owned by “Jews” and the “Jewish Syndicate”. For instance, Forain depicts Marianne lying in the chair, feeble and sick, while a German figure, recognized by the military cap with the pointed tip, looks at her and tells Joseph Reinach, a Dreyfusard politician of Jewish origin, that he could not have done better, implying the depletion and weakening of the Republic (Fig. 40). The antisemitic and anti-Dreyfusard idea lying behind this image, is that alleged “corrupted” politicians inside France can damage the country even more than the external forces. In another work by Caran d’Ache, the allegory of the Republic is again depicted as a romantic companion for a “Jewish” man, who possessively embraces her by his arm and leg while sitting in the restaurant, but, this time, the involvement of Marianne in this relationship is clearly “unwilling” (Figure 39). The viewer can recognize the contempt on her face and the tension of her posture, while the author’s legend emphasizes her “victimized” position even more, noting that this is her last New Year.



Figure 40. Jean-Louis Forain, no title, *Psst...!*, no. 63, (15 Avril, 1899): 1.



Figure 39. Caran d’Ache, “Réveillon”, *Psst...!*, no. 48, (31 December, 1898) : 2.

In both cases, the symbolical figure of Marianne is still visually treated in a satirical and pejorative way, which doesn't allow to perceive these plots as dramatic narration about the destruction of the French nation through its sacred symbol. Artists rather suggest, in a highly antisemitic way, the other side of the alleged Republican companionship with the "Jewish" figures, emphasized in *Psst...!* – death and devastation. Thus, while in *Difficult Times* Forain portrays Marianne in the process of choosing between two possible, according to his perception, directions for the future, in *Psst...!* her decision is made and, within the antisemitic and nationalistic narrative of the journal, the latter makes visible for the audience the "corrupted" nature of the French politics and its deplorable ending due to it. The latter, however, is shown by the authors without a pity that would have been present if Marianne had been seen as a "genuine" national symbol.

Thus, Marianne – transparent and homogeneous in meanings assigned to her through the official discourse of the Third Republic and monumental patriotic production, appears to be turned upside down in its semantic and visual embodiment on the pages of *Psst...!*. In the journal's plots, her figure deviates from the positive personification of the Republican authority and turns to the means of its harsh criticism and the mirror of the alleged "corruptness" of the Third Republic. The decrease of the symbol unfolds on the level of Marianne's bodily treatment, controversial features of her appearance and plots. This artistic and semantic line, prepared by Forain beforehand in his previous artistic works, finds the homogeneity of the critique and crystallization of the derogatory potential of the new Marianne's iconography in *Psst...!*, this time with the help on the part of Caran d'Ache. Thus, the journal chooses the reactionary nationalistic and antisemitic line of fight and the alleged "corruptness" of French politics, transferred through the symbolical figure of Marianne, appears to be defined through the bourgeois orientation and the alleged cooperation with Jews on the part of the Third Republic. Taking into account the pillars of the alleged "corruptness" and the development of the pejorative iconography of Marianne from the Panama Scandal to the

revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair, which was conducted above on the example of Forain, it can be seen to what extent the Affair was not so much about Jews themselves but about the profound division of the late 19th-century French population and the desire to find an explanation for the country's crisis. As was seen in the early works by Forain, where he reflected on the outcomes of the Panama Scandal, he saw the capitalistic and "bourgeois" character of the Third Republic, as well as the alleged incompetency of its politicians as the main perpetrators of the crisis, without concentrating on Jews, despite the large antisemitic campaign unfolding at the time. This perception of the crises on the political level could be influenced by the discourse developed by General Georges Boulanger in the 1880s²⁹⁸, whose stances historians note to be one of the first manifestations of Right-wing populist nationalism. Boulangists blamed the Republic and the Parliament for the weakness of the state power and the decrease of national cohesion through serving the interests of the wealthy elite instead of the whole French population²⁹⁹. The revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair made the antisemitic adjustment to this nationalistic anti-Republican discursive line by portraying Marianne as a Jewish companion that on the ideological level can be illustrated in the example of Edouard Drumont. In *La France Juive*, he named the Republic to be "Jewish"³⁰⁰, insisting that Jews had power over all Governmental institutions³⁰¹, and claiming the alleged sabotage nature of the "Jewish" acts that he described as aimed at destroying France and the French population through "mercantile, greedy and speculative" acts³⁰². Thus, the analysis of Marianne's changed iconography in *Psst...!* both at visual and political levels demonstrates the complexity of the late 19th-century nationalism as well as allows to claim that liberal politics were excluded from the "genuine" nation-building process as it was perceived by the conservative nationalist camp.

²⁹⁸ Byrns, "Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French art": 252.

²⁹⁹ Patrick H. Hutton, "Popular Boulangism and the Advent of Mass Politics in France, 1886-90", *Journal of Contemporary History* 11, no. 1, (1976): 88.

³⁰⁰ Drumont, *La France Juive* I: 291, 383.

³⁰¹ Drumont, *La Libre Parole Illustrée* (12 August 1893) cited in Anderson, "Édouard Drumont and the Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism": 35.

³⁰² Drumont, *La France Juive* I: 401.

3.3. Joan of Arc as a “true” symbol of the French nation against the Jews. “Genuine” as Christian and Conservative?

If Marianne as a “genuine” symbol of the nation was rejected as “corrupted”, a question arises: does *Psst...!* have a female figure, who could play the role of the national symbol ascribed with positive connotations and allowing identification for the audience? Such a figure can be found within the journal’s narrative, and, in this case, it is not an invented allegory, but a historical person from among French national heroes – Joan of Arc. A peasant girl from the alienated territories³⁰³, seeing herself as the God-given savior of the country guided by a divine message³⁰⁴, she changed the course of the Hundred Years’ War (1337-1453) between France and England contributing to the French victory during the siege of Orléans (1428-1429)³⁰⁵. She was often portrayed as taking command of an army and playing a key part in military operations³⁰⁶, and while the historical grounds for that are missing³⁰⁷, it didn’t stop the popular imagination from picturing her as a knight³⁰⁸. Her end was tragic – she was kept by the French allies of England, was given to the English court and was burned alive at the age of nineteen, being accused of heresy³⁰⁹. In the mind of the 15th-century French population, she became an emotive heroine of the war, the talisman of the French fortune and *la fille de Dieu*, whose accusation of heresy on the part of the hostile England, strengthened her image as a martyr³¹⁰. In late 19th-century France, the figure of Joan of Arc acquired great political significance³¹¹, and her literary, artistic and monumental appearance became a part of the ideological discussions and conflicts unfolding at the time. Forain and Caran d’Ache took part in the politicization of her figure by including her in the antisemitic and nationalistic visual narrative of *Psst...!*. As their approach to Joan of Arc was tightly bound up

³⁰³ Regine Pernoud, Marie-Veronique Clin, *Joan of Arc : Her story* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1999): xv.

³⁰⁴ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism* (London: Vintage, 1991): 4-5.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 68-69.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 159.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 74-75.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 191.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

with the contemporary debate around her personality, first, a closer look will be taken at the place she occupied within the complex political landscape of the late 19th-century Third Republic. Then, the visual analysis of the appearance of Joan of Arc in the pages of *Psst...!* will be conducted, allowing explore her appearance as a “true” emotive national symbol, in contrast to Marianne. In conclusion, the definition of the “genuine” political direction of France as perceived by Forain and Caran d’Ache and transferred through the figure of Joan of Arc will be identified.

The development of Joan d’Arc as a core figure for the French national identity dates back to the multi-volume historical work by Jules Michelet *History of France*, the first volume of which appeared in 1833. With great detail, he narrated the story of Joan of Arc, portraying her as a national savior and emphasizing her dedication to rescuing the Kingdom and its people from the anti-Christian and diabolic War³¹². In the preface of 1869, Michelet went further and called Joan of Arc the embodiment of the nation, stating that “this poor angel... is the people, is us, is everyone”³¹³, thus, suggesting her as a symbol of the French population. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 and its aftermath contributed to the rise of the importance of Joan of Arc, this time as a sign of resistance to hostile foreign forces³¹⁴. Feeling the need for the symbol, which could emotionally and ideologically contribute to the population’s recovery from the defeat, the Government commissioned the statue of the Maid of Orléans, which was erected in *Place des Pyramides* in 1874 by Emmanuel Fremiet³¹⁵ (Figure 41). This statue shows the warrior Joan of Arc in the pose of triumph. Her belonging to the army is emphasized by the armor she is wearing,

³¹² Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France* V, (Paris : L. Hachette, 1841) : 54-56.

³¹³ Ibid., xxxvii.

³¹⁴ Rachel Calman, “The Many Faces of a National Saint: Joan of Arc as a Symbol of French Identity, 1890-1956”, PhD diss., (Drew University, 2001): 55.

³¹⁵ Caroline Igra, “Measuring the temper of her time: Joan of Arc in the 1870s and 1880s”, *Journal of Art History* 68, no. 2, (1999): 119.

the sword on her belt and her posture itself: she is portrayed astride the horse with a flag on a long staff in her raised hand, which transferred to the audience the victorious connotations.



Figure 41. Emmanuel Frémiet, the statue of Joan of Arc in the Place des Pyramides, 1874

This image was supposed to communicate the sense of both resolve and revenge³¹⁶, as well as convey that France is recovering from the devastating war, getting on its feet and regaining its glory³¹⁷. The reception of her symbolical figure on the part of the nation was mostly positive but not homogeneous as some scholars tended to claim³¹⁸, since Joan of Arc, as well as her statue, appeared to be one of the pillars of the ideological battles unfolding at the time. For instance, in 1878, on the Centenary of Voltaire's death, when the writer was mourned by the moderate Republicans³¹⁹, the Right in response organized the ceremony of homage before the statue of Joan

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Igra, "Measuring the temper of her time: Joan of Arc in the 1870s and 1880s": 119. June Hargrove, "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic", *Studies in the History of Art* 29, (1991): 49.

³¹⁸ Hargrove, "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic": 50.

³¹⁹ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 237.

of Arc³²⁰. Thus, the Maid of Orléans marked the opposition between the two political camps. Voltaire, a devout anticlerical and ideological contributor to the Revolution, created a sharp satire of Joan of Arc in his book *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, reworking the Church's emphasis on her saint and elevated virginity³²¹ by putting it to the erotic context and depicting it as the main goal of France's adversaries and church servants. The Right political wing, consisting of monarchists, patriots and Catholics, in contrast, elevated her as a symbol of the nation and patriotism³²². In 1894, it was attempted on the part of the Republican officials to instrumentalize Joan of Arc within centrist politics: being frightened by the left flank gaining force, they awaited the support from the Church³²³, and the Maid of Orléans taken as a symbol could communicate the idea of the possible cooperation between the Government and the Church³²⁴. Her centrist existence resulted in the establishment of a national holiday in her honor³²⁵, but didn't last for long, as the revisionist period of the Dreyfus Affair became a catalyst for the nationalists to actively appeal to her figure again. This time, not anti-Republican, but antisemitic connotations became the leitmotif of her symbolical appearance. Thus, such widespread and popular slogans of the Anti-Dreyfusard campaign as "Death to the Jews" or "Down with the Jews" started to go together with "Long Live Joan of Arc"³²⁶, while the anti-Dreyfusard campaigns on the part of the reactionary journals, claimed her figure as crowning the "return of France to the French"³²⁷ when Drumont won the elections in Algiers or portrayed her as a liberator of France from the "foreign and cosmopolitan filth"³²⁸, implying the Jews. Thus, by the time *Psst...!* was launched, the figure of the Maid of Orléans was already firmly settled in the anti-Dreyfusard rhetoric as the opposition to "Jews", while her statue

³²⁰ Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1998): 15.

³²¹ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 25, 235.

³²² Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*: 15. Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 237.

³²³ Pope Leo XIII advised the Church to come together with Republicans. Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 103-104.

³²⁴ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 103-104.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid., 104-105.

³²⁷ Le Moine, "Delivrance de la France au 8 Mai 1898", *La Croix* 4619 (11 Mai 1898).

³²⁸ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 105.

in the capital was tightly associated in the common imagination with the Right-wing discourse and actions. However, in the realm of political caricature, her figure was rather absent.

All the events and debates described above prepared the grounds for the symbolic figure of Joan of Arc to be included in the nationalistic and antisemitic journal's narrative by Forain and Caran d'Ache. It should be mentioned that her appearance in *Psst...!* is rare. Nevertheless, it doesn't weaken the power of her symbolic image to transfer specific meanings and ideas to the audience, as she is not an invented figure by the caricaturists but taken from the historical, political and cultural reality and, thus, already possess a large pool of associations and emotional responses on the part of the contemporary viewer, which can be instrumentalized by the authors for their ideological purposes. One of the main iconographical roles that the Maid of plays in *Psst...!* is that of the emotive and positive symbol of the French nation, to which the audience can identify itself and which allows artists to go from the satire and "stigmatization" of the alleged "poisoning" elements to more sensitive and dramatic narratives of the endangered and victimized nation. One of the examples of this tendency can be a work by Caran d'Ache, called the "Horse of Joan of Arc" (Figure 42). He refers to the equestrian statue of the Maid of Orléans by Fremiet (Figure 14), but the heroine herself is missing, leaving only the staff with a flag, which she used to raise in the triumphant gesture. Instead, three "Jewish" men, dressed in black and recognized by the antisemitic iconography, hold the horse and try to put in the saddle Georges Picquart, a French Army General, who supported Dreyfus and was the first to discover that the main proof of his alleged guilt – *bordereau* – was made by Ferdinand Esterhazy. They are in a hurry, afraid that the horse of Joan will kick them. In the background of this scene, Caran d'Ache depicts shapes of various buildings, some of which belong to the landscape of the capital – such as the sharp contours of the Eiffel Tower and the high rectangular apartment houses – as well as to the countryside that is marked by stocky homes with triangle roofs and smokestacks. This artistic decision allows the caricaturists to emphasize that the equestrian statue of Joan of Arc is not only an important landmark on the urban landscape of the capital but the symbol of entire France, extending to all

the territories, either central or alienated, and recognized by the whole French population, either urbanized or rural.



Figure 42. Caran d'Ache, "Le cheval de Jeanne d'Arc", *Psst... !*, no. 67, (12 May, 1899) : 3.

Thus, the "Jews" and the "Jewish Syndicate" not only mark their presence in the French political arena by replacing the figure of Joan of Arc with their "agent", but attempt to literally replace the symbol of the French nation, the Patriot and the Savior, by the "foreign", "poisoning" and "distracting" elements³²⁹. Caran d'Ache, however, leaves his audience a place for "hope". The visual language sets two clear oppositions between the Horse of Joan of Arc and the "Jews": of light and dark, of strong and feeble, therefore, hinting that the horse will kick out the alleged

³²⁹ Méry, "Au jour le jour" : 1.

“hostile” elements, and the “genuine” symbol of the French nation will return to power. Another example, this time by Forain, is more dramatic in its plot and meaning (Figure 43).

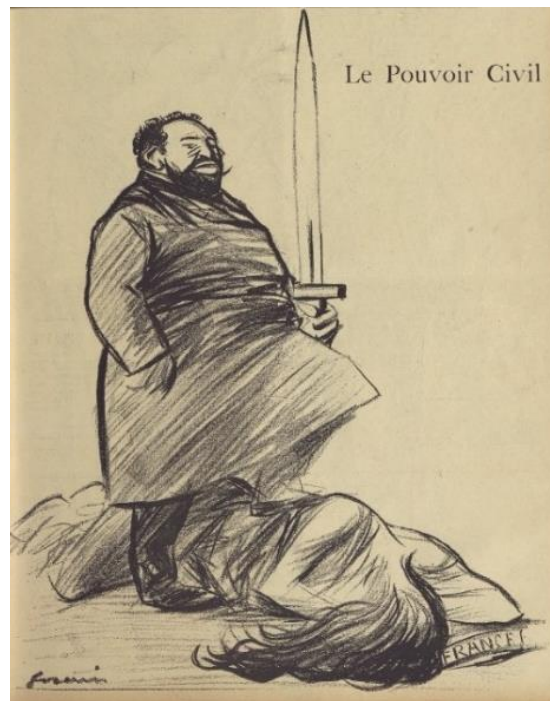


Figure 43. Jean-Louis Forain, “Le Pouvoir Civil”, *Psst...!*, no. 73, (24 Juin, 1899) : 1.

At first sight, it is not so evident that the image refers to Joan of Arc, as the widespread iconography of her as a young girl in armor is missing. The feature, which allows identifying a woman, lying on the ground, as the Maid of Orléans, is the sword taken away from her, as it had been an inseparable trait of her pictorial appearance since the 15th century³³⁰ and a familiar trope for the 19th-century French audience not only by the monumental production but from the paintings as well³³¹. In his drawing, Forain deviates from the image of the warrior and victorious Maid, referring to the iconography of the death of Joan of Arc, within which, during the execution, she is portrayed in a light dress with flowing hair³³². The vulnerability of the iconography greatly correlates with the unfolding plot. Her figure, playing the role of the personification of France, as states the author’s note near her body, is lying on the ground, while a “Jewish” man recognizable

³³⁰ One of the most important examples from the French tradition can be the miniatures from an illustrated book by Martial d’Auvergne *Virgiles de Charles VII* appeared in 1484-1485, depicting Joan of Arc expelling the prostitutes from the army’s camp. Martial d’Auvergne, *Virgiles de Charles VI* (1484-1485): 60v.

³³¹ One of the pictorial examples from the 19th century France can be the work by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres “Joan of Arc at the Coronation of Charles VII”. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, “Jeanne d’Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII”, painting, 1854, Louvre Museum.

³³² As one of the earliest examples from the French tradition can be taken again *Virgiles de Charles VII*: 71r.

by the antisemitic iconography, which consists of a hooked nose, fleshy lips and glasses, rises above her. He puts his foot on her lying body, holds her sword and raises it in a triumphant gesture. The title points out the “Civil Power”, activating the political and ideological debates already unfolding around the figure of Joan of Arc, appropriated by the nationalists and connected to patriotism and church, as the opposition to the Republic and anti-clericalism. The Civil Power, associated with the Revolution and the break between the Government and the Church, which is portrayed here in an openly negative sense and, being represented by a “Jewish” figure, references again to Drumont’s antisemitic claims about Jews being the only beneficiaries of the Revolution and connected to the allegedly “corrupted” nature of the Third Republic³³³. In sum, Forain portrays an alleged submission of France to “Jews” – the subject, which was already touched upon with the usage of the figure of Marianne, in this case, however, the treatment of the plot is not satirical but full of dramatic undertones and can provoke an emotional response on the part of the viewer. The final example by Caran d’Ache shapes another discursive direction that the Maid of Orléans can be prescribed within the journal’s narrative – she can play a role of a marker, emphasizing for the audience the “foreignness” of the “Jews” and their alleged impossibility to assimilate within the French society. For instance, Caran d’Ache depicts a richly decorated bourgeois apartment, which belongs to a “Jewish” family³³⁴, which is assimilated and acculturated in late 19th century France that is seen by their clothes, as well as features of the interior (Figure 44). On the piano lies the *Songs of a Soldier* by Paul Déroulède – patriotic poetry first published in 1872, singing the courage of the French soldiers during the war of 1870-1871³³⁵, while two paintings on the wall demonstrate one, a French soldier, and another one, the equestrian statue of Joan of Arc in the *Place des Pyramides*. A “Jewish” man, looking at the female figure dressed in armor in the painting, doesn’t

³³³ Drumont, *La France Juive* I: vi.

³³⁴ The “Jewishness” of the family is communicated to the viewer again through the antisemitic iconography of a hooked nose and fleshy lips, the black curved hair of the “Jewish” woman, name Salomon for the head of the family, and the Yiddish accent.

³³⁵ Paul Déroulède, *Chants du Soldat*, (Paris : Calmann Lévy, 1885).

recognize the national heroine, naming her instead, with a strong Yiddish accent, a “beautiful cuirassier³³⁶”. His wife corrects him, telling that it’s not a cuirassier, but Joan of Arc.



Figure 44. Caran d’Ache, “Un bronze d’occasion”, *Psst...!*, no. 6, (12 March, 1898): 3.

Therefore, by this plot, Caran d’Ache tries to communicate to the audience an idea that all the French patriotic production, ascribed with a lot of importance, as well as emotive meanings and sentiments for the “genuine” French people, a perceived by the journal’s authors, conveys nothing to “Jews” who only copy and borrow them without any understanding of their significance. Therefore, the alleged impossibility of the “Jewish” assimilation within French society is claimed through the usage of the image of Joan of Arc, who, in her turn, constitutes the alleged incomprehensibility of the French symbols for the “Jews”.

Thus, the visual analysis conducted above demonstrates that the specificities of the appearance of Joan of Arc in *Psst...!* presents her a “genuine” symbol of the French nation within

³³⁶ A cavalry soldier, who wears a cuirass – a piece of armor, which consists of the breast-plate and back-plate. Oxford English Dictionary, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023) s.v. “cuirass, n.”, URL: <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45604?result=1&rskey=TVi7Pe&> (accessed May 17, 2023).

the nationalistic and antisemitic narrative of the journal. This development unfolds both iconographically and semantically and constitutes a sharp opposition to Marianne, who, in her turn is identified with “corrupted” French politics. First, the Maid of Orléans never appears in an “unrespectable” or emphatically contemporary way, in comparison to the allegory of the Third Republic. The artists preserve her symbolical and atemporal iconography, which is sometimes even directly borrowed from the monumental production, and, within the plots, tend to save the elevated symbolism of her figure portraying her as a statue, a speechless personification or a painting’s subject but never a real personage of their satirical drawings, which helps to preserve the elevated connotations, symbolical meanings and sometimes even dramatic undertones of her figure in the “low” art of caricature operating by humor. Second, in terms of their antisemitic plots, while Marianne is portrayed as “corrupted” herself due to her close relation to “Jews”, being their romantic companion or accomplice, Joan of Arc is never connected to the “Jewish” figures. She is a French symbol of “Frenchness”, and, thus, unattainable for the “Jews”. Therefore, the authors try to convey that while Marianne and the Third Republic that she symbolizes are possessed by “Jews” and cooperating with them, Joan of Arc, representing the “genuine” French nation, is unachievable for them and marks an opposition between the “French” and the “Jewish”.

But what constitutes her semantic potential for the symbolization of the “true” nation and the conceptual opposition to the “Jewish” characteristics, named as hostile and foreign, in the nationalistic and antisemitic rhetoric in general and in *Psst...!* in particular? Several reasons can be established. First, the myth of Joan of Arc is tightly bound up with the peasantry, countryside and soil. For instance, it was emphasized by Michelet in his *History of France*, where he wrote: “It was needed that she leaves... this little garden under the shade of the Church, where she was listening only to the bells, and where birds were eating from her hands”³³⁷, “Her father, rough and honest peasant”³³⁸, “she arrived...with her red clothes of a peasant girl”³³⁹. These connotations

³³⁷ Michelet, *Histoire de France* V : 57.

³³⁸ Ibid., 58.

³³⁹ Ibid., 59

were then strengthened by the 19th-century theatrical and musical production by such composers as Charles Gounod³⁴⁰, Giuseppe Verdi³⁴¹ and Pyotr Tchaikovsky³⁴², who in various ways emphasized the close connection of Joan of Arc to the nature and its forces, the honesty of the peasant life she grew up in, and the solidity and simplicity of the countryside labor³⁴³. In paintings, it was clearly shown by Jules Bastien-Lepage, where he portrayed the Maid of Orléans in a peasant's dress surrounded by nature with a little countryside house in the background³⁴⁴. This part of her myth greatly correlates to the idea of the “genuine” French population as peasants and farmers, propagated by nationalists and continued by Caran d’Ache in *Psst...!*, and, at the same time, allows drawing a clear opposition to the popular antisemitic image of the “Jews” as being connected to money, capitalism and deprived of their own soil. The second feature, which constitutes the conceptual potential of Joan of Arc as the “genuine” symbol of the nation in the nationalistic and antisemitic programs – is her virginity. The latter makes her body pure and total³⁴⁵, which was tightly connected to the moral goodness and perfection in the culture perceiving sexuality as vicious and suspicious³⁴⁶. It also gives the possibility to create a sharp opposition of the virtue in vice, referring for the latter to the antisemitic image of the Jewish woman as a prostitute and *femme-fatale* created in *Psst...!*, as well as to the figure of Marianne, sexualized through her appearance and romantic companionship with the “Jews” or allegedly “corrupted politicians”. The third important specificity of her figure is her connection to the glory of the French army and its triumph – as was already mentioned, according to the popular imagination, she took command over an army and led it to victory. It correlates to the formulation of the “genuine: French population and the French glory through the figure of a soldier and an army, as well as constitutes an opposition to the “Jews” who, on the part of the Anti-Dreyfusard camp, were

³⁴⁰ Jeanne d’Arc (1873).

³⁴¹ Giovanna d’Arco (1845).

³⁴² The Maid of Orléans (1878).

³⁴³ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 241-242.

³⁴⁴ Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Jeanne d’Arc*, painting, 1878, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³⁴⁵ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 235.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

portrayed as seeking the degradation and weakening of the French military. Finally, on the most general level, the figure of Joan of Arc was tightly bound up with God, Church and Christianity. This close connection was drawn both during her lifetime, as well as within her following symbolical existence: according to the legend, it was Saint Michael surrounded by many angels who came to her conveying the words of God, calling Joan for saving France and its people from the anti-Christian war³⁴⁷, thus, making her *la fille de Dieu* acting in the name of the Savior in the common imagination, and, centuries later in 1894, the Catholic Church, taking into account her purity and devotion to God, declared her to be Venerable³⁴⁸. These connotations ascribed to her figure make Joan of Arc an ideal symbol for the “genuine” Christian French population and allows drawing a clear opposition to the antisemitic “Jewish” myth, as formulated in *Psst...!* and other antisemitic production of the epoch, within which the “Jews” were portrayed being diabolic and unfaithful, as well as seeking to oppress the Christian people.

The final question remains to be addressed regarding the symbolical figure of Joan of Arc in *Psst...!* – taking into account all the above, how does the Maid of Orléans help to define the “genuine” political direction of the French nation, as perceived by Forain and Caran d’Ache? First, the opposition between the free-thinking Republicans and the conservative nationalists, which was marked by her figure in the public dimension, constitutes the anti-Republican definition of the “genuine” path of the French nation. Second, her closeness to the Church points out the importance of the connection of the nation to religiosity, which greatly correlates with the views of Forain, who at the time started to become a devout Catholic³⁴⁹, and proclaims not only the anti-Republican sentiments, as the latter initiated the anticlerical reforms³⁵⁰, but also to the rationalist heritage of the French Revolution. Finally, the patriotism of Joan of Arc prescribes the “genuine” political path of France with the exaltation of national feelings, understood from the perspective of the

³⁴⁷ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 124-125. Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France* V : 56-57.

³⁴⁸ Warner, *Joan of Arc: The image of female heroism*: 264.

³⁴⁹ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art”: 255.

³⁵⁰ William R. Keylor, “Anti-Clericalism and Educational Reform in the French Third Republic: A Retrospective Evaluation”, *History of Education Quarterly* 21, no. 1, (1981): 96.

Right-wing camp, which appropriated the symbolical figure of Joan of Arc. Their understanding of “patriotism” at the time of the Dreyfus Affair was constructed on antisemitism, chauvinism and xenophobia³⁵¹, as well as a strong belief in the Church and the Army as main pillars of the national prosperity³⁵², which greatly correlates with the view of Forain and Caran d’Ache³⁵³.

³⁵¹ Winock, *Nationalism. Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*: 117.

³⁵² Ibid., 13.

³⁵³ Byrnes, “Jean-Louis Forain: Antisemitism in French Art”: 251, 255.

Conclusion

The thesis attempted to reconstruct the process of creating the French national mythology in the context of the Dreyfus Affair through the usage of the hateful stances against the Jews on the example of the antisemitic and anti-Dreyfusard illustrated journal *Psst...!*, launched by two prominent late-19th century caricaturists Jean-Louis Forain and Caran d'Ache. For achieving this goal, two sides of the populist binary worldview based on “good” and “evil” were identified in the boundaries of the journal and carefully examined in a tight connection with key events of French history, economic transformations and crises unfolding in this period, nationalists and political conflicts, as well as the development of modern art. To support and enhance the made arguments, a large body of the primary sources besides the drawings in *Psst...!*, mostly visual but also literary, was brought into the discussion and conceptualized.

The research uncovered and demonstrated the multilayered character of the construction of the “genuine” “Frenchness” through the usage of the antisemitic “Jewish” myth in *Psst...!* as well as the richness of the references and motifs instrumentalized by the caricaturists for their manipulative aim. First, within the process of the myth-making, an appeal to the sense of French national glory was made, which was understood and communicated to the audience through the army, the figure of the soldier and past military glory. However, since the nationalist politics, the agent of which *Psst...!* can be named, operated by manipulative methods and had the aim of uniting the heterogeneous French population of the late 19th century around the fight against the alleged “enemy” and the desire of revenge, the rhetorical line of the lost glory was introduced. The “Jews”, pictured within the antisemitic myth developing in *Psst...!* as ultimate enemies of France, racially predisposed to “treachery”, were named responsible for the “dishonor” of the nation, which was shown through the “malicious” actions toward the French army. The opposition of “good” and “evil” in this layer of discussion was constructed through the antithesis of two types of masculinity. The traditional “manliness” of the “true” Frenchman transmitted through the figure

of the soldier, ascribed with the moral virtuousness, honor and bravery within the cultural dimension of *fin-de-siècle* France, found its countertype in the figure of an “unmanly” “Jewish” intellectual, who was portrayed as physically “inferior” and “malicious” in its intentions within the antisemitic “Jewish” mythology of the journal. This opposition was of great semantical importance. First, it allowed caricaturists to stigmatize the Dreyfusard camp, which counted a large number of figures engaged in the intellectual activity, by marking it as “false” and “malicious”. Second – to defend the traditional understanding of masculinity, which was seen as endangered in the modern context, where traditional gender roles were challenged by homosexuality, since, in contrast to the “weak” Jew, who must be defeated, the “genuine” Frenchman was portrayed as “strong” and “undefeatable”.

The second layer of the creation of the French national mythology in *Psst...!*, as was identified, appealed to the image of the peasantry for formulating the “genuine” Frenchman. The peasant myth, propagated by the conservative nationalists initially was used to critique the Republic and its reforms aimed at modernizing the country that was received by the conservative camp with hostility. In this case, “modernity” was understood as “hostile” as it brought dramatic transformations to the traditional economy and way of living, which were seen on the part of the myth-makers as “genuine”. This opposition in the context of the Dreyfus Affair, as well as within the visual narrative of *Psst...!* received a new manipulative level – peasants were portrayed as “true” Frenchmen through their closeness to the soil, as well as Christian and traditional way of living, while the “Jews”, shown by the journal as receiving power through the “corrupted” money, were represented as oppressive, unproductive and hostile forces. Thus, this populist binary opposition of “good” and “evil” on this level of discussion resided on two levels, mutually reinforcing each other, “rural” and “modern” to critic the Republic, as well as “laborious” and “unproductive” to enrich the former with the antisemitic stances. The peasantry, in this, regard, easily fitted the role of an oppressed “Christian” population, since in late 19th-century France, they

found themselves endangered in the face of the modern transformations of the country and large capitalism, to which the Jews were also connected within the common imagination.

The third layer of the national mythology created in *Psst...!*, as the thesis established, instrumentalized the symbolic female figures for creating the narrative regarding the “genuine” and “corrupted” political and ideological paths of France. For the latter, the figure of Marianne, the personification of the Third Republic, was chosen and reworked to show her as a bourgeois girl and a “Jewish” companion. The visual and semantical decrease of her symbol, as was comprehensively analyzed in Chapter 3, unfolded through the specificity of her bodily treatment, as well as controversial features of her appearance and plots. At this level of discussion, again, the antisemitic figure of the “Jew” was used to mark the liberal politics of the Republic as “corrupted” and opposed to the “genuine” French path. The latter, in its turn, was portrayed through the figure of Joan of Arc, thus, defining “true” French politics as conservative, taking into account the instrumentalization of her figure by the Right-wing against the supporters of liberal politics, which took place in the late 19th century France. Within the binary worldview, she became a countertype both, for Marianne, seduced by the “Jews” and engaged in romantic relationships with them, and the “Jewess” also introduced in *Psst...!* in a highly antisemitic way. The virginity of Joan of Arc, perceived as a sign of moral goodness in the late 19th-century culture marking sexuality as vicious, made her a positive opposition to the “Jewess” portrayed in *Psst...!* as an embodiment of the “diseased” and “promiscuous sexuality”. Thus, within the nationalist mythology, Joan of Arc became a “true” French symbol of “Frenchness”, unattainable to the “Jews” in comparison to liberal politics.

The analysis conducted in the thesis allows claiming that antisemitism, which manifested itself on a large scale during the Dreyfus Affair in general and, in *Psst...!*, in particular, was much more complex than the hatred toward the Jews. In its deep, it consisted of the uncertainty in the context of the endless transformations in various spheres of the country’s life introduced by

modernity, as well as of the necessity to define what is “French” within the ideologically heterogeneous and divided country. As was demonstrated in Introduction, the Jews appeared to be connected with the main events and spheres, which formed the vanguard of modernity, as well as through the antisemitic myth-making became tightly bound up to the crises that strengthened the general anxiety of the population. Thus, they were an easy target to be turned by nationalistic politics into an embodiment of the “enemy”, by the fight with which, the French nation and its path could be defined through the establishment of the manipulative binary opposition of the “Jews” as “evil”, and “French” as “true”.

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