

Silent Combat: Gendered Applications of
Female Imagery in France, 1789-1944

by

Julia Stevenson

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved November 2011 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Victoria Thompson, Chair
Rachel Fuchs
Johnson Wright

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2011

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the concept of "silence" in Vercors' 1943 novel on Resistance in occupied France, *The Silence of the Sea*, contesting the arguments of scholars who designate silent resistance as expressly "female" and applicable only to women. Although women in France were supposed to be apolitical and removed from activities such as public debates and direct warfare, an examination of allegorical and historical female figures, together with male and female interpretations of those figures, suggests that men and women in France understood patriotism, and especially female patriotism, through a conceptual framework that was informed by and manifested itself in female images of the French Republic. My study on the gendered applications of female images focuses upon the French use of female allegorical figures, and resistance symbols such as the Lorraine Cross, to denote opposition to the Prussian/German acquisition of lands that the French people perceived as French, exploring commonalities between images from the Franco-Prussian War and World War II. Utilizing images relating to the republican values of liberty, equality, and fraternity, including Marianne, the female allegory of the people's Republic, and Joan of Arc, a historical character who became a female allegorical figure, this thesis argues that female allegories of republican resistance to tyranny were combined with resistance to Prussia (Germany) during the "Terrible Year" of 1870-1871. Furthermore, these images combined masculine militant elements, with perceived feminine qualities such as purity and saintly endurance, giving rise to divergent interpretations of female imagery among men and women, and a

perceived association between women and silent, indirect resistance. Bourgeois men applied the militant aspects of female images to real women in abstract form. However, with the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, resistance techniques and symbols that had been gendered "feminine" gained precedence and became associated with men as well as women. Recent scholars have utilized the masculine/feminine dichotomy in French female allegories to classify World War II-era resistance as either "active" or "passive," failing to consider the conflation of the masculine/temporal and feminine/spiritual spheres in Vercors' novel and in documents such as "Advice to the Occupied."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my professors at Arizona State University. I would like to thank Dr. Victoria Thompson for her invaluable guidance, support, feedback, encouragement, and aid throughout the production of my thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Rachel Fuchs for her support, encouragement, assistance, and guidance in my research, and for the information on urban sociability that served as the basis for this work. My thanks to Dr. Kent Wright as well for encouragement and assistance in the research stage of my thesis. I am deeply grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| LIST OF FIGURES..... | vii |
| CHAPTER | |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| 1 MARIANNE AND MANHOOD: CLASS, GENDER, AND | |
| RESISTANCE IN FEMALE ALLEGORIES OF THE REPUBLIC, | |
| 1789-1851..... | 22 |
| Honor, Militancy, and Manhood..... | 29 |
| Liberty and the Republic of the People..... | 42 |
| Joan of Arc as a Resistance Figure | 49 |
| Marianne, Resistance, and the Underground Republic | 52 |
| 2 THE TERRIBLE YEAR: GENDERED CONCEPTS OF | |
| RESISTANCE IN IMAGE AND ACTION..... | 57 |
| The Franco-Prussian War and the Prussian Siege of Paris..... | 59 |
| La Résistance and Female Allegories of the Republic, 1870- | |
| 1871..... | 63 |
| La Résistance as a Marianne Figure..... | 72 |
| French Women, Joan of Arc, and Resistance: Male | |
| Perspectives..... | 81 |
| Joan of Arc, the Amazons, and Athena..... | 92 |
| French Women, Joan of Arc, and Resistance: Female | |
| Perspectives..... | 98 |
| The Paris Commune..... | 118 |

| CHAPTER | Page |
|---|------|
| The Goddess at the Ramparts: Marianne, Joan of Arc, and Real Women..... | 122 |
| Women of the Commune: Jeannes d’Arc in Action..... | 131 |
| 3 “LE POUVOIR” AND THE MARTYRED REPUBLIC: | |
| MARIANNE, JOAN OF ARC AND FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS AFTER 1871..... | 142 |
| Alsace-Lorraine and the Mutilation of Marianne..... | 147 |
| Alsace-Lorraine and Joan of Arc..... | 150 |
| Joan of Arc and French Women in the First World War..... | 151 |
| The Occupation: Republicanism and Resistance..... | 157 |
| Charles de Gaulle as Joan of Arc..... | 163 |
| De Gaulle in His Own Words: Joan of Arc and Resistance Leader..... | 167 |
| Marianne and Joan of Arc: Continuity in Imagery..... | 171 |
| 4 RESISTANCE IN THE OCCUPIED ZONE: REAL WOMEN, “LE POUVOIR,”AND THE ACTIVE/PASSIVE DICHOTOMY..... | 188 |
| Resistance: The Nazi Perspective..... | 192 |
| Urban Resistance Strategies: Advice to the Occupied..... | 195 |
| Women in the Resistance: Motives, Methods and Performance. | 202 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 222 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 231 |

| | |
|--|------|
| APPENDIX | Page |
| A PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES, JUNE 20, 1940..... | 244 |
| B JOAN, DAUGHTER OF THE PEOPLE..... | 246 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|---|------|
| 1. “Louis le Dernier,” Library of Congress..... | 26 |
| 2. “The first seal of the Republic”..... | 43 |
| 3. François Rude, “La Marseillaise,” Bas-relief on the Arc de Triomphe, Paris..... | 43 |
| 4. Eugène Delacroix, “Liberty leading the people at the barricades”..... | 46 |
| 5. Burn Smeeton, from a drawing by Félix Phillipoteaux, “Falguière exécutant la statue de la Résistance,” L'Illustration | 66 |
| 6. Félix Bracquemond, "La Statue de La Résistance, de Falguière," Siège de Paris de 1870: Cinq Eaux-Fortes, The Art Institute of Chicago | 68 |
| 7. Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière, "La Résistance," Bronze, Los Angeles County Museum of Art..... | 70 |
| 8. Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière, "La Résistance," Cast Terra Cotta, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse..... | 70 |
| 9. Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière, "La Résistance," Wax sculpture, Musée Carnavale, Paris..... | 71 |
| 10. Charles Vernier, “Le Contraste,” University of Sussex Library, England..... | 76 |
| 11. "Les Capitulars: Paris Livré," Musée Carnavale, Paris. | 78 |
| 12. “The Amazons of the Seine,” Bibliothèque Nationale..... | 89 |
| 13. Marie d’Orléans. Joan of Arc in Prayer. Bronze. Dahesh Museum of Art..... | 94 |
| 14. Frontispiece from Friedrich Schiller, Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orléans..... | 94 |
| 15. Edme-Étienne-François Gois. Joan of Arc in Battle. Bronze..... | 95 |
| 16. Charles-Pierre-Joseph Normand, from a sculpture by Edme-Étienne-François Gois, “Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans”..... | 97 |

| Figure | Page |
|---|------|
| 17. Amélie Seulart, “Globe” | 106 |
| 18. Gaillard fils, “On the Barricades of Paris” | 123 |
| 19. Dupendant, “The Defense of the Commune, 1871,” Musée d’art et d’histoire Saint-Denis..... | 126 |
| 20. “Souvenir of 1871: Dedicated to the National Guard,” Bibliothèque Nationale..... | 126 |
| 21. Alfred Le Petit, “Louise Michel,” <i>Les Contemporains</i> , no. 3, Bibliothèque Nationale..... | 130 |
| 22. H.Nérac, “La Vierge...Folle: Les Jeanne D’Arc de La Commune, S.G.D.G.,” Les signes du Zodiaque, Bibliothèque Nationale..... | 130 |
| 23. Georges Pilotell, The Body is in the Earth, but the Idea still stands..... | 138 |
| 24. Honoré Daumier, “The Bordeaux Assembly-Who will take the knife?” Le Charivari..... | 149 |
| 25. Georges Pilotell, “The Executive,” Victoria and Albert Museum, London..... | 149 |
| 26. Louis Édouard-Fournier, “1680-Comédie,” I Lapina Imprimerie, Paris, Imperial War Museum..... | 157 |
| 27. Von Moppes, “Marianne in Chains” | 173 |
| 28. “Libération?” | 173 |
| 29. “figure 29” | 180 |
| 30. Phili, “Liberté” | 181 |
| 31. “Athena Holding an Owl,” Bronze Statuette..... | 182 |
| 32. Athenian Tetradrachm..... | 183 |
| 33. “Les Assassins Reviennent Toujours...” | 184 |

| Figure | Page |
|---|------|
| 34. "Jeunes du Maréchal" | 187 |
| 35. "Trust the German Soldier" | 194 |
| 36. Micheline Bood, "L'aurore de la victoire" | 206 |
| 37. "figure 37" | 217 |

INTRODUCTION

Sixty-six years after the liberation of Paris, anti-German resistance movements in German-occupied France and under the Vichy regime remain a subject of interest for scholars of the Second World War. Historians such as Richard Vinen, H.R. Kedward, Robert Gildea, and Claude Chambrand offer accounts of resistance activities in Vichy France, and especially, the rural areas of Southern France.¹ Members of resistance groups have contributed their voices to the dialogue as well, providing records of their experiences in memoirs, diaries, and autobiographies. Much has been written about resistance in the rural sectors of France, and where urban environments figure in most historical accounts, the authors focus on assassinations, sabotage, or violent uprisings that incurred German reprisals.² One finds little discussion of non-militant resistance methods, and moreover, of differences between urban and rural forms of resistance. In *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944*, Julian Jackson shows that resistance methods in the North, that is, the Occupied Zone, diverged from those in the South, but he offers no discussion on the impact of an urban setting on resistance practices, apart from noting that urban resisters lived in “normal” society and

¹ Claude Chambrand, *The Maquis: A History of the French Resistance Movement*, trans., Elaine P. Halpernin (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1976), 79; Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 229-245; H.R. Kedward, “Rural France and Resistance” in *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, ed. Sarah Fishman et al. (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000), 134-135; Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 339.

²For example, see: Chambrand, 129-139; Gildea, “Resistance, Reprisals, and Community in Occupied France,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 13 (2003):163-185; H.R. Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), and *In Search of the Maquis: Rural Resistance in Southern France 1942-1944* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Lynne Taylor, *Between Resistance and Collaboration: Popular Protest in Northern France* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 63-71.

included women among their ranks, while the rural bands of resistance fighters, the Maquis, generally did not.³ Only H.R. Kedward, in *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944*, describes a difference between resistance in rural France, and resistance in the largely urban areas of the North in detail. He indicates that the latter entailed “living an ordinary life and working in a conventional job, but doing both in such a way as to favour the cause of Resistance and disadvantage the cause of Vichy and the Germans.”⁴ This statement directly parallels the concept of “performance” outlined by scholars of urban life, such as Richard Sennett. Acts of “performance,” that is, the assumption of a public persona and identity, distinct, and perhaps, entirely divorced from one’s actual feelings, beliefs and intentions, have characterized public interactions between city-dwellers for centuries, according to Sennett, who traced discussion of a public/private dichotomy in human behavior to Denis Diderot and Jean Jacques Rousseau in the eighteenth century. The display of false identities, beliefs, and qualities in “public,” or while under scrutiny, has always been a necessary precursor to sociability, as people cannot be sociable with one another in the absence of such self-protective mechanisms.⁵ This represents an act of intentional misrepresentation, the “performance” of a false identity or role, rather than the mere hiding or withholding of information.

³ Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 410-413, 493. The Maquis operated in a militant capacity, waging armed resistance against the Germans. On rare occasions, women could be found in similar combat roles. Madeline Baudoin participated in armed raids in Marseilles, for example. Jackson notes that such instances most often occurred in urban areas.

⁴ H.R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 55.

⁵ Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Norton & Company, 1974), 107-122, 311.

The correlation between Kedward's account of occupied France and the concept of performance, taken together with the notion of performance as a component of urban sociability, suggests that resistance in the Occupied Zone reflected common social elements found within the urban environment, and therefore, proved distinct from rural resistance practices. Although resistance involved secrecy in all of its incarnations, resistance workers in the North operated with Germans in their midst, and faced a higher probability of discovery. Some managed to serve the Allied cause, even as they quartered German officers in their homes. Living in close proximity to the occupying German forces, *résistants* (resistance workers) in the Occupied Zone were required to conceal not only their resistance activities, but also, the fact that they had something to hide. They often fostered a façade of cooperation with the enemy, in order to avoid falling under suspicion.

Other scholars allude to the notion of performance in association with women and women's resistance activities. Margaret L. Rossiter refers to female guides who worked for the escape lines, helping downed Allied pilots and other fugitives to leave the Occupied Zone. They often displayed false social identities in attempt to conceal their missions and to "seem part of the normal scene." On the streets, such women might walk ahead of the men they were leading, treating the latter as strangers. Other guides would walk with the fugitives, pretending to be a family group on a shopping trip, for instance.⁶ Margaret Collins Weitz offers similar arguments, suggesting that female *résistants*, or *résistantes*, in the

⁶ Margaret L. Rossiter, *Women in the Resistance* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), 56.

Occupied Zone “gave many successful performances.” She implies that such women were required to become skilled actresses in their daily lives.⁷ However, historians who focus upon women in the French Resistance, such as Rossiter and Weitz, are primarily interested in showing that women contributed to, and played many significant roles in, resistance movements.⁸ While Rossiter and Weitz address women’s resistance work in urban areas, no studies of the French Resistance have approached the question of how urban social elements and the urban environment shaped women’s resistance practices. Resistance in the Occupied Zone took on specific characteristics relating to urban sociability, and the impact of the urban environment on women’s resistance activities has been overlooked.

If one includes an examination of *résistantes* in studies of resistance in the Occupied Zone, and if one acknowledges the influence and impact of urban social elements upon urban resistance, it becomes apparent that the assertions of historians such as Robert Paxton must be challenged. Paxton has argued that a majority of the people in France during World War II were “functional collaborators,” who failed to offer significant or effective resistance to the Nazis.⁹ Paxton’s primary focus is French politicians and political figures in Vichy, and he relies upon German sources, such as police records. He does not consider the perspectives of French resistance workers, nor does he examine the influence of urban social elements, such as performance, on urban resistance strategies in the

⁷ Margaret Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995), 263.

⁸ Rossiter, *Women in the Resistance*, ix; Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 76, 263.

⁹ Robert Paxton, *Vichy France : Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2001), 235.

Occupied Zone. Upon investigating first-hand accounts of French women, and specifically, French women in Paris, it appears that resistance in the Occupied Zone was more prevalent and active than Paxton's account implies. We cannot understand resistance in the Occupied Zone without recognizing the factor of performance, and without perceiving distinctions between urban and rural resistance methods.

While studies on resistance have largely overlooked or disregarded the correspondence between urban sociability and resistance in the Occupied Zone, the practice of construing resistance methods as either "active" or "passive" has become commonplace. In distinguishing "active" from "passive," scholars of the French Resistance in World War II often define the former as direct, militant action and the latter as indirect, moral, and symbolic. For Peter Davies, the distinction between the two rests upon the issue of strategy. He describes "passive" resistance methods as "personal and subtle," and "active" resistance as "overtly violent" and "heroic" actions against the Germans and collaborators.¹⁰ He mentions the portrayal of resistance in the fictional work, *The Silence of the Sea*, by Vercors (also known as Jean Bruller).¹¹ In Vercors' novel, an elderly French man and his niece are forced to share their home with a German officer, to whom they refuse to speak. In discussing this story, Davies cites the French woman's silence as an example of "passive" resistance.¹² Christopher Lloyd also

¹⁰ Peter Davies, *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52.

¹¹ Jean Bruller published *Le Silence de la Mer*, or *The Silence of the Sea*, under the pseudonym of "Vercors" in 1943.

¹² Davies, *France and the Second World War*, 52.

alludes to an active/passive dichotomy in resistance techniques, although he does not offer a precise definition for either category. In agreement with Davies, he perceives silence as a form of “passive” resistance, presenting it as ineffectual, pointless, and disconnected from the material realities of life under the Occupation.¹³ In the works of Davies and Lloyd, both of whom address *The Silence of the Sea*, we find an inferred connection between “passive” resistance and symbolic or moral opposition. Lloyd correlates with Davies in his use of the terms “active” and “passive.” He apparently perceives “active” resistance as overt actions that undermined the German cause, in contrast to the “passive” silence of Vercors’ female character. Moreover, as the instigator and leader of the “passive” resistance in *The Silence of the Sea* is the woman, the narrator’s niece, Lloyd and Davies’ interpretations implicitly associate “passive” resistance with women.¹⁴

Jackson refers to this relationship in *France: The Dark Years*. Like Lloyd, his account of resistance in occupied France includes the active/passive dichotomy, and he too perceives the niece’s silence as “passive” resistance. He argues that Vercors’ novel on resistance carried instructions for women, encouraging them to “show dignity and wait on events;” it did not reflect the range and nature of real women’s contributions. For Jackson, real women were active (and largely unacknowledged) participants in resistance work. Yet, while he recognizes a difference between real women’s actions and the fictionalized portrayal of a *résistante* in *The Silence of the Sea*, he refers to the active/passive

¹³ Christopher Lloyd, *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10, 31, 166.

¹⁴ Vercors (Jean Bruller), *The Silence of the Sea*, trans., Cyrril Connolly, (New York: Macmillian Company, 1944), 7, 11-12, 34; for more on Vercors’ novel see Chapter 3.

dichotomy in describing this difference, interpreting Vercors' message as a prescription intended solely for a female audience, even while indicating that real women were not mere, "passive" and silent actors.¹⁵ He also notes that "silence" during the Occupation had multiple meanings," suggesting that its significance remains largely undefined in scholarship, and moreover, that it constituted a form of "passive," or "functional" resistance, as John Sweets has also argued.¹⁶ "Functional" resistance, for Sweets, simply meant the failure to report the clandestine resistance activities one might become aware of or witness. In this context, "silence" denoted implicit tolerance for and willful ignorance of resistance work.

As these examples indicate, scholarly discussions of "passive" resistance in World War II often reference *The Silence of the Sea*, thereby linking "passive" forms of resistance, such as silence, to women and to the Occupied Zone. According to this viewpoint, direct, violent and militant action, or "active" resistance, is generally associated with men, while "passive," symbolic and indirect forms of resistance appear as the prescribed, if not actual, domain of women. In perceiving and presenting the active/passive dichotomy in their accounts of World War II-era resistance, scholars such as Davies, Lloyd, and Jackson suggest that the active/passive dichotomy provides a useful interpretive framework for understanding French resistance activities in World War II.

¹⁵ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 490.

¹⁶ Ibid., 239-240; John Sweets, "Hold that Pendulum! Redefining Fascism, Collaborationism and Resistance in France," *French Historical Studies* 15:4 (Fall 1988): 731-758.

Classifying resistance methods according to the active/passive dichotomy may prove useful for studies of rural insurgents in the South, especially with regard to the armed bands of predominantly male *résistants* who comprised the Maquis.¹⁷ However, this dichotomy, and the gendered division of labor in resistance work that it implies, appears inapt and useless when applied to resistance in the Occupied Zone. Urban societies tend to erode and even obscure established social and cultural boundaries, including those of class and gender, as Peter Fritzsche and others have noted.¹⁸ The Resistance in the Occupied Zone replicated and mirrored urban society in its diversity, bringing together a variety of different social, cultural, and political collectives, in pursuit of a common goal: the defeat of the Axis powers. The differences between male and female resistance workers in the Occupied Zone were negligible, with regard to the functions they performed. Jackson corroborates this idea, stating that urban women engaged in “active,” militant, “masculine” resistance work more often than their rural counterparts and that women who held leadership roles in the Resistance differed little from male leaders in their tasks and responsibilities.¹⁹ *Résistants* and *résistantes* in urban areas of the Occupied Zone, namely, in Paris, combined and conflated “active” and “passive” resistance methods, combating a tangible, material enemy, the German occupiers, through indirect, feminine methods. The line dividing “active” and “passive” resistance, much like the

¹⁷ For example, Lloyd incorporates the Maquis into his analysis and his definition of “active” resistance, although he fails to distinguish between urban and rural resistance practices; also see Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 484, 492-493.

¹⁸ Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996); also see David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 209-224.

¹⁹ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 492-493.

gender distinctions surrounding “combat” in resistance work, became largely theoretical in the Occupied Zone.

Scholars who use the active/passive dichotomy as a framework for understanding French resistance to the Germans in World War II oversimplify the complex range of behaviors that people in France exhibited in response to the Occupation. Most of these behaviors fall across a wide spectrum of reactions, with armed militants who fought against the Germans at one end, and silent spectators, who were ostensibly neutral, on the other. Although Robert Paxton deemed the latter “functional collaborators,” many of them showed neither support for nor opposition to the Germans, but merely tried to go on with life as normal.²⁰ What is more, a number of them were actually engaged in resistance work, and sought to disguise their actions under a façade of neutrality. Some chose to be silent and to appear neutral out of fear, while others used silence to express moral indignation toward the Germans, and to condemn the Occupation.²¹ In applying the active/passive dichotomy to studies of French resistance in the Occupied Zone, scholars fail to account for this spectrum of French responses to the German presence.

Moreover, when scholars perceive the active/passive dichotomy as a gender binary, classifying resistance methods as either “masculine” or “feminine,” and associating “passive” resistance with women, they echo the sentiments of nineteenth-century male bourgeois intellectuals in France and

²⁰ Paxton, *Vichy France*, 235.

²¹ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 239-240.

overlook the complex, varied nature of women's resistance work in the Occupied Zone. "Silence" served as a resistance technique for men as well as women, and both sexes participated in resistance methods that combined elements of "active" and "passive" resistance, but belong to neither category. The active/passive dichotomy obscures these aspects and proves inapplicable for studies of resistance in the Occupied Zone.

Understanding the elements of urban life that figured prominently in the French Resistance, most notably performance and the blurring of established boundaries such as gender differences, can help to alleviate some of the confusion created by the scholarly application of the active/passive dichotomy to the Occupied Zone. Jackson refers to this confusion in his discussion of "silence," wherein he argues that the concept of silent resistance requires further inquiry, while expressing doubt that its significance can ever be discerned.²² In attempting to address the question of what "silence" meant to the occupied French in World War II, we must disregard the notion of an active/passive dichotomy, with regard to resistance in the Occupied Zone, and look beyond the scope of Jackson's work, that is, beyond the period of 1940-1944. As well, we must investigate the historical influences that inspired and informed Vercors, the author of that most famous and frequently cited resistance novel, *The Silence of the Sea*, for whom "silence" constituted a symbolic form of "combat" and resistance.

Despite noting that Vercors was an artist, Jackson does not address the impact of artistic conventions on his work.²³ Moreover, in attributing "passive"

²² Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 240.

²³ Ibid., 441.

resistance solely to the niece in their interpretations of Vercors, neither Jackson nor Lloyd consider that the narrator also engages in resistance through “silence.”²⁴ If Vercors’ story can be deemed prescriptive, he directed his message and endorsement of silent resistance to *the people* of occupied France, and not to women alone.

The active/passive dichotomy is an anachronism derived from nineteenth-century sources, including male artists and social commentators, who viewed militancy, political involvement, and direct action as hallmarks of manhood, and permitted women to access such pursuits only in allegorical and indirect forms. Silent resistance fell into the “feminine” category of moral, spiritual resistance to an abstract opponent, such as “death” or “immorality,” and contrasted with the direct, armed, temporal warfare that denoted masculinity. In the Second World War, “silence” represented a metaphorical version of warfare, and simultaneously, served as a non-violent, non-militant, and yet, literal, form of resistance. Vercors’ protagonists, a man and a woman, employ a feminine form of “combat.” However, they diverge from the prescribed, traditional female sphere in opposing a tangible enemy, a German officer, rather than an abstraction. They engage in direct resistance through an indirect technique, combining masculine and feminine, that is, “active” and “passive,” forms of resistance.

In order to understand the active/passive dichotomy as an anachronism, and the concept of “silence” as resistance, it is essential to investigate nineteenth-century gender divisions within definitions of French patriotism. An overview of

²⁴ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 12.

the prevailing manhood constructs in nineteenth-century France, and their emphasis on soldierly qualities and militarism, is therefore necessary.

In addition, the general, scholarly perception of an active/passive dichotomy in resistance methods corresponds to divergent interpretations of allegorical female images relating to resistance, such as Liberty, Marianne, and especially, Joan of Arc. The latter constituted a unique case, as a real, historical figure, and a ubiquitous symbol of French patriotism that served to represent a variety of causes, ranging from warfare, monarchism, and Catholic piety to pacifism and revolutionary republican principles. The nineteenth-century origins of the active/passive dichotomy become apparent when we examine the historical relationship between republican female allegories and real women in France. Scholars including Marina Warner, Madelyn Gutwirth and Lynn Hunt have addressed female political images from the Revolutions of 1789 and 1830, showing that men commissioned and produced such images for a male audience, and did not intend for women to interpret or utilize them. Female allegories, which portrayed republican resistance to tyranny as a woman, were not meant to serve as role models for real women. On the contrary, the “femaleness” of political imagery actually served to exclude women from participation in politics and from the public sphere, defining republican values such as liberty, equality, and fraternity as “male,” and therefore, applicable only to males.²⁵ Margaret

²⁵ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 255-275 and *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 281, 293; Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 255; Lynn Hunt, “The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures” in *French Caricature and the French Revolution: 1789-1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988), 39.

Darrow extends this view to include the relationship between female imagery and real women in World War I, arguing that Joan of Arc and other allegorical female figures were essentially created by and for men.²⁶ When scholars such as Gutwirth and Maurice Agulhon find that real women were equated with allegorical female images, the women appear as “living allegories,” or actresses portraying symbols and ideals.²⁷ For example, in festivals celebrating the republican ideal of Reason, real women would play the role of the “goddess” of Reason.²⁸ In acting as “living allegories” such women became live versions of metaphorical female figures, but these figures were not meant to reflect or relate to character qualities in the women themselves.

Agulhon seems to overlook this distinction in his analysis of women who were celebrated as latter-day versions of Joan of Arc, due to brave acts they carried out while fighting at the barricades in the Revolution of 1830. According to him, the revolutionaries first lauded these women for their bravery, and then transformed them into “living allegories,” associating them with Joan of Arc, and holding parades in their honor. In his view, once these women became “living allegories,” the revolutionaries saw them as symbols or objects, and ceased to think of them as real women who had shown exceptional courage.²⁹ However, this interpretation fails to consider the difference between actresses who had been

²⁶ Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 24.

²⁷ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 276; Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans., Janet Lloyd. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 64-67, 93, 109, 140.

²⁸ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 276-277.

²⁹ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 41-42.

hired to portray allegorical female figures such as “Reason” and women who earned acclaim for actions they had engaged in and character traits they had displayed. In venerating these women as successors to Joan of Arc, the revolutionaries equated them with a real, historical female character, who is also an allegorical figure, linking the women to her legacy precisely because of their actions at the barricades. The revolutionaries did not perceive these women as mere symbols, objects, or actresses playing “goddesses” in a festival. Rather, the revolutionaries honored them for their own actions and character traits, which rendered them comparable to Joan of Arc. In so doing, the revolutionaries utilized Joan of Arc as a role model and precedent for real women who became involved in matters of politics and war.

Although it is evident that allegorical female images were not supposed to be interpreted by women, given the long-standing, French social prescription that women should be apolitical, Warner, Gutwirth, Hunt and others who raise this argument focus primarily upon the intended use of the images, the message that the artist (or his employers) meant to convey.³⁰ Their findings suggest that, because allegorical female images were not created for women, such figures did not and could not serve women. However, a study of connections between symbolic female images and real women in the latter half of the nineteenth century disproves this conclusion. In examining the Franco-Prussian War and its aftermath, it appears that republican female images such as Joan of Arc did serve women, and provided a conceptual framework through which men and women

³⁰ Hunt, “The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures,” 39; Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 45.

perceived female patriotism and participation in warfare. Both men and women in the Franco-Prussian War applied Joan of Arc, and by default, Marianne and other female allegories, as role models for women's patriotism, although they did so in different ways. Joan of Arc and Marianne represented a combination of the militant, corporeal power and physical strength attributed to the male sphere, and the saintly, spiritual purity and selflessness of the female sphere, that is, a blend of masculine and feminine characteristics. The bourgeois intellectual Dr. Lucien Nass and other men applied female allegories to women figuratively, encouraging them to engage in indirect forms of "combat" against abstract enemies, while women such as Catherine Panis and Rosa Bonheur interpreted the militant elements in female allegories literally, and sought to fight against the invading Prussian army.³¹ Joan of Arc's image, in accordance with Marianne and the people's Liberty, encompassed and exemplified masculine and feminine attributes, and thus, represented both "active" and "passive" forms of "combat."

Other seemingly paradoxical elements converged upon and through the figure of Joan of Arc as well. Unlike the allegorical figures Liberty and Reason, she stood as a symbolic female image and a real historical character, and her image served to provide a bridge between real women and female allegories. Agulhon contends that Joan of Arc could never represent a French Republic, finding the notion "impossible," despite her status as a patriot and her ties to the popular classes. He refers to Joan as "a friend of the king and daughter of God,"

³¹ Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique: Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 57-58, 61.

associating her with the quintessential enemies of the Revolution and opponents of republican ideals: the Catholic Church and the monarchy.³² Yet, many historical sources and interpretations of Joan contradict Agulhon's view. Commentators from the Franco-Prussian War, such as the female revolutionary Amélie Seurlat, in addition to the twentieth-century playwright Henri Bernstein, and even the military general, politician, and leader of the Resistance, Charles de Gaulle, perceived an association between Joan of Arc and republican ideals. Even in the Revolution of 1830, republican insurgents lauded women who fought at the barricades and demonstrated exemplary courage, referring to them as "Jeannes d'Arc."³³ Although Joan of Arc's image evokes such counter-revolutionary institutions as the Catholic Church, that cannot be considered the extent of her significance. She is also a version of Marianne, and thus, the people's Liberty. Like the latter two figures, she stands for the struggle to establish a popular Republic, denoting the concept of revolution, as well as liberty, equality, fraternity, and resistance to tyranny. Understanding the versatile nature of Joan of Arc's image, and her role as a popular, republican figure in particular, is central to understanding the active/passive dichotomy in resistance and Vercors' perception of "silence."

After the Franco-Prussian War, Liberty/Marianne/Joan of Arc's significance expanded beyond republican resistance to political oppression, to include resistance to the Prussian, that is, German, annexation of formerly French

³² Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 182.

³³ P. Cuisin, *Les Barricades immortelles du Peuple de Paris, relations historiques, militaires et anecdotiques des journées à jamais mémorables des 26, 27, 29, juillet 1830, et de tous les détails du voyage forcé de Charles X jusqu'à son embarquement* (Paris, Chez Le Roi, 1830), 385-386.

territory in Alsace and Lorraine. With this development, the French people adopted the Lorraine Cross, Joan of Arc's emblem, to indicate that France would not accept the annexation as permanent. In this way, she came to represent French opposition to the German Empire.

Joan of Arc took on greater importance as a female allegory in the decades after the Franco-Prussian War, and became an increasingly versatile symbol. Her image served as a prominent symbol in the Dreyfus Affair, a political scandal that engulfed France from 1894 to 1899, in which an artillery officer of Jewish descent, Alfred Dreyfus, was wrongly convicted of treason. The scandal divided French society, sparking conflict between those who supported Dreyfus and wanted his wrongful conviction to be overturned, and those who opposed setting him free, fearing that public trust in state institutions would be shaken if the government reversed his conviction. Both sides employed Joan of Arc's image to represent their views. Dreyfus supporters, such as Charles Péguy, construed Joan as a champion of individual rights and an innocent victim of government oppression, like Dreyfus. In contrast, Dreyfus' opponents emphasized Joan's faithful service to King Charles VII, portraying her as a symbol of absolute loyalty to the state and respect for those in authority. The nationalist association Action Française emerged out of the latter camp, as an outgrowth of the anti-Semitic nationalist group Ligue de la Patrie Française, which had been established in 1899 to oppose Dreyfus supporters in the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme.³⁴ Action Française sought to restore a monarchical, anti-republican government in

³⁴ Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 260-261.

France, in the name of French patriotism, and its message attracted many Catholics to its ranks. Although the head of the association, Charles Maurras, was not religious himself, he supported the Catholic Church, perceiving it as a bastion of the monarchy, and as the only true, legitimate religion of France. The ideology of Action Française thus combined a conservative form of nationalism with Catholicism, and, by the early twentieth century, it had obtained many adherents. As a loyal servant of the king, a martyr for her faith, and a female allegory, Joan of Arc served to represent that ideology. Through the Action Française and other right-wing, nationalist groups, her image became widely associated with French patriotism and Catholic piety in the years between 1873 and World War II.³⁵

The influence and versatility of Joan's image are further evinced in Charles de Gaulle's claims to be her successor, and in his use of the Lorraine Cross as the emblem of French resistance to Nazi Germany in World War II. If Joan of Arc were not a versatile, ubiquitous figure, militant and masculine as well as spiritual and feminine, and if she were not a symbol of republican values, as well as anti-republican ideals, she could not have represented the French Resistance.

De Gaulle's use of Joan of Arc as a model for himself and for the Resistance, together with accounts of *résistantes* in the Occupied Zone, which reveal no significant distinctions between male and female practices, and even Vercors' *The Silence of the Sea*, when interpreted in the context of nineteenth-century gender prescriptions and artistic conventions, all serve to expose the

³⁵ Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 258-262.

active/passive dichotomy as an anachronism in studies of World War II. Thus, the active/passive dichotomy proves unsuitable and useless as an organizational framework for examining *résistants* in Nazi-occupied France.

In this thesis, I will trace the development of the association between manliness and military participation in nineteenth-century France, through a discussion of class-based definitions of manhood that linked honor to soldierly qualities and direct combat, giving rise to the construct of intellectual bourgeois manhood in the nineteenth century. I will also outline the relationship between manhood, female allegorical figures, republican values, and resistance to tyranny, focusing upon divergent interpretations of the “goddess” of Liberty, and specifically, the Liberty of the popular classes. I intend show how the people’s Liberty combined masculine, warlike characteristics with the feminine qualities of saintly endurance, moral purity, and spiritual strength, representing popular republican resistance to bourgeois conservatives and imperialists. With this, I will describe the connections between the people’s Liberty, who came to be known as “Marianne,” and Joan of Arc’s image, illustrating how Marianne/Joan of Arc became a symbol of persecuted republicans and their network of secret societies under the Second Empire.

In Chapter 2, I will provide an account of the Franco-Prussian War, emphasizing the perspective of French republicans in besieged Paris, and addressing allegorical, female figures that signified Parisian resistance to the Prussian invasion. The strong resemblance between such figures and Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery leads to the conclusion that, for republican

Parisians, anti-Prussian or anti-German resistance became indistinguishable from the struggle to establish a popular Republic in France. Additionally, I will show that Joan of Arc's image provided a conceptual framework through which men and women understood and perceived patriotism, including female patriotism, despite the social prescription that women should be kept out of political affairs. French men and women employed female allegories, such as Joan of Arc, as a model for real women in France, although they disagreed on how her example should be interpreted and applied. The distinctions between male and female interpretations of Joan of Arc's image rested upon the issue of militancy and participation in armed, direct combat. Men applied the masculine aspects of Joan of Arc to women, but indirectly, encouraging the latter to show patriotism through metaphorical "war" against abstract enemies. Conversely, some women applied Joan of Arc's militant elements literally, and wanted to participate in direct warfare against the Prussians. I will suggest that these disparate applications of Joan of Arc's model informed and reflected male perceptions of female combatants and orators in the Paris Commune. Furthermore, I will compare and contrast male representations of Communard women and Joan of Arc/Marianne with the actions of real women who fought for the Commune, such as Louise Michel.

In Chapter 3, I will address the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in the aftermath of 1870-1871, and the impact of this loss on French depictions of Marianne and Joan of Arc. Popular art and popular opinion in France held the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to be an unjust and temporary

“occupation,” rather than a permanent territorial acquisition. The Lorraine Cross, a symbol of Joan of Arc, thus became a sign of resistance to the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. French opponents of the annexation emphasized the feminine, spiritual aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc in representations of the struggle between France and Germany. This association between Joan of Arc and resistance to the German presence in Alsace-Lorraine extended into World War I, as French pilots decorated their planes with the Lorraine Cross, showing their intent to recover lands lost in the Franco-Prussian War.

Chapter 4 will address images of Marianne and Joan of Arc in World War II, showing the continuities between World War II-era imagery and Marianne/Joan of Arc figures from the nineteenth century, along with the diverse uses of Joan of Arc’s image, across social and political lines. Joan the Maid served right-wing political conservatives and pro-German propagandists as well as proponents of the Allied cause, including communists in the French Resistance. I will argue that Charles de Gaulle and his supporters applied Joan of Arc as a model and precedent for de Gaulle himself, perceiving her as a republican figure who fought for liberty, equality, and fraternity, and who sought to rescue France from an invading, tyrannical foreign power. Finally, I will discuss the scholarly tendency to apply the active/passive dichotomy to resistance work in occupied France during World War II, evaluating this interpretive framework in relation to the Nazi perspective on resistance, as well as the accounts of four real female *résistantes* in occupied France, to argue that perceptions of an active/passive dichotomy prove anachronistic when applied to resistance in the Occupied Zone.

Chapter 1

MARIANNE AND MANHOOD: CLASS, GENDER, AND RESISTANCE IN FEMALE ALLEGORIES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1789-1851

Alongside the development of nation-states and the concomitant ideals of individual loyalty to and love for the nation, images of women became common symbols of the virtues, values, and principles that patriotic citizens associated with their homeland and national collective. Many European nation-states utilized female symbols, as Maurice Agulhon has shown. However, this phenomenon emerged in a distinctive form in France, where political struggles were symbolized through female allegories and various female and women-centered symbols vied with one another for supremacy, reflecting the class divisions, internal antagonisms, and competing political ideologies that plagued the French nation in the nineteenth century.³⁶

Men and women in nineteenth-century France interpreted French patriotism, and most notably, female patriotism, through the conceptual framework provided by female allegories. In France, these allegories represented the Republic and republican values, combining masculine and feminine characteristics, and correlating with the image of the historical female soldier and patriot, Joan of Arc. Political images frequently depicted female figures as warriors for the ideals of the Republic, that is, for liberty, equality, and fraternity, portraying them with weapons, and associating them with warfare. As Marina

³⁶ Maurice Agulhon, "Politics, Images, and Symbols in Post-Revolutionary France," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 199.

Warner, Madelyn Gutwirth and Lynn Hunt have noted, the political elements and messages displayed in female allegories were directed only to men.³⁷ Furthermore, as these figures incorporated weaponry, and advocated direct combat against the enemies of the Republic, they referenced a connection between militancy and manhood that predated the First Republic in France. Overt action and participation in battle served as indicators of manhood, and moreover, of elite social status. Soldierly qualities provided the foundation for a man's gender and class identity, enabling him to claim supremacy and authority over inferior "others," including men of the popular classes, and all women. Real women were banned from military pursuits, as their involvement would render them equivalent to men, thus threatening established gender definitions, which were tied to the social order and to class distinctions.

Warner argues that allegorical female figures represented the unmanly qualities associated with the "other," that is, women, who did not or could not fit the prevailing definition of "manhood," while simultaneously encouraging male revolutionaries to adopt these qualities in their struggle for liberty, equality, and fraternity. According to Warner, such unmanly characteristics included susceptibility to sensations and impulses, and disregard for the restrictions and structures of the established order. During periods of social and political upheaval, male revolutionaries venerated and sought to assume these traits

³⁷ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 255-275 and *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 281, 293; Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 255; Lynn Hunt, "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures" in *French Caricature and the French Revolution: 1789-1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988), 39.

temporarily, to effect radical change.³⁸ Gutwirth concurs with Warner, tracing the origin of the term “allegory” to the Greek word “allos” or “other,” and showing that allegory “thrives on the multiplicity of meanings” that men associate with women. For Gutwirth, women, as symbols of the “other,” served to represent anything outside of the male “self.”³⁹ Female images thus signified qualities that men deemed irreconcilable with manhood, and yet, valued, if only provisionally. The works of Warner and Gutwirth suggest that, if and when male revolutionaries succeeded, and their political agenda became the established order, the feminine disrespect for boundaries would no longer serve their purposes. Men adopted the perceived characteristics of the effeminate “other” temporarily, and in the context of revolutionary campaigns. Outside of such circumstances, they considered displays of effeminate traits to be unacceptable and undesirable in men. Far from encouraging women to become politically active or militant, female allegories of the Republic were meant to differentiate “men” from effeminate “others.”

The red Phrygian bonnet distinguishes French female images from those of other nation-states, and appears as a recurring theme in depictions of the French Republic as a woman, symbolizing the female trait of freedom from boundaries and constraints. Warner argues that the bonnet combined two forms of headwear from Ancient Greece and Rome. The first, a hat worn by foreigners from Phrygia, signified the exotic and strange practices of a foreign culture, that is “foreign” to the Ancient Greeks and Romans, while the second, and more familiar, version was a hat worn by freed Roman slaves. To Warner, both forms

³⁸ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 281, 293.

³⁹ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 255.

of headwear represented freedom from rules and restrictions, as foreign visitors were not subject to the laws of the state, and freed slaves were no longer subject to a master.⁴⁰ These elements correlate with the symbolic association between women and nature or the wild, as the former were thought to be unfettered by the constraints and concerns of civilization, in the absence of male control and guidance. Likewise, Gutwirth indicates that the Phrygian bonnet often appeared in artistic works that portrayed women as “goddesses” of Liberty and Reason, who supplanted and deposed the perceived tyranny of the Catholic Church and the monarchy.⁴¹ Agulhon also refers to the Phrygian bonnet or cap as a symbol of freedom, worn by an allegorical woman who is a “champion of liberty.” He draws a specific link between the Phrygian cap and the female allegory of Liberty, citing the figure of a woman with the cap as an emblem of the Republic.⁴² Female figures who appeared with the Phrygian cap represented the concept of freedom, as well as resistance to tyrants and oppressors who would steal that freedom. The cap thus stood for female qualities associated with the Revolution. Yet, as a political symbol, the cap also served to associate these female qualities with manhood and with other components of the masculine public sphere, such as militancy and overt, direct action.⁴³

⁴⁰ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 273.

⁴¹ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 262, 277.

⁴² Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans., Janet Lloyd. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 2, 94, 98.

⁴³ Scholars such as Miranda Pollard have noted that post-Revolutionary French society designated political participation as “masculine” and mandated that women be apolitical; Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5-6.

Female allegories essentially encouraged men to appropriate those feminine traits associated with revolution, and were produced solely for men. Yet, if male revolutionaries sought to display and realize such traits in themselves, they were required to do so in a masculine fashion, so as not to relinquish their status as “men.” When the Phrygian bonnet appeared in conjunction with a male figure, it often marked the latter as an unmanly object of scorn and ridicule. David Harvey shows that satirists in the French Revolution of 1789 commonly lampooned Louis XVI by depicting him with the Phrygian bonnet, which “bore a resemblance to a nonerect penis,” and implied that he was impotent.⁴⁴



Figure 1: “Louis le Dernier.” Library of Congress. Source: Library of Congress Online Catalog. (1792).

⁴⁴ David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 61.

Figure 1, entitled “Louis le Dernier” or “Louis the Last” mocks the French monarch for his delayed (and according to the artist, insincere) efforts to express respect for the sovereignty of the people. Here, Louis XVI dons the Phrygian bonnet and drinks to the health of the nation and the sans-culottes, that is, plebian, radical revolutionaries. However, these gestures are hollow. Although the duplicitous king claims to support the Revolution and the popular classes, the caption ironically informs us that Louis “bravely waited until his fellow citizens returned to their homes to make a secret war against them and wreak his vengeance.”⁴⁵ The image attacks the king’s honor and manhood in its sarcastic reference to his bravery and his “secret war,” implying that he was afraid to confront and challenge the sans-culottes openly, in a fair fight. In contrast to manly displays of courage and battle prowess, such as duels, Louis’ attempt to combat the sans-culottes is dishonorable, cowardly, secretive, and indirect, akin to stabbing an opponent in the back. In associating the Phrygian bonnet with impotence, this image reveals the undesirable aspects of the bonnet’s feminine connotations, suggesting that men who adopted female characteristics and rejected the established order risked becoming effeminate and losing their manhood altogether. The caption underscores the king’s unmanly impotence, implying that he rendered himself effeminate in eschewing direct, open confrontation with his opponents. On Louis XVI, the cap did not represent freedom and the breakdown of oppressive social and political structures. Rather, it reflected the monarch’s unmanly, feminine behavior and fear of engaging in

⁴⁵ “Ce même Louis XVI a bravement attendu que ses concitoyens fussent rentrés dans leurs foyers pour leur faire une guerre occulte et exercer sa vengeance. ”

direct, armed combat. In this instance, then, the Phrygian bonnet became a derogatory symbol of lost manhood and cowardice.

The task of male revolutionaries, then, was to adopt those feminine characteristics necessary for the Revolution, without abandoning the qualities that comprised and formed the basis of their manhood. Their revolutionary objectives, such as overthrowing the authority of the Church and the monarchy, required them to display feminine disregard for the established order. Yet, they had to do so while retaining those elements of the established order that distinguished them as “men,” in contrast to “others.”

Warner, Gutwirth, and Hunt prove sound in contending that female allegories were produced by men for men, and served to support women’s exclusion from political affairs. However, in focusing upon how female allegories bolstered distinctions between men and women, and marked politics as “male,” they overlook the ways in which manhood constructs enabled those who possessed “manhood” to disenfranchise and claim superiority over other men, as well as women. Gender differences provided a basis for categorizing women as the “other,” while class divisions served the same function among men, distinguishing male elites from those of the popular classes, and rendering the latter “effeminate.” As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have noted, “gender and class always operate together,” and gender distinctions are central to the formation of class consciousness and class identity.⁴⁶ For those who fit the

⁴⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13.

prevailing definition of “manhood” in nineteenth-century France, plebian men belonged in the category of unmanly “others,” as much as women did.

In order to understand how male elites in the nineteenth century applied female allegories as models for their own patriotism, as well as women’s patriotism, it is necessary to understand how masculine and feminine characteristics converged in female allegories, how male elites defined and perceived these characteristics, and how women and the popular classes formed divergent, unsanctioned interpretations of these images. To begin, we need to examine the factors that informed the predominant definitions of manhood in nineteenth-century France. The impact of the urban environment, which broke down and obscured established class and gender boundaries, must be addressed as well.⁴⁷ Urban life influenced, and proved to be an integral part of, the predominant manhood construct in nineteenth-century France: bourgeois manhood.

Honor, Militancy, and Manhood

With the advent of industrialization and the subsequent growth and development of cities, divergent constructions of manhood, which had been separated by established hierarchies, confronted one another in the clash and

⁴⁷ For instance, Richard Sennett relates that the urban environment encouraged people to become actors, facilitating interactions between strangers, who lacked external knowledge of one another, beyond the immediate encounter. Their outward appearance, the impression they made upon one another in the moment of their interaction, dictated the extent of their knowledge. The urban environment allowed people to deceive one another and to intentionally misrepresent themselves. Thus, people would feign affluence and other false qualities through their dress and behavior in public, eroding established class boundaries; Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Norton & Company, 1974), 39-41, 66-69; Judith Walkowitz indicates that the urban environment fostered cultural expansion, thereby undermining established gender divisions; Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 13, 46, 61-62.

convergence of tradition and novelty that characterized the modern urban environment.⁴⁸ The tension between competing perceptions of manhood rested on the concept of individuality, that is, the struggle between the individual and the collective, a conflict that incorporated different notions of honor, emphasized martial capabilities, and led to the appearance of a new masculine ideal in the figure of the male bourgeois intellectual.

In the years prior to the French Revolution of 1789, notions of honor served as a vital component of French manhood, a concept that, significantly, transcended class lines. However, men of different classes interpreted, and sought to gain or to preserve “honor,” in different ways. Late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century class differences surrounding honor and definitions of honor involved varying perceptions of the relationship between the individual and the collective, with bourgeois and aristocratic elites calling attention to the former, as Michal Hughes has argued, while members of the popular classes emphasized the latter. Among French aristocrats, male honor depended, in part, upon heredity, as nobles believed that they had “war in their blood” and possessed the fighting abilities of their medieval forefathers, whom they perceived as great military heroes and defenders of France. Even so, as this statement suggests, noble honor could also be enhanced or tarnished through displays of military prowess. Honor, for a French aristocratic man, meant having his individuality acknowledged by his peers and others, that is, the receipt of personal respect, esteem, distinction, and

⁴⁸ Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, 209-224; Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

privileges, based upon his individual qualities. Dueling provided an additional militant option for establishing personal honor, and aristocrats often killed one another in ritualized combat for perceived offenses. Aristocratic honor, then, was not entirely determined by birthright. It was mutable, and could be lost. Therefore, noblemen were required to fight in its defense. Nobles might gain honor through non-military endeavors, such as intellectual or artistic works, as well. Nevertheless, in all its forms, noble honor stressed and focused upon personal traits within the individual, both inherited and earned.⁴⁹

Men of the popular classes also drew a correlation between manhood and honor, and correspondingly, would fight to gain or to preserve it. However, their conception of honor depended upon group affiliation and identity, rather than individual qualities or inherited traits. Such men formed their identities according to a strong sense of place and of community, as rural males differentiated themselves according to the honor and status of the town or hamlet they belonged to, while in cities, they made distinctions among different neighborhoods. Financial autonomy and professional rank were also features of manhood for the popular classes, as gradual progression in a trade career, such as the path from apprenticeship, to journeyman, to master, served as a rite of passage that marked the transition from boyhood to manhood. Often, if a “man” lacked the means to provide for and establish a family, he did not marry, but lived as a farm worker or servant. These “men” never achieved manhood or honor, but lived as “boys” for

⁴⁹ Michael J Hughes, “Making Frenchmen into Warriors: Martial Masculinity in Napoleonic France,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, ed. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taihe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 53-54.

life. Specifically, the latter were referred to as “garçons de ferme,” or “farm boys,” a designation that also denoted prolonged servitude.⁵⁰ Gender identity thus depended upon a man’s regional or community affiliation, as well as his trade and financial status.

When rural people migrated into the city of Paris, they brought their regional and trade-based notions of honor and identity with them. Most honor disputes among men of the popular classes occurred between groups from different regions or professions. While popular-class men fought or dueled for honor, like their aristocratic and bourgeois counterparts, their conflicts often manifested as “interprofessional rivalries,” according to Bertrand Taithe. Employers tolerated and implicitly supported ritualized brawls among various factions of workers, recognizing that the latter were defending the honor of their profession or place of origin, and thus, their manhood.⁵¹ Men of the popular classes did not explicitly fight for individual honor; they obtained personal honor from the honor of the particular group they belonged to. The conflation of individual identity and status with the identity and status of a collective thus became associated with the popular classes in nineteenth-century France.

Perceptions of class identity, honor and manhood among the bourgeoisie, which here refers to the urban middle class, as opposed to the petty bourgeois landowners who resided in villages and provincial towns, represented a combination of aristocratic militarism and the popular-class emphasis on group

⁵⁰ Bertrand Taithe, “Neighborhood Boys and Men: The Changing Spaces of Masculine Identity in France, 1848-71,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, ed. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 68-70.

⁵¹ Ibid., 76-77.

affiliations. Like the nobility, urban bourgeois men focused upon the individual, and based personal honor and status upon individual skill and merit. Indeed, Robert Nye has argued that, as a class, bourgeois men were specifically defined by their actions.⁵² The nineteenth-century metropolitan environment of Paris provided new social contexts and arenas for such action, offering enhanced and varied opportunities for men to prove their worth, and thereby, to assert their gender and class status.

Such pursuits often incorporated elements of the “collective” and wealth-based honor of the popular classes. Many bourgeois men sought membership in select social groups and organizations, which simultaneously allowed them to demonstrate financial stability. Private clubs and Masonic lodges required members to be affluent and to pay membership dues, for example.⁵³ After the Revolution of 1848, the National Guard service played a similar role, allowing urban bourgeois men to merge aristocratic military prowess with the popular-class notion of honor through group affiliation, in a distinctly bourgeois institution. With the very prominent exception of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and the subsequent civil conflict that arose with the Paris Commune, the National Guard performed little actual military service and most often functioned as a peace-keeping force, barring access to men of the popular classes as well. In this way, the National Guard operated as an exclusive social, as well as military, organization for bourgeois men. The latter refused to admit men of the popular

⁵² Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 42.

⁵³ Taihe, “Neighborhood Boys and Men,” 68, 73.

classes except during periods of revolution, social unrest, and instability. However, in the wake of the Prussian invasion in 1870, which underscored the importance of military defense in Paris, the National Guard consistently welcomed men of the popular classes into its ranks.⁵⁴ In keeping with long-standing, aristocratic notions of personal honor, bourgeois men also adopted the practice of dueling. For Taithe, bourgeois men, like the nobles, dueled to demonstrate their fighting capabilities, and thus, their manhood and worth. Yet, they also wanted to show that they possessed a “social self,” that is, an awareness of themselves as distinct individuals, “almost” apart from and independent of collective association, who possessed the power to gain or lose personal honor through action.

Urban, bourgeois manhood displayed similarities to noble and popular notions of honor. Despite the bourgeois use of collective, as well as individual forms of honor, bourgeois men came to view the noble emphasis on individual honor as a crucial component of bourgeois identity and manhood. Conversely, permitting one’s personal honor to be subsumed into and connected with the honor of a community became a perceived hallmark of inferior status and effeminacy.

The growth of nineteenth-century Paris fostered new social theaters of action for men, providing them with greater opportunities to construct and display their manhood and personal honor. Even so, in an apparent paradox, many opportunities required involvement in collective associations, such as the

⁵⁴ Taithe, “Neighborhood Boys and Men,” 74-75.

Freemasons. Exclusive male social groups venerated education as a sign of elevated status and as a condition of membership, an element that further highlights the connection between bourgeois manhood and the metropolis. Men from provincial areas outside of the city were generally regarded as uncultivated or uneducated, a perception that remained widespread even after education programs of the 1830s made schooling more accessible to men in rural areas.⁵⁵ Upheld as an indicator of merit, an attribute of urban men, and a trait lacking in the popular masses, education served as a mark of bourgeois intellectual manhood, and offered another way for the former to differentiate themselves from the latter.

Nineteenth-century bourgeois intellectuals, then, were urban and educated men, who possessed a strong sense of individual honor, and yet, congregated in exclusive associations that enabled them to establish a sense of collective identity, separate from and superior to “others.” Specifically, such “others” included men of the popular classes, and all women. While the urban environment fostered the construction of bourgeois manhood, it also contained elements that threatened to destroy it. According to Nye, bourgeois men’s conception of personal honor echoed the aristocratic principle of status derived from individual merit, without the concomitant principle of status based on lineage. As a result, male bourgeois honor, and thus, male bourgeois identity, functioned as a form of “capital,” subject to fluctuation.⁵⁶ Bourgeois honor was highly unstable, and could be lost. Since the possibility of falling in among the popular masses was an ever-present

⁵⁵ Taihe, “Neighborhood Boys and Men,” 68-69, 73.

⁵⁶ Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, 132-147.

concern, the growing population of the city, with its widespread anonymity and opportunities for adopting a new persona, aggravated bourgeois fears of losing their identity, threatening to erode the already tenuous boundaries that separated bourgeois men from “others.”⁵⁷

Bourgeois men’s efforts to negotiate power for themselves in French society, through the tension between individual and collective identity constructs, correlated with the emergence of a new psychological philosophy that specifically addressed and sought to resolve this tension. Victor Cousin, a philosopher, academic administrator, and professor of philosophy formulated Cousinianism, which postulated the idea of a whole, active and immutable “moi” or “self,” an internal structure, existing independent of the material body and a priori, that is, in the absence of influence from external forces, observation, sense and feeling. Cousin and his followers espoused the effort to define and become aware of one’s “self” and, by extension, to perceive and define the “selves” of others. Thereby, educated, intellectual, and “served” men could establish and preserve their identity, and lend order to the anonymous, unstructured crowds of the city.

Cousinianism appeared in the early nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1789 and in response to the philosophy of Sensationalism, which argued that all people are a blank canvass at birth, and have no core, essential nature or “self.” Rather, Sensationalists believed that people are a product of the external stimuli that they encounter, and their interpretations of and perceptions relating to those external stimuli. In this belief, Cousin and his

⁵⁷ Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 42, 285.

followers saw the potential for extreme disorder and the destabilization of urban society, fearing that the latter would degenerate into a chaotic relativism, wherein each person would operate according to their own perceptions and imaginings, established boundaries would disintegrate, and no solid or stable codes of behavior and ideology could be found. With this, they decried the notion that a man's identity and independent "self" could be lost, fragmented, or assimilated into the indistinct masses by the external stimuli he might encounter, and moreover, that he lacked agency and the ability to prevent or to influence this process.⁵⁸

Bourgeois men had utilized dueling to show that they possessed an independent "self," and thus, were distinct from the popular masses, who subordinated individual identity to collective identity.⁵⁹ Cousin appropriated this concept from the nobility, drawing on military language and metaphors, in addition to the idea of innate superiority and innate abilities. In contrast to the aristocratic model, however, which primarily focused upon the body, physical strength and battle skills, Cousin's philosophy gave precedence to the mind and mental dexterity, advocating intellectual activity as the foundation of honor, manhood, and male bourgeois identity.

He and his disciples reinterpreted martial and body-based imagery in terms of mental vigor, action, and strength. For example, they repeatedly lauded a "virile" mind as a desirable quality. Additionally, Goldstein shows that when Cousin assembled a network of his former students, who had become philosophy

⁵⁸ Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 6-7, 11-12, 32, 202.

⁵⁹ Taithe, "Neighborhood Boys and Men," 74.

professors, with his aid, he deemed this group a “regiment.” In letters to Cousin, devotees such as Ernest Bersot and Francis Riaux referred to themselves as “soldiers.” Students of Cousinianism also arranged and engaged in aggressive, intellectual “duels,” utilizing words as weapons. Cousin transferred the militant, noble model of honor and manhood to the domain of intellectualism. Moreover, his “regiment,” as an exclusive group of educated, male, individuals, who possessed knowledge inaccessible to non-members, mirrored elements of urban associations such as the Freemasons, and represented the idea of honor derived through membership in a collective.

Cousinianism exemplified the bourgeois ideal of achieving status through action, displays of merit, and agency, even as it also constructed a social hierarchy centered on innate, intellectual qualities. Cousin held that the intellect was separate from and superior to the body, and that, by utilizing and developing skills in introspection and analytical observation, bourgeois men could develop an awareness of “selfhood” that others lacked and could never attain.⁶⁰ This ability to overcome and rise above the sensations and limits of the body supposedly differentiated intellectual bourgeois men from all women and from the popular classes. In accordance with their belief in individual agency and democratic political principles, Cousin and his disciples acknowledged that everyone potentially had the capacity to become “self-actualized,” that is, to perceive the “moi” through psychological observation of oneself and others, and to gain social power, psychological power and individual independence from external forces

⁶⁰ Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 174, 179-181, 202-205, 235.

with this achievement. Yet, while everyone theoretically had the potential to gain awareness of the “moi” within, only a select few were inherently talented and intellectually proficient enough to realize that potential.⁶¹ The “served” could thus claim precedence and authority over the “unserved,” on the basis of inborn capabilities and demonstrated skills.

Men of the popular classes and women of all classes were categorized as inferior, unserved people due to their perceived lack of agency, which correlated with a lack of education, as well as their supposed inability to analyze and reflect upon the factors that influenced their decisions. According to Cousinianism, men of the lower orders did have the ability to make choices. However, in doing so, they did not consider the issue of nature versus nurture, that is, they failed to ask whether their choices were acts of self-will or acts dictated and determined by the surrounding environment. Likewise, women were generally excluded due to their supposed irrational tendencies and emotional responses to external stimuli, which Cousin associated with primitive mental activity and Sensationalism. In agreement with earlier schools of philosophical thought, Cousinianism considered women to be relatively uneducated and unable to discern fantasy from reality, and regarded sensory perception as a “passive,” rather than “active,” method of observation. Supporters of Sensationalism were, by definition, effeminate. Cousinian intellectual men associated Sensationalism, and the threat that unbridled imagination posed to established boundaries, with the impulsive, disorderly, illogical, and insurgent tendencies of women and the popular classes.

⁶¹ Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 11, 231.

Thus, we find that bourgeois manhood emphasized overt, combative action and required displays of physical or intellectual strength, through military combat, dueling, or the academic equivalent of the latter, debating in public. In excluding the popular classes and women from such activities, bourgeois men defined and asserted their honor, gender identity, and class status, in relation to “passive,” “unserved,” and inferior “others.”

Furthermore, the construct of urban, bourgeois manhood was also intertwined with and informed by republican ideals, such as liberty. Cousin taught that intellectual men could achieve liberation from the constraints of sensory perception, by developing awareness of the “moi,” and by exercising agency in their interactions with external stimuli. This focus upon personal agency corresponds to the republican notion of liberty, as both call attention to self-determination, and the ability to determine and control one’s own fate through direct action. For Cousinian intellectuals, only “served” individuals, namely “men,” could be truly free. The “unserved” were at the mercy of, and essentially enslaved to, external stimuli, which controlled and influenced them. If intellectual bourgeois manhood reflected the aristocratic and popular definitions of honor, together with the “urban” element of education, it also incorporated republican values, marking the latter as masculine.

Warner and Gutwirth have shown that men generally ascribed traits such as irrationality and disregard for the established order to women, while claiming and valuing these traits temporarily, during periods of revolution. Allegorical female images represented the perceived qualities of the masculine “other,”

women, and served to assert men's adoption and appropriation of these qualities. In their studies, Warner and Gutwirth focus upon women and definitions of "femaleness" more than manhood constructs. They fail to note that men who utilized these constructs barred other men from the status of "manhood," based on factors such as class affiliation. In post-Revolutionary France, the exclusivity of intellectual bourgeois manhood relegated men of the popular classes to the "unserved" and "passive" crowd, along with women, and bourgeois intellectuals perceived the feminine revolutionary qualities cited by Warner and Gutwirth in men of the popular classes. If social prescriptions enjoined women to be apolitical, the popular masses were equally excluded from politics; plebian men were not supposed to interpret or utilize republican female imagery either. Amid the class conflicts that divided French republicans after the Revolution of 1789, female allegories were produced by men for men, but they did not represent the interests of *all* men.

Despite prohibitions to the contrary, women and members of the popular classes did use and form their own perceptions of allegorical female images, as evinced in the contest between divergent class-based analyses of the goddess figure Liberty. The supposedly "passive," "unserved," masses, and women, were denied access to the arena of direct, overt combat, whether in battle or in intellectual "duels." This exclusion from the domain of "manhood" corresponded to their political disenfranchisement. If male bourgeois elites had enhanced their own social and political power and gained "liberty" through the Revolution,

women and the popular classes had not. For them, the Revolution was ongoing. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the marginalized “others” in post-Revolutionary France would continue to interpret republican female figures as symbols of revolt and resistance, even as bourgeois elites promoted a new conceptualization of Liberty, one that reflected the bourgeois values of rationality, order, and stability. The figure of Liberty lent itself to more than one interpretation. If bourgeois “men” could claim Liberty for themselves, then so, too, could men of the popular classes, and indeed, even women.

Liberty and the Republic of the People

Depictions of France and of French republican ideals as a woman can be traced to the Revolution of 1789 and the first seal of the Republic, in which a symbolic female image of Liberty replaced the profile of the deposed monarch. The woman in figure 2 is barefooted, which represents a natural state of being, and freedom from restraint. She also wears a loose, flowing garment that strongly resembles an Ancient Greek or Roman toga and carries a bundle of sheaf rods, or fasces, in her left hand. The sheaf rods are bound together, signifying the unity of the French “national body.”⁶² As well, a hatchet is tied in among the them, suggesting that the “national body” possesses the power to strike down and defeat its enemies. In her right hand, she bears a pike covered with a Phrygian bonnet, again, showing that she is free and no longer subject to oppressive, enslaving, laws and customs.

⁶² For more on the concept of the “national body” see Joan W. Scott, *Parité ! : Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 1, 12-16, 35.



Figure 2: "The first seal of the Republic." Source: Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, p.19. (1792).



Figure 3: François Rude. "La Marseillaise." Bas-relief decorating the Arc de Triomphe, Paris. Source: Artcyclopedia.com. (1833-1836).

Another prominent female image, François Rude's sculpture *La Marseillaise* (originally titled *The Departure of the Volunteers*), appears in figure 3. Rude's work was commissioned as one of four bas-reliefs on the monument of the *Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile* in Paris, meant to depict the French victory in the Battle of Valmy in 1792. The statue displays a winged, female warrior with a Phrygian cap on her head and a sword in her hand, calling the volunteers of the revolutionary army into battle. (A battle in which French forces triumphed over a

professional army of Prussian and Austrian soldiers).⁶³ Agulhon relates that the female figure was originally intended to represent “the Spirit of War.” He contends that the “eagle” on her head alludes to Imperial France and the victory of imperial forces at the 1805 Battle of Austerlitz as well. If Rude meant to combine French victories under the First Republic and the Empire in “the Spirit of War,” the popular classes understood the image differently. They perceived her as the people’s Liberty, urging the oppressed to wage a war for freedom, and named the statue “La Marseillaise” in reference to the 1792 song of the same name by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle.⁶⁴ This song, the national anthem of the Republic, had been banned under the Napoleonic Empire and subsequent regimes because of its revolutionary connotations. It resurfaced briefly during the Revolution of 1830, only to be prohibited once more by Napoleon III during the Second Empire. The lyrics encourage the people to take up arms, and to fight to the death for liberty.⁶⁵ Rude’s sculpture is now known as “La Marseillaise,” which attests to the influence of popular interpretation. As a symbol relating to the 1792 Battle of Valmy, the “Spirit of War” correlates directly with the first seal of the Republic and the song “La Marseillaise,” and represents another example of the people’s Liberty, even if Rude did not initially intend her as such.

In like manner, Eugène Delacroix’s famous representation of the Revolution of 1830, *Liberty leading the people on the barricades*, displays a

⁶³ Jeremy D. Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 53.

⁶⁴ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 44, 199.

⁶⁵ Paul Halsall, “Modern History Sourcebook: La Marseillaise,” Fordham University, accessed March 3, 2010, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/marseill.html>.

woman with a Phrygian cap, who urges the people to rise up and fight for freedom. As Gullickson has noted, the image in figure 4 combines features of the classic figure of Liberty with those of popular-class women, portraying the goddess of Liberty as a goddess of the people. She bears a Tricolor flag and, like the male revolutionaries in the picture, a musket with a bayonet. In accordance with the image on the first seal of the Republic, she is barefooted and clad in a flowing white dress. However, unlike the former figure, her dress is yellow and white, in homage to the attire of nineteenth-century women of the popular classes, while her right breast is exposed, recalling the Ancient Greek Amazons as well.⁶⁶ With the addition of these elements, we find the message and motivating principle of the Revolution of 1830: that Liberty belonged to everyone, or at least, to all French men. Delacroix's Liberty thus encourages the revolutionaries to fight for the benefits of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which had been denied to them in post-Revolutionary France.⁶⁷

Agulhon further underscores the link between the image of Liberty with a Phrygian bonnet and the notion of a struggle for freedom, as well as the class conflict that gave rise to divergent portrayals of Liberty, in his discussion of class-based tensions among French republicans after the Revolution of 1789, and the conflicting interpretations of republican ideals that emerged as a consequence. He indicates that the most common characteristics of Liberty, such as bare feet and the Phrygian cap, denote the "impetuous and rebellious" Republic of the people.

⁶⁶Gay L. Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 9.

⁶⁷Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 6-12, 179.

The latter diverged from the bourgeois concept of the Republic, which shunned notions of revolution and class conflict and emphasized moderation, stability, and order.⁶⁸



Figure 4: Eugène Delacroix. "Liberty leading the people at the barricades." Musée du Louvre. Source: Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, p. 39. (1830).

The contrast between these two competing constructs of the Republic can be seen in literary works such as Honoré de Balzac's *Les Paysans*, and in the writings of poets such as Auguste Barbier. In *Les Paysans* or *The Peasantry*, Balzac draws a connection between Liberty and the popular classes with his description of the peasant woman Catherine, as her physical appearance evokes "the models selected by painters and sculptors for figures of Liberty and the ideal Republic." Balzac also describes her as "the image of the people," with "flames of insurrection" in her eyes.⁶⁹ For Balzac, Catherine represents the Republic of the masses, and the rebellious Liberty venerated by republican supporters of popular democracy and universal male suffrage.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 94-96, 105.

⁶⁹ Honoré de Balzac, *The Peasantry*, trans., Ellen Marriage (New York: Macmillan, 1901), 200.

Likewise, Barbier's poem from August of 1830, *La Curée* portrays Liberty as a goddess who belongs to the people, and who shares physical traits with women of the popular classes.⁷¹ In his conceptualization, "Liberty is not a countess from the noble faubourg Saint-Germain, a woman who faints in weakness at a shout and who wears powder and rouge."⁷² Rather, she is "a strong woman with powerful breasts, a harsh voice, and a hard charm" who "takes her lovers only from among the people." Moreover, like Balzac's Catherine, this Liberty has "brown skin" and "flashing eyes."⁷³ She, too, stands for a Republic of the people.

Barbier's poetic representation of a popular Liberty inspired responses from other, apparently bourgeois, republicans, who sought to counter Barbier's depiction of the goddess as a champion of the masses. For example, in *Liberty 1849*, an anonymous writer parodied *La Curée*, stating that "Liberty is no longer that robust beauty, who takes greater joy in blows than in kisses...A Messalina of revolt."⁷⁴ Instead, he describes her as "a simple woman" who is content with her lot in life and who does not call the people to arms or foster rebellion.⁷⁵ What is

⁷⁰ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 93.

⁷¹ Barbier's title can be translated as *The Kill*, or alternatively, as *The Scramble for the Spoils*.

⁷² Auguste Barbier, *Iambes et poèmes* (Paris : Librairie de la Société de Gens de Lettres, Palais-Royale, 15-17-19, Galerie d'Orléans, 1883), 10-11 ; "C'est que la Liberté ne pas une comtesse du noble faubourg Saint-Germain, une femme qu'un cri fait tomber en faiblesse, qui met du blanc et du carmin."

⁷³ "C'est une forte femme aux puissantes mamelles, a la voix rauque, aux durs appas, qui du brun sur la peau, du feu dans les prunelles ... que ne prend ses amours que dans la populace."

⁷⁴ "Liberty 1849," quoted in Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans., Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 96; "la Liberté n'est plus cette beauté robuste, plus joyeuse aux coups qu'aux baisers...Messaline d'émeute."

⁷⁵ "C'est une simple femme, et c'est assez pour elle" or "she is a simple woman and it is enough for her."

more, the author of this poem implies that Liberty perceives no class distinctions, suggesting that she can be at once “plebian” and “a countess of the noble Faubourg Saint-Germain.”⁷⁶ Although she may be a goddess of the people, for the author of this poem, Liberty encompasses all classes, signifies reconciliation, peace, and harmony, and seeks to maintain the established social order. The female image of Liberty, which appeared with a Phrygian cap and other symbols of militant insurrection, such as weaponry, thus became associated with the popular classes in nineteenth-century France. Conversely, the non-militant and serene construction served to represent the interests of the conservative upper classes.

In view of these opposing, class-based interpretations of Liberty, Warner and Gutwirth’s contentions that female figures represented a disorderly, rebellious, and unmanly “other” must be qualified. Female images of the Republic could be utilized to promote social stability and order, as well as insurrection. It should be noted that Warner specifically addresses the Revolutions of 1789 and 1830, while Gutwirth’s study is limited to the former. Competing depictions of the female figure Liberty reflected and coincided with an internal split in the Republican camp, which did not become truly significant until the Revolution of 1848. Before this period, the primary threat to republicanism came from counter-revolutionaries. After 1848, however, increasingly prominent class divisions among republicans pitted bourgeois adherents against their popular-class

⁷⁶ “Plébéienne peut-être et pourquoi pas comtesse du noble Faubourg Saint-Germain?” or “Plebian perhaps and why not countess of the noble Faubourg Saint-Germain?”

colleagues, and the insurrectionary qualities of the female “other” became hallmarks of the people’s Liberty.⁷⁷

The divergent interpretations of Liberty that arose after the French Revolution correspond to the varied interpretations of Joan of Arc’s image that appeared in the nineteenth century and in the period of World War I. For both female figures, such interpretations were informed by, and divided along the lines of, gender and class distinctions. In claiming the Liberty of the Revolution as a representation of their cause, that is, the struggle to establish a Republic of the people, popular republicans in the “effeminate” crowd appropriated and utilized a symbol that had been produced by and for those who possessed “manhood.” This was a kind of revolution in itself.

Joan of Arc as a Resistance Figure

The image of Liberty as a woman, and moreover, as a symbol of rebellion and resistance to tyranny, mirrored the ideals represented by the esteemed French heroine known as Joan of Arc, Jeanne d’Arc, Joan of Lorraine or the Maid of Lorraine. Agulhon maintains that Joan of Arc could not represent a French Republic.⁷⁸ Yet, despite her status as a Catholic saint and ardent supporter of a monarch, insurgents in the Revolution of 1830 equated her struggle to “liberate” French lands from the English with the revolutionary version of the female figure Liberty, and with the actions of female revolutionaries.⁷⁹ For example, one

⁷⁷ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 98, 121.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁷⁹ For more on Joan of Arc as a “liberator” of France see Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans., Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (New York:St. Martin’s Griffin, 1998), 3.

woman who participated in the Revolution of 1830 and led a charge that resulted in the capture of a major piece of artillery, became known as a “Joan of Arc” in newspaper accounts. The revolutionaries later held an impromptu parade in her honor.⁸⁰ Timothy Clark refers to another female rebel, one Marie Deschamps, whom revolutionaries deemed comparable to Joan of Arc in the Revolution of 1830.⁸¹ Joan of Arc thus signified the same republican elements depicted in the popular, revolutionary figure of Liberty: an armed struggle for freedom, and opposition to a tyrannical and unjust government.

Much like the class rivalries within the Republican camp that gave rise to different interpretations of the female image of Liberty, scholarship surrounding Joan of Arc has been divided on the issue of her family’s class status and origins. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin report that chroniclers disagree as to whether she came from the peasantry or from the aristocracy. Some traditions have cited “Darc” as her surname, rather than the aristocratic designation “d’Arc,” while others have emphasized that her family possessed a coat of arms, and thus, noble status.⁸² Joan of Arc transcended class distinctions, like the people’s Liberty, representing the conflation of all classes beneath the banner of the people’s Republic, and the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is not surprising that revolutionaries linked her image and legacy to the struggle for

⁸⁰ P.Cuisin, *Les barricades du peuple de Paris, relations historiques, militaire, et anecdotiques* (Paris : Les Roi, 1830), 385-386.

⁸¹ Timothy J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 17.

⁸² Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, 220-221.

a popular Republic in 1830. In this way, she became a female allegory of republican resistance to tyranny, alongside Liberty.

The examples of revolutionary women in 1830 further suggest that insurgent republicans perceived a connection between the actions of real French women and the characteristics portrayed in female images relating to freedom and resistance. Scholars such as Agulhon and Gutwirth have described similar instances in which real women served as “living allegories,” embodying and acting the part of metaphorical female figures such as Liberty. For instance, Gutwirth refers to government-sponsored ceremonies in 1793, in which living women portrayed the role of “Reason’s goddess.”⁸³ The women who earned comparisons to Joan of Arc in 1830, like the living women who represented Reason, were celebrated with parades and other public accolades.⁸⁴ However, they were not “living allegories,” that is, actresses occupying roles in an organized festival. Rather, they earned acclaim, and association with the Maid of Lorraine, due to their actions in the service of revolution. Joan of Arc, as a real historical figure and a female allegory akin to Liberty, provided a conceptual framework which French men and women utilized to interpret, and even condone, real women’s incursions into the male, temporal realm of warfare and politics. The radical struggle to achieve a Republic of the people, as exemplified by the revolutionary republican interpretation of Joan of Arc, and the popular rendition

⁸³ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 276; Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 64-67, 93, 109, 140.

⁸⁴ Cuisin, *Les barricades du peuple de Paris*, 385-386.

of Liberty, would gain momentum and adopt a new name in the latter half of the nineteenth-century: Marianne.

Marianne, Resistance, and the Underground Republic

Scholars, including Agulhon, suggest that the term “Marianne” originated among counter-revolutionaries in Southern France as a derisive term for the Republic and the goddess Liberty. Plebian republican sympathizers in the same region, and especially in the Languedoc area, then embraced the name as an affectionate reference to the Republic of the people. From there, it spread to republican circles throughout the country in the years between 1849 and 1851. Agulhon interprets this shift as a common phenomenon, in which a “term of abuse becomes a popular epithet that is a source of pride.”⁸⁵ Marginalized groups often appropriate the slurs directed against them, in order to redefine and to neutralize the harmful effects of those terms. Yet, the widespread republican adoption of the term “Marianne,” and the growing strength of popular, radical republicanism that it signified, can also be attributed to the government’s increasing persecution of republicans, and the unification of previously divided republican factions that ensued as a result.

The Revolution of 1848 ushered in what was supposed to be a democratic “Second Republic,” led by an elected Constituent Assembly and an elected president. Under the leadership of predominantly bourgeois republicans, the Second Republic initially espoused the principle of universal suffrage, and allowed previously disenfranchised men such as peasants, workers, and artisans,

⁸⁵ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 115-117.

to vote. Even so, hope for a Republic of the people soon diminished with the rise of conservative legislators who sought to protect the interests of affluent elites. They passed election laws to decrease the population of eligible voters, persecuted advocates of universal suffrage, and countered the republican emphasis on secularism with the institution of Catholic teachings in public schools. The Second Republic was not a Republic of the people. Moreover, after December of 1851, it was no longer a Republic.

Despite a campaign promise to support universal suffrage and the institution of democracy, upon his election to the presidency Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte forged an alliance with the dominant anti-republican conservatives in the Constituent Assembly, and became an opponent of republicanism. For example, he sent French troops to Rome, to protect the pope from a potential republican revolution. His regime dealt a final, crushing blow to republicans with a coup d'état on December 2nd, 1851, whereby he abolished the constitution that had been established in 1848, and transformed the Second Republic into the Second Empire.

The government of France had become increasingly hostile toward republicans under the rule of conservatives in the Assembly and the imperial regime of Louis-Napoléon, which equated all republicans with the popular classes and with the values of the people's Liberty: militant support for universal suffrage and social equality.⁸⁶ Persecution forced republicans to hide their political sentiments, and furthermore, served to erode the dichotomies and rivalries that

⁸⁶ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 108-116.

had divided them previously. Moderate and radical republicans, as well as bourgeois and plebian republicans, now united against the conservative policies of the Second Republic, and later, the Second Empire.⁸⁷

The development of this underground Republic of conspirators is worthy of note. Under the Second Republic in 1849, a group of republican radicals, that is, democratic socialists, in the Assembly formed an opposition group to stand against the dominant faction of conservative deputies, known as the “Party of Order.” The former called their group “la *Montagne*,” or “the *Mountain*” and garnered supporters from among the popular classes, including large numbers of rural people.⁸⁸ This organization extended into a network of secret societies, many of which operated in the South, plotting against the conservative government and attempting to engineer its demise. According to Agulhon, the secret societies that comprised la *Montagne* became known to the authorities in the summer of 1850, and the former, having been exposed, required a new name and code word for their resistance network. As “Marianne” had become a common republican designation among the popular classes in Southern France, and republican secret societies were concentrated in the same general area, republican insurgents selected the term to replace “la *Montagne*.” The latter had signified the ideal of a democratic and socialist Republic, as well as the organization that struggled and fought for it. “Marianne” now assumed these dual connotations.

⁸⁷ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 104.

⁸⁸ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 113.

The importance of this association between the term and image of Marianne, the Republican Party, and a covert resistance network, should not be overlooked. Indeed, as Agulhon shows, the term “Marianne” became an essential element in the practices of republican secret societies in 1851. He cites one such group’s initiation ritual, for instance, in which the new initiate would give scripted answers to questions about “Mother Marianne,” a code for the secret societies and their clandestine, anti-government plots. In addition, he reports that “la Marianne” signified not only “the Society,” that is, the organization formerly known as “la *Montagne*,” but the Republican Party as well. Furthermore, republicans referred to activist members of the party as “Children of Marianne.”⁸⁹ In “Marianne,” then, the popular construction of the Republic and the female image of Liberty became synonymous with the Republican Party, and moreover, with insurrection, subterfuge, and resistance to an oppressive, illegitimate, and authoritarian regime.

The Second Republic’s apparent failure and descent into imperialism eventually reversed with the resurgence of republicanism, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War. In accordance with her relationship to the insurrectionary, underground Republic that endured under the Second Empire, Marianne’s image gained widespread appeal and served as a prominent symbol of republican France in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Having outlined the components of French bourgeois manhood and the development of symbolic female images relating to the people’s Republic and resistance, I intend to show how the combination of masculine and feminine

⁸⁹ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 118-120.

elements in female resistance figures reflected and influenced perceptions of patriotic resistance among French men and women. Moreover, I will argue that, in depicting a union of masculine and feminine traits, female allegories provided a conceptual framework through which French men and women interpreted the patriotic contributions of women in war. In order to understand French interpretations of resistance in World War II, including the relationship between women's resistance and "silence," it is necessary to examine earlier accounts of real French women's actions in wartime, beginning with the conflict between France and Prussia that would establish patterns for French depictions of Franco-German relations, and ultimately find resolution, in World War II.

Chapter 2

THE TERRIBLE YEAR: GENDERED CONCEPTS OF RESISTANCE IN IMAGE AND ACTION

During the Franco-Prussian War, republicans in besieged Paris utilized depictions of the people's Republic, Marianne, to denote Paris and resistance in Paris, rather than the whole of France. Marianne/Joan of Arc figures continued to incorporate both masculine and feminine characteristics, in keeping with the earliest images of Liberty in France, although artistic renditions of the people's Republic increasingly conflated the two, portraying and interpreting masculine soldierly aspects in feminine, moral, and spiritual terms. Both bourgeois intellectuals and radical republicans in Paris continued to classify resistance to tyranny and disrespect for established power structures as female characteristics. However, along with these characteristics they now highlighted the elements of spiritual, or immaterial, strength and moral authority, contrasting these with the male, temporal realm. Women's patriotism and resistance thus came to be defined as metaphorical, moral opposition, rather than armed combat. Furthermore, in contrast to men who fought material or temporal opponents, such as enemy soldiers, women were supposed to "fight" against abstract concepts, such as "immorality," "evil," or "death." Their enemies, like their strength and prescribed theater of action, were relegated to the spiritual realm. Like religious saints in the Catholic Church, women's association with the non-corporeal world included the elements of moral purity and martyrdom. Male commentators such as Dr. Lucien Nass perceived self-sacrifice as a form of female patriotism, a view

that persisted from the Franco-Prussian War through the period of World War I. As Paris endured a long siege and unremitting aggression from the Prussian army, which Parisian republicans perceived as unjust and immoral, the feminine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc figures came to signify Paris and Parisian resistance. Yet, even as feminine, spiritual characteristics gained prominence in allegorical female imagery and became associated with Paris, real women emphasized and sought to adopt the aspects of masculine militancy depicted in these images. While bourgeois intellectual men wanted women to express patriotism by displaying the feminine traits in Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery, and by engaging in indirect forms of “combat,” some women perceived Marianne/Joan of Arc figures as literal role models, and attempted to realize their masculine qualities through direct participation in the war.

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the Franco-Prussian War, showing that republicans in Paris perceived the war as an unjustified act of aggression, a view that influenced the association between Paris and feminine aspects in female allegories, which became prominent in the period of 1870-1871. I will then discuss allegorical female images in France during the war, indicating how they combined masculine and feminine qualities, and emphasized the latter in depicting Parisian resistance. A discussion of how these images provided a conceptual framework for real women’s resistance and patriotism will follow, focusing upon divergent interpretations of the masculine and feminine traits depicted in female allegories. Finally, I will show how disparate interpretations of

these images informed and related to male and female, as well as bourgeois and radical, perceptions about women who fought for the Paris Commune.

The Franco-Prussian War and the Prussian Siege of Paris

The Franco-Prussian War officially began on July 15th, 1870, with the Second Empire's declaration of war on Prussia. This ill-fated maneuver led to a year-long conflict that resulted in extensive destruction, regime change, and finally, civil war in France. Scholars and eyewitnesses offer differing accounts of the war's origins, although they all agree that the conflict centered on the question of who would occupy the Spanish throne after an internal uprising deposed the Bourbon Queen Isabel in 1868. According to Gullickson, the machinations of the Prussian Prime Minister, Otto von Bismarck, precipitated the conflict and provoked a confrontation with France. Gullickson indicates that Bismarck had been plotting and planning for a war with France for two years, and that he made war inevitable when he tried to convince a Catholic member of the Prussian royal family, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, to accept a position as the constitutionally appointed monarch of Spain.¹ Leopold's appointment to the throne would have strengthened Prussian hegemony and enhanced Prussia's honor and prestige, to the detriment of France. For Gullickson, Bismarck's endorsement of Leopold instigated the Franco-Prussian War. In *Paris Babylon*, however, Rupert Christiansen contends that France did not go to war over Prussian support for Leopold's candidacy. Rather, in early July, Prussia had retracted its endorsement of Leopold and the latter had withdrawn his bid for the

¹ Gay L. Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 14.

Spanish throne under pressure from the international community. Christiansen argues that this conflict between France and Prussia would have remained a war of diplomacy and negotiation, if not for the Prussian King Wilhelm's supposedly rude behavior toward the French ambassador to Prussia, the Count Benedetti. The latter had endeavored to meet with King Wilhelm, who was vacationing at the spa of Ems, seeking reassurances that Prussia would not endorse Leopold as a candidate again. In their brief encounter, which became known as "the Ems affair," King Wilhelm insisted that he could not make such a promise, and refused further discussion on the matter. Immediately afterward, Bismarck publicized a transcript of the Ems affair, portraying what had been a polite refusal on the part of the king as a curt snub and an affront to Benedetti. An insult to the French ambassador was an insult to France. For this perceived slight against French honor, the Second Empire declared war on Prussia, just as Bismarck had expected.² Significantly, both Gullickson and Christiansen depict Prussia as the aggressor. However, Ernest Vizetelly, an English observer and journalist who lived in Paris during the war, diverges from Gullickson and Christiansen in his account. Although he agrees that Bismarck sought to increase German hegemony and undoubtedly displayed aggression toward France, Vizetelly argues that the Ems affair and the conflict surrounding Leopold of Hohenzollern were of minor importance. He finds the origins of the war in earlier events, and notes aggressive tendencies on both sides. France had feared the increasing size and strength of the

² Rupert Christiansen, *Paris Babylon: The Story of the Paris Commune* (Penguin Books: New York, 1994), 135-137.

Prussian armed forces and had anticipated a Prussian invasion in the French province of Alsace-Lorraine as early as 1866, when war broke out between Prussia and Austria. The French Emperor Napoleon III initially pursued a defensive policy toward Prussia, but this approach shifted in 1868 when he sought a secret alliance with Austria and Italy, and proposed that the latter two powers join with France in an attack on the Prussians. The planned alliance failed as Napoleon III rejected Italy's terms, namely, the stipulation that France withdraw its occupying troops from Rome and from the States of the Church. If France had agreed to these conditions, according to Vizetelly, Italy would have become a French ally, and Austria would have followed. However, with such intrigues, the French Emperor "lost everything, and prevented nothing." Hungarians reported the negotiations between France and Austria to Prussia, which may have motivated Bismarck's decision to endorse Leopold of Hohenzollern. For Vizetelly, then, France and Prussia engaged in mutual hostility and provocation.³

Vizetelly's assessment contradicts the views of many French people who lived through the Franco-Prussian War, and who perceived Prussia as a belligerent, evil, greedy, and tyrannical barbarian, with France as its innocent, yet strong and defiant, victim. Such disparity can be partially attributed to the regime change that took place in France during the war, with the Second Empire's demise, and the declaration of a "Republic" in Paris.⁴ On September 1st, 1870,

³ Ernest Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure: The Fall of France, 1870-1871* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1914), 26-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

German troops captured the emperor, after routing the French army at Sedan. Demonstrations and mass uprisings ensued in Paris, and, on September 4th, Parisian crowds proclaimed the end of the Second Empire, and the victory of “the Republic.” General Trochu, the sitting military governor of Paris, assumed the leadership of France, on behalf of the newly declared provisional government.⁵ The Prussians laid siege to Paris about two weeks afterward. Thus, for the remainder of the war, the Prussians did not fight against the Second Empire, but against a provisional government supported by republicans in Paris, a government that had neither antagonized nor provoked a conflict with Prussia.

Having been declared and supported by the popular masses in Paris, the provisional government ostensibly represented the will of the people, and thus, corresponded to the Republic of the people. As such, it fit into the symbolic connotations of Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery. Further underscoring republican perceptions of an association between the ideal of the people’s Republic and the new provisional government was the immediate threat from a monarchical, foreign power, in the form of Prussia. Moreover, according to Vizetelly, a Prussian proclamation in the early weeks of the war indicated that Prussian leaders recognized a difference between the Second Empire and the people of France. The announcement stated that Prussia had no quarrel with the French nation, and only sought to make war on Napoleon III. In practice, however, the invading soldiers largely failed to consider this distinction, engendering strong enmity and resentment among the French people, who equated Prussian

⁵ Louise Michel, *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel*, trans., Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 56.

aggression toward the provisional government with the unjustified and evil actions of a rapist.⁶ The notion of the republican-endorsed provisional government as an innocent martyr and victim provided yet another link between the former and the pure, saintly, feminine aspects of popular republican female allegories, such as Joan of Arc.

The provisional government, originating as the product of a popular republican uprising in Paris, acting in opposition to a foreign monarchy, and appearing as a pure, morally blameless martyr and victim of an unjust war, became the symbolic, if not actual, equivalent of the people's Republic. Even after the Franco-Prussian War ended with the French capitulation on January 28th, 1871, the republican view of Prussia, now part of the newly established German Empire, as a violent, immoral oppressor would inform and resonate within French culture for decades, enduring into the twentieth century.⁷

La Résistance and Female Allegories of the Republic, 1870-1871

Allegorical female depictions of French republican ideals took on new connotations during, and immediately after, the Franco-Prussian War and the Prussian siege of Paris. Although many female images from the "Terrible Year" of 1870 to 1871 displayed continuities with those of earlier periods, as the

⁶ See figures 5-9.

⁷ Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure*, 55-56, 60-61, 143, 174-176; The German Empire officially formed on January 18th, 1871, dominated by Prussian influence under the Prussian Prime Minister, who became the Prime Minister of the German Empire, Otto Von Bismarck. The Prussian capital city of Berlin was the locus of political power in the Empire, and the Prussian king became the German Kaiser, with the power to appoint government officials. In this way, Prussia held considerable control over the Empire, which Lynn Abrams has referred to as "a Prussified Germany." It is not surprising that French republicans would apply their opinions of Prussia to the German Empire as well; Lynn Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire: 1871-1918*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1, 15, 26.

people's Liberty/Marianne had come to represent all republicans, two developments are of particular interest. Republican female imagery now frequently depicted Marianne as a symbol of Paris, rather than the broader French nation. Moreover, the perceived enemies of "the Republic" shifted from counter-revolutionaries and French imperialists to Prussia and alleged Prussian sympathizers in the provisional French government. One prominent image exemplified the combination of these new, anti-Prussian elements and Marianne: Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière's *La Résistance*.

On December 8th, 1870, amid the Prussian siege of Paris, the Seventh Company of the Nineteenth Battalion of the National Guard had been assigned to guard Bastion 84 on the southern border of the city's 13th district, when snow began to fall. According to Hollis Clayson, the soldiers grew bored, and, as the vast majority of them were artists, decided to build a sculpture from the snow. With help from his comrades, who assembled a wooden matrix to support the statue, Falguière completed his sculpture, *La Résistance*, the following day. Already a well-known professional artist, Falguière's fame grew with this work, which became a celebrated image in the press. Although there are no photographs of the statue, other artists and writers recorded and described it in illustrations, engravings, poetry, and essays. Falguière even sought to reproduce the figure himself, sculpting smaller versions of his "statue de neige" or "snow statue" in bronze, terra cotta, and wax.⁸

⁸ Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 273-277, 281 ; see figures 7-9.

Figures 5 and 6 show two artistic renditions of *La Résistance*. The former, an engraving by Burn Smeeton, based upon a sketch by Félix Phillopoteau, and the latter, an etching by Félix Bracquemond, provide the only visual records from eyewitnesses. In figure 5, National Guard soldiers gather around Falguière as he sculpts the statue. Figure 6 includes a caption, *La Résistance*, which Falguière wrote on a piece of board at the base of the statue.⁹ Both images depict the statue as a nude woman sitting atop a cannon, with a cloth draped over one thigh and leg. Her arms are crossed in front of her, concealing her breasts. Her shoulders are broad and strong, to the extent that her upper torso appears almost masculine. Yet, she possesses other, decidedly feminine, qualities, such as a narrow waist, long hair, and delicate facial features. The posture of her body, with her weight balanced between the cannon and the ground, as if she is alert and prepared to repel an attack, taken together with the presence of the cannon, suggests militant defiance. Her concealment of the vulnerable areas of her body, that is, her breasts and groin, implies her refusal of and resistance to sexual advances. Falguière's snow sculpture, then, represents a combination of masculine and feminine traits, and furthermore, an eroticized allegorical representation of Prussia's attempt to conquer Paris.

Théophile Gautier, a bourgeois intellectual, writer, and art critic, agrees with these visual records in his analysis and assessment of the original sculpture, which he, too, witnessed firsthand. He notes that Falguière, "The refined artist," did not give *La Résistance* the "robust, almost manly" form and muscular shape

⁹ Théophile Gautier, *Tableaux de Sièges: Paris, 1870-1871* (Paris : Charpentier et Cie., 1871), 428.



Figure 5: Burn Smeeton, after a drawing by Félix Phillipoteaux. "Falguière exécutant la statue de la Résistance." *L'Illustration*. Source: Clayson, p. 275. (December 31st, 1871).

that one might expect to find in an artistic representation of “Resistance.”¹⁰ In his view, Falguière “understood that this was a moral Resistance rather than a physical Resistance,” and moreover, that “instead of representing it as a kind of female Hercules ready for battle, he gave it the rather frail grace of a Parisian woman of our day.”¹¹ Despite such emphasis on the statue’s feminine qualities, Gautier suggests that the image displays a combination of feminine “grace” and bellicose masculinity. The figure possesses an “air of indomitable resolve,”¹² as well as “dainty feet,” for instance.¹³ Gautier goes on to describe her in detail:

She has thrown back her hair with a proud motion of the head, as if to show the enemy her charming face, more terrible than the face of Medusa.

A faint smile of heroic disdain plays on the lips, and in the bent brows is

¹⁰ Théophile Gautier, *Tableaux de Siège*, 427-428 ; “ L’artist délicat... n’a pas donné à la Résistance ces formes robustes presque viriles...”

¹¹ “ Il a compris qu’il s’agissait ici d’une Résistance morale plutôt que d’une Résistance physique, et au lieu de la personnifier sous les traits d’une sorte d’Hercule femelle prête à la lutte, il lui a donné la grâce un peu frêle d’une Parisienne de nos jours. ”

¹² “ un air d’indomptable résolution”

¹³ “ ses pieds mignons”

concentrated the obstinacy of the defense that will never surrender. No, the huge fists of a barbarian will never bind these slender and tense arms behind that back with its elegant lines. This lithe waist will break rather than bend. Immaterial strength will overcome brutal strength, and, like Raphael's angel, will set its foot upon the monstrous rump of the beast.¹⁴

Furthermore, he contends that the title *Falguière* provided is unnecessary, as the female figure evokes the concept of resistance, so much so that "everyone would name it, even if it did not have a cannon made of snow by its side."¹⁵ The cannon, and the figure's obvious disdain for "the enemy" suggest the overt combat of the masculine, temporal realm, and moreover, imply opposition to a corporeal enemy, the Prussian army. Her unyielding endurance suggests the characteristics of a soldier in battle. Yet, this quality also correlates with the religious concept of resurrection, and the indomitability of martyrs, who, though persecuted and murdered on earth, go on to eternal life after death. The element of moral authority is apparent, as Gautier compares her to an angel, "combating" the evil of "the beast." The struggle between Prussia and the city of Paris thus became allegorized as a battle between angels and demons, or between "good" and "evil." The combination of masculine militant elements, including the cannon, and feminine moral authority suggests that the image portrayed soldierly qualities in

¹⁴ "D'un fier mouvement de tête, elle se secoue ses chevaux en arrière comme pour faire bien voir à l'ennemi sa charmante figure, plus terrible que la face de Médusa. Sur les lèvres se joue le léger sourire du dédain héroïque, et dans le pli des sourcils se ramasse l'opiniâtreté de la défense, qui ne reculera jamais. Non, les gros poings d'un barbare n'attacheront pas ces bras fins et nerveux derrière ce dos d'une ligne si élégante. Cette taille souple rompra plutôt que de ployer. La force immatérielle vaincra la force brutale, et, comme l'ange de Raphael, mettre le pied sur la croupe monstrueuse de la bête."

¹⁵ "...tout le monde la nommera, quand même elle n'aurait pas à côté d'elle son canon de neige."

terms of metaphorical and spiritual strength, rather than physical strength. As Victor Cousin had transferred masculine, warlike characteristics into the realm of intellectualism, *La Résistance* transferred soldierly qualities into the supposedly feminine, spiritual realm. Here, we find masculine warlike traits, the endurance and strength of a soldier, construed in feminine terms. In Gautier's description, then, *La Résistance* appears as a decidedly feminine figure that is also fierce, fearsome, and militant, signifying resistance to the Prussian army, and simultaneously, to the abstract concept of "evil" that they represent.

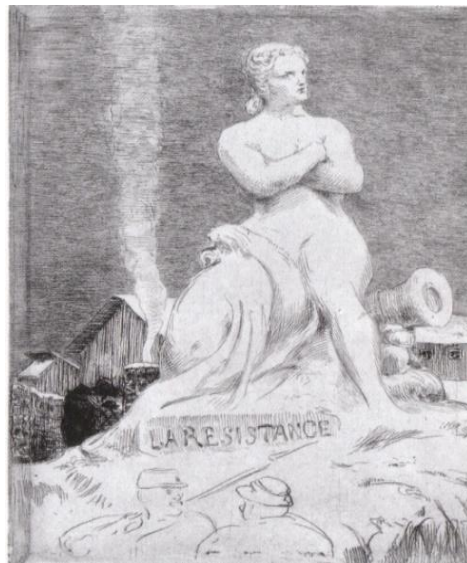


Figure 6: Félix Bracquemond. "La Statue de La Résistance, de Falguière." *Siège de Paris de 1870: Cinq Eaux-Fortes* (Paris, P. Roquette, 1874). The Art Institute of Chicago. Source: Clayson, p. 275. (1870-1871).

Théodore de Banville, another bourgeois intellectual and poet, also offers a written account of the sculpture in his book of poems from the period of 1870 to 1871, *Idylles Prussiennes*, or *Prussian Romance*. Banville wrote "*La Résistance, statue de Falguière*," based upon Gautier's analysis, describing the sculpture as a lovely, physically delicate woman, who simultaneously carries masculine,

militant connotations. He, like Gautier, notes the grace and beauty of her physical form, referring to her as a “tragic goddess, slender and strong as a young tree.”¹⁶ He also focuses upon her bare feet, and the position of her arms, crossed conspicuously over her chest, which underscores her vulnerability. Banville holds that snow is the most appropriate material for the figure, better than the stone and marble of Ancient Greek sculptures. For him, the white snow signifies virtue and purity, as he refers to “the chaste snow in bloom.”¹⁷ The woman *La Résistance* is “splendid and pure.”¹⁸ She also reflects “the ardent virtue that remains to us”¹⁹ as she sits radiant “in her whiteness;”²⁰ the latter term denotes innocence, as well as the color of the snow. Yet, for Banville, these elements are blended with power, fierceness, and implacable hostility to the enemy. He further describes her as “this bellicose Charity,” comparing her to the minor ancient Greek goddesses of beauty and grace, known as “the Three Charities,” while simultaneously linking her to the manly qualities of a soldier.²¹ In addition, he describes her as a “frail and valiant Gallic soul,” who derives her strength from love.²² She is both formidable and gentle, fragile and brave. Likewise, he is struck by the power and ferocity in her facial expression, and he, too, compares her to Medusa.²³ Here,

¹⁶ Théodore de Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes* (Paris : J Claye, 7 rue Saint-Benoit, 1871), 114-117.

¹⁷ “ la chaste neige en fleur ”

¹⁸ “ splendide et pur. ”

¹⁹ “ l’ardente vertu qui nos reste ”

²⁰ “ telle en sa blancheur est éclore ”

²¹ “ cette belliqueuse Charité;” the Charities were also known as Graces or Kharites, and were usually portrayed in as nude female figures in classical art; Aaron J. Atsma, “Kharites,” Theoi Greek Mythology, accessed November 17, 2011, <http://www.theoi.com/Ouranios/Kharites.html>.

²² “ Frêle et vaillante âme gauloise, dans son amour puisant sa force ”

²³ Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes*, 115; “ ...elle secoue en arrière sa chevelure et montre a l’adversaire horrible, qui médite encore quelque ruse sa tête pour lui plus terrible a voir que celle de Méduse.”

again, we find that *La Résistance* signifies the union of feminine traits, such as moral purity, with manly strength and other martial aspects, including courage and armed opposition.



Figure 7: Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière. "La Résistance." Bronze. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Source: Clayson, p. 282. First modeled in 1870. (1894?).



Figure 8 : Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière. "La Résistance." Cast Terra Cotta. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. Source: Clayson, p. 282. (1870).



Figure 9: Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière. "La Résistance." Wax sculpture. Musée Carnavale, Paris. Source: Clayson, p. 282. (1870?).

In his emphasis on the figure's purity and virtue, Banville echoes Gautier's statement that the sculpture represents "moral resistance," instead of militant action and force. The similarities between Banville and Gautier are not coincidental, as Clayson cites the former as the latter's pupil.²⁴ In addition, Banville refers to the sculpture as that "which, in his marvelous prose, our teacher, Gautier, has described."²⁵ Both focus upon the figure's feminine virtue and vulnerability through descriptions of her physical appearance and emotions.

²⁴ Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, 274.

²⁵ Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes*, 115 ; "...que, dans sa merveilleuse prose, notre maître, Gautier, a décrite. "

They interpret her masculine strength and power as internal and spiritual, rather than temporal, qualities.

La Résistance as a Marianne Figure

In combining masculine and feminine characteristics, *La Résistance* corresponds to the female, republican symbols of Marianne and the people's Liberty. We have seen that the theme of resistance to an anti-republican or counter-revolutionary enemy appeared in images and written depictions of the popular Liberty, and in association with Marianne. The former signified radical, armed resistance to "enslaving" government and religious structures, while the latter served as a password and code name for secret republican insurrectionary movements, which opposed and operated under the conservative-dominated Second Republic and the Second Empire. Thus, the very title of Falguière's sculpture places it within a broader framework and tradition of female allegories as resistance figures and symbols of the struggle for a popular Republic. *La Résistance* is also a goddess figure. Banville emphasizes this point explicitly, referring to her as a "tragic goddess" and "Charity." Furthermore, she sits upon a cannon, thereby recalling the association between the people's Liberty, weaponry, strength, and militant rebellion, as seen in figure 2 and in Barbier's poem, "*La Curée*." The strong, somewhat masculine, upper torso of *La Résistance*, together with her bare feet, further suggest a connection to the popular Liberty, and thus, to Marianne. The proud, intimidating face and resolute, defiant stance, resemble the "flashing" eyes, and the eyes alight with "flames of insurrection," which Barbier and Balzac, respectively, ascribed to the people's Liberty. Finally, *La Résistance*

can be linked directly to republican ideals, and to the concept of opposition to a tyrannical enemy. Falguière formed his statue in the context of a provisional government that had been established through widespread revolt among the Parisian masses. The insurgents wanted, and had declared France to be, a Republic of the people. Moreover, as the military governor of Paris had become the temporary head of the French state, the new, popular “Republic” and the city of Paris were thus conflated. Even if the former only existed in theory, the similarities between *La Résistance* and the popular version of republican Liberty suggest that aggression toward Paris became synonymous with aggression toward the Republic, in the eyes of Falguière and his audience.²⁶

Despite the apparent links between *La Résistance* and the people’s Liberty/Marianne, the former also diverges from earlier allegorical female images of republican ideals and republican resistance to oppression. The Phrygian cap is noticeably absent. In addition, although the upper torso of Falguière’s snow statue resembles that of a masculine figure, *La Résistance* is more obviously feminine than the “robust” depictions of the people’s Liberty in figure 2 and Barbier’s poem. As Gautier indicates, she is graceful and delicate, resembling a Parisian woman of his own day more than a female version of “Hercules.” Her feminine face and her narrow waist contrast with the shapeless, relatively androgynous features of Liberty on the first seal of the Republic.²⁷ Falguière’s later renditions of *La Résistance* in figures 7, 8 and 9 suggest that the original statue featured long

²⁶ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 56; Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure*, 60-61.

²⁷ See figure 2.

hair, which represents another departure from preceding images of the people's Liberty. The feminine bodily traits in *La Résistance* are further emphasized by the figure's obvious nudity, along with her refusal to reveal the points of vulnerability on her form. Her body is, at once, exposed and concealed from view. This portrayal serves to eroticize the allegory of rebellion and resistance, as the parable of slaves or former slaves fighting an oppressive government for their freedom, assumes a sexual dynamic. Here, then, republican resistance to tyranny becomes the story of a pursued woman, refusing to yield to a sexually aggressive man. Gautier's reference to a brutal barbarian, who seeks to capture the woman, further underscores this interpretation. Prussia thus appears as a rapist, with Paris, and France, as a strong, proud, pure and vulnerable woman, fighting off an attempted rape or a forced union. What is more, *La Résistance* lends nationalist connotations to the allegory, as the republican struggle had shifted from an internal conflict within France to an international contest between the republican-endorsed provisional government in Paris, and Prussia.

The status of *La Résistance* as both a nude figure and a symbol of a city at war carries additional significance. Clayson reveals that female allegories proliferated in Paris in between 1870 and 1871, although none were nudes. French artists frequently utilized nude women to represent abstract concepts, and Falguière's resistance figure correlates with this practice, depicting "resistance" as an abstraction, in the form of a nude woman. Yet, Falguière departs from conventional images of female nudes, locating his resistance figure in the context of a besieged city, equating her with the city itself, and portraying her with a

cannon.²⁸ The elements that differentiate Falguière's sculpture from conventional nudes and link her with the city of Paris also connect her to images of the people's Liberty and Marianne, as we have seen. Peter Fusco contends that allegorical female depictions of French republican ideals, such as the people's Liberty, rarely appear as nudes.²⁹ Even so, images from earlier periods, such as Delacroix's *Liberty leading the people at the barricades*, show Liberty in a partial state of undress, with one breast revealed.³⁰ This aspect is also featured in illustrations of Marianne from the period of 1870 to 1871, such as figure 11. It is ironic that the portrayals of the people's Liberty in figure 3, and Marianne in figure 11, show more of the vulnerable points on their physical bodies than we find in the visual records of the nude snow sculpture *La Résistance*. Despite Fusco's assertion, the latter figure's nudity does not preclude her association with republican imagery. Rather, *La Résistance* signifies a conflation of the female allegories representing the people's Republic and nude female depictions of abstract concepts.

Falguière's snow woman bears many strong similarities to other images of Marianne and the popular Liberty from the Franco-Prussian War. Figure 10, *Le Contraste*, or *The Contrast*, draws a distinction between two versions of Paris, both of which are female. The image on the left, under the caption "Paris Before the War," shows a frivolous woman reveling in luxuries, with an opulent dress,

²⁸ Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, 124-133, 274.

²⁹ Peter Fusco, "Falguière, the Female Nude and 'La Résistance,'" *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 23(1977): 36-46.

³⁰ See figure 3.

ribbons, petticoats, flowers, and wine. On her head she wears a crown, which appears skewed, as if it is about to fall from her head. The woman on the right, is clad in a simple, brown dress. Her caption reads: “Paris During the Siege.” She has a sash around her waist, and carries a Tricolor flag with the word “Liberté,” all of which correspond to Delacroix’s Liberty. She also carries a large dagger, which is reminiscent of the latter’s musket and bayonet. Although she lacks a Phrygian bonnet, she wears a crown on the top of her head. Like *La Résistance*, she has a cannon, and her posture is strong, upright, and poised for battle, in comparison to the soft lines and accentuated feminine features of “Paris Before the War.” In her resemblance to Delacroix’s Liberty, and to *La Résistance*, the image of “Paris During the Siege” represents a version of the people’s Republic, and thus, of Marianne.



Figure 10: Charles Vernier. “Le Contraste.” University of Sussex Library, England. Source: Clayson, p. 117. (1871).

Figure 11, *Les Capitulars: Paris Livré*, displays the culmination of the French struggle against Prussia, that is, the French defeat and bid for an armistice in January of 1871, construing this event as the betrayal of Paris, and the people's Republic, by French government officials.³¹ The picture shows General Trochu, along with Jules Favre, the foreign affairs minister, and a miniature Adolphe Thiers, the Orléanist foreign affairs minister, binding Marianne's arms behind her back and delivering her to the Prussians. This image apparently alludes to Gautier's essay on *La Résistance*, as he asserted that no foreign barbarian would ever be capable of binding the latter figure's arms behind her back. Here, *La Résistance*, as Marianne, is bound and subdued. She has not been captured or conquered by the Prussian "barbarians," but by her own treacherous people. Her long hair, and her designation as "Paris" provide additional links to Falguière's work. Although she wears sandals, deviating from the convention of bare feet, she relates directly to Delacroix as well, with her Phrygian bonnet and her exposed breast. Her clothing suggests the toga-style dress inspired by antiquity in the first seal of the Republic. Like the female allegory "Paris During the Siege" in figure 10, she appears with a crown and a dagger. However, these have fallen to the ground. Marianne herself has fallen, and her popular supporters' hopes for a Republic of the people have been thwarted.

The allegorical structure of the people's Republic, which included militant resistance to oppressive institutions, and the female element of disregard for established boundaries, informed the production of new images, such as *La*

³¹ The title can be translated as "The Capitulators: Paris Delivered."



Figure 11: D. "Les Capitulars: Paris Livré." Musée Carnavale, Paris. Source: Clayson, p. 129. (March 1871).

Résistance, during the Franco-Prussian War. Falguière combined the concept of the Republic and republican “resistance” as a strong woman of the popular classes, with the artistic convention of employing nude figures to convey abstractions, resulting in an erotic, sexualized version of Marianne. In *La Résistance*, the republican allegory of resistance to slavery and oppression assumed sexual connotations, and transformed into a conflict between a corrupt, forceful, brutish and sexually aggressive man and a pure, spiritually powerful, and unyielding woman. This eroticized form of Marianne served to symbolize Paris, suggesting that the city and the ideal of the people’s Republic had become coterminous, or at least, interchangeable, concepts during the Franco-Prussian War. Furthermore, taken together with the symbolic elements in images such as *Le Contraste* and *Les Capitulars: Paris Livré*, the allegory of the republican struggle for “liberty” appears as the story of republican Paris, that is, the

“republican” city’s rise and fall, during the Terrible Year. The female figure of “Paris During the Siege” in *Le Contraste* proudly wears a crown atop her head as she stands in direct opposition to the Prussian invaders. Given her strong resemblance to the people’s Liberty, as portrayed by Delacroix, and the presence of a kingship marker, the crown, Vernier’s omission of the Phrygian bonnet is telling. Paris, which also represents Marianne and the people’s Republic, must now rule France and defend the French nation from the Prussian enemy. Marianne is thus rendered equivalent to a queen. In *Les Capitulards: Paris Livré*, however, Marianne has been captured, and the tenuous alliance of popular and bourgeois republicans has been destroyed, due to the perceived treachery of elitist government officials. Again, Marianne appears in her Phrygian cap, representing only the Parisian people, that is, the popular classes, who have been betrayed and denied their rightful freedom once more. Thus, the ideal and concept of a popular Republic was characterized by resistance in the nineteenth-century, first as the people’s Liberty in a struggle against tyranny, and then as Marianne, the symbol of the underground republican insurgency.

In the Franco-Prussian War, artists such as Falguière and Vernier reinterpreted the masculine, characteristics in Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery, construing martial resistance in feminine, spiritual terms. They depicted Paris, and indeed, France itself, as a pure and morally upright woman standing against the abstractions of tyranny and evil. Simultaneously, however, with the inclusion of such elements as weaponry, she also signified the direct, armed resistance to a corporeal enemy that formed the basis of bourgeois manhood and the masculine

articulation of patriotism. Their resistance was, spiritual and temporal, as well as masculine and feminine.

Allegorical female images of the Franco-Prussian War reflected the gender prescriptions that surrounded the construct of bourgeois manhood in nineteenth-century French society, which excluded women from military activities, and construed women's resistance as abstract and spiritual. Yet, the conflation of direct and indirect, or masculine and feminine, forms of combat represented in these images could also be interpreted literally, as an example for real women to follow. Although female allegories were informed by pre-existing gender constructs, they also served to obscure the boundaries of established gender roles, providing a conceptual framework through which men and women perceived women's patriotic contributions to the war effort. Those who adhered to the construct of bourgeois manhood, such as Lucien Nass, indicated that women could serve the interests of their nation by displaying feminine qualities such as purity and self-sacrifice. They could also exhibit the masculine qualities that correlated with female allegories, albeit in an indirect and abstract form. Women's "combat" had to be a moral, spiritual struggle against abstract "opponents" that threatened France. Conversely, some women failed to make a distinction between a metaphorical application of the masculine characteristics in these images, and a literal interpretation. In other words, they understood female allegories as models for their own involvement in their country's defenses, and wanted to oppose the Prussian army in battle.

French Women, Joan of Arc, and Resistance: Male Perspectives

In the years prior to 1870, male revolutionaries in France had compared real women who displayed remarkable courage to the historical and allegorical female figure Joan of Arc, whom they also associated with the goal of establishing a popular Republic, and thus, with the people's Liberty.³² The perceived correlation between real French women and the ideals of the people's Republic, as seen in the "Jeannes d'Arc" celebrated in the Revolution of 1830, did not diminish in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For male supporters of the people's Republic, French, and especially Parisian women, like the image of *La Résistance* and the depiction of Marianne in Barbier's poem, often displayed the ideals of moral or spiritual strength, and implacable resistance to tyranny. Their perceptions of real French women were also influenced by the belief that women possessed the nurturing, maternal qualities associated with Marianne, the "mother" of the people's Republic. As well, in accounts by intellectual, bourgeois Frenchmen, including Dr. Lucien Nass, women often appeared as sacrificial victims, or martyrs, in the struggle to "liberate" France from oppression, whether as casualties of war and the helpless prey of Prussian soldiers, or as nineteenth-century versions of the Maid of Lorraine, who fought and died for "France." The feminine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc's image correlated directly with the roles, behaviors, and qualities that French men allocated to and perceived in the women of besieged Paris. Despite Agulhon's statement that Joan of Arc could never represent a French Republic, a study of French men's ideas about their

³² Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 41-42.

female counterparts suggests otherwise. Real women are largely absent in Agulhon's studies, and where they are addressed, he interprets them as components of "living allegories." The actions, perceptions, character qualities, and beliefs of these real women are irrelevant to his purposes; he sees them as mere actresses playing roles. However, upon examining male opinions of women and women's actions in besieged Paris, we find that Marianne/Joan of Arc and other female images relating to resistance correlated with and reflected the interpretive framework through which men perceived real women. For male revolutionaries, the historical female figure and symbol of French resistance, Joan of Arc, provided a conceptual framework for their interpretations of revolutionary women, including Louise Michel. Likewise, women such as Amélie Seurlart and Rosa Bonheur looked to Joan of Arc as a precedent for their own involvement in the struggle to save France. The Maid served to connect real French women and female images of the people's Republic, providing a model through which men and women could articulate and comprehend the role of women in resistance.

A medical doctor and nineteenth-century bourgeois intellectual who published commentaries on disorderly, revolutionary behaviors and mental problems, Lucien Nass describes women in Paris during the Prussian siege, focusing upon "good" women, as well as others who deviated from prescribed gender roles and, in his view, lost their minds. Generally, his chosen subjects were "unserved" and unmanly "others," such as women, left-wing political figures, and supporters of a popular Republic. Nass often conducted psychological analyses of republican revolutionaries, whom he perceived as mentally ill, and

whom he associated with the popular masses. An intellectual who sought to preserve the established social order, he devoted much of his studies to the supposedly pathological causes of collective revolutionary uprisings.³³ His work provides the perspective of an urban bourgeois intellectual, who, nevertheless, supported and even lauded women's displays of patriotism, as long as those displays remained "passive" and abstract, and did not encroach upon the components that defined bourgeois manhood.

In *Essais de pathologie historique: Le Siège de Paris et La Commune*, or *Essays on historic pathology: The Siege of Paris and The Commune*, Nass describes the activities and perceptions of real French women during the siege, holding their contributions to be important and significant. In these real women, he perceives the same ideals depicted in female images of the people's Liberty/Marianne/Joan of Arc, including spiritual power, endurance, and unyielding moral resistance to the enemy. However, he also ridicules the notion of women's direct involvement in armed resistance and combat. His views of real Parisian women under the Prussian siege thus correspond to male perceptions of allegorical female imagery, such as Gautier's interpretation of the snow statue *La Résistance*. Published on the advent of World War I, Nass' work suggests that bourgeois male perceptions of women's resistance, including the association between women and spiritual power, remained consistent in the period between the Terrible Year and the First World War.

³³ Robert A. Nye, introduction to *The French Revolution and the Psychology of Revolution* by Gustav LeBon (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, Inc., 1980), xxiii, xxiv.

Nass conveys approval and admiration for Parisian women in many instances. He states that: “An essay on siege psychology would be incomplete if it did not give to woman the prominent place that she can proudly claim.”³⁴ Parisian women, according to Nass, “became a powerful auxiliary of the defense.” He indicates that there was no need for women to be at the ramparts, fighting the Prussians. Rather, they had more important tasks: to ensure the survival of the family, and to combat famine, that “terrible ally of the besiegers.”³⁵ For him, the “Parisienne of the siege” was “heroic in her resignation, admirable in her charity.”³⁶ In Nass’ generalized depiction, the Parisienne, or Parisian woman, suffered under the horrors of war, as a “sometimes anonymous victim of the enormous holocausts that are modern battles.”³⁷ Even so, he notes as a fact that “astonishes,” that such women “in a general fashion, had shown more good sense than man.”³⁸ They “maintained the most thankless jobs, the [food] line, morning and evening, under the most bitter cold that had been seen in a long time, the battle with the suppliers, in the town hall, the difficult problem of feeding the children with such a small pittance, of snatching them from a death that circled around the cradle, like a bird of prey hovering over its victim”³⁹ A woman’s

³⁴ Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique : Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 57-58 ; “Un essai de psychologie obsidionale serait incomplète s’il ne donnait pas à la femme la place de premier plan qu’elle peut fièrement revendiquer.”

³⁵ “...elle devient un auxiliaire puissant de la défense. Non point qu’on ait besoin d’elle au rempart ; elle a plus et mieux à faire: assurer la subsistance de la famille, avec pour ennemi ce terrible allié des assiégeants : la famine.”

³⁶ “Héroïque dans la résignation, admirable dans la charité, telle fut la Parisienne du siège.”

³⁷ “...victime parfois anonyme de ces formidables holocaustes que sont les batailles modernes.”

³⁸ Ibid., 70-71; “Une chose étonne...D’une façon générale, elle a montré plus de bons sens que l’homme.”

³⁹ “Elle, elle garde les besognes les plus ingrates, la ‘queue,’ matin et soir, sous le froid le plus vif qu’on ait vu de longtemps, la bataille chez les fournisseurs, dans les mairies, le difficile problème

nurturing, caretaking work extended to those outside of the family, as she would go “to the ambulances, to the hospitals, among the poor,” exhibiting internal strength, motherly compassion and a willingness to help others in need. Though penniless, as a “brave patriot” she “gives all the same a little of her coal, half of her bread ration, her coat, like the Good Samaritan. And she remains confident, she does not want capitulation, she resists still, all the same.”⁴⁰ In this description, Nass’ admirable woman, “the brave patriot,” strongly resembles the ideals associated with Joan of Arc, *La Résistance*, and the “mother” of the popular Republic, Marianne. As “victims” of the war, Parisian women suffered greatly, battled famine as the enemy of their families’ survival, and cared for their children and their fellow Parisians, often to their own detriment. All of this recalls the Catholic concept of martyrdom, and the quintessential female martyr for France, Joan of Arc. Yet, in referring to Parisian women as “patriots,” Nass applies this religious ideal in the context of loyalty to the state. In his perception, the French state replaced the Church as the object of women’s devotion. A correlation between Parisian women’s motherly, selfless care for others and the notion of Marianne as the “mother” of French republicans is also apparent. In addition, Nass’ descriptions of Parisian women resemble Gautier’s perception of the allegorical image *La Résistance*. Although he deems female participation in

de nourrir la nichée avec une si pauvre pitance, de l’arracher à la mort qui tournoyait autour du berceau, comme un oiseau de proie planant sur sa victime. ”

⁴⁰ “ ...elle va aux ambulances, aux hôpitaux, chez les pauvres ; sans le sou, elle donne tout de même un peu de son charbon, la moitié de son bon de pain, son manteau, comme le bon Samaritain...Et elle reste confiante, elle ne veut pas de la capitulation, elle résiste encore, quand même...Ah! La brave patriote!...

armed combat unnecessary and foolish, Nass equates women's contributions to the war effort with a battle. This battle required spiritual, rather than physical, strength, as the enemy was not Prussia but starvation and the death of their families and neighbors. For Nass, Parisian women's resistance was moral and spiritual, like that of *La Résistance* in Gautier's interpretation. Women could participate in resistance and contribute to the French cause by caring for and ensuring the survival of others, and by displaying courage through heroic endurance, even when victimized.

In spite of Nass' praise and apparent admiration for the Parisian women of the siege, he held to the prevalent nineteenth-century, Cousinian view that women were less intellectually competent than men, and more prone to the influences of emotion and imagination. For example, one passage reads:

More exposed than men to suffering the effects of collective neurosis, more susceptible, due to her psychic temperament, to exaggerations, to sudden impulses and, in a general fashion to excesses, woman, in the exceptional circumstances of a siege or of a revolution, easily allows herself to be swept away by extravagances.⁴¹

He refers to a number of women who were "swept away" by feelings and impulses during the Revolution of 1789, implying that they had become temporarily insane due to the "exceptional circumstances" and chaos of the Revolution. Olympe de Gouges, Catherine Théos, Théroigne de Méricourt, and Suzette Labrousse are among the examples he cites.⁴²

⁴¹ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 59; " Plus exposée que l'homme à subir les atteintes de la névrose collective, plus portée, par son tempérament psychique aux exagérations, aux emballements impulsifs et, d'une façon générale à l'outrance, la femme, dans les circonstances exceptionnelles d'un siège ou d'une révolution, se laisse facilement entraîner aux extravagances. "

⁴² Ibid.

Furthermore, for Nass, the eccentricities of such “extravagant” women were exacerbated by men who proposed and sought to implement “ludicrous” plans involving women and direct warfare against the Prussians. For instance, he mentions a plan advocated by Félix Belly, who wanted to form battalions of female soldiers, collectively known as the “Amazones de la Seine.” Jules Allix, and inventor and mayor of the eighth arrondissement in Paris, agreed with Belly’s plan and proposed arming the “Amazones” or “Amazons” with rubber thimbles that had sharp, pointed tips and contained small tubes of prussic acid. Allix believed that the Amazons could prick the Prussian soldiers with the acid, thereby killing them, without utilizing artillery or engaging in hand-to-hand combat.⁴³ Nass indicates that some Parisian women welcomed these proposals, although Belly and Allix were not taken seriously by the general public and the press.⁴⁴ Police finally intervened to stop the “ludicrous charade” before it could be implemented, and women abandoned such radical ideas.⁴⁵ According to Nass, this “most feminine curiosity” soon gave way to “the dignified, silent attitude that Paris adopted at the moment of the Prussian occupation.”⁴⁶ In suggesting that women, who had been susceptible to irrational impulses, and who had engaged in extravagant behavior, became more serious and “dignified” due to the Prussian invasion, Nass correlates his view of real women with *La Résistance* and with the symbolic depiction of Paris as a woman in *The Contrast*. The “dignified and silent

⁴³ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 100-102.

⁴⁴ See figure 12.

⁴⁵ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 64,67; “grotesque mascarade.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 69; “Toutefois, cette curiosité bien féminine céda à son tour devant l’attitude digne et silencieuse que Paris adopta au moment de l’occupation prussienne.”

attitude” of Nass’ Parisiennes in wartime evokes the proud, powerful, and regal bearing of *La Résistance*, while *The Contrast* clearly shows the transition of “Paris” as the evolution of a woman, from a frivolous, childlike image to a strong, dignified, “goddess” figure. The regal status of the latter is underscored by the crown she wears on her head.⁴⁷ Taken together, it is apparent that Falguière’s snow statue and Vernier’s allegory of Paris in wartime correspond to Nass’ account of real Parisian women during the Prussian siege. Nass applied the ideals represented in allegorical female figures to real Parisian women, perceiving the female characteristics of the former in the latter, and applying the masculine aspects of such allegories to women in abstract terms. Women, like the city of Paris itself, could and should express resistance through dignified silence, drawing attention to the crimes of the Prussian invaders, and thereby disgracing and shaming them.

In Belly’s proposed all-female battalions, we find another link between real Parisiennes and Marianne/Joan of Arc. Belly labeled his female soldiers “Amazons,” in a reference to the famed female warriors of Greek mythology, equating the former with a concept derived from Ancient Greece. This correlates with the Greek elements in images of the people’s Liberty, such as the Phrygian bonnet, and the white, flowing, toga featured in figure 2. Real women, like the female figures of Marianne and *La Résistance*, were thus connected to and interpreted in accordance with Greek female allegories.

⁴⁷ See figure 10.

Although Belly linked real French women to symbolic elements of antiquity in his use of the term “Amazones,” most men eschewed the notion of women in combat. Figure 12 provides one example of the ridicule Belly’s proposal received in the press. This anonymous, widely-publicized cartoon shows Napoleon III inspecting the female recruits, the “Amazons,” who are either tall and skinny or short and overweight. With the exception of the woman on the far right, who evokes satirical depictions of female soldiers from the Revolution of 1848, all are nude, but for their boots.⁴⁸ One woman studies the emperor with curiosity, while another at the end of the line looks over her shoulder at a woman in uniform, apparently interested in the latter’s clothing. These “soldiers” are depicted as undisciplined, silly, gawkers, who care more about fashion than the practical concerns of military work. In body and mind, they are unfit for battle.⁴⁹ This image underscores the opinions of Nass, Banville, and Gautier, all of whom infer that women’s patriotism, participation in “battle,” and resistance to enemy forces could only ever be metaphorical and spiritual.

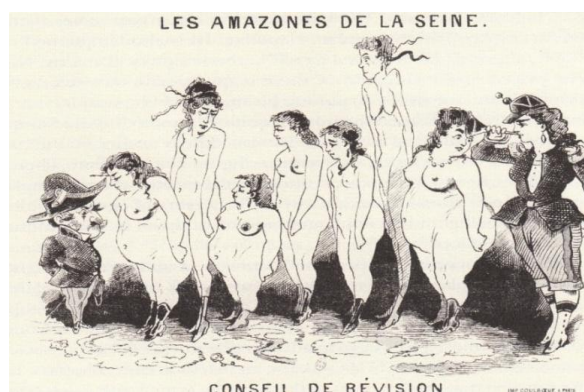


Figure 12: “The Amazons of the Seine.” Bibliothèque Nationale. Source: Gullickson, p. 101. (Published after 1870).

⁴⁸ For more on satirical images of female “soldiers” from 1848 see Janis Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁴⁹ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 100.

For most nineteenth-century bourgeois Frenchmen, real French women resembled the allegorical female image of Paris in *The Contrast*, in their reactions to the siege. They were either childish and prone to irrational thoughts and behaviors, or dignified, stoic, and committed to the liberation of France. The latter view, as Nass' writing indicates, incorporated the religious ideal of martyrdom, construing it as a form of female patriotism, and applying it to the French nation rather than to the Church. Moreover, along with their virtues of courage, self-sacrifice and moral strength, martyred or victimized women were also considered pristine, innocent, and pure, like the martyrs and saints celebrated by the Catholic Church, and the sparkling white snow figure *La Résistance*.

Banville includes all of these aspects in his poetic portrayal of real French women, who appear alongside *La Résistance* in his book, *Idylles Prussiennes*. The poem "Les Femmes Violées" or "The Violated Women" begins with an epigraph taken from the newspapers, which states:

The atrocities of the Prussians continue into Versailles, many women and girls have been violated, not only by the soldiers, but also by the officers. Several have gone mad as a result of this violence; others are dead.⁵⁰

Banville imagines a scenario in which these victimized women return as ghosts to haunt the Prussians, forcing them to face the horror and immorality of their crimes. He describes the ghosts as "These white dead...they were the violated women,"⁵¹ and directs his poem to the Prussian soldiers and their captains, saying:

⁵⁰"Les Journeaux," quoted in Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes* (Paris : J Claye, 7 rue Saint-Benoit, 1871), 18; "Les atrocités des Prussiens continuent à Versailles, de nombreuses femmes et jeunes filles ont été violées, non-seulement par les soldats, mais aussi par les officiers. Plusieurs sont devenues folles à la suite de ces violences; d'autres sont mortes. "

⁵¹ Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes*, 18-19; "Ces mortes blanches...c'étaient des femmes violées "

“You see them again, these martyrs...these dead and these insane. Holding out their long hands of ivory. They oppose you without words. They bear witness in the black night.”⁵² The clean, white appearance of the women’s “ivory” hands contrasts sharply with those of the Prussian soldiers and officers, stained with blood. In Banville’s work, the Prussians attempt to tarnish the purity of the French women, but a wind blows over the latter, erasing the Prussian’s “kisses of blood and of mud.”⁵³ Here, again, we find women as pure, virtuous bastions of moral authority, who endure in their opposition to the enemy, and cannot be defeated, even in death. The ghostly women have returned to “bear witness” against Prussian atrocities, drawing attention to the Prussians’ evil actions, “without words.” This wordless protest is consistent with the “dignified, silent” attitude Nass portrayed in the women of besieged Paris. Their status as “insane” women, who have lost their minds due to the atrocities committed against them, also corresponds to Nass and his belief that women became mentally unstable in times of war or revolution. As well, Banville’s women are resistance figures in their own right, displaying the immaterial strength, purity, indomitable power, and determination of *La Résistance*. Although the “femmes violées” can be interpreted as allegorical female images, with the inclusion of the epigraph, Banville suggests that his poem was inspired by and based upon accounts of real women in Prussian-occupied France. His use of term “martyrs” is also significant. With this designation, Banville’s depiction of real women corresponds

⁵² “ Vous les reverrez, ces martyres... ces cadavres et ces folles. Tendant leurs longues mains d’ivoire. Contre vous alors, sans paroles. Témoigneront dans la nuit noire.”

⁵³ “ ...baisers de sang et de boue. ”

to Nass' selfless, patriotic Parisiennes, with regard to the latter's application of religious concepts to women in a nationalist context. Both Nass and Banville interpret women's patriotism, loyalty, and contributions in religious terms, substituting the French nation for the Church. It is not surprising that the elements of purity, martyrdom, moral strength, and endurance, which we find in male perceptions of actual French women and symbolic female representations of the people's Republic, serve to equate French women with Catholic saints, and moreover, with the most prominent female warrior, French patriot, virgin, and martyr, who would eventually become a Catholic saint: Joan of Arc.⁵⁴ In the perceptions of French men such as Nass and Banville, which extended from the year of 1870-1871 into the early twentieth century, female patriots were pure, saintly martyrs and victims. This view rendered such women akin to the Maid of Lorraine.

Joan of Arc, the Amazons, and Athena

Alongside the nineteenth-century women in Belly's battalions, and female allegories of the people's Republic, Joan of Arc has been conceptually linked to Ancient Greek images. Artistic depictions of the Maid have frequently associated her image with Greek figures such as Athena and the Amazons. The Greek elements in Joan of Arc imagery provide an additional symbolic connection between her image, Marianne, and real patriotic women. Marina Warner cites numerous correlations between Joan the Maid and the Ancient Greek Amazons. Both were independent from men and displayed masculine warlike characteristics.

⁵⁴ Pope Benedict XV canonized Joan of Arc on May 16th, 1920; Nora M. Heimann and Laura Coyle, *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America* (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006), 71-72.

Joan of Arc images depict her with armor, and cropped hair, and emphasize her ability to communicate directly with God, in the absence of a priest.⁵⁵ These factors are evinced in figure 13, *Joan of Arc in Prayer* (1843), for instance. Here, Joan is dressed in armor and bears a sword. Such elements, together with her short hair, suggest masculinity and militancy, as Warner has indicated. Yet, she also wears a skirt beneath her armor, and she bows her head and folds her hands in prayer, exhibiting the feminine traits of religious piety, innocence, and spiritual strength. As a woman and a warrior, she, like the Amazons, represents a combination of masculine and feminine attributes. Joan of Arc's warrior attributes were more than symbolic, however. Warner has shown that she fought or was directly involved in numerous military conflicts, such as the Battle of Orléans. Another commonality between Joan of Arc and the Amazons can be found in Joan's surname. Although the addition of "de" to her name granted her the appearance of noble birth, the term "Arc," which refers to an "arch," "curve," or "bow," specifically associated Joan of Arc with the Amazons, whose weapon of choice was the bow. Additionally, in art and literature dating from the Renaissance into the nineteenth century, the Maid often appeared as a warrior from antiquity.⁵⁶ Figures 14, 15, and 16 offer examples of such images, in which she is depicted as Minerva, the Latin version of the Ancient Greek goddess of wisdom and war, Athena.

⁵⁵ See figure 13.

⁵⁶ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York, Knopf, 1981), 7, 198-217.



Figure 13: Marie d'Orléans. *Joan of Arc in Prayer*. Bronze. Dahesh Museum of Art. Source: Heimann and Coyle, p. 46. (Cast after 1843).



Figure 14: Anonymous. "Joan as Minerva." Frontispiece from Friedrich Schiller, *Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orléans*. Source: Heimann and Coyle, p. 42. (1802).



Figure 15: Edme-Étienne-François Gois. *Joan of Arc in Battle*. Bronze. Source: Heimann and Coyle, p. 35. (Exhibited in the Salon of 1802. Cast in bronze in 1804).

Figure 14, an anonymous work entitled “Joan as Minerva,” served as the frontispiece for a tragic play by the German poet and author Friedrich Schiller, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*, or *The Maid of Orléans*. Schiller depicted Joan of Arc as a courageous female warrior, and, according to Nora Heimann and Laura Coyle, inspired early-nineteenth-century Frenchmen to produce an abundance of literature and artwork devoted to the Maid.⁵⁷ One example of the latter, the bronze statue *Joan of Arc in Battle*, is shown in figures 15 and 16. This statue, created by Edme-Etienne-Francois Gois in 1804, and displayed in the central place de la Republique in Orléans, portrays Joan of Arc with those Ancient Greek aspects often seen in images of the people’s Liberty and Marianne, namely, a flowing, toga-like dress and sandals. Such details are readily apparent in figure 16, an etching of the Gois statue by Charles-Pierre-Joseph Normand. In both images, we find that Joan of Arc wears a plumed helmet on her head, and armor on her upper torso, and carries an unsheathed sword at her side, emphasizing her status as a

⁵⁷ Heimann and Coyle, *Joan of Arc*, 42-43.

warrior or at least, a combatant in war. Joan of Arc thus merged with images of female warriors from antiquity.

The significance of this figurative relationship between Joan of Arc, the Amazons, and Athena should not be underestimated. Joan of Arc's Greek clothing and possession of a weapon in figures 15 and 16 link her not only with Athena and the Amazons, but with allegorical female depictions of the people's Republic, as well as Belly's would-be female warriors. Like figure 13, these depictions of the Maid resemble allegorical republican imagery, and especially *La Résistance*, in the combination of masculine and feminine qualities they portray. Schiller's frontispiece and Gois' Joan both have long, feminine hair, and the former includes feminine jewelry, such as earrings and a necklace, juxtaposed against the figure's manly armor and helmet. In addition to her sword, the Gois sculpture also clutches a battle standard in her left hand, implying that she will fight to defend the honor and sovereignty of France, as symbolized by the standard.⁵⁸ Her apparent association with war and military prowess, together with her willingness to battle for honor, connect her to the most prominent components of aristocratic and bourgeois manhood. As a woman and a warrior, a historical figure and a symbol, Joan of Arc combined aspects of French aristocratic and bourgeois manhood, such as military participation, with feminine spiritual power, purity, and martyrdom. In this way, she represented a conceptual link between real

⁵⁸ James H. McRandle notes that battle standards have played an important role in warfare for centuries. A captured enemy standard came to denote victory in battle, while the loss of a standard in combat signified dishonor and defeat. Consequently, men would often risk death to protect the standard; James H. McRandle, *The Antique Drums of War* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), 38.



Figure 16: Charles-Pierre-Joseph Normand, after a sculpture by Edme-Étienne-François Gois. “Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans.” Source : Heimann and Coyle, p. 35. (1802).

women and allegorical female images of the people’s Republic. Moreover, the apparent correlation between the saintly, “female” aspects of Joan of Arc’s image, the spiritual strength of *La Résistance*, and intellectual, bourgeois male perceptions of patriotic French women, who were considered pious, pure, and selfless, suggests that Joan of Arc’s ties to the Catholic Church reinforced, rather than precluded, her association with the people’s Republic. Her resemblance to the Amazons and Athena served to connect Joan of Arc to both Marianne and to real women in the Franco-Prussian War. When Belly termed his battalion of female soldiers “Amazons,” he placed them squarely within the tradition of Joan of Arc, construing them as living versions of the Maid, and Marianne. During World War II, Vercors would draw upon this association as well, equating his silent heroine in *The Silence of the Sea* with Athena, Joan of Arc and Marianne.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.

Prior to the Terrible Year, images of the Maid had emphasized her masculine, soldierly aspects over her feminine qualities. Figures such as *La Résistance* mirrored Joan of Arc's combination of masculine elements and feminine qualities, highlighting the latter, and reinterpreting manly battle prowess and endurance in moral and spiritual, rather than corporeal, terms. Yet, as a female allegory, Joan of Arc's image continued to carry strong connotations of masculine, overt, militancy and direct action, as evinced in male and female accounts of would-be female warriors from the Franco-Prussian War. Like the republican revolutionaries of 1830, and bourgeois men such as Nass, women who wanted to become active participants in political affairs equated female militants with Joan of Arc.

French Women, Joan of Arc, and Resistance: Female Perspectives

Correlations between patriotic French women and Joan the Maid were not limited to male-authored accounts. A number of women in France related themselves to Joan of Arc as well, both directly and indirectly, and employed her example to form a conceptual framework for their own patriotism. Nass reports on a "flourishing of Joans of Arc" in France during the Terrible Year, conveying that such women were "impatient" to recreate the "epic" of the Maid, and to emulate her life and actions, "up to and including martyrdom."⁶⁰ More than one claimed to see visions and to hear a voice calling her to action. Unlike the original Joan of Arc, however, these women did not hear the voice of God or the saints.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 60; "...cette floraison de Jeannes d'Arc, impatientes de recommencer l'épopée de la Lorraine, jusques et y compris le martyre. "

⁶¹ For more information on Joan of Arc's visions see Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 77-95.

Rather, they encountered the Maid herself. For instance, Nass quotes a peasant woman from Villermane, who said: “Joan of Arc[...] appeared to me and commanded me to save France and her word is that of God. I will save France!”⁶² He also provides an anecdote about another “Jeanne d’Arc,” Catherine Panis, a twenty-year-old “hysteric,” who was in service in the home of a Madame de M in the town of Saint-Laurent de l’Ain. As he relates, with regard to Panis:

She also had visions; the Virgin appeared to her, a rosary in one hand, a sword in the other, and said to her: ‘Come to Paris, deliver France from her enemies.’ Her mistress called her crazy, but what did that matter to her? She set out for Paris, where she arrived the 14th of October; she left again after having met up with the people she had a mission to see (orators in the clubs, no doubt). She crossed the Prussian and French lines, entered Orléans (the obsession with Joan of Arc again), stayed there for three days and returned to run aground at the home of her mistress, with two sous in her pocket. The most extraordinary thing about this adventure, as told by the curate of Saint-Laurent, is that members of the government asked for Catherine’s name and address in case they needed to write to her! ⁶³

⁶² Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 60; “ Jeanne d’arc, dit une paysanne de Villermane, m’est apparue et m’a commandé de sauver la France et sa parole est celle de Dieu. Je vais sauver la France!”

⁶³ Ibid., 61; “hystérique;” “Elle a, elle aussi, des visions; la Vierge lui apparaît, un chapelet d’une main, une épée de l’autre, et lui dit : Viens à Paris, délivre la France de ses ennemis. Sa maîtresse la traite de folle, mais que lui importe? Elle se met en route pour Paris, où elle arrive le 14 octobre ; elle en repart après s’être concertée avec les personnages qu’elle a mission de voir (quelques orateurs de clubs, sans doute). Elle traverse les lignes prussiennes et françaises, entre dans Orléans (toujours la hantise de Jeanne d’Arc), y reste trois jours et revient échouer chez sa maîtresse avec deux sous en poche. Le plus extraordinaire dans cette aventure, racontée par le curé de Saint-Laurent, c’est que les membres du gouvernement ont demandé le nom et l’adresse de Catherine pour le cas où ils auraient à lui écrire! ”

Panis sought to imitate Joan of Arc and, according to Nass, believed herself to be a latter-day version of the Maid. She apparently visited Orléans due to Joan of Arc's association with that city.⁶⁴ The "clubs" Nass refers to were "les clubs rouges" or the Red Clubs, which occupied empty theaters and dancehalls during the siege, after the government banned such frivolous, extravagant entertainments. According to Rupert Christiansen, members of these clubs were generally radical men of the popular classes, although most permitted women to make speeches, and at least one, founded by the same Jules Allix who had proposed arming women with prussic acid, catered specifically to women.⁶⁵ In suggesting that Panis went to meet with "orators in the clubs," Nass links her to the revolutionary agenda of those clubs and to Belly's "Amazones," who were recruited from the women's club.⁶⁶ In Panis' vision of Joan of Arc, the latter exemplifies the combination of republican and religious symbolic elements that male commentators perceived in patriotic women and in allegorical female images of the people's Republic. Panis' Joan appears with a sword, like Marianne in figure 11, the people's Liberty in figures 2 and 3, and the patriotic, militant version of "Paris" in *The Contrast*.⁶⁷ Yet, her rosary and her virgin status underscore her piety, innocence, and devotion to God, all of which correlate with the moral strength and purity that Gautier perceived in *La Résistance*. Joan of Arc's words to Panis further enhance this connection, as the former calls her to

⁶⁴ Joan of Arc is also known as "The Maid of Orléans." For example, see Heimann and Coyle, *Joan of Arc*, 34-35.

⁶⁵ Christiansen, *Paris Babylon*, 197-198.

⁶⁶ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 64.

⁶⁷ See figure 10.

resist, and to take up arms against, the Prussians. Here, then, we find that Panis viewed herself as a nineteenth-century successor to Joan of Arc, recreating the her story and acting in accordance with her tradition.

The two items Panis notes in Joan's hands, the sword and the rosary, reveal the dual connotations of her image, that is, her divergent roles as warrior and innocent martyr. These two sides of Joan of Arc's image represent a combination of masculine and feminine attributes, as we have seen in artistic depictions of Joan, such as figure 13. Joan of Arc's female, spiritual aspects, symbolized by the rosary, and her male, bellicose, temporal aspects, signified by the sword, mirror the blending of masculine and feminine traits in *La Résistance* and images of Marianne, equating Joan of Arc with the people's Republic.

For men such as Nass, patriotic women were acceptable, and even laudable, if they emulated Joan of Arc's saintly aspects and interpreted her warrior qualities in terms of metaphorical warfare, fighting "battles" against famine, death, despair, and other abstractions, and sacrificing themselves for the survival of the family. However, if women applied Joan of Arc's example literally in their own lives, that is, if they sought to become a latter-day Joan of Arc by taking up arms against enemy soldiers, they were deemed ridiculous and insane.⁶⁸ Nass decried the prevalence of "Jeannes d'Arc" during the siege, implying that such women were foolish and mentally ill, even as he interpreted women's contributions to the war effort through the conceptual framework provided by Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery, praising qualities that correspond to the feminine

⁶⁸ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 63.

aspects of female allegories, such as moral purity and self-sacrifice, in the “good” women he cites.

Joan of Arc’s image, and thus allegorical female depictions of the people’s Republic, also offered women a set of structuring principles for resisting the enemy, as long as women refrained from interpreting Joan of Arc’s martial elements literally, and did not seek direct participation in combat. Panis offended such male prescriptions in seeking to emulate Joan of Arc the warrior and in emphasizing the masculine aspects of the Maid’s image. Her trip to Orléans, where Joan became an armed warrior in battle, and her apparent connections to the clubs, and to radical women such as Belly’s Amazons, who sought direct involvement in the defense of “republican” Paris, all suggest that she focused primarily upon Joan of Arc’s militant side. Nass portrayed patriotic women as selfless martyrs and victims of atrocities, who possessed spiritual strength, while Panis ostensibly wanted to become a warrior for France. Although Nass found her ideas absurd, both he and Panis implicitly viewed Marianne/Joan of Arc figures as examples of female patriotism, and as role models for French women to follow.

In addition to Panis, other women equated themselves with Marianne/Joan of Arc, or tried to emulate the transcendence of gender boundaries represented by Marianne/Joan of Arc figures, in the Franco-Prussian War. Marie-Edmée Pau wrote and illustrated a children’s book on Joan of Arc’s early life, entitled *Histoire de notre petit soeur Jeanne d’Arc* or *The History of our little sister Joan of Arc*.⁶⁹ Like Joan of Arc, the historical character, Pau was from the province of

⁶⁹ This work can also be translated as *The Story of our little sister Joan of Arc*; Marie-Edmée Pau, *Historie de notre petit sœur Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris : E. Plon et Cie, 1874).

Lorraine, having been born in Lorraine's capital city, Nancy. She emphasized additional connections between herself and Joan and Arc, and linked Joan to other real women in her book. Pau based her drawings of the young Joan on the faces of her female schoolmates, utilizing them as models for her depictions of the Maid. In the final illustrations of Pau's story, which ends with Joan leaving home to begin her quest, Pau used her own face in her portrayals, essentially conflating herself, that is, her image, with Joan of Arc. Her efforts to become Joan of Arc did not end there. Although prevented from entering the Franco-Prussian War as a soldier, she joined other women in providing medical care and supplies to French soldiers. For instance, she organized a group of women in Lorraine to sew clothes for the soldiers, in the name of Joan of Arc, promoting the idea that real women could follow the Maid's tradition by performing auxiliary functions for the military.⁷⁰ Moreover, and conversely, Pau's book shows Joan as a rebel, who rejects the gender prescriptions and restrictions placed upon her. When Joan of Arc's mother wants her to learn sewing, for instance, claiming that women are the weaker sex and must learn such skills, Joan refuses. She says that she prefers to carry out the most difficult tasks instead, which are the most beautiful, precisely because they are difficult.⁷¹ The implication is that Joan, and by extension, Pau herself, would elect to serve "France" through direct, armed combat, if given the choice.

⁷⁰ Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 252-253.

⁷¹ Pau, *Historie de notre petit sœur*, 114.

Another female artist, Rosa Bonheur, who was known for being the first woman inducted into the French Legion of Honor, espoused revolutionary republican ideals, exhibited manly qualities in her dress and behavior, and tried to become a literal successor to Joan of Arc in combat.⁷² She smoked cigars and wore trousers, and her “autobiography,” which she had dictated to her fellow artist, “intimate companion,” and biographer, Anna Klumpke, reveals her efforts to engage in direct battle with the approaching Prussian forces.⁷³ As the latter marched on Fontainebleau, a commune, or town, on the outskirts of Paris, she went to the mayor of Fontainebleau with plans to organize a citizen’s militia, and with the apparent goal of following Joan of Arc’s militant example. The mayor found her proposal ridiculous and rejected it, due to her status as a woman. Furthermore, he offered an interpretation of female patriotism that parallels Nass’ viewpoint, proposing a caretaking, auxiliary role for Bonheur in lieu of direct participation in battle. She describes her encounter with the mayor as follows:

However sad he was about the deplorable state of the nation, the mayor couldn’t hold back a smile that froze me down to the very depths of my soul. He said a few words, ironical perhaps, but very wise, which made me understand that, despite the men’s clothes on my back, I couldn’t be a new Joan of Arc. Yet, I could make myself useful, he added, by rolling

⁷² Gretchen van Slyke, translator’s introduction to *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist’s [Auto] Biography* by Anna Klumpke (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), xi.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, xiv.

bandages for the wounded and providing supplies for the men defending the fatherland.⁷⁴

Again, as in Panis' story, we find a French woman in the Franco-Prussian War who wanted to become a "new Joan of Arc" and rescue France from the Prussians. Bonheur assumed masculine characteristics and tried to involve herself in literal, direct warfare against a material enemy, reflecting Marianne/Joan of Arc's warlike, temporal aspects. In accord with Nass' argument that Panis and other would-be "Jeannes d'Arc" were "insane," the mayor's response reflects the prevailing bourgeois male view of women's role in the masculine pursuit of warfare. Women could serve in support positions, "combating" abstract opponents such as "death" and "famine" by providing medical care and provisions to the French soldiers; they could not employ the militant elements of Marianne/Joan of Arc as a literal model for their expressions of patriotism.

Given the strong connection between Joan of Arc's image and allegorical depictions of the people's Republic, and given that women like Panis and Bonheur wanted to become literal, militant versions of Joan of Arc, it may be inferred that such women viewed themselves, and the Maid, as resistance figures, who embodied and assumed the characteristics of popular republican female images, such as Marianne. Other Parisienne "Jeannes d'Arc" perceived and articulated a relationship between the Maid and republican ideals even more explicitly, and, like Panis, sought to act upon these ideals, in the tradition of Joan of Arc. Nass mentions one Amélie Seurlart who wrote and posted manifestos on

⁷⁴ Anna Klumpke, *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's [Auto] Biography*, trans., Gretchen van Slyke (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 177.

the walls of Paris during the siege, calling for peace and harmony between men and women, and among all people, while referring to herself as “Jeanne d’Arc II.” For Seulart, the Maid of Lorraine signified the essential republican values that formed the maxim of the Revolution of 1789: liberty, equality, and fraternity.

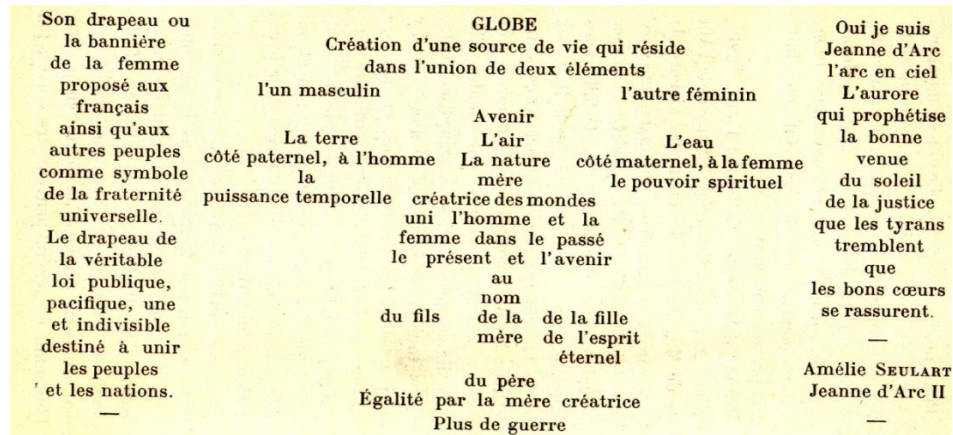


Figure 17: Amélie Seulart. Source: Nass, p. 62. (1870).

In one example, Seulart contends that women can save France, as well as the human race, and put an end to war. Figure 17 shows Seulart’s poster in the original French. The poster can be translated as follows, from left to right:

Her flag or the banner of womankind offered to the French as well as other peoples as a symbol of universal brotherhood. The flag of the true public law, peaceful, one and indivisible destined to unite the peoples and the nations.

Globe: Creation is a source of life which lies in the union of two elements, one masculine, the other feminine.

The Future:

Earth: paternal side, to man the temporal power

Air: Mother Nature creator of worlds unites man and woman in the past present and future in the name of the son, of the mother, of the daughter, of the eternal spirit, of the father. Equality through the creating mother. No more war.

Water: maternal side, to woman the spiritual power

Yes, I am Joan of Arc, the rainbow, the dawn that foretells the good arrival of the sun, of justice, that tyrants may tremble, that those of good heart be reassured.

Amélie Seurlart

Joan of Arc II.⁷⁵

Seurlart combined Joan of Arc's image with female depictions of the Republic, and with the revolutionary republican ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," presenting herself, and "womankind" as the embodiment of the people's Republic. She perceived herself as acting in accordance with a revolutionary, decidedly female, tradition of resistance to tyranny. Like Panis, she also styled herself as a successor to Joan of Arc, stating "I am Joan of Arc" and signing "Joan of Arc II" after her name. Her reference to the "union of two

⁷⁵ Amélie Seurlart, "Globe," quoted in Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique Essais de pathologie historique: Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 62; "Son drapeau ou la bannière de la femme proposé aux française ainsi que aux autres peuples comme symbole de la fraternité universelle. Le drapeau de la véritable loi publique, pacifique, une et indivisible destine à unir les peuples et les nations. Globe : Création d'une source de vie qui réside dans l'union de deux éléments, l'un masculin, l'autre féminin. Avenir : La terre : côté paternel, à l'homme la puissance temporelle. L'air : La nature mère créatrice des mondes uni l'homme et la femme dans le passé le présent et l'avenir au nom du fils, de la mère, de la fille, de l'esprit éternel, du père. Égalité par la mère créatrice. Plus de guerre. L'eau : côté maternel, à la femme le pouvoir spirituel. Oui je suis Jeanne d'Arc, l'arc en ciel, L'aurore qui prophétise la bonne venue de soleil, de la justice, que les tyrans tremblent, que les bons cœurs se rassurent. Amélie Seurlart, Jeanne d'Arc II. "

elements, one masculine, the other feminine” in the female figure of “Mother Nature,” together with her allocation of temporal strength to men, and spiritual strength to women, parallels the blend of masculine and feminine traits we have seen in Panis’ description of the Maid, and in republican images such as Marianne. Additionally, and again, we find Ancient Greek elements in association with Joan of Arc, as she is “the rainbow.” In French, this term translates as “l’arc en ciel” or “the arc in the sky,” an apparent allusion to the Amazon “arc” or bow, as well as “the rainbow” that portends the end of a storm, and the coming of the sun. What is more, Seurlart believes that all nations can unite in a spirit of “universal brotherhood” beneath the “banner of womankind,” that is, the image of the people’s Liberty and the “mother” of French republicans, Marianne. Her reference to “universal brotherhood,” along with the notion that all people are children of “the creating mother” directly reflects the revolutionary ideal of “fraternity.” She also advocates the idea that all people are equal due to this common origin, and seeks to make “tyrants tremble,” evoking the metaphor of the popular Liberty/Marianne, as a freed slave who leads the people in resistance to tyranny. In becoming Joan of Arc, then, Seurlart became Marianne as well. Seurlart and women like her, interpreted Joan of Arc as a resistance figure, in accordance with allegorical female portrayals of the people’s Republic, and they attempted to emulate the qualities depicted in these female images during the Franco-Prussian War.

Chief among the most prominent examples of such women is Louise Michel. Although she does not reference Joan of Arc directly in her memoirs, her worldview, image and actions match the elements in Seurlat's manifesto almost perfectly, and mirror women such as Panis, Bonheur, and Belly's Amazons, who attempted to become armed soldiers for France. Michel displayed many similarities to Joan of Arc. Both held unwavering faith in an ideology, and were willing to die for what they believed, a correlation that was not lost on Michel's supporters and contemporaries.⁷⁶ Joan the Maid has been associated with the Church and religious piety, while Michel was known for her anticlerical views, and her devotion to anarchism. For French anarchists, according to Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Gunter, Michel became the equivalent of a Catholic martyr and saint, as evinced by the name they gave to her: the Red Virgin.⁷⁷ The designation "Virgin" could be attributed to the fact that Michel never married, finding the prospect "repulsive."⁷⁸ It also connects Michel to Joan of Arc, whose alternate titles include "the Virgin" and "the Maid," and who, like Michel, remained independent from men.⁷⁹ However, the term "virgin" also denotes the qualities of moral purity and martyrdom. In referring to Michel as "the Red Virgin," French revolutionary anarchists appropriated the conceptual model of Joan of Arc from the Catholic Church, applying it to their anarchist "faith," and to the female warrior who represented that faith, Louise Michel.

⁷⁶ See figure 21.

⁷⁷ Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter, translator's introduction to *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel* by Louise Michel (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981), xi.

⁷⁸ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 20.

⁷⁹ For instance, Nass refers to Joan of Arc as "the Virgin;" Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 60.

Moreover, in accordance with the women who claimed to be Joan of Arc's successors, Michel perceived herself as part of a long-standing tradition of popular French resistance to tyranny, and a struggle for freedom, dating back to ancient times. She articulates this view, which also informed her attitude toward marriage, in her poem, "The Legend of the Oak." For example, she writes about the "fierce, proud men of Gaul" who fought against the enslaving Roman Empire, stating:

That was the time when every slave rose against bloody Caesar's Rome.
That was the time when Gaul was brave, and gathered home her scattered
sons.

In the same work, she enjoins her audience to "seek for freedom's joy" and to value freedom more than life itself, as "liberty's love is stronger than death." She deems marriage synonymous with slavery, saying that it "fetters a hundredfold" and "gives new slaves to the tyranny of Tiberius."⁸⁰ For Michel, the unequal power dynamic between a man and woman in a marriage was analogous to the master-slave relationship between the supposedly tyrannical Ancient Romans and the people of Gaul. In keeping with this view, Michel's refusal to marry, her education, and her ability to support herself financially as a schoolteacher all represented forms of resistance to tyranny. Her "virgin" status thus linked her to the symbolic republican figures of the people's Liberty, Marianne, and *La Résistance*, in addition to Joan of Arc. Michel operated as an heir to Joan of Arc's legacy, even if she did not directly cite Joan as her inspiration.

⁸⁰ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 44.

She can be compared with nineteenth-century “Jeannes d’Arc,” such as Seurlart, in other ways as well. Not only did Michel view herself as a participant in a long-standing tradition of French resistance, she also believed that women were central to this tradition. Revolution and the establishment of true liberty, equality, and fraternity for all would never be realized until women rebelled, like living versions of Delacroix’s *Liberty*, and inspired the people to fight for freedom. Michel warns all who would oppose “the Revolution” to “beware of the women.” When women are finally appalled enough by the atrocities and depredation they see all around them, they will revolt. “On that day,” she says, “the new world will begin.”⁸¹ In this “new world” she foresees a “free humanity, in which each being has its place”⁸² Michel perceives “les femmes de 70,” that is, the women of 1870, as warriors for the Republic, conveying that “Among the most implacable fighters who combated the invasion and defended the republic, like the dawn of liberty, women are numbered.”⁸³ She also wanted to see all women come together as one “caste,” to bring about the Revolution, and thereby, to bring happiness to all people.⁸⁴ All of these elements link her to Seurlart, who believed that women could unite all people under the principles of the Revolution, creating world peace, and saving humanity. Most notably, Michel’s reference to women as warriors, “like the dawn of liberty” parallels Seurlart’s use of “the dawn” in describing the rise of a new Joan of Arc, the “dawn that foretells the good arrival

⁸¹ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 20-21, 38-45, 60, 131, 140-142.

⁸² Louise Michel, *La Commune: Histoire et Souvenirs* (Paris: François Maspero, 1970), 1: 118 ; “La monde nouveau nous réunira a l’humanité libre dans laquelle chaque être aura sa place. ”

⁸³ Michel, *La Commune*, 1 :118; “ Parmi les plus implacable lutteurs qui combattirent l’invasion et défendaient la République comme l’aurore de la liberté, les femmes sont en nombre. ”

⁸⁴ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 131.

of the sun.”⁸⁵ For revolutionary republican women such as Michel and Seulart, the real French women of the Franco-Prussian War represented hope for the people’s Republic and for the human race, like Joan of Arc.

Further evidence of Michel’s tendency to equate herself and other real women with allegorical female depictions of the people’s Republic can be found in her writings. She refers to the conventional symbolic association between women and rebellion, which we have seen in such images as Liberty in figure 2, suggesting that this perceived relationship carried resonance for real women. As Michel says, “It is perhaps true that women love revolt. We are no better than men, but power has not yet corrupted us.”⁸⁶ To her, real French women represented the embodiment of Marianne, *La Résistance* and the people’s Liberty in their “love” of revolt, and she makes no distinction between armed combat and moral, abstract forms of resistance. What is more, this example also indicates that Michel held women to be more virtuous than men, and therefore more suited to wield power in the service of the Revolution.

Her faith in women’s ability to exercise power while remaining moral and virtuous represents another correlation with Seulart’s manifesto. Seulart believed that men possessed temporal power, while women possessed spiritual power, and, although Michel does not explicitly state this distinction, she employs the same term “le pouvoir” to refer to women’s power. “Le pouvoir” suggests abstract or indirect forms of power, such as the purchasing power, “pouvoir d’achat,” of

⁸⁵ Michel, *La Commune*, 1 :118.

⁸⁶ “ Il est vrai peut-être que les femmes aiment les révoltes. Nous ne valons pas mieux que les hommes, mais le pouvoir ne nous a pas encore corrompues . ”

consumers. In contrast, “la puissance,” Seurlart’s term for male power, carries connotations of tangible, corporal manifestations of power, such as physical strength. If we examine this distinction in the context of Catholic doctrines, such as original sin, which construe the temporal world as immoral and evil, then male, earthly power appears corrupt, by definition, through its association with the temporal world. Although Seurlart’s background is unknown, other elements in her manifesto evoke Catholic paradigms. For one, her reference to the union of man and woman “in the name of the son, the mother, the eternal spirit, and the father” is reminiscent of the Catholic axiom “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” Michel was raised as a Catholic, although she later claimed to reject the teachings of the Church.⁸⁷ Michel and Seurlart implicitly regarded female, spiritual power as the only moral and virtuous form of power. Thus, they believed that for France to be saved from the tyranny of the Prussians and French collaborators, and for a true, popular Republic to be established, women would be required to lead the fight, both literally and metaphorically. All revolutionaries would have to gather beneath the symbolic banner of womankind, which was also Marianne/Joan of Arc’s banner, and be guided by the spiritual power and moral authority of women. Like Seurlart and other “Jeannes d’Arc” of the siege, Michel made no distinction between the qualities she perceived in radical women, including herself, and the qualities depicted in allegorical female images of the people’s Republic. In fighting for “the Revolution” and the republican ideals of

⁸⁷Lowry and Gunter, translator’s introduction to *The Red Virgin*, xiii.

liberty, equality and fraternity, she perceived herself, and all other women who would rise up, as Joan of Arc and Marianne, in bodily form.

Finally, Michel and her female colleagues exemplified the combination of masculine and feminine elements in Joan of Arc/Marianne imagery in their actions and values. Michel believed that women should engage in armed opposition to “tyranny,” and participate directly in battle. For instance, while working as a teacher in the Haute-Marne as a young woman, she often felt Paris calling to her “so strongly that a person could feel its magnetism.” Even before the Franco-Prussian War, Michel viewed Paris as a center of resistance and revolt. For her, it was the only place in which people could effectively “fight the Empire.”⁸⁸ Her description of Paris “calling” her to participate in resistance strongly resembles the visions of Panis and other “Jeannes d’Arc,” who claimed that Joan of Arc had called them to go to Paris, to carry out resistance work against the Prussians. As well, like Bonheur, Michel attempted to take up arms during the Franco-Prussian War. Shortly after the siege of Paris began, she and another female radical, André Léo, attempted to lead a group of volunteers to support the beleaguered city of Strasbourg against the Prussians. Their goal was to “make one last, great effort, or to die with Strasbourg.” However, this plan, like Belly’s proposed battalions of women, and Rosa Bonheur’s attempt to raise a citizens’ militia, failed. Michel, Léo, and their compatriots went to the Hôtel de Ville, the seat of the Parisian government, to “demand arms” for the defense of Strasbourg. The authorities arrested them instead. Here, once more, Michel

⁸⁸Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 35.

embodied Joan of Arc, displaying the latter's militant elements along with feminine self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Michel also displayed the implacable fortitude of *La Résistance*, indicating that she and the "heroic women" with her would prefer death to surrender. Juxtaposed with the qualities of Joan of Arc and *La Résistance*, Michel and her "heroic" female cohorts also occupied the feminine role of motherly caretakers. For example, in the poverty-stricken Montmartre district of Paris, Michel presided over the women's Montmartre Vigilance Committee, which "left no one without shelter and no one without food." In cooperation with the men's Montmartre Vigilance Committee, she and the women of her committee "hunted" and sought to obstruct the unscrupulous merchants who hoarded provisions, selling food at exorbitant rates, while people in Paris starved to death. Michel, significantly, attended the meetings of both groups. Sex and gender distinctions didn't matter to the Montmartre Committees. She contends that both committees shared the same goals, and that "people didn't worry about which sex they were before they did their duty. That stupid question was settled."⁸⁹ Michel and the women she worked with disregarded gendered behavioral prescriptions and gender differences, displaying a combination of masculine and feminine characteristics in their behaviors and beliefs. She and the women of the Vigilance Committee espoused, and tried to live according to, a literal interpretation of the ideals represented by Marianne and Joan of Arc.

In examining women's actions in the Franco-Prussian War, we find that French men and women utilized a conceptual framework that reflected the

⁸⁹ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 57-59.

combination of masculine and feminine characteristics in Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery to interpret women's actions in and contributions to the war effort. Bourgeois men focused upon feminine elements associated with Joan of Arc as a model for "proper" female behavior and patriotism, and applied masculine, warlike characteristics to women in metaphorical terms. Male revolutionaries, and some radical women, appropriated this line of thought and perceived Joan of Arc as a behavioral model and precedent for real women's contributions to the struggle for a popular Republic. Revolutionary women interpreted her martial qualities literally, and wanted to fight for France. In aligning themselves with the Maid's image, women such as Panis, Bonheur, Seulart, and Michel also conflated Joan of Arc with popular, republican female imagery, and, by implication, sought to become living versions of the people's Republic. Allegorical female images of Marianne and Joan of Arc thus shaped women's perceptions of resistance, and the methods they employed or strived to employ in their resistance work. The conflict between divergent interpretations of Joan of Arc reflected the political and social tensions surrounding issues such as women's rights and universal suffrage in France, and would inform the civil war that transpired between Paris and Versailles after the Prussian invasion.

Women who interpreted Joan of Arc and other female images of the Republic literally, and wanted to fight for France, had been limited to metaphorical "battles" during the Franco-Prussian War. Would-be female combatants, including Belly's Amazons and the force Michel and Leo assembled to defend Strasbourg, were arrested, dispersed, or otherwise thwarted by the

Government of National Defense. Such women would find opportunities to take up arms in defense of republican ideals under the brief reign of the Paris Commune. In becoming literal “Jeannes d’Arc,” these women utilized and exemplified the bellicose, masculine characteristics and the virtuous, spiritual traits of the Maid. Although most of the revolutionaries who established the Commune professed atheism, female Communards, or proponents of the Commune, often alluded to Catholic precepts in their statements, values, and beliefs. They reinterpreted Catholic notions of martyrdom and religious devotion in political terms, combining loyalty to the Church with loyalty to the revolutionary ideals of the people’s Republic, or replacing the former with the latter. Even avowed atheists such as Michel displayed the influence of Catholic doctrines in their views. As living versions of the Maid, these women linked Joan of Arc’s image and perceived dedication to the Church to the revolutionary Republic, and the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Male observers also presented this view in their accounts of Communard women. In imagery, men on both sides of the civil war equated “warrior” women’s patriotism with Catholic piety, and perceived such women through the conceptual framework provided by Marianne/Joan of Arc. To understand how Marianne/Joan of Arc’s dual aspects, that is, the masculine and feminine elements in her image, became associated with proponents of the people’s Republic and the Revolution, it is necessary to examine the events of the Commune, images produced by its supporters and detractors, and the actions of real women who worked to defend it.

The Paris Commune

When the French Government of National Defense conceded defeat and sought to make peace with the Prussians, the former intended to yield power to an elected National Assembly, which would be responsible for negotiating the terms of surrender with Bismarck. Elections were held on February 8, 1871, in which the voting population of France faced a choice between the stance of republicans, including Léon Gambetta, who called for a national uprising and a continuation of the war, and the views of conservative statesmen such as Adolphe Thiers, who wanted to sue for peace. Predominantly favored by provincial voters, the conservatives triumphed in the elections, and the National Assembly selected Thiers as the new head of government.⁹⁰ The latter, in turn, initiated peace negotiations with Prussia. In so doing, he granted to Bismarck the city of Metz, the majority of the province of Alsace, and one-third of Lorraine. He also allowed Prussian troops to march through Paris in a triumphal parade, and agreed to a reparation payment of five billion francs. Many Parisians, and especially Parisian republicans, found these terms unacceptable and felt betrayed. They had endured starvation and the Prussian bombardment of the city, and refused to surrender, only to be handed over to the Prussians by Thiers and the National Assembly.

Relations between Paris and the new government deteriorated further when the National Assembly implemented a series of policies that proved highly detrimental to Paris, republicans, and the popular classes. Conservatives and monarchists dominated the National Assembly and chose Versailles as their base

⁹⁰ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 15; Jeremy D. Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 133.

of operations, removing Paris from its position as a capital city. In so doing, they also paid homage to the pre-Revolutionary monarchy, and to the kings Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI, who had ruled from Versailles.⁹¹ With these developments, republicans in Paris feared that Thiers and the National Assembly intended to reinstate the monarchy.

The Versailles government also angered Parisians and the popular classes by disregarding the fragile and unstable state of the city's economy, which had yet to recover from the Prussian siege. The National Assembly revoked wartime measures that had been enacted to help the poorest residents of Paris, lifting the moratoriums on rent and the sale of goods in state-run pawnshops, ordering the immediate repayment of all debts, with interest, and suspending the salaries of National Guardsmen who could not prove financial need. Unable to redeem the items they had pawned during the siege, and unable to pay the back rent charges levied against them, desperately poor Parisians faced the loss of their possessions, as well as eviction.⁹²

Many National Guard units shared the growing discontent and revolutionary inclinations of the popular classes, having become what Jeremy Popkin terms "seedbeds of agitation."⁹³ Tensions erupted on March 18th, 1871, when the Versailles government sent soldiers to confiscate artillery from the Paris National Guard troops, fearing an insurrection. The people rebelled to prevent the

⁹¹ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 5, 134.

⁹² Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 16.

⁹³ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 134.

disarming of the National Guard, and claimed victory when the Versailles soldiers refused to fire on them.⁹⁴ Thus began the civil war between Versailles and Paris.

On March 28th, 1871 elections were held in the city, and the inauguration of the new municipal council marked the official beginning of the Paris Commune. Red became the emblematic color of the Commune, which, according to Michel, signified the blood of those who fought and died for liberty.⁹⁵ The people decorated the Hôtel de Ville, the site of the inauguration, with a red flag and red streamers, while elected members of the municipal government wore red sashes. Revolutionaries draped red sashes over statues of Marianne as well, symbolically incorporating Marianne into the revolution, and portraying the Commune as a revolutionary Republic.⁹⁶

In a conflict that mirrors the war of representation around Joan of Arc's image in the Second World War, Communards perceived and sought to portray themselves as defenders of the Republic, opposing Thiers and the conservative National Assembly as collaborators and puppets of Prussia/Germany. Supporters of Versailles held the opposite view, however, depicting the Communards as murderous, enslaving tyrants. Michel, for example, believed that in refusing to allow the disarming of the National Guard on March 18th, the people "were defending the Republic by defending the arms that the royalists and imperialists would have turned on Paris in agreement with the Prussians."⁹⁷ Yet, for bourgeois men such as Edmond de Goncourt, Communards did not fight to defend the

⁹⁴ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 64.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 65, 193.

⁹⁶ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 17.

⁹⁷ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 64.

Republic, but to enslave and tyrannize the upper classes.⁹⁸ Bourgeois members of the National Guard shared Goncourt's view, and fled rather than served the Commune. Thiers and the National Assembly promoted such ideas as well, waging a successful propaganda campaign in the provinces, and arguing that the Communards were not Marianne's children, but her enemies.⁹⁹ This view, like the Versailles regime, would ultimately prevail.

Although the Commune's leaders had hoped to achieve self-rule for the city through negotiation, these hopes were thwarted when Thiers and the National Assembly rejected diplomatic overtures and prepared for battle, wanting to make an example of the rebels. Isolated, deprived of outside aid, and with a military force weakened by absconding bourgeois soldiers, Paris found itself in another siege and another war. Bolstered by armed "civilians" some of whom were women, the National Guard defended the city until May 21st, 1871, when the Versailles army gained entry to the west side of the city. Trapped between the invading troops and the Prussian forces still camped on the eastern border of Paris, the Communards built a series of barricades. From May 21st to May 28th, street-to-street combat ensued, in what would later be known as the *Semaine Sanglante* or the "Bloody Week." Facing imminent defeat, Communard fighters made a final stand at the Père Lachaise cemetery. The south of wall of the cemetery, where, according to legend, the last defenders of the Commune were killed, became known as the "Mur des Fédérés" or the "Wall of the

⁹⁸ Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt. *Journal : Mémoires de la vie littéraire* (Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956), March 19, 1871, 2:747.

⁹⁹ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 20; Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 65.

Communards.” It would serve as an international monument and pilgrimage site for oppressed workers and aspiring revolutionaries, drawing both French and foreign visitors, and informing the views of radicals such as Vladimir Lenin.¹⁰⁰

The revolutionary Republic had been crushed, but, like Marianne/Joan of Arc, and the goddess of popular resistance, “Liberty,” it possessed the indomitable spiritual strength of a woman. Just as Banville’s ghostly, martyred women had returned from the grave to haunt their killers, the Commune could never truly be defeated, even in death.

The Goddess at the Ramparts: Marianne, Joan of Arc, and Real Women

Images of the commune often employed the trope of the goddess Liberty urging the people into battle, as in Delacroix’s *Liberty leading the people at the barricades*, and the popular interpretation of Rude’s *Departure of the Volunteers*.¹⁰¹ In depictions of the Commune, however, Liberty is Marianne, the goddess of the people. She also signifies Paris, rather than the whole of France, as well as Parisian resistance, and specifically, revolutionary republican resistance to the Versailles government. The Marianne of the Commune displays the same combination of masculine and feminine elements that we find in *La Résistance*, in Joan of Arc’s image, and in portrayals of real Commune women. She is at once the people’s Liberty and a revolutionary republican woman of the popular classes, an allegorical figure and a reflection of real women in the Commune.

In figure 18, we find Marianne on the barricades with a Commune, who is fighting to defend Paris. This Marianne, in her Phrygian bonnet, wields a sword

¹⁰⁰ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 18-20, 23; Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 136.

¹⁰¹ See figures 3 and 4.

in one hand, and gestures toward the approaching Versailles army with the other, urging the soldier to fire the cannon in front of him. Marianne also appears to have a cannon behind her, in continuity with *La Résistance* and the female image of militarized Paris in “The Contrast.” Alongside her warlike aspects, light emanates from her head, suggesting a halo, and therefore, her spiritual strength and purity. As well, like *La Résistance*, and the images of Marianne in figure 11, she has long, flowing hair. Although the flag’s color is indiscernible in the picture, it is most likely the red flag of the Commune, denoting the people’s willingness to die for liberty. The Marianne of the Commune represents a convergence of masculine material strength and feminine spiritual power, rendering her equivalent to the popular version of “Liberty,” and Joan of Arc’s image.



Figure 18: Gaillard fils. “On the Barricades of Paris.” Source: Milner, p. 153. (April 1871).

Likewise, Dupendant's "The Defense of the Commune, 1871" shows another rendition of Marianne as the goddess Liberty in the midst of war, inspiring the people to fight. Here, as in figure 18, the artist retains many of the traditional elements of Marianne and the people's Liberty, as evinced by the Phrygian cap, the long hair, and the sword in her hand. He also portrays Marianne with a strong upper torso, emphasizing her masculine physical strength. Moreover, she wears a toga-style dress and, in imitation of Delacroix's Liberty, she has one breast exposed. The popular, republican Marianne and the Parisian, Communard Marianne were one and the same.

Although Dupendant's Marianne in figure 19 displays continuity with pre-Commune republican imagery, he broke with the trope and allegory of Liberty on the barricades in depicting Marianne with a shortened dress and shoes, both of which render her similar to real female fighters in the Commune, for whom bare feet and long dresses would have been impractical.¹⁰² Dupendant also shows real women on the battlefield, along with the armed men who follow Marianne. The women are not warriors, but *ambulancières*, that is, medical workers, entering the fray to rescue wounded soldiers. The women here, like the people's Liberty, Marianne, and Joan of Arc, combine masculine and feminine qualities, venturing into battle, which had been the domain of men, but in the role of caretakers, providing aid to the injured. Marianne is portrayed as the only woman with a weapon, and thus, the only woman prepared to engage in direct warfare. Like the

¹⁰² For instance, Ernest Vizetelly referred to a small, armed group of Communard women who wore short skirts; Ernest Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune: Paris, 1871* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1914), 316.

historical figure and female allegory Joan of Arc, this picture unites allegorical female images such as Marianne, and real women. Dupendant interprets the latter's warrior qualities in abstract terms, however, emphasizing their courage and strength as unarmed, auxiliary "combatants," who fight for the lives of others and oppose "death," rather than enemy soldiers. In this way, Dupendant corresponds to such male commentators as Banville and Nass in his depiction of real women.

The association of real women with allegorical female images of the people's Republic continued in sympathetic representations of the Commune that appeared in the wake of 1871. Figure 20 employs the trope of Liberty on the barricades, while replacing the people's Liberty with a Communard woman. She has long hair and carries a sword, in accordance with the images in figures 18 and 19, and, like the Marianne in figure 19, she also wears shoes. Her shoes and her practical clothing imply that she is a real female Communard rather than an allegorical goddess figure. Her resemblance to the male revolutionary in figure 18, with a banner in one hand and a weapon in the other, lends further support to this interpretation, although her flag bears the words "La Commune," rather than the red coloring of the Revolution. The Communard woman in figure 20 is not a living allegory, or an actress playing the role of Liberty. She is the living embodiment of Marianne/Joan of Arc, through her direct involvement and participation in battle. In this image, as in figure 19, the artist portrays militant masculine characteristics in a feminine Marianne figure, simultaneously conflating her with Joan of Arc and with real women of the Commune. Marianne,

like Joan of Arc, thus served to link allegorical female imagery and real women who contributed to the struggle for a popular Republic, providing a conceptual framework through which the latter could be understood and interpreted. Women who took up arms and engaged in battle became Marianne/Joan of Arc in the flesh.



Figure 19: Dupendant. “The Defense of the Commune, 1871.” Musée d’art et d’histoire, Saint-Denis. Source: Milner, p. 162. (1871).



Figure 20: “Souvenir of 1871: Dedicated to the National Guard” Bibliothèque Nationale. Source: Gullickson, p. 202. (After 1871).

The conflation of real women and symbolic female depictions of the Republic that we find in Joan of Arc's image also occurred in representations of the most prominent female Commune and successor to the Maid of Lorraine, Louise Michel. We have seen that Michel exemplified the same blend of masculine and feminine elements as Joan of Arc in her beliefs and actions, combining manly armed resistance, combativeness, and willingness to "duel" in public with feminine moral strength and virtue. Men who supported or sympathized with the Commune interpreted her in much the same way. In his "Ballad in Honor of Louise Michel," Paul Verlaine stated that she was "almost Joan of Arc," for instance.¹⁰³ As well, the journalist Félicien Champsaur referred to her as a "red nun," thereby portraying her as a religious figure.¹⁰⁴ The picture in figure 21 shows an artistic depiction of Michel, emphasizing the dual masculine and feminine aspects of her character. Here, Michel appears in a nun's habit, conveying her moral, spiritual power. She stands the midst of a battle, as indicated by the fallen soldiers in the background. In her right hand, she carries a rifle with a bayonet, and in her left, a wounded National Guardsman. These elements represent her masculine, warlike side, and her feminine compassion. Michel retains her virtue and spiritual strength in this image, while venturing into the masculine space of the battlefield. She is an androgynous figure, a warrior, a caregiver, and a nun. Although her cause was Revolution rather than religion,

¹⁰³ Paul Verlaine, *Amour*, (Paris: 19 Quai Saint-Michel, 1892), 65 ; "presque Jeanne d'Arc. "

¹⁰⁴ Félicien Champsaur, "Louise Michel," *Les Contemporains*, no. 3. (1880):1-3.

Michel's dedication to the people and to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity corresponded to Joan of Arc's devout faith in God.

Enemies of the Commune also perceived an association between real female participants in the Commune and Joan of Arc. Gullickson conveys that the Commune's enemies rarely used Joan of Arc in connection with Communard women, as the similarities between these women and the Maid proved problematic for them. To men of the anti-Commune camp, Joan of Arc was good and brave, while the women of the Commune were crazed, dangerous fanatics. Yet, they could not deny the resemblance between the gun-bearing female warriors of the Commune and the female warrior Joan of Arc. Gullickson cites one instance in which the anti-Commune caricaturist Nérac addressed this resemblance, with the picture in figure 22, one part of a series of images based on the signs of the zodiac. His rendition of "Virgo" or "the Virgin" is a Communard woman, who is also the Maid, as he labels her "Les Jeanne D'Arc de La Commune" or "The Joan of Arc of the Commune." However, in line with Nass' perception of self-proclaimed "Jeannes d'Arc" such as Catherine Panis, Nérac portrays the Communard Joan of Arc as a madwoman. The caption directly above her head reads "La Vierge...Folle" or "the Virgin...Insane." She is dressed as a soldier, with a shotgun in her hand, which she apparently knows how to use, as the writing at her feet indicates: "On the field of battle as on the boulevard, I shoot a man at a thousand meters without mistake."¹⁰⁵ In boasting about her accurate aim, and thus, her battle skills, Nérac's "Jeanne d'Arc" shows that she is

¹⁰⁵ " Sur le champ de bataille comme au boulevard, J'tire mon homme a mil mètres sans écart. "

a literal threat, not only to Versailles troops, but to all men. She is capable of killing them. Furthermore, she represents a threat to abstract notions of manhood, as she interprets Joan of Arc's example literally, and engages in direct, armed warfare. With this "insane," behavior, she encroaches upon that focal point and domain of bourgeois manhood: military participation. Her threatening stance is further underscored by what Gullickson describes as her "Medusa-like curly hair," which resembles Gautier's comparison of Medusa and *La Résistance*.¹⁰⁶ The infamous female monster of Greek mythology, who wore snakes on her head instead of hair, and whose gaze could turn a man to stone, bore similarities to the allegorical female images of the people's Republic, as well as the supposedly mad "Jeannes d'Arc" of the Commune. If patriotic French women had been living versions of *La Résistance*, Marianne, and Joan of Arc in the Franco-Prussian War, battling abstract concepts such as "death" with implacable moral resistance and fortitude, the women of the Commune had translated the allegory into practice. They became warriors and turned the fearsome gaze "more terrible than that of Medusa" against French men.¹⁰⁷ In carrying and demonstrating proficiency with weapons, Communard women transformed into Medusas, jeopardizing the concept of bourgeois manhood, and the established order in which those who possessed "manhood" claimed elevated status above effeminate "others." Worse than mere political revolutionaries, these "Jeannes d'Arc" wanted to overthrow the class and gender hierarchies that served as the foundation of bourgeois

¹⁰⁶ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 89.

¹⁰⁷ Gautier, *Tableaux de Siège*, 428.

manhood. In the eyes of conservative elites, they were an abomination against “natural” gender distinctions, and thus, nature itself.¹⁰⁸

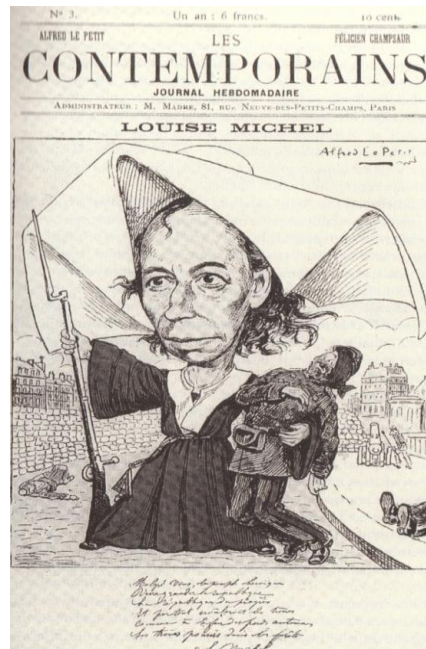


Figure 21: Alfred Le Petit. “Louise Michel.” *Les Contemporains*, no. 3. Bibliothèque Nationale. Source : Gullickson, p.155. (1880).



Figure 22: H. Nérac. “La Vierge...Folle: Les Jeanne D’Arc de La Commune, S.G.D.G.” *Les signes du Zodiaque*. Bibliothèque Nationale. Source: Gullickson, p. 88. (1871).

¹⁰⁸ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 89.

Women of the Commune: Jeannes d'Arc in Action

Women could not vote under the Commune, but that did not prevent them from engaging in political, patriotic activities for the Revolution and the Republic. Real women of the Commune exemplified the characteristics of Joan of Arc in their perceptions, actions, and beliefs, up to and including the Maid's association with religious fervor. Although the Commune espoused atheism, secularized education, and instituted the separation of church and state, paradoxically, women of the Commune often conflated politics and religion.¹⁰⁹ Many Communard women retained a semblance of loyalty to the Church alongside their adherence to the Commune, or applied Catholic precepts and a conceptual framework derived from the Church to the political ideology of the Revolution. Women of the Commune became the embodiment of Marianne/Joan of Arc, carrying weapons, fighting at the barricades, and participating in public political debates, even as they also occupied feminine, supportive roles as medics and water carriers.

Politics and religion converged in the viewpoints and practices of Communard women. In his eyewitness account of the Paris Commune, Ernest Vizetelly describes the behaviors and actions of revolutionary women, indicating that they often combined religious devotion with support for the revolutionary Republic, or incorporated the former into the latter. Vizetelly relates that some women of the Commune still adhered to Catholic beliefs and traditions, and demonstrated willingness to intercede on behalf of arrested priests and imperiled Church buildings. For instance, when the Commune detained the Curé of Saint-

¹⁰⁹ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 19.

Eustache, the “ladies of the markets” protested, and secured his release as a “special favor” from the government. They wanted the Curé to lead the traditional Easter Mass, and implicitly threatened to orchestrate provision shortages if municipal officials failed to grant their request.¹¹⁰ In another example, when some Communards planned to burn down the ancient church of Saint-Merri, a group of women assembled in the church with their children and refused to leave, thereby preventing its destruction. Even in the midst of the Commune, many women (and indeed, men as well), still sought out Catholic priests to perform funeral masses and last rites for the dead and dying. Widows of deceased National Guardsmen predominated among those requesting funeral services. Contrary to scholars who find Catholicism incompatible with republican ideals, more than a few supporters of the Commune, and especially female supporters, retained their religious beliefs alongside republican values.

Moreover, while many churches were transformed into ambulances, or makeshift hospitals, Communards converted others, such as Saint-Nicholas des Champs, into red clubs. In these locations, they set up “anti-clerical” decorations, and even placed red sashes on statues of the crucified Christ.¹¹¹ Rather than destroying Catholic churches and the symbols of Catholicism, such as images of Christ, some Communards tried to appropriate these symbols. It is notable that the figure of Christ paralleled and fit into the conceptual framework of the struggle for a popular Republic. As an innocent martyr who gave his life to liberate humanity from sin, he resembled Joan of Arc, as well as the revolutionaries who

¹¹⁰ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 168.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 232-236, 244.

demonstrated contempt for death, and were ready to sacrifice themselves for the Revolution.¹¹² According to the mentality of republican revolutionaries, as indicated by Amélie Seurlart's poster, Joan of Arc and her latter-day, revolutionary counterparts were all martyrs or would-be martyrs for the cause of freedom. Just as Christ had died to save the world, and Joan of Arc had died to liberate "France" from the English, the revolutionaries would die to free all people from tyranny, and to usher in a new era of universal liberty, equality, and fraternity. Like the statues of Marianne in the Hôtel de Ville, then, Christ could serve to represent the revolutionary Republic. All that he required was a red sash.

Under the Commune, religious faith coexisted with republican ideals, and, literally and metaphorically, women were most often the unifying force between the two. Revolutionary women frequently displayed the influences of republican political sentiments and Catholic teachings in their views and actions, a combination that rendered them akin to Joan of Arc, the patriot and pious virgin, who became a martyr for her beliefs and for her homeland. Like Joan of Arc, such women also represented a combination of masculine and feminine elements as politically active, armed female warriors. Communard women became figurative, indirect "warriors" and martyrs, that is, "Jeannes d'Arc," as much as the compassionate Parisian women in Nass' description of the Prussian siege, establishing makeshift hospitals for the wounded, for example. However, as Nérac's work disparagingly suggests, women of the Commune did not limit themselves to abstract forms of "warfare." They spoke publicly, participated in

¹¹² Michel, *The Red Virgin* 57; Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 204.

“duels” of oratory in the clubs, and entered the masculine space of the battlefields in non-militant capacities, providing medical aid and water to soldiers. Moreover, many Communard women became literal warriors for the Revolution and the people’s Republic; they carried weapons, organized themselves into militant groups, and fought alongside National Guardsmen at the barricades.

In true revolutionary fashion, women of the Commune disregarded established gender boundaries, believing themselves to be equal to men. They worked alongside the latter in a variety of political and military roles, while engaging in “proper,” feminine forms of self-sacrifice, such as caring for the wounded. As Louise Michel said, “How many things the women tried in 71! All and everywhere!”¹¹³ According to her, women “did not question whether a thing was possible, but if it was useful, then they succeeded in accomplishing it.”¹¹⁴ Michel was one of several notorious “lady-orators” who gave speeches and participated in debates in the clubs.¹¹⁵ She and other Communard women were also instrumental in founding ambulances, or makeshift hospitals, in the forts on the outskirts of Paris.¹¹⁶ However, in referencing women’s contributions to the armies of the Commune, she emphasizes the importance of those who entered combat situations as *ambulancières*, *cantinières*, and soldiers.¹¹⁷ *Ambulancières*, as mentioned in regard to figure 20, entered the battlefields to provide medical care for wounded Guardsmen. Assigned to specific battalions, *ambulancières*

¹¹³ Michel, *La Commune*, 1: 119; “Combien des choses tentèrent les femmes en 71 ! Toutes et partout!”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 1: 120 ; “Les femmes ne se demandaient pas si une chose était possible, mais si elle était utile, on réussissait à l’accomplir.”

¹¹⁵ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 233.

¹¹⁶ Michel, *La Commune*, 1:120.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 2 :10.

most often wore civilian clothing rather than military uniforms, although they carried red crosses to indicate their status as medics. *Cantinières*, who supplied soldiers with water, and at times, food, dressed in feminine, skirted uniforms.¹¹⁸ Notably, none of them resembled the masculine trousers of Nérac's "Jeanne d'Arc" in their attire. Nevertheless, *ambulancières* and *cantinières* both obscured the line between manly, direct warfare, and indirect, abstract, female forms of "battle." They entered the battlefields in association with military regiments, and demonstrated selfless courage alongside soldiers, fighting to save the latter from death.

Arms-bearing female combatants were also prevalent in the Commune. These women represented the height of Communard transgressions against established, traditional boundaries, attacking the foundations of bourgeois and aristocratic manhood, which rested largely upon military participation. One instance in particular demonstrates the newfound, direct militancy of women in the Commune. On April 3rd, after a series of devastating military losses, Commune leaders called the women of Paris to assemble at the statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde and march to Versailles, to seek an end to the civil war. Nearly 400 women did gather, as requested. However, in a literal and militant interpretation of the implacable female resistance depicted in such images as *La Résistance*, and contrary to the wishes of the municipal government, they decried all notions of surrender. Instead, the women staged a demonstration to express solidarity with the National Guard, encouraging the

¹¹⁸ Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris*, 89.

soldiers to fight on.¹¹⁹ The Commune officials who hoped for peace made an imprudent choice in asking Parisian women to congregate at the statue of Strasbourg. This location had been the gathering place for Michel and Leo's popular "army," when they attempted to aid Strasbourg in the Franco-Prussian War.¹²⁰ As such, it held significance as a rallying point for women who sought to promote and to participate in battle. Michel figured prominently among the women warriors of the Commune in other ways as well. She behaved like a soldier, carrying guns, participating in military sorties with National Guardsmen, and fighting to defend the city's fortifications, such as Fort Issy. She even wore a National Guard uniform.¹²¹ The Commune's militant struggle against tyranny "charmed" her, and she deemed it poetic and "beautiful," as she indicates in her memoirs: "Barbarian that I am, I love cannon, the smell of powder, machine-gun bullets in the air."¹²² Other women who frequented the clubs also dressed in military garb, and wore weapons conspicuously. Vizetelly mentions a female Communard who sported a brace of guns in her belt, and a laundress who carried a revolver, among other "violent" women. Female militants assembled companies of women soldiers to join the National Guard in the fighting, reminiscent of Belly's Amazons. According to Vizetelly, some women entertained the idea of forming an official, all-female National Guard battalion, although it never came to pass.¹²³ Unofficial, informal bands of militant women did emerge, however,

¹¹⁹ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 150.

¹²⁰ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 57.

¹²¹ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 247-248.

¹²² Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 66.

¹²³ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 168, 235, 241, 247.

including a group known as the “Carabinières de la Mort” or the “Riflewomen of Death.” He also refers to a small company of “Amazons” who destroyed churches and other buildings, which they associated with the old order. This “battalion” operated under the leadership of two Communard women, one Catherine Rogissart, and another named Thérèse, an “Amazon” known for having fought at the barricades in the Revolution of 1848.¹²⁴ Some informal, all-female regiments engaged in direct warfare with Versailles soldiers, especially during the *Semaine Sanglante*. For example, Michel refers to women who built a barricade at the Place Blanche, and died defending it.¹²⁵ Communard women exemplified and implemented a literal interpretation of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s model, becoming armed, female warriors.

Marianne, Joan of Arc, and real, revolutionary women became one, both literally and figuratively, during the Paris Commune. Communard women embodied the dual aspects, that is, the masculine and feminine sides, of Joan the Maid, establishing ambulances to care for the wounded, extending this selfless care-giving onto the battlefields as *ambulancières* and *cantinières*, and serving as armed warriors at the barricades. Women fought and died in combat for the people’s Republic, alongside men. Unlike men, however, their patriotic sacrifices were understood and construed in religious terms. Women were supposed to be apolitical bastions of virtue and spiritual strength, a view espoused even by atheist female revolutionaries, such as Michel. Accordingly, French men and women both perceived politically active women as “Jeannes d’Arc.” Catholic religious

¹²⁴ Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, 242-244.

¹²⁵ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 67.

elements were compatible with republican ideals when both were articulated by and through women. Even so, when Communard women participated in such manly, belligerent endeavors as public oratory and armed resistance, they violated the male prescriptions that called on them to serve as indirect, non-militant versions of the Maid. Anti-Communards viewed them as “insane” women; dangerous, violent and man-hating versions of Jeanne d’Arc, who threatened to destroy civilization and all established boundaries. In either case, the popular, republican Marianne and the religious “daughter of God,” Joan of Arc, converged in the representations, actions, and beliefs of Communard women.



Figure 23: Georges Pilotell, *The Body is in the Earth, but the Idea still stands*. Source: Milner, p. 218. (ca.1873).

Indeed, post-war imagery styled the Commune itself as a Marianne/Jeanne d’Arc figure, a martyred woman who sacrificed her life for a higher, spiritual purpose: to bring liberty, equality, and fraternity to the world. An image by

Georges Pilotell in figure 23 portrays the Commune as Marianne in a Phrygian bonnet, lying dead, while a flag flies over her and the sun rises in the background behind her. This imagery suggests the prominent Communard motif of “the dawn” of liberty, and thus, resurrection, and the beginning of a new world. On the flag, Pilotell asserts that “The Paris Commune save the Republic, decree the sovereignty of labor, atheism, the destruction of monuments that perpetuate hatred between peoples.”¹²⁶ Like the real women at the Place Blanche, and Joan of Arc, who died for her faith and her God-sent mission to free “France” from English rule, the Commune became a martyr for the “religion” of the Revolution, sacrificing itself for the liberation of all people, in and outside of France. Michel offers a similar view of the Commune’s demise in her memoirs:

The Commune, surrounded from every direction, had only death on its horizon. It could only be brave, and it was. And in dying it opened wide the door to the future. That was its destiny.¹²⁷

The revolutionary Republic of the Paris Commune had been defeated, but not destroyed. As an ideology, the Revolution would live on.

The feminine aspects of female allegorical figures took on religious connotations in the Terrible Year, as artists such as Falguière reinterpreted the masculine, soldierly elements in female imagery as abstract and spiritual, rather than temporal, qualities. Although female images of the Terrible Year represented the same combination of masculine and feminine traits that we have seen in allegories of the people’s Liberty, Joan of Arc and the Greek Amazons were

¹²⁶ “La Commune de Paris sauve la République, décrété la souveraineté du travail, l’athéisme, la destruction de monuments éternisant la haine entre peuples. ”

¹²⁷ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, 68.

specifically associated with the former, while *La Résistance* and other images of Paris emphasized the latter. The convergence of male and female forms of patriotic resistance in female allegories reflected bourgeois gender constructs that marked military work as the domain of men, and simultaneously, provided a conceptual framework for women's involvement in political and military endeavors. Moreover, the association between women and moral, spiritual strength allowed women to combine patriotic loyalty to the ideals of the people's Republic with religious elements derived from the Catholic Church. Catholicism and the revolutionary Republic proved compatible, in the beliefs and perceptions of Commune women. Bourgeois men, as well as radical women and supporters of the people's Republic, construed and conceptualized women's patriotism in religious terms. Due to the association between Catholicism and women's patriotic involvement in politics and combat, Joan of Arc's image converged with representations of Paris in resistance, and the radical republican ideals of the Commune.

The saintly, spiritual aspects in Joan of Arc and Marianne imagery, and depictions of the Commune, together with the prevalent view of Paris and France as innocent victims of German brutality, would translate into a new emphasis on moral, metaphorical resistance in female allegories after the Franco-Prussian War. Resistance came to be synonymous with opposition to a foreign, specifically German, power, and to French leaders who would collaborate with the Germans, rather than fight to the end. Female allegories would depict France as a morally

superior, long-suffering saint and martyr, linking French, republican resistance to female spiritual strength and moral “combat.” With the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the “dignified, silent attitude” Nass portrayed in his account of besieged Paris settled over the French nation.¹²⁸ France would adopt the indirect, feminine, metaphorical version of patriotic resistance, in response to the perceived injustice of German aggression.

¹²⁸ Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 69.

Chapter 3

“LE POUVOIR” AND THE MARTYRED REPUBLIC: MARIANNE, JOAN OF ARC, AND FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS AFTER 1871

In the aftermath of the Terrible Year, the martyred Republic would rise again in an altered form. Moderate republicans, most of whom were urban bourgeois intellectuals and landowning peasants, gained increasing influence in the National Assembly, which culminated in a republican takeover in 1877. With the development of this new Republic, the Third Republic, Marianne would become a moderate, socially conservative democracy, rather than the revolutionary, socialist Republic the Communards had hoped to create.¹²⁹ Moreover, having lost land and people in the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and facing a centralized and unified German Empire, the Marianne of the Third Republic would shift her focus from class warfare to international conflict.¹³⁰ She no longer represented the liberation of the popular classes, but the liberation of German-occupied French provinces. Images of Marianne would continue to emphasize her feminine aspects, such as spiritual strength and unyielding moral resistance to tyranny, but the tyrant she opposed was now Germany.

In keeping with allegories from the Franco-Prussian War, such as *La Résistance*, and her status as a martyr, Marianne's feminine qualities of purity, spiritual strength, and moral resistance would come to the forefront in renditions

¹²⁹ Jeremy Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 138-142.

¹³⁰ Lynn Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire: 1871-1918*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 7.

of her image after 1877, reinforcing her association with the female martyr and saint, Joan of Arc. Allegorical depictions of the German acquisition of French territories in Alsace and Lorraine showed Marianne as a martyr and victim of duplicitous French leaders, who carved into her body, the “national” body, and amputated one of her limbs in surrendering Alsace-Lorraine to the Germans. As in 1830 and the Terrible Year, real women who demonstrated extraordinary courage in the service of the Republic, or who entered the male realm of politics and military work, would be deemed latter-day “Jeannes d’Arc.” However, unlike previous “Jeannes d’Arc” whose militant contributions and armed resistance rendered them comparable to the Maid, the “Jeannes d’Arc” of the Third Republic earned the comparison through their religious piety. Male and female commentators would cite Joan as a model of female patriotism, equating her devotion to “France” with her devotion to God. Just as Falguière reinterpreted masculine soldierly traits in feminine, spiritual terms with *La Résistance*, authors such as Hélène d’Argoeuves connected masculine patriotism and willingness to die for the French nation with the spiritual strength and purity of martyred saints, who died for their religious beliefs. Female patriots, such as the spy Louise de Bettignies in World War I, would receive posthumous acclaim as “Jeannes d’Arc” for their perceived loyalty to God and country, as well as their spiritual strength and refusal to surrender. The spiritual, feminine aspects of the Marianne/Joan of Arc images took precedence over the masculine elements, as France had become a martyr and victim in the minds of French patriots, and

expressions of moral opposition toward Germany became a form of resistance for both men and women during the Third Republic. Furthermore, with the German presence in Lorraine, the Maid's province of origin, Joan of Arc's emblem, the Cross of Lorraine, would come to signify enduring resistance to the Germans, both militant and moral. The Cross of Lorraine evoked the feminine side of Marianne/Joan of Arc allegories, but it also incorporated masculine combat against a corporeal enemy, in contrast to women's abstract "battles" with intangible evils. Female allegorical figures in World War II displayed continuities with earlier images, continuing to depict the masculine/feminine and temporal/spiritual binaries. Even so, these dichotomies would break down in the twentieth century, when applied to real men and women in France.

The conflation of masculine and feminine resistance tactics in the actions of real people became most prominent during World War II. Charles de Gaulle embraced Joan of Arc's image as a model for himself and for the French Resistance, indicating a breakdown in the divide separating masculine temporal warfare from feminine, moral resistance. De Gaulle, a military leader and a man, became the embodiment of Joan of Arc in the eyes of his supporters, and in his own rhetoric. Further evidence of this breakdown can be found in *The Silence of the Sea*. Vercors explicitly linked Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery to real women in German-occupied France, with his depiction of the narrator's niece. Although the "silent" resistance he highlights carried feminine connotations, and Vercors advocated this opposition technique for women, scholars who interpret his message as a prescription for and commentary on women's resistance operate

with a limited perspective. They fail to consider his background as an artist, and the artistic conventions that informed his work, in their analyses. With the inclusion of these factors, we find that Vercors' depiction of silent resistance incorporated both masculine and feminine forms of "combat," collapsing the material/spiritual or active/passive dichotomy that had been so prominent in female allegories of resistance from the Terrible Year. Moreover, scholars who associate feminine resistance solely with the female character in Vercors' novel overlook the details of her interactions with the men in the story, and her status as a Marianne/Joan of Arc figure. The niece appears as a female allegory and a real woman, like Joan of Arc. She utilizes indirect resistance in a battle of wills with a material opponent, the German officer, thereby combining masculine and feminine forms of resistance. She also becomes a role model for the French man, her uncle, leading him to engage in "silence" with her. All of this suggests that Vercors sought to encourage silent resistance *for men and women* living under the Occupation.

This chapter will begin with the French surrender of Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War, addressing the depictions of this loss in Marianne imagery, and how the German acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine effectively turned France into a martyr in the eyes of French patriots, shifting French interpretations of patriotism and portrayals of resistance toward the feminine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery. Even as French perceptions of resistance increasingly focused on moral, spiritual aspects the French people directed this moral, spiritual resistance to a specific, material opponent: Imperial Germany.

Joan of Arc's ties to Lorraine lent support to the association between feminine moral resistance and opposition to Germany, and her Cross of Lorraine came to denote enduring opposition to the German presence in Alsace-Lorraine. In World War I, Joan of Arc provided a frequently-cited precedent for real women's patriotism and involvement in political, social, and military forms of "combat," as well as moral resistance. I will show that Catholic, anti-republican feminists employed her image alongside secular feminists and others to promote everything from women's suffrage to "battles" against disease. Real women who served the nation in militant roles were regarded as the Maid's successors in biographical accounts of their work, which emphasized their religious piety as much as their patriotic devotion to the nation, further reflecting the conflation of masculine and feminine resistance formats. I will then establish that the conflation of masculine and feminine resistance methods culminated in World War II, with a man and military officer, Charles de Gaulle, who claimed to be a latter-day incarnation of the Maid. Finally, I will argue that portrayals of Marianne/Joan of Arc from World War II, including Vercor's literary work *The Silence of the Sea*, show the convergence of masculine and feminine forms of "combat," even as they also display continuities with images from the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune. Bruller drew upon imagery from the Prussian siege of Paris, as well as the increased emphasis on feminine resistance in republican allegories after the Terrible Year, to form his perception of "silence." In a reflection of the conflicting views surrounding Communard women, Marianne/Joan of Arc would

become a ubiquitous allegory in the Second World War, paradoxically representing men and women, religious piety and nationalism, right-wing supporters of fascism and left-wing communists, conservatives and revolutionaries, republican values and anti-republican positions.

Alsace-Lorraine and the Mutilation of Marianne

As a female symbol of popular, republican resistance to tyranny, the Marianne of the Third Republic continued to signify the immaterial, indomitable, strength of women, and the saintly capacity to endure and outlast all hardships, without thought of surrender. The Third Republic ushered in a new wave of democratization in French society, with the expansion of secular, civic education, a shift that coincided with the unequivocal establishment of universal male suffrage, the development of an increasingly literate reading public, and what Venita Datta describes as an “explosion of the press.” Mass media gave rise to mass culture, and specifically, a culture of consumerism, in which the popular masses became a powerful and influential actor, determining consumer trends, and affecting the success of commercial businesses.¹³¹ With the defeat of the radical republicans in the Commune, the rise of a newly empowered public, and the vindication of moderate republicanism in France, Marianne was no longer relevant as a symbol of popular resistance to the Empire in France. However, as French republican hostility toward imperial rule became obsolete domestically, it

¹³¹ Venita Datta, *Birth of a National Icon The Literary Avant-Garde and the Origins of the Intellectual in France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 66, 68-70; Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 138, 142.

became correspondingly more significant and applicable in the realm of international relations, with the rise and development of the German Empire.

The German annexation of the territories of Alsace and Lorraine traumatized French patriots, and many artistic renditions portrayed the loss of these lands as the mutilation of the French national body. Images such as figures 24 and 25 offer depictions of the maiming and disfigurement of the people's Republic. The former shows Marianne, with her white, flowing dress, long, dark, hair and bare feet, laid out on a surgical table, with a knife at her side. Either dead or unconscious, she is to be carved into pieces, although the men standing over her seem reluctant to carry out the task. Figure 25 is even more explicit, as Adolphe Thiers and Jules Favre, the most prominent French negotiators in the talks with Bismarck, amputate one of Marianne's arms.¹³² Alsace-Lorraine is tattooed on her outstretched arm, thus painting the German-occupied territories as a severed limb of the national body of France. In portraying Alsace-Lorraine as an appendage of Marianne, this image suggests that, even while in German hands, the occupied territories still rightfully belonged to the French national body. Although the Germans might detach and carry off Marianne's arm, that is, Alsace-Lorraine, these lands were a part of her, and thus, could be recovered. The Marianne of the Third Republic, like the Communard Marianne, and Joan of Arc, possessed the saintly, feminine strength of the Catholic martyr, to endure and eventually triumph over defeat and death. She would never surrender, and she

¹³² Jules Simon, *The Government of M. Thiers: From 8th February, 1871 to 24th May, 1873* trans., Jules Simon (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879), 1:127.

could never be destroyed. These attributes now came to signify French resistance to Germany, and the hope of reclaiming the lost region of Alsace-Lorraine.



Figure 24: Honoré Daumier. "The Bordeaux Assembly-Who will take the knife?" *Le Charivari*. Source: Milner, 131. (February 16th, 1871).

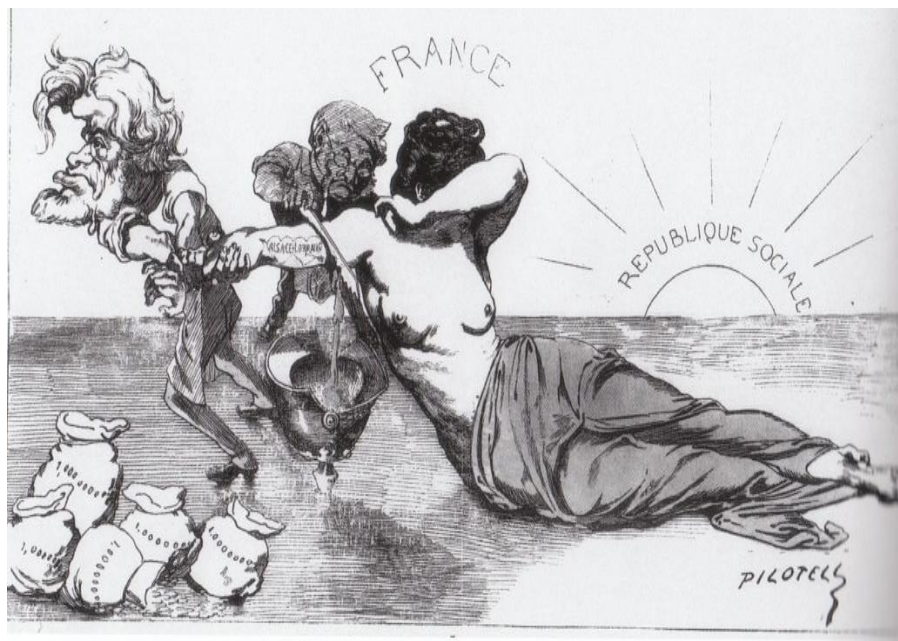


Figure 25: Georges Pilotell. "The Executive." Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Source: Milner, 132. (1871).

Alsace-Lorraine and Joan of Arc

A French monument constructed in the wake of the annexation reflects the importance of Alsace-Lorraine as a component of the French national body, and provides an additional link between Marianne's implacable resistance, and Joan of Arc. French tradition cites the province of Lorraine as Joan of Arc's birthplace, and she is often referred to as the Maid of Lorraine, or Joan of Lorraine. The Lorraine Cross thus evokes her image and legacy.¹³³ Michel Pastoureau and Ivan Sache convey that, when the Germans took possession of Alsace-Lorraine in 1873, and separated the "French" side of Lorraine from the "German" side, residents of the former built a marble monument at the basilica of Scion, engraved with a broken Cross of Lorraine, and the statement: "This is not forever."¹³⁴ With the Allied victory in World War I (1914-1918), France "reattached" Alsace-Lorraine to the national body. The people of Lorraine then covered the break in the cross and inscribed a new phrase over it: "This was not forever."¹³⁵ In 1946, after the defeat of Germany in World War II, another Cross of Lorraine, with the words "Now it is forever," replaced the broken cross, denoting the permanence of Alsace-Lorraine's attachment to France and "liberation" from German rule.¹³⁶

¹³³ Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans., Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (New York: St Martin's Griffin, 1998), 16, 101; Henry C. Thorn, *History of 313th U.S. Infantry: "Baltimore's Own"* (New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company, 1920), 73, 76-77.

¹³⁴ Michel Pastoureau, *Les emblèmes de la France* (Paris : Editions Bonneton, 1998), 89; Ivan Sache "The Cross of Lorraine," Lorraine, (Traditional province, France), accessed December 15, 2009, <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/fr-lo.html#cro>; in the regional dialect of Lorraine: "Ce n'a me po tojo." Ivan Sache translates this statement into standard French as "Ce n'est pas pour toujours."

¹³⁵ "Ce n'ato me po tojo." In standard French: "Ce n'était pas pour toujours."

¹³⁶ "Estour inc po tojo." In standard French: "Maintenant c'est pour toujours."

Henry C. Thorn corroborates this interpretation in his 1920 account of World War I, *History of 313th U.S. Infantry: "Baltimore's Own,"* indicating that, after 1871, the Cross of Lorraine came to symbolize the hope that German-annexed areas of Alsace-Lorraine would be returned to France.¹³⁷ Jon Guttman supports this view as well, relating that French flying aces in the First World War, such as Maréchal-des-Logis René Pierre Marie Dorme, painted the Lorraine Cross on their aircraft to advertise their goal of retaking Alsace-Lorraine from the Germans.¹³⁸ Joan of Arc's Cross of Lorraine, then, signified the desire to reclaim Alsace-Lorraine from Germany, and, like the Marianne of the Third Republic, came to represent enduring French republican resistance to the German Empire.

Joan of Arc and French Women in the First World War

In the First World War, interpretive disagreements surrounding Joan of Arc continued and took on a broader range of connotations, as nationalist, secular supporters of republicanism and Catholic anti-republicans both utilized her image in association with their values. Margaret Darrow shows that women, as well as men, upheld Joan of Arc as an allegorical example of women's non-combative contributions to the war effort and indirect "battles" against social ills. For example, wealthy Catholic women named a free clinic in Paris after Joan, a clinic where they sought to "combat" blood and skin diseases in the general population. According to Darrow, male social commentators in France generally construed and presented women's patriotism in terms of motherhood and saintly self-sacrifice, a view shared by non-French, contemporary observers of Franco-

¹³⁷ Thorn, *History of 313th U.S. Infantry*, 73, 77.

¹³⁸ Jon Guttman, *SPAD VII Aces of World War I* (London: Osprey Publishing Limited, 2001), 10.

German relations, such as Ernest Vizetelly. Women, including the majority of secular feminists, often agreed with this view, deeming militancy incompatible with feminism. Darrow relates that Dr. Madeline Pelletier and Jane Misme, a socialist feminist and a republican feminist, respectively, both equated feminism with opposition to war.¹³⁹ Their views evoke the statement in Seulart's radical republican manifesto from the Terrible Year, in which "Joan of Arc II" called for an end to all wars.¹⁴⁰ Republican and/or socialist feminists deemphasized Joan of Arc's status as a direct warrior in battle. Instead, such women employed her image to call for and to justify female suffrage and direct inclusion in political campaigns, again, like Seulart, advocating peace through equality.¹⁴¹ In further resemblance to the revolutionary republican women of the Commune, French women in World War I became latter-day *ambulancières*, working as nurses with the Red Cross, and joining military battalions on the battlefields, in an auxiliary role. In this way, like Parisian women in the Terrible Year, their contributions could be de-politicized and understood as an indirect form of "combat" against that age-old abstract enemy: "death."

Even women who engaged in direct, if covert, military work, such as the French female spy Louise de Bettignies, were interpreted as martyrs, rather than "warriors," in accounts of their exploits. Historians and biographers who

¹³⁹ Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 25-27; Ernest Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune: Paris, 1871* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1914), 358-359.

¹⁴⁰ Amélie Seulart, "Globe," quoted in Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique: Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 62.

¹⁴¹ Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 27.

addressed Bettignies' story commonly compared her to Joan of Arc, while emphasizing how she displayed religious devotion, spiritual strength, and self-sacrifice, in accordance with the feminine aspects of the Maid's image. One author indicated that Bettignies heard the voice of God, calling her to become a spy for France and for France's primary ally, Britain. Upon her capture at the hands of German forces, Bettignies showed implacable, non-militant resistance, refusing to perform work that might contribute to a German victory, and inspiring other internees to rebel along with her.¹⁴² Other chroniclers such as Hélène d'Argoeuves recounted that Bettignies had asked to kiss a crucifix before her death, as Joan of Arc had done. Moreover, her death was an act of sacrifice, as she had given all for her country.¹⁴³ D'Argoeuves clearly states this comparison in the title of her article: "Louise de Bettignies, la 'Jeanne d'Arc du Nord.'" ¹⁴⁴

Bettignies appeared an example of piety, enduring patriotic resistance, and martyrdom, rather than an Amazon warrior.

These portrayals bear strong similarities to those written by men to describe women in the Franco-Prussian War. For instance, Lucien Nass, like Bettignies' biographers, described Parisian women as living, indirect versions of Jeanne d'Arc, equating their spiritual strength and selfless, martyr-like qualities with the Maid. Women's patriotism and application of Joan of Arc's "warrior" model could only be acceptable in mainstream French society as indirect, abstract "warfare," while republican and socialist feminists rejected this model entirely.

¹⁴² Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 281-284.

¹⁴³ Hélène d'Argoeuves, "Louise de Bettignies, la 'Jeanne d'Arc du Nord' " *Les Annales* (January 10, 1938) : 12.

¹⁴⁴ "Louise de Bettignies, the 'Joan of Arc of the North.' "

They sought political equality with men, without the concomitant factor of military participation, echoing Seulart's pronouncement: "Equality through the creating mother. No more war."¹⁴⁵ In this way, they upheld and reflected Joan of Arc's feminine moral authority.

Yet, as supporters of a secular, republican France, including secular feminists, they sought to distance themselves from the martial, masculine connotations of Joan of Arc, Catholic, anti-republican feminists increasingly lauded and sought to adopt these very qualities. With Joan of Arc's beatification in 1909 and eventual canonization in 1920, she became an acceptable symbol of Catholic reform efforts and anti-republican sentiment.

Indeed, Darrow reports that by 1900 Joan of Arc had been adopted by extreme right-wing Catholic women, who disparaged the secular Republic and wanted France to become a Catholic state. In pursuit of this goal, anti-republican Catholic women became increasingly militant, and moreover, equated their pious devotion to the Church with their patriotic love for France, deeming the two indivisible. One Catholic woman, Marie Rabut, mentioned that, as a girl, she had hoped to become a soldier for the Church, like Joan of Arc. She had even planned to form an all-female chivalric order, reminiscent of Belly's Amazons and the armed "Jeannes d'Arc" of the Commune.¹⁴⁶ However, in an obvious divergence from these groups, Rabut's female warriors would have fought for the Church, as well as for France. Rabut and other far right-wing, Catholic women who wished

¹⁴⁵ Seulart, "Globe," quoted in Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 62.

¹⁴⁶ Marie Rabut, *Les étincelles* (Dijon : Imprimerie Jobard, 1917), 24, 33-34.

to fight for France, were the political opposites of left-wing, revolutionary republican women who evoked Joan of Arc in the Terrible Year, such as Louise Michel and Amélie Seurlart. The former were anti-republican, pious devotees of the Church, who sought a return to “traditional” values in France. In contrast, the latter were ardent supporters of republican ideals and the Revolution, who hoped to overthrow and abolish established structures, such as the Church. Despite their differences, both camps of women interpreted Marianne/Joan of Arc as a model of female patriotism and a symbol of the values they associated with patriotism. Her image and precedent lent legitimacy to their desire for direct participation in combat, whether social, political, or military.

In the First World War, Marianne/Joan of Arc became a more universal and malleable symbol than she had been during the Terrible Year. Traditionalist, Catholic, anti-republican women emphasized her masculine qualities, while socialist and republican women mirrored and promoted her non-militant, female aspects, in supporting republican ideals. Just as Marianne/Joan of Arc had represented a combination and unification of masculine and feminine characteristics, she now served as a meeting point where republican and anti-republican sentiments, including French patriotism and Catholic piety, confronted and commingled with one another. In figure 26, an allegorical depiction of the German-annexed city of Metz, the association between French nationalism, or patriotism, and Catholicism is apparent. The woman in this picture has the long, dark hair, the white, Greek-inspired dress, and the bare feet of Marianne. Like Marianne images from the Franco-Prussian War, which often appeared with

a cannon, she has artillery shells at her feet. Yet, the position of the figure, tied to a wall with her arms outstretched, is not that of a warrior prepared for battle. Instead, she resembles the crucified Christ, a holy martyr, and she looks to the sky, as if focusing on the heavenly realm and ignoring the material world. She wears a shield around her neck, inscribed with the word “Metz,” and behind her there is a French Tricolor flag nailed to the wall. As the capital of the province of Lorraine, Metz was directly connected to Joan of Arc, the Maid of Lorraine, a link that accounts for the religious elements in this image.¹⁴⁷ The figure is both Marianne and Joan of Arc, a female rendition of the Republic and a pious martyr. The crucifixion of Marianne/Joan of Arc is underscored by the “crucified” Tricolor flag at her back. This work conflates the Republic with the Church, in a Marianne/Joan of Arc figure. The Maid, as a pure and holy martyr, signified an upholder of “tradition” and women’s spiritual, moral strength. However, as an Amazon, a female warrior and freedom-fighter, she was also a revolutionary who implicitly endorsed women’s direct participation in the masculine arenas of politics and warfare. Masculine and feminine, republican and anti-republican, nationalist and religious, conservative and revolutionary- all converged upon and through Joan of Arc.

In the World War II, the Cross of Lorraine and Joan of Arc would be adopted by individuals who claimed, or were perceived to be, Joan’s successors. Interpretations of Joan of Arc were, again, divided and ubiquitous. However,

¹⁴⁷ Walter Hines Page and Arthur Wilson Page, *The World’s Work: A History of Our Time* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1919), 191.

unlike previous controversies, which centered on women's political enfranchisement and participation in direct combat, this rift corresponded to the fragmentation of the Third Republic.



Figure 26: Louis Édouard-Fournier. "1680-Comédie." I Lapina Imprimerie, Paris. Imperial War Museum. Source: VADS: The Online Resource for Visual Arts. (1914-1918).

The Occupation: Republicanism and Resistance

The events of World War II bear uncanny similarities to the French experience in the Franco-Prussian War. After nearly eight months of fighting, later known as the "drôle de guerre" or "phony war," from September of 1939 to May 10, 1940, the French government sought to negotiate an armistice with Germany, and conceded to the German occupation of French territory. By the terms of the armistice, France was officially separated into two political zones.

The Germans held three-fifths of the country, including the Atlantic coast, the northern and eastern provinces, and the city of Paris. Southern France fell under the control of the collaborationist and autocratic Vichy regime.¹⁴⁸ Unofficially, however, France had split into two broad, ideological camps, one of which promoted or acquiesced to Nazism and collaboration with the enemy, as exemplified by Vichy. The other called for resistance to the Occupation, and refused to accept a permanent “union” between France and Germany. The latter camp began with the work of individuals who banded together into groups, to conduct resistance activities. They formed connections with others who shared their sentiments, giving rise to several unconnected, largely autonomous resistance organizations. In turn, these factions converged into a loosely unified coalition as the war progressed, in the name of the “free” French government in exile, based in London. This alliance of resistance organizations, alternately known as the “Forces Françaises de l’Intérieur” (F.F.I.), “Free France,” “the Free French,” and “Fighting France,” operated under the command of the French General Charles de Gaulle.

In the early days of the Occupation, acts of resistance primarily consisted of writing, publishing and distributing leaflets. A tract entitled *Conseils à l'occupé* or *Advice to the Occupied*, first appeared in the Occupied Zone in July of 1940, offering insights and suggestions as to how the “occupied” French could restore their hope, preserve their dignity, and oppose the German presence. Other tracts

¹⁴⁸ Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 230-231.

soon followed in occupied France and in the “Free” Zone, urging the people to unite in resisting the Nazis.¹⁴⁹

In the summer of 1940, a group of intellectuals assembled at a Parisian museum, the Musée de l’Homme, to establish a resistance organization. Prominent members included Agnès Humbert and the organization’s de-facto leader, Boris Vildé. The Musée de l’Homme group built alliances with other resistance workers, in Paris and elsewhere, forging a network through which information could be gathered and relayed. Although they initially functioned as an escape line, rescuing downed British airmen and escaped prisoners of war, the group subsequently expanded into reporting on German movements, and printing tracts. In December of 1940, their newspaper, *Résistance*, joined the ranks of other clandestine publications in the North, such as *L’Homme libre*, *Libre France*, and *Pantagruel*.

As resistance efforts became increasingly sophisticated, a variety of networks and movements emerged. Networks, according to Julian Jackson, were distinguished by their specific military objectives and connections to intelligence networks outside of France, such as the American OSS, the British MI6, and the Free French. Some began as local projects and initiatives, while others were founded by intelligence agents sent from London.¹⁵⁰ Resistance networks focused upon collecting and relaying information. They did not engage in publishing, nor did they seek to counter German propaganda. Security and secrecy were their

¹⁴⁹ Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 402.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 403. 408-409, 480.

primary concerns. Although movements performed many of the same tasks, such as information-gathering, they also sought to reach and inspire action in the people of France. Movements produced anti-German propaganda, published newspapers, and distributed copies of tracts such as *Advice to the Occupied*.¹⁵¹ Although Jackson cites the Musée de l'Homme group as an example of a network that transformed into a movement, given that the latter shifted from human smuggling, to intelligence work, to clandestine publishing, most resistance organizations in the North followed an opposite trajectory. If a resistance group became “professional” through affiliation with an external intelligence agency, it would be required to function as a network, in exchange for aid. Resistance workers in a “professional” network were not permitted to act as, or claim simultaneous membership in, a movement. Involvement in propaganda wars and publishing would leave them at greater risk of attracting notice, potentially compromising the security of the network.

As divisions between networks and movements became more pronounced, other differences contributed to discord within the resistance camp. Northern groups became increasingly distinct from Vichy resistance organizations, with those in the “Free” Zone emphasizing propaganda and publishing more than their counterparts in the Occupied Zone. According to Jackson this distinction can be explained by the former’s need to combat complacency in their audience. Southern movements emerged in response to the Vichy government, rather than the constant presence and threat of German authorities. Resistance workers in the

¹⁵¹ See Chapter 4.

South often perceived themselves as participants in a civil war against traitorous French leaders. They developed a common rhetoric and ideology of resistance, centered on republicanism, as a consequence. Although movements in the North also reflect the influence of republican ideals, they were comparatively less unified in their philosophical underpinnings, and less concerned with matters of ideology and politics. Resistance leaders on both sides of the divide established contact in the first years of the Occupation, and made attempts to effect a merger. Yet, their efforts failed, and by 1942 resistance operations in the Occupied Zone had become largely divorced from those in the South.¹⁵²

In May and June of 1942, however, the disparate groups in the resistance camp began to move toward unification. For example, communist resistance publications, such as *L'Humanité*, advocated the idea that all patriots in the Resistance should form an alliance, regardless of their differences. Communists also adopted French Republican rhetoric, thereby aligning themselves with other movements that had displayed similar proclivities, most notably in the “Free” Zone. Indeed, Jackson indicates that the Vichy regime, with its extreme right-wing policies and loyalty to Nazi Germany, caused this renewed emphasis on republican values in resistance organizations. With practices reminiscent of the Second Empire, such as strict limitations on free speech and criticism of the government, Vichy inadvertently fostered the notion that republicanism possessed “mystique,” or spiritual value, and virtually guaranteed that the Resistance would embrace it. Moreover, despite apparent fractures and disputes among resistance

¹⁵² Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 408-413, 417.

leaders, the various organizations that comprised the Resistance bore striking similarities to the network of clandestine republican societies that had operated under the Second Empire. As the latter sought to recruit anyone who shared their values of liberty, equality, and fraternity, across class lines, Jackson conveys that resistance movements in World War II-era France welcomed all who shared their opposition to Nazi Germany, without regard for political, religious, or cultural considerations.¹⁵³ Republican principles, traditions, symbols, and rhetoric provided the Resistance with a broad conceptual framework and identity, which served to unify the disparate groups, enabling them to overcome their differences.¹⁵⁴

This shift toward greater solidarity and a common adherence to republicanism correlated with a call for unity from Charles de Gaulle's office in London, as the General sought to unify all of France under the F.F.I. and his leadership. Through a visit from his envoy, Jean Moulin, who parachuted into the "Free" Zone on January 1, 1942, de Gaulle promised monetary aid and supplies to the most prominent resistance movements in the South, if they would agree to merge and operate under the authority of the Free French. By June of 1942, the largest resistance organizations in the South had joined together. After this development, de Gaulle changed the name of the Free French to "Fighting France" on July 13th, 1942, showing that the F.F.I. now represented all French citizens who opposed Nazi Germany and Vichy. Resistance factions run by the Communist Party in the South eventually followed, extending their support to de

¹⁵³ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 425-426.

¹⁵⁴ For more on the underground Republic in the nineteenth century, see Chapter 1.

Gaulle in January of 1943.¹⁵⁵ Although coordinating a unification of resistance groups in the North proved far more difficult, and these groups remained largely fragmented for the duration of the war, support for de Gaulle provided a common, unifying thread among resistance workers.¹⁵⁶ By the first months of 1943, a relatively coordinated and unified Resistance had been established throughout France, under the F.F.I. and General de Gaulle.

In accordance with the revival of French republicanism in the broad, prevailing ideology of the Resistance, Marianne/Joan of Arc appeared in F.F.I. propaganda, which emphasized her affiliation with the Resistance. As in earlier periods, Joan of Arc's image simultaneously served the anti-republican camp as well. Proponents of republican values in the Resistance displayed further continuity with their nineteenth-century predecessors in styling themselves as Joan of Arc's descendants. However, for the first time in modern history, men were among those who claimed to be living "Jeannes d'Arc," and none figured more prominently than de Gaulle himself.¹⁵⁷

Charles de Gaulle as Joan of Arc

De Gaulle's aides and supporters presented him as an incarnation of the Maid, a "savior of France," emphasizing that he emerged from a background parallel to Joan of Arc's origins, and rose up to fight under comparable, dire

¹⁵⁵ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 426, 430, 434, 445.

¹⁵⁶ See Agnès Humbert, *Résistance: A Woman's Journal of Struggle and Defiance in Occupied France*, trans., Barbara Mellor (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), 8; Micheline Bood, *les années doubles: Journal d'une lycéenne sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1974), 101.

¹⁵⁷ For more on French republicanism and "Jeannes d'Arcs" in the nineteenth century, see Chapter 2.

circumstances.¹⁵⁸ He and his aides actively fostered this connection, emphasizing that de Gaulle, like Joan of Arc, had been born in Lorraine, and employing the Cross of Lorraine on the French Tricolor flag as a symbol of the French Resistance. In a series of articles entitled “Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc,” the French playwright Henri Bernstein promoted this comparison, equating de Gaulle with the Maid of Lorraine, and endowing him with her celebrated attributes, both masculine and feminine. Moreover, this work indicates that Bernstein viewed Joan of Arc as a republican figure, and a defender of the Republic. For Bernstein, General de Gaulle’s republican values placed him squarely within Joan of Arc’s legacy, and he was her successor precisely because of his loyalty to the Republic. In becoming Joan of Arc, then, he also became Marianne.

Bernstein contends that de Gaulle shared Joan of Arc’s material and spiritual qualities. Both the general and the Maid rose to prominence within the context of French political and military crises: the Second World War and the Hundred Years War, respectively.¹⁵⁹ Just as Joan of Arc came from humble beginnings in the peasantry, de Gaulle was “poor” when he arrived in London. According to Bernstein, de Gaulle left France in such a hurry that he failed to collect his pay, and brought only his briefcase, three khaki shirts, and his military uniform. Therefore, he experienced poverty. Furthermore, he displayed great

¹⁵⁸ Leah D. Hewitt, “Vichy’s Female Icons: Chabrol’s *Story of Women*,” in *Gender and Fascism in Modern France*, ed. Melanie Hawthorne and Richard J. Golsan (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 159.

¹⁵⁹ Henri Bernstein, *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc* (New York: France Forever, 1944), 5, 9; originally published in the New York Herald Tribune on May 7th, 1943.

personal bravery, and a willingness to fight and die for France. De Gaulle and Joan of Arc were both lone figures who appeared, as veritable living versions of Delacroix's Liberty, to inspire resistance in the French people.¹⁶⁰ In keeping with the militant aspects of Joan of Arc, Bernstein indicates that de Gaulle was a young military leader, the youngest general in France. As a young military commander with an extraordinary mission, de Gaulle mirrored Joan's temporal power and masculine side. Like Joan of Arc, the female moral authority and martyr, he showed implacable resistance to the enemy, and argued that France should fight on rather than capitulate. For instance, after the armistice, he stated that France had lost a battle, but not the war, echoing images such as Pilotell's depiction of the Commune in figure 24. The Republic had been defeated but not permanently destroyed. Like the Commune's Revolution, republican France would find a way to resurrect itself again. De Gaulle, in Bernstein's perception, also represents "the symbol of resistance to Hitler and of fresh hope in the world."¹⁶¹ Bernstein locates de Gaulle within a long tradition of French resistance, Joan of Arc's tradition. He quotes the general as saying, "Unite with me in action, in sacrifice, and in hope. The flame of French resistance burns as strong as ever."¹⁶² This statement parallels the description of Joan of Arc in Seulart's poster. Seulart, as Joan of Arc II, was "the dawn that foretells the good arrival of the sun of justice," and a source of hope for all people "of good heart."¹⁶³ De Gaulle thus

¹⁶⁰ Bernstein, *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*, 5, 6, 10.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 8, 11, 12.

¹⁶² Charles de Gaulle, quoted in Bernstein, *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc* (New York: France Forever, 1944), 11.

¹⁶³ Seulart, "Globe," quoted in Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 62

appears as Joan of Arc reborn. The feminine, spiritual strength of Joan also manifested in de Gaulle's ability to hear "the call," just as Joan heard the voice of God, urging him to become a "prophet," with a message of hope for France. Bernstein even argues that de Gaulle should have a *fête*, that is, a festival and saint's day, just as Joan of Arc, the Catholic saint, has a *fête*. Finally, Bernstein emphasizes that de Gaulle, like Joan, faced execution for his beliefs. Vichy condemned him to death in absentia, although the sentence was never carried out.¹⁶⁴ In Bernstein's portrayal, de Gaulle possessed the masculine, martial characteristics and the feminine spiritual elements of Joan of Arc.

Simultaneously, Bernstein depicts de Gaulle as a revolutionary and a warrior for the Republic. Although he could not be considered a political, revolutionary republican, in the field of military science de Gaulle was a "revolutionary," a "visionary," and a brilliant tactician, who published a book entitled *Vers l'armée de métier* in 1934.¹⁶⁵ In this work, according to Bernstein, de Gaulle proposed new, novel military strategies, such as the formation of "panzer divisions," which combined tanks and infantry. French military commanders ignored de Gaulle's ideas, while the German military subsequently adopted them, with success. Bernstein draws upon the general's military background to portray him as a "revolutionary," and moreover, as a republican figure, who ultimately wanted to restore the government of the people, the Third Republic. De Gaulle fought to free the people of France and to "liberate his native

¹⁶⁴ Bernstein, *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*, 5, 9-12, 14.

¹⁶⁵ The title of this work can be translated as *The Army of the Future*, or literally, as *Toward a Professional Army*; Charles de Gaulle, *Vers l'armée de métier* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1934).

soil.” He also showed his adherence to the ideal of equality through his treatment of socialists such as Leon Blum and Paul Boncour. Bernstein relates one instance in which he met the general in London, and the latter received news that Blum and Boncour were arriving. Despite being men of integrity, the two faced ostracism in France, and especially in French military circles, due to their political views. Disregarding such considerations, the general expressed his wish to make them vice-presidents of his National Committee in London. For Bernstein, this represents proof of de Gaulle’s “absolutely unprejudiced mind” and tendency to treat all French people equally, across political lines. From de Gaulle’s emphasis on equality came fraternity or unity, as he wanted to unite everyone in France around the cause of resistance. Bernstein presents him as a unifying force, like Joan of Arc, stating that “without Charles de Gaulle no French unity is possible—even thinkable.”¹⁶⁶ De Gaulle thus appears as a champion of republican ideals and a living Marianne/Joan of Arc figure.

De Gaulle in His Own Words: Republican Joan of Arc and Resistance Leader

De Gaulle’s own letters and speeches largely support Bernstein’s arguments. He viewed himself as a lone, heroic figure on a mission, and as the liberator of France. For instance, in his memoirs, de Gaulle recalls the moment when he realized the role and task before him:

Among the French, as within other nations, the immense convergence of fear, self-interest, and despair caused a universal surrender in regard to France...no responsible man anywhere acted as if he still believed in her independence, pride, and greatness. That she was bound henceforward to

¹⁶⁶ Bernstein, *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*, 5, 6, 7-13.

be enslaved, disgraced, and flouted was taken for granted by all who counted in the world. In face of the frightening void of the general renunciation, my mission appeared to me, all of a sudden, clear and terrible. At that moment, the worst in her history, it was for me to assume the burden of France.¹⁶⁷

By his own account, among French government leaders, he alone remained loyal to France and held out hope for French liberation. As this passage also indicates, he received his mission in a sudden moment of insight, akin to the voice of God that called Joan of Arc to rise up and save “France” from her enemies.

De Gaulle was not a radical idealist nor an advocate of full-fledged social and political equality, as he displayed antagonism towards the communist regime in Russia. Yet, at the same time, he was also a determined, unequivocal enemy of fascism. He indicated both positions in a 1935 letter to his mother on the possibility of a Franco-Russian alliance against Germany. In the letter, de Gaulle states that France needs Russia’s help, even though he hates the communist, Soviet government, emphasizing that one objective must take precedence above all other considerations: defeating Hitler and the Nazis. To that end, he perceives the need for a union among all those who oppose Germany, regardless of their political affiliations.¹⁶⁸ After the Occupation, this union would take shape in the form of the F.F.I., which incorporated a variety of political movements and persuasions into a relatively unified, interconnected coalition. For instance, the

¹⁶⁷ Charles de Gaulle, *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles De Gaulle*, trans., Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard (New York: Carroll & Graff Publishers, 1998), 87-88.

¹⁶⁸ Charles de Gaulle, *Lettres, Notes et Carnets: 1905-1918* (Paris: Plon, 1980), 2 :442.

F.T.P.F., the militant branch of the Communist Party in France, became one of the major components of the F.F.I.¹⁶⁹ De Gaulle believed that the French Resistance, and his mission, would fail if he could not succeed in unifying the French people under his leadership. As he says of the Resistance in June of 1942, (here referred to as “Fighting France”):¹⁷⁰

The situation she had acquired in the world was now solid enough for it to be impossible to break her from the outside, on condition that she herself held firm, and that she had the support of the nation in proportion as this emerged in its reality. While carrying on our fight, I thought of nothing else. Would Fighting France, in the coming test, have enough keenness, courage, and vigor not to split within? Would the French people, exhausted, misled, and torn as it was, be willing to listen to me and follow me? Could I unite France?¹⁷¹

Although he was not a communist, de Gaulle allied himself with French communists and all others who shared his hostility to Germany in the Resistance. The F.F.I., then, served as a unifying force, bringing people of varied backgrounds and persuasions together in pursuit of an Allied victory.

Again, as we have seen with Louise Michel, Catherine Panis, and other “Jeannes d’Arc” who fought or wished to fight for a popular, French Republic,

¹⁶⁹ F.T.P.F. (also known as the F.T.P.) was an acronym for “Le Francs Tireurs et Partisans Française ;” The literal translation is: “The French Shooters (or Gunmen) and French Supporters;” for more on the link between the F.F.I and the F.T.P.F. see Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 445, and Henri Michel, *Paris Resistant* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1982), 261.

¹⁷⁰ De Gaulle, *The Complete War Memoirs*, 251.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 252.

Joan of Arc converged with the ideals of the people's Republic, in the person of a real-world individual. Unlike earlier "Jeannes d'Arc," however, de Gaulle was a man and a military officer. Radical republicans such as Amélie Seulart had hoped to unite men and women around "the banner" of Joan of Arc, to create a new world of freedom, equality, and unity.¹⁷² With de Gaulle's apparent adoption of Joan's characteristics, and her Lorraine Cross, the Maid became a truly universal symbol of republican resistance, encompassing a man and a high-ranking military leader, alongside communists, women, and the "common" people. De Gaulle's Resistance styled itself as a part of a long-standing tradition of French resistance to invasion, and Christ-like resurrection from defeat. Figuratively, if not literally, the Resistance operated under Joan of Arc's banner, and acted in her tradition. Furthermore, de Gaulle and his supporters, such as Bernstein, embedded republican ideals and the popular republican emphasis on resistance to tyranny into their interpretation of Joan of Arc's legacy. With the addition of these elements, de Gaulle became an incarnation of Marianne, along with Joan of Arc, and his French Resistance incorporated her tradition as well, evoking the underground Republic that had endured under the Second Empire.

For the duration of the war, de Gaulle created a semblance of what the nineteenth-century Communards had hoped to achieve. In equating himself with Joan of Arc, he unified supporters of the Allies and the Resistance across the dividing lines of religion, class, gender, and politics. All who opposed Nazi Germany and sought to liberate France from the Occupation were welcome in the

¹⁷² Seulart, "Globe," quoted in Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 62.

Resistance. This unification further reflected the ideals presented in Seulart's manifesto, that is, the notion that all people could find equality and unity through the "creating mother," and the implication that all people are connected and related, as family.¹⁷³ For many French patriots, *résistants*, and *résistantes*, loyalty to the Resistance became inseparable and indistinguishable from the devotion they felt toward France and toward their families. As a successor to Joan of Arc, and a defender of the republican ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, de Gaulle's F.F.I. represented France, and the people of France, combining all resistance workers into one nationalist "family" under the Cross of Lorraine, the unifying banner of the Maid.

Marianne and Joan of Arc: Continuity in Imagery

Depictions of Marianne and Joan of Arc reflected the diversity within the Resistance in World War II-era France, as female allegories of the people's Republic took on various artistic and literary forms, and even appeared in pro-German propaganda. The communist Louis Aragon alludes to Marianne in his poem on the Resistance, "La Rose et le Réséda," in which he describes two chivalrous men, who hold different beliefs, and yet are united in their adoration for "the beautiful woman, prisoner of the soldiers."¹⁷⁴ In this instance, we find Marianne as a captured hostage, awaiting rescue. She is not a *résistante*, nor is she involved in any type of rebellion. Rather, she is portrayed as a martyr and victim; it is the masculine Resistance that must fight on her behalf. In a similar way, the

¹⁷³ Seulart, "Globe," quoted in Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique*, 62.

¹⁷⁴ Louis Aragon, "La Rose et le Réséda," in *French Lyric Poetry: An Anthology*, ed. Frank S. Geise and Warren F. Wilder (New York: Odyssey Press, 1965), 89; "Celui qui croyait au ciel, celui qui n'y croyait pas, tous deux adoraient la belle, prisonnière des soldats."

pre-liberation Resistance poster in figure 27 shows Marianne bound in chains and imprisoned. Her cell features a swastika in the window, in lieu of prison bars, in an obvious reference to her Nazi “jailers.” She looks to the flags of the Allies, that is, to Britain, America, and, most prominently, to the Tricolor emblem of de Gaulle’s Free France, with the Cross of Lorraine. Marianne appears as a helpless prisoner and victim, placing her hope in the Allies and Free France, and relying upon them to rescue her.

In February of 1944, Nazi officials distributed pro-German propaganda posters, which also utilized the symbol of Marianne and depicted her as a martyr and victim in the face of predatory invaders. Figure 28 provides an example of one such image. Here, again, we see Marianne as a woman looking to masculine figures for aid and protection. However, the message of this poster is an inversion of figure 27. This Marianne fears the Allies, specifically the United States and the Soviet Union, who are portrayed as threatening and aggressive intruders. One is shown breaking down her door, for example, while the other enters her “house” through a window, pointing a gun at her and carrying a torch, as if he intends to burn the “house” down. The German rendition of Marianne turns to the soldiers of “Europe Unie,” or United Europe, to save her from the “evil” Allies. “United Europe” meant a Europe unified under Nazi control and under the “protection” of the German military.¹⁷⁵ Marianne appears once more as a dependent and helpless “damsel in distress.” These images correspond to Édouard-Fournier’s

¹⁷⁵ Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 197-198.

Marianne/Joan of Arc image in figure 26 and emphasize the feminine aspects of the people's Republic, including her non-militant, saintly endurance and her status as a victim of tyranny and violence. Only the "tyrants" differ, ranging from Imperial Germany, to Nazi Germany, to the Allied Powers.



Figure 27: Von Moppes. "Marianne in Chains." Source: Peschanski et al. p. 243. No date. (1942-1943?).



Figure 28: "Libération?" Source: Pollard, 198. (February, 1944).

Similar themes appear in the literature of the time period. Vercors' *Le Silence de la Mer* or *The Silence of the Sea* depicts France as a woman, drawing a parallel between the narrator's niece and Marianne/Joan of Arc, without explicitly referencing the latter figures by name. The narrator is an elderly man who lives in the Occupied Zone with his niece, and who is forced to quarter a German officer.

The officer and his commander are very polite. For instance, the commander apologizes for requisitioning their home, as he states: “I am extremely sorry.” He further assures the two French people that the officer will do his best to avoid disturbing them.¹⁷⁶ The officer himself is pleasant and courteous, an eloquent man who prefers to think of himself as a musician and composer, rather than “a man of war.” Even so, the narrator and his niece are determined to ignore him, to refrain from showing any signs of friendliness or amicability toward him. They go about their lives as if the officer “didn’t exist.” The German frequently tries to converse with them, though they maintain a stubborn silence. When he talks, he always looks at the narrator’s niece, as if she were not a woman, but “a statue.” The narrator, too, perceives her as a statue, as he conveys: “a statue was exactly what she was- a living one, but a statue all the same.” The young woman is firm and unyielding in her silence, and impervious to the German’s feelings of ostracism.¹⁷⁷ In this, she is like a statue: unresponsive, unfeeling, and immovable. The German views his attempts to break the girl’s silence as a microcosm of Germany’s endeavor to win over France, or the French nationalist spirit, to the German cause. He says:

I am happy to have found here an elderly man with some dignity and a young lady who knows how to be silent. We have got to conquer this silence. We have got to conquer the silence of all France. I am glad of that.

Apparently, he is “glad” because he interprets this “silence” as a display of courage and national loyalty, which he respects. To the officer, although Germany

¹⁷⁶ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, trans., Cyrril Connolly, (New York: Macmillian Company, 1944), 3-4.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

wants to conquer France, the Germans intend for this conquest to result in a “marriage” of the two nations. Such bravery and strength in the French people will create a “solid union” between them.¹⁷⁸ The niece, then, is a metaphor for France, with her steadfast reticence symbolizing the spirit of the French people, while the officer represents the German occupiers. This example directly reflects the German concept of a “United Europe,” depicting a Franco-German union in terms of a relationship between a “feminine” France and a “masculine” Germany.¹⁷⁹

The German officer repeatedly utilizes the metaphor of a married couple, or a suitor pursuing a cold and aloof young woman, to refer to the relationship between Germany and France. The former is construed as the “man” who, according to the fictional officer, wants a “union” with the latter. For instance, he states that, after Germany has won the war: “We won’t fight each other anymore. We’ll get married!” He mentions his father’s belief that Germany and France ought to become like a “husband and wife.” He also refers to the fairytale of Beauty and the Beast, placing France in the role of “la belle” in a reference that resembles Aragon’s poetic description.¹⁸⁰

Jackson indicates that Vercors, the author of *The Silence of the Sea* was actually Jean Bruller, a satirical cartoonist and engraver.¹⁸¹ Given his background as an artist, it is possible that Bruller’s knowledge of and familiarity with

¹⁷⁸ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 5, 16-17.

¹⁷⁹ See figure 28.

¹⁸⁰ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 17-18.

¹⁸¹ Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 441.

allegorical artistic conventions influenced his depiction of the niece. She is, at once, a real woman and a Marianne/Joan of Arc figure.

Scholars such as Peter Davies, Christopher Lloyd, and Julian Jackson have interpreted the “silence” of the narrator and his niece as a form of protest, and for them, it constitutes an example of “passive” resistance.¹⁸² In declining to respond to the German officer, the niece denies his presence, and, by extension, the Occupation itself. Her silence also underscores her refusal to welcome, sanction and accept a Franco-German union.¹⁸³ In this way, she demonstrates her spiritual power and unyielding moral resistance to the “immoral,” unjust occupation, and to Germany’s attempt to force a union with France. “Silence,” in Vercors’ portrayal, is directly related to the “feminine” aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery, a correlation that underlies the perceptions of Davies, Lloyd, Jackson, and others who associate silent, or “passive,” resistance with women, and believe that Vercors advocated silence as a method of resistance for women.

The niece in this story is a kind of Marianne in her own right, serving as a metaphor for France. It is tempting to interpret the niece as a powerless figure, whose last resort is maintaining silence, a “passive” form of resistance. Yet, through his narrator, Vercors depicts her as a strong and powerful character, although her strength is moral and spiritual rather than corporeal. She is far less merciful than her uncle, for example, as he feels some guilt for ignoring the German officer, while she apparently feels none. In one instance, when the

¹⁸² Peter Davies, *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 442.

¹⁸³ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 20.

German is not with them, the uncle mentions that: “It is perhaps too unkind to refuse him even a farthing’s worth of answer,” to which she responds with a look of “indignation.”¹⁸⁴ She seems angry at him for even suggesting such a display of compassion for the enemy. Again, a female, Marianne figure appears as a moral authority, and, like the statue *La Résistance*, she cannot be swayed from her enduring moral opposition.

However, this moral opposition is directed at a material enemy, reflecting the masculine side of Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery in addition to feminine spiritual strength. Vercors depicts a power struggle between the niece and the German officer, as the latter uses the word “conquer” to describe his endeavor to overcome her silence and rejection, mirroring the relationship between Germany and France. This suggests that he is involved in a power struggle with the narrator’s niece, and he strives to overcome her power and strength. He even acknowledges this goal, implying that he is glad that she and France are strong and brave, as these qualities will make for a more perfect “marriage” with Germany when France finally concedes to it.¹⁸⁵ Instead of agreeing to this union, or being “charmed” by the German’s correct and solicitous behavior, the narrator’s niece, and France, defeat his efforts in the end. The only word she ever says to him is “Goodbye.”¹⁸⁶ The niece possesses the feminine qualities of Marianne/Joan of Arc, and represents the indirect application of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s model to real French women, as she engages in abstract “warfare.” She is a

¹⁸⁴ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 77.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 16-17.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 46.

combatant in a battle of wills- a battle that she wins. Here, Marianne/Joan of Arc is embodied in the person of a “real,” if fictional, woman, playing the traditional feminine role of “moral guide.” As well, in accordance with male resistance, she uses her spiritual power and endurance against a corporeal enemy.

The combination of masculine and feminine characteristics in Vercors’ conception of silent resistance casts doubt upon the interpretation of his work as a prescriptive message intended only for women. Although Davies, Jackson and Lloyd are correct in stating that silent, moral resistance was gendered “female” and associated with women, an examination of the power struggle between the niece and the officer reveals that her resistance is masculine, as well as feminine. Moreover, the niece’s interactions with her uncle indicate that Vercors meant to advocate the feminine tactic of “silence” for *all people* in occupied France. Vercors’ narrator, that is, the uncle, does not perceive “silence” as an exclusively “female” resistance method. On the contrary, he looks to his niece for approval and guidance as to how he should behave and respond in the German’s presence, and he participates in the “silence” along with her. For instance, he feels ashamed when she stares at him reproachfully.¹⁸⁷ He also turns to her for “some prompting, some sign” when the German knocks at the door.¹⁸⁸ Thus, he perceives her as a powerful figure and a model of morality and integrity, whom he should follow. Vercors suggests that men and women in the Occupied Zone should employ feminine resistance, as the uncle follows his niece’s lead.

¹⁸⁷ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 12.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

Although Vercors combines the masculine/temporal and feminine/spiritual spheres in his fictional portrayal of real people living under the Occupation, his work reflects the influence of artistic conventions and imagery from the Terrible Year. Other allegorical depictions of Marianne/Joan of Arc correspond to images from this period as well, while continuing to utilize the temporal/spiritual or masculine/feminine dichotomy. One image, produced immediately after the fall of France in June of 1940, shows Marianne as a martyred figure in her usual white garment. In figure 29, Marianne appears with a knife in her back, and is apparently broken and defeated. Unlike the Liberty goddess at the barricades, she does not appear as a warrior in battle, overpowered by an enemy in a fair or honorable fight. The image attributes her fall to treachery, as she has been “stabbed in the back.” Like *La Résistance*, and other Marianne/Joan of Arc figures from the Franco-Prussian War, such as the image in figure 11, she could never be defeated in a fair fight. Her downfall can only be explained as the result of a betrayal by disloyal French leaders, who have collaborated with the Germans. And, like Joan of Arc, the saint and martyr, and the revolutionary Republic, Marianne, she will eventually be resurrected, triumphant.

In the final years of the war, new posters emerged with other, battle-related depictions of Marianne. In these, however, she appears energetic, and prepared to confront the enemy. For example, the image in figure 30 shows Marianne under the heading of “Liberty,” with her arm raised, as if beckoning others to join her in the fight. In an obvious allusion to Rude’s *Departure of the*



Figure 29: Source: Peschanski et al. p. 242. (July, 1940).

Volunteers, which the people renamed *La Marseillaise*, this image features the Phrygian bonnet, armor, wings, and flowing garment of “the Spirit of War.”¹⁸⁹ The rooster on her head represents the dawning of a new day, and her mission to “awaken” the people of France, in contrast to the “eagle” on the head of Rude’s figure, which alluded to the Empire.¹⁹⁰ Roosters’ tendency to crow at dawn makes them a common symbol for the morning, and for the related act of waking from sleep. This particular image, from August of 1944, coincided with the Battle for Paris, and the defeat of the Germans in France.¹⁹¹ It was meant to depict, and perhaps, to inspire, the French people’s bid for freedom from Nazi rule.

Despite the apparent call to arms in figure 30, it should be noted that Marianne does not possess a weapon in either of these examples. Her armor represents her spiritual strength and the ability to endure enemy attacks. Such images suggest that, like the niece in *The Silence of the Sea*, Marianne is unconquerable. Her power seems to rest upon her stoic ability to outlast the

¹⁸⁹ See figure 3.

¹⁹⁰ Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans., Janet Lloyd. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 199.

¹⁹¹ For more on the liberation of Paris, see Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 561-567.

enemy, or alternatively, to “rise from the ashes” of defeat, like a phoenix, stronger than she was before. Her power is “le pouvoir” the feminine, moral power of saints, martyrs, and the resurrected Christ. Unlike the narrator’s niece in *The Silence of the Sea*, however, figure 30 carries a suggestion of militant rather than indirect resistance. Given her resemblance to Rude’s work, Phili’s Marianne evokes *La Marseillaise* and Liberty calling the people to arms, as in the song “La Marseillaise.” The timing of the poster’s production in August of 1944 further underscores this association. The message here is that a new day has come, and the time for patience and fortitude is over. This Marianne is urging the people into action.

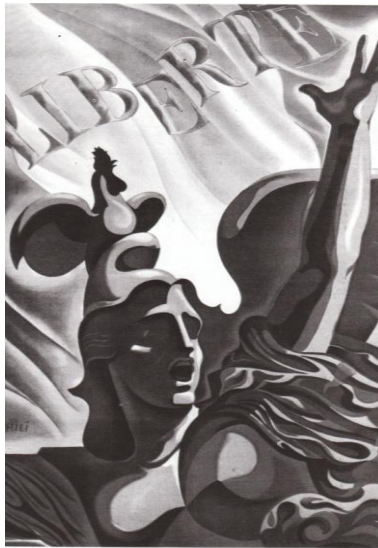


Figure 30: Phili. "Liberté." Source: Peschanski et al. p. 244. (August, 1944).

Depictions of Marianne as a muscular, armored woman, taken together with *The Silence of the Sea*, suggest images of Athena or Minerva, just as Joan of Arc had been equated with the goddess of war in imagery.¹⁹² Marianne’s flowing

¹⁹² See figure 14.

garments suggests an Ancient Greek toga, while the Phrygian bonnet strongly resembles the shape of Athena's helmet in the image in figure 31. The armor on the Marianne image in figure 30, and her apparent encouragement of battle, further imply a link with Athena. Yet, Athena also represented wisdom, and craftsmen often portrayed her with an owl, to signify this feature.¹⁹³ Vercors alludes to such symbolism in *The Silence of the Sea*, drawing a connection between Athena, Marianne, and the narrator's strong and courageous niece. The narrator compares his niece to an owl, stating that "she fixed on me the transparent, inhuman stare of a horned owl." In another instance, he mentions her "inhuman, owl-like stare."¹⁹⁴ In Vercors' emphasis on "owl-like" qualities in the niece, her status as a Marianne figure, and Marianne's Ancient Greek-inspired clothing in allegorical art, the association between Athena and Marianne is apparent. In accordance with Joan of Arc imagery from the Renaissance and the early nineteenth century, Marianne can therefore be interpreted as a French version of Athena.



Figure 31: "Athena Holding an Owl." Bronze Statuette. Source: arthistory.sbc.edu. (ca. 450 B.C.).

¹⁹³ See figures 31 and 32.

¹⁹⁴ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, 33-34.



Figure 32: Athenian Tetradrachm. Source: The National Numismatic Collection (ca. 480 B.C.).

Further continuity with female allegories of the nineteenth century, and additional associations between Marianne and Joan of Arc, can be found in World War II-era images of the Maid. Both sides of French political divide, that is, the right-wing and generally pro-German camp and the anti-German Resistance, utilized Joan of Arc as a symbol of France and of their cause. Examples of the former include the poster in figure 33. This image combines anti-British sentiment with loyalty to France, showing Joan in chains, much like the poster of “Marianne in Chains” in figure 27. However, in this instance, Joan is depicted as a prisoner of English forces, surrounded by fire, in a reference to her execution. The fire holds additional significance, however, when one considers the timing of this poster’s release, soon after the British bombed the city of Rouen in April and May of 1944. The poster emphasizes that the English put Joan to death, portraying them as murderers, and asserting that: “Killers always return to the scenes of their crime.” It links Joan’s death at the hands of the English to the death and destruction wrought by British bombs in Rouen. Joan of Arc and France are indistinguishable from one another and constitute a single entity. In correlation with the Marianne image in figure 28, Joan is dressed in white, denoting her purity and innocence. Both figures are helpless victims, under attack from the “evil” Allies. Just as nineteenth-century republicans and Communards equated

Joan of Arc with the values of the people's Republic, pro-German propagandists employed Joan of Arc as a variation of Marianne.¹⁹⁵

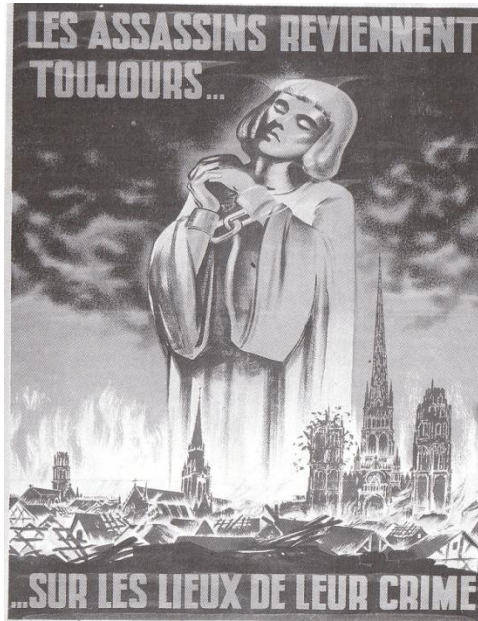


Figure 33: "Les Assassins Reviennent Toujours..." Source: Pechanski et al. p. 230. (May, 1944).

French communists also used Joan of Arc's example to inspire anti-German sentiments during World War II. One communist brochure issued on April 25, 1942, promoted a counter-demonstration in Paris against pro-German and collaborationist political leaders in Vichy, who intended to stage public celebrations for Joan of Arc's feast day. The flyer, entitled *Joan, Daughter of the People*, declares: "Down with Hitler! Down with Laval! Down with Pétain and Darlan! Out of France with the occupying forces! Long live France!"¹⁹⁶ The

¹⁹⁵Denis Pechanski, et al., *Collaboration and Resistance: Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000), 230.

¹⁹⁶This statement refers to Pierre Laval, Marshall Philippe Pétain, and Admiral François Darlan, the foremost political figures in the Vichy regime; Popkin, *A History of Modern France* 232-236; *Joan, Daughter of the People* (April, 1942) in Pechanski, et al., *Collaboration and Resistance*, 232; "A bas Hitler! A bas Laval! A bas Pétain et Darlan! Hors de France les occupants! Vive la France!"

document further contends that these individuals have corrupted the memory of Joan of Arc, in linking her image to a pro-German or collaborationist political stance. They contend that: “She is a symbol of resistance to the invader, and the communist patriots and others who fight for the deliverance of the fatherland, who fall under the blows of the *boches* and their manservants, are following in the tradition of Joan of Lorraine...”¹⁹⁷ What is more, they argue that the men of Vichy follow “the tradition of the bishop Cauchon,”¹⁹⁸ who was responsible for Joan of Arc’s execution.¹⁹⁹ The collaborationist, anti-British Joan is unarmed and in chains, a helpless martyr. However, the communists clearly seek to highlight her direct role in battling enemy forces, and they perceive her as a *résistante* and a warrior. The pro-German images focus upon her feminine aspects, while the communist tract emphasizes her masculine qualities. For the latter, as for Amélie Seulart and other women of the Terrible Year, Joan of Arc represented a model for their own resistance work and their fight for liberty. They did not focus on the fact that she opposed the English; only her struggle to support France against an “invader” was important.

The conflicting symbolism of Joan of Arc can also be seen in events surrounding the statues of Joan of Arc in Paris. The photograph in figure 34 shows members of the Jeunes du Maréchal, or “Young men of the Maréchal,” a right-wing, collaborationist organization that was composed of high-school aged

¹⁹⁷ “...elle est le symbole de la résistance à l’envahisseur, et les patriotes communistes et autres qui luttent pour la délivrance de la Patrie, qui tombent sous les coups des boches et de leurs valets, sont dans la tradition de Jeanne la Lorraine...”

¹⁹⁸ “les hommes de Vichy.... sont dans la tradition de l’évêque Cauchon.”

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix B.

boys. They are saluting the statue of Joan of Arc in the place de Pyramides in Paris, thus equating collaborationism with nationalist or pro-French sentiments. In contrast, the Gaullist Micheline Bood noted an instance when someone had written “Vengez-Nous!” or “Avenge us!” on a statue of Joan of Arc, an act that Bood interpreted as anti-German and anti-collaborationist, as she deemed it “Magnifique!”²⁰⁰ These conflicting uses of the historical character of Joan of Arc correspond to the varied interpretations of Joan’s example in the Terrible Year, and reflect the ubiquitous nature of her image, which served leftist, revolutionary republicans as well as right-wing conservatives and Catholics. The allegorical female imagery of World War II, and especially Joan of Arc imagery, thus displayed continuity with female allegories from the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune.

The feminine aspects in Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery became prominent in allegorical depictions of France after the Terrible Year, with the German acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine. Images such as *La Résistance*, which had denoted feminine, moral resistance and spiritual strength in depicting republican resistance to the Prussian siege of Paris, now applied to France as a whole. This “feminization” of France and French resistance to Germany led to the conflation of national loyalty and pious devotion to God in accounts of female patriots such as Louise de Bettignies. Moreover, as a result of the emphasis on Marianne/Joan of Arc’s feminine qualities and spiritual, moral “warfare,” men such as Charles de

²⁰⁰ Micheline Bood, *les années doubles: Journal d’une lycéenne sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1974), 121.

Gaulle and Jean Bruller perceived the spiritual elements in Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery as a model for resistance in occupied France, applying these elements to men as well as women. Like the Marianne/Joan of Arc figures he evoked, de Gaulle's Resistance would combine masculine and feminine forms of "combat," utilizing moral and indirect resistance techniques against its German and collaborationist opponents.



Figure 34: "Jeunes du Maréchal" Source: Peschanski et al. p. 231. No Date. (1941-1943?).

Chapter 4

RESISTANCE IN THE OCCUPIED ZONE: REAL WOMEN, “LE POUVOIR,” • AND THE ACTIVE/PASSIVE DICHOTOMY

Prior to World War II and Charles de Gaulle’s adoption of Joan of Arc as a model and precedent for himself, men and non-militant women had employed her symbol to promote women’s patriotic self-sacrifice and participation in indirect forms of “combat” against abstract opponents. Conversely, militant women across the political spectrum perceived her as an example of women’s direct involvement in politics and warfare. The divergence between indirect and direct forms of patriotism corresponds to the distinction many scholars draw between “active” and “passive” resistance in World War II-era France. Just as Vercors combined silent, feminine resistance with masculine combat against a material enemy, and promoted this practice for both men and women in occupied France, just as de Gaulle sought to unify all men and women, and indeed, all who opposed the Germans, and just as the urban environment tended to obscure pre-existing class and gender boundaries, the French Resistance in Paris employed a combination of indirect and direct, or “active” and “passive,” forms of resistance.

Scholars of the French Resistance in World War II often seek to differentiate between “passive” and “active” forms of resistance. Peter Davies, Christopher Lloyd and Julian Jackson have utilized and perceived an active/passive dichotomy in classifying resistance methods. For all of them, the niece’s “silence” in Vercors’ novel constitutes the quintessential example of

“passive” resistance.²⁰¹ Their perceptions and definitions of “passive” resistance correspond to the abstract “combat” and metaphorical interpretation of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s model that men such as Nass have applied to women during the Terrible Year. In scholarship on the French Resistance, then, we find a continuation of the implicit relationship between French women, spiritual power, and indirect, abstract forms of “battle.”

In the Occupied Zone, however, male *résistants* and female *résistantes* utilized both “passive” and “active” resistance techniques, frequently combining the two. The most notable and effective forms of “active” resistance were often rendered invisible and intentionally concealed under a façade of collaboration. Living in the Occupied Zone, with Germans in their midst, *résistants* in the city could only employ “passive” strategies, or carry out their work in secret. “Active” resistance had to be hidden entirely. In this context, resistance took on a distinct form, different from rural resistance, and must be conceptualized differently. H.R. Kedward, in his work, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944*, acknowledges a distinction between resistance in the rural enclaves of Southern France, and resistance in the urban areas of the Occupied Zone. He indicates that the latter entailed “living an ordinary life and working in a conventional job, but doing both in such a way as to favour the cause of Resistance and disadvantage the cause of Vichy and the Germans.”²⁰² Resistance

²⁰¹ Peter Davies, *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52; Christopher Lloyd, *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10, 31, 166; Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 239-240, 490.

²⁰² H.R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 55.

in the Occupied Zone required performance, that is, a feigned appearance of neutrality or collaboration, for the purpose of concealing resistance work.

The anonymity of urban life made performance possible, enabling *résistants* and *résistantes* to engage in covert acts of opposition to the Germans, such as defacing or altering Nazi propaganda posters.²⁰³ For instance, Jane Jacobs has noted that impersonal city streets tend to turn city dwellers into “anonymous people,” as strangers generally avoid acknowledging one another in crowded spaces, such as streets and elevators.²⁰⁴ In occupied Paris during World War II, the Germans banned driving for most ordinary people and shut down most of the city’s buses, in order to conserve fuel for the war effort. Pedestrians and bicyclists crowded the streets in large numbers as a consequence.²⁰⁵ Moving about the city in a sea of pedestrians offered resistance workers greater opportunities to evade police scrutiny by blending in with the crowds. The cosmopolitan nature of the city of Paris, including a long history of linguistic and cultural diversity, together with the language barrier that impeded German propaganda efforts, further enhanced the anonymity that the urban crowds afforded to resistance workers and allowed them to use performance to remain undetected.²⁰⁶ When seeking out communists, homosexuals, and other targets for arrest, for example, the Germans

²⁰³ See figure 37.

²⁰⁴ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 57.

²⁰⁵ Charles Rearick, *Paris Dreams, Paris Memories: The City and Its Mystique* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

²⁰⁶ Alan Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: The History of an Occupation, 1940-1944* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 28,77; Anthony Sutcliffe, *Metropolis, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984),88; Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001), 681.

experienced difficulties in identifying these individuals at times, being unable to recognize and read Parisian behavior codes successfully. It should be noted that German ignorance of Parisian social codes could be offset by the French police, who were known to keep files on members of targeted groups, helping the Germans to identify them.²⁰⁷ Even so, that ignorance could also be utilized to fool the German authorities by giving them false information, under the guise of being helpful. The factor of urban anonymity, augmented by language and cultural differences between the occupiers and the occupied, enabled resistance workers to use performance to advantage in the Occupied Zone.

Given the relatively complex, covert, and disjointed nature of urban resistance, in contrast to the overtly militant, rural, and predominantly male bands who constituted the Maquis, and given the general unification of previously divided social and political groups under de Gaulle's authority, it seems ineffectual and unnecessary to draw a dichotomy between "active" and "passive" resistance in occupied France. Like Marianne and Joan of Arc, who represented both indirect and direct forms of combat, or masculine, earthly power and feminine, spiritual power, *résistants* and *résistantes* in Paris employed a combination of indirect and direct resistance strategies. For instance, women often participated in the indirect war of representation, creating and disseminating political posters and flyers. At the same time, however, they engaged in direct and public, if anonymously conducted, "duels" of words, corresponding to the

²⁰⁷ Melanie Hawthorne and Richard J. Goslan, "Righting Gendered Writing: A Bibliographic Essay," in *Gender and Fascism in Modern France*, ed. Melanie Hawthorne and Richard J. Goslan (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 181.

intellectual “soldiers” and orators of the nineteenth century. As well, in accordance with direct, masculine combat, Vercors and others who depicted *résistantes* in the Occupied Zone emphasized their struggle against a corporeal opponent, the German occupiers, rather than an abstraction. Resistance in the city of Paris, whether direct or indirect, did not take the form of overt, violent “battle” until the Battle for Paris in August of 1944, when Gaullist and communist *résistants* (and *résistantes*) revolted against the Germans, seizing town halls in the Paris suburbs and other key, strategic buildings, taking up arms, building barricades, and fighting in the streets.²⁰⁸ Prior to these events, resistance generally occurred in non-militant forms, and had to be hidden under a veil of anonymity or performance. The boundary between “passive” and “active,” or indirect and direct, resistance, like so many conceptual dichotomies, collapses when applied to a metropolitan environment, and to the diverse range of individuals who worked for the Free French. Even Nazi authorities in Paris, who perceived a theoretical difference between “active” and “passive” rebellion, punished all forms of resistance without regard for this distinction.

Resistance: The Nazi Perspective

The Germans entered Paris on June 14th, 1940, and, in the account of one eyewitness, Thomas Kernan, immediately plastered the walls of the city and its surrounding suburbs with posters.²⁰⁹ The most prominent of these images, according to Kernan, was a depiction of a German soldier carrying a poor, French

²⁰⁸ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 565-567.

²⁰⁹ Margaret Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995), xiv; Thomas Kernan, *France on Berlin Time* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1941), 12.

child, and flanked by other French children, for whom he is providing food. The text read: “Abandoned populations- put your trust in the German soldier!”²¹⁰ Other posters displayed German decrees to the inhabitants of occupied France, declaring German expectations, and outlining the terms of the relationship between the French people and the German occupiers. One such edict, from “The Commander-in-Chief of the German Army,” stated:

I express the hope that the population will have the intelligence and good sense to abstain from all hasty acts, from all efforts at sabotage, as well as all passive or active resistance against the German army.

The proclamation further indicated that any persons who did engage in “passive or active resistance” would face “severe measures” as a consequence. Another edict specifically prohibited “acts of violence or sabotage” that damaged or were meant to damage German interests, insults to the German army or to German military leaders, “unjustified” business closures, and other behaviors, such as aiding non-German soldiers or French civilians to escape from the Occupied Zone. The German authorities also banned the hoarding of supplies or merchandise, deeming this an “act of sabotage,” and calling for the surrender of all guns and combat-related materials.²¹¹ The Germans claimed that they wanted to establish an amicable and collaborative relationship with France. To this end, they emphasized their commitment to “correct” behavior, providing that the French people would respond in an equally “correct” manner. Although such

²¹⁰ See figure 35.

²¹¹“Proclamation to the inhabitants of the occupied countries, June 20, 1940,” quoted in Thomas Kernan, *France on Berlin Time*, trans., Thomas Kernan (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1941), 13-14; no citation information given; see Appendix A.

proclamations alluded to a distinction between “passive” and “active” resistance, they offered no explicit definition for either, and indicated that both would incur the same “severe” punishment.

Alan Mitchell argues that the Nazis’ definition of “resistance” referred to “scattered gangs” or bands, and to acts of violence.²¹² Yet, he also states that the Nazis considered celebrations of national French holidays and public displays of pro-British or pro-Allied sentiment unacceptable, and often utilized the French police as middlemen, to enforce their edicts against these activities.²¹³ It seems that, while the Germans varied in the degree of direct enforcement they employed, they viewed such displays as threatening or potentially threatening to their authority, whether or not they defined these actions as “resistance.”



Figure 35: "Trust the German Soldier." Source: artsnotdead.com. (1940).

²¹² In Mitchell’s assessment, the Germans used the term “Widerstand” to refer to “resistance,” beginning in the fall of 1940; see Mitchell, *Nazi Paris*, 9.

²¹³ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 402; Mitchell, *Nazi Paris*, 154.

Urban Resistance Strategies: Advice to the Occupied

In July and August of 1940, the resistance brochure *Conseils à l'occupé* or *Advice to the Occupied* began to circulate throughout the Occupied Zone, in both printed and handwritten copies. Authorship of the original tract is most often attributed to Jean Texcier.²¹⁴ The brochure provided thirty-three “hints” or pieces of advice for resistance, twelve of which survived to the present day in document form. It reads as follows:

1. Venders offer them plans of Paris and manuals of conversation, buses unload incessant waves in front of Notre Dame and the Panthéon; not one lacks a little camera glued to the eye. Do not, however, be misled: they are not tourists.
2. They are conquerors. Be correct with them. But don't, in order to be well regarded, exceed their desires. Don't be precipitous.
3. You do not know their language, or you have forgotten it. If one of them addresses you in German, make a sign of powerlessness and, without remorse, continue on your way.
4. If he questions you in French, don't feel obliged to send him on his way by making yourself his tour guide. He is not a fellow traveler.
7. If they think they are cleverly spreading defeatism through the hearts of citizens by offering concerts in public places, you are not obligated to attend. Stay at home, or go into the country and listen to the birds.
8. Since you are “the occupied,” they parade in your dishonor. Will you stay to watch them? Study the store displays instead. The displays are far more moving, because, as they fill their trucks, you will soon no longer find anything to buy.
9. Your suspenders merchant has thought it a good idea to put a sign on his window: Man spricht Deutsh; patronize his neighbor, even though he appears ignorant of the language of Goethe.

²¹⁴ Martin Blumenson, *The Vildé Affair* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 86; Davies, *France and the Second World War*, 53; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 490.

14. Reading our newspapers has never been advised for those who wish to learn to express themselves correctly in French. Nowadays, it is even better, the Parisian daily papers are no longer even thought of in French.
15. Abandoned by the T.S.F. [Transmetteur sans fil], abandoned by your newspaper, abandoned by your party, far from your family and friends, learn to think for yourself. Abandoned spirit, beware of German propaganda.²¹⁵
21. Display perfect indifference; but maintain your anger secretly. It may serve you well.
30. You complain that they require you to be home at 11:00 pm exactly. How naïve, have you not understood that this permits you to listen to the English radio?
32. Do you not see that they have succeeded in contaminating the atmosphere that you breathe, in polluting the sources which you believe can still quench your thirst, in perverting the meaning of words which you claim still serve you? The hour has come for the true passive defense. See to your barriers against their radio and their press. See to your shield against fear and resignation. See to yourself. Politely, brother, adjust with care your splendid mask of rebellion.
33. It is useless to send your friends to buy these counsels at a bookstore. Without doubt, you possess only one copy and you want to preserve it. So, make several copies that your friends will copy in their turn.

Good occupation for the occupied.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ "T.S.F." was a wireless radio transmitter system. For more information on the TSF, see J.E. Kaufmann and H.W. Kaufmann, *Fortress France: The Maginot Line and French Defenses in World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 54-55; this point, with its repeated emphasis on the word "abandoned," seems to be a direct response to the German propaganda poster in figure 35. Significantly, the tract appeared about one month after that image; see Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 402.

²¹⁶ Jean Texcier, *Conseils à l'occupé* (N.p. : n.p., 1940); "1. Les camelots leur offrent des plans de Paris et des manuels de conversation; les cars déversent leurs vagues incessantes devant Notre-Dame et le Panthéon ; pas un qui n'ait, vissé dans l'œil, son petit appareil photographique. Ne te fais pourtant aucune illusion : ce ne sont pas des touristes.

2. Ils sont vainqueurs. Sois correct avec eux. Mais ne va pas, pour te faire bien voir, au-devant de leurs désirs. Pas de précipitation.

3. Tu ne sais pas leur langue, ou tu l'as oubliée. Si l'un d'eux t'adresse la parole en allemand, fais un signe d'impuissance, et, sans remords, poursuis ton chemin.

4. S'il te questionne en français, ne te crois pas tenu de le mettre toi-même sur la voie en lui faisant un brin de conduite. Ce n'est pas un compagnon de route. [...]

[...] 7. S'ils croient habile de verser le défaitisme au cœur des citoyens en offrant des concerts sur

Here, we find “passive” or non-militant resistance explicitly advocated for people in Paris and the Occupied Zone. Where the brochure referred to interactions with the Germans, it suggested refusing to converse with and aid them. The tract cautioned French people to behave “correctly” and to comply with German demands, so as to avoid trouble with the authorities. Even so, there was nothing to prevent French *résistants* from complying slowly and fulfilling only the minimum requirements. The brochure encouraged the people to shun German efforts to appease them, and to utilize German rules and policies for anti-German purposes, such as listening to forbidden broadcasts from London when confined at home. In this way, French people could deprive the Nazis of the influence and popular support the latter hoped to attain in France. The tract also encouraged readers to boycott pro-German or collaborationist businesses. In all of these

nos places publiques, tu n'es pas obligé d'y assister. Reste chez toi, ou va à la campagne écouter les oiseaux.

8. Depuis que tu es “occupé”, ils paradedent en ton déshonneur. Resteras-tu à les contempler ? Intéresse-toi plutôt aux étalages. C'est bien plus émouvant, car, au train où ils emplissent leurs camions, tu ne trouveras bientôt plus rien à acheter.

9. Ton marchand de bretelles a cru bon d'inscrire sur sa boutique : Man spricht Deutsch ; va chez le voisin, même s'il paraît ignorer la langue de Goethe. [...]

[...] 14. La lecture des journaux de chez nous n'a jamais été conseillée à ceux qui voulaient apprendre à s'exprimer correctement en français. Aujourd'hui, c'est mieux encore, les quotidiens de Paris ne sont même plus pensés en français.

15. Abandonné par la T.S.F., abandonné par ton journal, abandonné par ton parti, loin de ta famille et de tes amis, apprends à penser par toi-même. Esprit abandonné, méfie-toi de la propagande allemande ! [...]

[...] 21. Étale une belle indifférence; mais entretiens secrètement ta colère. Elle pourra servir. [...]

[...] 30. Tu grognes parce qu'ils t'obligent à être rentré chez toi à vingt-trois heures précises. Innocent, tu n'as pas compris que c'est pour te permettre d'écouter la radio anglaise ? [...]

[...] 32. [...] Ne vois-tu pas qu'ils ont réussi à vicier l'atmosphère que tu respères, à polluer les sources auxquelles tu crois pouvoir encore te désaltérer, à dénaturer le sens des mots dont tu prétends encore te servir ? Voici venue l'heure de la véritable défense passive. Surveille tes barrages contre leur radio et leur presse. Surveille tes blindages contre la peur et les résignations faciles. Surveille-toi. Civil, mon frère, ajuste avec soin ton beau masque de réfractaire.

33. Inutile d'envoyer tes amis acheter ces Conseils chez le libraire. Sans doute n'en possèdes-tu qu'un exemplaire et tiens-tu à le conserver. Alors, fais-en des copies que tes amis copieront à leur tour. Bonne occupation pour des occupés.”

examples, we find that “passive” resistance involved denying support and cooperation to the enemy, or to those who collaborated with the enemy. The “passive” resistance advocated here corresponds to feminine resistance, as both signified non-militant, indirect opposition. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 2, the French term “le pouvoir,” denotes both feminine, spiritual power, and purchasing power, thus linking the latter to the abstract power of the female sphere.²¹⁷

Given its emphasis on “passive,” indirect forms of resistance, and the traditional association between passivity and women in France, it may be considered odd that scholars such as Jackson interpret this as an overtly masculine tract, intended for a male audience. Jackson cites other examples of Texcier’s writing to argue that the latter did not direct his advice to women, and moreover, believed that women who consorted with German soldiers should be whipped.²¹⁸ Texcier does refer to the reader as “brother,” and uses the masculine “occupé,” without reference to the feminine “occupée,” in the title and the text. These points, together with Jackson’s evidence, may suggest the idea that Texcier produced the tract solely for men. However, even if Texcier had written *Conseils a l’occupé* to inspire men alone, his original intentions would not preclude women from applying its advice, or similar ideas, to their own resistance work.

What is more, in promoting indirect, feminine resistance methods for men, Texcier aligned his tract with the writings of de Gaulle and Bruller, and evinced the male adoption of feminine, abstract “combat” that occurred in France

²¹⁷ “Pouvoir spirituel ” and “pouvoir d’achat ” or “spiritual power” and “purchasing power,” respectively.

²¹⁸ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 490.

after the Terrible Year. Images such as Louis Édouard-Fournier's Marianne/Joan of Arc depicted France as a crucified martyr, an innocent victim of occupying German forces.²¹⁹ Marianne/Joan of Arc's feminine, spiritual power came to the forefront in allegorical imagery and in practice, following the German annexation of "French" districts in Alsace and Lorraine. Texcier's tract indicates that he, like de Gaulle and Bruller, applied indirect, feminine resistance strategies and intangible, female power or "le pouvoir," to men in occupied France. At the same time, his views reflected traditional aspects of masculine resistance, such as opposition to a material enemy. In Texcier's brochure, we find another example of feminine resistance employed in "combat" with a corporeal opponent, and thus, a combination of masculine and feminine forms of "battle."

Finally, this document reveals the important role of performance as an element of urban, resistance. Texcier encouraged his readers to feign ignorance, and to pretend that they could not understand the Germans who tried to converse with them. He also exhorted the people to display a façade of "perfect indifference" and to hide their feelings of anger and enmity beneath a polite "mask of rebellion." In other words, they were to put on an act in public, to conceal their true intentions and feelings from the Nazis. As women, *résistantes* were not Texcier's intended audience, but they employed this strategy on numerous occasions, for themselves and for others in their care.

Urban resistance strategies could not succeed without a veil of secrecy. Many *résistantes* who served the Allied cause in non-militant roles utilized

²¹⁹ See figure 26.

performance, and viewed it as a vital component of their work. In one example, German authorities required a widowed French woman and her daughter to quarter a Nazi officer in their home for the duration of the war. As the officer was on leave, he took to hunting every morning and did not return until late in the day. His relatively predictable routine, together with the large size of the house, allowed the two women to shelter downed American pilots, while simultaneously living with a German. The officer would bring back meat he had hunted, to help feed the household, never suspecting that American pilots also benefitted from his efforts. After the war, neighbors deemed the women “collaborators,” and shaved their heads, ignorant of their hidden contributions to the Resistance. These women were outwardly friendly and “correct” in their behavior toward the German officer, in order to hide their resistance activities. To outside observers, they appeared to be German sympathizers, when, in fact, they were performing.²²⁰

Tracts such as *Advice to the Occupied* encouraged indirect, feminine resistance and performance among inhabitants of the Occupied Zone. However, real women’s perceptions of resistance also reflected the influence of Marianne/Joan of Arc imagery, as they combined devotion to de Gaulle’s French Resistance, with their loyalty to France and to their families. This accords with scholars such as Margaret Darrow, who have argued that Joan of Arc represented more than direct or indirect “combat” for France, and saintly martyrdom; she also served as a symbol of duty to one’s home, family and country in the years before World War II.²²¹ For example, Darrow refers to the children’s book *The History*

²²⁰ Virginia d’Albert-Lake, *An American Heroine in the French Resistance: The Diary and Memoir of Virginia d’Albert-Lake* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 99.

of our little sister Joan of Arc, by Marie-Edmée Pau, one of the women who equated herself with Joan of Arc during the Franco-Prussian War. Although Pau presented Joan as a pious, saintly figure and patriot, for her, Joan was also a rebel, who transcended established gender boundaries and declined to participate in traditional “female” activities, such as sewing. With this, Pau emphasized Joan’s feminine, moral characteristics, including purity and saintly self-sacrifice in service to France and to her family.²²² Pau’s Joan of Arc fulfilled her traditional, “female” duties until she left home to become a warrior for God and “France.” In accordance with the feminine role of compassionate caregiver, as we have seen, such “duties” included loyalty to one’s family.²²³

The four women examined in this section offer a picture of *résistantes* from World War II, and represent a variety of ages and backgrounds. Agnès Humbert, Micheline Bood, Claire Chevrillon, and Cecile Ouzoulias Romagon were all French women who became involved in de Gaulle’s Resistance. Humbert was a forty-three-year-old art historian for the Musée de l’Homme, a divorcée, and the mother of two grown sons.²²⁴ Bood, the youngest of the four, was a high school student in Paris when the war began, while Chevrillon worked in Paris as an English teacher. Ouzoulias Romagon was a wife and the mother of two young boys, who resided in Paris for part of the war, beginning in 1941.²²⁵ Their diverse

²²¹ Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 26, 40.

²²² Marie-Edmée Pau, *Historie de notre petit sœur, Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris : E. Plon et Cie, 1874), 114.

²²³ Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 26-27.

²²⁴ William Boyd, “Preface by William Boyd,” in *Résistance: A Woman’s Journal of Struggle and Defiance in Occupied France* by Agnès Humbert. trans., Barbara Mellor. (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), ix.

²²⁵ Micheline Bood, *les années doubles* (Paris : Editions Robert Laffont, 1974) ; Claire Chevrillon, *Code Name Christiane Clouet : A Woman in the French Resistance*, trans., Jane Kielty Stott.

backgrounds allow for a comparison of French women who became *résistantes* in Paris, showing that, despite their differences, they displayed a number of commonalities in their viewpoints. They all conflated loyalty to the Resistance with loyalty to family, and they all employed performance as an element of their resistance strategies. Furthermore, it must be noted that their accounts diverge from those of women in the Terrible Year, as they never compare themselves directly to Marianne or Joan of Arc, nor do any of their male colleagues in the Resistance. This shift can be explained by the feminization of resistance in France, in practice and in allegory, as evinced by de Gaulle's efforts to style himself as a latter-day Joan of Arc, and Vercors and Texcier's application of feminine, indirect resistance methods to men. Bridging the divide between male, temporal combat and moral "battle," which had been established in the Franco-Prussian War, resistance workers in the Occupied Zone resorted to feminine tactics in World War II, employing abstract forms of power to undermine the German enemy. In following de Gaulle, and in uniting behind the Resistance, all resistance workers, male and female acted in Marianne/Joan of Arc's tradition, and became her successors.²²⁶

Women in the Resistance: Motives, Methods, and Performance

Loyalty to family converged with loyalty to de Gaulle and the Allies in French women's resistance, influencing the four women studied here, to varying degrees. In her published diary, Micheline Bood provides a picture that she drew

(College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1995), 28; Cecile Ouzoulis Romagon, *J'etai Agent de Liaison FTPF* (Paris: Editions Messidor, 1988), 104-105.

²²⁶ See Appendix B.

as a part of a “tract project,” an effort to cover German propaganda posters with pro-Allied images. As she states, such drawings were meant “to be pasted on the walls, preferably over a German propaganda poster.”²²⁷ The picture features a kind of “British” Marianne, a woman in a flowing gown, though she has light hair, and, rather than a white dress, she wears the image of the British flag. The sun is rising behind her, and Bood’s caption indicates that she represents: “The dawn of victory.”²²⁸ Her poster resembles the image of Marianne and the rooster, inspired by *La Marseillaise* as both pictures associate allegorical female figures with “the dawn” and with hope for France’s liberation from the Germans.²²⁹ The difference, however, is that Bood’s “Marianne” figure equates French liberty with a British victory. In contrast, the Marianne in “Liberté” offers no reference to Britain, and seems to convey that the French people should “wake up” from the long “sleep” of Occupation, and liberate themselves. This imagery correlates directly with Amélie Seulart’s manifesto, and thus, with the radical republican conception of Joan of Arc, who is “the dawn that foretells the good arrival of the sun,” essentially, the dawn of liberty. The theme of martyrdom and Christ-like resurrection is also apparent, further correlating Bood’s view of Marianne with Joan of Arc, the pure, virginal martyr and saint. The metaphor of “the dawn” corresponds to sympathetic images of the Commune, such as Pilotell’s depiction in figure 23, associating Marianne with the eternal spiritual endurance of a saint and martyr, and moreover, with the martyr’s “victory” through endurance. Like

²²⁷ Bood, *les années doubles*, 240.1 (image and caption); “Project de tract, destiné à être collé sur les murs, de préférence sur une affiche de propagande allemande;” see figure 36.

²²⁸ “L’aurore de la victoire.”

²²⁹ See figure 30.

the Marianne/Joan of Arc images of the Commune, and like a Christ figure, returning from the dead, Bood's Marianne had been defeated but not destroyed. "The dawn" signals her return, a revolution, and the triumph of "good" and Liberty over tyranny and "evil," just as Amélie Seurlart, as "Joan of Art II," sought to make "tyrants tremble" and to reassure "those of good heart."²³⁰ Bood's portrayal of Marianne with a British flag suggests that she applied the imagery of "the dawn," with its connotations of revolution and triumph over tyranny, to Britain and to de Gaulle's Free French.²³¹ Here, then, we find Britain and de Gaulle's Resistance in the role of Marianne/Joan of Arc. De Gaulle and the Allies would be "the dawn that foretells the good arrival of the sun" and the saviors of France.

Although the similarities between imagery from the Terrible Year and Bood's drawing suggest that artistic depictions of Marianne/Joan of Arc may have influenced her perception and practice of resistance, Bood's account also shows that family relationships and patriotism were significant motivating factors for her. We have seen that she equated France's liberation with a British victory, and it seems that, in her view, expressions of support for France were synonymous with expressions of support for Britain. She demonstrated her "French" patriotism in displaying loyalty to Britain and to de Gaulle's Free French, which she apparently conflated with Britain. To Bood, a British victory meant a victory for

²³⁰ Amélie Seurlart, "Globe," quoted in Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique : Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris : Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 62.

²³¹ Charles de Gaulle, *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles De Gaulle*, trans., Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard (New York: Carroll & Graff Publishers, 1998), 142-166, 311-312.

de Gaulle, and she perceived the two as interchangeable. For instance she writes “Vive de Gaulle” in conspicuous places, and yet, states that “The English are my only hope.”²³² Bood was also linked to Britain through family ties. Her elder brother, Hubert, served as a pilot in the British Royal Air Force during the war. In listing and discussing her family members, she refers to him as: “Hubert, my big brother. I love him very much, although I do not see him often. He is an aviator in the Royal Air Force.”²³³ In supporting the British forces, then, she also supported de Gaulle, France, and her brother.

Bood utilized such resistance strategies as creating and posting artwork to counter German propaganda posters. In this “war” of words, she and her Gaullist friends often wrote “Vive de Gaulle” on walls, and Bood even entertained the idea of inscribing the phrase “in immense letters” on a table in her school.²³⁴ Such “graffiti” constituted a form of public debate and reflected the broader conflicts in the population, as people anonymously expressed their views, and countered those of others. For example, Bood notices the inscription “Vive de Gaulle” on the outside wall of a shop. She and her friend, Yvette, become angry when someone replaces that inscription with “Death to de Gaulle, the traitor,” and they want to remove the latter message.²³⁵ Bood’s impassioned “defense” of de Gaulle can be interpreted as indirect “combat” in a war of representation, as she fought against negative portrayals of de Gaulle rather than Nazi soldiers. Yet, her actions can

²³² Bood, *les années doubles*, 101. “Mon seul espoir est l’Angleterre.”

²³³ Ibid., 15 ; “Hubert, mon gran frère. J l’aime beaucoup, bien que je ne le voie pas souvent. Lui, il est aviateur dans la Royal Air Force. ”

²³⁴ Ibid., 53, 101; “en lettres immenses”

²³⁵ Ibid., 50; “Sur le mur du magasin H.S. de Souhami, faubourg Saint-honoré, il y avait une inscription “Vive de Gaulle!” Elle a été barrée et remplacée par “A mort de Gaulle, le traître.” Nous sommes furieuses Yvette et moi et nous voudrions l’enlever...”

also be understood as examples of direct participation in, and direct “battle” for, the Resistance, corresponding to the public “duels” of words that nineteenth-century intellectuals and orators conducted. Her resistance was both militant and abstract, at once.



Figure 36: Micheline Bood. "L'aurore de la victoire" Source: Bood. p. 240.1. No date. (1940-43?).

Bood carried out acts of moral support for de Gaulle and the Resistance beneath a façade of friendliness toward “le Boche,” (a derogatory term for “the German”). For instance, she records that she has been very kind and pleasant with German boys, and even let one hold her hand.²³⁶ However, she offers a negative response when her mother and some of her friends think that she is in love with a German boy. “Me, love a Boche! What a horrible idea!” In the same entry, she states that German soldiers “resemble the devil.” It would seem that her “friendliness” was a feigned performance. The title of her published diary, “The Double Years,” lends further support to this perception, as it implies the idea of living a “double life” and intentionally portraying a false image of oneself.²³⁷ Bood’s account suggests that her resistance work in the war of representation

²³⁶ Bood, *les années doubles*, 197.

²³⁷ Ibid., 101 ; “Moi aimer un Boche! Quelle horreur!” “...ils ressemblent au diable...”

required a performance of friendliness and amicability toward the Germans, in order to conceal her clandestine activities.

Like Bood, Claire Chevrillon was a Gaullist whose anti-German stance emerged from family loyalties and nationalist sentiments, although, for her, the former took precedence because her mother was Jewish. Chevrillon reports the ordeal her parents and extended Jewish family members suffered under the Nazis. Her mother was arrested on one occasion, and forced to wear a yellow star, until Chevrillon obtained a forged identification card for her through the Resistance. Even then, her mother had to “take precautions each time there was a roundup” until the liberation of France in 1944. She indicates that other Jewish members of her family were imprisoned and eventually deported to concentration camps, where they died.²³⁸ Her support for the Resistance can be attributed, in part, to a desire to respond to these attacks on her family. Moreover, like Bood, she expresses positive feelings and loyalty toward Britain, as a source of hope for France. For instance, she states that, for herself and her friends: “Vichy was beneath contempt, Paris a Slough of Despond, and London the Good Place.” She alludes to feelings of helplessness, “bemoaning” the “passivity” in everyone around her.²³⁹ When she makes contact with Resistance workers and joins the movement, she derives “a secret joy,” from knowing that she is part of the “great network” of those who stand against “the Enemy.”²⁴⁰ Namely, the “great network” refers to de Gaulle’s Free France. Family and national loyalties, applied

²³⁸ Chevrillon, *Code Name Christiane Clouet*, 32, 59-60, 66.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 37, 74.

indirectly through Britain, influenced Chevrillon's desire to become active in resistance work.

Chevrillon resisted in both direct and indirect ways, which also required an element of performance. Her contributions included work as a coder, in which she would encode or decode telegrams to facilitate communication between "The Delegation," also known as the (clandestine) "Provisional Government" in occupied France, de Gaulle's cabinet in Algiers, and the F.F.I. base in London. To make the system impenetrable, each telegram had its own code key sent in by parachute. Code keys were written on silk handkerchiefs and hidden inside goods such as packs of cigarettes and toothpaste tubes.²⁴¹ Chevrillon also served as a "mailbox" for one Robert Gautier, a resistance worker who organized parachute drops in the Occupied Zone. She provided a cover for him, taking in his mail, packages and messages, and utilizing her home address and phone number.²⁴² This endeavor clearly required a level of performance, as she had to explain, and lie to her neighbors about, Gautier's frequent presence in her home. Chevrillon did not oppose an abstract entity, such as "death" but the actual, corporeal enemy of France: Nazi Germany. Yet, like the *cantinières* and *ambulancières* of the Commune, she operated in an auxiliary, liminal role, aiding and assisting militant *résistants* without becoming one herself.

In addition to these examples, Chevrillon describes numerous instances of performance in her memoir. She reached her first meeting with Gautier by adopting a false identity, as she had to cross into the "Free" Zone, and needed a

²⁴¹ Chevrillon, *Code Name Christiane Clouet*, 119-129.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 69, 72-74.

legitimate pretext. She temporarily took on the identity of her friend, Anne Gondinet, who owned property in the South, and who agreed to go along with the scheme. Another of Chevrillon's friends, a girl named Françoise, pretended to have "eye trouble" so that she could enter the "Free" Zone, supposedly to see a medical specialist. In fact, she also wanted to join the Resistance.²⁴³ Once the Nazi secret police, the Gestapo, learned of Chevrillon's activities, and maintaining her true identity became too great a risk, she resigned from her teaching position, left her residence, and changed her name to "Christiane Clouet." Many of her comrades also used aliases.²⁴⁴ Here, again, we see that resistance in the Occupied Zone required performance. In this case, Chevrillon left her identity behind, limiting contact with the people from her former life, including her parents.

Cecile Ouzoulias Romagon, like Bood and Chevrillon, found motivation for resistance activities through her family relationships, which apparently inspired her more than feelings of nationalism, as she was a communist. She cared little for the national origins or loyalties of her fellow resistance workers, so long as they were all united in opposition to the enemy. She says that, beginning with de Gaulle's unification efforts in April of 1942: "young people and not so young people, French or not, communists, communist sympathizers or non-communists, could enter the same combat organization against the occupiers and their domestic accomplices."²⁴⁵ She regards this as a "considerable step" in the "armed struggle"

²⁴³ Chevrillon, *Code Name Christiane Clouet*, 67-69.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 115.

to drive the Nazis out of France.²⁴⁶ In her view, the Resistance united a variety of people from diverse backgrounds, and all contributed to the “armed struggle,” even if they did not serve the Resistance in a militant capacity. Ouzoulias Romagon does not directly discuss her family-related motives for resistance work, although one obvious connection is the fact that her husband Albert Ouzoulias (also known as Colonel André) was the National Military Commissioner of the F.T.P.F., the branch of the Resistance that she ultimately served.²⁴⁷ However, Albert Ouzoulias addressed the issue of his wife’s motives for resistance in a post-war interview, stating that she had many reasons to oppose the Nazis, including her father’s execution by German authorities, and her brother’s deportation to a concentration camp. Her memoir contains additional references to her father’s arrest and imprisonment.²⁴⁸ She gained access to F.T.P.F. missions through her husband, and despised the Nazis for their actions against her father and brother. Family relationships, then, gave impetus to her participation in the Resistance.

²⁴⁵ Ouzoulias Romagon, *J’etai Agent de Liaison*, 121; “A partir de ce moment, jeunes et moins jeunes, Français ou non, communistes, sympathisants ou non-communistes, pourraient entrer dans la même organisation de combat contre l’occupant et ses complices de l’intérieur.”

²⁴⁶ Ibid.; “...un pas considérable avait été fait dans la lutte armée ;” “...a considerable step has been made in the armed struggle.”

²⁴⁷ F.T.P.F. was an acronym for “Le Francs Tireurs et Partisans Française ;” The literal translation is: “The French Shooters (or Gunmen) and French Supporters;” the F.T.P.F. (also known as the F.T.P.) formed one of the major components of the F.F.I., and was thus linked to de Gaulle; see Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 445 and Henri Michel, *Paris Resistant* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1982), 261 .

²⁴⁸ Albert Ouzoulias, “Interview with Albert Ouzoulias” (1987), quoted in Paula Schwartz, “Partisans and Gender Politics in Vichy France,” in *The World War Two reader*, ed. Gordon Martel (New York: Routledge, 2004), 307-308; Ouzoulias Romagon, *J’etai Agent de Liaison*, 78-87.

As a liaison agent, Ouzoulias Romagon was responsible for maintaining communication lines between various factions within the F.T.P.F., as well as lines with other branches of the F.F.I. For example, she indicates that she did not transport weapons, but rather, important documents such as “orders of operation, from the National Military Commissioner to Regional [Commissioners] and, vice versa.”²⁴⁹ The National Commissioner was, of course, her husband. Liaison work represented both an “active” and “passive,” or direct and indirect, form of resistance. Liaison agents contributed to the F.F.I.’s military operations, opposing Nazi Germany, rather than an abstract enemy. Indeed, according to Albert Ouzoulias, liaison agents enabled the F.T.P.F.’s combat forces to become almost as effective as a regular army.²⁵⁰

The masculine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc figures appear prominently in Ouzoulias Romagon’s account, and, in accordance with the communist tract *Joan Daughter of the People*, she perceived these aspects as ideal characteristics for both women and men.²⁵¹ For instance, she refers to the importance of soldierly qualities, such as courage, in resistance work, confessing that she is not very brave by nature.²⁵² This comment may have been a display of modesty on her part, as her husband indicated that she wanted to lead a company on sabotage missions, though he did not allow it.²⁵³ According to Ouzoulias

²⁴⁹ Ouzoulias Romagon, *J’etai Agent de Liaison*, 123; “Ordres d’opération, du commissaire militaire national à ceux de régions et, vice versa...”

²⁵⁰ Albert Ouzoulias, “Interview with Albert Ouzoulias” (1987), quoted in Schwartz, “Partisans and Gender Politics,” 307.

²⁵¹ See Appendix B.

²⁵² Ouzoulias Romagon, *J’etai Agent de Liaison*, 13 ; “Parce que, il faut bien je l’avoue, je ne suis pas de nature très courageuse!”

²⁵³ Ouzoulias, “Interview,” quoted in Schwartz, “Partisans and Gender Politics,” 308.

Romagon, her sex did not prevent her from assuming masculine, militant qualities, nor did it exempt her from participating in “active” and masculine resistance activities.

Her husband’s stated reasons for excluding her from sabotage missions indicate that her sex was a factor in his decision. Although he did not oppose the idea of female saboteurs, in theory, he argued that almost anyone could conduct sabotage work successfully. However, not just anyone could be an effective liaison agent. In his perception, women were far better suited to the latter role, because the authorities viewed them with less suspicion.²⁵⁴ Liaison agents did not participate in overtly violent or militant work. Rather, like the *cantinières* and *ambulancières* of the Commune, they provided auxiliary support to militants, and operated in an ambiguous space between direct and indirect resistance. Female liaison agents, such as Ouzoulias Romagon, valued and displayed elements of the masculine sphere, such as courage, and direct opposition to a corporeal enemy, while conducting non-militant, feminine resistance activities. The active/passive dichotomy is not useful for understanding or conceptualizing their contributions to the Resistance.

Ouzoulias Romagon references and expresses admiration for the masculine, soldierly qualities in other female F.T.P.F. agents as well, lauding their courage and the sacrifices they had made. These qualities correlate with the masculine, warlike characteristics and the feminine, saintly martyrdom of Joan of Arc. For example, she refers to the sacrifices of the women who served as liaison

²⁵⁴ Ouzoulias, “Interview,” quoted in Schwartz, “Partisans and Gender Politics,” 308.

agents in the F.T.P.F. with her, stating that: “All of these women carried secrets for the organization. Many of them saw prison, deportation, and death, anonymous and too little known heroines of the Resistance.”²⁵⁵ Like Joan of Arc, who died for her faith and her efforts to liberate “France,” they suffered and died for the Resistance. Additionally, Ouzoulias Romagon mentions a woman named Simone Degueret-Liberre, who fought and participated in military operations, calling her “an admirable woman” and “one of the most indomitably courageous women that I have known.”²⁵⁶ For Ouzoulias Romagon, the selfless martyrdom and the militant contributions of communist women were vital to the F.T.P.F., and to the Resistance. In her account, communist women embodied the masculine and feminine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc.

Moreover, and again, where we find urban resistance in the Occupied Zone, we also find evidence of “performance.” Ouzoulias Romagon proposed the idea of recruiting young women and young girls as liaison agents, and furthermore, of sending them out in “elegant” clothing, as if they were from well-to-do families. Female agents dressed in this manner would arouse less suspicion than men or ostensibly poor women. As an added benefit, such disguises elicited chivalrous and gentlemanly responses from the authorities. According to Ouzoulias Romagon, “experience shows us that the police are always more courteous to a ‘lady’ than to a poor woman.”²⁵⁷ Female F.T.P.F. agents put on

²⁵⁵ Ouzoulias Romagon, *J'étais Agent de Liaison*, 127 ; “Tout ces femmes étaient les porteuses des secrets de l’organisation. Un grand nombre d’entre elles connurent la prison, la déportation, et la mort, héroïnes anonymes et trop peu connues de la Résistance. ”

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 156-157 ; “Ceci dit, Simone Degueret-Leberre était une femme admirable. Elle se battit dans les Bataillons de la Jeunesse avec son mari...C’est une des femmes les plus indomptablement courageuses que j’ai connues. ”

performances, projecting a false image to the police, in order to avoid scrutiny and suspicion. Urban liaison work for the Resistance brought a corresponding need to hide that work, and thus, a need for performance.

Agnès Humbert conveys similar themes in her memoir, *Résistance*, showing that her loyalty to family ties, and pride in the French spirit led to her participation in the Resistance. At the initial outbreak of the war, Humbert was among the refugees who fled Paris. She stayed in the small village of Vicq-sur-Breuil, and entertained the thought of moving to America to live with a friend. However she was intensely concerned about the welfare of her two adult sons. When she learned that one of them, Pierre, had arrived in Paris and was waiting for her, she decided to return there. Were it not for her son, it seems that Humbert would have tried to leave France, or at least Paris, and would never have become involved in urban resistance work at all.²⁵⁸

In Humbert's writings, as in Chevrillon's memoir, we also find the desire to hold out enduring hope for France, and to contribute to the struggle for liberation. Humbert is despondent when she cannot find her sons, and when she learns of the fall of Paris. Yet, upon listening to de Gaulle's broadcast on the radio, she begins to feel hopeful for the future of France. As she says of de Gaulle: "He has given me hope, and nothing in the world can extinguish that hope now." She refers to BBC radio reports on resistance activities in Paris, indicating

²⁵⁷ Ouzoulias Romagon, *J'étais Agent de Liaison*, 122-123 ; "... l'expérience nous l'avait montré que les policiers sont toujours plus courtois envers une 'dame' qu'avec une pauvre." "

²⁵⁸ Agnès Humbert, *Résistance: A Woman's Journal of Struggle and Defiance in Occupied France*, trans., Barbara Mellor (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), 8.

that Parisians were destroying or otherwise altering German propaganda posters as quickly as the Nazis could produce them. In an entry dated July 20th, 1940, she states that: “The people of Paris are rebelling already.” She offers further indication of her patriotic love for France in relating a story of the interaction she observed between two soldiers, a “little Frenchman,” and a German. The former, in her view, desperately wanted a cigarette, yet he declined to accept when the German condescendingly offered one. She takes this exchange as a metaphor for the relationship between France and Germany, admiring the French soldier’s spirit, his pride and dignity, despite the fact that he had been “defeated and betrayed.”²⁵⁹ Such descriptions of the indomitable French spirit evoke Marianne/Joan of Arc’s feminine power, eternal endurance, and refusal to surrender. Apparently, the long-standing allegorical association between French patriotism and feminine, spiritual strength informed Humbert’s views on the Franco-German struggle and resistance to the occupying forces. For her, the French spirit had not been crushed by the Occupation. It continued to manifest itself through feminine, indirect forms of resistance, including displays of dignity, such as the “little” soldier’s refusal of the German cigarette, and the defacement of German propaganda posters. As in Pilotell’s depiction of Marianne and the Commune, the French spirit had suffered a defeat, but it could never be destroyed.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Humbert, *Résistance*, 7-8, 13; for another example of French “defacement” or appropriation of a German propaganda poster, see figure 37.

²⁶⁰ See figure 23.

According to Humbert, resistance included numerous forms of “passive,” as well as “active” rebellion, and the two were often conflated. The story of the two soldiers and the cigarette provides a prominent example, as the “little Frenchman” demonstrates his opposition to a temporal, material opponent, the Nazi occupiers, in a non-militant, indirect way. He declines to cooperate with the German soldier through a condescending “gift,” which, if accepted, would place him in a state of obligation and subjugation to the German. In refusing the cigarette, the “little Frenchmen” displayed spiritual strength and loyalty to France. She notes other acts of indirect resistance, referring to a woman who hoarded French coins to keep them out of general circulation, for example. In another instance, she mentions a girl from the Parisian suburbs who faced arrest for owning a pig without permission from the Nazi authorities, and moreover, for naming that pig “Hitler.” These examples show deliberate attempts to oppose the Germans, rather than an abstract enemy, with feminine, “passive” methods.²⁶¹

Humbert herself engaged in both direct and indirect resistance strategies, helping to publish and distribute tracts and other publications, such as *Advice to the Occupied* and the newspaper *Résistance*. Like Bood, she promoted the slogan “Vive le général de Gaulle,” although she added another as well: “Nous sommes pour le général de Gaulle.”²⁶² Rather than writing on walls or furniture, however, Humbert and her colleagues made stickers with these statements, which they affixed to walls, telephone booths, public urinals, and subway tunnels. She relates that one bold *résistant*, a museum guard, would sneak up behind German cars on

²⁶¹ Humbert, *Résistance*, 48, 85.

²⁶² “Long live General de Gaulle” and “We support General de Gaulle.”

his bicycle and post the stickers on the rear doors of the vehicles. Humbert also typed “Vive le général de Gaulle” in red letters on French bank notes, reasoning that even the most dedicated German sympathizers would never discard or destroy money. She also participated in escape line work, hiding downed British airmen in Paris and helping them to leave the Occupied Zone. All of these activities demonstrated a combination of indirect and direct, or “passive” and “active,” resistance. Humbert opposed the Germans, not abstract notions such



Figure 37: Source: Peschanski et al. p. 221. No date. (1941-1943?).²⁶³

²⁶³ The print alongside the posters reads: “A poster placed by the Germans in France,” and “The same poster ‘corrected’ by the French.” The German poster states: “If you want France to survive you will fight in the Waffen-SS against Bolshevism.” In contrast, the “corrected” version states: “If you want France to survive you will fight against ‘le Boche’ (the German).”

as “death” or “famine,” and her actions were meant to undermine and thwart German power. Yet, her involvement in escape line networks and in clandestine publishing did not require militancy. In accordance with Bood, Chevrillon, and Ouzoulias Romagon, her resistance work was neither fully “passive” nor “active.” Rather, it occupied a liminal space between these categories. Again, the active/passive dichotomy proves unhelpful with regard to women’s resistance in occupied Paris.²⁶⁴

Furthermore, from her references to *Advice to the Occupied* it appears that Humbert, and the *résistantes* she worked with, applied the tract’s message to themselves, despite its apparently “masculine” connotations. For example, she states that another *résistante*, Madeline Le Verrier, gave her a copy of it. She also expresses gratitude to its author, saying:

Will the people who wrote *Advice to the Occupied* ever know what they have done for us, and probably for thousands of others? A glimmer of light in the darkness... Now we know for certain that we are not alone.

She later typed and distributed copies of the tract as well.²⁶⁵ Thus, we find that Humbert applied Texcier’s masculine brochure to all members of the Resistance in the Occupied Zone, and that Texcier inspired French women in addition to men. Gender distinctions, along with other constructed social and political boundaries, eroded in the face of a common, German adversary, as feminine, indirect resistance became the “occupation” of the occupied.

In Humbert’s memoir, yet again, we also find that resistance in the Occupied Zone required modifying or altering one’s behavior, in order to conceal

²⁶⁴ Humbert, *Résistance*, 19, 21, 33.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 14, 17.

it. When the Musée de l'Homme group held meetings to write, plan and publish issues of *Résistance*, for which Humbert typed the articles, they prominently displayed a photograph of Marshal Philippe Pétain, the collaborationist leader of the Vichy regime, and agreed to pretend that they were writing a play if the Germans should come upon them. With this, Humbert relates a suggestion from one of her comrades that she avoid being seen with her little typewriter in public. In addition, she, like Chevrillon, adopted a pseudonym: Delphine Giruard. She also mentions that her group had a false “mailbox,” a religious-goods store in Auteuil, a suburb of Paris.²⁶⁶ In document form and in practice, then, Humbert and her colleagues required a shield of performance for their resistance work. They could not function without a facade of legality, and without assuming false identities.

“Active” and “passive,” or masculine and feminine, resistance practices converged in the Occupied Zone, with resistance workers combining male temporal elements with the indirect “combat” and abstract power of the female sphere. When “active” resistance occurred, it was predominantly non-militant and indirect, hidden beneath a façade of collaboration and cooperation with the enemy. *Résistantes* such as liaison agents, coders, escape-line workers, and participants in propaganda wars were neither expressly violent nor militant. They cannot be defined as “active” contributors to the Resistance, according to the definition Peter Davies has proposed.²⁶⁷ Yet, their opposition cannot be

²⁶⁶ Humbert, *Résistance*, 25, 33.

²⁶⁷ Davies, *France and the Second World War*, 52.

considered entirely moral and symbolic, or “passive,” either. Such women encroached upon the masculine sphere, opposing a direct, material enemy in the form of Nazi Germany, becoming involved in political pursuits, and engaging in public debates and “duels” through propaganda. In their resistance work, and in following the latter-day, male incarnation of Joan of Arc, Charles de Gaulle, real women in the Resistance acted in accordance with Joan of Arc’s legacy, and became her successors. At the same time, they evoked Marianne, demonstrating adherence to republican ideals such as liberty, and especially, unity, as they conflated familial and nationalist allegiances with their support for the Resistance. In becoming part of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s tradition, and in combining masculine and feminine forms of resistance, that is, direct and indirect “warfare,” women in occupied France also reflected elements of urban society, namely, the breakdown of established boundaries, and the need to perform a false or deliberately calculated image in public. All resistance in occupied Paris called for a disguise of either anonymity or performance, and rarely appeared as overt, violent combat, with the exception of the Battle for Paris. Consequently, men such as Humbert’s French soldier often utilized the same combination of direct (although non-militant) and indirect opposition that we find in *résistantes*. The varied nature of resistance among men and women in World War II-era Paris, and their conflation of the masculine “active” and feminine “passive” forms of opposition, renders the active/passive dichotomy useless, with regard to resistance in the Occupied Zone.

French resistance to a German occupier became “feminine,” in allegory and in practice, after the Terrible Year and the victimization of “republican” Paris. The popular perception of France as an innocent and moral target of unjust German aggression gained strength with the German annexation or “occupation” of Alsace-Lorraine, which followed the Franco-Prussian War. Representations of the struggle between France and Germany paralleled and became inseparable from the popular classes’ enduring struggle to establish a Republic of the people, with France appearing as a morally pure martyr and victim of tyranny. Thus, the feminine aspects of republican allegories, namely, Marianne/Joan of Arc images, and feminine abstract power (“le pouvoir”), became paramount in the wake of the Terrible Year. The feminization of French resistance to tyranny, together with the influence of the urban environment, served to elevate the importance of the feminine, spiritual sphere. Female forms of “combat” and resistance were now applied to men living under the Occupation, in works such as Vercors’ *The Silence of the Sea*, and Texcier’s *Advice to the Occupied*. This development is also evinced in the rhetoric of de Gaulle and his supporters, who fostered his image as a latter-day Joan of Arc, and represented the Resistance with her Cross of Lorraine. “Le pouvoir” became the power of “the occupied,” encompassing men as well as women. Consequently, we find few distinctions between male and female, or “active” and “passive,” resistance methods in the Occupied Zone. The active/passive dichotomy does not apply here.

CONCLUSION

According to scholars such as Marina Warner, Madelyn Gutwirth, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Darrow, allegorical female figures were not meant to serve as models for real women, and the ideals represented in these figures were not supposed to be applied to or realized in real women. Female political images were produced by men for men, and the “femaleness” of these images specifically marked politics and the public sphere as “male.”¹ Taken together, their arguments imply that female representations of the Republic and republican principles served men and only men, from the Revolution of 1789 through the First World War.² When real women have been equated with allegorical female images, scholars often deem them “living allegories,” or actresses portraying symbols.³ In arguing that female images were not supposed to be considered models for real women, Warner, Gutwirth, Hunt, and Darrow are convincing. However, this does not mean that women never used the images as models, as even Gutwirth has acknowledged. In examining women’s actions during the Terrible Year, it becomes clear that some women did adopt female allegorical figures as models.⁴ Even prior to 1870, in examples such as the women who were celebrated as

¹ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 255-275 and , *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 281, 293; Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 255; Lynn Hunt, “The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures” in *French Caricature and the French Revolution: 1789-1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts , 1988), 39.

² Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 24.

³ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 276; Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans., Janet Lloyd. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 64-67, 93, 109, 140.

⁴ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, 256-257.

“Jeannes d’Arc” in the Revolution of 1830, men and women drew comparisons between real French women who demonstrated soldier-like qualities, and allegorical figures such as Joan of Arc. Although Maurice Agulhon classifies this example as a “living allegory,” placing it in the same category with actresses who played the goddesses of Liberty and Reason in festivals, his view is problematic. Unlike Liberty and Reason, Joan of Arc was both a real, historical character and a female allegorical image, and like the Maid, the latter-day “Jeanne d’Arc” who fought at the barricades received acclaim for her actions in the service of “France.” She was not an actress portraying a symbol or “goddess.” Her own behaviors and character qualities rendered her a literal female warrior, akin to Joan of Arc, in the eyes of republican revolutionaries. Rather than a supposed living allegory, this incident exemplifies one instance in which revolutionary men (and women) perceived the qualities of a female allegorical figure in a real woman. Moreover, it suggests that female allegories such as Marianne/Joan of Arc served to provide a model and precedent for real women’s patriotism and political involvement. Despite prohibitions to the contrary, real women did participate in political movements and in revolutionary, even militant, insurrections, as this example indicates.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, women and the popular classes were excluded from the privileged construct of bourgeois manhood, and therefore, from political and military participation. Marianne, as the people’s interpretation of the goddess Liberty, represented the popular classes and women, serving the very marginalized groups who were associated with irrationality and disrespect

for established boundaries. As a champion of the disenfranchised “others,” and later, of persecuted republicans under the Second Empire, she denoted the universal application of republican values, revolution, and resistance to tyranny.

With the advent of the Franco-Prussian War, Marianne, the republican *résistante*, along with Joan of Arc, the historical figure, holy martyr, and female allegory of French patriotism, provided a conceptual framework through which both men and women perceived French patriotism, and especially, female patriotism. According to bourgeois intellectuals such as Lucien Nass, women could be latter-day versions of “Jeanne d’Arc” and Marianne indirectly, without engaging in overt, direct, military combat. He praised the women of the Franco-Prussian War for emulating the feminine aspects of the Maid, that is, for being women who demonstrated moral purity, saintly self-sacrifice and martyrdom in caring for their families and others in need. Women were not supposed to enter the masculine realm of military participation as soldiers, however. Their direct, literal adoption of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s militancy would threaten French bourgeois and aristocratic manhood; women could not be the “other” if they sought to become gun-bearing warriors. Acceptable and “good” women were permitted to apply the feminine aspects of Marianne/Joan of Arc, namely, her purity, virtue, selflessness, and spiritual power, as a direct model for their own patriotism. The masculine side of these female allegories could be applied in spiritual, abstract forms of “battle.” When women such as Théodore de Banville’s “femmes violées” stood against the Prussian soldiers, they did so as moral

authorities rather than militant Amazons. The martyred women were opposing and “combating” the immoral, appalling, and violent *behavior* of the Prussian soldiers, rather than the soldiers themselves.⁵ If women wanted to serve as literal versions of Marianne/Joan of Arc and fight in battle, they became “insane,” unnatural, and nonsensical to male observers.⁶

This dichotomy between the direct and indirect, or literal and metaphorical applications of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s masculine aspects corresponds to the active/passive dichotomy found in the works of many scholars on World War II-era resistance in France. Peter Davies, Christopher Lloyd, Julian Jackson, and others seek to distinguish between “active” and “passive” forms of resistance, citing literary figures such the niece in *The Silence of the Sea* as an example of the latter, and thereby, associating “passive” resistance with women.⁷ In referencing the active/passive dichotomy, they are actually alluding to the difference between literal and metaphorical interpretations of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s militancy. The active/passive dichotomy corresponds to the divide between spiritual, indirect and abstract “combat” and overt, masculine militarism. The distinction between “active,” masculine bellicosity and “passive,” feminine forms of resistance appears most prominently in artistic depictions of women’s patriotism from the Franco-Prussian War, and afterward. As an artist, Jean Bruller, that is, Vercors,

⁵ Théodore de Banville, *Idylles Prussiennes* (Paris : J Claye, 7 rue Saint-Benoit, 1871), 18-19.

⁶ See figures 12 and 22, and Lucien Nass, *Essais de pathologie historique: Le Siège de Paris et La Commune* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914), 60-63.

⁷ Peter Davies, *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52; Christopher Lloyd, *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)10, 31, 166; Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 490.

employed artistic conventions in his literary portrayal of a female *résistante* in World War II. In so doing, he reflected the influence of Falguière's *La Résistance* as well as earlier images that equated Joan of Arc and Athena, combining Marianne, Joan of Arc, and the Ancient Greek goddess of War with a real, if fictional, French woman.⁸ Vercors' work promulgated the association between women, spiritual power, and non-militant resistance, extending the views of nineteenth-century male artists such as Falguière, and social commentators such as Nass, into the period of World War II. Yet, Bruller also diverged from his nineteenth-century predecessors in encouraging indirect, non-militant opposition for both men and women, as the niece leads and inspires her uncle in his "silence."⁹ Like the real *résistantes* visited here, Vercors' protagonists conflate masculine and feminine, or material and spiritual, resistance tactics, employing indirect methods against a tangible, corporeal opponent. The active/passive dichotomy proves useful for comprehending nineteenth-century *male perceptions* of differences in masculine and feminine forms of resistance.

However, in Vercors' twentieth-century interpretation, we find a man and a woman who utilize a combination of "masculine" and "feminine, or "active" and "passive," resistance methods. He advocated silent, indirect, feminine resistance for men and women in occupied France, even as his female protagonist engaged in "battle" with the German officer, in accordance with the masculine, temporal sphere. In Vercors' view, "silence" denoted feminine, abstract power or

⁸ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 441.

⁹ Vercors, *The Silence of the Sea*, trans., Cyril Connolly, (New York: Macmillian Company, 1944), 12, 34.

“le pouvoir,” and the immovable, moral strength of Marianne in images such as *La Résistance*. “Silence” also represented a convergence of feminine forms of “combat” and the indirect, female articulation of Marianne/Joan of Arc’s militant elements, with the masculine earthly realm, and opposition to a material enemy. For Vercors, “le pouvoir” became the domain of “the occupied” French, male and female alike.

Given the conflation of the masculine/temporal and feminine/spiritual spheres in Vercors’ novel, and in documents such as Texcier’s *Advice to the Occupied*, it is apparent that the general scholarly tendency to organize World War II-era resistance activities according to the active/passive dichotomy does not help us to understand the practical realities of resistance in the Occupied Zone. The perceived divergence between male and female resistance methods did not translate into practice. The F.F.I. operated under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle, a man and a military general, who also claimed, and was perceived, to be an incarnation of Joan of Arc. De Gaulle also appeared as a defender of republican liberty, equality, and fraternity, thereby evoking Marianne as well. In this context, the Maid’s image lent itself to myriad purposes, and served as a unifying symbol, representing masculine and feminine, popular and aristocratic, Catholic and atheist, revolutionary and conservative and republican and monarchist positions.¹⁰ The Resistance transcended established boundaries, including gender distinctions, in the tradition of Joan of Arc.

¹⁰ For instance, Maurice Agulhon refers to Joan of Arc as a “friend of the king;” Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, 182.

The conflation of literal and metaphorical resistance in the Occupied Zone coincided with a general lack of opportunities for direct military participation. The F.F.I. suffered a continual shortage of weapons throughout the war, and saw relatively little violent, organized military combat, with the exception of a few major instances, such as the Battle for Paris. As Jackson says of the Resistance, “military activity comprised only a tiny part of its experience.”¹¹ The urban nature of resistance in the Occupied Zone also contributed to the erosion of gender divisions in resistance work. The fluid nature of social and cultural divisions in urban societies corresponds to the disrespect for established boundaries that French revolutionaries associated with women, as far back as the Revolution of 1789.¹² The Resistance reflected the amalgamation of diverse social, political, and cultural groups in urban society. Scholars operate with an anachronism when they apply the active/passive dichotomy to studies of the Resistance in the Occupied Zone during World War II. They adopt the prescriptive, idealized male view of French women’s patriotic involvement in political and militant endeavors, which prevailed in the nineteenth century. The active/passive dichotomy can be successfully applied to studies on male perceptions of Parisian women who lived during the Franco-Prussian War. For real *résistantes* in World War II, however, it proves anachronistic and inappropriate.

Moreover, most scholars, with the exception of H.R. Kedward, overlook other elements of urban society that influenced and informed resistance in the

¹¹ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 557.

¹² Warner, 281, 293; Gutwirth, 255; also see David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, 209-224 and Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

Occupied Zone, such as performance. It cannot be concluded, as Robert Paxton has argued, that a majority of “the occupied” French were “functional collaborators.” The examples of women such as Micheline Bood and Agnès Humbert suggest that at least some of this so-called “collaboration” occurred as false performances, to disguise anti-German feelings and “active” resistance work. In deeming the majority of French people “functional collaborators,” Paxton seems to operate with the belief that what one tolerates, one condones. Accordingly, for him, in failing to stop Nazi soldiers who arrested their Jewish neighbors, people in France became “functional collaborators.” Apparently, he defined “resistance” only in terms of overt action and direct, militant opposition, a perception that fails to account for the indirect and covert nature of resistance under the Occupation.¹³ It is undeniable that some French people were “functional collaborators” in the Occupied Zone. However, Paxton’s focus on overt action does not allow us to differentiate between “functional collaborators” and those who used performance to conduct less obvious acts of resistance. As well, in focusing upon German political sources and the Vichy regime, Paxton limited himself to the perspective of German and Vichy officials. He did not distinguish between resistance in the North and resistance under Vichy, nor did he address differences between urban and rural resistance practices. As a result, he also failed to consider the factor of performance in his analysis of collaboration. Resistance tracts, such as *Advice to the Occupied* advocated performance and, though Texcier originally directed this “advice” to men, women adopted and utilized it as

¹³ Robert Paxton, *Vichy France : Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2001), 235.

well. Men and women in the Resistance participated in direct opposition to the Germans, through indirect methods, “fighting” for France’s liberation in the tradition of Marianne and Joan of Arc. *Résistantes* also perceived themselves as active and vital contributors to the Resistance, equating their loyalty to the Resistance with republican values, and with their devotion to family relationships. The Resistance, as a nationalist, relatively unified “family,” succeeded in forging functionally cooperative relationships between divergent social and political factions within France. Joan of Arc, in the person of de Gaulle, and as a Marianne figure and a symbol of republican liberty, equality, and fraternity, united them

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

- D'Albert-Lake, Virginia. *An American Heroine in the French Resistance: The Diary and Memoir of Virginia d'Albert-Lake*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2006.
- Aragon, Louis. "La Rose et le Réséda," In *French Lyric Poetry : An Anthology*, edited by Frank S. Geise and Warren F. Wilder, 89-90. New York : Odyssey Press, 1965.
- D'Argoeuves Hélène. "Louise de Bettignies, la 'Jeanne d'Arc du Nord.'" *Les Annales*. January 10, 1938.
- "Athena Holding an Owl." (image). (c. 450 B.C.) From: Images of Women in Ancient Art
<<http://www.arthistory.sbc.edu/imageswomen/papers/izquierdoathena/athena.html>> (accessed April 15, 2009).
- Athenian Tetradrachm. (image). (c. 480 B.C.) *Numismatic Arc Comes of Age: The Coins of the Demareteion Master*. From: The National Numismatic Collection
<<http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/numismatics/demarete/athowl.html>> (accessed February 15th, 2010).
- Balzac, Honoré de. *The Peasantry*. Translated by Ellen Marriage. New York: Macmillan, 1901.
- Banville, Théodore de. *Idylles Prussiennes*. Paris : J Claye, 7 rue Saint-Benoit, 1871.
- Barbier, Auguste. *Iambes et poèmes*. Paris : Libraire de la Société de Gens de Lettres, Palais-Royale, 15-17-19, Galerie d'Orléans, 1883.
- Bernstein, Henri. *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*. New York: France Forever, 1944.
- Bood, Micheline. *Les années doubles: Journal d'une lycéenne sous l'Occupation*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1974.

- "L'aurore de la victoire." (image). In Bood, Micheline. *Les années doubles : Journal d'une lycéenne sous l'Occupation*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1974.
- Bracquemond, Félix. "La Statue de La Résistance, de Falguière." (image). (1870-1871). *Siège de Paris de 1870: Cinq Eaux-Fortes* (Paris, P. Roquette, 1874). The Art Institute of Chicago. In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 275. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Champsaur, Félicien. "Louise Michel." *Les Contemporains*, no. 3. (1880):1-3.
- Chevrillon, Claire. *Code Name Christiane Clouet: A Woman in the French Resistance*. Translated by Jane Kielty Stott. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1995.
- Cuisin, P. *Les barricades du peuple de Paris, relations historiques, militaire, et anecdotiques*. Paris : Les Roi, 1830.
- D."Les Capitulars: Paris Livré." (image). (March 1871). Musée Carnavale, Paris. Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 129. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Daumier, Honoré. "The Bordeaux Assembly-Who will take the knife?" (image). (February 16th, 1871). Published in *Le Charivari*. In Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France (1870-1871) : Myth Reportage and Reality*, 131. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Delacroix Eugène. "Liberty leading the people at the barricades." (image). (1830). Musée du Louvre. In Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, translated by Janet Lloyd, 39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Dupendant. "The Defense of the Commune, 1871." (image).(1871). Musée d'art et d'histoire, Saint-Denis. In Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France (1870-1871) : Myth Reportage and Reality*, 162. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Édouard-Fournier, Louis. "1680-Comédie." (image). (1914-1918). I Lapina Imprimerie, Paris. Imperial War Museum. Source: VADS: The Online Resource for Visual Arts. (accessed February 1, 2010).

- Falguière, Jean-Alexandre-Joseph. "La Résistance." (image). Bronze. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 282. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- "La Résistance." (image). (1870). Cast Terra Cotta. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 282. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- "La Résistance." (image). Wax sculpture. Musée Carnavale, Paris. In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 282. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- "figure 29." (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 242. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.
- "figure 37." (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 221. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.
- Gaillard fils. "On the Barricades of Paris." (image). (April 1871). In Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France (1870-1871) : Myth Reportage and Reality*, 153. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Gaulle, Charles de. *Lettres, Notes et Carnets: 1905-1918*. 2 vols. Paris: Plon, 1980.
- *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles De Gaulle*. Translated by Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard. New York: Carroll & Graff Publishers, 1998.
- *Vers l'armée de métier*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1934.
- Quoted in Bernstein, Henri. *Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc*. New York: France Forever, 1944.
- Gautier, Théophile. *Tableaux de Siège: Paris, 1870-1871*. Paris : Charpentier et Cie., 1871.

Gois, Edme-Étienne-François. *Joan of Arc in Battle*. (image). (Exhibited in the Salon of 1802. Cast in bronze in 1804). Bronze. In Heimann, Nora M. and Laura Coyle. *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America*, 35. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006.

Goncourt Edmond de, and Jules de Goncourt. *Journal : Mémoires de la vie littéraire*. 2 vols. Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956.

Humbert, Agnès. *Résistance: A Woman's Journal of Struggle and Defiance in Occupied France*. Translated by Barbara Mellor. New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2008.

“Jeunes du Maréchal.” (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940- 1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 231. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.

Joan, Daughter of the People. “Conspeur les capitulards et les traîtres.” (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940- 1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 232. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.

“Joan as Minerva.” (image). Frontispiece from Friedrich Schiller, *Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orléans*. In Heimann, Nora M. and Laura Coyle. *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America*, 42. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006.

Kernan, Thomas. *France on Berlin Time*. New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1941.

Klumpke, Anna. *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's [Auto] Biography*. Translated by Gretchen van Slyke. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

“Les Assassins Reviennent Toujours.” (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 230. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.

“Les Journeaux.” Quoted in Banville, Théodore de. *Idylles Prussiennes*. Paris : J Claye, 7 rue Saint-Benoit, 1871.

- “Libération?” (image). In Pollard, Miranda. *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France*, 198. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- “Liberty 1849.” Quoted in Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- “Louis le Dernier.” (image). (1792). Library of Congress. Source: Library of Congress Online Catalog. <<http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3b51508/>> (accessed February 15th, 2010).
- Michel, Louise. *La Commune: Histoire et Souvenirs*. 2 vols. Paris: François Maspero, 1970.
- *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel*. Translated by Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter. University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981.
- Nass, Lucien. *Essais de pathologie historique : Le Siège de Paris et La Commune*. Paris : Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914.
- Nérac, H. “La Vierge...Folle: Les Jeanne D’Arc de La Commune, S.G.D.G.” (image).(1871). *Les signes du Zodiaque*. Bibliothèque Nationale. In Gullickson, Gay L. *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*, 88. London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Normand, Charles-Pierre-Joseph. “Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans.”(image).(1802). In Heimann, Nora M. and Laura Coyle. *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America*, 35. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006.
- d’Orléans, Marie. *Joan of Arc in Prayer*. (image). Bronze. Dahesh Museum of Art. In Heimann, Nora M. and Laura Coyle. *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America*, 46. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006.
- Ouzoulias, Albert. “Interview with Albert Ouzoulias.” (1987). Quoted in Schwartz, Paula. “Partisans and Gender Politics in Vichy France.” In *The World War Two reader*, edited by Gordon Martel, 296-316. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Ouzoulias Romagon, Cecile. *J’etai Agent de Liaison FTPF* . Paris: Editions Messidor, 1988.
- Page, Walter Hines, and Arthur Wilson Page. *The World’s Work: A History of Our Time*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1919.

- Pau, Marie-Edmée. *Histoire de notre petit sœur, Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris : E. Plon et Cie., 1874.
- Petit, Alfred Le. "Louise Michel." (image). (1880). *Les Contemporains*, no. 3. Bibliothèque Nationale. In Gullickson, Gay L. *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*, 155. London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Phili. "Liberté." (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 244. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.
- Pilotell, Georges. "The Body is in the Earth, but the Idea still stands." (image). (c. 1873). In Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France (1870-1871): Myth Reportage and Reality*, 218. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- "The Executive." (image). (1871). Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France (1870-1871): Myth Reportage and Reality*, 132. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- "Proclamation to the inhabitants of the occupied countries, June 20, 1940." Quoted in Kernan, Thomas. *France on Berlin Time*. Translated by Thomas Kernan. New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1941.
- Rabut, Marie. *Les étincelles*. Dijon : Imprimerie Jobard, 1917.
- Rude, François. "La Marseillaise." (image). (1833-1836). Bas-relief decorating the Arc de Triomphe, Paris. From: Artcyclopedia.com <<http://www.artcyclopedia.com/masterscans/Francois-Rude-La-Marseillaise.html>> (accessed February 15th, 2010).
- Seulart, Amélie. "Globe." (image). (1870). Quoted in Nass, Lucien. *Essais de pathologie historique : Le Siège de Paris et La Commune*, 62. Paris : Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1914.
- Simon, Jules. *The Government of M. Theirs: From 8th February, 1871 to 24th May, 1873*. 2 vols. Translated by Jules Simon. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879.

- Smeeton, Burn. "Falguière exécutant la statue de la Résistance." *L'Illustration*. (image). (December 31st, 1871). In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 275. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- "Souvenir of 1871: Dedicated to the National Guard" Bibliothèque Nationale. In Gullickson, Gay L. *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*, 202. London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Texcier, Jean. *Conseils à l'occupé*. N.p. : n.p., 1940.
- "The Amazons of the Seine." (image). (1871). Bibliothèque Nationale. In Gullickson, Gay L. *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*, 101. London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- "The first seal of the Republic." (1792). In Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, translated by Janet Lloyd, 19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Thorn, Henry C. *History of 313th U.S. Infantry: "Baltimore's Own."* New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company, 1920.
- "Trust the German Soldier." (image). (1940). *Vintage World War French Military Propaganda Poster: Trust the German Soldier*. From: Art's not Dead.com <<http://www.artsnotdead.com/French-WW2-Military-Poster-German-Soldiers-p/mf00029.htm>> (accessed April 1, 2009).
- Vercors (Jean Bruller). *The Silence of the Sea*. Translated by Cyril Connolly. New York: Macmillan Company, 1944.
- Veraline, Paul. *Amour*. Paris: 19 Quai Saint-Michel, 1892.
- Vernier, Charles. "Le Contraste." (image). (1871). University of Sussex Library, England. In Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*, 117. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Vizetelly, Ernest A. *My Adventures in the Commune*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1914.
- *My Days of Adventure: The Fall of France, 1870-1871*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1914.

Von Moppes. "Marianne in Chains." (image). In Peschanski, Denis, Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*, translated by Lory Frankel, 243. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.

Secondary Sources:

Abrams, Lynn. *Bismarck and the German Empire: 1871-1918*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

--- "Politics, Images, and Symbols in Post-Revolutionary France," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, edited by Sean Wilentz, 177-205. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Atsma, Aaron J. "Kharites." Theoi Greek Mythology. Accessed November 17, 2011. <http://www.theoi.com/Ouranios/Kharites.html>.

Bergman-Carton, Janis. *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Blumenson, Martin. *The Vildé Affair*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.

Boyd, William. "Preface by William Boyd." In *Resistance: A Woman's Journal of Struggle and Defiance in Occupied France* by Agnès Humbert. Translated by Barbara Mellor, ix-x. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Chambrand, Claude. *The Maquis: A History of the French Resistance Movement*. Translated by Elaine P. Halpernin. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1976.

Christiansen, Rupert. *Paris Babylon: The Story of the Paris Commune*. Penguin Books: New York, 1994.

Clark, Timothy J. *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

Clayson, Hollis. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Darrow, Margaret. *French Women and the First World War*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.
- Datta, Venita. *Birth of a National Icon: The Literary Avant-Garde and the Origins of the Intellectual in France*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Davies, Peter. *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Fritzsche, Peter. *Reading Berlin*. London: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Fusco, Peter. "Falguière, the Female Nude and 'La Résistance,'" *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1977): 36-50.
- Gildea, Robert. *Marianne in Chains*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002.
- "Resistance, Reprisals, and Community in Occupied France." In *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series*, 13 (2003): 163-185.
- Goldstein, Jan. *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Gullickson, Gay L. *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*. London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Guttman, Jon. *SPAD VII Aces of World War I*. London: Osprey Publishing Limited, 2001.
- Gutwirth, Madelyn. *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Halsall, Paul. "Modern History Sourcebook: La Marseillaise." Fordham University. Accessed March 3, 2010. <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/marseill.html>>
- Harvey, David. *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- Hawthorne, Melane and Richard J. Goslan. "Righting Gendered Writing: A Bibliographic Essay." In *Gender and Fascism in Modern France*, edited by Melanie Hawthorne and Richard J. Goslan, 175-182. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997.
- Heimann, Nora M., and Laura Coyle. *Joan of Arc: Her Image in France and America*. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 2006.
- Hewitt, Leah D. "Vichy's Female Icons: Chabrol's *Story of Women*." In *Gender and Fascism in Modern France*, edited by Melanie Hawthorne and Richard J. Goslan, 156-174. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997.
- Hughes, Michael J. "Making Frenchmen into Warriors: Martial Masculinity in Napoleonic France." In *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, edited by Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, 51-66. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Hunt, Lynn. "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures." In *French Caricature and the French Revolution: 1789-1799*, 33-40. Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988.
- Jackson, Julian. *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Kaufmann, J.E., and H. W. Kaufmann, *Fortress France: The Maginot Line and French Defenses in World War II*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.
- Kedward, H.R. "Rural France and Resistance." In *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, edited by Sarah Fishman et al, 125-144. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000.
- *In Search of the Maquis: Rural Resistance in Southern France 1942-1944*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.
- *Resistance in Vichy France*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978.

- Lloyd, Christopher. *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Lowry, Bullitt and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter. Translator's introduction to *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel* by Louise Michel, viii-xviii. University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981.
- McRandle, James H. *The Antique Drums of War*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1994.
- Michel, Henri. *Paris Resistant*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1982.
- Mitchell, Alan. *Nazi Paris: The History of an Occupation, 1940-1944*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Nye, Robert A. introduction to *The French Revolution and the Psychology of Revolution* by Gustav LeBon, v-xlv. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, Inc., 1980.
- *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- Pastoureau, Michel. *Les emblèmes de la France*. Paris : Editions Bonneton, 1998.
- Paxton, Robert. *Vichy France : Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*. New York: Colombia University Press, 2001.
- Pernoud, Régine and Marie-Véronique Clin. *Joan of Arc: Her Story*. Translated by Jeremy duQuesnay Adams. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.
- Peschanski, Denis, and Yves Durand, Dominique Veillon, Pascal Ory, Jean-Pierre Azéma, Robert Frank, Jackeline Eichart, and Denis Maréchal. *Collaboration and Resistance : Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-1944*. Translated by Lory Frankel. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.
- Pollard, Miranda. *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. *A History of Modern France*, 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001.
- Rearick, Charles. *Paris Dreams, Paris Memories: The City and Its Mystique*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

- Rossiter, Margaret L. *Women in the Resistance*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986.
- Sache, Ivan. "The Cross of Lorraine," Lorraine, (Traditional province, France). Accessed December 15, 2009. <<http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/fr-lo.html#cro>>
- Scott, Joan W. *Parité ! : Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Sennett, Richard. *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: Norton & Company, 1974.
- Slyke, Gretchen van. translator's introduction to *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's [Auto] Biography* by Anna Klumpke, xi-xxxvi. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Sutcliffe, Anthony. *Metropolis, 1890-1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Sweets, John. "Hold that Pendulum! Redefining Fascism, Collaborationism and Resistance in France." *French Historical Studies* 15:4 (Fall 1988): 731-758.
- Taithe, Bertrand. "Neighborhood Boys and Men: The Changing Spaces of Masculine Identity in France, 1848-71." In *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, edited by Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, 67-84. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Taylor, Lynne. *Between Resistance and Collaboration: Popular Protest in Northern France*. London: Macmillan Press, 2000.
- Vinen, Richard. *The Unfree French*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Walkowitz, Judith. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Warner, Marina. *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.

Weitz, Margaret Collins. *Sisters in the Resistance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995.

Wesemael, Peter van. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001.

APPENDIX A

PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED

COUNTRIES, JUNE 20, 1940

Proclamation to the People of France:

French territory occupied by German troops is placed under the direction of the German military administration.

Military commanders will take necessary measures to assure the security of the army and the maintenance of order and tranquility.

The troops have received the order to treat the population with regard and to respect private property so long as the population remains calm.

Local authorities may pursue their activities so long as they observe a loyal attitude toward the German army.

I express the hope that the population will have the intelligence and good sense to abstain from all hasty acts, from all efforts at sabotage, as well as all passive or active resistance against the German army.

All orders of the German military authorities must be strictly executed. The German army will greatly regret if, as the result of hostile acts committed by individual citizens, it finds itself obliged to take severe measures of reprisal against the population. Let everyone remain at his place of work and go ahead with his affairs. In this way he will render service to his country, to his people, and will also act in his own interest.

(Signed) The Commander-in-Chief of the German Army

APPENDIX B

JOAN, DAUGHTER OF THE PEOPLE,

APRIL 25, 1942

LE 10 MAI, FETE DE JEANNE D'ARC

le Peuple de Paris ira rue de Rivoli

Conspuer les capitulards et les traîtres dont le défilé sous l'œil des boches, est une insulte à la mémoire de l'héroïque paysanne de Domrémy.

Les cris de ralliement des patriotes seront:
A bas Hitler! A bas Laval! A bas Pétain et Darlan!
Hors de France les occupants!
Vive la France!

Au quinzième siècle, la France en guerre depuis cent ans divisée et ravagée était tombée sous la domination étrangère; et alors comme aujourd'hui, il y avait un parti de la trahison, un parti à la solde de l'envahisseur.

Mais la foi patriotique était ardente dans les masses populaires; les paysans, les petites gens de France ne s'inclinaient pas devant la domination étrangère, et ce fut une humble paysanne de Domrémy, Jeanne d'Arc, qui prit la tête du parti de la résistance, combattit l'ambiance de résignation qui environnait le Dauphin et donna l'exemple du courage dans la lutte libératrice qui devait aboutir à chasser tous les soldats étrangers du sol de la Patrie.

Jeanne, faite prisonnière à Compiègne après avoir délivré Orléans et fait sacrer Charles VII à Reims, fut livrée aux envahisseurs.

Le Roi ne fit rien pour tenter de sauver la jeune héroïne et il devait appartenir au Baudrillart de l'époque, l'évêque Cauchon de se couvrir de honte en condamnant Jeanne pour le compte des envahisseurs.

Cet évêque indigne fit contre Jeanne ce que font aujourd'hui des juges sans honneur contre des patriotes en les condamnant pour le compte de Hitler.

La jeune et héroïque paysanne fut brûlée par jugement de l'évêque-traître; mais, aujourd'hui, elle est le symbole de la résistance à l'envahisseur, et les patriotes communistes et autres qui luttent pour la délivrance de Patrie, qui tombent sous les coups des boches et de leurs valets, sont dans la tradition de Jeanne la Lorraine, tandis que les « collaborateurs », les hommes de Vichy, les Laval, les Pétain, Darlan et Cie sont dans la tradition de l'évêque Cauchon.

D'un côté, la Patrie; de l'autre, la trahison; et le Peuple est du côté de la Patrie. C'est pourquoi la fête de Jeanne d'Arc sera en ce moins de mai 1942, célébrée par tous les Français dont le but suprême est le combat pour la délivrance de la Patrie.

Que le 10 mai prochain, tandis que les traitres à la solde des boches iront insulter de leurs palinodies la mémoire de Jeanne, le Peuple de Paris se rassemble aux alentours de la statue de la paysanne de Domrémy et qu'il aille flétrir les misérables à la solde de l'étranger qui recouvrent d'un semblant de patriotisme leur odieuse trahison.

Que les traitres soient accueillis aux cris de:
A BAS HITLER! A BAS LAVAL! A BAS PETAIN ET DARLAN!
HORS DE FRANCE LES OCCUPANTS !
VIVE LA FRANCE LIBRE ET INDEPENDANTE !

Le Parti Communiste Français (S.F.I.C.)