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FRENCH ANTISEMITISM DURING THE YEARS OF
DRUMONT AND DREYFUS, 1886-1906

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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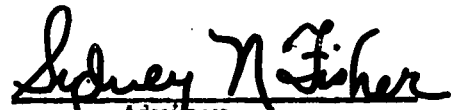
By

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* * * * *

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

France in the Nineteenth Century went through a great deal of political, economic, and social modernization. The Third Republic, in particular, achieved by the 1880's a large measure of political equality, democracy, and secularism. This aroused the enmity of many traditionalist groups toward the Republic and especially toward the major political group in the Republican leadership, the "Opportunist" Republicans. These traditionalist groups, whether of the Right or of a pseudo-Leftist social radicalism, constituted the major elements in the antisemitism during the Dreyfus Affair.

The continued growth of a modern, capitalist economy, while it did not eliminate the traditionalist groups, was rapid enough to disrupt and threaten the traditional social structures, causing continued antagonism toward modernization, and toward the Republic, and toward Jews. I hope to show that organized antisemitism grew in large part out of this antagonism toward the social, political, and economic modernization of the Nineteenth Century.

Modern French antisemitism did not originate in the Dreyfus period, 1894-1900; it appeared early in the Nineteenth Century, particularly among some of the early communal Socialists who were

deeply hostile to modern social change, and who can be traced from Charles Fourier, to Proudhon, to some of the Socialists and social radicals of the Third Republic. Edouard Drumont, the leading anti-semitic figure in France from 1886 until about 1910, saw himself as a thinker in this earlier social radical tradition. His anti-semitism may not have been caused by the earlier antisemites but he was influenced by them, and his antisemitism developed out of comparable responses to social change in France.

Therefore, in this introduction, I shall survey the primary social radical antisemites of France in the Nineteenth Century, up to Drumont, in order to place Drumont and his antisemitic associates in some historical perspective. Since my main purpose is to discuss the period of Drumont and the Dreyfus Affair, I shall in this introduction rely in part on authors who have already examined the earlier period of antisemitism in France. In the second chapter, I shall examine Drumont's antisemitism up to the Dreyfus Affair of 1898-1899. In the third chapter, I shall deal with antisemitism among French Catholics, primarily in the newspaper, La Croix, which was the most prominent exponent of antisemitism among French Catholics in the 1880's and 1890's. In the fourth chapter, I shall examine the growth of antisemitism in Algeria, before the Dreyfus Affair, because Drumont was closely associated with Algerian antisemitism during the Dreyfus Affair, and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from Algiers in 1898. In the fifth chapter I shall examine the role of the antisemites during the Dreyfus Affair, and

their decline following the Affair. Finally, I shall offer some conclusions about the nature of French antisemitism in the late Nineteenth Century.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was the first and most influential of the Utopian Socialist thinkers, and the first and one of the most influential antisemitic Socialist thinkers. Zosa Szajkowski assigns to Fourier and the Fourierists the responsibility for introducing Socialism into antisemitism and antisemitism into Socialism.¹ Fourier rejected much of the character of modern life, especially industrialization and urbanization, and he almost completely ignored the social pressure of these two developments in modern history. Thus, he hoped to change society by moral suasion from its developing modern character of city and factory to rural communities in which there would be cooperation and sharing of work and a closeness of man to nature. The work would consist of horticulture and the raising of small livestock.

Fourier, a man "of remarkable unworldliness,"² was hostile also to rationalist, humanistic, philosophy. He "was never tired of denouncing the tradition of European philosophy, in the light of

¹Zosa Szajkowski, Antisemitism in the French Labor Movement, From the Fourierist Movement until the Closing of the Dreyfus Case: 1845-1906 (New York: By the Author, 1948), p. 156.

²Edmund Wilson, To the Finland Station, Anchor Books (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1940), p. 87.

whose guidance humanity had 'bathed itself in blood for twenty-three scientific centuries.'"³ He was equally hostile to revolution, and "believed that he had repudiated the philosophy of the Revolution" of 1789.⁴

Fourier presented his attitude toward Jews in several books, Theorie des quatre mouvements et des destinees generales (1808), Theorie de l'unité universelle (1822), Le Nouveau monde industriel et societaire (1829), and La Fausse industrie (1835-36).⁵

Fourier wrote in 1804, in regard to Jews, "I know whereof I speak, for I have lived long with them," apparently in Lyons.⁶ And yet, Fourier's knowledge of Jews was "quite rudimentary," says Silberner, judging from what Hubert Bourgin, Fourier's biographer wrote (Fourier, Paris, 1905). Fourier had no more than a "mediocre" secondary education.⁷ Fourier's main point of opposition to the Jews was his hatred of commerce, with which he identified the Jews. Fourier claimed that he had vowed an eternal hatred for commerce from the age of seven. Yet, he was forced by circumstances to be engaged in commerce on a low, trivial, level. Although he had wanted to become a military engineer, he became a merchant under

³Ibid., p. 86.

⁴Ibid., p. 89.

⁵Edmund Silberner, "Charles Fourier on the Jewish Question," Jewish Social Studies, VIII (October, 1946), p. 245.

⁶Ibid., p. 246.

⁷Ibid., p. 246.

parental pressure. He worked as a traveling salesman, then a cashier, bookkeeper, shipper, commercial correspondent, and broker. "He led the monotonous and restricted life of a man whose ideas and tastes were above his material position and who, according to his own testimony, was reduced to 'trivial jobs' incompatible with study, for which he yearned."⁸ As he passed from job to job, his hatred for commerce grew, and he vowed to expose it. "Trade," he wrote, is nothing but "a method of exchange in which the seller has the right to cheat with impunity." It stimulates a "general egoism" and sacrifices collective interest to "individual greed."⁹

The Jews were for him not a religious community, but a patriarchal society, and therefore uncivilized. Because they were uncivilized, their suffering could not ennoble them as it had the early Christians, who had a corporate rather than a patriarchal spirit.¹⁰ In their economic activities, Fourier believed the Jews to be thieves, cheaters, spies.¹¹ They avoided agriculture in order to avoid taxation. Instead, they turned to commerce, banking and usury, especially usury, which, were it not for the small number of Jews in France, would have led to a Jewish takeover in France.¹²

⁸Ibid., p. 256.

⁹Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹Ibid., p. 247.

¹²Ibid., p. 250.

Napoleon had favored them, although the Jews later betrayed him "because he wanted to flatter the traders and speculators."¹³ To prevent any possibility of a Jewish take-over of France, Fourier opposed giving them citizenship.¹⁴

Although Fourier believed that communitarian socialism was the remedy for the commercial-capitalist society, he did not believe that it was the remedy for the problem he believed existed with the Jews. In other words, the Jews were for Fourier a special problem to themselves. The creation of a Socialist society was not enough, and in fact, the Jewish "problem" had to be solved before the general social problem could be solved. Fourier's solution for the Jewish "problem" was first, a collective education of the Jews directed toward ending what he believed were their anti-social customs and toward assimilating them; second, forced productive work in agriculture and industry in order to get them out of commerce. To accomplish this, it would be necessary to drive them away from the coasts and the frontiers of France toward the center of the nation, to the soil and to the villages. In the interior, they would not be allowed to concentrate their numbers, but would have to be scattered so that there would be no more than one Jewish family for each one hundred agricultural and industrial families in any one community.¹⁵

¹³Publication des manuscrits de Fourier, Vol. II, p. 226, quoted in Silberner, "Charles Fourier," p. 249.

¹⁴Silberner, "Charles Fourier," p. 250.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 253.

"In short," writes Silberner, "the solution of the Jewish problem is conditioned on a double assimilation, material and spiritual. In Fourier's conclusion, the reform of the parasitic life of the Jews is possible only at the cost of their complete national effacement."¹⁶

After a time, Fourier turned from assimilation as a solution to emigration to Palestine. In his work, La Fausse industrie (1833), he proposed that the Jews of France be encouraged and aided to remove themselves to Palestine, where they could form their own state with their own king, flag, currency, and so forth. Fourier apparently hoped that James Rothschild, head of the French Rothschilds, would finance such a venture. In the book in which he presented the proposal, La Fausse industrie, Fourier refrained from his customary antisemitism, perhaps in order not to offend or alienate Rothschild. Fourier seemed to hope that whether Rothschild did or did not support the Palestine venture, he would be so grateful to Fourier for the concern expressed for the Jews that he would finance a Fourierist phalansterie, or rural, cooperative community. The phalansterie would by its nature be such a success that phalansteries would spread all over the world, securing justice for all, including the Jews, that is if they had gotten from Rothschild a reconstituted kingdom.¹⁷ Thus, Fourier hoped to hit two birds with one stone, rid

¹⁶Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 259-260.

France of the Jews, and begin to build what he conceived as Socialism.

The plan was never effected, however, since Rothschild made absolutely no response to Fourier's suggestion. Presumably, Rothschild was not interested in helping to end capitalism, and, according to Silberner, he was never interested in Palestine or Zionism.¹⁸

The followers of Fourier started to organize in 1831, and after several years founded a school known as the Societerian or Phalansterian School, "which played an important role in modern socialism"¹⁹ and in spreading the ideas of Fourier. When Fourier died in 1837, Victor Considérant (1808-1893) became the leader of the Fourierists, which included professional people and intellectuals but few workers. The group reached its peak during the 1840's, began to decline in the Second Republic period, and disintegrated during the Second Empire.²⁰

The Fourierists as a group did not have a policy on antisemitism; some Fourierists were antisemitic, some were not. According to Professor Silberner, Considérant mentioned Jews only once in publication, in 1849, when he wrote of the "egotism and incivility of this people," who he felt wanted to dominate the world.²¹ This

¹⁸Ibid., p. 260.

¹⁹Edmund Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Toward the Jews," Jewish Social Studies, IX (October, 1947), p. 339.

²⁰Ibid., p. 339.

²¹Ibid., p. 347.

was, of course, a succinct statement of antisemitic remarks typical of Fourier. The antisemites among the Fourierists made essentially the same arguments for hating the Jews as Charles Fourier had made. They hated commerce and viewed the Jews "as the prototype of the tradesman and the incarnation of business." Furthermore, Jews were considered to be "unassimilable and irreducibly parasitic."²² Thus, the only answer was expulsion of the Jews.

Alphonse Toussenel (1803-1885), who became a Fourierist in 1833 "with enthusiasm," was the most important antisemite among the earlier Fourierists.²³ In 1845 he published what became one of the most influential works of antisemitism in Nineteenth Century France, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque: histoire de la féodalité financière. "Before Toussenel the bulk of the antisemitic literature published in France had been sponsored by the Catholics," who centered their attack around the argument that the Jews were responsible for the French Revolution.²⁴ After Toussenel, Catholic antisemitism may have remained the largest and most important body of antisemitism in France, but radical antisemitism became far more significant than it had been.

It seems likely that some of the antisemitism of Toussenel derived from antisemitism in the Church, although it is difficult to

²²Ibid., p. 361.

²³Ibid., pp. 340, 360.

²⁴Zosa Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Antisemites in France," Jewish Social Studies, IX (January, 1947), p. 47.

know precisely the sources of Toussenel's antisemitism. Zosa Szajkowski has written that Toussenel's hatred of Jews derived not only from Fourier but "from Catholic circles" as well. In the 1830's, for example, Toussenel worked on the staff of the ultra-conservative paper, La Paix, where he met Louis Veillot, the extremely conservative Catholic.²⁵

In his book, Toussenel attacked the commerce and banking of economic Liberalism and the parliamentary regime and the parties of French political Liberalism. Liberal England he called the "source of all false principles."²⁶ He attacked Jews violently and used the word "Jew" as an epithet to describe all bankers and money-lenders.²⁷ In 1847, a year after he had broken with the Fourierist group for allegedly betraying the spirit of Fourier,²⁸ Toussenel published a second edition of Les Juifs, rois de l'époque, with a new preface even more antisemitic than before. His antisemitism continued in the tradition of Fourier, viewing the Jews as unproductive capitalists, and thus, parasites, forming an unassimilable nation within France. He also attacked Considérant for being too soft on capitalism and on the Jews.²⁹

²⁵Ibid., p. 47.

²⁶Quoted in Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School," p. 341.

²⁷Ibid., p. 341.

²⁸Ibid., p. 344.

²⁹Ibid., p. 344.

Toussenel's work constituted the "fountainhead of...other violent outpourings."³⁰ Pierre Leroux and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, discussed below, seem to have been influenced by Toussenel. Proudhon called Toussenel the "most spiritual of the socialist writers."³¹ The impact of Toussenel on Edouard Drumont, leader of the antisemites during the Dreyfus Affair, is particularly noteworthy. "Israel Schapira was unquestionably right in stating that Toussenel was the 'immediate forerunner' and master of Drumont. The latter hailed Toussenel as the harbinger of antisemitism."³² "My sole ambition, I swear," wrote Drumont, "is that my book should take its place near his, in the libraries of those who want to have explained the causes which have thrown our glorious and dear country into ruin and disgrace."³³

There were a few men who were both favorable in limited degrees to Fourierism and yet hostile to antisemitism. For example, Victor Hennequin advocated "'absolute' religious tolerance for Jews and national assimilation" of Jews into French society. Another Fourierist Socialist, a Polish patriot in exile in France, Jean Jan Czynski (1801-1867), believed that Jewish emancipation was vital to Polish greatness, and at the same time, that Polish independence

³⁰Salomon Baron, "The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation," Jewish Social Studies, XI (July, 1949), p. 224.

³¹Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School," p. 347.

³²Szajkowski, "Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 49.

³³Edouard Drumont, La France juive (46th ed.; Paris: C. Marpon and E. Flammarion, 1886), I, p. 342.

was necessary for Jewish freedom. Dr. Verrier, a latter-day Fourierist, wrote a brochure, La Question Juive, (1902), in which he expressed sympathy for Zionism, although he believed that France or the New World would be the best place for Jews to live.³⁴

Although there were a few Fourierists who were favorable toward Jews, "the dominant tendency was obviously anti-Jewish." Also, the few pro-Jewish Fourierists were not important in the Fourierist movement, and "developed their ideas outside the official publications of the School," which never approved of them.³⁵

Meanwhile other Socialists were continuing to promote anti-semitism, quite probably under some influence from the antisemitism of Fourier and the Fourierists.

It should be emphasized that many important Socialists who were contemporaries of the Fourierists were not antisemitic. For example, Étienne Cabet (1788-1856), a utopian Socialist and author of Voyage en Icarie (1840), and Louis Blanc (1811-1882), the originator of the idea of National Workshops, were not antisemitic. Blanc apparently believed that the antisemitism of the Fourierists was unimportant, because he wrote in Dix ans de l'histoire de l'Angleterre (collected 1879-1881), "Thank God, race prejudices hardly exist anymore."³⁶ Whether this viewpoint was correct or not,

³⁴Silberner, "The Attitudes of the Fourierist School," p. 352-359.

³⁵Ibid., p. 360.

³⁶Louis Blanc, Dix ans de l'histoire de l'Angleterre, VIII, p. 67, quoted in Edmund Silberner, "Pierre Leroux's Ideas on the Jewish People," Jewish Social Studies, XII (October, 1950), p. 381.

it does demonstrate Blanc's hostility to racism.

It is significant that the conceptions of socialism of both Cabet and Blanc differed markedly from the conceptions of most of the Fourierists. Whereas the Fourierists strongly favored the rural life, and at times a spiritual life, and rejected the urban and industrial revolutions, Cabet and Blanc, each in his own way, accepted much of modernization. "Cabet did not, like Fourier, contemplate that his community would be essentially agricultural: he favoured industrial development, though he assumed that a high proportion of its citizens would be engaged in cultivating the land with the aid of up-to-date machinery and technical knowledge."³⁷ Louis Blanc was divided from the Fourierists, although he had friends among them, "by his belief in large-scale industry." He was also a believer in political democracy and democratic controls in industry.³⁸

Constantin Pecqueur (1801-1887) was another Socialist of significance who was not antisemitic. Again, he was a man of a markedly modern outlook. One of the first collectivists, and strongly influenced by the Saint-Simonians, he was "well aware that the Industrial Revolution meant the rapid development of large-scale enterprises, involving the use of expensive capital implements."³⁹

³⁷G. D. H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought, Vol. I: Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, 1789-1850 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1953), p. 77.

³⁸Ibid., p. 176.

³⁹Ibid., p. 179.

He looked to state ownership and management of industry, but he believed in democracy rather than in the technocracy of the Saint-Simonism.⁴⁰ Like the Saint-Simonians, however, he stressed modern industrialization and technological development.

The most important group of socialists which at the same time was not antisemitic was the Saint-Simonians, the followers of the Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). Possibly a primary reason for the lack of antisemitism among the Saint-Simonians was that many men of Jewish birth were prominent in the leadership of this rather small group. The dozen or less Jewish members played "the major part" in the realization of the practical aspects of Saint-Simonian teachings.⁴¹ Olinde Rodrigues was a Jew who was a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique, and a friend of Saint-Simon who assumed the leadership of the Saint-Simonians for a time immediately after the death of Saint-Simon in 1825. The Baron Gustave d'Eichthal and Léon Halévy, a poet and friend of Saint-Simon and Rodrigues, were also prominent Jewish Saint-Simonians.⁴² Two of the most famous Saint-Simonians were the brothers, Isaac (1806-1880) and Emile Pereire (1800-1874), who were related to Rodrigues. The Pereires were

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 181.

⁴¹Zosa Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 37.

⁴²Ibid., p. 36.

Jewish.⁴³ Like so many Saint-Simonians, the Pereire brothers were engineers. Like Rodrigues (and Saint-Simon himself), they had attended the Ecole Polytechnique. The successor to Rodrigues as leader of the Saint-Simonians was also an engineer, Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), who played an important role in early promotion of the Suez Canal idea (Ferdinand de Lesseps was associated with the Saint-Simonians), Enfantin was also a leading figure in promoting the railway amalgamations which resulted in the important Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée line.⁴⁴

These Jewish engineers and their comrades, most of whom, like the Pereire brothers, left Socialism in the Second Empire to become great railroad promoters and financiers, were not, like Fourier, hostile to modernization. Quite the contrary. In a nation in which the small business man was still typical, the Saint-Simonians wanted big business organization, massive industrialization, technological development, and large-scale exploitation of natural resources.⁴⁵ For example, the Pereires as early as 1835 had gotten the concession for the first railroad in France, the Paris to Saint-Germain line. By 1868 their property was estimated at 160,000,000 francs, and they

⁴³Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 34.

⁴⁴Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, p. 55.

⁴⁵Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 34.

had long been major rivals to the Rothschilds.⁴⁶

The presence of so many engineers in the society, plus the industrial-technological outlook of the Saint-Simonians may provide a second explanation for the lack of antisemitism in the group. The active role of so many Jews and the technological and materialistic aspects of the Saint-Simonians were certainly two significant reasons why "in the hey-day of Saint-Simonism its most bitter opponents were Charles Fourier and his disciples."⁴⁷ Conversely, the presence of Jews in what was a rival Socialist movement with a notably different philosophy may have contributed to the antisemitism of Fourier.⁴⁸

Although the Saint-Simonians and other Socialists like Pecqueur, Cabet, and Blanc were not antisemitic, the antisemitic socialism of Charles Fourier and many of his disciples continued, developing into something one could label a tradition. We have mentioned Toussenel, the antisemitic disciple of Fourier. Toussenel in turn influenced Pierre Leroux, a Socialist who quarreled and broke with Prosper Enfantin and his circle in 1831. Leroux (1797-1871), was notably antisemitic. He had been attracted by Saint-Simon's work, Nouveau Christianisme, and from 1830 to 1832 was leader of the Saint-Simonian

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 44. Frederic Morton, The Rothschilds (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1963), pp. 110-122.

⁴⁷Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 46.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 46.

journalistic campaign through his position as chief editor of Le Globe, formerly a Liberal newspaper, which had been taken over by the Saint-Simonians.⁴⁹ After breaking with Enfantin, Leroux developed his own concept of Socialism. In 1833 "he wrote an article, 'De l'individualisme et du socialisme,' in which the first known attempt to define 'Socialism' appeared in print."⁵⁰ In 1836 he brought out the eight volume Encyclopédie nouvelle with Jean Reynaud.⁵¹ From 1845 to 1848 he published the Revue sociale ou solution pacifique du probleme du proletariat. He also wrote, De l'égalité (1838), De l'humanité (1840), and D'une religion nationale (1846).⁵²

Leroux's major antisemitic statement was an essay which appeared in January, 1846. It bore the title, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque, which of course was exactly the same as that of the famous book of 1845 by the Fourierist antisemite, Toussenel.⁵³ Professor Silberner suggests that this was too obvious to be a plagiarism, and concludes that the title must have been chosen as a tribute to Toussenel.⁵⁴ In any case, Leroux's antisemitism borrows in other ways from the Fourierists.

⁴⁹Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 60.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 59.

⁵²Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, p. 60. Silberner, "Leroux," p. 367.

⁵³Silberner, "Leroux," p. 380.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 380.

According to Silberner, Leroux used the word, "Jew" in a pejorative sense. He accused the Jews of moral degradation. He believed that Europe was coming under the domination of the Jews through economic exploitation. Leroux, unlike Toussenel, argued that Jews had some reason for their wickedness. "It is partly the persecution of which the Jews have been victims from the beginning of their history, which has brought about this spirit of lucre and spoilation,"⁵⁵ and greed, which Leroux believed was greater than that of non-Jews. Because of their greed and because of a desire for vengeance for the persecution which they had received, Jews had developed modern banking.⁵⁶ Thus, although the Saint-Simonians were generally pro-Jewish and pro-banking, the ex-Saint-Simonian, Leroux, was anti-Jewish and anti-banking.⁵⁷

Leroux was also hostile to some of the technological projects of the Saint-Simonians, such as the Suez Canal. Although the Enfantin circle of Saint-Simonians wished to end the traditional form of the marriage institution, Leroux "was concerned to deny that the abolition of inheritance would have any effect in disrupting the family."⁵⁸ Thus, there was a strong element of anti-modernization

⁵⁵Pierre Leroux, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque, quoted in Silberner, "Leroux," p. 370.

⁵⁶Silberner, "Leroux," pp. 369, 373.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 379.

⁵⁸Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, p. 59.

in the thought of Leroux, as there was in the thought of Fourier and of Toussenel. Leroux did not stress his antisemitism, and probably for this reason his antisemitic influence was rather minor.⁵⁹

Rarely discussed, but perhaps worthy of note, Gougenot des Mousseau was another antisemitic follower of Fourier and Toussenel.⁶⁰ He published a book in 1869 in Paris called, Le Juif, le Judaïsme, et la Judaisation des peuples chrétiens. "The little known book,"⁶¹ attacked the Jews from a religious standpoint more than a social one. Gougenot de Mousseau argued that Jews had once been the chosen of God, but that they had disowned Jesus, and had chosen the Talmud over Mosaic Law and the New Testament. As a result, the Jews were a fallen people, who, through a conspiracy with the Free-Masons, were ruining the world.⁶²

It would be difficult to prove conclusively, perhaps, that it was the attitude toward modernization that caused the early Socialist antisemitism, and yet, there is a remarkable consistency among these early French Socialists on this point. These Socialists viewed the Jews as the prime instigators and beneficiaries of modernism,

⁵⁹Silberner, "Leroux," p. 384.

⁶⁰Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 49.

⁶¹Bernard Lazare, L'Antisémitisme: son histoire et ses causes, (Paris: Editions Jean Cres, 1934), II, p. 56. Originally published in Paris, 1894

⁶²Ibid., p. 65.

including capitalism, and therefore opposed the Jews as a means of opposing capitalism and liberalism and industrialization.

One of the most influential of social radicals of the Nineteenth Century, a man sometimes referred to as a Socialist, sometimes as an Anarchist, and a man who was both strongly antisemitic and at the same time anti-industrialization and anti-Saint-Simonian, was the famous Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

Probably it is true that there is "no one aspect of Proudhon's life and doctrine which has not been examined in studies of great value...with one exception, since in the whole literature on Proudhon, there is not to be found one single inquiry into his attitude towards the Jews."⁶³ Edmund Silberner has tried to fill this gap with a paper on Proudhon's antisemitism. Actually, Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro had already published a very fine piece which dealt at some length with Proudhon's antisemitism.⁶⁴

Proudhon (1809-1865), was born in Besançon, the birthplace of Charles Fourier. Like Fourier, Proudhon was born of artisan parents, a brewer's cooper and a cook. At the age of nineteen he became a printer's compositor and then co-director for a time of a small print

⁶³Edmund Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," Historia Judaica, X (April, 1948), p. 61.

⁶⁴J. Salwyn Schapiro, "Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism," The American Historical Review, L (July, 1945), pp. 714-737.

shop. Because of his parent's poverty, Proudhon was unable to finish his studies at the Collège de Besançon, but in 1838, when he was 29 years old, he received a three-year scholarship from the Academy of Besançon to study in Paris.⁶⁵ He went to Paris briefly in 1839. In 1840 he published his famous pamphlet, "Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?" For a time he had a position in a Lyons shipping company, and then became a newspaperman. In 1846 he published a short book, Philosophie de la Misère. In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly, called after the 1848 Revolution. Under the Second Empire he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for attacking the Church. He escaped the sentence by fleeing to Belgium, from which he returned to France in 1862, after the amnesty of 1859. He died in Paris in 1865.⁶⁶

Because of his own experience, Proudhon was very sensitive to poverty and very hostile to capitalism. Yet, he did not wish to destroy private property and create socialist ownership. He simply wished to reduce the holdings of the very rich capitalists, so that the smaller properties, the properties of the lower middle class, would not be endangered by the growth of the bigger properties. He was hostile to property which was used to gain rent, or profit, or interest, which he believed was gain without labor. Such was the

⁶⁵Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 62.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 62.

property that is "theft."⁶⁷ On the other hand, he was in favor of the inheritance of property.⁶⁸ Although he was a man who appears to be on the Left, and who is sometimes termed a Socialist, Proudhon was very hostile to such Socialists as Louis Blanc, Considérant, and even Leroux, as well as social radicals like Alexandre-Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807-1874).⁶⁹ Proudhon's vision of a new society amounted to the substitution of a banking system of free credit for the capitalist banks. The free-credit banks would serve and be supported by a vaguely defined system of federations of mutual societies of small artisan-shopkeepers, more reminiscent of the old guilds than of modern labor organizations.

Proudhon claimed to be for liberty and yet was very opposed to divorce. He wanted to maintain the old-fashioned family structure under patriarchal leadership.⁷⁰ Furthermore, he was very opposed to equality for women. "I regard as baneful and stupid all our dreams of emancipating women. I deny her every political right and every initiative. For woman, liberty and well-being lie solely in marriage, in motherhood, in domestic duties, in the fidelity of her

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁶⁸Schapiro, "Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbringer of Fascism," pp. 719-20.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 716.

⁷⁰Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, p. 205.

spouse, in chastity, and in seclusion."⁷¹ Not only hostile to feminine equality, Proudhon was anti-Negro, sympathizing with the Confederacy in the American Civil War, and, as we shall see, he was antisemitic.⁷²

This elitist, anti-egalitarian outlook was in harmony with Proudhon's deep antipathy for democracy and republicanism, and especially revolution. "And then, the Revolution, the Republic, and socialism, one supporting the other came with a bound. I saw them; I felt them; and I fled before this democratic and social monster... An inexpressible terror froze my soul, obliterating my very thoughts. I denounced the conservatives who ridiculed the fury of their opponents. I denounced still more the revolutionists whom I beheld pulling up the foundations of society with incredible fury...."⁷³

Proudhon as member of the Constituent Assembly voted against the Constitution of the Second Republic.⁷⁴ In 1849 Proudhon was tried and sentenced to three years in prison for his violent writings against Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic. When Louis Napoleon overthrew the Republic in 1852, Proudhon hailed the coup d'état and extolled Napoleon for the action in a work entitled La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du deux décembre.

⁷¹Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon, IV (Paris, 1875), quoted in Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 731. Also see Edith Thomas, The Women Incendiaries, trans. by James and Starr Atkinson (New York: George Braziller, 1966), pp. 21-24.

⁷²Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 729.

⁷³Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Oeuvres complètes, Vol. XVIII: Mélanges (Paris, 1866-1883), p. 6, quoted in Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 718.

⁷⁴Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 716.

Later, when Napoleon ignored Proudhon's free-credit proposal, Proudhon turned bitterly against the Second Empire, writing that "after handing over our soul to the Jesuits, the Emperor hands over our patrimony to the Jews."⁷⁵ This idea of the loss of the patrimony would be a regular theme of antisemites from Proudhon to Drumont, the leading antisemite of the Dreyfus period. Proudhon wrote also of the Second Empire that the Jews "dominated the press and controlled the government."⁷⁶

This antisemitism was not new for Proudhon. In 1848 he wrote, "The Jews, again the Jews, always the Jews! Under the Republic, as under Louis Philippe, and as under Louis XIV we have always been at the mercy of the Jews."⁷⁷ "Often unfaithful to Jehovah, but always faithful to Mammon."⁷⁸ The Jews were "the first cause and the basis of modern pauperism."⁷⁹

Furthermore, Proudhon argued that there was no excuse for Jewish

⁷⁵Proudhon, Correspondance, V, p. 242, quoted in Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 728.

⁷⁶Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 728.

⁷⁷Proudhon, Oeuvres complètes, Vol. XVII: Mélanges, p. 31, quoted in Schapiro, "Proudhon," p. 728.

⁷⁸Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Système des contradictions économiques (Paris, 1923), II, pp. 139-140, quoted in Silberner's "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 68.

⁷⁹Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, "Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister," Oeuvres complètes, VIII, p. 313, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 70.

wickedness. Once they had been emancipated by the French Revolution there was nothing to prevent them from changing their means of livelihood, but instead, wrote Proudhon, "the Jew remained a Jew, a parasitic race, hostile to work, addicted to all practices of an anarchical and lying trade, gambling speculation and usurious banking."⁸⁰ Not only were the Jews themselves too corrupt to have changed, but they had corrupted the Gentile middle-class. Thus, it was too late for expulsion of the Jews to solve the problem of capitalism.⁸¹ Besides, the Jewish corruption was international anyway, constituting a "Free-Masonry throughout Europe."⁸²

Proudhon also attacked various foreigners in France, such as Englishmen, Germans, and Belgians for taking advantage of the Rights of Man and for getting jobs in France which French workers might have had.⁸³ He was also hostile to Greeks and Arabs for allegedly being like the Jews.⁸⁴

Professor Silberner submits that it is impossible to be sure about the source of Proudhon's antisemitism until complete investigation of the whole of Proudhon's life and work is made.⁸⁵ Proudhon

⁸⁰Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église, (Paris, 1930-1935), IV, p. 458, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 68.

⁸¹Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 69.

⁸²Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, France et Rhin (Paris, 1868), p. 260, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 68.

⁸³Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," pp. 72-73.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 67.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 76.

himself does not directly indicate the source of his antisemitism. Nevertheless, Silberner does indicate that Charles Fourier may have had a primary influence on Proudhon, even though Proudhon claimed in 1848 to owe nothing to Fourier's thought, a claim in answer to a question which must have seemed obvious to the young friend who asked it of Proudhon. It may not be possible to demonstrate that Proudhon was influenced by Fourier. Nevertheless, their similarity is remarkable, in background, in hostilities, and even in social schemes. James Joll writes that "the ingenious, childlike vision of Fourier underlies much of Proudhon's picture of the world."⁸⁶

Both Fourier and Proudhon were small-town men, in fact were from the same provincial town. Both were of the skilled craftsman-shop-keeper lower middle class. Both were bitterly hostile to the growing modernization of big business, big industry, and the big city. Both were especially hostile to commerce and banking, which they considered unproductive and parasitical. Both were hostile to the State, to equality and to democracy. Both were hostile to revolution. Both despised the Saint-Simonians. Both sought some sort of cooperative society, either a federation of rural, agricultural cooperatives, or a federation of mutual societies for the promotion of a) free credit, which would circumvent banks, and b) direct trading, which would eliminate the middleman. Neither wanted to collectivize property.

⁸⁶James Joll, The Anarchists (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p. 52.

As critical as both were to big property, they wanted to defend the small property of peasant, artisan, and shopkeeper. Both were anti-semitic. Both assumed that what they most hated, commercial banking and commercial trading, had been erected and maintained by Jews.

There may have been other influences on Proudhon. "Proudhon read several writings of Leroux."⁸⁷ Silberner writes that even so, "it could not be established whether he had knowledge of Les Juifs, rois de l'époque," the article which Leroux wrote in 1846.⁸⁸ Proudhon's hatred for the Saint-Simonians "is undoubtedly a factor which strengthened his antisemitism, but nothing seems to indicate that it really aroused it."⁸⁹ Silberner writes that "Marx's influence on the antisemitic thought of Proudhon seems very likely." As his reasons for this statement, Silberner merely points out that Marx and Proudhon became acquainted with each other in 1844, when Marx was in Paris, and they had long discussions together. Marx published "Zur Judenfrage" in January, 1844, so he could have influenced Proudhon. On the other hand, there is the question, perhaps unanswerable, could Proudhon have helped to cause Marx's antisemitism? After all, Proudhon's antisemitic attitude was "already discernible

⁸⁷Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 77.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 77.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 75-76.

in his first published paper (1839)."⁹⁰ Also, we know that Proudhon's antisemitism influenced many persons. Perhaps it affected Marx.

Even more than Fourier, Proudhon influenced later thought in France. "It can safely be said that Proudhon contributed considerably to the development and consolidation of an anti-Jewish ideology in France."⁹¹ For example, a Proudhonist and close friend of Proudhon, George Duchêne (1824-1876), "continues and strengthens the antisemitic tradition of his master."⁹² Duchêne used violently antisemitic language against the Jews.⁹³ His theory was the common one that Jews were parasitic, exploiters of Gentiles, but not of themselves. They were not capable of being an independent nation, so completely parasitical were they. The Jews brought on the antisemitic attacks by their usury and exploitation of labor. Duchêne also attacked the "Judeo-Saint-Simonism."⁹⁴ Proudhon influenced the French Left tremendously up to the Commune and even beyond. "The

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 78.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 80.

⁹²Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 78.

⁹³Szajkowski, "Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 56.

⁹⁴George Duchêne, L'Empire, industriel, histoire critique des concessions financiers et industrielles du Second Empire (Paris, 1869), p. 64, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 79.

anti-Jewish attitude" of Auguste Chirac, Benoit Malon, and others, "resembles very much that of Proudhon,"⁹⁵ as will be shown later. Various antisemites with a superficial Leftist outlook, such as Edouard Drumont, looked to Proudhon as a hero, during the 1880's and 1890's.

In the 1860's some members of a neo-Jacobin group which idolized the revolutionaries Hébert, Marat, and Chaumette of 1793, instigated a kind of Leftist antisemitism. All of these "Hébertists" were comparable in their insurrectionary outlook to the followers of the insurrectionist, Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), and indeed, many of the Hébertists were followers of Blanqui. Blanqui himself drew his inspiration not from Robespierre, but from Hébert.⁹⁶ Many Hébertists were terrorists, like Raoul Rigault (1845-1871) and Théophile Ferré (1846-1871). Most of them were romantic, and all of them were republican, anticlerical, and patriotic. Like Fourier and Proudhon, they were opposed to much that was modern. "They had little conception of a radical social revolution, confining themselves to a hatred of the existing order, expressed by a romantic harking-back to symbols which had little basis in historical fact, and less in actual reality."⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 79.

⁹⁶ Samuel Bernstein, The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France (2nd ed., rev.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), p. 13.

⁹⁷ Frank Jellinek, The Paris Commune of 1871 (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), p. 28.

At least two of these men wrote antisemitic works of some importance. Gustave Tridon, a well-to-do young lawyer, a member of the Central Committee of the Commune, who would die in the defense of the Commune, was the "closest associate" in the late 1860's of Blanqui.⁹⁸ The two men jointly edited the journal, La Patrie en danger in 1870.⁹⁹ Like others in the romantic Hébertist group, and like Blanqui, Tridon was hostile to revolutionary leaders like Robespierre. "At heart he was an ambitious vulgarian, a man who wished to dominate at any price, a dandy who paraded his puritan morality between a pair of mistresses and three racehorses. His soul was hateful and jealous, his spirit malignant and low," Tridon wrote of Robespierre.¹⁰⁰ In 1864, Tridon wrote a propaganda work on the original Hébertists (Les Hébertistes) and in 1868 published another work on an aspect of the French Revolution, Gironde et Girondins. Before his death, Tridon wrote Du Molochisme juif, Etudes critiques et philosophiques, which was published in Brussels in 1884, just before the 1886 appearance of La France juif Edouard Drumont.

Tridon's book, Du Molochisme juif, portrayed the history of human sacrifice in ancient religions as a prelude to the concept of

⁹⁸G. D. H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought, Vol. II: Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, 1850-1890 (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1954), p. 155.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁰⁰Jellinek, The Paris Commune of 1871, p. 30.

the Sacrificial Lamb or Saviour of Christianity. With this portrayal, Tridon made an attempt to prove the old "blood accusation" against the Jews, which had been made from time to time for centuries by Christian antisemites.

Albert Regnard, (1836-1903), another Hébertist antisemite, was a friend and admirer of Tridon. Translator of the German playwright, Georg Büchner (Danton's Death and Wozzeck), Regnard was secretary-general of the Paris Police in the Commune. He fled to London after the fall of the Commune, returning to Paris in 1880, following the amnesty, but was no longer in the Socialist movement.¹⁰¹ He did attend, however, the Second Congress of the Socialist International, which was held in Brussels in 1891, where he played a role of an antisemitic nature. A debate developed over a resolution to express sympathy for exploited Jewish workers, introduced by Abraham Cahan, the only delegate of any Jewish organization, in this case, the United Hebrew Trades of New York City. It is not known exactly what Regnard said in the debate because the text of his statement was not preserved. It is known, however, that he opposed the Cahan resolution, which subsequently failed to pass, while another motion, condemning both antisemitism and "philo-semitism," finally passed.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question, 1865-1914," Historia Judaica, XVI (April, 1954), pp. 6-7.

¹⁰²Silberner, "Antisemitism and Philosemitism in the Socialist International," Judaism, II (1953), p. 119.

In 1890, Regnard published an antisemitic book, Aryens et Sémites, Le bilan du Judaïsme et du Christianisme. The book was written around the theme of Aryanism. Bernard Lazare wrote in 1894 that Tridon and Regnard were two of "several revolutionary athiests," whose antisemitism espoused a kind of Christian antisemitism which "in its final analysis, is reduced to the ethnographic antisemitism," or racist antisemitism, as compared to social or socio-economic antisemitism.¹⁰³ According to Szajkowski, "Regnard was the first to apply" the racist theories of the comte Joseph Arthur Gobineau (1816-1882) for the "purpose of antisemitic agitation." Until then, Gobineau's theories had been "regarded in France as purely academic speculation."¹⁰⁴

Regnard, however, was "a politically rather isolated man" by 1891.¹⁰⁵ In 1892 a Russian-language periodical in Geneva, the Sotsial-Demokrat, "severely censured Regnard," drawing "some consolation from the fact that he only represented a small circle of socialists."¹⁰⁶

Among the Blanquists, their leader, Louis-Auguste Blanqui himself showed manifestations of antisemitism. Professor Silberner does not report this. He writes that Blanqui "showed no interest in

¹⁰³Lazare, L'Antisémitisme, p. 224.

¹⁰⁴Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians," p. 58.

¹⁰⁵Silberner, "Antisemitism and Philosemitism in the Socialist International," p. 119.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 119.

the Jewish problem," outside of his atheistic opposition to both Judaism and Christianity. "Yet if absence of relevant comments may be considered too manifest a lack of hatred, one may say that his hostility towards the Hebrew religion did not extend to modern Jews."¹⁰⁷ A biographer of Blanqui, Alan B. Spitzer, writes in some agreement, that much, perhaps most, of Blanqui's criticism of Judaism was made from the standpoint of atheism, which was neither racist, nor did it "single out Judaism as a more detestable religion than the other Western creeds."¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Spitzer writes that "Blanqui's economic theories led him to identify Jews as a group with its worst practices and defining attributes of capitalism."¹⁰⁹

The question of what kind of Socialist Blanqui really was, if Socialist at all, has often been raised, and may have some bearing on the issue of interpreting his antisemitism. Was he like Fourier, Proudhon, and other essentially of the artisan class, romantically looking backward to a time and place where the city, the factory, the bank were not a threat to the small craftsman--shopkeeper? Did he have in mind some future Utopian community? Blanqui himself was the son of a liberal functionary under the Napoleonic Empire. He was quite hostile to the Utopians and later to Proudhon, for what he

¹⁰⁷Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question, 1865-1914," pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁸Alan B. Spitzer, The Revolutionary Theories of Louis Auguste Blanqui (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 82.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 82.

believed was their naiveté about the possibilities of radical social change without violent revolution. Furthermore, Blanqui had some general concept of class struggle. On the other hand, Blanqui's conception of class struggle was not as sharply distinguished as that of Marx. Instead of proletariat against bourgeoisie, Blanqui saw a broad struggle "between the class which lives by exploitation and the class which supports itself without exploiting others."

There were times, as in 1832, when he seemed to number the exploited as "thirty million Frenchmen who live by their labor," which would have amounted to nine-tenths of the entire French population.¹¹⁰ In the 1850's he spoke of "thirty-two million proletarians without property, or with very little property, and living only by the product of their hands."¹¹¹ Blanqui was certainly a Socialist of a far more radical stripe than Fourier, Proudhon, or even Cabet and Blanc. His tactics of violence were far different from the tactics of other Socialists. The crucial element in Blanqui's vague Socialism, however, was the illegitimacy of interest.¹¹² Thus, like Proudhon, Blanqui attacked the banks, and in turn, the Jews.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 96.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 101.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 109.

Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), the Russian anarchist prince in exile in France, made frequent antisemitic outbursts. (He was also deeply anti-German.¹¹³) Bakunin's movement held a position somewhat apart from the various French Socialist groups, although it crossed paths frequently with the Proudhonists. In fact, the far more moderate Proudhon exerted a major influence on Bakunin.¹¹⁴ There is a great deal of material by Bakunin which is unpublished. Yet, there is enough published material, according to Professor Silberner, to see broadly his viewpoint, which although not extensive on the Jews and casual for the most part, was always unsympathetic.¹¹⁵

Most of Bakunin's remarks on the Jews were made during his struggle against Marx, from 1869 to 1874, but Bakunin had used incidental but abusive language about the Jews in the 1850's and before.¹¹⁶ He wrote of Nicholas Utin (or Outline), who had fled from Russia to Germany, where he was organizing the Russian section of the International, "Utin (is it necessary to state it?) is Jewish by birth, and what is even worse, he is a Russian Jew. He looks it; he has the temperament, the character, the manners, the whole nervous

¹¹³ Cole, Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, p. 214.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 214. Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," Historia Judaica, p. 74.

¹¹⁵ Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," Historia Judaica, XIV (October, 1952), p. 93.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 94-95.

nature, at the same time insolent and cowardly, vain and mercantile."¹¹⁷

In October, 1869, Moses Hess, a leading German Marxist, attacked Bakunin in Le Reveil, the Paris newspaper of Charles Delescluze. Hess accused Bakunin of intriguing against the International, of unwittingly aiding the Panslavist movement, which would if successful, Hess wrote sarcastically, "renew" European society the way the barbarians "renewed" Roman civilization.¹¹⁸ Bakunin responded with a letter which was a veritable treatise, which was not published, however, until long after his death.¹¹⁹ First, Bakunin answered Hess by saying that he believed one ethnic group or nation was as good as another, but that "in regard to Modern Jews, one may thus [sic] observe that their nature does not lend itself well to free Socialism." Bakunin then repeated the old argument that Jews were by custom and history an exploiting middle-class group.

Long before the Christian era, their history imprinted upon them an essentially mercantile and bourgeois tendency, [and] that is why, considered as a nation, they are par excellence exploiters of others labor, and have a natural horror and fear of the popular masses, whom, moreover, they despise, either openly or secretly. The

¹¹⁷ Mikhail Bakounine, "Outline le Macchabée et le Rothschild de l'International de Genève," (1871), Oeuvres de Bakounine (6 vols.; Paris, 1895-1913), VI, 266, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 99.

¹¹⁸ Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 95.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 96.

habit of exploitation, though it develops the intelligence of the exploiters, gives it an exclusive and harmful direction, entirely opposed to the interests as well as to the instincts of the proletariat.¹²⁰

Thus, the Jews had achieved tremendous power in Europe, commercially, financially, and in journalism.

After this quite general denunciation, Bakunin admitted that not all Jews were incapable of becoming Socialists. After all, Marx and Lassalle were Jews, "giant Jews." Hess himself was a Jew, although Hess was a pygmy Jew, one of a crowd of such.¹²¹

In later writings, Bakunin condemned Karl Marx as well, along with Hess and other German Socialists who were Jewish by birth. "By tradition and instinct, they all belong to that restless, intriguing, exploiting and bourgeois nationality."¹²² As the conflict sharpened between Marx and Bakunin in the International, Bakunin became more antisemitic in his attacks on Marx. In 1870 Bakunin attacked Marx as a Jew, calling him the "legislator of the German-Jewish socialists,"¹²³ an epithet for Marxist Socialists which would be used by

¹²⁰ Bakounine, "Professions de foi...", Oeuvres de Bakounine, V, p. 243, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 96.

¹²¹ Bakounine, "Professions de foi...", p. 244, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 97.

¹²² A letter to Albert Richard from Bakunin, dated April 1, 1870, published in Revue de Paris, September 1, 1896, p. 128, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 97.

¹²³ Bakounine, "Lettres à un Français," (posthumous), Oeuvres de Bakounine, IV, p. 68, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 74.

antisemites up at least through the Dreyfus period.

By 1872, Bakunin began to develop out of his hostility to the Marxists, the idea of a Jewish conspiracy. He maintained that Marx had "a kind of Socialist and literary Freemasonry, in which his countrymen, the German and other Jews, occupy an important place."¹²⁴ Bakunin did not invent the idea of a Jewish conspiracy. Proudhon before him had spoken of a "Jewish Freemasonry."¹²⁵ And so had Marx.¹²⁶ With Bakunin, however, there came to be a fear that the Jewish conspiracy was in large part directed against him. Engels ridiculed the idea in a letter to the German-American Socialist, Theodore F. Cuno, in 1872. "Now [Bakunin] declares that he is the victim of a conspiracy of all the European--Jews!"¹²⁷

Bakunin's hostility to Marx became so great that he began to develop the idea that the Jews as both capitalists and Marxian

¹²⁴Bakounine, Oeuvres de Bakounine, IV, p. 361, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 98.

¹²⁵Proudhon, France et Rhin, p. 260, quoted in Silberner, "Proudhon's Judeophobia," p. 68.

¹²⁶Karl Marx, The New York Daily Tribune, January 4, 1856, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," Historia Judaica, p. 103.

¹²⁷Friedrich Engels, "Letter to Cuno from Engels," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895, A Selection (New York, International Publishers, 1953).

Socialists, were somehow in conspiratorial league with each other. Marx and his comrades were "literary brokers, just as they are financial brokers, with one foot in the bank and the other in the Socialist movement."¹²⁸ The whole Jewish world was "one single devouring parasite," operating internationally. This Jewish world existed "in large part at the disposal of Marx on the one hand, and of Rothschild on the other. I am sure that the Rothschilds, on the one side, value the merits of Marx, and that Marx, on the other side, feels an instinctive attraction towards and great respect for, the Rothschilds."¹²⁹

This bitter invective against his enemy, Bakunin defended by equating the centralization of Marxism with the centralization of banking. The Socialism of Marx required "powerful governmental centralization, and where this exists, there must nowadays inevitably be a central State Bank, and where such a bank exists, the parasitic Jewish nation, which speculates in the Labor of the people, will always find means to exist."¹³⁰

Bakunin, like Fourier and Proudhon, was not at home in the highly organized, modern, urban society of large-scale industry

¹²⁸Bakounine, "Rapports personnels avec Marx," Gesammelte Werke (3 vols.; Berlin, 1921-1924), III, pp. 208-209 (posthumous), quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 100.

¹²⁹Ibid., pp. 208-209, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 101.

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 208-209, quoted in Silberner, "Two Studies of Modern Antisemitism," p. 101.

and government. G. D. H. Cole writes,

Though Bakunin, like Herzen, was familiar with Western thought and had lived in Western cities, his mind always moved instinctively in the realm of a more primitive type of society. He was much more at home in Southern Italy than anywhere else in Western Europe, and his ideas of social action were re-formed, after his long absence in prison and in Siberia, mainly while he was living in Naples. Even when he moved to Switzerland, which was economically much more advanced, he still found himself in a society that was intensely localized and, industrially, engaged in craft and domestic production with very little large-scale employment. He continued, then, to think of the problems of social reorganization in terms of highly localized communities and, instinctively, in terms of peasants or rural labourers rather than of factory workers or miners or railway employers.¹³¹

During the early decades of the Third Republic, Leftist antisemitism existed primarily among a few moderate, non-revolutionary Socialists rather than among the Marxists, who, gathered around Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, were increasingly opposed to antisemitism.

Among these moderate Socialists, one man, August Chirac (1838-1903), stood out as a rather important antisemite during the 1870's and 1880's. Chirac authored the first large antisemitic book written in the Third Republic, Les Rois de la République (Paris, 1885).¹³² Chirac was born in Marseilles and raised by conservative Catholic

¹³¹Cole, Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, p. 225.

¹³²Tridon's Le Molochisme Juif, (Bruxelles, 1884), was written before 1870.

Legitimist parents. His school teachers were Jesuits. In the 1860's the young Chirac went to Paris, where he tried to become a successful playwright and failed, none of his plays being performed, and few even being published. He did become "a very successful publicist," however, "for the Society of Applied Industrial Arts."¹³³ In 1866, Chirac lost his position as a publicist, and then joined the staff of the newspaper, La Presse, edited by Jules Mirès. Chirac became supervisor of the financial page. From Mirès, a financier outmaneuvered by the famous Pereire brothers, Chirac learned of some of the era's banking and speculation practices, which seemed shockingly sensational to him.¹³⁴

Professor Robert F. Byrnes has written that Chirac became a Socialist (although he probably never joined any of the French Socialist parties) and an antisemite because he had job difficulties and because of what he had learned from Mirès about Second Empire finances.¹³⁵ The influence of two Leftist antisemitic thinkers previously discussed in this paper, Alphonse Toussenel and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, also seems to have been important. According to Professor Silberner, Chirac was a great admirer of Toussenel, and

¹³³Robert F. Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1950), I, p. 169.

¹³⁴Ibid., I, p. 169.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 169.

liked to think of himself as the real heir to Toussenel. He claimed that he and not Drumont deserved the credit for being the first since Toussenel "to brave the Jew."¹³⁶ Chirac's book of 1885, Les Rois de la République, possessed a title which was an obvious reference to the work of Toussenel, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque. Thus, there was a continuous strand of antisemitism from Fourier, through Toussenel, to Chirac. Proudhon was also an influence on Chirac, who was, according to Byrnes, "more influenced by Proudhon than by any other Socialist."¹³⁷

Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, and Chirac were not only very similar in their antisemitism and in their criticism of capitalism, but were together possibly the four most influential Leftist antisemites.

From 1876 to 1896, seven books by Chirac were published. La Haute Banque et les Révolutions, (Paris, 1876), Les Mystères du crédit (Paris, 1876), Les Rois de la République (Paris, 1885). The last book went to three editions, each more antisemitic and more successful than the previous edition.¹³⁸ La Prochaine Révolution, (Paris, 1886), L'Agiotage sous la Troisième République, (Paris, 1888), Où est l'Argent? (Paris, 1891), and Le Droit de Vivre, Analyse

¹³⁶Auguste Chirac, "Open Letter to Drumont," Revue Socialiste, V (1887), pp. 84-85, quoted in Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question, 1865-1914," Historia Judaica, XVI (April, 1954), p. 9.

¹³⁷Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 169.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 158.

Socialiste, (Paris, 1896). As a comparison, we might note that Tri-don's Le Molochisme Juif, written before 1870, was not published until 1884, in Brussels. Toussenal's book, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque, originally published in 1845, was reprinted in 1886 and 1887, and Drumont's very influential work, La France Juive, was published in 1886.

Chirac believed that the Jews were deserving of blame throughout their history. Their ancient history was filled, he wrote, with swindling, prostitution, and theft, and their modern history followed exactly the same pattern.¹³⁹ Israel was the "first and most complete incarnation" of parasitism.¹⁴⁰ Jews constituted a party aimed at taking over the nation, and afterwards, "they want to be the masters of the world."¹⁴¹ Neither Chirac's antisemitism nor his Socialism, such as it was, was very original.

In 1876, Chirac was rather socialist in his outlook. He was opposed to capitalism and wanted government "control of all credit facilities and currency issue."¹⁴² Furthermore, he "proposed in 1876

¹³⁹Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question, 1865-1914," p. 9.

¹⁴⁰Chirac, Le Droit de Vivre, Analyse Socialiste, (Paris, 1896), p. 225, quoted in Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 9.

¹⁴¹Chirac, Les Rois de la République, (Paris, 1896), Vol. I, p. 41, quoted in Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 10.

¹⁴²Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 171.

that all railroads be made state property and in 1886 he suggested state ownership of all public utilities in France,"¹⁴³ and of all land, in order to foil the Jews and the Protestants.¹⁴⁴ Chirac was also in favor in 1876 of worker-ownership of industry, to be achieved by paying workers in corporation stock. After 1886, Chirac's Socialism "grew more and more diluted" until by 1896 Chirac was hardly a Socialist at all. "More than he himself probably realized, Chirac, the Independent Socialist, was really a conservative,"¹⁴⁵ defending small property, the peasant and the shopkeeper, and even the manufacturer, against the bankers and speculators, whom he identified with the Jews, just as Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon and others had done. "By 1899, all Socialist journals and newspapers were closed to his writings."¹⁴⁶ As Socialists became less and less antisemitic in the 1890's, Chirac became less and less Socialist. By the Dreyfus Affair years of 1898 and 1899, the Socialists had left antisemitism, and Chirac was writing for Drumont's newspaper, La Libre Parole and lecturing to antisemitic meetings.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁴⁷ Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 9.

Chirac had once considered himself to be one of the so-called Independent Socialists, a group which was inspired by the moderate Benoît Malon (1841-1893), editor of the Revue Socialiste, founded in 1885. Malon made some antisemitic statements from time to time in the 1880's, but in contrast to Chirac, Malon and his journal sharply curtailed their antisemitism after 1890. Furthermore, Malon's Socialism was markedly different from that of Chirac, and from the line of men, Fourier, Toussenel, and Proudhon, who had developed the ideas which had inspired Chirac.

Malon was the son of very poor and completely uneducated parents. He himself learned to read at the age of 20.¹⁴⁸ He was a working housepainter by trade. In the 1860's he was actively associated with the Paris Internationalists, many of whom were Proudhonist, but he also cooperated with the revolutionary Blanquists. He was one of a very small number of Radicals and Socialists who were elected to the National Assembly in February, 1871, although he did not remain in the Assembly. Instead, he served as deputy-mayor of the Seventeenth Arrondissement under the Commune. With his friend, the novelist Mme. Léodile Champseix (whose pseudonym was Léo André), he wrote appeals to the agricultural workers to support the Commune. He and she escaped together to Switzerland.¹⁴⁹

After his return to France from Switzerland and Italy following

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴⁹Cole, Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, pp. 153-154.

the amnesty for Communards in 1880, Malon worked with Marxists, joining Jules Guesde, the French Marxist leader, in founding the new Workers' Party (Parti des Travailleurs Socialistes de France) in 1880. After the moderate majority led by Paul Brousse left the Guesdists in 1882, Malon also began to draw away, although he did not join the Broussists (or "Possibilists," as Guesde called them). Instead, he formed the Société pour l'Economie Sociale in 1885 as an independent study group, which could cooperate with the various Socialists. Adherents in the Chambre des Deputes became known as the Independent Socialists. Meanwhile, from 1882 to 1885, he wrote the "first large-scale"¹⁵⁰ history of Socialism, the multi-volume Histoire du socialisme. In 1885 he founded La Revue Socialiste.

Malon had cordial relations with Auguste Chirac, who was considered for a time to be in Malon's circle, and even with Edouard Drumont in the 1880's. Malon made antisemitic statements repeatedly until at least 1890,¹⁵¹ and his Revue Socialiste published Regnard's "Aryens et Sémites" in installments from 1887 to 1889, without editorial comment or criticism. However, at the same time, the Revue very gradually turned against antisemitism. In 1886, Henri Tubiana, a Jewish Socialist in Algiers, published in the Revue an

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁵¹Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 11.

attack on antisemitism. In 1890, La Revue Socialiste published a book review criticizing the antisemitism of Regnard's Aryens et Sémites, which had just been published in book form. One of the contributors to the Revue, Gustave Rouanet, frequently antisemitic, reversed himself, in 1890, declaring opposition to antisemitism.¹⁵² This reversal was noteworthy, since in 1888, Rouanet had favorably reviewed Drumont's La Fin d'un Monde (Paris, 1888),¹⁵³ Rouanet was the third editor of the Revue.

Perhaps because of his experience and associations with parliamentary Socialists and revolutionary Socialists, with Blanquists, Proudhonists, Guesdists, and Broussists, with Socialists in France, Switzerland, and Italy, Malon developed an unusually broad position on tactics after his return to France from Switzerland and Italy in 1880. Because of the breadth of its embrace, Malon's Socialism was frequently called "Le Socialisme intégral," which was also the title of a two-volume work by Malon, published in 1890 and 1891. He held "that all forms of activity were useful in their place and that, in particular, political action could be useful provided that it did not carry with it an abandonment of revolutionary purpose."¹⁵⁴ Malon

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 10. The review appeared in La Revue Socialiste, VIII, p. 662.

¹⁵⁴Cole, Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, p. 204.

believed that all effective means should be used, economic, political, and moral, parliamentary pressure and pressure from the street. The general strike, the idea of the Syndicalists, "and the ensuing revolution would be most likely to succeed if, in preparing for 'the day' the workers had also used their political power to penetrate into the bourgeois State so as to undermine its defences from within and make it harder for the reactionaries to use the machinery of State against the strikers."¹⁵⁵ This position was comparable to that of Jean Jaurès, who began his career as a Socialist in the Malon group, and who became the outstanding leader of the Dreyfusards, and the great unifier of the French Socialists.¹⁵⁶

Although Malon died in 1893, a year before the Dreyfus Case, he and the Independent Socialists were already beginning to disassociate themselves from antisemitism. It may be significant in this regard that both his parliamentary Republicanism and his support of revolution divided Malon's Socialism from the Socialism of the prominent Nineteenth Century antisemites of the Left, Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, and ultimately, even Chirac, the one-time follower of Malon.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 209. Also see, Cole, A History of Socialist Thought, Vol. III: The Second International, 1889-1914 (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1956), p. 331.

¹⁵⁶ Harvey Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), pp. 41, 457.

Although some members of the Independent Socialists and La Revue Socialiste were turning against antisemitism in the 1890's, an antisemitic attitude lingered on among some of them until the Dreyfus Affair of 1898-1899, which marked the real turning-point away from antisemitism for the moderate Left. For example, René Viviani (1863-1925), an Independent Socialist, who would gradually leave the Socialist movement after 1905, and become Premier in June, 1914, spoke in the Chambre des Députés in 1895 of the "legendary rapacity" of the Jews, and of "Jewish tyranny" in Algeria.¹⁵⁷ Commenting on antisemitism among Socialists, Louis Dubreuilh wrote in 1895, "many socialists, though in principle opposed to anti-Semitism, supported or tolerated this movement in the firm belief that it was, for backward proletarians and petty bourgeois, a kind of preparatory school for integral socialism."¹⁵⁸

The first important Socialists to turn against antisemitism in France were the Marxist leaders, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue. In addition, Friedrich Engels specifically and deliberately attacked antisemitism in the 1890's. This is ironic, because of the antisemitism of the young Marx. Yet, the older Marx, like Engels, apparently

¹⁵⁷ France, Annales de la chambre des députés, Débats parlementaires, XXXIX (February 21, 1895), pp. 592-593, quoted in Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 11.

turned away from antisemitism. It should be helpful in clarifying the nature of the antisemitism of the Fourierists and Proudhonists to contrast them with Marx, Engels, and French Marxists. According to one student, writing in 1949,

There have been few attempts to analyze Marx's position [on the Jews] objectively and comprehensively and to place it in the context of his outlook as a whole. The materials for such a study, it is true, are scanty and widely scattered.¹⁵⁹

Karl Marx himself was, despite the facts of his birth, neither a participant in the religion of Judaism, nor a member of the Jewish community and culture. His ancestors were Jews, indeed several were notable rabbis, but his father converted to nominal Christianity (Lutheranism), when Karl was a small boy, and all the children were baptized when Karl was six.¹⁶⁰ Professor Silberner suggests that although "there is no reason for assuming that [Marx] had no knowledge at all of Jewish history or Jewish problems," Marx had "no exact knowledge of any Jewish problems," because he never really studied any of them.¹⁶¹ In addition, there is "no evidence that he ever read even a single volume on the Jewish problems, with the exception of [Bruno] Bauer's writings on the subject."¹⁶²

From what then did Marx develop his ideas on the Jews? The prevailing prejudice among many of the important Socialists of the

¹⁵⁹ Solomon F. Bloom, "Karl Marx and the Jews," Jewish Social Studies, IV (January, 1949), p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹⁶¹ Silberner, "Was Marx an Antisemite?" Historia Judaica, XI (April, 1949), p. 15.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 15.

1840's, as we have seen, was that the Jews were the leaders and mainstays of financial and commercial capitalism, which in turn was the main force of modern middle-class life. Similarly, in the 1840's and 1850's some of the writings of Marx frequently show a sharp antagonism toward Jews in commerce and finance, often to the point of identifying Jews with the finance capitalists.

The later Marx, of Das Kapital, hardly mentions Jews. Das Kapital itself, which deals so much with both the financial bourgeoisie and the industrial bourgeoisie, barely mentions Jews, and then only casually.¹⁶³ The antisemitism of the early Marx has many similarities to the antisemitism of Fourier and Proudhon, with a notable difference. Like Fourier and Proudhon, the early Marx seemed to feel that finance was parasitical. Bloom writes that in Marx's future society, "the middleman, the trader, the bookkeeper, the financier, have finally been routed. Bloom suggests that Marx's antisemitism was possibly a carry-over from a semi-medieval time when commerce was "socially disreputable and even disgraceful."¹⁶⁴ This description would certainly seem to apply to Fourier and Proudhon, far more than to Marx. For Marx, unlike Fourier and Proudhon, the modernization around him was to be admired. He had the highest

¹⁶³ Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I, ed. by Frederick Engels (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1921), p. 91.

¹⁶⁴ Bloom, "Karl Marx and the Jews," p. 16.

praise for the productive capacity of capitalism. Possibly the one area of agreement between Marx and Fourier, or Marx and Proudhon, was in seeing the financier as a parasite. Fourier and Proudhon wished in a romantic way to return to the past, eliminating the unproductive men of the present, that is, the financier, whom they identified with the Jew. Marx wanted to proceed on to further modernization, eliminating the unproductive agents in present society, whom he identified for a short time with the Jews.

Deeply knowledgeable in Hegelian philosophy, Marx had already developed by 1844 the major outlines of his philosophy of history, dialectical materialism. This is clearly apparent in his review of two works by Bruno Bauer (The Jewish Question, Brunswick, 1843, and The Capacity of Modern Jews and Christians to Become Free, Zurich, 1843).

The major premise of Marx's review is that the dissolution of feudalism and the triumph of the bourgeoisie, while emancipating, was only partially emancipating. It liberated politically, but not socially. In the older society the property relationship, the whole productive and commercial life, as well as religious relationships, were politically dominated. The new bourgeois society freed "civic society," that is, the whole of economic life from the State. The new social order was not socially emancipated, however. Man had gained political and civic rights, but had not gained human rights. For example, the separation of Church and State emancipates the State, but does not abolish "the real religiosity of the

individual."¹⁶⁵ Men can still be fettered privately by religion, even though religion has been released from the State.¹⁶⁶ "The individual was therefore not liberated from religion; he received religious freedom. He was not freed from property; he received freedom of property."¹⁶⁷

Bruno Bauer (1809-1882), theologian, Hegelian, and academic radical, had argued in the writings under review by Marx that Jews could not be politically emancipated without radically emancipating themselves from Judaism. Marx opposed this position, and argued that Jews had in fact achieved political emancipation as Jews in the religious sense. Beyond this, Marx argued, "Because you could be emancipated politically without entirely breaking away from Judaism, political emancipation is not human emancipation. If you Jews desire to be politically emancipated without emancipating yourselves humanly, the incompleteness, the contradiction, lies not only in you, but it also resides in the essence and the category of political emancipation. If you remain enmeshed in this category, you share in a general disability."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," Karl Marx, Selected Essays, trans. by H.J. Stenning (New York: International Publishers, 1926), p. 59. All references to the Stenning translation have been compared with Karl Marx, A World Without Jews, ed. by Dagobert D. Runes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). The title, A World Without Jews, was not the title Marx gave to the essay, and Marx never used the phrase in print, to the knowledge of the author of this paper. There seems to be no satisfactory translation of Marx's essay into English.

¹⁶⁶Marx, "On the Jewish Question," p. 53.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 68-69.

The primary documentary instruments for achieving this partial emancipation were the various declarations of rights, such as the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Marx supported the Declaration, believing that it was an advance, although limited, over the previous order. "Political emancipation at least represents important progress."¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, he supported the inclusion of Jews under the coverage of the Declaration.

Bruno Bauer, had argued, Marx wrote, that the Jew as Jew could not receive the rights of man, that is, human rights as compared with civil rights, because his Jewishness separated him from the rest of mankind. Marx opposed this argument. As defined by the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, "the right of man to freedom is not based upon the connection of man with man, but rather on the separation of man from man."¹⁷⁰ In the first place, Marx pointed out that many of the "rights of man," as stated in the French and American declarations of rights were political and civil rights, which do not "by any means presuppose the unequivocal and positive abolition of religion, and therefore of Judaism."¹⁷¹ The rights of man by the bourgeois definition, apart from the rights of the citizen, are simply the right to be a member of bourgeois

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 71.

society.¹⁷² They certainly include the "liberty of conscience, the right to practice any cult to one's liking."¹⁷³ They also include the right of the individual citizen to property, equality before the law, and security of person. "None of the so-called rights of man, therefore, goes beyond the egoistic individual, beyond the individual as a member of bourgeois society."¹⁷⁴ These rights were perfectly compatible with Jews and Judaism.

Marx's second premise was that this new, partially-free, middle-class social order had its roots in the Jews. Medieval Jews formed the original elements of the bourgeoisie, and had in a sense, converted Christianity to a secular Judaism, forming the broad, powerful, modern bourgeoisie: anti-social, egoistic, profiteering.¹⁷⁵ Thus, for Marx, the real essence of the modern, materialistic, egoistical middle-class was the middle-class Jew. "The Jew who exists as a peculiar expression of the Judaism of bourgeois society."¹⁷⁶ What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical needs, egoism, What is the secular cult of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his secular God? Money."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 90-91, 95.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 91-92.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 88.

This view is similar to that taken in 1910 by Werner Sombart in Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben, as George L. Mosse describes the book.

This eminent economic historian linked the growth of capitalism to the role played by the Jews. As usurers in the Middle Ages and entrepreneurs in modern times, the Jews had been a vital force in building the capitalist system. He asserted that their restless character had made them the motive force of capitalism, a role which Max Weber more astutely ascribed to the ethos of Protestantism. Actually, Sombart was not condemning the Jews, but merely, as he thought, providing a historical analysis of the evolution of capitalism.¹⁷⁸

Marx, on the other hand, was critical of Judaism, particularly "secular" Judaism, just as he was critical of capitalism, with which he identified "secular" Judaism. Judaism, or capitalism, was an advance over feudalism, and should therefore be commended, but it was only a partial emancipation, a political emancipation and not a social emancipation. For Marx in 1844, a full emancipation of man would therefore be an emancipation of man from capitalism, that is, from Judaism. Thus, the emancipation of the Jews themselves, "is the emancipation of mankind from Judaism."¹⁷⁹ "The Jew has already emancipated himself in Jewish fashion," that is, in middle-class fashion, "not only by taking to himself financial power, but by virtue of the fact that with and without his cooperation, money has

¹⁷⁸ George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich, The Universal Library (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), pp. 141-142.

¹⁷⁹ Marx, "On the Jewish Question," p. 89.

become a world power, and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of Christian nations."¹⁸⁰

Given Marx's view of history in 1844 as a transformation from feudalism to capitalism (or secular Judaism), the question for Marx was, then, "What particular social element has to be overcome in order to abolish Judaism?"¹⁸¹ Judaism itself, Marx wrote, could not create the new social order. "Judaism reaches its acme with the completion of bourgeois society."¹⁸² "Judaism could create no new world."¹⁸³

In his essay, Marx had not yet developed a theory of social change from capitalism to socialism, but he had become a socialist, and anticipated the end of capitalism, (or Judaism). "As soon as society succeeds in abolishing the empirical essence of Judaism, the huckster, and the conditions which produce him, the Jew will become impossible, because his consciousness will no longer have a corresponding object because the subjective basis of Judaism, viz.: practical needs, will have been humanized, because the conflict of the individual sensual existence with the genesis existence of the individual will have been abolished."¹⁸⁴ Given Marx's premises, his

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

conclusion seemed obvious, "The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism."¹⁸⁵

It seems clear that on the face of it, Marx's opposition to Judaism is neither racial nor religious in its basis. Rather, it is social. Furthermore, Marx seems genuinely concerned for the full emancipation of all men. Nevertheless, Marx is especially open to two objections: an objection to the argument that the secular side of the Jewish community could be identified with capitalism, whatever the role played by some Jews in the early development of capitalism, or in the Nineteenth Century development of capitalism; and an objection to the argument that the "religious essence" of Judaism "is merely the ideal reflexion of his practical needs."¹⁸⁶

In The Class Struggles in France, written in 1849 and 1850, Marx made several remarks far more disparaging of a few individual Jews, than he had in his review of the Bauer works. In this case, however, Marx did not generalize so broadly regarding the Jewish community. He dealt with a small segment of the Jews, and these he identified not with the whole of the middle-class, but with the leadership of a small fraction of the bourgeoisie, the "finance aristocracy." Marx still believed, however, that capitalism, at

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 96.

least in France, was led by Jews. They composed the powerful leadership of the "bankers, stock-exchange kings, railway kings, owners of coal and ironworks and forests, a section of the landed proprietors that rallied round them--the so-called finance aristocracy."¹⁸⁷ He contrasted the financiers, led by the "Bourse Jews," with the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletariat to the detriment of the financiers, whom he believed were parasites and worse. "Trade, industry, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, were bound to be continually prejudiced and endangered under this system."¹⁸⁸

Marx made some interesting references in describing the opposition to the finance aristocracy, which he called a "lumpenproletariat at the top of bourgeois society."¹⁸⁹ Marx wrote, "The industrial bourgeoisie saw its interests endangered, the petty bourgeoisie was filled with moral indignation, the imagination of the people was offended, Paris was flooded with pamphlets--"la dyanastie Rothschild," "Les juifs rois de l'époque" etc.--in which the rule of the finance aristocracy was denounced and stigmatized with greater or less wit."¹⁹⁰ Les juifs, rois de l'époque was, of course, the title used by both Toussenel and Leroux. Marx evidently was acquainted with their writings, and did not disapprove of them.

¹⁸⁷Karl Marx, The Class Struggles in France, (New York: International Publishers, 1964), pp. 33-34.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 37.

The only Jew whom Marx attacked specifically by name in The Class Struggle in France was Achille Fould, the Finance Minister from 1849 to 1852, and former Orléanist. In fact, the attack on Fould amounted to almost the sum total of Marx's criticism of Jews in The Class Struggles. He termed Fould "the Jewish money-changer and Orléanist,"¹⁹¹ and wrote that "Fould as finance minister signifies the official surrender of French national wealth to the Bourse, the management of the state's property by the Bourse and in the interest of the Bourse. With the nomination of Fould, the finance aristocracy announced its restoration...."¹⁹² Even so, Marx at no time claims that more than a segment of the "finance aristocracy" were Jews, although they played the leadership role among the financiers.

After 1850, Marx's remarks about the Jews almost disappear, with a few rare exceptions of ambiguous significance, such as a reference to the German Socialist whom he detested, Ferdinand Lassalle, as a "Judel Itzig," in a letter to Engels, July 30, 1862.¹⁹³ In addition, it should be emphasized that Marx was a young man, only 26 years old when he wrote the review, "On the Jewish Question," dealing with Bauer's works. This was, in fact, one of his earliest published

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁹²Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁹³Karl Marx, A World Without Jews, p. vii. "Judel Itzig" means literally "little Jew Isaac," but is much more perjorative than the English translation.

works, following his job as editor of the Rheinische Zeitung in Cologne.

The statement in "On the Jewish Question" that the emancipation from capitalism would be the emancipation from Judaism was never repeated by Marx anywhere. The Communist Manifesto, printed in 1848, just four years after the essay, had nothing in it of the earlier point of view on the Jews. Marx may have remained personally anti-Jewish, but antisemitism played no part in his ideology as he developed it in his mature years. In all of Marx's later writings on Socialism (or capitalism), I find no mention whatsoever of Jews.

Beyond these aspects of Marx's antisemitism, his youth when writing "On the Jewish Question," and the fact of the sharp decline in his written antisemitism, is the question as to what impact Marx's writings had on France and French antisemitism. According to Samuel Bernstein, Marxism "was little known in France before the Commune. Marx's name was known only to a few, and his ideas practically to none."¹⁹⁴ It was only after the Commune, which had a weakening effect on Blanquism and Proudhonism that Marxian Socialism began to enter France, and then not until after 1879.¹⁹⁵

Furthermore, the early published essays of Marx, written in

¹⁹⁴Samuel Bernstein, The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France (2nd ed. rev.; New York, Russell & Russell, 1965), p. 186.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 186-187.

German, were not republished until the Twentieth Century, and the older Marx never wanted them reprinted, and in any case judged "only from the point of view of fully developed Marxism."¹⁹⁶ Volume I of Das Kapital was not translated into French until 1872-1875. It contained no antisemitism, however. And, in fact, the antisemites of the Dreyfus period, such as Drumont and his followers, became hostile to the French Marxists, or Guesdists, referring to them as the "German-Jewish socialists."

Like Marx, his friend and colleague Friedrich Engels was antisemitic, but Engels definitely and significantly changed after 1878 and became less and less antisemitic, until by 1890 he was outspokenly hostile to antisemitism. "Up to 1878," writes Silberner, Engels' "pronouncements are chiefly contemptuous and, to our knowledge, contain no reference to any positive aspects of Jewish history."¹⁹⁷ However, "From 1878 on, one can perceive a gradual change in the attitude of Engels towards the Jews. In that year, he published his famous Anti-Dühring, which contains an important, though casual comment on antisemitism."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶Dirk J. Struik, "Introduction," Karl Marx, The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, ed. by D. J. Struik, trans. by Martin Milligan (New York: International Publishers, 1964), p. 49.

¹⁹⁷Edmund Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," Jewish Social Studies, XI (October, 1949), p. 331.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 332.

The "Anti-Dühring" was a comprehensive criticism of a work, itself terribly comprehensive in the fashion of Nineteenth Century German philosophy, published about 1875 by Dr. Eugen Dühring (1833-1921), privatdozent at Berlin University. In his grandiose publication, Dühring proclaimed himself a new convert to Socialism, but at the same time, made an attack on Marx, which was in large part an anti-semitic diatribe.

Engels felt obligated to deal with Dühring, because of his attack on Marx, and because of the threat Dühring's sectarian Socialism might create.¹⁹⁹ Engels' reply was first published in a series of articles in 1878 in the Leipzig Vorwarts, the main newspaper of the German Social-Democratic Party, and later on as a book: Herr Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Engels wrote that Dühring carried "his hatred of the Jews...to ridiculous extremes."²⁰⁰

In 1881, Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932), later important as a revisionist in the German Social-Democratic Party, sent Engels some copies of antisemitic pamphlets, which were apparently being encouraged by the government of the German Empire to gain a

¹⁹⁹Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), II, p. 93.

²⁰⁰Friedrich Engels, Herr Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft (Leipzig, 1878), no page number given, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 332.

conservative victory in the October, 1881 elections. "Engels found them more silly and childish than anything he had ever read."²⁰¹ "Such government fostered movements, added Engels, cannot be treated scornfully enough."²⁰²

On April 19, 1890, Engels made a strong denunciation of anti-semitism in a letter to an unknown correspondent. This letter was published in the Vienna Arbeterzeitung on May 9, 1890. In the letter, Engels wrote, "I must leave it to your consideration whether with antisemitism you will not cause more misfortune than good." He added, "Antisemitism is the distinctive sign of a backward civilization and is therefore, only found in Prussia or in Russia."²⁰³ According to Silberner, Engels argued that "if pursued in England or the United States, anti-Jewish propaganda would simply be laughed at. In France, Drumont's writings--though incomparably superior to those of the German Judeophobes--provoked only an effective one-day sensation. Moreover, Engels thought that Drumont, who was then coming forward as a candidate for the City Council, would himself have to declare that he was as much against Christian as Jewish capital."²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 333.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 333.

²⁰³ Friedrich Engels, a letter from Engels to an unknown correspondent (April 19, 1890), in Victor Adler, Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe (Vienna, 1922), I, p. 6, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," pp. 333-334.

²⁰⁴ Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," pp. 333-334.

Engels had already viewed antisemitism as a phenomenon of backwardness as early as his Anti-Dühring, in which he wrote of the "popular prejudice against the Jews inherited from the bigotry of the Middle Ages."²⁰⁵

In 1881 he developed this view further, particularly along class lines, suggesting that the major source of antisemitism in Germany came from the least modern elements in German society, such as the junkers, who were becoming more and more indebted to the capitalists. In addition, Engels pointed out that the lower middle-class was in unison with the junkers in the antisemitic "chorus."

Silberner writes that according to Engels,

Both in Prussia and Austria it is the petty bourgeois, the artisan, the small-shopkeeper, sinking into ruin because of the competition of large-scale capitalism. Yet if capital destroys the reactionary classes, it is accomplishing its historical function, and whether it is semitic or Aryan, circumcized or baptized, it is doing good work: it is helping the backward Prussians and Austrians in reaching a stage of development in which all the old social differences are resolved into one great contradiction between capitalists and wage-earners.²⁰⁶

Engels concluded,

Antisemitism is thus nothing but a reaction of the medieval, perishing strata of society against modern society, which essentially consists of capitalists and wage-earners; under the cloak of apparent socialism is,

²⁰⁵ Engels, Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft (Leipzig, 1878), no page indicated, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 332.

²⁰⁶ Engels, a letter to an unknown correspondent, p. 7, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 334.

therefore, only serves reactionary ends; it is a variety of feudal socialism and with that we can have nothing to do.²⁰⁷

As progressive as capitalism was in comparison with feudalism, Engels of course opposed it. He pointed out, however, that it was unfair to identify the Jews with capitalism. The great millionaires of the United States, for example, included not one Jew, and in comparison with their massive wealth, the Rothschilds were like paupers. Engels opposed the idea so long associated with many French Socialists, that antisemitism constituted an attack on capitalism, and thus, helped Socialism. He wrote,

antisemitism falsifies the whole state of affairs. It does not even know the Jews it cries down. Otherwise, it would know that here in England, and in America, thanks to the Eastern European antisemites, and in Turkey, thanks to the Spanish inquisition, there are thousands of Jewish proletarians; and, what is more, these Jewish workers are the worst exploited and most wretched of all. Here in England we had three strikes of Jewish workers within the last twelve months, and then are we expected to carry antisemitism as a fight against capital?²⁰⁸

Engels went beyond the social problem of antisemitism to make as a Socialist a personal defense of the Jews.

²⁰⁷Engels, a letter to an unknown correspondent, p. 7, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 335.

²⁰⁸Engels, a letter to an unknown correspondent, p. 8, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 335.

We owe much too much to the Jews. To say nothing of Heine and Borne, Marx was of purest Jewish blood; Lassalle was a Jew. Many of our best people are Jews. My friend, Victor Adler, who is now sitting in jail in Vienna for his devotion to the cause of the proletariat, Eduard Bernstein, editor of the London Sozialdemokrat, Paul Singer, one of our best men in the Reichstag-- 209 people of whose friendship I am proud, are all--Jews.

Engels by 1892, showed an awareness of the divisive and weakening effect of antisemitism on the working-class movement, and he displayed this perception in a letter which he wrote to a friend, about the situation among the ethnic groups in New York City. (This friend was Hermann Schlüter (d. 1919), a German-American Socialist, who came to the United States in 1889, and who became editor of the New-Yorker Volkszeitung.) Engels wrote,

Your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian government how to play off one's nationality against the other, so that differences in workers standards of living Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each against the other, so that differences in workers standards of living exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard of elsewhere. And added to this is the complete indifference of a society that has grown up on a purely capitalist basis, without any easy going feudal background, toward the human lives that perish in the competitive struggle....²¹⁰

Not only did Engels oppose antisemitism when used against the workers, but he also came to oppose by 1892 all working class antisemitism.²¹¹

²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 8, quoted in Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 335.

²¹⁰Frederick Engels, "Letter of Engels to Schlüter," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895, A Selection (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p. 242.

²¹¹Silberner, "Frederick Engels and the Jews," p. 337.

What led Engels to change his position on antisemitism? In the beginning, the antisemitic attacks on Marx seemed to have caused Engels to examine the impact of antisemitism.²¹² Silberner suggests also that "this change is partly due to the fact that Engels outlived Marx by over a decade (1883-1895), during which time he witnessed not only a rising wave of political antisemitism, but also a rapid development of the Jewish labor movement, in England as well as in the United States."²¹³

Also, the influence of Eleanor Marx Aveling, the youngest daughter of Marx, the wife of the English Socialist, Dr. Edward Aveling, and the close friend of Engels, may have been important in changing Engels' attitude toward antisemitism. Unlike her father, Eleanor considered herself to be a Jew and always started her speeches to workers by saying, "I am a Jewess."²¹⁴ At Engels' urging, she went into the East End of London to try to establish trade unions for "the great mass of poor, unskilled workers."²¹⁵ It is probable that she came into contact with the "tens of thousands of Jewish workers"²¹⁶ there, and this in turn strengthened her own opposition to antisemitism. Her opposition may then have encouraged

²¹² Ibid., pp. 332-333.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 323.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 339.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 339.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 340.

the opposition of Engels to antisemitism.²¹⁷

Finally, from a reading of Engels' statements on the source and effect of antisemitism, it seems clear that his view of history and society shaped and changed his view of antisemitism. Unlike Fourier, Toussenel, Leroux, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Chirac, Engels fully embraced the trends of modernization, urbanization, industrialization, technological development, and even, significantly, the passing from feudalism to capitalism. He sought no scapegoats, nor did he look romantically toward a vanishing past.

Whether or not Engels influenced the French Socialist position in the 1890's any more than Marx, the Guesdists did have a position of opposition similar to that of Engels regarding antisemitism. As with Engels, their position of opposition developed gradually. At first, the Guesdists had a least some association with Socialists who were also frequently antisemitic. For example, Guesde contributed frequently to a newspaper associated with the Independent Socialists, Cri du peuple, founded in October, 1883 by Jules Vallès. This newspaper had declared even before Drumont's first book, La France juive, appeared in 1886, that "the social question is the Jewish question."²¹⁸

²¹⁷Ibid., p. 340.

²¹⁸Robert F. Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 158.

Relations between organized Socialists and organized antisemites were always rather tenuous, however, though the latter might be tinged with working-class pretensions. The Ligue Antisémitique, a new organization founded in January, 1890 by an aristocratic adventurer, the Marquis de Morès, and a street-fighter with a royalist outlook, Jules Guérin, marched in the May Day demonstration of 1890, "without mixing with the Socialists or the anarchists, more or less enjuivés."²¹⁹ Drumont refused to participate in or support the May Day manifestation for fear of provoking governmental suppression.²²⁰ The Paris Socialists resented the provocative activities of de Morès, calling him an "amateur, sportsman Socialist," who proposed attacking only a segment of the capitalists.²²¹

In 1891, however, both Paul Lafargue, Guesde's lieutenant, and Edouard Drumont went to the mining town of Fourmies in the Nord and appeared together to make addresses of sympathy to the workers after troops had fired into a May Day workers' demonstration there, wounding thirty-five and killing ten.²²²

²¹⁹Jules Guérin, Les Trafiquants de l'Antisémitisme (Paris: Librairie Félix Juven, 1906), p. 10.

²²⁰Ibid., p. 11, and Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 241.

²²¹Byrnes, pp. 167-168.

²²²Ibid., pp. 167-168.

Nevertheless, it can be fairly said that the most significant Socialists, in fact, the first important Socialists in France to turn against antisemitism were the Marxist leaders, Jules Guesde and his comrade, Paul Lafargue (1842-1911), husband of Laura Marx, the second daughter of Karl Marx.²²³ At least as early as 1892, the Guesdists made it clear that they had nothing in common with the antisemites. On July 8, 1892, Guesde and Lafargue engaged in public debate the leading antisemite, Drumont, along with the leaders of the Ligue Antisémitique, de Morès and Guérin, in the Salle des Mille-Colonnes in Paris. The Marxists "riddled the puerile plan of Morès for five thousand francs of credit for every worker and Guérin's proposal of financial decentralization as a panacea for the French economic system."²²⁴ It should be pointed out that the plan of de Morès and the proposal of Guérin were reminiscent of Proudhon's schemes of mutualism and free credit. "Guesde...declared that 'in spite of its Socialist mask' antisemitism was 'an economic and social reaction.'"²²⁵ "It is neither finance nor Jewry which is destroying the proletariat," Guesde told the audience and his anti-semitic opponents. "It is the bosses,...each one more Catholic than

²²³Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 36, and footnote 163, p. 36.

²²⁴Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 177.

²²⁵Ibid., p. 177.

the next who are responsible for the misery of the workers," ²²⁶ On September 11, 1892, Lafargue denounced antisemitism in the newspaper, Le Socialiste, ²²⁷ in the face of the Panama Scandal, which had been used to fan antisemitism by Drumont in his new daily, La Libre Parole, founded in April, 1892.

The antisemites like Morès, on the other hand, were more and more hostile to the Marxists, while still claiming to be Socialists themselves, following the debate with Guesde in 1892. Morès in 1893 and 1894 accused the organized Socialists of destroying his plan for national unity and denounced them as "internationalists in the pay of the Germans, Jews, or English."²²⁸ This was not the first time that the organized antisemites viewed their enemy as part of a conspiracy, nor would it be the last time.

When the Dreyfus Case began, in 1894, Guesde and his Parti Ouvrier Français, founded in 1882, viewed the Case with neutrality, holding that it was an issue between two camps of the bourgeoisie, and was not the concern of the proletariat. By July, 1898, however, after the Case had become l'Affaire, the Marxists condemned antisemitism once again, as undemocratic, although they did not yet take a Dreyfusard position. In September, 1898, at their Montluçon

²²⁶ Paul Lafargue, Le Socialiste, September 11, 1892, quoted in Harvey Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), pp. 210-211.

²²⁷ Ibid., footnote 105, p. 516.

²²⁸ Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, pp. 244-245.

Congress, the Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français condemned antisemitism by resolution and expressed sympathy for the Jewish proletariat.²²⁹

Finally, in October, Guesde responded to desire from the rank and file in the party to join with the Socialist Dreyfusards led by the Independent Socialist, Jean Jaurès. "In the steady stream of information which he received from the P.O.F. Federations, he learned that neutrality in the Affair was damaging to his party's strength."²³⁰ The intransigent opposition of Guesde to all forms of bourgeois republicanism had led many people to assume that the Guesdists were allies of the Right-wing opposition.

At the request of the P.O.F. leadership, the various Socialist groups met on October 16, 1898 in Paris to concert their efforts. Jean Jaurès, the great inspiration of the Dreyfusards, presided.²³¹ We shall discuss in more detail the impact of the Dreyfus Affair on the remnants of antisemitism in a later chapter.

In the case of the Guesdists, we may say once again that the kind of Socialism espoused seems to have had some bearing on the attitude toward antisemitism. Like Engels, the Guesdists took a very unromantic view of capitalism, recognizing it as an advance over feudalism, however critical they might be of capitalism. Guesde

²²⁹ Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 20.

²³⁰ Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès, p. 243.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 243.

recognized the progressive character of capitalism in an article in the newspaper, Cri de Peuple on June 18, 1886. The financiers, he indicated, were simply exploiting the exploiters, that is, the factory owners. Besides, the financiers centralized wealth, thus hastening the revolutionary process toward Socialism.²³² Professor Goldberg has written of the French Marxists that in the early Nineties

besides speaking out against anti-semitism, the Marxists also offered a theory to explain its appeal and growth. It was the product of economic and social insecurity, they argued, the desperate groping of the petty bourgeoisie, threatened with extinction by big capitalism, to find the cause of their misery. Thus they hit upon the Jew as a convenient, emotionally satisfying surrogate for the bitter truth--that capitalist concentration was sending them to their irrevocable doom. Though the economic determinism of the Marxists led them to simplify rather crudely the complex problem of anti-Semitism, they were nonetheless able to cast light on its appeal.²³³

Thus, the French Marxists reached by the 1890's a position on anti-semitism very similar to that of Friedrich Engels. Although the Marxist explanation may have been a simplification, that is understandable if their theory were based, as it must have been, upon an acquaintance with the antisemitism of Fourier, Toussenel, Leroux, Proudhon, Bakunin, Chirac, and others of similar view, whose anti-semitism did, in fact, harmonize very well with the Marxist description of antisemitism.

²³²Silberner, "French Socialism and the Jewish Question," p. 19.

²³³Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès, p. 211.

CHAPTER II

EDOUARD DRUMONT AND FRENCH ANTISEMITISM, 1886 TO 1897

Some writers have concluded that the antisemitism of late Nineteenth Century French originated largely with Edouard Drumont in the 1880's. As I have tried to show, however, Drumont came out of the antisemitic social radical tradition of Fourier, Toussenel, and Proudhon, which continued right up through the 1880's through the writings of Tridon and Chirac, and the reprinting of Toussenel in 1886 and 1887.

Drumont stands out as a more important figure than Tridon, Chirac, or Toussenel¹ for several reasons, with the result that he may seem like the beginning, rather than what he really was, the climax of a tradition. First of all, a larger, more receptive audience was available for Drumont's books. The Third Republic was a republic with very limited Presidential power, very restrained power for the premier, and so was not the republic desired by those radicals seeking strong leadership. Furthermore, the Third Republic of the 1880's

¹Toussenel had been largely forgotten by the majority of the public by 1889, according to Drumont's associate, Raphael Viau, Vingt Ans d'antisémitisme. 1889 à 1909, (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1910), p. 5.

was an anti-clerical republic, which alienated many Catholics, most of whom were already hostile. Finally, the republic, as it was led by the Opportunists, seemed to be a republic of corrupt bargains and petty greeds of ambitious mediocrities. Parliamentary democracy seemed to be no more than the defense of big property by a manipulating, even conspiratorial, elite. Discontent grew, and fed into the Boulangist movement from both the Right and the anti-parliamentarian Left. With the fall of Boulanger, conservatives and authoritarian radicals lost a rallying point, which could be replaced in part by antisemitism. The scandal of Panama in 1892, which implicated many deputies and many Jews, helped greatly to make Drumont's reputation and vice versa.

In addition, Drumont was more successful than earlier antisemites because he had a greater flair for publicizing himself. He fought duels, for example, for the sake of publicity as well as for pride, and urged his followers to do the same. In fact, one of these disciples, Raphael Viau, credited the duel between Drumont and Arthur Meyer, the editor of Le Gaulois, with creating much of the public interest in Drumont's first and most notorious book, La France juive, published in 1886.²

In his book, Professor Robert F. Byrnes concentrates mainly on the history of antisemitism in the Third Republic up to the Dreyfus

²Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 6-7.

Case of 1894, although he includes some conclusions about antisemitic developments in the Dreyfus Affair. No discussion of the pre-1894 period would be necessary here, were it not for some disagreements with the Byrnes interpretation. In a book of 348 pages, Professor Byrnes devotes less than 11 pages to the antisemitic social radicals prior to Drumont. Even so, Byrnes admits that "it was curious but true that most antisemitism in France before 1880 or 1885 came from the Left, not the Right, and that the French Socialists, who claimed to be working for a new society free from all exploitation and discrimination, contributed most to the strengthening and deepening of the antisemitic prejudice in France."³

This phenomenon of antisemitism among certain Leftists should be examined as more than a curious matter. Otherwise, a distorted understanding of the organized antisemitism of the Dreyfus Affair may well result. Thus, the writer would emphasize far more than does Byrnes the viewpoint that there was a group of French antisemitic thinkers who appeared across the span of most of the Nineteenth Century, whose antisemitism was similarly radical and sprang from similar or comparable hostilities to modern social change. They also seemed to have influenced, or at least impressed each other, and they formed a coherent historical development, which included Drumont.

Professor Byrnes views Drumont as not so much another figure in

³Robert F. Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1950), I, pp. 114-115.

a line of men who exemplify a certain form of social thought, but as simply a man of confusing, incoherent ideas.⁴ He concludes early in his discussion that Drumont's antisemitism sprang mainly from his Catholicism.⁵ Other writers, like Herzog and Nicholas Halasz, have treated Drumont as an agent for the Jesuits,⁶ an accusation current in Drumont's own time and one which he denied repeatedly.⁷ When this study was begun, the hypothesis was accepted that Drumont was anti-semitic because of his Catholic beliefs and ties, but nothing in his writings could be found to document this. It is difficult to conclude that a man with the stubborn, uncooperative, and independent personality which Drumont possessed would have become the instrument for the Jesuits or anyone else. It would appear that both his Catholicism and his antisemitism sprang from his hatred for social and economic change and for the political developments which he thought were supporting social and economic modernization.

Byrnes also writes that Drumont's antisemitism simply "masqueraded as a kind of socialism. This position was a very clever disguise, for it won to antisemitism many Christians who could not accept orthodox continental socialism and who sought some party of

⁴Ibid., I, pp. 164-165.

⁵Ibid., I, pp. 146, 166.

⁶Wilhelm Herzog, From Dreyfus to Pétain (New York: Creative Age Press, 1947), pp. 25-27. Nicholas Halasz, Captain Dreyfus: The Story of a Mass Hysteria (New York: Grove Press, 1957), p. 94.

⁷Edouard Drumont, Le Testament d'un Antisémit (Paris: E. Dentu for La Librairie de la Société des Gens de Lettres, 1891), p. 20. Drumont, Le Secret de fourmies (Paris: Albert Savine, 1892), p. 154.

opposition for voicing their discontent with the contemporary social system or their rank in that system. The disguise was so clever and Drumont's ranting about social injustices and the necessity for drastic changes was so constant that even some genuine Socialists were deceived for a few years."⁸

It is certain that Drumont was never a "genuine Socialist," if by that is meant an advocate of the confiscation of the propertied classes and the collectivization of property, but he never pretended to be such an advocate, and in fact, he criticized collectivization. Possibly men like Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, Chirac, and Drumont should be termed social radicals rather than Socialists, in order to distinguish them from collectivists, revolutionary or parliamentary.

However, it would appear that Drumont was sincere in his social protest and his social radicalism. While he did not advocate destruction of private property, except that of the Jews, while he was not above the distortion of facts and while he wrote in an emotional and sentimental manner, he was so consistent in his viewpoint in all his writings that it is surely fair to say that he believed in both the antisemitism and the social radicalism that he espoused. I find no evidence to the contrary, nor does Byrnes show any, despite his view of Drumont's Socialism as a "masquerade." In his book, Byrnes devotes only two pages to a discussion of Drumont's La Fin d'un Monde

⁸Byrnes, Antisemitism, I, pp. 160-161.

(Paris: 1889) and one page to La Dernière Bataille (Paris: 1890).⁹ A more extensive examination of Drumont's major writings should help to clarify his position.

Finally, Byrnes claims that "French Socialism in general by 1892 had rather clearly and completely broken away from antisemitism." From the evidence, it would appear that "completely," or even "rather completely," is too emphatic a conclusion. Antisemitism among "genuine Socialists was apparently declining in the 1890's, and diminished almost from sight in the Dreyfus Affair, but it would appear that the decline was more gradual than Professor Byrnes suggests.

In summary, there is a greater emphasis on continuity in this paper than in the earlier work on antisemitism by Professor Byrnes. Where he sees Drumont as being similar to earlier Leftists, or pseudo-Leftists, but still as essentially a Catholic antisemite, this paper presents him as a late Nineteenth Century example of a social radical antisemite, whose social protest sprang from the same kinds of romantic longings for a pre-industrial, pre-capitalist society that motivated earlier men like Fourier, Toussenel, and Proudhon. Just as they were contradictory, appearing as both traditionalists and radicals, so was Drumont. Where Byrnes would see the real Socialists "awakening from the spell of antisemitism in 1892, this paper presents the Socialists as passing through a gradual change of attitude, lasting through the Dreyfus

⁹Ibid., pp. 162-163, 165.

Affair.¹⁰

Edouard Drumont was born in Paris, the city he loved most, on May 3, 1844. He grew up on the right bank of the city, often playing in the Tuileries Gardens as a child. His father was a minor official employed at the Hôtel de Ville, and his family lived in "very modest conditions."¹¹ On his paternal side were lower middle-class republicans from Flanders, and on his maternal side, lower middle-class royalists of Bourges. Thus, Drumont, like so many antisemites, sprang from the artisan-shopkeeper class, the class for whom he had the greatest appeal. Of his father's line, Drumont wrote, that they were "workers, forest guards, all brave people and poor. My grandfather, Maximilien-Joseph-Albin Drumont, born in 1786,¹² who never left Lille after his return from the service, was half worker, half artist, like the artisans of old; he was at the time a painter of

¹⁰Peter G. J. Pulzer feels that much of the German antisemitism of the late Nineteenth Century was Socialist in rhetorical protest against middle-class Liberalism, but was still fundamentally traditionalist and anti-social modernization. He sees antisemitism "above all" in the middle and lower professional grades and the middle and small businessmen." The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 45, 93-94, 281. This is close to the view of French antisemitism expressed in this paper. The Central European antisemites may not have been as concerned about developments in parliament as about social change, but the French antisemites were troubled by parliamentary groups and actions mainly because they seemed to be instruments for unwanted social change.

¹¹Jacques Defrance, Drumont: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son programme (Alger: Baldachino-Laronde-Viguière, 1898), p. 3.

¹²Georges Bernanos, La Grande Peur des bien-pensants: Edouard Drumont (Paris: Grasset, 1931), p. 37.

coats of arms for carriages and a painter of porcelain."¹³ Drumont's father had been a répétiteur, or schoolmaster's assistant, in a provincial collège, then came to Paris, took courses in the Ecole des chartes, and became a skilled palaeographer. As such he got a position as secretary to a historian, Alexandre Buchon, whose young sister he married.¹⁴ Later, Drumont's father held a minor civil service position at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.

Buchon's father, Edouard Drumont's maternal grandfather, was a grocer at Bourges, a president of the local tribunal de commerce, and a "fervent royalist."¹⁵ The younger generation broke sharply with the politics of the father, however. Alexander Buchon became a well-known liberal writer, and an associate of liberal intellectuals like the historian, Augustin Thierry (1795-1856), the writer and politician, Benjamin Constant (1772-1825), and Paul-Louis Courier (1772-1825), the pamphleteer. Buchon was arrested and imprisoned in 1820 for participation in the protest against the loi du double vote, which gave two votes to the great land owners, for the sake of increasing conservative power at the expense of the middle class.¹⁶

¹³Edouard Drumont, La Dernière Bataille (Paris: E. Dentu for La Société des gens de lettres, 1890), p. 230.

¹⁴Ibid., p.p. 222-232. Stéphane Arnoulin, M. Edouard Drumont et les Jésuites (Paris: Librairie des Deux-Mondes, 1902), p. 12, footnote 1; p. 13.

¹⁵Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 230.

¹⁶Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 14.

Drumont claimed that he owed La France juive to his family.¹⁷ This seems doubtful. Drumont's book attacked republicans, non-Catholics, and the parliamentary republic, while his parents were ardent republicans, and admirers of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Hugo. Nor could the book have been inspired by his literary uncle, Alexandre Buchon, whose Histoire Universelle des Religions (1844) criticized the intolerance of the Church, saluted the coming of the Reformation, and praised the rationalism of the Eighteenth Century.¹⁸

Drumont insisted, however, that the staunch republicanism of his father was a different republicanism from that of the Third Republic. His father, Drumont wrote, "detested the Empire" like few men, but "the Republic in that time, was for many an ideal of justice, of disinterestedness, of liberty; it no more resembled the Republic of thieves, of evil-doers, of Jews, of swindlers, underhanded dealers (tripoteurs), the Republic of Wilson, Cazot, Raynal, Constans, Thévenet, than a virgin resembles une fille de la rue."¹⁹

Drumont claimed that with all the despotism of the Empire, "its peacefulness contrasted with the persecutions, the informing, the infamies repeated without cease, which constitute the basis of the present government. Napoleon III was a gentleman."²⁰ Unlike the

¹⁷Arnoulin comments that "They did not merit the insult," in Edouard Drumont, p. 101.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁹Edouard Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 222

²⁰Ibid., p. 223.

bourgeois Republic, the Empire seemed to Drumont to have pageantry, ceremony, and splendour. Drumont's position resembled that of earlier social radical antisemites, like Proudhon, who adored the idea of popular rule, but rejected it in practice for the authoritarian rule of the "popular" dictator, Napoleon III.

Drumont was raised in lay schools, the lycée Bonaparte, and the lycée Charlemagne,²¹ but he departed from both his family and school background to become a Catholic, as well as an ardent Bonapartist. Although critical of the church leadership at times, he remained a devoted Catholic. He was attracted to the irrational and the miraculous, which may explain his high praise for Lourdes,²² the focal point for those Nineteenth Century French Catholics who believed in modern miracles. He was also deeply fascinated with spiritualism and clairvoyance.

After leaving the lycée, Drumont at age 17 took, through his father's influence, a job at the Hôtel de Ville, a job which he soon hated.²³ Quitting after six months the civic bureaucracy, which he would always despise, he went into newspaper work, which unfortunately for him was overcrowded with hopeful writers in the 1860's, '70's, and '80's. Like many young writers, Drumont went from lean job to lean job on a succession of newspapers, many of which were short-

²¹ Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 16-17.

²² Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 285.

²³ Ibid., p. 270.

lived. By 1868, Drumont had written for Le Moniteur du Bâtiment, Le Contemporain, a Catholic journal founded by Henri Lasserre in 1865. At the collapse of Le Contemporain, Drumont followed Lasserre to La Revue du Monde Catholique.²⁴ Drumont also wrote for L'Univers of Louis Veuillot, and Le Figaro.²⁵

One writer suggests that the principal formative influence on the young Drumont's thinking was Charles Marchal,²⁶ whose mistress, Louise Gayte, married Drumont. In 1868, when Drumont was 24, Marchal was editor of a newspaper, l'Inflexible.²⁷ Marchal (1820-1870), was a strange adventurer-opportunist in the jungle of the political-financial-journalistic underworld of Paris. An illegitimate child, he was always one step ahead of disaster, until his death of alcohol-induced delerium tremens. Marchal's wife, a harpist, was much admired by Marie-Amelie, the wife of Louis Philippe. In fact, Marchal was able to gain the promise of a loan of 200 francs from the bourgeois king. However, after Marchal was caught using the king's promise as a means for promoting some sort of swindle, he lost favor with the king. Marchal responded with fierce hatred for the Orléans family, and wrote a hostile "history" of the Orléans family, La Famille d'Orléans depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. Arrested and

²⁴ Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 20-22.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 73-75.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

charged under the 1835 law of inciting to hate and to contempt for the person of the king and his constitutional authority, Marchal was sentenced in 1845 to five years in prison and a 10,000 franc fine. He was liberated in the Revolution of 1848.²⁸

Sensing the new direction of the political wind, Marchal claimed to have been a long-time republican, and even a socialist.²⁹ However, Marc Caussidière, the préfet de police, exposed him as a man who had offered to work as a police agent for Louis Philippe, and who had sought money from Louis Philippe.³⁰ For a short time, Marchal continued to pose as a republican, founding a journal in 1849, Le Conservateur de la République, and the, La Presse Républicaine. Again sensing the direction of the political breeze, he changed like a weathervane in 1850, starting a new journal which was clearly antirepublican and clerical, L'Ami du Peuple. This paper was backed by a Catholic deputy, M. de Mortemart, of an old, aristocratic family. Now Marchal "appealed to the sabre to save RELIGION, FAMILY, and PROPERTY,"³¹ the basic slogan of the traditionalist lower middle-class throughout the century. In an 1851 brochure, La Fin de la République, Marchal, who now added an aristocratic "de Bussy" to his

²⁸Ibid., p. 33.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

³⁰Marc Caussidière, Memoires de Causidière (Paris: 1849), p. 35, quoted by Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 35.

³¹Ibid., p. 39.

name, attacked the Republic and the University, the two institutions so often linked together by the Right as the twin evils of France.

"The true republicans, the logical republicans are butchers, assassins....They devised the Terror....The Republic is the crucifixion of France!"³²

Next, he attacked the University as the great corrupter of France,

for propagating the republican idea...; it is that which has thus corrupted and perverted the French youth. The University has always sought to destroy Catholic society. The University preaches revolt, destruction, anarchy, death. [It leads to collectivism,] the last and logical consequence of the republican idea....It raises up the youth against the power, against the authority, the religion, the laws, the society....It kills respect for God, for government, and for the father of the family. It teaches us of RIGHTS; the Church teaches us especially of DUTIES.³³

For this attack on the Constitution of the Republic, Marchal was tried and on October 8, 1851, sentenced to five years in prison and 6,000 francs fine. He chose exile. The coup d'état of Louis Napoleon of December 2, 1851 encouraged Marchal to expect a pardon. Although he had once threatened President Louis Napoleon with assassination if he dared to overthrow the Republic, Marchal now praised Napoleon in a pamphlet, "L'Empire devant l'Europe." Nevertheless,

³²Charles Marchal de Bussy, La Fin de la République (Paris: 1851), quoted in Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 40-41.

³³Ibid., p. 41.

upon his return to France, Marchal was arrested and imprisoned for a time. In an apologia for his actions, Marchal claimed that he was the target of "injuries and calumnies of the revolutionaries, liberals, PROTESTANTS, JEWS, democrats, all enemies of the Church."³⁴ Drumont and his antisemitic followers would lump together the same "enemies" for their attacks in the 1880's and 1890's.

In 1868, Marchal developed a regular vehicle for his attacks, the newspaper, L'Inflexible, which took on the new anticlerical and anti-Bonapartist paper of Henri Rochefort, La Lanterne. Drumont was strongly attracted to Marchal and joined his staff as an assistant and a writer, although he kept this fact as quiet as possible because he was also writing for republican newspapers. He spent much time with Marchal and Marchal's companion, Louise Gayte (who had changed her surname to Goethe to improve her image as a writer). Often the three friends would sit up late, talking and planning together in Marchal's apartment, and sometimes Drumont would stay the night if the hour were especially late.³⁵ After a year or so, the trio became a triangle, with the two men angry rivals for the woman. The 26 year old Drumont was the victor over the older man. In bitterness, Marchal began drinking heavily, became an alcoholic, was struck down in a street accident, and was taken to a hospital, where he died

³⁴Marchal, Pourquoi j'ai été republicain et pourquoi je ne le suis plus (Paris, n.d.), quoted in Arnoulin, p. 45.

³⁵Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 59

in the midst of delirium tremens in 1870.³⁶ In 1882 Drumont married Louise Gayte.³⁷

In 1869, Drumont was able to land a job on one of the newer, popular, mass-circulation newspapers, the moderately republican La Liberté. The editor of this paper, Emile de Girardin (1806-1881), like Pulitzer and Hearst in the United States, contributed greatly to the development of the low-priced grand-presse journalism of the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. It may be that an article praising Girardin, written by Drumont for La Chronique Illustrée of May 6, 1869, helped bring Drumont to Girardin's attention.³⁸ Ironically, at about the same time that he was praising Girardin in La Chronique Illustrée, he was very critical of him in La Revue du Monde Catholique. Girardin apparently did not read La Revue, however, and so Drumont came to La Liberté, where he remained from 1869 to the summer of 1870, and then again from 1872 to the end of 1885.³⁹ From 1871 to 1885 Drumont also worked as literary critic for Le Bien Public, a conservative republican newspaper associated with Opportunist republican followers of Adolphe Thiers. There he at first condemned the Second Empire severely, on July 16, 1871, and then later, on January 22, 1873, praised Napoleon III.⁴⁰

³⁶Ibid., p. 69.

³⁷Ibid., p. 106, footnote 1.

³⁸Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, pp. 283-289. Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 73-75.

³⁹Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 73-78.

⁴⁰Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 299. Arnoulin, pp. 80-83.

During most of the time he was at La Liberté the paper was published by the famous Jewish investors and promoters, the Pereire brothers, Emile (1800-1875) and Isaac (1806-1880). In an article for La Liberté of January 9, 1875, Drumont claimed that Emile Pereire was not a millionaire like other millionaires, but used his riches to improve society through the development of great industry. This was a view of industrialization strongly in contrast with his later view. He even praised other Jews who, like the Pereires, came out of the Saint-Simonian socialist-industrialist movement, men like Prosper Enfantin and Olinde Rodriguez. These men, "who may have ended by attributing an exaggerated importance to material interests, began by pursuing an ideal of social renovation."⁴¹

From the beginning of his writing career, Drumont showed a strong longing for the traditional, old-fashioned ways of the French past, and a clear dislike for modernization. Drumont always appeared to be sympathetic to the social and patriotic aspects of radicalism. But this was an authoritarian pseudo-Leftism which sprang from his fixation on Old France and his hostility to the middle-class republic, to parliamentary democracy, and to modern industrialism. Always, his anti-Freemasonry, and his antisemitism remained basic to his attitude of anti-republicanism and anti-industrialism.

Although La France juive became his most famous book, and made

⁴¹Drumont, "Emile Pereire," La Liberté, January 9, 1875, quoted in Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 90. Arnoulin believed this was written merely to please Isaac Pereire, p. 93.

his reputation both among antisemites and those who opposed antisemitism, it was not his first book. While Drumont was writing for the newspaper press, he was also writing or editing books, all glorifying the French past and French traditions.⁴² Drumont particularly loved to reminisce about old Paris, especially the Parisian neighborhood of his childhood. In 1890, he was still looking backward, fondly and sentimentally. "For the Parisian, the streets are thus full of things which have value only through that which you put there yourself. One walks as in ecstasy in certain streets, one looks at certain shops with tenderness [attendrissement], and one will be incapable of explaining why."⁴³ Drumont wrote further, "The mysterious charm resides primarily in the connection, so difficult to analyze, which exists between these inert stones or these inanimate objects and the confused memories which are awakened little by little in you...."⁴⁴ This traditionalism, or anti-modernism, was a constant theme in all Drumont's writings, and, as with earlier antisemites, played a key role in Drumont's antisemitism.

Drumont claimed that he began to write La France juive the day after the death of his wife, in early February, 1884.⁴⁵ This would

⁴² Mon Vieux Paris (Paris: 1878). Les Fêtes nationales de la France (Paris: 1879). La Mort de Louis XIV. Journal de Anthoine, publié pour la première fois (Paris: 1880). Les Papiers inédits du duc de Saint-Simon.

⁴³ Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 209.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 209-210.

⁴⁵ Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 95, footnote 1.

mean that the book took 21 months to produce, which seems a bit short for a 1200 page work. While Drumont, as I have shown, engaged in what may have been rhetorical modesty about the source of his book, claiming he owed it to his family, he was not so modest about the quality of the book. In 1890 he would write that "the first condition for writing contemporary history is not to have a literary situation in view; that is the way of La France juive, where one can notice some inexactitudes of a quite secondary order, in a book of profound truth."⁴⁶

The thesis of Drumont in La France juive is very simple. Certain political, economic, and social developments had put the integrity of France in great jeopardy: revolution, parliamentary republicanism, industrial modernization, and anticlericalism. The arch-villain behind these developments was Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), a man who had done much to found the parliamentary democracy of the Third Republic, the head of the Union républicaine political group, a man who inspired republicans like Jules Ferry to perpetrate the anticlerical campaign of the 1880's, a social change which Drumont damned. Gambetta had proclaimed, "Cléricalisme; voilà l'ennemi!" The underlying movement behind Gambetta and all evil social and political change was a conspiracy of Freemasonry, which had descended from the heretical Templars, an age-old conspiracy against France.

⁴⁶Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 165.

Allied with the Freemasons was the Protestant conspiracy. An even deeper and more sinister conspiracy lay behind the Freemasonic-Protestant conspiracy, however. This was the Jewish conspiracy, which manipulated Freemasonry and Protestantism into developing parliamentary democracy, and through that, a corrupt, avaricious industrial-capitalism, Jewish profit, and ultimately a Jewish take-over and destruction of France.

In this interpretation there was nothing new. The main antisemitic tradition in France in the Nineteenth Century had developed around fear and hostility to middle-class political, economic, and social change. That tradition had been most prominently associated with lower middle-class social radicalism. Drumont paid tribute to that radicalism in all his works with a radical rhetoric. Furthermore, Drumont always attacked the middle-class aspects of the French Revolutions prior to the Commune.

The Revolution of 1789 possessed all the marks of the developments which Drumont hated. "The only one whom the Revolution profited is the Jew,"⁴⁷ and this was so because of the role played by the Freemasons. "Robespierre, powerful before in Masonry, of which his father, Venerable of the Arras lodge, was one of the zealous propagators in France, which explains the popularity of the son, declared himself for the Jews."⁴⁸ The Jewish-Masonic link had

⁴⁷Drumont, La France juive, (46th ed. Paris: C. Marpon and E. Flammarion, 1886), I, p. vi.

⁴⁸Ibid., I, p. 282.

existed from medieval times, according to Drumont. Jews served the medieval Templars, the progenitors of the Freemasons, as agents.⁴⁹ Although the Templars had supposedly been destroyed, certain traces continued in the order of Freemasonry.⁵⁰ Together with the Freemasons, the Jews had "pursued the queen, Marie-Antoinette, with a special hate."⁵¹ Drumont defended the authenticity of a report by Monseigneur le Cardinal Mathieu of April 7, 1875, that an assembly of Freemasons of Frankfurt in 1785 decreed the death of the king of Sweden and of the king and queen of France.⁵²

For Drumont, the revolutionaries of the great revolution were either Freemasons or Jews. He didn't find more than a very few specific examples, but he made up for this by blaming those whom he believed possessed the characteristics of Jews.⁵³ This gave him a rather wide field for attack. Thus, Marat suffered, according to Drumont, from a "special folly: the Jewish neurosis," which seems to have been, for Drumont, "intellectual audacity."⁵⁴ Drumont attacked the duc d'Orléans, who had voted for the death of his cousin, Louis XVI, as an example of a leading Freemason in the Revolution. Drumont

⁴⁹Drumont, La France juive, I, p. 171.

⁵⁰Ibid., I, p. 175.

⁵¹Ibid., I, p. 264.

⁵²Ibid., I, p. 271, footnote 1.

⁵³Ibid., I, p. 292.

⁵⁴Ibid., I, p. 293.

claimed to see ties between the duke and the Jews, whom he allegedly befriended and favored.⁵⁵ So, if Drumont can be said to have possessed certain traits resembling radicalism, they were not of the parliamentary or revolutionary radical tradition.

Out of the French Revolution, or Jewish-Freemasonic Revolution, as Drumont put it, stemmed all the modern evils besetting France, in his opinion. From 1815 to 1830, under the Bourbon Restoration, the Jewish danger waned, but "with the government of Louis Philippe, the reign of the Jew commences,"⁵⁶ to last for 18 years of middle-class liberalism and early industrialization. Nevertheless, traditionalism in various forms maintained a critical alternative to the July Monarchy.

"The romantic school," wrote Drumont, "which had revived on a literary level the France of older times, which had corrected many false ideas, which had reconstituted with their color and their outline the manners of former times and the existence of generations disappeared, which had demonstrated in its study of the past, the reasons which justified the repulsion of our ancestors from the Jew." "In Victor Hugo, the nasty epithet is almost always joined to the name of the Jew."⁵⁷

⁵⁵Ibid., I, pp. 275-276.

⁵⁶Ibid., I, p. 341.

⁵⁷Ibid., I, p. 354.

Drumont also praised the social romanticism of the communal socialist, Toussenel, whose hostility to urbanization especially appealed to Drumont. "Author of l'Esprit des bêtes," Toussenel "possessed...the sentiment of sylvan nature." Toussenel "was a spirit whom the contemplation of Nature had rendered profoundly religious and who, if he had not been lost in the utopias of the Phalanstère, would have gone straight to Christ. He had that which the saints have had: the love and the hate, the love of the poor, the suffering, the humble, the hate of the rogues, the exploiters, the traffickers in human flesh."⁵⁸

Drumont displayed in his later works, like La Fin d'un monde (1889), the appearance of a radical concern for the poor and for the working-class, but this radical rhetoric was present in La France juive, although perhaps less noticeably. Drumont's antisemitism owed much to Toussenel, and Drumont gave high praise to the utopian socialist's antisemitic work, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque, calling it "an imperishable major-work on the reign of the Jews." "Pamphlet, philosophical and social study, work of poet, of thinker, of prophet, the admirable book of Toussenel is all that at once, and my sole ambition, I swear, after long years of literary labor, is that my book can take its place near his in the library of those who want to have explained the causes which have precipitated our glorious and

⁵⁸Ibid., I, p. 342.

dear country into ruin and shame."⁵⁹

There is no question that Drumont admired specifically the anti-semitism of Toussenel as well as his traditionalism and social protest. Drumont wrote that "Toussenel did not exaggerate when he wrote, 'The pig is the symbol of the Jew who has no shame in wallowing in baseness, in ignominy, in usury for augmenting his capital, who does not find speculation infamous when there is profit to make.'"⁶⁰

Drumont was also interested in the very different socialist movement of the July Monarchy, the Saint-Simonian, many of whose members were Jews. Drumont held that in the final analysis the Saint-Simonians were to be condemned, but he did place them a cut above other Jews because of their social concerns.⁶¹ Drumont showed some favor for the Saint-Simonian Pereire brothers, Emile and Isaac, even though they became investment bankers, because of their financial war with the Rothschild bankers, who had avoided Saint-Simonianism. The Rothschilds, wrote Drumont, represented the "German Jewish" threat, whereas the Saint-Simonians represented the lesser threat of "Portuguese Jewry." Furthermore, the Pereires did help to bring Jews out of their isolation and to help them to mix with the general

⁵⁹Ibid., I, p. 342.

⁶⁰Alphonse Toussenel, Les Juifs, rois de l'époque (1846), quoted in Drumont, La France juive, II, p. 455.

⁶¹Drumont, La France juive, I, p. 347.

population. They also gave Jews a more humanitarian image than did the Rothschilds.⁶²

Drumont was also drawn to the religious (or mystical) aspects of the Saint-Simonians. Part of Saint-Simonianism, he pointed out, "was devoted to those noble sentiments of the soul, to the principles of respect, of faith, of brotherhood without which man falls to the level of the animal." Because of this, the Saint-Simonians "were the negation of the Judaism...that one can call the Freemasonic Judaism or the Gambettist Judaism," of opportunism and anti-clericalism.⁶³

Nevertheless, for Drumont, Saint-Simonianism stood condemned because its essentials were materialism, and technological development, not help for the poor masses of France. "The dominant elements" in Saint-Simonianism were "material pleasure, the satisfaction of the present life, love of well-being, the cult of money."⁶⁴ For the Saint-Simonians, the slogan, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his works," was not fulfilled. "Low Jewish stock-brokers of Frankfurt or Cologne, coming into France in the train of the Rothschilds, and who have neither ability nor good or bad works, possess a superfluity, while men who have the ability and who have produced works, lack necessities."⁶⁵

⁶²Ibid., I, pp. 348, 346, 353.

⁶³Ibid., I, p. 347.

⁶⁴Ibid., I, p. 347.

⁶⁵Ibid., I, p. 351.

Drumont, in concluding his remarks on Saint-Simonianism, returned to his main theme that modern change had caused harm rather than progress.

The poor railroad engineer, standing up in his locomotive night and day, exposed to the cold, to the heat, his face lashed by the snow and by the wind, who contracts one of those terrible maladies that science remains impotent to cure, is much worse off, from the physical and moral viewpoint, than the good villager who lives peacefully in a corner of old France, not laboring beyond his strength, and who falls asleep in death with the hope of possessing eternal bliss.⁶⁶

The essence of Drumont's thinking is that the virtuous life of honest labor, simple needs, and true religion were best found in the rural life of old France, and that modernization, brought about through parliamentary republicanism, Freemasonry, and the Jews, was destroying France. Insofar as they were spiritual and fraternal, the Saint-Simonians were attractive, but in their emphasis on industrial technology, they were harmful. Drumont concluded, "These pretended apostles of Progress were largely humbugs."⁶⁷

Drumont was not as critical of the Revolution of 1848 as he was of the Revolution of 1789 because the former did nothing to aid the Jews. On the other hand, it did not directly assault Jewish power. "The Revolution of 1848 is the only one in France which was in no way agreeable to the Jews; meanwhile that [revolution] which will be

⁶⁶Ibid., I, p. 351.

⁶⁷Ibid., I, p. 353.

infinitely less agreeable to them, the good one, [is] that which will be made against them."⁶⁸ "Proudhon, with a word rude and just, defined the Revolution of 1848; 'France,' he said, 'has only changed Jews,'" that is, from the Orléanist Rothschilds to the Saint-Simonian Pereires.⁶⁹

The regime which most upset Drumont, and which he denounced above all others, was the regime of his own adulthood, the Third Republic. "The 4 September... puts in power the French Jews, the Gambettas, the Simons, the Picards, the Magnins...to whom it is necessary to join Jules Favre. It is a Jewish financier, Edmond Adorn, who takes possession of the prefecture of police; Camille Sée, the secretary-general of the Ministry of the Interior, is Jewish."⁷⁰ William Henry Waddington, Premier in 1879 and Ambassador to London, 1883 to 1893, became the Jew's man in foreign affairs, wrote Drumont, while the economist, Léon Say, "the man of the king of the Jews," that is, the man of Rothschild, served the interests of the Jews in domestic affairs.⁷¹ "The years 1872 and 1873," when the republicans consolidated their position in the Chamber of Deputies, and frustrated

⁶⁸Ibid., I, p. 363.

⁶⁹Ibid., I, pp. 363-364.

⁷⁰Ibid., I, p. 384.

⁷¹Ibid., I, p. 462. Several of these men, like Gambetta and Simon, were not Jews, but this was of no importance to Drumont. A dupe (un enjuivé) of the Jews was as bad as a Jew.

a restoration of the Monarchy, produced the "complete triumph of Israel."⁷² With France a Republic, "the high bank, Freemasonry, the Révolution cosmopolite, all three [were] in the hands of the Jews."⁷³

Drumont viewed the Opportunist republicans, many of whom had origins in the upper middle-class and the political Center of pre-Republican days, as similar to certain aristocrats of great wealth and power, traitors to their past, who had made the 1789 revolution and were similarly judeophile. "When the catastrophes which threaten us are produced, it will be very instructive to compare this list of grands seigneurs who made the Revolution, with the list of the members of the centre droit and the centre gauche who have made the République juive."⁷⁴

Drumont reserved his most severe condemnation for the middle-class republican leader of the early years of the Third Republic, Léon Gambetta, many of whose disciples became the leaders of Opportunism, the powerful upper middle-class republicans of the Third Republic. In effect, "the true master of Jewry in France, he in whom Israel and Freemasonry put their dearest hope, was Gambetta."⁷⁵ It was Gambetta, Drumont claimed, who inspired the anticlericalism of the republicans which flourished in the 1880's.⁷⁶

⁷²Ibid., I, p. 419.

⁷³Ibid., I, p. 184.

⁷⁴Ibid., I, p. 275.

⁷⁵Ibid., I, p. 463.

⁷⁶Ibid., I, p. 463.

Laicization of the schools was the specific social change of the 1880's which was the most immediate cause of anger and fear in Drumont (as well as among other antisemites and among conservative Catholics) before the Panama Scandal broke in 1892. Laicization, or the removal of all clerical instructors and all religious instruction from the public schools, was another form of modernization, but it was not only an accomplishment of the bourgeoisie against an older, truer France. It was also the work of the worst element of the middle-class, the republican, against the best element of traditional France, the Church. Also, just as the Jews were the presumed manipulators of the middle-class in causing the destruction of older French economic ways, so the Jews maneuvered the republicans in their anticlerical attacks.

Drumont attacked Michel Bréal (1832-1915), a French linguist and philosopher of history, born in Landau, educated at the Ecole normale and the University of Berlin, for trying to modernize French education. Erroneously calling Bréal a "German Jew," Drumont accused him of being

among the leaders of the work of destruction taken against all that which recalls the Fatherland of old. This one was assigned to pursue old France [as it existed] in those belles lettres, those humanities, humaniores litterae, which render man more human, more civilized. He was the instrument of this need which the Jew has to beat down everything....Thanks to the German pedagogic methods, which Michel Bréal adopted in France [classical studies are in decline, and] the poor brains of our children, confounded by a thousand confused notions, become incapable of any serious effort.⁷⁷

Like the Freemasons and the republicans, with whom they were integrated, the Protestants were in league with the Jews for the

⁷⁷Ibid., II, p. 442.

destruction of old France. Restless and querulous, the Protestants, like the English, were always running around acting shocked, and mouthing the word, "shocking!" but actually were committing "infamies sans nom."⁷⁸ Like Calvin, and the 16th Century warring Protestants, wrote Drumont, they were rigidly dogmatic and intolerant, and "since the commencement of the [Third] Republic, French Protestantism had made alliance with Jewry."⁷⁹ Together they had taken up a "campaign in order to destroy in the soul of the new generation all elevated sentiment, all respect for the great traditions of their ancestors."⁸⁰

The aristocracy was of no help in preserving the traditional ways. Quite the contrary, it was falling over itself in a petty, greedy race to marry the daughters of rich Americans, whose lack of traditionalism was matched only by their lack of culture. Thus, Americanism had invaded Paris almost as much as the Jews. In fact, Drumont concluded that Americanism, like Freemasonry, Protestantism, and parliamentary republicanism, was Jewish. "Certain Yankee families, having come originally from Germany and having lost their Jewishness in the crossing of the Atlantic," come to Paris, making a "deafening noise" about their commercial and industrial wealth.

⁷⁸Ibid., II, p. 351.

⁷⁹Ibid., II, p. 364.

⁸⁰Ibid., II, p. 364.

French aristocrats quickly become seduced by the image of riches.

"Is not industry the queen of the modern world? Vive l'industrie!

With these millions without number I shall rebuild my château."

And so, an old aristocratic French family would become joined, wrote Drumont, to an upstart Jewish-American family. "Apart from some exceptions, these Americans are usually very disagreeable creatures... as impertinent as the truly great ladies of former times were simple, generous, and good...."⁸¹

In all his works, including La France juive, Drumont showed for the workers a concern which, coupled with his hostility to the propertied middle-class, links him to French social radicalism. He was not a modern, industrial socialist, however. He defended the industrial workers, but defended them as men who were formerly robust, provincial peasants and artisans, who had been lured to the city and debased by the middle-class and especially by the Jews. Writing for the newspaper, Le Monde, on January 7, 1886, just before the publication of La France juive, Drumont wrote of "the republican government, which has done all to demoralize and to brutalize the proletariat."⁸²

In La France juive, Drumont wrote,

This hatred for the poor, for the laborer, which is without example in history, takes all forms. The Republicans in power seemed to have only one preoccupation: to beat

⁸¹Ibid., II, pp. 252-254.

⁸²Drumont, Le Monde, January 7, 1886, quoted in Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 99.

down the proletariat in relation to the Jew in order that he can make of them his prey more easily.⁸³

The old handicraft work of the French artisan was rapidly being destroyed by the Jews. This is a central theme in Drumont, for whom the skilled artisan and small man of property was the representative worker and the true French of the French. And, handicraft had declined rapidly in sales since 1875, argued Drumont, as modern industrialization continued to develop. "Here again the Jewish theories have carried their logical fruits. Even when he draws all the profit from it, the Jew does not value manual labor, the labor of the shop and of the fields. He admires exclusively the courtier or the intermediary....Christian civilization has insured, ennobled, poeticised labor; Jewish civilization has exploited it through the capitalist Jew and defamed it through the revolutionary Jew; the capitalist Jew makes the worker a serf, the revolutionary Jew...calls him a galley-slave."⁸⁴

Still, the Parisian worker, debased as he was, absurd as his work had become, constituted an impediment, perhaps one of the greatest impediments to the "Jewish Freemasonry," especially to its anti-clericalism, which was so much the target of Drumont's hatred. The Paris worker "detested that which he called...the priestly party,

⁸³Drumont, La France juive, II, p. 301.

⁸⁴Ibid., II, pp. 281-282.

but he did not admit, like

Paul Bert, that man was made in the image of a dog; he regarded without revulsion the crucifix which decorated his humble home; near the cross, sometimes, was attached the croix d'honneur of some companion of Napoleon the First.⁸⁵

Skilled with his hands, undisputed master in those works, half artistic and half industrial, in which Paris, now supplanted as in everything by the foreign, triumphed so long without contest, served by an innate taste which took the place of knowledge, the Parisian worker ceased work rarely and lived relatively happily. For his quality, his spirit, his gaiety, this type was very particularly an object of hate for the German Jew; for his patriotism which had just been affirmed during the siege, he was an obstacle to the invasion of the foreigners among us; by his loyalty, his disinterestedness, his love of all that which was right and honest he was a danger for the future political-financial dictatorship of the Jew, Gambetta.⁸⁶

Attracted to both the traditional and the socially radical, Drumont displayed an ambivalent attitude toward the Paris Commune. "The Commune had two faces. The one unreasonable, unreflective, but courageous! The French face. The other, mercantile, cupiditive, pillaging, basely speculative: the Jewish face." Drumont blamed the fires on Jewish Communards, "to hide their thefts."⁸⁷

La France juive achieved a noteriety rather quickly after publication, and Drumont's name became a familiar one. Did the book attract attention because it appeared following the laicization of

⁸⁵Ibid., I, p. 398.

⁸⁶Ibid., I, p. 399.

⁸⁷Ibid., I, p. 401.

of the schools, in a time of clerical and conservative fear and hostility to the opportunist republic? This would seem likely. Did the reappearance of many early antisemitic works in the 1880's also reflect this growing fear of laicization, and also help to prepare an audience for Drumont's work? This also seems likely.

There may have been other causes for the attention given to La France juive, however. A writer who was a close associate of Drumont during the 1890's credits a duel between Drumont and Arthur Meyer, the editor of the rather conservative journal, Le Gaulois, with creating the public interest in La France juive. Meyer challenged Drumont in order to avenge the insults to Jews published in the book.⁸⁸ This was not the only duel for Drumont at this particular time, nor was it his first. Charles Laurent fought Drumont on behalf of a Jewish friend, M. Veil-Picard, whom Drumont had insulted in La France juive. Drumont was the loser in the fray, taking a wound in the cheek from Laurent.⁸⁹ Dueling became a common publicity technique for Drumont and his followers, and throughout the 1890's, whenever things lagged for his newspaper, La Libre Parole, the staff-members were encouraged to engage in duels which were then reported

⁸⁸Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁹La Croix, April 21, 1886, p. 1.

in detail in the newspaper.

In his next major work, La Fin d'un Monde, published in late 1888, Drumont continued to show interest in social problems of the poor, and he devoted even more space than before to the history and the concerns of the French Left. He may have been looking for a ready-made movement on which to build an antisemitic movement. And, French social radicalism had included antisemitic attitudes, as earlier indicated. Georges Bernanos refers to Drumont's Fin d'un monde as "possibly his best book, with its chapters so rich, so concise, the reign of the Bourgeoisie, the Monopolies, the Socialist Idea across the 19th Century, Socialism in the present, Catholic Socialism, Appearances [of Socialism]." ⁹⁰

Ultimately, Drumont's basic conservatism, his commitment to small property, to the Church, and to traditional family structure, led him to reject Socialism, which was too egalitarian, and too libertarian for him. Yet, he had some complimentary things to say about Socialists, perhaps in the hope of using them.

Those who, witnesses to the frightful disorder which reigns everywhere today, are preoccupied with reorganizing the society on new bases, or bases more rational and more just, are thus not at all enemies of public peace, whom it is necessary to hold at a distance like vagabond armies... There are among them, without doubt, some misguided, some hateful, some false spirits, but the aim pursued by the socialists of good faith is very noble, and their work is very necessary. ⁹¹

⁹⁰ Bernanos, Edouard Drumont, p. 208.

⁹¹ Edouard Drumont, La Fin d'un monde, étude psychologique et sociale (Paris: Albert Savine, 1888), p. 2.

The acid test for Drumont's approval of a socialist was either some spiritual sentiment, or, failing that, some hostility for Jews. Thus, he criticized Proudhon for his "blasphemy," but kept a portrait of Proudhon over his desk. "Louis Blanc always declared himself a deist," added Drumont with some approval. "Cabet, Fourier, Pierre Leroux, the Saint-Simonians themselves, entrusted a large part of the work which they projected for construction of elevated sentiments

of the human soul. The class struggle which forms the foundation of the socialism of the present time, still appeared only on a vague level. Without doubt, Tousse- senel described the bourgeois exploitation admirably; Fourier demonstrated that the Revolution [of 1789] had for its goal only the substitution of an ever increasing collective servitude for the decreasing individual servitudes.⁹²

In La Fin d'un monde Drumont showed a particular attraction to the independent socialist, the editor of La Revue Socialiste, Benoît Malon. Perhaps the very humble rural origins of Malon appealed to Drumont, or the fact that he was self-taught, and not of the University. His books were "full of errors no doubt, marred by a partisan spirit, but animated by generosity."⁹³ Drumont accompanied Malon on his rounds in the working-class section of Paris on at least one occasion. He found Malon typical of the French Section of the First International, which Drumont admired for its "legitimate origins," as opposed to German or Jewish origins, and its "generous aspirations"

⁹²Ibid., pp. 108-110.

⁹³Ibid., p. 125.

as opposed to envious class-struggle.⁹⁴

True, the members of the International, including Malon, had played an important role in the Paris Commune, but, wrote Drumont, repeating a theme from La France juive, they were not to blame for the insurrection, the violence, and the fire. "It was the bourgeois element which was

especially ferocious in the Commune, the lively and bohemian Bourgeoisie of the Latin Quarter; the Popular element in the midst of this frightening crisis remained human, that is to say, French.⁹⁵

Here was a back-handed implication that at least some of the middle-class were neither quite human nor fully French. "The school of the [Catholic] Brothers, where the majority of the workers had been students, produced fewer instigators of killings than the University."⁹⁶ Of all the members of the International who served in the Communal Assembly, only four favored violent measures, according to Drumont. The rest, he wrote with approval, voted with the moderate minority.⁹⁷

Unfortunately, wrote Drumont, "bloody week" of May, 1871, killed off much of the older generation of socialists, men of '48, leaving the path open for the new spirit of class hatred and violence.⁹⁸ He

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 125.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 138.

blamed the blood-shed on the aristocracy, whom he felt should have known better, and on the middle-class. Representatives of the soil, of tradition, of old France, all these rural aristocrats, wrote Drumont, seemed called to Versailles, by Providence, in order to call down justice on all those middle-class orators and lawyers who had just led France to the abyss in the war of '70. Yet, instead of restraining the middle-class and supporting the poor and the workers of Paris, and reconciling them to tradition, the conservatives joined the middle-class in calling for bloody repression of Paris.⁹⁹

The issue of the Church was the main barrier between Drumont and Socialists like Malon and other Socialists like him in the First International, yet he remained sympathetic to them. "They have been

corrupted no doubt, by the atmosphere of calumny and of lies against the Church, created by the Bourgeoisie, but they have kept nevertheless the human essence, honest and even religious without their realizing it, which had been implanted in them from innumerable generations of peasants, honest and Christian, living in tranquil villages, far from manufacturers and factories of today.¹⁰⁰

Drumont was attracted to other socialists of the post-1870 era who were at that time antisemitic, just as he had been attracted to Toussenel, Pierre Leroux, Proudhon, and other antisemitic social radicals of an earlier period. For example, Drumont complimented Auguste Chirac, the antisemitic author of l'Agiotage sous la troisième

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 125.

Republique, for his understanding of financial affairs.¹⁰¹ He appreciated the fact that Chirac, although a collectivist, stood apart from the revolutionaries.¹⁰²

The Marxists, however, were by and large the least attractive to Drumont, and ultimately it would be their materialistic analysis of history, their call for class struggle, and their acceptance of modern industry that caused Drumont to reject them completely, and as we have seen, caused Marxists like Engels to reject antisemitism. Drumont believed that the Marxists supported capitalists (all Jews or men dominated by Jews, in his view) insofar as they were tearing down the pre-capitalist, traditionalist elements of society. Furthermore, Drumont realized that for the Marxists the accumulation and the centralization of capital into a few hands was a progressive development because it prepared the way for the destruction of capitalism.

It is not, moreover, that Jules Guesde has a special antipathy for the Jews. Quite the contrary, he is full of admiration for the dissolvent qualities of this race and he would be deeply grateful to it for having destroyed property, which, without the Jews, would have been indestructable. He rejoiced to see the riches accumulated now in a few hands, but, he is of the feeling that it may be time to loosen these hands that our conservatives are content to lick.¹⁰³

Obviously, this kind of antisemitism was not Drumont's antisemitism. Furthermore, the Marxists intended to continue the industrial

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 158.

system, after seizing it and collectivizing it. While parasitism and business shut-downs were to go out with the capitalists, and hours of work were to be reduced as hours of learning and leisure were to be increased, the factory and the mass society were to remain. The traditional family relationships and the small property of the artisan would be endangered. If they were not deliberately destroyed by the revolutionaries, they would still be threatened by the seductive qualities of the system itself.¹⁰⁴

Marxism was not for Drumont. "Without disputing that [the Marxist social and economic relationships] would not be, from certain points of view, more just than the present organization, I would prefer, personally, to refuge among cannibals than to live in the middle of this ideal society."¹⁰⁵ Besides, "frightening disorders would follow any victory" of Marxism, and the Germans, the other great foreign enemy in Drumont's view might use the occasion "to intervene" in France.¹⁰⁶

Yet, whatever their failings, the Marxists and the other Socialists were not the ones to be blamed, in Drumont's opinion. Their attitudes were merely symptomatic of the Jewish-capitalist-industrialist conspiracy. The Socialists, wrote Drumont, "are the logical

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 163.

result and conclusion of existing facts that the Jewish system has created, with the support and approval of the Bourgeoisie."¹⁰⁷ Thus, Drumont's social radicalism and his interpretation of French socialist movements can be seen as merely another form of his anti-modernism. Marxist Socialism, which was more noticeable in France by 1888, six years after the formation of Guesde's Parti Ouvrier Français, Drumont usually called "German Socialism."

Drumont's traditionalism is exemplified not only in his stance of radicalism, but also in the attitude toward property which he expressed in La Fin d'un Monde. He argued that "property doesn't have the sacro-sanct character which the bourgeois school attributes to it."¹⁰⁸ "This conception of property is quite new and does not resemble at all that which existed in the past." "Property....was never a dogma as they believe it today."¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Drumont vehemently denied that "I attack Property" in criticizing capitalism or in defending some aspects of socialism. "I respect Property and I am far from wanting to go so far as the exaggeration in doctrine of the Church Fathers," who believed in holding property in common.¹¹⁰ Drumont argued that private property, while not sacred, "is one of

¹⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 163-166.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 231.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 231.

the modes of organization of the society, one of the means of fulfilling the primordial law, the vital law, the law of an equitable existence for all, to assure the right of all men to live by their labor."¹¹¹

A man of spiritual character might ask, wrote Drumont, whether property really holds anything good for those who possess it. "Yes, without a doubt," answered Drumont,

and even for those who don't possess it. The majority of intelligent workers are of my opinion. In spite of the frightful demoralization which has sown in all consciences the shameful tripotages of these last years, in spite of the hates which ferment everywhere, the proletariat, taken as a whole, are neither levelers, nor even envious; they accept very much [the fact] that there are millionaires. Millionaires are like flowers in a field....They permit industries of wealth to be developed, and they have their raison d'être.¹¹²

Drumont claimed to object to the property which was grandiose, the property of the multimillionaires of France, whom he claimed were Jews. "The question [of property] changes when one is found in the presence of [great Jewish multimillionaires] who have 200, 300, 600 millions sometimes, who have acquired these millions by speculation only, who are served by these millions merely in order to acquire more millions, speculating without cease...." "This is no more a property; this is a power, and it is necessary to suppress it when it breeds."¹¹³

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 231.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 231.

Drumont saw traditional France of Church, family, and small property, threatened on all sides. The huge new department stores, for example, like le Bon Marché, were destroying small shops. Like the great banks and the great factories, the department stores, according to Drumont, depended upon a large Jewish "syndicate," which was forming an industrial feudalism, with Rothschild at the head of this capitalist feudal power.¹¹⁴

Yet, it was industrialism and the modern factory system which Drumont saw as the greatest immediate threat to family, small property, and religion.

The Eiffel tower, witness to imbecility, bad taste, and silly arrogance, raised expressly in order to proclaim this to the sky, is the monument-symbol of industrialized France. Its purpose is to be as insolent and stupid as modern life and to crush with its stupid hauteur all that which was the Paris of our fathers, the Paris of memories, the old houses and the churches, Notre-Dame and the Arc de Triomphe, the prayer and the glory.....¹¹⁵

"I have," wrote Drumont, "a veritable cult of those who created this France of earlier times, which was the first nation of Europe..."¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, however, the old traditions and customs which protected the weak and the disinherited had fallen, he wrote.¹¹⁷

Industrial life destroyed not only small property, but also the

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 81.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. iv.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 230.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 40.

family. Factory life caused impermanence, and short, uprooted lives, ending in the hospital or in prison, while rural life passed from generation to generation in the same soil and in the same house.¹¹⁸

In industrial towns, the father works in one factory, the son in another, the mother elsewhere....They are together at home only when asleep; the family exists no more except in the horizontal.¹¹⁹

Drumont also accused the Jews of originating a direct, legal assault on the family structure. The legalization of divorce on July 27, 1884 had resulted from legislation introduced by a Jew, Alfred Naquet, in the Chamber of Deputies. Drumont, like other opponents of legalized divorce, saw the cause of divorce in the freedom to gain a divorce, rather than in the desire for a divorce. And, that freedom was the work of a Jew.

A single Jew, the apostle of divorce, was able to break the sacred bonds which formerly united the spouses, and to glorify prostitution in a country which the holiness of marriage had contributed to make so great. A single Jew was able to write: 'Marriage is an institution essentially tyrannical and prejudicial to the freedom of man, the cause of the degeneration of the human species; it is an institution generating vice, misery, and sickness; it is necessary to prefer concubinage or free union, without intervention of authority, without religion or legal consecration. If marriage exists, prostitution does more good than harm.'¹²⁰

The legalization of divorce, seemed linked, in Drumont's mind, with the laicization of education, as atheism seemed linked with debauchery, and all of these things were linked to the Jews.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 167.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 166.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 113. Drumont quoted from Réligion, famille et propriété, a book by Alfred Naquet.

Spain, non-industrial, or pre-industrial, was a natural symbol of traditional society for Drumont. He noted that the French bourgeois view of Spain was of a country of backwardness and decadence. For French Protestants, Spain was proof of the degeneracy of Catholicism. For himself, however, Spain's traditionalism produced a healthy and happy people, not the dejected, anemic, alcoholics of the industrial city. It was modernized France, not old Spain, that was decadent. Drumont was not slow to point out that Spain had expelled the Jews, whereas France had let them in.¹²¹

In La Fin d'un monde, and in La France juive, Drumont viewed the French Revolution as a major instrument of the breakdown of French traditionalism, family, religion, and small property, and as the gateway to Jewish domination of France. Despite the common idea, "accepted like words from the Gospel," wrote Drumont, "that the Revolution had rendered the land to the peasants," it actually took from the aristocracy without creating men of small property. The Bourgeoisie got the land.¹²² The Bourgeoisie won the property of the émigré aristocrats, made property an inalienable right, and "after constituting property on completely new bases, organized labor to suit" themselves.¹²³ They supported the political aspects of the French Revolution which were advantageous to them, but "repressed

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 37.

¹²² Ibid., p. 4.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

ruthlessly" any shadow of a movement to make social revolution.¹²⁴

The final irony was that the Revolution led to the oppression of the People by the Bourgeoisie, while at the same time, the Bourgeoisie blamed the people for the revolutionary terrorism.

The principles of the Revolution were reborn in the parliamentary republicanism of the Third Republic. The last defense of the Bourgeoisie, wrote Drumont, was the government of the two Chambers. Whether parliamentary republicanism were called Opportunism or Radicalism didn't matter. The parliamentary republic was a "great cow" to be milked by the Bourgeoisie.¹²⁵

Again, in La Fin d'un monde, as in La France juive, Drumont wrote that the Jews were ultimately responsible for the Revolution and for what followed. Why did Drumont blame Jews more than the Bourgeoisie in general? He admitted that "the Jew sheltered himself under the same umbrella as the Bourgeoisie, the principle of '89."¹²⁶ But the Jews, for Drumont, were the ringleaders. "The Bourgeoisie, exploiting the People, [is] despoiled in its turn by the Jew; such is the resumé of the economic history of this century."¹²⁷

The least culpable section of the middle-class, for Drumont, was

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

¹²⁶ Drumont, La France juive, p. 37.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

the lower middle-class, the "more French part, that which itself labors." These "little craftsmen with four or five employees," were struggling against the great capitalist coalitions of "the gilded Bourgeoisie," which had "entered into the Jewish system."¹²⁸

Drumont also distinguished between Jews and Bourgeoisie in general with the argument that the Jews were more ruthless, less caring for the future of France, which they could never love as natives. He compared them to "nomads of passage--cutting down the tree in order to have the fruits" whereas the capitalists of French origin took more care for France and hence were not as ruthless.¹²⁹

Furthermore, wrote Drumont, the Jews were putting the security of the whole nation into jeopardy because they invested much of their profit of French origin in foreign countries like Italy. This capital would be lost in case of war since Italy was an ally of Germany.¹³⁰ Drumont also charged that faulty army rifle cartridges, produced by a company backed by a syndicate formed by Rothschild and other Jewish investors, cost millions to make and then millions more to destroy, but not before terrible explosions occurred at the forts of Mont-Valérien, December, 1882, Saint-Adresse, February, 1883, and Besançon, later on.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

¹³¹ Drumont, La Fin d'un monde, p. 75.

Was there any solution, in Drumont's opinion, to the problems which he believed existed? He would have liked to have found in the aristocracy a leadership which could restore traditional France. The French aristocracy was far gone in decadence, however. It was concerned only with pleasure, scandalous behaviour, parties, adultery, material possessions. It was thus, dependent upon the Jews. It had no sympathy for the common French people. "The banker who is merely a parasite, appropriating his profit from the work of others, is the only laborer whom High Society accepts, chooses, receives."¹³²

Rather than "make common cause with the ruined holders of small property, the small handicrafters fallen back to the status of wage-earners, who will soon constitute the most redoubtable battallions of the socialist army," the aristocracy "identified more and more with Jewry and the High Bank."¹³³ Of all the French aristocracy, only those in the Army officer cadres, and of these, only the cavalry officers, received Drumont's unadulterated praise.¹³⁴

Like the aristocracy, the French Church had failed to lead and to serve the French masses. The Church could have performed a great role, in Drumont's opinion, given its traditional position on property and profit. "Capitalism, that is to say, usury, 'the execrable fecundity of money,' is viewed as anathema under all its forms," from

¹³² Ibid., p. 140.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 46.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 405-406.

Saint Paul to the great Church Fathers, wrote Drumont.¹³⁵ Property rights were limited in Church doctrine.¹³⁶ The Church approved private property, but not absolutely. A man had the right to the use or to the fruits of his property, but nothing more.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the Church, Drumont felt, had abandoned the workers. After the Revolution the Church had come under the influence of the Bourgeoisie. Then, the Concordat of 1801 arranged the Gallican Church to suit the bourgeois state. As a result, the workers turned away from the Church and formed their own organizations, like the International.¹³⁸

Desiring to support both Church and artisan, Drumont might be expected to have supported les Cercles catholiques d'ouvriers, created by his friend, Albert, comte de Mun (1841-1914), in 1871. In actual fact, Drumont felt that while the Cercles had added many "honest and edifying works," to France, they had "only a mediocre social significance."¹³⁹ True, the Cercles were "devoted to the working-class" and had a "very lively desire to obtain...laws which would ameliorate the condition of the laborers," but on the whole, the Cercles were reduced to counsels of resignation: "Don't revolt; take your bad fortune with patience; the good Lord awaits those...who

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 193.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 189.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 188.

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 116-119.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 200

have not demanded the raising of salaries...."¹⁴⁰

In its traditionalism, and in its anti-revolutionary, anti-parliamentary social radicalism, La Fin d'un monde was basically no different in outlook than La France juive, nor did it offer any remedy beyond attacking the Jews.

The third of the three major works of Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, was published in 1890. The book added nothing of importance to what Drumont had already set forth. Again he attacked the modernization of the French economy and society, again he made some show of social radicalism, again he blamed the Jews for all that he believed to be wrong in France.

The 1889 centennial exposition honoring the French Revolution was for Drumont, "the last word of Modernism, with the tower which recalls the original of Babel."¹⁴¹ "A true Jewish fête that Exposition!"¹⁴² "The Centennial of '89 is the Centennial of the Jews."¹⁴³ As always, Drumont longed for old France, and especially for old Paris, and particularly for his old neighborhood in Paris. Drumont reminisces with great sentimentality about the house of his childhood,

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁴¹ Edouard Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 93.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 95.

which was actually a building in which people had gone mad, a father had raped a daughter, a husband had murdered a wife.¹⁴⁴ Yet, it was home, and presumably free of Jews.

All that was changing. "As it happens when one reaches the end," he wrote of the modernizing social process in France, "the last transformations have been accomplished with a frightening rapidity. That which was formerly the matter of a century is today the affair of a few years."¹⁴⁵ The ultimate dream of Drumont was in fact to restore an idealized, nostalgic version of the society and politics of pre-republican, pre-industrial, and pre-bourgeois France. This is explicitly stated in La Dernière Bataille. What we want, Drumont wrote, is to live in a society where we can

do our Christian duties, be grouped around our pastors, exercise our rights peacefully, be tranquil in a society with the barest organization, where the rich will not be very rich, but where the poor will be rare and where people don't die of hunger.¹⁴⁶

Unfortunately, this way of life, because of the bourgeoisie, was almost gone. And, behind the bourgeoisie, claimed Drumont, as he had always claimed, were the Jews.

The Jewish work follows its regular processus. The destruction of France is prepared with a sort of mathematical precision. All the steps are marked in

¹⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 212-216.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 550.

advance, and people will be struck later by the clarity with which I have indicated all which must come to pass.¹⁴⁷

It was natural, given his outlook, that Drumont would attack the Panama Canal project, long before the scandal broke, because the Canal was not simply a project involving shady dealings, it was one of the greatest of modern technological and commercial enterprises, and it involved Jewish promoters. Like the Eiffel Tower, the Panama Canal could be taken as a great symbol of the developments that Drumont hated. "In order to understand Panama," wrote Drumont, one must visualize the chaos of the Nineteenth Century, "a Chaos with the appearance of civilization." Panama was a wild confusion of "engineers, exploiters, publicans, keepers of public houses, beggars, workers from all countries, all there floundering pell-mell, without any direction, laboring without uniform plan, continuously restarting the same labor."¹⁴⁸

Drumont viewed Ferdinand de Lesseps, the leading promoter of the Canal operation, as a fraud and a traitor because, so Drumont claimed, he had tried to help the Italian republicans in 1849 against the French troops who were laying siege to Rome on behalf of the Pope, and also because, so Drumont alleged, he had allowed the English to get a share in the control of the Suez Canal.¹⁴⁹ De Lesseps was

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 347.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 339.

highly favored, Drumont claimed, because of the Jews. "They are happy when they have represented a traitor as an eminent patriot, when they have acclaimed a corrupt and venal [person] as the personification of integrity."¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Jews were not only behind the glorification of de Lesseps, they were also, more importantly, the cause of the Panama mess.¹⁵¹

As always, Drumont's hostility to economic modernization was matched by his hatred for parliamentary modernization, which were linked in his mind. Actually, the parliamentary system of the Third Republic, rather than the absence of hereditary monarchy seems to have been the major cause for Drumont's hostility to republicanism. He saw some hope in an authoritarian leader, and he quoted with favor an army officer who said that it was necessary to have a soldier at the head of France, who would not tremble before the parliamentarians, before the Jewish financiers, before the Freemasons, before the gluttoned bourgeoisie.¹⁵²

Drumont never put much stock in Boulanger, although he devoted some space to the Boulanger Affair in La Dernière Bataille. While

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 339.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 369.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 478.

he accused the Rothschilds¹⁵³ of helping the republicans defeat the conservative-Boulangist alliance in the 1889 election, Drumont put most of the blame for failure on the cowardice of Boulanger.¹⁵⁴

This was a switch from Drumont's view in La Fin d'un monde, published shortly before the Boulanger debacle in January, 1889. Then, Drumont wrote that "of all the pretenders, the only one who has some chance is Boulanger."¹⁵⁵

In La Dernière Bataille, Drumont offered no more concrete remedy for his complaints than he had in his earlier books. The aristocracy "was on its knees before all German Jewish charlatans."¹⁵⁶ The French masses, on the other hand, were still feeling "more disgust than hate for these accursed fortunes" of the Jews.¹⁵⁷ So, there was no remedy in sight. Perhaps it was the lack of remedy that led Drumont to develop a conspiracy theory of social change, and to

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 182, footnote. Drumont wrote, "The intervention of Rothschild, who put his bank at the disposition of [Benjamin] Constans, [the radical Minister of Interior], in order to combat the royalists, helped to cause the check of the conservatives."

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 183-185.

¹⁵⁵Drumont, La Fin d'un monde, p. 312.

¹⁵⁶Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p. 247.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 247.

have such an edge of hatred to his anger.¹⁵⁸

In his fear and hatred of social change, with no apparent means of preventing it, Drumont's antisemitism took on the nature of a fear of the supernatural, even a fear of witchcraft.

The Jewish nation, supple, insinuating, agitating and hardy, charged with gold, heavy with misdeeds, esthetically odious, corresponds trait for trait to the wandering vampires, who destroy the coherence of the most robust lives, madden the sheep on the hillside, the glistening, grunting pig, and expose man's brain, so noble, to even more rapid and more certain breakdowns.¹⁵⁹

Drumont himself respected and supported spiritualism and divination, as I shall show later.

What is reputed to have been the first public antisemitic gathering in France took place in fashionable Neuilly-sur-Seine, on the western edge of Paris, on Saturday, January 19, 1890. It was held under the auspices of the Ligue Antisémitique Nationale Française, just formed in September, 1889. Edouard Drumont called the meeting at the suggestion of the Jesuit leader in Paris, Father du Lac,¹⁶⁰ in order

¹⁵⁸The British anthropologist, Lucy Mair, writes that "An explanation of misfortune which lays the blame on the sufferer is too hard for most people to accept. It has to be softened by the possibility that some suffering is undeserved, and this is where the belief in witchcraft is invoked." Again she writes, "The troubles [witches] are supposed to be able to cause, of course, are those for which people know no remedy." Again, "Many students of society believe that the desire for... a world... without witches has grown stronger in the small-scale societies since their way of life has been invaded by the institutions of the machine world." Lucy Mair, Witchcraft, World University Library (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969), pp. 30, 38, 161.

¹⁵⁹Drumont, La Dernière Bataille, p p. 192-193.

¹⁶⁰Jules Guérin, Les Trafiquants de l'Antisémitisme (Paris: Félix Juven, 1906), p. 3.

to bring together various anti-parliamentary elements, former Boulangists, Nationalists, antisemitic social radicals, and authoritarians of all classes, to promote the re-election of Francis Laur to the Chamber of Deputies.¹⁶¹ The role of the Jesuit, Father du Lac, is indistinct. Drumont was frequently accused of being an agent of the Jesuits, but Jules Guérin, one of the leaders of the Ligue Antisémétique, wrote in describing the meeting of January 19, that Father du Lac was unsympathetic to antisemitic groupings and actions. "Drumont often affirmed to me that Father du Lac was personally very hostile to us."¹⁶²

Although there were many aristocrats present, due to the invitation of the marquis de Morès, who had joined wholeheartedly in the antisemitic cause, the major figures were generally those maintaining a position of social radicalism and anti-parliamentary republicanism. Paul Déroulède, for example, of the Ligue de Patriotes, was present, along with a few other former Boulangist deputies.¹⁶³ Francis Laur himself, was an opportunistic Left-Boulangist, who had once been associated with the Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français of Jules Guesde. On March 21, 1889, speaking from the rostrum of the Chamber of

¹⁶¹Raphael Viau, Vingt Ans d'antisémitisme, 1889-1909 (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1910), pp. 14, 17-18.

¹⁶²Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. 3.

¹⁶³Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 14-15.

Deputies, Laur had denounced the "scandalous manoeuvres of the Rothschilds" in monopolizing copper.¹⁶⁴ Drumont praised this as the "first time" that Rothschild had been referred to by name from the Tribune.¹⁶⁵ The Neuilly meeting passed a resolution in behalf of Laur as "the Republican, the Socialist, and the enemy of Rothschild."¹⁶⁶

The presence of another associate of Jules Guesde, Paul de Susini, who presided over the Neuilly meeting, also indicates the social radical tenor of the affair.¹⁶⁷ On September 25, 1886, Guesde, Susini, and Paul Lafargue, Guesde's lieutenant, came before the Court of Assises of the Seine because it was charged that at a meeting at the Château d'Eau on June 3, Susini had incited to murder Rothschild, Lafargue had incited to pillage Rothschild, and Guesde had incited to murder and pillage Rothschild. Lafargue had addressed the jury, "Today the Jewish coalition is leading France to its ruin by weakening small commerce, small industry, is cornering small capital, which is then confiscated by the Rothschilds, the Erlangers, the Dreyfuses, and tutti quanti." "On one side, the jury has before it the thieves, the financiers; on the other, the socialists, their accusers.... In

¹⁶⁴"La Journée," La Croix, March 23, 1889, p. 1.

¹⁶⁵"Les Rothschild," La Croix, March 24-25, 1889, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶Compère-Morel, Jules Guesde (Paris, 1937), p. 232, quoted in Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, I, p. 164.

¹⁶⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 14-15.

acquitting us you will give a blow to finance." The jury acquitted the three.¹⁶⁸

Jacques de Biez, the vice-president of the new Ligue, held views very close to those of its president, Drumont, but without the latter's Catholicism. Like Drumont, he was basically a traditionalist, opposed to the divorce law of 1884, for example, because it would supposedly destroy the family.¹⁶⁹ Like Drumont, he "resumed" the social radical "tradition of Toussenel, of the Republicans of 1848 who were of the school of Tridon. It would even be possible to insist that it was he who was in the true antisemitic tradition much more than Drumont," who was Catholic and less revolutionary.¹⁷⁰ Still, both men were authoritarian republicans. De Biez would have preferred a king, but since there was no longer a legitimate pretender to the throne he advocated a Republic without a parliament.¹⁷¹

De Biez also subscribed to that brand of racism which glorified the Celts and attacked the Latins, as well as the Jews. In fact, he believed that Jesus was not a Jew, but a Celt, born in a Gallic enclave, Galilee.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸"Anarchistes acquittés en Cour D'Assises," La Croix, September 26-27, 1886, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹Gendrot, Drumont, p. 45.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 36, 46.

¹⁷²Ibid., pp. 41-46. Jacques Barzun gives an extended discussion of Celtism in France in his Race: A Study in Superstition (Rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965).

At the Neuilly meeting, the vice-president of the new Ligue proclaimed, "We are Socialists, for we demand an accounting with the financial feudality. We are National Socialists, because we attack international finance so that we may have France for the French. We are for the workers against the exploiters."¹⁷³

The marquis de Morès was far and away the most flamboyant figure among the antisemites. The son of the duc de Vallombrosa, he married Medara de Hoffman, the only daughter of a rich New York banker, in 1882.¹⁷⁴ After living for a time in North Dakota and New York City, and traveling in India and Tonkin, he had read Drumont's La France juive, and had concluded that the Jews were the cause of the failure of his enterprises in North America and Asia.

In 1889, Morès came into contact with Jules Guérin,¹⁷⁵ a petroleum engineer, who quickly became his devoted lieutenant. Guérin, born in 1860 in Madrid, had studied at the école Colbert in Paris and in 1881 began to work in a series of unsuccessful oil refining enterprises.¹⁷⁶ For a time he owned a small oil refinery at Aubervilliers, which he lost to a large petroleum company.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³François Bournand (Jean de Ligneau, pseud.), Juifs et antisémites en Europe (Paris, 1892), pp. 88-101, quoted in Byrnes, Antisemitism, p. 164.

¹⁷⁴Bernanos, Edouard Drumont, p. 214.

¹⁷⁵Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. v.

¹⁷⁶Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, pp. 176-178.

¹⁷⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 265.

In April, 1890, with the backing of the new Ligue Antisémitique, both Drumont, manifesting himself as party chief, and the marquis de Morès ran for the Paris Municipal Council, but each was badly defeated. Drumont ran in his own beloved quarter of Gros-Caillou, but even so, collected only 613 votes, mostly non-Catholic, it must be concluded, given his opposition. Ironically, Drumont was defeated by Léo Taxil,¹⁷⁸ the prankster who had begun his career as a publicist of sensational anti-Catholic "exposés," and had then, when interest lagged, made a well-publicized conversion to Catholicism just five years before the election. He then specialized in anti-Freemasonry "exposés." Morès, on the other hand, lost to a moderate Socialist, Paul Brousse, the leader of the "Possibilists," or Fédération des Travailleurs Socialistes de France.

Next, Morès tried to persuade the Ligue to demonstrate jointly with the Paris workers on May Day, 1890. Drumont and de Biez strongly opposed this, fearing it would lead to assault ("pillage") on private property.¹⁷⁹ The Morès faction of the Ligue did demonstrate on May Day, but without Drumont and de Biez, who fled Paris for fear of being held responsible for inciting to riot. Morès and the ligueurs demonstrated "without mixing with the Socialists or the anarchists," whom Guérin, generally hostile to the Left, believed were "more or less enjuivés." The Ligue remained distinct from the Left, advocating

¹⁷⁸Gendrot, Drumont, p. 21.

¹⁷⁹Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. 11.

its own program, however tinged with a kind of working-class pretension, Guérin later claimed.¹⁸⁰

From the beginning, rivalry existed between Drumont and Morès, a rivalry which often led to mutual recriminations and to a complete break in late 1893. Jules Guérin blamed Drumont's failure to support the May Day demonstration for the rapid decline in membership of the Ligue, which virtually disappeared after the Drumont-Morès argument over the May Day demonstration. It was dissolved on October 20, 1890.¹⁸¹

Before the municipal elections of 1890, a group of butchers from the slaughterhouses of La Villette came to visit Morès. Calling themselves the "Camarades de La Villette" and the "Amis de La Villette." They were "curious" about this marquis who had involved himself in a movement in behalf of the people. Attracted to Morès, the "camarades" formed the main element of the Morès faction in the Ligue Antisémite. When the Ligue collapsed, Morès patronized the "Amis de La Villette," to whom he gave the new designation, "Morès et ses Amis."

Morès and Guérin presented these followers as working-class men, but they were closer to being lower middle-class. In his oration at the funeral of Morès in 1896, Bernard Roux, one of the original "amis," referred to the friends of Morès as the "little artisans of La

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁸¹Ibid., pp. 12, 10.

Villette."¹⁸² Raphael Viau called them "employers for the most part," who were hostile to the Jewish butchers in La Villette.¹⁸³ These muscular butchers did provide the nucleus for street-brawling groups for antisemitism, but they did not represent a section of the Paris proletariat. They were no exception to the fact that antisemitism, even as a form of social radicalism, appealed most of all to the lower middle-class.¹⁸⁴

Drumont claimed that he wrote his next book, Le Testament d'un Antisémit,¹⁸⁵ not so much to present another analysis of French society, as to take stock of the previous five years of antisemitic struggle in order to see why "the success of Antisemitism has not been more rapid," why "all the victims of the Jews had not grouped themselves around" him.¹⁸⁶ Drumont particularly wanted to show why

¹⁸²Ibid., pp. 9, 97.

¹⁸³Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 44.

¹⁸⁴Professor Byrnes has a lengthy chapter on Morès, but he does not mention that the butchers of La Villette were basically artisans and small employers, rather than industrial workers. Byrnes, Antisemitism, I, pp. 225-250. Also, while Byrnes mentions in a sentence that the Paris high clergy supported Léo Taxil against Drumont in the 1890 Paris municipal election, Byrnes does not note any significance from this regarding Church attitudes toward antisemitism. Ibid., p. 311. In a 14 page section on the antics of Taxil, Byrnes makes no mention of the long attack on Taxil by Drumont in his Testament d'un Antisémit (Paris: E. Dentu for La Librarie de la Société des Gens de Lettres, 1891), pp. 404-437.

¹⁸⁵Edouard Drumont, Le Testament d'un Antisémit (Paris: E. Dentu for La Société des Gens de Lettres, 1891).

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 3.

he had failed to win a seat on the Paris municipal council in the election of 1890. The book is centered on the election, and the entire final section is devoted completely to it.

For example, Drumont attacked certain popular journalists like the vaguely Leftist Mme. Séverine (real name, Caroline Guebhard) for not aiding the antisemitic movement. In 1894, Séverine joined the staff of Drumont's Libre Parole, but in 1891, Drumont argued that she seemed hypnotized by the wealth of Rothschild, and presented wealthy Jews as men of charity.¹⁸⁷ The Magistracy, which Drumont claimed had been corrupted by the Jews, was another group which supported the Jews and hindered antisemitism.¹⁸⁸ He was particularly angry over the lack of support for antisemitism from nationalists like Paul Déroulède, leader of the Ligue des Patriotes, the street-demonstrating, authoritarian-nationalist organization of the 1880's. Déroulède had made an antisemitic speech at the Neuilly meeting in January, 1890, but "Some weeks later,... Déroulède came to the quarter of the Gros-Caillou," that is, to Drumont's house, "to declare, with the same gestures, the same intonation, the same apparent passion, that Antisemitism was the shame of our century, that the Jews were the model of all the virtues and that those who attacked them used a language unworthy for a civilized epoch."¹⁸⁹ Even during the Dreyfus Affair, when Déroulède reactivated the Ligue for anti-Dreyfusard street

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 214-225.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

demonstrations, he remained more Nationalistic and anti-Republican than antisemitic.

Although Drumont blamed elements of the press, the Magistracy, and the Nationalists, for the weakness of antisemitism, he blamed far more the upper class and the upper middle-class Catholic conservatives for that weakness, and specifically for his election defeat. "All those who dream of offering something to their country should remember that which I say to them: 'Never believe in the conservatives; there is nothing to make of them.'"¹⁹⁰ There were not really two parties in France, as was generally held, Drumont argued. The "exploiters, the cynical Republicans," and the supposedly honest, generous conservatives were really a part of "one system, the capitalist and Jewish system."¹⁹¹

The aristocrats were friendly with wealthy Jews, complained Drumont,¹⁹² and "It was the baron Reille, ...who was in charge of organizing the campaign against me."¹⁹³ The baron René Reille was one of the most prominent aristocrats and capitalists in the late Nineteenth Century, and it was he and his family who led the opposition against the Socialist leader, Jean Jaurès in the Tarn.¹⁹⁴ The

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹²Ibid., pp. 181-182.

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 399.

¹⁹⁴Harvey Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1962), p. 59.

baron was a member of the Chamber of Deputies from the second electoral district of Castres, and headed the Bonapartist committee of Drumont's Gros-Caillou quarter in Paris. The baron used his organization to promote the candidacy of Léo Taxil, Drumont's opponent.

Yet, Drumont devoted his major attack against the upper clergy, since he felt that they had provided the greatest support for Taxil, although they should have been, he argued, very hostile to Taxil. Ironically, as he pointed out, Taxil had been the leading anti-Catholic publicist from 1879 to 1885, publishing scurrilous attacks on Pope Pius IX, for example, in such works as Les Amours secrètes de Pie IX and A Bas le calotte! Drumont was furious that the Church hierarchy not only supported Taxil, but the Papal Nuncio, Rotelli, embraced Taxil.¹⁹⁵

Drumont was not angry with all the clergy, however. Far from it. He admired the lower clergy in a way that was comparable to his defense of the smaller-propertyied class. In fact, he saw the lower clergy and the lower middle-class as part of one social group, the real people of France. "C'est là the admirable side of the French clergy....These sons of the people who constitute almost exclusively today the lower clergy," contrasted sharply with the clergy who were sons of the aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 348.

Believing that Jewish power was great in Germany and Austria, Drumont nevertheless claimed that in France the situation was worse, because the Republic, being parliamentary in form, was more easily controlled by the Jews than were the German and Austrian monarchies.¹⁹⁷ It was for this reason perhaps that Drumont always devoted part of his books to attacking French political life as well as French social developments. He always claimed to be a republican, but as he put it to his friend, Jacques de Biez, Delegate-general of the defunct Ligue Antisémitique, their republic was not the parliamentary Third Republic.

The Republic that you love was the French Republic and not the Jewish Republic; the Republic represents for you that which it represented for your father and for mine; an ideal of disinterestedness, of fraternity, and of justice, and you turn with scorn from this ignominious regime which, in spite of its deceiving manners, is not the Republic of the French, but the Kingdom of Rothschild.¹⁹⁸

Drumont reaffirmed his social radicalism and his aloofness from genuine Socialists by expressing the hope that his work would help someone in the future save France through antisemitism. "A man of the people, a socialist chief who will refuse to imitate his comrades and let himself be subsidized, like them, by the Synagogue, will take up our campaign; he will group around him these thousands of awakened beings, taught by us, these ruined of all classes, these little store keepers, ruined by the great department stores, these workers of the city and of the fields crushed under all the monopolies, which we

¹⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 136-37.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. vi.

have shown were the enemy."¹⁹⁹ This view showed, however, that Drumont was too depressed about the state of antisemitism to believe that he would live to see the triumph of his movement.

On May 1, 1891, at Fourmies in the Nord, occurred the bloodiest episode in French labor history in the late Nineteenth Century. Drumont gave an account of the shooting of workers and their families in his book, Le Secret de Fourmies in 1892. Drumont expressed complete sympathy with the workers, although he criticized their leader, Culine, suggesting that he was lacking in militancy, like most leaders of the workers.²⁰⁰ Drumont gave his highest praise to the abbé Margerin, curé of Fourmies, whom he depicted ministering to the fallen workers in the midst of the shooting, and pleading with the Army commandant to cease the firing.²⁰¹

Already disgusted with the conservatives, Drumont portrayed them as indifferent to the plight of the workers generally, and to the massacre at Fourmies in particular. The charity programs of the upper class ladies amounted to nothing more than a fashionable farce. He spoke of "one hundred professional ladies of Charity who for twenty-five years have deafened us with noise of their virtues, alternating with descriptions of their toilettes."²⁰² But they would

¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. x-xi.

²⁰⁰Edouard Drumont, Le Secret de Fourmies (Paris: Albert Savine, 1892), pp. 28-29.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 55.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 146.

do nothing for the workers of Fourmies. In reality, all initiatives and even all faculty of spontaneous emotion have disappeared from the upper classes; ...All the cerebral power of the aristocracy lodges under the bald cranium of [Arthur] Meyer [of the royalist Gaulois]; the aristocracy has thoughts only when Meyer thinks, and Meyer is not always able to think..."²⁰³

However, Drumont reserved his major attack for the sub-prefect who had ordered the troops into Fourmies, Isaac Seligman, holding him up as a prime example of the enemy. "He who ordered the firing on the workers is the Jew, that is to say, the being who owes all to the People, who must thank the People for having founded at the cost of so much sacrifice this Republic which the Jew exploits in every way."²⁰⁴

In the 1890's, the primary vehicle for Drumont's antisemitism was the daily newspaper he founded in 1892, La Libre Parole, which began publication on April 20. Ironically, the paper was backed financially by J.-B. G  rin, a Jew, who had been the editor of Le National in the 1880's, and who had campaigned strongly against Boulanger, but had suddenly done an about-face, and come out in support of Boulanger. This turn-about had alienated many Jews, so that, in 1890, when he appealed in a letter to fellow Jews for subscriptions to Le National, as a republican newspaper "defending the immortal principles of '89,"

²⁰³Ibid., pp. 148-149.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 65.

he got little response.²⁰⁵ Then, in late 1891, Gérin began publishing a journal defending some of the important French Jews whom Drumont had attacked. This journal soon collapsed. Thus, Gérin apparently became embittered against his fellow Jews and also became convinced that antisemitism provided an opportunity for a profitable journalistic venture.²⁰⁶

On April 14, 1892, Gérin, signing himself as directeur of La Semaine Financière, an investment news journal, mailed out a form letter seeking financial investment in the Société du journal, La Libre Parole.²⁰⁷ Later, in recounting the circumstances of the founding of La Libre Parole, a former staff member of the newspaper, Alfred Gendrot, denied the rumor that La Libre Parole had been founded with Jesuit money. Although Gérin apparently became a Catholic, "only the Catholic money of Gérin, allied by marriage to Gambettiste republicans," was involved in the founding.²⁰⁸

Drumont's initial campaign in La Libre Parole was an attack on the presence of Jewish officers in the Army. The three sensational duels that ensued, perhaps more than the articles themselves, caused

²⁰⁵J.-B. Gérin, Letter, "Monsieur et cher coréligionnaire," April 20, 1890, quoted in Arnoulin, Edouard Drumont, p. 163.

²⁰⁶Gendrot, Drumont, p. 89.

²⁰⁷Stéphane Arnoulin, M. Edouard Drumont et les Jesuites, pp. 164-165.

²⁰⁸Gendrot, Drumont, p. 89.

circulation of the new journal to boom. In the first duel, Captain Ernest Crémieux-Foa, a Jew, challenged Drumont himself. Ironically, Crémieux-Foa's second was Major Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy, who was the real spy in the Dreyfus Case. After this duel, in which honor was satisfied without bloodshed, Crémieux-Foa challenged M. Lamase, a journalist whose signature appeared below some of the articles attacking Jewish officers. The seconds, for Crémieux-Foa, another Jewish officer, Captain Armand Mayer, and for Lamase, the marquis de Morès, the antisemitic leader, who it was rumored had actually written the articles, agreed upon secrecy for the whole proceeding. Nevertheless, word of the duel was leaked to the press. The marquis de Morès accused Captain Mayer of a breach of honor, and a third duel followed on June 23, 1892, in which de Morès fatally wounded Mayer.²⁰⁹

Immediately, public interest in La Libre Parole soared, giving the newspaper a profitable, if scandalous beginning. The Drumont-Arthur Meyer duel in 1886 had helped sales of La France juive. Thus, whenever circulation lagged in the 1890's, Drumont would encourage his staff to become involved in duels in order to publicize the journal.²¹⁰ In fact, while goading Jewish Army officers into duels, Drumont had also, in May, 1892, sought a conflict with a member of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Burdeau. Drumont accused the deputy of

²⁰⁹ Nicholas Halasz, Captain Dreyfus. The Story of a Mass Hysteria (New York: Grove Press, 1955), pp. 26-27.

²¹⁰ Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 103, 134.

taking bribes from Rothschild in exchange for supporting legislation renewing the privileges of the Bank of France. Instead of challenging Drumont to a duel, Burdeau sued him for libel, and Drumont was convicted, sentenced to three months imprisonment, fined a thousand francs, and made to pay for the insertion of the court decision in La Libre Parole for nine days and in eight other newspapers for one day.²¹¹ This constituted expensive publicity for La Libre Parole.

The duels and the lawsuit gave La Libre Parole considerable, if expensive, publicity, but the Panama Scandal, which began in late 1892 and continued to March, 1893, and the antisemitic treatment La Libre Parole gave it, really launched the journal solidly. By February, 1893, it had over 200,000 subscribers.²¹² Drumont had condemned the Panama project in La Dernière Bataille, in 1890, but he had not discovered the corruption of deputies and editors and the financial extravagance that constituted the Scandal.

In early November, 1892, the Baron Jacques de Reinach, Jewish financier, lobbyist for the Panama Company, and associate of wealthy parliamentarians, began to divulge inside information about the Company's corrupt operations to La Libre Parole. He hoped in this way to persuade Drumont (at Saint-Pélagie prison since November 1, serving his three-month imprisonment for the Burdeau libel) not to

²¹¹Ibid., pp. 34-60.

²¹²Ibid., p. 50.

expose him in case another Jewish lobbyist, for the Company, Dr. Cornelius Herz, should try to expose him in the scandals of the company. De Reinach was trying to buy silence by talking. The plan didn't work. Thus, on November 8, La Libre Parole began to publish anonymous articles accusing the Panama Canal Company of bribing parliamentarians and editors through the medium of Herz, who retaliated by making like accusations of de Reinach to the nationalist journal, La Cocarde. Drumont, whatever he promised, gave no immunity to de Reinach, who was soon attacked, along with a junior associate, Aaron, or Arton, by both La Cocarde and La Libre Parole. Unable to get Herz, who had been subjecting him to extortion for years, to stop the articles in La Libre Parole and La Cocarde, de Reinach committed suicide on November 20, 1892. Herz immediately fled to London.²¹³ In March, 1893, a few deputies and Company men were brought to trial, but only one was convicted, perhaps because he was the only one who confessed guilt.

One of the authors of articles on Panama in La Libre Parole, Noel Gaulois (real name, Emmanuel Gallian), a young medical student and socialist, had edited his own antisemitic newspaper in his hometown, Lille. This paper, L'Anti-Youtre, founded in early 1891 with the support of the newspaper vending entrepreneur, Napoléon Hayard,

²¹³Guy Chapman, The Third Republic of France: The First Phase, 1871-1894 (London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1962), pp. 311-312.

soon collapsed. Gaulois, not getting along well with his father, took a job in the infirmary of a transatlantic liner. After visiting Panama he prepared three articles on the Panama Company and gave them to La Libre Parole on his return. Gaulois extolled the continued association of antisemitism and Socialism, and hoped for their alliance.²¹⁴

Hoping to continue to profit from the scandal of Panama, Drumont, the anti-parliamentarian, ran for the Chamber of Deputies in May, 1893, in Amiens, as a self-styled Socialist, against the radical, Fiquet. For all its furor, the scandal of Panama had very little effect on the national vote, and Drumont returned from Amiens a bit chagrined over a crushing defeat.²¹⁵

In fact, with France left unshaken by the passing of Panama, Drumont and La Libre Parole became quite desperate for an appealing issue. "We were living in a continual state of trepidation at the journal," commented a former staffmember.²¹⁶ The laic legislation had been instituted for several years. The Republic was increasingly in the hands of radical republicans. Even many Catholics were interested in rallying to the parliamentary republic.²¹⁷

²¹⁴Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 97, 78.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 191. Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 60. Byrnes writes in his Antisemitism in Modern France that Drumont got only four thousand votes to his opponent's thirteen thousand, p. 334.

²¹⁶Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 72.

²¹⁷Byrnes discusses the fierce attack of Drumont against the Ralliement Pope Leo XIII and French Catholic leaders of ralliement, in Antisemitism, pp. 334-335.

Furthermore, Drumont and the other major leader of the antisemitic movement, the marquis de Morès, quarreled in August, 1893, dividing the declining antisemitic movement, and weakening it further.²¹⁸ This amusing quarrel grew out of the fact that Morès revealed (due to legal pressure from Clemenceau, whom Morès had been trying to disgrace, without success) that he had borrowed twenty thousand francs in 1891 from the notorious Dr. Cornelius Herz of the Panama Company, and that Drumont had negotiated the loan. The antisemitic movement remained divided throughout the 1890's because of the split between the two men, even though Morès died on June 9, 1896 in the North African desert.

In late 1893, Drumont emphasized once again his brand of social radicalism in hopes of reviving public interest in himself and his paper. He thought that he saw an opportunity in the affair over the bomb, thrown by the anarchist, Auguste Vaillant, into the Chamber of Deputies on December 9, 1893. By defending Vaillant, Drumont could strike a blow at the hated parliamentary republic, and with some fanciful embroidery of his own, Drumont used the Vaillant affair to work in an attack on the dangers of modernization to France. Modern society, not Vaillant, should be held accountable, argued Drumont, because it had taught him that there was no God, no after life, "that man is like a dog," just an "assemblage of chemical matter."²¹⁹ For

²¹⁸Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 78.

²¹⁹Ibid., p. 72.

two months, Drumont worked the Vaillant affair, charging that the shock and confusion of modern notions in the head of Vaillant led him to throw the bomb.²²⁰

The popular woman journalist, Séverine (real name, Caroline Guebhard), a Socialist anti-parliamentarian who had joined the Boulangist movement, now joined La Libre Parole. She introduced not only Vaillant's little daughter, Sidonie, to the journal's readers, but also a rather sentimental, yet appealing style of writing. For a very short time, the addition of Séverine, and the exploitation of the plight of Sidonie Vaillant, increased circulation.²²¹ But, the glorification of anarchism began to cause a slipping of circulation, which dropped by several thousand in 1894.

In order to determine just what sort of readership La Libre Parole could claim, Drumont organized a mock plebiscite among his readers in May, 1894, to see what national figure was most popular among its readers. Drumont, of course, desired a powerful president for France, elected by plebiscite democracy instead of the weak, figurehead president, elected by the despised parliamentary republicans.

The results showed a strong preference (62,254 votes) for a "General X" (Boulangier was dead), which perhaps indicated a sizeable

²²⁰Ibid., pp. 72-73.

²²¹Ibid., p. 76.

Boulangist-Bonapartist following, or possibly meant that a military figure was preferred. The number two choice (55,654 votes) was the Bonapartist pretender, Prince Victor Napoleon, son of a cousin of Napoleon III. No other candidate was even close in the plebiscite. The Orléanist pretender, the Comte de Paris, who was now the sole royalist candidate, got only 11,494 votes. Clearly, more Bonapartists and Boulangists than Orléanists read the paper. The aggressive and ambitious republican, Godefroy Cavaignac, with an old republican name, got 5,244 votes. Drumont got only 2,694. The marquis de Morès, no longer a friend, was not in the running. The last six names (Casimir-Perier, Carnot, Constans, Dupuy, Brisson, and Challemel-Lacour) were the names of leading Parliamentary republicans, and together they received 5,727 votes.²²² This was not a large showing, but it indicated that La Libre Parole had "enemies of its ideas among its readers."²²³ One staff member of the paper wrote later that it was primarily the younger Bonapartists who were attracted to La Libre Parole, and who were later anti-Dreyfusards. "The great names of the Empire, in contrast, the descendents of the marshalls, the generals, the magistrates, were, in the majority, with Clemenceau," the radical republican leader, and "Joseph Reinach," the conservative republican leader, in the Chamber of Deputies.²²⁴

²²²Ibid., p. 84. Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 199-200.

²²³Gendrot, Drumont, p. 199.

²²⁴Ibid., p. 199.

The "plebiscite" may have seemed to support Drumont's plebiscite democracy and his rejection of parliamentary republicanism. Nevertheless, La Libre Parole was never able to exploit the plebiscite because of the assassination of the President of the Republic and the subsequent flight of Drumont to Brussels.²²⁵ For Drumont, the assassination of President Sadi-Carnot on June 24, 1894 by the Italian anarchist, Caserio, was simply a case of the chickens coming home to roost. The President's famous grandfather, Lazare Carnot, of the Revolutionary Committee of Public Safety, had helped to cause the death of many Frenchmen, and so, Drumont reasoned, the germ of terrorism planted in 1793 had come to fruition in the anarchist-terrorism which turned on the Carnot grandson, who now symbolized liberal respectability.²²⁶ On the other hand, Drumont feared that his defense of anarchism since the Vaillant bombing, his rejection of parliamentary government, and his hope for an authoritarian president, would place him under governmental attack.²²⁷ So, he fled to Brussels in June, 1894, to remain there for six months. Thus, Drumont was still in Brussels when Captain Alfred Dreyfus, of the French War Office, was secretly arrested, October 15, 1894. In fact, Drumont did not return to Paris until February, 1895, several weeks after Dreyfus

²²⁵Ibid., p. 200.

²²⁶Ibid., p. 202.

²²⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 85.

had been sent to Devil's Island for life imprisonment. Even so, La Libre Parole was active in pursuing Dreyfus.

On October 28, La Libre Parole received a note signed "Henry," presumably Major Hubert Henry, a soldier of peasant birth, who had risen through the ranks to the Intelligence section, or Second Bureau, of the French General Staff. Dreyfus served in the same office. The note read, "Dreyfus is at Cherche-Midi. He is supposed to be on a trip. Quite untrue. They want to quash the case. Israel is up in arms."²²⁸ The next day, October 29, La Libre Parole, in a column signed "Papillaud," asked, "Is it true that recently a very important arrest was brought about by order of the military authority? The individual arrested was accused of espionage. If the news is true, why does the military authority guard it with an absolute silence? A response is required."²²⁹ Whether or not the response was made, La Libre Parole, along with La Dépeche de Toulouse, claimed that "l'officier juif, A. Dreyfus," was the accused spy.²³⁰ Thus, La Libre Parole was the first newspaper to get the report of the arrest of Dreyfus and to publish it. Ironically, La Libre Parole editors at first suspected the General Staff of trying to protect the accused Dreyfus.

²²⁸Quoted in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 39.

²²⁹Quoted in L'Archiviste [Salomon Reinach], Drumont et Dreyfus: études sur la "Libre Parole" de 1894 à 1895 (Paris: P.-V. Stock, 1898), p. 26.

²³⁰Ibid., p. 26. Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, pp. 130-131.

From December 19 to December 22, 1894, Dreyfus was tried by closed court-martial, convicted, and sentenced to official degradation and to life imprisonment. These developments helped to boost circulation briefly for La Libre Parole. Also, the few antisemites in the Chamber of Deputies, including Théodore Denis, from the Landes, the comte Paul d'Hugues, and M. Massabuau, from the Aveyron, began to frequent the offices of La Libre Parole.²³¹

In early February, shortly after the condemnation of Dreyfus, Drumont returned from exile in apparent triumph. The constant companion of Séverine, Georges de Labruyère, who had once been a political organizer for the Boulangists, helped to arrange a demonstration of welcome for Drumont at the Gare du Nord. Drumont's arrival was planned so that he would step from the train just at the time when the workers were leaving the factories around the station. Thus, a crowd of two thousand persons appeared to be on hand just to greet Drumont.²³²

The welcoming delegation, a mixed group of nationalists, royalists, former Boulangists, and antisemites, included the nationalist, Maurice Barrès, the antisemitic comte Paul d'Hugues, the anti-Protestant, antisemite, and former Boulangist, Georges Thiébaud, along with Camille Jarre, a law student and a leader of the Jeunesse Antisemite, founded in April, 1894. Also present were Théodore Denis,

²³¹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 102-103.

²³²Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 212-213.

the antisemitic deputy from the Landes, Lucien Millevoye, the former Boulangist and a deputy from Paris, and Léon "Napoléon" Hayard, one-time braggart-soldier and uniformed fantastic of the Paris Commune, who became a staunch Boulangist, and then a retail sales manager for newspapers and periodicals. The staff members of La Libre Parole were also there.²³³

Séverine, who handed Drumont a bouquet of flowers upon his arrival, had written on the eve of his return a florid, sentimental article, describing how eager the poor people of Paris would be to see Drumont again. She concluded, "Magi of the Epiphany, march toward the star, who knows toward what crèche it leads you..."²³⁴

The Dreyfus Case was soon forgotten, however, and 1895 and 1896 were quiet years for Drumont and La Libre Parole. Once again, as in 1893 and 1894, the staff had to work hard to arouse interest in the paper. In early 1896, at the suggestion of Marius Gabion of Le Temps, to Raphael Viau, La Libre Parole organized a "subscription" to collect money for the women strikers in the matchworkers strike at Aubervilliers and Pantin in the Seine-Saint-Denis, on the northeast outskirts of Paris.

The death of Morès in 1896 eliminated a rival for leadership, but did not end the factionalism of the antisemites. Morès had not set foot in La Libre Parole offices since his quarrel with Drumont in

²³³Ibid., pp. 74.

²³⁴Ibid., p. 212.

August, 1893. Feeling depressed at the lack of antisemitic success in France, no longer possessing the old exuberance of his dueling days at La Libre Parole in 1892, Morès turned to North Africa as a new field for his romantic adventures. He developed a vague, but grandiose project of imperialism to give France control over the desert interior of North Africa, persuade the Sahara tribes to expand to the Nile River, and thereby reduce British power in Egypt. By eliminating British predominance in Egypt he believed that he would not only have evened the score with Britain after the loss of French influence in Egypt in the 1870's and 1880's, but would also weaken the power of international Jewish finance, which he believed operated through British banks and British imperialism.

Thus, Morès and six others set out from Tunisia into the desert in early summer, 1896. On June 9, a small raiding party of Tuareg tribesmen attacked his little band and wiped it out. Although the funeral service of Morès was held in the Cathedral of Notre Dame on the day after Bastille Day, he became no martyr for antisemitism and was soon forgotten by all but a few old lieutenants.²³⁵

Less time was spent by La Libre Parole in 1896 on women strikers and fallen heroes of the past than on an absurd attempt to discredit Henri de Rothschild. This attack was carried out largely by Raphael

²³⁵Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 125-127. Four Tuaregs had been killed in the raid, but in 1902, three of the Tuaregs were arrested and sentenced to forced labor for different terms. Viau, p. 133. Gendrot states that the funeral was held in the Church of the Madeleine, in his Drumont, p. 222.

Viau, a "vague, idealist socialist," who had come to La Libre Parole in August, 1892 from Nantes, where he had founded his own antisemitic and socialist newspaper, Le Peuple, in 1889, after reading La France juive. The paper lasted for over a year.²³⁶

The young Viau hungered for activities which he could view as both noble and violent at the same time, such as dueling. Years after his attacks in La Libre Parole against Rothschild, Viau seemed to feel some qualms about what he had done, but he argued lamely that "nothing was lacking to [Henri de Rothschild] to defend himself against our attacks. Therefore, if we could be taxed with injustice for attacking him, one cannot at any rate accuse us of cowardice toward him."²³⁷ Being an antisemite, wrote Drumont, "explains all, if it doesn't excuse all."²³⁸

Viau's attack on Rothschild used as its excuse an episode in which Rothschild's gamewardens in his Forêt de Lys, near Chantilly, shot and killed a poacher, Mazille Cahon, who had first fired upon them when they apprehended him. Viau developed the incident into a series of sensational articles, dramatizing particularly the situation of the daughter and two grandchildren of Cahon, and blaming Rothschild for their plight. In the course of writing the series, Viau discovered antisemitism among the people living in the villages,

²³⁶Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 1-3, 26. Gendrot, Drumont, p. 163.

²³⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 119.

²³⁸Ibid., p. 120.

Coye-la-Forêt, Lamarlaye, and Le Lys, which neighbored Rothschild's forest. Although the peasants declared that they were glad to be rid of the "rowdy thief," Cahon, they also held the traditionalist belief that the land of the community belonged to them, and that a Jew like Rothschild was an outsider, who had usurped the Forêt de Lys.²³⁹

This local feeling, so close to Drumont's way of thinking, provided more ammunition for Viau's series. The gamekeepers were acquitted, however, in the Cour d'Assises of Beauvais on September 24, 1896.²⁴⁰

Dueling was encouraged again by Drumont in 1896, but even that did little to attract the public. He himself was challenged by Bernard Lazare, intellectual, student of antisemitism, and one of the very first Dreyfusards. Lazare sent his seconds to Drumont on June 18, 1896, because of an offensive article by Drumont. Two shots were exchanged without result.²⁴¹ Viau liked to recount at great length the details of every duel: the nature of the grievance, the action, the outcome, the employment of the adversaries, the identity of the seconds, and so forth. The dueling seemed to give him a brief, passing opportunity to ease his frustrations with vicarious violence.²⁴²

Aside from the first year of La Libre Parole, 1892, in which the

²³⁹Ibid., p. 117

²⁴⁰Ibid., p. 118.

²⁴¹Ibid., p. 134.

²⁴²Ibid., p. 103.

issue of Panama gave it a big send-off, and also the last months of 1894, when Dreyfus was arrested and condemned, La Libre Parole, along with antisemitism, continued to decline throughout the 1890's until late 1897, when the Dreyfus Case was revived and became the Affair. Unlike the 1880's, no influential antisemitic books were published in the 1890's. The parliamentary Republic was well entrenched, and elections seemed impervious to anti-parliamentary influence, despite events like the Panama Scandal. The issue of laicization of the schools, the big stimulus of the Right in the 1880's, was years in the past. And, since 1890, there were even many Catholics who were prepared "to rally" to the Republic, or at least to accept what seemed to be inevitable.

While La Libre Parole and interest in antisemitism declined, a phenomenon worthy of special mention developed. Drumont had always been addicted to the occult, but in 1896 and 1897, his interest intensified. He was supported in this by several members of his staff, especially Gaston Méry, his principal editor from 1892 to 1909.

Méry was an antisemite whose racism began in the form of Celtism and anti-Latinism. He had been impressed by the racist writings in the 1880's of Jacques de Biez, an "Integral Celtist," and wanted to preach a holy war of the Celts against the Latin peril from the South. For his book, Jean Révolte, he first designated the motto, "Le Méridional, voilà l'ennemi," but when it appeared that he might get a position on La Libre Parole, he rushed to the printers to change

the proofs to read, "Le Juif, voilà l'ennemi."²⁴³

Although a Catholic, Méry devoted himself more and more to the study and practice of astrology, spiritualism, and the psychic "sciences." In 1897 he founded a monthly, L'Echo du Merveilleux, to recount the news of the latest visions, miracles, and predictions. In early 1896 he "discovered" a clairvoyant, Mlle. Couesdon, who soon lifted spirits at La Libre Parole with the prediction that Edouard Drumont would be President of the Republic in ten years. Presumably this would not be a parliamentary republic. Drumont, immensely flattered, and possibly also a little apprehensive about his future responsibilities, wrote a "very elegaic" description of Mlle. Couesdon for the preface to a brochure, "La Voyante de la rue de Paradis," which Méry had prepared to honor the prophetess.²⁴⁴ According to Raphael Viau, "No man accorded more credence to sorcerers and sibyls of all types than the director of La Libre Parole."²⁴⁵ Jules Guérin, the lieutenant of the marquis de Morès, attended the inauguration of La Libre Parole in April, 1892, Drumont asked to see Guérin's hand to examine its lines.²⁴⁶ This seems to have been common practice with Drumont.

²⁴³Gendrot, Drumont, p. 85.

²⁴⁴Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 111. Gendrot, Drumont, p. 221.

²⁴⁵Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 281.

²⁴⁶Jules Guérin, Les Trafiquants de l'antisémitisme (Paris: Félix Juven, 1906), p. 13.

A friend of Gaston Méry, Chincholle, on the Figaro staff, expressed the hope that Mlle. Couesdon would be able to announce the date of the Second Coming of the Lord, and Méry had the hope of becoming the official historian of the episode. Mlle. Couesdon could give only a vague announcement as to the time of the Second Coming, but she did announce definitely that Méry would be the sole historian of the event.²⁴⁷

As was so often the case in the affairs of the antisemites around Drumont, the Couesdon business led to a duel. On April 7, 1896, Méry fought a duel with M. Possien of Henri Rochefort's Intra-sigeant, because of some insulting thing Possien had said about Mlle. Couesdon. The Echo du Merveilleux, benefiting from the publicity in La Libre Parole and from the activities of Mlle. Couesdon, gained a sizeable readership, including many priests. Yet, the publication had the aura to many of witchcraft.²⁴⁸

The paper gained some publicity by publishing the story of two young peasant girls at Tilly-sur-Seulles of the Calvados, who claimed to have seen a vision of Mary and fallen into an ecstasy. Méry hoped to create a new edition of Notre-Dame de Lourdes at Tilly-sur-Seulles.²⁴⁹ "Unhappily for the merchants of Tilly," Viau later wrote,

²⁴⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 110.

²⁴⁸Gendrot, Drumont, p. 221.

²⁴⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 146-147.

the project ran aground after the bishop of Bayeux intervened, forbidding all religious demonstrations around the "ecstasies."²⁵⁰

Toward the end of summer, 1897, Méry began to promote a new master of the occult, a witch-hunter and devil-purger, the abbé Schnoebelin. Méry and Viau called on the abbé one day at his house at 43 rue du Rocher. When they arrived the priest was engaged in attempting to drive a devil, whom he called, "le Mexicain," out of the body of a child deformed by what seemed like rickets.²⁵¹ Soon after, the abbé was forced to vacate his rooms because of the horrible shouts and screams he made in the line of work, and because of the numbers of people who blocked the stairway of the building day and night. Since the owner was a former republican minister, Lockroy, Méry argued in La Libre Parole that the eviction of Schnoebelin constituted another example of republican anticlericalism.²⁵²

The spiritualist phenomenon among antisemites like Drumont and Méry seems reminiscent of the devil-craze spread among conservative Catholics by Léo Taxil in the 1880's. In both cases, people who felt deeply troubled and threatened by social and political change, looked for an explanation and escape in the supernatural and the irrational. Antisemitism itself, while not a

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 147.

²⁵¹Ibid., pp. 149-153.

²⁵²Ibid., p. 147.

belief in the supernatural, was an irrational explanation and solution for the problems created by unwanted social change.

There were other signs of the weakness of antisemitism. In June, 1897, Drumont had to cease publication of La Libre Parole Illustrée, begun on July 17, 1893 as the illustrated supplement to La Libre Parole, because of too few subscribers.²⁵³ The various anti-parliamentary groups remained constantly divided by quarrels or their own special worries. They were never able to form an association or even one federation. By 1897 they were weaker than ever.²⁵⁴

In late 1897, when the Dreyfus Affair was just beginning to emerge into the main channels of French political life, Drumont and his favorite colleague, the Left-wing Séverine, broke over the issue of Dreyfus. Séverine had come to be very close to Drumont. As a Left-wing Boulangist with a large following of readers in several prominent Paris newspapers, she helped more than any other writer for Drumont to boost La Libre Parole circulation during the slack years of 1895-1897. Her intimate friend, Georges de Labruyère, got the enthusiastic agreement of André Antoine, founder and director of the famous Théâtre-Libre, to give a special performance of the play, Une Journée parlementaire, a satire of the Panama Scandal, just for La Libre Parole subscribers.²⁵⁵

²⁵³Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. 58.

²⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 137-138.

²⁵⁵Gendrot, Drumont, p. 161.

Séverine helped to settle the frequent arguments between Drumont and his editors, kept up morale, and at the end of 1895, was chosen by Drumont as his successor in case of his death, "tragic or natural." She was given an apartment of her own above La Libre Parole's offices.²⁵⁶

Gendrot, who covered the National Assembly for La Libre Parole, later wrote that Drumont "very probably" had the hope of spreading his antisemitic ideas among the Left-wing revolutionary readers of Séverine. On the other hand, Gendrot wondered if Séverine possibly had the "dream of leading Drumont and his journal, already socialistic, toward the party of the revolution, but of the revolution which saved and protected the Jews, instead of attacking them." At any rate, "antisemitism was the barrier which was bound to separate these two sooner or later."²⁵⁷

The Dreyfus Affair, of 1898 and 1899, led to the final break between the Socialists and the antisemites. Jean Jaurès ultimately led the great majority of Socialists into the Dreyfusard camp. Yet, even before that, over a period of some years in fact, certain alliances between antisemitic social radicals like Drumont and socialists like the Left-Boulangist, Séverine, were fraying apart.

As early as July 8, 1892, the Marxists Jules Guesde and Paul

²⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 215, 211, 213.

²⁵⁷Ibid., p. 212.

Lafargue had engaged Jules Guérin and the marquis de Morès in public debate at the Salle des Mille-Colonnes in Paris, and Guesde had said that antisemitism "in spite of its Socialist mask is an economic and social reaction."²⁵⁸ "It is neither finance nor Jewry which is destroying the proletariat. It is the bosses,...each one more Catholic than the next, who are responsible for the misery of the workers."²⁵⁹ This was far from being the end, however, but was only the beginning of the end of the association of the antisemites and the Socialists.²⁶⁰

Drumont continued to emulate the Left in personal appearance, in anti-capitalist rhetoric, and, until the Dreyfus Affair, in personal and political associations. Like Jules Guesde and Clovis Hugues, the socialist poet, he wore his beard full and untrimmed, and his hair long and flung back, like some prophet of the masses.²⁶¹ Yet, although the Dreyfus Affair revived the fortunes of La Libre Parole, by 1900, after the Affair had passed, the paper declined once again. The complete secularization of the schools from 1902 to 1904 and the separation of Church and State in 1905, did not revive the paper, although it continued to exist. Furthermore, just as liberal parliamentary radicals and plebiscite radicals had separated during

²⁵⁸Quoted in Byrnes, Antisemitism, I, p. 177.

²⁵⁹Quoted in Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 211.

²⁶⁰Byrnes writes that "French socialism in general by 1892 had rather clearly and completely broken away from antisemitism..." in his Antisemitism, I, pp. 177-178. As indicated earlier, this conclusion would seem to be insupportable after further examination of the evidence.

²⁶¹Gendrot, Drumont, p. 24.

the course of the Boulanger Affair, so the social radical antisemites and the Socialists ended all ties during the Dreyfus Affair. The antisemites became anti-Socialist Right-wing authoritarians, joining with other plebiscite republicans, Caesarists, and nationalists, and cooperating with royalists and Catholic conservatives. A few years later, Edouard Drumont and La Libre Parole gave way to Charles Maurras and L'Action Française. More significant for France, however, France as a whole became more deeply democratic and parliamentary.

CHAPTER III

ANTISEMITISM AMONG CATHOLICS BEFORE THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

In the minds of most conservative Catholics, the primary fear in the 1870's, 1880's, and even 1890's, would seem to have been not the Jews, or an alleged Jewish conspiracy, but the Freemasons, who formed, according to the Right-wing Catholics, a conspiracy to destroy the Church. To be sure, there was antisemitism, a substantial amount of it, but antisemitism developed against the larger background of anti-Freemasonry. Just as some Socialists in the Nineteenth Century had seen antisemitism as one important part of their attacks on economic liberalism, so many of the conservative Catholics in the same century viewed antisemitism as an important aspect of their attacks on Freemasonry, a movement which supposedly had conspired through revolutions to create the Republics, political Liberalism, and then, the democracy and anticlericalism for which the Third Republic stood. The very concept of a "Jewish plot" and a "Jewish syndicate" seems to have been suggested by the conservative Catholic fear of a supposed Freemason conspiracy. By the time of the Dreyfus Affair, the two alleged plots had (in the minds of conservatives) become joined into one great anti-clerical, anti-national, and anti-traditional conspiracy.

This legendary fear of a Freemasonic plot began at least as far back as the French Revolution, which was ascribed, especially its more

radical stages, to Freemasonry.¹ The founding of the Third Republic revived the conservative Catholic fears of Freemasonry, and these fears increased markedly after 1879, that is, after the Republic had been secured and after anticlerical and laic legislation began to be passed. It should be recalled that the Chamber of Deputies became solidly republican after the general election of January, 1876. The Senate had a republican majority after the election of 1879, and the Presidency went to a republican in 1879, after the resignation of MacMahon and the selection of Grévy. The Republic then began to establish free, obligatory, and secular public education.

First, in March, 1879, an attempt was made to remove the unauthorized congregations from teaching. Because of the permissiveness of the Second Empire, many of these unauthorized congregations had gotten into teaching. However, due to reluctance among a sizeable number of Senators, appropriate legislation was impossible in 1879. Therefore, the Minister of Education, Jules Ferry, decided to enforce old laws which had been ignored for decades. So it was that one of

¹Professor Robert F. Byrnes has written at length on the antisemitism among French Catholics before 1896 in his Antisemitism in Modern France (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1950). There is no need to repeat his work here. However, his statement that "The main current of antisemitism just prior to the explosion of Drumont's book in 1886 was distinctly conservative and Catholic," seems questionable given the social radical tradition of antisemitism. On the other hand, two other judgments of Byrnes seem significant and worth stressing: "The Catholic journals which were anti-Masonic were the first to publish antisemitic articles and reviews. The first books attacking the Jews were written by men who had earlier denounced the Masons," and "it is quite evident that antisemitism in 1885 was still weak and ineffectual." Ibid., pp. 125, 128, 135. Professor Byrnes discusses Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Catholic charges that the French Revolution was a result of Freemasonry. Ibid., p. 126.

the Organic Articles attached by Napoleon to the Concordat of 1801 was revived in March, 1880. This law did not simply prevent the unauthorized congregations from teaching, but eliminated them altogether. At the same time, the Society of Jesus, by a law of 1792, was ordered dissolved by the end of June. In addition, complete control over higher educations was assured to the State. In December, 1880, state secondary schools for girls and normal schools for women were founded, and in March, 1881, mixed juries charged with granting degrees, that is, juries with Catholic as well as secular membership, were abolished.

Next, Jules Ferry introduced the most significant of his education bills of this period, a bill to make state primary schooling free and secular, and obligatory unless the student attended a religious school. This bill failed in the Senate, but finally passed in March, 1882, after the election of 1881 increased republican strength in both houses of the National Assembly.

Because of a shortage of trained lay teachers, the State was unable at first to remove the members of authorized congregations from the primary schools. In 1884, the Chamber of Deputies passed a bill for this purpose, but the bill lay dormant, without passage by the Senate. In 1886, René Goblet, the Radical Minister of Education, reintroduced the bill, which carried the Senate on March 30, 1886, and became law on October 30, 1886. (Goblet was a member of the Third Freycinet Ministry, which included General Boulanger, soon to be famous as a rallying-point for the Right-wing opposition to the Republic.) The law provided that all members of Catholic teaching

orders still teaching in state schools would have to be replaced by lay instructors, the men within five years, and the women as soon as vacancies occurred. Also, male members of teaching orders would have to serve in the army. The effect of the law "was largely mitigated by the enthusiasm of the Catholics, who founded thousands of écoles libres all over the country and filled them with their children. Between 1886 and 1897 the number of children in Catholic schools rose from 907,246 to 1,477,310."²

The upshot of it was that after all this laic legislation, the Catholics still retained a substantial share of primary education in France, although a strong state system of free, public, primary education had been erected, with secular curriculum and lay faculty. It satisfied neither the Radicals nor the Church, however. Ultimately, the Radicals and other anticlericals following the Dreyfus Affair, abolished all teaching by the Church on July 7, 1904. Although they continued to have much influence, the conservative Catholics were deeply dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction contributed to the growth of anti-Freemasonry and antisemitism.

Laic legislation was not the only Republican legislation which

²C. S. Phillips, The Church in France, 1848-1907 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936), p. 217.

alienated the Catholics and the conservatives.³ On July 10, 1880, amnesty for the Communards was passed. Divorce was legalized on July 27, 1884. It had been abolished in May, 1816, following the Restoration of the Monarchy. The Catholics feared that divorce would destroy the sanctity of the home and the family, and perhaps weaken the influence of the Church. Finally, on June 22, 1886, each of the two pretenders of the remaining monarchical houses, the Orléanists and the Bonapartists, along with the eldest son of each, was compelled to leave France. This possibly reduced even further the likelihood of a restoration, but it also offended some Catholics.⁴

One of the most influential instruments of the conservative antisemites of the French Church was the newspaper, La Croix, published by

³There may also have been a socio-economic factor in the development of Catholic antisemitism in the 1880's. Professor Byrnes states in his Antisemitism, pp. 131-132, that the failure of the Union Générale bank in 1882 contributed to a growth in antisemitism among many Catholics because they blamed the Rothschilds for the failure of this bank in which many of them had invested. Rondo E. Cameron writes in his France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 198, that the director of the Union Générale, Eugène Bontoux, "touted" the bank "as a 'Catholic bank' formed to wrest control of French finance from the 'monopoly' of Jewish and Protestant financiers."

⁴Phillips, The Church in France, p. 217.

the Congregation des Augustins de l'Assomption.⁵ This order was founded in 1850 by Father Emmanuel d'Alzon, born in 1810. Most French religious orders have been ultramontane, but like the Jesuits and the Dominicans, the Assumptionists were notably so. In turn, the papacy relied upon the French religious orders as a balance to the Gallican episcopate.⁶

La Croix was founded by an Assumptionist Father, Vincent de Paul Bailly, and it began publication on June 15, 1883. It soon became "by far the most influential Catholic newspaper."⁷ Bailly developed

⁵From a reading in the work of Professor Byrnes, who discusses La Croix for five pages in his Antisemitism, pp. 194-198, the impression might be gotten that La Croix was as antisemitic as Drumont, forming "the most important associate of the Libre Parole in the newspaper campaign against the Jews." Ibid., p. 194. However, Byrnes' study of La Croix is based entirely on secondary sources. On the basis of a close page by page reading of La Croix over the years from its founding in 1883 to the Dreyfus Affair, it seems certain that La Croix, while certainly antisemitic, especially during the Dreyfus Affair, was much less concerned with the Jews than might be assumed from a reading of Byrnes. La Croix gave more attention to opposing Freemasonry, although it saw a link between Freemasons and Jews. It was alienated from Drumont by his dueling activities, although it showed appreciation for his work at the time of his election in 1898 to the Chamber of Deputies. See "Le Duel," La Croix, August 1, 1894, p. 1, and "Délivrance de la France," La Croix, May 11, 1898, p. 1. La Croix was also displeased with the attacks Drumont made on conservative, upper-class Catholics. "M. le Cte, de Mun," La Croix, August 3, 1894, p. 1. A complete file of La Croix from its founding to the present is held by the Library of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

⁶C. S. Phillips, The Church in France, 1848-1907 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936), p. 19.

⁷Alexander Sedgwick, The Ralliement in French Politics, 1890-1898 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 55.

a network of Comités de La Croix all over France to promote the sale of the newspaper.

From the beginning, La Croix's antisemitism was based in part on religious hostility to the Jew, as well as on economic antagonism. In May, 1884, La Croix generalized of the Jew, "Adroit, intelligent, he insinuates himself everywhere and everywhere he foments the hatred of Christ;" With his material resources, the Jew "overthrows Christian societies and pursues unmercifully the Church and the Pope."⁸ "This Jew...you distrust; he is the enemy."⁹

La Croix approved of the "good Jews of the ancient times--the Sons of Abraham," and embellished this with the report of a certain Jew converted in the mid-Nineteenth Century who became a priest, "working to convert Jews to Christianity."¹⁰ Nearing Christmas time, in 1884, La Croix condemned the Jews as enemies of the Christian religion. "In the first rank of these enemies, are the Jews, enemies of the infant Jesus." The old charge that the Jews had killed Christ was raised again. The Jews were a "deicide people," who ignored the fact of Christ's coming, who crucified the Son of God, crying, "'His blood be upon us and on our children!'" "And so," concluded La Croix, "in our poverty, we go, at the time of Christmas, to take up again the

⁸"Un Juif," La Croix, May 10, 1884, p. 1.

⁹Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 1.

struggle more vigorously than ever against the enemies of the Christian name."¹¹

The pose of poverty was important to La Croix, just as it was to many secular antisemites, and radical antisemites. And, La Croix passed easily from religious antisemitism to economic antisemitism. Both forms of hostility can be found in the same passage in La Croix. For example, La Croix claimed that the Jew was able to attack the Church because "he possesses all the gold of the world," and with the gold and the press purchased with his gold, the Jew can persecute and destroy the Church.¹² "This Jew, you find his hand everywhere, in the banks of the State as in the banks of the family. For him, to rob a Christian is a good work, and beware to the Christian who resorts to his services." "Modern society must fear him as the society of the Middle Ages did. What plotted treasons, what wars purchased, what notorious ruins, what moral sadnesses prepared by him!"¹³ Jewish control of the banks had made the press "more or less" dependent on the Jews.¹⁴

Ever hostile to modern social change, La Croix blamed the Jews for the Eiffel Tower, symbol of the modern, industrial prowess of

¹¹"Croix et Juifs," La Croix, December 16, 1884, p. 1.

¹²"Un Juif," p. 1.

¹³Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴"Croix et Juifs" p. 1.

France, finished in 1889 for the great world exposition in Paris.

"We are assured that M. Eiffel...is a Jew. Thus, he will not be ruined, and he will always be voted the necessary gold in order to forge the iron. We hope, however, that they will put someday on the top a beautiful cross...and not a statue of the Antichrist, the crowned Jew of the future."¹⁵ A few weeks after these preposterous and maudlin anticipations, La Croix announced its mistake about Eiffel. He was a good Christian from Alsace, after all.¹⁶

Threatening to destroy the Church and dominate the economy, the Jews were also infiltrating the State, and it was all because of the freedom and equality given the Jews by Liberalism and Democracy. In 1888, La Croix expressed alarm and dismay that Jews were gaining power in Italy as in "a new promised land." Jews were entering the very seat of state power, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in Rome. "It is shameful, in a Christian country, to see the Christians cede the way to Jews for intellectual work, for literary, judicial, medical, or scientific studies. But it is a crime without name to make legislators of them." Liberalism was to blame. "No serious obstacle," wrote La Croix, "can stop the Jew in a society where the Liberal doctrine rules."¹⁷

¹⁵"Pourquoi la Tour Eiffel réussit," La Croix, April 4, 1888, p. 1.

¹⁶"M. Eiffel," La Croix, May 19, 1888, p. 1.

¹⁷"Juifs," La Croix, February 8, 1888, p. 1.

In turn, the source of Liberalism and also of Democracy was the hated French Revolution. La Croix declared itself monarchist in 1884,¹⁸ and attacked various principles of the Revolution again and again.¹⁹ It was, said La Croix, "universal suffrage" which intimidated Pilate and demanded the crucifixion of Christ.²⁰ However, Liberalism was worse than Democracy, wrote La Croix. 1789 was worse than 1793. "A fundamental error [is] to put 1793 beneath 1789, and to say, we are of 1789 and not of 1793." "1789 is a thousand times more to repudiate than 1793. 1789 created the State with no God, the family with no God, the Church without God, the Army without God...It tried to reconstruct France on the basis of pure reason--replacing God."²¹

The Liberalism and secularism of 1789 led to the republicanism, anticlericalism, and laicism of the 1880's, and behind it all, from the French Revolution itself to the Third Republic were the Freemasons and their masters, the Jews. The wave of Catholic anti-Freemasonry which accompanied the anticlerical and laic legislation of the 1880's swept across the pages of La Croix also. And, like most anti-Freemasonry in France, La Croix's attacks developed into an

¹⁸"Une Déclaration," La Croix, July 8, 1884, p. 2.

¹⁹For example, "1789," "Le Centenaire de 1789," "Préférons 1793 à 1889," La Croix, March 4, 1886, p. 1; August 12, 1885, p. 1; January 8, 1889, p. 1.

²⁰"Le Pillage," La Croix, July 10, 1885, p. 1.

²¹"Préférons 1793 à 1889," p. 1.

attack on the Jews, as the secret masters of the secret society.

The first major anticlerical law to be passed after the founding of La Croix in 1883, (or at least, the first major law after 1883 thought by La Croix's editors to be anticlerical), was the law of July 27, 1884, legalizing divorce. A Jew, Naquet, was the author of the bill on divorce, and curiously enough, La Croix's first comments on Naquet as author of the bill made no mention of the fact that he was a Jew.²² The Freemasons were the major villains, and on May 31, 1884, La Croix blamed them for the divorce bill. Yet, La Croix was possibly hinting at supposed Jewish involvement in a reference to infanticide to the ancient Semitic god, Moloch. "Freemasonry speaks: it wants no more of priests other than the prefects and the vieilles-culottes of the council of revision charged with delivering [the priest] to the god Moloch, as formerly all the children of the nation were delivered."²³ Later, when La Croix did mention M. Naquet's religion, it was to excuse him, since he could not be expected to know Church teaching. The Christian supporters of the bill "are less excusable than he, because they...must know the New Testament."²⁴

The laic legislation of 1886 was a different matter for La Croix. The legislation, which was introduced in March and passed in October,

²²"La Journée," La Croix, May 28, 1884, p. 1.

²³"Un Precieux Document," La Croix, May 31, 1884, p. 1.

²⁴"Le Divorce," La Croix, June 2, 1884, p. 1.

required the removal of all clerical teachers from the public primary schools. When the bill was first voted, March 30, 1886, La Croix called it a "loi liberticide."²⁵ In the following weeks, La Croix's hatred of the bill began to focus on the sponsor of the bill, the Radical Minister of Public Instruction and of Cults, René Goblet. At Eastertime, La Croix's Good Friday issue cited three great betrayals of Jesus: a) that by Judas; b) that by Goblet; and c) that by the Jews: "the Church in the hands of the Jews, that is the third betrayal."²⁶

In the course of the year, 1886, a second Church-State issue arose over the budget for the religious faiths, that is, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism. On the 27th of May, 1886, the Budget Commission rejected by 12 votes to 9 the entire budget submitted for the religious faiths. While not blaming the Jews directly for this, La Croix wrote that this was what the Jews wanted: "This is the cry of the Jewish populace: 'Tollé! Tollé! Away with it! Away with it! [Enlevez-le] We want no more of it. We want to be a state purely laic and antichristian."²⁷ This seems to have been the first time that La Croix tried to link the Jews with a specific anticlerical action of the State.

²⁵"Loi liberticide," La Croix, April 1, 1886, p. 1.

²⁶"Jeudi Saint," La Croix, April 22, 1886, p. 1.

²⁷"Tollé! Tollé! Suppression du budget des cults," La Croix, May 28, 1886, p. 1.

In reviewing the new book of Edouard Drumont, who was soon to emerge as France's leading antisemite, La Croix was more insistent than it had been that there was a link between Freemasonry and the Jews. On May 19, 1886, La Croix claimed that Drumont's antisemitic La France juive, and Léo Taxil's Frères trois points had "laid bare the two social evils which grow like gangrene in France," two social evils, "so united up to this time," although now upset at being identified with each other.²⁸

In actuality, this was not the first time the Jews and the Freemasons had been identified with each other, nor even the first time that they had been identified in La Croix's pages. For example, on December 19, 1884, La Croix had published a letter from an unnamed subscriber, who cited the names of both Proudhon and Gougenot du Mousseaux as support for his contention that the Jews were out to destroy the nation. The Jews wished to accomplish this because France was the most flourishing of the Christian nations, wrote the subscriber, and the Jews planned to accomplish this through their control of the Freemasons, who in turn had gained control of the government of France.²⁹

Just as Freemasonry acted on behalf of the Jews, La Croix continued to argue in September, 1889, so the Opportunist Republicans,

²⁸La Croix, May 19, 1886, p. 1.

²⁹An Unnamed Subscriber, "Les Juifs, la Maçonnerie et l'agriculture," La Croix, December 19, 1884, p. 4.

the powerful middle-class majority party, acted on behalf of the Freemasons. "Opportunism and Freemasonry, it is all one," wrote La Croix. "And when Opportunism reigns, it is Freemasonry which reigns, pursuing by laws, decrees, and other means, the destruction of Christ."³⁰ Thanks to Opportunism, Freemasonry occupied all approaches to public power, gave the word of order, made the ministers, modified the decisions of justice.³¹

In 1890, La Croix strained to prove that there was a link between the Jews and Freemasons on the one hand, and the French Revolution on the other. La Croix attributed the Declaration of the Rights of Man to the "Jewish Freemasonry," thereby giving "land, influence, government, and press," to "the enemy."³² At the homes of the Hebrews, the evening of every September 22, is when they celebrate the first day of the year and the festival of the trumpets which ends the republican calendar of 1792. "The Republic was proclaimed on the 22nd of September and that was, according to the sentiment of several interpretations, the date of the creation of the world."³³ Thus, republicans and Jews seemed to have common symbols as well as common interests.

The hostility of La Croix toward the anti-clerical legislation

³⁰"L'Oeuf," La Croix, September 14, 1889, p. 1.

³¹Ibid., p. 1.

³²"Juifs," La Croix, August 12, 1890, p. 1.

³³"Gazette du Jour," La Croix, September 21, 22, 1890, p. 1.

touched the leading figure of the famous Boulanger Affair, and prevented La Croix from ever endorsing Boulanger, although the paper followed the general's career closely. Boulanger, War Minister in the Freycinet Government of 1886 (along with René Goblet) was in part responsible for, or at least supported, the "sac au dos" provision of the laic legislation, a provision that seminarians would be eligible for military conscription. La Croix never forgot or quite forgave Boulanger. Various popular and modestly egalitarian changes made in the military by Boulanger were ridiculed by La Croix. La Croix not only criticized Boulanger for weakening the rigor and discipline of the Army, but also for being too close to the Radicals, especially to Clemenceau, whom he seemed to serve like a body-guard.³⁴

Soon, La Croix seized an opportunity to attack Boulanger for allegedly being pro-Semitic as well as being, in effect, anticlerical and anti-Army. The influence of the Jews had even reached into the War Ministry, wrote La Croix, in August, 1886, because Boulanger as War Minister, had just declared that the Jews of Algeria would no longer be required to come to France to fulfill their military obligations, according to the law of 1875. Instead, Jews could remain in Algeria to fulfill their military obligations.³⁵ Meanwhile, seminarians would have to serve.

In 1887, the Radicals began to feel apprehensive about the growing

³⁴"Le Garde du corps," La Croix, February 3, 1886, p. 1.

³⁵"Juifs," La Croix, August 18, 1886, p. 1.

nationalist support for Boulanger, and with the fall of the Goblet Cabinet on May 18, 1887, Boulanger was eliminated from the Government. Nevertheless, his popularity increased, causing the Government to order him to a duty station at Clermont-Ferrand, some 200 miles from Paris, as commandant of the 13th Army Corps. Boulanger continued to gain in popularity, so the Government, fearing his military position might be a source of his appeal as well as an instrument of danger to the Government, put him on the retired list. However, this status made him eligible to run for election to the Chamber of Deputies. During the year of 1888, Boulanger ran and was elected to the Chamber at different times and from different places.

By August, 1888, La Croix's interest in Boulanger was aroused over his declaration that he was opposed to "religious persecution" and in favor of "religious freedom."³⁶ As the election of January 27, 1889 neared, Boulanger, who was now running for the Paris seat, seemed to become more and more solicitous of clerical feeling. La Croix never endorsed him, however. It took the rather dainty position that Boulanger was not clearly Catholic, and might not reject anti-clericalism. Nevertheless, the paper looked at him as a "lesser evil" than M. Jacques, whom La Croix liked to contend was the candidate of the Freemasons, the Jews, and the Floquettiste radicals.³⁷ After the

³⁶"La Journée," "Le General Boulanger," La Croix, August 11, 1888, p. 1; August 13, 1888, p. 1.

³⁷"Fin," La Croix, January 29, 1889, p. 1; "Un Predicateur Juif," January 20, 21, 1889, p. 1. Charles Floquet (1828-1896) was premier in 1888 and an opponent of Boulanger.

election, La Croix admitted that it "rejoiced" over the Boulanger victory.³⁸

La Croix remained quiet after the election regarding the abortive idea of a Boulangist coup. Finally, in April, La Croix said it found Boulanger's fear strange, and wondered what would come of his behavior.³⁹ If La Croix was aware of the Boulangist plans for a coup on the night of January 27, it maintained an innocent face. It proclaimed, however, that the real victory of the election was not in the election of the general, but in the "absolute and complete defeat of [Jacques, the Opportunist candidate,] the candidate of the Godless and of the Freemasonry in Paris."⁴⁰ If this was partly sour grapes over the failure of Boulanger to move, La Croix gave no sign of it. La Croix's attitude from the start of the Boulanger campaign had been more antisemitic and anti-Freemasonry than pro-Boulanger.

Before the elections of September and October, 1889, La Croix published a statement of political goals for Catholics. The elections, it claimed, promised more thieves, more laïcisateurs, more persecutors, more Freemasons, more Jews, more Prussians, and more foreigners in the government of France, and not honest men, not Catholics, and not Frenchmen. "No longer are there two parties in France: the

³⁸"Fin," La Croix, January 29, 1889, p. 1.

³⁹"A-t-il Peur?" La Croix, April 4, 1889, p. 1.

⁴⁰"Ave Marie," La Croix, February 2, 1889, p. 1.

enemies of religion and its friends. The enemies have ruined our country and have made of it the laughing-stock of the world." La Croix urged that the true friends of France and of religion join in a truly national party around a program which included the following points, among others: a) the revision of the Constitution "in the true Catholic and national sense; the end of persecution; b) the independence of the Pope; c) suppression of the school laws, giving to the families the right to choose their schoolmasters; d) the suppression of the conscription of seminarians.⁴¹ The fall elections of 1889 were a solid victory for the republicans, however. The Opportunist Republicans remained the leading party in the government.

When the Panama Scandal began to break in late 1892, La Croix quickly used it as another opportunity to attack the Jews, the Freemasons, and the Opportunists. Writing on the Panama affair for La Croix in November, 1892, Paul de Cassagnac, conservative Catholic, former Boulangist, and editor of Autorité, founded in 1886, charged that there was a connection between Jews and Freemasons in the scandal. Joseph de Reinach, nephew of the Baron Jacques de Reinach who had been implicated in the affair, was in turn a friend of Quesnay de Beaurepaire, the Procureur-General, whose September report on the affair had been something of a white-wash. De Cassagnac claimed that Quesnay de Beaurepaire's Freemasonry "explains [his] conduct

⁴¹"Programme Catholique," La Croix, August 31, 1889, p. 1.

of justice. Jews and Freemasons, all cling to each other. And all Freemasons are honorary Jews."⁴²

"The Jews are the origins of this sickness," said La Croix in reference to the alleged hunger for gold of the Opportunists in the Panama Scandal. The Opportunists were easy marks for the Jews, according to La Croix, because the Opportunists had rejected Church schools and the confessional of the Church. Thus, consciences were easily purchased by the Jew, who wished to use those consciences for his own purposes.⁴³

By 1894 then, La Croix's traditionalism, its support for Church, for family, for small-town and rural folk of small property, had led it from religious antisemitism to economic antisemitism, from anti-Liberalism and anti-Republicanism to anti-Freemasonry and antisemitism. It used the Boulanger Affair as a means to attack the Freemasons and the Jews. It viewed the Panama Scandal, as it would view the Dreyfus Affair as a conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons to destroy the nation.

On November 1, 1894, La Croix, along with the press in general, announced that an officer of the Paris garrison had been arrested "with great mystery" in October and accused of having sold important items to Germany. Antisemitism, which had appeared in La Croix with

⁴²Paul de Cassagnac, "L'Autopie du Baron Juif von Reinach," La Croix, November 29, 1892, p. 2.

⁴³"Foire aux consciences," La Croix, December 15, 1892, p. 1.

some frequency since its founding, now intensified. On November 3, La Croix reported that the accused was Dreyfus and that he was Jewish. From this fact, La Croix deduced that "The entrance of the Jews into the army has been a kind of treason."⁴⁴ "The arrest of the Jewish traitor,...fully justifies the measures of the Tsar against Semitism."⁴⁵ Three days later, the journal added that one must show charity to the Jews, certainly, "and the Popes have given the example of it, but to admit them into Christian society is to declare that the deicide of which they carry the perpetual curse does not pertain to our generation. Conversion alone, and not the Civil Code, can efface the curse." Not all Jews are guilty, just as not all serpents are venomous, argued La Croix, "but to all, one applies the curse."⁴⁶ La Croix's antisemitism seems to have been rooted at all times in religious prejudice.

While La Croix never displayed the social radicalism of Drumont, it did support, like Drumont, traditional social structures and opposed modernization. "In the name of its progress, modern society," wrote La Croix on November 7, "pretends to hold no accounting [of the curse on the Jews]."⁴⁷ Thus, modern society laid itself open to a

⁴⁴"Le Juif," La Croix, November 4-5, 1894, p. 1.

⁴⁵"La Journée," La Croix, November 3, 1894, p. 1.

⁴⁶"Le Traître," La Croix, November 6, 1894, p. 1.

⁴⁷"Nos Maîtres," La Croix, November 7, 1894, p. 1.

Dreyfus. Like Drumont, La Croix also attacked the capitalist society, and blamed it on the Jews. Aroused by the Dreyfus Case, La Croix argued that "The social question is at bottom the Jewish question." "The Jew, king of speculation, gains when an enterprise succeeds and gains still more if it is ruined and liquidated." "The Jewish ocean [of capital] dominates questions of salary, of hours of work, of days of rest, and everything else, directly or indirectly."⁴⁸ Also, like Drumont, La Croix opposed genuine Socialism, but with far more vehemence. In fact, while Drumont often praised the Socialist movement, La Croix viewed Socialism as another Jewish instrument of control: "Socialism will not save us at all; in effect, almost everywhere, the Jews are the associates of the Socialists; the Jews, with Socialism, will oppress more completely still the proletarians."⁴⁹

Captain Alfred Dreyfus was tried by court-martial from December 19 to December 22, and sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island. La Croix again saw the issue in a religious context, claiming in its Christmas Day issue that the "Judaic treason has been constant since Judas."⁵⁰ The journal saw in Drumont's condemnation the vindication of its attacks on Jews and Freemasons, and on the French Revolution as the means to power for the Jews. Dreyfus was a Freemason, charged La Croix, asking if it were not Freemasonry which should

⁴⁸"L'Ocean du capital," La Croix, November 22, 1894, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 1. Also see, "L'Ogre etat," La Croix, March 25-26, 1888, p. 1.

⁵⁰"Trahison," La Croix, December 25, 1894, p. 1.

really be condemned."⁵¹ The Dreyfus conviction was also a blow against the Republicans, whose ancestors were the revolutionaries of 1789, 1830, and 1848. Rousseau and Voltaire had taught religious tolerance, said La Croix with disapproval. Freemasons had then come to support the Jews, and the French Revolution had given the Jews civil equality. The result: Rothschild finance and Dreyfus treason.⁵²

Not all Catholics were as hostile to the Republic, the Freemasons, and the Jews as were La Croix and its intransigent, clerical supporters. A Catholic minority, conservative for the most part, formed a notable attempt to bring together Catholics and conservative Republicans by means of a Catholic rallying to the Republic. This famous Ralliement developed in the 1890's and met a sympathetic response from Jules Méline, the conservative Republican premier from 1896 to 1898. The Ralliement collapsed in the animosity that

⁵¹"Francs-Maçons et traîtres," La Croix, December 28, 1894, p. 2.

⁵²"Les Affaires," La Croix, December 27, 1894, p. 1.

developed between Church and Republic during the Dreyfus Affair.⁵³

The Ralliés were indifferent at first to the Dreyfus Affair, and seemed to prefer throughout its course that it be dropped rather than pursued by either Right or Left. It was in the interest of the Ralliés, as it was in the interest of the conservative republicans around Méline, if the two groups were to ally with each other, that there be "no affair" at all, as Méline insisted was the case on December 4, 1897.

For example, in late 1896, before Mathieu Dreyfus contacted Senator Scheurer-Kestner and Emile Zola about the case, he approached the comte Albert de Mun, a leading Rallié and deputy, in the hope of persuading de Mun to interest himself in the Case. This provided the Ralliés with an excellent chance to show their devotion to justice and to the Republic, as well as to gain politically, "but de Mun

⁵³Alexander Sedgwick indicates in The Ralliement in French Politics, 1890-1898 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 69, that wealth and social position were characteristic of the Ralliés from the beginning of the Ralliement. For example, in the election of 1893, "most of the Rallié candidates were either industrialists, or large landowners." Many were from the industrialized, urban North. From 1893 to the Dreyfus Affair, the Ralliement centered around La Ligue Populaire pour la Revendication des Libertés Publiques, led by the Catholic Republicans, Gaston David and Etienne Lamy. Both men were of prominent social and economic position. And, the Ralliement was not notably antisemitic. It would appear that antisemitism had far more appeal to lower middle-class than to upper middle-class elements.

declined even to discuss the subject."⁵⁴ "The Catholics had their chance. They refused it and left it to their enemies. And this failure was to help to bring a fearful punishment on the Church."⁵⁵

While the Ralliement was not a force in the antisemitism of the Dreyfus period, there was a sizeable Catholic group, the Christian Democratic movement, which was antisemitic. A comparison of the Christian Democrats with other Catholic groups offers an illustration of the large number of combinations and permutations of doctrine and policy among Catholics of the time. The intransigent conservatives, for example, were anti-Republican, strongly clerical, and increasingly antisemitic. The Ralliés were republican and moderately clerical. The Christian Democrats were republican in their own way, but were also, like the intransigents, extremely clerical and very antisemitic. The intransigents and the Christian Democrats found it easier to cooperate with each other than with the Ralliés. The antisemitism of the Christian Democrats, like the antisemitism of Drumont's La Libre Parole, with which it had much in common, appeared to be a potential magnet to draw together both clericals and republicans of conservative and authoritarian outlook, hostile to modern social and political change.

⁵⁴Edouard Lecanuet, Les Signes avant-coureurs de la séparation, 1894-1910 (Paris, 1887), cited in Phillips, The Church in France, p. 175.

⁵⁵Phillips, The Church in France, p. 255.

The Christian Democrats had a much different sort of appeal from that of the Ralliement, although the paths of the two groups would cross from time to time. In fact, one of three major inspirations for the Christian Democratic movement (it was never an organization) was the movement called the Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers, founded by two royalists, the marquis de la Tour du Pin and the comte Albert de Mun. The latter, de Mun, became one of the leading Ralliés. The two aristocrats hoped that their Cercles would involve the Church in social problems, thereby attracting workers to the Church and away from the Socialists. The first of de Mun's Cercles was founded in 1871 in Paris, that is, after the fall of the Commune and the exile of many Socialists. Soon other Cercles were erected.

The system was paternalistic.

De Mun's ultimate aim was the restoration of the medieval guild corporations. But after a brilliant start, and despite the noble idealism and self-sacrifice of its promoter, the movement was to prove disappointing. The causes of this failure were various: but chief among undoubtedly were the frankly aristocratic character of its organization and its devotion to the Syllabus [of Errors of the reactionary Pope Pius IX] and to the policy of the Extreme Right, which enabled its enemies to represent it as no more than an attempt to bring back the ancien régime.⁵⁶

The economic historian Val Lorwin writes that the leaders of the Cercles

appealed more to employers than to workers. They were men like Count Albert de Mun, highborn and highminded, who proclaimed, "we are the counterrevolution on the march." Fearing the trade unions as a device of class warfare,

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 183.

they argued for 'mixed unions,' including both employers and employees. Foreshadowing the modern corporatist idea, the 'mixed unions' were based in part on the dubious analogy between the family and the industrial community, in part on a nostalgia for the hierarchic system of the Middle Ages.⁵⁷

It was a traditionalist, corporatist program which might have appealed to a Proudhon. De Mun joined the Ralliement in 1892, but the anti-semitic de la Tour du Pin remained with the intransigent Right.

A second inspiration to the growth of the Christian Democratic movement was the papal encyclical, Rerum novarum, of May 15, 1891, which resulted in part from efforts of de Mun and de la Tour du Pin, among others. The encyclical called for a Christian concern and Christian charity by employers for their employees. It also opposed Socialism.

The encyclical, Au milieu des sollicitudes, provided a third inspiration to the Christian Democratic movement. This encyclical of February 16, 1892 emphasized what had first been stated in the famous encyclical of 1885, Immortale Dei: that the Church had no special preference for any particular form of government so long as it was not hostile to the law of God, and therefore, Catholics could accept the Republic and should accept the Republic. At the same time, the Pope declared that the legislation, such as laic laws, of an accepted form of government, might be detestable. "The Pope deplored these laws and

⁵⁷Val R. Lorwin, The French Labor Movement (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 64.

said that he had raised his voice against them many times. It was the duty of Catholics to oppose this harmful legislation."⁵⁸

This ambivalence also existed throughout the Christian Democratic movement. Like the Cercles and in line with the Rerum novarum, the Christian Democrats had a paternalistic concern for the social welfare of the workers, and a hostility to Socialism. The Christian Democrats accepted the Republic with some enthusiasm, but attacked the laic laws of the Republic unremittingly. The Christian Democrats were deeply clerical, staunchly anti-Freemasonry, and united in antisemitism. In their ambivalence, the Christian Democrats sound very much like some of the social radicals discussed earlier in this paper, such as Proudhon and Chirac.

Since the Christian Democrats did not constitute one united organization, their national meetings were simply gathering of Catholics having three main interests in common: anti-Freemasonry, antisemitism, and vague social reform. Their biggest meeting was their first Congrès National, held in Lyon from November 25 through November 30, 1896.⁵⁹ François Mouthon, editor of the Christian Democratic newspaper of Lyon, La France Libre, organized the meeting, which was divided into four parts, meeting successively: a Congrès Antimaçonnique, a Congrès Antisémitique, a Congrès Social, and a Congrès de l'Union National, a Christian Democratic group founded and led by the abbé

⁵⁸Sedgwick, Ralliement, p. 52

⁵⁹Robert Byrnes discusses this congress in his Antisemitism, pp. 212-224, but it may be constructive to emphasize here the major views of the meeting, and also point out that Drumont was still determined to present himself as a socialist, although distinct from the Marxists.

Garnier, of Normandy, in 1892.

Antisemites like the comte d'Hugues, conservative deputy from the slightly industrialized Basses-Alpes, Renault d'Elissagaray, one of the founders of the Jeunesse Antisémitique, or Etudiants Antisémitique, as they were often called, played a prominent part in the Congrès, often addressing the audience from the rostrum. D'Hugues presided over the anti-Masonic sessions, and Drumont presided over the anti-semitic Congrès.⁶⁰

The various speeches were tied together by the repeated theme of concern for small property, family, church, and country. At the anti-masonic meeting, the abbé Garnier attacked Freemasonry for "trying to upset the five fundamental pillars of our country:" national union, religion, the family, property, and patriotism. Garnier explained his contention by arguing that the Freemasons were a divisive influence, were engaged in a "French Kulturkampf," supported divorce legislation and degraded the family by "corruptions" and "temptations of all sorts." Finally, "since all the chiefs of socialism are Freemasons," the attack on private property was inspired by Freemasonry.⁶¹ Similar remarks were made by the abbé Dehon at the opening session of the Congrès Social. Dehon claimed that suicide, alcoholism, homeless children were increasing, because the old family ties were breaking

⁶⁰Congrès National de la Démocratie Chrétienne (Lyon, 1897), pp. 11, 28, 33. Robert Byrnes confuses the comte d'Hugues with Clovis Hugues, a poet and Socialist deputy from the 19th arrondissement of Paris. Byrnes, Antisemitism, p. 222.

⁶¹Quoted in Congrès National, pp. 53-54.

down. He also attacked Socialism.⁶²

Edouard Drumont's opening remarks as presiding officer of the evening session of the antisemitic Congrès displayed the same concern, but argued that antisemitism was showing the way to solving social problems. Because of the work of the antisemites, he said,

The peasant, the worker, the little craftsman, the small man of property knows the situation. The peasant who can no longer profit from his labors knows why he is caught by the wheat speculators; the worker understands the monopolizing of the Jew; the little investor sees himself dispossessed by the financial crashes. There is the work of the antisemites; there is the first phase of the movement. It is for you to complete this work... and realize "La France aux Français."⁶³

The abbé Lemire, clerical deputy from the Nord, also defended "this good and traditional notion of property," as a means of protecting the family and individual freedom. "The modern notion is not the same." Now, "property is regarded as a means of enjoyment, of riches, and thus, it falls under the covetousness of the lover of wealth, the Jew, who monopolizes it."⁶⁴ Lemire argued for the exemption of small property from all taxes, workers' cooperatives to help workers acquire private housing, and public credit agencies. He also argued for limitation of hours of work in factories and public health care.⁶⁵

⁶²Ibid., pp. 117-122.

⁶³Ibid., p. 81.

⁶⁴Quoted in Congrès National, p. 262.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 262-268.

At the afternoon session of the antisemitic congress, the abbé Gayraud, born in a small rural village in the Tarn-et-Garonne in 1856, attacked the Jews in a way that represents well the kind of analysis made by the Christian Democrats and many other antisemites. He accused the Jews of having power because of 1) the abolition of the craft "corporations" in 1791, 2) the "false maxims" of laissez-faire, 3) the progress of physical science and modern technology, 4) the employment of machinery in production and transport, 5) the enormous accumulation of capital in business corporations offering anonymity to investors, 6) greater and greater extension of industrial and commercial markets, and 7) public borrowing from private investors. Gayraud also repeated the familiar attack on the National Assembly of 1789 for giving civil and political equality to the Jews, thus allowing them, with their alleged financial aptitude, to supposedly take over France.⁶⁶

Like Garnier and other speakers, the abbé Gayraud drew a sharp line between Christian Democracy and Socialism. Socialism was not necessary, he argued, because capitalism was not necessary. One could have private property without capitalism, "assuming even the modern economic transformation of the forms of production and of the division of wealth," if private property were "instituted on a Christian basis." Furthermore, Socialism was undesirable because it was materialist and atheist, and would confiscate property, centralize society, and mechanize man. Thus, Gayraud claimed to support democracy, rather than Socialism, but his democracy was, he said, neither political democracy

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

a "narrow form of a political regime of government," nor "mutual equality--vain chimera--of all men." What was it? "Christian brotherhood in Christ." Also, it was "an ensemble of institutions which aim to facilitate for all citizens the free and full exercise of their duties and of their rights."⁶⁷ This ensemble he did not explain.

Of all the priests who spoke, Paul Naudet, born in Bordeaux in 1859, editor of Justice Sociale, a Christian Democratic journal founded in mid-1893 and moved to Paris in January, 1894, expressed the least hostility to Socialism, although he rejected it. He claimed to find some points of contact, some points of common acceptance, but when it came to positive proposals of his own, he was very vague. "Our function is not to propose or to make laws."⁶⁸ In fact, Naudet's social proposals were traditionalist and corporatist. In the early 1890's he had said, "In order to assure the workingman the protection of which he has need, we must have a guild organization of industry, and, in order that this organization may be effective, we wish it to be obligatory."⁶⁹

Drumont gave the final address of the Congrès National. In it he commented that he did not have the fear of Socialism that had been shown by some of the other speakers. "I honor myself with this word socialiste," he claimed. Yet, his socialism was not that of the

⁶⁷Quoted in Ibid., pp. 157-158.

⁶⁸Quoted in Ibid., p. 168.

⁶⁹Quoted in Emmanuel Barbier, Rome et l'Action liberale populaire, Histoire et documents (2nd ed.; Paris and Poitiers), p. 46, cited in Parker T. Moon, The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), p. 368.

collective ownership of all property. The Socialists were too "complicated," too "remote." They dreamed, said Drumont, of a regime which would be obtained only after "frightening disorders." While Drumont wished to attack the "monstrous fortunes" of the "kings of finance," if, as he put it, they had acquired their wealth by dishonest means, he clearly did not seek collective ownership, but rather a strengthened and protected private ownership of small property. His main argument, when attacking the "financial aristocracy," was his claim that it "makes laws for itself, disposes of credit for France, crushes the peasants, the small craftsmen, and the small tradesmen, and reduces them little by little to slavery."⁷⁰

Drumont indicated his basic conservatism once again in trying to explain the support gained for antisemitism.

It is because it represents that which is permanent, that which is unchangeable, that which does not die, as was said so eloquently this afternoon by the abbé Lemire: the instincts of a race, the traditions of a people, the notion of eternal justice, the hatred for parasites and for exploiters who are enriched at the cost of others.⁷¹

If antisemitism still had obstacles, it was because some conservatives feared to attack property, failing to note the distinctive origins of Jewish property. Also, workers did not realize that the "cosmopolite" Jewish financiers were the sole beneficiaries of both the work of the bosses and the work of the proletariat. Thus, the solution to the social problem was simply the elimination of the Jewish financiers.

The anti-Freemasonic, antisemitic, and social congresses approved

⁷⁰Quoted in Ibid., p. 284.

⁷¹Quoted in Ibid., p. 286.

several resolutions, thereby indicating the thinking of the Christian Democrats. The anti-Masonic resolution claimed that the Freemasons "hold the responsibility for the oppression, ruin, and demoralization of our country," and the resolution asked for a publicity campaign and an electoral campaign against the Masons.⁷² The antisemitic resolutions were more extensive and more vehement.

The Jews favor pornographic literature; they have given us the dowry of divorce; they have introduced into our land the rule of usury, of speculation, and of legalized theft. They hold the majority of the organs of the press, and dominate the agencies of publicity and of information. They infiltrate...into the high parts of administration, of the magistracy, and of teaching; they are the masters of national credit...⁷³

The antisemitic resolutions demanded that the decree of 1791, giving Jews political and civil equality, and the Crémieux decree, giving Algerian Jews French citizenship, be abolished. Also, the congress demanded that Jews be excluded from public teaching, the magistracy, administration, and army ranks. It expressed gratitude to Drumont for his "incomparable campaign," and expressed the desire that Catholic journals and patriotic journals take up "with vigor" the antisemitic campaign. It demanded laws to prevent monopoly and anonymous stockholding which could mask Jewish power. Finally, it demanded the exclusion of Jews from Army commissions and from positions of control over military supplies because this gave them a chance for

⁷²Quoted in Ibid., p. 56.

⁷³Quoted in Ibid., pp. 113-114.

espionage.

The resolutions of the Congrès Social stated in summary that the "Judeo-Masonic regime which governs us is fatal to all the living forces of the nation, to the religion, to agriculture, to labor, to social peace, and to the prosperity of our finances." It resolved further that the Christian principles on society, family, property, law, and labor were the basis of all social reforms and asked for state adherence to the Ten Commandments (with no mention that they were of Jewish origin). It asked for the repression of all manifestation of usury and the ending of all oppressions of the weak.⁷⁴

Despite their republicanism, and their concern for social welfare, the Christian Democrats were essentially provincial, lower middle-class, and conservative, even traditionalist. Their Republic was a clerical Republic. Their social reformism was paternalistic corporatism. Their anti-capitalism was antisemitism. Except for their fierce clericalism, their views were similar to the social criticism and much of the program of social radicals like Fourier, Proudhon, Chirac, and Drumont.

The question needs to be considered, why were these Catholics antisemitic? Was it because they were Catholic, or because they were of lower middle-class outlook, or simply because they felt a loss of political and social power? It is difficult to be conclusive, but on the basis of their repeatedly expressed fears and hopes, it would appear that Catholicism and the fear of anticlericalism constituted

⁷⁴Quoted in Ibid., pp. 216-217.

only one part, perhaps a secondary part, to a general social frustration and sense of loss of traditional ways and traditional importance. Frustration and anger sometimes produced anti-Freemasonry attitudes, sometimes nationalism, and sometimes antisemitism.

CHAPTER IV

ANTISEMITISM IN ALGERIA BEFORE THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

The most virulent antisemitism did not develop in France itself, but among the French and other Europeans in Algeria. Although anti-Dreyfusard demonstrations, some of riotous proportions, occurred in France, violent riot, attack on Jewish property and the loss of Jewish life, occurred mainly in Algeria.

Furthermore, radicals, not conservatives, constituted the mainstream of Algerian antisemitism. Radical French had been present in Algeria since the suppression of the 1848 revolutionaries. Many radicals had been exiled to Algeria after the "June Days" of '48, and after the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in December, 1851. They and their descendents carried on a radical and even socialist movement, but it seems to have been a socialism, or social radicalism derived from Fourier and Toussenel. Marxism seems to have had no influence on the Algerian French in the Nineteenth Century.

The French antisemites dated antisemitism in Algeria from the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870. This decree, issued by Isaac Crémieux, Minister of Justice in Gambetta's Government of National Defense, granted French citizenship, and with citizenship, the right to vote and possess private property, to Algerian Jews. Antisemites claimed that the decree led to the great Arab revolt of 1871, thus

implying that the Algerian Arabs were anti-Jewish, too. The famine of 1867-68 and the weakness of France after defeat by Prussia were more important causes. Nevertheless, it was humiliating to the Arabs that the French government granted political (and civil) rights to Jews in 1870, whereas in 1865, the government had granted French citizenship to Muslim Algerians only if they renounced their status as Muslims, which very few would do. As a result, Muslims not only had no French citizenship, but also found it very difficult to retain possession of their traditional lands. The Crémieux decree may have contributed to the Arab revolt, not because of Arab anti-Jewish feeling, but because it increased Arab anti-French feeling.

Many French radicals in Algeria developed their own special hate for the Crémieux decree, because they believed that the votes granted to the Jews by the decree were cast en bloc for Opportunist Republicans, and against Radical Republicans. It is true that Crémieux belonged to the moderate-conservative republican element, which flowed into the Opportunism of the 1880's. Whether gratitude was the motive or not, by the 1880's the Jewish voters were turning more and more toward the Opportunists. "In the final analysis," claims one writer, "the Jews ensured the victory of the Opportunists."¹ In any case, the Jews were blamed for the power of the Opportunists in Algeria, who in turn were linked with the wealthier men in Algeria, especially the men who controlled the large phosphate industry at Tebessa, 130 miles south of Bône, near the Tunisian border.

¹Zosa Szajkowski, "Socialists and Radicals in the Development of Antisemitism in Algeria," Jewish Social Studies, X (July, 1948), p. 266.

The antisemites attacked two Opportunist deputies, Eugène Etienne from Oran, and Gaston Thomson of Constantine, neither of whom were Jews, as the main political instruments of "les phosphataux." In addition, the antisemities accused Tirman, Governor of Algeria from 1881 to 1891, of being the instrument of the Opportunists. A leading antisemite of the 1890's, who was also a writer for La Libre Parole, Alfred Gendrot, wrote that "Governor Tirman, whom the Algerians called the governor of the Jews, decided nothing which had not been approved first by the two principal deputies from Algeria, Etienne and Thomson."² Gendrot claimed that in the 1880's the three senators and six deputies from Algeria would gather every Saturday at the café Durand in Paris to discuss Algerian affairs, vote, and send their decisions to Tirman, who was their executive agent. "Algeria was thus governed for some years from a café in the rue Royale."³

In 1884, the first of several anti-Jewish brawls occurred. The immediate issue was the hostility of the colon conscripts to attendance of Jewish conscripts at the fêtes du départ de la classe. Hostility led to brawls, and brawls led to four days of anti-Jewish rioting, from June 28 to July 1, 1884.⁴ On the first day of the

²Alfred Gendrot, Drumont, La France juive et la Libre Parole (Paris: Société française d'éditions littéraires et techniques, 1935), p. 233.

³Ibid., p. 233.

⁴"Les Troubles d'Alger," La Croix, July 2, 1884, p. 1.

rioting, June 28, a Saturday, and thus the Jewish Sabbath, the mob invaded the Jewish quarter, centered around the rue Bab-Azoum and the rue de la Lyre. The rioters pillaged shops and sacked a theatre. Troops were brought in to restore order. On Sunday, the 29th, things were calmer. An official proclamation asked the Jews to remain in their houses. Military patrols were increased.

On Sunday night, however, agitation increased. Several large groups of people gathered at different parts of the city, mainly around the place Bresson and the place du Gouvernement. Troops contained them until about 11:00 p.m. Then, troops were ordered to clear the occupied areas. Nevertheless, the city officials showed leniency toward the rioters. Late Sunday night, a group of the demonstrators went to the café de Bordeaux, where the mayor of Algiers and several municipal councilors were sitting. The mayor promised the demonstrators that he would set free immediately all persons arrested for taking part in the demonstration. He then proceeded to the municipal jail, accompanied by the mob, and released the prisoners. By 1:00 a.m. calm was restored.⁵

The antisemitic newspaper of the Catholic Order of the Assumptionists, La Croix, reported that several journals seized on the occurrence of rioting to argue for an annulment of the Crémieux Decree. Responding to these arguments, a Jewish journalist, Tubiaux, petitioned the National Assembly for the extension of the rights

⁵"Les Juifs d'Algérie," La Croix, July 2, 1884, p. 1.

granted to the Jews to include the Muslims of Algeria.⁶

Shortly after the 1884 riots, a political émigré from the Second Empire, Fernand Grégoire, led the formation of the first anti-Jewish organization in Algeria, the Ligue Socialist Anti-Juif. Grégoire was a self-proclaimed disciple of the antisemitic Fourierist socialist, Toussenel.⁷ From this time on the antisemitic movement in Algeria had a socialist coloration.

The vice-president of the Ligue was a former deputy, Poujade, exiled from France in 1852, following the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon. The Ligue supported a newspaper, Le Radical Algérien, edited by Basset.⁸

During the fourth ministry of Charles de Freycinet (March, 1890 to February, 1892), Tirman was replaced as governor of Algeria by Jules Cambon, whose term in office lasted from 1891 to the end of 1896. Cambon was cool, if not hostile toward the Thomson-Etienne group of Opportunist politicians and businessmen in Algeria, who had gained great influence during the 1880's. One member of this group, Jérôme Bertagna, mayor of Bône, and thus an important elector of Senator Thomson, had just gained control of the large phosphate mines of Tébessa, through what Cambon believed was the political aid of Thomson and the prefect of Constantine, Mengarduque, when Cambon came

⁶"Les Juifs en Algérie," La Croix, November 10, 1884, p. 2.

⁷Fernand Grégoire, La juiverie algérienne (Algiers, 1888), p. 8, cited in Szajkowski, "Socialists and Radicals in the Development of Antisemitism in Algeria," p. 270.

⁸Szajkowski, "Socialists and Radicals in the Development of Antisemitism in Algeria," p. 267.

to the governorship.⁹

In 1894, Cambon "inspired indirectly" an interpellation in the French Senate by the Radical Senator from the Cher, Pauliat, over the question of the Bertagna phosphate acquisition.¹⁰ Senator Pauliat, in turn, fed information to Alfred Gendrot, an antisemitic journalist, who covered the Senate for La Libre Parole. For his articles, Gendrot was brought to trial in late 1894 in Constantine, on a charge of defamation of character. The plaintiff was one Bouet, who Gendrot claimed was a front for the powerful men of the phosphates. J.-E. Millot, an active antisemite and associate of Gendrot, was also a defendant. The two men were defended by Emile de Saint-Auban, a lawyer who served as music critic for La Libre Parole, and who on occasion defended Edouard Drumont in court. The two men were acquitted after a very brief deliberation by the jury. (Gendrot claimed the jury was out for only three minutes.)¹¹

With the acquittal, shouts from the street were heard, "A bas les juifs! A bas Thomson! A bas Bertagna!"¹² "A revolutionary blood flowed in the veins [of these Algerian radicals]," wrote Gendrot. He viewed their actions in Paris in 1898, when they came up from Algeria to participate in the street actions of the Dreyfus Affair, as within

⁹Gendrot, Drumont, p. 234.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 234.

¹¹Ibid., p. 205.

¹²Ibid., p. 205.

the tradition of their revolutionary forefathers of 1848. In 1898 they found themselves "on the same fields of battle as those of their fathers of 2 December, [against the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon], but against the very regime that their fathers had wanted to found, and for which they had risked the firing squad or exile."¹³

Gendrot stayed for a week in Constantine. He and his lawyer, Saint-Auban, dined "splendidly" at the home of Morinaud, deputy and mayor of Constantine. Previously, Morinaud had been opposed to anti-semitism. He, like many radicals and socialists in the early 1890's in Algeria, were still cautiously detached from antisemitism, even though it had gained greater and greater support from many radicals in Algeria during the 1880's. To illustrate, in 1892 Morinaud, as editor of Le Republicain de Constantine, warned his readers that "the Opportunists would like to involve us in a war against the Jews, but we'll not be caught in their net."¹⁴ By the time of the phosphates, however, Morinaud approved strongly of antisemitism. "He was the chief of the radical party of Constantine, and the radical party was then the anti-Jew party."¹⁵ (Worthy of note is the fact that in 1935, Morinaud, still radical mayor and deputy of Constantine, attacked the antisemitic violence of 1935, just six months before Gendrot published his work, Drumont, La France juive et la Libre Parole.)¹⁶

¹³Ibid., pp. 206-207.

¹⁴Quoted in Szajkowski, "Socialists and Radicals in the Development of Antisemitism in Algeria," p. 260.

¹⁵Gendrot, Drumont, p. 207.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 209.

Another leading Algerian antisemitic publicist, perhaps typical of radical antisemitism in Algeria, was Masson, the editor of the little journal, La Silhouette. "Its tiny office had its wall papered from top to bottom with the summonses that [Masson] had received for two years from court at the petition of more than one hundred Jews who felt defamed."¹⁷ Masson was the son of a "fierce anticlerical" republican deported to Algeria in 1851, who had remained in Algeria to found a cement or brick firm.¹⁸ Masson's

little journal, of an unheard of violence, was only the echo of popular sentiments against the beneficiaries of the Cremieux decree. Masson, son of a revolutionary Parisien, was truly representative of the colons of Constantine, many of whom descended, like him, from insurgents sent off to Lambesse after the second of December, 1851, and who, established in Algeria after their prison terms, were happy there and founded a family.¹⁹

At Bône, another journalist, the "tenacious" Maxime Rasteil, known as the "Rocheftort bônois," campaigned against Jews and Opportunists of Algeria in his Reveil Bônois.²⁰

¹⁷Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 207-208.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 208. Lambesse was a military prison on the site of an old Roman camp in the South of Constantine Province. Many political prisoners of '48 and '51 were taken there after arriving in Algeria. See Charles-André Julien, Histoire de l'Algérie Contemporaine. Vol. I: La Conquête et les débuts de la colonisation, 1827-1871 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp. 305, 358.

²⁰Ibid., p. 209. Henri Rochefort was the fiercely nationalist editor of the Paris Intransigeant. He displayed much antisemitism during the Dreyfus Affair.

Gendrot claimed that his trial and acquittal drew French attention to the radical antisemitism of Algeria and to its grievances, while also obliging "the government to revoke or to suspend some Algerian mayors, compromised in the maneuvers of the Bertagnas and the Thomsons."²¹

The Thomson group tried to deal with Senator Pauliat by having Mengarduque, prefect of Constantine, appointed prefect in the Cher, with the goal of engineering the defeat of Pauliat at the next Senatorial election, in 1894. Pauliat counter-attacked by trying to show that Mengarduque, as prefect of Constantine, had facilitated the means for Bertagna to gain control of the Tébessa phosphates.²²

Gendrot claimed that the affair over "les phosphateux," as Henri Rochefort called Thomson, Etienne, Bertagna, and Mengarduque, curbed their power for years. In any case, the antisemites believed that the power of the Thomsons et al rested on the Jewish vote. Thus, the affair of the phosphates helped to fuel the antisemitic movement, which developed to a climax in Algeria with the election of Drumont and three other anti-Jewish deputies from Algeria in 1898, during the height of the Dreyfus Affair.²³

In part because of Gendrot's visit to Algeria, La Libre Parole between 1894 and 1898, served as a kind of "moniteur" for the

²¹Ibid., p. 209.

²²Ibid., p. 234.

²³Ibid., p. 235.

Algerian radical opposition, wrote Gendrot.²⁴ Just as La Libre Parole aided the Algerian antisemites, so Algerian papers sometimes supported La Libre Parole. For example, Le Radical Algérien, opened on June 11, 1892, a campaign in support of Edouard Drumont's antisemitic activities in France.²⁵ Drumont's La Libre Parole had just begun publication in May, 1892.

In 1895, an antisemitic newspaper in Biskra, in the south of the province of Constantine, the Avenir de Biskra, asked Edouard Drumont to organize an essay contest on the theme, "The practical means for arriving at the annihilation of the Jewish power in France, the Jewish danger being considered from the point of race, not religion." The idea of a contest demonstrated that the Algerian antisemites were seeking "resolutely" to find "the remedy for the sickness which devours us," wrote Drumont, with satisfaction.²⁶

The prize for the best work would be a medal of honor in "virgin gold," that is, gold never having been touched by a Jewish hand.²⁷ This prize would be published in La Libre Parole. However, Drumont doubted that he could find any "virgin gold." He wished that if his Algerian friends knew of any they would tell him.

²⁴Ibid., p. 209.

²⁵Quoted in Szajkowski, "Socialists and Radicals in the Development of Antisemitism in Algeria," p. 267.

²⁶Edouard Drumont, "Preface," in A. Tilloy, Le péril judéo-maçonique: le mal, le remède (Paris: Librairie antisémite, 1897), pp. viii-ix.

²⁷Ibid., p. ix.

When Drumont announced the contest on October 22, 1895 in La Libre Parole, he wrote,

The Antisemites of Algeria are truly of the brave, and I begin to believe that it is from there that our salvation will come. On all occasions the Anti-Jewish League puts itself in the vanguard, affirming its hatred against the oppressors, hurling thousands of French into the street, who make the Jews and the Jewified retreat. Thomson has given [the antisemites] cause, and because he dared to show himself at Constantine, it was necessary to mobilize the whole garrison. When the trial of the phosphates has taken place, the Jewish domination, which weighs so heavily on Algeria, will be very near to ending."²⁸

On November 7, 1896, the results of the contest were announced. The prize arrangements were rather different than originally planned. The first prize was shared equally by Father A.-J. Jacquet of Bordeaux, and Father A. Tilloy of Mâcon. In lieu of virgin gold, five hundred presumably chaste francs were awarded to each of the two first prize winners.²⁹ Also, there were far more prizes awarded than originally stated, two second prizes, three third prizes, three fourth prizes, four fifth prizes, four sixth prizes, and four honorable mentions. As someone has said, everyone won in that contest. Six of the winners, incidentally, were "anonymous."

So, the stage was set in Algeria for the violence of 1898 and 1899. Blaming Jews for the political problems of the radicals, and for the political and economic successes of their rivals, the

²⁸Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

²⁹Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

Opportunists, the indigenous antisemites of Algeria experienced a series of minor troubles and affairs, which formed a prelude to the turbulence of the Dreyfus period.

CHAPTER V

ANTISEMITISM DURING THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

The story of the Dreyfus Affair is well-known, although the details of antisemitism, as it developed in France and especially in Algeria, have been less examined. The years 1895 to 1897 were lean years for antisemitism, but its fortunes were revived briefly by the Dreyfus Affair, from November, 1897 through January, 1900.

On June 21, 1897, Colonel Georges Picquart, who had succeeded Colonel Jean Sandherr as head of the counter-intelligence section of the French General Staff, wrote a letter addressed to the President of the Republic, Félix Faure, describing his reasons for believing that Captain Alfred Dreyfus had been victimized by the War Ministry. Picquart placed this letter in the keeping of his lawyer, Louis Leblois, to give to the President in case Picquart should be killed in Tunisia, where he had been sent by the War Office to get him out of the way. Leblois, deeply concerned about the seriousness of the issue raised by Picquart, repeated his information on July 13, 1897 to the highly respected Vice-President of the Senate, Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, an industrialist and moderately conservative republican. Concluding that Dreyfus was indeed innocent, Scheurer nevertheless kept quiet for several months in order to avoid reviving public passions

during the August visit of the President to Russia.¹ In October, the Senator visited both the War Minister, General Jean-Baptiste Billot, and the President of the Republic, Faure, to no avail.

By late October, 1897, word of Scheurer's activities reached the antisemitic press, and it immediately assumed that a Jewish conspiracy was at work, a Jewish conspiracy which the antisemites termed from then on "Le Syndicat." La Croix, the antisemitic Assumptionist journal, used this word for the first time in its October 30, 1897 issue, saying it came from an "authorized correspondent."² Six days later, on November 5, La Croix wrote that according to Drumont's Libre Parole, the campaign for Dreyfus was organized by a

syndicate which functions in Paris and plays with a formidable budget.

This syndicate, which acts indistinctly for the advantage of Germany, of England, of Italy, and which even furnishes intelligence sometimes to our Minister of War, commands an international boutique where secrets of state, plans of mobilization, models of new cannon, unpublished armaments projects, are sold to the highest bidder.

This syndicate supports Dreyfus in order to stop him from making a clean breast of it.... They have promised him a complete rehabilitation to keep him from talking.³

Since the first notable leaders of the Dreyfus cause were either Jews or Protestants, the antisemites viewed the "syndicate"--the creation of their own imagination--as the vindication of all their traditional suspicion of a Jewish-Protestant-Freemasonic conspiracy. La

¹This was the explanation given to Maurice Paléologue, of the Foreign Ministry, by the Deputy, Joseph Reinach, a staunch Dreyfusard. Maurice Paléologue, My Secret Diary of the Dreyfus Case, trans. by Eric Mosbacher (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), p. 55.

²"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, October 30, 1897, p. 2.

³"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 5, 1897, p. 2.

Croix pointed out that both Bernard Lazare, who had been working quietly for years to help Dreyfus, and Joseph Reinach, who had just begun to write in behalf of Dreyfus in Le Figaro, were Jews. Scheurer Kestner (whose name La Croix twisted to "Kestner-Hesteur," to make it appear like a German-Jewish name pronounced with a Yiddish accent), Gabriel Monod, member of the Institut de France, editor of La Revue historique, professor at the Collège des Hautes Etudes, and M. de Rougement, the graphologist, all Dreyfusards, were Protestants.⁴ According to La Croix, Col. Picquart (who was actually a Catholic) was "d'origine israelite."⁵

Still, as Raphael Viau of La Libre Parole later pointed out, "Up until November, 1897 there had been nothing very striking from the antisemitic point of view," but then on November 16, "M. Mathieu Dreyfus, brother of Captain Dreyfus, accused [Major Charles Walsin-Esterhazy, in a letter to the War Minister, General Billot] of having been the instrument of the condemnation of his brother." "Antisemitic agitation, which had been weakening for some time, lacking nourishment, was reanimated immediately into enormous proportions."⁶ "The Syndicate which was formed in order to save ex-Captain Dreyfus has finally uncovered its batteries," said La Croix.⁷

⁴"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 3, 1897, p. 2.

⁵Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 75.

⁶Raphael Viau, Vingt Ans d'antisémitisme, 1889 à 1909 (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1910), pp. 142-143.

⁷"La Journée," La Croix, November 17, 1897, p. 1.

The more the Dreyfusards continued to hammer away at the conviction of Dreyfus, the more the antisemites saw their efforts as a conspiracy. Le Figaro began to describe the Case in Dreyfusard terms in late November and early December, publishing a photograph of a letter written by Esterhazy along with a facsimile of the bordereau, the item allegedly written by Dreyfus.⁸ Yves Guyot began to denounce Esterhazy in Le Siècle in early December.

La Croix set forth the main theme of the anti-Dreyfusards on November 18, 1897. "The aim followed by the Dreyfus-Scheurer-Kestner Syndicate is thus to profit from public debilitation and distraction in order to throw suspicion on our entire General Staff." This was why Esterhazy, working in the War Office, was chosen as the victim of their accusations, La Croix exclaimed. "This antipatriotic campaign, in order to save the honor of a Dreyfus, puts in peril the security of the country and threatens the honor of our whole army."⁹

On November 24, La Croix once again announced "rumors" of a Syndicate. This time, said La Croix, it was rumored that the government itself had "discovered the existence of a Syndicate formed by the friends of Dreyfus. This Syndicate disposes of not less than 2 million francs, for the purpose of paying secret agents."¹⁰ The next day, La Croix reported another rumor, this one a claim that the "Syndicate" had been formed in 1895.

⁸"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 19, 1897, p. 2.

⁹"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 18, 1897, p. 2.

¹⁰"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 24, 1897, p. 4.

At this time, then, and until August, 1898, the Dreyfusards were on the offensive, attacking the conviction of Dreyfus, and demanding a revision of his court-martial. The anti-Dreyfusards defended the court-martial of Dreyfus and demanded an end to the protests and the agitation. Thus, the conservative republican premier, Jules Méline, declared to the Chamber of Deputies on December 4, 1897, "Il n'y a pas d'affaire Dreyfus." Nevertheless, the Affair was underway, and Méline's statement constituted the first major principle of the anti-Dreyfusards in the Affair: that there should be no Affair, since Dreyfus was guilty and the Army innocent. The comte Albert de Mun, a founder of the Cercles catholiques d'ouvriers, followed Méline to the rostrum to make what would remain the second point of the anti-Dreyfusards: that the defenders of Dreyfus were either members or dupes of a vicious Jewish syndicate seeking to take over the nation by discrediting the Army. "It must be known whether it is

true that there is in this country a mysterious, occult power strong enough to be able at its pleasure to throw suspicion on the leaders of our army, on those whose task it will be, on the day when great duties devolve upon them, to lead our army against the enemy and conduct war. It must be known whether this occult power is really strong enough to throw the whole country into confusion, as it has been for more than a fortnight.

The "honor of the army," the "most precious possession" of the French, had to be preserved intact, said de Mun.¹²

The more the Dreyfusards demanded justice for Dreyfus, the more the antisemites believed that a "Jewish syndicate" was conspiring,

¹¹"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 25, 1897, p. 2.

¹²Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 76.

through parliamentary republicans and other dupes, to discredit the Army and weaken French security. The more the Dreyfusards accused the anti-Dreyfusards of opposing justice--particularly after a primary accuser of Dreyfus, Colonel Henry, committed suicide in August, 1898--the more the antisemites turned from defending the court-martial to attacking the parliamentary republic, and demanding the expulsion of the Jews. Thus, for the Dreyfusards, personal vindication for Dreyfus became necessary for the political vindication of the Third Republic; for the antisemites, destruction of the parliamentary republic became necessary for the destruction of the Jewish Syndicate, which presumably included Dreyfus.

Drumont's young disciples, Edouard Dubuc and Camille Jarre, activated the Jeunesse Antisémitique, which consisted largely of student admirers of Drumont. This league met on November 23, with Dubuc presiding, to hear several antisemitic spokesmen denounce the Judeo-Protestant Syndicate. A young colleague of Dubuc and Jarre, Cailly, president of antisemitic groups in the faubourg Saint-Antoine, declared to the audience that the day was near when the revolutionary faubourg would "descend" into the street once again, not to demolish Mazas prison, but to destroy the "fripouilles" who were dishonoring France.¹³

André Jacquemont spoke in the name of the Comités antisémites de province. Jules Guérin, the lieutenant of the late marquis de Morès, attacked the Jewish-Protestant Syndicate. The antisemitic former

¹³Quoted in "Meeting antisémite," La Croix, November 23, 1897, p. 3.

Boulangist, Lucien Millevoye, editor of La Patrie, also spoke, along with the comte Paul d'Hugues, deputy from the Basses-Alpes. In early November, the comte d'Hugues had proclaimed that

If a Christian had committed the horrible crime of Dreyfus, he would have been shot. The traitor is Jewish. They simply condemned him to deportation. His coreligionists who hold a third of the public fortune mount a campaign in his favor in agreement with the Protestants. I am happy over it because this fact proves once again that the antisemites have cause to affirm that the Jews have no country.¹⁴

On Thursday, December 9, and again the next day, several hundred antisemitic students (La Croix reported 600 on Thursday) demonstrated before the offices of Le Figaro in the rue Drouot against the Dreyfusards. The demonstrations had to be broken up by the police.¹⁵

Drumont and his Libre Parole became involved immediately in the Affair through direct contact with General Mercier, who had been War Minister during the arrest and conviction of Dreyfus, and who felt deeply the need to make the conviction of Dreyfus stick if his own honor as well as the honor of the Army were to be preserved. So, in late 1897, La Libre Parole staff members frequently observed Mercier, "accompanied sometimes by General de Pellieux," military commander for the Seine department, coming to see Drumont about the Affair and to have brief discussions with him, "in private always."¹⁶ The staff

¹⁴Quoted in "L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, November 6, 1897, p. 3.

¹⁵"La Manifestation des étudiants," La Croix, December 10, 1897, p. 2. "Les Etudiants et Le Figaro," La Croix, December 11, 1897, p. 2.

¹⁶Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 145-146.

at La Libre Parole also began to see a great deal of the man later exposed as the real spy in the Second Bureau, or Intelligence Bureau, Major Charles Walsin-Esterhazy, who came to boast mysteriously of his special powers and secret information at the War Ministry.¹⁷

After Scheurer-Kestner began his defense of Dreyfus, General Pellieux was ordered to undertake an inquiry into the activities of Major Esterhazy, who was accused by the Dreyfusards of being the real spy. "In his report, submitted in November, 1897, General Pellieux exonerated Esterhazy and accused Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart of grave dereliction of duty."¹⁸ It was perfectly easy for Drumont to believe in the guilt of Dreyfus, of course, without any urging from Mercier, Pellieux, and Esterhazy. In La France juive, Drumont had claimed that Jews had spied for Bismarck in the Franco-Prussian War,¹⁹ and as mentioned earlier in this paper, La Libre Parole was the first journal to attack Dreyfus in 1894.

The league of the Jeunesse antisémite was not the only supplement to Drumont's journalism. Jules Guérin, never very close personally to Drumont, formed a new Ligue antisémitique, around a core of former "Amis de Morès" from La Villette. Wherever he went, Guérin was always escorted by "half a dozen ligueurs with eyes full of menace" and fists clenched for a fight."²⁰ Guérin, who had stayed away from La Libre

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 135, 144.

¹⁸Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 82.

¹⁹Drumont, La France juive, I, p. 390.

²⁰Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 161-162.

Parole since Morès and Drumont separated in August, 1893, kept the new Ligue distinct from Drumont's followers. Setting up headquarters at 7, rue Lentonnet, and later at 51 rue de Chabrol, Guérin also called his ligue the "Grand Occident de France" to indicate the intention of the antisemites to confront the Paris grand lodge, or "Grand Orient," of French Freemasonry, long a presumed front for a Jewish conspiracy. Two words constituted the motto of the Ligue, "Patrie, Travail," implying perhaps that Jews had no country and did no work.²¹

La Libre Parole and the Assumptionist La Croix were not the only antisemitic journals. Henri Rochefort, an old nationalist, ex-Boulangist, and anti-parliamentary republican, became increasingly antisemitic, as well as anti-Dreyfusard, in his journal, L'Intransigeant. Rochefort claimed that the Dreyfusards, despite money and attempts at bribery, would not be able to get a revision of the Dreyfus Case, but would only let loose "a veritable revolution of patriotism, indignation, and anger against themselves."²²

The position of the Socialists was still ambiguous. In the December 4, 1897 session of the Chamber of Deputies, Alexandre Millerand, an ascending star of the Independent Socialists, accused the moderate republicans of being friendly with the authors of the Dreyfusards, who were represented, he said, by a man who was not really trying to rehabilitate a new Calas, but who was possibly hoping for a

²¹Jules Guérin, Les Trafiquants de l'antisémitisme (Paris: Félix Juven, 1906), p. 139. Gendrot, Drumont, La France juive et La Libre Parole, p. 246.

²²Quoted in La Croix, November 4, 1897, p. 6.

rehabilitation in his own family to follow that of Dreyfus.

Millerand's reference was obviously to the leading Dreyfusard in the Chamber, Joseph Reinach, a Jew, who had been comparing Dreyfus to Calas, who had been falsely accused of killing his son, and who had been vindicated posthumously by Voltaire. Reinach's uncle, the baron Jacques de Reinach, had killed himself in disgrace during the Panama Scandal. Reinach fought a pistol duel with Millerand without result that very night, following the session. The session ended with a vote of support for the Army and the Government and a rejection of the Dreyfusard claims.²³ The Socialists, Guesde, Vaillant, and Jaurès, abstained.²⁴

Nevertheless, on December 10, 1897, La Croix, looking for a villain among its enemies, claimed that the Socialists should be added as a fourth section of the "Syndicate," previously hyphenated as the Jewish-Protestant-Freemasonic Syndicate. While the Rothschilds and the Socialists might appear to have little in common, actually they were very similar, claimed La Croix. Both were without a country, both hated the Army, and both were working for Dreyfus.²⁵ Adding the Socialists to the Dreyfusards at this point was as absurd as believing that the Dreyfusards were agents of a Syndicate.

Yet, at the same time, Jean Jaurès, the leader of the Independent Socialists, and the man who more than any other, ultimately brought the Socialists into the Dreyfusard camp and into opposition to the

²³"Voile déchiré, La Croix, December 7, 1897, p. 1.

²⁴Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès, p. 219.

²⁵"Juifs et Socialists," La Croix, December 10, 1897, p. 1.

antisemites, was considering very carefully the statements of the Dreyfusards. Not yet a Dreyfusard, Jaurès sent an article to the Dépêche de Toulouse in the second week of December, examining very seriously the claims of the defenders of Dreyfus.²⁶ Jaurès still stood apart from either side in the Affair. Writing in La Petite République, Millerand's paper, Jaurès wrote, "Should Dreyfus be rehabilitated, then this would mean the rise of opportunism. Should he remain convicted, then this would mean the triumph of clericalism. Therein rests the social sense which this struggle receives through different interests."²⁷ It would be many weeks before Jaurès would take a firm stand for revision of the Dreyfus court-martial.

On the Left, for many months, only a few intellectuals, like Lucien Herr, librarian of the Ecole Normale, and some anarchists like Sébastien Faure, worked for revision of the Dreyfus trial. The issue of antisemitism as a special issue related but distinct from the Dreyfus Case, did not become a national concern until the Zola trial in February.

At the beginning of January, 1898, General Félix Saussier, the Military Governor of the Paris District since 1884, and Commander-in-Chief designate in case of war, ordered the court-martial of Major Esterhazy. Drumont and Rochefort claimed that this decision was a "victory for the Jewish syndicate."²⁸ Rochefort charged that Yves

²⁶"Les défenseurs de Dreyfus," La Croix, December 11, 1897, p. 2.

²⁷Quoted in Wilhelm Herzog, From Dreyfus to Pétain (Paris: Creative Age Press, 1947), pp. 162-163.

²⁸Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 81.

Guyot of Le Siècle, must have been getting "Syndicate" money to pay for the free distribution of "hundreds of thousands" of copies of his Dreyfus statement.²⁹

On January 10 and 11, Esterhazy came before the court-martial, which sat twice daily, almost entirely in camera. A mob of anti-semitic ligueurs gathered outside the prison gateway, and when Esterhazy was acquitted and came out through the gate, the delirious throng shouted "Vive l'Armée! Vive Esterhazy! Mort aux juifs!"³⁰ Immediately, Emile Zola prepared his famous denunciation of the Army chiefs, "J'accuse," publishing it January 13 in Clemenceau's new journal, L'Aurore, in the form of an open letter to the President of the Republic. Zola the modernist provides an interesting, perhaps a significant, contrast in personality to Drumont the traditionalist. Zola followed the tenets of reason and scientific thought in his life and his "naturalistic" approach to writing the novel. His concern for social justice was based on reason and not sentimentality.

Zola's action rallied the Dreyfusard cause, but it also stung the antisemites and antirevisionists. Ferdinand Brunetière (1849-1906), a literary critic of great reputation, hostile to the naturalism of Zola, editor of the Revue des deux mondes, attacked Zola at a salon of writers and critics on January 15. More important, Brunetière demonstrated by his argument that his antisemitism was very close to the antisemitic tradition that Drumont followed. "Why has [the Republic]

²⁹"L'Affaire Dreyfus," La Croix, January 9-10, 1898, p. 6.

³⁰Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 81.

ostracized all the representatives of the old French traditions?" he asked. "Why have Protestants, free-thinkers, Freemasons, Jews, got hold of all the public offices?"³¹

Also in response to Zola's letter, a wave of antisemitic, anti-revisionist demonstrations swept through the major French cities, especially university towns, like Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand, Aix-en-Provence, Lyon, Toulouse, Nancy, Grenoble, and Rennes.³² There were fairly serious street disturbances at Nantes and Rouen. In Nantes, for example, on January 14, a demonstration took place in the place Royale, before the offices of the Société générale, where dispatches from the Havas agency were posted, and where a copy of Zola's letter was affixed.³³ Paris saw demonstrations through January 17, especially in the Latin quarter.³⁴ In Algiers, a small pogrom lasted for four days, from January 18 to 21, resulting in death for one Jew and one antisemite.

What of the Church up to this point? This is an important question to consider since many historians have depicted the Church as the main instrument of anti-revisionism and one of the major forces,

³¹Quoted in Ibid., p. 84.

³²Ibid., p. 110. See also Louis Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus, 1897-1899 (Toulouse: Imprimerie Régionale, 1948), p. 83.

³³"Manifestation antisémite à Nantes," La Croix, January 15, 1898, p. 2.

³⁴"La Journée," La Croix, January 18, 1898, p. 1.

perhaps the major force in French antisemitism.³⁵ Actually, the Church as an institution remained by and large neutral in the Affair. Many Catholics, laity and clergy, and many Catholic journals, were tainted with antisemitism, although anti-Freemasonry overshadowed antisemitism. And yet, despite the conviction of republicans, radicals, and socialists, especially after 1900, that the Church and particularly the Jesuits were behind the anti-Dreyfus and antisemitic movements, only the Assumptionist Order's La Croix held to a continuous antisemitic and anti-Dreyfusard policy. True, the Church did not censure the anti-Dreyfus position of the Assumptionists, but it also did not censure the Catholic Dreyfusards, in their Comité catholique pour la défense du droit. It should also be pointed out that there were many republicans and socialists, and republican newspapers, like the Dépêche de Toulouse, which were antirevisionist, and some conservative papers, like L'Autorité, of Paul de Cassagnac, which were revisionist. The Church did not censure antisemitism, which should be viewed as a phenomenon distinct from antirevisionism, and this

³⁵Wilhelm Herzog, for example, makes much of the fact that the Paris Jesuit leader, Father du Lac, was the father confessor of General de Boisdeffre for thirty years. He also writes that "it has become an unequivocal fact that the Catholic church, in its lust for power, rebuffed by the Republic, wanted first to be sure of the army in order to reconquer the whole of France." Again, he writes, "It can hardly be doubted not only that Jesuit capital founded Drumont's paper, La Libre Parole, but that the Jesuits also controlled the entire organization of the paper." Herzog, From Dreyfus to Pétain, pp. 19, 20, 26.

Nicholas Halasz writes, "To the Church militant, the time seemed to have arrived. The nation, as if by a miracle, was ready to come back under the wings of the Church....The Civiltà Cattolica, official organ of the Jesuit Order in Rome, gave the signal for the great offensive." Nicholas Halasz, Captain Dreyfus: The Story of a Mass Hysteria (New York: Grove Press, 1955), pp. 121-122.

failure is significant. But, the antisemitism of the Church was not a movement to overthrow the Republic. Furthermore, Catholic antisemitism, except in the case of La Croix, has possibly been exaggerated.

The main argument for the claim that the Jesuits were behind the antisemitic and anti-revisionist movements has come from one article in the Jesuit journal in Rome, the Civiltà Cattolica, cited by Joseph Reinach, and repeated by later historians. Reinach used this article to claim that the Jesuits were "la grande inspiration profonde" of anti-revisionism.³⁶ Reinach dated this article February 5, 1898, but Louis Capéran points out that the article quoted actually appeared in the January 24 issue.³⁷ The article actually said nothing new, but merely repeated stock antisemitic remarks. It mentioned the Zionist Congress, organized by Theodore Herzl (1860-1904), which had been meeting since August, 1897, and which was used by antisemites as clear proof of an international Jewish conspiracy.³⁸

The Jesuits had a small paper, Etudes, in Paris, but some Dreyfusards assumed that La Libre Parole was really the Jesuit newspaper in France.³⁹ Yves Guyot, an early Dreyfusard, and a major source for

³⁶Joseph Reinach, Histoire de l'affaire Dreyfus, Vol. III: La Crise (Paris: Fasquelle, 1903), p. 25.

³⁷Louis Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme, p. 90.

³⁸An English translation of Reinach's translation from the Italian can be found in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 123. Capéran claims that Reinach's translation is inaccurate and misleading. Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme, p. 91.

³⁹This idea is repeated by Wilhelm Herzog, From Dreyfus to Pétain, p. 26. On November 5, 1897, Etudes praised the antisemitic pamphlet by L. Vial, Le Juif-roi, comment le détrôner (Paris, 1897), calling it more effective than long theological discussions. Quoted in "L'Omnipotence juive," La Croix, November 25, 1897, p. 8.

anticlerical interpretations of the affair, pointed out in 1898 that the president of the conseil d'administration of La Libre Parole was the financier, Odelin, who was also a member of the conseil d'administration of the Jesuit Ecole Saint-Geneviève on the rue des Postes.⁴⁰ Thus, some of the Dreyfusards developed the idea of a kind of syndicate of anti-revisionism and antisemitism.

There is no question that anti-revisionism was common in Catholic circles, as it was in radical and socialist circles, at first. The Church was also deeply compromised with antisemitism, but it is impossible to prove, and difficult to believe in a Jesuit plot or in Jesuit control over Drumont and La Libre Parole. Professor Byrnes, who emphasizes the Catholic origins of French antisemitism,⁴¹ and presents Drumont as "plainly an infuriated Catholic,"⁴² admits that Drumont lambasted the Church leaders, including many French bishops.⁴³ Maurice Paléologue, of the French Foreign Ministry, found antisemitism at the Vatican when he visited Rome in March, 1898, but a year later found the Vatican circles much changed in attitude. In 1898, he wrote in his diary, at the Vatican "they avoid committing

themselves on the crux of the matter, the question whether Dreyfus was legally and rightly convicted, but an insidious

⁴⁰Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme, p. 265.

⁴¹Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, pp. 125-136. Byrnes shows much anti-Freemasonry in the French Church, but can show only three antisemitic writers in the Church, in the 1880's, none of whom were influential.

⁴²Ibid., p. 166.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 334-335.

tenacity is shown in letting slip no opportunity of expressing pity for poor France, which is now discovering to its cost the ordeals and perils to which a nation exposes itself when it allows itself to be governed by Freemasons, atheists, and Jews!

In March, 1899, Paléologue wrote that "At the Vatican and in

"black" circles Dreyfus's guilt is no longer regarded as an axiomatic and self-evident truth. It is no longer claimed that the Jews were created by a special decree of providence so that noble causes should never lack their traitors. Words are now weighed....⁴⁴

It would seem then, that the French Church as a whole was very much like France as a whole on the question of Dreyfus and revision. In regard to organized antisemitism, the Church in general, and even the Assumptionists in particular, were probably more followers than leaders. This is not to defend the Church, but to emphasize the true relationship of Drumont to the Church. The major source and expression of antisemitism in France at this time came from Drumont and men like him, both Catholics and non-Catholics, who spoke for small property and traditional ways, and attacked big business.

What of the Left? Did the Zola letter of January 13 have an impact? The Socialist deputies caucused on January 13 to discuss the letter as it related to forthcoming parliamentary debate, but the moderate majority insisted in the stormy gathering that Socialists should remain neutral in what was an issue between bourgeoisie and reactionaries. Only the Marxists and Jean Jaurès supported Zola. Guesde called Zola's letter "the greatest revolutionary act of the century."⁴⁵ On January 14, Jaurès accused the bourgeois Méline

⁴⁴Paleologue, My Secret Diary, pp. 105, 156.

⁴⁵Quoted in Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès, p. 223.

Ministry of giving way to reactionary pressure when it should be supporting Zola's freedom of speech, but he received little support, even from his own followers.⁴⁶ The anarchists, Louise Michel, veteran of the Commune, and Sébastien Faure, both hostile to the Army and militarism, called the first public meeting for revision of the Dreyfus court-martial. The meeting took place on January 15, 1898 in the Tivoli-Vaux-Hall, to form the "syndicate of revolt against civil and military oppression, against war and the army, against religion and the priests."⁴⁷

On Wednesday, January 19, all Socialist deputies signed a manifesto, "tinged almost as much with anti-Semitism as with anticlericalism,"⁴⁸ in which they reiterated their neutrality between the Dreyfusards, who only wished to rehabilitate themselves from a scandalous past, and the anti-Dreyfusards, who wished to attack freethinkers, Protestants, Jews, and Opportunists. "Between Reinach and De Mun, keep your complete freedom."⁴⁹ This was in line with the position that Millarand had taken on December 4 against Reinach.

Even so, on Saturday, January 22, premier Méline, who had hopes of uniting the ralliement Catholics and Opportunist republicans into a

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 223.

⁴⁷Sébastien Faure, Les Anarchistes et l'Affaire Dreyfus (Paris: Lafont, 1898), p. 32.

⁴⁸Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 224.

⁴⁹Quoted in Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 224.

large conservative Republican party, attacked both the Dreyfusards, like Zola, who "has used his pen to besmirch the army chiefs," and the Socialists, Jaurès especially, who "are preparing for a new edition of La Débâcle."⁵⁰ Perhaps Méline believed that a little red-baiting of the Dreyfusards would help his effort to build a conservative Republican party. At any rate, he had thrown an anti-Dreyfusard gauntlet in the face of the Socialists.

Jaurès took the challenge and rushed to the tribune. He immediately perceived the political danger of the anti-Dreyfusard movement, the creation of a conservative bloc of Right and Center. In the years to come, the major political accomplishment of Jaurès was to prevent that conservative union and to help create a progressive concentration of Left-Center and Left. Now, he accused Méline of courting the Right.

The downfall came from the court generals, shielded by the Empire; it is coming again from the Jesuit generals, shielded by the Republic....The cry of 'Death to the Jews' has howled through the streets, and those responsible are your supporters! Since the Affair began, we have been dying of lies, equivocations and cowardice. The charges against Zola are based on nothing but lies and cowardice!

In the tumult of the chamber, a Right-wing deputy, the comte de Bernis, of Nîmes, shouted at the Socialist chief, "You are part of the Syndicate!" Jaurès stopped short. "What did you say, M. de Bernis?" "I said that you must be part of the Syndicate, that you are probably the mouthpiece of the Syndicate." "M. de Bernis," roared

⁵⁰Quoted in Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, pp. 224-225. "La Débâcle" referred to both the defeat of the army in 1870-71, and a novel by Emile Zola, published in 1892.

Jaurès, "you are a miserable coward." Bernis rushed to the rostrum and struck Jaurès twice on the back. The session ended in a melee.⁵¹

The next day, Méline refused to respond to the renewed questioning of Jaurès. The vote of confidence for the Premier was 360 to 126. Méline's red-baiting tactics seemed to have paid off in a concentration of Right and Center. Yet, the session of January 22 may have been the turning-point for Jaurès, who from that time was clearly the greatest ally of the Dreyfusards. The rest of the Extreme Left remained apart, however, but the attacks on Jaurès by Right and Center gave him an opportunity to argue more persuasively for Socialist unity and for Socialist support of the Dreyfusards.

A few days after Zola's "J'accuse," General Billot, the Minister of War, acting in the name of the Esterhazy court-martial, filed suit against Zola for libel. The trial ran from February 7 to 23, 1898, and provided a focal point for tremendous displays of antisemitism in the street. On the eve of the Zola trial, Drumont, Guérin, and Georges Thiébaud, a writer for L'Eclair, issued an "appel aux Français," on behalf of all the antisemitic leagues and societies, denouncing "foreign Jews, who after taking our money, want to make an attempt on national honor."⁵² This gave the signal for street action.

The antisemites' fears of a Dreyfusard Syndicate seemed to them to have been borne out when on Sunday, February 20, between the

⁵¹The quotations are found in Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, pp. 224-225.

⁵²Quoted in Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme, p. 95.

twelfth and thirteenth sessions of the Zola trial, Dreyfusards gathered together in the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme to support Zola and Dreyfus. Jacques Trarieux (1840-1904), former deputy, former Minister of Justice, and at this time, senator from the Gironde, was a key founder and first president of the Ligue.⁵³ The fact that Trarieux was a Protestant was of significance to the antisemites. La Croix quoted an article by Georges Thiébaud in the nationalist Eclair in which Thiébaud claimed that several of the leading Dreyfusards, Trarieux, Scheurer-Kestner, Gabriel Monod, the writer, and Louis Leblois, Picquart's lawyer, were Protestants.⁵⁴

Actually, Zola's appeals and denunciations provided the background for the formation of the Ligue. After his articles in Le Figaro in November and December, Zola brought out a brochure on December 14, 1897, entitled Lettre à la Jeunesse, in which he denounced antisemitism and implored the riotous antisemitic youth to "be always for justice....Be humane, be generous."⁵⁵ In a second brochure, Lettre à la France, published January 6, 1898, Zola linked antisemitism to clericalism. Immediately after the acquittal of Esterhazy on January 11, intellectuals at the Ecole Normale and the Sorbonne circulated a petition addressed to the Chamber of Deputies. The petition, published in L'Aurore on January 14, read, "The undersigned, protesting

⁵³Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 100, footnote 1.

⁵⁴"Revue des Journaux," La Croix, January 11, 1898, p. 6.

⁵⁵Quoted in Capéran, L'Antisémitisme, p. 56.

against the violation of juridical forms in the trial of 1894 and against the mysteries which have surrounded the Esterhazy affair, persist in demanding revision."⁵⁶ This was the background to the formation of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. Nevertheless, for those who believed in a Jewish plot, the Ligue was merely a front for the "syndicate."

The antisemitic ligueurs were wild to challenge the Dreyfusards in street fights and shouting matches around the Palais de Justice, the scene of Zola's trial before the Cour d'Assises of the Seine. They crowded into the courtroom, competing with Dreyfusards for space on floor and window-sill. It should be stressed, however, that while the antisemites were able to make more noise and more threats of violence than they had ever made before, they did not take exclusive control of the street or possession of the Palais de Justice corridors. The supporters of L'Aurore, Le Siècle, the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, mobilized their followers in Parliament and in the street, who matched the ligueurs of Guérin and Dubuc in ardour and vociferousness, although they may at first have been inferior in the art of fighting with club and cane.⁵⁷ Even so, the Dreyfusard bands faced the antisemites in and around the Palais de Justice, and even before the offices of La Libre Parole, at 14 boulevard Montmartre.

The antisemitic ligueurs laid plans to throw Zola and his carriage into the Seine on the evening of February 8, after the second court

⁵⁶Quoted in Capéran, L'Antisémitisme, p. 74

⁵⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 162-163.

session. The attempt was made outside the Palais de Justice, on the quai des Orfèvres, where Zola always got into his carriage. The fiacre, said one witness, was shaken "like a salad washer" (panier à salade) by dozens of hands. The friends and enemies of Zola fought each other with canes and fists. The Préfect of Police, Blanc, had to intervene personally, and his forces came up, striking wildly at the fighters, while Zola's carriage fled into the gas-lit night at full gait.⁵⁸

On February 18, toward the end of the trial, Esterhazy appeared in the witness box, but refused to answer the questions put to him by Albert Clemenceau, defense counsel for L'Aurore. When Esterhazy left the Palais de Justice, the Orléanist Pretender, the playboy duc d'Orléans, embraced him on the steps, and a mob in the Place Dauphin cheered him to cries of "Mort aux juifs!"⁵⁹

The antisemites hated Colonel Picquart as much as they hated Zola, and "every evening" a half-dozen armed thugs, "always with pockets full of money," would show up at La Libre Parole and inform the staff that the "affair" with Colonel Picquart would be settled the next day for once and for all. These men, "unknown" at La Libre Parole until this time, carried flexible rubber canes, which had the appearance of real cane as used for fishing poles, but which could knock a man to the ground.⁶⁰ The sentencing of Zola, after 15

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 157-158. Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 98.

⁵⁹Capéran, L'Antisémitisme, p. 109. Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 151.

⁶⁰Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 158-159.

sessions, came on Wednesday, February 23rd, and with it, the anti-semites were ecstatic. A tumultuous mob, howling for his death, confronted Zola from the place Dauphine and the rue de Harlay on the evening of the 23rd, when he left the Palais de Justice for the last time.⁶¹

Following the Zola conviction, Clemenceau, writing in L'Aurore, asked what Drumont's military record of 1870 amounted to, since he was such a defender of the Army. Responding in La Libre Parole, Drumont showed the orders under which he had served, as described in a letter which he reproduced from a Captain Jacquet. Drumont added a personal insult to Clemenceau, saying that he had not been implicated "like Clemenceau" in the killing of General Lecomte and General Clément Thomas by Parisians in 1871. A duel followed at the Vélodrome du Parc des Privées, with pistols. It was a repetition of the Clemenceau-Déroulède duel over the Panama Affair in 1892. Three balls were exchanged, without result, at 20 paces.⁶²

Because of the importance of Zola and of Paris itself, and because of the tumult surrounding the trial of Zola, one might easily get the impression that Paris was the major locale of antisemitism during the period. Actually, antisemitism in Algeria seems to have been more extensive; certainly it was more demonstrative. In fact, Drumont, the leading French antisemite since 1886, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in May, 1898 from Algiers, along with three other

⁶¹Ibid., p. 163.

⁶²Gendrot, Drumont, p. 229.

antisemites from Algeria. Furthermore, the antisemitism of Algeria was perfectly in accord with the non-Marxian pseudo-Leftism of Drumont and his social radical followers in France.

In Algeria, antisemitism, or anti-Jewry, to distinguish it from anti-Arab feeling, had become a strong force, centering mainly among the radicals and socialists, and opposing the Opportunist republicans, who were led by the prominent Progressist deputies, Eugène Etienne of Oran, and Gaston Thomson of Constantine. According to one antisemitic observer, the majority of the European population of Algeria was against the Jews by the 1890's, and the election of May, 1898 seems to prove him correct.⁶³

Since the death of Fernand Grégoire, the antisemitic Fourierist socialist, anti-Jewish agitation in Algiers had come to be led primarily by Max Régis, a law student at the Faculté d'Alger. Régis had made his reputation among the students of Algiers by throwing an ink-well at a Jewish professor, and then organizing a row (un chahut) against the man. Disciplinary measures taken against Régis made him into a popular idol and led to street demonstrations on his behalf.⁶⁴ Régis founded a journal, L'Antijuif, patterned after La Libre Parole. By 1898 it was selling 20,000 copies per issue.⁶⁵

Thus, when word of Zola's letter, "J'Accuse," in the January 13 Aurore, arrived in Algeria, the anti-Jewish forces there took action

⁶³Ibid., p. 231.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 231.

⁶⁵Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 175.

immediately. Using as their excuse for action, a petition of Jewish students for their own "Cercle spéciale," Régis and his friends organized open air meetings which incited people to violent demonstrations from January 18 on against Jews in the rue de la Lyre. Jewish shops in the rue Bab-Azoum and the rue Bab-el-Oued were pillaged.⁶⁶ "Repression served only to extend and to exacerbate the movement in all Algeria."⁶⁷ On January 23 an antisemitic stone-mason named Cayrol was killed in the street fighting. The burial of Cayrol on January 25 in the cemetery of the village of Saint-Eugène, where many Jews lived, became the occasion for another riot, which continued through January 26, during which a Jew named Schébah was killed.⁶⁸ Régis was imprisoned and put in manacles for two days for inciting to riot, and then released on parole. This arrest by the new Governor-general of Algiers, Louis Lépine, who was close to the Opportunists, simply enhanced the popularity of Régis.

At Oran, a general councillor who was antisemitic, M. Irr, was shot and wounded for his role in the prosecution of seven young Jews who were sentenced to prison for beating up some antisemites in May, 1897 at Mostaganem, a town east of Oran.⁶⁹ Anti-Jews responded by

⁶⁶"Les Juifs à Alger," La Croix, January 29, 1898, p. 5.

⁶⁷Gendrot, Drumont, p. 231.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 231.

⁶⁹The seven were tried before the Cour d'assises of the Hérault, sitting in Montpellier, and were sentenced on February 26, 1898. Isaac Sarfati was sentenced to five years in prison. The rest were sentenced to 15 days to 10 months. "La Procès des Juifs Algériens," La Croix, February 27-28, 1898, p. 1.

assaulting and pillaging the synagogues of Mostaganem.

On February 19, Régis left Algiers for Paris to urge Drumont to become a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies from the second circumscription of the department of Algiers. Drumont, with whom Régis had corresponded for some time, asked him why he didn't run, himself. Régis answered that he was only 25 years old, and therefore not eligible. Furthermore, Régis argued, Drumont's candidacy would bring the Algerian anti-Jewish struggle into a position of support for antisemitism in France.

Drumont accepted immediately. A mandate as deputy, he thought, would consecrate his work. This was a notable contradiction to his fierce anti-parliamentary republicanism, which he had always proclaimed in La Libre Parole. In the very first issue of La Libre Parole, on April 20, 1892, Drumont had urged the antisemites to become "artisans" of demolition of the Jewish-capitalist republic. "To enter the Chamber is contrary to a revolutionary act,...which would be to destroy the Palais-Bourbon, the home of infection."⁷⁰

Two public meetings were held in Paris, one in the Salle Chaynes, and the other in the Salle Wagram, to publicize Drumont and to advertise La Libre Parole. Régis made a strange figure. Anti-Jewish women of Algiers had purchased golden handcuffs for him, which he wore as a double bracelet on his right wrist. The bracelet may have symbolized his "martyrdom" at the hands of Lépine, but symbolism had nothing to do with his golden earrings and his many golden finger rings. Viau

⁷⁰Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 174: Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 232-233.

describes Régis, who had Italian antecedents, as follows:

A blond with blue eyes, with a Roman profile, on a very muscled body, of middle stature; an imperceptible moustache over a mouth very cold, where was drawn constantly a cruel smile, a cat's smile; he had moreover the supple way of walking, and this ensemble, made of Max Régis a strange pretty boy of 25 years, [with] a voice, une voix de tete, very soft, almost feminine, [which] became in anger im- probably high-pitched and piercing.⁷¹

With this voice, Régis was able to "dominate the most violent interruptions" at the meetings, recounts one observer.⁷² This indicates that the Dreyfusards were strong enough to go to the antisemitic meetings and speak out.

Régis told the Libre Parole staff members stories of the violence in Algeria in January. For example, during an anti-Jewish demonstration two Jews had been spotted on a street tram. The demonstrators immediately stopped the tram and demanded that the two Jews shout, "Down with the yids!" When the two men refused, the antisemites siezed them, and, holding them by the legs, dragged them behind the moving tram for over a quarter of an hour, cracking their skulls on the pavement.⁷³

In Paris, the disciple of Grégoire, the late Fourierist, also sang an antisemitic social protest song, popular in Algeria:

⁷¹Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 176.

⁷²Gendrot, Drumont, p. 236.

⁷³Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 176-177.

We've been too long in poverty.
We'll expel the foreigner;
That will do the job.

What we need is a better salary.
We'll expel from the country
All that band of Yiddish!

It was known in Algeria as "La Marseillaise antijuive," and was sung to a Boulangist tune, "Pioupious d'Auvergne," which had been made famous by Paulus at the Alcazar d'Eté, a Paris cabaret.⁷⁴

Régis left Paris in early March, after announcing the candidacy of Drumont. In disembarking at Algiers on March 21, he was immediately apprehended on the landing beside the ship, and thrown into the Barberousse Prison, on a charge of incitement to pillage. At this, a large mob invaded the rue Bab-Azoum to break all the windows of the many Jewish shops there.⁷⁵ In Paris, Drumont announced at once that he would go to Algiers to demand in person the liberation of Régis, who he claimed had been thrown into prison by Lépine "at the order of the Jews."⁷⁶ "Drumont's promise produced an electrifying effect in Algiers, because La Libre Parole had become very well known."⁷⁷

Antisemites and nationalists in Paris held a meeting in the Salle Chaynes on March 26 to protest the arrest of Régis. Speakers included the antisemites, Jules Guérin, Edouard Dubuc, Joseph Ménard,

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 178.

⁷⁵"Arrestation de M. Max Régis," La Croix, March 23, 1898, p. 2.

⁷⁶Gendrot, Drumont, p. 236.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 236.

and Albert Monniot, and the nationalists, Georges Thiébaud of L'Eclair, Lucien Millevoye and Maurice Barrès, the novelist.⁷⁸

On March 31, Drumont, accompanied by his campaign manager, Alfred Gendrot, and Jules Guérin, who was eager to recruit Algerian toughs into his Ligue antisémite, sailed for Algiers from Marseilles. On the train from Paris to Marseilles, the three antisemites were greeted at various stations by crowds of supporters.⁷⁹

The ship arrived at Algiers in the early afternoon of April 1, 1898. Drumont, still a bit unsteady from seasickness, disembarked with his two companions amid showers of flowers and cheers of "Vive Drumont! Vive le Libérateur!" The crowd sang the "Marseillaise anti-juive," adding a new final refrain,

Drumont député
Et Régis en liberté.

Drumont, in a landau, was driven slowly through the streets, covered with roses and jasmines.⁸⁰

Drumont stayed in Algiers for the next two months, through the May 8 election, residing at the Villa Jeanne d'Arc (changed to Villa Drumont) in the boulevard Bon-Accueil, in Mustapha, a town later annexed to Algiers. The municipal council of the nearby village of Saint-Eugène, scene of the January burial of the antisemite, Cayrol, changed its name to Drumontville temporarily.⁸¹ "Drumont Cigarettes,"

⁷⁸"Réunions, congrès, conférences," La Croix, March 24, 1898, p. 4.

⁷⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 175-179.

⁸⁰Gendrot, Drumont, p. 237.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 238.

"Drumont Cigarette Papers," and "Drumont Absinthe" appeared, as well as "Drumont Playing-cards," with the four king cards being pictures of the four antisemitic candidates for the Chamber of Deputies from Algeria: Drumont, Marchal, Firmin Faure, and Morinaud. The four jacks were represented as Max Régis, his lieutenant, Louis Lionne, Jules Guérin, and Alfred Gendrot. The four queens were depicted in republican fashion as "Liberty," "Equality," "Fraternity," and "La République."⁸² Algerian antisemitism was not clerical antisemitism.

Drumont spent the days before the election in almost daily visits to Max Régis, incarcerated in the prison of Barberousse. Then, as he had promised, Drumont would go to the Palais d'Eté to see Lépine to demand that he release Régis. Drumont also led a noisy, demonstrative procession on a "pilgrimage" to Saint-Eugène (or Drumontville) to visit the tomb of Cayrol, who had been raised to martyrdom after his death in the anti-Jewish riots of January.⁸³ A guard of Corsican toughs usually accompanied Drumont.⁸⁴

On April 11, 8,000 persons jammed the Salle Bab-el-Oued to applaud Drumont in the first of a series of electoral meetings. At Ain-Taya, on April 15, Governor Lepine's police applauded Drumont as he passed through a triumphal archway of greenery.⁸⁵

⁸²Ibid., p. 239.

⁸³Ibid., p. 239.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 242.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 240.

Two booklets by Jacques Defrance, possibly a pseudonym, exemplify the campaign literature of Drumont, who tried to pitch his campaign to the small-propertied lower middle-class, social radicals of Algeria. Drumont, said Defrance, had exposed the Jewish financial speculation as the source of the exploitation of "agriculture, commerce, and industry," the exploitation which was ruining "the small businessman, the laborer of the fields and the laborer of the towns."⁸⁶ "The Jews, eternally men without a country,...became, without a drop of blood shed, without chivalry, without the slightest physical effort, the arrogant seigneurs, the ruthless masters, the true potentates, of modern times."⁸⁷

Drumont's program, said Defrance, was first, France for the French, which was also the motto of La Libre Parole. Defrance emphasized the Frenchness of Drumont, from his very Gallic nose to his amiable French temperament. Second, Drumont wanted Liberty for all, said Defrance, and third, the benefits of labor for the laborers. France for the French, said Defrance, meant expulsion of the Jews and the confiscation of all the property, land and money that they had gained from the French. The second point of the Drumont platform, Liberty for all, meant domestic harmony, unity, and peace, with freedom of conscience for all, said Defrance, and the third point meant "to each according to his work."⁸⁸

⁸⁶Jacques Defrance, Drumont: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son programme (Algiers: Baldachino-Laronde-Viguiier, 1898), p. 6.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

Defrance concluded by damning Jaurès as a renegade socialist who had sold-out to the capitalists, and praising Proudhon, Victor Hugo, and the Belgian antisemitic anti-Marxist socialist, Edmond Picard, as the good socialists.⁸⁹

Thus, while Dreyfusards were attacking anti-revisionism and anti-semitism as the works of the Church, the clericals and the monarchists, Drumont's supporters and Drumont himself, especially in Algiers, emphasized his authoritarian republicanism and social protest.

"People have presented me as a reactionary," said Drumont in May, in La Libre Parole, on the day before the election, "and I

have never esteemed a prince in my life, neither the comte de Chambord, nor the comte de Paris, nor the duc d'Orléans, nor the prince Victor [Napoleon]. I have even refused to see general Boulanger in order to conserve all my independence of writing.

The truth still is that my election will be the triumph of the true Republic that I have always defended, of the Republic rid of the strangling hold of the Jews, of the French Republic, that is to say, of the honest Republic, tolerant and just, such as that [which] the patriots of Algeria conceive.⁹⁰

Defrance also wrote a booklet entitled L'Expulsion des juifs, in which he demonstrated that his social protest was a pseudo-Leftism, a social radicalism of the Right. In the booklet he argued for a unified, authoritarian, Bonapartist republic. The French Revolution was "superb, heroic," until it became "ferocious, inhuman." "France soiled its triumph, frightened by its own frenzy, exhausted by its

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 99.

⁹⁰Quoted in Arnoulin, M. Edouard Drumont et les Jésuits, p. 197.

tragic effort."⁹¹ The men of '93 opened the way to the influx of vultures, until the coming of the young eagle, who was the saviour of France.⁹²

The Jews, wrote Defrance, destroyed the old ways of France. "They destroyed the community of sentiments and of incidents which constituted the family and the nation, broke the union of our traditions....They have divided us...one against the other in substituting for the traditionalist social forms the single force of Money, by means of which they now master us and corrupt us."⁹³

The mid-1890's were depression years for Algeria, and Defrance urged the French Algerians to "study a little this individualism which squeezes us, maims us, and curbs us in isolation through work stoppages and death." Is this truly liberty, he asked. Behind the sham government, he said, was the real power, "Plutocracy, the Bank, Finance, Money." "You see that those who hold this colossal power, oppressing and corrupting, are not the descendants of our soil or of our idea. You see that the people who divide us and poison our existence are not of our race,...and do not at all understand life in our manner....They are Jews or judaicized!"⁹⁴ Money had become everything, proclaimed Defrance, and with money one could have everything.

⁹¹Jacques Defrance, L'Expulsion des juifs (Algiers: Baldachino-Laronde-Viguier, 1898), p. 5.

⁹²Ibid., p. 6.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 7.

"With money one has money. One has the good places,...the seats of magistrates and the seats of deputies....One has the praise of the Press,...the virginity of women and the conscience of ministers. With money one has Baihaut [of the Panama Scandal]. With money one has Zola. With money one has a Dreyfus collection: Alfred, Mathieu, Camille and Alphonse....With money (7 billions) one has the Emperor of all the Russias." This was a reference to the French loans to Russia which smoothed the way to the Dual Alliance of 1894. "For money one permits the massacre of 300,000 Armenians. For money one causes 7,000 French soldiers to die in Madagascar to secure through France the debts of Ranavolo to the kings of the High Bank."⁹⁵

Defrance advocated the formation of an Association du Travail, which would not be Marxist-socialist, but would work for labor in a patriotic way. He praised the Leftists, but opposed their internationalism. "Whatever the socialos citizens and the anarchos comrades (who are almost all very brave people, but sometimes very, very naive) think of [la Patrie], there is fatherland and fatherland."⁹⁶ "Internationalism, the Fraternity of peoples, the universal Republic, Communism, Anarchy," were generous ideas, wrote Defrance, but "chimeric." Immediate reforms were preferable: the reform of the tax, the reduction of work, the suppression of militarism, but to make these reforms required the association of people of the same race and the expulsion of the outsiders, especially the Jews, who were the most

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 11.

privileged and the most "dissolving" element in French society.⁹⁷ The expulsion of the Jews would be a humanitarian act, said Defrance, because it would prevent what would otherwise be a bloodbath. The French government should "politely and legally" conduct the Jews to the frontier, after having emptied their pockets.⁹⁸ "And when Zola writes a new letter to Jehovah, with a post-script to Jaweh, that will not prevent the sun of Israel from drowning itself in mud and blood, and the virginal dawn of Justice from lighting the awakening and the salvation of France."⁹⁹

Authoritarian leadership, traditional associations, social reforms, protection of small property, the elimination of the Jews and racial unity: the program of Defrance was a program which he considered to be radical and Leftist, but which would be more accurately called radical conservatism.

The election of May 8 gave an overwhelming majority to Drumont in the first circumscription of Algiers. Drumont received 11,850 votes, Paul Samary, a Radical, 2,296, Bertrand, a moderate republican, 1,097. Ironically, the defeated Samary was a notable antisemitic Radical, who had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies for years. It was typical of Drumont that he would run against one of his own kind. In fact, while Drumont was in Algeria, running for his seat,

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 15.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 15.

Samary remained in Paris to interpellate the Brisson ministry on behalf of Max Régis.¹⁰⁰ Samary was compensated by the Radical Brisson Ministry by being made the Governor-general of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon Islands off Newfoundland.¹⁰¹

The second circumscription in Algiers also went to an antisemite, Marchal, an old journalist who had edited Akhbar, a newspaper founded in the 1840's in Algiers. Morinaud, the Radical mayor of Constantine, was elected to the Chamber from the first circumscription of Constantine, which had been the electoral district of the hated Progressist (or Opportunist) deputy, Thomson. Apparently fearful of losing to the popular Morinaud, Thomson moved over to the second circumscription of Constantine to run against the incumbent, a Radical antisemite, Forcioli. Thomson won, but his election was disputed by the antisemitic deputies in the new Chamber, to no avail, although a parliamentary commission investigated the matter.

The strength of the antisemites seems to have been weakest in Oran, the second largest city of Algeria. Firmin Faure finally won, in the second balloting, on May 22, after a visit by Drumont to help his campaign. In the second circumscription of Oran, however, the other major Progressist leader in Algeria, Etienne, won safely in the first balloting against the antisemite, Mauron: 7,155 to 4,144.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰"Chambre des Députés," La Croix, April 5, 1898, p. 4.

¹⁰¹Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 243-244.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 243-244. Elections Législatives," La Croix, May 10, 1898, pp. 5-7.

Drumont's friends in Algiers held a special celebration for him in a private apartment. As Drumont was about to address his friends, recounted an observer, "The doors of an inner salon opened,

displaying an immense table, covered with bottles of champagne, cakes, and flowers, and surrounded by a dozen young women, holding flowers, who cried, 'Vive Drumont!' They were dressed only in filmy veils, and from an enormous cut-glass chandelier (the chandelier of wild orgies) fell streams of light, brightening the voluptuous lustre of their large soft eyes, the red of their welcoming mouths, and the dark rose points of their breasts, arranged en bataille.

Drumont embraced them all, and after champagne, the women performed "unforgettable dances."¹⁰³

When the four antisemitic deputies and their associates sailed from the harbor of Algiers, they could see on the large blocks of stone which formed the breakwater, gigantic red letters which formed the words, "Vive Drumont!" which could be seen for several kilometers at sea.¹⁰⁴ In Marseilles, the four deputies were nick-named by the antisemites the "four musketeers," because of their style of dress, which was soon adopted by many antisemites in Paris. It consisted of the broad-brimmed, gray felt hat, and long black frock-coat, adopted as a distinctive dress by the antisemites in Algeria from earlier styles of dress worn by Algerian settlers.¹⁰⁵

Drumont had met with no counter-demonstrations on his trip from Paris to Marseilles at the end of March, but on the return trip the

¹⁰³Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 351-352.

¹⁰⁴Gendrot, Drumont, p. 244.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 236.

"four musketeers" were met with a somewhat different reception. A hostile demonstration was organized by the anarchist, Sébastien Faure, and someone struck Morinaud in the forehead with a cane, opening a large wound.¹⁰⁶ Also, Dreyfusards had been able to organize student groups, "in imitation of the Dreyfusard gangs of Paris," according to Gendrot, to shout "Barbepoux!" at Drumont as his train passed through the provincial cities.¹⁰⁷ In France, the antisemites were not able to dominate the street as they had in Algeria.

In Paris, a large throng greeted Drumont and his party at their arrival at the gare de Lyon. But, there was also a sizeable counter-demonstration, made up of anarchists, according to La Croix, and reinforced by some Leftist students ("etudiants socialistes internationalistes"). Cries of "Vivent les juifs! A bas la patrie!" were exchanged with "Vive Drumont! A bas les juifs!" There was also some scuffling later near the offices of La Libre Parole between antisemites and the Socialist Dreyfusard, Alfred Gérault-Richard and his friends.¹⁰⁸

Many other antisemitic deputies were elected, in addition to the four from Algeria, while most Dreyfusards, from Joseph Reinach to Jean Jaurès, lost their seats. There was no antisemitic party; the antisemites came from various parties, although most of them were former Boulangists, and many were taking the designation of nationalist. Yet,

¹⁰⁶"L'Arrivée de M. Drumont," La Croix, May 31, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷Gendrot, Drumont, p. 237.

¹⁰⁸"Le Retour de M. Drumont," La Croix, June 1, 1898, p. 2.

Drumont acted as chief of an antisemitic group of twenty men in the Chamber of Deputies. The members of this group, which came to be called at times the "groupe nationaliste et antisémite,"¹⁰⁹ came primarily from four regions of France: the South-west, centering around Bordeaux; the South, in a band of departments circling but not including Marseilles; the North-east; and the West. One antisemitic deputy was elected from Paris.

First, in the South-west, two antisemites were elected from Bordeaux, in the Gironde: Chiché from the first circumscription, and Charles Bernard from the second. In the Landes, to the South of the Gironde, Theodore Denis was elected from the first circumscription of Dax, and General Jacquy from the first circumscription of Mont-de-Marsan. West of the Landes, in the Gers, a major spokesman for the antisemitic group, Joseph Lasies, a social radical, was elected from Condom, and Paul de Cassagnac, a nationalist, former Boulangist and Bonapartist, founder and editor of the Paris Autorité, was elected from Mirande.

Second, in the South, J. Massabuau was elected from Espalion in the Aveyron, Paulin Daudé from Mende in the Lozère, Pascal from Uzès in the Gard, Abel Bernard from Apt in the Vaucluse, and the comte Paul d'Hugues from Sisteron in the Basses-Alpes.

In the North-east, two antisemitic deputies were elected. One, Gervaise, won in a close race against the nationalist, Maurice Barrès, who was also quite antisemitic, in the third circumscription of Nancy

¹⁰⁹"Les antisémites et l'Algérie," La Croix, July 3-4, 1898, p. 2.

in the Meurthe-et-Moselle department. The second, Henri Ferrette, won in Bar-le-Duc in the Meuse. Two antisemites were elected in the West: De Pontbriand from Châteaubriant in the Loire-Inférieure, and the marquis de Maussabré from Parthenay in the Deux-Sèvres. Finally, Lucien Millevoye, a nationalist and former Boulangist, the editor of the Paris journal, La Patrie, was elected from the second circumscription of the 16th arrondissement of Paris.

The two leaders of the Ligue des Patriotes, Paul Déroulède, elected from Angoulême in the Charente, and his lieutenant, Marcel Habert, from Rambouillet, south-west of Versailles, in the Seine-et-Oise, did not join Drumont's group, although they followed essentially the same policy toward the government. Old personal rivalries and animosities may have encouraged Déroulède's aloofness.

Two antisemitic Christian Democrats were re-elected: the abbé Gayraud from Brest in the Finistère against an upper-class conservative opponent, the comte de Blois; and, the abbé Lemire from Hazebrouck in the Nord. They also remained outside Drumont's group.

Several antisemites were defeated, however. In the South and South-east, Julien Dumas was defeated in Papiers in the Ariège, De Belfortes in Carcassonne in the Aude, and Xavier de Magallon in Gap in the Hautes-Alpes. In the West, Jules Ménard was defeated in Rennes in the Ille-et-Vilaine. In the North-east, Corrad des Essarts was defeated in Lunéville in the Meurthe-et-Moselle. In the North, at Montdidier in the Somme, Albert Monniot lost to a Jew, L.L. Klotz. Finally, in Paris, in the second circumscription of the 18th arrondissement, Dr. Legué was defeated by the Socialist leader,

Gustave Rouanet.¹¹⁰

Although the antisemites achieved some success at the polls, the conservative republican followers of Méline failed to consolidate with the Ralliés, the clericals and the antisemites of the Right. Instead, the political Center divided, with a Méline faction turning to the Right, and a Left-Center faction ending its support of Méline. On June 14, after two years of power, the anti-Dreyfusard Méline Ministry submitted its resignation. It fell because it had been leaning too far to the Right, however, not because it was anti-Dreyfusard. Indeed, the new government, led by Henri Brisson, a leading Freemason and Radical, included the staunch anti-revisionist, Godefroy Cavaignac, as Minister of War.

Ironically, the old anti-parliamentary battler, Edouard Drumont, now a deputy, voted approval of the Brisson government on June 28. So also did that other old fighter for a Republic without a parliament, Paul Déroulède.¹¹¹ "C'est drôle," commented La Croix, ridiculing Drumont for voting for a "franc-maçon-judaïsant," man of Panama.¹¹² Drumont responded to criticism by claiming that Brisson's opponent, Paul Deschanel, was too close politically to the hated Governor-

¹¹⁰"Elections législatives," La Croix, May 10, 1898, pp. 3-8, May 24, 1898, pp. 5-7. Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 179-180. Gendrot, Drumont, p. 79.

¹¹¹Pierre Miquel, L'Affaire Dreyfus, Que sais-je? (4th ed.; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), p. 68.

¹¹²"Gazette du jour," La Croix, June 3, 1898, p. 1.

general of Algeria, Louis Lépine.¹¹³ Tied to Radical and nationalist elements when many of them were moving from the political Left to the Right, Drumont was caught in an awkward position at times.

Cavaignac, eager to be the one to lay all doubts about the guilt of Dreyfus, disclosed to the Chamber of Deputies on July 7 all he knew of the case. He cited documents, which was the first time a minister had done so. He admitted that the much-discussed bordereau, the paper which had been used to convict Dreyfus, was actually written by Esterhazy, but that the Army now had other documents which were conclusive. In fact, however, the document which he emphasized most was a letter forged by Colonel Henry, but Cavaignac did not know that.

Drumont and the antisemites cheered Cavaignac for his resolute claims. Indeed, the entire Chamber voted to post the Cavaignac address outside the town hall of every commune in France. The vote was unanimous, with only 16 abstentions, including 15 Socialists, out of 42, plus Méline, who seems to have been playing a cautious, waiting game.¹¹⁴ An anti-revisionist, Eugène-Melchoir de Vogué, told the diplomat, Maurice Paléologue, "Now the odious case is buried! Now Dreyfus is nailed to his rock till he dies!"¹¹⁵

To add to the bleak outlook for the Dreyfus cause, a few weeks after the opening of the new parliament on June 1, Zola was convicted for a second time, giving another victory to the antisemitic, anti-

¹¹³"A Propos d'un vote," La Croix, June 8, 1898, p. 2.

¹¹⁴Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 113.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 113-114.

revisionist cause. After his first conviction, Zola had appealed to the Cour de Cassation for the right for a retrial in a different court. He was granted a retrial before the Cour d'Assises of the Seine-et-Oise in Versailles, but on July 18, the Versailles jury handed down the same verdict as the jury in Paris had on February 23. At once, Zola and his wife fled France into exile in England, giving the antisemites more satisfaction.¹¹⁶

The antisemitic triumph seemed complete in regard to the Dreyfus Affair. Esterhazy had been cleared in January. Zola had been convicted in February and again in July. Drumont and 19 other antisemites had been elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Cavaignac had given specific claims of documentary proof of the Army's integrity and Dreyfus's guilt. And finally, the Chamber of Deputies had acclaimed the Cavaignac statement. At this depressing time, the greatest Dreyfusard of them all, the Socialist Jean Jaurès, not only refused to admit defeat, but was optimistic about a victory, because the government had at last exposed its position.¹¹⁷ Demonstrating for once that the pen can be mightier than the sword, Jaurès proceeded to publish a series of articles, "Les Preuves," in La Petite République from August 10 to August 28, exposing the documents cited by Cavaignac. La Libre Parole suggested that Jaurès had lost his mind because of his defeat in May, but the work of Jaurès led to the first break in the Affair for the Dreyfusards.

¹¹⁶Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 165. La Croix from July 17 to 31, 1898.

¹¹⁷Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 239.

From their position of comfortable victory, the antisemites and other anti-Dreyfusards now received their first big jolt, the suicide of Colonel Henry. The Minister of War, Cavaignac, who had been so sure of his proof, was troubled by the analysis made by Jaurès of the authenticity of the documents. He had them investigated, and the forgery of Henry was discovered. Henry confessed his forgery to Cavaignac on August 30, in the presence of General Boisdeffre, Chief of the General Staff, General Gonse, Deputy Chief of Staff, and General Roget. Put under guard at the fortress of Mont Valérien, Henry cut his throat the day after his confession. Immediately, Boisdeffre resigned. Shortly after, Esterhazy fled to England.

At first, the antisemites were furious with Henry. La Libre Parole proclaimed that "if the unfortunate Henry had wanted to serve the Dreyfusards he could not have done better. His action was both stupid and criminal."¹¹⁸ Still, he could be excused. It was the Jews, as always, who were to blame. Henry was "a simple soul, a fervent [supporter] of the uniform, affolé by the Jewish campaign."¹¹⁹ Henry's suicide did not change the antisemites' attitude toward revision. La Croix wrote, "This fact [of suicide] does not prove that Dreyfus did not commit treason, that M. Picquart did not disclose secret paper, that the court-martial which judged Esterhazy acquitted him by order."¹²⁰ The antisemitic deputy from the Gers, Joseph Lasies,

¹¹⁸Quoted in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 178.

¹¹⁹Quoted in Miquel, L'Affaire Dreyfus, p. 76.

¹²⁰"Les Tristes journées," La Croix, September 2, 1898, p. 2.

a social radical, interviewed the Minister of War, Cavaignac, and reported that the War Minister was "more than ever convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus."¹²¹ Yet, La Croix expressed depression over the situation. "It is impossible to find a situation as grave as this one!"¹²² While many republican papers began to have serious doubts about the guilt of Dreyfus, La Libre Parole, like the nationalist Rochefort's Intransigeant, continued to insist that the secret file of the General Staff contained more than enough documents to maintain the conviction of Dreyfus. Moreover, for several months, the anti-semites centered their campaign around a demand that the government expose the secret file and thereby vindicate the Army.¹²³

A new champion of antisemitism went further, however, and acclaimed Henry's forgery. A week after the death of Henry, the young Charles Maurras (1868-1952), journalist and future head of the Action Française, developed in the royalist Gazette de France of September 6 and 7 an argument that became known as the theory of the "patriotic forgery." Henry, insisted Maurras, was neither a fool nor a criminal, but a hero and a martyr. His was the "first blood" (the title of the articles) shed in the Dreyfus Affair. "Your unlucky forgery will be acclaimed as one of your finest deeds of war."¹²⁴ Louis Dimier, an

¹²¹"Autour de l'Affaire," La Croix, September 3, 1898, p. 1.

¹²²"Les crises douloureuses," La Croix, September 7, 1898, p. 2.

¹²³Paléologue, My Secret Diary, pp. 128-129.

¹²⁴Quoted in Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 241.

early follower of Maurras, later wrote,

The apologia for Colonel Henry was the starting point of the Action Française, its foundation, the password by which its supporters recognized each other. Maurras had handled the matter with a decisiveness that surprised and scandalized the opposition. For all those, however, whom idle moral fancies did not deprive of common sense, what could be clearer than the innocence of the forgery, provided one knew Dreyfus guilty?¹²⁵

Since the beginning of the Affair, the Dreyfusards had been on the offensive, demanding revision of the court-martial of Dreyfus and attacking the army and the Church, while at the same time the anti-semites had been on the defensive, violently so at times, defending the army and even the parliamentary Governments of Méline and Brisson against the attacks of the "Syndicate." With the suicide of Henry, these positions were suddenly reversed, and the antisemites and their nationalist allies went over to the offensive, attacking the courts, the Ministry, and even the Republic itself, in the hope of preventing revision. At the same time, the Dreyfusards broadened their position from a defense of Dreyfus to a defense of the Republic as well, as the best means for winning justice for Dreyfus.

The role of antisemitism changed also. Antisemitism had been a cause subordinate to the cause of anti-revisionism among the anti-Dreyfusards, but now antisemitism began to overshadow the Case. Clemenceau wrote later that "From this moment," when Henry committed suicide, "the discussion ceases to be whether or not Dreyfus is guilty but begins to turn on whether or not Jews are birds of ill-omen, whether or not it is desirable that a Jew be the guilty party, whether

¹²⁵Quoted in Eugen Weber, Action Française, p. 17

it is bad for the country and the Army that a court-martial may have been in error, and so forth. Arguments of that sort can just drag on till the world itself comes to an end."¹²⁶

Taking their direction from the articles of Maurras in the Gazette de France, the antisemites regained their poise and prepared to do even more determined and vociferous battle with the "Syndicate." Yet just as antisemitism tended to overshadow the allied cause of anti-revisionism, so newly formed or revived nationalist organizations, which were quite compatible and cooperative with organized antisemitism, and which stood for essentially the same or comparable things, began to overshadow the antisemitic organizations in the press and in the street.

In September, 1898, Paul Déroulède revived his nationalist Ligue des Patriotes, which had lain dormant since the end of the Boulanger Affair. Déroulède still had his following, and his Ligue quickly became far and away the most threatening of the ligues, with perhaps 100,000 members.¹²⁷ Guérin's Ligue Antisémitique was far smaller, with perhaps 5,000 members at its greatest strength.¹²⁸

Furthermore, the nationalist journals far outnumbered La Libre Parole and Guérin's Antijuif. These nationalist papers, including La

¹²⁶Quoted in J. Hampden Jackson, Clemenceau and the Third Republic (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 90.

¹²⁷The figure is given in Michael Curtis, Three Against the Third Republic: Sorel, Barrès, and Maurras (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 95.

¹²⁸The figure is given in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 185.

Patrie of Lucien Millevoye, L'Intransigeant of Henri Rochefort, L'Eclair of Alphonse Humbert and Georges Thiebaut, Le Petit Journal of Ernest Judet, and the paper popular in army circles, L'Echo de Paris, were not enemies of Drumont. They were antisemitic, especially during the Dreyfus Affair, and like Drumont, their main political concern was to replace the parliamentary Republic with an authoritarian regime. Yet, the nationalist journals and the Ligue des Patriotes did constitute rivals with Drumont and Guérin for leadership of the radical Right against the Republic.

From October, 1898, through June, 1899, the Dreyfusard cause ground slowly ahead, but the ligues of antisemites and nationalists demonstrated violently at every step of the way. Their immediate aim was to block the growing movement in parliament and then in the Criminal Chamber of the Cour de Cassation for revision of the Dreyfus court-martial. From the death of Henry on August 31, 1898 to the formation of the Dreyfusard ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau on June 23, 1899, the antisemites and nationalists demonstrated again and again. They helped to bring down the revision-minded Brisson Ministry on October 25. Next, they helped to pressure the Dupuy ministry into transferring, on February 10, 1899, the hearings on the revision question from the Criminal Chamber of the Cour de Cassation to the joint session of the three Chambers of the Cour de Cassation. On February 23, 1899, the followers of Paul Déroulède took the desperate step of trying to use the state funeral of the President of the Republic, Félix Faure, as an opportunity to incite the Army to seize power, block revision, and set up an authoritarian republic. Guérin's ligueurs

were present on this occasion, but uninformed as to what was intended. Finally, after revision became a foregone conclusion, the ligueurs demonstrated in Paris against the new President, Emile Loubet, and even assaulted him bodily on June 4, 1899, at Auteuil.

Before examining these developments in detail, the Socialists and their attitude toward antisemitism and revisionism should again be examined. Through all the troubles of the spring and summer of 1898, most Socialists remained neutral on Dreyfus, opposing the anti-Dreyfusard antisemites of the Far Right, but also opposing the republican Center, which included many Dreyfusards. Only the intellectual Socialists around Lucien Herr, a few parliamentary Socialists around Jaurès, and the anti-political, industrial-action Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire of Jean Allemane supported revision.¹²⁹ (Anarchists like Sébastien Faure had been outspokenly for Dreyfus and against antisemitism since the beginning of the Affair.)

In the May election, Guesde's Parti Ouvrier Français did denounce antisemitism and also supported the candidacy of Jaurès.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, on July 24, 1898, the P.O.F. issued a manifesto attacking both Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards as equally "enemies of the working class and of socialism."¹³¹ In effect, the Guesdists took a position of opposition to antisemitism, but held to neutrality on the issue of justice for Dreyfus, viewing the Affair as a diversion from the class

¹²⁹The support of Jaurès by Jean Allemane is discussed briefly by Capéran, L'Anticléricalism, p. 121.

¹³⁰Goldberg, Jean Jaures, p. 519, footnote 163.

¹³¹Quoted in Ibid., p. 239.

struggle.

This distinction between opposition to anti-Dreyfusards and neutrality on the Dreyfus Affair was difficult to maintain, however, and difficult to make clear to the rank and file. Meanwhile, the Right was enlisting more and more followers in violent ligues, and in October, after a strike of Paris construction workers encouraged some labor leaders to talk openly of a general strike, the government ordered over 60,000 troops into Paris. The Guesdists viewed the growth of the ligues and the presence of the Army as potential threats to the Socialist movement and to the Republic. Therefore, they invited all Socialist factions to meet on Sunday, October 16, in Paris to consider united action in support of the Republic and the Dreyfusards.

As a result, a temporary Comité de vigilance was established to bring together the Guesdists, the Blanquists, the Possibilists, the Allemanists, and the Independents. It was time. Some of the rank and file in the P.O.F. were worrying that their party was being identified with the Right. "Because we seem to oppose all forms of bourgeois republicanism," wrote a local Marxist leader to Guesde on November 7, 1898, "many people take us for the allies of monarchist reactionaries."¹³² So it was that the Marxists followed the path already

¹³²The Cour de Cassation, the highest court of law in France, serves as a supreme court of appeal. It does not try cases, but hears appeals for retrial. If it annuls the judgment of a Cour d'Assises, or of a court-martial, the case is sent to another Cour d'Assises, or another court-martial for retrial. There are three Chambers of the Cour de Cassation: the Criminal Chamber, the Civil Chamber, and the Chamber of Pleas, each dealing with different types of cases. Each chamber consists of a presiding judge and thirteen other judges, and an advocate-general.

indicated by Jaurès, and sought a united front among the Socialists to oppose the antisemitic and nationalist ligues.

Following the suicide of Henry the Dreyfusards acted to get a new trial for Dreyfus. The procedure was for the Cabinet, the Radical Brisson Ministry in this case, to make a request to the Cour de Cassation that its Criminal Chamber be mandated to hold hearings to decide whether or not to require the Army to retry Dreyfus. Actually, while the Radical leaders (except in Algeria), like most of the Socialists, were not now participating in organized antisemitism, they were not Dreyfusards either. Clemenceau denounced the Radical leaders in his Aurore:

What of Brisson, who bemoans his destiny of having to lead us into a catastrophe? Is he stupid rather than cowardly or cowardly rather than stupid? Both. Cowardice and imbecility are not necessarily exclusive....Brisson, Sarrien, Bourgeois, the whole gang of radicalism are Jesuits of a deeper dye than the whole Jesuitry..."¹³³

On September 26, 1898, the Cabinet was persuaded, largely by the Foreign Minister, Théophile Delcassé, to vote (6 to 4) to request judicial hearings on the question of a retrial for Dreyfus.¹³⁴ The Army chiefs had hoped to prevent this, of course. General Zurlinden, who had replaced Cavaignac as War Minister, resigned on September 18, hoping thereby to influence the Cabinet to vote against revision.¹³⁵

¹³³Quoted in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, pp. 183-184.

¹³⁴Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 125.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 124, footnote 1.

When that failed, the new War Minister tried another tactic. The Chamber of Deputies reconvened on October 25, with Brisson scheduled to present his Ministry for approval. Unknown to Brisson, his new War Minister, General Chanoine, planned to announce a surprise resignation in protest against the Cabinet's support for revision, while outside, the Ligue Antisémitique and the much larger nationalist Ligue des Patriotes demonstrated loudly against the Ministry. The hope was to weaken support for Brisson enough to bring about a vote of no confidence. Actually, the Socialist Comité de vigilance, had made plans of its own beforehand for a great Socialist antimilitarist demonstration on the place de la Concorde on October 25.¹³⁶ However, the nationalists and antisemites made the major demonstration that day, and their plan to bring down Brisson succeeded.

After the introduction of the members of the Cabinet by Brisson, General Chanoine rose and declared his resignation, saying that his opinion on revision was "the same as that held by my predecessors."¹³⁷ Following this coup de théâtre, the Cabinet fell, deserted by both the antisemites and other Rightists, and opposed by the Extreme Left. The following day, to indicate that they were not in league with the antisemites and nationalists, the 36 Socialist deputies signed a manifesto denouncing "the military and clerical reaction which threatens the Republic."¹³⁸

¹³⁶"Autour de la révision: manifestation Socialiste," La Croix, October 21, 1898, p. 2.

¹³⁷Quoted in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, p. 185.

¹³⁸"Manifesto du groupe 'Socialiste'," La Croix, October 27, 1898, p. 2.

In spite of the show of strength of the nationalists and anti-semites, they had no power to stop revision proceedings. On October 27, two days after the fall of Brisson, the Criminal Chamber of the Cour de Cassation, after a plea by Manau, the Procurator-General, and a report by Justice Alphonse Bard, agreed to the government's petition for a hearing of the issue of a retrial for Dreyfus. The hearings began on November 3, and lasted until June 3, 1899. Some Dreyfusards hoped that the Affair would now be removed from politics. This did not occur.

During the long period when revision remained undecided, the ligues of the antisemites and the nationalists had a field day, trying to pressure the Cour de Cassation against voting for a retrial. In La Libre Parole, for example, Joseph Lasies attacked "the veritable judicial dictatorship of the Jew Loew."¹³⁹ Loew, actually an Alsatian Protestant, was the presiding justice of the Criminal Chamber.

Whereas the antisemites had been demanding that the "secret file" of the General Staff be exposed by the government, they now opposed vociferously an exposure of the file to the Criminal Chamber. "For months and months they have been repeating that the General Staff secret file is bursting with evidence against Dreyfus, some of it so unheard-of, so decisive, so shattering, that if it were made known the whole Jewish case would be transfixed." Now the Criminal Chamber appeared to be threatening to call their bluff. "Now they regard the mere possibility of such a disclosure as an abominable sacrilege."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹Quoted in Miquel, L'Affaire Dreyfus, p. 80.

¹⁴⁰Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 129.

Whether Dreyfus was guilty or not was beside the point now. The honor of the Army had to be upheld. Thus, the "secret file" should be kept secret, because disclosure might lead to war with Germany, since the most secret documents allegedly consisted of letters to Dreyfus from Kaiser Wilhelm himself.¹⁴¹ "What? Is the Government thus to deliver up all the secrets of our national defense to a pack of false and traitorous judges?"¹⁴²

Meanwhile, during the last months of 1898, Jules Guérin brought up antisemitic bands from Algeria to expand his Ligue Antisémitique.¹⁴³ These radical antisemites from Algeria were surprised to be called conservative clericals and instruments of the Church by the Dreyfusards. For example, when one of these Algerians, the journalist, Masson, was taking part in a street demonstration in Paris, someone called him a Jesuit. Masson, son of a fierce anticlerical republican, deported to Algiers in 1851, answered, "Me, a Jesuit? But I was not even baptized!"¹⁴⁴

This paper has attempted to show that a major element, perhaps the primary element in antisemitism in Nineteenth Century France developed among lower middle-class social radicals, whose spokesmen were men like Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, Chirac, and Drumont. If

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 128-129.

¹⁴²Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, pp. 128-129.

¹⁴³Gendrot, Drumont, p. 246.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 207.

there was any difference between the French and the Algerian antisemites, it was perhaps that the Algerians remained more anticlerical (some like Samary and Morinaud were Freemasons, according to Gendrot),¹⁴⁵ whereas many of the French antisemites, even social radical types like Drumont, were Catholics. Still, Drumont was elected by radical Algerians, and often attacked the upper clergy of the French Church.

Catholicism, social radicalism, and antisemitism were hardly mutually exclusive elements, but in understanding antisemitism it would be helpful if one could distinguish the influence that the Church had on antisemitism. It is very difficult to assess the extent of this influence, however. Nevertheless, it would appear that the influence of the Church hierarchy (and perhaps Catholicism generally, antisemitic as it often was) was secondary to the radical social protest derived from the lower middle-class condition.

The royalism of the antisemites has perhaps been exaggerated also. True, Guérin found himself suddenly supported with funds the origin of which was a mystery for a time. "In reality," according to the antisemite Gendrot, "some royalists of the duc d'Orléans had furnished them."¹⁴⁶ This royalist association alienated Drumont, however, who also "twitched a little at the founding of a rival newspaper, the Anti-Juif, a weekly which Guérin made the official organ of the

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 243.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 246.

'Grand Occident.'¹⁴⁷ Drumont, for all his love of the social order and traditionalism of the Church, remained an authoritarian republican. Guérin's increasing association with royalists widened the difference with Drumont that had begun with the Drumont-Morès quarrel in August, 1893.

Drumont countered the efforts of Guérin with a campaign from December 14 to January 15 for funds for the widow and orphan of Colonel Henry. Colonel Henry's widow, Berthe, wanted to sue Joseph Reinach for defamation of the character of her late husband. Since she seemed unable to pay for the suit, a reader of La Libre Parole, Mlle. Marie-Anne de Bovet, the daughter of General de Bovet, proposed to Drumont that he try to raise support through his antisemitic journal. She wrote the first appeal in La Libre Parole, under the headline, "Aux brave gens." The subscription opened the next day, December 14, 1898. Fifteen thousand persons subscribed some 131,000 francs in 30 days.¹⁴⁸ Drumont called the lists of signatures his "red lists." This success was perhaps the peak of Drumont's career.

Of the 15,000 subscribers, some of whom were anonymous, about 300 were priests.¹⁴⁹ This is a large figure, but hardly constitutes a majority of the clergy. The subscription is not a precise index of antisemitic supporters anyway, since the purpose of the subscription was primarily to support Mme. Henry and oppose revision, although

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁴⁸Pierre Quillard, Le Monument Henry (Paris: P.V. Stock, 1899), p. xii.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 41-44.

perhaps virtually all supported the subscription for antisemitic reasons. It is impossible to know, but some of the priests could have been contributing to the subscription mainly to show support for the Army rather than for antisemitism. The two aims would have been perfectly compatible, but which was the more important goal is impossible to ascertain, and so the amount of antisemitism represented by the subscription is impossible to determine.

Several duels fought in connection with the Henry subscription provided a side-show to the violence of the demonstrations against the Criminal Chamber of the Cour de Cassation. A friend of Dreyfus, M. Anspach, of Belgium, challenged Drumont's staff-member Raphael Viau to a duel, which was fought with swords. Viau, who was frequently in duels, was wounded in the right forearm. A duel between Viau and Laurent Tailharde followed, fought with pistols. Tailharde had gotten attention when he had defended the anarchist Auguste Vaillant's act of throwing a bomb into the Chamber of Deputies in 1893. Tailharde had written, "What does the death of some unimportant people matter if the gesture is beautiful?"¹⁵⁰ Then, less than four months later, on April 4, 1894, a bomb in the Restaurant Foyot caused Tailharde the loss of an eye. He took offense over an article by Viau in La Libre Parole, attacking him for criticizing Mlle. de Bovet and her appeal. Two balls were exchanged in the duel, without result.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰Quoted in Curtis, Three Against the Third Republic, p. 20.

¹⁵¹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 185-186.

Jules Guérin and Georges de Bruchard fought with pistols. The latter was wounded in the calf. On December 27, Max Régis, wounded Le Pic, an editor of the Dreyfusard journal, Les Droits de l'Homme, in a sword fight, before returning to Algiers.

While La Libre Parole appeared to be at the high point of its influence, rival groups and men were already appearing under the old banner of nationalism. These new groups on the radical Right ultimately overshadowed the groups around both Drumont and his old rival for leadership of the antisemites, Jules Guérin. The themes, the ideas, and the attitudes of the nationalists were similar to and compatible with those of the antisemites. Antisemitism included an exclusionary nationalism. "France aux Français" was the motto of La Libre Parole. The newer movements, like the short-lived Ligue de la Patrie Française, and later, the Action Française, especially were antisemitic. Both the antisemites and the nationalists (and the royalists) were anti-parliamentarian and authoritarian. The largest of the nationalist groups, the Ligue des Patriotes, engaged in joint action with the smaller Ligue Antisemitique, but it remained distinct. Drumont's staff-writer, Raphael Viau, wrote that in 1899 Déroulède was frequently seen at La Libre Parole, bringing news items concerning his Ligue, but he did not remain long. Viau believed that Déroulède had a personal aversion to Drumont because of Drumont's ridicule of his street-actions during the Boulanger Affair. Moreover, Viau insisted that Déroulède "refrained from being an antisemite."¹⁵²

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 196.

Déroulède was never close to Guérin either, because he suspected Guérin of being too close to royalist circles.¹⁵³

La Libre Parole played an indirect role in the formation of a newer nationalist group, the Ligue de la Patrie Française, separate from the Ligue des Patriotes.¹⁵⁴ The published lists of the subscription for Mme. Henry showed that there were many intellectuals, writers, and artists, who belonged to the anti-Dreyfusard camp. Just as the list of names of intellectuals signed to the petition for Dreyfus, published in l'Aurore on January 14, 1898, led to the formation of the Dreyfusard Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, so Drumont's "red lists" led to the formation of the Ligue de la Patrie Française. The founders of this Ligue hoped to demonstrate that not all the intellectuals of France belonged to the revisionist camp, and that not all anti-revisionists were the howling thugs of Guérin's Ligue Antisémitique.

The Ligue de la Patrie did not originate among the lower middle-class, but in salon society, particularly in the salon of the elderly Mme. de Loynes, countess by marriage, grand hostess since the Second Empire, and patroness of the important literary critic, Jules Lemaitre. At her salon, right-wing writers and critics, some of them

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁵⁴A discussion of the development of the Ligue de la Patrie as background to the development of the Action Française, has appeared in Weber, Action Française, pp. 17ff, 27, 30ff, 47-47, and Tannenbaum, Action Française, pp. 28-32. I do not wish to discuss the Ligue intensively, but it must be discussed as a group which gradually overshadowed the forces of Drumont and Guérin. Furthermore, the way the Ligue collapsed in 1905 hurt organized antisemitism.

members of the Academy, planned the nationalist, anti-Dreyfusard Ligue. Soon, the Ligue had a distinguished membership, including Maurice Barrès, Frédéric Mistral, François Coppée, Paul Bourget, Ferdinand de Brunetière, plus lesser known men, like Henry Vaugeois and Charles Maurras, who would soon move off to form something tougher, the Action Française. Jules Lemaître was the president of the Ligue, and Gabriel Syveton, an ex-University professor, was financial secretary.

Many of the intellectuals in the Ligue de la Patrie wanted it to have a broad appeal, respectable enough for intellectuals, yet open to the followers of both Drumont and Déroulède. Some claimed to oppose antisemitism, but wished to include antisemites in the Ligue. Ferdinand de Brunetière wrote in Le Temps on January 8, 1899, "We energetically reject the doctrine of antisemitism and nationalism. We are not the League of Patriotes; we are forming a league of patriotes. This does not prevent the antisemites and the partisans of M. Déroulède from being received in our midst."¹⁵⁵ Yet, Brunetière and other moderates resigned in a few weeks, and the Ligue became more and more nationalistic and antisemitic. At any rate, all the ligues, including the Ligue Antisémitique, the Jeunesse Antisémitique, the Ligue des Patriotes, and the Ligue de la Patrie, demonstrated loudly through the first months of 1899 against the Criminal Chamber of the Cour de Cassation, now their main target.

¹⁵⁵Quoted in Tannenbaum, Action Française, p. 31.

La Libre Parole, La Croix, and the nationalist journals, L'Eclair, La Patrie, L'Echo de Paris, kept up a constant barrage against the Dupuy government, demanding that it transfer the hearing on revision from the Criminal Chamber to the united session of the three chambers of the Cour de Cassation. The justices were called the "fossoyeurs de la nation," the grave-diggers of the nation.¹⁵⁶ In La Libre Parole, Joseph Lasies called the Justices, Loew, Manau, and Bard, the "trio de coquins."¹⁵⁷ And there were other epithets: "the hirelings of Germany," the "valets of the synagogue."¹⁵⁸

Finally, the Dupuy government gave in to the clamor. The diplomat, Paléologue, described it in his diary on February 10, 1899.

The rabid campaign which the nationalist newspapers have been conducting for more than two months against the Criminal Chamber has borne fruit.

Charles Dupuy, the Prime Minister, whose courage is not his primary virtue, has just had a Bill passed at the Palais Bourbon removing the case from the jurisdiction of the Criminal Chamber and transferring it to the three Chambers sitting together.

This departure from all rules of procedure, this arbitrary incursion by the political power into the realm of justice, is too shocking for it to be possible to derive the slightest satisfaction from it.¹⁵⁹

Once again, the antisemites and the anti-revisionists, now strengthened by the nationalist ligues, seemed to be victorious. However, the united Cour de Cassation was little different in attitude

¹⁵⁶Quoted in Miquel, L'Affaire Dreyfus, p. 93.

¹⁵⁷Quoted in Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁵⁸Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 142.

¹⁵⁹Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 150.

from the Criminal Chamber, and ultimately decided for revision, on June 3, 1899.

Still, in January, the Ligue Antisémite had never been better organized, or more in cash.¹⁶⁰ Although the smallest of the ligues, except for the Jeunesse Antisémite, Guérin's group was now at its peak. At this time there were one or two lecture meetings each week in Guérin's headquarters on the rue Dhabrol. Royalists of the Committee of the White Carnation constituted the major source of financial support. Many aristocratic royalists now appeared at the rue Chabrol, pushing their own cause. The comte Boniface de Castellane, husband of Anna Gould (daughter of the American financier, Jay Gould, and heiress to his fortune), was particularly noticeable in the royalist cause.

The royalists were not the followers of Guérin. They simply hoped to use his ligue. Thus, they tried at the same time to use all the anti-Dreyfusard ligues for their own monarchist hopes, just as they had tried to use Boulangism. For example, at a dinner party given by Arthur Meyer, the nationalist, anti-Dreyfusard editor of Le Gaulois, the comte de Castellane said to Paul Déroulède,

We are not seeking the same solution, but we have the same hates and the same disgusts. I do not know if I shall convert you, but you wish to destroy, and so do I. When the problem of reconstruction comes up we shall see who is the better architect. In any case, if ever you need money, let me know. I have a million at your disposal.¹⁶¹

De Castellane also gave aid to the Ligue de la Patrie. So, while the royalists gave support to the antisemites, it was mainly in the hope

¹⁶⁰Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 190.

¹⁶¹Quoted in Tannenbaum, Action Française, p. 34.

of gaining support for their own cause.

Thirty-five or forty Algerian antisemites, plus some butchers from La Villette, idled around the rue Chabrol headquarters much of the time. To keep them from getting too bored, Guérin installed a fencing-room and a bathing room. He liked to have these strong-arm types on hand to show off to the aristocratic ladies when they visited his "Grand Occident."¹⁶²

The cabaret chanteuse, Eugénie Buffet, was placed in charge of recruiting a group of entertainers for "fêtes-concerts" at the "Grand Occident." It was she who launched in Paris the first antisemitic songs, according to Raphael Viau.¹⁶³ A street poster of the time, entitled "Eugénie Buffet dans son Répertoire Réaliste," by Lucien Métivet, pictures Buffet, walking in the night against a smoky Montmartre skyline. She is no modern bourgeoisie, but is depicted as a woman of the people, wearing the fichu over a thin cotton jacket, with a narrow red scarf at her throat. Shoulders thrown back, hands thrust into her skirt pockets, eyes scornful, herself, outcast perhaps, oppressed perhaps, but never broken, she seems to sing what must be a bitter song of challenge to the city. In the background, under a street-lamp, a street tough (from Algiers, or La Villette?) holds a glowing match to a cigarette.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶²Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 193-194.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 191.

¹⁶⁴I have examined a print of this poster. A reproduction in black and white appears in Cent Ans d'Affiches: "La Belle Epoque," ed. by René Salanon and Claude Samson (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, 1964), p. 23.

The poster does not suggest antisemitism, but it does depict the antisemitic Buffet in a posture of vague social protest, in harmony with Drumont's own romantic social radicalism. Luc Métivet, the artist, did the illustrations for Drumont's Figures de bronze ou statues de neige (Paris: Flammarion, 1900).

The most famous chanteuse of the time, Yvette Guilbert (1867-1944), in contrast to Buffet, declared her belief in the innocence of Dreyfus in December, 1897, in large part because of her devotion to Zola. La Croix published an antisemitic bit of doggerel, ridiculing Guilbert for her stand.

The queen of the obscene little song grows old:
 Yvette Guilbert, who will marry an Israelite.
 She has just declared that Dreyfus is innocent,
 For of course, Zola, she says, has said so.
 If they wish to smother the affair, she continues,
 It is because the famous dossier which condemned Dreyfus
 Is lost, if it ever existed. In any case,
 I challenge the government to prove it!
 The government, challenged by Yvette,
 Has only to hold fast!
 Yvette, whose little song from Zola, given at the top of her
 voice,
 Leans on Zola, Zola, on Scheurer, Scheurer, or nothing.
Entendu.¹⁶⁵

The antisemitic and nationalist ligues were stronger than ever before in January, 1899, but the nationalists demonstrated the absurdity of their threat to the existence of the Republic on February 23, at the funeral of the President of France, Félix Faure. On February

¹⁶⁵"Une Avocate Chansonnière," La Croix, December 12-13, 1897, p. 4.

16, 1899, the President died of a cerebral hemorrhage while making love to Mme. Steinheil, a painter's wife. Drumont, on the basis of early rumors, claimed that the President, a staunch opponent of revision, had been poisoned by a Dreyfusard Delilah.¹⁶⁶ "The scent of murder exhaled from that coffin."¹⁶⁷ The murderess had imitated the "atrocious gesture of Caserio," who had assassinated President Sadi-Carnot, back when Drumont was praising anarchist violence. Writing in 1935, one of Drumont's writers, Gendrot, could still claim that Faure's "mysterious end...was possibly more caused by his resistance to the revision of the trial of Dreyfus than by his too ardent taste for an elysian courtesan."¹⁶⁸

At Versailles on February 18, the National Assembly elected a revisionist to the Presidency, the moderate republican, Emile Loubet. Significantly, he won by a 2 to 1 margin over the anti-revisionist Méline, who actually declared himself not a candidate. Following this "victory for Jewish treason," as they called it, all the ligueurs forgot their personal quarrels.¹⁶⁹ In the Assembly itself, following the election, Drumont and Déroulède and their followers shouted, "Panama!" at Loubet, blaming him for allegedly having tried to hush up the Panama Scandal when he was Premier in 1892. The old crises

¹⁶⁶Miquel, L'Affaire Dreyfus, p. 95.

¹⁶⁷Quoted in Halasz, Captain Dreyfus, pp. 196-197.

¹⁶⁸Gendrot, Drumont, p. 219.

¹⁶⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 196.

seemed to continue to play themselves out in the new crises. After adjournment, Loubet rode back from Versailles to Paris. Paléologue gave the following account in his diary.

The new President, "the elect of the synagogue," arrived at the Gare St. Lazare at about five o'clock and went to the Elysée to pay his respects beside the coffin of his predecessor; he then came to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the ceremonial investiture with the presidential powers took place.

He was pursued all along the route by the whistles, hisses and boos of the patriotic and antisemitic leagues.

When the procession at last reached the steps of the Quai d'Orsay, the din was such that my colleagues and I were unable to hear a single note of the Marseillaise, which was played by a military band within twenty paces of us.¹⁷⁰

Five days after the election of Loubet, the Republic held the funeral for the late President, Félix Faure. The ligues used the occasion to demonstrate, and the leader of the Ligue des Patriotes, Paul Déroulède, actually tried to persuade the Army, present in large numbers for the funeral procession, to seize the Elysée Palace, residence of the President. This well-known historical episode was more farcical than dangerous. Déroulède, followed by his lieutenant, Marcel Habert, along with Maurice Barrès, Gabriel Syveton and a throng of nationalists, with antisemites like Guérin and Lasies and their followers mixed among them, ran up to the officer in command, General Roget. Déroulède shouted, "Follow me, general. To the Bastille! To the Hôtel de Ville! To the Elysée!"¹⁷¹ However, half of the troops proceeded on to the barracks at Vincennes. The rest, under Roget,

¹⁷⁰Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 152.

¹⁷¹Gendrot, Drumont, pp. 253-254.

returned to the barracks at Reuilly, where Déroulède, still exhorting the unresponsive troops, was arrested, along with Habert. The other ligueurs were expelled.

The next day, February 24, the police searched the headquarters of the Ligue des Patriotes. Two days later, they searched the Ligue Antisémitique headquarters on the rue Chabrol and the home of the leader of the royalists, André Buffet. On March 1, the police made searches at the Ligue de la Patrie, and apparently in order to appear even-handed, also searched the office of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme.¹⁷²

What was Drumont's attitude toward the escapade? On February 24, the day after the funeral, Drumont covered Déroulède's action with flowery praise. Privately, he thought it merely an amusing event, and told Guérin that as always, Déroulède had acted "like a child."¹⁷³ Guérin, however, was very upset because, he claimed, he had not been included by Déroulède in his attempted coup d'état, which in fact, had been kept a secret from the Ligue Antisémitique.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that Guérin was simply taking this attitude to avoid arrest, although, on the other hand, he may have resented the attention that Déroulède had gotten by being arrested. In any case, it seems clear that after the subscription for Mme. Henry in December, 1898, the antisemites

¹⁷²Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 196-197.

¹⁷³Quoted in Ibid., p. 197.

¹⁷⁴Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 197.

organized around Drumont and Guérin were gradually overshadowed by other ligues, men, and journals, standing for essentially the same things as the antisemites, although putting a greater emphasis on nationalism, militarism, and authoritarianism than on antisemitism.

Meanwhile, in Algeria, Max Régis continued the antisemitic agitation at fever pitch. The Algerian anti-Jews received a long-hoped for political boost on November 20, 1898, when their hero was elected mayor of Algiers. A speech of thanks by Régis provoked another pillaging of the Jewish shops in the rue de la Lyre. In response, the Ministry of Charles Dupuy, on December 12, in its first show of toughness against the antisemites, suspended Régis from his functions as mayor for three months.¹⁷⁵ This led to another interpellation on behalf of Régis in the Chamber of Deputies. This one on December 23, was begun by Drumont, and led to a confrontation with the Socialists, which clearly indicated the shift in position of the antisemitic and nationalistic social radicals from Left to Right on the political spectrum.

Drumont defended Régis, and claimed that in Algeria, "all free men, Arabs and Frenchmen, are united in one single sentiment: the hatred for the Jews, which is quite explainable when one sees the rapings, the usury, and the theft, by which they have made their life,

¹⁷⁵"La Journée," La Croix, November 22, 1898, p. 1. "La Journée," La Croix, December 13, 1898, p. 1.

reducing their unhappy victims to robbery in order to live." Gustave Rouanet, the Socialist deputy who had defeated an antisemitic opponent in the 18th arrondissement of Paris, rose to denounce the antisemitism of Algeria, calling it the party of demagoguery, to the applause of the Extreme-Left. The danger in Algeria, he said that day, "is not the Jew, it is the breath of hatred that is allowed to expand, and which, after being manifested by the pillage of Jewish shops, will lead tomorrow to pillage of French stores and the murder of their possessors." To the applause of the Extreme-Left, he demanded that the government, for the peace of the country, put an end to the acts of violence in Algeria.¹⁷⁶ Thus, what began as an attack by the antisemites on the Government, developed into a confrontation between the antisemites (Firmin Faure also spoke on the 23rd) and the Socialists. The antisemitic movement and the Socialist movement seemed clearly divorced from each other, and the antisemites, despite the social radicalism of many of them, including Drumont, seemed clearly a Right-wing group.

To get revenge for his suspension, Régis went to Paris to invite the editor of L'Intransigeant, Henri Rochefort, with whom he had become acquainted, to come to Algeria, "with the aim of aggravating the street agitation, and he succeeded fully."¹⁷⁷ It was during this

¹⁷⁶The speeches of Drumont, Rouanet, and Firmin Faure, are summarized in detail in "Chambre des Députés," La Croix, December 25, 1898, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 189.

time that Rochefort wrote in his journal a horrible attack on the judges of the Cour de Cassation:

I should like to have all the judges of the Supreme Court drawn up behind one another like a string of sausages, like convicts in gaol. Then a well-trained hangman would cut off their eyelids and slowly empty the sockets of their eyes. Afterwards they would be exposed on a big pillory in the Place Dauphine, with this inscription: "This is how France punishes traitors who betray her to Germany."¹⁷⁸

From January to April not a day passed without demonstrations in Algeria or in the area around about.¹⁷⁹ A new Governor-general, Laferrière, who had succeeded Lépine at the end of July, 1898, was hated just as much by the anti-Jews. Nevertheless, Laferrière, who had been vice-president of the Conseil d'Etat, determined to act firmly with the antisemites. Waiting until after Rochefort left Algeria in April, Laferrière and the Dupuy government arrested Régis for inciting a riot in a speech in Mustapha, at a meeting presided over by Rochefort. Régis was held in the Fort Sidi-Ferruch, outside and to the west of Algiers.¹⁸⁰ It was more secure than the Barberousse prison. In May, a few days after the arrest, Régis was taken to Grenoble to be tried before the Cour d'Assises of the Isère. It was charged that his speech in Paris at the Salle Chaynes in February, 1898, had led to riots in Algeria in 1898, and that in April, 1899,

¹⁷⁸Quoted in Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 157.

¹⁷⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 189.

¹⁸⁰Gendrot, Drumont, p. 249.

Régis had broken his probation with new incitements in Mustapha.¹⁸¹

The Ligue Antisemitique undertook to pay the costs for the trial. A member of the Ligue, M. Dupin de Valène, went to Grenoble to aid in the defense of Régis.¹⁸² Drumont and his colleagues, Gendrot and André de Boisandré, along with the Oran deputy, Firmin Faure, plus Jules Guérin, arrived in Grenoble on the evening of May 16 to support their fellow antisemite. The trial took place on May 17 and 18.

At the end of the trial, which ended in acquittal, the antisemites, with a dozen Grenoble friends, had to walk a gauntlet of shouts and insults from "more than a thousand" Grenoble Socialists, mostly glove workers. This appears to have been the first appearance of Socialist workers in street action against the antisemites. Gendrot described it.

Our hotel was in the place Grenette. A narrow street ran from the Palais de Justice to the place Grenette....Our march, in the howling and provocative mob, which waited for just one threatening gesture, one insult on our part, in order to fall on us and stab us under the complacent eye of the police, was sad and pitiful. I was at the right of Drumont, Boisandré at his left. Guérin was behind us, but separated from us by some of the brawlers, who cried, "Barbepoux! Barbepoux! Mort à Régis! Vive Dreyfus!"¹⁸³

Guérin claimed later to have been the hero of the day. In the crush, Drumont was separated from the group, and Guérin, twirling his cane like a sword, as he described it, rescued Drumont from the Socialist ranks.¹⁸⁴ He was very miffed that Drumont never showed any gratitude.

¹⁸¹Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 189. Guérin, Les Trafiquants, pp. 129-130.

¹⁸²Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. 132.

¹⁸³Gendrot, Drumont, p. 250.

¹⁸⁴Guérin, Les Trafiquants, p. 133.

After the antisemites departed from the rail station, which was guarded by police and mounted troupes, over 300 Socialists marched behind a red flag to the Cercle militaire, or officers' club, of Grenoble, there to shout "Vive Dreyfus! Vive Picquart!" and sing the Internationale and the Carmagnole.¹⁸⁵

Earlier, on May 10, Déroulède came before the Cour d'Assises of the Seine because of his action after the Faure funeral. He was acquitted, but not before insulting President Loubet.

It is difficult to say at what moment the tide turned against the anti-Dreyfusards. Within the anti-revisionist camp, after December, 1898, the antisemites, Drumont and Guérin, were increasingly taking a back seat to the nationalists. This is demonstrated by the role of the nationalists at the funeral of Félix Faure in February. Then, in May, the arrest and trial of Régis, and the massive Socialist demonstrations against the antisemites in Grenoble, indicated a reduction in significance for the antisemites. True, both Régis and Déroulède were acquitted in May. Furthermore, the two big nationalist ligues, with their antisemitic allies, continued their attacks on Loubet and the Cour de Cassation. Yet, since March 31, the supreme appellate court had been releasing the court record to the public. Thus, the public could see that the evidence against Dreyfus was of no

¹⁸⁵"Les Troubles de Grenoble," La Croix, May 20, 1899, p. 2.

value.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, the coming decline of all the ligues was indicated clearly following several scandalous actions of violence in June and August.

On June 3, the united chambers of the Cour de Cassation declared the court-martial of Dreyfus null and void and called for a new court-martial. It was the victory that the Dreyfusards had sought for so long. The next day, June 4, nationalists, supported by the antisemites, sought vengeance on the person of President Loubet. By custom, the President of the Republic always attended the annual Grand Prix d'Auteuil at the famed racing course in the Bois de Boulogne. All the ligues concerted to demonstrate there against Loubet, more vociferously than ever. La Libre Parole and Guérin's little weekly, L'Antijuif, along with the nationalist press, had prepared the way by attacking Loubet for months with "the worst accusations, the most virulent insults."¹⁸⁷ The demonstration reached its climax when the baron de Christiani, a royalist, leaped into the Presidential box, and beat Loubet over the head with his cane. Only his hat was damaged, however. If there can be said to have been a turning point in the Affair, it would appear to have been on these two days of June 3 and 4, when the supreme court rendered its decision, and the antisemites, now clearly a radical Right, and the nationalists, attacked the President. Events now proceeded rapidly.

¹⁸⁶Capéran, L'Anticléricalisme, p. 227.

¹⁸⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 197-198.

On June 9, Dreyfus left Devil's Island on the French cruiser, Sfax, for France. On June 11, the Socialists went to the race-course at Longchamps en masse to defend the President from further Right-wing attack. On June 12, the old Socialist militant, Edouard Vaillant, the leader of the Blanquists, and a man close to the Marxists, led the Socialist deputies in an attack on the Premier, Charles Dupuy, for not providing protection for the President at Auteuil.¹⁸⁸ The Dupuy Ministry fell, abandoned by most of its own followers of the Left-Center. On June 18, on the occasion of the Grand Prix de Paris, another antisemitic-nationalist demonstration at Auteuil amounted to very little. The zeal of the antisemites had cooled very visibly.¹⁸⁹ On June 22, a Dreyfusard Ministry was formed, under the moderate republican, Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau (1846-1904), with Socialist support. "The Marxists opposed the government, because of the presence of General Gallifet, who had suppressed the Commune, but they abstained, rather than vote against the government.) On June 23, the baron de Christiani, who had been arrested on June 4, after his assault on the President, was sentenced to four years in prison.

From this point on, the antisemitic cause proceeded steadily downward, until it was resurrected as an adjunct to royalist-nationalism in the Action Française. The Action Française, which developed out of committees formed in 1898 and 1899, remained very small until 1908, and was marginal even then.

¹⁸⁸Goldberg, Jean Jaurès, p. 521, footnote 36.

¹⁸⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 199.

The growing disarray, and even ludicrousness of the antisemites and nationalists is indicated by the failure of an attempt made in the summer of 1899 to unite the ligues. General Rothwiller, a former president of the Cercle Militaire, a club for officers, invited the heads of the various antisemitic and nationalist ligues and journals to several dinners at his club, in the hope of achieving unity. Nothing was accomplished, largely due to the incompatible egoism of the various chiefs. The antisemites amused more than attracted the nationalists. Jules Guérin especially fascinated the ladies present ("Quel homme!") for his intense and dramatic revelations: "All is ready!" Guérin drank only eau rouge (wine cut with water) and abstained from smoking. The women at the table discussed whether his health practices extended to abstention from women. The poet, François Coppée (1842-1908), one of the orators of the Ligue de la Patrie, thought Guérin's supplies of bricks and stones arranged on the roof of the "Grand Occident" were more reminiscent of Quasimodo's Notre Dame de Paris than of a serious movement for political change.¹⁹⁰

At another dinner, Drumont, after being introduced to the nationalists and Army officers as "le grand Maître, le vaillant patriote," disappointed and bored his companions by holding forth on his diet problems. When pressed for a solution to the Dreyfus "mess," Drumont said that a military leader, a "soldat saveur," was absolutely necessary, but that unfortunately no such figure existed. Introduced

¹⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 206-208.

to General Chanoine, whose resignation from the Brisson Ministry helped to topple it in the previous October, Drumont reprimanded him as if he were a school-boy for being in the Brisson Ministry in the first place. Chanoine excused himself, after some remarks about the dirtiness of politics. Drumont was never invited again to the Cercle Militaire.¹⁹¹

When the nationalists and antisemites heard that Dreyfus was in Rennes for his new court-martial, they prepared again for demonstrations. General Mercier, accompanied by Jule Lemaître or Georges Thiébaud, spent his evenings at either La Libre Parole of the nationalist journals, L'Intransigeant and L'Echo de Paris, urging nervously that large numbers of ligues go to Rennes to give him an escort and to demonstrate against Dreyfus. Raphael Viau later wrote of Mercier, "I have never known an officer more politiquailler, more cunning, than this general."¹⁹²

Anticipating trouble, Waldeck-Rousseau's "Government of Republican Defense," decapitated the ligues by arresting their leaders on August 12 and 13, five days after the Rennes trial began. A total of 36 arrests were made. The charge was conspiracy against the Republic. Paul Déroulède was arrested on August 12 at Croissy. The next day, many royalists, plus various antisemites and nationalists were arrested: André Buffet, president, and Raould de Fléchencourt (real name, Pujol), vice-president of the royalist Committee of the White

¹⁹¹Ibid., pp. 210-215.

¹⁹²Ibid., p. 218.

Carnation (OEillet Blanc), some members of the White Carnation, the comte de Chevilly, de Ramel, de Bourmont, and de Vaux; Eugène Godfrey, president, and Gaston de Monicaut, secretary, of the Jeunesse Royaliste. The comte de Lur-Saluces evaded arrest for a short time, as did the nationalists, Marcel Habert and Georges Thiebaut. Several nationalists were caught, including two men named Barillier and Ballière.¹⁹³

Four "influential members" of the Ligue Antisémitique, butchers of La Villette, were nabbed: Dumay, Sarazin, and two Violet brothers, plus the editor of the Ligue's newspaper, L'Antijuif, Girard, and an antisemite named Brunet. In addition, the head of the Jeunesse Antisémite, the muscular Edouard Dubuc, and his skinny lieutenant, Jacques Cailly, were also arrested. In a few days, all those sought were arrested, except Jules Guérin, who avoided arrest for 40 days by fortifying himself and a few friends in the headquarters of the Ligue Antisémitique, which he now dubbed the "Fort Chabrol."¹⁹⁴

Thus, while antisemites and nationalists, including Drumont, Régis, Lemaître, Barrès, and Ernest Judet, attended the Rennes court-martial, their leadership was decimated and their ranks subdued. They gathered around General Mercier, "the leading spirit, the great puller of strings, on the nationalist side," wrote Paléologue, who testified once again for the Foreign Office. "General Mercier causes rigorous discipline to prevail throughout the [nationalist-antisemitic] camp."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁹⁵ Paléologue, My Secret Diary, p. 192.

The antisemites and nationalists were jubilant when the Rennes court-martial, on September 9, 1899, by five to two, convicted Dreyfus of treason once again, although this time with "extenuating circumstances." Nevertheless, they could no longer take the offensive on the street. Quite the contrary, the antisemites had to defend themselves from assaults from the Left.¹⁹⁶ Members of the Ligue Antisémitique and the Jeunesse Antisémitique, now without leadership, and unable to use their own headquarters, established themselves under the windows of La Libre Parole in a kind of stronghold in the entresol of the café-saloon, La Comète. For two nights after the Rennes verdict, they camped there because the Dreyfusards had threatened to come to hoot Drumont if La Libre Parole showed any lights. Its offices were lighted brightly, and the Dreyfusard militants came on. From afar one could hear them coming, shouting "Barbepoux! Barbepoux!" referring to Drumont's long beard. And then, under the windows, "A bas les Jésuites! A bas la Calotte!" referring to the clergy in a perjorative sense. "A beautiful charivari," said Viau.¹⁹⁷ At a signal, the antisemites would charge out from their position in the café, strike about them with canes, and then rush back into their sanctuary, behind chairs, tables, and benches.

Meanwhile, a farcical adventure brought the downfall of the Ligue Antisémitique. At the "Fort Chabrol" the police simply delivered a warrant for Guérin's arrest, and then, rather than make him a martyr

¹⁹⁶Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 218-219.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 218-219.

by seizing him through violence, simply waited him out. The wait took 40 days and by the end of it, Paris had become bored with Guérin. The building itself had been strengthened with iron doors and steel girders. From his redoubt, Guérin sent out a pompous and preposterous appeal to the citizens of Paris to rise up against the Jews:

Appeal to All the Patriots

Citizens:

A handful of men determined to make individual liberty respected by a government capable of all infamies, today on August 14 goes forth to sacrifice its existence for the cause of freedom of thought. Will the People of Paris understand the great significance of the act that these men go to accomplish, and will they make common cause with them; or will they leave them to struggle alone against a government, executor of the orders of the cosmopolitan Jewry?

Citizens:

Whatever happens, the Anti-Jews enclosed at the Grand Occident de France will know how to do their duty. Those who are about to die for the cause of liberty salute you.

Jules Guérin and his comrades¹⁹⁸

Now and then, Guérin, in his pearl-gray Algerian hat, would appear at a window to look for the approaching masses, but they were nowhere to be seen. The men inside grew hungry and very bored. Drumont played down the story, apparently glad to see the decline of his rival. In fact, Drumont rather discreetly began to play down antisemitism in La Libre Parole, according to Viau.¹⁹⁹

On the second day of the "siege," when visitors could still enter the "Fort," Max Régis, up from Algiers for the Rennes court-martial,

¹⁹⁸Quoted in Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 232-233.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 239-240, 241.

asked Drumont if he would advise him to join Guérin. Drumont told him, "Do whatever you want, my good Régis, I have no council to give to you." Recounting this to Viau, Régis asked for Viau's advice. Viau suggested that Guérin himself be consulted, which Régis did in a letter with wording that indicates his romantic outlook: "Dear friend, should I come to die at your side, or remain in order to avenge you?"²⁰⁰

Whatever the answer, a few days after the Rennes verdict, September 9, Régis returned to Algeria, with the plan of making himself an Algerian Fort Chabrol. This he did, following a demonstration. On September 20, he barricaded himself in the offices of his journal, L'Antijuif, for one night with half a dozen men. Then suddenly he gave up the project and left Algiers for Spain.²⁰¹

The wild days when antisemitism seemed to be growing in support and strength, were clearly passing fast. Back at the "Fort" in Paris, the police arrested one of Guérin's men, who had ventured within reach. Guérin, hoping desperately for a news story which would revive interest in his antics, fired twice from a pistol at the police. No one was hurt, however. Guérin was using blanks. In fact, he announced this to the police. By this time, Drumont, along with everyone else, it seemed, had abandoned Guérin. Finally, in the last week of September, Guérin gave himself up to the police. His followers were not arrested, and the police released Girard, the editor of

²⁰⁰Quoted in Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 250.

²⁰¹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 251-252. "La Journée," La Croix, September 22, 1899, p. 1.

L'Antijuif. Guérin claimed that this was a victory, but it was clear that the government believed that only Guérin really mattered. He was taken in a carriage to the Santé prison.²⁰²

Of the 36 ligueurs originally arrested, only 16 were held for trial: Guérin, Dubuc, Cailly, and Brunet of the antisemites; Déroulède, Ballière and Barillier of the Ligue des Patriotes; Buffet, Godefroy, the comte de Chevilly, de Sabran-Pontevès, de Ramel, de Bourmont, de Fréchencourt, de Vaux, and the comte de Lur-Saluces for the royalists.²⁰³

The trial, before the Senate, sitting as the Haute Cour de Justice, ran from September 18 through January 4, 1900.²⁰⁴ In the trial, the ligueurs were divided against each other, with the plebiscite republican, Déroulède, "trumpeting aggressively against the royalists in general, and more particularly against the duc d'Orléans."²⁰⁵ On January 4, Guérin was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the prison of Clairvaux. This was the stiffest sentence, made so perhaps because a store of weapons were found in the "Fort Chabrol" when police searched it.²⁰⁶ Paul Déroulède and the royalists, Andre Buffet and the comte Eugène de Lur-Saluces, were

²⁰²Ibid., pp. 253, 256-257.

²⁰³Ibid., p. 258.

²⁰⁴Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 260. The Haute Cour de Justice, which today consists of equal numbers of deputies and senators, tries those accused of high treason or conspiracy against the security of the Republic. The "High Court" should not be confused with the "Supreme Court of Appeal," or Cour de Cassation.

²⁰⁵Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 259.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 258.

sentenced to ten years in exile. The other defendants, including the antisemites, Brunet, Dubuc, and Cailly, were acquitted. Viau claimed that the three acquitted antisemites had in fact played minor roles in the activities of the ligues.²⁰⁷ Although the Jeunesse Antisémitique had been quite noticeable for their demonstrations in late 1897 and early 1898, other ligues had come to overshadow it in size and strength.

On January 6, Guérin was taken to Clairvaux prison. On the eve of his departure, Drumont, who had remained quite aloof from the "Fort Chabrol" escapade, came to Guérin's cell in the Luxembourg Palace, where Guérin had been tried before the High Court. Drumont embraced Guérin, swearing "eternal friendship" for him, but 18 months later the two were accusing each other of betrayal.²⁰⁸

From this point on, organized antisemitism proceeded steadily down-hill. On September 19, 1899, Dreyfus left prison, pardoned by a Presidential decree. La Libre Parole had languished in the doldrums after the Panama Scandal, until the Dreyfus Affair revived it. With the passing of the Affair, the antisemitic movement declined rapidly. When Drumont visited Guérin at the prison in Clairvaux, southeast of Troyes, in the Aube, the two spent most of their time looking backward, or reminiscing, as Drumont described it in La Libre Parole. They were particularly fond of "the triumphal hours, the enchanted hours, that we saw down there [in Algeria], in the middle of flowers, under a

²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 263.

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 263.

dazzling light of spring, in enthusiasm and joy."²⁰⁹ They vowed to continue the struggle anew, but nostalgia for the past clearly held more satisfaction than struggle for the future.

Drumont's Figures de bronze ou statues de neige of 1900, prefaced by an unctious letter of friendship and encouragement to Guérin in prison, reviewed the lives of several novelists, poets, and social critics of the Nineteenth Century. Not much was said of the Dreyfus Affair, although Drumont indicated that he had not changed his views of the Affair, or of anything else. Writing of Zola, Drumont said, "A Jew justly condemned by a tribunal of officers for having sold to the enemy our military secrets is the sole being who succeeded in causing this soul of mud to vibrate."²¹⁰ Drumont also still spoke of the Jewish Syndicate with conviction.²¹¹ Furthermore, he remained attached to the pre-Marxist non-collectivist social radicalism of pre-1870 France. Karl Marx, he wrote, "was only a little boy before Proudhon,"²¹² whom he praised for realizing the German menace and the Jewish danger. Symbolically, Marxism, the "German socialism," supplanted Proudhonism after the terrible year of 1870-71.²¹³ In giving qualified praise to the "Integral Socialist," Benoît Malon, Drumont

²⁰⁹Quoted in Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 277.

²¹⁰Edouard Drumont, Figures de bronze ou statues de neige (Paris: Flammarion, 1900), p. 187.

²¹¹Ibid., p. 191.

²¹²Ibid., p. 327.

²¹³Ibid., pp. 317-318.

showed that he was still attracted to the "French" socialists of earlier traditions, especially of '48, "sentimental and a little romantic," whom he contrasted with the "Marxist socialists of today, who, foreign to all ideals, declare with Jaurès, and Millerand that the social question is before all a question of the stomach."²¹⁴

Drumont also indicated once again his commitment to social protest that was hostile to the factory proletariat as well as the factory system. In a review of mixed feelings, he pictured Auguste Blanqui as a man who "never had the notion of these modern revolutions which are accomplished according to the unanimous consent of all...." Blanqui's uprisings were like the "seditions of the Middle Ages,... tumults of some armed partisans" who become masters of a chateau or a city hall in a brief, romantic moment.²¹⁵ Drumont viewed Blanqui approvingly as a man who was not a determinist or a collectivist socialist.²¹⁶

Although increasingly nostalgic, Drumont claimed to be confident of the future. "In spite of the formidable obstacles against which they have clashed, the Antisemites have accomplished something,"²¹⁷ although he was vague as to what that something was. And, Drumont seemed to believe that workers could be drawn to his cause. "When

²¹⁴Ibid., p. 356.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 314.

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 311.

²¹⁷Ibid., p. 195.

they reflect, the intelligent workers will become perfectly aware that only the Antisemites have a lucid and precise conception of the social question," and they would reject the German Jew, Marx, and collectivism.²¹⁸

The sentence of ten years imprisonment for Guérin was commuted to banishment. Guérin went to Brussels, from which he hoped to expand L'Antijuif from a weekly to a daily. Soon his journalistic hopes and his contact with the Ligue de la Patrie, caused alarm to Drumont, and the two antisemitic chiefs revived their old grudges, which developed into mutual recrimination over the "Fort Chabrol" episode, and, by the spring of 1902, a complete break.²¹⁹ A few old comrades of Guérin from the Grand Occident wrote exposés attacking Guérin. Finally, after Drumont's editor, Gaston Méry, began attacking Guérin in May, 1902, in La Libre Parole, Guérin even sought a duel with Drumont, but Drumont declined with a show of boredom.²²⁰

Guérin in 1902 tried to develop a daily antisemitic newspaper, La Tribune Française, to replace his weekly, L'Antijuif, and to compete with La Libre Parole. The newspaper appeared on September 1, 1902, for the first time, and drew a few writers as well as some two hundred subscribers from La Libre Parole, causing more bitter feelings between Drumont and Guérin.²²¹ However, La Tribune Française collapsed

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 311.

²¹⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 286, 302.

²²⁰Ibid., p. 305.

²²¹Ibid., p. 314.

on September 29, 1903 for lack of support.²²² Raphael Viau, who wrote for a time for La Tribune Française, admitted that when Guérin returned to France in 1905, after being granted an amnesty, La Libre Parole took no notice of the fact, nor did anyone else.²²³

Meanwhile, the nationalist Ligue de la Patrie Française, which had not suffered from the police arrests of August, 1899, continued to draw followers from Guérin and Drumont. The antisemites themselves remained much subdued after the arrests. The Jeunesse Antisémitique less frequently serenaded Drumont under his window at La Libre Parole.²²⁴ In the election of May 6, 1900 for the municipal council of Paris, the Ligue de la Patrie and the nationalist movement scored a triumph. Thirty-one nationalists gained seats, dragging along Drumont's two main lieutenants, Gaston Méry, of La Libre Parole, and Jacques Dubuc, head of the Jeunesse Antisémitique. Nevertheless, Drumont was not happy over the victory, recognizing that it was a rival group, not under his leadership, which had made the victory.

In less than a year after the sentencing of the ligueurs in January, 1900, the circulation of La Libre Parole fell by over a third. Many readers turned to the nationalist journals.²²⁵ To try to keep his readers, Drumont turned to his techniques of the past: insults and duels. In 1900 he revived the old attack on Henri de

²²²Ibid., pp. 337-338.

²²³Ibid., pp. 337-338.

²²⁴Ibid., p. 265.

²²⁵Ibid., pp. 271-273.

Rothschild over the death of a poacher in the forêt de Lys. Instead of challenging Drumont and Viau to a duel, Rothschild simply brought suit against them for defamation of character. The Chambre Correctionnelle required Drumont and Viau each to pay 10,000 francs damages to Rothschild. La Libre Parole had to put a notice of the judgment in 20 journals at a cost 100 francs for each notice.²²⁶

In the election of 1902 for the Chamber of Deputies, Drumont lost his seat. In fact, he anticipated the defeat, approaching the elections with a great deal of disgust, recognizing the decline in his support, especially after Régis left Algiers in 1900. Two of the deputies from Algeria declined to run again, Marchal possibly because of age, Morinaud possibly because of a change in heart.²²⁷ Morinaud, a radical, was an opponent of antisemitism in the 1930's.²²⁸ Firmin Faure wanted to run from a district near Paris rather than from Oran, and wound up running from Saint-Denis.²²⁹ Thus, of the "four musketeers" of 1898, only Drumont ran again from Algeria, and he was defeated, despite promises of victory from a clairvoyante, Mme. Octavie d'Hyde, and from a physiognomist, Mme. Gènia Lioubou, who compared Drumont's head to that of the buffalo, with a bit of the elephant in the forehead.²³⁰

²²⁶Ibid., pp. 273-274; footnote, p. 274.

²²⁷Ibid., pp. 293-294.

²²⁸Gendrot, Drumont, p. 243.

²²⁹Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 293-294.

²³⁰Ibid., p. 292.

At La Libre Parole, on the night of the election, April 27, 1902, about 50 of Drumont's staff and hangers-on waited in some anxiety for the result. A few were present simply in the hope of getting some champagne. While waiting, they had to endure the mockery of bands of republicans at the nearby café Ducastaing, singing "Barbepoux! Barbepoux!" to the old Boulangist air, "Lampions."²³¹ Finally, about midnight, a telegram from Algiers arrived, announcing that Drumont was beaten.²³² At the news, the staff wondered if they should announce it to the people in the street below. They decided to brave it through, and a slide was made with the words, "Drumont battu," and it was projected onto a luminous screen at the window overlooking the boulevard Montmartre. At once, the street was again informed with the words, "Barbepoux! Barbepoux!" But, the cries soon grew weaker and died out,²³³ like Drumont's political hopes.

Drumont returned from Algeria sad and discouraged, claiming that the priests of Algeria had been against him.²³⁴ This raises the question, was Drumont a man of the Catholics, a man of the Jesuits and the Assumptionists, as the Dreyfusard anticlericals assumed? The Dreyfus Affair showed clearly that Drumont's social radicalism was an aspect of an over-all Right-wing position. Nevertheless, Drumont's

²³¹Ibid., pp. 295-297.

²³²Ibid., p. 299.

²³³Ibid., p. 300.

²³⁴Ibid., p. 302.

antisemitism did not come from the Church. He supported the Church as a part of his traditionalism, his love of the past, of the family, of the soil, but he criticized the Church hierarchy. At a New Year's staff party in 1901, Drumont insisted that he was not a clerical, although he went to low-Mass every Sunday at his church in his quarter of Gros-Caillou in the Seventh Arrondissement. Moreover, he pointed out that as a deputy chosen by radical Algerians, he and other anti-semitic deputies supported the separation of Church and State and the closing of the French embassy to the Papacy, demands that the anti-clericals were making.²³⁵

Clearly, Drumont was caught in contradictions. Politically, he wanted an authoritarian republic with a powerful president, unhampered by a parliament. Yet, he became a proud deputy in the very parliament he insulted and ridiculed. Economically, he attacked capitalism, blaming it on Jewish financiers, yet he never carried anti-capitalism to the point of wanting to destroy private property, especially not the property of the small property-owners. He never became a Socialist, whom the antisemites now called German-Jewish Socialists. Socially, he lauded traditional aspects of France, went to Mass faithfully, yet often criticized the Church, even flirted with anticlericalism. In April, 1890 he was defeated for the municipal council by Léo Taxil, the candidate of the clericals, and in 1902, he claimed to have been beaten in the election in Algeria because of the priests.

²³⁵Ibid., pp. 280-281.

Adding to Drumont's discomfiture over his defeat in Algeria, Max Régis announced in Paris in June, 1902, that he renounced antisemitism. Interviewed by Le Temps, he declared,

I don't want to have to endure anymore this gloomy indifference which destroys all that courage which was once exalted. I paid sufficiently with my life. The results attained have not recompensed me for my sacrifice.²³⁶

He indicated that he retired from "the struggle," wishing he had never gotten into it. A major motive for the attitude of Régis may have been the appearance of a rival street-fighter in Algiers, Etienne Laberdecque, who rallied the mob away from anti-Jewish action back to deep-rooted anti-Arab feeling. Laberdecque was an adventurer of French origins, born in Cuba, who became a republican journalist, famous for dueling with sabres. In Algeria he founded a nationalist, anti-separatist, or anti-independence journal, La Revanche, which was attacked by both Arabs and, for a time, the radical antisemites. Soon, however, he built up a large following, and became a rival of Max Régis for the affections of the boistrous radical elements. This rivalry led to duels with both Max Régis and his brother Louis, in which Laberdecque defeated each of them. These defeats seem to have destroyed the Régis charisma, and his popularity faded rapidly.²³⁷

²³⁶Quoted in Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 307. On July 23, 1900, Régis, bored in Spain, returned to France to appear before the Cour d'Assises of the Var for his Algerian "Fort Chabrol" action in 1899. He was acquitted after his lawyer showed to the jury the childishness of this episode. Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 274.

²³⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 309-310.

Meanwhile, the Ligue de la Patrie Française continued to grow during 1900 and 1901, and it tried to enroll Guérin, still in prison in 1901, and other antisemites to its cause. Drumont would not cooperate, and in return, the nationalists abandoned Drumont. Zola's death in September, 1902, brought together briefly the nationalists and Drumont's dwindling supporters. However, the nationalists, like François Coppée, Maurice Barrès, Georges Thiébaud, Charles Maurras, and many others, stayed away from the 11th annual banquet of La Libre Parole, in 1903, although invited.²³⁸

Drumont tried without success to establish rival ligues. At the end of 1903, he tried to organize an "Alliance Patriotique entre le Peuple et l'Aristocratie." He got no support. At the same time he tried to replace the defunct Jeunesse Antisémitte with a new ligue for young people, the Volontaires de la Liberté.²³⁹ Worried about being able to fill the hall for the first of the few meetings of the Volontaires, Drumont asked his old acquaintance from the 1880's and 1890's, Léon "Napoléon" Hayard, manager of street vendors of newspapers, to bring 100 men to the meeting as a hired claque to help pack the hall. Hayard (who died a few weeks later) agreed, but he came with his 100 camelots, seeking vengeance. In 1900, Hayard had provided 200 men for a meeting to hear Eugène Buffet and others insult President Loubet in song and speech. Drumont, always very

²³⁸Ibid., pp. 317-318.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 319.

stingy with his money, paid Hayard only half of what Hayard had understood he would be paid. Thus, at the 1903 meeting, Hayard's hundred first gave a loud round of cheers for Drumont: "Vive Drumont! Vive La Libre Parole! A bas les Juifs!" Then, they immediately stood up and shouted, "A bas Drumont! A bas les Jesuits! A bas la Calotte!"²⁴⁰ The Volontaires soon collapsed from a peak of 150 members to five, and then to none.²⁴¹

In late 1904, the Ligue de la Patrie, which had largely supplanted the Drumont organizations, collapsed suddenly, reducing the influence of the antisemites in the process. Actually, the nationalists seemed about to make a large gain in influence, since the Dreyfusard Ministry of Emile Combes, (1902-1905) seemed to have gone too far in its anti-militarist program. The War Minister since 1901, General Louis André, had been trying to eliminate anti-republican officers from the Army, and one of his staff-officers, Captain Mallin, had used Freemasonic members of the Paris lodge to keep the religious life of officers and their families under surveillance, and to collect their findings on cards (fiches), which were filed in the offices of the Paris Grand Lodge. From there, information was reported to Captain Mallin at the War Ministry. In 1904, an employee of the Grand Orient sold a batch of the fiches to Gabriel Syveton, the leader of the Ligue de la Patrie.²⁴²

²⁴⁰Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 329-330.

²⁴¹Ibid., p. 319.

²⁴²Weber, Action Française, pp. 31-32.

The Ligue de la Patrie leaped to the attack, claiming that the republican government had dishonored the Army through the use of their old Syndicate allies, the Freemasons. The nationalists apparently expected the issue of the fiches to form a springboard for a nationalist triumph over the parliamentary republic. Apparently hoping for a law suit with a court trial where he could be assured of exposing the War Minister, Syveton went so far as to slap the sixty-six year old General André, before the Chamber of Deputies, on November 5, 1904. André resigned on November 15.²⁴³ Syveton dragged the Ligue down to an abrupt oblivion, however, by committing suicide on December 8, 1904, on the eve of his trial, after being accused publicly by his stepdaughter of having had sexual intercourse with her.²⁴⁴

The Syveton Affair not only dealt a mortal blow to the Ligue de la Patrie, but by association also dragged down further what was left of the antisemitic movement. Only one Right-wing ligue remained after 1904, the still tiny Action Française.

What had the Ligue de la Patrie stood for? This question goes beyond the scope of this paper, since the Ligue was not officially antisemitic, and has been investigated by others, anyway. Yet, the Ligue was so closely associated with the antisemitic groups that the question should be of interest here. Significantly, as others have shown, the nationalists of the Ligue, in their social and political

²⁴³Ibid., pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁴Viau, Vingt-Ans, pp. 334-338.

appeal, continued in the tradition of the antisemites, like Drumont.

D. R. Watson writes that

Of the social and economic policy advocated by the Patrie Française, the two main themes were opposition to collectivism and the danger to small shopkeepers and small businesses represented by the secret alliance of Socialism and Jewish high finance. The echoes roused by this campaign and its evident successes among the lower middle-class of Paris reveal their anxiety about the future, due more to the development of working class organization and ideology than to purely economic developments.²⁴⁵

The nationalists advocated "practical socialism" instead of collectivism. Watson quotes Jules Lemaître, president of the Ligue in 1900, to this effect,

They call themselves Socialists, and in twenty years they have not achieved a more equal sharing of the burden of taxation, or old age pensions. The nationalists will embark on these social questions. For nationalism means care for the interests of all the members of the community. Patriotism involves a spirit of solidarity, mutual aid, and fraternal charity. We advocate a national fund for sickness and unemployment insurance, pensions organized by voluntary societies (mutualités): our policy is in everything based on the principle of free association instead of the tyranny of forced Collectivism.²⁴⁶

The political philosophy of the Ligue, its attitude toward parliamentary republicanism was fuzzy, appealing to monarchists and Boulangists, on the one hand, as well as to some, on the other hand, who rejected caesarism and royalism.²⁴⁷ This political vagueness, also present in Drumont, was the main reason for the aloofness of the

²⁴⁵D. R. Watson, "The Nationalist Movement in Paris, 1900-1906," in The Right in France, 1890-1919: Three Studies, ed. by David Shapiro (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), p. 62.

²⁴⁶Quoted in Ibid., p. 63.

²⁴⁷Watson, "The Nationalist Movement in Paris," pp. 61-62.

Action Française and its determination to be clearly royalist.

There were personal links between the antisemitism of Drumont and the Action Française of Charles Maurras. Maurras wrote some articles for La Libre Parole, and would come to its offices to correct the proofs of his articles. Some of the younger staffers used to challenge his royalism boistrously, promising to oppose any return of the Pretender, the duc d'Orléans. Maurras would never bother to argue with them, saying as he bent over his work, "Oui, oui, c'est ça, c'est bien ça!" Maurras did try to convert Drumont to royalism, but was never successful, and would leave, clucking to himself.²⁴⁸

Maurras, whose greatest influence developed after 1908 in the Action Française, is comparable to Drumont. Both were traditional and authoritarian. Maurras, born in a small provincial fishing village, Martigues, near Marseilles, on April 20, 1868, was the son of a petty civil servant. His father was an admirer of the Liberal and ex-Orléanist, Adolphe Thiers. His mother's family were royalists.²⁴⁹ While Maurras was an atheist and Drumont was very superstitious, both supported the Church as a social institution of order and tradition.

On May 6, 1899, Maurras described his aims. "To the hereditary institution of the family, add the permanent ruling entities of the commune and the province, and the professional stabilizing institution of political authority: there you have the formula of monarchy."²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 364-365.

²⁴⁹Weber, Action Française, p. 6.

²⁵⁰Quoted in Weber, Action Française, p. 22.

Except for the royalism, this was a program that was very similar to that of Drumont. While Drumont sought an authoritarian or caesarist republic, and Maurras hoped for a monarchy, both wanted to end the parliamentary Republic. Both were antisemitic. Léon Blum later wrote that in the 1890's, Drumont held an intellectual position in France comparable to that which Maurras held just before World War I.²⁵¹ After antisemitism declined under Drumont, it was revived under the royalist banner of Maurras.

While La Libre Parole declined, many writers either died or, like Maurras, drifted away to other groups. For example, Léon Daudet, who had come to La Libre Parole in April, 1901, left in 1907, and joined the Action Française. Daudet (1867-1942) was the son of the novelist, Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897). As a young man, Daudet became acquainted with Drumont, who was a friend of the elder Daudet. Drumont's work, La France juive, impressed young Daudet, who claimed that he then "saw through all democratic eyewash."²⁵²

Like Drumont, Daudet appeared to be something of a Leftist before the Dreyfus Affair. In 1891 he married Victor Hugo's granddaughter, Jeanne Hugo, in a civil ceremony, but they were divorced in 1895.²⁵³ In 1893 he contributed militant socialist articles to the Leftist semi-weekly, Germinal, but by 1898, Daudet was working for the Boulangist,

²⁵¹Léon Blum, Souvenirs sur l'Affaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1935), p. 62.

²⁵²Quoted in Byrnes, Antisemitism, p. 154.

²⁵³Viau, Vingt Ans, p. 283. Weber, Action Française, p. 45.

nationalist journals, like Le Gaulois, where he became an editor.²⁵⁴ By 1904, Daudet was associating with the Action Française, while still working for Drumont. In 1907, after trying unsuccessfully to buy La Libre Parole, Daudet left Drumont to organize a daily newspaper for the Action Française. In March, 1908, Daudet, as editor-in-chief, began publication of the newspaper, Action Française, which quickly supplanted La Libre Parole in influence.

It is difficult to set a date for the demise of Drumont's movement since the dying was gradual, but the departure of Daudet in 1907 is perhaps a good symbolic date. To be sure, most of Drumont's views lived on in the Action Française, which carried on the traditionalism, the authoritarianism, converted into royalism, and the antisemitism, of Drumont. In fact, it also attacked capitalism, and even tried to develop labor support for its cause.²⁵⁵ In this last effort it was not very successful. Like Drumont, the Action Française seems to have appealed to the lower middle-class more than to any other group. Weber claims that "Perhaps the most numerous were the recruits from the lower middle class--shop and clerical workers, teachers and librarians, noncommissioned officers, insurance agents, and commercial travelers."²⁵⁶ Still, for all the points of contact between Drumont

²⁵⁴Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 282-284.

²⁵⁵Weber, Action Française, pp. 68-76, 84-85.

²⁵⁶Ibid., p. 63.

and the Action Française, it was not his movement. His own movement collapsed as the Action Française began to grow.

On May 27, 1909, Drumont was defeated in the election for a place in the Academie Française by the novelist, Marcel Prévost (1862-1941), who had been a leading Dreyfusard. This blow was followed by the death on July 14 of Gaston Méry, Drumont's close friend and principal editor at La Libre Parole, with it since its founding in 1892.²⁵⁷ The death of Méry left open his seat on the Paris municipal council, where he had represented Montmartre since the election of 1900. So, the Action Française ran an antisemitic candidate, André Gaucher, in the election of October 17, 1909. He received only 276 votes.²⁵⁸ The Action Française had taken the place of the older nationalist and antisemitic movements, but it would be many years before it would develop into a movement of size and strength.

La Libre Parole was sold in 1910, and came under new editorial direction on October 1, although Drumont continued to write a column. He died on February 3, 1917, at age 73.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷Viau, Vingt Ans, pp. 341-342.

²⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 371-372.

²⁵⁹Gendrot, Drumont, p. 310.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This paper has not been designed to trace or explain every manifestation of antisemitism, but has been an attempt to show that the major spokesmen for antisemitism in the late Nineteenth Century had a rationale very much like that of pre-Marxist petit bourgeois social radicals like Charles Fourier and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. This paper has emphasized, against a background of social, economic, and political modernization, the continuity of the history of French antisemitism, from the "Utopian Socialists" up to Drumont, and from Drumont on to the Action Française.

This emphasis is different from that of both Isaac Levaillant and Robert F. Byrnes, who do not see Drumont as another figure in a line of social radical, and yet also traditionalist, antisemites. Hannah Arendt, drawing from the important work done by Edmund Silberner, recognizes the antisemitism of the petit bourgeois Left, but does not include Drumont in that tradition. She writes, "Thus the

leftist movement of the lower middle class and the entire propaganda against banking capital turned more or less antisemitic, a development of...great significance in France....

Until [the Dreyfus Affair]...nineteenth-century French leftist movements had been outspoken in their antipathy to the Jews....¹

¹Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, Meridian Giants, (2nd. ed.; New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958), pp. 37, 47.

It is difficult to agree with Nicholas Halasz when he claims that Drumont introduced in 1886 a "significant shift" in antisemitism if Halasz means there was a change from Socialist antisemitism to traditionalist antisemitism.² The historical development was more complex than that, and requires greater explanation. The non-Marxian social radicalism of men like Fourier, Toussenel, Leroux, Proudhon, and Chirac contained much traditionalism. On the other hand, the radical anti-modernism of Drumont retained much of the social radicalism of his predecessors. It should be emphasized that Drumont marked a transitional development in antisemitism from a vaguely Leftist phenomenon to a radical conservatism, divorced from both the parliamentary and the revolutionary Left. Yet, the transition occurred over a period of at least a dozen years, from 1886 to 1898, and perhaps longer. Despite the assertion of Professor Byrnes, the collectivists, or Marxists, did not free themselves completely from the taint of antisemitism by 1892.

Nineteenth Century French antisemitism possessed contradictory elements which can be understood when antisemitism is seen as a phenomenon rooted largely in the lower middle-class, both Catholic and non-Catholic, which supported both traditionalism and radical social protest. In fact, the two attitudes were not mutually exclusive, since the social protest was largely against social and economic modernization. The French Marxist historian, Albert Soboul, holds that these attitudes were present as early as the French Revolution, among the

²Nicholas Halasz, Captain Dreyfus: The Story of a Mass Hysteria (New York: Grove Press, 1957), p. 93.

sans-culottes.

The sans-culottes share a pre-capitalist mentality, deeply hostile to the spirit of enterprise that moves the bourgeoisie; the latter demands economic liberty, while the sans-culottes in September 1793 force upon it price-fixing and controls. Beyond this opposition over the organization of economic life, two conceptions clashed: the bourgeois conception of property as a natural, inalienable, total right, and the sans-culotte conception of a property which was controlled, limited, and kept within narrow limits which were precisely the limits of the sans-culottes....

The sans-culottes did not form either a party or a class. There were workers among them, especially journeymen; but there were also shopkeepers and artisans who had some property and petty bourgeois of the liberal professions. What united these men was, beyond their hatred of the aristocracy, their common hostility to the capitalist system of production that threatened to reduce them to the rank of proletarians. Hence their utopian equalitarianism and their desire not to suppress the property that many of them already enjoyed, but to limit it to their own measure.... They demanded price-fixing, but at the same time were attached to the independence of the shop, the artisanate, and the small country holding.... Certainly, on the political plane they were the most advanced democratic element.... But on the economic plane their positions were reactionary: they were doomed to decline with all the traditional system of production based on the artisanate and the shop.³

As the economy and social structure of France changed in the Nineteenth Century, some aristocratic figures, but mainly petit bourgeois elements, both Catholic and non-Catholic, developed a romantic social protest which covered deep traditionalist longings. As Rondo Cameron has shown, the banking sector of the French economy was particularly aggressive, expansionist, and large-scale.⁴ Thus, French

³Albert Soboul, "Classes and Class Struggles during the French Revolution," Science and Society, XVII (Summer, 1953), pp. 250-252.

⁴Rondo E. Cameron, France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961).

banking establishments were quite visible, and Jewish financiers, like the Rothschilds, the Erlangers, the Pereires, and the Foulds, for example, were among the most prominent. On the other hand, the French economy lagged behind other Western countries in developing large industrial and commercial combinations. As a result, small businessmen continued to form a sizeable segment of the economy, which was not vigorous enough to eliminate the petit bourgeoisie, but was developing enough to threaten elimination. To many Frenchmen of small property, the threat to their economic interests seemed to develop concurrently with the growth of great investment capitalism.

Opposition to capitalism gave antisemitism a social radical dimension, but this opposition did not take the form of collectivist Socialism, since that would have destroyed small property. Thus, this anti-capitalist protest was in reality a radical conservatism. As small property sought to preserve itself from an ever more threatening economic development, so it sought to conserve other presumed pillars of traditional society, primarily family, church, local community bonds, loyalty to fatherland, and authoritarian leadership.

It was difficult for the antisemites to explain the crumbling of the older ways, the growth of finance capital, the legalization of divorce, the laicisation of the schools, the urbanization of France, the power of the capitalists in the Republic, except by a process outside national history, that is, by a conspiracy. It was assumed by the antisemites that Jews constituted a group of master-plotters who took advantage of the middle-class parliamentary Liberalism of the French Revolution, and corrupted and manipulated their bourgeois dupes

and lackeys, the Protestants and Freemasons, and thereby took over the French economy and transformed it through finance capitalism and economic Liberalism. Then, after 1870, the Jews, it was believed, were able to safeguard and further develop their power through the parliamentary republicanism of the Third Republic.

It was felt that unless strong leadership were achieved to purge the Jews and rebuild traditional France, the French people, and the French nation would be debased by the Jews from within, and then, ravished by the Germans from without. The irony of this view is obvious when contrasted with reality. French weakness as a national state was due in large part to a failure to come close to matching the economic modernization of Germany. In regard to national strength, France was not too modern, but rather, not modern enough.

The Left in Nineteenth Century France went through four stages in its attitude toward antisemitism. First, during the period from the 1830's to the 1880's, pre-Marxian and non-Marxian Socialists from Fourier to Chirac were among the most vehement spokesmen for antisemitism. This antisemitism touched Marx, but it was primarily an antisemitism associated with non-collectivist social romantics, looking to a pre-industrial, pre-urban past, of small property and local associations. This type of antisemitism remained strong in Algeria among radicals and Fourierists right up through the Dreyfus Affair.

It is helpful in clarifying the nature of this antisemitism of the early French Socialists like Fourier et al. to contrast them with Marx, Engels, and later Marxists, who advocated Socialism within the

context of social modernization: that is, an urban, industrial, collectivist, proletarian Socialism. Thus, the Marxists did not share the same frustrations over social change that embittered the Fourierists and Proudhonists. And, significantly, the Marxists gradually but generally moved away from attacking the Jews as the cause of undesirable social developments.

A re-examination and reappraisal of the Nineteenth Century pre-Marxist and non-Marxist French Socialists may be overdue. Following common usage, this paper has termed these men Socialists. Yet, given the nature of their social program--limitation on property, support for small property, and the formation of mutual protection societies for small tradesmen--and given also their hostility to modern industry and even the industrial workers, it would seem inaccurate to describe the Fourierists and Proudhonists as "Socialists" or "Leftists." Another reason for considering these designations to be distortions is that Drumont, who viewed himself as a social radical in the tradition of Fourier, Proudhon, and Chirac, can be seen clearly in the context of the Dreyfus Affair as no Leftist, but a radical conservative.

During a second period, in the 1880's and 1890's, the economic and political organization of the Left associated with antisemitic figures like Drumont, but were separate from them, even though some, like Drumont, called themselves Socialists. Significantly, the Left of this period was building on a social class, the factory proletariat, which was a far different group from the artisan-craftsmen-shopkeepers appealed to as "workers" by the Fourierists and Proudhonists. Industrial Socialists and journals like La Revue Socialiste, continued to

make antisemitic statements throughout the period, but on the other hand, sometimes attacked antisemitism, as in 1892, when the Marxist leaders, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, debated against the antisemitic marquis de Morès, and criticized the antisemites for attacking Jewish capitalists exclusively. The Marxists leveled their criticism against all capitalists, but they included Jews among the capitalists.

In a third stage, the first year of the Dreyfus Affair, from the autumn of 1897 to the autumn of 1898, Drumont and his associates, more and more recognizable as a radical Right, continued to attack the Jews. Meanwhile, genuine Socialists remained neutral, for the most part, with hostility to both the bourgeois Center and the anti-parliamentary Right, including the antisemites. A few Socialists, intellectuals for the most part, formed an exception to the general attitude on the Left of hostile neutrality. The industrial worker, Jean Allemane, and his Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire, favored by the Dreyfusard Socialist intellectuals Charles Andler and Lucien Herr, also supported Dreyfus. However, Jules Guesde gave Zola's "J'Accuse" the highest accolade, calling it "the greatest revolutionary act of the century."⁵ Yet, this was perhaps more of an anti-Army attitude than a rejection of antisemitism.

Finally, in the period of late 1898 through 1899, the Left, under Marxist leadership, and the inspiration of Jaurès, organized a united

⁵Quoted in Harvey Goldberg, The Life of Jean Jaurès (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), p. 223.

Socialist opposition to the antisemitic and nationalist ligues, now obviously a radical Right. In the atmosphere of the Dreyfus Affair, hostile neutrality was impossible. Guesde and the Marxists turned to an active participation at the side of middle class liberals against the Right and in support of the Republic. For example, the Marxists called a meeting of all Socialist factions on October 16, 1898, to form concerted action in defense of the Republic against the antisemitic and nationalist ligues. Later, Gustave Rouanet denounced antisemitism to the applause of the Socialists in a parliamentary debate with Drumont in December, 1898. In May, 1899, Socialist workers in industrial Grenoble demonstrated massively against Drumont, Guérin, and Régis, at the trial of Régis before the Cour d'Assises. Then, on June 11, 1898, the Parisian Left went to Longchamps in a massive display of Leftist support for the parliamentary Republic and hostility towards the ligueurs. On June 12, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Blanquist leader Edouard Vaillant, a close associate of the Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français, led the Socialist deputies in attacking the Dupuy ministry for not protecting President Loubet from the anti-Dreyfusards. Thus, in the course of the century, the position taken by the Left toward antisemitism moved from support, to association, to neutrality, to opposition.

The Dreyfus Affair constituted a pivotal moment in French history from which the antisemitic movement emerged clearly recognizable as a radical Right, a precursor of Fascism, rejected by the Left. Actually, the radical Right, although having antecedents in so-called Leftist spokesmen, was fundamentally incompatible with the modern Left

on several issues: traditionalism vs. modernization, authoritarianism vs. parliamentarianism, nationalism vs. internationalism, and small property vs. the end of private property. The Dreyfus Affair provided the catalyst for the complete break between the radical Right and the extreme Left. Before 1870, a Fourier, or a Proudhon, could be viewed as a kind of Leftist; in the France after 1899, a Drumont could be recognized as clearly a radical Rightist. The change in French society in the course of the century provided a very different measure of social attitudes, but the Dreyfus Affair provided the catalyst for the complete break between the radical Right and the extreme Left.

Although Drumont ultimately emerged as clearly a voice of the radical Right, he was distinct from the old Right associated with monarchy, aristocracy and Church hierarchy, institutions for which he expressed little or no support, and which he sometimes attacked vehemently.

Antisemitism could be found at times at all levels of the Church, but the most visible Catholic antisemitism came from the same social level that most noticeably responded to antisemitic social protest from Fourier to Maurras: the lower middle-class. The appeal of La Croix, the brief phenomenon of Christian Democracy in the 1890's, which had ties with Drumont, and the support for Drumont which came from rural, lower clergy, attest to this point.⁶ Thus, it would appear that

⁶Raphael Viau, Vingt Ans d'antisémitisme, 1889-1909 (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1910), p. 76.

by the late Nineteenth Century the old quarrel between the "two Frances," clerical and anticlerical, may have been more of a ritual, a charade, however vehement, than a conflict based on meaningful or necessary differences. The class cleavages between large property and small property, and between small property and the propertyless, may have been more significant than the conflict between clericalism and anticlericalism.

Like Drumont, La Croix opposed modern social change, while on the other hand, wealthy Catholics in the Ralliement were much less attracted to antisemitism. Christian Democrats supported much the same causes as Drumont, small property, family, Church, and country, although he insisted that he was more radical than they.

The street actions of the proto-Fascist, antisemitic ligues were depressing to men of good will, and sometimes dangerous to life and property, but never possessed a revolutionary capacity. The one attempt at a coup d'état was a farcical flop. The arrest and conviction of several ligueurs, notably Déroulède and Guérin, who were sentenced in January, 1900, and the disbanding of the Assumptionist Congregation at the same time, stopped the street action of the antisemites.

Internal division played a crucial, perhaps a decisive part, in the decline of antisemitism in the period of the Dreyfus Affair. The most able spokesman for antisemitism during the Affair, Edouard Drumont, was not able to lead the nationalist intellectuals like Maurice Barrès and Jules Lemaître into an all-embracing antisemitic organization.

Thus, the Ligue de la Patrie Française did not benefit Drumont, but constituted a rival for followers. Yet, when the Ligue de la Patrie fell apart in 1904, it helped to discredit the antisemites as well.

Just as Drumont ultimately failed completely to attract the Left to him, so he failed to gain much of the middle-class Center, even when the Right-Center, under Jules Méline, broke away from the other "Progressists" of the Center, to try to work with the Right. In the judgment of Ernst Nolte,⁷ a Fascist movement of any significance requires not only traditional elements (or small property, Army, Church, and aristocracy), but also a deeply frightened middle-class, ready to turn to dictatorship, however brutal, to prevent collectivization of property. A middle-class, deeply frightened by a threat of Socialism, clearly did not exist in France during the Dreyfus Affair. The Affair was not a conflict between capitalist conservatives on the one hand, and intellectuals and Socialists on the other. Ironically, almost all the early Dreyfusards were very substantial members of the bourgeoisie. Professor Nolte indicates that Drumont, whom he terms a "radical conservative," remained anti-bourgeoisie. Nolte believes that this cost Drumont the support of the powerful elements of French society.⁸ While Drumont may have had an opportunistic side to his behavior, he was not a very effective opportunist.

⁷Ernst Nolte, Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, Nationalism Socialism (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 271.

⁸Ibid., pp. 48-53.

Even among the class to which Drumont directed his strongest appeals, the small-propertyied lower middle-class, there was no unity regarding traditionalism and antisemitism. The most ardent of anticlericals, for example, the ex-priest Emile Combes, who led the attack on church schools and state support for religions, during his ministry from 1902 to 1905, was of the lower middle-class, as were, perhaps, most members of the parliamentary Radicals. It may be that anticlericalism was for many lower middle-class Radicals very much like what antisemitism was for others of the same class. Perhaps that is why the anticlericalism of the early 1900's did not produce an antisemitic reaction in the way that the laic legislation of the Opportunists seemed to in the 1880's. However, it would take another paper to explore this hypothesis.

The antisemites themselves were constantly quarreling among themselves, and Drumont offended many of his associates as well as his enemies. He and Morès broke with each other in 1893. In 1902, Guérin challenged Drumont to a duel. Later, several staff members left La Libre Parole, many with some animosity toward Drumont.

Antisemitism seems to have been an inadequate credo to unite the extreme radical Right. Perhaps antisemitism always smacked too much of social radicalism. The Action Française unfurled a different banner, that of royalism, in the hope of uniting social radicals and nationalists on the one hand, and clericals on the other.⁹ Short of defeat in war, the Action Française was never able to participate in state power.

⁹Eugen Weber, Action Française (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 24-25.

In the final analysis, the modernization which helped to produce antisemitism may have been so extensive as to defeat, although not eliminate, antisemitism in France.

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