

Bastions or Brutes:

French Antisemitism in the Press from 1894 to 1945

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## **Abstract:**

Modern Era Europe, a time strife with power struggle, nationalistic growth, and scarred people and landscapes. France, a country unsheltered from the era's terrors, faced a great struggle not unique to the rest of Europe; a country, a political mechanism, and populations of people supporting and accelerating Antisemitic beliefs. The once brave bastions of freedom once again fell into tyranny - a self-tyranny in a sense - where racism and antisemitism ruled their agendas. Beginning with Alfred Dreyfus and his exile and still propagating to this day, the Free French have become less about freedom and more about oppression and purification. At the root of this evil stood several major French publications, pushing a political mechanism. How were these publications controlled, were they under ideological control of the government? Are the journalists of these publications under guise of the propaganda machine or are they free thinking individuals who whole heartedly see the Jewish population to blame for major French downfalls? Are the "freedom fighters", who are writing in protection of the Jewish population, doing so by way of clear conscious or career incentivization? What personal risks do these journalists take from the burden of speaking their truths? Also, as the period progresses and the 20th century truly takes hold, are the antisemitic beliefs held by the French remnants of the Dreyfus Affair, or are they influenced by current ideas held in Nazi Germany?

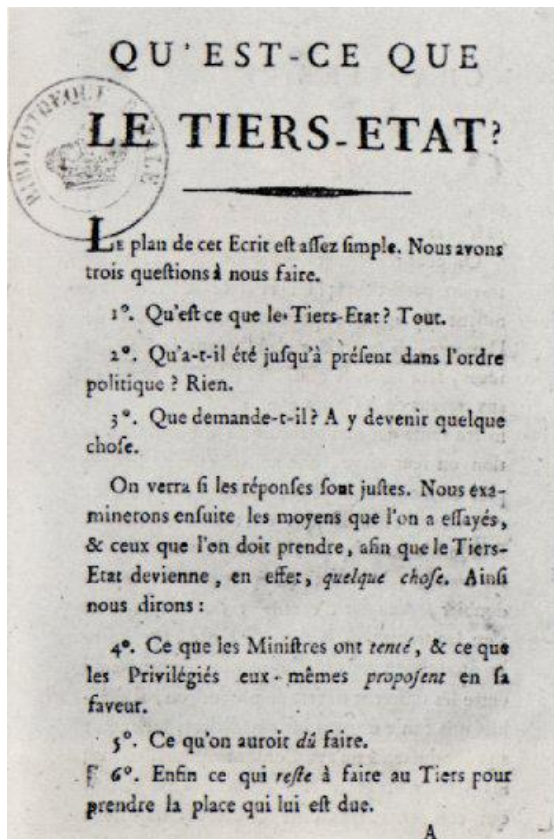
## **Introduction:**

Modern French history is ripe with triumph and exhilaration, but also stress, disruptions, and mistakes. The French people, proud and persistent in their endeavors, unknowingly uphold a standard set by the revolutionaries of 1789. As bastions and bolts, these citizens of the tricolor guard the spirit of French sovereignty and liberalism and are thus responsible for its protection. However, in many cases, this grasp of responsibility has failed, fallen through the fingers of the citizens charged with defending it. Specifically, the outright blatant antisemitic injustices and the ignorance to atrocities against the race of Jewish people hold fast as a great failure in modern French history. As crude an accusation, it does not breath true for every French individual, as free-thinking people will always share different views and beliefs, it is human nature. Therefore, there were those who even in these times of darkness, showed the light of French liberty, equality, and fraternity. Ones who stood to protect their fellow Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, unwavering from what is right and the duty of a true French Bastion.

That term, bastion, what is the definition and why is it contextually important to the ideas of French liberty? Literally speaking, it is a fortification, a wall, the first line of defense in the event of an attack. So why compare a group of people from just one of hundreds of countries around the world to a wall? Well, there is a fervor amongst those with French blood. One only explainable by the great revolutions of the nation's past. It was the people who stood against absolutism and tyranny in 1789, used their voices and might to defend their freedoms. It was the people who, as their nation fell under Nazi occupation, never lost hope and through any means

fought for their rights as French people, and as humans. True bastions do not waiver under even the heaviest of conditions, and thus, the French citizens qualify as defenders.

One group of individuals in France have been more often than not, the leading charge in times of unrest; The Fourth Estate. This term, played from the pre-revolutionary France system of governing, the Three Estates, represents the French Press. From Abbe Sieyès' *Le Tiers Etats*, the Third Estate is everything, has power over nothing, and wants something.<sup>1</sup> In turn, the



purpose of and ideological meaning of the Fourth Estate is to represent the voices of the people of the Third Estate and spread their messages across the great French nation. Therefore, the idea of the press in France as being a major political and social influence is not an idea of fiction. The French Press were major roles in influencing both the Revolution of 1789 and the outcome of occupation by the Nazi's during the Second World War. Writers such as Jean Paul Marat powered the revolution forward with his work in pamphlets in 1789, and similarly, the underground media outlet *Defense De La*

*France* inspired countless oppressed French citizens under Nazi control to commit acts of resistance.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the French antisemitism, were the media outlets as influential and

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<sup>1</sup> Sieyès Emmanuel Joseph. What Is the Third Estate? Praeger, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Gildea, Robert. Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance. 2015. 62

impactful as the former two cases? There are moments, which will be further evaluated later in this text, that can argue both for and against this claim.

The specific purpose of analyzing antisemitism and its involvement with the press in France is simple. However, the actual process of doing so is convoluted. One must understand several details pertaining to the French Jewish population, the French news outlets themselves, and ultimately, the drive of individuals to both defend or attack French Jews, and all of these details will shift and change over the hundred or so years of Modern French history. Publications play a significant role in changing how many French people perceive antisemitic claims and events and may have had a great impact on the nation as it progressed between 1894 to 1945 and even beyond. Therefore, in France, how were these publications controlled, and were they under ideological control of the government? Are the journalists of these publications under guise of the propaganda machine or are they free thinking individuals who whole heartedly see the Jewish population to blame for major French downfalls? Are the “freedom fighters”, who are writing in protection of the Jewish population, doing so by way of clear conscious or career incentivization? What personal risks do these journalists take from the burden of speaking their truths? Also, as the period progresses and the 20th century truly takes hold, are the antisemitic beliefs held by the French remnants of the Dreyfus Affair, or are they influenced by current ideas held in Nazi Germany?

## **Literature Review:**

Throughout the research process, a wide range of research topics were considered, among these are both primary and secondary source material. Many questions arise as one delves into

source material, particularly for historical research. These questions include, what was the research question of the study you are reviewing? What were the authors trying to discover? What were the implemented methodologies and are there any conflicting ideas?

From the research conducted, several sources were selected from which one can further review and understand contextually how they operate. These, again, range from both primary and secondary sources and are all utilized in different ways. The first piece of literature is "*J'accuse*" by Emile Zola. This source is a primary source that covers the great Dreyfus affair. Zola's interpretation of the case and his cry for justice signifies a great moment for the defense of the Jewish people. Zola represents one side of the journalistic battle for the Jewish population's future and Zola defines the journalist not concerned with the state's agenda and who upholds Fourth Estate battles. This primary source is one of if not the most important source of this project as it provides firsthand perceptions of the situation regarding antisemitism in France in the 19th and 20th centuries.

It is important to understand the broader viewpoints as one researches specific topics; Matthew Cobb's *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis* is a prime example of this. Cobb's work focuses on a broad look at the impact of Anti-Semitism and the press in the Second World War French Resistance. The book contains information on Jewish resisters working directly with the underground press as well as the role of French individuals to protect the Jewish population from persecution. The author of this work manages to remain as impartial as possible as to only disseminate the truth as a historian should.

Similarly, Robert Gildea's *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance* forms the basis of my research on the French Resistance. Gildea's work broadly covers the era of French resistance to Nazism and helps draw comparisons of this battle to the

battles waged by several brave journalists against flaring antisemitism. Again, the author remains fairly impartial in their discussions of the resistance movements in France and offers a decent secondary source for my research.

Moving away from secondary sources, another very useful and in-depth primary source is Pierre Glaudes' *Entre Diatribe Et Allégorisme Satirique: L'affaire Dreyfus Dans Le Jardin Des Supplices Et Le Journal D'une Femme De Chambre*. It is a completely French source covering the Dreyfus Affair. However, it features several counters to Emile Zola's perspective of the Affair and allows the researcher to obtain an alternate point of view to the infamous incident of French antisemitism.

In order to properly dissect and analyze historical journalism, one must become familiar with journalism itself. *The World News Prism*, by William A. Hachten and James F. Scotton, is a source for this understanding of journalism. This work is a journalistic book which discusses how journalists perceive different moments in history. It details how journalist should act and write and how sometimes it is not true to form. It covers corruption and deceit and is necessary to understanding the ways in which journalists saw antisemitism in France. The work contains several very valuable theories of journalism and assists in understanding exactly how a journalist may think in the context of this research, and also how they may be influenced by a governing body when writing.

Next is Holman, Valerie, and Debra Kelly's *France at War in the 20th Century: Propaganda, Myth, and Metaphor*. This work covers France's usage of media and propaganda during the First and Second World Wars. This propagates a need for an understanding of how the French used propaganda and whether that impacted the Jewish population. Was the propaganda

targeted at them or in a broad sense? It is an imperative work in understanding the impact words and journalists can have on an entire population of people and is thus extremely important.

Last is Mehlman's *Legacies of Anti-Semitism in France*. This covers the lasting effects of Antisemitism in France and how even today there is still resentment towards that specific group of people. In a whole this work useful in tying research into issues seen today and assisting the argument that antisemitism is still very much alive.

Many of these sources, while not directly cited in text, were vital in understanding the context of this research and are thus responsible for the branch effect from which many more sources are discovered. Furthermore, these sources offer insights into the depth and ideology being researched by many other historians of this field.



## Chapter One:

# Development and Propagation of Antisemitism

## **Chapter One Overview:**

The primary chapter of this dissertation will focus most efficiently on setting the stage for analysis in the following sections. Thus, background information, biographical details, and political climates surrounding case studies will be the subject of this section. This section of the work will also cover the development and propagation of Antisemitism in France. This will include an extensive background of anti-Judaism and antisemitism and why it formed as well as a specific background on these ideologies in France. The section will begin with information on historical religious tensions in France, such as with Catholics and Protestants, and then shift to prior to the Dreyfus Affair. Next, an in depth look on the Dreyfus affair as an important moment in the development of French Antisemitism. The section will give background information and identify the roles of civilians, governments, and journalists. Then, the paper will shift to the Second World War and its leadup. It will begin with the 30s and move to discuss Vichy France, the Resistance movements, Nazi occupation, and how antisemitic views propagated throughout each moment. Thus, it will properly setup analysis of journalists commenting on this period.

### **Antisemitism: History**

To fully understand the content and the context of this work, one must understand the origins and history of anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Europe. The idea of Jewish persecution and the exile of their people can arguably be considered one of the oldest forms of continuous hatred against a race and religion.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Lutjens, Richard. "The History of Antisemitism." Lecture, March 11, 2021.

The origins of the Jewish religion are wrapped up within the context and boundaries of the ancient Roman empire dating back nearly 2000 years. The narrative surrounding Moses and the origins of the world, the commandments of a monotheistic god, and the birth of the Hebrews contradicted the historically polytheistic world that predated them. The Jewish people evolved, following teachings of Abraham, Moses, and their commandments from god.<sup>4</sup> The center for their existence existed in that of the current Middle East, specifically the area surrounding Jerusalem. The ideology of Judaism and their beliefs were documented in what is now referred to as the Torah, or the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. The people of Judaism were unique in that they were one of and still remain a religious group who are incredibly involved and connected to their religion. They grasp onto and hold onto their faith much more strongly than any other religious denomination.<sup>5</sup>

Judaism was successful in growth, but this spread would ultimately bring about difficulties, and thus the first instances of anti-Jewish beliefs. Rome, Babylon, and Egypt were major powers of the ancient world. Three groups already set in their beliefs; each took specific issues with the new identity held by the Jews. The Babylonians were constantly at war with and in opposition of the Israelites. Through battles and the “conquest of Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE”<sup>6</sup>, the Babylonians forced hundreds of thousands of Jewish people into slavery or exile under their regime and forced assimilation into Babylonian society. While the anti-Judaism ideology was not that based on stereotypes solely by the Babylonians, it is a vital example in displaying the conflict surrounding the Israelites from their very beginnings. Similarly, in the

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<sup>4</sup> Goodman, Martin. *A History of Judaism*. London: Penguin, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Lutjens, Richard. “The History of Antisemitism.” Lecture, March 11, 2021.

<sup>6</sup> Nirenberg, David. *Anti-Judaism: the Western Tradition*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014.

Persian controlled Egypt of 500BCE, further early examples of Jewish separatism and individuality is evident. Egyptians and the Jews of Elephantine coexisted in the satellite states and as Egyptian revolts began, the Jewish people of these lands refused to partake.<sup>7</sup> What this further shows is how an early idea of being Jewish before a nationalist is established. This idea, as will further be examined, will continue far into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Ancient Judaism and the rest of the Middle East is but the start of anti-Judaism. It is important to stress the term anti-Judaism as opposed to referring to antisemitism. Wilhelm Marr coined the term antisemitism in 1873, thus the term is nearly a modern idea. What the difference is between being antisemitic and anti-Jewish is held in ideology and beliefs. Antisemitism is based upon ideas of conspiracy. Marr proclaimed that Jewish communities were out for world domination and control and other almost hysterical ideas surrounding Jews. Stereotypes and conspiracy became the basis of antisemitism, which is the primary difference when comparing this term to anti-Judaism.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, much of the examples of Jewish hate prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century will fall onto ideas of anti-Judaism, which holds its basis of thought under religious contradictions and societal differences.

The vast majority of Jewish persecution under the guise of anti-Judaism falls under that of Christianity and the Papacy. Christianity as a religion owes its conception to the ideas of the Israelites, the Torah is heavily similar to that of Christianity's Old Testament. However, religious divides were established as soon as Christ became the Christian messiah. These divides begins a theological divide, one in which will spell separation and war for centuries and even millennium

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<sup>7</sup> Nirenberg, David. *Anti-Judaism: the Western Tradition*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014.

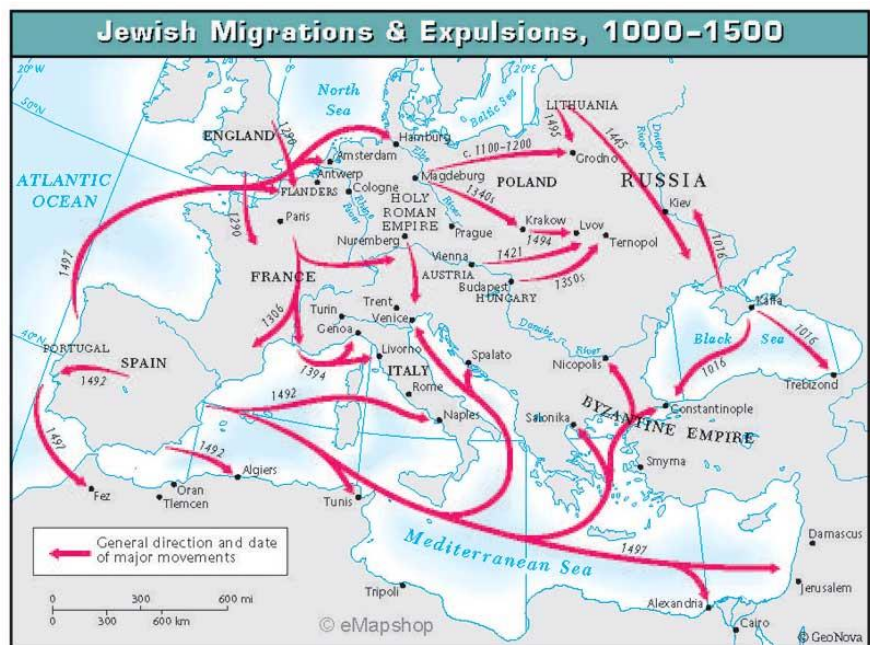
<sup>8</sup> Marr, Wilhelm. *Wählet Keinen Juden! Der Weg Zum Siege Des Germanenthums Über Das Judenthum*. Berlin: Henke's Verl, 1879.

to come. A major source of Christian hatred towards the Jews stems from the idea that the Jewish community was almost solely responsible for the death of Christ.<sup>9</sup> However, as much as the Christian community fought to push this idea into reality, it was simply untrue. Christ was “not a victim of Jewish hostility.”<sup>10</sup> His death was ultimately due to his followers, their enthusiasm, and their political and religious tensions with the Roman empire of the time. However, from this moment on, many Christians would be devout in their belief that eternal justice is due for the Jewish as they were the responsible party for the death of Christ. Also, this idea of falsely accusing the Jews for a devastating loss of life would not end here as similar events would transpire towards the beginning of Nazi power with the Jewish blame of the First World War.

The persecution of and hatred towards Jews did not stop in the Middle East. Once the religious group fled the holy lands for Europe, safety was not a guarantee. Many Jews found themselves facing continuous expulsion by European rulers and violence as a consequence of the crusades. The Crusades

and religious conflicts of the millennium created havoc for the Jewish populations. Specifically, the group became a target for many Christian Crusaders in 1146.

Christian soldiers were



<sup>9</sup> Lutjens, Richard. “The History of Antisemitism.” Lecture, March 11, 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholls, W. (2004). Christian antisemitism: A history of hate. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

specifically instructed to kill the European Jewish populations as their first duty under God before moving east to the holy lands.<sup>11</sup> This blunt brutality was not unique to a single leader's orders and many higher ups of the church sought a Crusade against the Jews specifically. Furthermore, numerous more examples of Christian anti-Judaism exist. The mass expulsion of Jews in 1492 displays the true longevity of this hatred. Spurred on by riots and new anti-Jewish movements were in full force by 1440. While an expulsion of the Jews was not new to Europe by this time, one aspect of these exiles is particularly interesting. Along with traditional Jews, many "New Christians" who had converted from Judaism were also targeted.<sup>12</sup> This inclusion of conversos signifies a potential early shift to antisemitism rather than a strict anti-Jewish perception as religious beliefs were not of real concern to these people. It was the idea that one was once Jewish and not a true Christian. Another aspect of these 1492 Spanish expulsions of Jews was the economic downsides of destroying and eliminating such a large number of people. Similar to German issues of the 1930s when deporting their Jews, the Spanish of 1492 struggled economically as many European Jews played major roles in the territories, and thus more desperation came, and even more exiles followed.<sup>13</sup> So even as early as 1492, we see signs of a hatred of a race rather than a religion, thus moving us further and further towards the idea of antisemitism.

As previously mentioned, the term and really the idea of Antisemitism did not exist until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While similarities and early signs of antisemitism existed during the expulsions of Jews in the mid-1400s, it is not inherently antisemitism. But the examples of why many

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholls, W. (2004). *Christian antisemitism: A history of hate*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

<sup>12</sup> Peters, E. Jewish history and gentile memory: The expulsion of 1492. *Jew History* 9, 9–34 (1995).

<sup>13</sup> Peters, E. Jewish history and gentile memory: The expulsion of 1492. *Jew History* 9, 9–34 (1995).

Europeans held hatred towards Jews may help in clarifying why, come the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the irrational and pure hatred of a race, not religion, came to be so popular. Thus, the history of anti-Judaism is precious to the discussion of Antisemitism, and to these further analyses. Ideas and misconceptions all have an origin and the long 2000-year history of Jewish persecution offers answers to these questions of origins.

### **French Religious Tensions:**

While the persecution of Jews in Europe has been astounding throughout what seems to be thousands of years, tensions between other groups only further threatened any hope of religious freedom and toleration in Europe, especially in France. While many French Jews were facing exile and separation in France, the Catholic and Protestant sects of Christianity were at war. In particular, the French Wars of Religion followed the spread of the Reformation, sparked by Martin Luther and led in France by Jean Calvin, across Europe, and it met a bloody obstacle in France. These wars officially began in 1562 and caused a split among the French aristocracy.<sup>14</sup> Power vacuums<sup>15</sup> were created and with that, the wars became partially about gaining privileges and land, rather than theological matters.

During these wars, Jews were relatively uninvolved. Up until nearly the year 1500, France had been nearly rid of Jews since the last expulsion in September of 1394.<sup>16</sup> Many who had been expelled, however, landed in the bordering regions of Alsace, Lorraine, and others in

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<sup>14</sup> Woods, Michael James. "Reality vs. PERCEPTIONS: The Treatment of Early Modern French Jews in Politics and Literary Culture," n.d.

<sup>15</sup> Power Vacuum: Clusters of individuals claiming power in a particular nation/country.

<sup>16</sup> Woods, Michael James. "Reality vs. PERCEPTIONS: The Treatment of Early Modern French Jews in Politics and Literary Culture," n.d.

the east of France. However, the distraction of the Wars of Religion and the expulsion of Spanish Jews allowed more and more Jewish immigrants to reenter France come the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The “fractured” state of France during this era almost created flourishing Jewish communities, ones who were able to bring monetary value to the many leaders of France. This value is one that resonates through many European states. The idea that Jews bring value to a country and prosperity to a people is not something new, however, these are questions brought up consistently prior to the development of true antisemitism. Jews are exiled and allowed back, and then exiled<sup>17</sup> again due to this hatred of the religion but desperation for their skills and filling of voids.

### **Jews in the Absolutist Regime:**

The rise of absolutism brought forward a different future for the Jews of France. The uncertainty of constant expulsion and re-entry into the country was replaced with a curious mix of usefulness and restraint, especially in the early years of the Ancien Regime. The French monarchs understood the political and economic benefit of Jews. Specifically, during the age of enlightenment, many Jews were protected by the powers of the centralized government. This action was actively disliked and publicly opposed by two large groups: the bourgeoisie and the dévots populations of France.<sup>18</sup> The local populations resented the Jews of France and went so far to that “the Jews will soon monopolize France’s trade”<sup>19</sup> The interesting aspect of Enlightenment France is that most anti-Jewish ideology was held outside of the government. At

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<sup>17</sup> Lutjens, Richard. “The History of Antisemitism.” Lecture, March 11, 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume 3: From Voltaire to Wagner*, 26, 1955.

<sup>19</sup> Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume 3: From Voltaire to Wagner*, 26, 1955.



the very least, the absolutist regime of France tolerated the Jews out of respect for their financial abilities and skills. This was not a commonly held idea for the rest of the population. In fact, the most important takeaway from this era is that antisemitism was almost an exclusively middle-class Christian phenomenon in France.<sup>20</sup>

### **Early French Antisemitism:**

There is a shift in ideology during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in France, as with much of Europe. Many individuals, through generations, changed their views of Israelites from Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism. To recap, the inherent difference between the two terms comes in the ways in which one justifies their hatred towards Jews. Antisemitism is a 19<sup>th</sup> century term; it refers mostly to the notion of conspiracy and the Jews as a race of people. Anti-Judaism refers to the hatred of Jews for their religious beliefs and lifestyle. The shift to antisemitism in France is thus also a shift in ideology. The era of French anti-Semitism is characterized by a new fear of Jewish interference in French politics and everyday life. The government had become increasingly involved in these antisemitic views which is represented by the very famous Dreyfus Affair.<sup>21</sup> Beyond that, the general public had remained fairly antisemitic as they were in the ages of enlightenment, fearing Jewish involvement in their businesses and job securities.

Obviously, the biggest shift from the absolutist ideologies with Jews to the new 19<sup>th</sup> century is based in the government and actual ideological beliefs. The government was much

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<sup>20</sup> Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume 3: From Voltaire to Wagner*, 31, 1955.

<sup>21</sup> Cahm, Eric. *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*. London: Longman, 1996.

less accepting come the 19<sup>th</sup> century, going as far as attempting to frame a Jewish Army Captain, as they were in the Absolutist regime. Also, the adaptation of Marr's concepts of antisemitism displayed a move from religious disputes to almost unwarranted hatred.

### **Major Case Studies:**

Europe is brimmed with antisemitic controversy and situations. In fact, it can be argued that much of what historians and even the common persons consider Europe's most impactful and historic events involve antisemitism in one way or another. Therefore, with a country as rich in history as France, pickings should be bountiful. However, there are really only two major cases of public antisemitism in France, with one containing several branches of further analytical potential. These two being the Dreyfus Affair and the Second World War. This does not mean that Antisemitism was absent within the bounds of the French nation, but that it was relatively quiet amongst the public. However, France was arguably the catalyst for the explosion of open antisemitism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the Dreyfus Affair.

### **The History and Background of the Dreyfus Affair:**

For many, the Dreyfus Affair was just an example of modern European aristocracy and the antisemitism held within the government. Although, in a different light, it is possible to view the affair as the ultimate expression of French antisemitism from the once fairly quiet public. However, in order to understand how this could be a catalyst, it is necessary to understand the

background and history of Alfred Dreyfus and the incident that made him and so many pro and anti-Jewish individuals famous.

Jewish Alfred Dreyfus, Captain of French Artillery, and a member of the General Staff, is arrested on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1894. His charge is of treason and attempting to sell secrets to the German army, specifically on the topics of French weaponry.<sup>22</sup> The conclusion of Dreyfus as the culprit was almost specifically due to the letter *Le Bordereau*. This letter contained a list of documents of which were being sold to the Germans and thus the scribe of this letter was to blame. The process of the French military in deciphering the author involved comparing handwritings of several French officers and ultimately Dreyfus' handwriting was the closest match.<sup>23</sup>

Historical hindsight would point out flaws in this system of accusation; however, the trial and persecution would continue into November and December. Dreyfus was publicly shamed and socially demolished. In part, this is due to the publicity from Edouard Drumont's newspaper, *La Libre Parole*. This work and several other antisemitic journals propagated a social outcry against Dreyfus after Drumont, on November 1<sup>st</sup>, announced the arrest of Alfred Dreyfus.<sup>24</sup> He was found guilty by a unanimous court and sentenced to exile in 1895.<sup>25</sup> This was not the end for Dreyfus.

While many did support the military and Drumont, there was an opposition. Thus, a political and societal battle occurred in 1897. In fact, many "families, religious communities and

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<sup>22</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>23</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Cahm, Eric. *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*. London: Longman, 1996.

political parties became increasingly divided by it.”<sup>26</sup> The outcry, famously led by Emile Zola and his journal *J’Accuse* allowed for a success of the opposition. Dreyfus’ case was to be reopened. This was also due in part to Lt-Col Henry of France, who was the individual who forged many of these documents. Henry worked to frame with “resounding” evidence Dreyfus and thus wrote letters such as *Le Bordereau*. Henry was arrested after the opposition requested an examination into forgery and he would later admit to his crimes and commit suicide.<sup>27</sup> While this would clearly prove to the public quickly that Dreyfus was innocent, it instead brought further sympathy upon the “martyr” of Henry. People saw him as a patriot and Drumont would label Henry as heroic in his work *La Libre Parole*.<sup>28</sup> This demonstrates just how antisemitic the public was in terms of this affair. When clear evidence was brought against Henry and further clearing Dreyfus of any wrongdoing, the majority of French citizens chose to ignore Alfred Dreyfus’ innocence. It took a further outcry by the likes of Zola to reignite a second trial by almost 1901. However, in what seems as a nearly impossible outcome, Dreyfus, who had fallen extremely ill, was found guilty of treason.<sup>29</sup> He was pardoned eight days after by the French President Loubet and thus, the affair came to a confusing and rumbling end.



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<sup>26</sup> Cahm, Eric. *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*. London: Longman, 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>28</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>29</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

The anger and outcry against Dreyfus was not unique to him. Many French citizens who supported the anti-Dreyfus arguments would soon turn their efforts against many other middle-class French Jews.<sup>30</sup> This demonstrates not only the power of public opinion, but also some of the long standing antisemitic beliefs held by many French citizens. Therefore, it was not inherently difficult for the likes of Drumont to build popularity with these ideas. Thus, the populous of France was nearly all convinced of Dreyfus' guilt at the time of his exile in early 1895.<sup>31</sup> Another major takeaway from this affair is just how much support Henry received even after his conviction and suicide. The French populous, rather than celebrating the innocence of a French-blooded captain, chose to martyr and label Henry a hero even for his actions of framing and treason. These actions, though very minute details, display how the culture of antisemitism in France was able to spread and just how widespread it was.

## The History and Background of the Second World War:

The Second World War is extremely vast in terms of historical information and events.



However, in terms of this work, much of this information is limited in use. Battles of the Eastern Front, the Pacific theatre, and much of the military tactics had no impact or influence from the deeper ideas of antisemitism in Europe. However, in terms of continental France within the context of the war, this

<sup>30</sup> Cahm, Eric. *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*. London: Longman, 1996.

<sup>31</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

is a different story. France in World War Two was a very unique situation. Like much of continental Europe, the nation was invaded by the Nazi war machine in 1940.<sup>32</sup> However, unlike many countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, France was split in two. The northern half of the country, including Paris, was to be occupied by Nazi Germany, while the southern half would retain relative independence in terms of government and individual rights. This area would come to be known as Vichy France; a regime led by famed French General Marshal Petain.<sup>33</sup> Vichy France was a cooperative state, one that maintained a somewhat large amount of independence from the Nazi's. However, the state was soon to fall under complete control of Marshal Phillippe Petain who took complete power over Vichy's governing body in the early stages of the 1940s.<sup>34</sup> Petain changed the culture and ideology of his French nation, for instance, the traditional slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was altered to read "Work, Family, Fatherland"<sup>35</sup> in order to promote his fascist ideas. His government altered their laws and ways of electing officials, all done with Petain's personal input. The government was exceedingly exclusionary, both towards the Jewish population and to impure French blood.<sup>36</sup> Vichy France stood fairly untouched and was at times a viable asset to the Nazi and Italian fascists. However, as invasion took place in North Africa and Northern France, much of Vichy's resources were destroyed thus crumbling their viability as a powerful asset and by the mid-1940s, the Nazi government had taken almost complete control of the country.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis*. Pocket Books, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> "Vichy France." 2014, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Third Reich*, 2014.

<sup>34</sup> Lackerstein, Debbie. "Regeneration." Essay. In *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944*, 1–3. London: Taylor and Francis, 2016.

<sup>35</sup> "Vichy France." 2020, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, 2020-07-02.

<sup>36</sup> Weisberg, Richard H. Essay. In *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France*, 11, 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Lackerstein, Debbie. "Regeneration." 1 – 3

While Petain's government emerged in the south, Parisians and the rest of the French north began to endure the darkness of Nazi occupation. Contrary to the relative independence maintained in the Vichy south, the north of France faced pure German rule beginning in 1940. In the case of Paris, occupation was pushed to "appear almost seamless, not only to influence world opinion but also to give the impression to the English and Russians that the Third Reich could be flexible and compassionate."<sup>38</sup> However, this compassion of the Nazi regime was but a façade and soon more and more restrictions grew upon the people of northern France. As an occupied nation, the same laws were to be followed by the French as those held true in Germany, along with added protective measures. Occupied France faced curfew, rationing, and was encouraged by the Nazis to follow anti-Jewish, German-held ideology as the "Germans wanted to the residents to know which businesses were Jewish controlled in the hope that "proper" French people would not shop there."<sup>39</sup> This occupied state in the north represented a great contrast to Vichy in the south, both in terms of political power and freedoms. Each section would seem to veer further from one another, Vichy possibly approaching fascism, and the occupied north pursuing resistance and republicanism.

In terms of journalism, both Vichy and the Occupied French north were significantly impacted by newspapers and journalists post-1940. Also, much like with the Dreyfus Affair, there was a split in ideology and influence. The occupied north of France functioned majorly off underground publications in resistance to Nazi ideology.<sup>40</sup> These publications can

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<sup>38</sup> Rosbottom, Ronald C. "Waiting for Hitler." Essay. In *When Paris Went Dark: the City of Light under German Occupation, 1940-1944*, 66. London: J. Murray, 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Rosbottom, Ronald C. "Minuet." Essay. In *When Paris Went Dark: the City of Light under German Occupation, 1940-1944*, 98. London: J. Murray, 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance*. 66. 201

only be the true representatives of French thought in the north as any legal newspapers in occupied France would be either drafted by or under heavy scrutiny by the Nazi party. These clandestine papers were done through the country and even bled into the Vichy region of France. The underground newspapers of France during the Second World War tended to be more libertarian in nature, but the true ideology concerning Jews is to be further analyzed. Vichy also was able to publish both private and government run publications unlike those of the north. However, they were heavily censored, and many would seem to support the antisemitic ideology of the past and present. In fact, the author of *La Montagne* (The Mountain) “wrote privately to Petain in February 1941 to protest indignantly against the application of the Statut des Juifs, and particularly against the lack of consideration being given to Jewish prisoners of war and their families, censorship made it impossible for him to publish such criticisms in his newspaper.”<sup>41</sup>

This will be another basis of analysis in the next chapter. Understanding whether or not these authors were true antisemitic supporters and their pre-war history will be integral to determining their positions as bastions in French culture. The clandestine newspapers and works of Vichy, such as *La Montagne*, represented a period in time when European antisemitism was at its peak and thus the following chapter will cover these specific works and their true intentions.

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<sup>41</sup>Sweets, John F. *Choices in Vichy France: the French under Nazi Occupation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 133, 1994.



Chapter Two:  
Journalists and the Dissemination of Information

## **Chapter Two Overview:**

Understanding an author's, a publication's, or a bystander's true intentions comes with certain a degree of difficulty. As an individual vies for answers, the truth can become skewed, hidden, or even destroyed. With that, when figuring an overall goal of something as complex and taboo as understanding hatred amongst a group of people which is directed at a certain race or creed, being thorough and unafraid of failure is almost necessary.

Pure historical research requires two things which are evident in almost every work, paper, and dissertation ranging from undergraduates to professional historians: thorough research and solid analysis of facts found in such research. Without research, a work is altered to become an opinionated, personal piece and similarly, without analysis, a work is a long, drawn-out summary of events, or a textbook, if you will. Therefore, this chapter in particular will focus on understand the facts of French journalism and the individuals who write for them, as well as analyzing why certain viewpoints are relevant to the questions of Antisemitism and the modern period as a whole.

Specifically, this chapter will cover the role of journalists in each of the major affairs mentioned in the previous section. It will look at major outlets and how they operated during both the Dreyfus affair, in Vichy France, and underground against Nazism. The section will look at how ideas and works were presented to the public, public perception on these works, and involvement behind these news outlets. This section will also discuss the impact certain journals and journalists had on each French event concerning antisemitism.

## **Newspapers:**

The foundation of this piece can be found in several distinct areas; within publications, writers, and case studies. Articles and publications are one of historians' best means of understanding a period's contemporary view on a certain subject. Whether it be for good or bad, a newspaper displays public opinions and beliefs. Therefore, it is not only important to thoroughly analyze a publication, but it is equally important to understand the context surrounding its period and analyze additional works in order to weed out certain biased ideas or discover varying opinions.

Before attempting to analyze aspects of publications and their links to the French government, it is imperative to understand the type of content being published in each major time period, thus a range from 1890s to the 1920s to the 1940s. In doing so, public opinion surrounding two major events in France will determine how individuals viewed antisemitism in and during a time of crisis, but also when the subject was not particularly on one's mind. Specifically, The Dreyfus Affair and Occupied and Free France of the Second World War will be specific moments of research and analysis.

The reasoning behind selecting these two very specific moments in French history pertains to the very public nature and in-depth documentation of these cases. The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries brought about a boom in the availability of journals and newspapers to the public. This modernized spreading of information was able to give rise to individuals searching for a voice and individuals searching for somewhere to belong. Therefore, this new extreme spread of information also brings about a new boom in documented information. The scarcity of

knowledge and written historical biographies was no more, and thus this period is prime territory when studying this ideology and impacts of journalism.

In more specific terms, the Dreyfus Affair and the Second World War were very much publicized events. Edouard Drumont and Emile Zola heavily covered Alfred Dreyfus' cases in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, having so much written information on the event, it becomes much easier to understand the ideology and agendas of the writers. Also, the immense contrast of Vichy controlled newspapers and the underground news outlets of occupied France demonstrate the split in both the country, but also in ideology. The Second World War offers insight into opinions of distressed individuals, one in which is not so apparent in the Dreyfus Affair.

### **The Dreyfus Affair:**

To begin, the Dreyfus Affair sets the tone in terms of French antisemitic cries. It was an event that threw the nation of France into a whirlwind with Jewish identity at the center of discussion. From a historical perspective, the event is rich in descriptions and coverage of the event, which from a research and analytical standpoint, is ideal for determining political and ideological positions.

The Dreyfus Affair, contextually, is complicated and at points difficult to follow for modern readers. The choices made by political directors of the French government display arrogance and ignorance at times. To recap, the Dreyfus Affair was a trial and public reaction to Alfred Dreyfus and the French government. In summary, Dreyfus, a very successful Jewish Military militant, served the French government directly as an artillery officer. In 1894, Dreyfus

was under fire for supposed treason with the Holy Roman Empire, now Germany.<sup>42</sup> His trial followed his arrest with Dreyfus maintaining his innocence throughout, however the blinds of the French lawyers and judiciary systems were on, guilt was the only verdict possible. The issue, for the government at least, was the extremely public nature of this case. So much so that nearly anything was said to sway opinion one way or another.

*“It is a crime to lie to the public, to twist public opinion to insane lengths in the service of the vilest death-dealing machinations.” – Emile Zola*

Ultimately, suspicions were raised concerning evidence, *Le Bordereau*, provided to the court and among these famous inquiries was Emile Zola. When Dreyfus was exiled from the French mainland to French Guiana, Zola provided a major backbone for the unnerved publics uproar, even though most of the French people supported his exile but more on this later through efforts by the likes of journalist Edouard Drumont. In response to blatant Antisemitism on the part of the French military and governmental judiciary system, Zola wrote *J’Accuse*, a pamphlet filled with decrees of innocence on the part of Mr. Dreyfus, and blame pointed towards that of the French government. With this work, comes one of the first major defense of a Jewish man by a member of the French publication system.

However, the opposition of Zola in the form of Drumont sought to support the French government. His work *La Libre Parole* was very specific in its efforts to bring about Dreyfus’

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<sup>42</sup> Bredin, Jean-Denis. *The Affair: the Case of Alfred Dreyfus*. Bethesda, MD: Gryphon Editions, 2008.

downfall. His work celebrated Dreyfus' arrest<sup>43</sup> as well as support and praise the man actually guilty of the treasonous crime.

### ***J'Accuse:***

The late 19th century was the backdrop for one of continental France's greatest public scandals and a short reemergence of long held revolutionary spirit. Emile Zola wrote *J'Accuse* as a pamphlet, much longer than the average newspaper periodical, but this work was a foundational piece in bringing justice to that of Mr. Dreyfus. This will become the basis for the primary analysis in terms of the Dreyfus Affair and the ideas regarding antisemitism in the public.



<sup>43</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

From the point of view of Zola, very apparent in the work *J'accuse* of the paper *L'Aurore*, the arrest and exile of Dreyfus was abhorrent and unreasonable and a clear act in antisemitism. In fact, Zola exclaimed in his newspaper article that "Odious anti-Semitism that, unchecked, will destroy the freedom-loving France of the Rights of Man."<sup>44</sup> From the beginning it is very clear the opinions of Zola and its important to point out that this outright opposition to the French government left Zola open to persecution himself.<sup>45</sup> Zola was not a specific supporter of Dreyfus as a military man or for his efforts in his career, but utilizes Dreyfus as a martyr against antisemitism.

Zola was a very popular author and journalist in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century France. His influence was apparent as soon as the newspaper outlet publishing his work began selling copies containing *J'accuse*. The paper, *L'Aurore*, was a fairly mediocre paper in Paris and around France, often selling 30,000 or so copies to the general public on a given cycle. The distribution methods were nothing special, rather usual business for vendors. However, with the publishing of Zola's condemnation of the government, vendors "sold between 200,000 and 300,000 copies,"<sup>46</sup> which was ten times the normal amounts. The publishing of Emile Zola's work sent Paris and the Republic in general into a mass craze, opening up new life upon the case for Alfred Dreyfus, who at this point had already been convicted. This surge in sales indicates Zola's influence and popularity amongst the masses of Paris. Many individuals, who up to the release of *J'Accuse*, had not been exposed to such an outcry to the Dreyfus Affair. With Zola's work, he

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<sup>44</sup> ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

<sup>45</sup> Zola, Emile, and Pagès Alain. *The Dreyfus Affair: "J'Accuse" and Other Writings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

<sup>46</sup> Zola, Emile, and Pagès Alain. *The Dreyfus Affair: "J'Accuse" and Other Writings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 16, 1998.

and the public were able to convince the government to consider a retrial for Dreyfus, a moment that weeks prior to this release would have seemed nearly impossible.

The content of *J'accuse* is obviously important in understanding the ideology of Dreyfus, and there are three main points to be made from his speech. This first is his confrontation of French President François Félix Faure. In *J'accuse*, Zola opens his article by thanking the president for his triumphs for the French Republic however quickly claims that “mud has been cast”<sup>47</sup> on his name. He further questions the president's honor and hopes he is truly ignorant of the ongoing affair for his sake.<sup>48</sup> The reason this small detail is important, rather than his perspectives on the affair, is that Zola is writing on his own accord. He does not act on behalf of any governmental agency and even claims that he “will dare... ‘he’ will speak the truth, for ‘he’ has promised to speak it...”<sup>49</sup> and further refers to his writings as “my revolt,” not one of a group or organization. His attack and his writing mannerisms help to solidify that Zola is spreading his true ideology.

Furthermore, Zola then moves onto another major point, his pure distaste for the evidence, or lack thereof, in the case against Mr. Dreyfus. Zola is quick to point out to the president that all “suspicions” of Dreyfus were considered evidence to a crime, even though they most likely are aspects of the average Frenchman and woman. Zola describes to the president that “Dreyfus knew several languages, a crime; no compromising papers were found in home, a crime; he sometimes goes to his country of origin, a crime; he was industrious, he was anxious to know everything, a crime...”<sup>50</sup> and with that, Zola attempts to describe the absurdity of Dreyfus’

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<sup>47</sup> ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

<sup>48</sup> ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

<sup>49</sup> ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

<sup>50</sup> ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.



situation. Much of what the court questioned Dreyfus with were completely unrelated aspects of his life. This is the first indication that Zola suspects reasonless persecutions of a man for the simple reasons of his race and religion. Furthermore, Zola will soon clearly claim antisemitism as a driving force behind the government's motives.

The last major point Zola makes in *J'accuse* is his belief that antisemitism is a major factor in Dreyfus' sentencing. It begins with Zola nearly quoting Dreyfus' claims that some major French official Commadant du Paty de Clam was simply hunting "dirty Jews" in which Zola follows up, embarrassed, calling these hunts a dishonor to our era.<sup>51</sup> Lastly, the most impactful moment in *J'Accuse* comes towards the end, where Zola makes his final claims.

*"It is a crime to mislead public opinion, to utilize for a deadly task this opinion which has been perverted until it becomes delirious. It is a crime to poison the minds of the little and the humble, to exasperate the passions of reaction and intolerance, while seeking refuge behind that odious Anti-Semitism..." – Emile Zola, J'Accuse<sup>52</sup>*

In his final cry to the President, Zola makes one idea clear: the antisemitism of the government, the ones who chose to convict and sentence Dreyfus, is the true crime of this affair. Zola accuses the President, and all involved of poisoning the people, harping on closeted ideas that had been quiet in France for nearly a century, and utilizing the insecurities of the people to further their own ideologies. Zola is clearly ashamed of the audacity plaguing those who choose to engage in

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<sup>51</sup>ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

<sup>52</sup>ZOLA, EMILE. JACCUSE. Place of publication not identified: L & PM EDITORES., n.d.

antisemitism. He is hoping, for humanities sake, as he writes his article, that these relentless and baseless attacks on the Jewish race, in terms of conspiracy, be ended. Thus, Zola, as he portrays in *J'Accuse*, is completely against the ideology of antisemitism and thus against the ruling and sentencing of Dreyfus. Zola, in the end, was able to succeed in freeing Dreyfus and obtained a brief victory in the fight against antisemitism and may have represented himself as a true French bastion, but his success would only remain brief as 30 years later, the country would face another, very similar, calamity.

### ***La Libre Parole* and Edouard Drumont:**

As stated earlier, the majority of the French people were not opposed to Dreyfus' hiring.



He was not inherently popular, but rather many French citizens were indifferent to his political ideology and views.<sup>53</sup> In fact, the public perception of much of Europe at the time was leaning antisemitic. In terms of the French in particular, it was a matter of French purity and the idea of being French. The Jewish man and woman did not belong in specifics to a pure France.<sup>54</sup> Among these, especially for the purpose of this analysis, was the work of Edouard Drumont; *Le Libre Parole*. As an almost antithesis of

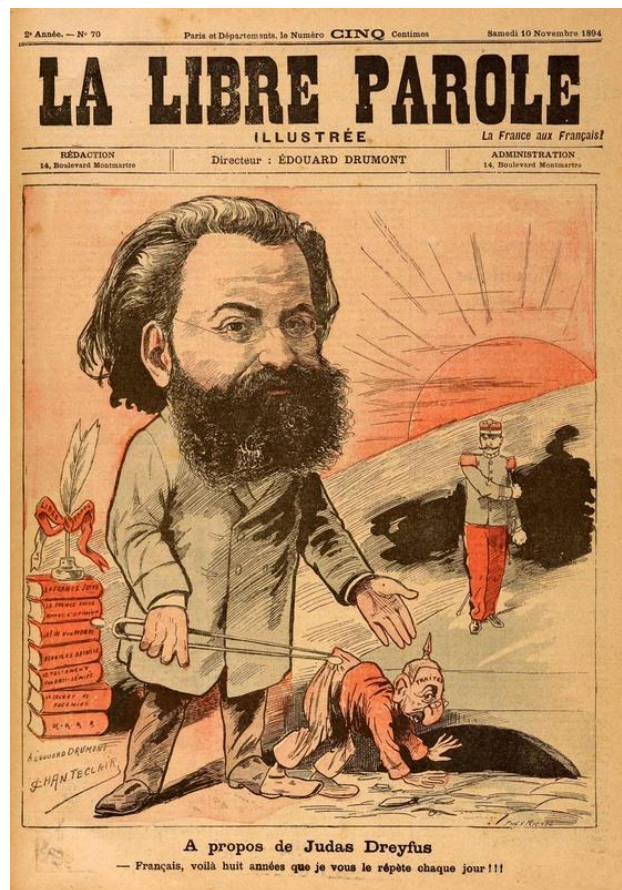
<sup>53</sup> Bredin, Jean-Denis. *The Affair: the Case of Alfred Dreyfus*. Bethesda, MD: Gryphon Editions, 2008.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, Miriam S. *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity a Critique of the Scholarly Consensus*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Zola's *J'Accuse*, Drumont displays the opinions of those who supported these direct attacks on Alfred Dreyfus. However, it is first important to understand what is Drumont's paper *La Libre Parole* and what exactly it sought to accomplish. Furthermore, how did Drumont impact the public and in what ways did he push an antisemitic agenda?

*La Libre Parole* was a French newspaper that ran primarily from 1892 to 1924 in France. The works were often heavily illustrated when compared to many other journals of the time, and thus were able to reach a far greater audience, whether that be those unable to read page after page of periodicals or just the lesser

educated.<sup>55</sup> This work was truly focused on antisemitic ideals with the majority of works being centered around the "Dirty Jew"<sup>56</sup> as Drumont would often refer to. The most important aspect of these works comes from the heavy caricatures of the French Jewish population, as well as so called "heros" such as Drumont himself. In contrast to the long, sometimes pages and pages of writing characterizing works such as ones from Emile Zola, Drumont and *La Libre Parole* utilized eye catching illustrations and large, memorable



<sup>55</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed March 26, 2021. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn538832>.

<sup>56</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed March 26, 2021. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn538832>.

statements. This can only be assumed to be, not laziness per say, but done in attempts to reach almost every audience. If one were unable to read, they could still understand the content, if one was not francophone backgrounds, the illustrations were a universal language, if one were unable to read paragraph long texts, the short titles were quick and efficient in their messaging. Therefore, Drumont understood exactly how to reach a wider audience in general to further his beliefs, and not just inform those who supported him prior. Also, Drumont did obtain popular opinion in the early days of the Dreyfus Affair. His announcement of Dreyfus' arrest brought about massive support for the government, so much so that Dreyfus was public shamed, much to do with these journalists and publications.<sup>57</sup>

Without question, these works were incredibly antisemitic. Where Zola was primarily focused on exposing the inadequacies of Dreyfus' case, Drumont focused on exposing the inadequacies of the Jewish race. Now, it is extremely important to define these works as strictly antisemitic. Much of the illustrations and writings within *La Libre Parole* are based on stereotypes. In particular, many Jewish characters of Drumont's works feature large noses, an obsession with money, and an almost "plague" of the world.<sup>58</sup> From prior discussion, much of what makes antisemitism separate from anti-Judaism comes from the ideas of conspiracy and stereotype. The hatred is based on race and distrust, not religious beliefs. Therefore, it is apparent that Drumont's works are antisemitic. He rarely questions Judaism as a faith or the practice, instead Drumont prioritizes stereotypes and conspiracy. In the specific case of Dreyfus, his editorial featured an image of Drumont himself disposing of a Jewish "rat" dressed as a German soldier.<sup>59</sup> This illustration suggests Drumont characterized himself as nearly a hero, one who

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<sup>57</sup> Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

<sup>58</sup> Drumont, Edouard. "La Libre Parole," 1895.

<sup>59</sup> Drumont, Edouard. "La Libre Parole," 1895.

would be responsible for ridding France of the Jewish conspiracy, and much of what he believed would be presented to the public in this fashion.

## **The Second World War:**

Arguably one of the most defining moments in human history, especially in terms of Antisemitism, was the events of the Second World War in Western Europe. One might say this era exemplifies the issues of racial purity and social Darwinism, and thus should be rife with opinions and ideological differences. Contrast to the Dreyfus Affair, the Second World War saw a split in the country. The Southern half of France was the Vichy Regime, cooperators with the Nazi Third Reich and the Northern half of the country stood occupied by the Nazi's. This cooperation and occupation brought about several interesting potential research opportunities. This is due to heavy Vichy moderation of the press and a system of underground publications in the occupied north of France. The ideologies, though separated by only a few hundred miles, was miles different in terms of content. The occupied, underground newspapers were much more pro-France in terms of liberty and would most likely oppose an antisemitic agenda. Conversely, the Vichy regime was heavily, heavily regulated in terms of content. These publications may be less and less indicative of the beliefs of writers and more so a representation of the government, but this will need further analysis. In terms of comparisons to the Dreyfus Affair and the journalists Emile Zola and Edouard Drumont, there was no direct competition between newspapers and opposing ideas during Second World War France. Any true opposition to either Vichy or Nazi

ideology, if not spread secretively, would be silenced almost immediately. Therefore, this analysis of this period will require much more interpretation.

## **Vichy France:**

The majority of newspapers on the Vichy Regime were ones of state-sanctioning. Even once free examples of privatized newspapers became objects of government control. If the papers were not directly censored by the fascist regimes, then the sources available to the public were often regulated and controlled, thereby controlling the final product.<sup>60</sup> Vichy is the first example in this work where heavily censored papers will be of major analysis, rather than ones of a free government. Papers such as *La Montagne* are prime examples of journals that experienced struggles under the Vichy Regime, but were they completely innocent from the ideas their papers were “forced” to spread? What will become fairly apparent is a newfound struggle between new government ideology and journalistic perceptions, and the clearly evident clash occurring in many cases. One final aspect of this period of French history will involve the mass closing of newspapers and publishing companies. In fact, almost immediately following Nazi invasion, “many papers chose to close down almost immediately, including those Parisian papers that had sought refuge in the southern provinces in 1940.”<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the importance held by journalists became exponentially more important in the Vichy Regime, less battling opinions means less free speech and thus less power in the hands of the Fourth Estate.

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<sup>60</sup> Alephwadmin. “‘Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France’ by Nicholas Matthews.” Aleph, July 26, 2015. <http://aleph.humanities.ucla.edu/2015/07/26/collaboration-resistance-and-state-sanctioned-journalism-in-vichy-france/>.

<sup>61</sup> Alephwadmin. “‘Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France’ by Nicholas Matthews.” Aleph, July 26, 2015.

Moreover, before analyzing the work itself, one must further understand the situation becoming them, and in turn understanding a deeper identity within Vichy censorship. First, Vichy heavily influenced the library of available primary sources.<sup>62</sup> What this creates a sort of automatic censorship even prior to editorial writing. Any article written will have to pull from government issues sources or face discreditation by the public. Therefore, this form of censorship was one of the most effective in the Vichy Regime. Next, Marshal Petain's regime implemented a system known as the *Office français d'information*.<sup>63</sup> This system was put in place by the Vichy Regime in order to manage and institute guidelines for the practicing Vichy journalists. In doing so, the regime would have ultimate say over publication content, and would now have constitutional backing as well.<sup>64</sup> Lastly, a somewhat unique measure was taken in Vichy censorship. The *Office français d'information* would enforce, beginning in late 1940, a forced "inclusion of propaganda."<sup>65</sup> The articles of these publications would need to include a certain story or example of Vichy or Petain's "greatness" and failure to do so could bring termination or suspension to the publication. This is where the ultimate line is to be drawn in censorship; complete termination of journals, complete termination of the Fourth Estate.

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<sup>62</sup> Alephwadmin. "'Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France' by Nicholas Matthews." Aleph, July 26, 2015.

<sup>63</sup> L'OFFICE FRANÇAIS D'INFORMATION (1940-1944). No. 101. Vol. No. 101. REVUE D'HIST, 1976.

<sup>64</sup> L'OFFICE FRANÇAIS D'INFORMATION (1940-1944). No. 101. Vol. No. 101. REVUE D'HIST, 1976.

<sup>65</sup> Alephwadmin. "'Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France' by Nicholas Matthews." Aleph, July 26, 2015.

## **La Montagne:**

As one could now imagine, the life of a journalist was at times confusing, infuriating, and questionable at best in the Vichy regime. Therefore, a very important part of understanding and analyzing these works is to understand their reactions to the government more so than their content. From what was expressed in the last paragraph, the Vichy publications were expected to publish at a certain standard set by government regulations, thus leading to very similar works, which puts extra emphasis on the “non-written” activities of editors. Of the two publications under analysis, the first is *La Montagne*. Edited and written by the now elderly Alexandre Varenne, the publication had been a long-standing daily periodical in the French Third Republic.<sup>66</sup> Come the occupation of the north and the advent of Vichy France, Varenne became one of the “most daring and audacious resister of Vichy censorship”<sup>67</sup> among the still active journalists in 1940. Varenne had a long-standing history of involvement with the French Third Republic during their existence pre-WW2. He was a veteran of the First World War and was very actively involved in the empirical work of the French Republic.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, here you have a man who contributed much of his life to the republicanism of pre-Vichy France, and thus one who, when it came to censorship, would not go down quietly. Varenne would constantly write to display his displeasure to the Vichy government regarding their censorship rules and the power of Marshal Petain and these similar grievances would slip into the works of *La Montagne*. This would allow the newspaper the great honor of being the most suspended paper in the south of

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<sup>66</sup> Alephwadmin. “‘Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France’ by Nicholas Matthews.” Aleph, July 26, 2015.

<sup>67</sup> Alephwadmin. “‘Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France’ by Nicholas Matthews.” Aleph, July 26, 2015.

<sup>68</sup> Pelleray, Emmanuel. “Alexandre Varenne (1870-1947).” Essay. In *Journal De La Société Des Océanistes*, 147, 1948.



France come 1942.<sup>69</sup> The arrival of the Germans, however, in the year of '42, would force Varenne into hiding, and thus the temporary stoppage of the paper as well.

So, the author of the work is not in favor of the Vichy regime; but how well did that translate to the editorials? It is still the duty of publishers to spread the truth, as readers will only consume what is published, not the intentions held by a director fighting behind the scenes.



Therefore, it is still recommended that an edition of *La Montagne* be analyzed. The first impression given by this paper is the lack of imagery and creativity commonly held by previous journalists, such as Zola and Drumont. The paper is utilitarian in its attempts to lure the reader towards specific articles, utilizing very few images and color. With that follows the content of the paper, which is also very utilitarian. Most of the topics on the cover

page revolve around the ongoings of the war. Moments such as Churchill's speeches, diplomatic relations, and military assistance by the United States and Chinese are all present.<sup>70</sup> The content behind each of these articles is also very dull, only providing the basic information in order to

<sup>69</sup> Alephwadmin. "Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France' by Nicholas Matthews." Aleph, July 26, 2015.

<sup>70</sup> Varenne, Alexandre. *La Montagne*, February 11, 1941.

supplement readers with current event information, typically featuring places, dates, and a timeline of events.<sup>71</sup> This is where Varenne's petition and protest to Vichy practices and censorships is hidden. What makes an individual interested in periodicals? Bland formatting, lack of special arrangements, and monochromatic appearances are not typical of a popular journal. It can be interpreted that Varenne purposefully implemented these characteristics as a way to continue his work whilst combatting the issues of forced propaganda and censorship. Varenne did the bare minimum required of the government, and at times went steps too far, but still stood in protest with every periodical he released.

In terms of Antisemitism, this paper was a tool of government perception. Vichy France, even without incentivization of the Nazi's would implement antisemitic practices. For example, as early as October of 1940, the Vichy government would implement a governmental legislation known as *Le Statut des Juifs*.<sup>72</sup> This would define, identify, and exclude the French Jewish population and was but the beginning of the antisemitic measures taken in France. In terms of publications, papers were utilized to inform the Jewish public on changes in operations, censusing, and identification requirements. Also, they would go as far as avoiding any publishing regarding Jewish events, individuals, or struggles.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, in Varenne's case, it is important to note his extreme displeasure to this. In fact, he "wrote privately to Petain in February of 1941 to protest indignantly against the application of the Statut des Juifs, and particularly the lack of consideration being given to Jewish prisoners of war."<sup>74</sup> This was as far

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<sup>71</sup> Varenne, Alexandre. La Montagne, February 11, 1941.

<sup>72</sup> Marrus, Michael Robert, and Robert O. Paxton. Vichy France and the Jews. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 3.

<sup>73</sup> Sweets, John F. Choices in Vichy France: the French under Nazi Occupation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

<sup>74</sup> Sweets, John F. Choices in Vichy France: the French under Nazi Occupation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 133.

as Varenne could go in terms of protest as the Vichy censorship laws made it basically impossible to publish for the French public.

## **The Occupied North and Paris:**

As opposed to the regime of the south, the north of France, including Paris, was in a very different and difficult situation in 1940. The occupied section of France was under strict and direct Nazi control.<sup>75</sup> Whereas the southern Vichy Regime was able to maintain some ounce of independence, Paris and the north was heavily restricted. The individuals of the north were forced to follow Nazi regulations and simple acts of French Nationalism, such as the flying of the tricolor (France's National Flag), were outlawed.<sup>76</sup> As would follow, the idea of a Free French newspaper system was not to be sanctioned by the occupying forces. Therefore, much of the dissemination of information, free information to be specific, was done as a part of the French Resistance.<sup>77</sup>

The French Resistance epitomizes true French libertarian ideology. The movement did not discriminate against creeds, did not waiver from the truth, and did not crumble under Nazi pressure.<sup>78</sup> The Resistance forged a persona as leaders pushing occupied citizens to commit small acts of resistance, such as graffiti supporting the republic, flying the French flag, and full-on

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<sup>75</sup> Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis*. Pocket Books, 2010.

<sup>76</sup> Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis*. Pocket Books, 2010.

<sup>77</sup> Johnson, Nathan J. (2020) "The Fourth Estate: French Resistance to Nazi Occupation in the Press," *The Macksey Journal*: Vol. 1 , Article 29. Available at: <https://www.mackseyjournal.org/publications/vol1/iss1/29>

<sup>78</sup> Johnson, Nathan J. (2020) "The Fourth Estate: French Resistance to Nazi Occupation in the Press," *The Macksey Journal*: Vol. 1 , Article 29.

physical combat when necessary.<sup>79</sup> What this further created was a system of underground news outlets. The movements of the resistance became extremely popular and surprisingly pragmatic, fighting most of their battles with “the printing of a clandestine newspaper.”<sup>80</sup> The situation for France and specifically French Jews was bleak as this moment “was not one of simple occupation, but one of constant fear and defense. As many had before however, from the ashes of a beaten people, a voice of change and resistance will grow. As it did against its own tyrannical leaders in 1789, the journalists and writers of Paris rose to fight tyranny and prosecution once again.”<sup>81</sup>

This is where the journal in question for analysis is born. *Defense de la France* was an underground newspaper published by Phillippe and Helene Viannay in June of '40. Along with the Viannay's, the paper organized itself around diversity, specifically within the confines of the most prominent French university, the Sorbonne. Using the basements of the university, the paper was able to print and spread hundreds of thousands of copies of journals to the public post 1940.<sup>82</sup> What makes the editorial unique, especially within the contexts of the period, was the involvement of such diversity amongst authors. Writers and workers came from all backgrounds and creeds, from communists to



<sup>79</sup> Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance*. 2015. 62

<sup>80</sup> Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance*. 2015. 66

<sup>81</sup> Johnson, Nathan J. (2020) "The Fourth Estate: French Resistance to Nazi Occupation in the Press," *The Macksey Journal*: Vol. 1 , Article 29. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Simkin, John. Spartacus Educational, Spartacus Educational, [spartacuseducational.com/FRviannay.htm](http://spartacuseducational.com/FRviannay.htm). 2.

liberals, Jews to Russians, and everything in between.<sup>83</sup> What this brings is a protest, a writing group free of political incentive, ones who truly believe in the freedom of a nation from occupation. With this brought a direct competition against the antisemitic goals of the occupying Nazi party. Viannay and her camp utilized Jewish help, called for them to revolt against the Nazi aggressors, and further recognize that a free France means a free Jewish population.<sup>84</sup> In that way of supporting the French Jews, they represented one of the few sources of support, and one of the only ways Jewish individuals could be heard in occupied France.

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<sup>83</sup> Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis*. Pocket Books, 2010.

<sup>84</sup> Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: the French Fight against the Nazis*. Pocket Books, 2010.

## Chapter Three:

### Journalists and their Beliefs

## **Chapter Three Overview:**

The authors of publications hold a special position in society. These individuals have a great deal of power in influencing public opinion, especially with controversial topics and questions of humanity. In France, specifically, the press is seen almost as a protectorate of the state. From the days of the Revolution, the Fourth Estate (The Press), has been the defenders of French liberty, equality, and fraternity. These bastions are thus integral in their roles of writers to the French people and their ideology.

Therefore, as one could expect, the intentions of these individuals are immensely important to the well-being of the French nation. In terms of the idea of antisemitism, there is definitely a split in editorial opinions. From progressivism with Emile Zola to the anti-Jewish fervor of the Nazi influenced Vichy regime, the nation has mixed intentions. However, in some cases, the opinions of editorials can be drastically different to that of the authors. Political pressure, incentivization, and scare tactics can all play a role in pressuring a writer. In the same way, seemingly heroic authors can be incentivized by glory and fame for their actions, rather than pure good will. All in all, which authors fell into these spectrums and are there any examples of actual good intentioned individuals in these editorials?

### **Authors:**

The perception of an individual is truly difficult to analyze, especially surrounding one from 100 plus years in the past. However, many instances in one's career, their style of writing, and their professional and political affiliations can assist one in understanding their true goals in publications. Also, understanding one's true beliefs become easier when analyzing journalists.

Often, while reporting on events around one's environment, journalists will either consciously or subconsciously submit their own values or beliefs into their work. Therefore, through analysis and individual background, the idea of understanding an individual's perceptions becomes achievable. With that, there are several major authors within this work, many of whom are very opinionated on the topics of antisemitism. These would include Emile Zola, Edouard Drumont, (Vichy Authors), and (Underground Authors). Also, following the in-depth analysis of their journals done in the previous chapter, there becomes a benchmark for what they expose to the public and possibly how they truly perceive the world. Therefore, it is now possible to determine whether or not these French authors were acting as true bastions or brutes to the values of French freedom, liberty, equality, and the Fourth Estate.

### **Emile Zola:**

The most well-known author of this work, and maybe even the most prominent of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in France, is Emile Zola. Zola most notably was majorly involved with the Dreyfus Affair, but before that, he held a popular position as a French author. Emile Zola was born into an Italian and Greek family on April 2, 1840 in Paris, France.<sup>85</sup> Zola's family was strife with struggles and issues. His father of 43 years of age married his mother when she was 19, and thus required Zola to grow in an atmosphere of uncertainty. His father was often unable to hold a profession, thus bringing in an unsteady income, and also a childhood of wandering and movement for Zola.<sup>86</sup> Ultimately, Zola's childhood was brought to an ultimate low as his father

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<sup>85</sup> Sherard, Robert Harborough. *Emile Zola a Biographical and Critical Study*. Book On Demand Ltd, 2013. 7.

<sup>86</sup> Sherard, Robert Harborough. *Emile Zola a Biographical and Critical Study*. Book On Demand Ltd, 2013. 9.



died in 1846, leaving a young, widowed woman and her seven-year-old son. As Zola grew older, he showed very “little inclination for study,”<sup>87</sup> yet come of the first works he learned to read were *the Fables by La Fontaine*. This is important to note because these works, often short, poem like stories, held immense life lessons stretching from the ideas of independence and security to life’s difficulties and ideas of death. Take, for example, one of La Fontaine’s famous works, *Le Loup et le Chien*:

*A prowling wolf, whose shaggy skin (So strict the watch of dogs had been) Hid little but his bones,  
Once met a mastiff dog astray. A prouder, fatter, sleeker Tray, no human mortal owns.  
Sir Wolf in famish'd plight, would fain have made a ration.  
Upon his fat relation, but then he first must fight; And well the dog seem'd able.  
To save from wolfish table His carcass snug and tight. So, then, in civil conversation  
The wolf express'd his admiration Of Tray's fine case. Said Tray, politely, 'Yourself, good sir, may be as  
sightly.  
Quit but the woods, advised by me. For all your fellows here, I see, Are shabby wretches, lean and gaunt,  
Be like to die of haggard want. With such a pack, of course it follows,  
One fights for every bit he swallows. Come, then, with me, and share on equal terms our princely fare.'  
'But what with you Has one to do?' Inquires the wolf. 'Light work indeed,'  
Replies the dog; 'you only need to bark a little now and then, To chase off duns and beggar men,  
To fawn on friends that come or go forth, Your master please, and so forth.  
For which you must eat All sorts of well-cook'd meat-- Cold pullets, pigeons, savoury messes--  
Besides unnumber'd fond caresses.' The wolf, by force of appetite, Accepts the terms outright,  
Tears glistening in his eyes. But faring on, he spies A gall'd spot on the mastiff's neck.  
'What's that?' he cries. 'O, nothing but a speck. "A speck?" 'Ay, ay; 'tis not enough to pain me; Perhaps  
the collar's mark by  
which.  
they chain me.' 'Chain! chain you! What! run you not, then, Just where you please, and when?'  
'Not always, sir; but what of that?' Enough for me, to spoil your fat! It ought to be a precious price.*

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<sup>87</sup> Sherard, Robert Harborough. *Emile Zola a Biographical and Critical Study*. Book On Demand Ltd, 2013. 15.

*Which could to servile chains entice; For me, I'll shun them while I've wit.' So ran Sir Wolf, and runneth yet.*

- *La Fontaine; Le Loup et le Chien*<sup>88</sup>

This type of literature is what Zola was exposed to as a child. This fable describes the lives of two separate animals, one who was wild, hungry, and alone, and one who is well fed but also dependent on owners. The dog attempts to convince the wolf to join him for the purpose of security, and the wolf, fearing losing his individuality, runs.<sup>89</sup> Zola, from the age of seven, is thus reading ideologies that, come his adulthood, would be of extreme importance. How will one balance security and freedom, and what economic system is preferable? Therefore, the ideas of the fables could have been of major influence on Zola on his ideology, specifically regarding the importance of individuality and the right to choose. This will come to fruition during the Dreyfus Affair as Zola seeks to defend the rights of man's individuality.

As Zola aged, he expressed a love for music and poetry, as well as the sciences. He sought to understand the past and the present, but also saw creativity as an outlet.<sup>90</sup> His joyfulness and excitement for the world was brought to an abrupt halt come adulthood. Zola spent years in misery in Paris, pawing and fighting to get by, and ultimately forced himself to find work come the end of the 1850s. This is where Zola's career in writing was to takeoff. Early on, Zola worked as an article writer, and further moved onto fiction works and come the 1870s,

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<sup>88</sup> Fontaine, Jean de La. *Le Loup Et Le Chien*, 1668.

<sup>89</sup> Fontaine, Jean de La. *Le Loup Et Le Chien*, 1668.

<sup>90</sup> Sherard, Robert Harborough. *Emile Zola a Biographical and Critical Study*. Book On Demand Ltd, 2013. 22.

Zola had published several fictional works as well as began a notable career in freelance journalism.<sup>91</sup>

Zola was at heart a naturalist and a critic of the French government.<sup>92</sup> Even prior to the Dreyfus Affair, Zola found faults with the French internals in their efforts during the Franco-German Wars. As a naturalist, Zola found the ideas of hereditary tradition and historical moments defining the identities of individuals.<sup>93</sup> This is where the cross between Zola's ideas and antisemitism begins. Antisemitism is irrational at its core. The term defines a belief based on conspiracy which lacks logic. Therefore, from the perspective of an extremely rational and critical man, the ideology may hold very little weight. Thus, it is not surprising to see Zola speak up during the Dreyfus affair. His rationality and the irrationality of the case would not allow his well-built beliefs to stay silent. Zola, thus, while critical of the government at times, was acting as a bastion of French beliefs. He seemed to value the ideas of the past, and by acting as a critic, continually checked the government's power and decisions, a critical action in any republic.

What is also notable, is Zola's influence post Dreyfus and after his death. His stance as a French Bastion of the Fourth Estate continues as he would influence future writers. Zola was "certainly instrumental in mobilizing individuals dubbed "intellectuals" after 1898."<sup>94</sup> His lasting influence is one that, while not intentional by himself, is vastly more important to the future of France's writers than the efforts during his life. What comes with a lasting legacy of criticism

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<sup>91</sup> Sherard, Robert Harborough. *Emile Zola a Biographical and Critical Study*. Book On Demand Ltd, 2013.

<sup>92</sup> "Émile Zola." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., March 29, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Emile-Zola>.

<sup>93</sup> "Émile Zola." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., March 29, 2021.

<sup>94</sup> Maya Balakirsky-Katz. "Émile Zola, the Cochonnerie of Naturalist Literature, and the Judensau." *Jewish Social Studies, New Series*, 13, no. 1 (2006): 110-35. Accessed March 30, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4467759>.

and opposition is the inspired masses to understand that it is okay to disagree. In that aspect, Zola is truly defending French freedom, especially when concerning the press, and therefore, Zola is a bastion of France's Fourth Estate.

## **Edouard Drumont:**

Operating around the time of Emile Zola, and often considered a direct competitor in terms of French journalism, was Edouard Drumont. Drumont was born in Paris, France on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1844.<sup>95</sup> Drumont, from an early age, eyed journalism as a profession and began an apprenticeship focused on the craft starting from a young age. He utilized an interesting style of writing when compared to others of the period. Drumont often became immersed in "daily politics and scandals in order to remain the spokesman and champion of causes."<sup>96</sup> Due to this, Drumont's journals did not do well with age, and his style of interacting with the public relied heavily on modernity and radicalization.

Drumont is famous for his ideas supporting antisemitism. This was a culmination of several factors which, much like any other revolution, had to work simultaneously in order to succeed. This first factor of Drumont's background that would contribute to this belief is in fact his persistence and style of writing. Drumont practiced a style of writing known as "Litterature de Combat"<sup>97</sup>. What this exemplifies is almost ignoring the practice of speculation and relies

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<sup>95</sup> 1906, Dreyfus rehabilitated : Édouard Drumont (1844 - 1917), April 30, 2007. <http://www.dreyfus.culture.fr/en/bio/bio-html-edouard-drumont.htm>.

<sup>96</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 385-93. Accessed April 1, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23536185>.

<sup>97</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 385-93.

heavily on engagement with the public. Each journal was very updated in terms of the date of release but would not hold any weight over the next few years, decades, and so on.<sup>98</sup> *Littérature de Combat* depended on the present, and with this, Drumont did well. The second major reason for Drumont's antisemitism was much more personal. Drumont, around 1881, sourced by his own testimony, became enthralled with Christianity.<sup>99</sup> Drumont was fervent in his new beliefs, linking any part of his life to the ideas of Catholicism. However, while in many cases spiritual revitalization is extremely positive, this was not the case for Drumont. He became very determined to find and resent any individual who were perceived as dangers to Christendom and their popularity.<sup>100</sup> As noted earlier, the idea of antisemitism was invented less than 20 years prior to Drumont's "awakening", and thus a Drumont, who was a newly empowered Christian soldier, had found an ideology to fully support and perpetuated.

Thus, Drumont had become an anti-Semite and felt he had a religious duty to spread the ideology. The best way for him to do so; write. Edouard Drumont wrote *La France Juive* (in English; Jewish France), an extremely antisemitic work that would skyrocket him to popularity in the country.<sup>101</sup> Drumont was direct in his understanding and portrayal of the French Jews writing ideas such as...

« *Toutes les nations de l'Europe, on le voit, se rattachent*

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<sup>98</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 385-93.

<sup>99</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 386-93.

<sup>100</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 386-93.

<sup>101</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." 19th-Century French Studies 4, no. 3 (1976): 386-93.

*donc par les liens les plus étroits à la race aryenne d'où*

*sont sorties toutes les grandes civilisations. »<sup>102</sup>*

*“All the nations of Europe, as we can see, are linked*

*therefore by the closest ties to the Aryan race, hence*

*all the great civilizations came out.”*

Drumont, in his famous work, praises the ideas of Aryan links and the ideas of group superiority. It is apparent his beliefs and thus his desire to spread this ideology throughout the French public through reading only four lines of *La France Juive*. His popularity was immense as he often appealed to both the political left and the political right. He would spread ideas of nationalism and the strength with old Christendom which would align to the right. He would also blame the Jews for aggressive capitalism which would then lean towards the socialistic left.<sup>103</sup> His mass appeal is one unique even by today's journalistic standards. Rarely today would one find a mass market newspaper that was completely unbiased politically and one that appealed to both political identities. Therefore, Drumont seemed almost revolutionary in his practices.

Drumont's ability to influence and write within the context of pure journalism is undoubted. However, his ideology is not one of positivity, or really one representative of French Republicanism. There is no liberty, equality, or fraternity in pushing antisemitic ideology onto

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<sup>102</sup> Drumont Édouard Adolphe. *La France Juive*. Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1890. 6.

<sup>103</sup> Busi, Frederic A. "THE LEGACY OF EDOUARD DRUMONT AS AN "ÉCRIVAIN DE COMBAT"." *19th-Century French Studies* 4, no. 3 (1976): 386-93.

the public. A writer can gain all the world's popularity, but in attacking a demographic of people, it displays a more brutish persona. Due to his clear antisemitic ideology, Edouard Drumont is not considered a bastion of French freedom, and especially not one of the Fourth Estate.

### **Alexandre Varenne:**

Shifting focus nearly fifty years to the future, France has fallen into mass chaos. The country has been split and the once concrete ideas concerning French liberty and free speech have shattered. The new southern French Regime, Vichy France, housed a fervent believer in the old French Republic, a man by the name of Alexandre Varenne. Varenne was born during the height of French modernity in 1870.<sup>104</sup> He held a special position in terms of French journalists in that Varenne was heavily involved in the former Third Republic as an administrator heavily involved in the organization of French imperialism. Varenne was a self-proclaimed socialist, yet still saw the value in a democratic republic, constantly battling against the Vichy Regime when in power.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, his inside look at the operations of the French government allowed him to become one of the most well-known journalists in early 20<sup>th</sup> century France.

Varenne was one of the few men who, in 1940 and onwards, fought against the ideologies and antagonistic roles played by the Vichy government and Marshal Petain. His attitude clearly portrayed that of a man who had faith and respect for the fallen Third Republic, a man who would do his best to go against the Vichy standards. This was most promptly seen

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<sup>104</sup> Pelleray, Emmanuel. "Alexandre Varenne (1870-1947)." Essay. In *Journal De La Société Des Océanistes*, 147, 1948.

<sup>105</sup> Pelleray, Emmanuel. "Alexandre Varenne (1870-1947)." Essay. In *Journal De La Société Des Océanistes*, 147, 1948.

throughout the analysis of *La Montagne*. Varenne's personal history, in terms of documentation is lacking, which makes understanding his true intentions quite difficult. Yet as with many individuals in France during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Varenne had a history with antisemitic remarks. In fact, in 1920, Varenne accused Georges Mandel of being a Rothschild for supporting reestablishing diplomatic relationships with the Catholic Church in the Vatican City, a remark that at its core is antisemitic.<sup>106</sup> While, some individuals would take this moment to immediately declare Varenne an antisemite and end the discussion there, but just understand this. The idea of a bastion of the Fourth Estate and of French Jews, in this context, is represented by individuals who lead fights against the primary groups engaging in prosecution and so forth. Varenne represents the individual who, yes may have had antisemitic tendencies in the past, but still seemed to maintain some elements of morality. His direct, written grievances to Marshal Petain and refusal to follow Vichy standards displays this glimpse of morality.<sup>107</sup> Ultimately, his condemnation of the *Statuts des Juifs* and the lack of consideration of Jewish POW's is a small, bastion moment for Varenne in terms of the Jewish population. His greater contribution, especially to the idea of the Fourth Estate, is that of his defiance to Vichy's censorship rules and their strict structural standard enforced in the country upon the publishers. Varenne, knowingly or not, acted in direct defense to the ideas of French liberty in the form of freedom of the press. His constant disapproval from the Vichy Government and frequent banning only go to further display the threat Varenne portrayed to Petain's regime. This idea of the publisher's true power against the government mirrors original French bastions of the revolution. The likes of Marat and

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<sup>106</sup> Laurent Joly (2007), "Antisemites and anti-Semitism in the Chamber of Deputies under the Third Republic", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 3/2007 (n° 54-3), p. 63-90.

<sup>107</sup> Alephwpadmin. "Collaboration, Resistance, and State-Sanctioned Journalism in Vichy France" by Nicholas Matthews." *Aleph*, July 26, 2015.



other revolutionary writers utilized their mass popularity to bring about an end to absolutism<sup>108</sup>, and thus, since Varenne is doing somewhat a similar act against Vichy, he would then qualify as a bastion of the French people. Also, he represents an individual unique to this work. Much of his publications were censored and sourced via the Vichy Regime, yet Varenne was able to keep some sense of individuality and spectacle. He refused, defied, and questioned a regime lacking democracy, something unique in many authoritarian systems, and for that he should be applauded.

### **Helene Viannay:**

Just north of Alexandre Varenne and the Vichy Government lay a distinctly different French society. One of no freedom, no power, and no independence, or so it appears that way on the surface. The occupied north was, as discussed earlier, rife with underground newspapers and publications resisting the Nazi's and offering a glimpse of hope to the people of France. The particular paper analyzed was *Defense de la France* and at the helm of this work was Helene Viannay. Not only is the situation regarding the newspaper outlet drastically different to that of Vichy, and the Dreyfus Affair, but it is also the first and only female publisher of this work.

With that being said, Helene's situation is very unique in terms of her peers listed in this work. The motivation for her to publish was almost completely self-summoned as her work was completely banned by Nazi occupation, and any discovery of her involvement with *Defense de la France* would bring about arrest or even immediate execution.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, any sort of ideology

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<sup>108</sup> Hanson, Paul R. *Contesting the French Revolution*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

<sup>109</sup> Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance*. 2015.

surrounding both her content and the individuals she entrusted her clandestine journal with were clear representations of her beliefs under the occupied state.

In terms of content, *Defense de la France* was very pro-France, and specifically pro-France liberty. As analyzed earlier, the newspaper's primary goal was to inspire a movement of anti-Nazi, pro-French ideology amongst the Parisian public. Ideas such as simply spreading stories of French liberalism, begging citizens to utilize graffiti to defy the occupiers, and asking for the displaying of the banned tri-color flag.<sup>110</sup> She specifically called for her people to resist "oppression,"<sup>111</sup> citing this moment in history as a distinct attack on French ideals and culture. Thus, she was not shy in defiance, and understood the importance of maintaining ideological and individual independence. In terms of minorities, and specifically the persecution of Jews, Viannay never explicitly supports or condemns their insurrection. However, she did not have to as the actions of her clandestine activities speak for themselves. In an interview with Viannay, two very important aspects are brought to the listeners attention: the acceptance of varying personalities and the production of false papers.<sup>112</sup> Viannay remarks that her organization was made up of mostly students of the Sorbonne, a very diverse group. They had a variety of opinions and a variety of political beliefs, but all chose to support the clandestine efforts of Viannay. Similarly, Viannay discusses how she was a staunch anti-Petainist, the leader of the Vichy regime, while her own husband supported the Marshal in his endeavors.<sup>113</sup> This demonstrates not only Viannay's belief in the ideas of individualism, but also her respect for all

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<sup>110</sup> Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadow: a New History of the French Resistance*. 2015.

<sup>111</sup> Viannay, Helene. *Defense De La France*,

<sup>112</sup> Off, Lead. "Hélène Viannay Et Jacqueline Pardon." *Mémoire et Espoirs de la Résistance*. Accessed April 12, 2021. <https://www.memoresist.org/temoignage/helene-viannay-jacqueline-pardon/>.

<sup>113</sup> Off, Lead. "Hélène Viannay Et Jacqueline Pardon." *Mémoire et Espoirs de la Résistance*. Accessed April 12, 2021.

varieties of creed and ideology. She was accepting and with her distrust of Petain, came in turn a distrust for anything related to fascism or Nazism. Furthermore, Viannay and her publishing group were vital in the production of false papers in occupied France. Falsified papers, in any Nazi controlled section of Europe, was an imperative aspect of survival for many Jewish individuals. It saved thousands from deportation and Nazi aggression and was thus able to aid in successful hiding attempts by the Jewish population, even so in France.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, the simple act by Viannay in providing these falsified papers for the French population, especially for the Jews of France, demonstrates her understanding and desire to protect all creeds of the French nation. Her actions, under extreme risks and horrible circumstances, were in obvious protection of others and of the nation she new prior to the war. Therefore, Viannay is the essence of what a bastion of the French Fourth Estate and of the French citizen, which includes the Jewish individual.

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<sup>114</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed April 12, 2021. <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/podcasts-and-audio/12-years-that-shook-the-world/thousands-of-false-identities>.

## Chapter Four:

### Implications and Conclusions

## **Asking Why:**

A common question, and one in fact that is vital to any thesis or dissertation, is to ask why should the public, scholars, and the everyday individual care? Research can be groundbreaking, and so revolutionary that the masses should gather and sing praise upon the author, but if the topic bears no weight, no impact on society, then groundbreaking research will be forgotten. Therefore, to connect and educate is what makes works such as these so dependent on the implications drawn from them. Thus, authors arrive at the end, so much research done, so many questions asked and later answered, but now they must connect, tell the audience why, who cares, why bother.

From this specific point of view, it stands to reason that much of this work is focused in on the impact journalism can have on a community. Further adding in such an issue, which unfortunately is still very prevalent today, such as antisemitism adds to the importance. Modern society, which can be seen beginning from as far back as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, is flushed with moments and situations of questioning. At the helm of these were the ideas of journalists and newspapers, which should be noted, had a great duty. They were desperately necessary in informing the public and at some points giving way to entertainment. However, why would the study of journalism be of importance?

## **The Modern State, Journalism, Human Perception:**

The neurons of the modern state lie at the feet of a nations editorial system, and as we have discussed, their Fourth Estate. This is dangerous, very dangerous. It is naive to believe that every journal is good intentioned, that every author writes with conviction and pride in their art

form. However, just based on the analyses of earlier chapters, influence, for good or bad, is everywhere, and not every author is good intentioned. The only strength in journalism is the balance. The same ideology that gifts freedom, the right to hold differentiating opinions, can also bring its downfall. Thus, a healthy system of journalism is one of balance, of fighting opinions.<sup>115</sup> So, in studying the ideas of journalism, and seeking to educate individuals on the power behind words, an author is then responsible for displaying how the destruction of this balance can lead to the loss of rights and how the protection of journalistic rights brings justice and stability in times of stress. This is exemplified in the analysis portion of this work. Two very different situations in French history, but both representing balance or the destruction of balance. The Dreyfus Affair was carefully selected as it displays competition in journalism, both opinions are represented and do conflict. The outcome is for the better, yet the balance of journalism is necessary for individuals to recognize an issue and seek to fix it. The Second World War is a bit different. In one case, you see a representation of a clear destruction of journalistic balance, the Vichy Regime censored, broke, and destroyed outlets and thus destroyed the last remaining hope at democracy and republicanism. However, the examples of the occupied north demonstrate how impactful journalism can be as a tool, and that is where the real impact begins.

Journalism is a tool, more than anything else; it is a way of disseminating information and informing the public. However, journalism will always have a substantial impact on the public and their perception.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Hachten, William A., and James F. Scotton. *The World News Prism*. Blackwell, 2007.

<sup>116</sup> Hachten, William A., and James F. Scotton. *The World News Prism*. Blackwell, 2007.

*We may not be aware of how our perceptions of the world are being changed by the transformed news system, but we quickly learn to take that system for granted. If there is another terror attack on a major city or another major earthquake in Haiti or Chile, we expect to see live television reports the same day or on a twenty-four-hour news channel, such as BBC World or CNN, within the hour via satellite. We are fascinated but not surprised to see detailed, computer-refined pictures of the exploration of planet Mars or the dramatic saga of the space shuttle as well as the grim daily war stories from the Middle East.<sup>117</sup>*

This unique ability to control when the public receives information and what they consume is powerful, and this power, when used for the benefit of individuals or against tyranny, is a silenced voice's best weapon. This was demonstrated to great effect by the underground papers of the Second World War. *Defense de la France* and their counterparts pushed individuals to be the best they could be, pleading for bravery in times of suffering, and the people listened. When called to raise the tricolor, to fight Nazi oppression, the people did, not due to their own free will, but because the news spread by these underground papers showed hope.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Hachten, William A., and James F. Scotton. *The World News Prism*. Blackwell, 2007.

<sup>118</sup> Johnson, Nathan J. (2020) "The Fourth Estate: French Resistance to Nazi Occupation in the Press," *The Macksey Journal*: Vol. 1 , Article 29.

## **Antisemitism as a Focus:**

Journalism is massively important, that is well understood and well argued in this work; however, that is only fifty percent of what lies in the title. What is the benefit of focusing on antisemitism as a specific topic? No one can argue that today, the rights of every race and creed are of extreme interest, individuals fight and protest for the rights of themselves and others. The impact of studying and displaying the struggles of the Jewish people over hundreds of years is notable because to understand how to fix the future, people must understand the past. If the modern individual seeks to end racial persecution, then they must first understand where hate is derived, how it is disseminated, and how it can ultimately be destroyed. There is no better example of historical persecution than that of the Jewish people. This topic also provides evidence on how hate can evolve. The idea of Jewish persecution and targeted hate shifted throughout its long history, specifically from anti-Judaism to antisemitism. This can educate individuals how hate can also be irrational, and even change ideologies, yet still remain in the public aurora.

Ultimately, the purpose of this work, at the surface, is to educate, but deeper than that, this work is designed to prevent the past from repeating in the future. Journalism as a tool is one that every average person must understand in terms of power and then utilize, and antisemitism demonstrates how dangerous hate can become when journalism and ideology is no longer strong. Therefore, by understanding the Fourth Estate, and those who defended it, one can transform themselves into those personas. These are the true implications of this work.



## **Conclusions:**

Modern French history is fairly complex, endlessly changing, revolting, splitting, and reviving itself. Within the endless alterations, comes an idea of continuity beginning with the French Revolution of 1789. Journalism, the Fourth Estate, and the importance of free press become engrained into the French persona. This is so much so an important idea that several major moments of French history revolve around the idea of journalism, the Dreyfus Affair, the Second and First World Wars, and the French Revolution to name a few. This work covered the Dreyfus Affair and the Second World War and how these journalists impacted these moments in history. Specifically, it covered the impact through the lens of antisemitism in French culture. The work identified several papers by the likes of Emile Zola, Alexandre Varenne, Edouard Drumont, and Helene Viannay and further discussed their impacts on French society. Furthermore, this paper sought to identify these authors as bastions or brutes of the French Fourth Estate and French liberalism.

In short, what was discovered was a fair majority of well-intentioned, pro-French journalists protecting the ideas of French freedom of the press and freedom of Jews. For instance, Zola profoundly and publicly supported Alfred Dreyfus and the Jews of France during the affair and was more so a bastion of French Judaism during this specific time period and in turn, a bastion of free speech and press. Drumont on the other hand blatantly denounced the Jewish people as anything of value, thus labeling himself a brute and destroyer of French individualism and liberalism, and further removing himself from the ideas held by the Fourth Estate. Varenne represented a class of individuals who understood the power of the press, and while undergoing intense scrutiny, proved his status as a bastion by resisting censorship and challenging antisemitic policies in Vichy France. Finally, Viannay, during the Second World

War, did not explicitly say anything in support of the Jewish people, but her actions spoke volumes. She was arguably one of the finest examples of a French bastion of the press as she put her reality at stake to protect the freedom of the press and the freedom of the individual.

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### **Acknowledgements:**

**Dr. Aliza Wong**, Ph.D. Associate Dean, Associate Professor, Director of European Studies

**Dr. Ashley Voeks**, Ph.D. Assistant Professor, French

**Dr. Joe Hodes**, Ph.D. Assistant Professor, International Studies

**Kurt Caswell**, M.F.A. Professor, Director of Honors Arts and Letters