

Nationalist Symbol of a Nation Divided: The Paradox of France's Joan of Arc, 1940-1944

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to compare the ways in which Joan of Arc was portrayed by the French Resistance with the way she was depicted by the collaborationist Vichy government between 1940 and 1944. The fact that she could represent a Republican, anti-clerical, nationalist platform such as Charles de Gaulle's while also representing a staunchly Catholic, authoritarian, collaborationist agenda such as Philippe Pétain's begs an analysis of the ways in which her history was contorted and forced to fit into their respective ideologies. Examining the validity and consistency of each political platform and comparing it to the way in which Joan of Arc was portrayed in that government reveals through art why Charles de Gaulle's ideology was more successful than Philippe Pétain's. The analysis of Joan of Arc during this period is also accompanied by an analysis of another nationalist representational figure—*la Marianne*. Tracing the rise, fall, and re-birth of Marianne alongside the rise and fall of Joan of Arcs helps to explain how nationalist symbols can reflect the divided political atmosphere that, in this case, stemmed from the socio-political instability caused by the Dreyfus Affair during the French Third Republic. An analysis of the post-war atmosphere alongside the change in symbolic representation of France also reveals how Joan of Arc and Marianne contribute to the French people's denial of their collaboration with Nazi Germany and war crimes against the Jews. After examining the difference between the two different representations of Joan of Arc and comparing her to Marianne, this thesis also explores the similarities between the two figures in an attempt to unveil certain consistencies in order to determine the way that the French generally feel about themselves as a nation.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	5
	a. Historical Background	5
	b. Joan of Arc as a Case Study in French Representational Nationalism	10
II.	Chapter One	13
	a. Third Republic Marianne and Joan of Arc	13
	b. Vichyist Anti-Semitism and Joan of Arc in Stained Glass	15
	c. Vichyist Anglophobia and Joan of Arc in Propaganda Posters	18
	d. Pétain's Propagandist Inconsistencies	20
III.	Chapter Two	23
	a. Gaullism	23
	b. De Gaulle and Joan of Arc	25
	c. The <i>Résistance's Croix de Lorraine</i> and the Catholic Church	26
	d. Charles Lapique and <i>Jeanne d'Arc traversant la Loire</i>	28
	e. Charles de Gaulle's Strength vs Philippe Pétain's Inconsistencies	31
IV.	Chapter Three	33
	a. The Vichy Syndrome and its Consequences for Joan of Arc	34
	b. The Treatment of the Jewish Question in Post-War France	36
	c. The Re-Birth of the Marianne	38
V.	Conclusion	41
VI.	Appendix	45
VII.	Bibliography	49

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (FOUND IN THE APPENDIX)

- Figure 1)** 'Joan of Arc window' – Vichy propaganda
Figure 2) Joan of Arc as a symbol of anti-British propaganda
Figure 3) La Croix de Lorraine sur le tricolore de la FFI
Figure 4) Charles Lapique's *Jeanne d'Arc traversant le Loire* (1940)

INTRODUCTION

During the Nazi German occupation of France between 1940 and 1944, both Marshal Philippe Pétain's Vichy *Régime* and General Charles de Gaulle's *Résistance* employed Joan of Arc as a representation the French nation—but to different ends. While Pétain highlighted what he perceived to be her Anglophobia, devotion to Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Republicanism, de Gaulle exalted *La Pucelle* for her presumed dedication to an independent France, her place in the strong history of the country, and the fact that she had been born in the region of Lorraine.¹ What the drastically different interpretations of one woman's history reveals is the way in which the French leaders of the time deliberately created their respective national myths while also demonstrating the way in which she highlighted the political divisions that had percolated from the Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s, through the Third Republic, and into the intellectual atmosphere of World War II. The ways in which the representation of Joan of Arc interacts with other existing figures such as the French Marianne also serves to reveal certain consistencies in France's nationalist visual representation and what determines one particular symbol's strength over the other from the end of the Third Republic through the post-war Liberation Era.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s set the stage for the ideological battle that Joan of Arc—and to a lesser extent, Marianne—would reflect during the German occupation of France. It redefined the cultural and political atmosphere of the Third

¹ Lorraine had fallen into the hands of the Germans, as it had prior to WWI.

Republic, as David Drake argues, by giving birth to the modern French intellectual atmosphere and, subsequently, the active divisions in philosophy.² Jewish philosopher Julien Benda argues in his *Trahisson des Clercs* that the intellectuals bred during nineteenth and twentieth centuries had grown into a materialistic group that sought personal recognition and that associated itself with racist and nationalist agendas instead of the pursuit of knowledge.³ In this atmosphere, the conviction of Captain Alfred Dreyfus—a Jew—of treason, would lead toward active contention between the *Dreyfusards* and the *anti-Dreyfusards*. The *Dreyfusards* claimed that the unfounded conviction of guilt was an expression of persistent anti-Semitism in French culture, especially when evidence later came to light that would implicate another member of the French army of collaborating with the Germans instead of Dreyfus. Intellectual leaders of the *Dreyfusard* camp such as the pro-monarchist Charles Maurras of the *Action Française* would look to Joan of Arc as a symbol of the pure, anti-Republican France for which they strongly advocated.⁴ However, insistence on his guilt before he was officially pardoned in 1906 created a tension in the French intellectual and political spheres that would remain in the air even through the collaboration with the Germans during World War II. Not only did the Dreyfus Affair reveal political and religious tensions within France, but it also

² Drake defines the intellectual as an individual who applies his intellect, often in matters that do not directly concern him (and, less frequently during this period, her).

³ Julien Benda, *The Great Betrayal (La trahison des clercs)*, trans. Richard Aldington (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1928): 4.

⁴ While Maurras functioned as one of the stronger Rightist, pro-Joan of Arc figures, he did not concentrate on the religious aspects of her history as much as he was interested in promoting her support of the French monarchy.

demonstrated a sensitivity regarding French relations with the Germans, even before the World Wars.

The socio-political effects of the Dreyfus Affair contributed to the friction between and the ultimate separation of Church and State via the French *Concordat* of 1904 under Émile Combes.⁵ The *Concordat* stipulated that the French government could not fund or be sponsored by a religious organization, such as the Catholic Church, creating an unsurprising divide between the Third Republic and Catholicism.⁶ The Third Republic aimed for a more secular, liberal system of government that would later be actively scorned and reversed by Pétain with his conservative, Catholic agenda. The Joan of Arc that the Vichy *Régime* chose to portray would directly work against the secularist values of the Third Republic by highlighting her devotion to her divine calling and by connecting—as Joan of Arc did herself—such a divine calling to the sanctity of the French nation. This, in turn, would contribute to the general decision by the Catholic Church in France to support Pétain's Vichy *Régime* as opposed to Charles de Gaulle, who only saw the Church as an important part of the French past.

In conjunction with the changing relationship between the State, the French Catholic tradition, and the rise of the French Modern intellectual, the Dreyfus Affair had an impact on the subsequent silence from the Right on a political level. After the Dreyfus Affair and the vindication of the *Dreyfusards*, the French Left sought to

⁵ Ironically, however, the 1904 *Concordat* did not apply to the region of Alsace-Lorraine, as it was under German control during the period between 1870 and 1918.

⁶ Eric Cahm, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics* (London: Longman, 1996): 186.

implicate the Right for corruption at the highest echelons.⁷ The Leftist groups that had been somewhat weak during the *fin de siècle* in their attempt to dispute the upcoming 1902 election had finally strengthened with the rise of Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899 and had developed into a stronger *Bloc des Gauches* until 1909. Waldeck Rousseau's Republican policy was one of anti-clericalism and secularism—a program that suited the contemporary atmosphere that had been tainted by the anti-Semitic debates in France as a result of the Dreyfus Affair.⁸ Regardless of the minimized participation of the Right at this point, tensions continued to exist and festered throughout the beginning of the twentieth century. Pétain's rejection of the Third Republic and its attempt at a *laïque* government can be clearly understood given his staunchly pro-Catholic and anti-Republican ideals. He believed that the Third Republic had been a representation of political failure, weakness, and exploitation of the French people, and he tried to distance himself as much as possible from such a system. While the reasons why Pétain would, traditionally speaking, choose to incorporate Joan of Arc into his Fascist, anti-Semitic, and collaborationist propaganda, it is immediately less obvious why Charles de Gaulle would choose to associate her with his campaign given her long-standing association with the French Catholic Right.

Pétain and the German occupiers were not only opposed to the political and religious inclinations of the Third Republic, but they were also actively unimpressed with the Modernist style of art that had been associated with them. During the German occupation of France and Pétain's tenure in Vichy France the presence of the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

Nazi Germans also enflamed and contributed to another debate regarding Modernist artistic expression. Nazi artistic policy did not tolerate the Modernist movement at all because it wanted art to reflect the important of traditional and *volkish* culture. Adolf Hitler and the members of the Third Reich openly criticized Modernist works and labeled them as elitist as well as symptoms of weakness and of the degeneration of society.⁹ The Nazis would connect their demonization of Modernism with anti-Semitic rhetoric, claiming “that Jews had intentionally duped the German people into embracing nontraditional aesthetic styles.”¹⁰ In 1940s France, the Vichy *Régime* would sponsor the *Jeune France* movement in a failed attempt to rebuild French culture around the tenets of anti-Modernism and allegiance to an authoritarian government.¹¹

Prior to the German occupation in the 1940s—and certainly during the Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s—Joan of Arc’s image had been associated with the French Right due to both of their Catholic zeal and the way that could be twisted to imply that she had anti-Semitic inclinations.¹² As Michel Winock notes, “[l]e slogan ‘Mort aux Juifs!’ se confond avec ‘Vive Jeanne d’Arc!’” at the tail-end of the nineteenth century.¹³ Given her association with French anti-Semitic nationalism during the *fin de siècle*, it comes

⁹ The notion that Modernist art symbolized the degeneration of the contemporary culture reached its apogee at the German *Entartete Kunst* exhibit put on by Hitler’s government as a way of visually demonstrating certain pieces and explaining why they were damaging to their ideal society based on *Blut und Boden*.

¹⁰ Alan Bullock, *Adolf Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962): 54.

¹¹ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat: France 1940-1944*. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008): 246.

¹² Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth and History*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2006): 191.

¹³ Michel Winock, *Nationalisme, Antisémitisme et Fascisme en France* (Paris: Seuil, 2004): 143.

as no surprise, then, that Joan of Arc would be adopted as a cult figure in Pétain's Vichy *Régime*. The French Right often centered its conception of French nationalism on the myth of the Jew and fed off of the societal divisions brought to light by the Dreyfus Affair. Historian Timothy Wilson-Smith describes a situation in 1908-1909 during which a Parisian professor at the Lycée Condorcet proclaimed that Joan of Arc deserved to have been burned. Influenced by philosophers such as Maurras, a Rightist group known as the *Camelots du Roi* abused him and proceeded to abuse him weekly at his free lectures. At long last, supporters of the *Action Française* gave him a personal lesson on Joan of Arc, her faith in the military, and in her ability to recover Lorraine.¹⁴ While *la Pucelle* had been clearly adopted as a Rightist figure, the Republican supporters during the Third Republic continued to argue that she could not be a symbol of proto-French-Catholic nationalism because the French king had abandoned her and the Catholic Church had burned her alive. The flexibility with regards to the interpretation of Joan of Arc's history and importance resulted in the re-appropriation of her image by both Pétain's Vichy *Régime* and by de Gaulle's *Résistance*.

JOAN OF ARC AS A CASE STUDY IN FRENCH REPRESENTATIONAL NATIONALISM

Although there were many cultural figures associated with the representation of French values, such as the Marianne, Joan of Arc is especially relevant in the discussion of the conscious construction of French nationalism during World War II and during the Liberation Era. The notion that her history could be contorted so as to

¹⁴ Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth, and History*, 191-2.

suit the ideology of two opposing systems of government sheds light on the method of production of French nationalism and the influence that artistic representation has on the molding of the desired mentality and values of the French people. Furthermore, unlike in the case of figure such as the uncontentious Marianne, Joan of Arc served to represent two sets of political values that were diametrically opposed and that would ultimately result in one winning ideology by the end of the war—that of de Gaulle. As a result of the heavy nationalist undertones that her image contained at the hand of both the *Résistance* and the *collabos*, artistic representations of Joan of Arc can be analyzed and dissected for symptoms of their ideological success and failure, respectively.

In order to uncover the differences between the two re-appropriations of *La Pucelle*, I intend to analyze artistic representations of Joan of Arc created both in the German-occupied zone as well as in Vichy France through the lens of historians and art historians such as Michèle C. Cone, Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, Gerhard Hirschfeld, and Patrick Marsh. Paintings such as *Jeanne d'Arc traversant la Loire* by Charles Lopicque on behalf of the French *Résistance* reveal the way in which Joan of Arc reflects the division of French politics as reflected through the art between 1940 and 1944. I will look at the way the pieces such as Lopicque's, as well as Vichy propaganda posters that further demonstrate the way in which Joan of Arc was used as a political tool by Pétain, but in an inconsistent way that may reflect the ultimate instability of his political platform. I will also contrast the style of the representations by the *Résistance* and of the *collabos* in order to show how the political divisions in France at the time also pervaded the world of art.

I also aim to explain the significance of the disappearance of Joan of Arc as a political symbol under Charles de Gaulle's Fourth and Fifth Republics alongside what Henri Rousso labels as the "Vichy Syndrome." According to Rousso, after the fall of Nazi Germany—and subsequently Vichy France—the French people underwent a long period of denial and shame at the thought of their defeat by the Germans in the 1940 and their collaboration with the Axis during World War II. De Gaulle's active attempt to repress the memories of French failure in order to rebuild the French reputation after its failure during World War II to live up to what de Gaulle perceived to be its glorious tradition. The fact that Joan of Arc—a figure so relied upon during the War to represent the values of the Republican *Résistance*—disappeared so thoroughly in the decades after the War's aftermath serves to demonstrate the political instability she actually represented and de Gaulle's deliberateness when it came to restructuring French nationalist memory after the Allied victory against the Germans.

CHAPTER I

THIRD REPUBLIC MARIANNE VS THE VICHYIST JOAN OF ARC

Before analyzing the way in which Pétain's regime used Joan of Arc as a symbol of their values, it is important to understand why it rejected other representations of France that had been important to its predecessors. The Third Republic had been based in a Republican, anti-clerical, revolutionary ideology that had stemmed from the French Revolution of 1789. While Joan of Arc was a symbol of contemporary anti-Semitism, she was not consistently used to represent the nation as a whole. Instead, the *Marianne* was preferred and represented very different ideals than Joan of Arc and was presented to the public in quite a different manner.

Unlike Joan of Arc, Marianne was strong and sexualized and was often depicted either bare-breasted and/or as a revolutionary warrior leading the French army into battle against the enemy.¹⁵ She represented reason, justice, and the triumph of the French people over an oppressive, monarchical government.¹⁶ Visual representations of France as embodied by Marianne became increasingly popular after the Revolution and flourished under the Third Republic, while Joan of Arc predominantly served to represent the radical French Right.¹⁷ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Pétain would choose to avoid Marianne as a representation of an authoritarian regime, because he was not willing to employ an image that alluded to a revolutionary, Republican character that could serve to undermine his own authority. On another level, Pétain did not appreciate the feminist values that Marianne seemed

¹⁵ Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth, and History*, 173.

¹⁶ Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 181.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 5.

to embody. Her perceived lack of modesty in the way that she was physically presented directly contradicted his opinion that women should be humble wives and homemakers, much like the women in Hitler's Third Reich. A woman such as Marianne, therefore, was a threat both to his form of government as well as to his understanding of the ideal household, and Pétain's regime actually went so far as to remove statues of Marianne between 1940 and 1944.¹⁸ While Joan of Arc was also a strong woman, she would be—seemingly—more compatible with Vichy ideology given that she was forced to dress like a man in order to exercise that strength and because she was following God's will instead of her own individuality and reason.

During Pétain's tenure as the leader of the Vichy *Régime*, he actively sought to highlight Joan of Arc by eliminating visual representations of Marianne and replace her with his own image. Before the French capitulation to the Germans, Marianne could be found represented through statuary, stamps, currency, municipal buildings, and nationalist art.¹⁹ However after 1940, Maurice Agulhon and Pierre Bonte note, “[s]ur les timbres, le profil du maréchal Pétain remplace celui de Marianne.”²⁰ In addition, busts were removed from the Masonic lodges and government buildings in Paris. While images of Marianne were decreasing in number, representations of Joan of Arc were increasing, not only in popularity, but also in relevance with regards to the contemporary socio-political atmosphere.

The “cult of Jeanne d’Arc” that existed throughout the whole of Vichy France had been based on the fanaticism of the French Right during the Dreyfus Affair and

¹⁸ Maurice Agulhon and Pierre Bonte, *Marianne: Les visages de la République*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1992): 81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 80.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 81.

continues to be visible when comparing the ideology with the way that Joan of Arc was presented during the Third Republic. The Dreyfus Affair had succeeded in creating a Rightist national myth around the relationship between anti-Semitism and Joan of Arc. Winock writes that during a May 8, 1898 celebration of Joan of Arc, two cries were predominantly heard: “*À bas les Juifs!*” and “*Vive Jeanne d’Arc!*”²¹ The Catholic newspaper *La Croix* spoke enthusiastically and romantically of *La Pucelle*, foreshadowing their later alliance with Pétain’s religious association with Joan of Arc: “*Le 8 mai, fête de Jeanne d’Arc, la libératrice de la France, le soleil s’est levé radieux dans un ciel d’azur, nos âmes ont tressailli d’un noble enthousiasme, comme au matin d’une bataille où l’on va défendre, contre la souillure étrangères et cosmopolite, les trois couleurs de notre drapeau.*”²² The call for French Catholics to fight against foreigners and cosmopolitanism is clearly traceable in the Joan of Arc associated with the Third Republic and in the Joan of Arc that would emerge from Pétain’s Vichy *Régime*.

VICHYIST OUTLOOK ON RELIGION AND JOAN OF ARC IN STAINED GLASS

The Catholic program associated with Pétain’s regime ties together the anti-Semitism in France both during and after the Third Republic, the desire to nationalize French traditional life, and finally, the active decision to break away from the Republican ideology. Alongside the sense of resentment of the Jewish population before the start of the war, there was also an increase in secular political thought that culminated with the *Concordat* in 1904 amidst the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair.

²¹ Michel Winock, *Nationalisme, Antisémitisme et Fascisme en France*, 143.

²² *Ibid.*

Following in the footsteps of the French Rightist groups during the period of the Affair, Pétain chose to continue to invoke Joan of Arc as the embodiment of Vichyist values. To him, she was a symbol of Anglophobia, anti-Semitism, and anti-Republicanism—all of which were parts of the mentality he hoped to pass onto the French people under his hand. Additionally, her modest and provincial roots contributed to the anti-élitist, pro-regionalist agenda that colored the artistic policy of both the Nazi Germans and the collaborationists.

Pétain worked to revive the legacy of anti-Semitism that Joan of Arc had once served to propagate during the early years of the Third Republic with her extreme devotion to Catholicism. Nazi and Vichyist propagandists could easily utilize the fact that she allowed herself to be burned at the stake in the name of Catholicism and France as a way of rekindling the anti-Semitism that he been brewing the France since they Dreyfus Affair. A propagandist stained glass window directly compares “Orléans a Jeanne” with “Orléans aux Juifs” in an attempt to illustrate the way in which, according to the Vichyists, French society had degenerated in the hands of the Jews over the centuries since Joan of Arc’s martyrdom in 1431.²³ It shows the way in which Jews had come to dominate the major sectors of civil society: “Dans la cité historique les Juifs devenus Maitres de l’Armée, de la Justice, du Parlement, de la Municipalité ecrivent la 1^{ere} page de decandence de notre Histoire.” In the portion of the window dedicated to the image of Joan of Arc, it proclaims that the figure that would embody France would be the one who would rid the country of foreigners such

²³ Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh, eds. *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation, 1940-1944*. (Oxford and New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1989): 100.

as the English and, especially, the Jews. Her provincial roots were especially stressed²⁴ and exalted in the anti-Semitic context in order to highlight the importance of an anti-elitist, pro-regionalist platform while also accusing the Jews of having infiltrated élite positions.²⁵

From the standpoint of style and presentation, the fact that this particular piece of Vichyist propaganda was designed to be in stained glass is reminiscent of a traditional, Catholic style meant to stand in contrast to the new rise of the Jews and the degeneracy it was supposed to represent. Not only is there no trace of Modern artistic influence of any kind, there is no subtlety whatsoever in the way in which Pétain's propagandists chose to disseminate their message, reflecting their religious convictions as well as the potential receptiveness of the viewers. What had been minimized in the years after the War as a part of the French tacit denial of their collaboration were the anti-Semitic values that actually existed amongst the people prior to the influence of Hitler and the Nazis. A stained glass window as overtly anti-Semitic such as this would not have stood for long in a society that was anything less than silently complicit.²⁶

²⁴ Robert O. Paxton expands upon Pétain's emphasis on Joan of Arc's provincial roots, noting that Vichy schools only gave one lesson on the postrevolutionary history of the nation entitled "The Great Peasants of France." Joan of Arc was exalted alongside figures such as Saint Vincent de Paul, Msgr. Affre, Joffre, Clemenceau, and Philippe Pétain himself; Robert O. Paxton, *Parades and Politics a Vichy: the French officer corps under Marshal Pétain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968): 199.

²⁵ Berger, Stefan and Chris Lorenz, eds. *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 147.

²⁶ Tony Judt notes in that rather open anti-Semitic sentiments continued in both the Occupied Zone and in Vichy France until 1944.; Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect: French*

The propaganda used by the Vichy government when describing their ideology often borrowed its vocabulary from the story of Joan of Arc. Such allusions would often accompany an image of Philippe Pétain and would invoke his leadership, creating a direct connection between the image of *La Pucelle* and *Le Maréchal*. A poster of Pétain supporting the Légionnaires “*croisade*” against “*le péril bolchevique*” serves to link the contemporary French to the religious Crusaders, launching Joan of Arc’s cause into the atmosphere surrounding World War II.²⁷ The allusion to the Crusades and the defense of religion is especially appropriate in this context given the anti-religious approach of the Bolshevik system of government and serves to emphasize the connection between Vichy France and the Catholic Church.²⁸ In addition, the connection between Pétain’s image and Joan of Arc’s lend itself to reminding the people of the strength of the French past and to associate that past with the Vichy ideology in order to legitimize his position of leadership.

VICHYIST ANGLOPHOBIA AND JOAN OF ARC IN PROPAGANDA POSTERS

The Anglophobia that Pétain’s propagandists chose to enhance as part of Vichy’s “cult of Jeanne d’Arc” is reflected in anti-British propaganda posters that display Joan of Arc in shackles as a symbol of France under threat. In one particular poster, the artist depicts a burning, ruined France with Joan as a prisoner, praying. It is clear to the viewer that the woman depicted is Joan of Arc due to her masculine

Intellectuals, 1944-1956 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992): 194.

²⁷ Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh, eds *Collaboration in France*, xi.

²⁸ Nina Tumarkin, “Religion, Bolshevism, and the Origins of the Lenin Cult” *Russian Review* 40 no. 1 (Jan. 1981): 46.

hairstyle and clothing and the allusion to the British as the same aggressors against whom Joan of Arc herself fought.²⁹ The poster reads, “*Les assassins reviennent toujours sur les lieux de leur crime.*”³⁰ The poster itself conforms to the artistic style supported by the Vichy *Régime* and the Nazi Germans. Not only is it more traditional and Romantic than representations created by the members of the *Résistance*, but it also highlights the image of *La Pucelle* and her as a humble, devout, non-sexual woman held prisoner by the enemy. In the same way that the Joan of Arc window advocated for the removal of the Jews in the name of a foreigner-free France, the Anglophobic propaganda could potentially foster anti-interventionist sentiments rooted in a ‘France for the French’ type of mentality.

The only building in the poster that remains standing amidst the rubble is a cathedral, alluding to the relationship between Catholicism and the strength of the French nation. Although the church is partially destroyed—as was the relationship between the State and Catholicism during the Third Republic—it has survived the bombardment of what are presumably English forces. The image of Joan of Arc is superimposed over the destruction, and she is facing up at the blackened sky, holding her hands in a manner that is reminiscent of a prayer. The fact that the British would consistently return to harm the humble French—and a woman, no less—in such a devout Catholic atmosphere suggests that the Anglican British are back in France on behalf of the Jews to curtail French Catholicism. However, Joan of Arc herself stated that she did not actively hate the English, and historian Gerd Krumeich notes that the Anglophobia associated with her image as constructed by Pétain was an exaggeration

²⁹ Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh, eds. *Collaboration in France*. xiii.

³⁰ “The assassins always return to the scene of their crime.”

on the part of the Vichy *Régime*.³¹ The *Résistance* and the Allied Forces could also be conveyed via propaganda as anti-Catholic given the decision on the side of the Catholic Church to support Pétain's Vichy *Régime* during the Second World War. Any party not openly condoned by the Church, therefore, could be portrayed as an enemy of the divine right of France.³²

PÉTAİN'S PROPAGANDIST INCONSISTENCIES

Despite the fact that Joan of Arc had mostly been associated with the French Right during the decades, if not centuries, preceding World War II, she reveals some of the inconsistencies and weaknesses of Pétain's Vichy *Régime* that perhaps contributed to its downfall in 1944. Regardless of the attempts to downplay her femininity by connecting her humble image to his own, her presence in his campaign would still raise questions about the role of women in his regime. In textbooks produced by the Vichy government, Pétain's propagandists struggled to demonstrate her political value by stressing her humble origins and anti-Republican ideals while, at the same time discouraging the female readership from following in her footsteps.³³ As Maurice Agulhon notes, a woman has often represented France—whether it be Joan of Arc, Marianne, or even Brigitte Bardot in the 1960s—which

³¹ Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh, eds. *Collaboration in France*, 101.

³² Thomas R. Christofferson and Michael S. Christofferson, *France during World War II: From Defeat to Liberation* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2006): 97.

³³ Eric Jennings, "Reinventing Jeanne': The Iconography of Joan of Arc in Vichy Schoolbooks, 1940-1944" in *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 712.

inherently raises questions regarding the role of women in French society and culture.³⁴

More contradictory than Pétain's struggles with feminism was his anti-interventionist platform. While Pétain recognized the importance of emphasizing a France free from foreign presence—namely of the Jews and the Allied Forces—his message was ultimately weakened because it did not account for his acceptance of and collaboration with the Nazi Germans. In a speech Pétain gave on 11 October 1940 where he revealed his political program, he remarks, “Sans doute, l'Allemagne peut-elle, au lendemain de sa victoire sur nos armes, choisir entre une paix traditionnelle d'oppression et une paix toute nouvelle de collaboration.”³⁵ While Pétain admits at the beginning of the speech that France's capitulation to the Germans marked one the largest defeats in French history, he qualifies that statement by stating that the Republican system of government prior to the collaboration had, in essence, enslaved the French people. In addition, the devastation caused by the Great War and the economic instability associated with France's Third Republic shattered the younger generation's faith in the democratic system. “Thus the trench of ideas among the intellectuals under the Third Republic resulted in the gradual birth of a hierarchical system reminiscent of the times before the French Revolution.”³⁶ Pétain attempts to argue that the Republican system existed to placate the people who would ultimately be exploited by the capitalist government in which they were participating, leaving

³⁴ Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 1.

³⁵ Philippe Pétain, *Les Discours de Maréchal Pétain, chef d'État* (Paris: B&S Editions, 2007): 4.3.

³⁶ Eva Metraux, “Trends in French Thought during the Third Republic,” *Science & Society* 5 no. 3 (Summer 1941): 218.

them destitute and in proverbial shackles. Pétain further illustrates this point on 11 October 1940 when he proclaimed:

Un peuple n'est plus libre, en dépit de ses bulletins de vote, dès que le gouvernement qu'il a librement porté au pouvoir devient le prisonnier de ses coalitions. Que signifierait d'ailleurs, en 1940, la liberté (l'abstraite liberté) pour un ouvrier chômeur ou pour un petit patron ruiné, sinon la liberté de souffrir sans recours, au milieu d'une nation vaincue?³⁷

What the anti-Republican Vichy Régime could ideally provide, therefore, would be a system based in meritocracy and equal opportunity. Despite his attempt to justify the German presence in France, it remained unclear how France could flourish and benefit from the expulsion of only select groups; meanwhile the *Résistance* was gaining momentum while working alongside the Allied Forces.

Regardless of how strong Joan of Arc had been connected to the Right in the past, not even she could fill the gaps in Pétain's ideology. The fact that she could was Pétain's star embodiment of a French anti-Semitic and authoritarian tradition and, yet, could not provide an image of ideological instability would be symptomatic of *Régime's* ultimate failure and of the rise of the *Résistance* of Charles de Gaulle.

³⁷ Philippe Pétain, *Les Discours de Maréchal Pétain*, 4.3.

CHAPTER II

GAULLISM

At the helm of the French *Résistance*, de Gaulle aimed, amidst the French people's feelings of guilt and shame during the German occupation, to reinvigorate the French people by working to restore the greatness of the French tradition of independence.³⁸ By definition, this plan of action relied upon a strong desire to repel the Germans from France, stressing the sanctity of the French territory, people, and tradition upon which the Nazis had trespassed. His political platform underscored the importance of unwavering patriotism as embodied by the leader. As Herbert Lüthy notes, the maintenance of France's image as a nation was synonymous with the maintenance of the image of Charles de Gaulle.³⁹ While Pétain created the "cult of Joan of Arc" in Vichy and actively and systematically integrated her into his propagandist and educational systems perhaps more than de Gaulle, the image of Joan of Arc associated with the French *Résistance* was ultimately stronger. Despite the fact that resistance movement did not have as much of a traditional with Joan of Arc that it could galvanize, Gaullism still represented a more consistent political policy—especially with regards to its outlook on foreign intervention in France.

Gaullism was based, first and foremost in the idea of an independent France, free from foreigners and full of *la grandeur* that de Gaulle saw as the fulfillment of the nation's great potential. De Gaulle's conception of a free France certainly did not allow for another country—Germany or otherwise—to occupy or to expect the kind of

³⁸ Anthony Hartley, *Gaullism* (Outerbridge & Dentsfry: New York, 1971), 52.

³⁹ Herbert Lüthy "De Gaulle: Pose and Poetry" *Foreign Affairs* 43 no. 4 (Jul. 1965), 568.

collaboration asked for by the Nazis. Such a relationship would dilute the power of French culture and history and would be detrimental to France's ability to reach its full potential in the future. The integration of Joan of Arc into his message of resistance remained consistent with this ideology; he did not focus solely on the invaders' English nationality as much as he rejected all forms of foreign presence in France. Although the Allied Forces were absolutely crucial in the liberation of the nation in 1944, they—especially the American—allowed de Gaulle to inflate the role that the French military played in the expulsion of the Nazis in order to maintain an image of French greatness and independence.⁴⁰ Additionally, de Gaulle did not have to reconcile his views on women when he chose to use Joan of Arc in the way that Pétain had to. De Gaulle's support for women was demonstrated after the disintegration of the Vichy *Régime* when a series of laws were codified that reinstated the rights of republican France, but adding the right of women to vote.⁴¹ The fact that de Gaulle allowed for the evolution of Joan of Arc's image to represent a consistent ideology instead of forcing a past conception of her into tenuous modern situations would generation more momentum for the *Résistance*. Because the *Résistance* was gaining this momentum over Vichy France, Charles de Gaulle would ultimately win the battle over the image of Joan of Arc and what she would represent, and *La Pucelle* would become more and more the symbol of French resistance.⁴²

DE GAULLE AND JOAN OF ARC

⁴⁰ Thomas R. Christofferson and Michael S. Christofferson, *France during World War II*, 49.

⁴¹ Anthony Hartley, *Gaullism*, 73n.

⁴² Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth and History*, 208.

De Gaulle's mission to restore France to its natural position as a country of greatness was reflected in his affinity toward the figure of Joan of Arc. While Pétain idolized Joan of Arc as a symbol of traditional French values and culture prior to the French Revolution, Charles de Gaulle focused on her campaign against a foreign oppression and her origins in the region Lorraine that had been given back to France by Germany at the end of World War I and that was, again, in German hands during the occupation. The strength of an independent France would be deeply rooted in an anti-Pétainist approach given the fact that Vichy welcomed the German presence while also stressing the pre-Revolutionary values embodied by the motto *Travail, Famille, Patrie* in the place of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*.⁴³ French-Jewish playwright Henri Bernstein suggested in an article in the N.Y. Herald Tribune in 1943 that educated French groups believed that de Gaulle attempted to draw a parallel between himself and Joan of Arc as the symbol and the savior of France.⁴⁴ He notes, "[d]e Gaulle is difficult. He is stubborn. He is grave. So was the Maid. Like the Maid, he has a mystic view of France's destiny and sacred rights."⁴⁵ The tradition of France defined by its destiny for greatness stood as a guiding principle, as illustrated by the opening lines of de Gaulle's memoirs:

Toute ma vie, je me suis fait une certaine idée de la France. Le sentiment me l'inspire aussi bien que la raison. Ce qu'il y a, en moi, d'affectif imagine naturellement la France, telle une princesse des contes ou la madone aux fresques des murs, comme vouée à une destinée éminente et exceptionnelle. J'ai, d'instinct, l'impression que la Providence l'a créée pour succès achevés ou des malheurs exemplaires. S'il advient que la médiocrité marque, pourtant, ses faits et gestes, j'en éprouve la sensation d'une absurde anomalie,

⁴³ Anthony Hartley, *Gaullism*, 54.

⁴⁴ Henri Bernstein *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc* (France Forever: New York, 1944), 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 14.

*imputable aux fautes des Français, non au génie de la patrie. Mais aussi, le côté positif de mon esprit me convainc que la France n'est réellement elle-même, qu'au premier rang; que, sueles, de vastes enterprises sont susceptibles de compenser les ferments de dispersion que son peuple porte en lui-même.*⁴⁶

His strong feelings of patriotism toward France and its potential as manifested in his memoirs, which were written during the Fourth Republic, reflect the rhetoric of Joan of Arc in her divinely ordained campaign against the English, stressing the destiny of France as inherently magnificent and above all other nations. De Gaulle's faith in France, however, rested in the greatness of the nation's history and potential as well as in the strength of the individual leader—not in the people of France themselves. Although he undoubtedly supported a republican government and sought to inject a sense of pride in the French people, de Gaulle fostered a cult surrounding the leader in a fashion similar to Pétain. As he states in the opening lines of his memoirs, any deficiency of the nation—including the capitulation to the Germans in 1940—could only be attributed to the failure of the people, not to *le génie de la patrie*.

THE *RÉSISTANCE*'S *CROIX DE LORRAINE* AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In addition to a parallel in the rhetoric of the figure of Joan of Arc and Charles de Gaulle, other symbols such as *la croix de Lorraine* connect the two leaders. Joan of Arc had originally used the sign of the double-cross in her campaigns on her standard, and during the *Résistance* Charles de Gaulle, with the help of Émile Henry Muselier designed the French *tricolore* with the double-cross at the center.⁴⁷ While the symbol carried religious meaning for Joan of Arc, for Charles de Gaulle it was

⁴⁶ Charles de Gaulle *Mémoires de guerre, 1. L'appel 1940-1942*. (Paris: Plon, 1954), 1.

⁴⁷ Émile Henry Muselier, *La croix de Lorraine* c. 1940. (Fig. 3)

mostly a reference to her campaign against foreigners and a symbol of the divine provenance of *la grandeur française*. Aside from recognizing the role of Catholicism in French history and in the development of French politics, de Gaulle did not dwell on religious fervor, as it was often the tool of right-wing political groups such as Pétain's Vichy *Régime* and could potentially react poorly with the post-Revolutionary idea of a French republic.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the Catholic Church felt that Pétain's government and strong emphasis on the role of religion in the lives of the French was admirable and, although there were varying degrees of support for the anti-Semitic rhetoric, there was a general sense of support for the right-wing *collabos*.⁴⁹ Additionally, the establishment of the French *Concordat* in 1904 during the Third Republic had separated Church from State, creating a situation in which the French government could no longer legally fund or sponsor any religion—including Catholicism—in any way.⁵⁰ Joan of Arc's double-cross in de Gaulle's use, therefore, only meant to symbolize the inherent greatness of the nation and its superior potential under one strong leader, be it myth or man—or both.⁵¹

As in Vichy France, the image of Joan of Arc became more prominent than figures such as the Marianne, despite the fact that she more appropriately was a

⁴⁸ Anthony Hartley, *Gaullism*, 32-3.

⁴⁹ Thomas R. Christofferson and Michael S. Christofferson, *France during World War II*, 97.

⁵⁰ Ironically, however, the 1905 Concordat did not apply to the region of Alsace-Lorraine, as it was under German control.

⁵¹ W. M. Frohock suggests that the failure of the French military in 1940 left France without a guiding force. Joan of Arc would be adopted for this purpose, and both Pétain and de Gaulle would supplement her image with their own to further legitimize the ideology she would represent for the Collaborationists and the Résistance.; W. M. Frohock, "The Years of Shame" *The Massachusetts Review* 16 no. 4 (Autumn 1975): 790.

symbol of French republicanism. While Pétain chose to avoid Marianne because he did not want to condone a revolutionary character that was associated with the exact form of government he intended to shed, de Gaulle favored Joan of Arc because of the history and tradition she invoked. By the Third Republic, Marianne had come to represent a more secular, revolutionary nation. However, despite the fact that she may have more obviously been the choice for the symbol of the *Résistance*, Marianne's tradition did not extend more than a century or so back in time, which would have been somewhat problematic given de Gaulle's desire to allude to a history of French revolutionary and strong spirit. While Marianne continued to operate as a nationalist symbol under de Gaulle, she would not be the prominent figure again until the post-war period when all symbols associated with the recent French internal turmoil had to be shed. Additionally, the Vichy government had removed representations of Marianne from Paris, forcing the *Résistance* to have to choose a guiding image that was not being actively destroyed by the opposition.

CHARLES LAPICQUE AND JEANNE D'ARC TRAVERSANT LA LOIRE

On 22 November 1940, the Vichy *Régime* sponsored the creation of the *Jeune France* movement, advocating a rejuvenation of anti-decadent, "true" French culture throughout the whole country.⁵² *La Jeune France* especially wanted French youth to participate in cultural endeavors and to be trained in the values of the new France as it was the nation that they would later inherit. The tenets to which the movement was to adhere were "authoritarian communitarianism, decentralization, antimodernism,

⁵² Thomas R. Christofferson and Michael S. Christofferson, *France during World War II*, 49.

popular fervor, and allegiance to Pétain.”⁵³ From the beginning, however, the movement proved to be unstable in terms of its message and often supported—knowingly or unknowingly—Modernist and abstract artists with anti-Pétainist sentiments. On 10 May 1941, an exhibition entitled *Jeunes peintres de tradition française* opened at the Galerie Braun in Paris.⁵⁴ Although *Jeune France* had sponsored the scantily attended exhibition, it displayed paintings that were of a Modernist or Surrealist inclination.⁵⁵ In March of 1942, *Jeune France* was legally disbanded, naming a mishandling of funds as the reason for its dissolution as well as the fact that it was evolving in a manner that was not in accordance with the values of Vichy’s Ministry of Youth.⁵⁶

Painters associated with *Jeune France* in Paris such as Charles Lapicque produced works of art from the onset of the movement that reflected a general sense of pessimism regarding the current state of France under the Nazi occupation. One of Lapicque’s most recognizable paintings was the *Jeanne d’Arc traversant la Loire*, depicting the figure of Joan of Arc riding a 1940’s bicycle in an abstract style, alluding to her first offensive battle at Jargeau.⁵⁷ The canvas is dominated by dark blue crisscrossing lines with intermittent splatters of red and yellow. Having been painted in 1940 at the start of the German occupation, the painting reflects the feelings of distress that colored Paris during the period. The Modernist and Cubo-Futurist style

⁵³ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat: France 1940-1944*. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008): 246.

⁵⁴ Michèle C. Cone, *French Modernisms*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001): 85.

⁵⁵ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat*, 241.

⁵⁶ Michèle C. Cone, *Artists under Vichy*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1992): 40.

⁵⁷ Charles Lapicque, *Jeanne d’Arc traversant la Loire*, 1940.

highlights the ambiguity of Joan of Arc's image and the general sentiments of faithlessness regarding the stability of the French nation that she represented, given her long-standing association with French nationalism and patriotism.⁵⁸ The crisscrossing of the dark blue lines is reminiscent of *la croix de Lorraine*, the symbol associated with both Joan of Arc during her campaign and with Charles de Gaulle's *Résistance*. While historian Michèle Cone argues that paintings such as Lapicque's may not have been signs of French resistance to the Vichy *Régime* and the German occupation, it is clear that they reflected a lack of faith in the direction of France and feelings of resentment toward the foreign presence.

However, Lapicque painting points toward ideological consistency by alluding to the women's resistance and emancipation movement in relationship to the female leader, Joan of Arc. The fact that she is depicted as riding a bicycle as opposed to riding a horse, as she actually was when she crossed the Loire during the Battle of Jargeau, is indicative of the position that Lapicque saw women as taking the stand against Germany. While Cone suggests that *Jeanne d'Arc traversant la Loire* was painted too early to be considered a symbol of budding resistance, the presence of the bicycle adds another Modern element—both as it regards the style of the work as well as the its significance—to the anti-occupationist sentiment that set in after the capitulation to the Germans in 1940.⁵⁹ What Lapicque's Joan of Arc on the bicycle accomplishes for the *Résistance* is a silent protest against the Nazi occupation via Modern art, despite the fact that Lapicque was technically a member of the *Jeune*

⁵⁸ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat*, 288-9.

⁵⁹ Christopher Thomson and Fiona Ratkoff, "Une troisième sexe? Les bourgeoises et la bicyclette dans la France fin de siècle" *Le Mouvement sociale* 192 (Jul-Sept 2000): 9.

France movement. It would be small acts of defiance such as this that would ultimately be the cause of the downfall of the whole organization. In addition to contributing to the stylistic rebellion, Lapicque also illustrates the ideological consistencies existing in Gaulle's political platform and propaganda. Instead of having to defend his choice to use a woman as his national symbol in the way that Pétain did, de Gaulle's later willingness to contribute to the women's suffrage movement would be corroborated by the decision to incorporate a historically strong woman to represent his movement against Pétain and the Nazis.

CHARLES DE GAULLE'S STRENGTH VS PHILIPPE PÉTAİN'S INCONSISTENCIES

Although both Charles de Gaulle and Philippe Pétain used Joan of Arc's image as a symbol of their respective ideology, their fates as politicians did not rest on their choice of heroine but on the consistency of the message she would represent. A member of the Jewish, Parisian cultural élite that left Paris at the start of the war to escape the German Occupation, Henri Bernstein suggests in a Resistance publication by *France Forever* in the United States that "[a]gainst the Petain-Vichy background of shame and treason the austere figure of General de Gaulle stands out in its purity."⁶⁰ While both Pétain and De Gaulle chose to manipulate the image of Joan of Arc for completely different ideological justifications, only de Gaulle's re-interpretation of her values was consistent enough with his ideology to gather any sort of momentum with the French people.

⁶⁰ Henri Bernstein *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*, 7.

It was de Gaulle's belief that the French people, namely the Vichyists, failed to live up to the potential of France after the capitulation to the Germans and during the World War II that would allow France, paradoxically, to restore moral to the nation during the Reconstruction Period. As Henri Rousso thoroughly describes in his *The Vichy Syndrome*, a general feeling of shame and denial regarding the capitulation to and the ultimate collaboration with the Nazis, in part, defined the mood of the post-war period. During reconstruction, it would be especially important to redefine the strengths of France in the context of its past glory and success, especially given that it would be no longer possible to root future nationalist sentiment in the actions of the French during World War II. Using figures from more ancient times, such as Joan of Arc, to represent the glory of France alongside Gaullist rhetoric that highlights the greatness of the nation—regardless of the acts of the people—would help rebuild the morale and numb the feelings of loss and shame.

Joan of Arc's relevance to the *Résistance* would only be reliable and consistent until the end of the Liberation Era, at which time Charles de Gaulle would be forced to deal with the post-war inconsistencies in French politics and culture. The return to a Republican government that had participated in World War II as an Allied Force also meant that all signs of French anti-Semitism and debate regarding the validity of the democratic system had to be removed from French memory. The need to shed France's somewhat shameful and ambiguous past would contribute to the rise of Marianne and the fall of the two-faced image of Joan of Arc that had represented various factions of French politics until the end of the Liberation Era.

CHAPTER III

THE VICHY SYNDROME

After the celebration of the liberation of Paris in 1944 at the hands of the Allied Forces and the collapse of the Third Reich and the Vichy *Régime*, the French were finally forced to deal with their past. During the Liberation Era, de Gaulle was confronted with the task of having to project an image of a united France and its strength and success as an Ally while also having to explain their failure to defend themselves against Germany and the collaboration of Vichy France with the Nazis.

As Rousso discusses in *The Vichy Syndrome*, post-war France went through a period of denial that lasted decades. Consciously or not, the French sought to distance themselves from their recent past and all reminders of it, including through the alteration and abandonment of certain nationalist symbols such as Joan of Arc. De Gaulle continued to hope that France—or at least the memory of the nation—would be able to pick itself back up after the capitulation to the Germans and the stain left behind by the Vichy collaborationists and prove its worth on the international stage once again. As Peter Novick notes, “[l]iberated France presented a political picture which in almost every aspect showed a radical break with the past.”⁶¹ Despite the fact that de Gaulle’s *Résistance* wanted to restore the republican and the anti-clericalism associated with the Third Republic, they did not want to completely revert back to the old system of government. Not only was there a wide-spread denial of the recent French past, but members of the *Résistance* during the post-war period were given advantage over the older members of the Third Republic government,

⁶¹ Peter Novick, *The Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators in Vichy France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968): 112.

presumably because they were seen as more successful in their attempt at bringing France closer its true potential as a nation.⁶²

Charles de Gaulle's memoirs, written during the early 1950s, reflect his active participation in the post-war reconstruction of French memory and nationalism. While they might appear to be a reflection of de Gaulle's thoughts at the time of the events themselves, his actions during World War II and his subsequent commentary all point toward de Gaulle's understanding of the fact that France had to be reconstructed and re-centered around a myth of strength and tradition. After the accusation of German collaboration that sparked the Dreyfus Affair and the fact that the French had ultimately collaborated with the Germans and had failed to defend themselves prior to the occupation, de Gaulle found it necessary to eliminate the recent French past from post-war memory. Not only would denial help to minimize the open feelings of shame on the part of the French, but it would also make the French nation appear to have been a strong member of the Allied Forces that aided in its own liberation.

Regardless of Charles de Gaulle's re-appropriation of Joan of Arc for the Leftist purposes, he finally abandoned her during the post-war era because of the weakness and instability that she represented in France prior to and during World War II. Additionally, employing a figure with a tradition of anti-Semitism would no longer be acceptable for a nation who had managed to make room for itself as one of the Allied Forces. The phasing out of *La Pucelle* would be symptomatic of de Gaulle's desire to break with a past that he deemed to be shameful and unstable. In post-war

⁶² Ibid.

French memory, the Vichy government would signify nothing more than a brief, period of illegitimate rule in the history of the nation. Additionally, the connection between France and ‘crimes against humanity,’ such as the deportation of French Jews to Auschwitz, were completely ignored and put off as a German responsibility.⁶³ As Rousso writes in the *Vichy Syndrome*, the French people’s memory of the nation’s participation in the atrocities of World War II had been suppressed, and had it not been for foreign historians such as Eberhard Jäckel and Robert Paxton, the French initiative behind many of the anti-Semitic war crimes perpetrated under Vichy would have been swept away into a dark corner of the collective French memory.⁶⁴

TREATMENT OF THE JEWISH QUESTION IN POST-WAR FRANCE

Part of the ‘Vichy Syndrome’ entailed suppressing the memory of French collaboration with Nazi anti-Semitism or, at best, blaming the acts on a small minority of the population. Historian Tony Judt states that “[a]s part of the general repression of the Vichy memory that took place in Fourth Republic France, the record of indigenous anti-Semitism was choked off in these years”, and the French were only so willing to make the connection between Pétain’s Vichy government and the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz. While the French could admit that Vichy had betrayed the country, they could not go so far as to admit their complicity in ‘crimes against humanity’, Judt states: “they were the affairs of the Germans.”⁶⁵ The question becomes whether the denial of their complicity reflects the shame associated with the

⁶³ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005): 815.

⁶⁴ Henry Rousso *Vichy Syndrome* 251

⁶⁵ Tony Judt, *Postwar*, 816.

losses and defeats that forced France to collaborate or a latent, yet persistent, feeling of anti-Semitism in the post-war era.

Judt argues that the Holocaust had made the French more aware and more sensitive to Jewish suffering and that the unwillingness to entertain discussions about their collaboration with the Nazis stems more from shame associated with their many military defeats than from anti-Semitism.⁶⁶ The Jews themselves did not want to discuss their experiences⁶⁷ and atrocities such as the Deportation were only discussed alongside the heroism of the *Résistance*.⁶⁸ De Gaulle himself had wanted to emphasize *la grandeur de la France* and knew the importance of demonstrating military strength on the international stage. The capitulation to the Germans, the Occupation, and France's performance during World War II could never contribute to France's pride in the military. The fact that France had been a member of the victorious Allied Forces by the end of the war gave them a modicum of national pride that they clung onto, wanting to forget the string of losses and the collaboration with the Germans.⁶⁹

Richard C. Vinen, on the other hand, argues that anti-Semitism played such a small part in Pétain's ideology that the Liberation did not serve to delegitimize anti-Semitic sentiments.⁷⁰ He supports his statements by stating that post-war polls

⁶⁶ Ibid. 817.

⁶⁷ Judt expands on this fact by stating that the Jews wanted to believe in France and in the Republican ideals after the fall of the Vichy *Régime*. The post-war years revealed a contrast between life under a Fascist government and a Republican government.

⁶⁸ Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect* : 181

⁶⁹ Tony Judt, *Postwar*, 817.

⁷⁰ Richard C. Vinen, "The End of an Ideology? Right-Wing Antisemitism in France, 1944-1970" *The Historical Journal* 37 no. 2 (Jun 1994): 375.

showed that only fourteen percent of the population had thought Pétain to be anti-Semitic. However, it is important to examine such a poll through the lens of the 'Vichy Syndrome.' The French population during the Liberation Era sought to disconnect France from the atrocities associated with the Nazi Germans during World War II. Regardless of whether or not Pétain's rule was seen as legitimate, the government and the people sought to disassociate themselves with the war crimes perpetrated against the Jews. Whether this was done out of shame or fear of reparations may always be unclear, but the French people continued to deny France's involvement in anything less than heroic. While there may have been exceptions in post-war French society, the general agenda was one of denial that was based on using the Nazi Germans as a scapegoat.

The French denial of its past weakness and collaboration with Nazi war crimes also serves to explain the disuse of Joan of Arc as a representation of French politics. The newfound sympathy for the Jews and the shame associated with the collaboration created a situation in which such an allusion to Rightist ideology would have delegitimized the *Résistance* movement and would have continued to represent an unstable and divided nation. The abandonment of Joan of Arc signifies a desire to shed the uncertainty of the past, regardless of the current political atmosphere. The French government wanted to project an image of strength and unity, and Joan of Arc was no longer the ideal representation for that goal.

POST-WAR CULTURE AND THE RE-BIRTH OF MARIANNE

Not unexpectedly, the use of the French Marianne increased during the post-war years as Joan of Arc began to be phased out alongside the political instability and divisions that she represented up until the Liberation. “*L’iconographie de la France libre, celle de la Résistance, et plus encore, à partir d’août 1944, les élans expressifs et symboliques de la Libération voient réapparaître Marianne sur les supports légaux traditionnels, tandis qu’un certain courant de sculpture, de peinture, ou de dessin de presse traduit une ferveur renouvelée.*”⁷¹ Although she may not have been initially as appreciated a figure as she had been during the Third Republic, her dominance over images such as Joan of Arc is unsurprising, given her immediate and obvious connections to the ideas of Republicanism, individuality, and justice that emerged from the French Revolution in 1789. In the post-war years, she was often depicted as a victorious figure or as a prisoner joyously released from the bonds of authoritarianism and injustice.

What is particularly intriguing about the post-war depictions of the Marianne as she came to dominate images of Joan of Arc is that they often do not expressly identify the enemy from whom she and, therefore, France had been liberated.⁷² Consistent with Rousseau’s idea of the “Vichy Syndrome”, the lack of a clear enemy would allow the French to erase their collaborative efforts with the Nazis through the use of art and propaganda over time. While it is true that the Germans had occupied part of France, another part of the country had willingly collaborated, submitted its people under authoritarian rule, and had been contributed to the deportation of the

⁷¹ Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 84.

⁷² Maurice Agulhon and Pierre Bonte, *Marianne: Les Visages de la République*, 82-3.

French Jewish population during the war. This is very different from the kind of propaganda used by both the *collabos* and the *Résistance* during war. The posters used by Vichy France immediately alluded to the English threat during the Middle Ages as well as their presence in France as an Allied Force during the Second World War, and they openly discussed their opposition to Bolshevism. The *Résistance* represented their figures in such a way as to directly combat the anti-Semitism via the anti-Modernist opinions of the Nazi Germans and the Vichy *Régime*. Liberation Era representations of the Marianne, however, are devoid of any mention of a specific oppressor.

In conjunction with the lack of a depiction of a readily identifiable enemy in post-war representations of Marianne, she was also portrayed as a more beautiful and victorious figure than she had been before the Liberation. Not only had she consistently embodied the French Republican ideal, but she also had survived the Vichyist “*mariannophobie*” between 1940 and 1944 and had regained popularity throughout the entire liberated country.⁷³ Post-war representations of Marianne most often depicted her wearing the French *tricolore* slung over one shoulder, showing her slender frame, and facing upwards as if just seeing the sun after a period of imprisonment. She also wears broken shackles on her wrists to complete the imagery of her recent liberation. Agulhon and Bonte remark that Liberation Era Marianne appears younger than she had during the Third Republic, suggesting themes of rebirth, strength, and vitality.⁷⁴

⁷³ Ibid. 83.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 84.

Marianne was also better suited to the nation's changing relationship with Catholicism in the post-war era. Where Pétain has stressed a society based on strict Catholic values, the Liberation government continued down the Republican path of moderating the relationship between Church and State that had also characterized the Third Republic after the Dreyfus Affair. As Emmanuel Godin and Christopher Flood note, the Catholic Church realized during the post-war period that the religion had to be adapted in order to suit the current political climate. It was clear that the Liberation Era would attempt to reject "all forms of ... 'outmoded nationalism'", and Joan of Arc's religious campaign on behalf of the divine right embodied all they wanted to leave behind.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Emmanuel Godin and Christopher Flood, "French Catholic Intellectuals and the Nation in Post-War France" *South Central Review* 17 no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 50.

CONCLUSION

The virtual disappearance of Joan of Arc's image from the political sphere in France after 1968 supports Rousso's notion of the "Vichy Syndrome" as well as, perhaps, reflecting a need to project a stable political ideology throughout the Fourth and Fifth French Republics. The fact that she had, prior to either of the World Wars, been associated with anti-Semitism and conservatism would deter post-war France from using her as a symbol to represent de Gaulle's conception of France as a tolerant and strong member of the Allied Forces. In addition, the French defeat by the Germans in 1940 and the subsequent Vichy collaboration with the Nazis shamed the French into a deep sense of denial that would plague the nation for decades to come. Post-war France, therefore, would not have necessarily utilized Joan of Arc's image in order to avoid reopening old wounds and stale controversies.

What the re-appropriation and disappearance of figures such as Joan of Arc reflect is not only the political milieu but also the way in which history and memory can be manipulated over time. As Jan-Werner Müller notes, "... history and memory are closely bound up with each other, and in turn serve the project of national identity formation [and] it is so crucial to distinguish between them."⁷⁶ He cites the case of Vichy France and the German occupation as an example of the way in which the memory of a certain period or event can be drastically different than the way in which history actually unfolded. In this instance, there were several competing myths—starting from the Rightist myth of the Jew during the Dreyfus Affair to Charles de Gaulle's active attempt to reject the French actions during World War II—

⁷⁶ Jan-Werner Müller, *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 23.

none of which captured the whole truth, but all of which were crucial in the formation of a nationalist identity at the time.

What can be learned from the evolution of the French national myth, starting at the *fin de siècle* and ending during the post-war era is that forgetting is a critical aspect of nation's memory. However, what the ultimate disappearance of Joan of Arc demonstrates is the limit to which a national symbol can be pushed. Despite the fact that she served as a significant symbol to France for centuries, she ultimately disappeared within a few years after World War II. Her strength as a symbol may have been rooted in French anti-Semitism during the Dreyfus Affair, but Pétain stretched her image beyond its limits in an attempt to legitimize an inconsistent and generally weak political platform. Meanwhile, Charles de Gaulle simultaneously tried to re-appropriate her as a symbol of the *Résistance*, only to understand during the Liberation Era that she had come to represent the internal turmoil and negative elements of the French nation that he was attempting to strengthen and display as having a grand and magnificent destiny.

In addition, what the rise and fall of female figures such as Joan of Arc and Marianne—and even figures such as Brigitte Bardot in 1960s France—reveal about French representational nationalism is the gendered understanding of the nation. Important French male figures were never true contenders for the role of a leading national symbol, despite their indubitable place in the history of the country. Maurice Agulhon suggests in his discussion of Marianne that the tradition of a strong female representation of the nation could potentially be rooted in the rules and consistencies of the French language. He asks, “Is it because, in the Latin language (followed

faithfully by the French) all virtues and qualities are usually feminine and the grammatical gender 'naturally' suggests the allegorical sex?"⁷⁷ Not only are virtues feminine, but also the French nation—*La France*—is linguistically feminine.

Despite the deliberateness without with French leaders structured their national symbols, they adhered to certain consistencies. While Joan of Arc and Marianne represented opposing political platforms and social agendas, a comparison of the two women provide historians with the fundamental characteristics of French representational nationalism. Regardless of the fact that Marianne is simply an allegory, she has been personified and given attributes not unlike Joan of Arc. Both are strong women who value tradition and to whom injustice has been served. These characteristics help us understand the self-perception of the French people and how that has—or has not—changed over time. Both figures allude to the glory of France's destiny, suggesting that all opposition represents a wrong done to the nation, who then becomes a victim.

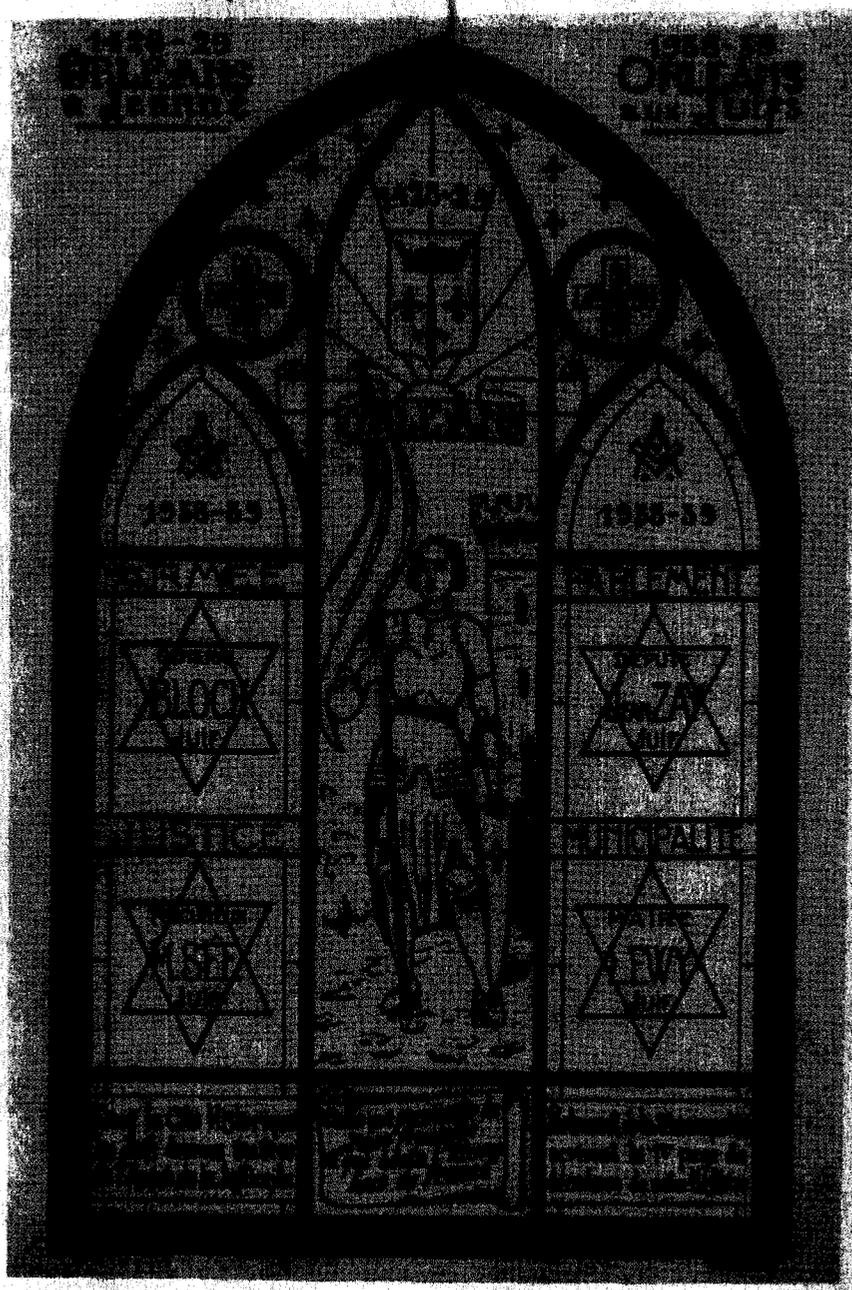
While leaders such as de Gaulle and Pétain may have exalted France for what the country *could* be, the visual representations of the nation demonstrate an actual sense of victimization. Regardless of whether or not Marianne was liberated or whether Joan of Arc succeeded in her campaign, they still represented a nation that has undergone a series of defeats, failures, and losses throughout its long history and that needed to continuously reaffirm itself in the eyes of its people and on the international stage. Despite the fact that the French people were led to believe that there was still hope for the nation after the capitulation to the Germans, Jenny

⁷⁷ Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 1.

Macleod argues that Vichy France only makes sense in history if the French had felt completely hopeless and that their fate was out of their own control.⁷⁸ In other words, the French felt definitively defeated and were looking to be saved by the Germans in the same way that Marianne was looking to be freed and that Joan of Arc sought mercy. However, what visual representations of nationalism such as the Marianne and Joan of Arc provide—in their respective contexts—for a defeated nation is the acknowledgment of defeat while providing the people with an image of the victorious future that they may one day reach.

⁷⁸ Jenny Macleod, *Defeat and Memory: Cultural Histories of Military Defeat in the Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 21.

APPENDIX



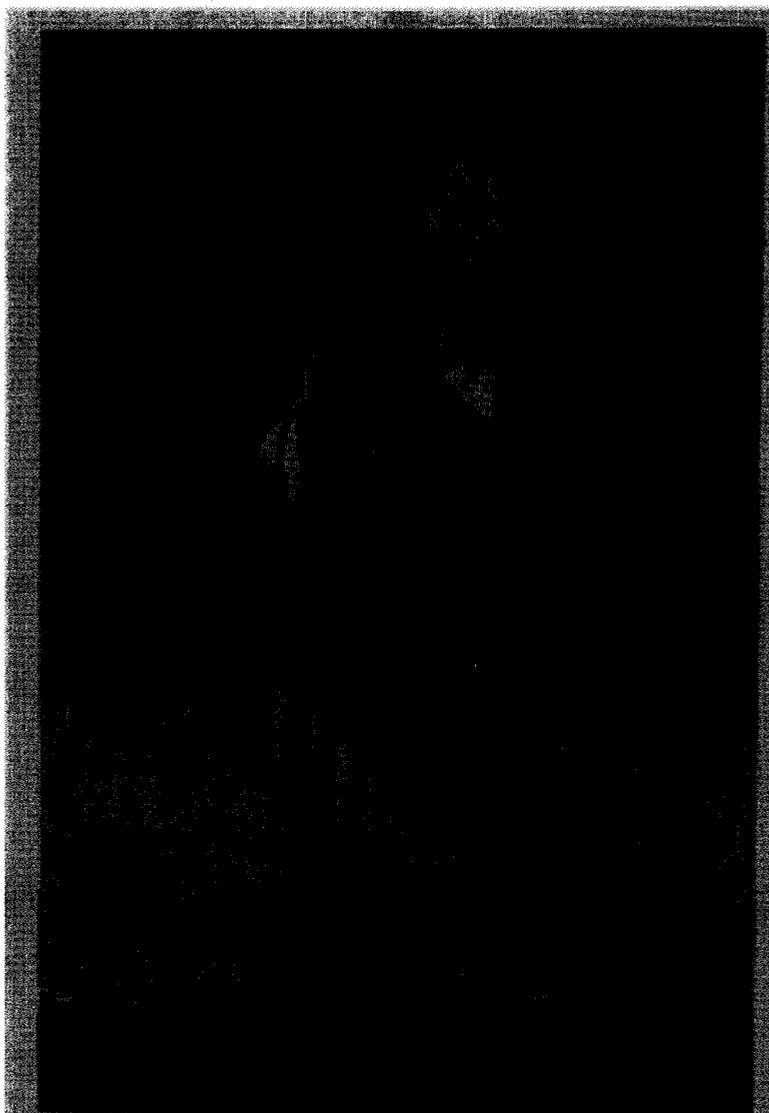


Figure 2: Joan of Arc as a symbol of anti-British propaganda

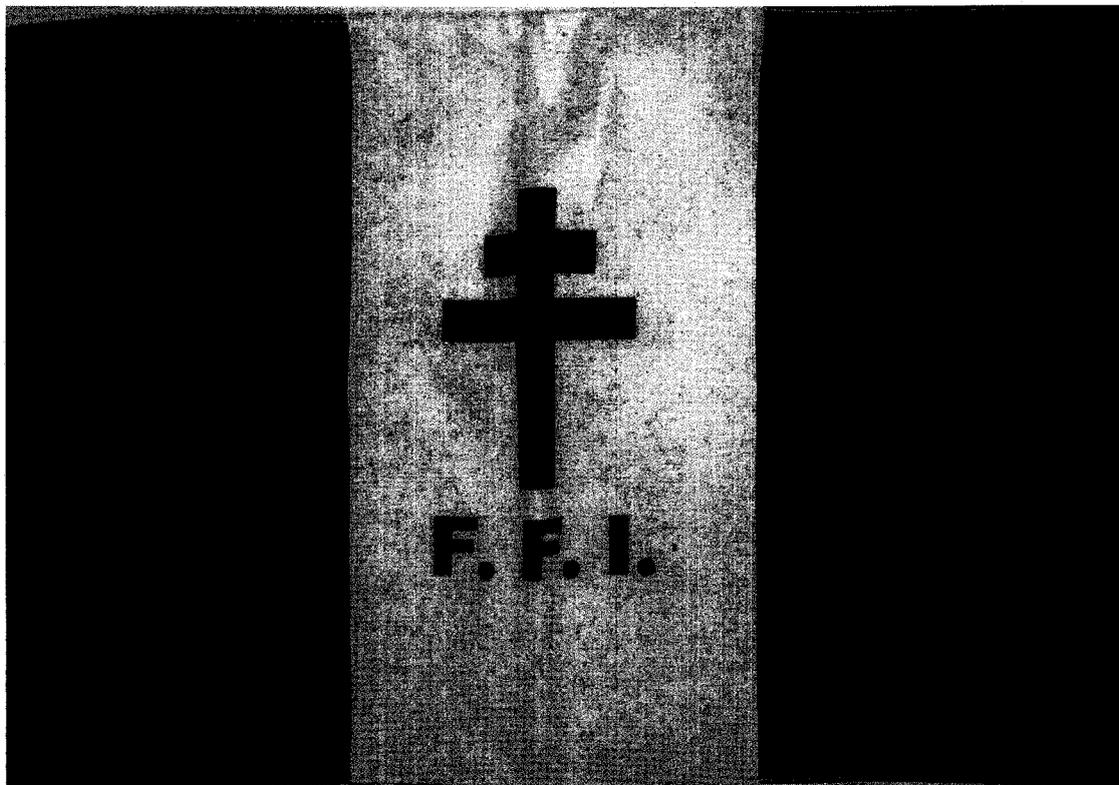


Figure 3: French *tricolore* of the *Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur* with *la croix de Lorraine*

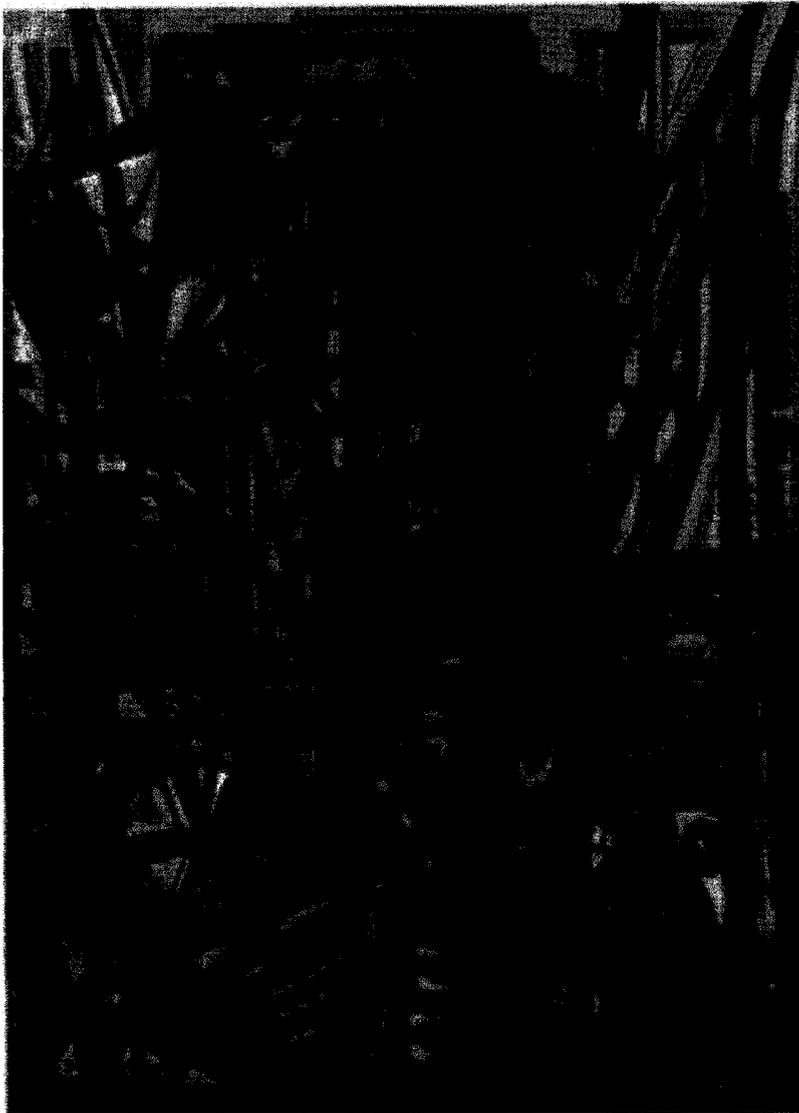


Figure 4: Charles Lapicque's *Jeanne d'Arc traversant la Loire* (1940)

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