

# **Anticlerical illustrations and visual satire in 'anti-Jewish affairs'**

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## **Declaration**

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## Abstract

This thesis investigates the expression of anticlerical ideas in visual satire of 'anti-Jewish' political affairs in France between 1880 and 1906. Focusing predominantly on the Dreyfus polemic in Third Republican France, it responds to the following questions: what anticlerical ideas were articulated in the cartoons and illustrations? Why were they being expressed? How were these represented visually? The role of the Church and the religious press, secularisation and laicisation, notions of identity, leftist intellectual hubs, and how the clergy were represented are examined in the satirical art. Antimilitary ideas, a key theme in Dreyfusard protests, are also scrutinised in the art. Images from periodicals, newspapers, posters, postcards and book illustrations are examined from the period in question as well as material drawn from anti-Jewish controversies between 1840 and 1914. Henri-Gabriel Ibels' work forms a major component of the data which incorporates Dreyfusard and anti-Dreyfusard satirical art. The main pillar has a supplementary dimension in discerning whether a flow of ideas existed between Ibels' work and leading Dreyfusard, Emile Zola. Zola's open letters *à la jeunesse* and *à la France* are used as main sources to his thinking. A secondary pillar interrogates the polemical art to examine competing representations of the Jewish individual and Jewishness amidst the socio-political tensions of modernising Europe. The study decodes the visual tropes and narratives to 'other' the Jew at this formative moment in the history of the French nation-state.

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## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
<b>Chapter One – Introduction and literature review</b> .....	<b>9</b>
Identifying a ‘créneau’ or a ‘gap’ in the literature on the Dreyfus Affair .....	9
The Dreyfus crisis .....	10
Polemical society and culture in the modernising state .....	12
The Role of Religion .....	13
Secularisation in the crisis .....	14
Secularisation theory and the Affair .....	16
Libre-Penseurs - Free Thought .....	17
Religion, nation and identity .....	18
Morality .....	22
‘Laique’ virtues .....	23
Christianism .....	24
Jesuits .....	25
The representation of the clergy .....	27
Antimilitarism .....	29
Militarism, clericalism and antisemitism .....	30
Illustrative propaganda .....	35
Profanity .....	36
Light and dark .....	39
Emile Zola .....	39
A shared idea of the ‘crucifixion of the Jew’ .....	41
Henri-Gabriel Ibels in the Affair .....	45
Political influences and activism .....	47
Socialism .....	48
Support for anarchists .....	49
The Representation of the Jew .....	50
Republicanism and Jewishness .....	53
Conclusion .....	54
<b>Chapter Two – Methodology</b> .....	<b>56</b>
Key questions and choice of primary sources .....	56
Using the art historical record .....	58

Art as a record of its use as an instrument of change.....	60
Using cartoons and visual satire to explore contemporary ideas.....	61
One artist as a primary focus for visual record.....	63
Corpus .....	64
Interpreting the art .....	67
Theoretical approaches to decoding the 'inner life' of the cartoon.....	69
Ideology.....	72
Visual devices within the image.....	73
Antimilitarism in the Affair .....	75
Figures.....	75
'Otherness' .....	76
Anticlerical ideas in the 'anti-Jewish' polemic.....	76
The main pillar's supplementary aim .....	80
Flow of ideas between Zola and Ibels .....	90
Conclusion .....	95
<b>Chapter Three - Illustrations and cartoons in the anti-Jewish debate .....</b>	<b>97</b>
Methodology used in interpreting meaning in the primary visual sources .....	97
Purpose, organisation and structure.....	99
Visual Polemics in a Polemical Age.....	101
'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' .....	110
The role of religion in the anti-Jewish controversy .....	114
'Saint' and 'sinner': rival use of the symbol of the Cross in the anti-Jewish milieu.....	125
Contribution of the libre pensée to ideas in the Dreyfusard art .....	129
The effect of the modernising, secularising, laicising state.....	134
Anticlerical ideas about Humanity, Truth and Justice .....	141
Anticlerical mimicry: rival snapshots with competing ideas.....	142
Ideas about solidarity and identity in the secularising state .....	147
Identity, nation, race, revolution, republic .....	150
Anticlerical ideas stemming from a turbulent and fragile Third Republic .....	156
Conclusion .....	161
<b>Chapter Four - Anticlerical images in the anti-Jewish crisis .....</b>	<b>164</b>
The clerical press' contribution to anticlerical ideas .....	166
Ideas about the clergy and the Republic.....	170
Covert attack on a vulnerable Republic .....	175

Clerical leaders: from the general to the particular.....	181
Intellectual connectivity of ideas about Church and clergy .....	187
Conflation of ideas about Church and the military elite .....	191
Ibels and conflation of Church and military.....	196
Père Didon and General Jamont.....	202
The priest's body.....	211
Facial expression .....	215
Antimilitary targets .....	218
Debasing 'Honneur et Patrie' .....	220
Progress .....	224
Abuse.....	231
Conclusion .....	233
<b>Chapter Five - The Representation of the Jew in the polemic .....</b>	<b>237</b>
Othering the representation of the Jew amid late nineteenth century tensions .....	239
Foreign 'interlopers' and 'outsiders': language and identity .....	241
The confluence of ideas about religious and non-religious difference .....	250
The Judas-idea .....	254
Reclaiming the polemical narrative .....	261
Race.....	264
'Jewish kings' .....	271
Sexuality, crudity and the representation of Jewish women and girls .....	287
Conclusion .....	292
<b>Chapter Six - Conclusion .....</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>Appendix – List of Illustrations .....</b>	<b>304</b>
Chapter One — Introduction and literature review.....	304
Chapter Two — Methodology .....	304
Chapter Three — Illustrations and cartoons in the anti-Jewish debate.....	305
Chapter Four — Anticlerical images in the anti-Jewish crisis.....	306
Chapter Five — The Representation of the Jew in the polemic.....	308
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>311</b>
Primary sources .....	311
Secondary sources.....	313
Journals and articles .....	325
PhD theses and postgraduate dissertations.....	330

Websites.....	330
Exhibitions and reviews.....	331
Online libraries, collections and stenographic records.....	331
Broadcast and podcast media .....	332

## Chapter One – Introduction and literature review

Identifying a 'créneau' or a 'gap' in the literature on the Dreyfus Affair

This thesis has identified a 'créneau' in the literature on anticlericalism. The investigation is responding to questions about the expression of anticlerical ideas in illustration and cartoons during 'anti-Jewish' affairs. It focuses primarily on the Dreyfus debate in France's Third Republic from 1880, the decade preceding the polemic, and 1906, when Dreyfus was rehabilitated in French public life. The study first asks what anticlerical ideas were articulated in the cartoons during these anti-Jewish controversies? Second, why were these ideas expressed? Third, how were these represented? Visual work from journals, flyers, posters and books is examined to respond to these questions. This study bridges a gap in scholarship, enriches discourse on anticlericalism and provides a new facet to the Dreyfus crisis and other anti-Jewish 'causes célèbres'. Such 'affairs' are defined as domestic political scandals or incidents that gained a national notoriety and, in some disputes, an international dimension. The investigation places a particular emphasis on the work of the Dreyfusard artist Henri-Gabriel Ibels, also known as the 'Nabi Journaliste'. Visual sources and associated text from other controversies are drawn on largely from 1840 to 1914. These include the case of Menachem Mendel Beilis, falsely accused of murdering a Christian boy so as to use his blood for preparing Passover Matzot in April 1911 in Kiev in Imperial Russia, and the Mortara Affair in 1858 in Bologna, the Papal States.

This main pillar of the project has a supplementary dimension. It interrogates the primary sources between 1880 and 1906 to identify whether a flow of anticlerical ideas can be seen between the work of two intellectuals, the writer and senior Dreyfusard, Emile Zola, and the Dreyfusard artist, Henri-Gabriel Ibels. The project investigates in what way Ibels developed or adapted Zola's concepts and concerns for the artist's visual work. The visual sources are also used to examine how Jewishness, anticlericalism and socio-political contexts were intertwined in the modernising period of 1880 to 1914. This work's secondary pillar investigates the representation of the Jew during anti-Jewish political crises with the focus continuing to be the Dreyfus crisis. The study identifies the polemical ideas foregrounded in the representations of Jewish identity in the art, and why. The images are principally from the satirical press in France as well as including some work from other countries. This thesis contributes to discourse on anticlericalism in the highly topical domain of the

mediatised cartoon. Representations of Jewishness are also still contested today, in the mainstream, fringe and social media.

The two images utilised in this chapter are a cartoon of Shmuel Yatskan, editor of *Haynt* (*Today*) genuflecting before a bust of Mendel Beilis in the satirical journal *Latkes* (*Potato Cakes*) December, 1914 (fig. 1);<sup>1</sup> and Ibels' drawing 'Le coup de l'éponge' – ('The cut of the sponge') from 1899 (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The full list of images in the data set is in the Appendix. 'Le coup de l'éponge' and '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France' by Gyp for *Le Rire*, 28 December 1895 are used more than once in the study. Footnotes for the data set in chapters show where each image was viewed. *Le Sifflet* cartoons not republished in *Allons-Y! (Let's Go!)* and all others not given a footnote to say where it has been reproduced were viewed in the online collection of la Bibliothèque nationale de France. All translations are denoted by the abbreviation 'Tr.'. Translations from French to English are all by the author. Translations of titles of works are provided at the point the piece is first referenced.

## The Dreyfus crisis

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish artillery officer in the elite corps of the French Army's General Staff, was arrested before dawn on 14 October 1894. The arrest came as French society was experiencing rapid, and in some cases brutally unexpected, change. Four months before the arrest, the assassination of France's president Sadi Carnot had prompted new legislation to curb press freedoms limiting criticism of the military or obedience to its leadership.<sup>3</sup> Yet, in the preceding decade, the censorship that had dogged caricature throughout the long nineteenth century had been abolished. Goldstein contends that by 1881, the political climate derived from the stability of the Republican regime and broad agreement across the political spectrum that censorship was abhorrent enabled its removal.<sup>4</sup> That Dreyfus' arrest was an antisemitic act is argued by Rubinstein, Cohn-

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<sup>1</sup> Copy kindly provided by Dr Eddy Portnoy. 'Latkes' are a traditional savoury Jewish dish.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. The cut of the sponge. For Reinach, see Chapman, Guy (1972) *The Dreyfus Trials*, London, flyleaf or online: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-alfred-dreyfus-1859-1935-nfrench-army-officer-dreyfus-crucified-drawing-95423582.html> (last accessed 4 Jan 2022); for Byl, see Tillier, Bertrand (2009) *Les Artistes et l'Affaire Dreyfus 1898-1908*, Seyssel, illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> The first of the Lois scélérates, designed to restrict the 1881 abolishing of censorship for caricature, was passed on 11 December 1893. The third and last was enacted on 28 July 1894, shortly after the assassination of President Sadi Carnot by the Italian anarchist, Sante Geronimo Caserio.

<sup>4</sup> Goldstein, Robert Justin (1989) *Censorship of Political Caricature*, London, pp. 229-30.

Sherbok, Edelheit and Rubinstein, who view the Affair as part of what they term the new antisemitism constructed on racial lines that emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Martin Johnson uses the Russian word “pogrom” (devastation) to describe anti-Jewish riots in French territory at the height of the Dreyfus crisis.<sup>6</sup>

An investigation of the representation of ideas in anticlerical images and why they were being articulated requires an understanding of changes taking place in Europe at the time of the anti-Jewish crises. Blom has described a dizzying, breathless pace of change that palpably affected people’s lives. This innovation was seen across sectors and disciplines: from discovery in science to developments in engineering, from daring new forms of composition in architecture and music to breakthroughs in medicine.<sup>7</sup> New technology in the press using faster printing techniques affected the style, transmission and delivery of the Dreyfus’ story in its illustrated form. The development of photomechanical processes meant Ibels’ drawings could be reproduced on paper without intermediary engravers or technicians, facilitating his ability to communicate fluidly and directly with his audience. Robertson called these new modern print cultures which used a shorter, more frequently published format, as is seen with Ibels’ journal, *Le Sifflet* which launched on 17 February 1898.<sup>8</sup> Rival campaigners using the new techniques competed for public attention and support offering their interpretation of events. Goldstein argued the anticlerical image was believed to speak to the senses not the mind and was therefore considered more inflammatory than words. This was why censorship had remained in place longer for caricature than the printed word.<sup>9</sup>

Since the first court-martial was held in secret, Dreyfus’ first trial did not benefit from immediate press coverage to the extent it might have done. However, while the judicial process had taken place behind closed doors, the military degradation ceremony in Paris, in which the officer’s sword was symbolically snapped, was observed by the full gamut of international media gathered. The campaign in his name had begun by the time the

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<sup>5</sup> Rubinstein, Hilary, Cohn-Sherbok, Dan, Edelheit, Abraham, Rubinstein, William (2002) *The Jews in the Modern World: a history since 1750*, London, pp. 110-26.

<sup>6</sup> Johnson, Martin (1999) *The Dreyfus Affair*, Basingstoke, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> Blom, Philipp (2008) *The Vertigo Years*, London, passim.

<sup>8</sup> Robertson, John (2015) *The Enlightenment: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, p. 82 onwards.

<sup>9</sup> Goldstein, Robert Justin, Nineteenth-Century French Political Censorship of Caricature in Comparative European Perspective in *Law and Humanities*, (June 2009) Volume 3, Issue 1, p. 30; and Goldstein, *Censorship*, p. 33.

disgraced man arrived at L'Île du Diable in French Guiana to begin a life sentence on 13 April 1895. Thinkers, later dubbed 'intellectuals' and 'Dreyfusards', used print to criticise and condemn those they saw as responsible. Their campaign was to eclipse Dreyfus' eventual release, exoneration and rehabilitation at a higher rank into the army, as the controversy became synonymous with a deepening gulf in Republican society integral to the anticlerical ideas in the art.

### Polemical society and culture in the modernising state

Griffiths argued that established fault-lines created a "polemical culture" well before the anti-Jewish controversy. Insecurities about the Third Republic were paramount, following the destruction by force of all previous regimes since the Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Clan loyalties and violent language in political debate had all been brought to the fore in earlier confrontations, in which Catholics, the Church and the military, largely staffed by Catholic aristocrats, were on one side and those committed to the Republic on the other.<sup>11</sup> Griffiths placed the Dreyfus crisis as the worst in a sequence of controversies beginning with the Catholic bank, Union Général collapsing in 1882, the Boulanger crisis of 1889 and the Panama Canal scandal in the early 1890s.<sup>12</sup> All of these threatened stability and exacerbated hostility to Jews. Ibels' colleague at *La Revue Blanche*, the Jewish Dreyfusard and future Prime Minister Leon Blum characterised the Dreyfus debate as more acrimonious still, later writing that it divided French society into ideological camps as mutually hostile and of equal violence as the 1789 Revolution and Great War.<sup>13</sup> This sense of a rift between clerical and anticlerical ideologies leading to parallel societies or 'deux Frances' was echoed by Zeldin, Baubérot and Douglas Johnson.<sup>14</sup> The controversy continues divisive with disagreements a century later as to how France should honour Dreyfus' memory and the debate over the separation of church and state, which the crisis helped achieve. Dreyfus's innocence was

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<sup>10</sup> Griffiths, Richard (1991) *The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath*, New York, pp. 3-9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>13</sup> Blum, Léon (1935) *Souvenirs sur l'Affaire*, Paris, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> Zeldin, Theodore (1977) *France, 1848-1945. Vol.2, Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, Oxford pp. 1024 -1036; Baubérot, Jean (2000) *Histoire de la Laïcité en France*, Paris, p. 28 ; Douglas Johnson (1978) 'The two Frances: The historical debate', *West European Politics*, 1:3, 3-10, DOI: 10.1080/01402387808424208

recently called into question by a senior politician on the right.<sup>15</sup> Investigating the contested ideas is necessary and urgent.

## The Role of Religion

The changing role of religion needs to be examined to understand its impact on the anticlerical ideas of Ibels and other artists. Religion no longer provided the central framework around which most lived their lives. The guiding moral principle of a revealed truth, the influence of the priest and the extent to which the Catholic Church was an instrument of state in the life of the nation were all diminishing. Baubérot identified that the word 'anticlerical' first appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, as did the word 'antisemitism'.<sup>16</sup> The level and force of anticlericalism during the Third Republic was such that Lalouette called it the 'anticlerical Republic'.<sup>17</sup> Zeldin saw anticlericalism springing from declining religiosity as part of broader changes in French society.<sup>18</sup> Rémond saw anticlericalism in nineteenth century France as the incompatibility between Catholicism and liberal thinking, individual freedoms and the intellectual movements. Rémond contends this was a confrontation of diametrically-opposed visions between the demand for unconditional obedience and the demand for liberty; between submission to the law of the group and individual will; between hierarchy and equality; and between dogma and revealed truth encompassing reward or sanction in the hereafter on the one hand and a code of conduct founded on reason and the principles of the Enlightenment on the other.<sup>19</sup> These debates were to surface in the Dreyfusard cartoons, where anticlericals praised the Republican credo or warned of clerical ploys and plots. These facets of anticlericalism became inextricably interwoven with the Dreyfus dispute as his case was taken up by campaigners contesting the future of the Third Republic.

Intellectual critiques of the Catholic Church for its treatment of Jews as 'Others' were not without precedent. Half a century before Zola accused the Church of backwardness and

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/global/2021/oct/30/rise-of-far-right-puts-dreyfus-affair-into-spotlight-in-french-election-race> (last accessed 22 November 2021).

<sup>16</sup> For anticlericalism see Baubérot, Jean and Mathieu, Severine (2002) *Religion, modernité et culture au Royaume-Uni et en France 1800-1914*, Paris, pp. 222-4; for antisemitism see Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, pp. 110-126.

<sup>17</sup> Lalouette, J (2002) *La République Anticléricale*, Paris, p. 416.

<sup>18</sup> Zeldin, Theodore (1970) in Zeldin, T (ed) *Conflicts in French Society*, Edinburgh, pp. 230-1.

<sup>19</sup> Rémond, René (1999) *Religion and Society in Modern Europe*, Oxford, pp. 142-3.

subversion in 'J'Accuse...!', and nearly a decade before the Mortara scandal, a fragile strand of literary dissent was evident in Victor Hugo's condemnation of the Papal States' medieval prejudice.<sup>20</sup> Elèna Mortara points to how Victor Séjour, a playwright of Creole mulatto descent awarded the Légion d'Honneur, was inspired by the Mortara incident to write his play *La Tireuse de Cartes* in 1859. It was condemned by the conservative newspapers *L'Ami de la Religion* and the royalist *Gazette de France*.<sup>21</sup> Although Rubinstein *et al* considered Voltaire negatively predisposed towards Jews, Voltaire did declare the Jew, like the Chinese and Turk, should be treated as a "brother".<sup>22</sup> In terms of anticlerical commentary, artists prior to the Dreyfus polemic had been no less outspoken than their wordsmith 'confrères' or cousins. But this thesis contends that the Dreyfus crisis produced a decisive development in anticlerical art and the ideas expressed. Taking place in the full thrust and glare of 'fin de siècle' modernity, the Affair produced a radical development in the first participation of artists in a concerted, public attack on the Church, its ministers, allies and values in favour of a Jew. Thus, it also marked the first visual campaign by anticlerical activists in favour of *the Jew*.

### Secularisation in the crisis

The ideas that emerged so forcefully in the anticlerical cartoon and illustrations of Dreyfusards were closely connected with the campaign to complete the Republic's transformation into a laicised\* state and fully secularised society.<sup>23</sup> Baubérot argues that incomplete laicisation prior to the crisis contributed to the political switchbacks earlier in the century and fed anticlerical dissent.<sup>24</sup> Baubérot's theory sees laicisation in France in a series of 'seuils' or thresholds. The first comprised the totality of changes of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the 1801 Concordat between Napoleon and Rome, and the Organic Articles of 1802.<sup>25</sup> The final phase came with the enactment into law of the separation of

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.concordatwatch.eu/topic-47327.934> (last accessed 25 February 2017)

<sup>21</sup> Mortara, Elèna (2015) *Writing for Justice*, Hanova (New Hampshire) p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>23</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 26. For Baubérot, secularisation is the relative and progressive loss of relevance for the religious in the social and cultural spheres due to social changes while laicisation is an 'oeuvre de politique' aimed at disconnecting citizenship from religion, separating church and state, to reduce institutionalised religion from society, and to remove a religious dimension from the political identity of the nation.

<sup>24</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p.16.

<sup>25</sup> The state retained ties to the Catholic church in areas such as the Church's responsibility for education, the payment of clergy salaries and clerical appointments made by the state.

church and state after the Dreyfus crisis in 1905.<sup>26</sup> Baubérot's argument is that through the state failing to break entirely with the Gallican Church after the 1789 Revolution, Catholicism retained much of its power, transforming from state to majority religion.<sup>27</sup> The first laicisation phase provided the Code Civil and afforded legal rights and protections to citizens of all faiths. To those who cherished these achievements Dreyfus' court-martial was an affront, and Ibels' cartoons about the travesty of justice proclaimed this. Such protests about a reduction in Republican rights chime with Casanova's argument that anticlerical dissent indicates weakness in the political critique of religion.<sup>28</sup> Political turbulence had marked the Third Republic on the eve of the Dreyfus crisis. Tested by the imperial ambitions of General Boulanger five years before the Jewish captain's arrest, a series of short-lived executives followed, as Derfler charted.<sup>29</sup> Sedgwick examined the attempts by royalists, Catholics and conservative Republicans to influence the political landscape in the approach to the crisis.<sup>30</sup> In elections the year before Dreyfus' arrest, Catholic parliamentarians or 'Ralliés' followed the Holy See's new policy of accepting the Republic as the vehicle of state and gained seats in the legislature. This split the moderate opposition, ushering in a more conciliatory policy towards the Gallican Church. Ibels' cartoons embody anticlerical alarm that Republican values were being eroded and the secularisation project was in jeopardy. His Dreyfusard art was a stand against the clericalisation of the Republic he feared. Ideas about incomplete laicisation, reactionary government and perceived prejudice can be usefully compared to the issues in play in Imperial Russia on the eve of the Beilis controversy. In Rogger's view, religious discrimination and pressures on Jews to convert in Russia were "characteristic of an imperfectly secularised state and society".<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, pp. 86-8. The 1801 Concordat saw the reconciliation of France and the Roman Catholic Church under Napoleon. The Organic Articles published unilaterally by France on 8 April 1802 introduced 121 clauses to the French state for the control of Catholic and Protestant religious worship.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 10-11, 20.

<sup>28</sup> Casanova, José (1994) *Public Religions in the Modern World*, Chicago, p 32.

<sup>29</sup> Derfler, Leslie (2002) *The Dreyfus Affair*, London, pp. 7-13.

<sup>30</sup> Sedgwick, Alexander (1965) *The Ralliement in French Politics 1890–1898*, Harvard, *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> Rogger, Hans (1986) *Jewish Policies and Right-wing Politics in Imperial Russia*, Oxford, p. 25.

## Secularisation theory and the Affair

To understand how the changing role of religion and secularisation influenced ideas this thesis engages with Bruce's defence of the secularisation theory.<sup>32</sup> The theory of secularisation has received criticism from Casanova who rejected what he perceived as the theory's bias for the Protestant religion, liberal politics and the public domain, and the sovereign nation state.<sup>33</sup> Casanova argued that the involvement of religion in the public sphere of modern civil societies was not inherently reactionary and could produce an alternative form of modernity. Casanova posited that a public religion could be used in support of what is largely recognised as being in the 'common good'.<sup>34</sup> As Rémond contends, this notion conflicted with Third Republican anticlericals, which promoted the primacy of individual will over notions of an arbitrary 'common good' of the group. Ibels' illustrations will be interrogated for ideas about truth and justice, with justice for the individual held to outweigh injustice to cushion a military group or the perceived honour of France.

This investigation examines ideas about secularisation and laicisation drawing on Bruce's 'secularisation paradigm' which integrates religious organisation, economy, rationalisation, society, polity and cognitive style or way of thinking. Bruce's model supported his argument that the decline of religion and move towards secularisation is the consequence of complex social changes during modernisation.<sup>35</sup> Bruce redefined 'modernisation' to consist of the growth and diffusion of a set of institutions rooted in the transformation of the economy through technology.<sup>36</sup> It is this process of change that he sets against the declining power, popularity and prestige of religious beliefs, behaviour and institutions.<sup>37</sup> During the political upheaval in the decades preceding the Dreyfus crisis, a number of the elements in Bruce's model were occurring. Zola and Ibels' anticlerical critiques were a reflection, or as Agulhon interprets subjective art in history, a "refraction" of that history.<sup>38</sup> The polemic occurred after

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<sup>32</sup> Norris, Pippa and Inglehart, Ronald (2003) *Sacred and Secular*, Cambridge, pp. 1-7 (last accessed online 15.2.17); Bruce, Steve (2011) *Secularization: In defence of an unfashionable theory*, Oxford.

<sup>33</sup> Casanova, *Public Religions*, pp. 19-20, 39, 211.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229. Casanova argues that one of the forms of the de-privatization of religion was concerned with maintaining the 'common good' against individualist modern liberal theories which reduce the 'common good' to the sum of all individual choices.

<sup>35</sup> Bruce, *Secularisation*, pp. 27, 56.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-6.

<sup>38</sup> Agulhon, Maurice (1981) *Marianne into battle: Republican imagery and symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, Cambridge, p. 189.

the Revolution and Napoleon's penal code had created some of the 'structural differentiation' of the paradigm, such as by establishing independent civil institutions like the courts. The 'economic growth' of Bruce's paradigm had seen entrepreneurial Jews play a central role in creating what the model sees as 'social and cultural diversity' in the Republic. The way in which Ibels represented the expectations of this socially- and culturally-diverse civil society was the outcome of France's secularising story up to that point. Its artistic expression constituted a major push towards deepening the commitment to it in what Bruce and Casanova call the 'life-world'.<sup>39</sup>

### Libre-Penseurs - Free Thought

It was no coincidence that the fight in Dreyfus's name came at the end of what Bayet termed a century of combat for free thinkers.<sup>40</sup> The ideas of free thinkers and the autonomy they claimed in rejecting prescribed dogma was to contribute a substantial current of thinking to intellectual expression in the anticlerical art. Lalouette has examined anticlerical attitudes to God, religion, religious belief, Christianity, Catholicism, the Republic and secular institutions. She suggests that 'libre-pensée' or free thought ideas were fundamental to the culture, society and state that secularists envisaged for the Third Republic.<sup>41</sup> Lalouette used case studies to explore the beliefs, statements and actions of free thinkers prominent in the Dreyfus debate.<sup>42</sup> Lalouette's contention is the ideas of nineteenth century 'free thinkers' were articulated across a wide spectrum of cultural phenomena: from eloquent texts, dictionaries and novels to crude invective, jokes and caricature calculated to inflict maximum insult.<sup>43</sup> As Frederick Brown contends, the ideas of free thinkers were associated with Jewish interests by its detractors well before the Dreyfus polemic. The connection was apparent three decades earlier in hate mail sent to Ernest Renan in response to his *La Vie de Jésus* (1863) accusing him of being in the pay of Jewish industrialists and likening him to Judas Iscariot.<sup>44</sup> This was the ultimate slur in what was still a Christian country, and as will

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<sup>39</sup> The concept of the 'life world' seems to have been first used by Edmund Husserl to mean a world viewed by subjective experience rather than logic; Husserl, Edmund (1970) *The Crises of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*, Evanston (Illinois) e.g. p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> Bayet, Albert (1959) *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, Paris, p. 96.

<sup>41</sup> Lalouette, J (1997) *La Libre Pensée en France 1848-1940*, Paris, p. 16: More than a thousand Free Thought societies and a national federation linked thousands of supporters to the international movement of Free Thought. As Lalouette noted, the official numbers in societies did not include those who subscribed to free thought ideas but were not members of a formalised group.

<sup>42</sup> Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, pp. 45-51.

<sup>43</sup> Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée*, pp. 187, 197, 215-6.

<sup>44</sup> Brown, Frederick (2010) *For the Soul of France: Culture Wars in the Age of Dreyfus*, New York, pp. 14-8.

be discussed later, would be deployed repeatedly in the characterisation of Jews in the polemical satire. Bayet contended that free thinkers were unified in their political plan to fight clericalism, shown by the creation of the Association Nationale des Libres-Penseurs, an organisation which counted prominent Dreyfusards like Zola and Mirbeau in its ranks.<sup>45</sup> Like Renan, *Le Sifflet's* editors also received threatening letters.<sup>46</sup> This project is the first to link free thought to ideas in Ibels' cartoons.

### Religion, nation and identity

Conflicting ideas about identity, particularly national identity, were central to the struggle around Dreyfus and were invoked repeatedly in the satirical art during the feud. Baubérot emphasizes that the Revolutionary Constitution of August 1795 led the way in Europe in giving the Jewish man (if not woman) political equality, yet Judaism was the last religion in France to receive official recognition.<sup>47</sup> In Baubérot's view, the development was a decisive step as it signalled France's transformation from a nation with a "plurality of religions" to a "pluralism of recognised religions" enjoying equal rights and freedoms.<sup>48</sup> To what extent public opinion was in step with legal status was another matter. Resentment of Jews was sufficient by the time Edouard Drumont's *La France Juive* was published in 1886 to make it a best-seller with multiple reprints, as Stephen Wilson contends, catapulting the author to celebrity status.<sup>49</sup> Blom argued the Dreyfus polemic "catalysed" the century-old battle between Church and Republic at a time when anxieties around masculine identity were prevalent, with Jewish entrepreneurs perceived as displacing Christian men in arenas from manufacturing to courtship.<sup>50</sup> As will be seen, these ideas manifested themselves in hostile cartoons in which anti-Dreyfusards characterised the Jew as pugnacious sexual adventurers and pernicious overlords.

Casanova has suggested religious identity could be fused with national identity against an external force.<sup>51</sup> But where Poles in Casanova's study used Catholicism as a unifying bond

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<sup>45</sup> Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, p. 100

<sup>46</sup> Steens, Jean, 'Les souvenirs d'un dreyfusard' (XIII), *La Patrie*, 18 March 1902, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 16. Napoleon granted Judaism status as an official religion in 1808.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21, 24-6.

<sup>49</sup> Tr. Jewish France. Wilson, Stephen, (1982) *Ideology and Experience: Antisemitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair*, London, p. 171.

<sup>50</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, pp. 15, 2, 32, 400.

<sup>51</sup> Casanova, *Public Religions*, pp. 92-3.

to resist the external threat of Russification, Catholic anti-Dreyfusards saw Jews as an internal threat, an outsider nation within a nation. To counteract this hostile interpretation of Jewish life in France, as Zvi Jonathan Kaplan posits, Ibels' caricatures sought to reframe the Jewish affair as French.<sup>52</sup> In response to anti-Dreyfusards painting the Jew as belligerently 'other', Ibels sought to invert the notion of 'otherness' in their art, characterising the priest as an anachronistic and subversive outsider at large in the Republic. In promoting such ideas, Ibels was following in the footsteps of authoritative voices from the arts. In a famous speech to Parliament, Hugo notably issued the warning that internal reactionary forces like the Jesuits were dreaming of replacing France's future with Spain's past.<sup>53</sup>

The inclusive identity Jews had been given by the republic was another aspect of dispute between opposing satirical artists. While Catholicism was linked to rising nationalism through its link to the faith of the many, Jewishness' natural bond was to the Republic and the Revolution that had created it. Baycroft underlined the importance of the republican model as integral to national identity following the 1789 Revolution.<sup>54</sup> Rubinstein *et al* consider the 1789 Revolution to be one of the defining periods of Jewish emancipation.<sup>55</sup> Zeldin cited the case of nineteenth century liberal educated Jewish citizens like James Darmesteter for whom the Revolution was the fulfilment of Jewish ideas of justice and progress.<sup>56</sup> Ibels' friend, the Jewish deputy Joseph Reinach, is described by Birnbaum and Katznelson as a fervent defender of the Revolution.<sup>57</sup> Reinach, an ardent Dreyfusard, demonstrates the synchronicity of these two positions. Landau argued the Dreyfus crisis reinforced Republicanism and a liberalising Judaism — consolidating a sometimes militant Jewish Republicanism — Free Thought, Zionism and the desire to be part of the French nation.<sup>58</sup> The self-image of Dreyfus and Reinach would have resembled that held by Resistance members in Vichy France who considered themselves "les Français Israelites"

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<sup>52</sup> Kaplan, Zvi Jonathan (2015) 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels, the Jews and the Francization of the Dreyfus Affair' in Katz, Maya Balakirsky (ed) *Revising Dreyfus*, Boston.

<sup>53</sup> Intervention of Victor Hugo at the legislative Assembly, 15 January 1850. Rémond, René (1999) *L'Anticléricalisme en France de 1815 à nos Jours*, Paris, pp. 140-2; Hayward, Jack (2007) *Fragmented France*, Oxford, p. 141.

<sup>54</sup> Baycroft, Timothy (February 2015), 'After the Charlie Hebdo Attacks: France, Anti-Clericalism and Religious Freedom' <http://www.historymatters.group.shef.ac.uk/charlie-hebdo-attacks-france-anti-clericalism-religious-freedom/> (last accessed 22 December 2016).

<sup>55</sup> Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> James Darmesteter was director of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris. See Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, p. 1037.

<sup>57</sup> Birnbaum, Pierre and Katznelson, Ira (2014) *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States and Citizenship*, Princeton, p. 118.

<sup>58</sup> Landau, Philippe E (1995) *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, Paris, p 110.

and not “les Juifs français”.<sup>59</sup> This was the image that Ibels advanced in promoting notions of equality in discrete religious groups. This research is the first to investigate how Ibels used art to echo appeals from Zola to ‘France’ and the ‘Youth’, to reaffirm a vision of the Republic as the incarnation of an inclusive French nation independent of creed. For many of Dreyfus’ detractors, the Catholic religion equated to ‘Frenchness’. Junco compared these notions of identity in France, Spain and England.<sup>60</sup> Townson also studied the relationship between religion and identity during secularisation, and saw it as pivotal to the Dreyfus dispute.<sup>61</sup> The merger of identity and religion drove the militant Catholicism Baubérot saw in the ‘Ralliement’, as hard-line Catholic Ultramontanes, monarchists and reactionaries in government weakened its republican nature.<sup>62</sup> Although a Catholic such as the poet, Charles Péguy, was a dedicated Dreyfusard and the Pontiff, as Capéran emphasized, remained neutral in the controversy, intellectuals were concerned to portray the Church and its hierarchy on the wrong side of the debate.<sup>63</sup> Rémond suggests that the polemic “enriched” a populist form of anticlericalism while Lalouette argues that anticlerical cartoons in the Third Republic were characterised by fear, repulsion and disgust.<sup>64</sup> The anticlerical visual satire echoed Zola in depicting ideas about clerical conspiracy and sabotage as a way of articulating anxiety about the Catholic revival in a fragile republic.

The Catholic revival, combined with what Birnbaum called “l’appareil clérical” more powerful at that point than it had been in a hundred years, was a prominent theme in the anticlerical illustrations.<sup>65</sup> For Zola, the clerical hierarchies of l’Eglise and their connection to the ‘ancien régime’ were anathema to the Republic. Zola’s view of blind faith is treated harshly in *La Débâcle*: “And so the illusion began again in the crisis atmosphere of a disease at its climax, made up of the lies of some and the starry-eyed faith of others”.<sup>66</sup> Commitment to reason and its links with the Enlightenment and the Revolutionary project were fundamental

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Jewish French’ rather than ‘French Jews’. This difference in self-identity was given by a Jewish French Resistance fighter interviewed in ‘Ils étaient Juifs et Résistants’ on *France 5*, broadcast 10 February 2017.

<sup>60</sup> Junco, José Alvarez, (2015) ‘The Debate Over the Nation’ in Townson, Nigel (ed) *Is Spain Different?*, Brighton, pp. 18-41.

<sup>61</sup> Townson, Nigel (2015) ‘Anticlericalism and Secularisation: A European Exception?’ in Townson, Nigel (ed) *Is Spain Different?*, Brighton, pp. 70- 96. See p. 74 for Townson’s argument on how the Spanish constitutions of 1812, 1837 and 1845 equated ‘Spanishness’ with Catholicism; for the Dreyfus Affair see p. 77.

<sup>62</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 59; Baubérot, Jean and Mathieu, Séverine (2002) *Religion, modernité et culture au Royaume-Uni et en France 1800-1914*, Paris, pp. 262-7.

<sup>63</sup> Capéran, Louis (1948) *L’Anticléricalisme et L’Affaire Dreyfus 1897-1899*, Toulouse, pp. 47-8.

<sup>64</sup> Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme*, pp. 5, 51; Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée en France*, pp. 215-9, 389.

<sup>65</sup> Tr. the clerical apparatus ; Birnbaum, Pierre (1994) *L’Affaire Dreyfus: la République en péril*, Paris, pp. 18-19.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

to Zola and other Dreyfusard intellectuals like Ibels. Alert to the clerical resurgence Birnbaum spoke of and the militant Catholic sentiment put forward by Baubérot, the anticlerical illustrator returned to the iconography of his Revolutionary forebears. Agulhon comprehensively analysed the female allegorical figures in Revolutionary iconography. Agulhon suggested the figures of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Reason and other personifications were borrowed from Roman antiquity for the Revolution, while arguing that the allegorical figure of the Republic was first given value in 1789.<sup>67</sup> Dreyfusard cartoonists promoted charismatic personifications associated with the Revolution to validate their arguments not only about Dreyfus but about the Republic. But while the sword of Justice and the torch of Liberty were similar to the Revolutionary depictions of artists like Proudhon, Dreyfusard representations of Truth and Justice were sometimes voluptuously feminised. As printed erotica abounded in the 1890s a more realistic representation of anatomies was employed to woo masculine readers. While Revolutionary iconography was revisited, the anticlerical artist of the Affair also availed himself of Christian iconography, often represented as corrupted through its juxtaposition with other pejorative biblical imagery. In just such a way, one Dreyfusard cartoon depicted the serpent, the enduring symbol of deceit and betrayal, entwined around the Cross.<sup>68</sup>

Martin Johnson points to real attempts to make the Dreyfus crisis a religious conflict with the anti-Dreyfusard press framing it as an alliance of the heretics of old (Protestants), and the newly powerful Jews, in conflict with Catholic France. Johnson found that at least one newspaper appealed for another St Bartholomew's day.<sup>69</sup> Some scholars saw the debate as between the Church and its supporters and Republicans for whom anticlericalism had itself become like a religion. Gibson argues that the anticlericalism of Republicans was tantamount to a religion, citing the "credo" of reason being intoned by Zola's character Dr Pascal.<sup>70</sup> On the basis of the humour that can be sensed at times in Zola's work and his commitment to naturalism and the principles of science and the enlightenment, this thesis sees the repetition of the phrase "je crois" ('I believe') as less the chanting of a religious mantra and more an ironic parodying in which blind faith is replaced with "la reason" and "la

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<sup>67</sup> Agulhon, *Marianne into battle*, pp. 11-37.

<sup>68</sup> As in Anquetin's 'Drumont et Vacher', *La Feuille*, 3 November 1898.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson, Martin, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 97.

<sup>70</sup> Gibson, Ralph (1991) 'Why Republicans and Catholics Couldn't Stand Each Other in the Nineteenth Century' in Tallett, Frank and Atkin, Nicholas (eds) *Religion, Society and Politics in France since 1789*, London, pp. 108-9.

vérité".<sup>71</sup> It was Zola's mission, this study would argue, to displace or replace the religious with secular Republican values, borne out by his naming his planned tetralogy of *Vérité*, *Fécondité*, *Travail* and *Justice*, 'The Four Gospels'.<sup>72</sup> Zeal, conviction or passion were not necessarily equitable to a quasi-religion. Ibels and Dreyfusard artists also used parody as a hostile device not to ridicule religious devotion as Zola had in *La Débâcle* to describe the ignominy of French defeat at Sedan but to mock the military elite and aggressive clergy who had weighed in on the debate.

## Morality

Ideas about a secular morality, based on reason, that anticlerical Republicans subscribed to and wanted to rear the next generation on featured strongly in their cartoons. Dreyfusards, Rémond argued, saw the French Republic as the defender of civil liberties.<sup>73</sup> In turn, Dreyfusards who founded the Ligue des droits de l'Homme<sup>74</sup> during the anti-Jewish crisis became "les gardiens des valeurs républicaines", as Landau saw it.<sup>75</sup> The Republican and Dreyfusard values that informed the new human rights movement were in competition with a conservative set of moralities, Zeldin suggested. Rémond saw the confrontation as between secular morality and the guiding morality of a revealed truth.<sup>76</sup> This divergence was exposed in what McLeod saw as a middle class split between the Catholic bourgeoisie in the wake of the 'Ralliement' and the Republic-supporting bourgeoisie who became more anticlerical during the century.<sup>77</sup> Rémond critiqued Henri Guillemin's argument that anticlericalism was merely a "distraction" by the bourgeois left to avoid genuine reform.<sup>78</sup> This thesis sees the anticlerical cartoon of leftist intellectuals like Ibels as agitating for real and concrete social change. Included in their objectives was comprehensive socio-political

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<sup>71</sup> Ideas about the meaning of 'truth' and 'justice' permeate *La Débâcle*; Zola, E (1976) *The Debacle*, Aylesbury, pp. 466, 472.

<sup>72</sup> Tr. Truth, Fecundity, Work and Justice. Suleiman, Susan Rubin (1987) 'The Literary Significance of the Dreyfus Affair' in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, p. 117. The titles of Zola's last two novels were *Justice* and *Vérité*, the former unfinished before his premature death from asphyxiation, the latter, published posthumously in 1903, which recounts the Dreyfus case.

<sup>73</sup> Rémond, *Religion and Society*, pp. 129-131, 137-139, 142-143, 147-148, 150-152, 155.

<sup>74</sup> Tr. The Human Rights League.

<sup>75</sup> Tr. from that moment the guardians of republican values; Landau, *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, pp. 111-113.

<sup>76</sup> Rémond, *Religion and Society*, pp. 129-131, 137-139, 142-143, 147-148, 150-152, 155.

<sup>77</sup> McLeod, Hugh (1981) *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1970*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>78</sup> Rémond's critique of Henri Guillemin's *Histoire des Catholiques Français au XIX Siècle*, Rémond, *Religion and Society*, pp. 5-6.

reform, as in the establishment of a nationwide movement to defend the rights of all citizens, which the cartoons demanding justice for Dreyfus embodied.

Since questions about the nature and meaning of truth and justice were at the heart of the anti-Jewish conflict, Rémond analysed Dreyfusard texts by prominent leftist figures such as Jaurès, Béranger, Combes and Zola to interpret the moral, political and social dimensions of anticlericalism in the polemic.<sup>79</sup> Kedward analysed Zola's *Lettre à la France* in order to understand the type of anticlericalism that came into being during the controversy, leading him to conclude that Zola had presented himself as the "conscience of France".<sup>80</sup> This project is using a similar methodology to facilitate understanding of anticlerical ideas of leftist artists and the migration of ideas between sympathetic intellectuals working as activists in different media. The thesis will plough a new furrow in investigating the anticlerical, Republican vision of morality depicted in Ibels' cartoons and his ideas about what Zola had articulated through his doomed hero Maurice, as the clash between those with a "vision" based on reason and "the white heat of reactionary passion".<sup>81</sup>

### 'Laïque' virtues

The campaign to laicise education Baubérot argued included a policy to inculcate in pupils a "synthesized" morality while at the same time reducing religion and its code of morality to an extramural subject. The change, known as Guizot's law, was aimed at preventing the creation of 'enemy nations within the nation', fears later associated with Jews by anti-Dreyfusards.<sup>82</sup> Baubérot identified the key concepts of "dignity" and "solidarity" as being of paramount importance within this constructed morality.<sup>83</sup> Born on 30th November 1867, Ibels would have been among the first generation to have been schooled in the Republican concept of solidarity. Dignity and solidarity are celebrated by Zola in *Lettre à la France*.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, pp. 197-206.

<sup>80</sup> Kedward, H R (1965) *The Dreyfus Affair*, Bungay, p. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 479.

<sup>82</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50: Baubérot suggests the new laic morality was an artificial construct from an assortment of sources as diverse as classical antiquity, the French 'moralistes', the Enlightenment, (neo) Kantism, Auguste Comte, Confucius and the Christian faiths.

<sup>84</sup> Zola appeals for "la tolérance religieuse, la justice égale pour tous, la solidarité fraternelle de tous les citoyens". Tr. religious tolerance, justice for all and brotherly solidarity for all citizens. Zola, Emile (6 January 1898) *Lettre à la France*, Paris (accessed in the digital reprint of Zola, E (1898) *The Dreyfus Case: four letters to France*, London, p. 23.

Ozouf's compilation of testimonials from teachers includes a reproduction of illustrations by Jules Grandjouan promoting secular virtues.<sup>85</sup> Similar anticlerical thinking from Imperial Russia can be seen in Sergei Konstantinovich Isakov's clothboard 'год в сатире и карикатуре' (*God and Satire in Caricature*).<sup>86</sup> Cartoons from both the Isakov collection and Grandjouan's representations of 'Les Vertues Laïques' in the journal, *La Raison*, both rejected the Christian belief of reward in paradise for earthly labours or suffering. This study examines Dreyfusard drawings to determine if ideas connected to 'laïque vertues', and the solidarity and dignity Zola called for to snuff out antisemitism, were taken up by Ibels and his fellow intellectuals.

## Christianism

Another line of inquiry also needs to be pursued. Through her analysis of the priest Pierre Des Pilliers, whose writing she deems as stridently anticlerical as newspapers *L'Anti-Clérical*, *La République anti-cléricale* or *La Semaine anti-clérical*, Lalouette makes the case for anticlerical ideas being compatible with a Christian faith. Alain Schifres also uses excerpts from the satirical newspaper *Le Canard Enchaîné* in the 1940s and 50s to support an argument that its anticlerical voice modified over time. Schifres believes the paper's editorial stance came to encompass a 'christianisme' espousing Christian values of truth and justice while still maintaining its antipathy to the Catholic Church — and, occasionally, Judaism.<sup>87</sup> This thesis examines how elements of Christian faith were retained in anticlerical themes during the anti-Jewish polemic with Kleeblatt calling Ibels' representation of Dreyfus on the Cross an appropriation of Christian iconography.<sup>88</sup> Examination of Ibels' drawings show that while secularist virtues were paramount, Christianity itself was not attacked and some of its teachings, such as the pain and suffering of the righteous, and the recognition of sainthood or martyrdom, were blended with secular appeals. What was new to anticlerical arguments, indeed unprecedented, was these were to be invoked for the first time by artists in the service of a Jew.

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<sup>85</sup> Grandjouan's illustrated laic virtues published in *La Raison*, 1907. Ozouf, Jacques (1967) *Nous les Maitres d'École: Autobiographies d'instituteurs de la Belle Époque*, Paris, p. 129.

<sup>86</sup> Isakov, год в сатире и карикатуре (*God and Satire in Caricature*), Ленинград (Leningrad), p.110; Ozouf, *Nous les Maitres d'École*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>87</sup> Schifres, Alain (1963) 'L'Idéologie du Canard Enchaîné' in Batailler, Francine (ed) *Analyses de Presse*, Paris, pp. 118-21.

<sup>88</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Introduction': for Ibels, pp. 15-16; for other art with crucifixes, pp. 9, 20.

## The clergy, militarism and the intellectuals

Ideas about the clergy and the military, and the much-trumpeted alliance between them were very much to the fore in the Dreyfusard cartoons. The visual satire of the crisis shows a new highly personal targeting of members of the clergy, due partly to the removal of censorship in caricaturing them, but also connected to the tribal culture of attack outlined by Griffiths. What were satirical portraits can also be seen in the context of the cult of personality that Tillier argued was the result of the growing importance of the image as the poet Baudelaire had observed.<sup>89</sup> In his study of the prevailing religious, racial and political tensions, Kedward made a powerful case for Dreyfusard hostility to individual members of the clergy and religious orders. Chapter four breaks new ground in probing these personalized attacks in cartoon by Dreyfusard artists such as Ibels and Pépin. Ideas in art drawing on unrelated contemporary scandals relating to clerical abuse of schoolboys are also examined.

## Jesuits

Kedward analysed the conviction among leading intellectuals that a clerical conspiracy was responsible for Dreyfus' plight. Texts published by Zola and Reinach are scrutinised by Kedward to analyse Dreyfusard ideas.<sup>90</sup> Reinach is seen to blame the Jesuits' Père du Lac and the Company of Jesus for the turmoil. In what can clearly be seen as an inversion of the antisemitic viewpoint in the Affair, Kedward suggests Zola believed clericalism to have infected the Republic and be killing it from within. Baubérot cites Leroy's *Le Mythe jésuite de Béranger à Michelet* which claimed members were "despots...the enemy of social order and morality" to show how rising distrust of the order was fuelling anticlerical feeling.<sup>91</sup> Jules Ferry had dissolved the Company of Jesus by decree in 1880, a year before the introduction of the 'loi scolaire'<sup>92</sup> aimed at regulating education and taking away clerical involvement. Bayet saw it as no coincidence that shortly after the Jesuits were disbanded, a "decisive battle" opened between free thinkers and their adversaries concluding with the Dreyfus controversy.<sup>93</sup> As will be investigated, the idea that the Jesuits were Machiavellian,

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<sup>89</sup> Tillier, Bertrand (1997) *La République: la caricature politique en France, 1870-1914*, Paris, p. 211.

<sup>90</sup> Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 81- 5.

<sup>91</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la laïcité*, pp. 31, 41.

<sup>92</sup> Tr. school law.

<sup>93</sup> Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, p. 104.

were trying to engineer the downfall of the liberal Republic and a threat to secular society was a recurring theme articulated in the drawings of Ibels in *Sébastien Roch* and Pépin for *Le Grelot*.

Anxiety over their belief in Jesuit machinations and involvement in the Dreyfus polemic are seen to have been felt not only by Jewish intellectuals like Reinach but senior politicians such as Ferry's Protestant uncle, Scheurer-Kestner. Lalouette's case study of Scheurer-Kestner reveals his unease that the Jesuits were engaging in anti-Republican activities at all levels of state and society, among families, communes, parishes and departments.<sup>94</sup> It is clear that Scheurer-Kestner also feared the close relationship he believed the Jesuits had within the Army elite. By the time of the polemic, anti-Jesuit sentiment had been circulating for decades, with Baubérot noting illustrated brochures depicted the face and body of members of the order.<sup>95</sup> An anti-Jesuit cartoon by the German artist Wilhelm Busch in 1872, Kunzle suggested depicted the priest's body like a child's spinning top as it is kicked out through the door on the end of a householder's boot. Kunzle's analysis shows the popularity of such ideas that made the Jesuit preacher a target for ridicule went beyond France.<sup>96</sup>

Capéran is a staunch defender of the Jesuits in their alleged conspiracy against Dreyfus.<sup>97</sup> This thesis is less concerned with the veracity of the allegations than in how accusations articulated against Jesuits were deployed in the visual satire of the anti-Jewish affair. This project examines Dreyfusard representations to see what they had to say about the Jesuits and the Jesuit leader Père du Lac, as well as other clerical 'protagonists' identified as deserving targets by intellectuals. Vital contended that the argument had run the other way for centuries with the Jesuits' demonization of Jews. In falsely recounting that Jews habitually indulged in ritual murder, the order's *Civiltà Cattolica* strengthened views of inherent evil, criminality and 'otherness', far removed from normative Christian conduct.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, pp. 33-51.

<sup>95</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup> Kunzle, David (1990) *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley, p. 356.

<sup>97</sup> Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et l'affaire Dreyfus*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>98</sup> Vital, David (2001) *A People Apart: A Political History of the Jews in Europe 1789-1939*, Oxford p. 538.

## The representation of the clergy

Other religious movements also contributed to antisemitic discourse. Derfler and Brennan analysed the writings of the Assumptionist order, its newspaper *La Croix* and articles by its editor, Père Vincent de Paul Bailly.<sup>99</sup> In his monograph on *La Croix*, which had regional editions across France, Sorlin argued the paper nurtured a foul image of Jews that was self-perpetuating.<sup>100</sup> Pierrard investigated Père Bailly's inflammatory statements ranging from claims that Christian shoppers were selfless in considering the salesman but the Jew cared only for himself, to the priest's reference to deicide when commenting on Russian pogroms.<sup>101</sup> Anticlerical ripostes to this relentless invective will be explored by examining facial expression, stance and associated weaponry. As will be seen, Ibels depicted or signified the clergy with daggers, the sword and the garrotte.

Lalouette's anthology of the 'libre penseuse du clergé' supports her argument of an anticlerical obsession in the Third Republic with priests' bodies, chastity, brutality and greed as well as animalisation and hate.<sup>102</sup> The 'priest's body' as a visual device is examined in chapter four. Goldstein suggested the removal of censorship of caricature prompted a flood of uncensored attacks on the way members of the clergy were represented but allowed new themes to be tackled.<sup>103</sup> New technology contributed. According to Feaver, the way ideas were represented by caricaturists at the end of the century related to the advantage left them once photography became reproducible. cartoons had the capacity to bend reality, to invent character and incident.<sup>104</sup> Yet the public was becoming more accustomed to and expectant of seeing verisimilitude with the Lumière Brothers' first motion picture screened in Paris six months after Dreyfus' arrest. Tillier points to a more scientific understanding of the body.<sup>105</sup> Anticlerical artists represented priests who looked like the men they were, replacing the crow-like, more benign, flat caricatures of the 1789 Revolution. Ibels

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<sup>99</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 23; Brennan called *La Croix* a "strident anti-Semitic paper"; Brennan, James F (1998) *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair in the European Press 1897-1899*, New York, pp. 21, 59 and p.100.

<sup>100</sup> Marrus, Michael (1987) 'Popular Antisemitism' in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, p.59. Sorlin, Pierre (1967) "*La Croix*" et les Juifs (1880-1899); contribution à l'histoire de l'antisémitisme contemporain, Paris, p. 183.

<sup>101</sup> "Nous ne demandons pas qu'on massacre le peuple déicide". Tr. We do not ask for a massacre of the deicide people. Pierrard, Pierre (1998) *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*, Paris, p. 49.

<sup>102</sup> Anthropologie libre penseuse du clergé. Tr. free thought anthropology of the clergy. Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée*, pp. 219-254.

<sup>103</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, p. 11.

<sup>104</sup> Feaver, William (1981) *Masters of Caricature*, New York, p. 95.

<sup>105</sup> Tillier, *La République*, pp. 68-71.

occasionally used the recognisable iconography of the crow to evoke the memory of the anticlerical dissent from that revolutionary past.

In investigating the anticlerical ideas in anti-Jewish affairs, there is merit in identifying which anticlerical ideas aired in earlier cartoons were not articulated. In the Third Republic's patriarchal society all priests were men. Zeldin called for more scholarship around caricatures of the confessional, an area previously targeted by visual satirists who used innuendo to suggest priests insinuating themselves between husband and wife and into the confidences of women.<sup>106</sup> As examined in chapter four, Pépin did attack liturgical practice to the extent of mocking the confessional in a highly politicised setting in his cartoon 'E Amen de Conscience'.<sup>107</sup> Ibels did not satirise the confessional possibly for fear of reaffirming the nature of the confessional as a sanctuary for women or in directly attacking the practice or rites of the Catholic religion since in *Allons-Y!* he called all faiths "respectable".<sup>108</sup> Concepts had to unify and appeal to all the supporters. Kedward and Capéran counted among Dreyfusards, including liberal Catholics such as the jurist, Léon Chaine, and poet Charles Péguy.<sup>109</sup> The centre of gravity of the anticlerical argument of the Dreyfusard, which revolved around the need for secular truth and justice in a strong Republic, lay elsewhere. Consequently, religious iconography tended to be used by Ibels in extremis.

Johnson found that a tactic used in anticlerical text was 'intertextuality', a self-referencing shortcut to the main issues providing greater traction. This allowed intellectuals to link their arguments with past triumphs and affairs of conscience championed by the great luminaries, such as Voltaire's pursuit of justice for Jean Calas. Zola likened the struggle to free Dreyfus to the storming of the Bastille in 1789.<sup>110</sup> Chapter three and four consider whether ideas in the Dreyfusard canon drew on such cultural references. If influences were projected vertically over time, Brennan's survey of European press coverage demonstrated a horizontal leverage in the crisis. Intellectuals participated in this organic process. The cartoons and captions they produced were catalysts in a wider chain reaction, part of a

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<sup>106</sup> Zeldin, *Conflicts*, p. 49.

<sup>107</sup> Tr. (Latin) Truly out of Conscience. Grand-Carteret, *L'Affaire Dreyfus et l'Image*, p. 112.

<sup>108</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 44.

<sup>109</sup> Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 75; Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 72.

<sup>110</sup> Voltaire used his *Treatise on Tolerance on the Occasion of the Death of Jean Calas from the Judgment Rendered in Toulouse*, published in Geneva, 1763, to criticise the Church and Jesuits; Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 13.

mass press which enabled the exchange of ideas across distance, between friends, allies and rivals. This linkage is investigated in the articulation of anticlerical ideas and the representation of the Jew.

## Antimilitarism

Eleanor Beardsley put the case that *Le Canard Enchaîné*, founded in 1915 during the Great War, was “to push back against two imposing forces in France — the military and the church, at a time when “the military was running the war and the clerical world was ruling consciences.”<sup>111</sup> A generation before, fin-de-siècle Dreyfusard artists saw the Catholic Church as aligned with the military, emboldened by that alliance, and prepared to use force to gain its objectives. Doizy and Laloux have investigated the perception of collusion between the Church and military throughout the nineteenth century and produced a chronological compilation of anticlerical visual satire. They include a French cartoon entitled ‘Sabre et Goupillon’, a derisory nomenclature denoting Church and Army that Ibels used in his journal *Le Sifflet* and album *Allons-Y!*, that he dedicated to Zola.<sup>112</sup> Capéran, who saw Dreyfusard anticlericalism as opposing clericalism aligned with militarism, investigated this notion of the ‘Sabre et Goupillon’ and how the belief in a military alliance coloured the way actions of the Pope and Church were interpreted by anticlericals.<sup>113</sup> Kaplan believes Ibels’ view of the clergy and military was that they were indistinguishable, based on the word-play in his cartoons, where the names of real-life priests and military men were swapped and spliced in puns.<sup>114</sup> There was a preference, indeed an enthusiasm, in anticlerical Dreyfusard cartoon, to use interchangeable iconography, as seen in Keronan’s art, that put a halo over the head of the military man and a sword into the hand of the priest.<sup>115</sup> This kind of irreverence showed a new boldness. It was in stark contrast to an official document in 1879 Goldstein identified offering censorship guidance that held satire could be allowed “only with the greatest circumspection concerning...the army, religion or

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<sup>111</sup> Beardsley, Eleanor quoting Jean-Marc Illouz’. <http://wvtf.org/post/100-french-newspaper-thrives-without-ads-or-website#stream/0> (last accessed 4 Feb 2022).

<sup>112</sup> Tr. Sword and Cassock (slang); Doizy, Guillaume and Laloux, Jean-Bernard (2005) *À Bas La Calotte!*, Paris, p. 77.

<sup>113</sup> Capéran, *L’Anticléricalisme et l’Affaire Dreyfus*. For “Le Sabre et Le Goupillon”, pp. 85-94. For Pope and clergy, pp. 236-276.

<sup>114</sup> Kaplan, ‘Henri-Gabriel Ibels’, p. 208.

<sup>115</sup> Kleeblatt, Norman (1987) ‘Plates’ in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, p 196.

the clergy”.<sup>116</sup> Before 1881, satire depicting the clergy, religion, the army and society’s mores was considered the sharpest threat, second only to visual attacks on the head of state.<sup>117</sup> McManners reminds us that the Restoration took sweeping aim at irreligious ideas and the 1822 Press Laws provided legislation that any newspaper which attacked religion could be suppressed.<sup>118</sup>

Chapter four examines Ibels’ cartoons and illustrations from *Le Sifflet* and posters and a Pépin cartoon from *Le Grelot* to see how they pushed boundaries in their depiction of Church and military. As part of this, chapter four is the first to investigate the contested themes of ‘le progrès’<sup>119</sup> and ‘honneur et patrie’.<sup>120</sup> This study will apply the tripartite methodology to explore the design, composition, theme, content, figuration and visual narrative in the satirical images of military men and priests. Iconography and visual ploys such as metonymy, punning and the use of allegory will also be identified and the reasons for its use discussed. Other factors contributing to the expression of ideas such as the prominence of an image in the publication, in what today would be called a ‘front page splash’, are considered. Associated text including title, legend or caption, speech attributed to figuration or other commentary within the body of the image are examined. This will allow the amalgam of anticlerical ideas and their purpose to be unpicked.

#### Militarism, clericalism and antisemitism

The inter-connection between antisemitism and the military and between antisemitism and the clerico-military alliance is an important dimension of the Dreyfusard cartoon and focus of this work. Rémond is a powerful advocate of the alignment of militarism, clericalism and antisemitism during the polemic.<sup>121</sup> Townson saw the dispute as interpreted by its protagonists as an alliance of Catholics and monarchists, who condemned Dreyfus to uphold the honour of the army, while republicans attacked Catholics, monarchists and the military for their conservatism and antisemitism’.<sup>122</sup> Derfler suggested the Affair was the product of a confrontation between social, cultural and economic forces; within that matrix

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<sup>116</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, p. 11.

<sup>117</sup> Goldstein, ‘French Political Censorship’, p. 30; Goldstein, *Censorship*, pp. 11, 205.

<sup>118</sup> McManners, John (1972) *Church and State in France 1870-1914*, London, xii.

<sup>119</sup> Tr. Progress.

<sup>120</sup> Tr: Honour and country.

<sup>121</sup> Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>122</sup> Townson, ‘Anticlericalism and Secularisation: A European Exception?’, p. 77.

she saw the nation, God, army and honour on one side —and the other venerating notions of justice and freedom that are seen to transcend them.<sup>123</sup> Baubérot's work demonstrated the parallel arguments that Jews and Jesuits were both being identified by their opponents as a threat to the social order.<sup>124</sup> This nexus between antisemitism, clericalism and the military was a cornerstone of anticlerical outrage in cartoons and Ibels' articulation of this confluence is investigated in the images of *Allons-Y!* including 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!', '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre'?...'Une mesure RADICALE' and ' Le Coup du Père François', 'Après' ('La Droit prime la Force') and 'Allons-y'.<sup>125</sup> Contrasting ideas over time about the clerical threat to the Republic have been studied.

As part of his investigation of secularising societies, Bruce cited Bryan Wilson's reading of Durkheim that a society without a shared value system internalized consciences and would therefore have to rely on "external coercion" to maintain order.<sup>126</sup> Casanova's model allows for a national Church and public religion to be used in support of the 'common good'.<sup>127</sup> One argument that emerged in the anticlerical cartoon was a rejection of the anti-Dreyfusard position that, guilty or innocent, Dreyfus should be sacrificed for the 'common good', to maintain order and avoid damaging the military's reputation or France's honour. Like Zola, Dreyfusard artists rejected this cluster of ideas, maintaining that the rights of an individual in civil society could not be subsumed into the higher needs of an elite group. It was critical that this argument was articulated by the anticlerical cartoon in order to attract potential supporters with socialist convictions, as Ibels and Zola themselves had. This thesis argues that Ibels represented the military in a nuanced way to target the elite General Staff while still honouring the Republican foot soldier. This would be attractive to the socialist and served to avoid alienating readers who had pride in the French army but could be persuaded to take a hostile stance against its leadership.

The protests of anticlerical artists against perceptions of a clerico-military alliance were not unique to cases targeting Jews. Visual satire was seen as a potent weapon against vaulting militarism. McGlade considered antimilitary cartoons in Spain, which like pre-Dreyfusard

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<sup>123</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 63.

<sup>124</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 31.

<sup>125</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, pp. 5; 57; 99; 43; 87; 29.

<sup>126</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 59.

<sup>127</sup> Casanova argues that one form of de-privatisation of religion is concerned with maintaining the 'common good' against individualist modern liberal theories, which, he contends, reduces the 'common good' to the sum of all individual choices; Casanova, *Public Religions*, p. 229.

France, lost territory and prestige in 1898.<sup>128</sup> King and Porter suggested that anti-establishment cartoons in the 1905 Russian Revolution framed fears by those who had rebelled that they had been betrayed by a clerico-military alliance.<sup>129</sup> Isakov's *God and Caricature* compilation is suggestive of the perception of such alliances on the eve of the Beilis controversy, the difference being government officials were characterised as allied to paramilitary groups.<sup>130</sup> However, Allen's examination of anti-Catholic cartoons in Wilhelmine Germany show anticlericals' perception of a link between clericalism and militarism was dependant on discrete socio-political contexts. The cartoons Allen examined were published following Kulturkampf's failure to force the Catholic Church to withdraw from education and berated members of the clergy for their exemption from military service.<sup>131</sup> In spite of, or perhaps because of that country's military culture and the high regard for its long-standing army elite, rather than suggesting a partnership, satirical artists underscored the disconnect between the two.

The historiography of the mass and satirical press has contributed to this investigation. Lucie-Smith analysed anticlerical caricature from pre-modern artists who depicted gruesome cameos of the Pope and Martin Luther being carried off to hell. Lucie-Smith reasoned the power of these images resided in their reversal of expectation, which he suggested is the humourist's main weapon.<sup>132</sup> John Naughton pointed out that Gutenberg enabled anticlerical dissent in Lutherism from the onset with the arts of the journalist and the cartoonist.<sup>133</sup> That cycle was repeated with the rise of what Mosse called the political press.<sup>134</sup> Kunzle noted the "critical freedom" in the power of the nineteenth century illustrative press.<sup>135</sup> Tillier saw caricature as a political medium intrinsic to the Third Republic in which the artist "protesta, pétionna, polémiqua, proclama son opinion ... ou des

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<sup>128</sup> "Fets de Cu-Cut!" incident, which followed the collapse of the Spanish Empire and the Spanish-American War of 1898; McGlade, R (2016) *Catalan Cartoons: A Cultural and Political History*, Cardiff; McGlade, R (2015) 'The "Fets de Cu-Cut!" Cartooning Controversy in Catalonia', *Romance Quarterly*, 62:4, 199-211, DOI: 10.1080/08831157.2015.1068633. (last accessed 17 February 2016).

<sup>129</sup> King, David and Porter, Cathy (1983) *Blood and Laughter*, London, pp. 36-8.

<sup>130</sup> Isakov, Sergei Konstantinovich (1928) год в сатире и карикатуре (*God and Satire in Caricature*), pp. 74, 217; for the use of biblical imagery in a highly politicised, secularised context see the devil standing on top of a mountain of skulls to which the Tsar holds court or a demon violating a naked woman on p. 266.

<sup>131</sup> Allen, Ann Taylor (1984) *Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany: Kladderadatsch and Simplicissimus 1890-1914*, Lexington, pp. 23-25.

<sup>132</sup> Lucie-Smith, Edward (1981) *The Art of Caricature*, London, pp. 34-5.

<sup>133</sup> Naughton, John (2012) *From Gutenberg to Zuckerberg*, London, pp.17-8.

<sup>134</sup> Mosse, W E (1974) *Liberal Europe*, London, p 89.

<sup>135</sup> Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip*, p. 28.

revendications collectives ....".<sup>136</sup> For Ibels, his journal *Le Sifflet* was just such a forum in which to protest, petition, debate and proclaim dissent and the collective demands of the intellectuals.

The issues arising from the Dreyfus crisis touched all kinds of publics and the presses serving them. This included the working class press and leftist political sectors. In this newly-fluid medium different leftist campaigners can be seen to have made common cause as Joskowitz argued.<sup>137</sup> The anarchist and journalist Jean Grave, who published articles in *Les Temps Nouveaux* in the early 1890s, wrote in the same paper about antisemitism and persecution the year after Dreyfus' arrest.<sup>138</sup> Martin Johnson argues that vested interest groups worked with the press in a reciprocal fashion with the press using rumour, distortion and speculation, interested parties leaking information or seeding stories.<sup>139</sup> Perl suggested that *Le Siècle* under Dreyfusard editor and former minister, Yves Guyot, became a quasi-organ of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme of which Guyot, like Ibels, was a member.

Professional relationships could break down. Zola self-published in pamphlet form after *Le Figaro* refused to continue hosting him after losing subscriptions. This incident shows the power of the public consuming the mediatised Affair. It was not an entirely one-way transaction. Instead, there was some measure of interactivity in which subscribers had power over content and political messaging, including of veto. Newspapers played a decisive role in recruiting those who would disseminate ideas in art. Zola lost the high-profile showcase of France's oldest daily but gained the platform of the liberal *L'Aurore*'s front page. Just over a month later and less nine days before Zola's trial for libel began, Ibels launched *Le Sifflet* to support the author's position. The new illustrated weekly was lauded in another liberal newspaper *Le Rappel*, an organ launched at the behest of Victor Hugo, in which Hugo had himself protested the Russian pogroms. This work examines how Ibels shared ideas with Zola and published them in his satirical strike against their common adversary.

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<sup>136</sup> Tr. Protested, petitioned, disputed...proclaimed their opinion or made collective claims Tillier, *La République*, p. 18.

<sup>137</sup> Ari Joskowitz (Spring/Summer 2011) 'Jewish Anticlericalism and the Making of Modern Jewish Politics in Late Enlightenment Prussia and France' in *Jewish Social Studies*, Volume 17, Number 3, p. 42.

<sup>138</sup> Grave, Jean 'L'Effet des Persécution', *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 4 May 1895, Paris, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup> Johnson, Martin, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 43-5, 54-5, 62-4, 118, 121-2. For 'new' St Bartholomew Day, pp. 97, 124.

Vidal-Naquet assessed how different publications covered critical developments and moved the narrative along, in some cases contributing to it. Vidal-Naquet examined coverage of the possibility of a pardon for Dreyfus in September 1899 noting how a caricature rather than written comment could be used as the chosen format.<sup>140</sup> Where the Dreyfusard *Le Siècle* suggested the pardon as one option on the 11<sup>th</sup> of that month, *Le Temps* made the pardon its own suggestion in its issue published that day then appearing the next day on the 12<sup>th</sup> in the form of caricature. Brennan also examined reporting at critical moments in France and elsewhere in Europe, such as coverage of the ‘Faux Henry’ evidence and the Rennes retrial.<sup>141</sup> This methodology of analysing the printed medium in relation to critical junctures in the polemical narrative is adopted to examine Ibels’ ideas. These include the publication of Zola’s ‘J’Accuse...!’ in *L’Aurore*, protests by the Ouvriers Juifs Socialistes de Paris, and the founding of the Ligue des Droits de l’Homme on 20 February 1898 in Rennes.<sup>142</sup> This latter was just six days before Zola’s trial opened at which point the need to rebuff derogatory images, this time of Zola, in the ongoing media-war, became necessary.<sup>143</sup>

Kedwood looked at how anticlerical ideas from opposing publications during the Dreyfus crisis could be synthesised and Vidal-Naquet adroitly argued mimicry was an agent in the Affair’s evolution.<sup>144</sup> This piggybacking and one-upmanship, that included the sharing and aping of metaphors and metonyms, was so marked in the Dreyfus dispute that it would be correct to say that reactionary artists contributed to the ideas of the anticlerical artist during the controversy. This project examines cartoons by leading anti-Dreyfusard artists including Forain, Caran d’Ache, Willette, Gyp, Clérac and Courtet to see what they contributed to the wellspring of ideas. In some cases, the ideas fed directly into the subsequent rival edition. A further contention of this thesis is that the anti-Jewish debate triggered a new development in reactionary artists adopting the same satirical *modus operandi* to defend the Church as had been used to attack it prior to the polemic. Goldstein cites *L’Eclipse*’s declaration that “one could, one day, write an exact history of the liberty which we enjoy during this era by writing a history of our caricatures”.<sup>145</sup> *Le Rappel* certainly thought Ibels’ new periodical

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<sup>140</sup> Vidal-Naquet, Pierre (1995) *The Jews (Les Juifs, la memoire et le present)*, Chichester, pp. 86, 89-96, 108.

<sup>141</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 19-120.

<sup>142</sup> Tr. Jewish Socialist Workers of Paris.

<sup>143</sup> For a contemporary press report largely hostile to Zola at his trial: <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/26th-february-1898/5/the-zola-trial> (last accessed 5 March 2017).

<sup>144</sup> Vidal-Naquet, *The Jews (Les Juifs, la memoire et le present)*, p.108.

<sup>145</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, vii.

exemplified this with a lead article commenting: “il faut regarder et garder la collection du *Sifflet*. Elle témoignera plus tard que dans le moment où tout le monde perdait la tête, quelques braves gens ont conservé du cœur pour cingler de ‘patte’ de maître la coalition louche de la haute armée et du haut clergé, ces éternels adversaires de la liberté humaine”.<sup>146</sup>

In the competitive arena of public opinion with its splintering identities, the call to duty or appeal to faith were not enough to maximise audiences. Reflecting the unease of the times, Lalouette and Goldstein found that evoking a sense of danger and fear was more prevalent in late nineteenth century French caricature than earlier in the century.<sup>147</sup> Tillier and Dixmier endorsed this notion of the unsafe nature of visual satire.<sup>148</sup> Arguing that caricatures were feared more than words, Goldstein says it was this power to stir the illiterate “dark masses” capable of being mobilised by images that the authorities feared most of all.<sup>149</sup> This links to Rémond’s argument that anticlerical artists increasingly tried to harness this energy in populist appeals to emote a mass audience. The scope of this project is not to authenticate fears or determine the extent to which they were well-founded but to examine anticlerical themes and how they articulated or stoked anxieties.

### Illustrative propaganda

Zeldin has claimed that it is unlikely that the spread of anticlerical ideas can be explained solely in terms of a triumph of modernity over obscurantism, suggesting the role of propaganda should be reconsidered.<sup>150</sup> Lippmann defined propaganda as “[a] group of men...[who] arrange the news... to suit their purpose”.<sup>151</sup> Tillier conceives of the polemic as fought by those with private passions serving partisan propaganda.<sup>152</sup> Tillier follows

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<sup>146</sup> Tr. The collection of *Le Sifflet* must be looked at and retained. It will bear witness more later than in the moment when the whole world lost its head [and] some brave people retained the heart to whip in a masterful fashion the shady coalition of high army and high clergy, these eternal adversaries of human liberty; Marsolleau, Louis, *Le Rappel*, 1 April 1898, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, vii; Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, p. 389.

<sup>148</sup> Tillier, Bertrand (2005) *A la Charge! La Caricature en France de 1789 à 2000*, Paris; Dixmier, Michel (2007) *Quand Le Crayon Attaque: Images satiriques et opinion publique en France, 1814-1918*, Betton; Goldstein, ‘French Political Censorship’, p. 389.

<sup>149</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, pp. 29, 33.

<sup>150</sup> Zeldin, *Conflicts in French Society*, p. 231.

<sup>151</sup> Lippmann (2010), *Public Opinion*, Cambridge, p. 26.

<sup>152</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l’Affaire*, pp. 175-94.

Birnbaum in the notion that rival propaganda has been unleashed by the Affair.<sup>153</sup> For Tillier, a Dreyfusard artist brought individual talents to the collective claims of the “régime des ‘intellectuels’”, putting a personal stamp on a communal set of ideas in which influencing public opinion was paramount.<sup>154</sup> Perl probed caricature as a vector for public opinion, quantifying coverage of events such as Zola’s trial and Henry’s suicide in different satirical journals and noting that propagandist images ran the gamut of journals, posters, cards and albums. The anticlerical illustration’s function as an item of propaganda can be understood from this diverse media. Birnbaum’s list of archives is suggestive of the extent to which this was so. Caricatures appeared in the press, on postcards, posters and decorative objects such as those at the ‘Musée des Horreurs’ in Paris.<sup>155</sup> Kleeblatt highlighted the role of the vending kiosk plastered with posters, and the use of broadsides. Kunzle’s monograph on the cartoon-strip called attention to cartoons from first publications being reprinted, as with Ibels’ reprise of images for *Le Sifflet* in a compendium, *Allons-Y!*<sup>156</sup>

## Profanity

Goldstein’s examination of instructions in a dispatch from the Censorship Bureau to the Ministry of Interior has illuminated attitudes in the Third Republic on profanity, suggesting religion itself, or the “grand scheme,” was considered sacrosanct.<sup>157</sup> This may have been part of the reason why Dreyfusard visual satire did not target faith itself. Such reluctance or nervousness was not evident in Yiddish satirical journals that touched on anticlerical themes during the Beilis case in late Imperial Russia while non-Yiddish journals had tauntingly irreligious names like *AntiChrist* or *Lucifer*. Portnoy suggested that Yiddish satirical journals sent up religion while trying to universalise issues of concern to Jews.<sup>158</sup> This approach was abundantly clear from a cartoon of Beilis in the one-time Yiddish journal, *Latkes*, seen below (fig. 1), which was prepared to poke fun at religious belief and practice while making a point about the business interests of the press.

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>155</sup> Birnbaum, *L’Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 48.

<sup>156</sup> Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip*, p. 11.

<sup>157</sup> Goldstein, ‘French Political Censorship’, p. 30; Goldstein, *Censorship*, p. 231.

<sup>158</sup> Portnoy, Edward (1 Jan 2013) ‘Mocking the Masters and Creating a Nation: The Yiddish Satirical Press in Late Imperial Russia’, *Experiment*, Volume 19 (1) p, 134.



Fig. 1 Shmuel Yatskan, editor of *Haynt* bows down before a bespectacled bust of Mendel Beilis, *Latkes*, December 1914.

Editor of the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Haynt*, Shmuel Yatskan, kneels down and prays before a bust of Mendel Beilis (whose autobiography the paper was serializing at the time) that Beilis' story will raise the paper's circulation and save it from its competitors. The cartoon appeared in *Latkes* in December 1914. Feaver has argued that the rapid turn-around of the modern press required a nifty "resolution" which the cartoonist responded to by delivering a "bundling of personalities, predicament, joke and moral into a single drawing ready to meet the deadline".<sup>159</sup> Here was the modern political cartoon Feaver spoke of with tightly coordinated personalities, predicament, joke and, in this case, questionable moral, condensed into a single irreverent drawing.<sup>160</sup> Since Beilis, and possibly Yatskan, would have been known from photographs, recognisable faces were represented, which included giving the 'idol' spectacles, to form part of the 'joke'. There is no obvious rage or higher purpose. Instead, the image takes a playful dig at a rival publication, while speaking for an aggressively secularising world in which religion and orthodox Judaism can be rejected with

<sup>159</sup> Feaver, *Masters of Caricature*, p. 95.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

equanimity. With the trial over, there is no mention of it or Beilis' innocence in the image. The tenuous position of Jews in Holy Russia was such that, rather than trumpet that outcome, a quieter and more oblique vindication, in which the Jewish community wryly mocked itself, is seen as the sensible option even in its own satirical press.

To more traditional Jews, in Imperial Russia or France, such an image risked causing offense. But liberal-minded Jews like *Latkes'* editor had more in common with the intellectuals Datta suggested worked at *La Revue Blanche* in Paris. It is no surprise that the cartoon contains no religious iconography, only the clasped hands and bent knee of Yatskan. To an extent, the theme and visual narrative resembles the hostile representations of Jews in the Dreyfus debate which Marrus suggested associated Jews with the idolatry of money.<sup>161</sup> The *Latkes'* cartoon contains little or none of the high moral-value of Ibels' representations of Dreyfus. However, in one respect, there is a marked affinity between Ibels' treatment of Dreyfus and the *Latkes'* image that links to Portnoy's argument about mocking religion. Ibels' crucifixion of Dreyfus and *Latkes'* Beilis idol have both afforded religion the same extreme lack of respect. They have traded Christ or God for their respective Jewish hero, who is transplanted into the holiest of positions, on high.

Portnoy argued that Jews were happy to express such ideas about themselves among themselves.<sup>162</sup> It was only after the law separating church and state had been enacted in France, that Ibels seems to have more completely lost his reservations about antagonising Catholic opinion by debasing the sacred head-on. A reader of *Sébastien Roch*, deemed receptive enough to support or, at least, tolerate such an opinion, would have turned to page 209 in the 1906 edition and found a bawdy trinity, comprising a bare-bosomed Virgin and naked male adorned only with halo and phallic bow for the fiddle he was playing. As this author argued previously, cartoon had the dexterity and licence to say what text dares not.<sup>163</sup> Anticlerical polemical satire had a much earlier precedent of expressing crudities outside the margins of medieval manuscripts. The 'irreverence' of the lewd 'gryllos', juxtaposed with the sacred. The satirical periodical *Le Grelot* began life at the same time as

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<sup>161</sup> Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p. 56.

<sup>162</sup> Portnoy, 'Mocking the Masters and Creating a Nation', p. 136.

<sup>163</sup> Moss, Allis (2015) 'Cartoons in Atrocity Propaganda: the case of Edith Cavell'. Dissertation, Postgraduate Certificate in Historical Studies, University of Oxford, p. 57.

the Third Republic, identified itself by name with these older protests and was antimilitary and anti-Church during the polemic while Pépin was its caricaturist.

## Light and dark

The use of light and dark or representations of dawn, daylight, clarity and shade, darkness or obscurity was a highly versatile idea in Dreyfusard anticlerical art. Light being extinguished has been shown by Goldstein to have been employed by caricaturists protesting at the stifling of enlightenment.<sup>164</sup> Kleeblatt's analysis of artwork, including a Eugène Carrière poster for *La Lanterne*, concluded that light and darkness signified the banishing of an "archaic obscurantism by enlightened intellectualism".<sup>165</sup> This can be seen to be aligned to Zola's work, punctuated with references to clarity, vision, obscurity, 'blindness' and 'blind faith', as the narrator of *La Débâcle* observes pointing to "the lies of some and the starry-eyed faith of others".<sup>166</sup> This thesis tests the work of Ibels and rival artists for use of light and dark in both shading and the visual narrative, to analyse their significance.

## Emile Zola

Zola's life, work and singular involvement in the Dreyfus debate has been examined by Hemmings and Frederick Brown;<sup>167</sup> Zola's novels in particular have been the focus of attention in Angus Wilson's study.<sup>168</sup> Cécile Delhorbe, whose father was Zola's contemporary and reported on the polemic for a newspaper in Geneva, scrutinised the influence of the controversy on Zola's novels and the work of other writers, notably Anatole France, Péguy, Barrès and Proust.<sup>169</sup> Zola's acute visual awareness and notable use of visual imagery has been analysed by Berg.<sup>170</sup> This study is contributing new thinking about Zola and his influence through an examination of anticlerical and antimilitary ideas in Ibels' work to establish if a flow of ideas can be seen between Ibels and Zola.

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<sup>164</sup> Charles Gilbert-Martin's caricature in *Don Quichotte* on 19 June 1875 of a candle being snuffed out protested the banning of his drawings. See Goldstein, *Censorship*, pp. 215-7.

<sup>165</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Introduction', p. 4.

<sup>166</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 473.

<sup>167</sup> Hemmings, F W (1977) *The Life and Times of Emile Zola*, London; Brown, *For the Soul of France*.

<sup>168</sup> Wilson, Angus (1952) *Emile Zola: An Introductory Study of his Novels*, London.

<sup>169</sup> Delhorbe, Cécile (1932) *L'Affaire Dreyfus et les Ecrivains Français*, Neuchâtel. For Zola see pp 45-80.

<sup>170</sup> Berg, William J (1992) *The Visual Novel; Emile Zola and the Art of His Times*, Pennsylvania State University.

It is important at this point to consider the position of Emile Zola and his pivotal role in leading the intellectual charge on clericalism. Zola was almost sixty and recognised as France's leading man of letters when he became directly involved in the Dreyfus controversy, taking on, as Hemmings saw it, militarism, bigotry and obscurantism. Hemmings argued that Zola had attacked authoritarianism, religious intolerance and racial prejudice all his life. For Hemmings, Zola was the rightful heir of the eighteenth century 'encyclopédistes' in their struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, taking up a revolution, in which only the "slogans" were different: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity had morphed into Truth and Justice.<sup>171</sup> This investigation is examining visual representations of and about truth and justice. Zola was convicted of libel after his open letter, 'J'Accuse...!', published in *L'Aurore* on 13 January 1898, accused the head of state, the executive and military leadership of a conspiracy to pervert justice. This work examines how Ibels adapted Zola's "slogans" for cartoon. Capéran's assertion that Ibels' journal *Le Sifflet* was also pursued for libel from its first edition is significant.<sup>172</sup> After Zola's flight to England and during his more than ten-month period of self-imposed exile there, Ibels would have created cartoons in *Le Sifflet* that deputised for Zola when he was physically absent from the 'field of battle'. Ibels' cartoon 'Dans le Maquis', which mounts a defence of Zola's actions at this point, is scrutinised in chapter three.

In *La Débâcle*, the penultimate novel in Zola's Les Rougon-Macquart series, published two years before Dreyfus' arrest and six years before 'J'Accuse...!' caused uproar, there are numerous indications presaging the author's future role as the most renowned of Dreyfus' champions. The reader encounters repeated criticism of the military leadership for its ineptness and for failing France, like a refrain running through the narrative. In *La Débâcle* the chief of staff is not merely incompetent but a "traitor" to the nation embodied by the Republic.<sup>173</sup> In an example of 'art imitating life imitating art imitating life' one Dreyfusard cartoon featured on the front cover of a journal showed piles of copies of *La Débâcle* piled up as a bulwark against the military behind which Zola can be seen gesturing in the act of

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<sup>171</sup> Hemmings, *The Life and Times of Emile Zola*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>172</sup> Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 101.

<sup>173</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 401.

his denunciation in 'J'Accuse...!'.<sup>174</sup> It is this kind of dovetailing of anticlerical, antimilitary, republican ideas that Zola's texts and Dreyfusard cartoons can be seen to engage in.

A shared idea of the 'crucifixion of the Jew'

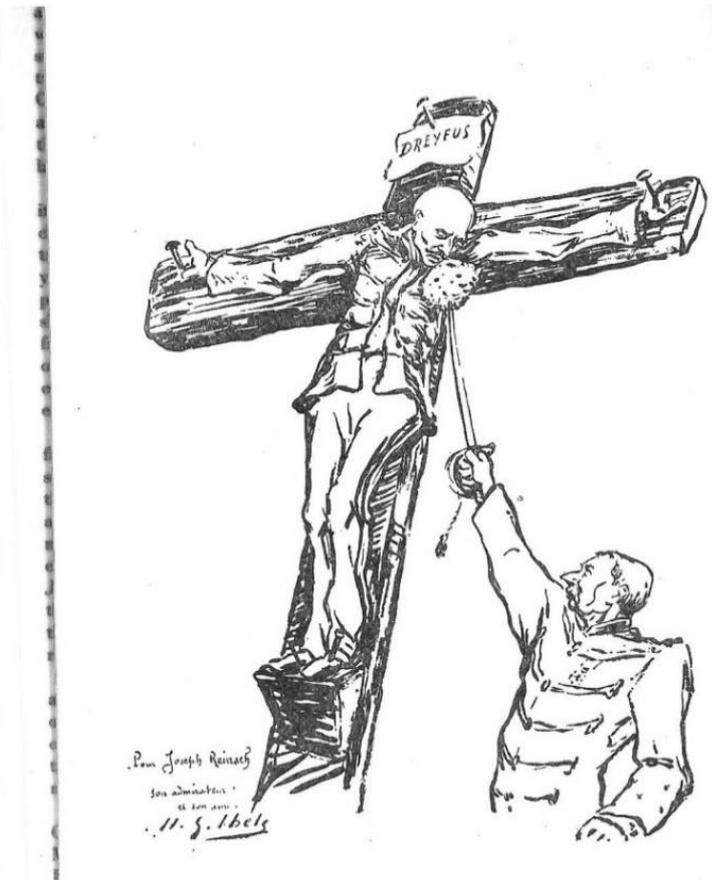


Fig. 2 'Le coup de l'éponge', Ibels – drawing dedicated to Joseph Reinach, 1899

The use of ideas to create images that could be construed as blasphemous was to a large degree avoided by anticlerical artists in anti-Jewish affairs but was embraced by Dreyfusards at moments of heightened tension. In the above drawing for ally Joseph Reinach, Dreyfus' plight and Jewishness are aligned with Christ's own torment and victimhood. The handwritten dedication in the bottom left-hand corner for the Jewish journalist Reinach, reads: "Pour Joseph Reinach son admirateur et son ami H.G Ibels".<sup>175</sup> It was a singular concept which Ibels would deploy more than once for those moving in the same intellectual and cultural circles as himself. Arthur Byl was a case in point: an antimilitarist pamphleteer, Byl co-presented a pantomime for the mime artist and singer

<sup>174</sup> Abel Truchet's illustration for *Les Quat'z'Arts*; Cate, Phillip Dennis (1987) *The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair* in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art Truth and Justice*, London, p. 88.

<sup>175</sup> Tr. For Joseph Reinach his admirer and his friend - H G Ibels.

Mevisto with Louis Marsolleau, who had supported *Le Sifflet's* stance in *Le Rappel*.<sup>176</sup> Moreover Ibels painted the promotional poster for Mevisto. The message of 'Le coup de l'éponge' was rolled out to a wider support base in the anticlerical newspaper, *Le Siècle*, to express collective outrage in the days after Dreyfus was again found guilty at Rennes, not in 1900 as Kleeblatt suggested.<sup>177</sup> The timing of the image's publication in the daily paper is important, because it is one day **before** Dreyfus was pardoned — not afterwards. Appearing under the stark, single-word caption of "Pitié!", the published version was also included in a celebratory series of images from Ibels for intellectuals memorialising the nineteenth century.<sup>178</sup> In the portrayal of the crucifixion of Dreyfus, Ibels sought to expose the savagery and cruelty of the military elite. Its culpability for Dreyfus' agony is emphasized by the offer of a sponge of vinegar to quench the victim's thirst delivered on the point of a sword. The inclusion of the sword, brandished aloft, joined to the centre of the Cross underlines the military's dangerous intent.

As identified by Capéran, Kedward and Rémond, the fear of clericalism underpinned by military support was a central tenet of anticlerical anxiety. Dreyfus is represented as pinioned by these two vices. Here was the "appropriation" of Christian iconography Kleeblatt has spoken of, in a scene Tillier observes is inspired by the Gospel of St Matthew.<sup>179</sup> In Ibels' drawing, the reed used to offer a sponge of sour wine to the dying Jesus — by the only one of the group as seen in St Matthew's gospel as inclined to help — has become the officer's sword spearing the sponge. At a time when crucifixes had been removed from the schoolroom, sometimes forcibly, the most powerful symbol in Catholic iconography is used as a tribute to martyrdom put to work in the service of secular morality by those arguing for a laicised, not re-Catholicised, Republic. In this scenario, in which the martyr is placed on high, the aggressor, through the thrusting stance of his body language has become the blasphemer for not being a supplicant. The strategy was high-risk in that it could backfire and alienate opinion hence its sparing use in the public space to register the communal outcry of Dreyfusards. Using the language of martyrdom, Ibels' appeal could also reach out to Catholic sympathisers. For Stephen Wilson, citing Henri Guillemin, the force of antisemitism in the Affair was captured by Zola writing that the polemic was the

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<sup>176</sup> Byl was associated with the vehemently antimilitary pamphlet, *L'Ombre du drapeau (Shadow of the flag)*. Byl and Marsolleau presented 'La Folie de Pierrot'.

<sup>177</sup> Published in *Le Siècle* on 18 September 1899 not in 1900 as Kleeblatt posits in 'Introduction', p. 15.

<sup>178</sup> No. 20, *Les Légendes du Siècle*, 1901.

<sup>179</sup> Matthew 27:48. Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, p. 231.

history of 'the crucifixion of a Jew' – an image that Ibels translated into the visual of a cartoon.<sup>180</sup>

### Anticlerical and intellectual hubs and networks

A number of scholars has explored the rise and role of the intellectual as a force for dissent and change. Kunzle argued the advent of this relatively new social group, the intelligentsia, which incorporated socially-minded writers such as Zola and Tolstoy, was driven by the demand for a critical and satirical media in France and Imperial Russia.<sup>181</sup> Satirical art was clearly a major contributor. During the Dreyfus polemic, this wellspring of ideas from like-minded intellectuals flowed to the artist's 'crayon', assisted by networks such as the nascent 'Ligue des Droits de l'Homme'. The nationwide network arguably brought Ibels into closer contact with activist-thinkers such as Octave Mirbeau and Thadée Natanson, the director of the leftist journal, *La Revue Blanche*. Tillier established that Ibels was among the first members of the human rights movement.<sup>182</sup> More of these connections can be seen from Jacques Julliard and Michel Winock's *Dictionnaire des Intellectuals Français*. It lists a series of signatories to the petition for revision of the proceedings against Dreyfus, showing Zola's name and those of journalists from *La Revue Blanche*, giving further insight into how friendships and other contacts replicated ideas on what were for some, 'anticlerical networks' during the debate.<sup>183</sup>

Exposure to the ideas of other intellectuals in the controversy, like those working for *La Revue Blanche*, would naturally have had an impact on those in Ibels' work. This networking through what can be termed political hubs, allowed the exchange of ideas and the testing of others with their peers. It offered the opportunity to reinforce the artist's own anticlerical and antimilitary positioning, as seen in Ibels' collaboration with Mirbeau's story of the corrupt and predatory priesthood of *Sébastien Roch*. These hubs increased the artist's immersion in the anticlerical ideas of the group and arguably those of such a high-profile figure as Zola, since they came not only from Zola himself but refracted through

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<sup>180</sup> Wilson, *Ideology and Experience*, p. 4; Guillemin, Henri (1971) *Zola: Légende et vérité*, Paris, p. 27.

<sup>181</sup> Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip*, p. 345.

<sup>182</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 158.

<sup>183</sup> A primary list was headed by Zola and Anatole France. Subsequent lists included Jewish scholar Victor Basch and Claude Monet; Julliard, Jacques and Winock, Michel (1996) *Dictionnaire des Intellectuals Français*, Paris.

other supportive members of the social network. Today, we speak of positive affirmation. To examine the synergy between Zola and Ibels, this project focuses less on ‘J’Accuse...!’, which has been studied extensively, and more on Zola’s letter-pamphlets *à la France, à la Jeunesse*, his column ‘Pour les Juifs’ published in *Le Figaro* on 16 May 1896, and, to a limited degree, his literary works.<sup>184</sup> Scholarship has explored some of the networking relationships active during the Dreyfus debate. Writing less than three decades after Dreyfus’ rehabilitation, Delhorbe conducted an inquiry into the interconnection in the ideas of writers such as Zola, Anatole France, Proust, Péguy and the nationalist Maurice Barrès.<sup>185</sup> However, Delhorbe was concerned with writers on either side of the polemical divide not in anticlerical ideas or in the flow of those ideas between Zola and Ibels, as this analysis is.

It is argued that modern social conditions that saw liberal, intellectual Jews collaborating, socialising and debating in the workplace with other liberal minds exerted a particular influence on the type of anticlerical ideas expressed in Ibels’ illustrations during the polemic. As the dedication of his cartoon ‘Le coup de l’éponge’ amply demonstrates, at this time in 1899, Ibels admired, and was almost certainly influenced by, Joseph Reinach. Paul Johnson suggests the first time secular Jews had worked together was in the era of press freedom in which the controversy took place.<sup>186</sup> Datta probed the working relationships of assimilated Jewish Dreyfusards at *La Revue Blanche*.<sup>187</sup> Hyman commented on the number of the *Revue*’s contributors who were of Jewish origin, including Marcel Proust and Bernard Lazare, both Dreyfusards.<sup>188</sup> Perl recalled that the first Jew in France to assume the office of prime minister, Leon Blum, was its literary critic. Many, though not all, of the intellectuals wired into this informal apparatus were not established artists or writers but from the upcoming generation, where reputation mattered less, innovation mattered more, and rebellion was easier. Birnbaum called this phenomenon “intellectuals against academicians”, for Capéran the Ecole Normale supérieure was the “cradle” of

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<sup>184</sup> Tr. To France; To Youth; For the Jews.

<sup>185</sup> Delhorbe, *L’Affaire Dreyfus et les Ecrivains Français*, passim.

<sup>186</sup> Johnson, Paul (2013) *History of the Jews*, London, p. 385.

<sup>187</sup> Datta, Venita, The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism: Jewish Identity at ‘La Revue Blanche’ in *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 1995), New York, pp. 113-129.

<sup>188</sup> Hyman, Paula (1987) ‘The French Jewish Community from Emancipation to the Dreyfus Affair’ in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, p. 30.

Dreyfusism.<sup>189</sup> This extended network in which liberal Jews were in large part would have helped shape the views Ibels took of the controversy, articulated through his art.

### Henri-Gabriel Ibels in the Affair

Ibels was a kind of ‘vigilante’ artist for the cause until after Dreyfus was pardoned. This view extends Tillier’s thinking that “... l’Affaire (que) s’accomplit l’édification d’une figure de l’artiste *vigilant et exposé*, par son adhésion au régime des ‘intellectuels’”.<sup>190</sup> But in 1901 Ibels publicly modified his stance in publishing two letters in the newspaper of the man he still referred to in one of the letters as “the enemy”, Edouard Drumont. In one of the letters, Ibels referred to the risks he had taken and how he had suffered professionally from declaring his Dreyfusard colours.<sup>191</sup> Before the controversy, Ibels’ talent had already drawn recognition. His contemporary Félix Fénéon remarked how he “exerce une verve neuve de satiriste”.<sup>192</sup> O’ Toole recalled Saunier’s tribute in *La Plume* the year before Dreyfus’ arrest, asserting “[p]armi les jeunes artistes, dont les tentatives hardies vers un art d’intellectualité neuve, inquiètent, ces derniers temps les amateurs d’art le nom de Henri-Gabriel Ibels se détache, significatif”.<sup>193</sup> Hence Ibels’ sympathy to anarchists as seen from work he did in 1891, and his contributions that year to a special issue on anarchism of *La Plume*, and other illustrations to the anarchist journal, *Le Père peignard*. Ibels’ brother, Andhré, founded the journal *La Revue anarchiste* so there was strong family interest in overturning what was seen as a failing system. Andhré contributed articles to the review showing his own interest in ideas about societal progress towards greater freedoms.<sup>194</sup>

While there has been significant scholarship on art, caricature and cartoon, secondary sources on Ibels, known as ‘Le Nabi’ for his connections with that group of painters, are not as extensive.<sup>195</sup> O’Toole touches only briefly on Ibels’ working partnership with Zola in

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<sup>189</sup> Birnbaum, *L’Affaire Dreyfus*, pp. 70-1; Capéran, *L’Anticléricalisme et l’Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 72.

<sup>190</sup> Tr. the Affair accomplished the building up of the figure of an artist that is vigilant and exposed, through their membership of the regime of ‘intellectuals’. Tillier, *Les Artistes et l’Affaire*, pp.18-19.

<sup>191</sup> *La Libre Parole*, 3 December 1901.

<sup>192</sup> Tr. [He] exerts a new verve as satirist; Félix Fénéon (1970), *Œuvres plus que complètes*, Paris, p. 201.

<sup>193</sup> Tr. Among young artists whose daring attempts towards a new intellect art, recently sent ripples through art lovers, the name of Henri-Gabriel Ibels stands out as significant. See O’Toole, Judith Hansen, ‘Henri-Gabriel Ibels: Nabi Journaliste’ in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 36 (January 1982), p. 32.

<sup>194</sup> See Andhré Ibels’ article for the first edition of *La Revue Anarchiste* ‘De Obeissance à Liberté’ (Tr. From Obedience to Liberty) 15-31 August 1893.

<sup>195</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l’Affaire*, p. 151.

illustrating *La Terre*, their common fight for Dreyfus and rivalries with anti-Dreyfusard artists but not at all on his anticlerical cartoons and illustrations.<sup>196</sup> Although *La Revue Blanche's* importance as a forum for ideas among intellectuals has been investigated by Waller and Seiberling and by Datta neither of these studies gives Ibels more than a glancing mention.<sup>197</sup> None of these interpretations of Ibels' activism has predominantly concerned itself with understanding the anticlerical content of his cartoons and illustrations. The historiography has progressively built up a more developed picture of the artistic circles in which Ibels moved, his involvement in political-activism and a trend towards re-evaluating his contribution to the polemic.

Cate, Kaplan, Katz and Tillier have all explored aspects of Ibels' contribution to Dreyfusard art.<sup>198</sup> For Cate, Ibels provided an "encyclopaedia of Dreyfus Affair iconography" together with *Psst...!*. For Katz he was the "blogger" of his time.<sup>199</sup> Katz and Cate both attribute to Ibels such a dominant role that, they argue, he established the iconography of the pro- or anti-Dreyfus imagery. Katz emphasized the anticlerical nature of that iconography, suggesting Ibels created a "lexicon of recognizable and dramatic archetypes" for figuration of the clergy.<sup>200</sup> Katz's interpretations appear to be largely based on O'Toole's with the additional perspective that Katz sees Ibels as a nineteenth century citizen-journalist; one who attempted to reposition the Jewish 'affair' as 'French', by 'Frenchifying' it through his art, is argued by Kaplan.<sup>201</sup> Ibels' work before the crisis and his Dreyfusard work has been tackled by Dupin de Beyssat.<sup>202</sup> Tillier probed the dispute's conflictual visual satire and included excerpts from Ibels' letters that shed light on his work, such as how he decided to depict the real spy, Esterhazy whom he made the subject of many cartoons.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> O'Toole, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 36-7.

<sup>197</sup> Waller, Bret and Seiberling, Grace (1984) *Artists of the Revue Blanche*, Rochester (New York); Datta, 'The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism', pp. 113-129.

<sup>198</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry'; Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*; Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels'; Katz, Maya Balakirsky (2015) 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels, Nineteenth-Century Blogger' in Katz, Maya Balakirsky (ed) *Revising Dreyfus*, Boston.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123-31.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>201</sup> Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 199, 208.

<sup>202</sup> de Beyssat, Claire Dupin (January, 2014) 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels (1867-1936) Un promeneur engagé' in Méneux, Catherine, Pernoud, Emmanuel and Wat, Pierre (eds) *Actes de la Journée d'études Actualité de la recherche en XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Master 1, Années 2012 and 2013, Paris, site de l'HiSCA.

<sup>203</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, pp.151-2.

## Political influences and activism

Griffiths counts Ibels along with Hermann-Paul, Raoul Barré, Louis Chevalier and Couturier as among “the most striking ‘dessinateurs’” of the Dreyfus case’, some of which Griffiths sees as having an anticlerical mission to impugn the clerical notion of truth and justice.<sup>204</sup> Cate places a very high value on Ibels’ artistic response to ‘J’Accuse...!’ but explains Ibels’ launch of *Le Sifflet* was a political counter to *Psst ...!* Itself a counter to Zola’s ‘J’Accuse...!’ in *L’Aurore...!*<sup>205</sup> O’Toole paints a picture of Ibels’ life among the demi-monde of Paris, forging politico-artist contacts through work and campaigning.<sup>206</sup> Cate expands Ibels’ creative milieu, identifying the publications he and André were involved with and those for which Henri-Gabriel worked at the time of developments in the Dreyfus narrative.<sup>207</sup> Drawing together key elements from the work of Capéran, Tillier, Kleeblatt, Datta and Julliard and Winock, this thesis examines how Ibels’ ideas reflected those of the lobby groups in which he circulated. Blom shows how intellectuals campaigned in the media across national boundaries to tackle issues of injustice or loss of dignity, such as in the exposing of atrocities in the Congo, in which a leading Dreyfusard Anatole France took part alongside American writer Mark Twain who supported Dreyfus’ and Jewish rights.<sup>208</sup>

The ideas in Ibels’ cartoons bear witness to his role as a political campaigner, moving within overlapping networks of mainly leftist intellectuals. For Kleeblatt, while the intersection of art and politics was not a new phenomenon in France — one has only to think of Jacques-Louis David, Delacroix and Daumier — the Dreyfus episode witnessed a metamorphosis in which the metier of the man of letters merged with that of politician. Willette, who thought very differently to Ibels about Dreyfus, stood as an antisemitic candidate.<sup>209</sup> Here, then, was an extra force for Ibels to react against in cartoon, a competitiveness within his own circle of artists in Montmartre, in the north of Paris, further refined in the contest of ideas with Forain’s *Psst...!*. But while some artists became politicians, others, like Ibels, preferred to campaign autonomously through their art, pushing the boundaries of the new press freedoms.

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<sup>204</sup> Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse*, pp. 30-4.

<sup>205</sup> Cate, ‘The Paris Cry’, pp. 90-1.

<sup>206</sup> O’Toole, ‘Henri-Gabriel Ibels’, pp. 31-8.

<sup>207</sup> Cate, ‘The Paris Cry’, pp. 62-94.

<sup>208</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 105; <https://www.shapell.org/manuscript/mark-twain-hates-the-french-and-fascinated-by-dreyfus-affair/#transcripts> (last accessed 3 May 2022).

<sup>209</sup> Kleeblatt, ‘Introduction’, pp. 2-3, 12-3.

For his investigation into a range of artists in the fine, decorative and published media during the Dreyfus controversy, Tillier puts forward a powerful case to define Ibels as an 'artiste-en-militant' in what he terms a "territoire d'images".<sup>210</sup> Tillier's study has allowed more to be understood about Ibels' private life, including how, like the Jewish painter Pissaro, thoughts of the polemic occupied him not just in his work but his personal correspondence.<sup>211</sup> Tillier makes the claim that Ibels and Hermann-Paul passed from Dreyfusism to Anti-Dreyfusism.<sup>212</sup> This study examines Ibels' letters in the populist, anti-Jewish newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, but does not equate Ibels' attitude post December 1901 with anti-Dreyfusism since that was staunchly pro-military and pro-clerical which Ibels never was. It was possible at this time to entertain antisemitic views yet still pursue revision for Dreyfus' case, as Lieutenant-Colonel Georges Picquart did in the course of his investigation of the evidence.<sup>213</sup>

## Socialism

Baubérot has made the case that anticlericalism represented an opportunity for workers, socialists in France and the aspirations of liberal France to pull together.<sup>214</sup> Ibels' ideas about the clergy and military, and his socialist leanings tend to support that argument. O'Toole styles Ibels as a defender of social principles during the polemic, placing him within an alliance of anticlericals, socialists and republicans.<sup>215</sup> This was another point in common with Zola, whom Angus Wilson argues identified with socialism and social justice.<sup>216</sup> Kaplan argued the prominent Jewish journalist Bernard Lazare was led to Dreyfusism not by his Jewishness but his socialist convictions.<sup>217</sup> Datta found that secular, assimilated Jews such as Leon Blum, an associate of Ibels at *La Revue Blanche*, had leanings towards socialism.<sup>218</sup> This project develops Schifres' argument that socialist ideas popularised anticlerical thinking, as seen in Ibels' expression of humanitarianism through his drawings

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<sup>210</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, pp. 175-192.

<sup>211</sup> For Ibels, *ibid.*, p. 151; For Pissaro, Rewald, John (1943) *Camille Pissaro letters to his son Lucien*, London, *passim*.

<sup>212</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes de l'Affaire*, pp. 18, 110.

<sup>213</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp.100-1.

<sup>214</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 60.

<sup>215</sup> O'Toole, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 31-8.

<sup>216</sup> Wilson, *Emile Zola*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>217</sup> Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 210-2.

<sup>218</sup> Datta, 'The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism', pp. 113-29

campaigning for Dreyfus.<sup>219</sup> Socialist principles also had an affinity with the dignity and solidarity of the new secular morality developed to replace Christian morality. Influenced by the thinking of French philosophers such as Henri de Saint-Simon who argued for social harmony through equal opportunity, socialism favoured individualism, was rooted in a compassionate awareness for one's fellows and was oriented towards the future.<sup>220</sup> In Ibels' art, socialist ideas and Republican ideals of equality helped define an anticlerical critique of military elitism and a backward-facing Church.

### Support for anarchists

The notion that anticlericalism created horizontal alliances was put forward by Joskowicz who argued that anticlericalism also enabled "secularist politics of legal equality". This fits in with Tillier's suggestion that Ibels and other Dreyfusards had anarchist leanings prior to the Affair.<sup>221</sup> Their support for anarchists included providing funds for the children of those detained after the arrest of the anarchist, Ravachol. Tillier identified a protest letter supporting the anarchist journalist Jean Grave signed by both Ibels and Octave Mirbeau.<sup>222</sup> Cate suggested the support for anarchy was a family affair as Ibels' brother Andhré Ibels founded the journal *La Revue Anarchiste* in 1891. In the same year, Cate showed Ibels contributed to a special edition on anarchism published by another periodical, *La Plume*, and the anarchist journal, *Le Père peinard*.<sup>223</sup> Hyman characterised *La Revue Blanche* as an avant-garde journal of anarchist sympathies.<sup>224</sup> The Jewish painter Pissaro and his son were staunch Dreyfusards and Pissaro had also previously signed an anarchist petition along with Ibels.<sup>225</sup> This thesis sees a clear linkage between Ibels' anarchist sympathies and his attacks on the establishment in his art. Ibels might well have viewed his cartoons, and the campaigning journal *Le Sifflet* as his own personal petition, to which he signed his name each week a new edition appeared in print.

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<sup>219</sup> Schifres, 'L'idéologie du Canard Enchaîné', p. 112.

<sup>220</sup> Durkheim, Emile (1959) *Socialism and Saint Simon*, London, pp. 5, 7, 15.

<sup>221</sup> Joskowicz, 'Jewish Anticlericalism', pp. 51-2.

<sup>222</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes det l'Affaire*, p. 131.

<sup>223</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 80.

<sup>224</sup> Hyman, 'The French Jewish Community', p. 30.

<sup>225</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes de l'Affaire*, p. 131.

## The Representation of the Jew

Anticlerical republican Dreyfusard ideas opposed the reactionary and antisemitic in the polemic, with antisemitism taken to mean opposition and negative views towards Jews from the time the word was widely taken up in 1879. The alignment of these opposing positions has been a key element in understanding anticlerical ideas in the polemical art. Chapter five investigates how tensions from the clash of these rival alignments shaped the contested representation of the Jew in visual satire delivering competing and converging characterisations. Capéran's argument took the alignment further, contending that in the minds of Dreyfusards "on a fini par comprendre que l'antisémitisme est un nom nouveau du cléricisme".<sup>226</sup> Framing antisemitism "comme l'allié naturel et le suprême espoir des cléricaux" served to position clericalism and antisemitism "face à face".<sup>227</sup> Brennan called clerical voices such as *La Croix* a "strident antisemitic paper".<sup>228</sup> Johnson found *La Croix* doubled its circulation through its vituperative coverage of Zola between 1897-8, at the height of the furor.<sup>229</sup> Zeldin saw pro-clerical press outlets like *La Libre Parole* exacerbating hostility in agitating against Jews as a whole.<sup>230</sup> Caricature was at the heart of the debate. Goldstein explored the nexus of the state and authority, the antisemitic press, and the representation of Jewishness, as in the government banning a poster published by the right-wing journal *L'Intransigeant* depicting Zola as a "king of pigs" smearing excrement across a map of France.<sup>231</sup> This study analyses interconnecting narratives in the press and visual satire using the tripartite semiotic methodology to understand late nineteenth century caricatures of Jews.

Laqueur investigated more modern forms of antisemitism that drew together ancient prejudice with nineteenth century racialist and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.<sup>232</sup> Racialist thinking was connected to recent thinking about biological determinism investigated by

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<sup>226</sup> Tr. at the end, we understood that antisemitism was a new name for clericalism: Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 87.

<sup>227</sup> Tr. as the natural ally and ultimate hope of the clericals... (positioning clericalism and antisemitism) face to face. See *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 57, 59.

<sup>228</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 21, 100.

<sup>229</sup> Johnson, Martin, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 90 onwards.

<sup>230</sup> Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, pp. 1038-9.

<sup>231</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, p. 25.

<sup>232</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*, pp. 91-94.

Pick.<sup>233</sup> Rogger suggests educated individuals chose to move from a position of anti-Judaism to antisemitism, based on ethnic difference rather than religion alone to broaden the appeal of their claims. Ideas of religious difference and racialist thinking converged on the eve of the Beilis case.<sup>234</sup> Rogger noted that in 1906, a congress of the Russian Right urged the Holy Synod to declare Judaism a harmful, fanatical sect with the neo-Slavophile Sergei Sharpov dismissing the notion two years later that “a Jew [was] just as much a white man as a German, an Englishman or a Slav”.<sup>235</sup> This study examines how visual representations were moulded into an admixture of enduring thinking and novel racialist theories to categorise Jews as inimical inferior outsiders.

Marrus provided a schema for the different socio-political channels contributing to antisemitism from right to left in the political spectrum taking in populism, Catholicism and the appeal to the petit-bourgeoisie.<sup>236</sup> Echoing Goldstein and Rémond, Sternhell viewed the Dreyfus crisis as conventional antisemitism repackaged into a newly politicized and populist form.<sup>237</sup> Weber saw the Church preparing the ground for anti-Jewish hatred, by instilling long-standing negative stereotypes into the public consciousness that were still prevalent in 1890s France.<sup>238</sup> Laqueur similarly saw the Church as playing a prominent role in cultivating prejudice and influencing negative stereotypes of Jews.<sup>239</sup> Stephen Wilson examined differing contemporary views on whether antisemitism in late nineteenth century France had a religious root.<sup>240</sup> Roberts’ bibliography references Dreyfus’ contemporary Antonin Debidour’s *l’Eglise Catholique et l’Etat sous le Troisième République*, in which Debidour contended the Church effectively provided dispensation and, arguably, encouragement to maltreat and do violence to Jews.<sup>241</sup>

Pierrard investigated statements rebutting the concept of Jewish patriotism, such as the article by *La Croix*’s Père Bailly claiming: “Je suis Français, fils de Français: je vivrai et je

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid., pp. 109-134; Lyon, John, ‘Notes’ in Conrad, Joseph (2008, first published 1907) *The Secret Agent*, Oxford.

<sup>234</sup> Rogger, *Jewish Policies*, p. 37.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Marrus, ‘Popular Anti-Semitism’, pp. 50-65.

<sup>237</sup> Sternhell, Zeev (1985) ‘Reflections on the Jews in France’ in Malino, F and Wasserstein, B (eds) *The Jews in Modern France*, Hanover, pp. 103-34.

<sup>238</sup> Weber, Eugen (1985) ‘Reflections on the Jews in France’ in *ibid*, pp. 10-2.

<sup>239</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*, pp. 72-5, 82, 102, 158-9.

<sup>240</sup> Wilson, *Ideology and Experience*, pp. 509-11.

<sup>241</sup> Vol II, published 1901. See Roberts, J M (1989) *Europe 1880-1945*, London, p. 193.

mourrai tel ; mais vous, vous êtes juif, fils de juif et vous mourrez juif...En vain vous tachez de devenir Français, Allemands, Anglais, Russes, Espagnols, Iroquois: tous les peuples vous rejettent et vous resterez jusqu'à la consommation des siècles le JUIF...".<sup>242</sup> This 'othering' and 'unFrenchness' is investigated in the visual satire of the Dreyfus controversy. Pierrard's survey of editorials in *La Croix* found a potent mixture of nationalism and religious intolerance to underpin its conspiracy theory that "[l]e but des juifs est de detruire le royaume de Jésus-Christ, afin d'élever sur ses ruines le royaume essentiellement juif de l'Antéchrist".<sup>243</sup> Chapter five uses the cartoons to consider how this putative connection with the demonic came to inhabit satirical representations of Jews at the time of the Dreyfus crisis. Poliakov's work provides illuminating context on the pre-modern use of obscenity and anti-Christian themes such as the devil and witches, and the German 'judensau' depicting Jewish men engaged in sexual congress with a sow.<sup>244</sup> Felsenstein investigated the pig as a derogatory motif associated with Jewishness surviving in European satirical art in the decades before the polemic as seen in Cruikshank's 1815 cartoon the 'Pig Faced Lady' who has aroused a Jew's sexual interest.<sup>245</sup> The chapter takes forward nuanced jibes about sexual proclivity and success to investigate how these shaped socio-political arguments expressed in satirical representations of the Jew in the Dreyfus dispute.

The research draws on Silverman's monograph on the work of Sibylle-Gabrielle Marie-Antoinette de Riquetti de Mirabeau, comtesse de Martel de Janville, using her male literary persona of 'Gyp'.<sup>246</sup> Silverman examined Gyp's violent written and verbal attacks on 'Jewish France' or 'the Syndicate' and her self-classification as an anti-Semite.<sup>247</sup> Cate surveyed anti-Dreyfusard images including front covers from satirical periodicals such as *La Libre Parole*, *Le Fifre*, *Le Rire* and *La Feuille* using religious or economic slurs to depict Jews.<sup>248</sup> Weber called pre-modern fears about Jews a "rich and enduring compost" which

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<sup>242</sup> Tr. I am French, son of a Frenchman. I will live and die such. But you are a Jew, son a Jew and you will die a Jew. In vain you have tried to become French, German, English, Russian, Iroquois: all peoples reject you and you will rest to the end of time, the JEW. Pierrard, *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 47.

<sup>243</sup> Tr. The goal of the Jews is to destroy the kingdom of Jesus Christ, with the aim of setting up on those ruins a kingdom that is essentially the Jew of the Antichrist. Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Poliakov, Leon (2003) *A History of Antisemitism: From the time of Christ to the Court Jews*, Philadelphia, pp. 123-69.

<sup>245</sup> Felsenstein, Frank (1995) *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660 – 1830*, Baltimore, pp.130-1.

<sup>246</sup> Silverman, Willa Z (1995) *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, Oxford, p. 4.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., pp. 77, 151-67, 141-45.

<sup>248</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry', pp. 62-95.

took in and accommodated other cultural stereotypes to do with usury, riches and wandering, as defined in 1694 by the Dictionary of the French Academy.<sup>249</sup>

## Republicanism and Jewishness

Joskowicz argued that anticlericalism enabled novel 'horizontal alliances' and 'secularist politics of legal equality'.<sup>250</sup> Zeldin and Landau saw this linkage in terms of Jewish rights.<sup>251</sup> Zeldin's examination of nineteenth century Jewish thinking shows us a school of thought which equated the hard-won rights of Jews with the fulfilment of Revolutionary ideals. Rubinstein *et al* trace this connection back to architects of the Revolution, to Mirabeau and Rousseau, whom they argue were Philosemites at a time when the Catholic Church was viewed by liberals and radicals as the main obstacle to progress. But Rubinstein *et al* believe other Revolutionary thinkers like Diderot and Voltaire attacked the Church while holding strongly negative views of the Jews.<sup>252</sup> Weber put forward a construct of what the Jew represented to discrete opponents arguing that for Catholics, a Jew had to be converted.<sup>253</sup>

In the Republic of the Dreyfus debate, Angus Wilson investigated Zola's alarm at rising levels of antisemitism pointing to his writing 'Pour les Juifs' eighteen months before he wrote 'J'Accuse...!' <sup>254</sup> Zola's letter was published twice, first appearing in *Le Figaro* on 16 May 1896, then being republished in *La Nouvelle Campagne* the following year. Derfler saw Zola's responses as a reaction to prevailing prejudice in the wake of earlier political scandals combined with attempts to re-Christianise France.<sup>255</sup> Birnbaum probed the alignment of antisemitism and anti-capitalism, seen in the opposing positions that rivals for the Socialist leadership adopted on Dreyfus.<sup>256</sup> Landau suggested the Jewish consistories viewed this anticlerical 'Bloc de Gauches' positively, as a way of containing the ultra-conservative reactionary elements in Catholicism which supported nationalism and

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<sup>249</sup> Weber, *Reflections*, p. 11.

<sup>250</sup> Joskowicz, 'Jewish Anticlericalism', pp. 51-2.

<sup>251</sup> Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, pp. 1024-1037; Landau, *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 110.

<sup>252</sup> Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>253</sup> Weber, 'Reflections on the Jews in France', p. 17.

<sup>254</sup> Wilson, *Emile Zola*, pp. 135-9.

<sup>255</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 5, 23, 7 and passim.

<sup>256</sup> Socialists initially did not support Dreyfus' cause seeing the dispute as a Marxist conflict between worker and Bourgeoisie with Dreyfus aligned with the latter. The charismatic Socialist party leader Jean Jaurès reinterpreted the fault line of the affair as a clerical-secular front with socialists and Dreyfus aligned against reactionaries.

antisemitism during the crisis.<sup>257</sup> Green's essay probed the French labour movement , immigrant union 'the Ouvriers Juifs de Paris' and their letter to the 'Parti Socialiste Français' in support of Dreyfus was explored by Hyman who found their march the only public protest by Jews to Dreyfus' treatment.<sup>258</sup> Ibels' art needed to be sinewy enough to articulate different arguments to discrete audiences. This included winning socialists over to the view that clericalism and not the Bourgeoisie with which Dreyfus was initially associated was the real foe as will be explored in a comparison of two of his cartoons reframing ideas about the Republic's victim and oppressor. This reframing was important to counter representations of the Jew predicated on the emergence of a Jewish nouveau riche, consistent with Bruce's paradigm about modernisation and new economies.

Cohn-Sherbok probed the nature and origin of Judeophobia through the ages.<sup>259</sup> The London *Punch* offered a vagabond stereotype of the Jew as 'other'.<sup>260</sup> Crude stereotyping of Jews in the satirical art deployed formulaic representations spanning social pariahs to omnipotent kings. Nochlin focuses on the often-subtle devices that hinted at secrecy, closed cliques and conspiracy.<sup>261</sup> Chapter five investigates how antisemitic visual satire fetishized individual Jews, such as those from the Reinach family, as metonyms for Jewishness, breaking new ground with its identification of the visual trope of the 'Jewish king' and its crowned 'head' in the debate. Ideas about blood and soil versus cosmopolitanisation considered by Blom are identified in the representation of the Jew that viscerally captured the zeitgeist.<sup>262</sup>

## Conclusion

There might not have been an 'affair' if a cleaner had not found the incriminating note of the 'bordereau' in a bin at the German embassy or if the discovery had been investigated properly by the General Staff. The dispute gave vent to the schism in French life over the

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<sup>257</sup> Landau, *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 119.

<sup>258</sup> Green, Nancy (1985) 'The Contradictions of Acculturation: Immigrant Oratories and Yiddish Union Sections in Paris before World War 1' in Malino, Frances and Wasserstein, Bernard (eds) *Jews in Modern France*, Hanover, p. 68; Hyman, 'The French Jewish Community', p. 33.

<sup>259</sup> Cohn-Sherbok, Dan (2002), *Anti-Semitism*, Stroud, pp. 19-34.

<sup>260</sup> Illustration to an article entitled 'Essence of Parliament; Extracted from the Diary of Toby MP.' The illustration is entitled 'Lobbying against the Aliens Bill'. *Punch* (12 July 1905) Volume 129, London, p. 31.

<sup>261</sup> Nochlin, Linda (1992) 'Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an anti-Semite' in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, pp.100-97.

<sup>262</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 15.

role of religion, the laicisation project, the Republic, national identity and anticlerical fears of clericalism and militarism. The uproar deepened the gulf, allowing clericalism, militarism and anti-Jewish sentiment to become firmly aligned. To an extent, the rival visions within the Dreyfus crisis have not been entirely resolved. One twenty-first century Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin spoke of an enduring battle in which the “front line of reason” had gone.<sup>263</sup> Reason rather than Zola’s idea of “starry-eyed faith” was a guiding precept in the anticlerical vision for the Republic. While Dreyfus is the predominant anti-Jewish case, primary sources from Mendel Beilis’ trial and other disputes expand understanding of anticlerical ideas in the nineteenth century.

This thesis ploughs a new furrow in investigating how Ibels and other Dreyfusards used images and words to campaign for a laicised and secular Republic in which all citizens were equal. The project uses Bruce’s secularisation paradigm to show how the traits of a modernising society were funnelled into the anti-Jewish controversy. Free thought contributed to anticlerical ideas as did elements of Christian belief, deployed as hard currency in the weaponising of ideas between leftist intellectuals and their rivals. An industrial-scale press enabled the critical voice of the intellectual through newspaper prints, book illustrations, cartoon strips and open letters. Creative protagonists placed themselves at the heart of the debate and co-opted others through political hubs to achieve real change. While scholars have flocked to study the Dreyfus Affair and some have examined its satirical art, no study has yet investigated the anticlerical ideas of that art, in caricature, cartoon or illustration. Henri-Gabriel Ibels worked as an illustrator for one of Emile Zola’s novels but he was also, in a more organic and spontaneous way, Zola’s ‘first lieutenant’ in calling for an inclusive Third Republic. Their struggle took in the contested representation of the Jew, a composite that synergised prejudices antique, medieval and modern. Religious narratives and fears of barbaric religious practice were juxtaposed and conjoined with newer forms of hostility in a century of change.

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<sup>263</sup> <https://uk.sports.yahoo.com/photos/jean-pierre-raffarin-outgoing-head-frances-les-republicains-photo-120711365.html> (last accessed 27 June 2017).

## Chapter Two – Methodology

### Key questions and choice of primary sources

This investigation examines the nature of anticlerical ideas articulated in art around anti-Jewish crises of the nineteenth century. The Dreyfus polemic in France is the predominant case being examined as well as the Beilis case in Kiev, imperial Russia, which saw Beilis accused in 1911 and acquitted in 1913; and the furore over the removal from his family of the Jewish child Edgardo Mortara by the Pope in Bologna in the Papal States in 1858. The first pillar has a supplementary aim in examining ideas in common between the foremost Dreyfusard and celebrated French author Emile Zola, and his admirer, supporter and one-time illustrator, Henri-Gabriel Ibels. By way of introducing it, the project is examining Zola's thinking expressed in his open *lettres* to France, and to Youth, published in pamphlet form during the polemic, Zola's open letter 'Pour les Juifs' published in *Le Figaro* on 16 May 1896, and ideas from his novels *Germinal*, *La Débâcle*, and *La Terre*. All three are from his Rougon-Macquart series. *Germinal* was the thirteenth, *La Terre* fifteenth and *La Débâcle* the nineteenth in the twenty-novel series set in the Second Empire and, at the very end of *La Débâcle*, in the Paris Commune. *La Terre* 1897 Charpentier edition was illustrated by Ibels and two of the lithographs are used in the analysis. A secondary pillar of research examines the representation of the Jew in the polemical art.

The Beilis and Damascus disputes, like others in Europe in this period, grew around the charge of 'blood libel' or ritual murder, the belief that Jews ritually slaughtered Christian victims to use body parts and blood to make traditional matzos or unleavened bread. Historical cases are still a matter of debate. A member of Parliament from Hungary's right-wing Jobbik party sought in recent years to reopen the Tiszaeszlár Affair, named after the eastern Hungarian town, where the accusations arose in 1882. Lindemann argues, anti-Jewish controversies in the later nineteenth century paradoxically showed a facet of growing Jewish power with "the power to mobilise influential Gentiles in defence of Jews".<sup>1</sup> Caricatures and cartoons were public canvases on which to display and debate the ideas propelling and permeating these crises.

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<sup>1</sup> Lindemann, Albert S (1991) *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank 1894-1915*, Cambridge, p. 175.

The full data set can be consulted in the Appendix. In chapter two, the following images are used: ‘The martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer’ in John Foxe’s *The Acts and Monuments of the Church Containing the History and Sufferings of the Martyrs*, published in 1838 by Scott, Webster and Geary, London (fig. 3);<sup>2</sup> Composite of a portrait of Louis XIV by Hyacinthe Rigaud, portrait of Louis XIV by Henri Testelin, and Victory Arch in Francoist Madrid (fig. 4); a drawing by a former political prisoner recording the practice of torture (fig. 5);<sup>3</sup> and Gyp’s ‘En Balade’, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896 (fig. 6);<sup>4</sup> ‘A faut espérer qu’eu s’jeu la finira bentot’, *L’auteur en campagne*, A P, 1789 (fig. 7);<sup>5</sup> anti-Dreyfusard Caran D’Ache’s reinterpretation of the idea a century later in his cartoon ‘The French Revolution: Before and After’ (fig. 8);<sup>6</sup> Picasso’s sketch of Emile Zola in 1900 and Toulouse-Lautrec’s portrait of Henri-Gabriel Ibels in 1893 (fig. 9);<sup>7</sup> Ibels’ coloured lithograph ‘Les Tisserands’ produced in 1893 (fig. 10);<sup>8</sup> a copy of Ibels’ letter to antisemitic editor Edouard Drumont published in Drumont’s newspaper *La Libre Parole* on 3 December 1901 (fig. 11);<sup>9</sup> Ibels’ letter to Messieurs Bernheim (Marchands de tableaux, Rue Laffitte) also published in *La Libre Parole* on 3 December 1901 (fig. 12);<sup>10</sup> ‘Le roi Rothschild’<sup>11</sup>, Charles Lucien Léandre, front cover cartoon for *Le Rire*, 16 April 1898 (fig. 13); ‘Salons intellectuels’, Caran D’Ache, *Psst... !*, 10 December 1898 (fig. 14);<sup>12</sup> upper margin of Exchequer Receipt Roll, Hilary and Easter Terms, 1233 (fig. 15);<sup>13</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Engraving representing events from reign of Mary Tudor in Foxe’s sixteenth century publications reproduced in Fernandes, Isabelle (2009) ‘Des images et des lettres: l’iconographie dans le martyrologe anglais de John Foxe’ in Couton Marie, Fernan (ed) *Pouvoirs de l’image aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Clermont-Ferrand, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-26223180> (last accessed 15 August 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Cate, ‘The Paris Cry’, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Tr. We must hope this game will finish soon. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/97159001> (last accessed 4 January 2022).

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.granger.com/results.asp?image=0080164&itemw=4&itemf=0001&itemstep=1&itemx=6> (last accessed 17 March 2022).

<sup>7</sup> For Picasso, Kleeblatt, ‘Plates’, p. 263; Toulouse-Lautrec’s oil study was adapted for the portrait of Ibels published in *La Plume*; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438017> (last accessed 4 January 2022).

<sup>8</sup> Tr. The Handweavers; <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.93877.html> (last accessed 4 January 2022).

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.retronews.fr/titre-de-presse/libre-parole> (last accessed 4 Jan 2022).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Tr. ‘King Rothschild’ personified by James (Jakob) Rothschild, patriarch of the French branch of the banking family. <https://www.granger.com/results.asp?image=0035634> (last accessed 4 Jan 2022).

<sup>12</sup> [https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2019/03/17/la-haine-des-clercs-la-chercheuse-sarah-al-matary-tous-contre-les-intellectuels\\_5437278\\_3232.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2019/03/17/la-haine-des-clercs-la-chercheuse-sarah-al-matary-tous-contre-les-intellectuels_5437278_3232.html) (last accessed 19 December 2021).

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2016/06/06/the-first-anti-jewish-caricature/> (last accessed 29 December 2021).

Before the Dreyfus debate art had become a powerful tool. As Schama asserted “the age is one in which art is not just some kind of add-on to the rest of life.... [but also] it is something that can change people’s allegiance ..... The sense that art could have an ethical core to it”.<sup>14</sup> Schama was speaking of musical composition and Claude Rouget’s *La Marseillaise* in particular, taken up as the First Republic’s national anthem in 1795 before going on to cite the poet Shelley’s observation that artists are the “legislators of Mankind now”.<sup>15</sup> This sense of the modern artist-activist playing a dynamic role in socio-politics applied to Ibels, his colleagues and rivals. Ibels co-founded *Le Sifflet* with Achille Steens and himself alludes to this role his art played since he introduces ‘*Allons-Y!*’ as an “Histoire contemporaine (première partie) racontée et dessinée par H. G Ibels”.<sup>16</sup> Images from this contemporary history form a major part of the data set.

This chapter explains the decision to focus predominantly on one political anti-Jewish crisis as well as its choice of primary sources. It considers the suitability and value of the art historical record, including the ‘low art’ of cartoon and caricature, as an authentic historical source and as a vehicle for socio-political change. The chapter lays out how it will take up the challenge of interpreting meaning in the art using a bespoke system of tripartite semiotic readings. As part of this, it identifies selected elements from theories on semiotics, iconography, ideology, composition and content that will be used to identify ideas in the art. The chapter explains how the images will be used to understand the emotive dimension to anticlerical ideas in the polemic despite many being rooted in the rationality of the Enlightenment. There is also an explanation of how the work of reactionary artists will be employed to understand how such thinking fuelled anticlerical thinking and representations of Jewish ‘otherness’.

### Using the art historical record

Haskell contends that art communicated local events because it was displayed and seen in public places. For Haskell, this art was granted a status equal to the written word and sometimes higher in establishing the authenticity of matters open to historical debate.<sup>17</sup> The

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<sup>14</sup> Simon Schama speaking to Donald MacLeod on BBC Radio 3’s ‘Composer of the Week’, 17 January 2020. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2020/beethoven-unleashed> (last accessed 7 April 2022).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, flyleaf.

<sup>17</sup> Haskell, Francis (1995) *History and its Images – Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven, p. 83.

dual nature of art, as a record of the status quo and as a catalyst for socio-political change, is argued by Pollock and Mainz who see art as "a representation of, and a representation within, a historical matrix..."<sup>18</sup> Lee, Witkin, Warren, Adams and Haskell all contend art has been used to control the narrative whether for the present or posterity.<sup>19</sup> Haskell showed how two events, the murder of Thomas à Becket and the Massacre of St Bartholomew, are represented by a dominant political faction to consolidate its narrative including the creation of victimhood. Images reaffirm the position of the victor, denigrate whoever is characterised as the loser, and seek to convince observers of the truth of those claims. Images could be calculated to place the viewer of the image in the position of the viewer of the event represented. In this way, the viewer is invited to experience outrage on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the act of being consumed by flames at the orders of his Catholic oppressors, as seen below (fig. 3).

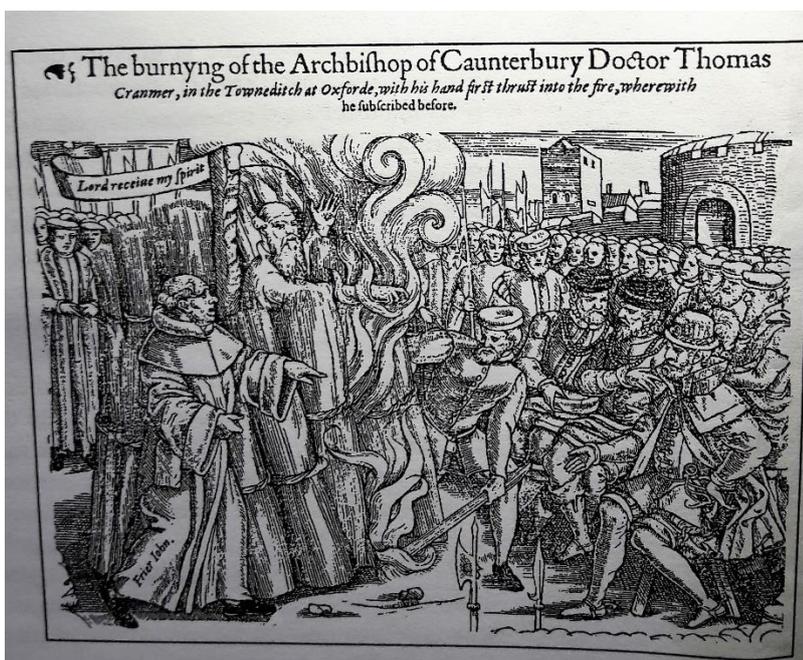


Fig. 3 'The martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer' in John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of the Church Containing the History and Sufferings of the Martyrs*, published in 1838 by Scott, Webster and Geary, London

Satirical commentators such as Ibels could use art to challenge that dominant narrative, and mass print to project his ideas widely into the arena of the public space. The purpose of

<sup>18</sup> Mainz, Valerie and Pollock, Griselda (2016) *Work and the Image*, Aldershot, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Mainz, Valerie (2000) 'Aux armes et aux arts! Blacksmiths at the National Convention' in Mainz and Pollock (eds) *Work and the Image*, Aldershot, p. 35.

the cartoons was to construct an alternative vision of Dreyfus as a victim in a Republic threatened by the clerico-military rather than a traitor outside the nation-family.

### Art as a record of its use as an instrument of change

Visual images have been used to record, agitate for and publicise change for millennia. Knobler noted that between the sixth and first centuries B.C. visual narratives on pottery from the Hellenic and Hellenistic Periods reflected shifts in society, depicting the rising merchant class not the preceding aristocratic conventions.<sup>20</sup> At the same time art has been employed to shore up conservative and religious hierarchies. Louis XIV's reign saw the introduction of reactionary legislation curtailing religious freedoms. There are similar messages about power, authority, invincibility and durability in the paintings of the Sun King and the victory arch erected by Spain's Church-backed dictator Franco, as seen below.<sup>21</sup> All three identify reactionary power aligned with the nation. The portraits show the divinely-appointed king draped in fleur-de-lys robes embodying France and in Testelin's painting its invincibility signified by the soaring stone. The indomitability of Franco's stone arch is reinforced by his name in text on the triumphalist edifice, associated with the Spanish flag to link this power and grandeur to the nation.



Fig. 4 (Left to right) portrait Louis XIV, Hyacinthe Rigaud; portrait Louis XIV, Henri Testelin; Victory Arch in Francoist Madrid.

<sup>20</sup> Knobler, Nathan (1966), *The Visual Dialogue*, New York, pp. 231-2.

<sup>21</sup> Louis XIV revoked the act first opening a path to secularism and pluralism in France. The versatility of art in its application is seen in its use to consolidate reactionary messages in two dimensional paintings, two dimensional paintings depicting three dimensional forms, and a three-dimensional structure with text. For triumphalist architecture and the Victory Arch bearing Franco's name in Madrid, see Graham, Helen (2005) *The Spanish Civil War*, Oxford, p. 116.

Pollock and Mainz argue for the value of the art historical record, regardless of “discontinuities” between the intention of the artist and determining circumstance, and another gap between that historical moment and a later interpretation.<sup>22</sup> This study sees cartoon as visual comment that is almost ‘always of the moment’. This work will seek to understand the artist’s intention and influences to interpret meaning. It is part of why the art is created, published or republished, perhaps with new textual commentary, as Ibels did with his 1898 *Le Sifflet* cartoons. When examining motivational ideas, as this study also does, Mainz found it valuable to compare art that is different in terms of period, format, status and intended audience.<sup>23</sup> In this data set are images from other anti-Jewish debates including a painting of the Mortara affair, an anticlerical caricature by Frid‘Rick predating the polemic, and cartoons from the Beilis case. Comparing and contrasting these respective primary sources is done to isolate trends in anticlerical thinking within anti-Jewish debates and illuminate differences with anticlerical ideas outside of this type of polemic.

Using cartoons and visual satire to explore contemporary ideas

Winslow Ames’ argues that modern cartoons are not only artistic responses but the “sorting out impulses that were creating the modern state, its society, its science and religion”.<sup>24</sup> Using the polemical cartoons adopts Mainz’s methodology to analyse art to unlock 1789 revolutionary ideas to mobilise the nation.<sup>25</sup> Mainz compared low-end black-and-white prints and high-end painting to understand how discrete art forms targeted different viewers for similar aims. This work predominantly uses ‘low art’ to expose “collective attitudes, mentalities and representations” of socio-political issues as Mainz probed the appeal of ‘gloire’ conveyed in the art, one of the ideas invoked in a set of Ibels’ drawings examined, ‘A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner’.<sup>26</sup> Mainz, like Haskell, saw printed art serving as a conduit for communicating with the public. Printed visual satire is an excellent repository of anticlerical, antimilitary and anti-Jewish ideas since its ‘raison d’être’ was to be a carrier of

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<sup>22</sup> Mainz and Pollock, *Work and the Image*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> Mainz, Valerie (2016) *Days of Glory? Imaging Military Recruitment and the French Revolution*, London, p.11.

<sup>24</sup> Maupoint, Micheline 'Un Bon Dessin Vaut Mieux Qu'un Long Discours: The role and impact of cartoons in contemporary France', University of Sussex, 2010, p. 46; Ames, Winslow, 'Origins of Caricature and Cartoon' <https://www.britannica.com/art/caricature-and-cartoon/Comedies-of-manners-the-cartoon> (last accessed 21 August 2017).

<sup>25</sup> Mainz, 'Aux armes et aux arts!', pp. 2, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, p. 11.

ideas rather than an aesthetic object. Citing Paul Martin Lester, Maupoint calls cartoons images with a message.<sup>27</sup> In 1868, the art critic Ernest Chesneau suggested that to find evidence of “the France in which we have lived ... posterity would have to turn to caricaturists” whom he saw as the true ‘peintres de mœurs’.<sup>28</sup> For Haskell also, true insight into the past was more likely to be found in what he called the commonplace, the average, the second-rate, as he argues they constitute a more reliable guide to the mentality of an epoch.<sup>29</sup> That is not to say this study views anticlerical cartoons of the Dreyfusards as ‘second-rate’ but rather views ‘low art’ as rich in the social currency of ideas. Witkin argues that artists were increasingly orientated towards producing art for a public and so reveal the trends, views and ideas in society of society, for society.<sup>30</sup> None were more inclined to this task than the Dreyfusard artists and their opponents.

As an artist of his time, Ibels epitomised his vocation and calling. His work spanned theatre posters, press cartoons and book illustrations and provocative drawings for friends. As Kunzle contended about the “picture story” or cartoon strip, these images could have a more profound influence since that could come from reprints such as the *‘collection complete du Journal Amusant 1856-1883’* advertised in *Journal pour Rire* promoted until at least 1885.<sup>31</sup> Perl argues that reproduced art was art that was already known.<sup>32</sup> Ibels took advantage of this familiarity at the height of the anti-Jewish controversy by republishing cartoons originally carried by *La Sifflet* in *Allons-Y!*. The satirical images gained enhanced longevity as reflectors of socio-political thinking by artists who depicted contemporary issues rather than conventional or traditional subject-matter. It was the desire to agitate for change that prompted Ibels and his one-time friend and Anti-Dreyfusard counterpart Forain, to exchange fine art for political cartooning. Through these cartoons in journals costing half a franc, they could address the masses directly with the ideas that mattered most.<sup>33</sup> Ibels’

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<sup>27</sup> Maupoint, 'Un Bon Dessin', p. 122.

<sup>28</sup> Tr. painters of morals. See Chesneau, Ernest (1868) *Les Nations Rivales dans l'Art*, Paris, pp. 3-4.

<sup>29</sup> Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 363, 372-4.

<sup>30</sup> Witkin, *Art & Social Structure*, p. 83.

<sup>31</sup> Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip*, p. 11; Kunzle interview at [https://getpodcast.com/dk/podcast/new-books-in-art/david-kunzle-rebirth-of-the-english-comic-strip-a-kaleidoscope-1847-18\\_5b5e4f0cec](https://getpodcast.com/dk/podcast/new-books-in-art/david-kunzle-rebirth-of-the-english-comic-strip-a-kaleidoscope-1847-18_5b5e4f0cec), (last accessed 13 December 2021)

<sup>32</sup> Perl, Pierre-Olivier (1994) 'Caricature et opinion: une influence réciproque' in Denis, Michel, Lagrée, Michel, Veillard, Jean-Yves (eds) *L'Affaire Dreyfus et l'opinion publique, en France et à l'étranger*, Rennes, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> Witkin, *Art & Social Structure*, pp. 91-7. Artists of the late Third Republic like Ibels and Forain were educated in famous ateliers or arts schools such as Beaux Arts and Arts Décoratifs; Maupoint, 'Un Bon Dessin', p. 95; Leighton, Patricia 'Réveil Anarchiste': Salon painting, Political Satire, Modernist Art' in *Modernism/Modernity*, volume 2, No 2 (1995), p. 18.

visual satire and book illustrations take their ideas and energy from contemporary struggles, inhabiting the present moment in precisely the manner Witkin alludes to.<sup>34</sup>

One artist as a primary focus for visual record

One benefit of focusing primarily on the oeuvre of one artist, Ibels, is that it allows an overview of how anticlerical ideas evolved during the lifespan of the Dreyfus polemic. This approach was used by Vaughn in his study of Rethel's art to provide a perspective of maturing political ideas in Germany during and after the 1848 Revolution.<sup>35</sup> In the midst of the polemic, Ibels confined himself to lampooning the Cross, either in its dual nature as a sword or as searing critique to show the suffering of Dreyfus crucified. His cruder, lewd images for *Sébastien Roch* published in 1906, a year after the separation of church and state, suggest the artist had the confidence and impunity to traduce not only the clerical hierarchy but to satirise Catholic belief debasing the concept of the Holy Trinity. Despite the fading of his Dreyfusard colours after 1901 his anticlerical ardour never cooled but remained hardened, and intact.

Using Ibels' work as a main source also places in sharp relief ideas that were worked up, reworked, rejected, repeated or reused. This will enable a nuanced analysis of anticlerical attitudes in the anti-Jewish crisis. Doizy and Laloux surveyed and offered insight into a broad collection of French anticlerical images but include few from the Dreyfus debate. Cate, Kleeblatt and Tillier neither investigate anticlericalism *per se* during the controversy nor seek to decode anticlerical or antimilitary ideas.<sup>36</sup> While notably Rémond, Baubérot, Lalouette and Chadwick explore anticlerical trends, they have not conducted an in depth analysis of anticlericalism within the anti-Jewish debate.<sup>37</sup> Birnbaum assesses the satirical images in the Dreyfus polemic but does not focus on its anticlerical ideas.<sup>38</sup> Capéran's focus is sharply on anticlericalism during the controversy but he does not deconstruct visual art.<sup>39</sup> Ibels' contribution to the polemic is tackled head on by de Beyssat but she does not

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<sup>34</sup> For a discussion about the journey of art from representing the dominant ideology to depicting nuanced pluralistic opinion see Witkin, *Art & Social Structure*, pp. 83-4, 93-4.

<sup>35</sup> For an argument on the changes in Rethel's work as the political situation evolved, see Mainz and Pollock, *Work and the Image*, p.7.

<sup>36</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry'; Kleeblatt, 'Introduction'; Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*.

<sup>37</sup> Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme en France*; Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*; Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*; Chadwick, Owen (1975) *The Secularization of the European mind in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, pp. 107- 139.

<sup>38</sup> Birnbaum, *L'Affaire Dreyfus*.

<sup>39</sup> Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus*.

foreground anticlerical or antimilitary ideas. She is, rather, more broadly concerned with the artist's political influences and the artistic milieu he operated in.<sup>40</sup> O'Toole, Katz and Kaplan have examined Ibels' contribution to the Dreyfus polemic but were not driven to expose the anticlerical or antimilitary ideas in his artwork.<sup>41</sup> This thesis takes up that challenge.

Corpus

Taking up Banks and Zeitlyn's caveat that a case should be built up from the weight of evidence a number drawings are scrutinised.<sup>42</sup> This study has examined eleven of Ibels' drawings originally published in *Le Sifflet*, eight of which were republished in *Allons-Y!*, two illustrations from the set of eighteen lithographs from Charpentier's 1897 edition of Zola's *La Terre*; three illustrations from the 1906 edition of Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch*;<sup>43</sup> also included are art for theatre productions, a pastel drawing, an image used as the cover for an album of contemporary prints defining the century for the intellectual lobby and personal drawings for Ibels' allies of Reinach and Byl and the Scheurer-Kestner family. Ibels' written dedications to Zola, the lawyer Ferdinand Labori, Reinach and Byl, and to the family of August Scheurer-Kestner are also tested against the ideas. De Beyssat's work on Ibels' unpublished autobiographical manuscript produced shortly before the artist's death are drawn on. Letters Ibels published in *La Libre Parole* on 3 December 1901 and other contemporary press commentary are employed, as is the accompanying descriptive text in *Allons-Y!* published three years earlier. Limited extracts of Ibels' personal correspondence reproduced by Tillier are utilised.<sup>44</sup>

This body of research has made use of primary sources known to scholars from open archives. However, the analysis, and the readings of all primary sources, is new. The study also used primary sources in private ownership, such as the special signed copy of *Allons-Y!* Ibels had printed for the Dreyfusard lawyer, Ferdinand Labori. Original artworks, as well as digitised reproductions, have been consulted. The research journey began with a surviving copy of John Grand-Carteret's *L'affaire Dreyfus et l'image: 266 caricatures françaises et étrangères (Ed. 1898)* held in the Special Collections at the University of

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<sup>40</sup> De Beyssat, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels'.

<sup>41</sup> O'Toole, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 31-8; Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels'; Katz, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels, Nineteenth-Century Blogger'.

<sup>42</sup> Banks, Marcus and Zeitlyn, David (2015) *Visual Methods in Social Research*, Los Angeles, p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> Mirbeau, (1906) *Sébastien Roch*, Paris.

<sup>44</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, pp. 151-152.

Leeds. The pages of this giant tome were fragile. The author sketched copies of some Ibels' cartoons recognising, indeed sensing, their vigour. The research continued with a digital imprint of this compilation and a digital imprint of Ibels' cartoons republished that same year in his own compendium, *Allons-Y!*. Images first published in *Le Sifflet*, or solely in that journal, were viewed via the online portal of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Ibels' illustrations in Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch* have also been consulted in an original 1906 Fasquelle edition held at the British Library and photocopies made. An original 1897 Charpentier edition of Zola's *La Terre* with Ibels' lithographs was sourced from the University of Toronto, Canada. In the event, the author was unable to travel to Leeds so digital scans were made. This scholarship asserts itself as the first to investigate Ibels and Dreyfusard anticlerical ideas using Ibels' illustration of 'Jesus Christ', as the character Hyacinthe Fouan is known in *La Terre*. The handwritten dedication in the copy of *Allons-Y!* Ibels had printed for Labori was sourced as a digital photograph from Eric Chaim Kline bookseller in Santa Monica, California. Other art by Ibels was viewed in secondary scholarship and online collections and exhibitions such as the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, US.

Henri-Gabriel Ibels' 'Le coup de l'éponge', and 'A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner' require special mention. This thesis has designated the different versions or publications of each artwork as a set. The four versions of 'Le coup de l'éponge' are known to scholarship but their designation as a set is new. The 'Le coup de l'éponge' set comprises a charcoal drawing dedicated to Ibels' antimilitary ally, Arthur Byl; a different, more polished iteration in pen and ink dedicated to fellow Dreyfusard Joseph Reinach; a copy of this version with the caption "pitié!" published in *Le Siècle* on 18 September 1899; and a copy of this image with slight typographical variation in the associated text in a hardback edition of *Les Légendes du Siècle* from 1901. In making her arguments, the author asserts her conviction that this study is the first to reproduce in scholarly discourse the version published on 18 September 1899 in *Le Siècle*. A reproduction of the version of 'Le coup de l'éponge' dedicated to Reinach was first sourced from the fly leaf of the 1972 edition of *The Dreyfus Trials* by Guy Chapman, "sometime professor of modern history, University of Leeds" as it states in that flyleaf.<sup>45</sup> A reproduction of a copy of this version without its Reinach dedication from *Les Légendes des Siècle* was paid-to-view online in Forestier's 2019 essay then online in open

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<sup>45</sup> Chapman, Guy (1972) *The Dreyfus Trials*, flyleaf.

access in the 1901 edition of the series at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme, Paris.<sup>46</sup> The charcoal drawing of 'Le coup de l'éponge' dedicated to Ibels' confrère Byl was viewed in scholarship by Tillier and Kleeblatt.<sup>47</sup> A reproduction of the Byl drawing may be found in the documentation of the Musée d'Orsay while the version for Reinach is located at the Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estamps, Qb 1, 1894.<sup>48</sup>

This study also designates three versions of Ibels' 'A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner' — Ibels' portrait of Dreyfus with his daughter and son — a set. This set comprises the unpublished version with handwritten dedication and two published versions which are identical save for very minor typographical differences in the typecast text. The original version in India ink and pen on paper, presented to the senator's family on 20 September 1899, the day after the senior Dreyfusard died, has been well documented by Kleeblatt.<sup>49</sup> His reproduction and notes on the drawing have been used to offer fresh ideas about anticlericalism and antisemitism in anti-Jewish polemics. The copy published in *Le Siècle* on 25 September 1899 was located and retrieved from microfilm archives at the British Library. The version in *Les Légendes des Siècle*, 1901 was viewed online at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme, Paris.<sup>50</sup> The author is of the opinion this study may be the first to reproduce the version of 'A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner' published in *Le Siècle* on 25 September 1899 in scholarly discourse.

Bertrand Tillier made the author aware of letters from Ibels published in *La Libre Parole* on 3 December 1901. All contemporary papers including *La Libre Parole*, *Le Siècle*, *L'Aurore*, *Le Rappel* and *La Liberté* were viewed online at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and *La Libre Parole* at RetroNews.fr. All other images come from secondary sources and online collections such as the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York City, US. Dr Eddie

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<sup>46</sup> Forestier, Eloise, 'Rachel Beer, the Dreyfus Case, and the Observer: The "Sponge Metaphor"' in *The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals* (Ghent University), 2019, p. 525. <https://mahj.org/fr/decouvrir-collections-betsalel/les-legendes-du-siecle-26003> (last accessed 3 November 2022).

<sup>47</sup> Tillier, Bertrand (2009) *Les Artistes et l'Affaire Dreyfus 1898-1908*, Seyssel, illustrations; Kleeblatt, Norman (1987) 'Plates' in Kleeblatt, Norman (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, Berkeley, p. 260.

<sup>48</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estamps, Qb 1, 1894. With thanks to Bertrand Tillier.

<sup>49</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 241.

<sup>50</sup> <https://mahj.org/fr/decouvrir-collections-betsalel/les-legendes-du-siecle-26003> (last accessed 4 November 2022).

Portnoy generously supplied a digital version of the cartoon of Shmuel Yatskan genuflecting before an effigy of Mendel Beilis from *Latkes*, December 1914.

To support this study's new arguments about anticlerical and antimilitary ideas, reproductions of drawings by Pépin, Couturier, Keronan, Luce, Hermann-Paul, and Anquetin form part of the data set. Agulhon's work interpreting iconography from the 1789 Revolution is employed to understand Republican symbols and their connection with anticlerical thinking.<sup>51</sup> Anti-Dreyfusard images by Gyp, Caran D'Ache, Forain, Léandre, Willette, Clérac, Chanteclair, Courtet, Heidbrinck, Fertom, Dous Y'Nell, Donville, Degas, Lambot, Lenepveu and Lebourgeois have contributed to the study to see how ideas in this art precipitated or remoulded anticlerical ideas about Church and military, justice, truth, equality, Frenchness and Jewishness. Just one example of this symbiotic *quid pro quo* was Ibels' front page cover of *Le Sifflet* on 15 September 1898 depicting the Affair as an unexploded bomb in the hand of a military officer observed by Marianne, the allegorical personification of France. The cartoon was responding to Caran D'Ache's five days earlier which had represented the politician Scheurer-Kestner championing a retrial, lighting the fuse of a bomb labelled revision in the presence of Marianne.<sup>52</sup>

### Interpreting the art

A major problem this study must tackle is how to interpret the visual language in which anticlerical messages were couched. The challenge of interpretation cannot be overcome with the aid of any captions or original titles alone as they are only part of the puzzle and do not necessarily offer a translation of the meaning of the image itself. Indeed, the meaning of the whole cartoon frequently derives from what may be a contradictory interplay or tension between the image and accompanying legend. Before elaborating on the theoretical models used to confront this challenge, it should be noted that the Dreyfusard and other cartoons do not necessarily speak the truth but are not being assessed as such. The methodology being used is not one that seeks to establish the truth of the stories the art is telling but rather has the task of identifying the ideas the art is representing as truth to its audience.

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<sup>51</sup> Agulhon, *Marianne into battle*, passim.

<sup>52</sup> Reproduced in de Beyssat, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', p. 15.

In seeking to interpret the images, the project adopts Warburton's position that the public cartoon is a cultural artefact. For Warburton, the public cartoon has a fixed meaning, grounded in its cultural and temporal context at the time of its production.<sup>53</sup> Warburton applied this approach to decode newspaper cartoons critiquing government education policy in 1970s Britain.<sup>54</sup> The thinking of a range of scholars including Spencer, Thompson, Rose, Pollock and Mainz, Kress and van Leeuwen and Seymour-Ure, who advocate for interpretation of the art to be rooted in historical contextualisation, is being advanced by this research.<sup>55</sup> The approach can be summed up by Rose's argument calling for a critical visual methodology that "thinks about the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded".<sup>56</sup> This investigation will locate the work within its socio-political context to extricate the meaning the artist intended to convey to his or her audience at the moment of its production.

Interpreting cartoons is, perhaps, more challenging than reading any other art since, as Seymour-Ure and Knobler contend, it is a form of communication which sometimes expresses the 'unsayable' as in the drawing below recording the practice of torture.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Warburton, Terry (1998) 'Cartoons and Teachers: Mediated Visual Images as Data' in Prosser, Jon (ed) *Image-based Research*, London, p. 252.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252 – 62.

<sup>55</sup> Spencer, Stephen (2011) *Visual Research Methods in the Social Sciences: awakening visions*, Abingdon; Thompson, John B (1990) *Ideology and Modern Culture*, Cambridge; Rose, Gillian (2001) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials: An Introduction to Interpreting Visual Objects*, London; Mainz and Pollock, *Work and the Image*, Aldershot; Kress, Gunter and van Leeuwen, Theo (2006) *Reading Images*, Abingdon; Seymour-Ure (2009) 'Cartoons' in Franklin, Bob (ed) *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analysing Print Journalism*, London.

<sup>56</sup> Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Seymour-Ure, 'Cartoons', p. 82; For a discussion on how drawings, such as maps and diagrams can show information that photographs cannot see Knobler, *The Visual Dialogue*, p.15; Moss, 'Cartoons in Atrocity Propaganda', p. 57.



Fig. 5 Drawing by a former political prisoner

This notion of using a cartoon to advance sensitive, inflammatory or controversial ideas is articulated by Freud. He argued that content incorporating some form of joke allows ideas about an adversary to be exposed that could not easily be brought forward openly elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Yet the joke, as Feaver posits, is often in a highly condensed or compacted form.<sup>59</sup> The study concurs with Howells' position for using multiple approaches to interpret art and agrees with Geertz's suggestion that deciphering meaning in visual culture is not an "experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning".<sup>60</sup> The task is to decipher visual satire articulating provocative commentary using a visual 'language' from more than a century ago in another verbal language and culture.

#### Theoretical approaches to decoding the 'inner life' of the cartoon

The next hurdle was to devise a consistent theoretical approach for capturing meaning in the art. For this, a bespoke methodology has been developed using the signifying and signified elements of Barthes' theory of semiotic decoding, developed from the nineteenth century ideas of Sassure and Pierce.<sup>61</sup> The approach is similar to the treatment Mainz

<sup>58</sup> McGlade, R (2013) *Seriously Funny – towards an interpretive framework for an analysis of Catalan satirical cartoons in the twentieth century*, p. 25; Freud, Sigmund (1905/2001) *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, London, pp. 103-5.

<sup>59</sup> Feaver, *Masters of Caricature*, p. 95.

<sup>60</sup> Howells, Richard (2003) *Visual Culture*, Cambridge, p. 47. Spencer, *Visual Research Methods*, p. 132.

<sup>61</sup> Barthes, 'Myth today', pp. 54-5.

employed in examining a black-and-white print from the etching and engraving of Nicolas Guérard le fils to investigate the concept of 'gloire' during the French Revolution. Mainz suggests that the print inscribed with words appeared to be a more "directed semiotic event". Images from the Dreyfus controversy are decoded as 'semiotic events'.<sup>62</sup> The approach also echoes Alina Curticapean's semiotic reading of pro-EU accession cartoons to analyse Balkanist discourse. Curticapean argues that "cartoonists had to tap into familiar narrations that their readers can access with ease".<sup>63</sup> In the methodology used, the art is examined to see how ideas conjured and connected with larger narratives from anti-Jewish polemics in line within the concept of Barthesian myth.<sup>64</sup> The illustrations and cartoons are interpreted using Barthesian theory of myth to see what ideas were evoked in the construction of 'myths' about the Republican project, the Church and military, and Jewish 'otherness'. In so doing, this work is the first to bring together strands of scholarship from Barthes and Agulhon.<sup>65</sup>

In the methodology selected images will be interpreted according to a tripartite semiotic reading. This was chosen as a way of excavating ideas from an earlier chronological period and culture, substantiating interpretations using other primary sources and secondary scholarship. The tripartite readings will identify the signifying content, what is being signified; and the mythical narrative. This bespoke approach will allow a primary examination of the artwork devoid of cultural signifiers. The second will reveal what is signified, as termed by Barthes. The second reading allows those cultural and temporal referentials to inform the interpretation, revealing as Panofsky contends "the influence of theological, philosophical or political ideas... [as well as] ... the purposes and inclinations of individual artists and patrons".<sup>66</sup> This layer of meaning was the one that carried an emotional value that could be positively or negatively charged by a hostile or sympathetic artist.<sup>67</sup> The third reading connects the ideas to the larger myth or narratives the image is part of. As an example, Ibels' 'Le Coup du Père François' published in *Le Sifflet* then

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<sup>62</sup> 'Street Scene of Water Carriers, Baker's Boy, Recruiters' etching and engraving. See Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, p. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Curticapean, Alina 'Walls, doors and exciting encounters: Balkanism and its edges in Bulgarian political cartoons on European integration', in Stoccheitti, Matteo and Kukkonen, Karin (eds) *Images of Use*, Philadelphia, p. 154.

<sup>64</sup> Barthes, Roland 'Myth Today' (2013) in Evans, Jessica and Hall, Stuart (eds) *Visual Culture: a reader*, London, p. 51; see also Howells, Richard (2003) *Visual Culture*, Cambridge, pp. 101-103.

<sup>65</sup> Agulhon, *Marianne into battle*, passim.

<sup>66</sup> Panofsky, Erwin (1987) *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth, p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> McKee, Robert (2006) *Story*, Oxford, pp. 258-9.

republished in *Allons-Y!* is interpreted using the tripartite semiotic methodology. The cartoon is subject to a primary reading registering pure content. The second reading will examine signified content. The third reading considers how these ideas interconnect with the wider milieu of overarching socio-political narratives.

Howells considered that Barthes' semiotic methodology lacked clarity but applied a tripartite structuring to Barthes' analysis of a front-page photograph of *Paris-Match* as this study will do to images. At the first level of this semiotic sign system Barthes established the signifier in the *Paris-March* photo was a young black man in French uniform saluting with "eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour".<sup>68</sup> But what did it signify? Barthes cautioned that the image tapped in "less [to] a reality than a certain knowledge or reality".<sup>69</sup> The image signified a perception of the world. At the second level of interpretation, Barthes saw the soldier in his pictorial setting as rejecting critiques of colonialism. Barthes extrapolated meaning further to understand the myth the photograph was articulating; that France was a global empire, served by all its peoples of all colours near and far, free of discrimination. This mythical interpretation is interpreted as a response of its time in Barthes' own observation that the photograph called on the viewer to think "*look at this good Negro who salutes like one of our own boys*".<sup>70</sup>

Howells applied this tripartite semiotic theory to decode images used to rebrand the Renault 19 for the British market as sexy where previously it had been seen as frumpish. For Howells, the signifiers of a handsome young Catholic priest in dark glasses owning and driving the car in a Southern Italian town had connotations of temptation, seduction, urban "cool", culture, and the appeal of temperate climes associated with the 'feel-good' of holidaying. In the advert, the abbot of the priest's seminary buys the convertible version of the car. Howells concludes the mythical narrative was that to own the Renault 19 was to acquire irresistible sexual allure and happiness.<sup>71</sup> These different levels of interpreting the image are applied to the Dreyfusard and other illustrations.

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<sup>68</sup> Allen, Graham (2003) *Roland Barthes*, London, p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> Barthes, 'Myth Today', p. 56.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-7.

<sup>71</sup> Howells, *Visual Culture*, pp. 108-10.

## Ideology

Barthes contended that “rhetoric ... appears as the signifying aspect of ideology”.<sup>72</sup> The study draws on scholarship about reading art ideologically. Thompson argued that to understand ideology we need to look beyond the internal content of a mass text.<sup>73</sup> This thinking is applied to the decoded images. The project uses primary and secondary sources to probe the thinking of left-leaning social groups. These include those congregating around the production of the literary journal for the intelligentsia *La Revue Blanche* or involved in the Ligue de Droits de l’Homme, an association to defend citizens’ rights like Dreyfus’.<sup>74</sup> Datta suggested the collaboration of Jewish and other liberal artists at *La Revue Blanche* created seeding beds for anticlerical ideas which this thesis suggests led to offshoot platforms such as Ibels’ launch of the Dreyfusard journal, *Le Sifflet*. Datta’s work on liberal Jews at *La Revue Blanche* can be juxtaposed with Bourdieu’s argument about members of stigmatised minorities being attracted to participate in the artistic field opposing the dominant political class.<sup>75</sup> The methodology takes account of Bourdieu’s model of ‘habitus’ and ‘field’, and ideas about how power, and hostility to that power, act on artists to produce cultural content in their social universe.<sup>76</sup> Bourdieu’s principle is employed to locate Ibels’ ideas within a social universe of artists reframing political events in opposition to the dominant regime. However, that Ibels’ anticlerical ideas arose from a different plane than his artistic milieu alone is evident from the differences in opinion held by his erstwhile Parisian peers Forain and Willette.

Contemporaneous commentary from the French journalist Grand-Carteret and his collection of cartoons published in 1898, the Jewish Léon Blum’s memoirs written in 1935, Bernard Lazare’s arguments, and Ibels’ own commentary in *Allons-Y!* will serve to provide a richer contextualising commentary of Dreyfusard thought. These strategies will provide a more muscular contextualisation through which to interpret the satirical art and avoid what Thompson calls “the fallacy of internalism” in which he cautions against the assumption that

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<sup>72</sup> Barthes, Roland (1986) ‘Rhetoric of the Image’ in Barthes, Roland *The Responsibility of Forms* (critical essays, translated by Howard, Richard) Oxford, p. 38.

<sup>73</sup> Howells, *Visual Culture*, p. 88; Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, p. 291.

<sup>74</sup> See Waller and Seiberling, *Artists of the Revue Blanche*, passim; Datta, ‘The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism’, pp. 113-129. See the founding of what John McManners calls the “anticlerical” Ligue de l’Enseignement by Jean Macé in 1866 in McManners, *Church and State*, pp. 29, 46.

<sup>75</sup> Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 165.

<sup>76</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production*, Cambridge, pp. 162-4; *ibid.*, p. 71; Howells, *Visual Culture*, p. 89.

it is possible to understand the “characteristics and consequences of symbolic forms by attending to the symbolic forms alone, without reference to the socio-historical conditions and everyday processes within and by means of which these symbolic forms are produced and received”.<sup>77</sup> Responding to Thompson, this project draws on Spencer’s recommendation to anchor the interpretations of visual art to other forms of historical and social evidence to make it less speculative.<sup>78</sup> The interpretation of the ideas of Ibels, therefore, are placed in the intellectuals’ value system as argued by Datta, and Waller and Seiberling.<sup>79</sup>

### Visual devices within the image

The tripartite semiotic interpretations will be assisted by a close examination of compositional elements inside the images to tease out anticlerical, antimilitary and anti-Jewish ideas. Kress and van Leeuwen looked at the use of shading.<sup>80</sup> In the Dreyfusard canon this could stand not only for light and dark but good and bad or right and wrong to demonise the Church or clergy as in the dark birds attacking the Republic as the sun sets in Ibels’ ‘La Semeuse’. These representations of light and darkness are decoded. What Kress and Leeuwen call “vectors” are seen to play a major role in signifying meaning in the art, such as where a figure is represented in such a way as to be seen to be making a direct appeal to the viewer or avoiding their gaze, a device put to work to create hostility in Heidbrinck’s ‘Le Traître’, examined in chapter five. These ploys made the illustrations what Williams and Hall call “active agents”.<sup>81</sup> Style of address to the viewer, angle, height, depth, right and left position, perspective, contrast, and the flattening of space through blank background also contribute to meaning and are scrutinised for how they articulate anticlerical ideas and what their message is.<sup>82</sup> Other content being closely examined spans allusions, metonymy, puns, paradoxes and the use of outline — something prevalent in

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<sup>77</sup> Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, p. 291.

<sup>78</sup> Spencer, *Visual Research Methods*, p. 158.

<sup>79</sup> Waller and Seiberling, *Artists of the Revue Blanche*, passim; Datta, ‘The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism’, pp. 113-29.

<sup>80</sup> Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, p. 49.

<sup>81</sup> Sturken, Marita and Cartwright, Lisa (2009) *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, New York, p. 3; Hall, Stuart (1997) ‘Introduction’ in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London.

<sup>82</sup> For vectors, Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images* pp. 43, 49, 81, 105-7, 117-9; for right and left, Adams, *The Methodologies of Art*, pp. 43, 148; for height, Kress and van Leeuwen, pp.140, 145; for angles pp. 133-6; see Sturken and Cartwright, *Practices of Looking*, for contrast, composition, depth, perspective, style of address p. 26; flattening of space, p. 31.

lbels' work. Seymour-Ure argues these devices were artistic conventions that were well-understood by contemporary viewers.<sup>83</sup> Suggestions from Spencer tested for anticlerical meaning are choice of subject, point of view displayed, framing of the image and timing of its appearance in a publication.<sup>84</sup>

Drawing on the concept of the modern visual joke argued by Feaver to deconstruct anticlerical, antimilitary and antisemitic ideas, the notion of the element of surprise in incongruity theory, as posited by McClade, is explored in the cartoons.<sup>85</sup> The application of what Lucie-Smith called a 'reversal of expectation' to create shock, humour and ridicule in caricature, is examined.<sup>86</sup> Lewdness and the juxtaposition of the sacred and profane to create hostile meaning is another strand of ideas investigated in the visual polemics. As touched on above, and as will be examined further in chapter three, lbels' erotic trinity in *Sébastien Roch* deployed this as did Gyp in her sexualised representation of Moses to represent Jewishness in 'En Balade' as below (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 'En Balade', Gyp, *Le Rire*, No. 106, 14 November 1896

Haskell has shown that obscene imagery provided a rich seam in Protestant critiques of the Roman Catholic Church, such as in the Elizabethan representation of the Pope as the

<sup>83</sup> Seymour-Ure, 'Cartoons', pp. 80-1.

<sup>84</sup> Spencer, *Visual Research Methods*, p.133.

<sup>85</sup> Feaver, *Masters of Caricature*, p. 95.

<sup>86</sup> Lucie-Smith, *The Art of Caricature*, pp. 34-5.

Devil's genitalia. In the cartoons of the Dreyfus crisis a more realistic explicitness was deployed. They tended to hint at and sometimes show explicit acts and actions rather than parts of the anatomy. Arousal, rape, sexual congress and sexual abuse of minors by priests as well as scatological iconography — all of these were to be found in the polemical images of the anti-Jewish debate. Mimicry is another major device exploited by Ibels and others in the polemic. The messages of all these visual devices are decoded.

### Antimilitarism in the Affair

The tripartite semiotic methodology is applied to antimilitary themes which form a major constituent part in the Dreyfusard anticlerical art. Ibels' representations of the military in *Le Sifflet* and *Allons-Y!*, along with his literary commentary in the latter, are scrutinised for what they have to say about the role of the military in the Dreyfus polemic, about the clerico-military conspiracy, and about the interlinkage of military elite and high-ranking clergy, particularly among the Jesuits and Assumptionists. Ibels' art tapped into the metonymic concept of "le sabre et le goupillon" taken up by other contemporary artists like Jossot and Grand-Jouan.<sup>87</sup> This was what might be called a favourite 'anticlerical shorthand', akin to a twenty-first century soundbite, for the Dreyfusard conviction of collusion between Church and military. Ibels returned to the sense of this duality a number of times as in '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' in which a French worker tries to discern whether it is a Cross or a sword looming on the horizon.<sup>88</sup>

### Figures

Hochberg's model argues that a person's "expressive features serve to signal what that person will do next", suggesting lines and patterns in caricature are encoded as real-life gestures are.<sup>89</sup> This will be used to examine facial expression in clerical, military and Jewish figuration as will Hochberg's argument that "an accidental feature of physiognomic endowment" could be used not only to identify an individual but become characteristic of some expressive stance and so relate to the way in which the viewer thinks of that

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<sup>87</sup> Tr. the sword and cassock; Doizy and Laloux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 77.

<sup>88</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 57.

<sup>89</sup> Hochberg, Julian (1970) 'The representation of Things and People' in Mandelbaum, Maurice (ed) *Art, Perception and Reality*, Baltimore, pp. 88-9.

individual.<sup>90</sup> Applying scholarship from Haskell, Knobler, Lalouette, Lucie-Smith, and Maupoint to representations of Jews within the anti-Jewish dynamic, this work explores how distortion of the figure, which can include the grotesque, is suggestive of meaning.<sup>91</sup> The enlarged head of a twelfth century stone devil beside a realistically-proportioned Christ rejected the conventional method of representing the figure to scale to give fright. By the time of the Dreyfus controversy when anatomical knowledge was far more widespread, this tactic could still be used to create alarm and the perception of abnormality and alienation. Gyp used magnified size in her representation of Jewish figures to suggest inflated egos, oppression and otherness, as seen in 'Il nous écrase et nous pressure, et plane au-dessus de nous'.<sup>92</sup>

### 'Otherness'

The visual satire of the Dreyfus polemic propelled these perceptions of 'otherness' deep into France. Nancy Fitch contended that cartoons helped to build antisemitic ideology in 'la France profonde'.<sup>93</sup> The secondary pillar is particularly concerned with how the representation of the Jew substantiated notions of otherness. Palu suggested binary metaphorical descriptions serve as tools to denote the 'other' as evil and 'demon-like' and reinforce notions of "us" as noble and "knight-like" to explain abstract concepts of security and insecurity. In exploring the distribution of values in the public sphere, Palu cited Stocchetti to argue that images make use of the politics of the visualisation of fear.<sup>94</sup> As discussed, the arguments of Baubérot, Bruce, Blom, Pierrard and Laqueur will be drawn on to link protests and tensions in the secularising Third Republic to investigate the differing strands in 'othering' representations of the Jew in the anti-Jewish polemic.

### Anticlerical ideas in the 'anti-Jewish' polemic

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.91.

<sup>91</sup> Unknown artist, twelfth century, 'The Temptation of Christ' (scene on a stone capital) in Autun Cathedral, France; see Knobler, *The Visual Dialogue*, pp. 231-2; "Anthropologie libre penseuse du clergé" – free thought anthropology of the clergy in Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée*, pp. 219-54; for exaggeration combined with obscenity, Lucie-Smith, *The Art of Caricature*, pp. 34-5; and Haskell, *History and It's Images*, p. 369; for the grotesque, Maupoint, 'Un Bon Dessin', p.101.

<sup>92</sup> Tr. He crushes us and squeezes us, and hovers over us... Oh the Masters.

<sup>93</sup> Fitch, Nancy, 'Mass Culture, Mass Parliamentary Politics and Modern Antisemitism: the Dreyfus Affair in Rural France' in *American Historical Review*, Vol 97, No 1, (February 1992) pp. 55-95.

<sup>94</sup> Palu, Helle (2011) in Stocchetti, Matteo and Kukkonen, Karin (eds) *Images in Use*, Philadelphia, pp. 151-75.

The competitive nature of cartoons was a crucial ingredient in driving anticlerical ideas in the polemic. This included the use of mimicry, explored in chapter three. Such subverted images were time-critical if the joke was to be most appreciated, with publication a short time after the original, to facilitate what Geipel refers to as a “cartoon riposte”. Geipel refers to such a relationship being played out between the English caricaturist Hogarth and his adversaries seeking to outwit each other, in that case as part of personal enmity, played out in art and poetry in the public domain.<sup>95</sup> In the conflictual environment of the Dreyfus case text as well as artistic content was appropriated as in Léon Gambetta’s famous phrase ‘—, voilà l’ennemi’, and in the use of ‘A bas —’ which anticlericals applied to ‘la calotte’<sup>96</sup> and antisemites to ‘les juifs’.<sup>97</sup>

At this point, it is an apposite moment to ask, what is anticlericalism and how do we define anticlerical thought? The first use of the word with the oppositional prefix appears to have been in the mid eighteenth century, more than a century before the expression ‘antisemitism’ came into use.<sup>98</sup> Within the context of the anti-Jewish crisis, is it anti-Church? Anti-clergy? Anti-religion? Anti-dogma? Rémond had contended “anticlericalism n’est l’apanage d’aucun group sociale”.<sup>99</sup> To an extent, anticlericalism embraced all these but during the polemic there was broad consensus about opposing what was seen as a politically-motivated Gallican Church allied to the military. This translated into the strong surge of antimilitary thinking found in the ideas expressed in the cartoons studied in chapter four. In the context of the anti-Jewish debate antimilitarism can be seen to have drawn from a broad spectrum of groups uniting disparate thinkers such as naturalist author Zola, socialist Jean Jaurès, Ibels and even the antisemite-anticlerical Urbain Gohier.<sup>100</sup>

Anticlericalism, like anti-Jewish sentiment, had a long history not least in visual expression. Even the defiant doodles on the outside of the margin in medieval manuscripts were a form of anticlerical commentary in that they articulated a rejection of the prescribed and proscribed, a foray into the dangerous and provocative, an early kind of satirical or

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<sup>95</sup> Geipel, John (1972) *The Cartoon: A short history of graphic comedy and satire*, Newton Abbot, pp. 62-3.

<sup>96</sup> Tr. The clergy.

<sup>97</sup> Glasberg, Victor ‘Intent and Consequences: The “Jewish Question” in the French Socialist Movement of the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Jewish Social Studies*, Jan 1, 1974; 36, 1, *Periodicals Archive Online* p. 68.

<sup>98</sup> <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anticlerical#h1> (last accessed 10 December 2021).

<sup>99</sup> Tr. Anticlericalism is not the preserve of any group. See Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme*, p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> For Gohier, see Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse*, p. 6.

humorous 'free thought'. A cartoon from before the 1789 Revolution, progenitor to the Third Republic, took aim against the first estate of the clergy representing a priest wearing a gold cross and fine clothes, carried on the back of the peasant along with the nobility. The cartoon made its political point through a very clever optical illusion on a par with the visual tricks of the twentieth century graphic artist, Escher, as seen below (fig. 7).



Fig. 7 'A faut espérer qu'eu s'jeu la finira bentot', L'auteur en campagne<sup>101</sup> A P, 1789.

By the Dreyfus crisis, the country's psyche had absorbed the fall of the Restoration, two empires and two earlier republics. Despite fierce opposition, the laicisation project was well underway, as shown by the founding of the anticlerical League of Education which moreover by 1870 was supported by leading politicians.<sup>102</sup> The popular tactic of repurposing ideas old and new in the cartoons is seen below (fig. 8) in Caran D'Ache's transformation of the joke about the 'jeu' in the original 1789 drawing into one attacking the Jew in the context of the polemic.

<sup>101</sup> Tr. We have to hope that this game will be over soon, the campaigning author.

<sup>102</sup> McManners, *Church and State*, pp. 29, 46.

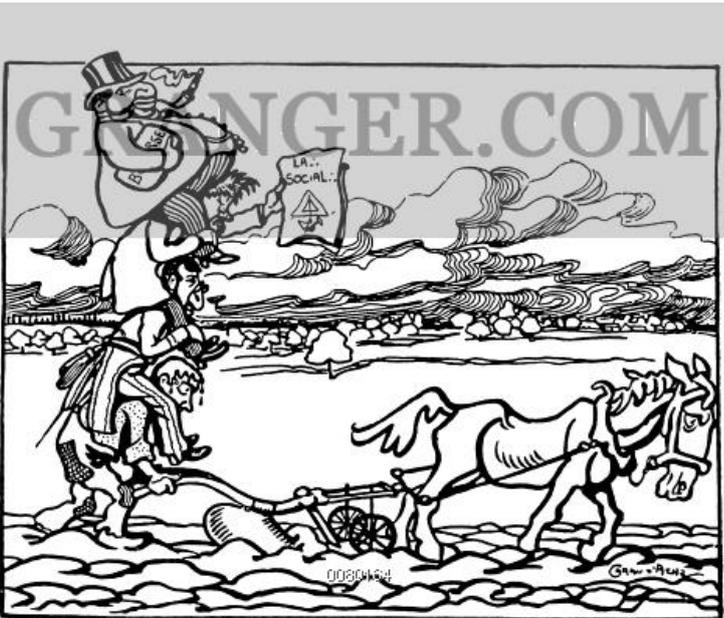
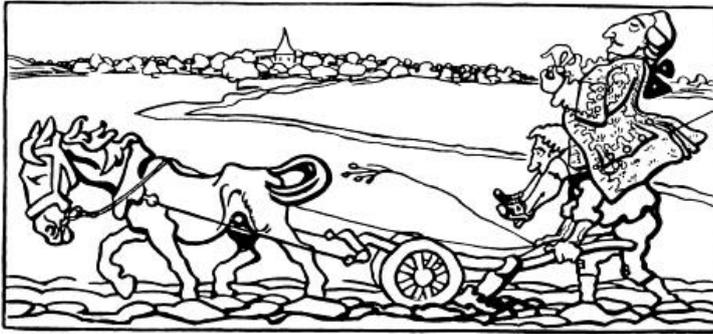


Fig. 8 'The French Revolution: Before and After', Caran d'Ache, 1898

Caran D'Ache's antisemitic, pro-clerical satirical diptych notably omitted the clergyman from his repurposing of the original image while depicting the Jew, supported by Freemasonry, as the chief oppressor after the Revolution. The use of Ibels' work to study this clash of anticlerical and pro-Jewish rights on the one hand, and pro-clerical and antisemitic ideas on the other, allows changes and graduations in anticlerical ideas to be gauged at either end of the anti-Jewish dispute. It has also identified a shift in the perception of the stability of the Republic and the degree of agency it is credited with by Ibels earlier and later in the controversy. Laurent Gervereau argues the nineteenth century was the 'century of the image'.<sup>103</sup> In the culture war of the Dreyfus crisis the image could help in the formation of a national, or public, consciousness.<sup>104</sup> From Ibels' cartoons of priests on the attack to the Dreyfusard art gallery owner who papered his walls with copies of Zola's 'J'Accuse...!' the

<sup>103</sup> Doizy and Laloux, 'À Bas La Calotte!', p. 15.

<sup>104</sup> <https://culture.pl/en/article/poland-the-power-of-images-at-the-national-museum-in-warsaw> (last accessed 11 December 2021).

day after publication, the polemic was a battleground of ideas fought through the image in the public space.<sup>105</sup>

The main pillar's supplementary aim

A second aim of this main objective of research is to see if similar ideas were held by both Ibels and the well-known Dreyfusard, Emile Zola, seen below (fig. 9).

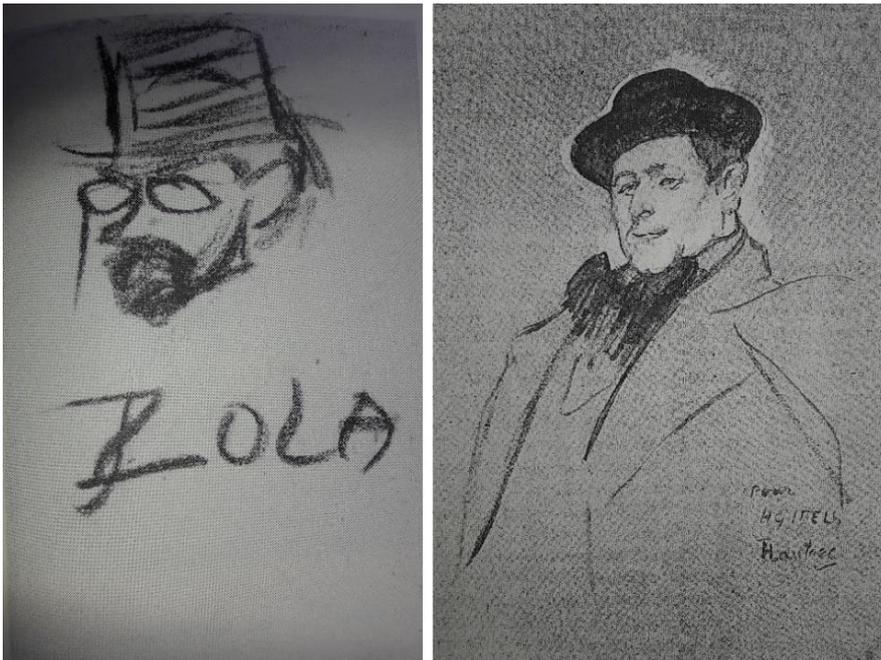


Fig. 9 (Left) 'Zola', Picasso, 1900; Toulouse-Lautrec's portrait of Ibels, 1893

This project began with an understanding that there was common cause, and a sense that there was an affinity, between Emile Zola and Ibels. Both men were known to contemporaries as journalists. Ibels had worked directly with Zola's ideas as the illustrator of his novel, *La Terre*. Censorship of caricatures lasting into the previous decade was largely receding although Ibels, like Zola, was pursued by the authorities and had to pay 'amendes' or fines. Zola and Ibels both faced sanction from the law for their publications. Zola was convicted of libel in his seminal case and Ibels was fined. But these were felt to be necessary wounds from a struggle in which both men held similar views about law and order, and chapter three examines Ibels' expression of this in his cartoon 'Dans le Maquis'.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Gallery owner Eugène Blot; Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, p. 13.

<sup>106</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 53

Ibels moved in circles with Jewish thinkers. The Nabi artist set, of which Ibels was part, socialised and vacationed with the Jewish Natanson family, the directors of *La Revue Blanche* to which he contributed.<sup>107</sup> Before Dreyfus was pardoned, Ibels was an indefatigable and vociferous campaigner for the cause, like Zola. Zola's influence on Ibels is apparent from before Ibels illustrated Zola's *La Terre*. One of Ibels' theatre posters, promoting Georges Hauptmann's play 'Les Tisserands' (The Weavers), offers a palpable link to Zola's ideas. Ibels was given a free hand to produce this promotional image in May 1893. Disconcertingly, the artist produced a tableau not of weavers but of miners, shovelling mountains of slate into coal trucks, as seen below (fig. 10).<sup>108</sup>



Fig. 10 'Les Tisserands', Ibels, 1893. Lithograph in four colours on laid paper, 29 cm x 40.6cm

It is plausible and indeed logical that this was in some way due to Zola's highly influential work *Germinal*, with its graphic tale of suffering in the coalminers' strike in northern France in the 1860s. Born in 1867, Ibels would have read this as a young man, perhaps as an eighteen-year old when ideas are formed, which might go some way to explaining his unusual choice of content for the poster.<sup>109</sup> This contention is lent further credence by Ibels' dedication of *Allons-Y!* to Zola as the author of *Germinal* as "un homme", or 'human-being'. Ibels' shows himself admiring of Zola as an author, praising him as an artist, as the

<sup>107</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 74; Datta, 'The Dreyfus Affair', pp. 113-29.

<sup>108</sup> de Beyssat, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 6-7.

<sup>109</sup> Ibels had read *Germinal* by the time he dedicated *Allons-Y!* to Zola, aged 31.

humanitarian author of *Germinal*, and as a citizen by implication of the Republic, who penned ‘J’Accuse...!’ However, by 3 December 1901, only ten months before Zola’s early death, Ibels had moved from his position of relentless defiance and hitherto universally staunch defence of Jews to sharp criticism. He voiced this in two letters published together in *La Libre Parole*, the newspaper of his erstwhile enemy, Drumont, addressing him as such, as seen below (fig 11).<sup>110</sup> Ibels began his statement to Drumont saying while he thought “religious wars odious” he had “confounded religion with race”.



Fig. 11 Ibels’ letter to Drumont,  
*La Libre Parole*, 3 Dec 1901

The second letter, published in *La Libre Parole* on the same date, seen below (fig. 12) was addressed to the Messieurs Bernheim, sellers of paintings in Rue Laffitte, Paris. It spoke of the difficulties Ibels had had selling his work because of his visibility as a prominent Dreyfusard. He expresses outrage that one of his paintings was undersold for just 12 francs when the frame had already cost fifty, which he presumably paid himself.

<sup>110</sup> <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-libre-parole/3-decembre-1901/691/1966289/1> (last accessed 29 October 2021).

surance de ma considération distinguée,  
**H.-V. IBELS,**  
*Artiste peintre et dessinateur,*  
*11 bis, rue Marbout.*

*A Messieurs Bernheim,*  
 MARCHANDS DE TABLEAUX, RUE LAFFITTE

Admirateurs de mon talent! de mon courage! de mon désintéressement! vous venez, messieurs, de commettre à mon égard une petite infamie que je tiens à relever de suite.

Une de mes toiles, entre vos mains, à l'Hôtel des Ventes, a été volontairement lâchée pour douze francs: il est vrai que c'est une des rares œuvres qui aient été réellement vendues ce jour-là!

Votre attitude a révolté plusieurs de mes amis qui sont venus me faire part de leur indignation.

Dessinateur, depuis et à cause de l'« Affaire », il m'était très difficile de placer des dessins dans les journaux; peintre, je ne me laisserai pas déprécier et ruiner, une seconde fois, par ceux-là mêmes que j'ai défendus avec courage et désintéressement.

Je ne suis pas seul à m'apercevoir que la grande et belle *Affaire d'humanité* n'a été qu'une sale affaire politique et commerciale, facilitant aux Juifs la conquête du pouvoir et l'acaparement de toutes les productions.

En tous les cas, je ne me suis pas personnellement battu pendant trois ans, au nom de la Vérité et de la Justice, pour que le citoyen Millerand devienne baron, le couturier Paquin chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, et pour que MM. Bernheim, marchands de tableaux, s'amusement publiquement à vendre douze francs une toile dont le cadre en vaut déjà cinquante!

Ce dernier incident, très banal en apparence, termine pour moi une longue série d'avaries dont j'ai souffert silencieusement et hâtement, j'ose le dire, comme j'oserai dire, du reste, tout ce que j'ai vu de beau et de laid dans cette galère où j'étais entré, avec quelques autres, pour délivrer un innocent.... Hélas!

H.-V. IBELS.

**AU JOUR LE JOUR**

Fig. 12 Ibels' letter to Messieurs Bernheim, *La Libre Parole*, 3 December 1901

Ibels' 'volte-face' in the letters, including the one of only two paragraphs to Drumont, came after a split within the Dreyfusard camp, referred to as 'the Labori-Reinach' quarrel on the same front page of *La Libre Parole* of 3 December.<sup>111</sup> However, Ibels was articulating a more personal factor for his change of heart. He names two Jewish individuals, Millerand and Paquin who have emerged with distinction from the crisis and been awarded honours, one the title of baron, the other the lègion d'honneur. It was not for this, Ibels declares, that he entered "la grande et belle Affaire d'humanité" and fought for three years for "au nom de la Vérité et de la Justice".<sup>112</sup> The letter explains Ibels entered the polemic with "disinterest" and "courage" to free "an innocent". Ibels identifies the matter of the painting as the final straw in a series of "insults". The extract below makes clear the difficulties and challenges he faced as an artist who declared his colours as a Dreyfusard in the struggle for human rights:

<sup>112</sup> Tr. The great and beautiful Affair of Humanity // In the name of Truth and of Justice.

“Dessinateur, depuis et à cause de l’ ‘Affaire’ il m’était très difficile de placer des dessins dans les journaux; peintre, je ne me laisserai pas déprécier et ruiner, une seconde fois, par ceux-là mêmes que j’ai défendues avec courage et désintéressement... Je ne suis pas seul à m’apercevoir que la grande et belle *Affaire d’humanité* n’a été qu’une sale affaire politique et commerciale, facilitante aux Juifs la conquête du pouvoir et l’accaparement de toutes les productions”.<sup>113</sup> Both letters are published in *La Libre Parole* as from ‘H V Ibels’ not H G Ibels. Bertrand Tillier sees this as a typographic error.<sup>114</sup>

This study must take a close look at the published letters to ensure veracity and authenticity. After all, Drumont had used his paper to stoke antisemitic falsehoods seven years previously and played a significant role in the genesis of the crisis. First, the letters are given an editorial fanfare on *La Libre Parole*’s front page. The introduction references *Le Sifflet* without naming it as a “weekly pamphlet sold on the boulevards ... that wished to oppose *Psst...!*”. This editorial states with a mixture of jibes and flattery that the ‘pamphlet’ “n’avait de valeur que par l’oeuvre d’Ibels ... Sous quels traits, dans quelles attitudes grimaçantes Edouard Drumont était représenté! Notre Directeur riait de bon cœur à voir ces charges. Il en a gardé la collection avec celle de toutes les caricatures...”<sup>115</sup> The editorial and Ibels letters are published under the headline ‘Le vérité en marche’. Zola’s war-cry and Dreyfusard ammunition from the hottest part of the Affair have been appropriated not only as a taunt but to reinforce conviction in Ibels as the author of the letters. Yet this, too, could be journalistic fakery.

The wider context of ‘Ibels’ letters was the schism in the Dreyfusard camp, trumpeted on *La Libre Parole*’s same front page. Following the beleaguered Dreyfus’ acceptance of a pardon, a general amnesty had been recognised by the Chamber of Deputies in December 1900 for all parties in the Affair. This amounted to ‘la politique de l’éponge’ which *Le Figaro*

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid. Tr. Artist, since and because of the ‘Affaire’ it has been very difficult for me to place drawings in newspapers. As a painter, I will not allow myself to be depreciated and ruined a second time by those I defended with courage and lack of self-interest. I am not alone in realizing that the great and beautiful Affair of Humanity was just a sordid political and commercial affair, facilitating Jews in the conquest of power and grabbing all productions.

<sup>114</sup> Tillier email to Moss, 2 March 2020.

<sup>115</sup> Tr. It had no value apart from Ibels’ skill// With what features, in what grimacing postures, Edouard Drumont was represented! Our director laughed heartily to see these charges. He kept the collection with that of the caricatures.

had called for earlier that year, investigated in chapter three.<sup>116</sup> By December 1901 Labori, counsel for Zola and Dreyfus in their respective trials, was on one side of the Dreyfusard rift, Reinach on the other. Ibels had been an admirer of both, as the dedications in his art attests. But by December 1901, Ibels was disenchanted with the grand ideals that had driven him in the heat of the Affair. The artist's critiques of capitalism and his socialist tendencies on display before the polemic will have contributed to his change of mind. In comparing the trajectory of ideas in Ibels' cartoons from 1893 with the letters published on 3 December 1901, it seems clear his pre-Dreyfus views about capitalism became racist opinions about Jewish capitalism post-Dreyfus. The conferring of titles and awards, whether or not they were offered in conciliatory fashion to those of Jewish origin, to Alexandre Millerand a socialist, and Paquin, an artist albeit in a different sphere, would have grated and been viewed with something akin to contempt, particularly when compared to Ibels' parlous financial circumstances the letters of 3 December 1901 speak of.

However, the turnaround still seems shocking, especially to the modern reader. Ibels had transformed the 'Dreyfus Affair' into the 'Drumont Affair' in his art, represented the author of *La France Juive* as a money-making scandalmonger. Would Ibels seek "refuge" with the "enemy" as the letter to Drumont of 3 December puts it? If the letters were genuine — a considerable coup for Drumont, why did the paper misprint Ibels' initials? It creates the suggestion that one or both letters could have been fraudulent. In order to dispel and exclude lingering questions about their veracity and authenticity we must reach deeper into the press again on both sides of the debate.

This was not a single shot fired by *La Libre Parole*. The paper kept up a running commentary following the letters from Ibels' published on 3 December 1901, part of its reporting on the public spat between Labori and Reinach. On 4 December 1901, under the subtitle of "the disillusioned", the paper carried the full text of what it said was an interview Ibels has given to an editor of the anti-Dreyfusard *La Liberté*.<sup>117</sup> The interview is published in that paper also.<sup>118</sup> The interview opens with these words: "Vous venez au sujet de ma

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<sup>116</sup> Jules Cornély, *Le Figaro*, May 23, 1899. Forestier, 'Rachel Beer, the Dreyfus Case, and the Observer', p. 523.

<sup>117</sup> *La Libre Parole*, 4 December 1901, p. 2 <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-libre-parole/04-dec-1901/691/1966773/2> (last accessed 8 November 2022).

<sup>118</sup> *La Liberté*, p. 1 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4788572c/f1.item.zoom>; p. 1 (last accessed 8 November 2022).

lettre! Elle fait donc quelque bruit ? Tant mieux ! J'en ai assez, il faut que je parle. Trop longtemps, bêtement, j'ai gardé le silence – maintenant, je dirais tout...".<sup>119</sup> The text furnishes more details about Ibels' sense of injustice and injury post-polemic, referring to Labori's disillusionment, the loss of Zola's legion d'honneur, Picquart's rank at that time. Ibels repeats that "[n]ous y allons bravement, loyalement convaincus que nous défendons une noble cause...".<sup>120</sup> It becomes clear from the interview that Ibels views Alfred Dreyfus' inability to be outspoken (notably in the way Ibels, himself, is) in the face of the original accusation a let-down: This reporting in *La Libre Parole* and *La Liberté* on 4 December 1901 also provides more details of Ibels' personal situation: "J'ai une femme et quatre enfants — j'ai reconstruit, non pas seulement de l'indifférence, mais de l'hostilité".<sup>121</sup> While explaining that he owns magnificent drawings by Watteau, Fragonard and Boucher Ibels declares: "J' avais un pressant besoin d'argent."<sup>122</sup> Ibels is castigating about the paucity of the offer of help from a senior Dreyfusard.

What Tillier calls a typographic error in Ibels' initials in the letters published in Drumont's paper on 3 December 1901 may have been an intentional slur. In its sign-off from carrying the full interview from *La Liberté* on 4 December, *La Libre Parole's* editorial cannot resist a quip with the back-handed compliment of recalling the title of Ibels' book of cartoons: "Allons-y, comme disait un des héros de l'Affaire."<sup>123</sup> Drumont's paper maintained the pressure all week. By Friday, 6 December there was a copy of a letter from Ibels' brother André to the popular conservative newspaper *La Presse* quoted on *La Libre Parole's* front page, endorsing the broad sweep of his brother's comments but without overt racist remarks.

Nevertheless, the anti-Dreyfusard press alone cannot be relied on as supporting evidence of veracity. If Ibels' letters in *La Libre Parole*, ensuing interview with an editor of *La Liberté* and his brother's contribution were all artifice, there would have been a rumpus in the Dreyfusard press. If genuine there would also be a reaction. Yves Guyot at *Le Siècle*, which had hosted Ibels' most defiant Dreyfusard image of Dreyfus crucified, reacted the next day,

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<sup>119</sup> Tr. You come about my letter,! So it is making a noise? So much the better! I've had enough, I must speak; too long, stupidly, I kept silent – now I'll say everything...

<sup>120</sup> Tr. We went there bravely, loyally convinced that we were defending a noble cause.

<sup>121</sup> Tr. I have a wife and four children. I have been met not only with indifference but hostility

<sup>122</sup> Tr. I have a pressing need of money.

<sup>123</sup> Tr. Let's go, as said one of the heroes of the Affaire.

on 4 December, low down on page 3 without naming the artist.<sup>124</sup> Doing so would have lent credibility to the exposée and been an embarrassment for Guyot's paper which had prominently carried Ibels' work. The *Libre Parole* has published a "species" of interview with a friend of Labori, Guyot wrote, before adding tersely "[o]u cet ami est plein d'imagination ou c'est le rédacteur de la *Libre Parole* qui en a beaucoup. Nous doutons qu'aucun ami de M. Labori prenne pour confidente la *Libre Parole* et ait pu lui dire des choses de ce genre".<sup>125</sup> Such a tactic raised doubts while calling into question Ibels' friendship with Labori and casting aspersions on his judgement. However, by 5 December *Le Siècle* allowed itself a little more latitude in condemning the artists, still without naming him. Its front page quoted the Paris literary paper, *Le Journal*, taking a dig at Ibels: "Il ne semble pas que l'on puisse faire grand fond sur les confidences de ce dessinateur dreyfusard, à qui le condamné de Rennes négligea d'envoyer même une carte de visite. 'Cet homme est un monstre!,' dit notre artiste. Mais on voit bien que 'cet homme' serait demeuré un martyr, s'il avait seulement fait la commande d'un portrait".<sup>126</sup> And thus did staunchly Dreyfusard commentators return the ideas to those of Ibels' 'Le coup de l'éponge'.

While Ibels' actions were part of the breakdown within the Dreyfusard camp, as well as personally motivated, not all was harmonious on the opposing side. Four days after Ibels' letters appeared in *La Libre Parole*, the opening gambit under the ongoing banner headline "inside the corridors of Dreyfusism" confirmed that Drumont had resigned as honorary president of the antisemitic league — rebadged as the Grand Occident de France, along with other associates of the paper.<sup>127</sup> The front-page lead two days earlier in *La Libre Parole* on 5 December 1901 revealed the extent of this schism in reporting how leading nationalist Paul Déroulède had asked fellow league members to stop chanting "à bas les Juifs!". The author of this piece, one Fermin Faure, went so far as to say that Déroulède believed in good faith "qu'on pourrait transformer le Juif et en faire un bon Français.... Il allait

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<sup>124</sup> *Le Siècle*, 4 December 1901, p 3. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k744915h/f3.item.zoom> (last accessed 8 November 2022).

<sup>125</sup> Tr. Either this friend is full of imagination or the editor of the *Libre Parole* is. We doubt that any friend of M. Labori would take for a confident the *Libre Parole* and could have said to it things of this kind.

<sup>126</sup> Tr. It does not seem that one can make much of the confidences of this Dreyfusard draftsman, to whom the man convicted at Rennes neglected to send even a business card. 'This man is a monster', says our artist. But we can clearly see that 'this man' would have remained a martyr, if he had only commissioned a portrait. *Le Siècle*, p. 1 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k744916w/f1.image.zoom> (last accessed 6 November 2022).

<sup>127</sup> Tr. Great West of France. *La Libre Parole*, 7 December 1901, p.1. <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-libre-parole/07-decembre-1901/691/1966017/1> (last accessed 6 November 2022).

presque jusqu' à le leur defendre".<sup>128</sup> The close relationship of satirical art with anti-Jewish discourse was to the fore. An advert in the eye-catching centre of the same front page offered a "humoristique" set of "cartes postales antijuives illustrées" published by la Librairie antisémite, eight for 50 centimes or half a franc.<sup>129</sup> *Le Siècle* carried the verbatim announcement of Drumont's resignation from his own paper on *its* front page the next day, 8 December 1901. The publications, like the images they carried and promoted, were part of an incestuous relationship watching each other's every move and reusing parts of each other's work. Using the papers as primary sources, Ibels' altered position can be understood as part of the shifting political and personal alignments after Dreyfus' pardon when the 'Affair' proper was deemed over by all but the most unyielding of its combatants.

Two other important aspects of the dynamic need to be taken into account to understand Ibels' *volte face*, from the campaigner who cited Labori's "[I]'antisémitisme, cette odieuse opinion!" in his cartoon book of contemporary history to the author of the letters of 3 December 1901 in *Libre Parole*.<sup>130</sup> The key to the first is also in *Allons-Y!* in the text accompanying his cartoon, 'Le Coup du Père François'.<sup>131</sup> Both that text and Ibels' interview with *La Liberté* on 5 December 1901 refer to independence of spirit or character. This was what defined Ibels. Even in his most ardent Dreyfusard days, Ibels always stressed why he was in the fight: "Seuls, les esprits indépendents (juifs ou chrétiens) s'indignèrent des prétentions antisémitiques prirent fait et cause au nom de la **liberté de conscience** et entamèrent la lutte, moins pour défendre les juifs que pour dénoncer le cléricisme sortant de l' ombre **pour étrangler la République** (*sic*):"<sup>132</sup> And while the letters to Drumont published on 3 December 1901 show Ibels' views about 'race' have evolved, this must be placed in the context of the widespread latent antisemitism in nineteenth century and, indeed early twentieth century, Europe. In 'Pour les Juifs', Zola showed he was not immune from advancing contemporary tropes about Jews, writing "ils apportent avec leur sang un besoin du lucre, un amour de l'argent" though the overall tone of the piece was positive, calling for unity and characterising Jews as practical and wise.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Tr. That we can transform the Jew and make him a good Frenchman.... He almost went so far as to defend them. *La Libre Parole*, 5 December 1901, p. 1 <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-libre-parole/05-dec-1901/691/1966447/1> (last accessed 8 November 2022).

<sup>129</sup> Tr. Humorous ... illustrated anti-Jewish postcards. *Ibid.*, p. 1

<sup>130</sup> Tr. Antisemitism, this odious opinion. Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 64.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* p. 42.

<sup>132</sup> Tr. Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 42.

<sup>133</sup> Tr. They carry with their blood a need for profit and a love of money.

Despite Picquart's courage in exposing the sham evidence against Dreyfus, he also held antisemitic views, as did other military men like Jamont, and literati like Edmond de Goncourt with whom Ibels worked in 1893, as examined in chapter three. Tillier names de Groux and Hermann-Paul as other artists who were either uncertain Dreyfusards or changed sides.<sup>134</sup> The thinly-veiled antisemitism of 'Excepté le cochon, tout nous est permis' in Hermann-Paul's cartoon for *Le Canard Sauvage*, examined in chapter five, would certainly endorse that claim. Ibels was unswerving about the right to freedom of conscience and never deviated in his anticlerical stance, seen in his letter to Drumont and five years later in his barbed illustrations for Mirbeau's anti-Jesuit novel, *Sébastien Roch*. For Ibels, the environment of the anti-Jewish controversy was pivotal in aligning the two positions of anticlericalism and rejection of Judeophobia, from the opening of the Affair to the fallout within the Dreyfusard camp following Dreyfus' pardon.

Hostile ideas about money and the acquisition of new wealth in antisemitic depictions of Jews, so long excluded from the realms of business, will be explored in the section examining the representation of the Jew. Antisemitic interpretations of the study of phrenology, the notion of 'un-Frenchness', the application of the New Testament story of Judas and the modern slur of the 'Jewish king' chiming with ideas of fabled wealth and power are all scrutinised. As will be seen, accusations of the predatory nature of Jews collectively, monetarily and sexually, was projected through artistic themes about invasion, domination and exploitation. It was encapsulated in Charles Lucien Léandre's prominent front cover for *Le Rire*, as seen below (fig. 13). It caricatured a founding father from the Rothschild banking family to denote Jewish global power at the time. The striking image retained hints of ungodliness in the clawed fingernails and golden calf within and straddling the crown, both ideas unpicked in chapter five.

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<sup>134</sup> Tillier email to Moss, 2 March 2020; Epstein, Simon (2001) *Les dreyfusards sous l'Occupation*, Paris, p. 102 and Émile Baumann (1936) *La vie terrible d'Henry de Groux*, Paris, pp. 136, 144.

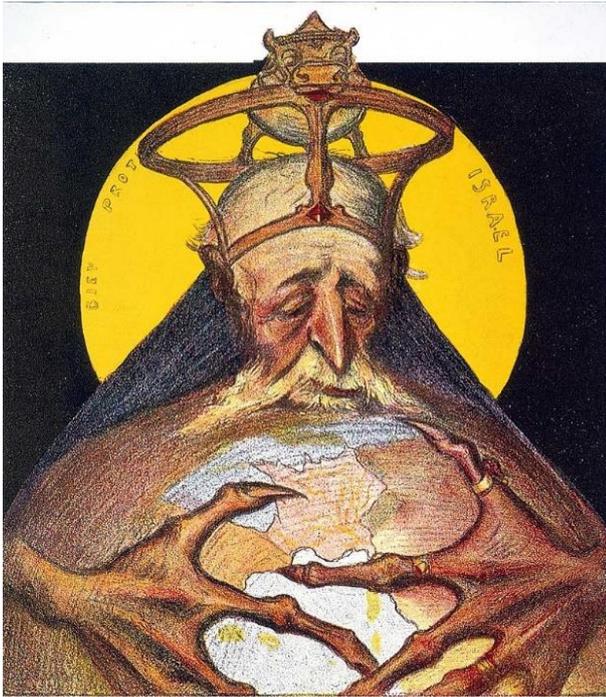


Fig. 13 'Le roi Rothschild', Léandre, *Le Rire*, 16 April 1898

This investigation uses Zola's open letters, originally published in pamphlet form, as primary sources, as well as ideas from his novels from 1880 to his premature death from asphyxiation on 29 September 1902. The *lettres* and 'Pour les Juifs' were chosen as they were felt to offer a fresh perspective on the author's views about society, religion and the Church. Kedward did use an extract from *Lettre à la France* juxtaposed with an extract from Reinach's *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus, vol III, La Crise* to examine Dreyfusard anticlericalism.<sup>135</sup> It is also true that Griffiths used all four of Zola's letters to investigate his contribution as a polemicist to the Dreyfus debate.<sup>136</sup> However, Griffiths only used a short extract of each and was not investigating anticlerical ideas or those in common with Ibels. The literary canon investigating the Dreyfus Affair is extensive, but no work has as yet examined this dual aspect of connections through ideas in common between Zola and Ibels.

#### Flow of ideas between Zola and Ibels

The methodology chosen permits the investigation of the flow of ideas between the wordsmith Zola and the artist Ibels which scholarship has not studied thus far.

<sup>135</sup> Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 81-5.

<sup>136</sup> Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse*.

Commonalities between Zola's words and Ibels' art will be sought and identified using the ideas in Ibels' art and those expressed in Zola's letters-pamphlets and his column 'Pour les Juifs'. Anticlerical and antimilitary ideas from Zola's Rougon-Macquart series, *Germinal*, *La Terre* and *La Débâcle* will contribute in a more limited way since the main focus is the direct opinion Zola expresses in his journalism. Seeking out a correlation in the flow of anticlerical ideas between Zola and Ibels is instinctive since Zola had strong links to the art world as an art critic for three decades and was also painted and drawn on numerous occasions.<sup>137</sup> Berg argues Zola's prose was highly visual and used descriptive passage in his novel-writing that created images with words as the Impressionists —such as Fantin, Degas, Renoir, Guillemet — who were his friends and contemporaries painted reality, as if seen with the naked eye.<sup>138</sup> Where Berg has scoured Zola's fiction for visually-expressed ideas, the author's newspaper articles will now be scrutinised for the first time for such notions. Mutual influences and reference points between Zola and his childhood friend, the Impressionist artist Cézanne, have already received attention from scholars not to mention Hollywood producers. In contrast, the possibility of shared content and expressive techniques between Zola and Ibels are probed here.

The study will look for similarities in figuration, perspective, metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche. Zola's journalist's instinct for grabbing the attention of the viewer with a stand-out message will also be compared to Ibels' approach. For reasons of political empathy as much as journalist nous, the headline 'J'Accuse...!' that raised the level of alert in the Dreyfus debate to that of an international crisis could just as easily have come from Ibels' mouth, articulated by the characters in his cartoons. Nor should it be forgotten that the grand sum of Zola's ideas is expressly linked by Ibels with this illustration since *Allons-Y!* and its contents are dedicated to the author.

There will also be a comparison of textual work by the two Dreyfusards. For example, both wrote about France suffering a sickness: for Ibels the text accompanying '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' characterised the corruption of Republican civic rights as "maladies inhérentes" and Zola declared in *Lettre à la France* that he saw the most alarming

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<sup>137</sup> Katz, Maya Balakirsky, 'Photography Versus Caricature: "Footnotes" on Manet's *Zola* and Zola's *Manet* *Nineteenth Century French Studies* 34.3 (2006), pp. 323-4. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/203814> (last accessed 7 April 2022).

<sup>138</sup> Berg, *The Visual Novel*, pp. 272-1. Other examples of the visual nature of Zola's fiction, pp. 2, 19, 79, 169.

symptoms” while accusing citizens and journalists in the anti-Dreyfusard press of having lost their mental balance.<sup>139</sup> Shared ideas about violence, lies, including very specific analogies about that deceit like the ‘mud’ of the hostile press, about intolerance and Jacobin ideals of Republican inclusiveness and civic equality are probed.<sup>140</sup> Identifying a linkage between these two Dreyfusards allows anticlerical sentiment published by the man who was arguably Dreyfus’ most well-known champion to be reviewed alongside a much less well-known voice, expressing itself in a different medium.

Also being investigated is how both Ibels and Zola used the language of their medium to create a sense of menace. Zola used words such as ‘tyrannie’ and ‘botte’, ‘sabre’ and ‘dictateur’ in close proximity to heighten the sense of this present danger.<sup>141</sup> As will be seen, Ibels would echo the fear communicated in Zola’s letter, of the threat to France from a military dictatorship in sharply anticlerical images such as ‘Le Coup de Père François’. Zola’s choice of the singular vocative form of address ‘tu’ for ‘you’ denoted the younger listener and the familiar, as well as emphasizing the direct nature of his appeal. It sought to be accessible as Ibels’ modern linear cartoon does.

Ibels’ book illustrations form an important element of this work. In choosing to examine anticlerical and intellectual ideas through the illustrations, this analysis seeks to challenge Seymour-Ure’s statement that illustrations illuminate without providing commentary.<sup>142</sup> In comparing image and text, this study explores how, in the images he created to accompany the Mirbeau narrative of *Sébastien Roch*, Ibels was opening up his own anticlerical discourse and dialogue with the reader within the context of the physical book, adding his voice to the author’s. Problems in sourcing copies of Ibels’ work have had to be overcome. The lack of a publicly available extant copy of the 1897 edition of *La Terre* in the UK to examine Ibels’ lithographs was circumvented by sourcing a copy from Toronto. Chapter three investigates ideas articulated in the polemical cartoons about religion, free thought, humanity, truth and justice, and fears arising from the Third Republic’s instability. Ideas shaped by the French Republic’s contested path to secularisation, secular morality and notions of identity are probed. This chapter opens a main thread of analysis of how

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<sup>139</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 56. Zola, *Lettre à la France*, pp. 13, 23.

<sup>140</sup> Whitfield, Stephen J, ‘Book review of Revising Dreyfus written by Maya Balakirsky Katz’, *The Review of Rabbinic Judaism*, 2014-08, Vol. 17 (2), p. 280.

<sup>141</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>142</sup> Seymour-Ure, ‘Cartoons’, p. 87.

cartoons subverted the ideas in rival art, examining the appropriation of iconography and the use of visual mimicry to anticlericalise a pro-clerical image. Chapter four turns its attention to how a modern press, including significant wings of the Catholic Church's own, funnelled ideas into the polemical satire, contributing to narratives of nativism, nationalism and antisemitism on the one hand, and to anticlericalism and antimilitarism by return. The personalisation of visual attack through depictions of high-profile members of the Catholic clergy is considered and the contribution to anticlerical ideas from intellectual networks. The anti-Dreyfusard Caran D'Ache parodied such gatherings as effeminately Judaised as below (fig. 14).



Fig. 14 'Salons intellectuels', Caran D'ache, *Psst... !*, 10 December 1898

lbels' turned baiting about intellectuals on its head, a technique used repeatedly in anticlerical and antimilitary representations. Depicting a gathering of hoary old-timers under a chandelier, lbels' cartoon entitled 'l'esprit de sabre' or 'spirit of the sword' was captioned "—Intellectuals! ... a spiteful lot! ... turn the screws".<sup>143</sup> Irony made the point about who lbels believed to be the real advocates of spite. For lbels and the Dreyfusards, 'le sabre' or 'the sword' was a constant metonymic device symbolising the military elite. The important strand of ideas in which anticlericals saw the upper echelons of the military as inextricably

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<sup>143</sup> Tr. Spirit of the sword. lbels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 97.

associated with the Gallican Church against the secular Republic is one focus of chapter four. It explores the visual device of splicing or ‘conflating’, as it terms the device, clerical and military identities visually. Hochberg’s arguments about facial expression, gesture and stance are applied to understand anticlerical messages in the visual satire.<sup>144</sup>

The secondary pillar investigates the representation of the Jew in chapter five. The examination focuses again on the visual satire of the Dreyfus controversy and its attendant tensions. The chapter examines how perceptions of religious and non-religious difference were combined in a single cartoon. The feared connection in the European mind that Jews interacted with the diabolical is probed. It was a longstanding belief, as the illustrated margin of a thirteenth-century English administrative record below suggests, associating Jews with horned devils (fig. 15).



Fig. 15 Upper margin of the Exchequer Receipt Roll, Hilary and Easter Terms, 1233

Sexual themes and the depiction of Jewish women in the polemical satire at a time when Jews were linked to anxiety and resentment about immigration, modern commerce, intermarriage and the decline and corruption of state and nation are also explored. Drumont, whose newspaper *La Libre Parole* broke the story of Dreyfus’ arrest thus opening the polemic, having authored the influential Judeophobic publication *La France Juive* in 1886, described the Jew as follows: he was identifiable by “the well-known hooked nose, the blinking eyes, clenched teeth, projecting ears, fingernails that are square instead of round and almond-shaped, an excessively long torso, flat feet, round knees, extraordinarily

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<sup>144</sup> Hochberg, ‘The representation of Things and People’, pp. 88-9.

turned-out toes, and the soft, velvety hand of a hypocrite and a traitor".<sup>145</sup> More will be said about the hooked nose in chapter five. Drawings explicitly linked to antisemitic race-based theories and notions of biological determinism are unpicked. These caricatures applied a racist perspective to the work of nineteenth century thinkers such as the German Franz Joseph Gall and Veronese medic Cesare Lombroso, himself a Jew. The chapter's tripartite semiotic interpretation of Willette's 'La Sécheresse' addresses minor flaws in previous scholarship about the cartoon. The representation of the Jew's physiognomic and physical appearance and the stereotypical codified depictions of attire, spanning the clumpy, farcical, aggrandizing or vainglorious, are probed and discussed.

## Conclusion

The case for using the art record to investigate ideas is a compelling one. Art has been at the forefront of recording and relaying socio-political change for millennia. In nineteenth century polemics 'low art' is a rich repository of ideas as it was the medium of choice for modern campaigning artists like Ibels and rival thinkers and activists. They wished to participate in contemporary debates and reflect their arguments to an increasingly wider public through a mass press in which satire had a freer hand by the time of the Dreyfus crisis. The methodology for interpreting the images has drawn elements from semiotic theories to create a bespoke system of Barthesian signs, in which the image is broken down into three readings. These examine pure content, signified content, and the overarching mythologies the visually-articulated ideas tapped into. Interpretations of the artistic content are contextualised by contemporary commentators such as Lazare, Blum, Barrès and Grand-Carteret. Secondary sources are also drawn on for socio-political developments. Conducting a major part of this investigation through the primary source of Ibels' satirical art offers the opportunity of studying anticlerical ideas in the evolving narrative of the Dreyfus debate and viewing their progression over time as the case matured. Gifts of drawings of Dreyfus crucified, established as a set by this work, will be evaluated together for the first time for what they have to say about Dreyfusard anticlericalism.

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<sup>145</sup> McMullen, Roy (1984) *Degas: His Life, Times and Work*, Boston, p. 422; Nochlin, 'Degas and the Dreyfus Affair', p. 113.

Ibels' and the Dreyfusard corp constitute a rich repository for distilling the visceral anticlerical and antimilitary messages produced by seasoned campaigners fighting for the endurance of a secular Third Republic for whom Dreyfus was an embodiment and talisman. The satirical art bears witness to the weaponisation of notions of identity, including the Jew's, in this struggle. These characterisations incorporated contemporary arguments about the modernising state. The satirical representations highlighted religious and non-religious difference, revived historical accusations of deicide and constructed new tropes for the age like that of the 'Jewish king' and were innovative in the deployment of racist profiling. The current of ideas being investigated between Zola and Ibels exemplified how intellectual thinking travelled between combatants and media including across the political divide. The investigation of Anti-Dreyfusard art will demonstrate how diametrically-opposed opinion was integral in synthesizing, catalysing and shaping ideas in anti-Jewish debates about anticlericalism, antimilitarism and constructs of identity, including perceptions of 'otherness'.

## Chapter Three - Illustrations and cartoons in the anti-Jewish debate

This project investigates anticlerical ideas in cartoons and illustrations in nineteenth century anti-Jewish political crises. The main focus is France's Dreyfus Affair in the Third Republic. Leftist interventions were germane to all the cases. In the Dreyfus debate, the term 'intellectual' came into being to define this group, initially as a taunt by opponents. Thinkers such as Zola were part of a pattern of liberal intervention by literary or cultural figures on behalf of Jews. Victor Hugo criticised Rome over the Mortara abduction. Leonid Tolstoy spoke out in favour of Beilis. The future leader of what would be the newly independent Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, took up the case of Leopold Hilsner, another Jew accused of ritual murder, while professor at Charles University in Prague in 1899.<sup>1</sup>

### Methodology used in interpreting meaning in the primary visual sources

It is necessary to talk about meaning in art and its value as a historical record, particularly when using the modern nineteenth century cartoon which layers ideas, uses irony and condenses numerous messages into a single snapshot. First, as Thompson et al argue, it is important not to limit the interpretation of meaning to the internal elements of the image.<sup>2</sup> To interpret the art works in this study the methodology employed here will use an approach that grounds the image in the historical moment. This is to understand the meaning the artist intended to convey at the time of its production. The project will situate the image in its socio-political context, drawing from primary and secondary sources. In line with Thompson's recommendation, preceding each of the tripartite readings there will be a historical overview to contextualise the image in its historical moment of production. Then we get to the interior of the image.

The complete data set listed chapter by chapter is in the Appendix. Chapter three studies the following images: Gyp's '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France' published in *Le Rire*, No. 60 on 28 December 1895 (fig. 16);<sup>3</sup> 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' by Ibels, first

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<sup>1</sup> In what became known as the Hilsner Affair, Hilsner was convicted of murdering two women at a time when Bohemia and the capital Prague were still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Masaryk filed an appeal to the supreme court citing technical errors in the trial. Hilsner spent 19 years in prison before being pardoned by Emperor Karl.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*; Spencer, *Visual Research Methods*; Mainz and Pollock, *Work and the Image*; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, Seymour-Ure 'Cartoons'.

<sup>3</sup> Tr. France is certainly not enjoying herself. Reproduced in Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 84.

published in *Le Sifflet* on 16 June 1898 and republished in *Allons-Y!* (fig. 17);<sup>4</sup> ‘Le coup de l’éponge’ by Ibels for Joseph Reinach, 1899; for Arthur Byl, 1899; *Le Siècle*, 18 September 1899; republished in *Les Légendes du Siècle*, 1901 (fig. 18); detail of Ibels’ signed dedications to Reinach and Byl in ‘Le coup l’éponge’ (fig. 19); Ibels’ illustration for *Sébastien Roch* published in 1906 (fig. 20);<sup>5</sup> Shrine to the Virgin, Frid’Rick, 1880 (fig. 21);<sup>6</sup> Ibels’ ‘Jesus Christ’ (Hyacinthe Fouan) and his daughter ‘La Trouille’ (Olympe Fouan), a lithograph from the 1897 edition of Zola’s *La Terre* (fig. 22);<sup>7</sup> Willette’s ‘Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainté’, *Le Courrier français*, 5 April 1885 (fig. 23);<sup>8</sup> a composite for this thesis of (left) Willette’s ‘Edouard Drumont, author of *La France Juive*’ for *Le Courrier français*, 16 May 1886;<sup>9</sup> and (right) Louis Anquetin’s ‘Drumont et Vacher’ for *La Feuille*, 3 November 1898;<sup>10</sup> (fig. 24). Ibels’ cartoon ‘Le Droit prime la Force’, *Le Sifflet*, 22 September 1898 (fig. 25);<sup>11</sup> ‘Dans le Maquis’, Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 28 July 1898 (fig. 26);<sup>12</sup> a composite of two images: (left) Forain’s ‘Cedant arma togae’ for *Psst...!’s* front cover 19 February, 1898 and (right) Ibels’ response ‘Allons-y’, *Le Sifflet’s* front cover the following week on 24 February, 1898.<sup>13</sup> (fig. 27); a postcard ‘As a souvenir from the Beilis trial’, 1913’, taken from the photo Archive, Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum, Western Galilee, Israel (fig. 28);<sup>14</sup> commemorative portrait of Andrei Yushichinsky, the murdered boy in the Beilis case (fig. 29);<sup>15</sup> a composite of (left) ‘La France aux Français’ published in *La Libre Parole*,<sup>16</sup> and (right) ‘Exposition d’ Horticulture’ which appeared in *Le Pèlerin* (fig. 30);<sup>17</sup> ‘Les Vertues Laiques’ by Grandjouan for *La Raison*, 1907 (fig. 31).<sup>18</sup> ‘A Second Degradation’ by W.A. Rogers, expressing anger over the second conviction of Alfred Dreyfus in the American journal *Harper’s Weekly* on 23 September 1899 (fig. 32);<sup>19</sup> ‘A la gloire de Scheurer-Kestner’ (left to right) original pen and

<sup>4</sup> Tr. Gold, Mud and Blood!; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Mirbeau, (1906) *Sébastien Roch*, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> Doizy and Laloux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> The author is grateful to the University of Toronto for the loan of an 1897 Charpentier edition of *La Terre*.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. The Jews and Holy Week; Cate, ‘The Paris Cry’, p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> For Willette, *ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> For Anquetin, Kleeblatt, ‘Plates’, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> Tr. The Law takes precedence over Force; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 87.

<sup>12</sup> Tr. In the wilderness; *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Tr. (Forain) Arms to the gown. Kleeblatt, ‘Plates’, p.176.

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.infocenters.co.il/gfh/notebook\\_ext.asp?book=81194&lang=eng&site=gfh](https://www.infocenters.co.il/gfh/notebook_ext.asp?book=81194&lang=eng&site=gfh) (last accessed 4 November 2018).

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.edmundlevin.com/images/Double\\_Headed\\_Eagle\\_Front\\_Page\\_3\\_\(2\)-original.jpg](https://www.edmundlevin.com/images/Double_Headed_Eagle_Front_Page_3_(2)-original.jpg) (last accessed 30 December 2021).

<sup>16</sup> Tr. France for the French. [www.caricadoc.com](http://www.caricadoc.com) (last accessed 23 January 2019).

<sup>17</sup> Tr. Horticultural Exhibition. *Ibid.*, (last accessed 23 January 2019.)

<sup>18</sup> Tr. Laic virtues. Ozouf, *Nous les Maitres d’Ecole*, illustrations.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.granger.com/results.asp?inline=true&image=0089277&wwwflag=4&itemx=9> (last accessed 8 January 2022).

ink drawing with handwritten dedication gifted one day after the senator's death and Dreyfus' pardon; published in *Le Siècle*, 25 September 1899, in *Les Légendes du Siècle* 1901 (fig. 33);<sup>20</sup> and a cartoon of clerical violence in 'Le Coup du Père François' by Ibels for *Le Sifflet's* front cover on 24 March 1898, its sixth issue, reproduced in *Allons-Y!* (fig.34).<sup>21</sup> In chapter three, figs. 16, 17, 24, 25 and 34 are subject to the full tripartite analysis. Other images, receiving a more limited interpretation, are utilised to explore the extensive number of visual strategies to create anticlerical, antimilitary and anti-Jewish ideas.

### Purpose, organisation and structure

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate core themes in the modernising state of the Third Republic as expressed in the satirical art of the anti-Jewish debate. These themes comprise core areas of influence on anticlerical arguments in the secularising nation and laicising state, such as the role of religion, free thought, and ideas about identity. The themes are arranged in sections under sub-headings. For example, the first subsection to be explored is the polemical nature of society that incubated and nurtured the competing ideas. In exploring ideas around the polemical nature of society, the anti-Dreyfusard cartoon by Gyp, '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France' (fig.16) and Ibels' cartoon 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' (fig. 17) are both interpreted using the semiotic tripartite approach. It is essential to decode the rival art as well as the anticlerical cartoons because there was very often a symbiotic relationship between the two, where a rival idea or set of ideas acted as a catalyst to anticlerical expression. Ideas were unashamedly aped, refashioned, repurposed and cannibalised by anticlericals and their opponents seeking to win the argument about the Republic's future direction. Campaigning artists from the two sides of the divide duelled with one another on an individual basis, as Ibels did with Forain in launching *Le Sifflet* to combat *Psst...!* both journals coming on stream to respond to Zola's incendiary open letter 'J'Accuse...!'. In the wider sense, artist-activists from the two camps were active participants in a feud coloured by a sense of high purpose and righteousness in their cause: the Dreyfusards Leon Blum and Charles Péguy later recalled the heightened sense of engagement and ideological difference to those of the alternative view felt by those caught up in the campaign.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, Vice President of the Senate, who led calls for revision.

<sup>21</sup> Tr. The attack of Father François. Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> Cerullo, John J, 'Religion and the Psychology of Dreyfusard Intellectualism' in *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, Vol. 24, No.1, Intellectuals and the Dreyfus Affair (Spring 1998) pp. 93-4.

The next section investigates the role of religion, and nuanced complaints against it, in seeding anticlerical ideas in the anti-Jewish debate. This section includes a subsection called 'saint or sinner' which uses the tripartite semiotic approach to decode two rival images. This is to explore how religious symbols like the Cross or crucifix were used as motifs by reactionaries and anticlericals alike in their attempt to reify subjective socio-political concepts and narratives.<sup>23</sup> These two images offer competing portraits of Captain Dreyfus' most committed foe, the author of *La France Juive*, Edouard Drumont. The first image is an homage to Drumont by the antisemite, Adolphe Willette. The second, by Ibels' contemporary, Anquetin, is an unflattering, visceral representation of Drumont depicted alongside the man cast as his doppelganger, mass murderer Joseph Vacher.

The chapter proceeds to investigate links between Dreyfusard ideas with the values of 'libre-penseurs' or free thinkers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Helvétius and Rousseau. The effect of the emerging civil society in the laicising state on anticlerical ideas is examined and how it influenced ideas about morality and the rule of law. The semiotic analysis of Ibels' cartoons 'Le Droit prime la Force' and 'Dans le Maquis' published after Zola's conviction for libel probe pivotal Dreyfusard ideas about humanity, truth and justice and Ibels' strong connections with Zola's in this domain.<sup>24</sup> To probe notions of justice further, and to demonstrate to what extent mimicry played a part in moulding anticlerical ideas in the art, rival cartoons are again examined as comparators. The following sections turn to notions of identity, nation, race, republic and the First Revolution, as articulated in the visual satire. The examination considers how political turbulence, the instability of the Third Republic, and agitation from groups such the Antisemitic League contributed to the shaping of Dreyfusard anticlerical ideas. Linked to this is the tripartite semiotic decoding of Ibels' imagining of violent clericalism against the state articulated by 'Le Coup de Père François'.

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<sup>23</sup> "Reify" is used here in the way Warburton applied it to his interpretation of cartoons criticising the British government's education policy; 'Cartoons and Teachers', p. 252.

<sup>24</sup> Tr. The Law takes Control. See Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 87; Tr. In the Wilderness. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

## Visual Polemics in a Polemical Age

When a modern viewer looks at contemporary cartoons from the Dreyfus Affair, they will be struck by their freshness, their verve and spiritedness in the glaringly partisan challenge they throw down. The polemical nature of society expressed itself in its political debate, verbal language and in journals of satirical art and book illustrations during the anti-Jewish controversy. It contributed to the continual recycling of invective driving ideas. The polemical nature of society needs to be explored further if we are to understand the ideas of the cartoons. French society had been characterised by its polemical culture for more than a century, displayed in its 'clan languages', which Griffiths suggests were the mainstay of popular political journalism.<sup>25</sup> It was evident in the prominence given to word formations in public life like pejorative suffixes and the popular use of derogatory metonymy such as 'goupillon'.<sup>26</sup> Vulgarity and popular violence had entered the polemical lexicon as Griffiths contends, and we may add crudity since the use of imagery in the art by depicting objects such as effluent, phallic symbols and porcine animals were common currency during the Dreyfus crisis. Griffiths argues that by the time of the controversy visual commentary was among the most effective of polemics, crafted to a new art form he called the "art of attack".<sup>27</sup> Barthes characterised the job of the image as engaging in a form of "rhetoric" and Hauksson-Tresch applied this thinking to disputed visual depictions of 'Truth' in the Dreyfus debate.<sup>28</sup> Putting forward a persuasive argument into the public domain was a key purpose of the anticlerical art and the images they were in competition with, weaponised in the Dreyfus crisis as never before for a number of reasons.

One of the reasons for the heightened opportunity for polemic after 1881 in printed art was due to the reinstatement of press freedoms in the 'Loi sur la liberté de la presse'<sup>29</sup>, inspired by Article 11 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 26 August 1789. During the ensuing century regulation of the press had accreted a total of forty-two laws containing hundreds of individual clauses.<sup>30</sup> The liberalising of the press laws precipitated

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<sup>25</sup> Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 30.

<sup>28</sup> Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the Image' in Mirzoeff (ed) 'The Visual Culture Reader', p. 70. Hauksson-Tresch, N, 'Visual Rhetoric of the Truth in the Dreyfus Affair: A Semiotic Approach', *Int J Semiot Law* 34, pp. 127-43 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-019-09617-4>, Abstract and passim (last accessed 12 Jan 2022).

<sup>29</sup> Tr. Law on the freedom of the press.

<sup>30</sup> Kuhn, Raymond (1994) *The Media in France*, Abingdon, pp. 47-49.

the rapid expansion of mass media, allowing a fuller range of opinion to be voiced. The number of periodicals rose from 3,800 to 6,000 between 1872 and the year after the new press freedoms were enacted. The number of newspapers in Paris similarly rose from 23 in 1881 to 60 by 1899 when the Dreyfusard polemic was at its height.<sup>31</sup> Released from their constraints, these publications were the perfect showcase for visual statements of the sort of anticlericalism Rémond attributes to the age. He labels this anticlericalism more virulent, more populist, less concerned with legislation and more in a hurry to give vent to feeling and suspicions. To do so it uses every means at its disposal — songs, written polemics, the ‘petit presse’, caricatures.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile new technologies enabled the divisions in society to be catered for with greater speed. Shorter, more frequent publishing formats assisted the dissemination of such ideas.<sup>33</sup> In the Dreyfus debate the public space of mediatised art was polemicized as other communal spaces were, from the political space to the family space, as a pair of cartoons by Caran D’Ache depicted.<sup>34</sup> The public space of satirical art bristled with nervous energy, inventiveness, determination and comradeship in which cherished ideals were trashed and attacking ideas boomeranged back. Ibels was one of a number of artists on both sides of the debate that Tillier characterises as “artist-polemicists”.<sup>35</sup> The zeitgeist was the polemic, and the abrasive discourse was reflected in and augmented by the satirical art. It might be said nowadays that the publications the cartoons appeared in were ‘echo chambers’ serving to reinforce opinion, sharpening prejudice. The polemic that pitted Ibels and Zola against reactionary adversaries consolidated older ideas about Jews in society. Eighteen years before the European press had debated the controversy of the Mortara child case, France had been a key player in developments around another highly-charged internationalised murder fuelling anti-Jewish sentiment.<sup>36</sup> The Damascus Affair was the

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<sup>31</sup> Schwartz, Vanessa (1998) *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris*, Berkeley, pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme*, p. 207.

<sup>33</sup> Robertson, *The Enlightenment*, p. 82 onwards.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Un Diner en Famille’ offers two snapshots in time of an extended family at dinner. The first depicts the family together amicably, in the second fighting has broken out including the dog after mentioning Dreyfus. Grand-Carteret, *L’affaire Dreyfus et l’image*, p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l’Affaire*, p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> For the role of France in influencing outcomes in the Papal states during the Mortara controversy see Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara*, pp. 247-8; For Damascus Affair see Frankel, *The Damascus Affair*, pp. 17-27. Frankel uses the report of the French Consul in Damascus, Count de Ratti-Menton, detailing his active participation. The murdered man, Father Thomas as a Capuchin monk and priest, was under the protection of France: see p. 20. For European press involvement in the case, p. 9.

killing of a Capuchin monk and priest, and his servant in what that city's French consul believed was a ritual murder by Jews. It is almost inconceivable that the hostility engendered by earlier cases like the Mortara Affair in 1858 and the Damascus case in 1840 would have dissipated. Antipathetic attitudes would have lingered, passed vertically down the generations in some Catholic families.

No less potent were more recent political scandals within France itself, in particular the crash of the Catholic Union Bank and the Panama Affair. Arendt argued the Panama scandal revealed that Jewish men were the predominant middlemen acting between the business sector and the state.<sup>37</sup> The two earlier scandals were framed by populist agitators like Drumont as 'Jewish'. These political and social disasters can be clearly seen to have crystalized in anti-Dreyfusard cartoons and fed into the pool of ideas over which artists fought. Part of the job of the message in the anticlerical cartoon of Ibels and others was that it had to confront and overturn such prejudice and assumption. As will be seen from examining *Allons-Y!*, Ibels' views about Jews were in harmony with Zola's even before the publication of 'J'Accuse...!'. The influence it had on thinking on both sides of the polemical divide was dramatic, but Zola had already raised serious concerns about deepening animosity and friction embedded in society towards Jews in 'Pour Les Juifs'.

"Depuis quelques années, je suis la campagne qu'on essaye de faire en France contre les Juifs, avec une surprise et un dégoût croissants. Cela m'a l'air d'une monstruosité, j'entends une chose en dehors de tout bon sens, de toute vérité et de toute justice, une chose sotté et aveugle qui nous ramènerait à des siècles en arrière".<sup>38</sup>

'J'Accuse...!', and the chain reaction it set in motion resulting in Zola's own trial for libel, cemented Ibels' support; *Le Sifflet* was launched by Ibels one calendar month after its publication. Both championed inclusivity for Jews, in the name of Republic. To understand anticlerical ideas in Dreyfusard art it is necessary to probe the dynamic that Ibels and other

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<sup>37</sup> In 1882 the Catholic bank the Union Général crashed and many publicly traded establishments followed. The same year sees the first sale of bonds for the Panama Canal Company. The company was ordered to be liquidated eight years later. Arendt, Hannah (1973). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, London, pp. 95-9. For the collapse of Union Général see Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse*, p. 9; and Brown, *For the Soul of France*, pp. xvi, 59-80. For Panama scandal, Griffiths, p. 9 and Brown, pp. xvi, xviii, 155-74.

<sup>38</sup> Tr. For several years, I have been following, with mounting surprise and disgust, the campaign that some people are trying to foment against the Jews in France. To me it has the air of an abomination, hearing of something outside all reason, all truth, all justice, a deaf and blind thing that takes us back centuries.

intellectuals were locked into with their political adversaries. One of the primary reasons why certain ideas appeared in Ibels' art was because it directly responded to claims made in the competing art. This relationship between satirical images from the opposing sides was sometimes so close as to be an almost mirror image, with one artist imitating the other's 'ouvrage' but making subtle changes to content.<sup>39</sup> At other times, the reconstituting of ideas was not between specific cartoons but a response to the cache of ideas of the rival side, as in the case of the images below. '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France' (fig. 16) by Gyp, or 'Bob' as she signed her art, was a front cover for *Le Rire*. Ibels was a master of the inversion of the idea, a tactic he used repeatedly in his cartoons to reclaim intellectual notions of justice and progress from the pro-military lobby as part of the struggle over Dreyfus. To show how hostile claims were reconfigured by the anticlerical artist, Gyp's '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France', as below, and Ibels' 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!', further below, are interpreted using the tripartite semiotic methodology.



Fig 16 “—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France”, Gyp, *Le Rire*, no 60, 28 December 1895

<sup>39</sup> Tr. piece of work.

The Third Republic was heir and incubator to vestigial uncertainties, having weathered the Boulanger threat of dictatorship and a series of short-lived governments and financial scandals with the crash of Union Général and the public-funded Panama Canal project. All these developments exacerbated antisemitism since they were characterised as Jewish in origin. Drumont's newspaper *La Libre Parole* had run a series of articles entitled 'The Dirty Linen of Panama'.<sup>40</sup> Gyp was a regular contributor to the paper covering Zola's trials for libel for it and wrote about the Panama scandal in her anti-Jewish 'diary a clef'.<sup>41</sup> Her cartoon for *Le Rire* contains some of the dominant polemical themes that coalesced within the battle of ideas between Dreyfusard anticlericals and their opponents, many of whom were self-professed 'anti-Semites' like Gyp.<sup>42</sup> Paradoxically, Gyp's publisher was one of Paris' liberal, literary Jews like those producing material for *La Revue Blanche* alongside Ibels.<sup>43</sup> Ironically, the cartoon was protesting against a society that had enabled Jews to become powerful publishers of an aristocrat like Gyp herself. This was the contradictory, polarised society and culture of which Gyp's cartoon was a part.

### *First reading*

There are six full length figures seen in the image. In the centre of the illustration is a female figure. She is attached to a contraption which has a sign above it reading 'Faites sortir l'argent' or 'Make the money come out'. Above this statement is a crowned and winking face. This figure is the only one who is naked. The nakedness is partially covered by the figure's long hair and a piece of material trailing on the floor. The lower reaches of this striped piece of material are covering the woman's genitalia. The other end of this garment is being stood on by the man on the right in the image. He is bare-headed and bearded and holds in his arms large bags labelled with figures. The other man flanking the female, on the left of the image, has swung back a hammer and is aiming it at her feet. Each man either side of the naked woman is standing on something else. The man on the left of the image has his feet on the heads of two hatted figures of whom no more can be seen. There are three figures in the background, all male, carrying placards referring to 'Panama', 'gold mines', 'military supplies' and 'chemins de fer du sud' or railways of the south. Five birds, black in colour, are included in the image, all but one in flight. The one not

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<sup>40</sup> Brown, *For the Soul of France*, p. 167.

<sup>41</sup> Tr. True life diary; Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, pp. 130, 141-4.

<sup>42</sup> Gyp gave her profession as "antisemite" when called as a witness in the trial of Paul Déroulède for his attempted coup; Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, pp. 151-67, especially p. 159.

<sup>43</sup> Datta, 'The Dreyfus Affair and Antisemitism', pp. 113-29.

in flight is poised, stationed between the man swinging the hammer and the naked female. The legend states '—Sûr, qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France!' which literally means 'Sure, but she's not at the wedding, France!'.

### *Second reading*

Put more colloquially, 'France isn't enjoying herself' but there is still the inference of the purity of a virgin undressed and exploited by a gang of ruthless men. Cultural knowledge allows us to determine that the central female figure represents France in the allegorical female form of 'Marianne'. The allegory embodies France as the Republic, since the name was first given in memory of a Republican secret society.<sup>44</sup> Marianne's identity is confirmed by her being partially entwined in the French national and Republican tricolour flag. Significantly, France is at the centre of the composition but represented as passive, victimised and exposed. Furthermore, the man's boot standing on the fabric hiding her modesty will soon expose that too. In her comprehensive work on Gyp, Silverman has stated that this cartoon depicts France being nailed to a stake.<sup>45</sup> This is not so. Gyp has represented France fixed to a fairground attraction, the sort which required someone to strike the hammer against the base to win a sum of money. The harder the strike, the more money won. Correctly reading what Gyp had represented visually permits Gyp's antisemitic fears about what Jews were doing to France to be exposed, and thus permits the modern viewer to understand Ibels' rejection of these ideas in his own work.

In '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France', the man on the left, partially bent over by the weight of the hammer he is aiming at France, stands on two heads. Their bodies are not shown as this is not necessary. They are the heads of a judge and gendarme, as confirmed by the former's toque and the latter's 'bicorne'.<sup>46</sup> These hatted heads would have been recognisable to the contemporary viewer as metonymic symbols for the judiciary and the rule of law and order. The more colloquial translation of the legend signifies that France is not the one enjoying herself in this carnival environment in which the Jews alone profit.

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<sup>44</sup> Like the term 'intellectuel', 'Marianne' was first coined by opponents of the Republic but taken up and owned in a positive sense. Agulhon, *Marianne into battle*: p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, p. 121.

<sup>46</sup> With grateful thanks to Professor Bertrand Tillier for help in identifying visual representations of headwear worn by the judiciary and gendarmerie.

Of the five men, who are all fully clothed, the two in the foreground wear fur-trimmed coats which exaggerates the idea of profit and profligacy at the expense of the denuded France. All the men, particularly the two standing either side of France, who dwarf and enclose her, and the crowned head, are depicted with stereotypically Semitic features to reinforce the antisemitic notion of Jewish overlordship. The misery they impose is all an amusing game to these men, as one subjugates the country's law and order and the other tramples the French flag, disrespecting and debasing it with muddy footprints. This figure, who holds moneybags containing millions of French Francs is likely to represent the French industrialist of Jewish German extraction, Baron Jacques de Reinach, since the placard held above his head proclaims the railway company founded by him and other projects attributed to him.<sup>47</sup> The birds are carrion and one, in the foreground, already has its beady eye on the pickings that will follow the hammer-blow to France. That the birds are vultures, perpetuating the connotation that Jews were feeding on the body of France, is lent credence by the diocesan newsletter penned by Gyp's employer, Drumont, in *La Semaine religieuse de Mende*.<sup>48</sup> The newsletter informed readers: "The Jew is our master .... When one of these vultures swoops down on the finances of a people, he pilfers, ransoms, tears, flays, strangles."<sup>49</sup> Gyp returned to this idea of predation three years later in another cartoon 'Les Oiseaux de Nuit'.<sup>50</sup> In that later image she represented leading Dreyfusards Zola and Joseph Reinach liaising between a putative Jewish syndicate and Prussia.<sup>51</sup> Gyp's contemporary Grand-Carteret suggested she depicted the intellectuals as "les oiseaux de proie" (birds of prey) but carrion birds could work just as well in this context.<sup>52</sup>

### *Myth*

A main argument in the Dreyfus polemic was that incoming Jews were of questionable loyalty and were invading France by stealth, creating a hostile nation squatting within a nation.<sup>53</sup> Dreyfus was French but had come to Paris as a child after Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine and Jacques de Reinach, seen in Gyp's anti-Dreyfus cartoon, had been

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<sup>47</sup> De Reinach was a financier who also constructed the Provence railway network in southern France, le chemin de fer de Provence.

<sup>48</sup> Publication in the Cévennes region.

<sup>49</sup> Brown, *For the Soul of France*, p. 173.

<sup>50</sup> 'Les Oiseaux de Nuit', Gyp, *La Silhouette*, 16 January 1898, reproduced in Grand-Carteret, *L'affaire Dreyfus et l'image*, p. 117.

<sup>51</sup> Joseph Reinach was both cousin and son-in-law to Baron Jacques de Reinach.

<sup>52</sup> Grand-Carteret, *L'affaire Dreyfus et l'image*, p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> Alfred Dreyfus' parents had chosen to move the family to Paris after the departments of Alsace-Lorraine were annexed by Germany.

naturalised as a French citizen.<sup>54</sup> In the Gyp cartoon, Jewish men are seen to be dominating and ruining France and the apparatus of state. The image complains that by enriching themselves with exploitative projects like the railways, the Jewish nouveau riche have carved up the old, natural countryside while the Panama project has brought destruction of a different sort – the ruin of Catholic investors. The metaphor of crushing a metonym underfoot was a popular means for anticlerical and reactionary artists to signify the idea of victor and vanquished. Compositionally, the Gyp cartoon is crowded with Jewish men surrounding a naked female France, echoing prevailing sexual tensions felt by Catholic men at being displaced by Jews. The Gyp message suggestive of abuse and sexual innuendo is underscored and personalised by the triangular tip of the tricolour fluttering from France's womanly parts across to meet the pubic area of the Reinachesque figure. Blom has rightly contended that Jewish men were viewed with alarm by anti-Semites who considered them rivals for the sexual favours of Catholic French women.<sup>55</sup> But Gyp's cartoon also articulated something more. To our untrained eye the innuendo may seem subtle but to the contemporary reader who would be familiar with and could read the iconography of the cartoon, the implication of sexual debasement and humiliation was unequivocal. Using this cartoon, it is possible, therefore, to establish a direct link between antisemitic attitudes in the Dreyfus era that saw sexual intimacy with Jews as deviant and much older pre-modern beliefs. Poliakov has examined medieval ideas about unclean and deviant Jewish sexuality through examination of the representation of Jewish men engaged in sexual relations with animals in the 'Judensau'.<sup>56</sup>

'—Sûr, qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France' makes a number of claims about Jews in this single allegorised snapshot: their rapaciousness in milking the nation for gross financial gain, while they subjugate and subvert the judiciary and rule of law, and also woo French women.<sup>57</sup> The content of this cartoon published during the Dreyfus dispute suggested Panama and Dreyfus for anti-Dreyfusards like Gyp were almost interchangeable. Both crises are recast as Jewish in origin, revolving around the notion of alien mercantile Jews

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<sup>54</sup> De Reinach received French citizenship after fighting for France in the National Guard during the Siege of Paris by German forces.

<sup>55</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, pp. 15, 2, 32, 400.

<sup>56</sup> Poliakov, *A History of Antisemitism*, pp. 123-69.

<sup>57</sup> Frederick Brown contends that Reinach, his agent Cornelius Herz who was also of German Jewish extraction and the Alsatian Jewish bank broker Léopold Emile Arton formed the symbolic Jewish trio who represented the corruption of the failed Panama projected in the popular imagination. Brown, *For the Soul of France*, p. 173.

destroying France. Industrial capitalism leading to economic growth, in turn creating cultural diversity, are key components of Bruce's secularisation paradigm and can be seen to inform Gyp's complaint. In Bruce's model the transformation of the economy through industrialisation and the prosperity it created led to a more mobile and culturally diverse society as well as church decline. Bruce lists compound causes for this. In his paradigm, such a decline is the result of religious diversification and increasing egalitarianism and individualism which accompanied industrialisation, democratization and economic growth.<sup>58</sup> Gyp's concerns with Republican society is with these very elements; the self-made ethnically-diverse members of that society who are displacing, and even replacing, the older traditional Catholic hierarchies. As part of his paradigm, Bruce argues that "religio-ethnic conflict mutes the relativizing consequences of pluralism because the prevalence of invidious stereotypes allows a much more thorough stigmatising of alternative cultures".<sup>59</sup> Gyp's anti-Jewish stereotyping of people in her art and in her writing can thus be seen not only as an attack on Jews but an attack on pluralism and the relativizing of religious belief that secularisation in France was bringing. Where Gyp painted Jews as dishonourable, trampling on the national flag, and engaged in conspiracy to launder dirty money, Ibels countered. Ibels turned ideas of dishonour, filth and deceit against reactionaries who had reviled Jews, as is now investigated through a tripartite semiotic interpretation of his cartoon, 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!'.

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<sup>58</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, pp. 26-7, 29, 65.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 51.

## 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!'



Fig. 17 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 16 June 1898, republished in *Allons-Y!*

### *First reading*

Ibels' drawing, in black and white, is a much simpler, less dense or crowded drawing, executed with fluid lines, representing a trio of three men. The black-bearded, bespectacled man on the left grasps a bag with numbers on it. The man with a thatch of hair in the middle holds a quill. The third, who sports an exaggerated moustache, on the right, is wiping a sword with a darkened tip. The legend underneath is 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!'. The drawing is completely linear. There is no shading. None is required to make its political points which is the image's sole purpose.

### *Second reading*

Ibels has struck back by lampooning three high-priests of anti-Dreyfusism. The composition of Gyp's cartoon consists of a trio in the foreground and background, the three men being stereotypically Jewish male figures. While three Jews of German Jewish extraction are touted by Brown as being the basis for the Judaizing of the Panama affair, Ibels has depicted three key hostile figures from the Dreyfus controversy, rooting the argument firmly

in the present. The image is suggestive of a triumvirate. To a certain extent the linear form was Ibels' style, but it was not always present in his art works. Here, where the three figures are shown bunched together, facing outwards, it creates the impression that the three are one, part of the same ill-gotten entity. A key anti-Dreyfusard argument pivoted around the filthy lucre that Gyp highlighted in '—Sûr, qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France'. Ibels has taken this idea and inverted it by commandeering the symbol of the moneybag representing a debased enrichment and put it into the hands of none other than the anticlerical Dreyfusards' arch enemy, Drumont. Ibels has given the Drumont figure the kind of stereotypical standing pose consistent with an antisemitic depiction of Jewishness. But Ibels has clearly been careful not to give Drumont features that might satirise the stereotypically Jewish face, even if Drumont's actual face could have lent itself to such a conformity. Instead, Ibels has represented Drumont as slyly covetous, repulsive, territorial and hunched-over, hugging the money bag to his body.

Ibels places the Anti-Dreyfusard figure of the anti-Dreyfusard journalist Henri Rochefort in the centre of the threesome. Rochefort is the epicentre of the cartoon and his quill a metaphor for a conductor's baton in orchestrating the ensemble. Rochefort, recognisable by his celebrated quiff of hair with which he was always caricatured, was editor of the Judeophobic *l'Intransigeant*. When Rochefort founded *L'Intransigeant* in 1880 it had represented the left-wing opposition. But under the Boulanger affair, whom Rochefort supported, it shifted to the right. Rochefort and his paper were stridently anti-Dreyfusard. Ibels completes the trio with Esterhazy, the real author of the 'bordereau' for which Dreyfus was wrongly convicted. The officer is depicted as a skulking figure with an oversized moustache. Critically, this figure is in uniform and his elite officer's weapon is dark as it is wet with blood. In this pillorying by Ibels of Drumont, Rochefort and Esterhazy, it can be seen that refracting anticlerical ideas through the lens of the Dreyfus controversy gave a nuanced slant to ideas about who was honourable and who was not.

In this simple yet effective cartoon, like in "—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France", the figures and their actions provide multiple ideas that work on different levels. The figure of Esterhazy represents himself, the real traitor to France, but Esterhazy also symbolises the whole of the military elite. In the form of Esterhazy Ibels condemns the military elite's dishonourable treatment of Dreyfus and their deceitful, murderous intentions towards France. The three figures stand more or less level indicating they are all equally

reprehensible. Esterhazy's right foot as the traitor is lowest, but both Drumont's feet are lower than Esterhazy's left foot, indicating his low status in Ibels' cartoon. Although their feet point in different directions, each man has one foot that follows the same angle as the foot of another man. Similarly, the use of an almost parallel vertical angle in Esterhazy's bloodied sword, one end of Esterhazy's moustache, Rochefort's quill and quiff, the numbers on Drumont's moneybag and the odd slope of Drumont's head signify the anticlerical position that prejudice, clericalism and violence were one and the same as represented by this trio.

### *Myth*

Ibels has overturned and recast the Gyp narrative to suggest the clericalists are the ones to profit. The anti-Dreyfusards have capitalized on antisemitism to promote their clerical agenda and the reverse is also true: Drumont and Rochefort have capitalized on clericalism to promote their antisemitic agenda.<sup>60</sup> Drumont was responsible for promoting antisemitism in France and *La Libre Parole* was at the forefront of Judaizing the Panama Affair and for falsely exposing Dreyfus as guilty. In the earlier scandal, the paper had achieved the coup of leaking the names of deputies who received bribes in the Panama scandal, given to Drumont's paper by Baron Jacques de Reinhart in return for their not attacking him further in the publication.<sup>61</sup> Ibels would have been aware that Drumont was often lionised in cartoons as a Catholic knight taking on the ignominious Jewry. The anticlerical artist thus recasts the antisemitic Catholic-knight Drumont as the villain of the piece, 'the Judas' in which there was no hint of religion. Using the cartoon legend "Gold, Mud and Blood!" Ibels has hijacked the cherished themes of the anti-Dreyfusards and reoriented them: Ibels has appropriated the claim that Frenchness resided in its links to the soil and to familial ties of kith and kin (thus excluding Jewish newcomers) and, with supreme irony, conjoined the idea of love of gold, not with the Jews, but with Drumont, who has made money out of his antisemitic publications.

In the text accompanying this drawing in its republication in *Allons-Y!* Ibels goes one step further in this device of inversion by mirroring the Dreyfus controversy in calling the situation the 'Drumont Affair': "L'affaire Drumont sera le pendant de l'affaire Dreyfus".<sup>62</sup> Ibels similarly

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<sup>60</sup> Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels' pp. 205-6.

<sup>61</sup> Brown, *For the Soul of France*, p. 168.

<sup>62</sup> Tr. the Drumont Affair will be the counterpart of the Dreyfus Affair

inverts and bastardises the reactionaries' credo of a link to the land by making it "de boue" or mud, perhaps filth, that flows from the pen of the anti-Dreyfusard Rochefort, an anticlerical editor who published antisemitic material and could not be persuaded to support the Dreyfusard cause. Lastly, Ibels reclaims the notion blood bestows nationality by turning 'blood' into an antimilitary idea. He borrows the reactionary watchword and applies it to Esterhazy's bloody sword. 'Blood' stands for the crime of the officer protected by his fellow Catholic elite (even after his treachery in writing the 'bordereau' was known). 'Blood' also represents Esterhazy as responsible for the violence in the riots that broke out in Algeria and in parts of rural France in response to the Affair. The bloodied sword also hints at military ambition towards the Republic. In *Lettre à la France* Zola also highlighted the three main issues Ibels has prioritised in this cartoon: intolerance towards the Jews and the lies of the press by the likes of Drumont and Rochefort and the violence and menace of the military command: Zola writes:

"...there are nothing but lies in the accounts published by the reptile press"<sup>63</sup> and: "...that great majority which accepts its opinions from the newspapers or the neighbours, and is equally incapable of getting at facts, or reflecting thereupon. What has happened, how is it that your people, France, with their good hearts and their common sense, have reached this ferocity of terror, this blackness of intolerance?"<sup>64</sup>

'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' does not use the device of animalising the antagonists in the world of the cartoon, depicting them as birds or animals, as Ibels would later on in 1906 when illustrating Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch*. Animalising was a popular device in the visual satire associated with anti-Jewish disputes. One Yiddish postcard from the eve of the Beilis case entitled 'The Messiah has Arrived' transmogrified Jewish writers into biblical beasts that were normally predator and prey, sitting together in harmony.<sup>65</sup> Visual metaphors depicting clericals as birds and animals to score a political point were on display at the height of the furore in Ibels' journal *Le Sifflet*. One example was Louis Chevalier's illustration of the Ministry of War in *Le Sifflet*. Chevalier depicted France's military chief of staff as owls. The cartoon's legend called their opponents "oiseaux de nuit, féroces et

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<sup>63</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13

<sup>65</sup> 'The Messiah has arrived', Leyb Brodaty, published in *Ferlag Satira (The Satirical Post)*, Warsaw, ca. 1910.

laches bandits des ténèbres”, emphasizing the elements of darkness to signify anticlerical protests against reactionary obscurantism.<sup>66</sup>

### The role of religion in the anti-Jewish controversy

Rémond argues that anticlericalism is inseparable from the history of ideas and this was no less true for ideas about religion.<sup>67</sup> Ideas about religion were recognised as powerful by anticlerical and reactionary artists alike. The Ralliement was anathema to those pressing for a fully laicised republic and anticlericals viewed the renewed religiosity at the time of the debate with alarm. But although censorship had been removed in 1881 making the satirising of religious belief in art much easier, targeting faith was not Ibels’ main motive. Core Catholic beliefs like the Crucifixion or the concept of the Holy Trinity were only very rarely satirised by Ibels. What can be said is that when Ibels and other Dreyfusards did enlist the imagery of the Cross they do so to evoke its symbolic power, or to highlight what they saw as the corruption or abuse of the power of the Church and its allies, not to remonstrate with faith itself. Ibels used the Cross to make arguments about the kind of society he wanted to live in. His ‘Le coup de l’éponge’ drawings of Dreyfus crucified utilised the Cross into a symbol of suffering for supporters and allies as a powerful token of camaraderie and esteem. Drawings with personal, handwritten messages from Ibels can be viewed as constituting a talisman in their shared cause.

The use of these symbols in anticlerical cartoons demonstrate clearly that ideas about religious belief still resonated broadly in society. Anticlericals in anti-Jewish affairs in the secularising state were willing to use religious ideas and iconography to make political points and capital. ‘Le coup de l’éponge’ was published in *Le Siècle* on 18 September 1899, just over a week after the Rennes court-martial found Dreyfus guilty with extenuating circumstances and one day Dreyfus before President Loubet’s pardon.<sup>68</sup> As such it used iconography in the public sphere some of Ibels’ compatriots may have found distasteful or offensive. The image was intended to make an impact while some of its fire was softened in its being couched in an appeal for sympathy under the caption ‘Pitié!’. As such it offered a powerful indictment of what the anticlerical saw as a military-orchestrated failed justice process. Within the intellectuals’ campaign network such bold ideas were acceptable

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<sup>66</sup> Tr. birds of the night, ferocious and cowardly, bandits of the shadows.

<sup>67</sup> Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme*, p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> Forestier, ‘Rachel Beer, the Dreyfus Case and the Observer’, pp. 524-5.

currency, indeed more. The image is a standard-bearer for the intellectuals' humanitarian struggle. This is borne out by its selection for inclusion in the collection of defining anticlerical images, *Les Légendes du Siècle*.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the significance of the individual versions presented to two leftist journalists, Byl and Reinach, underscores how this image was seen as embodying the core arguments of their shared cause. All four versions in the 'Le coup de l'éponge' set are seen below (fig. 18).

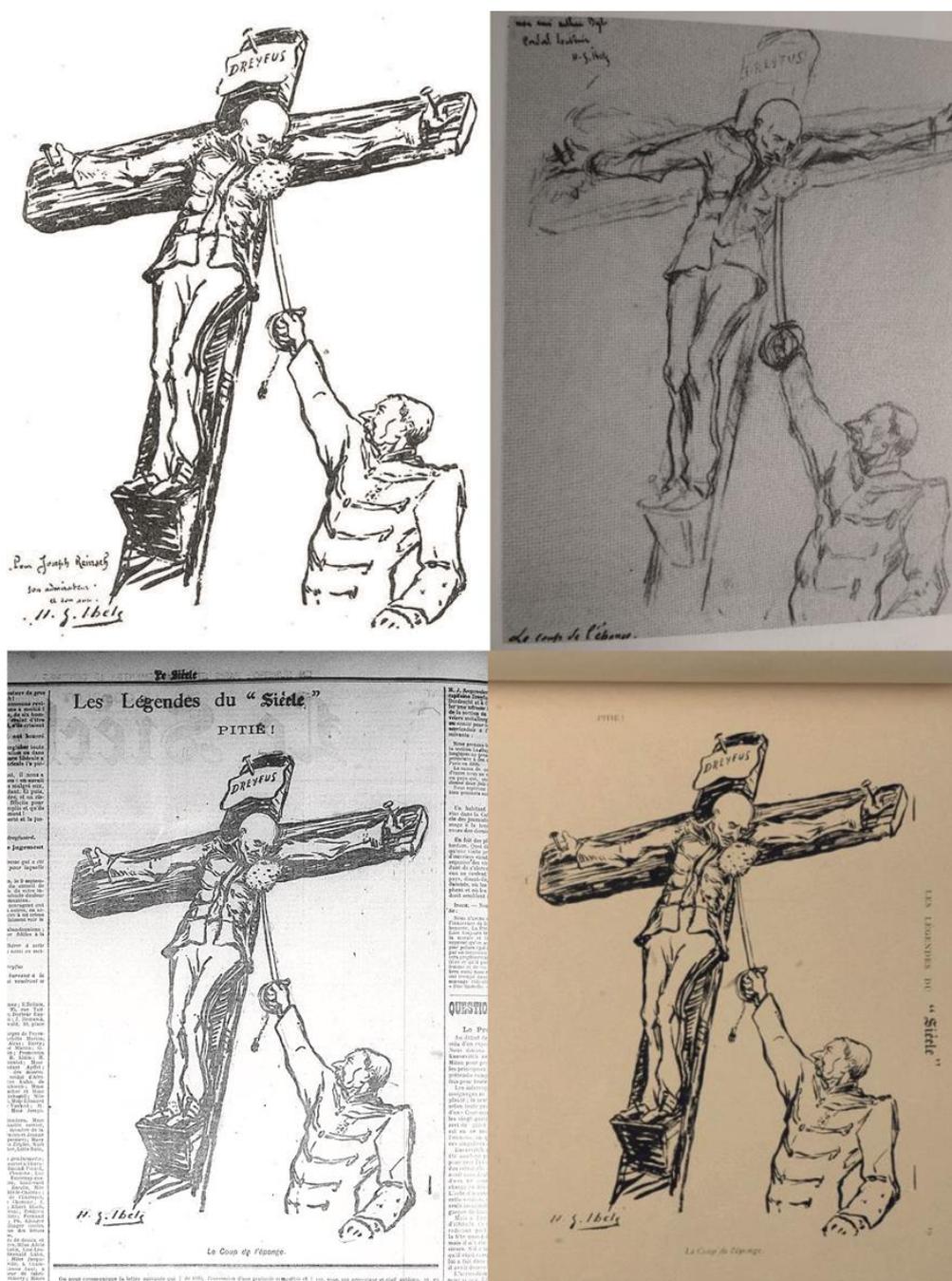


Fig. 18 Clockwise from left by Ibelles: 'Le coup de l'éponge' for Joseph Reinach; for Arthur Byl, both 1899; republished in *Les Légendes du Siècle*, 1901; and in *Le Siècle*, 18 September 1899.

<sup>69</sup> <https://mahj.org/fr/decouvrir-collections-betsalel/les-legendes-du-siecle-26003> (last accessed 1 November 2022).

Ibels signed and dedicated the drawings to each confrère in the crisis as seen in the detail below (fig. 19).

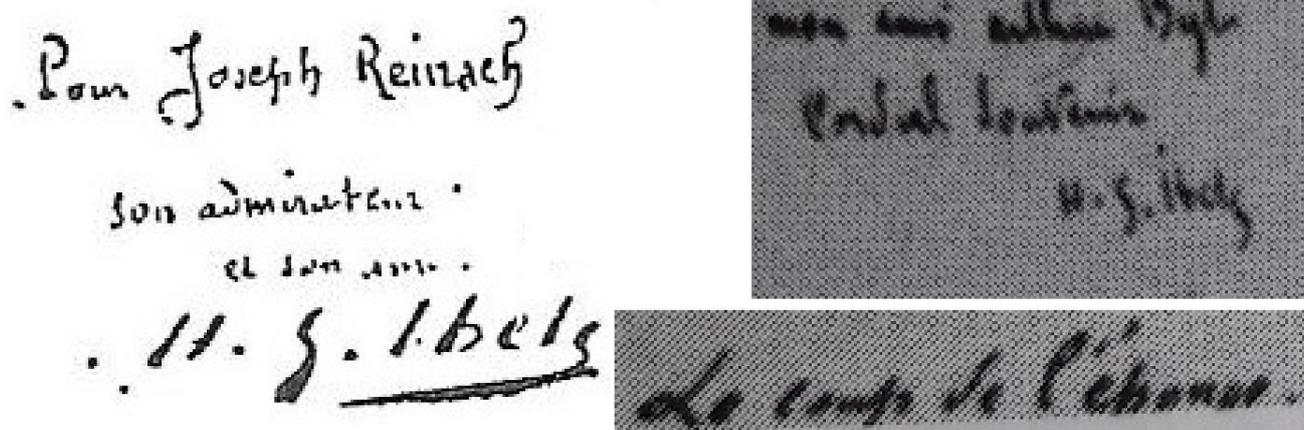


Fig. 19 Detail, signed dedications to Reinach and Byl in their respective versions of ‘Le coup l’éponge’

There are minor differences between Byl’s version and the other three in which the published images appear to be copies of the pen and Indian ink drawing for Reinach. Byl’s charcoal drawing appears more of a rougher sketch. It may have come first while Ibels was working through the ideas for his riposte. Forestier argues the theme of ‘the sponge’ had been introduced into the debate that year by Jules Cornély as a plea in *Le Figaro* for “la politique de l’éponge”.<sup>70</sup> Cornély’s suggestion to “passer l’éponge” (to ‘forgive and forget’) was to wipe the slate clean in order to reconcile the political divide and resolve the crisis.<sup>71</sup> In the decade before the polemic opened, Cornély had founded a Catholic royalist periodical, *Le Clairon*. Forestier contends Ibels was part of an international mediatised response to such a proposition. The message of Ibels’ drawing is that the sponge merely conceals the tip of the sword. The positioning of the cartoon in the newspaper associates it prominently with the campaign against antisemitism and clericalism. The cartoon takes pride of place on *Le Siècle*’s page 2 with a nearby column under the headline of “[l]’antisémitisme du Général Jamont” investigates Jamont’s reportedly expressed view “qu’il ne faut plus de juifs dans l’armée” among other anti-Jewish comments.<sup>72</sup> The paper’s front page promotes Ibels’ ‘Les Légendes du “Siècle” par H. G. Ibels’ while decrying the Pope’s failure to intervene, and notes how two Catholic papers in Italy have praised the

<sup>70</sup> Jules Cornély, *Le Figaro*, May 23, 1899. Forestier, ‘Rachel Beer, the Dreyfus Case, and the Observer’, p. 523.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Tr. there should be no more Jews in the army. *Le Siècle*, 18 September 1899, p. 2.

Rennes court martial “de ne pas se laisser influencer par la presse juive...”<sup>73</sup> In the more refined version of the image dedicated to Reinach, Ibels has made the nails driven into the Jewish captain’s hands more impactful and included or changed other details such as adding a swinging chain from the pommel of the upheld sword and the angle of the nails in the feet. In this version, Dreyfus’ arms are extended slightly, splayed out horizontally more emphatically on the Cross rather than in the Byl sketch where the Dreyfus figure’s legs are marginally longer. This has the effect of underscoring the suffering of the man, stretched out against the wooden cross, in the way Christ had suffered. Ibels wanted to evoke the trauma of the Passion of the Christ to draw a disturbing yet sincere parallel with the arrest, trial and extended suffering of Jesus.

Following the arc of his work it can be seen that Ibels used ideas that were both religious and irreligious in 1899 to elicit compassion and a sense of belonging. Seven years later it was possible for Ibels to engage in crude lampooning of the Catholic Holy Trinity in illustrating Mirbeau’s *Sébastien Roch*. It was the year the High Court finally quashed the second guilty verdict from the Rennes court-martial declaring no retrial necessary with Dreyfus ostensibly welcomed back into the army. After the separation of church and state Ibels’ anticlericalism was free to ridicule the central tenets of Catholicism. The illustration for Mirbeau’s narrative constituted the kind of blasphemous titillation shocking for believers that Frid’Rick had produced a decade and a half before the anti-Jewish dispute remoulded anticlerical thinking into a political expression unique to the polemic.<sup>74</sup> Ibels’ and Frid’Rick’s cartoons are seen below (figs. 20 and 21).

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<sup>73</sup> Tr. had not let themselves be influenced by the Jewish press. *La Voce della Verita* and *L’Osservatore romano*. Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> For Ibels, see Mirbeau, (1906) *Sébastien Roch*, p. 209; For Frid’rick see Doizy and Laloux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 94.

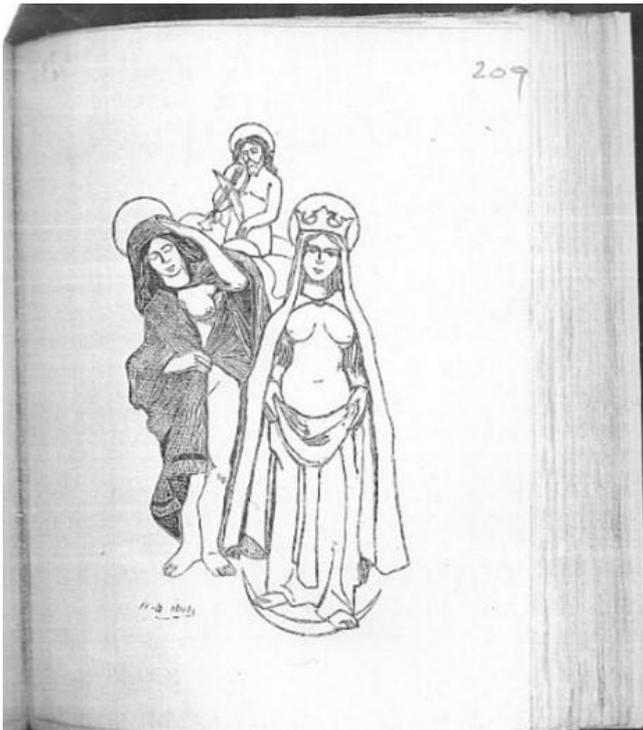


Fig. 20 Illustration, Ibels, *Sébastien Roch*, 1906, Paris, p. 209

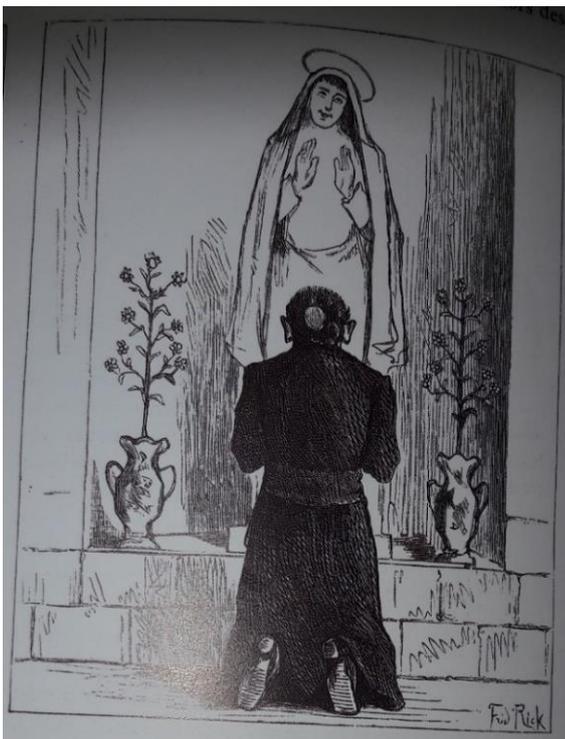


Fig. 21 'Shrine to the Virgin Mary', Frid'Rick, 1880

One connection between the two Dreyfusards, Ibels and Zola, is that Ibels was an artist but also sometimes a writer. Ibels was dubbed 'le nabi journaliste' in the circle of painters

whose members took on eponymous appellations in that group of post-impressionist artists, les Nabis.<sup>75</sup> Like Zola, who took to publishing his writings about the Dreyfus case in pamphlets when *Le Figaro* rejected them, Ibels also self-published, his writing and his art, writing about the state of the nation during the controversy in text accompanying his images. There was a cross-over in the sharing of visual ideas and use of text. Zola was a visual writer, and Ibels and the Nabis were literary artists.<sup>76</sup> Drawing on Solange Vernois' thesis, Dessy found links between the Nabis and writers.<sup>77</sup> The narrative strength of Ibels' ideas is apparent throughout *Allons-Y!*. Ibels sets the tone of *Allons-Y!* in calling it a contemporary history characterising himself as a raconteur and artist.<sup>78</sup> O'Toole calls Ibels "socially conscious" and Ibels admired the humanitarian quality in Zola.<sup>79</sup> The connections between the two men in their thinking extended far beyond their wish to see Dreyfus exonerated and freed into ideas about the nation-state, the Church, the military, religion and toleration and about France's revolutionary past and Republican future.

There was also a much more personal and explicit link between Ibels and Zola. The year before 'J'Accuse...!' was published as 'la Une' or 'front-page page splash' — Ibels had worked directly with Zola, absorbing his ideas, interpreting his writing and familiarising himself with his anticlerical thinking through illustrating *La Terre*. The irreverence and lack of respect which Zola and Ibels were both able to treat elements of the Church is apparent from the visual interpretation Ibels produced of one of the novel's central characters: the inveterate gambler and drunken marauding slob, Hyacinthe Fouan, referred to with blatant irreverence throughout Zola's novel by his nickname of 'Jesus Christ'. Ibels' interpretation of a pipe-smoking, leering 'Jesus Christ' and his ruffian daughter Olympe, nicknamed 'La Trouille', was to the fore in Charpentier's 1897 imprint of the novel, two years after Dreyfus was exiled to the penal colony. Ibels' image is a boldly anticlerical statement in its own right and chimed with Zola's world-view as seen below (fig. 22).

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<sup>75</sup> Sievers, Anne, Muehlig, Linda, and Rich, Nancy with contributions from Erickson, Kristen and Nygren, Edward (2000) *Master Drawings from the Smith College Museum of Art*, New York, p. 196.

<sup>76</sup> Dessy, Clément (2015) *Les Ecrivains et Les Nabis: La Littérature au défi de la peinture*, Rennes, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp. 14, 18; Vernois, Solange, *Les Nabis au service de la littérature et des spectacles de leur temps (1888 – 1905)* doctoral thesis, Paris I-Sorbonne, 1996.

<sup>78</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, cover and flyleaf.

<sup>79</sup> O'Toole, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', p. 31; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, second flyleaf.

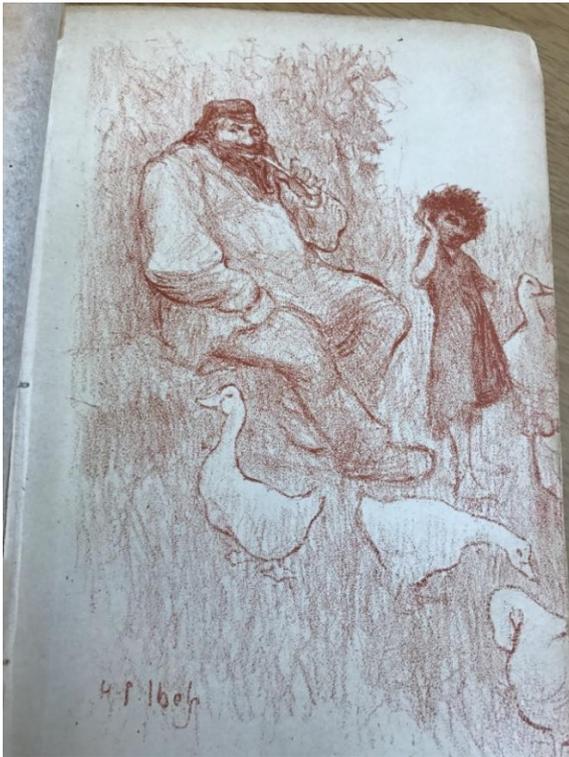


Fig. 22 'Jesus Christ' and daughter 'La Trouille', Ibels, *La Terre*, 1897, lithograph

In the cycle and recycling of ideas at work within the Dreyfus dynamic, the symbols of the Jewish religion were also demonized. The prolific use of iconic personalities and metonymic symbols from Judaism saw Moses and the Torah appropriated by anti-Dreyfusard artists such as Willette and Gyp to make socio-political arguments as Ibels deployed the sacred iconography of the Cross.<sup>80</sup> Not all anti-Dreyfusards saw their ideas as an assault on Judaism. When challenged by the feminist journal *La Fronde's* editors that attacking the Jewish faith was "sacrilegious" Gyp's response was a denial: "I would never have thought of dealing with religion. Being very religious myself, I respect the beliefs of others regardless of what they are".<sup>81</sup> Yet 'En Balade' targeted sacred Jewish symbols, depicting a sexualised Moses holding the stone tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments surrounded by phallic symbols implying his erection beside the bed of a scantily-clad woman.

Religious ideas that denigrated the Jew were used to attack the liberalising Third Republic and the place of Jews in it in Régency's 'Aujourd'hui, grace aux Juifs, l'argent est devenue

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<sup>80</sup> The Law of Moses is the law God revealed to Moses and through him to the Jewish people. It also signifies the Torah or the first five books of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament also known as the Pentateuch.

<sup>81</sup> Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, p. 128.

taut-puissant' ('Today, thanks to the Jews, money has become Almighty').<sup>82</sup> The illustration for Drumont's *La France Juive* depicted the sedentary figure of a man with stereotypical 'Jewish' features, lounging in the skies as he loomed over the population, instead of God, one hand resting on a giant mound of moneybags. Ten years later Gyp reprised the idea of depicting a gigantic horizontal figure in the sky in *Ohe, Les Dirigeants*. Régency's illustration reached more than a hundred thousand viewers in the first year of the book's publication in 1886 alone. Régency was illustrating and interpreting Drumont's *La France Juive* in 1886 as Ibels would illustrate and interpret Zola in 1897 and Mirbeau in 1906. The way Ibels and Régency each represented their ideas was the result of the secularising society in which ideas about religion, science and pseudo-science with its ideas of 'race', new money and the rights of the individual to justice were suddenly juxtaposed as competing claims. Ibels salutes the modernising state in his poster design 'A Bas le progrès' as Zola does when he cries in *Lettre à la jeunesse* "Oh young men, young men! Remember, I entreat you the great work which awaits you. You are the workmen of the future".<sup>83</sup> 'A bas le progrès' is studied further in the section on antimilitary ideas in chapter four.

Caplan contended that Ibels 'frenchified' the crisis. Ibels certainly did not wish to characterise the Affair as a conflict between Jews and Christians.<sup>84</sup> Like Zola, who had called for a universal fraternity in 'Pour les Juifs', Ibels' goal was to promote a representation of an inclusive nation and to diffuse religious difference while exposing what was for him, the real enemy – a military-backed Church. Such ideas also had to appeal to and unify all the supporters Kedward and Capéran counted among Dreyfusards, including liberal Catholics such as the jurist, Léon Chaine, and the poet, Charles Péguy.<sup>85</sup> Ibels downplayed the idea of Dreyfus' Jewishness and only evoked his Jewishness in his art to accentuate his victimhood as part of a Christian narrative that spoke of the suffering of another Jew, Jesus.

But others characterised tensions in the Third Republic as a clash of faiths. The year before *La France Juive's* publication, Willette made a point of including religion in his depiction of

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<sup>82</sup> Reproduced in Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p. 55.

<sup>83</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 9. 'Third Performance: A Bas le progrès!', Mademoiselle Julie, Le Ménage Brésilien, for Le Théâtre Libre, 1892-3; <https://www.artic.edu/artists/31548/henri-gabriel-ibels> (last accessed 30 January 2019).

<sup>84</sup> Kaplan, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', p. 199.

<sup>85</sup> Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 75; Capéran, *L'Anticléricalisme et L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 72.

Jewish people and life, as in his drawing 'Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainté'. As seen below (fig. 23), Catholicism and a corrupted Judaism are represented as visually polarised in an explicitly religious context.

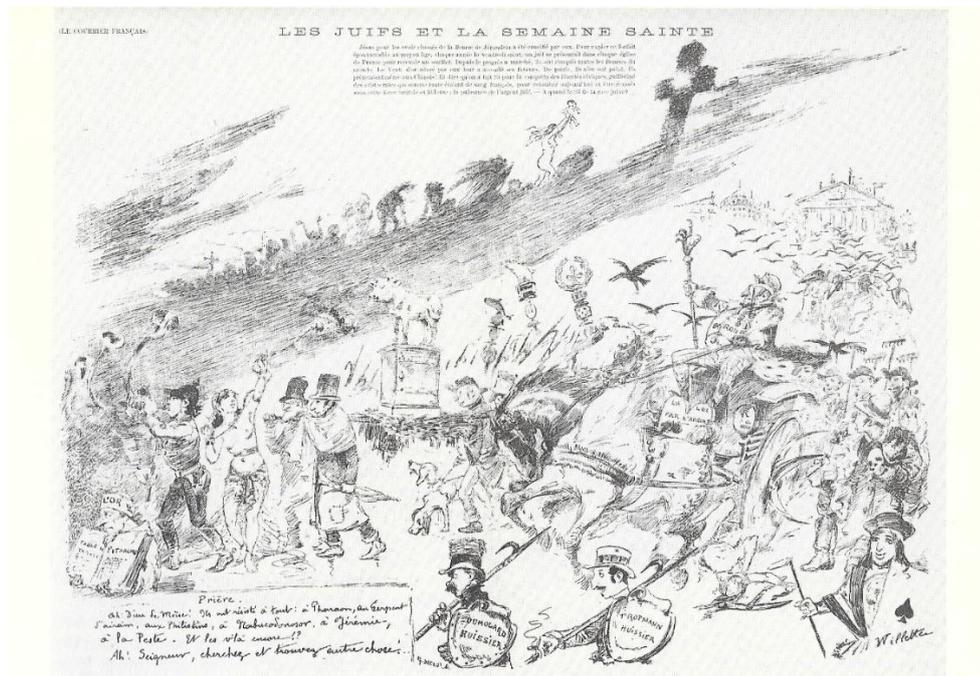


Fig. 23 'Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainté', Willette, *Le Courrier français*, 5 April 1885

As Willette attacked what was sacred to Jews by representing ramshackle hoards idolising the golden calf, a popular idiom in antisemitic satire, and a rich baron with his feet despoiling the tablets of Mosaic Law, Ibels would vilify the Catholic Church and its allies. Willette's 'Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainté' had represented the societal schism as a clash of religions, and, by extension cultures. The image predicted Jews, on the downward slope, would fail, while those persevering in following the Cross in an uphill battle, on the compositionally and morally higher plane, would prevail. Within the currents of the Dreyfus debate, the anticlerical riposte denigrated the political Church and its officers, and excised religion from the debate. Ibels was seventeen on 5 April 1885 when this cartoon was published in *Le Courrier français*, eighteen when *La France Juive* created a publishing storm the following year.<sup>86</sup> The discourse around this printed culture would unquestionably have had an impact on the young artist as much as Zola's powerful novel writing of *Germinal*. Such provocative ideas can be seen as the fertile soil in which Ibels' anticlerical thinking flourished when the Dreyfus crisis exploded.

<sup>86</sup> Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p, 64.

Compositionally, two main vectors operate diagonally and the position of these vectors on the vertical plane, are important in Willette's drawing. One vertical vector is led by the Cross. This line of composition and thought is understood to be superior as it is higher on the vertical plane. In the same way, Ibel's represented Dreyfus on the Cross from a bird's eye view, retaining the moral high ground. The figuration in this vector inside Willette's image is represented as unified and streamlined. Its upward momentum, the sense and direction of movement, are all reinforced by the streaked shading, indicating the struggle and eventual triumph Christian France faces and embraces. On the way down, on a diagonally descending vector, is a motley crew of Jews bearing a golden calf. The tablets of stone are depicted with the bastardised inscription "La Loi Par L'Argent". Armed soldiers wearing Prussian helmets blow on the ram's horn that is an integral part of the Jewish religious service. Among their number is Baron de Reinach in a expensive horse-drawn carriage followed by a flock of vultures, some in service to him. In the 'Jewish procession' an exotic bare-breasted dancing-girl is linked visually to the golden calf, whereas the Christian procession is led by a naked woman, who can stand for an allegorised motherland, holding up an infant, France's future progeny.

Underneath the integral title 'Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainte', which is within the image, the legend recounts how Jews were previously required to "expiate" their sin of causing the Crucifixion by appearing in churches on Friday throughout France. In a curious twist, as a kind of ironic double-bluff, Willette has included within the cartoon a prayer to the 'God of Moses' to find a way of getting rid of the Jews. Religion was very much a part of the currency of ideas on the eve of the Affair and was used to comment on other issues — fear of vulnerability to Prussia's military, the modern market economy, France's pluralist society, and even the promotion of traditional roles for women as mothers of an exclusively Christian nation. In some respects, Judaism's enhanced and more visible status in France made it a more visible target. Its official recognition in 1808 had signalled France's transformation from what Baubérot called a "plurality of religions" to a "pluralism of recognised religions", all of which enjoyed equal rights and freedoms.<sup>87</sup> Yet in November 1897, three years after Dreyfus' arrest, the Consistoire israélite de France protested at the use in the south-west of France of a prescribed reading textbook for schoolchildren. Theodore Valéentin's *Les Fleurs de l'histoire* received praise from an array of high-ranking

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<sup>87</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, pp. 19-21, 24-6.

members of the Catholic clergy including Cardinal Desprez, the Archbishop of Toulouse.<sup>88</sup> Of the Jews, Valéentin wrote:

'Les juifs sont une race maudite depuis qu'ils ont vendu Notre-Seigneur et méconnu ses bontés. Ils tendent à asservir et à ruiner toutes les nations sur lesquelles ils se sont abattus comme des vautours sur une riche proie. Ce sont des parasites dangereux et insatiables ...' <sup>89</sup>

Contemporaries saw anticlericalism and liberalism as interlinked, as Valentin's historical interpretation expressed the link between Catholicism and antisemitism. In 1894, the year of Dreyfus' arrest, the director of a Catholic weekly paper in the north of France, *La Semaine religieuse de Cambrai*, Henri Delassus, opined "antisemitism and Catholicism are one and the same thing".<sup>90</sup> Nonetheless, the Jewish religion was not the motivating spur for antisemitic or anti-Dreyfusard ideas as Catholicism was not for anticlericals before church and state were separated, during which time anticlerical artists steered away from representing the Christ figure or the trinity and did not attack the "grandeur" of the Christian religion itself. Dreyfusard anticlerical artists necessarily needed to avoid antagonising or alienating public opinion. Ideas where tenets of faith itself were represented were almost always secondary by-products to criticism of the Gallican Church and its hierarchy and feared alliance with the military. In rare cases, religious practice was targeted by Dreyfusard anticlericals to decry reactionary politics as in Pépin's 'E Amen de Conscience'. Notably, this was published in *Le Grelot* on 20 February 1898, a day of resistance and defiance by Dreyfusards a week after Zola's 'J'Accuse...!', and the very same day the Ligue de Droits de l'Homme was founded. Depicting two anti-Dreyfusard editors, Drumont and Rochefort either side of the confessional reciting their prayers, examined in chapter four. The month after Pépin's cartoon, still in that first hectic quarter of 1898 after 'J'Accuse...!' launched the Affair proper, Ibels took the unusual step of debasing the holy rosary, associated for Catholics with the Blessed Virgin Mary, on *Le Sifflet's* front cover, an image of a priest garrotting the Republic with the rosary's prayer beads, decoded later in this chapter.

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<sup>88</sup> Pierrard, *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>89</sup> Tr. The Jews have been an accursed race since they sold Our Lord and disregarded his goodness. They tend to enslave and ruin all nations on which they fell like vultures on a lush piece of predation. They are dangerous and insatiable parasites.... Pierrard, *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 29.

<sup>90</sup> Kertzer, *Unholy War*, p. 226.

## 'Saint' and 'sinner': rival use of the symbol of the Cross in the anti-Jewish milieu

The practice of inverting or compromising biblical signs and stories to demolish the arguments of opponents was deployed during the polemic as in the two illustrations below. The sign of the Cross has been used to endorse competing claims: while it was the eternal symbol of a crusading Christian faith for artists like Willette, anticlericals appropriated the Cross during the Affair, representing it as transformed, or conflated with that which was abhorrent or threatening. Before investigating the internal ideas on offer in the Anquetin and Willette illustrations below it is necessary to ground the two images in their respective milieux. Antisemitic riots had taken place while Dreyfus remained imprisoned on Île de Diable so notions of a crusade or the taking up of arms in response to the perceived threat of Jewish perfidy and infiltration into the nation were not altogether unrealistic. Willette was an official 'Antisemitic Candidate' in elections. His work 'Edouard Drumont, author of *La France Juive*', eulogising Drumont for *Le Courrier français*, appeared eight years before Dreyfus' arrest in 1886, the year Drumont published his best-selling anti-Jewish tract. 'Drumont et Vacher' by Louis Anquetin, on the other hand, was published by *La Feuille* at the end of 1898, when the Affair was in full tilt and intellectuals were marshalling their supporters. That turbulent year had opened with the publication of 'J'Accuse...!', followed a month later with the formation of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. The tripartite semiotic reading is now applied to Willette's illustration (fig. 24, below left,) and to Anquetin's cartoon (below right).

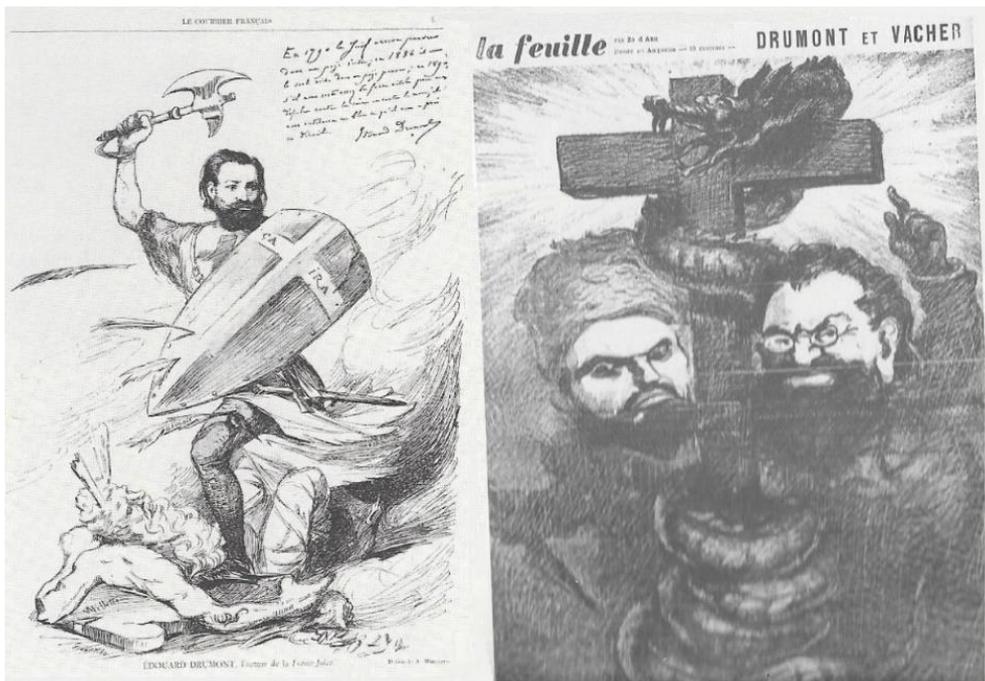


Fig 24 (Left) 'Edouard Drumont, author of *La France Juive*', Willette, *Le Courrier français*, 16 May 1886; (right) 'Drumont et Vacher', Anquetin, *La Feuille*, 3 November 1898

### *First reading*

The Willette cartoon shows a man holding a shield with a cross on it to deflect arrows and brandishing an axe. His sur-coat also bears a cross. With his right foot this man is pinioning another man, who has a flowing white beard, to the ground. The older man who lies underfoot is crushed against a tablet of stone. The second cartoon shows two men closely positioned either side of a wooden cross. A scaly, fanged serpent with a forked tongue is wound around the cross, coiled tightly at its base and the arch of its neck is higher than the top of the cross. The man on the left of the image is bearded, wears a fur toque, and holds a dagger. The man on the right of the image is bearded, bespectacled and his darkened pointing hand is raised pointing at the serpent. A halo of light explodes from behind the snake-wreathed cross.

### *Second reading*

The slightly idealised, portrait likeness of the face allows the viewer to infer the figure represents Edouard Drumont in the incarnation and pose of a medieval religious folk hero or Christian knight. This Drumont holds a shield with the symbol of the Cross. The Law of Moses or the Torah, is shown as a cracked and broken stone tablet at his feet. The archetypal Jew brought low is incarnated by the Prophet Moses. The arrows aimed at Drumont recall the Christian crusade or St Sebastian raising Drumont to sainthood through

his defeat of Jewry signified by the fallen Moses and his tablets of stone.<sup>91</sup> Anticlerical artists like Anquetin and Ibels working in an anti-Jewish milieu used compact but audacious ideas to confound idealised images of Drumont, in the way that William Feaver identified characterised the modern cartoon.<sup>92</sup> With a faster turn-around, layers of meaning could be constructed from and condensed into a relatively simple image. In Anquetin's image, the Cross is positioned as the central focal point. A snake is represented cleaving to the Cross, a metonymic device signifying the Church. The serpent was associated with falsehood and sin in the Fall in Genesis. With the serpent and Cross intertwined visually, falsehood and sin are seen to have become one with the Church which is so diminished as to have become the snake's prey. The serpent is ready to crush the Cross in its coils. The image declares that the Church has been overtaken and mastered by evil. The serpent's greater power is represented by its neck arched higher than the highest vertical point of the Cross.

To the right of the serpent-cross is Drumont, a follower of this evil and complicit in it. If his close proximity to the serpent-cross were not enough, he is pointing at the snake's head, the font of its power and malediction. To emphasize this there is a vector running from Drumont's hand through the Cross to the snake, a diagonal line from the hand through the Cross to the highest point of the serpent's arched neck. Another visual connection signalling Drumont's evil is made by the serpent's tail flicking up into Drumont's body, reinforcing his link with it and their common and mutual role as a purveyor of evil and duplicity. On the other side of the serpent-Cross, an evil twin for Drumont as the serpent is a doppelganger for the Church, is the serial killer Joseph Vacher, depicted in the white rabbit fur hat he was infamous for. Six days before *La Feuille* published Anquetin's anticlerical cartoon Vacher was found guilty of serial rapes and murders, for which he was sentenced to death. In court, Vacher claimed his actions were inspired by God like Joan of Arc's. While Vacher holds a knife, Drumont's hand is linked inextricably with the serpent-Cross. Both figures wear grim expressions and are represented unequivocally as architects of evil like the Church they flank and identify with.

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<sup>91</sup> Moses and the tablets of stone were often used to represent Jewishness in late nineteenth century images. While the Star of David had been used by Jews for hundreds of years it only became more widely associated with Jewishness after the symbol was chosen to represent Zionism in 1897.

<sup>92</sup> Feaver, *Masters of Caricature*, p. 95.

### *Myth*

The Cross, particularly in conjunction with the person of Drumont, is used to make opposing political arguments about the Church and Jews. Anticlericals, like reactionaries, used biblical and religious values like the representation of the sinner in their satirical art. This was the antithesis of the Drumont in Willette's illustration of him, where he is characterised as a modern saint defeating Jewry to save Catholic France. The competing stories of the two images are both aggressive narratives in their own right. In the one, the Christian crusader's deadly weapon is raised above the pinioned Moses, in the other evil in the form of the serpent is squeezing the life out of the Church. Ibels conflated the symbol of the Cross with militarism in the nexus of the anti-Jewish crisis to expose another dimension of the Church corruption Anquetin was highlighting. In Ibels' hostile depictions of the seditious 'Goupillon' or Church interchangeable with the 'Sabre', the metonymic slang for military, Ibels was in harmony with Zola's rhetoric in *Lettre à la France*: "And do you know where else you walk, France? You go to the Church of Rome, you return to that past of intolerance..."<sup>93</sup>

In the anticlerical art, no distinction is made between the Church and that which corrupts it. In 'Drumont et Vacher' the serpent and Church are represented as fused. Evil acolytes like Drumont and Vacher are indistinguishable from one another and do the Church's bidding. In other images such as 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' Ibels' alluded to the 'mud' or filth that flowed from the quill of Rochefort in the anti-Dreyfusard press. This idea of falsehood emerges in *La Débâcle* where Zola highlighted the effect of egregious press misinformation: "others were getting worked up too, for the final effect of these continuous lies in the papers was disastrous. Then men had lost all confidence and no longer believed anything".<sup>94</sup> Anquetin and Ibels linked such lies to clerical forces and Zola noted the relationship between fake news and blind religious faith: "... the illusion began again in the crisis atmosphere of a disease at its climax, made up of the lies of some and the starry-eyed faith of others".<sup>95</sup>

Naturally, not all journalism was tarnished for Ibels who praised Zola's open letter in *L'Aurore* as the work of a true citizen. The *Latkes'* cartoon about Beilis touches in a more

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<sup>93</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>94</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473

nuanced way on ideas of press exploitation while also taking the stance of portraying it as a vehicle for anticlericalism, by humorously showing an editor paying homage to a bust, symbolically an idol, of Beilis. In both anticlerical cartoons in these separate anti-Jewish crises, the power of religion and the way people are responding to it, are seen to play a key role in the ideas of the satirical art. Anticlerical ideas in artistic content was also replicated and reprised by sympathetic artists agitating in discrete debates. The deployment of the snake to signify the Church as a Dreyfusard metaphor in Anquetin's image shared much in terms of symbolism and, strikingly, its position and angle within another cartoon. Published on the front page of the Republican journal *Le Don Quichotte* on 9 October 1892, the latter depicted a garlanded Renan, to whom it was sympathetic, over whom reared the snake complete with a biretta or priest's hat, dripping poison.<sup>96</sup> The anticlerical snake as a representation of corruption located at the heart of the Church remained in the polemic.

#### Contribution of the libre pensée to ideas in the Dreyfusard art

Libre pensée is an extensive subject in its own right. This chapter now turns to free thought discourse to see if it influenced ideas surfacing in Dreyfusard visual satire. For this purpose, the study takes up Bayet's assessment that the free thinking of 'philosophes' such as Montesquieu, Helvetius and d'Holbach had two battle fronts: the Church and religion.<sup>97</sup> The fight against the Catholic Church comprised opposition to its hierarchy, disciplines and dogmas, political privileges and grip on temporal power. Bayet finds a spectrum of opinion when he considers the philosophers' views. This range of belief about free thought arcs from Montesquieu's liberal Catholicism and Rousseau's belief in Jesus as divine to Diderot's atheist statements and D'Holbach's view that religion was a league of imposters pitted against liberty.<sup>98</sup> The title of D'Holbach's publication *Contagion sacrée ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition*<sup>99</sup> announced his hostility, but it is his reference to Church opposed to liberty that would have resonated and acted as a wellspring for Republican intellectuals. This is seen from his statement in *Contagion sacrée* that religion is "une ligue formée par quelques imposteurs contre la liberté, le Bonheur et le repos du genre humain".<sup>100</sup> D'Holbach's thinking is seen to be consistent with Dreyfusard anticlerical views

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<sup>96</sup> Reproduced in Doizy and Lalaux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, pp. 77-79.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>99</sup> Tr. sacred contagion or the natural story of religion.

<sup>100</sup> Tr. a league formed by several impostors against liberty, happiness and the tranquility of the human species. See Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, p. 78.

expressed by Ibels and Zola. Liberty is prized but threatened, while humanity is defined in terms of its being a biological species, a “genre”. The Dreyfusard anticlericals reconfigured the Holbachian view that members of the clergy were “imposters”, seeing the imposters as conspirators. The religious convictions of the Dreyfusards formed a ‘broad church’ but the nature of the anticlericalism articulated in the visual satire of the controversy was Holbachian,

The similarity between Holbachian and Dreyfusard thinking is striking when one considers the clergymen Ibels drew — fraudulent, conspiratorial, devious and dangerous: Père François strangling the allegorized France in ‘Le Coup du Père François’, a tiptoeing, meddling priest up to no good in ‘La Situation’ whispering “[c]’est le moment ou jamais”.<sup>101</sup> Ibels’ representation of the clerical abuser in *Sebastien Roch* literally invokes D’Holbach’s criticism that imposter-priests disturbed the ‘repos’ of men since it depicted a man of the cloth intruding on a boy at rest in his bed.<sup>102</sup> Underlying Ibels’ characterisation of the predatory nature of the clergy in his *Le Sifflet* cartoons is their ambition for temporal power, on the back of a military coup. This was an important additional ingredient of Dreyfusard thinking bolted on to views about free thought like D’Holbach’s. One other strand of eighteenth-century free thought is significant for the anticlericalism of the Dreyfusard cartoon. While finding shades of opinion in attitudes to the Church, as well as religion itself, in the ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Helvétius and Rousseau, Bayet says on one issue they were united: this was in their opposition to intolerance. Rousseau explicitly opposed the tyranny of religious intolerance and Voltaire called for all men from the Jew to the Turk to be treated as brothers.<sup>103</sup>

This vision draws a line that runs from the Enlightenment to the French Revolution and was incorporated in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. It stated all men were free, brothers, and equal in rights. That is why the Revolution, as the enabler and upholder of liberty, fraternity and equality, is a repeated refrain speaking through Ibels’ art and Zola’s writing. In *Allons-Y!*, above the text entitled ‘Drumont’ facing the cartoon ‘De l’Or, de la Boue et du Sang!’ Ibels cited Fernand Labori, a lawyer for both Dreyfus and Zola: “L’antisémitisme, cette odieuse opinion!”. The legacy of free thought bequeathed to the

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<sup>101</sup> Tr. It’s now or never!

<sup>102</sup> Tr. repose.

<sup>103</sup> Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, pp. 79-82.

anticlericalism of the Dreyfus crisis a thirst for man's freedom and dignity as well as antipathy to and distrust of the religious order, the Jesuits. Michelet had pilloried their political manoeuvres as part of Roman Catholic clerical abuses in his *Histories*.<sup>104</sup> These suspicions in Michelet's magnum opus, completed in the year of Ibels' birth, echo in the cartoons of the grown man. Ibels explicitly states in *Allons-Y!* how free thought has become the ability to protest against intolerance and antisemitism and, above all, to defend the Republic. In the text accompanying his cartoon 'Le Coup du Père François', Ibels stated:

"Seuls, les esprits indépendants (juifs ou chrétiens) s'indignèrent des prétentions antisémitiques, prirent fait et cause au nom de la liberté de conscience et entamèrent la lutte, moins pour défendre les Juifs que pour dénoncer le cléricalisme, sortant de l'ombre pour étrangler la République".<sup>105</sup>

These ideas of resisting antisemitism, linked to darkness, are close to Zola's in *Lettre à la France*. Zola addresses his compatriots in his open letter at the height of the Dreyfus crisis to ask: "Que s'est-il donc passé, comment ton peuple, France, ton peuple de bon cœur et de bon sens, a-t-il pu en venir à cette férocité de la peur, à ces ténèbres de l'intolérance?".<sup>106</sup>

The nineteenth century saw the divide between those advocating liberty, for the press as well as the conscience, become entrenched. By the advent of the Third Republic support for free thought had matured into an ideological battle about the country's future pathway. Influential free thinkers included those who wished to advance the laicisation project such as Blanc, Hugo, Gambetta and Ferry and by the time of Dreyfus, free thought was uniformly anticlerical.<sup>107</sup> Bayet argues that free thinkers were united in their political plan to fight clericalism as shown by the creation of the Association Nationale des Libres-Penseurs. The ideas and aims of the organisation were supported by its membership which included Zola himself and fellow author and arch-Dreyfusard Mirbeau.<sup>108</sup> Georges Clemenceau, whose

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<sup>104</sup> McManners, *Church and State*, p. 15.

<sup>105</sup> Tr. only independent spirits (Jews or Christians) were outraged by antisemitic claims, took up the cause in the name of freedom of conscience, less to defend the Jews than to denounce clericalism, emerging from the shadows to strangle the Republic; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 42.

<sup>106</sup> Tr. What then has happened, how is it that your people, France, with their good hearts and their common-sense have reached this ferocity of terror, this blackness of intolerance; Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 13

<sup>107</sup> Bayet, *Histoire de la Libre-Pensée*, p. 101.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106

newspaper *L'Aurore* published 'J'Accuse...!', was another member.<sup>109</sup> The vice-president of the Senate, August Scheurer-Kestner, who was instrumental in bringing Zola to Dreyfus' cause, came of a Protestant family, had not baptised his children and financially supported the free thought journal *La Pensée nouvelle*.<sup>110</sup> Their voices were growing, attested by the more than a thousand Free Thought societies established in the Third Republic as well as the national federation linked to the international movement.<sup>111</sup> Ibels was in step with the thinking of Scheurer-Kestner, making a gift to his family after he died of a portrait of Dreyfus and his family. Ibels illustrated novels for both Zola and Mirbeau. All four supported free thought. Ibels said so very clearly in the opening text for 'Le Goupillon' in *Allons-Y!* where he wrote this about thought and the liberty of thought:

"...c'est vraiment une trop grande honte de penser qu'à notre époque, des querelles religieuses puissent à ce point troubler, empoisonner la vie d'un grand peuple généreux qui s'est affranchi depuis plus d'un siècle et qui a conquis, entre autres libertés, celle de la pensée".<sup>112</sup>

It is possible to gain a clearer idea of the detail of libre pensée ideas at the dawn of the Third Republic and to see their influence on the Intellectual mind in an article by Henry Verlet's for the journal *La Patrie en danger*. In this article, Verlet proposed a secular free thought network for every part of Paris. Reason, liberty, equality and justice were the ideas to the fore in Verlet's words.<sup>113</sup>

"l'Association des libres penseurs de Paris s'engagé a travailler a l'abolition prompte et radicale du catholicisme, et a poursuivre son anéantissement par tous les moyens compatibles avec la justice, en comprenant au nombre de ces moyens la force révolutionnaire qui n'est que l'application a la société du droit de légitime défense".<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>110</sup> Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>111</sup> Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée*, p. 16.

<sup>112</sup> Tr. It is truly too great a shame to think that in our time, religious quarrels can so disturb, can poison the life of a great and generous people who have freed themselves for more than a century, and conquered, among other freedoms, that of thought. See Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 40.

<sup>113</sup> Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée*, p. 39; See also Derfler, Leslie (1991) *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842-1882*, Harvard, p. 79.

<sup>114</sup> Tr. The Association of Free Thinkers of Paris undertakes to work for the prompt and radical abolition of Catholicism, and to continue its annihilation by all means compatible with justice, including among these means revolutionary force, which is only the application to society of its own legitimate right of self-defence.

Verlet's tract invoked the revolutionary spirit and was published in a journal with a mission to highlight the menace to the Republic. These were twin pillars of anticlerical thought argued throughout the anti-Jewish crisis, as articulated by Ibels' 'Le Droit prime la Force' and his other cartoons. For Lalouette, by the time of the crisis, free thought was aligned and connected to the new political movement of socialism.<sup>115</sup> Ibels and Zola both manifested socialist tendencies. Wilson has put forward the case for Zola's socialist leanings and de Bessat explored Ibels' illustrations in the early 1890s.<sup>116</sup> Images such as Ibels' 'La Chanson du Gas' for *Le Père peinard*, while offering an anarchist discourse very clearly manifests ideas that demand to speak for the proletariat oppressed by the ruling classes.<sup>117</sup> Later in the decade, when the Dreyfus crisis was underway, the ideas in Ibels' art needed to be sufficiently supple to articulate arguments that would appeal simultaneously to discrete constituencies as well as be inclusive and accessible to convert waverers and those of none. This would have included winning socialists over to the view that clericalism and not the Bourgeoisie, with which Dreyfus was initially associated, was the real foe. The need for this is evident in Johnson's assessment of the huge impact of the Socialist leader Jean Jaurès' "devastating press campaign" in support of Dreyfus from July 1898.<sup>118</sup> The value of this involvement was recognised by France's Jewish consistories who saw an anticlerical 'Bloc de Gauches' as a way of containing the ultra-conservative reactionary elements in Catholicism and their support of nationalism and antisemitism during the Affair.<sup>119</sup> The worker and central figure in Ibels' '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...', was critical in making an appeal to socialist supporters of anticlericalism who would identify with the figure. This cartoon is examined further in chapter four.

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>116</sup> Wilson, *Emile Zola*, pp. 134-135; de Beyssat, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', pp. 5-9.

<sup>117</sup> Tr. The Gas Song. For Illustration 'La Chanson du Gas', see *ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>118</sup> Johnson, M, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>119</sup> Landau, *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 119.

## The effect of the modernising, secularising, laicising state

Socio-political changes in society can be seen to play a pivotal role in the ideas of the anticlerical cartoons within the dynamic of the Dreyfus debate. The influence of the urban environment was another factor of the modernising Third Republic. Roberts argues social institutions like the Church lost control of the individual in the city where a more densely populated area meant more interaction with others in the same urban area. Roberts saw this urbanisation disrupting older more traditional attitudes in this highly localised culture.<sup>120</sup> New technologies also contributed to shaping how anticlerical ideas appeared in visual form with Roberts calling linotype the 'decisive invention'.<sup>121</sup> Faster printing enabled an anticlerical material culture including songs, written polemics, the cheap 'petite presse' and caricatures.<sup>122</sup> Technological invention and legislative change worked together to liberate anticlerical ideas in 'fin-de-siècle' printed visual satire. Linotype printing in the 1880s paved the way for the more rapid cartoon rather than the intricate caricature, just as the relaxation of press censorship opened up the visual press to ideas that could more explicitly deride the clerical and religious.

France was not alone in seeing a backlash against Jews in nineteenth century Europe or, as touched on above, in the response by leftist intellectuals rising to their defence. For Frankel, far from being anomalies, the Damascus Affair and other blood libels were an integral part of modernisation.<sup>123</sup> These cases can be seen as showcases for reactionary responses to the rights and freedoms Jews had won at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>124</sup> Anti-Jewish episodes were characterised by four sorts of backlash according to Frankel: violence, retrograde legislation, the growth of anti-Jewish movements like the Antisemitic League founded by Drumont six years before the Dreyfus dispute and the public cases like Dreyfus played out in the judicial court. These were also played out via the press, including satirical publications, in the court of public opinion.

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<sup>120</sup> It is an intriguing point which Roberts demonstrates by working out the number of possible contacts for an individual per square mile in an area of high residential density compared to low; Roberts, *Europe 1880-1945*, pp. 65-6.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> The work of Leo Taxil, such as his 'Histoire illustrée du Clergé et des Congrégations', illustrates the populist appeal of this 'petite presse'; Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, p. 207.

<sup>123</sup> Frankel, *The Damascus Affair*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2.

Baubérot argued that laicisation in France created a divide because it was left unfinished by the Revolution and was then partially stymied by Napoleon.<sup>125</sup> To a certain extent the use of the word 'laicisation' at this time is anachronistic as the term 'laïcité' first appeared much later in Emile Littre's dictionary of the French language in 1877.<sup>126</sup> Be that as it may, laicisation was an 'oeuvre de politique', the uncoupling of the Roman Catholic Church from the instruments of the French state. Secularisation on the other hand was the more organic diminishing of religion from social and cultural spheres.<sup>127</sup> Laicisation and secularisation were naturally interlinked, a kind of Venn diagram, since a diminishing role for the Church in public life would lessen its scope to influence the individual at the level of individual, family, community, town or city and nation. Verlot's text points to the convergence of ideas about free thought and secularisation in the year the Third Republic came into being which permeated anticlerical thinking into the late century. Through the nexus of the Dreyfus Affair, Ibels was able to argue for the rights of all citizens no matter what their individual religious conviction and for the Church to play no part in the state.

A number of dominant themes about laicisation-secularisation are discernible in Ibels' illustrations. The first was the warning, repeated like a mantra, for the withdrawal of the Church from the state incarnated by the Third Republic. The second was the concept of justice and those rights afforded to all not being skewed to criminalise a Jew while protecting a member of the Catholic elite like the real spy, Esterhazy.<sup>128</sup> Like Ibels, Zola also called for justice to be dispensed indiscriminately, highlighting the abomination of judicial error in Dreyfus's court-martial in a closed military court. The Dreyfusard demand for impartial and equitable justice was an inalienable component of Republican values which defined the spirit of the nation for anticlericals. In denouncing the departure from it, Zola suggested "reparation might be made in the patriotic conviction that a great nation, among which one innocent man agonized in torture, must be a doomed nation".<sup>129</sup> For intellectuals such as Ibels and Zola, the rights of a single individual are no more or less important than the whole of France, indeed they represent that nation and its integrity.

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<sup>125</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, pp. 10-1,16, 20.

<sup>126</sup> McManners, *Church and State*, p. 46.

<sup>127</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 26.

<sup>128</sup> In Baubérot's model, the first wave of laicisation provided a Code Civil in 1806. The supremacy of justice in the new civil state saw the courts uphold the rights of a Protestant in a seminal case in 1820 after which his lawyer stated "la loi n'est plus d'aucune religion" (Tr. The law has no religion); Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 30.

<sup>129</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 5.

What also emerges is the idea of justice that is not only not arbitrary, and not based on any religious code, but exists as a higher moral code even beyond the role of the civic place of the courtroom. In *Germinal*, Zola's great novel of the coal miners' strike that had influenced Ibsen to such an extent that he listed it as one of Zola's three landmark achievements in the flyleaf of *Allons-Y!* justice is the elusive but prized quarry. Significantly, it is a justice that has been delivered through the 1789 Revolution and First Republic. This is expressed through the dialogue of two of *Germinal's* central characters, Etienne and Maheude. Their words fetter the justice of the revolution but reveal that subscribing to a belief in divine justice or heavenly reward is viewed even by peasants who work in the pit as absurd.

'[Etienne] "Yes, men would spring up, an army of men would re-establish justice. Is it not true that all citizens are equal since the Revolution, because they vote together?..."

"Maheude, who had been silent for a while, awoke as from a dream.

'But if what the priests tell is true, if the poor people in this world become the rich ones in the next!'

A burst of laughter interrupted her; even the children shrugged their shoulders..."<sup>130</sup>

Reinforcing this idea Zola through Etienne continues painting pictures of two types of putative justice, the one a mirage, the other enshrined in the founding tenets of the 1789 revolution. He expresses these thoughts in strikingly anticlerical terms.

"The eternal wretchedness ... the fate of a beast who gives his wool and has his throat cut... beneath the dazzling gleam of fairyland justice descended from heaven. Since the good God was dead, justice would assure the happiness of men, and equality and brotherhood would reign".<sup>131</sup>

Indeed, justice is proved to be the most powerful and persuasive idea in *Germinal* eventually winning Maheude over: 'And what made her enthusiastic and brought her into agreement with the young man was the idea of justice'. Maheude's husband, Maheu, invokes the concept of a humanitarian justice when appealing to the mine owners, telling them: "Now it is for you to see if you are on the side of justice...".<sup>132</sup> The value placed on a

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<sup>130</sup> Zola, Emile (1967) *Germinal*, London, pp. 126-7.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

moral, laic justice by the Dreyfusard anticlerical cannot be overstated and can be summed up as the ‘four Rs’ of revolution, Republic, rights and reason. The authority of the laicised state’s institutions is feted in the Dreyfusard cartoons not only in the eulogising of justice but in their depiction of the primacy of the law. Ibels represented striking notions of the threat to civic order and justice as seen below in ‘La Droit prime la Force’ (fig. 25) and ‘Dans le Maquis (fig. 26), as Zola promulgated those same concerns through his letter-pamphlets.



Fig. 25. ‘Le Droit prime la Force’, Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 22 September 1898

‘Le Droit prime la Force’ was originally published on 22 September 1898 in Ibels’ and Steens’ periodical after a turbulent period. The new year had got underway with a series of shocks: the exoneration of the real spy Esterhazy by the legal process of a court-martial had taken place on 11 January 1898, followed two days later by Zola’s ‘la une’ of ‘J’Accuse...!’. February saw Zola in the dock on trial for libel just days before the League of the Rights of Man was founded. The arrest of Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart followed, two years after Picquart had denounced Esterhazy to his superior officers. However, the tide had begun to turn a month before Ibels’ ‘Lex’ appeared on the *Le Sifflet*’s front cover. Socialist leader Jean Jaurès began publishing *Les Preuves (The Evidence)* of Dreyfus’

evidence. Lieutenant-Colonel Hubert-Joseph Henry confessed to forging documentary evidence responsible for convicting Dreyfus and the military chief of staff General Boisdeffre resigned. Esterhazy was on the run, having followed Zola into flight from France to England. There were, then, many reasons for Ibels to feel that while the military elite had attempted to overturn the Law the balance was shifting. Reflecting this, the allegorised 'Law' of the cartoon is shown as bruised but ultimately prevailing against her enemies.

After publishing the cartoon in *Le Sifflet* on 22 September 1898, Ibels republished it as the third in a series of three images within a short chapter entitled 'Le Président' in *Allons-Y!* The other drawings are 'Avant' (Before) and 'Pendant' (During). This drawing is after or 'Après'. If laid side by side, the images work as a triptych or could be read like a cartoon strip. The story they tell is about the failings of President Felix Faure, trumpeted by Zola in 'J'Accuse...!'. Ibels provided a humorous textual commentary to the drawings that act as a counterpoint to the images and explain that while events of national importance are going on the president is continually absent in personal matters, such as off-hunting.

#### *First reading*

The caption both times the cartoon was published is 'Le Droit prime la Force'. The image itself contains three figures. In the background is a stone statue, the base of which is inscribed with the word Lex. This female figure Lex is seated. She has a broken cord around her neck, an injured eye, and a sharp instrument, a spear or sword is pointing inwards to her mouth, gripped by a hand shrouded in darkness. In the foreground there are two figures, both male. One, in uniform and boots, is pulling on the cord lassoed around Lex's neck. This has snapped. This man has fallen over backwards, lost his hat and is upended. The third figure is facing away from both the others, with knees bent, a rounded back, crumpled clothes, wearing 'pantoufles' or slippers and has his arms outstretched. The military man's rounded body makes a ball-like shape and dovetails with the other man's body by fitting into a groove created by his curved back and bent knees.

#### *Second reading*

The man who has rolled over is from the military elite as seen from his uniform's fancy braiding. The other man is identified from the accompanying text and the familiar caricaturing of his features as President Felix Faure. Like 'J'Accuse...!', Ibels accuses French President Felix Faure of being ill-prepared and allowing the institutions of the

Republic to be subjected to assaults by the military elite attempting to destabilise it. The thrusting nature of the military, brought down ironically by the Law rather than the other way round, are shown to have made inroads into the state. This is shown by the visual alignment of the two men. The officer's balled body follows the convex shape made by the president's back and has thrust into the hollow of Faure's tottering knees. We can be certain this is Ibels' view of President Faure because the artist has written an accompanying text for the cartoon which gives a timeline of events referencing the transfer of Dreyfus' defender Picquart to a prison and the Cabinet meeting two days later to discuss the central issue of revision or retrial for the Jewish captain. Throughout the text for the three cartoons Ibels repeats like a refrain "M. le président chasse ...".<sup>133</sup> Ibels' message is that while the head of state amuses himself, a cornerstone of the Republic has been brutalised, as can be seen from the Law's bloodied eye and the sword-point turned inwards towards her mouth. This weapon is to convey the idea that lies were told and truth silenced.

### *Myth*

The noose around the Law's neck has broken and sent the officer reeling backwards. The Third Republic's institutions have withstood the assault and proved stronger than the military elite who convicted Dreyfus in a Court-Martial. A sequence of time is encapsulated in this cartoon. It is 'after' certain events have taken place. While the Law has sustained damage the attempt at subverting it has already failed. Rather than overturning the Law, the military have themselves been brought down. Ibels has represented Faure as a shambolic coward with a knock-kneed stance. The title 'The Law takes precedence over Force' is a pun. The Force may have a double meaning in this image, on a metonymic level standing for the military elite and chief of staff as well as the pressure applied against civil society. It is Ibels' critique of the military's attempt to use force to hobnail the Law seen in its abuse of process against Captain Dreyfus.

The composition reinforces Ibels' message that the military conspiracy had foundered. Not only is the officer who attacked Le Droit on his back with his legs in the air, a position of submission and vulnerability, but his military hat has rolled right down to the bottom of the image, close to the caption, thereby emphasizing it. The head of the military figure with feet akimbo is just below and close to the backside of the aimless President Faure. By contrast,

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<sup>133</sup> Tr. The president has gone a-hunting...

the head of the Law is placed in the highest point of the composition, well above Faure, whose head is parallel with the Law's seated posterior indicating that despite being roughed up, the Law is superior and is triumphant. The Law is also turned away from both men reinforcing the sense of conflict between what the respective parties stood for, that the military aided and abetted by Faure's ineptness, have sought to topple the law. Ideas about the law were linked to secular morality and the driving belief in the rights of each citizen to a fair trial in a laicised not militarised state.



Fig. 26. 'Dans le Maquis' (In the Wilderness), Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 28 July 1898

Such ideas are linked in Ibels' mind not only to the injustice to Dreyfus but to Zola. Above, in Ibels' cartoon 'Dans le Maquis', the artist berates what, for him, is a military-backed injustice done to Zola as part of the wider injustice of the Dreyfus crisis. The cartoon has become an illustration to Ibels' text in *Allons-Y!*. The drawing depicts the public 'procureur' (prosecutor) at Zola's trial manhandling a dilapidated pair of scales of justice and carrying them into the wilderness where an officer carrying a bayonet is also hunting for Zola. The moment in time Ibels has provided a snapshot of was after Zola fled France following his conviction for libel. Zola was justified in fleeing, writes Ibels, because "[a]près avoir lancé la Vérité en marche, il avait le droit d'attendre qu'elle atteignit le but; il lui lassait le soin de

determiner les événements qu'il avait prévus, de dévoiler les scandales qu'il avait dénoncés".<sup>134</sup> For anticlerical artists, disobedience was permissible in the quest for truth against the opaque layers of the failing state that Zola publicly castigated in 'J'Accuse...!'. In 'Dans le Maquis' the anticlerical argument a clerico-military attack was underway against the rule of law in the Republic was evident from the hunched, armed officer confronting the judge with scales of justice, lost in the wilderness.

The proximity of Ibels and Zola's thinking can also be seen in Ibels' text accompanying 'Dans le Maquis' when Ibels republished it in *Allons-Y!* later in 1898. Ibels reused the same idiomatic, allegorical ideas about 'vérité' or truth, and the perception of it as inexorable. In 'J'Accuse...!' Zola repeated the use of "la vérité" in the opening column declaring "[l]a vérité, je la dirai, car j'ai promis de la dire"<sup>135</sup> and then as the first powerful opening word to the second section in that first column he said "la vérité d'abord".<sup>136</sup> Zola had already set the tone and the theme of truth in his first intervention in favour of Dreyfus in *Le Figaro* on 25 November 1897 with the celebrated phrase "la vérité est en marche et rien ne l'arrêtera" - truth is on the march and nothing will stop her. Ibels' concern with truth and justice was evident not only in the images themselves but from the adverts on the back pages of *Le Sifflet*. Every edition advertised numerous works on the 'truth' of the Affair, but a stenographic account of Le Procès Zola repeatedly takes pride of place at the top of the back page showing how aligned Ibels saw Zola's aims to be with his ideas in *Le Sifflet*.

#### Anticlerical ideas about Humanity, Truth and Justice

'Humanity, Truth' and 'Justice' are the first three words in Zola's *Lettre à la jeunesse* and he returns to them frequently at one point asking the rhetorical question: "what excuses shall avail our young men if they allow their ideas of Justice and of Humanity to be tarnished, (were it only for an instant)?" For anticlericals truth is not the revelation of faith but to be deduced through the power of reason. For Zola ideas about truth and justice are closely linked to humanitarian values and human rights, which must be defended and upheld if France is to retain its position as the leading nation in Europe. These ideas were mirrored

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<sup>134</sup> Tr. After having set Truth on the march, he had the right to wait to see if she achieved her goal; it let him take care of determining the events he had foreseen, to unveil the scandals he had denounced.

<sup>135</sup> Tr. The truth, I will tell it, because I promised I would tell it. See <https://www.famous-trials.com/dreyfus/2613-j-accuse-by-emile-zola-texts-in-english-and-french> (last accessed 8 April 2022).

<sup>136</sup> Tr. The truth, first. See *ibid*.

between Ibels and Zola and formed part of the mass of views competing to represent rival notions of truth and justice in the dispute.<sup>137</sup> The anticlerical preoccupation of Ibels and Zola with ideas about truth was another link to the values of free thinkers, for as Robertson contends, 'truthseeking' was a conceptual ideal in free thought.<sup>138</sup>

#### Anticlerical mimicry: rival snapshots with competing ideas

Ibels' use of mimicry was part of the campaign to attack those in positions of power whom anticlericals viewed as corrupt and damaging to the Third Republic. Its purpose was to sneer at the adversary and overturn their rival cache of ideas quickly within the confines of a single drawing. One of the most brazen examples of this can be seen in Ibels' drawing 'Allons-y' trumpeting the attack on justice in the Dreyfus case.<sup>139</sup> The cartoon, a front cover for *Le Sifflet* as the image it copied was a cover for *Psst...!*, exists only to confound and reverse the ideas in Forain's 'Cedant arma togae'. It does this by aping almost all the composition and content of Forain's cartoon while changing it just enough to invert the arguments *Psst...!* had articulated.

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<sup>137</sup> The themes of truth and justice are covered extensively by Kleeblatt, 'Introduction', passim; For 'truth' see especially p. 16 and joint paper, Diamond, Joan and Friedman, Anita, 'Truth on the March: Art and Politics during the Dreyfus Affair', Phi Beta Kappa lecture, Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia, April 1986; *ibid.*, p. 23; also Cate, 'The Paris Cry', passim.

<sup>138</sup> Robertson, J M (1915) *History of Free Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, London, p. 28.

<sup>139</sup> Tr. Let's go (with the sense - let's do it).



Fig. 27 (Left) 'Cedant arma togæ', Forain, *Psst...!* front cover, 19 February 1898; and 'Allons-y', Ibels, *Le Sifflet* front cover, 24 February 1898

The cartoon unashamedly plagiarises the most recent front cover by Forain in his journal, *Psst...!* Indeed, that is its purpose, through which to cry foul about the nature of justice at that moment in time in February 1898. The drawing appeared on the front cover of *Le Sifflet* after a run of days marked by highly-charged political events in France. The day before Ibels' front page was published Zola had been found guilty of libel and sentenced to prison. Zola's trial had run between 7 and 18 February 1898 during which Henry's forgery was cited and the army's chief of staff, General Boisdeffre, had threatened to resign. In response to these developments, *Psst...!* had launched first by joint artist-proprietors Forain and Caran D'Ache. Its first edition was on 5 February 1898, two days before Zola's trial began. Ibels and the poet Achille Steens moved to respond with the first edition of the new *Le Sifflet* just under two weeks later, on 17 February 1898. Their mobilisation in visual print was part of the groundswell of intellectual activity that saw the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme come into being three days after *Le Sifflet's* first edition came off the press. Publishing his visual ideas in support of Zola in his defence of Dreyfus was paralleled by Ibels becoming one of the first members of the newly formed human rights association.<sup>140</sup> Ibels was also a committee member of its militant section that declared it was less interested in Dreyfus' fate

<sup>140</sup> Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, p. 158.

*per se* and more in pursuing citizens' rights for all as proclaimed by the Revolution of 1789.<sup>141</sup> These matching images by Ibels and Forain were on the front covers of their second and third editions respectively, with Ibels' cover appearing five days after Forain's.

Forain portrays the judiciary contemptuously kicking an army officer's kepi or military cap. The idea of the judiciary harming the French army and its honour is reinforced by the legend in Latin 'Cedant arma togae'. Forain's illustration represents the army, the pride and defender of the Catholic French nation, under attack from the laicised court. Ibels replied by replicating Forain's ideas in terms of composition and some of the content wholesale, even including the figure's shadow and the choice of supporting text 'an audience's impression'. Critically, Ibels does not imitate to pay tribute but apes to reverse the roles of the abuser and the abused. As seen, Ibels is adept at inverting ideas in the reactionary cannon, but this was a new development: to so closely imitate as to use the rival image itself as a platform for ideas. Ibels has made subtle changes. His caption is in French not Latin. Latin was for a Catholic readership including members of the clergy and those familiar with it through attending church and prayer. Ibels secularised his cartoon replacing Forain's Latin caption with 'Allons-y' (let's go) while using the same French phrase as Forain's underneath the main caption of "Impression d'audience" (audience impression). The idea of this positive command in the first person plural to supporters identified as part of the collective, is a call to take action. It clearly appealed to Ibels since he adopted the phrase for the title of his compendium of cartoons about Dreyfus. The Dreyfusard artist thus made Forain's military victim the aggressor and justice represented by the judiciary the victim. It was important for anticlerical artists to show equivalence in this way to demolish the rival argument in its entirety.

A further element of the composition that has been altered is the angle of the kicking foot. Ibels could have replicated the figure precisely. He has chosen not to in order to maintain the dynamic of the strong diagonal vector running from the kicking foot, through the scales of justice, to connect with the 't' of 'Sifflet' thus emphasizing the journal's name and purpose – to blow the whistle or hiss at the clerico-military plot. The energy and forcefulness of this diagonal vector is further reinforced through the angle of the officer's kicking leg, punching right arm, bent upper left arm, in the flight of the balances of the scales of justice as they

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.159.

soar through the air, and in the darkest part of the officer's shadow. Ibels has also given more emphasis to the extended right arm of the officer kicking the scales of justice, so this anticlerical Dreyfusard idea is vigorously expressed.

The image was also used to refract and rejoice in civic processes and secular values in the Beilis affair at a time when, as Baubérot and Rogger contend, laicisation was incomplete both in France and Imperial Russia.<sup>142</sup> In Czarist Russia, the idea of civic duty and the processes of law and order are praised in pictorial postcards of the trial. The images seek to memorialise the use of reason over emotion and prejudice through due process for all people. At the bottom of the Yiddish postcard seen below (fig. 28), dated 1913, is the simple legend “the judges, the jury” emphasising that Beilis was judged by his peers not condemned by an arbitrary or elitist system.



Fig. 28 'As a souvenir from the Beilis trial', 1913', Photo Archive, Ghetto Fighters' House Museum Western Galilee, Israel

This is emphasized by depicting the personalised faces of the jurymen to stress their important role, each man with his own personality and expression, whether pensive, focused or eagerly leaning forward to participate, as all attend to the evidence. The jury is placed higher in the composition than Beilis denoting its authority, rooted in secularised civil society, in ensuring justice is served. The realistic head and shoulders portrait of Beilis,

<sup>142</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p.16; Rogger, *Jewish Policies*, p. 25.

confirmed by his name in Hebrew letters underneath the inner oval frame, is positioned as if turned in slightly to face the jury. This three-quarter profile allows all the characters in the image to address the viewer of the postcard, drawing them into the virtual courtroom, inviting them to share in the righteous cause and the achievement of the not-guilty verdict. The compositional choice of the three-quarter angle also helps create a left-right upward diagonal vector from the heads of the jurymen, the top of the benches they sit on and the strong right arms of the jury members in the middle row. The jurymen are all looking to the right to ensure the positive upward vector, associated with moving diagonally upwards. left to right across the image. In the same way, the Christian pilgrims led by the Cross in Willette's 'Les Juifs et la Semaine Sainté' also proceeded left to right on the diagonal plane. This signified the followers of Christ moving into a successful future, as Willette's Jews descended right to left through the image to underscore their depravity and eventual decline and failure. In contrast the Yiddish postcard of the Beilis trial praises equitable justice and its role in the new century.

The Beilis image paid tribute to the civic process in the face of opposition from nationalists and paramilitary groups like the Black Hundreds. It is a snapshot in time capturing the moment of the jury's deliberation like many of Ibels' cartoons are collapsed moments. But the Yiddish image is less metaphorical in concept. Part of the reason for this is doubtless that a realistic portrayal of the characters was the next best thing to the photography that by 1913 was becoming more commonplace in printed art. Beilis had also been found not guilty so there was every motivation for the art to capitalise on the outcome which had just happened. Choosing to frame the moment of the jury's rational consideration within a border of elaborate curlicues linked to the portrait of the exonerated man further celebrated the act. The value of reasoned argument and secular justice flowing from it are underscored by the Yiddish text stating the postcard's purpose '[a]s a souvenir from the Beilis trial, 1913'. The design of intertwined branches around this statement commemorates the application of justice as something living and thriving, that has taken root in the apparatus of the modernising Russian state. The image is not entirely devoid of an emotional appeal as the gilt-style border of curlicues encasing both jurymen and Beilis gives a sense of emotional value to the event memorialised within the elaborate frame. Emotion was a currency for campaigners on all sides to exploit. This was vividly apparent in the image of the 13-year-old victim, Andrei Yushchinsky, used for a stamp produced at the time of the trial. The image

showed the child in death, not sparing his injuries, to solicit an emotional response. It was also published in a right-wing newspaper, as below (fig. 29).



Fig. 29 Image of the murdered boy, Andrei Yushichinsky

The contemporary caricature historian Arsène Alexandre, who helped found *Le Rire*, suggested in 1894 that political caricature had ceased to exist as it was hardly ever inspired by passion.<sup>143</sup> However, the anti-Jewish dispute around Dreyfus saw anticlerical artists like Ibels inject partisan ideas and energy flowing from the strength of feeling and common purpose Blum had talked about.

#### Ideas about solidarity and identity in the secularising state

While education itself was not a direct issue of debate in the anticlerical art around Dreyfus some of the teachings of laicised education were to have an impact on ideas articulated by Dreyfusard cartoons. Laicised education in France had been introduced by the 'libre penseur' Jules Ferry in the eponymous Ferry Laws that gave provision for free, mandatory and 'laïque' education. Lay teachers replaced religious teachers who had previously overseen the shaping of young minds. Instruction included their inculcation with what Baubérot called a "synthesized" morality founded on the precepts of 'dignity' and 'solidarity'.<sup>144</sup> Ibels and other Dreyfusards would have been among the first generation to

<sup>143</sup> Goldstein, *Censorship*, pp. 6, 235-6.

<sup>144</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, pp. 33, 49-53: Baubérot suggests the new laic morality was an artificial construct assembled from sources as diverse as classical antiquity, the French 'moralistes', the Enlightenment, (neo-) Kantism, Auguste Comte, Confucius and the Christian faiths.

have been influenced by the teaching of this new moral code in laicised teaching. The Republican construct of a citizenship united in solidarity was far removed from the anti-Dreyfusard concept of the term. During the Affair, Dreyfus' detractors such as Barrès referred to the French in terms of an "organic solidarity", a nation forged through a link to its dead and soil.<sup>145</sup> Blood ties and longstanding connections to the soil defined the claim to being French. Barrès only retreated from this position and began to form a different view about Jewish patriotism after Jews had died in their numbers for France in the Great War. Before then, Barrès saw the Jew as a destructive interloper in old France. Barrès was already twenty by the time Ferry's Laws were introduced. Born on 30th November 1867, five years after Barrès, Ibels would have been among the first teenagers to have been schooled in the new laicised version of morality with its aspiration of solidarity with all fellow republicans.

Such an understanding of 'solidarity' is also called for by Zola in his appeal to his compatriots in *Lettre à la France* for "la tolérance religieuse, la justice égale pour tous, la solidarité fraternelle de tous les citoyens".<sup>146</sup> As Zola used his pen, Ibels used his crayon to represent Jews as equal members bound in solidarity through the Republic, rejecting Barrès' belief in a long-term affiliation to the land and its dead of generations as the determinant of Frenchness. The two strongly anti-Dreyfusard cartoons below were published as front covers for the pro-clerical, antisemitic newspaper *La Libre Parole* (figs. 30, (below left) and the Catholic paper, *La Pèlerin* (below right). Both are hostile representations of Jews and the Republic drawing on the nostalgic claim of a link to the land or soil conferring national identity. The one for Drumont's paper, 'La France aux Français'<sup>147</sup>, represents the Jews as weeds, all of which have the face of a stereotypically Jewish Dreyfus. These Jewish weeds are being dug up by muscular blond labourers to make way for the indigenous true French. The second image, 'Exposition d' Horticulture',<sup>148</sup> represents ideas around soil through its depiction of a bizarre hybrid artificially cultivated by Dreyfusards including Zola in the foreground and the politician, economist and liberal newspaper editor, Yves Guyot. This illustration mocked the blend of Republican and Jewish identity as risible by giving the pot plant the incongruity of a stereotypically Semitic face

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<sup>145</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 15.

<sup>146</sup> Tr. religious tolerance, justice for all and brotherly solidarity for all citizens. Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 23

<sup>147</sup> Tr. France for the French.

<sup>148</sup> Tr. Horticultural Exhibition.

topped by the revolutionary Phrygian cap. The plant's leaves each showed a shoot representing the putative assault on the Church and God, Atheism, impiety, laicisation and anarchy.

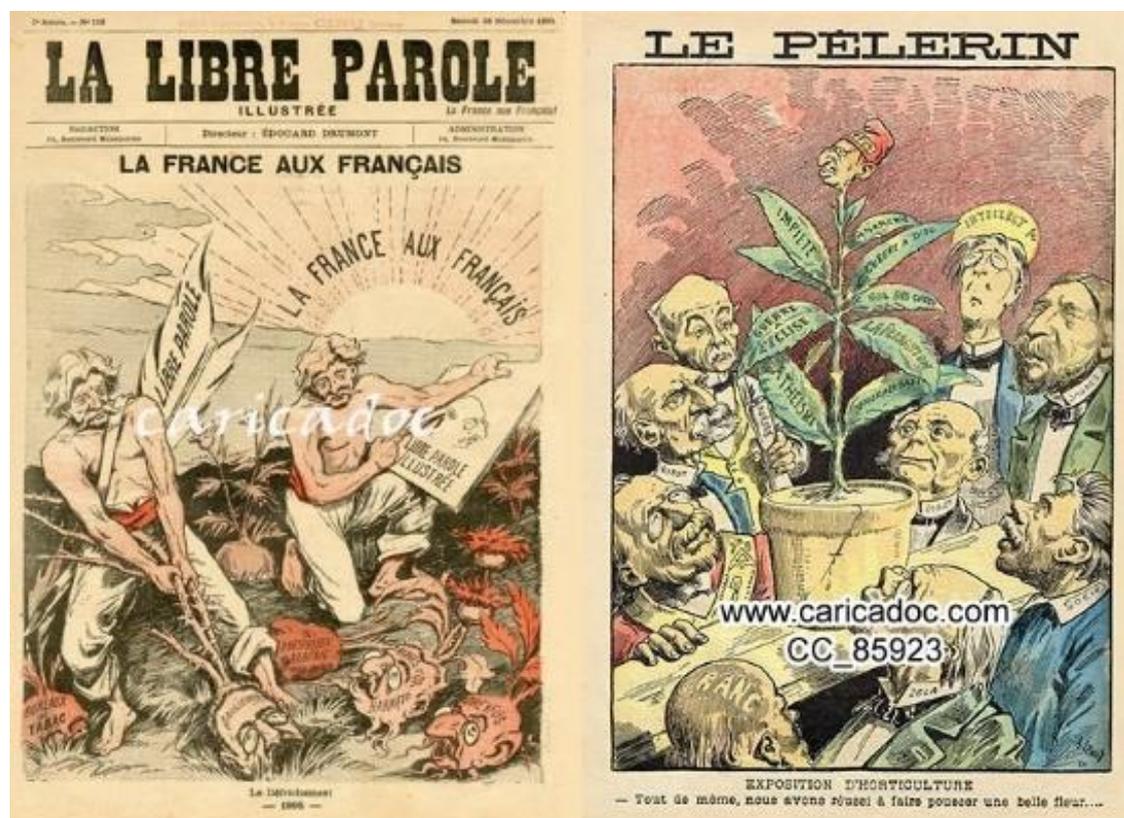


Fig. 30 (Left) 'La France aux Français', *La Libre Parole*; and 'Exposition d' Horticulture', *Le Pèlerin*

The new moral code was founded instead on the principles of the Enlightenment.<sup>149</sup> The code, which would be taught to schoolchildren not by priests but by lay teachers in the laicised setting of state schools rejected dogma, revealed truth and reward or sanction in the hereafter. In 1907, soon after Dreyfus' rehabilitation and two years after the separation laws of church and state, Jules Grandjouan provided a visual description of secular virtues for the journal *La Raison* as seen in the set of images below (fig. 31).<sup>150</sup> In them can be seen the flowering of anticlerical ideas the Dreyfus controversy had helped bring to term, notably in the call to rise up against injustice and to reject the sham of a reward in the afterlife.

<sup>149</sup> Rémond, *Religion and Society*, pp. 142-3.

<sup>150</sup> Grandjouan's illustrations of the laic virtues were published in the revue-journal *La Raison (Reason)* in 1907. The virtues also praise friendship and maternal tenderness. Ozouf, *Nous les Maîtres d'École*, p. 129.

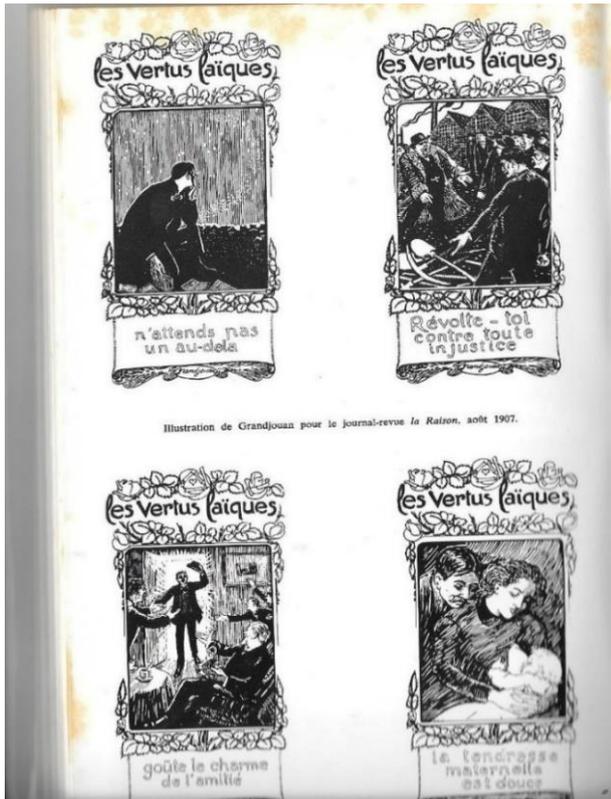


Fig. 31 'Les Vertus Laïques', Grandjouan, *La Raison*, 1907

The close resemblance to Dreyfusard ideas of all the secular virtues illustrated by Grandjouan can be appreciated when remembering that the tetralogy Zola planned to write but did not finish before his death in 1902, entitled 'The Four Gospels' consisted of *Justice*, *Vérité*, *Fécondité* and *Travail*.<sup>151</sup>

Identity, nation, race, revolution, republic

Identity was a recurring theme in the competing cartoons of the Dreyfus controversy. The questions about identity could be boiled down to one: who belonged to the nation, and who did not? Or to put it another way, how Frenchness could be defined. Could you be Jewish and French or was Catholicism, or at least Christianity, a pre-requisite? In seeking to win the argument, the anticlerical cartoon had to dismiss or outdo claims that identity was based on religion or ethnicity. To this aim, the anticlerical art drew on grand concepts about inclusive nationhood. For Ibels and his fellows, the Third Republic was the living

<sup>151</sup> Tr. Justice, Truth, Fecundity (and) Work. See Suleiman, 'The Literary Significance of the Dreyfus Affair', p.117.

embodiment of the 1789 Revolution in which every citizen was equal in Frenchness owing to the sovereign revolutionary principles of 'liberté', 'égalité' and 'fraternité'. In the miscarriage of justice to the Jewish Dreyfus, with its resurrection of a closed and privileged system, a relic of the 'ancien regime', the Republic as well as Dreyfus had been betrayed. This duality, of Dreyfus and the Republic as interchangeable concepts, was recognised not only in France but internationally. One cartoon, in the American *Harpers Weekly*, as seen below (fig. 32), captured this sense of equating Dreyfus to the Republic and vice versa, by supplanting Dreyfus with the allegorical figure of Marianne representing France in the degradation ceremony.



Fig. 32 'A Second Degradation', W.A. Rogers, expressing anger over the second conviction of Alfred Dreyfus in American journal *Harper's Weekly*, 23 September 1899

Captioned 'A Second Degradation', Dreyfus is depicted as representing or being represented by France so entirely that they are one and the same. The illustration shows France in the guise of the Republic standing in the military grounds where Dreyfus had stood, her bowed head and clothes askew. France's attributes and emblems are scattered at her feet and her Phrygian cap — the preeminent archetypical revolutionary badge of honour, labelled 'liberty' to emphasize this idea— is being pulled from her head and dishonoured by turning it on its side. The antagonist committing this offence is a bumptious

military officer, observed and supported by a line of armed guards. The belt of this allegorical France, inscribed with the revolutionary word 'equality', and its buckle are broken. 'A Second Degradation' uses oxymorons, of impaired strength, shamed nobility of purpose and compromised principles to make its point. The overarching implication is that the Republic and the achievements of the Revolution have been demeaned and brought low by the aberration of justice to Dreyfus, and by extension to France. Dreyfus has become an avatar for the Republic between rival protagonists. For sympathisers, Dreyfus incarnated the secular Republic under threat from a clerico-military alliance. For his detractors, Dreyfus and Jewry represented a degraded French Republic, shorn of its links to blood and soil.

Different threads of anxiety are seen in the Dreyfus argument. Traditional roles and status were perceived to be under threat. Jewish men were viewed as encroaching on 'French' men and displacing Catholic masculinity, in arenas that arced from business entrepreneurship to courting brides.<sup>152</sup> In the mind of antisemites such as Drumont or the German journalist Wilhelm Marr, Jews were a nation squatting within a nation. They did not belong in conservative areas of public life like the upper echelons of the military where Alfred Dreyfus held a position before his arrest. Maurice Barrès commented that he knew Dreyfus was guilty of treason because of his 'race'.<sup>153</sup> These ideas, that Jews were an inferior race with a stigmatised history that, like the mark of Cain, they could not escape, are examined further in chapter five. Caran D'Ache's drawing of a stereotypically-featured Dreyfus at a military supply counter accepting a note of 30,000 German marks under the caption 'Maison Alfred Dreyfus, Judas and Co' illustrated the merger of ideas.<sup>154</sup> The name 'Judas' and the amount of marks were intended to be denote the sum of thirty pieces of silver that Jesus' disciple betrayed his master for. From an anti-Dreyfusard perspective, so-called racial identity, religious identity and national — or nationless — identity were integrated.

These prejudices were rejected by Dreyfusard anticlericals including Ibels who used the device of inversion to create a different narrative of who was alien, who destructive, who

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<sup>152</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, pp. 15, 2, 32, 400.

<sup>153</sup> Barrès stated "In psychology, it's enough for me to know he's able to betray and it is enough for me to know that he betrayed. The rest is filled in. That Dreyfus is capable of betrayal, I conclude it from his race"; Barrès, M (1902) *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme*, Paris, p. 161.

<sup>154</sup> <http://travauxdreyfus.canalblog.com/archives/2013/02/01/26306041.html> (last accessed 31 January 2019).

was the conspirator plotting against the nation. Where anti-Dreyfusards routinely depicted Dreyfus and Jews as outsiders biologically programmed to sell their country to the German Empire, anticlericals championing the man at the centre of the anti-Jewish furore largely avoided Jewish figuration in their visual satire. In the instances where Ibels actually drew Dreyfus, the drawings were highly sympathetic as in the vision of suffering in 'Le coup de l'éponge' or the uncaricatured, highly empathetic family portrait seen below (fig. 33). Ibels' portraits of Dreyfus were offered with a handwritten message as a token of esteem or commemoration as also in the case of 'A la gloire de Scheurer-Kestner'. The vice-president of the Senate, who had doggedly pursued revision and drawn Zola into the campaign, died the day Dreyfus was pardoned. Ibels' pen and ink portrait was presented to the family the following day, 20 September, and published in *Le Siècle* on the Monday, 25 September 1899, the day of the senator's funeral.<sup>155</sup> On that day, a lead article in the same edition proclaimed "(L)e Mort de l'Antisémitisme" emphasizing the senator's role in striving for that goal.<sup>156</sup> Between the date of his death and the publication of Ibels' Dreyfus family portrait, the paper had run a daily bulletin on the subscription fund it had launched for a memorial in the leading Dreyfusard's memory.

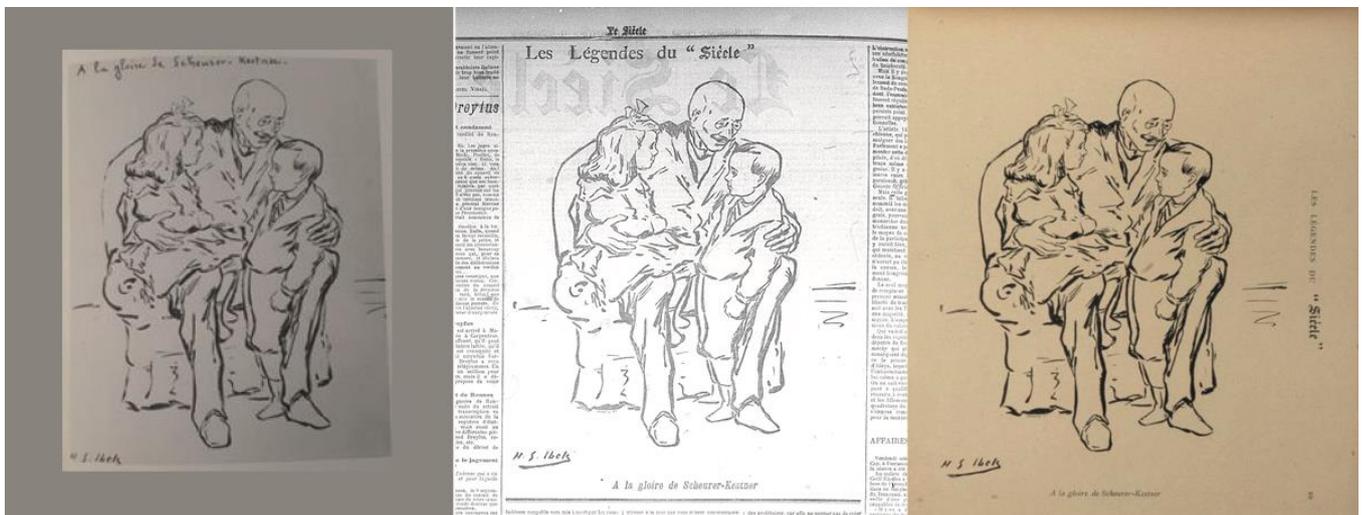


Fig. 33 (left to right) 'A la gloire de Scheurer-Kestner', Ibels, 20 September 1899; *Le Siècle*, 25 September 1899, p. 2; *Les Légendes du Siècle*, 1901, No 20.

When republished in the 1901 collection of *Les Légendes du Siècle*, it follows 'le coup de l'éponge' in that collection of thirty, images nineteen and twenty respectively, and as such is

<sup>155</sup> Reinach wrote the obituary for Scheurer-Kestner in *Le Siècle*, 20 September 1899, p. 1.

<sup>156</sup> Tr. The death of antisemitism. *Le Siècle*, *ibid*, 25 September 1899, p. 2.

suggestive of light after darkness.<sup>157</sup> The portrait reverberates with the belief in dignity for the human condition. Ibels emphasizes this by depicting a normal scene of paternal affection in one family, that had been wrenched away from Dreyfus, as a gift for another family to capture for the Scheurer-Kestners in their grief the essence of what Dreyfusards were fighting for. The engraving on the mount emphasises some of the most dominant ideas for Ibels' campaign: "Remise...avec l'hommage de ma profonde considération pour la famille du premier défenseur de la justice et la vérité: H. G Ibels".<sup>158</sup> The deep admiration Ibels felt for Scheurer-Kestner on account of his tireless campaign for justice for the Jewish captain is vividly apparent in the dedication and was echoed by Zola in *à la jeunesse*. In that letter, published in the year before the death of his fellow libre-pensée sympathiser, Zola castigated those who had attacked Scheurer-Kestner who Zola feted as this "honest man" adding "...all that he has loved in our Republic, all that he has helped to conquer for her in the good fight of his whole life; first liberty, and then the manly virtues of loyalty, of frankness and of civic courage".<sup>159</sup>

Ibels' treatment of Dreyfus may have drawn on his interest in the humanitarian principles of socialism to produce this sensitive portrait. At the time of its production, Jewish socialism was contributing to the dynamic of the Affair. The previous summer, the Groupe des Ouvriers Juifs Socialistes de Paris had presented an open letter to French Socialists.<sup>160</sup> The group was unique as it was the only Jewish group to protest in the public space in support of Dreyfus, in September 1899.<sup>161</sup> In their open letter to the wider socialist movement Jewish workers contended that rebutting antisemitic attacks equated to defending the conjoined principles of "progress and humanity". In seeking the support of their fellow socialists, the group said Jewish people were the "most proletarian people of the world. We are doubly so, as a class and as a nation; for we are both the pariahs of classes and the pariahs of nations".<sup>162</sup> 'Progress' and 'humanity' were among Ibels' most cherished ideals, and he produced the Dreyfus family portrait at the time of the workers' public protest.

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<sup>158</sup> Tr. Conveyed with the respect of my profound consideration for the family of the first defender of justice and truth.

<sup>159</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 5.

<sup>160</sup> Tr. The Group of Jewish Socialist workers of Paris.

<sup>161</sup> Hyman, 'The French Jewish Community from Emancipation to the Dreyfus Affair' in Kleeblatt, (ed) *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, p. 33

<sup>162</sup> Green, Nancy L, 'Socialist Anti-Semitism, Defense of a Bourgeois Jew and Discovery of the Jewish Proletariat: Changing Attitudes of French Socialists before 1914', Volume 30, Issue 3, December 1985, pp. 393-4.

While there were liberal Catholic Dreyfusards like the Intellectual and poet Charles Péguy and jurist Léon Chaine, Catholicism was largely identified with French nationalism by supporters in the Third Republic. The nationalist movement that emerged in the years after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 found an outlet in new social groupings like Action Française, the Ligue de Patriots and the Ligue Antisémite Française. These clubs reinforced tribal aggressions in members, and it was for such audiences that the cartoons and commentary in publications like *La Libre Parole* and *Revue Nationale* catered. This was the broader environment in which the ideas in Ibels' art competed. For those who thought like Ibels did, the Third Republic and the republican citizenship it conferred was the birthright of all the citizens of a pluralistic France. This had been gifted to all citizens of France through the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in 1789. Jews had then been accorded full citizenship in September 1791. It can be said that Ibels' view was indistinguishable from those of Jewish liberals whose aspirations aligned with the principles of a liberal secular republic.<sup>163</sup> That Ibels thought like this was no surprise, since he had been educated in Republican values and took this into his adult working life. He worked on publications with liberal Jewish colleagues at *La Revue Blanche*. It is noteworthy that Ibels' collaboration with Jewish artists came also through his association with Les Nabis, some of whom were Jews, such as the Dutchman Meijer de Haan and the group's founder Paul Serusier.<sup>164</sup> Indeed, the word Nabi meant prophet in Hebrew and the studio they met in in Montparnasse was nicknamed by them as 'The temple'.<sup>165</sup> As Landau argues, this view among French Jews had been strengthened by the Dreyfus crisis which reinforced a liberalising Judaism, giving rise to a sometimes militant Jewish Republicanism twinned with a yearning to be part of the French nation.<sup>166</sup>

This desire to be part of the wider French family is echoed in Ibels' portrayal of Dreyfus sitting with his children as a French family. The republican model, linked to its progenitor the 1789 Revolution, was seen by liberal, educated Jews like the renowned orientalist James Darmesteter as the fulfilment of Jewish ideas about justice and progress. Ideas about the rights and freedoms of citizenship to all, including Jews, were called for by Ibels

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<sup>163</sup> Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>164</sup> Dessy, *Les Ecrivains et Les Nabis*, pp. 21-4.

<sup>165</sup> Nabi also means prophet in Arabic. For The Temple see <https://www.theartstory.org/movement-les-nabis.htm> (last accessed 9 April 2022).

<sup>166</sup> Landau, *l'Opinion Juive et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p. 110.

in his art as Zola articulated them in his political journalism, warning against the reactionary politics of religious difference in *à la jeunesse*.<sup>167</sup> For both Zola and Ibels, the Republic, the embodiment of the pluralistic nation-state and the rights enjoyed by all, faced an existentialist threat incarnated by the conspiracy against Dreyfus.

Anticlerical ideas stemming from a turbulent and fragile Third Republic

Ideas rooted in the turbulence of France's political life and the lack of stability in the Third Republic resonate through Ibels' art as well as Zola's *lettres*. Visual and textual descriptions of war, violence, betrayal and revenge in the anticlerical narratives of Ibels and Zola drew on the realities of France's recent history of bloodshed and vengeance that had been played out on the streets of Paris just a quarter of a century before. In considering why certain anticlerical ideas emerged in the Dreyfusard cartoon it is important to keep in mind the upheaval and uncertainty of the decades prior to the anti-Jewish crisis. The fall of the second empire had been followed by the murder and summary execution of up to twenty-five thousand people in the aftermath of the fall of the Paris Commune. The creation of the Republic owed itself to the majority of a single vote in favour of naming France's head of state the 'President of the Republic'.<sup>168</sup> Its vulnerability and volatility are hardwired into the anticlerical ideas of the Dreyfus debate in Ibels' cartoons, as in Zola's letter-pamphlets.

That precariousness showed itself between 1873 and 1888 with nineteen administrations lasting less than twelve months each. Anticlerical fears of a Church-military takeover were lent credence by the president of the Republic at the onset of that period being a military officer with close links to Catholic political parties.<sup>169</sup> The rise of another military figure, General Boulanger exacerbated anticlerical anxiety. Following consecutive short-lived ministries and the attendant instability, Boulanger made himself the spokesman of French nationalism and avowed his desire to change the Republican constitution.<sup>170</sup> Ibels would have been a 21-year-old on the day Boulanger fled France after being accused of plotting against the safety of the state. The tensions of these years, not least the fear of conspiracy emerging from the right, find an outlet in Ibels' cartoon of clerical violence, 'Le Coup du

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<sup>167</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 8.

<sup>168</sup> Ramm, Agatha (1990) *Europe in the Nineteenth Century 1789-1905*, London, p. 291-3.

<sup>169</sup> Patrice de Mac-Mahon. *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 295.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

Père François', published in *Le Sifflet* in the tumultuous first quarter of 1898, republished in *Allons-Y!*. The tripartite semiotic method of analysis is applied to this cartoon below (fig. 34).



Fig. 34. 'Le Coup du Père François', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 24 March 1898

### *First reading*

An initial reading that did not take account of historical or cultural references would observe that the drawing shows a man attacking a woman on a country path. They are the only two figures in the image. The scene is set beside a meadow through which the path runs with dark trees in the background. The trees, on the bank of a river, are bent with black barks and stark dark spiky branches rising above the two figures. There is a village on the other side from which the spire of the church can just be glimpsed. The man is wearing a long black garment and a black, low-crowned, brimmed hat. The woman appears to be dressed for a summer stroll. She is also wearing a hat but, in her case, it is a cap, and she is carrying a parasol. In examining the event or interaction taking place, it can be seen that

despite his benign expression, the man has stepped up behind the woman and encircled her neck in a beaded chain with a cross. The woman seems to have been caught unawares since she is walking alone in a lonely rural location. She is depicted with bare-arms and a rounded, womanly figure.

### *Second reading*

A second reading of the signifiers in this image give a culturally and temporarily informed explanation of the narrative Ibels has provided. The figure in black is a member of the clergy. He is dressed in a traditional soutane or priest's robe and hat. He has attacked the woman who is alone and defenceless unawares from behind with his Catholic beads or rosary. The woman is France incarnated in the allegorical persona of the Republic as Marianne. She is recognisable from her Republican iconography. In particular the Phrygian cap with its cockade denotes the 1789 Revolution and its strong republican overtones. The text facing this illustration when it was reprinted in *Allons-Y!* gives more information. In this text, Ibels wrote that independent-minded people outraged at antisemitism — whom he stipulated included both Jews and Christians — were fighting for liberty of conscience “moins pour defender les Juifs que pour dénoncer le clericalism, sortant de l'ombre pour étrangler la République”.<sup>171</sup> This makes the meaning Ibels which to convey clear. The notion of the Republic being strangled by a clerical malfeasant is also exactly the same metaphor Zola used in *Lettre à la France* when he warned “The Republic is invaded by reactionaries of every sort...who wind their arms about her that may strangle her”.<sup>172</sup>

In this composition, Ibels represents the clergyman sneaking up on the Republic from behind, implying perhaps the reactionary past as well as an ambush or political coup in the present. The anticlerical view is to see the Church willing to use a brutal weapon to curtail the Republic's existence or so sully its founding principles as to change it materially. Having pounced, the cleric is in the act of taming, reining in, choking or garrotting the Republic with the rosary. The implication is of crude control in the use of the rosary to bridle and inhibit the freedoms of the Republics so that it ceased to be able to uphold the principles that defined it as such. It was precisely this idea that was expressed by Scheurer-Kestner when he said of clericalism “lâchez-lui la bride sur le cou, et vous verrez ce dont ses membres

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<sup>171</sup> Tr. Less to defend the Jews than to denounce clericalism, coming out of the shadows to strangle the Republic. Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 42.

<sup>172</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, pp. 19-20.

militants sont capables".<sup>173</sup> The black, dramatic, windblown trees with their claw-like branches intensify the sense of fear, as does the contrast with the normality of the village in the distance on the other side of the river, heightening the solitariness of the encounter. There is also the suggestion of something rapine in the angle and position of the priest's right foot at a time when priests' proximity to women through their role in the confessional was being questioned, primarily by their husbands.<sup>174</sup>

### *Myth*

Taking this interpretation to the next level is to recognise the myth or narrative that would have been immediately understood by Ibels' contemporary readers. This is the Dreyfusard conviction that France was in the grip of a conspiracy by the Church to bring down the Republic with the backing of the military elite. The caption 'Le Coup du Père François' gives clues about the identity of the male figure depicted. It could be a generic since François was a common name or signify the Gallican Church. It is possible that Père François was linked to socio-political developments in the Affair. The drawing was originally published in *Le Sifflet* on 24 March 1898. Although Ibels does not say this in *Allons-Y!*'s accompanying text published later that year the Père François in the image may have represented the head of the virulently antisemitic Assumptionist order, Father François Picard.<sup>175</sup> In the Catholic newspaper *La Croix*, Father Picard spoke of Jews in their golden thrones across Europe in a way that was reminiscent of the antisemitic imagery of Gyp's cartoons. Father Picard repudiated the ideas of the Revolution cherished by Zola and Ibels and wrote "[t]he Jew is everywhere a Jew and nothing but a Jew".<sup>176</sup> In other words, he could not be French, a citizen, or a member of the nation-family of the Republic. The grand sum of Zola's ideas is already expressly linked by Ibels with this illustration since *Allons-Y!* and its contents are dedicated to the author. Beyond that, however, the anticlerical ideas of 'Le Coup du Père François' have much in common with Zola's attitudes in *à la jeunesse* where Zola's words and phrases are calculated to deliver a warning of the predatory nature of reactionary tyranny. Zola writes:

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<sup>173</sup> Tr. Wear its bridle around your neck, and you will see what its militant members are capable of; Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, p. 48.

<sup>174</sup> Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, p. 26.

<sup>175</sup> For a view on Père Picard's perception of the threat of modern Jewry to European societies, see Kertzer, *Unholy War*, pp. 171-2; For Assumptionist antisemitism during the Dreyfus debate see *ibid.*, p. 126; also Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 73.

<sup>176</sup> <http://skepticism.org/timeline/february-history/2575-french-catholic-paper-complains-jews-are-everywhere-and-own-everything.html> (last accessed 8 November 2018).

“Si tu te sens indépendante, si tu peux aller et venir à ton gré, dire dans la presse ce que tu penses, avoir une opinion et l’exprimer publiquement, c’est que tes pères ont donné de leur intelligence et de leur sang. Tu n’es pas née sous la tyrannie, tu ignores ce que c’est que de se réveiller chaque matin avec la botte d’un maître sur la poitrine, tu ne t’es pas battue pour échapper au sabre du dictateur, aux poids faux du mauvais juge”.<sup>177</sup>

In the latter part of *Lettre à la Jeunesse* Zola exhorted younger readers to reflect on their independence and liberties including being able to say what they think in the press, dearly won through the 1789 Revolution that led to the rights acquired by the First Republic. Like the content of Ibels’ composition, Zola’s descriptive passage has used highly visual metaphors to construct a sharp contrast between the freedoms France secured in the Third Republic and the subjugation of its ‘ancien régime’. Both Ibels and Zola use metaphors of brutality and murder to evoke repression by that ancien régime. Zola describes a dictator’s boot and sword, Ibels put a garrotte in the priest’s hand in the form of a rosary. Like Ibels in cartoon, Zola conjured snapshots of aggression alluding to “poison” and “shadow of the sword and blood”,<sup>178</sup> “torturers”,<sup>179</sup> “murder and sacrifice”<sup>180</sup> and “the slap in the face to patriotism”.<sup>181</sup> Ibels echoed Zola in painting images of fragility and virtuousness, which characterise the Third Republic being crudely assaulted by the Church in *Le Coup de Père François* and ‘Leur dernier viol’.<sup>182</sup> Ibels, like Zola, eulogises the 1789 Revolution.

The concerns that Ibels and Zola expressed were part of the anticlerical response to the Catholic ‘Ralliement’ of the second half of the century. This was a movement of reenergised Catholicism’ which incorporated the religious, the political, the social and the cultural. While the Pope’s ‘Syllabus’ proclaimed papal infallibility and criticised heretical teaching, ultramontane political ambition wedded to nationalism sought to change the character of the

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<sup>177</sup> <http://www.deslettres.fr/lettre-demile-zola-a-la-jeunesse-ou-allez-vous-jeunes-gens-nous-allons-a-lhumanite-a-la-verite-a-la-justice/> (last accessed 9 April 2018). Tr. If you feel independent, if you can come and go freely, say what you think in the press, have an opinion and express it publicly, it’s because your forefathers gave of their intelligence and blood. You weren’t born under tyranny, you don’t know what it’s like to wake each morning with a master’s boot on your chest, you didn’t fight to escape the dictator’s sword, under the false outcomes of a bad judge.

<sup>178</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France* in *Zola*, p.19.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 7.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid

<sup>182</sup> Tr. Their last rape. *Le Sifflet*, 17 February 1899.

French Republic, and pilgrimages and miracles became more popular.<sup>183</sup> In this intellectual climate anti-Dreyfusards construed that the Jewish captain and his co-religionists were partners in a Masonic-Judeo conspiracy with nationalists like Barrès arguing French identity was conferred through one's dead ancestors. Ibels and his fellow anticlericals drew on a repository of visual ideas to invert this criticism, pivoting the threat that each side saw as both internal and external, as emanating from a military-backed Church, as the next chapter investigates.

## Conclusion

The chapter focused its investigation of anticlerical ideas in the satirical art in a number of key areas. It found the polemical tone infiltrating language and culture to become the art of attack in the Affair resonated in the satirical art. Arguments from earlier scandals, in particular the collapse of the Catholic Bank and the Panama Affair created case precedents for antipathy to Jews that emerged in Judeophobic cartoons about Dreyfus. The preceding decades of change, war and political turbulence contributed. Anticlericals drew on a shared currency of ideas that were fluid. Within this febrile dynamic, and assisted by more efficient technologies, ideas were trumped, trashed and regurgitated between competing images. This ongoing interaction was a kind of symbiosis, driven by one-upmanship and truth claims, where the clerical set of ideas can be viewed as the 'agent provocateur' and vice versa. *Le Sifflet* came into being to oppose *Psst...!*. Ibels deliberately plagiarised pro-military and clerical ideas for effect. This would typically be the case in rival images published close in time to one another, as in Forain's 'Cedant Arma Toga' and Ibels' 'Allons-y'. In such instances, compositional ideas could be almost identical but where a few salient changes polarised meaning. At other times, the anticlerical cartoon subverted or inverted a cache of prevailing tropes, such as about self-enrichment which could be repudiated years apart in the opposing art since the anti-Jewish ideas were entrenched. Ibels' 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' painted Dreyfus' arch detractor Drumont as the real mercenary. This was an abiding tactic of Ibels, who showed himself as a master of inversion of the reactionary idea.

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<sup>183</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, p. 59; Baubérot and Mathieu, *Religion, modernité et culture*, pp. 240-1.

Anticlerical responses in the art were used to foil mounting anti-Jewish sentiment prevalent in French society prior to the Dreyfus crisis. Other international crises, in France itself or where France had played a role, such as in Damascus at the time of a major blood libel case, were instrumental in fostering antipathy to Jews that modern anticlericals sought to overcome. Where such prejudice had found opposition from the literary class like Hugo earlier in the century, by the time of Dreyfus leftist opponents to anti-Jewish tendencies combined this not with an attack on Rome like Hugo but took aim at the Gallican Church. Anticlerical artists like Ibels took advantage of the greater freedom of expression in caricature to weigh into the Dreyfus debate against the Church with disturbing visuals as Zola did using literary imagery to warn of the menace in his *lettres*. Like Zola, Ibels based his campaign against clericalism and in defence of Jews on his commitment to a Republic free from Church interference.

Dreyfusard artists like Ibels were catalysed by anti-Jewish ideas that by the Affair had acquired a new blend of intolerance. Zola appealed for Republican values of liberty, fraternity and equality to be maintained. The debate about the role of Jews in French society permitted both Zola and Ibels to use creative zeal to invoke not only the Republic but the founding precepts of its progenitor, the 1789 Revolution. Ibels also rejected anti-Jewish tropes by humanising Dreyfus in painting him as the father of two children, emphasizing commonalities rather than differences.

Ideas about law, order, truth and justice for all employed by Ibels in his art sought to uphold and promote the laicisation project incarnated by the Republic. The celebration of the processes of justice in the Beilis trial connected to a similar current of ideas. Ibels' thinking, articulated in his art, confirms Bruce's argument that economic growth, urbanisation and religious diversity were all factors in the secularisation of the modernising state. The polemic gave anticlerical artists like Ibels a platform to argue that the retreat of the Church from public, as well as private, life was in danger of being reversed. The ideas of free thinkers, particularly D'Holbach's in viewing religious men as duplicitous, resonated strongly in Ibels' illustrations and Zola's accusations. The belief shared by many philosophers from Voltaire to Rousseau, that those of a different religion should be treated with tolerance, is knitted into Dreyfusard thinking.

Ibels' concerns for the underdog demonstrate he shared Zola's sympathies for socialist, as well as anarchist, streams of thinking. These concerns for the human condition and against the abuse of power were to show themselves in the formation of the world's first organisation to defend human rights. In the name of Dreyfus, Ibels championed a higher social conscience, that anticipated the Ligue de Droits de l'Homme of which the artist was an early member. The concept of a morality that did not draw on religious doctrine to define itself but was rooted in ideas about Republican solidarity taught in the new laic state schools in which Dreyfusard activists had been schooled, informed anticlerical ideas in art. This thinking challenged conservative beliefs in the traditional 'solidarity' of French identity conferred by blood and soil that anti-Dreyfusards like Barrès were faithful to, expressed in nationalist cartoons. Anticlerical cartoons in the polemic such as 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' inverted and ridiculed nativist ideas of blood and soil and turned them to 'mud'.

Anticlerical cartoons were snapshots cleverly combining multiple ideas and could encapsulate a series of events in time and space in one image, as in Ibels' depiction of Zola's flight following his conviction by libel. Thus, a number of anticlerical anxieties, such as the warning of military intervention in the state or the complaint about attempts to hijack the processes of law, could be expressed in one drawing in Dreyfus' name. The injustice suffered by the Jewish captain was depicted by sympathisers as a crime against the Republic. Allegory in the anticlerical cartoon served to invoke the Revolutionary credo of 1789 and the Republic's association with it, as did iconography like the Phrygian bonnet. For Dreyfusards, the symbols of the Republic were identified with the cause to such an extent that Dreyfus the man and the allegorical Republic were seen as interchangeable.

## Chapter Four - Anticlerical images in the anti-Jewish crisis

Chapter four explores anticlerical ideas falling broadly into two areas: the representation of the clergy. Secondly, ideas about the representation of the military, though there is an overlap between the two that is itself probed. Within these themes, the chapter is split into the following sub-sections. The first considers the influence of the clerical press on anticlerical ideas. The next examines different representations by Ibels of overt and covert attacks by the Church on the Republic. The chapter then turns to how Dreyfusard anticlericalism moved from generic representations to highly personalised representations of Church leaders. As part of its investigation of antimilitary ideas in the satirical art, the study investigates the device of what it terms 'conflation', in which priest and military officer were characterised as synonymous, symbiotic or twinned. The use of the priest's body, stance and facial expression is examined, as are notions of 'honneur et patrie', probing how these ideas were hijacked and corrupted by Ibels. The nineteenth century concept of 'progress' which animated some of Ibels' antimilitary critiques is investigated as is the notion of abuse. As part of this work, the chapter probes aspects of a painting, by Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, produced in 1862. Oppenheim painted Jewish subject-matter and sitters such as Fanny Mendelsohn and members of the Rothschild family. His painting represents its title: 'The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara'.<sup>1</sup> Mortara was a six-year-old Jewish boy forcibly taken from his family in the Papal States in 1858 because the Church deemed he had been secretly baptised by a servant and could no longer be raised by his Jewish parents.

Images scrutinised using the tripartite semiotic analysis in this chapter are figs. 35, 36, 45, 46 and 57. A more limited interpretation is applied to other images to illustrate specific points, substantiate the scholarly arguments being made and enrich the overall responses to the research questions. An example of this is the use of Pépin's cartoon 'E Amen de Conscience' to illustrate the personalising of the anticlerical attack in the Dreyfusard cartoon. The following images are studied in chapter four: 'La Semeuse', chosen as the defining cover (left) for an album of 29 illustrations published in 1901 entitled *Les Légendes*

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/judaica-n09060/lot.60.html> (last accessed 13 December 2021).

*du Siècle*,<sup>2</sup> and also No 7 (right) in the collection (fig. 35);<sup>3</sup> Ibels' 'La Situation' (fig. 36) first published as *Le Sifflet*'s front cover on 8 May 1898, a time of heightened activity when developments prompted its editors to fight back by bringing out an edition twice a week for the duration of the month. 'La Situation' was later republished in Ibels' compendium, *Allons-Y!*; Ibels' illustration for *Sébastien Roch*, 1906 (fig. 37);<sup>4</sup> an anonymous sixteenth-century woodcut (fig. 38). 'Der blinde Passagier', *Leuchtkugeln (Flares)*, Anon., Munich, 1948 (fig. 39);<sup>5</sup> 'E Amen de Conscience' by Pépin for *Le Grelot* on the significant date of 20 February 1898 when the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme was founded by Dreyfusards (fig. 40);<sup>6</sup> a hand-written dedication by Ibels to Fernand Labori in the copy of *Allons-Y!* Ibels had specially printed for Zola and Dreyfus' lawyer (fig. 41);<sup>7</sup> The Dreyfusard Léon-Antoine-Lucien Couturier's No 11 in his postcard series *Histoire d'un crime* (fig. 42);<sup>8</sup> 'Les Nouveaux Frères Siamois' by F G Keronan, for the anticlerical journal, *Le Père peinard*, No 106, 30 October 1898 (fig. 43).<sup>9</sup> 'Filles à Soldats', Maximilien Luce, *Le Père peinard*, No 102, 2 October 1898 (fig. 44);<sup>10</sup> (Left) 'La Chanson du Gas', Ibels, *Le Père peinard*, No 201, published 22 January 1893 compared to Ibels' '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' published in *Le Sifflet* on 10 March 1898, republished in *Allons-Y!* (right) (fig. 45);<sup>11</sup> Ibels' 'Une mesure radicale/RADICALE', which appeared in *Le Sifflet* on 4 August 1898 and later in *Allons-Y!* (fig. 46);<sup>12</sup> Ibels' pastel work 'La Dernière Dame voilée', en place pour la quadrille', ca. 1899 (fig 47);<sup>13</sup> A cartoon of Father Gapon in *Pchela (The Bee)* No. 5 1906 (fig. 48);<sup>14</sup> Photomontage 'Le R.P. Jamont et le général Didon' published in *Le Siècle* supplement, 11 January 1899 (fig 49);<sup>15</sup> Detail, 'On Liquide!', Ibels' front cover for *Le Sifflet* on 2 June 1899 (fig. 50); 'The Augustinians' by Hermann-Paul for *Le Figaro*, 1901 (fig.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Legends of the Century.

<sup>3</sup> The Sower/ Legends of the Century. Viewed <https://www.mahj.org/en/decouvrir-collections-betsale/les-legendes-du-siècle-71860> (last accessed 14 November 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Mirbeau (1906) *Sébastien Roch*, Paris, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> Tr. The Stowaway. Viewed at [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/53/094\\_leuchtkugeln\\_nr\\_12.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/53/094_leuchtkugeln_nr_12.jpg) (last accessed 12 April 2022).

<sup>6</sup> Image viewed in Grand-Carteret, *L'affaire Dreyfus et l'image*, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> My grateful thanks for the right to use this image and others to Eric Chaim Kline bookseller, Santa Monica, California. This splendid copy was specially printed for Fernand Labori, as it stated in the colophon. It featured 43 drawings (including two in full colour) by Ibels, originally published in *Le Sifflet*.

<sup>8</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> Tr. The New Siamese Twins', reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> 'Filles à Soldats' reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>11</sup> (Left) Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 57; (right) de Beyssat, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 99.

<sup>13</sup> Tr. The last Veiled Lady in place for the quadrille. Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> King and Porter, *Blood and Laughter*, pp. 31-8.

<sup>15</sup> <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7438525/f7> (last accessed 12 June 2019).

51);<sup>16</sup> ‘L’abbé Godard’ a lithograph by Ibels for his illustration of Zola’s *La Terre* in 1897 (fig. 52);<sup>17</sup> Detail of ‘The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara’, a painting by Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, 1862 (fig. 53); Detail, Ibels’ ‘Leur dernier viol’, *Le Sifflet*’s front cover on 17 February 1899 (fig. 54);<sup>18</sup> ‘Honneur & Patrie’ by Ibels for *Le Sifflet* on 12 May 1898 (fig. 55); ‘Honour to the Army’ by Clérac for *Le Pilon*, 20 February 1898 (fig. 56);<sup>19</sup> ‘A Bas le progrès’ by Ibels, a lithograph for *The Beraldi Album of Theatre Programs*, 1893 (fig. 57);<sup>20</sup> ‘A Bas le Progrès’, a theatre poster by Ibels from 25 April 1894 (fig. 58);<sup>21</sup> ‘Le Traître: Dégradation d’ Alfred Dreyfus’, H. Meyer for *Le Petit Journal, Supplément Illustré*, 1895 (fig. 59);<sup>22</sup> Ibels’ illustration for *Sébastien Roch*, 1906 (fig. 60).<sup>23</sup>

### The clerical press’ contribution to anticlerical ideas

To understand the ideas in anticlerical illustrations in anti-Jewish debates, it is necessary to consider the dynamic within which they were formed which involved the rival art and press. The antisemitic content of clerical press organs played a major role in the dissemination of ideas before and during the Dreyfus controversy. Pierrard conducted a thorough and penetrating survey of the Catholic presses’ vilification of Jews.<sup>24</sup> Brennan examined how major developments such as Dreyfus’ second trial, in Rennes, were treated, among others, by Catholic newspapers such as *La Croix*’s editorial of “Justice Rendu!” to the second guilty verdict.<sup>25</sup> Zola charged that antisemitism purposely choreographed by the Church to encourage religiosity was everywhere: “one sees it on every side: it breaks out in politics, in art, in the press, in the street!”<sup>26</sup> It was in this environment that an anticlerical artist such as Ibels produced a cartoon of an aggressive takeover through stealth in ‘Le Coup de Père François’.

Anti-Jewish rhetoric had been pushed over centuries in the Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica* including its belief in Jewish blood libel.<sup>27</sup> Catholic publications set the tone on the

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.hermann-paul.org/catalog-drawings/page/3/> (last accessed 17 December 2021).

<sup>17</sup> 1897 Charpentier edition, with thanks to the University of Toronto.

<sup>18</sup> Tr Their last violation.

<sup>19</sup> Grand-Carteret, *L’affaire Dreyfus et l’image*, p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/152642> (last accessed 17 Jan 2022).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Kleeblatt, Plates, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 158.

<sup>23</sup> Mirbeau, *Sébastien Roch*, 1906, p. 161.

<sup>24</sup> Pierrard, *Les Chrétiens et l’affaire Dreyfus*, pp. 38-63.

<sup>25</sup> Tr. Justice Done!; Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair in the European Press*, pp. 103, 119.

<sup>26</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> Vital, *A People Apart* p. 538.

eve of the Dreyfus polemic. In 1892, two years before Alfred Dreyfus was arrested, *L'Osservatore romano* criticised the chief rabbi in Rome for writing a letter protesting the ritual blood murder charge of a Jew in Germany when, argued the paper, he should have been remonstrating with his religious fellows to cease their murder of Christians for their "detestable rites".<sup>28</sup> That same year, *L'Osservatore cattolico* in Milan, a publication that came with the kudos of being closely associated with the Holy See, printed articles about Jewish ritual murder almost daily and sensationalised the subject still further by offering a substantial financial reward to anyone who could disprove the diabolical practice.<sup>29</sup> Significantly, many Catholic papers in France as well as Germany, Austria and Italy reprinted extracts from these articles.<sup>30</sup> Jesuit editorials in Catholic newspapers carried out what Brennan called a crusade against Jews during the Dreyfus crisis.<sup>31</sup> In addition to these enduring tropes, at the time of the Dreyfus crisis *La Civiltà Cattolica* had taken in newer forms of anti-Jewish racist thinking rather than religious prejudice alone.<sup>32</sup> These ideas from Jesuit writers were then taken up and disseminated more widely by populist authors like Drumont who published his ideas in *La Libre Parole* and his best-selling tract *La France Juive*. Such writers used non-religious newspapers and books to contribute to the debate to spread anti-Jewish prejudice more widely and deeper into France.<sup>33</sup> This in turn provided themes and modes of attack for pro-clerical artists like Gyp and Caran D'Ache to satirise Jews.

One of the most influential papers whipping up antipathy against Jews in the crucible of ideas during the dispute was *La Croix*, the daily newspaper of the Assumptionist order which Brennan called a "strident antisemitic paper".<sup>34</sup> Derfler argues the order was one of the most belligerent anti-republican congregations.<sup>35</sup> Unlike the Society of Jesus, the Assumptionists had been established relatively recently as part of the campaign to 're-

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<sup>28</sup> Kertzer, *Unholy War*, p. 162.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, p. 405.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> The anticlerical editor of *Le Siècle* Yves Guyot's editorial on Drumont insisted he drew his views on Jews from the Jesuit paper, *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome; Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, p. 103.

<sup>34</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 23; Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 21, 100; On the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Zola's open letter 'J'Accuse...!' *La Croix* apologised for its antisemitic editorials during the affair. See <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/01/13/world/world-news-briefs-french-paper-apologizes-for-slurs-on-dreyfus.html> (last accessed 15 August 2019).

<sup>35</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 58.

Christianise France'.<sup>36</sup> The modernising state and the growing infrastructures of modernity such as an increasingly efficient mass press were not only used by Dreyfusards. Clerical news outlets also availed themselves of such systems and technology to support the religious revival, and in the case of the Assumptionists, to publicise their opposition to Republicanism. As Dreyfus was used as a metaphor for the Republic in the visual iconography of the cartoons since he represented it for his supporters, Assumptionists by the same token were anti-Dreyfus, anti-Jewish and fiercely anti-Republican.<sup>37</sup> Regional outlets enhanced the power of *La Croix* to channel clerical ideas and counter ideas, as it pushed its anti-Dreyfusard message beyond metropolitan France into 'La France profonde'. The title was also the favoured paper of the lower clergy.<sup>38</sup>

The linkage between Dreyfusard activity and *La Croix* can be seen in its doubling its circulation with hostile coverage of Zola between 1897-8, at the height of the anti-Jewish crisis.<sup>39</sup> Ideas from *La Croix* about Jewish power, money and oppression influenced or reinforced those in visual satire hostile to Dreyfus. The paper named the 'King of the Jews' as Dreyfus' employer who had access to 'all-mighty gold'.<sup>40</sup> Gyp's cartoon 'Sur —qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France' featured a 'King of the Jews'. The concept of 'all-mighty gold' or a 'god of gold' was depicted literally, as a coin-counting deity in Frédéric Régency's 'Aujourd'hui, grace aux Juifs, l'argent est devenue taut-puissant'.<sup>41</sup> A regal figure in the sky is seen in the cartoon to hoard money as the oppressed French toil beneath it. Zola did not refer to *La Croix* directly in his *Lettre à la France* but it must certainly have been in his mind when he referred to the falsehoods of a "reptilian press" that "never carried anything but mud" about the controversy.<sup>42</sup> Ibels replicated this idea of 'mud' that Zola had spoken of, as well as the antisemitic charge of Jewish gold in his cartoon 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!' but inverted them to refer back to Dreyfus' detractors. Mud was equated with Rochefort's hostile newspaper *L'Intransigeant* and gold with Drumont, editor of *Le Libre Parole* and *La France Juive*. Such was *La Croix*'s tone that it was only after an intervention of the Pope that the paper submitted to disassociating itself from calls for violence against French

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<sup>36</sup> Founded in Nimes, southern France during the final years of the July monarchy in 1847.

<sup>37</sup> Zeldin, Theodore (1973) *France 1848-1945, Vol One Ambition, Love and Politics*, Oxford, p. 648.

<sup>38</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 21, 99, 100.

<sup>39</sup> Johnson, Martin, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 90 onwards.

<sup>40</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, p. 103.

<sup>41</sup> Tr. Today, thanks to the Jews, money has become Almighty.

<sup>42</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 17.

Jewry.<sup>43</sup> However, the announcement ordered by the Pontiff still identified the paper as antisemitic as it referred to the order's campaign of conversion.<sup>44</sup>

As *La Croix* stoked hatred against Dreyfus with anti-Jewish tropes, and in doing so helped to shape anticlerical ideas during the controversy, content from what Szajkowski called the "Catholic antisemite press" contributed to the dialectic at work in the Beilis case in Kiev in Imperial Russia. Printed letters in *The Tablet* in 1913 is revealing of its stance on the Beilis case. One emphasized and drew on blood libel tropes as it was titled 'the Kieff ritual murder', likening the death of the murdered boy to the medieval killing of 'St' Hugh in Lincoln.<sup>45</sup> Szajkowski found some Catholic publications rejected the future Pope's stance in not giving credence to ritual murder while disparaging international Jewish efforts to help Beilis by appealing to the then Cardinal Ganganeli as run by "the mightiest financial dynasty".<sup>46</sup>

However, the notion that the Beilis case reflected, and had been shaped by, a Jewish-Christian fault-line in some quarters and the perceptiveness of it in others, played such a critical role that contemporary activists held that divide determined the verdict itself. The American Jewish Committee wrote to key campaigners in Europe shortly after the case saying the Russian government had ordered the jury to come to the conclusion it did in part to pacify the reactionary religious grouping, the Black Hundreds: "... to satisfy the public opinion of the civilized world, the jury was ordered to acquit Beilis and in order to satisfy the Black Hundreds, the jury was ordered to leave the ritual charge unsettled".<sup>47</sup> The press played a key role in hardening the divide in both the Beilis and Dreyfus cases, influencing liberal thinkers like the anticlerical cartoonists to respond. In using and disseminating tropes about Jewishness, the Catholic press helped

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<sup>43</sup> *La Croix* stated: "We will renew the declaration made here that we never associate ourselves with the mistaken way of the anti-Semites who want blood or pillage" in an editorial with the ill-omened title 'The Jewish Question' on 12 August 1898.

<sup>44</sup> The paper claimed the only goal was to convert the Jews to Christianity; Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 59 and 68.

<sup>45</sup> <http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/25th-october-1913/28/the-kieff-ritual-murder> (last accessed September 2019). Hugh's killing in 1255 was the first charge of Jewish ritual murder of a child supported by the English Crown. Hillaby and Hillaby argue episcopal influence played a role in the ritual murder narrative to draw pilgrims to the shrine of a 'blood libel saint'. See Hillaby, Joe and Hillaby, Caroline (2013), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History*, Basingstoke, pp. 657-8. Huscroft, Richard (2006) *Expulsion: England's Jewish solution*, Stroud, p. 102; Langmuir, Gavin I, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' in *Speculum*, 1972 47:3, pp. 459-82.

<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.2307/2856155?journalCode=spc> (last accessed 11 April 2022).

<sup>46</sup> Szajkowski, Zosa, 'The Impact of the Beilis Case on Central and Western Europe' in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, p. 206.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

shape ideas in the art of Ibels and his fellows which took on the task of refuting arguments in their own pro-republican mass media outlets such as *Le Sifflet* and *Le Siècle*.

### Ideas about the clergy and the Republic

Yves Guyot, the editor of *Le Siècle*, was staunchly anticlerical and Dreyfusard. Within the domain of this newspaper Ibels was therefore free to attack clericalism as the enemies of the Republic. The idea that the Republican values inherited from the Revolution were threatened by a rising Church was central to Ibels' Dreyfusard anticlericalism. In 'La Semeuse' conceived for *Les Légendes du Siècle* and 'La Situation', Ibels represented the Church and clergy as a malign force engaged in subversive activity against the state. This corresponded to how antisemites saw Jews in the Third Republic. Both 'La Semeuse' and 'La Situation' portray the Church and its officers in the act of attempting to bring down the Third Republic yet the two drawings articulate these ideas using markedly different symbolism and content. 'La Situation', published at the height of the Dreyfus crisis in May 1898, represents the Church as conducting an insidious campaign under a dozing, lax, and thus complicit, leadership. By contrast, 'La Semeuse', the defining cover image three years later in the new century, was selected as the defining cover image for an album that sought to memorialise landmark events while linking itself to the great humanitarian Victor Hugo's poem cycles 'La Légende du Siècle'. Both 'La Semeuse' and 'La Situation' give vent to fears of a resurgent Church or clerical coup. This encompassed the rise in religiosity and religious orders, the electoral successes of pro-clerical politicians, the infringement of non-Catholic minority rights in institutions of laicised civil society such as the courts, and the belief in military support for the Gallican Church. The way these concerns were articulated is investigated using the tripartite semiotic methodology, first to interpret 'La Semeuse', as seen below (fig. 35). It is then applied to 'La Situation' (fig. 36).



Fig. 35 (Left) 'La Semeuse', *Les Légendes du Siècle*, Ibels, cover page and illustration No 7, 1901. Caption: "Ils finiraient par me manger moi-meme"<sup>48</sup>

### First reading

'La Semeuse' is part of a collection made up of drawings called *Les Légendes du Siècle* produced for the newspaper of the same name *Le Siècle* in 1901. To the right of the figure integral text in the image indicates the drawing is part of an 'Album of Drawings'. As with Ibels' cartoon for *Le Sifflet*, 'La Situation', below, the drawing is simple with a solitary figure. Little is required to make its point. The figure, which has a female anatomy is positioned in the foreground with one arm and one heel raised. The other foot is planted firmly on the ground. The upraised arm is being used to wield a sprig to beat off a flock of black birds which fly in from a distance to converge on the figure. At least one is physically attacking the figure and making contact with flesh. In the background, the sun is setting on the horizon, its light radiating outwards. From the left-hand corner of the horizon beyond the orbit of the rays of the dying sun, more of the birds fly in.

### Second reading

The lone allegorical figure has a multi-layered identity. She is the revolutionary Republic as intimidated by the Phrygian cap, symbolic of the Revolution and the 1789 Revolution. She is also 'Marianne', the allegorised incarnation of France with the figure highly feminised with clearly-defined breasts, nipples and flowing hair. Feminising the Republic would have been encouraged by commercial instincts at a time when titillating printed material was popular. As Craske says of saucy printed culture, this was a period in French history "when the

<sup>48</sup> Tr. They'll end up eating me.

newspaper trade was booming [and] an array of low-cost titillating reviews entered the mass media marketplace and flourished there".<sup>49</sup> Yet this Republic is not provocative in its stance. Feminising the Republic could also arouse protective instincts among the male readership when men alone could vote, and it was still the case that more men than women could read text and captions. The figure is lent further popularity and shared cultural meaning in its identity as 'la Semeuse'. This representation of the Republic in allegorised form associated with the female 'Sower' of seeds featured on coins showed it as having vigorous agency, fighting back against the sustained clerical assault symbolised by the crows. The caption 'It's me they will end up eating' issued a reminder France may yet be consumed by clericalism. The notion that the Republic was viewed as resisting in 1901 rather than weakly complying in 1898 can be understood within the context of recent events. On 1 July 1901, an Associations Act was passed to curb the religious orders who were required to seek state authorisation. This followed the dissolution of the Assumptionists just the year before. Much had happened, therefore, to give hope to Ibels and Dreyfusards that the threat of a military-backed Church would be seen off.

Here is a figure familiar to all from the coinage engaged in the commendable task of sowing grain to provide for the nation under attack from the Church. Ibels has used a long-established metaphor for the clergy in representing the Republic fending off a relentless attack by a flock of savage crows, which circle and surround it. It is a real fight, and an unfair one, as the many are attacking the one. Yet the Republic is prevailing. Feathers are flying and some lie at the feet of the figure. Some of the malevolent birds are wounded or dead. The Republic holds her apron open to receive the carcasses. But Ibels shows the danger is not over: While the Republic may have defeated some, the assault is not at an end. A stream of more dark-winged birds can be seen flying in from as far as the eye can see.

A further ominous sign is the imminent return of darkness from the setting sun, symbolising the defeat of enlightenment values and a return to the obscurantism of the past. The symbolism gives force to notions about the power of light as the antithesis to the darkness of ignorance. The sinking sun's rays also act as vectors that give momentum to the energy, determination and clarity that pierce the bodies of a number of crows. The rays of light are

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<sup>49</sup> <https://www.merton.ox.ac.uk/people/helen-craske> (last accessed 14 December 2021).

thus represented as weapons against the Church. Other vectors that mimic the direction of the rays of light are used to emphasize the dominance of the winning Republic: the slant of the long hair and the upheld knuckles, the angle made by the branch used to swat the birds, the swing of the apron, the swirl of the skirt, even the position of the birds in the foreground. Each follows a vector created by a ray of light, inextricably linking the Third Republic with light and enlightenment, and the notion of light as an instrument that can bring down the Church's emissaries. As part of this narrative, the crows in the background merge with the line of the horizon that is all that will be left once the last of the sunlight has retreated beyond it. This cartoon's message was that clericalism operated in the shadows and was attempting to cast a pall across the nation-state.

### *Myth*

The bold linear style and simple content is effective in communicating an urgent political message, that is yet a composite of numerous ideas that could be absorbed by the reader in a glance. A more densely packed composition would have been more difficult to read and so would have had less impact. Nonetheless, the linear form and uncluttered composition also allow iconography to weave a complex narrative. The use of diminishing light chimes with Kleeblatt's analysis of light in a contemporary Eugène Carrière poster for the anticlerical journal *La Lanterne*. In Ibels' work, as in Carrière's, light and darkness signify the tussle between an archaic obscurantism and enlightened intellectualism.<sup>50</sup> In this Ibels was also in harmony with Zola. As William Berg argued, Zola's work was shot through with an awareness of light and darkness, in his novels, art reviews and other journalism. Zola was interested in how light was represented by artists and what light could represent symbolically.<sup>51</sup> Zola's work was punctuated with references to light and darkness in which light was associated with truth, vision and clear-sightedness and darkness with obscurity, 'blindness' or 'blind faith'. In *Lettre à la France*, Zola suggests "honest men, at the price of their own welfare, are asking for light".<sup>52</sup> *Lettre à la jeunesse* saw Zola accusing politicians and journalists who accept lies of shutting "their eyes to the most blinding light".<sup>53</sup> He equates a "generous cause" with seeking to "let light in upon the darkness" and "darkness" with tyranny.<sup>54</sup> The lack of light is perilous as "people refuse the light with violence", amidst

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<sup>50</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Introduction', p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Berg, *The Visual Novel*, pp. 38, 45, 161-2.

<sup>52</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

“this blackness of intolerance” and again, “the world is black and void”.<sup>55</sup> In his posthumously published novel, *Vérité*, in a storyline that mirrored the Dreyfus controversy, Zola emphasized ideas around darkness and blindness to mean the renewed influence of the Church amidst the heightened religiosity. Zola’s fictional alter-ego, *Vérité*’s protagonist Marc Froment, having challenged his community’s prejudice in his defence of a Jewish schoolmaster unjustly accused of murdering a young boy, is musing how France has backtracked on its Republican achievements. Marc comes to the conclusion “le peuple d’aujourd’hui retournait à l’abêtissement, à la démente du peuple d’hier, sous le brusque retour des ténèbres ancestrales !”.<sup>56</sup> Marc’s next thoughts further articulate Zola’s credo about obscurantism and darkness:

“Marc vit tout de suite se dresser l’ennemie, la faiseuse d’ignorance et de mort, l’Église. C’était l’Église qui, dans l’ombre, avec sa patiente tactique d’ouvrière, tenace, avait barré les routes, repris un à un ces pauvres esprits enténébrés, qu’on tâchait d’arracher à sa domination.”<sup>57</sup>

Zola and Ibels are of one mind in how they see truth and light as anticlerical, benevolent and beneficial, and the Church pursuing the ignorance and darkness of yesteryear. This idea of the rolling back of enlightenment to usher in a renewed age of obscurantism is a mainstay of Zola and Ibels’ appeal against clericalism. In doing so, Ibels was again flipping the characterisation of ‘otherness’ from the Jew to the clergy attacking its cohorts as anachronistic and subversive outsiders within the body-politic of the Republic.

The avian metaphor Ibels used in ‘La Semeuse’ was part of an enduring mythology in which crows and bats symbolised clergymen, recalling as they did the dark clothing of the priesthood. The bird emphasised the art’s revolutionary credentials and Republican fealty since the crow was a popular device in the iconography to denote the clergy in 1789

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<sup>55</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 13; Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 7.

<sup>56</sup> Tr. The people of today were returning to ignorance, to the folly of yesterday’s people, under the brusque return of ancestral darkness. See Zola (1903), *Vérité*, Paris viewed at [https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/V%C3%A9rit%C3%A9\\_\(Zola\)/Livre\\_I/Chapitre\\_IV](https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/V%C3%A9rit%C3%A9_(Zola)/Livre_I/Chapitre_IV) (last accessed 15 December 2021) and Zola, Emile (1994) *Truth*, Stroud, p. 139.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. Tr. Marc saw at once the enemy rise up, the maker of ignorance and death, the Church. It was the Church in the shadows who, tenacious with the patient tactic of the worker, had barred the way, recapturing one by one those poor dimmed spirits who were trying to break away from its domination.

revolutionary visual satire. An Ibels' illustration for *Sébastien Roch* drew on this idea as did the front cover of the self-declared pro-Republican journal *La Lanterne* with its bat-like priest crouching over Paris' new Basilique of Sacré-Coeur, accompanied by a caption that was a Republican battle-cry 'Voilà L'ennemi!'.<sup>58</sup> In condemning the resurgence of religiosity that threatened to eclipse enlightened or more reasoned thinking Ibels was echoing Zola. Avian metaphors were also part of the rival mythology in the anti-Jewish affair. Guyot himself was portrayed as a winged creature of the night by the anti-Dreyfusard cartoonist Gyp. Within this matrix, carrion was used to depict Dreyfusards like Zola and Joseph Reinach and ravens or other dark birds were employed to represent nouveau riche Jews like Joseph Reinach's father-in-law Baron de Reinach who were shown in the art despoiling France. The repeated use of the avian metaphor illustrates how an iterative idea held a kind of currency for both sides and as such flowed back and forth across the polemical divide reinforcing the opposing narratives.

#### Covert attack on a vulnerable Republic

In his drawing for *Le Siècle* Ibels had used the robust, rounded figure of 'La Semeuse' to promote the concept of a Republic mounting a vigorous defence against clericalism. 'La Situation' was Ibels' earlier image of the Republic under attack from the Church published in *Le Sifflet* in the spring of 1898 after Zola had been found guilty of libel. In 'La Situation' seen below (fig. 36), Ibels' made the Republic effectively invisible. Unlike the plucky figure of 'La Semeuse' in 'La Situation' the Republic is signified only by a closed door with the initials 'RF', and its leadership by a pair of empty boots and shoes. 'La Situation' is now interpreted using the three-part semiotic approach.

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<sup>58</sup> "Clericalism – Voilà l'ennemi" as a slogan was conceived by the parliamentarian, Leon Gambetta. <https://www.histoire-image.org/fr/etudes/mouvement-anticlerical-veille-1905> (last accessed 13 August 2019).

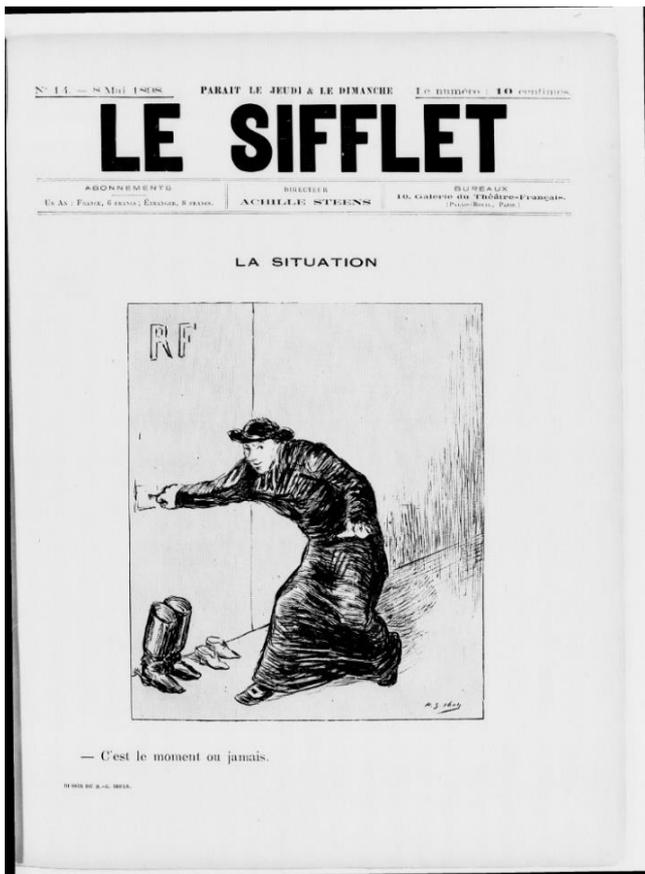


Fig. 36. 'La Situation', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 8 May 1898

### First reading

The caption of 'La Situation' is 'C'est le moment ou jamais!'<sup>59</sup> Like *Les Légendes du Siècle* the content is relatively simple. The focal point of the image is a single male figure in a black hat, long black robe and dark buckled shoes. The figure is positioned in what might be an interior or might be outside since the only other feature is a door marked with the letters 'RF'. The figure has approached this door and is turning a key in a lock. The only other element of content in the drawing are a pair of polished black boots and a pair of dainty, heeled shoes. These are shown placed side by side before the threshold of the door marked 'RF'.

### Second reading

The clothes of the man tiptoeing furtively towards the door marked 'RF' is a member of the clergy. The initials on the door stand for République Française.<sup>60</sup> The door represents access to the Republic. The furtive expression on the priest's face is significant in the way that Hochberg suggests expressive features in cartoon serve to signal what that person will

<sup>59</sup> Tr. It's now or never!

<sup>60</sup> Tr. French Republic

do next.<sup>61</sup> The cunning priest is about to unlock and open the door marked Republic. It follows that the priest will, unless checked, let himself in uninvited, intruding on and catching unawares those that represent the Republic. This is a visual metaphor to signify the Church invading the Republic while those responsible for its safety and wellbeing are lazy and vulnerable. The anticlerical notion of what had been the old First Estate of the ancien régime invading the Republic is also expressed forcefully in *Lettre à la France* in which Zola stated 'The Republic is invaded by reactionaries of every sort'.<sup>62</sup> In 'La Situation', the boots are a pair of riding boots with spurs beside a pair of feminine shoes, allowing Ibels to maintain his theme, discussed in chapter three, of attacking President Felix Faure's incompetence, his lack of leadership and absence from the 'champ de bataille'.<sup>63</sup> Ibels criticised Faure for always being out riding on the hunt instead of concentrating on the urgent task of head of state as the nation subsided into the chaos of the Dreyfus crisis. In this drawing Ibels is suggesting other distractions were also responsible for the absence of effective leadership. The women's footwear is almost certainly meant to be that of the president's mistress Marguerite Steinheil, a regular visitor to the president's private quarters at the Elysée Palace.<sup>64</sup> The removed shoes contrive to represent the president being asleep or pleasuring himself. The larger implication is that the Republic is naked and defenceless to the designs of the Church. The caption 'C'est le moment ou jamais' reinforces the moment of vulnerability for the Republic as one the Church must seize and capitalise on.

### *Myth*

The subversion Ibels feared was underway was also prominent in Zola's letter-pamphlets. These are studded with urgent warnings about the turn away from rationality in the Republic towards a heightened religiosity. Like 'La Semeuse' and 'La Situation' *Lettre à la France* characterised the rise in religiosity and the growth in clerical power as a plot against the Republic. This narrative reflected the developments of the 'Ralliement' itself; the decade in which the Dreyfus dispute took place was a time of Catholic revival. Three times the number entered holy orders than on the eve of the 1789 revolution.<sup>65</sup> The growth in religious newspapers like *La Croix* and its regional editions was linked to this renewed

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<sup>61</sup> Hochberg, 'The representation of Things and People', pp. 88-9.

<sup>62</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p.20.

<sup>63</sup> Tr. The field of battle. See section of *Allons-Y!* entitled 'Le Président', pp. 82-7.

<sup>64</sup> Steinheil was with the President in his private chambers the following year on 16 May 1899 when he died after engaging in a sexual act with her.

<sup>65</sup> Birnbaum, *L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p.19.

Catholic fervour. As was the drive to beatify Jeanne d'Arc and the campaigns to define the grotto of Lourdes as a national pilgrimage site and erect the new cathedral of Sacré Coeur in honour of the Catholic cult of 'the heart'.<sup>66</sup> Where Ibels used simple metaphorical narratives in 'La Situation' and 'La Semeuse' to speak of the danger to the Republic, Zola used rhetoric in elegiac prose to drive home the same points. In *Lettre à la France* Zola addressed France directly. "France, if you do not take care, you are walking straight to a Dictatorship. And do you know where else you walk, France? You go to the Church of Rome, you return to that past of intolerance and of theocracy against which the greatest of your children fought, and which they believed they had slain in sacrificing their genius and their blood."<sup>67</sup> In *à la France*, published a week before his supreme offensive on behalf of Dreyfus in 'J'Accuse...!', Zola offered a sinister interpretation to the heightened religiosity, accusing the Church of exploiting and benefiting from the crisis to build support for its revival. Zola called these "the tactics of the anti-Semite."<sup>68</sup> Like Zola, Ibels saw the Church as sponsoring antisemitism in the crisis.

Parallel thinking between the two on this point is clear in *Allons-Y!*. 'La Situation' is the first image in the section derisively entitled 'Le Goupillon'.<sup>69</sup> This slang term for the clergy, meaning 'the cassock' or literally 'the holy water sprinkler', further demeans the subject. In the very first line of text accompanying the cartoon Ibels blames 'le Goupillon' for the anti-Jewish crisis writing underneath the title "(T)oute la question est là". He then directly echoes Zola in stating "[l]'affaire Dreyfus est née de l'antisémitisme".<sup>70</sup> Later in the 'Goupillon' section Ibels makes the damning allegation that the Jesuits are the sole authors of disorder in inciting "la haine",<sup>71</sup> using bold in the typesetting for the text to emphasize the point. This idea of exploiting antisemitic tensions for an ulterior motive closely mirrors Zola's complaint that the Church was using the division to re-Christianise France. In his letter-pamphlet to France Zola wrote: "the churches remained empty, the people had lost their faith. And behold, circumstances have occurred which make it possible to inoculate them with an antisemitic fury".<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Pieragastini, Steven (2009) 'The Catholic Press in France on the Eve of the Dreyfus Affair 1895-1897', MA Dissertation for Brandeis University, p. 31.

<sup>67</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> *Allons-Y!*, Ibels, pp. 40-1.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. Tr. The whole question is there. The Dreyfus affair was born of antisemitism.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 44; Tr. Hate.

<sup>72</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p.19.

A comparison of the drawing from 'La Semeuse' and 'La Situation' allows the modern viewer to see a shift in Ibels' perception of the attack the Republic faced from clerical ambition. At the height of the Affair Ibels depicted the Republic in 'La Situation' as careless and slumbering, an imminent prey to an audacious Church. By 1901 when *Les Légendes du Siècle* was printed, Ibels' characterisation of the Republic had evolved to show it awake and defending itself against the onslaught. The arc of ideas can be seen in the context of developments spanning those three years. From May 1898, a concerted effort for a retrial for Dreyfus had been met by setbacks in Zola's own conviction and antisemitic rioting in some parts of France. The political landscape was quite different in 1901. Dreyfus had been pardoned and he and Zola had returned to France, a general amnesty for all parties had been approved by the Chamber, with the dissolution of the Assumptionist congregation shortly after, in January 1900. Despite the still present clerical threat Ibels' Republic was recognised as stronger in 1901, and surging towards a win.

Ibels also used shape and contour to represent the encroaching darkness that the return of faith signifies and is signified by in the Dreyfusard art. Not all Ibels' illustrations in *Sébastien Roch* are as 'busy' or populated by figuration as seen his drawing below (fig. 37).<sup>73</sup> A comparison of this illustration for Mirbeau's novel with 'La Semeuse' in *Les Légendes du Siècle* and 'La Situation' shows how dense content is used to fill the frame in the *Sébastien Roch* image, to enhance the sense of claustrophobia. Using Hochberg's argument again about physiognomy in caricature denoting character and intention, the faces of the priests are aesthetically displeasing in differing ways to indicate their future actions will be variously malign: the dagger-like nose, the bloated, scrawny or hunched bodies, the malevolent or cunning expression.<sup>74</sup> The centrepiece of the image is a priest on the wing like a bat. This figure is partially transmogrified with talons, bat-like wings and a clerical black hat also shaped like wings, all recalling the revolutionary symbol of the priest as a bat, signifying here the ghoulish nature and predatory intentions of the clergy.

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<sup>73</sup> Mirbeau, (1906) *Sébastien Roch*, p. 282.

<sup>74</sup> Hochberg, 'The representation of Things and People', pp. 88-9.



Fig. 37 Illustration, Ibels, *Sébastien Roch*, Paris, 1906

The floating priest of Ibels' illustration for Mirbeau's novel of clerical abuse is part of a scene that does not conform to a naturalistic composition. This has the effect of intensifying the suggestion that clerical domination represents a dystopian society that exploits natural laws. Ibels uses shape and shading to reinforce this idea of natural law gone awry in making the priests' black bodies seen in the background of the image resemble the dark trunks of trees, as if the clergymen are propagating with a dreadful natural fecundity. Ibels is thus critiquing Third Republican society in which the numbers entering holy orders had sharply risen. This idea of a society saturated and stunted by an inhuman clericalism had been expressed by anticlerics in France earlier in the century. Achille Devéria's the 'Famille des Eteignoirs', produced during the Restoration of 1819, depicted dehumanised priests as candle-snuffers blanking out enlightened thinking, and shown in the image to be populating the hills like windmills.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Doizy and Laloux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 15. Reproduced in colour online <http://parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/famille-des-eteignoirs-iff-3#infos-principales> (last accessed 2 November 2019).

Ibels' fully-flowered ideas in 1906, that characterised priests as prolific and ubiquitous as the spread of a contagion, were also heir to those of the philosophe D'Holbach in his *Contagion sacrée ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition*.<sup>76</sup> In his treatise, D'Holbach had declared religion "une ligue formée par quelques imposteurs contre la liberté, le Bonheur et le repos du genre humain". In depicting the ministers of the Catholic Church as carrion birds attacking the Republic — the embodiment and protector of the revolutionary 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' — Ibels was continuing the Holbachian tradition.<sup>77</sup> His tiptoeing, smiling conspirator of 'La Situation' was a Holbachian 'imposter'. The claustrophobia of Ibels' densely-packed image of Jesuits was an illustration for a novel and as such less ephemeral than a newspaper print. This goes some way to explain why Ibels' illustrations in both Zola's *La Terre* and Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch* are, for the most part, more substantive in terms of figuration and other content and use more careful shading. The book reader has more time to pause, linger, revisit and reflect on the meaning of the image being viewed. Exceptions proved the rule. Ibels' sexualized trinity from *Sébastien Roch* were devoid of shading, mere empty vessels, as he did not want to give a depth and reality to the concept unlike the solidity he imparted to the threat he saw posed by the Jesuits.

#### Clerical leaders: from the general to the particular

A development seen in the representation of priests in Dreyfusard visual satire was the move from the general to the particular. Where this was to evolve into a very specific form of anticlerical attack in the art was in targeting named individuals like Père Stanislas du Lac and the Dominican friar, Père Didon. These were prominent members of holy orders considered to have been implicated in the debate. In one case that proved popular with anticlericals, that of the Dominican Père Didon, this view was, to some extent at least justified, by his inflammatory intervention at a school-day speech. The Jesuit father Père du Lac providing the other focus for this strand of anticlerical expression was more open to question but benefited from long held antipathy to the Company of Jesus in Europe. Pamphlets with hostile depictions of the face and body of members of the order had been circulating in France long before the Affair.<sup>78</sup> One such pamphlet had referred to the Jesuit

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<sup>76</sup> Tr. Sacred contagion or the natural story of religion.

<sup>77</sup> Tr. Liberty, equality and fraternity.

<sup>78</sup> Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité en France*, p. 31; The Jesuits were banished from France and suppressed in Portugal, Two Sicilies and Spanish Empire by 1767. See Carr, J L 'The Expulsion of the Jesuits from France' in *History Today*, Volume 14 Issue 11 November 1964.

priest as an “esclave et despote, cupide et luxurieux, ennemi de l’ordre social...”<sup>79</sup> Hostile representations like the sixteenth century woodcut image seen below (fig. 38) articulated the fear of the “despised” Jesuit Lucie-Smith suggests were typical of its time.<sup>80</sup>



Fig. 38 Sixteenth century woodcut, Anon

The animalisation of priests was still evident in the mid-nineteenth century as seen in ‘Der blinde Passagier’, a cartoon that appeared in *Leuchtkugeln* or *Flares*, published in 1848 in Munich, at that time the capital of the Kingdom of Bavaria (fig. 39).

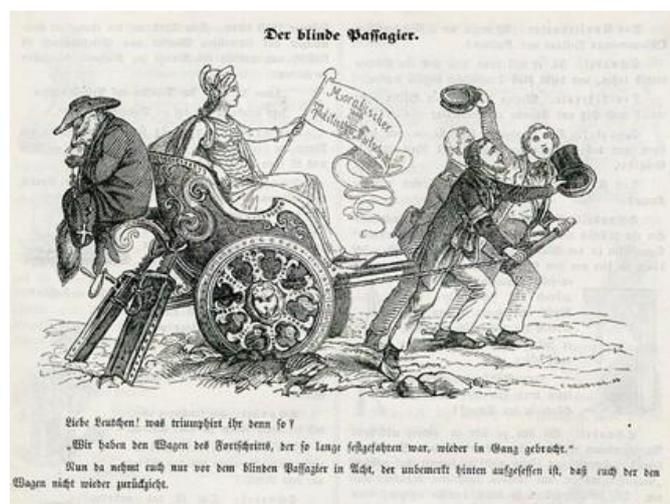


Fig. 39 ‘Der blinde Passagier’, Anon., *Leuchtkugeln* (*Flares*), Munich, 1848<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Tr. Slave and despot, greedy and lustful, enemy of the social order.

<sup>80</sup> Lucie-Smith, *The Art of Caricature*, pp. 32-6.

<sup>81</sup> Tr. The title of the cartoon is ‘The Stowaway’. The flag in the image bears the words: ‘Moralischer und politischer Fortschritt’ or ‘moral and political progress’. The caption underneath expresses anticlerical sentiment that is not dissimilar to that seen in the Dreyfus debate:

On the cusp of the modern era the representation of a backward-facing priest opposing the forward passage of moral and political progress in a satirical journal foreshadowed those ideas in the Dreyfus debate, moving closer to Ibels' pro-Republican, Dreyfusard mode of anticlericalism. The Catholic cleric is characterised not only as a wily and predatory fox but a blind passenger weighing down the wagon of progress. The Dreyfusard antimilitary perception of the attack on 'Progress' is examined through Ibels' work later in this chapter.

In the Dreyfus polemic anticlerical depictions of Catholic clergy including Jesuits represented opposition to an archaic abuse of power resisting liberal change or the counterweight to modernity. As well, they carried other messages. Just as representations of the Jewish Dreyfus could be used in the art to denote the Republic, the anticlerical depiction of a Jesuit leader like Père du Lac represented multiple ideas arcing through du Lac as the individual, the Jesuit order, the Catholic Church, obdurate obscurantism and the 'Ralliement'. Such representations both elevated and reduced the Jesuit. On the one hand, it lifted him from the earlier vulpine or candle-snuffer metaphors in 'Famille des Eteignoirs' to the human. At the same time, it reduced him from the supernatural or alien to the mere man, in keeping with the enhanced understanding of science and anatomy among a better-educated readership.<sup>82</sup> Changes in the modernising state, such as the use of photography, meant readers were more familiar with what individual Church leaders looked like and more likely to value recognisable artistic representations. Animalisation could still be used to create a frisson of fear as in Ibels' bat-like Jesuits in *Sébastien Roch* but the depiction of the priest, whether Jesuit or Dominican, would move largely from the general to the particular and from the archetypal to the personal, as seen below in Pépin's 'E Amen de Conscience' (fig. 40).

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'Liebe Leutchen! Was triumphiert ihr denn so?

"Wir haben den Wagen des Fortschritts, der so lange festgefahren war, wieder in Gang gebracht."

Nun da nehmt euch vor dem blinden Passagier in Acht, der unbemerkt hinten aufgesessen ist, dass euch der den Wagen nicht wieder zurückzieht'.

Tr. 'Dear all! Why are you so triumphant? We got the carriage of progress going again after it had been stuck for so long.

Well, be careful of the stowaway that got on the wagon unnoticed, so he doesn't pull your carriage backwards'.

<sup>82</sup> Literacy levels in France research project, Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina. <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy> (last accessed 18 October 2019).



Fig. 40 'E Amen de Conscience', Pépin, *Le Grelot*, 20 February 1898

Claude Guillaumin, who published under the nom de plume of Pépin, parodied the idea of the Jesuit leader du Lac as the priest in the confessional administering absolution to the military chief of staff, General Boisdeffre. Père du Lac was held by intellectuals to have close links to Dreyfus' prosecutors in the military elite since he had been Rector of the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève also called 'La Rue des Postes', which prepared candidates for the role of officer in the military. 'E Amen de Conscience' was published in *Le Grelot* on 20 February 1898 less than a fortnight after Zola's trial for libel on 7 February 1898 following his publication of 'J'Accuse...!'. Just days before the publication of 'E Amen de Conscience' Ibels had entered the fray with the launch of *Le Sifflet*. Ibels' new journal and Pépin's front cover for *Le Grelot* were part of the wider anticlerical response to the recent intense developments and at this critical juncture can be seen as responses to the questions asked by Zola's defence at his trial in Paris: "Is France still the France of the Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the France which gave the world liberty, and was

supposed to give it justice?”.<sup>83</sup> Or was it now a place where only lip service was paid to these ideals, Zola’s counsel might have added in a further rhetorical question.

The publication date of 20 February 1898 was also the day on which intellectuals founded the Ligue des Droits de l’Homme, that sought to redress the balance in justice for all. The journalist and art historian Grand-Carteret provides a contemporary explanation for the cartoon ‘E Amen de Conscience’ from that same year: “Cette image est destinée à montrer sous une forme précise, de façon à faire impression sur les masses, l’ influence exercée par l’Eglise sur la politique actuelle et notamment dans l’affaire Dreyfus”.<sup>84</sup> The cartoon depicts General Boisdeffre kneeling and receiving absolution for sin from du Lac.<sup>85</sup> Boisdeffre is attended by anti-Dreyfusard journalists Drumont on the left and Rochefort on the right who are reading from their prayer books, both characterised as devotees and sentinels to the Church and chief-of-staff. They are instantly recognisable from their respective trademark physical traits which have become cyphers for what they represent.<sup>86</sup>

In their vertical rigidity, emphasised by the upward coiffure of Rochefort — obligatory in all cartoons to be recognisably him — the two appear to support the Church literally since they resemble pillars and appear to be part of its physical structure, again a reference to their being integral to the plot against Dreyfus and the Republic. The cartoon is saying that the sins and plots of the Church and upper echelons of the military have been propped up by Drumont and Rochefort through their newspaper rants, which included vituperatively antisemitic images. In the positioning of du Lac and Boisdeffre the one opposite the other on the same compositional plane, ‘E Amen de Conscience’ is employing an element of what this study terms ‘conflation’ in the visual narrative. It offers an equivalence in terms of the guilt of Church leader Père du Lac and the military leader, Boisdeffre, representing them as on a par and more or less interchangeable. The use, prevalence and forms of ‘conflation’ including in Ibels’ anticlerical art are examined later in this chapter.

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<sup>83</sup> <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/.premium-1898-emile-zola-is-convicted-of-libel-1.5407760> (last accessed 15 August 2019).

<sup>84</sup> Tr. This image is aimed at showing in a precise form, so as to make an impression on the masses, the influence exerted by the Church on current politics and particularly in the Dreyfus Affair; Grand-Carteret, *L’affaire Dreyfus et l’image*, p. 112.

<sup>85</sup> Boisdeffre presided over Dreyfus’ court-martial but retired from public life after it became known documents he had claimed proved Dreyfus’ guilt during Zola’s trial were a forgery.

<sup>86</sup> Black, Max (1970) ‘How do pictures represent?’ in Mandelbaum, Maurice (ed) *Art, Perception and Reality*, Baltimore, p. 91.

'E Amen de Conscience' and its ironic caption also mocked the rite of the confessional. The negative nature of the confessional was an idea invoked by Ibels too. In *Sébastien Roch*, the boy's terror of the confessional is shared with the reader. Mirbeau drives this idea home by equating the act of it in Sébastien's mind with the worst of crimes. "The solemn, shadowy apparatus surrounding this obligatory act, the silence, the darkness out of which emerged a whispered voice terrified him. In that darkness he felt he was witness, accomplice to some unknown enormity, a murder perhaps".<sup>87</sup> Mirbeau, like Ibels in his gloomy, crowded illustration of ubiquitous Jesuits, adds multiple layers to this anticlerical notion of malevolent obscurity in the literal and metaphysical sense. These views were part of wider societal concerns about the confessional as a conduit for the priest to insinuate himself between spouses enabling his interference in marital life.<sup>88</sup>

Greater social mobility, an element of Bruce's secularisation paradigm, was a part of this change.<sup>89</sup> Unlike their forefathers, nineteenth century men in 'la France profonde' did not willingly submit to the authority of a curé who had risen to his position from their own peasant ranks.<sup>90</sup> This rejection of deference can be taken further still in Gibson's argument that Republican male culture promoted independence of spirit and the refusal to submit to the authority of another man.<sup>91</sup> Understanding this contemporary mindset permits a further teasing out of embedded messages within 'E Amen de Conscience'. The diminution of the lofty military man in submitting to another man, the priest, anathema to the Republican sense of self, lent more ridicule and one-upmanship to Pépin's argument. The right to think freely without control, dogma or ritual, and the right to satirise openly the Catholic religion and its proponents are all part of 'E Amen de Conscience's' message. The title also raised the prospect that the protagonists had no conscience, that their sins against Dreyfus could all too easily be shrugged off by such liturgical rites. The cartoon jeers at ideas that are reverential and dear to its opponents, commandeering the confessional as Ibels and Anquetin appropriated the Crucifix.

Antipathetic ideas about the Jesuit as seen in 'E Amen de Conscience' and Ibels' illustrations in *Sébastien Roch* had evolved from liberal, literary currents of thought which

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<sup>87</sup> Mirbeau, Octave (2000) *Sébastien Roch*, Cambridge. p. 87.

<sup>88</sup> Zeldin, *Conflicts*, p. 49.

<sup>89</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 27

<sup>90</sup> Gibson, 'Why Republicans and Catholics Couldn't Stand Each Other', p. 112.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

had gained traction in the mid-century. A precursor to Dreyfusard anti-Jesuit notions was Victor Hugo's warning to Parliament that the Jesuits aspired to take France backwards to the even more repressive Catholic mores of Spain's past.<sup>92</sup> Such thinking finds an echo in *Lettre à la France* in which Zola cautioned the nation that it had returned "to that past of intolerance and of theocracy".<sup>93</sup> At the height of the polemic, Ibels articulated his outrage at the Jesuit's role in fomenting intolerance in *Allons-Y!*, a book he dedicated to Zola. The section on 'Le Goupillon' or 'The Cassock' opens with the words: "les jésuites jouèrent là leur dernière et suprême partie, ils employèrent tous les moyens".<sup>94</sup> While Pépin was prepared to mock faith and its rituals it is clear from Ibels' text that it is not the Jesuits' religion that he is criticising. It notes the people should rid themselves of the Jesuits "non pas à cause de leur croyance, respectable comme toutes les croyances, mais parce qu'ils on été les **seuls auteurs du désordre**, en incitant les citoyens **à la haine**."<sup>95</sup> Ibels used a heavy typeface to reinforce this culpability of the Jesuits listing the factions being drawn into the 'complot' or conspiracy. These include the "ambitious", "rogues", "idiots", "people who rallied to causes", "anti-Semites" and "nationalists".<sup>96</sup> Ibels was also in step with Mirbeau whose schoolboy days can be seen from Gemie's analysis to have seeded elements of the anticlericalism evident in his Dreyfusardism and narrative in the semi-autobiographical *Sébastien Roch*.<sup>97</sup> The confluence of anticlerical thinking of Ibels, Mirbeau and Zola about a draconian clericalism, including in an educational setting against a background of real-life scandals, was also a theme of Zola's *Vérité*. The influence of abuse scandals on Ibels' anticlerical illustrations is examined further at the end of the chapter.

#### Intellectual connectivity of ideas about Church and clergy

In their views about the political machinations of the Church and military Ibels, Pépin and Zola were plugged into a network work of activists that embraced intellectuals who were journalists, writers, editors, artists, publishers, academics, politicians and lawyers. Ibels recorded this camaraderie and aligned thinking by dedicating meaningful pieces of art

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<sup>92</sup> Intervention of Victor Hugo at the legislative Assembly, 15 January 1850; Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, pp. 140-2; Hayward, *Fragmented France*, p. 141.

<sup>93</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>94</sup> Tr. The Jesuits play there their last and greatest role, they employ all the means (at their disposal).

<sup>95</sup> Tr. not for their faith, which is respectable like all faiths, but because they have been the sole authors of the disorder, in inciting citizens to hatred; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 44.,.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Gemie, Sharif, 'Octave Mirbeau and the Changing Nature of Right-Wing Political Culture: France, 1870–1914' *International Review of Social History*, vol. 43, no. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 115-6.

works to these ‘kindred spirits’ and fellow thinkers. His editor at *Le Siècle* was on record as having stated the Jesuits were the opponents of liberty and, indeed, humanity. Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, the vice-president of the Senate who had secured the Rennes retrial and to whom Ibels posthumously dedicated a portrait of Dreyfus and his children, recorded his views of Jesuits in his *Souvenirs inédits* in 1880. In language reminiscent of Ibels’ observations in *Allons-Y!* the parliamentarian wrote that the whole of France was “habilement agitée par eux... [Ils] semèrent le trouble dans le communes, dans les familles, dans les paroisses, dans les départements... On dirait que la fin d’un monde approche. De tous cotés, les émissaires mystérieux se présentent pour prêcher à huis clos la résistance et la révolte ...”.<sup>98</sup> In ‘Le Goupillon’ section of *Allons-Y!* Ibels repeatedly used Scheurer-Kestner’s word ‘agitation’ in charging the Jesuits: “...leur a suffi pour créer la foyer d’agitation, sinon l’agitation qu’ils rêvaient”.<sup>99</sup> Joseph Reinach, who received a dedicated drawing in 1899 from Ibels that spoke of his admiration, similarly saw the order “d’agir, le plus souvent, sans se montrer... depuis quatre siècles surtout depuis la fin de l’ancien Régime on la sent, si je puis dire; on ne la voit pas”.<sup>100</sup>

Reinach objected to what he saw as the Jesuits’ insidious influence in the realm of politics and within the fabric of French society through teaching those who later entered the liberal professions, industry and commerce.<sup>101</sup> By the time of *Sébastien Roch*’s publication in 1906, Jesuit influence had been excised from the state schoolroom. In illustrating Mirbeau’s anti-Jesuit story of abuse in the schoolroom, Ibels gave pictorial life to enduring notions of control, as well as depravity and sadism. Jesuits were believed by some to be capable of inventing instruments of torture to apply to the genitalia of recalcitrant pupils.<sup>102</sup> The idea of abusive power is a pivotal one in Mirbeau’s novel. Before the young Sébastien is despatched to the Jesuit school where he will be abused his “spiteful” Aunt Rosalie tells the boy’s father “the priest will tell you that the Jesuits are a great power, he’ll tell you that they

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<sup>98</sup> Tr. ...skilfully agitated by them.... They sowed trouble in the Communes, in families, in the parishes, in the departments. One would say that the end of a world is approaching.... On every side, their mysterious emissaries present themselves to preach resistance and revolt behind closed doors. Lalouette, *La République Anticléricale*, p. 45.

<sup>99</sup> Tr. sufficed to create the focus of their agitation, if not the agitation of which they dreamed; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 44.

<sup>100</sup> Tr. Acting, most often, without showing themselves ... for the last four centuries, above all since the end of the ancien Régime, one senses (or smells) them, if I may say; but you do not see them; Kedward, *The Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 84-5

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, p. 1032.

even tell the Pope what to do...".<sup>103</sup> This idea of abusive Jesuit power, represented in Ibels' illustration of the priest pulling back the bedclothes to expose the young boy in bed in the 1906 edition of *Sébastien Roch* is examined further later in this chapter.

The extent to which ideas were the fruit of shared activism within the Intellectual fraternity is shown by the special copy of *Allons-Y ! Histoire Contemporaine Racontée & Dessinée (1re partie)*! Ibels had printed and bound for Zola's lawyer, Fernand Labori. Labori would also represent Captain Dreyfus at his retrial in Rennes in August 1899. The copy for Labori has survived and was recently being offered for sale by a bookseller in California. According to the bookseller it comprises a half gilt-ruled burgundy morocco over marbled paper covered boards, with gold lettering and tooling on the spine. It was evidently a gift given as a mark of esteem, to one with similar values. Ibels inscribed the book to Labori as seen below (fig. 41). He signed himself as an admirer of Labori's, writing: "Pour Fernand Labori, qui mit sa vibrante et chaleureuse éloquence au service de la plus grande cause du siècle. Son admirateur. H. G. Ibels".<sup>104</sup> As with the gifted drawing to Joseph Reinach, the dedication is signed 'un admirateur'. In all these gifts Ibels uses the story of Dreyfus to bind himself in the fellowship of ideals and values with esteemed combatants in the shared struggle. This sense of fellowship is so strong and vital as to be an identity in and of itself.

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<sup>103</sup> Mirbeau, (2000) *Sébastien Roch*, p. 21.

<sup>104</sup> Tr. For Fernand Labori, for his vibrant and warm eloquence put to the service of the greatest cause of the century. His admirer. H. G. Ibels.

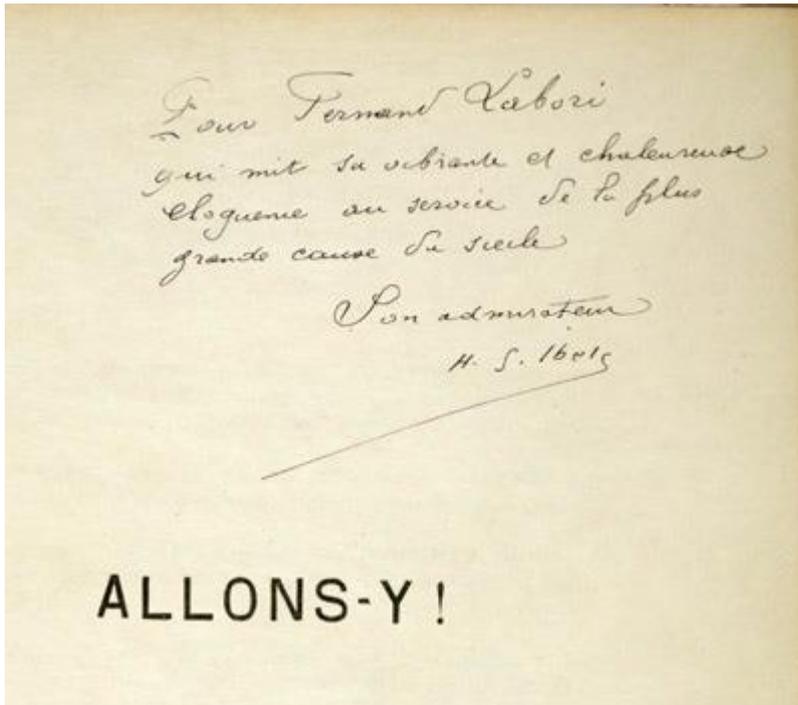


Fig. 41. Hand-written dedication to Fernand Labori in specially-printed copy of *Allons-Y!*

Viewed together a connectivity of ideas can be seen arcing between Ibels, Zola, Scheurer-Kestner, Pépin and *Le Siècle*'s editor Yves Guyot. This demonstrates the anticlerical ideas in Ibels' cartoons were not isolated artistry but the product of aligned thinking across 'intellectual' networks in the liberal press and among political allies. Robert Tombs sees the Dreyfus debate and its aftermath as the last triumph of the Revolution. Tombs calls these shared intellectual suspicions about a Church or Jesuit plot a 'paranoia', part of the zeitgeist that subscribed to a belief in conspiracies by malevolent forces.<sup>105</sup> Tombs argues that in this debate of conflicting but unfounded fears Jesuits and anti-Dreyfusards were on the one side and Dreyfusards, Protestants like Scheurer-Kestner, Jews and Freemasons on the other.<sup>106</sup> But for Zola and those who thought like him, the antisemitism that reverberated through the military's court-martial and the Catholic press' treatment of Dreyfus, and Jews generally, exemplified the military-backed clerical agency at work. This idea of a partnership in the attack on Dreyfus and the Republic by the Church and military is now explored further through the cartoons by Ibels and others using the bespoke term, 'conflation'.

<sup>105</sup> Tombs, Robert (1996) *France 1814-1914*, Harlow, pp. 456-62.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

## Conflation of ideas about Church and the military elite

The term 'conflation' is used in this study to mean the twinning, pairing or merging of ideas to suggest an alliance or equivalence in guilt in the conspiracy anticlericals saw as eroding the values of the Republic to place it in peril. It can also be explained as a visual pun where there are two parts in an image, which are represented as being conjoined, equal or interchangeable. Sometimes the idea of 'conflating' Church and military could be articulated obliquely with inanimate objects alone. This was the case in Raoul Barre's cartoon for the fifth issue of *Le Sifflet* depicting a confection of bishop mitres and military kepis, swords and drums weighing down the lid on the allegorical 'well of truth'.<sup>107</sup> At other times the device used the cartoon's figuration. Couturier used this visual pun to draw attention to the interlinkage of the Church and military in one of his series of eighteen postcards entitled '*Histoire d'un crime*', as seen below (fig. 42).



Fig. 42 No. 11, '*Histoire d'un crime*', Couturier, 1899

The purpose of the image was to use humour to denounce the two parties working together against the Republic. Couturier signals the collusion of Church and military by representing the Jesuit leader Père du Lac and the officer who first arrested Dreyfus, du Paty de Clam, as literally and physically interlinked as they embrace and kiss. Couturier's title *Histoire d'un crime* was ambiguous in the sense that it was only from reading the images and their integral text, in a narrative that followed the logic of a cartoon strip, that it became clear it

<sup>107</sup> 'La Vérité Quand Même!', Raoul Barré, *Le Sifflet*, 17 March 1898.

was not Dreyfus who was the criminal, but the corrupt assemblage of Church, military elite and the real villain, Esterhazy. This image includes Esterhazy, characterised as the gambler he was, frittering away a stack of money from his ill-gotten gains of selling military secrets at the gaming-table. Characterising Esterhazy in this way reversed the antisemitic smear about gold, as anticlerical visual satire sought to do during the crisis.

Modern political cartoon, as Couturier's postcard above and Ibels' 'La Semeuse' and 'La Situation' all are, used relatively simple forms to convey its message. It existed not for aesthetic or monetary value but almost exclusively to put over its political argument, often in the form of a joke. As a result, it is a visual art form saturated with meaning, in which no part of the image is wasted, and nothing is left out or to chance. In Couturier's drawing du Lac's known associations with officers through the military training academy where cadets were prepared for the elite corps and his putative involvement in the corrupt conviction of Dreyfus is given a further twist through sexual innuendo. The cartoon intentionally breaks taboos about masculine sexuality as well as making the more shocking accusation about a Catholic priest's sworn celibacy. Couturier's depiction of the priest and military man kissing on the mouth, the pert round backside of an effeminized du Paty de Clam and the phallic tilt of the pommel of his sword are all intended to hint at sexual interplay and sordid collusion in the Affair. The anticlerical representation also drew on widely held beliefs about male homosexuality in nineteenth century France. As Berrong found, these were for the most part hostile linking homosexuality with criminality, physical degeneracy and the dissolution of social order.<sup>108</sup> In characterising the French officer as effeminate, or a "fairy" to use Cleminson's taxonomy, Couturier was mocking the much-vaunted virility of officers.<sup>109</sup> For traditionalist anti-Dreyfusards, and as Freud had theorised in his *Interpretation of Dreams*, in the same year Couturier's postcard was printed, the military caste was the very epitome of French manliness.<sup>110</sup> Such ideals were prized at a time when birth rates were falling despite a ban on abortion in France and questions were being asked about male sterility even as the new German empire was surging ahead. The contemporary sociologist René Gonnard blamed lack of faith, middle class decadence and urban living. Gonnard was among those worrying as Blom suggests that France was becoming "impotent, unmanly

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<sup>108</sup> Berrong, Richard M., 'Portraying Male Same-Sex Desire in Nineteenth-Century French Literature: Pierre Loti's "Aziyadé"', *College Literature*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Fall, 1998), pp. 91-2.

<sup>109</sup> Cleminson R, 'The Significance of the 'Fairy' for the Cultural Archaeology of Same-Sex Male Desire in Spain, 1850-1930' in *Sexualities*, 2004;7(4), p. 414.

<sup>110</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 14.

and weak”.<sup>111</sup> Courturier sought to counter and corrode the notion that the military officer was beyond reproach as an idealised expression of manhood.

On a personal level, the suggestion of an illicit relationship between a Church leader and an officer was calculated to stigmatise du Lac and du Paty personally for their part in the controversy. At the same time the visual pun reinforces the idea that Republican society condemned and derided the repugnant relationship between Church and military. The viewer is invited to infer that both of these phenomena are part of the ‘history of a crime’ as in the title of the cartoon series. As postcards these images needed to be commercially viable in their telling of the Dreyfusard narrative; the drawings needed to use wit and the supplementary text to be informative to appeal to a potential buyer. In this the cards were successful since both the tinted and black-and-white editions quickly sold out.<sup>112</sup> The device of conflation, used repeatedly by anticlerical artists to denote the idea of a forbidden alliance between Church and military, was used twice in separate front covers in the same month by *Le Père peinard*, a journal Ibels contributed to. Another Dreyfusard artist, F G Keronan, represented the Church and military as literally conjoined by a cummerbund, when he used the visual device in ‘Les Nouveaux Frères Siamois’ seen below (fig. 43).



Fig. 43 ‘Les Nouveaux Frères Siamois’, Keronan, *Le Père peinard*, No 106, 30 October 1898

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>112</sup> Kleeblatt, ‘Plates’, p. 205.

As Kleeblatt suggests, the cartoon message, using an absurd visual pun, was to demonstrate the clergy and military were united in body and spirit.<sup>113</sup> To achieve that, the attributes of each man has been inverted. The medal-wearing priest raises a sabre above his head, so it is parallel with the shining halo ironically placed above the officer's head. The priest also has a second weapon hidden behind his back to emphasize his duplicity. For his part, the officer is armed with a priest's monstrance, and is wearing a crucifix and rosary. *Le Père peïnard* published Keronan's cartoon two months after General Boisdeffre had resigned on the same day as Henry's suicide following his confession for forging evidence of Dreyfus' supposed guilt. The cartoon has mercilessly lampooned the General and his clerical connections as Pépin had six months previously in *Le Grélot*, but matters had moved on. In a period of intense and fluid development, the real spy Esterhazy had fled to England twenty-four hours after Boisdeffre's resignation. In the wake of developments and the series of revelations the journal's editors clearly felt emboldened to carry an even more brazen critique of the Church and military leadership by representing Boisdeffre and du Lac in a sexual relationship.

At other times in the visual satire, the device of conflation was used more subtly. Part of the reason for this must have been the anticlerical satirist searching for new ways to be offensive and score points. Earlier in the same month that *Le Père peïnard* went to press with 'Les Nouveau Frères Siamoïis' the journal published another cartoon, 'Filles à Soldats' (fig. 44) as shown below. It managed to conflate the Church and army very effectively by ridiculing two 'confrères'<sup>114</sup> who both produced work for the anti-Dreyfusard, pro-military, pro-Church periodical *Psst...!*<sup>115</sup> In doing so, the rival artists themselves became the subject-matter for the anticlerical crayon.

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<sup>113</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 196.

<sup>114</sup> Tr. colleagues

<sup>115</sup> Tr. Soldiers' Girls



Fig. 44 'Filles à Soldats', Maximilien Luce, *Le Père peinard*. No 102, 2 October 1898

The artist, Maximilien Luce, used the caption to dedicate the insulting image to Forain and his Corporal Poiré (Caran D'Ache's real name). Luce has incorporated the name of the journal *Psst...!* within the narrative of the image to signal what he thought of it. 'Psst' is written above the entrance to what is clearly a brothel and also on the lamp in the left of the image so there is no mistaking where the scene is. This jeering combination of art and text indicated in no uncertain terms the low regard in which Luce and his fellow Dreyfusards held their rivals' oeuvre. Misappropriating the name of the anti-Dreyfusard journal within the image was an attempt to tease and degrade the title. Luce piled metaphor on metaphor to fit this insulting narrative, depicting Caran D'Ache and Forain as whores who travel in the army's train. They are represented with ruffled clothing, Forain in an unbuttoned blouse with petticoats hitched high to show his calves. The anticlerical artist is using the notion of cross-dressing to accuse Forain and Caran D'Ache of easy virtue in prostituting their talents to the institutions of Church and army. It is also another stab at military manliness despite the masculine depiction of the two artists, of mocking the pair for being effeminate and their client officers for preferring men to women.

As well as smearing the two men and the army, the image played to stereotypical Republican constructs of manliness in the same way Pépin's 'E Amen de Conscience' taunted General Boisdeffre for submitting to another man, and *Histoire d'un crime* ridiculed du Lac and du Paty for loving another man. The masculine physique of the two in contrast to their dishevelled frocks has the effect of making the Dreyfusard jibe about Caran D'Ache and Forain even funnier yet it, too, speaks to prevailing concerns about male virility. The cartoon has a further conflation of Church and military in the vignette it contains of a scene taking place through the doorway on the right within the image; the vignette has the same approach as *Histoire d'un crime*. An officer and priest are seen to be holding each other's arms as they lean across the table and gaze into each other's eyes. There are two possible ways of viewing this image which the artist may have intended to be deliberately ambiguous: either the two 'filles à soldats' have served their purpose or are waiting to; or they are superfluous to need because the Church and military are already holding hands, with legs and cassock touching and merged in the gloom under the table. Both Luce and Couturier protest what they saw as the immoral and hidden alliance of Church and military by showing it as reprehensibly and secretly sexual.

#### Ibels and conflation of Church and military

The visual device of 'conflation' also took in metonyms as apparent in the pared-down content in Ibels' '—Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?'. Using the tripartite method, a comparison between this cartoon and Ibels' illustration 'La Chanson du Gas' for *Le Père peinarde* five years earlier as seen below (fig. 45) allows us to see how the artist's ideas mature from anti-capitalist to anticlerical thinking within the context of the anti-Jewish dispute. An examination of 'Une mesure RADICALE' by Ibels (fig. 46) and a humorous photomontage (fig. 49) further below will offer more analysis around notions of Dreyfusard anticlerical antimilitarism using the device of 'conflation'.

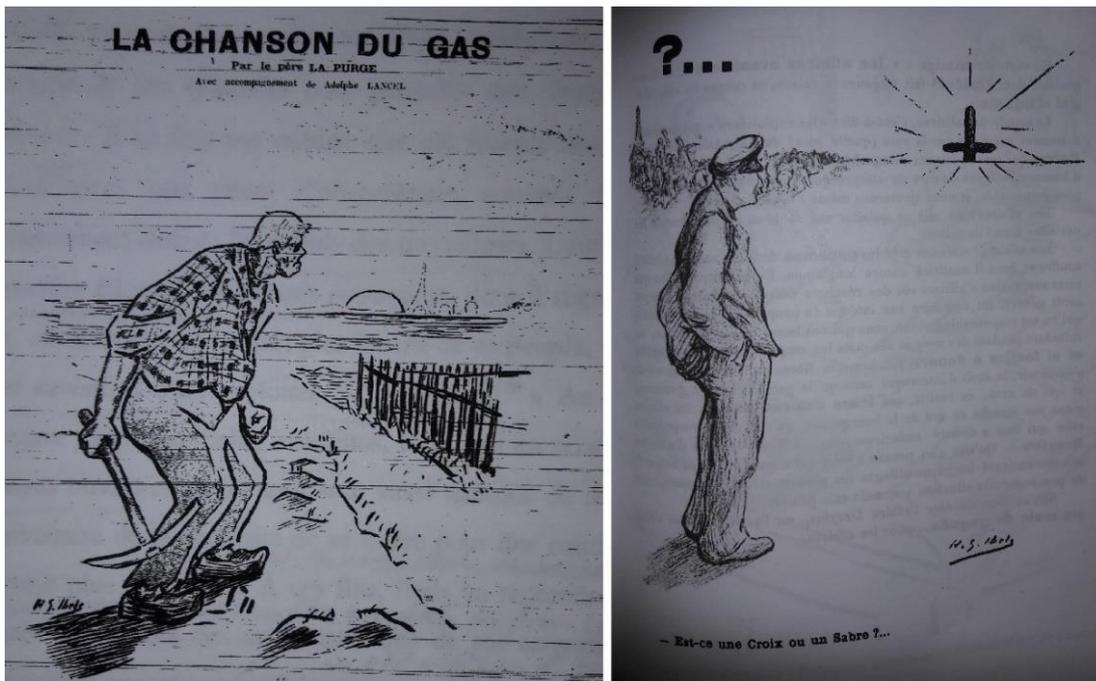


Fig. 45 (Left) 'La Chanson du Gas', Ibels, *Le Père peinard*, No 201, 22 January 1893 ; (right) '—Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 10 March 1898

### *First reading*

The cartoon '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' can be split diagonally into two halves of which the lower right half is empty space. The drawing follows classical composition protocols in that it is dissected at the two-thirds mark cross the vertical plane. The horizontal line is unadorned in the right-hand section. In the left-hand section, an amorphous mass of figuration is shown crawling on all fours. These figures are on their hands and knees moving at a slight diagonal towards a cruciform structure emerging from behind the horizontal line. The lower half of the cruciform shape is unseen. The cruciform has lines emanating from all around it. Two of the diminutive figures are standing and one in a tall hat with an upraised arm is pointing into the mass of figures. To the far left of these figures is a tower and above them, hovering in the air, Ibels has placed a large black question mark followed by an ellipsis. In the foreground is a solitary figure. This lone male figure is wearing a cap and ruffled clothing. He stands with his hands in his pockets, contemplating the cruciform shape.

### *Second reading*

The composition is classical, but the content is not. As with other Ibels cartoons for *Le Sifflet* the spartan content also no doubt reflected his interest in the Japanese simplicity of

form. O'Toole reports Ibels was counselled by Gaugin: "Examiner les Japonais" in 1889 and encouraged in "adopting the oriental adoration of pure line".<sup>116</sup> However, the main purpose of this image is not to be aesthetically pleasing but to deliver an unequivocal political message, even while the joke at the heart of the image revolves around the ambiguity of what the part-concealed cruciform shape represents. The image is dissected vertically at the two thirds mark by a line representing the horizon. Nothing lies between the foreground figure and the cruciform shape. A vector runs diagonally across the image from the man's shadow through his feet to the giant Cross on the horizon which may, in fact, be a sword. This vector inexorably connects the man with the Cross-Sword. There is nothing between it and the figure. The question of whether the Cross is a Cross or a sword is raised by the caption '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' That this is the 'raison-d'être' of the cartoon is further emphasized by the heavy black question mark suspended in the air above the crowd crawling towards the horizon. Both 'Croix' and 'Sabre' are capitalised in the caption to emphasize these metonyms for Church and Military. The lines around the Cross-Sword draw attention to it and signify the magnetic-like force radiating from it that replaces rays of light from the sun which would have represented enlightenment.

The horizon echoes Ibels' use of it in 'La Semeuse' for *Les Légendes du Siècle*. The message of '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' is to raise the alarm about the vanishing of the Enlightenment being imminently replaced by religiosity and obscurantism. The mass of people moving on all fours towards the Cross-Sword represent renewed obedience to the Church. These subjugated masses are being shepherded by one or two standing figures one of whom appears to be an armed priest in a cassock pointing a pistol at the crowds. This mob of abased supplicants are in Paris, as represented by and contrasted with the metonymic Eiffel Tower symbolising the modernising capital. Indeed, it is the only feature and all that is used to represent modern Paris. Society's move towards religiosity is seen by the crowd represented dwarfed and in thrall to the Cross-Sword. The height of the Cross-Sword is exactly the same as the Eiffel Tower, but the former is more robust-looking and the crowds are moving away from modernity into the clerical orbit.

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<sup>116</sup> O'Toole, 'Henri-Gabriel Ibels', p. 31.

The question the cartoon asks appears to come from the man in the foreground. His cap and slightly rumpled jerkin identify him as a worker, a member of the lower order. It was a favourite technique, employed a number of times by Ibels, to ignore convention and represent a figure in the foreground with their back to the viewer of the image. Ibels also used this perspective in his illustration for 'La Chanson du Gas' where the worker this time is in clogs, gripping a pickaxe. But whereas the fellow in clogs in 'La Chanson du Gas' has balled fists and glares towards the setting sun against the backdrop of the Eiffel Tower the worker in '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' is contemplating the Cross-Sword. In 'La Chanson du Gas' the Eiffel tower and other high buildings are sketched with faint lines to give this 'gai Paris' seen in the distance the ephemeral, unattainable quality of a mirage. The overriding statement of 'La Chanson du Gas' is a socialist one. It highlights the abuse of the worker so far removed from the elegant and frivolous Parisian scene of La Belle Époque in which the rich are poised to frolic as dusk falls, while labourers are excluded from such frippery and can only watch in bitterness and frustration from afar.

'La Chanson du Gas', produced in 1893, differs markedly from the anticlerical drawings in *Le Sifflet* and *Allons-Y!* produced by Ibels during the Dreyfus Affair. In the five years separating 'La Chanson du Gas' and '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre ?...' Ibels' perspective of victim and aggressor had changed. They have been recast in a fiercely anticlerical hue following Zola's intervention. By 1898 the Church and military are seen as an indistinguishable pairing characterised by Ibels as the abusers of society rather than the socialist critique of capitalism articulated by 'La Chanson du Gas' pre-Dreyfus. By March 1898 with '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre ?...' the socialist argument has been reoriented to expose and oppose the growing power of the Church and its perceived military backers, with the two entities represented as conflated.

By March 1898 the future, as Ibels saw it, had, therefore, changed. The Roman alphabet is read from left to right. Cartoon strips are thus read from left to right. Artists typically represent the past in the left and the future in the right of the frame or the strip. 'La Chanson du Gas' has the modern architectural structures in the dominant top right quadrant of the image indicating the future. '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' the military Cross has replaced the Eiffel Tower in the dominant top right quadrant. Ibels has 'anticlericalised' the concept of an outsider gazing into what is now an altered future, one in which the Frenchman is exploited and threatened not by a pampered Bourgeoisie but a militant

Church. At the start of the year, Zola had revealed the rot at the heart of the Republican leadership in 'J'Accuse...!'. Here is Ibels, doing the same, at the zenith of the Dreyfus furore, warning of a dystopian future in which modern Paris, symbolised by the Eiffel Tower, has been shunted into the left background quadrant, signalling it is in the past. The right background quadrant is empty save for the oversized Cross-Sword and nothing lies before it and indicating the militant Cross can move into that space and occupy it if its progress continues unchecked.

What the later image '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' does have in common with the earlier 'La Chanson du Gas' for *Le Père peinard* is that the dominant figure in the foreground in both is seen in profile so he can direct his gaze at the horizon while still allowing the viewer of the image to see facial expression. This provides important direction to the narrative. In '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' the common man has ceased to be a resentful downtrodden worker. His back is no longer bowed. He has metamorphosed into an older, more detached observer. The worker is not yet a victim and seems to be contemplating the militant Cross, using his power of reason for the question being asked by the cartoon. The figure is set back from the Cross-Sword but the vector between him and it signifies their relationship with the possibility the connection will become irresistible in the future. He could still be drawn into its reaches.

### *Myth*

Zola's letter pamphlets are hymns to the Republic and the threat it faces. These qualities are echoed in the pro-Republican tenor of the texts accompanying Ibels' anticlerical cartoons in *Allons-Y!* which provide further clues with which to understand the ideas in the cartoon. In the accompanying text for '— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...' Ibels argues that the population has been indifferent to the spectacle of the "violation of Rights so dearly acquired from various revolutions" forcefully recalling Zola's rebuke in *Lettre à la jeunesse* that contemporary freedoms had come at a price.<sup>117</sup> Ibels has a warning for those who are seeking to cause chaos, which he links explicitly with Zola's predicament following his public support for Dreyfus. "... il ne faut pas confondre le peuple avec les deux ou trois cents voyous embauchés dans l'armée de policiers, hurla: 'Mort à Zola'".<sup>118</sup> This tone is

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<sup>117</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 9.

<sup>118</sup> Tr. you must not confound the people with the two or three hundred hooligans recruited for three francs a head, around the Palace of Justice, who insulated by an army of policemen, shout: 'Death to Zola'.

struck through the Nabi journalist's liberal use of words and phrases such as 'justice' and 'Rights'. At the same time antonymic words herald the threat to the Republic, including: 'émeut'; 'saignée'; 'hurle'; 'le justice et le droit violés'; '(les) terribles représailles'.<sup>119</sup> As Zola charged in his *lettre* to France so Ibels calls out the putative clerical plot underpinned by the prospect of violence in "les menées cléricales et dictatoriales".<sup>120</sup>

Another striking idea in common is the perception of France being sick. Ibels saw the Republic as suffering an inherent sickness just as Zola had already told readers in *Lettre à la France* that in the actions of 'fanatics' and 'vagabonds' he saw "the most alarming symptoms". It is, perhaps, a step too far to think of Zola speaking of the press suffering mental illness but he certainly accused journalists in the anti-Dreyfusard press of having lost their 'mental balance' months before Ibels published his views on the illness afflicting society later in 1898.<sup>121</sup> The idea of societal sickness, repeated by Ibels in 1898, was an idea already being touted by Zola to his readers, who almost certainly included Ibels, in *La Débâcle* published six years before, as it had been to his anticlerical forebear, the philosophe D'Holbach. In *La Débâcle*, a novel that decries the depravity and waste of warfare, the mob's madness is described as being like an infection.<sup>122</sup> This notion of infection tips over into a connection with falsehood and 'faith': "And so the illusion began again in the crisis atmosphere of a disease at its climax, made up of the lies of some and the starry-eyed faith of others".<sup>123</sup> D'Holbach characterises religion as a 'contagion' in his *Contagion sacrée ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition*, declaring it was "une ligue formée par quelques imposteurs contre la liberté, le Bonheur et le repos du genre humain".<sup>124</sup> In depicting the ministers of the Catholic Church as carrion attacking the Republic, Ibels was continuing the Holbachian tradition, as did his clerical conspirator in 'La Situation' who could be a Holbachian 'imposter'.

Both Zola and Ibels fear the dual threat of a religious and militarised society using the metonymy of the Sword to symbolise France's army elite. In *Lettre à la France*, Zola issued the challenge: "And do you know where else you walk, France? You go to Rome, you return

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<sup>119</sup> Tr. riots; bled; screamed; violated rights and law; terrible reprisals; Ibels, *Allons-Y!* p. 56.

<sup>120</sup> Tr. clerical and dictatorial actions. Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid; Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 13 ; Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> Zola, Emile (1976) *The Debacle*, p. 473.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> D'Holbach, Paul Henri Thiry (1770) *Le Contagion sacrée ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition*, London, p. 113.

to...theocracy” linking this accusation with his view that the people craved the return of a military rule, which he described as latent Boulangism: “Was it not rather the Sword that you felt the sudden need of extolling?”<sup>125</sup> The idea of light in ‘— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...’ also recalls the entreaty of the letter-pamphlets as Zola pitted the need for enlightenment against blind passion. In one passage of *Lettre à la France* Zola remonstrates with the people for “refus(ing) the light with violence”.<sup>126</sup> Ibels’ drawing of a Cross-Sword which is replacing the sun on the horizon commanding an adulatory mob is very close to this idea. Ibels’ ‘— Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...’ offers the spectacle of a demeaning devotion in which people crawl towards the military Cross under the surveillance of an armed priest. As with Ibels, this notion of blurring and uniting religious fervour with the sword is a repeated refrain in Zola’s work. In *La Débâcle*, one of the two principal characters, the foot soldier, Maurice, acknowledges “[i]t was now a matter of extermination between these insurgents dying for their vision and this army in a white heat of reactionary passion”.<sup>127</sup>

Both Ibels and Zola saw the anti-Jewish furore as a sickness that had its root cause in the revival of a dangerous religiosity. They both describe scenes of the mob in a society suffering this malady of the Dreyfus controversy in which public opinion is being manipulated by a military-backed Church. Enlightenment values are in danger of being blotted out. The image purports to be asking a question but it is really giving an answer in issuing a warning that this Church is on the offensive and prepared to use violence to achieve its ambitions. Paris may be achieving feats of technical brilliance in the engineering of the Eiffel Tower yet the people there are now enslaved by this mixture of repression, violence and religiosity.

#### Père Didon and General Jamont

The Jesuit Père Stanislas du Lac was not the only Church leader to feature in the twinning device this study has called ‘conflation’. Père Henri Didon was another religious leader targeted in the Dreyfusard anticlerical satire. Didon was a Dominican priest who invoked a holy war in an infamous speech at a prize-giving ceremony on 19 July 1898 attended by the

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<sup>125</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 18.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p.13.

<sup>127</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 479.

vice-president of the Supreme Council of War, General Jamont.<sup>128</sup> As Rémond argues, Didon's outburst was interpreted as an appeal for a coup-d'état for which he was already offering dispensation by defining the military force as sacred and beneficial, a crusade not brute power. This sense of a militaristic mission was genuinely embraced by some sections of the contemporary Church. Didon's call-to-arms echoed another Dominican's appeal for a new crusade against those Rémond contends were seen as "les infidèles de l'intérieur".<sup>129</sup> These 'infidels' were those considered outside the Catholic nation-family — Freemasons, Jews and Protestants. Didon's language "brander le glaive, terroriser, sévir, frapper" and the view that members of the Assumptionist order had of themselves as 'soldiers of God', was part of a tradition dating back to the medieval chevaliers.<sup>130</sup> Père Didon's speech was strongly condemned in the anticlerical press with one paper *La Dépêche de Toulouse* noting with outrage that the monk was part of the "sainte alliance" between the "froc" and "panache".<sup>131</sup> Rémond concludes the 'sabre' and the 'goupillon' had taken up where the throne and altar of the ancien régime had left off.<sup>132</sup> Ibels saw himself and his allies as a bulwark against this militant clericalism and he and his journal *Le Sifflet* struck back with images mocking the monk calling for bloodshed.

A Chevalier cartoon in *Le Sifflet* parodied Didon the monk leaning nonchalantly in a soldier's pose on a rifle citing the most notorious and inflammatory part of the speech demanding the "cutting off of heads". The legend under Chevalier's 'Oh! Le saint homme!!!' underscored the irony of the coupling of Church and a soldier's brutality, as did the mocking title 'Morale Chrétienne'.<sup>133</sup> Ibels' disgust at Père Didon's bloodthirsty rant is clear from the prominence given to the quote from the priest's speech in the text accompanying his cartoon 'Une mesure RADICALE' on the introduction page to the section called 'Les Intellectuels' in *Allons-Y!*. The cartoon was published in *Le Sifflet* in the month after Didon's appeal for a bloody crusade, which Ibels quoted in *Allons-Y!*:

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<sup>128</sup> Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, pp. 201-2.

<sup>129</sup> Tr. Infidels within. Le Père Monsabré, 18 May 1895, Clermont-Ferrand. Ibid, pp. 200-1.

<sup>130</sup> Tr. brandish the sword, terrorise, act ruthlessly, strike. Pieragastini, 'The Catholic Press in France', p. 53.

<sup>131</sup> Tr. Sacred alliance (between) 'frock' and 'plume'. Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, p. 201.

<sup>132</sup> Journalist Camille Pelletan's 'Provocation au crime' in *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, a regional daily that Rémond characterises as one of the most determinedly anticlerical. The article appeared on 25 July 1898 at the height of the polemic; Rémond, *L'Anticléricalisme*, pp. 201-3.

<sup>133</sup> *Le Sifflet*, 28 July 1898.

“Malheur à ceux qui laissent le glaive s’émousser !... Il faut s’armer de la force coercitive, brandir le glaive, terroriser, couper des têtes ! Il faut, même au prix du sang, mater les prétentions du civilisme qui veut se subordonner le militaire.”<sup>134</sup>

To emphasize the truthfulness of the statement, Ibels references the citation in *Allons-Y!* as having come from Père Didon’s speech at the prize-giving event at the Jésuites of Saint-Mandé, under the presidency of General Jamont.<sup>135</sup> Jamont had been appointed vice-president of the Supreme Council of War in January 1898. The month that had seen Esterhazy, the real author of the ‘bordereau’, acquitted by a court-martial, and the arrest of Picquart, the officer who had uncovered Esterhazy’s guilt. Zola had published ‘J’Accuse...!’ and there had been anti-Jewish riots in some provincial cities. Jamont, then, had taken the reins of military command at one of the most explosive times in the history of the case and proved his anti-republican credentials in his endorsement of Didon’s rhetoric.<sup>136</sup> *Le Siècle* would later report on Jamont’s “antisémitism”. Ibels responded with Chevalier’s cartoon reviling and ridiculing Didon, followed by a drawing of his own, ‘Une mesure RADICALE’. Seen below (fig. 46), it used visual and literary conflation to infer Didon and Jamont were indistinguishable in their quest for violence.

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<sup>134</sup> Tr. Woe to those who let the sword blossom! ... We must arm ourselves with coercive force, brandish the sword, terrify, cut off heads! It is necessary, even at the price of the blood, to subdue the pretensions of public spiritedness which wants to subordinate the soldier ... Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 95.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99

<sup>136</sup> Lipschutz, Léon ‘Une bibliothèque dreyfusienne. Bibliographie thématique et analytique de l’affaire Dreyfus (fin)’, *Cahiers naturalistes*, 1969, p. 201.

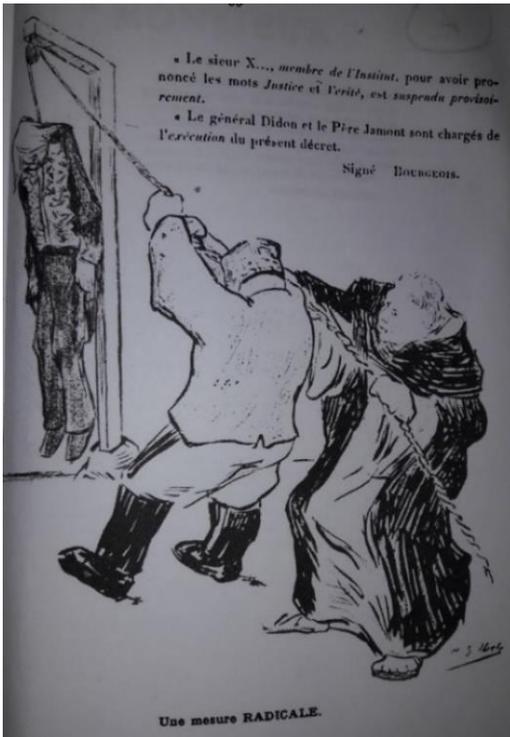


Fig. 46 'Une mesure *radicale*/RADICALE', Ibels, *Le Sifflet* 4 August 1898

### *First reading*

The image has three figures, one of which is defunct. Two men are pulling on a rope attached to the neck of the body hanging from a wooden bracket. One of these two figures is dressed in robes and sandals, the other in boots, hat and uniform. Integral text at the top of the image calls the hanged figure 'Le sieur X' who has been 'suspendu provisoirement' or 'provisionally hanged'. The cartoon's integral text informs the reader the death sentence was signed by the "Bourgeoisie" and that "Général Didon" and "le Père Jamont" have been charged with carrying out the execution.

### *Second reading*

In 'Une mesure RADICALE' the text within the image explains that anonymous, everyman "sieur X" has been put to death for having uttered the words "Justice" and "Vérité". It is to be supposed that sieur X is a stand-in for any of the victims of the clerical-military cabal. Ibels proceeds to enlarge and elaborate on the joke in the accompanying text. The defunct was only "provisionally hanged". In the text Ibels lists those who have been punished for speaking up on Dreyfus' behalf. They comprise an army chaplain with a brilliant future and three academics: a distinguished chemist forced from the academy where he taught officers; a professor of mathematics dismissed following an inquiry; and an eminent

professor of letters has been “provisionally” suspended. Using heavy sarcasm, Ibels mocks the notion of a ‘provisional’ action through using the word repeatedly, likening it to Zola being “provisionally” stripped of his Légion d’honneur, and of Picquart being only “provisionally” thrown into a dungeon. The inclusion of the officer-chaplain shows Ibels was not averse to praising men of the cloth including those from the army who supported Dreyfus even as he lampooned and castigated anti-Dreyfusards of high military rank. It is notable that ‘Une mesure *radicale*’ appeared as the front cover of *Le Sifflet* after the arrest of Picquart following his exposure of the Henry forgery. With this cartoon, Ibels laid these injustices squarely at the door of the two allies, ‘l’Eglise’ and the ‘état-major’.<sup>137</sup>

The two figures hauling on the rope, one an officer in uniform, boots with spurs and military kepi, and the other a sandaled priest in a soutane, are particularly interesting. The killers are identified in the integral text as ‘général Didon’ and ‘Père Jamont’. The message is made by this visual spoonerism. As Kaplan posited, Ibels puns by swapping their names and titles to indicate the Church and military are interchangeable entities.<sup>138</sup> For Ibels, the army of the Third Republic, far from being the Revolutionary army that freed itself from ‘ancien régime’ oppression, was now led by an elite in league with the Church. Its clergy, on the other hand, have rejected Christian tenets of mercy and compassion and are calling for violence, as Père Didon had. Echoing Didon’s tirade calling for the “cutting off of heads”, the priest in Ibels’ cartoon has adopted violent methods to secure his aims. The decree for the act of execution is signed “Bourgeois”. Ibels evidently saw the middle classes as culpable in having put their faith in the Church, and by implication, the military. As argued above, Ibels used text in *Allons-Y!* to broaden his ideas beyond the visual framework and the cartoon caption. In ‘Une mesure RADICALE’ he invokes the august literary and liberal heavyweight Victor Hugo, who had spoken out against the Papacy during the Mortara Affair. Invoking Hugo’s name lent kudos to the victims Ibels listed and called “savants”.

### *Myth*

Another Ibels’ pun can be found in the top right corner of the image, in the integrated text. The Mr X of the cartoon has dared to pronounce “les mots Justice et Vérité” and as a result “est suspendu provisoirement”.<sup>139</sup> However, Ibels has depicted Mr X as “pendu” rather than

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<sup>137</sup> Tr. the Church and chief of staff.

<sup>138</sup> Kaplan, ‘Henri-Gabriel Ibels’ p. 208.

<sup>139</sup> Tr. The words *Justice* and *Truth*... provisionally suspended.

“suspendu”. Aside from the word play, it is a calculated move by Ibels, in which the position of the text is important not only for its integral meaning but for the power of its messages transmitted through the arrangement of the syntax. Ibels is suggesting ‘Justice et Vérité’ are being hanged and those who speak up for them are in mortal danger, as Emile Zola was, in the threats he received following the publication of ‘J’Accuse...!’ not least at the time of his trial hearings for libel when crowds hurled abuse and he needed official protection.<sup>140</sup> The three figures, the rope they are pulling on and the wooden gibbet, from which the lifeless figure in the top left corner of the image is dangling, form a vector to create momentum in ‘Une mesure RADICALE’. Through it the eye travels diagonally from the end of the rope to the highest point of the image, the arm of the lynching post. The body of Mr X dangles lifeless and inert from the gibbet. Lynching or hanging was a metaphor Ibels used more than once in his antimilitary satire. To harangue what Kleeblatt suggests was the military hierarchy of du Paty de Clam, Mercier and Boisdeffre, Ibels depicted this triumvirate of adversaries hanging from lynch posts in a shocking pastel work as seen below (fig. 47).



Fig. 47 ‘La Dernière Dame voilée’, en place pour la quadrille’, Ibels, pastel, ca. 1899

In ‘Une mesure RADICALE’ and ‘La Dernière Dame voilée’ Ibels invokes the power of three as he did in his cartoon ‘De l’Or, de la Boue et du Sang!’. A spectral figure in white is included in ‘La Dernière Dame voilée’ which Kleeblatt characterises as “the skeletal violinist of a ‘danse-macabre’”.<sup>141</sup> In that sense, the three hanged men are dancing to her ghastly

<sup>140</sup> Brown, Frederick (1995), *Zola: A Life*, London, pp. 744-5.

<sup>141</sup> Kleeblatt, ‘Plates’, p. 259.

tune through their complicity in accepting and disseminating a letter that was part of fake evidence concocted to convict Dreyfus.<sup>142</sup> The ghostly figure also tapped in to another stream of thought that was to gain credence over the next decade and a half. The idea of the archetypal woman whose face was concealed was to resonate during the Great War. In her extensive investigation of the mythologised narrative, Darrow found female spies passing secrets to the German military were an enemy to be feared.<sup>143</sup> Notions about rights-demanding women in 'fin-de-siècle' Europe combined with male perceptions of their diminishing role. Ibels' use of the sinister veiled form was a grim barb for big military men.

The conflation of personalities and identities in 'Une mesure RADICALE' has been used to show the synonymy of clericalism and militarism in the anti-Jewish controversy. This sense of shifting identity characterised Père Didon in the anticlerical newspaper *La Dépêche de Toulouse* as someone from whom 'les masques tombent' to reveal 'l'esprit de coup d'état'. This notional image of a representative of the Church hiding his true face behind a mask was an idea that was seen elsewhere in anticlerical visual satire pursuing an anti-establishment cause around the turn of the century. As King and Porter suggest, satire turned holy names into household names, something Ibels had tried to do in his cartoons.<sup>144</sup> In satirical journals which mushroomed during the brief respite from censorship in Imperial Russia following the 1905 Revolution the priest, Father Gapon, was caricatured.<sup>145</sup> Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest and a popular leader of the working-classes was exposed as a police informant. One satirical depiction of him as seen below (fig. 48) draws on this idea of a malevolent Janus with a dual or concealed personality.

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<sup>142</sup> Larkin posits the Affair's infamous 'veiled lady' was supposedly one Madame Monnier who had given Esterhazy a letter referring to 'ce canaille de D—' (Tr. this scoundrel D—). Larkin, Maurice (1974) *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair: the separation issue in France*, London, p. 5.

<sup>143</sup> Darrow, Margaret (2000) *French Women and the First World War*, Oxford, pp. 268-308.

<sup>144</sup> King and Porter, *Blood and Laughter*, p. 38.

<sup>145</sup> Following months of strikes and rioting in 1905 the Tzar tried to appease the masses with his Manifesto of 17 October proclaiming the 'four freedoms', one of which was expression; *ibid.*, pp. 31-8.



Fig. 48 'Father Gapon' with caption "It is !!..", *Pchela*, (*The Bee*), No. 5, 1906, and detail

In a reversal of the mask used by classical performers in Greek tragedy to display assumed character traits and emotion, the drawing depicts the priest removing the mask of his normal face to expose a sly, distorted reality beneath.<sup>146</sup> This idea of clerical deceivers being 'unmasked' for the benefit of the people was in Ibels' commentary in *Allons-Y!* at the end of a section about the Jesuits where he wrote: "Ils se sont démasqués. Le Peuple a compris".<sup>147</sup> There is this idea that it behoves the artist to strip away pretence or make the exposure for the public. These critiques of the state, its institutions and their power incarnated the role of the modern artist as mediators and representatives of the people. Ibels even published the details of fines he had to pay for satirical representations of public persona in *Le Sifflet* as a further sign of his credentials for being a fearless interlocutor on a subsequent back cover of the journal.<sup>148</sup> Showing his confluence of thought and deed with Zola, previous editions of Ibels' journal had used the useful platform of the back cover to publicise the sale of copies of the stenographer's records of the trial of the author of 'J'Accuse...!'.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Isakov, год в сатире и карикатуре (*God and Satire in Caricature*), Ленинград, p. 87. Detail of Father Gapon, accused of betraying protestors from a march he led on 22 January 1905, who were massacred.

<sup>147</sup> Tr. They unmasked themselves. The People have understood. Ibels, *Allons-Y*, p. 46.

<sup>148</sup> Back page, *Le Sifflet*, Issue 18, 2 June 1898.

<sup>149</sup> For e.g., issue 17, 26 May 1898.

The idea of Didon and Jamont swapping honorific titles, regalia and attributes in 'Une mesure radical/RADICALE' was also used in photomontage poking fun at the same two men as seen below (fig. 49).



'Le Général Didon — La France se permet de demander justice....Le R P Jamont — Nous ne le permettrons pas... au nom de Sacré-Cœur.' <sup>150</sup>

Fig. 49 'Le R.P. Jamont et le général Didon', humorous photomontage, *Le Siècle* supplement, 11 January 1899

The photomontage includes a caption in which the spurious 'General Didon' states France is asking for justice but his clerical counterpart Père Jamont refuses in the name of the increasingly popular cult of the Sacred Heart, for which the cathedral of Sacré Coeur was named. Anticlericals had opposed the building. In the image the officer grips a crucifix and the priest a rapier. The intellectual corollary between Ibels' 'Une mesure RADICALE' and the photomontage is clear. The photomontage appeared in January 1899 in none other than *Le Siècle*, the paper Ibels contributed to under Guyot's editorship. As Ibels' inversion of the Dominican priest and military man was published the year before the photomontage it is tempting to at least consider the possibility that his cartoon may have inspired using the new art and science to create this visual gag. Both images play to the overarching narrative of errant justice with Ibels' cartoon offering a more complex Dreyfusard narrative in which priest and officer actively collude in the murder of the innocent.

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<sup>150</sup> Tr. General Didon — 'La France allows herself to demand justice....// The reverend father Jamont — "We will not allow it in the name of Sacre-Coeur (the Sacred Heart)".

## The priest's body

The body of the priest in the satirical art was itself a malleable idea made to serve the anticlerical viewpoint. The priest's body could be attributed to a military personality such as General Jamont to emphasize the putative alliance of Church and military against the Republic. Conflation allowed the anticlerical artist to swap one uniform with another. The Dreyfusard artist weaponised the clerical uniform, building on latent hostility. As Gibson contended, the clergy's distinct attire already marked them out as different and likely to provoke resentment.<sup>151</sup> Ibels used the priest's body and its clerical apparel to signal strong disapproval. Another to be ascribed a priest's body like General Jamont was the anti-Dreyfusard author, François Coppée. As a poet and playwright, Coppée was a natural target for Ibels who was in the opposing camp of writers and artists. Ironically, the performance of Coppée's first play *Le Passant* had seen the participation of the Jewish actress Sarah Bernhardt, later a Dreyfusard.<sup>152</sup> Coppée, who had attained the distinction of being made an Academician and was awarded the Légion d'honneur, joined a violent wing of the Nationalist movement and was a leading voice against Dreyfus.<sup>153</sup> For Ibels, Coppée would have been the antithesis of his hero, Zola, and indeed the academician's nationalist Ligue de la Patrie Française had coming into being in response to a petition against Zola.<sup>154</sup> Where Coppée had been honoured with the country's highest plaudit Zola had had his Légion d'honneur revoked following 'J'Accuse...!' As Zola urged tolerance and defended Dreyfus on Republican lines, Coppée supported violence and ultra-nationalism. Ibels satirised Coppée's reconnection with his Catholic faith after an illness by depicting him with the priest's body as below (fig. 50).

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<sup>151</sup> Gibson, 'Why Republicans and Catholics Couldn't Stand Each Other', p. 110.

<sup>152</sup> The play was staged in 1869; Bernhardt, Sarah (1907) *My Double Life*, London, p. 135.

<sup>153</sup> Wilson, Nelly (1978). Bernard-Lazare: *Antisemitism and the Problem of Jewish Identity in Late Nineteenth-century France*. Cambridge University Press, p. 191.

<sup>154</sup> Connor, Tom (2014) *The Dreyfus Affair and the Rise of the French Public Intellectual*, Jefferson (North Carolina), p. 160.



Fig. 50 Detail, 'On Liquide!', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 2 June 1899

Ibels represented Coppée fingering his rosary and uses the face to signal a vicious disposition to fit the nationalist ideology the academician had espoused. The cartoon was published on *Le Sifflet's* front cover a little over two months after the nationalist leader Paul Déroulède, a founder of the League of Patriots, mounted a failed but violent coup. A pun in the caption on Coppée supposedly taking holy 'orders' and the word 'disorder' articulated Ibels' disgust at nationalism allied to clericalism incarnated in the person of Coppée. A negative characterisation of priests was expressed through a cartoon's narrative and also in the use of stereotypes. The morphology of the body provided further clues, what Hochberg calls a feature of physiognomic endowment characteristic of a stance that would typecast the way the viewer saw the individual being represented.<sup>155</sup> The morphology of the figure of the priest was part of the iconography that accentuated anticlerical messages overt or nuanced. In the Dreyfusard visual repertoire, these ranged from thin, vicious bodies that could be depicted in acts of violence or the wily interloper of 'La Situation' to the ample body-shape signifying indolence and greed. Both these body types are used by Ibels in his cartoon 'Après Les elections' in which two members of the clergy with contrasting body forms, one scrawny of malevolent mien, the other heavy, rotund and double-chinned,

<sup>155</sup> Hochberg, 'The Representation of Things and People', p. 91.

whisper and conspire on a couch.<sup>156</sup> The body of the priest depicted as overweight was a sign of excess. Such a ploy was also used in more nuanced critiques, as seen below in a seemingly innocuous drawing by Georges Hermann-Paul (fig. 51).



Fig. 51 The Augustinians, Hermann-Paul, *Le Figaro*, 1901

The more generous physical shape of the Augustinian priest is contrasted with other figures in the image represented as needy or suffering. The priest is depicted as a leisured onlooker. He has a shady hat and a parasol to keep the sun off, as hunched-over peasants toil in the heat like beasts of burden. Other subtle visual clues contribute to this narrative. The granite milestone in the foreground is a marker for a casual stroller like the clergyman but its ominous shape could double as a tombstone for those working in the fields. The wide sweep of the land being tilled by these people, placed in the upper left of the image so it recalls the past, is suggestive of the *ancien régime* and the arable wealth of the Church. Nothing else is visible but land and sky signifying that such work under the hot sun was the peasant's lot. In this the image utilises light negatively as opposed to its positive appropriation in ideas about darkness, obscurity and obscurantism by Ibels, Pépin and Carrière. Hermann-Paul's linear composition and its pampered priest have more in common with Ibels' illustration of a rounded Abbé Godard for Zola's *La Terre* in the edition published

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<sup>156</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 47.

by Charpentier in 1897, as seen below (fig. 52). Both represent priests as men of leisure, able to observe or read, while others use spades to work the land.

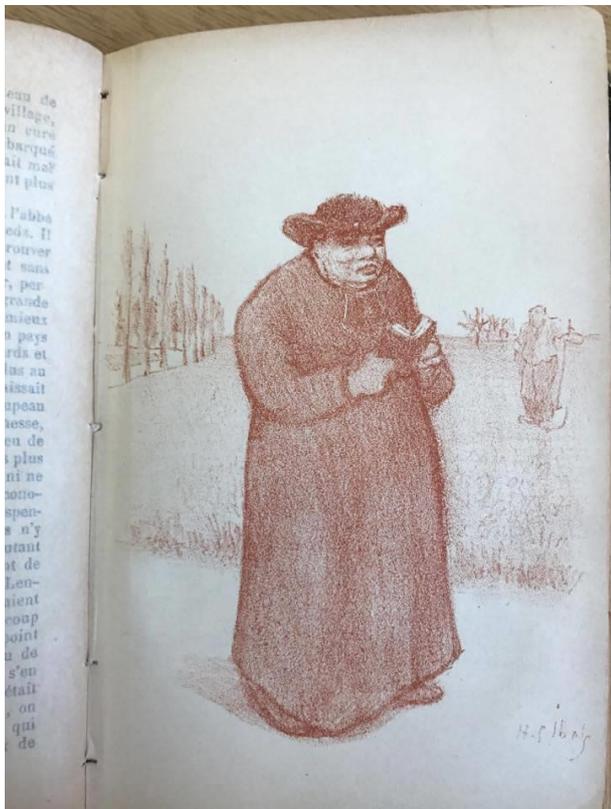


Fig. 52 L'abbé Godard, Ibels, *La Terre*, 1897, lithograph

Ibels' interpretation of the plump, coddled priest Abbé Godard in *La Terre* and the fat clergymen in his cartoons 'Les Ralliés' and 'Après Les Eléctions' in the 'Goupillon' section of *Allons-Y!* dovetail with Zola's ideas. The character of the indulged priest is captured in the author's narrative description in *Germinal*: "The curé of Monsout Abbé Joire, was passing, holding up his cassock with the delicate air of a fat, well-nourished cat afraid of wetting its fur".<sup>157</sup> This idea is reinforced later in the novel by one of the central characters, who is to become one of the tragedy's ultimate victims and takes up the refrain: "Ah! bosh! the priests," exclaimed Maheu. "If they'd eat less and work more -...."<sup>158</sup> Ibels' lithograph of Abbé Godard again conforms to this view of a life of leisure set against the peasant's lot who labour, whether on the land or down the mines. These images clearly reflect the anticlerical perception of contemporary life as recorded by the artist. But there was also political capital to be made. An artist like Ibels rarely squandered such an opportunity, as

<sup>157</sup> Zola, *Germinal*, p. 67.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

seen from his poster illustration showing coal miners for a play about weavers! Hermann Paul's solitary figure in the foreground also shares ideas in common with Ibels' pre-Dreyfus illustration for 'La Chanson du Gas'. Like the theme of deprivation and entitlement including clerical privilege Zola expounded in *Germinal*, Ibels and Hermann-Paul's ample priests' bodies drew on socialist discourse to make anticlerical statements on the nature of power and abuse of the nation and its people.

### Facial expression

As with Ibels' depiction of the sullen-looking Coppée, facial expression was another weapon in the Dreyfusard anticlerical visual canon and could be naturally linked to stance to indicate intent. The priest's facial expression and gestures are also seen to be significant in visual critiques that complain of the Church's conduct in other anti-Jewish cause-célèbres. Oppenheim's painting of the Mortara scandal saturates the shape of the priest's body with meaning at a time when oversight of the Jews in the Papal States had been returned to the Inquisitors.<sup>159</sup> In the painting, executed in 1862 four years after the furore began, Oppenheim represents a freeze-frame of all the individuals caught in the dramatic moment of the little boy's abduction. The boy is surrounded, the mother faints. As can be seen in the detail of the painting below the ramrod-straight body and haughty mien of the priest provides visual sub-text to inform the viewer of what is to happen next. As seen below (fig. 53) Oppenheim's condemnation of the inhumanity of the moment and the abduction as a whole is making a similar statement to Ibels' 'A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner' in its recognition of and plea for Jewish family life.

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<sup>159</sup> Kertzer, *Unholy War*, p. 27.



Fig. 53 Detail, 'The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara', Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, painting, 1862

The Inquisitor's erect, rigid and dark-garbed stance; the face and black hat tilted upwards; his gesture of finality and refusal in the raised palm tells the viewer he and the Church lack basic humanity and compassion. Oppenheim's priest's body as a rigid structure, emphasized by dark paint, is to create the sense of a wall or column, signalling a move away from humanity towards rock-like obduracy. The shape of the body, tapering to a point with the unnatural angle of the hat, recalls the triangular shape of the Jesuit as a candle-snuffer in Devéria's 'Famille des Eteignoirs'.<sup>160</sup> The innocence of the young boy is denoted by his white outfit. The idea expressed by Oppenheim of a predatory priest cornering youthful purity and innocence is also employed by Ibels in his illustration of the lascivious Jesuit trapping his schoolboy victim in his bed in Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch*, discussed further later in this chapter. Unpleasant facial expression was also used to denote bad character and malign intent in Ibels' 'Leur dernier viol', the front cover image in *Le Sifflet* deploying violent metaphor to make its point forcefully as seen below (fig. 54).<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Doizy, and Lalaux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 15. It is possible that Oppenheim, who travelled widely, was familiar with satirising Jesuits as an order of 'Eteignoirs' or metal candle snuffers.  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=477718001&objectId=1337887&partId=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=477718001&objectId=1337887&partId=1) (last accessed 11 September 2019).

<sup>161</sup> Tr. Their last violation.



Fig. 54 Detail, 'Leur dernier viol', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 17 February 1899

The caption consists of the words 'la fille mal gardée'<sup>162</sup>. The priest is armed and his face is gaunt and wild-eyed as he uses violence to force himself on the woman he is holding captive by pinioning her to the floor. In Ibels' front cover, the unguarded 'fille' is the allegorised French Republic recognisable by her Revolutionary Phrygian bonnet. 'Leur dernier viol' demonstrates how Dreyfusard anticlerical ideas drew on contemporary popular culture to intensify the range and depth of the satirical statement. In this drawing, Ibels is once again condemning the militant Church using a shocking metaphor of sexual violence designed to gain attention. The full impact of the action is softened by refashioning it as a famous scene from the eponymous comic opera-ballet, 'La Fille Mal Gardée'. Borrowing the popular story familiar to Ibels' audience allowed the artist to get away with using violence to make his anticlerical point, by baiting it with humour. The opera-ballet was itself inspired by a Pierre-Antoine Baudouin painting produced in the significant revolutionary year of 1789 called 'La réprimande' or 'Une jeune fille querellée par sa mère'.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Tr. The unguarded girl.

<sup>163</sup> Tr. The reprimand [or] A young girl taken to task by her mother.

Baudouin's painting captures the moment when the furious mother, depicted in the original as a spiteful old hag with a jutting chin, confronts her wayward daughter, caught with clothes awry, as a young buck makes his getaway. In Ibels' anticlerical reimagining, the mother has been replaced by the figure of an abusive priest with a thin face that recalls the original mother's. Instead of the young suitor making himself scarce as in Baudouin's painting, Ibels has depicted the predatory officer spy, Major Esterhazy giving Esterhazy his distinctive, familiar moustache. In 'Leur dernier viol' Esterhazy stands on the side-lines of the violation of France, taking it in and thus condoning or authorising it just a few paces away. His stance suggests he may be interested in taking his turn, hinted at by the phallic position and upward tilt of his and the errant guard's weapons.

As seen in both 'Leur dernier viol' and 'Le Coup de Père François', Ibels is at pains to embody the clerical figure as a sexualised masculine body assaulting the female body of an allegorised France. 'Leur dernier viol' used this metaphor to argue, as did 'La Situation', that the Republic was vulnerable, being degraded and open to attack from the clerico-military collaboration. In the case of the 'Fille mal gardée' the military waiting in the wings is made explicit. As was his practice, Ibels was also inverting themes that anti-Dreyfusards invoked in their representations of Jews, as tackled in the analysis of chapter five. Gyp was particularly fond of characterising Jewish men as sexually aggressive and she was not alone, as can be seen in Forain's superficially benign painting of Joseph Reinach backstage at the ballet, 'Dans les coulisses'. The antisemitic critique was metaphorical as an indictment of the perceived forceful encroachment by one subgroup in society. In 'Leur dernier viol' and 'Le Coup de Père François' Ibels overturned that message to represent the priest not the Jew as the sexual predator imposing himself on France.

### Antimilitary targets

Dreyfus' position as a military officer was the product of a modernising society that chimes with the growing social and cultural diversity of Bruce's secularisation model. A Jew could attend officers' training school and aspire to high position in the army.<sup>164</sup> Yet established norms still prevailed that had persisted for centuries. As Roberts posits, medieval hierarchies had survived in Europe into this new age.<sup>165</sup> At the time of the Dreyfus debate,

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<sup>164</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 27.

<sup>165</sup> Roberts, *Europe 1880-1945*, pp. 65-6.

no Jew was promoted to reserve officer status in Prussia or any other German state whose military make-up it controlled.<sup>166</sup> Added to this is Randell's argument that the French army no longer led the nation in revolutionary fervour and that since 1848 there had been a marked shift to the right in the type of men training as army officers.<sup>167</sup> In the Third Republic a Jew like Alfred Dreyfus could aspire to become a military officer, but he would be in the minority and almost certainly face discrimination. The image of the military had moved to a traditionalist one as the most sacrosanct of institutions. Derogatory caricatures were censored as recently as 1879 with one government document advising it could only be satirised visually in the most "circumspect" of cases.<sup>168</sup> The reaction to the assassination of France's president, Sadi Carnot, shortly before Dreyfus' arrest was a renewal of restrictions about the military, demanding the idea of obedience to its leadership in the press. This respect and reverence had incubated in republican society during the ascent of General Boulanger. The yearning for the strength and romance of military leadership had serviced Boulanger's success in the previous decade, a sentiment bound up with the notion of 'revanchism' and France's defeat by Prussia.<sup>169</sup>

Ibels deployed his cartoons and writing to savage the notion that the military was beyond reproach at the expense of Republican values and citizens' rights. Critically, this assault by Ibels targeted the military elite, the 'état-major', rather than the army as a whole, thereby avoiding criticism of the common soldier. That would have been at odds with the artist's socialist leanings as much as being out of step with the genuine outrage Dreyfusards directed against high-ranking military personnel they charged were responsible for the conspiracy against Dreyfus in creating the Affair. In his accompanying text in *Allons-Y!* Ibels writes: "On a beaucoup parlé du respect de l'armée sans comprendre ce que le mot 'respect' pouvait impliquer de pureté, d'abnégation; et en confondant plus qu'il ne l'aurait fallu l'armée avec l'état-major."<sup>170</sup> The text accompanies a cartoon of an officer among other men in the audience leering at a half-naked woman on stage. The caption poses the ironic question "et le respect de l'armée?".<sup>171</sup> Ibels' thinking ran parallel with Zola in

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<sup>166</sup> From 1885 to 1914; Clark, Christopher (2007) *Iron Kingdom*, London, pp. 584-5.

<sup>167</sup> Randell, Keith (1986) *France: The Third Republic 1870-1914*, Sevenoaks, p. 19.

<sup>168</sup> Along with religion and the clergy; Goldstein, *Censorship*, p.11.

<sup>169</sup> Tr. the policy of 'revenge'.

<sup>170</sup> Tr. There has been a lot of talk about respect for the military without understanding what the word 'respect' could imply in terms of purity, self-sacrifice and more in confounding the army with the chief of staff; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 32.

<sup>171</sup> Tr. And respect for the army?

differentiating the 'état-major' and army as seen in Ibels quoting Zola directly on the military elite. Ibels has cited Zola's comments in which the author also emphasized the civic honour of being a good citizen, an idea rooted in the egalitarian Republic. "Si quelques individualités des bureaux de la Guerre ont compromise l'armée elle-meme par leurs agissements, est-ce donc insulter l'armée que de le dire ? N'est-ce pas plutôt faire œuvre de bon citoyen...".<sup>172</sup> Ibels is keen to show the object of his ire is the military's poor leadership not the army itself. In *La Débâcle* Zola also highlights the misuse and abuse of the serving soldier by the leadership.<sup>173</sup>

### Debasing 'Honneur et Patrie'

The phrase 'Honneur et Patrie' was associated with the motto of the Légion d'honneur, awarded for military or civil achievement. In the eyes of conservatives in the Third Republic, the phrase became inextricably associated with the respect due to France and her army. In his attacks on the military leadership Ibels attempted to show that protecting the 'honour and respect' of the army at the cost of integrity and rights was flawed. He repudiated the notion that 'honour' and 'country' outweighed the unsound conviction of one Jewish man. To achieve this Ibels sought to debase the term 'honour and country' as in the ironic caption for one cartoon published on *Le Sifflet's* front cover on 12 May 1898 seen below (fig. 55).

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<sup>172</sup> Tr. If some individuals in the War offices have themselves compromised the army by their intrigues, is it thus to insult the army to say so? It is not rather the case that it makes you a good citizen...."; Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 32.

<sup>173</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 329.



Fig. 55 'Honneur & Patrie', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 12 May 1898

Thirteen days after Zola went on trial for libel an anti-Dreyfusard cartoon which took up the idea of honour to the army was published. It used animalisation to suggest the Dreyfusards were low creatures who fawned on the Jewish masters who owned them. Clérac's 'Honneur à l'Armée', published in *Le Pilon* on 20 February 1898, as seen below (fig. 56) characterised the intellectuals as insignificant lapdogs to be swept away by might in the type of holy war Père Didon had appealed for. In this paradigm Scheurer-Kestner and his fellows will be soon crushed under the hooves of the Christian host's war horses. It is this disciplined fighting force, the caption informs the reader, who are the 'glory of France' not the gaggle of intellectual runts represented close to the dirt facing in different directions to denote their disarray.



HONNEUR A L'ARMÉE

— Taisez-vous, sales cabots, laissez passer les gloires de la France.

Fig. 56. 'Honour to the Army', Clérac, *Le Pilon*, 20 February 1898 <sup>174</sup>

This use of large and small figures to indicate status recalled the traditions of medieval painting in which size was part of the iconography, employed to represent the Madonna and Christ dwarfing mortal men and women. In 'Honneur à l'Armée' the dog-like creatures are intended to be offensive and so, as identified by Hochberg, are personalised with the stand-out traits habitually used to identify who they were in the anti-Dreyfusard lexicon. They include the monkey-faced saucer-eyed Reinach and the bearded Zola. A scatological element is introduced to reduce their status and remove the intellectuals still further from polite human society and mores. It is apparent these boors respect nothing not even each other but treat each other with contempt since the Zola pooch is passing wind in the face of the Reinach lapdog.

In his compendium of Dreyfus cartoons, Grand-Carteret observes Clérac's image had 'de nombreux admirateurs'<sup>175</sup> and as a contemporary commentator, he notes: "... il me semble intéressant de reproduire la notice placée en tête de ce même numéro du 20 Février. Ca

<sup>174</sup> Tr. Shut up, you dirty pooches, let the glory of France pass.

<sup>175</sup> Tr. numerous admirers.

sera un document pour les idées du jours”.<sup>176</sup> In this banner notice, *Le Pilori* states that the striking success of its last edition prompted joy and, crucially goes on to say that to “attack Zola was to defend the army”.<sup>177</sup> This equivalence is seen in Ibels’ work where to defending Zola was to attack the army elite. This statement brings home forcefully how the person of Zola was seen as a currency of value by both sides in the dispute. In depicting Zola and his allies fruitlessly defying the Christian military host led by a saint in ‘Honneur à l’Armée’ Anti-Dreyfusards like Clérac brought the notion of France’s army and Catholic faith back together again from its pre-Revolutionary days. The cartoon with its hard-riding army creating a cloud of dust in its wake exists to eulogise France’s Christian host and simultaneously tarnish Zola and his intellectual allies as anti-army by sneering at his lack of patriotism.

As noted above and now expanded on, it is significant the cartoon was published in *Le Pilori* the same day Pépin’s ‘E Amen de Conscience’ attacked the hypocrisy of Church and officer. The emergence of the cartoons in rival journals on the same day highlights the synchronicity of competing ideas about religion and the military as the Affair exploded following the publication of ‘J’Accuse...!’ *Le Pilori* carried an announcement stating it had received fulsome support for the cartoon, encouragement it described “comme le coup de clairon dans l’âme des soldats sur le champ de bataille”.<sup>178</sup> The use of “l’âme”, meaning spirit or soul, in the journal’s explanation reinforces the religious undercurrent to the visual message. There is then some considerable justification in those arguments that say the anti-Jewish polemic was framed by some as a new religious war. ‘Honneur à l’Armée’ also highlights the difference to anticlerical artists Pépin and Ibels in what ‘the military’ encompasses. Ibels, as in ‘La Dernière Dame voilée, en place pour la quadrille’ repeatedly sought to focus attention on the top military echelon intellectuals accused of smearing Dreyfus. Clérac and *Le Pilori* attempted to draw the argument back to the common soldier, to the Christian soldier, connoting him with revolutionary zeal, courting and being rewarded with “la gloire”.<sup>179</sup> ‘Gloire’ was an idea used in revolutionary art that was closely connected with notions of honour and courage on the battlefield.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Tr. It seems to me interesting to reproduce the notice placed at the top of this edition of 20 February. It will be a document for the ideas of the day; Grand-Carteret, *L’affaire Dreyfus et l’image*, p. 131.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Tr. as a clarion call in the soldier’s soul on the field of battle; *ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Tr. glory.

<sup>180</sup> Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, *passim*.

## Progress

For Ibels and his Dreyfusard cohort, 'le progrès' was the antithesis of the outmoded 'Honneur et Patrie' that Clérac's 'Honneur à l'Armée' represented. Progress was a zeitgeist concept for liberal-thinking 'progressives' in the Third Republic. Indeed, Mosse defines the outstanding characteristic of Europe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century as a "widely diffused feeling of hopefulness based on conspicuous material progress in many spheres".<sup>181</sup> For Zipperstein, the urbanising state played a key role, contributing in no small way to the unshackling of the individual from the Church in both the material and metaphysical spheres. In the physical world, the rapid rise of the city was proof of humanity's limitless capacity for progress.<sup>182</sup> Urbanisation removed the ubiquitous presence of the curate who was integral even intrusive to family life in the rural communities of 'la France profonde'. In the metaphysical sphere, the city was testament to the supremacy of the human will.<sup>183</sup> This was quite different to the preceding belief in a spiritual meta-history in which man was not the architect of his own destiny but a part of God's plan for the world over time, the unfolding of Divine Providence from the Creation to the Last Judgement.<sup>184</sup>

The idea of 'progress' held a particular resonance for Ibels as a member of the Nabi group of artists. Their aspirations embraced the philosophy of positivism, a school of thought developed by the nineteenth century French thinker Auguste Comte who viewed 'progress' as society's ultimate goal.<sup>185</sup> That progress was a part of the thinking of Ibels' artistic group can be seen from fellow Nabi member and Dreyfusard Edouard Vuillard recalling as late as 1937 that "the march of progress" had meant ideas in art had overtaken those the Nabis had been trying to achieve.<sup>186</sup> The rights of Jews in society would have been seen by artists like Vuillard, Ibels and Zola as part of the 'progress' the republics had achieved. Zeldin noted this was the view held by Jews already living in France and those arriving, for whom the 1789 Revolution was largely seen as synonymous with their own ideas of progress.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> From London's Great Exhibition in 1851 to the rise of the German Empire in 1871; Mosse, *Liberal Europe*, p. 9.

<sup>182</sup> Zipperstein, Steve J, (1983) 'Russian Maskilim and the City' in Berger, David (ed) *The Legacy of Jewish Immigration*, New York pp. 32-3.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Tosh, John (2010) *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow, p. 30.

<sup>185</sup> August Comte's credo published in 1852: 'l'Amour pour principe et l'Ordre pour base, le Progrès pour but' Tr. Love as principle and Order as basis; Progress for aspiration.

<sup>186</sup> Bonnard, Pierre and Rybeck, Ingrid (1937) 'Chez Bonnard à Deauville', *Konstrevy* no. 4, Stockholm (1937) as cited in *L'objet de l'Art, Les Nabis et le Decor*, No 136, (March 2019), p. 65.

<sup>187</sup> Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, p. 1037.

During the nineteenth century Jews had gained access to professions hitherto out of reach. By the time of France's revolutionary government of 1848, it was possible for the Jewish advocate Isaac Cremieux to become Minister of Justice. The Jewish banker Gondchaux was appointed Minister of Finance. By the time of Dreyfus, this view of progress had become equated with the modernising Third Republic in liberal Jewish thinking.<sup>188</sup> Like Zola, Ibels' idea of progress was to consider it the triumph of the laicised Republic. Progress was the antithesis of militarism for Ibels and his allies, as seen in two posters Ibels produced called 'A bas le Progrès' on the eve of the polemic (fig. 57 and fig. 58).<sup>189</sup> The first of these, a lithograph for a theatre programme, is now investigated using the tripartite methodology to study Ibels' idea of progress more closely.

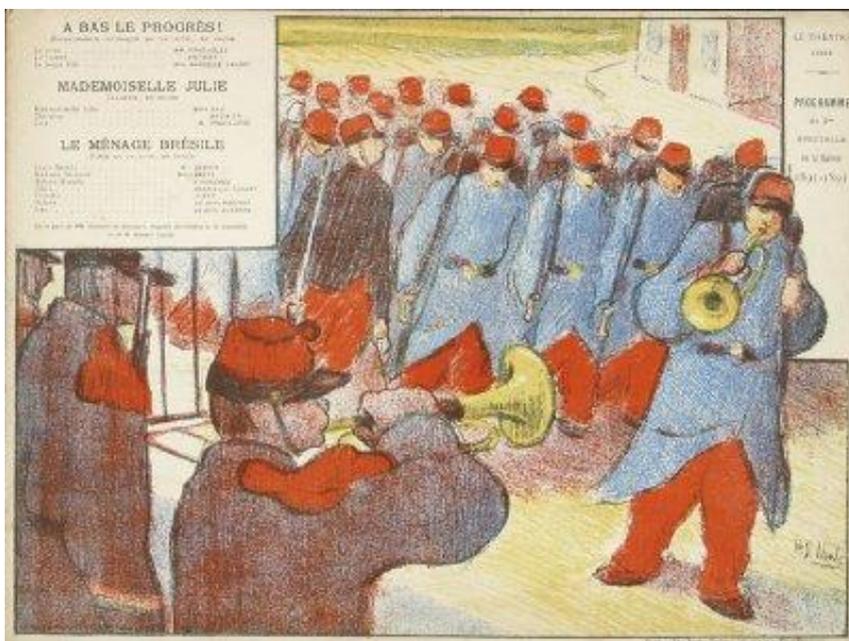


Fig. 57 'A Bas le progrès', Ibels, lithograph for theatre programme, *The Beraldi Album of Theatre Programs*, 1893

### *First reading*

A group of men in blue jackets, red trousers and red caps, carry rifles. The men are dressed in the contemporary red and blue French military uniforms. The men form a parade taking place in front of military officers identified by their epaulettes. All the men that can be fully seen are armed with rifles. Two men, the soldier in the foreground and the one at the head of the unit of men, are blowing bugles. They are blowing 'A bas le Progrès'.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1038-9.

<sup>189</sup> Tr. Down with Progress!

### *Second reading*

The buglers are part of the habitual practice of a military parade. Accompanied by the cry of 'A bas' they are issuing a call to arms. 'A bas!' was a standard cry as seen in cartoonist Jossot's cartoon of 1903 'A bas les calottes!'.<sup>190</sup> This military cohort is issuing a clarion call 'A bas le Progrès' that defines its raison-d'être. This is to send Progress down or defeat it. As discussed in chapter three, Ibels' strategy of confronting and overturning reactionary ideology was to commandeer elements from its iconography, then modify it and use it like a boomerang as a weapon as in 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!'. Where Gyp demonised Jews as gold-diggers, Ibels painted the antisemite Drumont as the sly mercenary. In 'A bas le progrès!' Ibels creates a new slogan that bastardised the taunt of anti-Dreyfusards who shout 'A bas les Juifs!', 'A bas Zola!'.<sup>191</sup> It is also the inversion of the anti-Dreyfusard satirical chant of 'A bas l'armée', such as seen in a Gyp cartoon mocking Zola and Jaurès in which the rival artist sought to position the Dreyfusard complaint as being against the army *per se* rather than the 'état-major' or chief of staff elite.<sup>192</sup> Ibels placed the slogan in the mouths of officers to show they were the antithesis of all that progress stands for, in terms of the Republic, the new cities, and new equal rights and opportunities for all.

### *Myth*

Like Mosse, Bury defined 'l'idée du progrès' in *The Idea of Progress* as the characteristic idea of the age.<sup>193</sup> Bury saw this idea as the claim that the world was moving toward universal equality and the obliteration of class distinction.<sup>194</sup> This concept of progress has some elements in common with Ibels' critique of the military parade. An anticlerical thinker such as Renan argued that the reason of science, philosophy and art was an alternative and opposing force to the Roman Church.<sup>195</sup> Zola and Ibels saw progress being brought about by 'reason', itself threatened by the shouting mob. Zola opened his letter *à la jeunesse* with a series of rhetorical questions that continued Renan's world view: "Do you

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<sup>190</sup> Tr. Down with ...! A pejorative translation of 'calottes' is 'clergy'. But Jossot also uses its literal meaning of 'caps' to make a pun. In his cartoon this covers the Jesuit's biretta, the soldier's kepi and the top hat of the traditionalist; Doizy and Lalaux, *À Bas La Calotte!*, p. 18.

<sup>191</sup> Tr. Down with Jews, down with Zola.

<sup>192</sup> For Gyp cartoon, Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p.189.

<sup>193</sup> Bury, J B (2010, updated 2013), *The Project Gutenberg Ebook of the Idea of Progress: An Inquiry Into Its Origin And growth*. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4557/4557-h/4557-h.htm#link2HCH0014> (last accessed 26 June 2019).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.17, p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 17.

go to insist upon tolerance, upon the independence of reason? Is [it] to cry down those narrow-minded sectaries who would like to lead your emancipated intellects back to ancient errors by proclaiming the bankruptcy of science?"<sup>196</sup> The association of shouting down progress with military might or weaponry was an idea that played strongly for Ibels in his art and its slogans. This notion of using arms to shout down progress is now considered further in another drawing by Ibels with the slogan 'A bas le progrès!' as seen below (fig. 58); and through comparison to Meyer's illustration of Dreyfus' degradation also below (fig. 59).

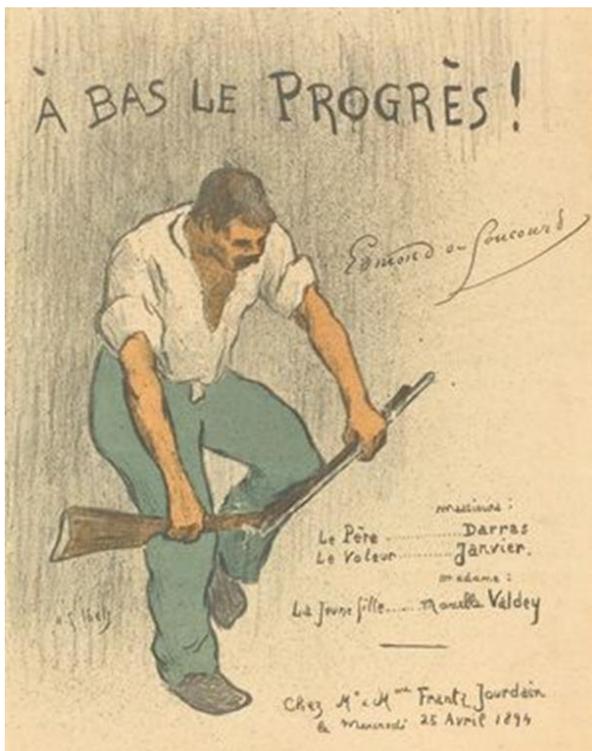


Fig. 58 'A bas le progrès!', Ibels, theatre poster, 25 April 1894

<sup>196</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 1.

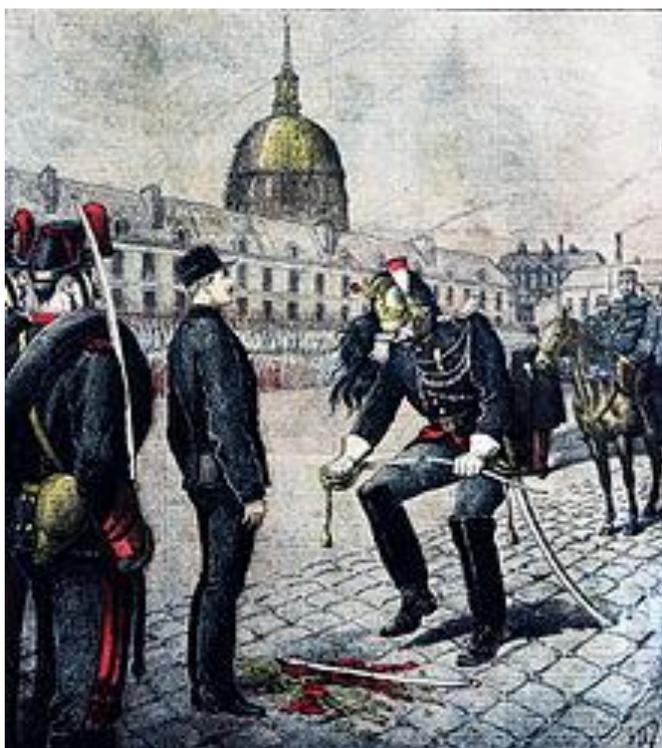


Fig. 59 'Le Traître: Dégradation d' Alfred Dreyfus', H. Meyer, *Le Petit Journal, Supplément Illustré*, 1895, photomechanical print

The slogan 'A bas le progrès!' in Ibels' poster for Edmond de Goncourt's satirical one-act play echoes de Goncourt's work. Yet the illustration by Ibels for de Goncourt's play was in April 1894 a year after Ibels had already used the phrase for The Beraldi Album of Theatre Programs. However, The Beraldi Album was itself produced a little over three months after de Goncourt's 'bouffonnerie satirique' was first performed at Paris' Théâtre libre on 16 January 1893.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, in his preface of the 1893 edition published by Charpentier de Goncourt writes that he was not influenced by the politics of that year because he wrote the script in the Autumn of 1891.<sup>198</sup> There is therefore every reason to suppose that Ibels was indulging in his usual technique of which he was a master, that of satirising the satire! It is notable that the design for the de Goncourt play poster bears little resemblance to the subject-matter of Goncourt's short play, which is about a robber breaking into a house and then striking up an erudite conversation with the father and daughter who live there. As with the poster for Hauptmann's play *The Weavers* which Ibels produced in 1893, so again in 'A bas le progrès' Ibels departed from the obvious subject-matter of the author's narrative and

<sup>197</sup> Tr. satirical buffoonery; <https://bibliotheques-specialisees.paris.fr/ark:/73873/pf0000772201> (last accessed 10 November 2019).

<sup>198</sup> <https://archive.org/details/basleprogresbouf00gonc/page/6> (last accessed 10 November 2019).

imposed his own interpretation and world view on the illustration marketing the production. The image of a man stamping his foot and breaking a rifle in half is so reminiscent of the representations of Dreyfus' degradation ceremony that the irresistible suggestion is that this was Ibels following his usual technique of inversion. But the poster for de Goncourt's play is dated April 1894, six months before Alfred Dreyfus was arrested. However, the public ritual for dishonouring an individual in question, by snapping the rifle over the knee, is depicted ahead of the Dreyfus dispute. Cashiering was clearly known to Ibels and pilloried in the poster above by showing a citizen in a shirt, breeches and stockinged feet, not an officer in military regalia, performing the task, breaking the system, the only idea in the illustration with any link to de Goncourt's play.

What is clear is that Ibels has imbued the phrase and depiction of the single figure with an antimilitary meaning, as he had his lithograph for the theatre the previous year. The snapping of the rifle by the man in a working man's clothes represents the power of the worker and the rejection of force or a military society by the common man. The excerpt from the play below reveals that far from politicising the idea of progress in a positive sense as Ibels and other Nabis had done, de Goncourt was mocking and attacking it as counterfeit. In de Goncourt's play 'progress' is a sham, the modern degeneration of former high standards in fine foods and beverages and the diminution of the size of measures. Indeed, de Goncourt places this devalued 'progress' on a level with "tout blague, tout mensonge, tout tromperie".<sup>199</sup> The complaint in *A Bas le Progrès* is a repeated refrain illustrated by examples of bad wine and coffee and compromised truffles and "moules" (mussels). The rant is made all the more absurd since the complaint is placed in the mouth of a thief who is having a good moan with the householder and daughter of the property he has broken into.

#### LE VOLEUR

Tout blague, tout mensonge, tout tromperie : du vin l'ait avec des quatre mendiants, des grains de café faits avec de la terre glaise dans des moules, des truffes de charcuterie laites avec le casimir noir de vieilles culottes, du poisson liais avec du salicylate, des cheveux blonds de femmes avec de la potasse.

#### LE PÈRE

Et de la soi-disant liberté, faite avec le bon plaisir de la canaille... On appelle eu le progrès... eh bien, a bas le pro-

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<sup>199</sup> Tr. every joke, every lie, every fakery.

grès !

LE VOLEUR  
A bas le progrès !<sup>200</sup>

The negative view of progress, of modern society and mass produce, is mocked with an ironic touch in the play in a way that seems to jar with Ibel's more serious illustration. The critique of cheap, counterfeit goods replacing quality ones was echoed in the characterisation of Jews themselves in anti-Dreyfusard cartoon such as Chanteclair's 'C'est nous qui sont les nobles' and Caran D'Ache's 'Salons intellectuels' where Jews are parodied as shams and reprobates. At the same time other ideas in the play hint at more serious concerns at the way society is changing or being overturned. The thief, a connoisseur as well as a gastronome, in describing himself as "réactionnaire et conservateur" complains to the daughter that "nos auteurs français sont si immoraux..." and advises her to "[i]gnorez Zola, mademoiselle".<sup>201</sup> More telling still, he laments the "société de banquiers"<sup>202</sup> in which they all live. In another passage the daughter of the house, berating the bad luck that has led the thief to choose their home suggests an alternative place to rob.

"Fille: Justement, de l'autre coté, est habité par un banquier juif.

Voleur : je n'aime pas les juifs.

Fille : Même comme voleur !

Voleur : Déjà l'ironie." <sup>203</sup>

Concerns about the rising status of Jews that accord with Bruce's model to explain secularisation in terms of social and cultural diversity giving rise to religious diversity, are all at work in de Goncourt's satire.<sup>204</sup> Moreover the thief's complaint in de Goncourt's play about thieving nouveau riche Jewish bankers is the same as Gyp's showing these

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<sup>200</sup> <https://archive.org/details/basleprogresbouf00gonc/page/26> (last accessed 10 November 2019). Tr. The thief: Any joke, any lie, any deception: wine with four beggars, coffee beans made with mouldy clay, charcuterie truffles from the black cashmere of old pantaloons, fish finished in salicytate, women's blond hair from potash// The father: And so-called freedom, made with the scoundrel's pleasure... We call it progress... well, down with progress!// The thief: Down with progress!

<sup>201</sup> Tr. our French authors are so immoral...Don't get to know Zola, Mademoiselle'.

<https://archive.org/details/basleprogresbouf00gonc/page/26> (last accessed 10 November 2019).

<sup>202</sup> Tr. society of bankers.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid. Tr. Daughter – as a matter of fact, next door on the other side is the home of a Jewish banker.// Thief – I don't like Jews. // Daughter – even as a thief ! //Thief – Already, it's ironic.

<sup>204</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 27.

stereotypical prejudices were at work even as the Panama scandal provided a vehicle for them on the eve of Dreyfus. Thus, the stage was set for the polemic in which the liberal Zola, whom de Goncourt's fictional thief reviles, and political progressive Ibels, would champion the Jew against those bewailing the downfall of the old order in the contested arena of what constituted 'progress'.

## Abuse

Anticlerical ideas in the art also embraced other developments that fed into wider criticisms of Church and military. Ibels had alluded to shocking ideas in 1899 when in 'Leur dernier viol' he depicted a priest ravaging the allegorised France at knifepoint. However, Ibels could not and did not represent such an abomination realistically. The figure of the priest was highly caricatured to emphasize the metaphorical nature of the act and cocoon the image firmly within the two-dimensional world of art. But by 1906, in the aftermath of the anti-Jewish affair, the downfall of the Assumptionists and legislation to separate church and state, Ibels felt able to produce the illustration of the priest as a man with appalling failings. In illustrating *Sébastien Roch*, Mirbeau's novel of child abuse, Ibels was free to use a degree of realism that might have shocked an earlier audience, but he did not now spare the reader. In one of Ibels' illustrations for the 1906 edition, as seen below (fig. 60), the priest is depicted by Ibels as having embarked on his course to committing the act of child abuse.



Fig. 60 Illustration, Ibels, *Sébastien Roch*, Paris, 1906

Ibels' priest is no longer a caricature exaggerated for effect as in 'Leur dernier viol'. Partly this would have been due to Ibels' confidence that the reader of such a novel would be sympathetic to his explicit illustration and in part because anticlericals had triumphed in the enactment of the separation legislation. It is also the case that in illustrating Mirbeau's anticlerical story Ibels was drawing on real news events not just the fictional. Another scandal had broken out in 1899 which added force to prevailing anti-Church sentiment which helped to pave the way for Ibels' brutally candid picture. Timothy Verhoeven suggests that this separate scandal, the 'Flamidien Affair', jostled with that of Dreyfus for newspaper coverage in 1899.<sup>205</sup> On 10 February, the day the arrest of the schoolteacher Frère Flamidien was first reported in the press, the National Assembly voted for a law to set up a court of appeal to re-examine Dreyfus' case. Ibels must have recalled the anticlerical riots that had been seen following the discovery of the body of 12-year-old schoolboy,

<sup>205</sup> Verhoeven, Timothy (2018) *Sexual Crime, Religion and Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle France*, London, p. 5.

Gaston Foveaux, at his Catholic school.<sup>206</sup> Seven years had elapsed between the boy's murder and Ibels' illustrations integrated within the published text of *Sébastien Roch*. This was a sufficient delay for immediate outrage to diminish to allow the publication of a fictional story about schoolroom abuse. Yet the young Foveau's abuse and murder, when coordinated with Dreyfus' rehabilitation that same year, was also recent enough for Ibels to illustrate the fictional Sébastien's story in explicit visual terms. On 10 February 1899 the daily press announced the arrest of Brother Flamidien but this was not referred to visually or in text anywhere in *Le Sifflet's* edition of that date. It is likely the weekly journal had already gone to press. In such circumstances, the next edition of 17 February was the first opportunity for Ibels to prepare an image that on some level responded to the news of the priest's arrest for the young boy's rape and murder. Ibels' anticlerical cartoon on the periodical's front cover is significant. It showed a priest's sexual assault on an unguarded girl, in 'Leur dernier viol'. The 'fille' was the allegorised Republic. As Alfred Dreyfus had become synonymous with the Republic in anticlerical illustrations, so now, too, the murdered boy represented Ibels' notion of the Church's victimisation of the innocent on a wider scale.

## Conclusion

Chapter four examined the role of the press on either side of the anti-Jewish debate in moulding anticlerical ideas articulated in the illustrations. It has investigated the antimilitary dimension of Dreyfusard anticlericalism in the images, probing how and why these were realized. The emergence of a 'conflation' of the military and the clerical in the eyes of the Dreyfusard anticlerical has been captured and analysed in the cartoons of Ibels and his allies. Seminal ideas to do with the anticlerical view of the clergyman himself, and how he was represented, using expression, stance and imminent action in the cartoons have been teased out using the tripartite semiotic readings. Disputed interpretations about 'honneur et patrie' and 'le progrès' have been scrutinised to show how they constituted battle-ground ideas between anticlericals and their opponents in anti-Jewish debates at times of rapid, or even revolutionary, change. Ibels' ideas about exploitation, violence, military connivance, social upheaval, the threat to enlightened thinking and the internal peace and stability of the Republic have been linked with Zola's in his *lettres à la jeunesse* and *à la France* as well as

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<sup>206</sup> Foveau went missing on 5 February 1899 from his school Notre-Dame de la Treille, one of 12 run by a Catholic teaching congregation. After he was found dead at the school, Catholic schools were stoned by crowds as were offices of the *La Croix du Nord*; *ibid.*

in the narrative and dialogue of *Germinal* and *La Débâcle*. The cross-over of socio-political debates with news actuality on the theme of abuse has also been found to have entered anticlerical ideas facilitated by collaborative work spanning image and text such as Ibels with Mirbeau on *Sébastien Roch*.

The antisemitic rhetoric of the clerical presses played a seminal role in catalysing and fashioning Dreyfusard ideas in the visual satire around the 'cause célèbre'. A case in point was the coverage of the Assumptionist order which availed itself of new technologies in its slicker mass press machinery with regional outlets. Other writing such as the Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica* influenced the work of Dreyfus' chief detractor, Edouard Drumont, and so made its way into this interplay of ideas in the work of artists like Gyp, Régency and Clérac. The socio-political tensions produced a fertile, indeed febrile, environment in which anticlerical ideas could respond to and seek to outdo ideas in the rival satirical art. These clichés arced between revolutionary tropes such as bats and crows representing priests or anticlericals, to contested ideas about money, power, influence and deceit. Ibels worked for Yves Guyot who subscribed to similar ideas in championing the Republic and worrying that Jesuit plots sought to overthrow it.

The clerical threat to the Republic was depicted in different ways by Ibels at different times in the crisis. A progression of his ideas can be traced from 1893 shortly before the controversy began, spiking immediately after the publication of 'J'Accuse...!'. At that point, in February 1898, Ibels launched *Le Sifflet* and entered a period of intense creativity in political cartooning. His socialist leanings on view in 'La Chanson du Gas' became 'anticlericalised' in reorienting victim and aggressor within the Dreyfusard context as in '— Est-ce une Croix ou un sabre?...'. Ibels' anticlerical images show nuanced change across this arc following Dreyfus' pardon, the parliamentary amnesty at the end of 1900 and the dissolution of the Assumptionists. Where Ibels had depicted the clerical assault on the Republic as underway by stealth on a dozy victim at the height of the polemic, he would later show the Republic as invigorated with renewed agency repelling the clerical advance. After the enactment of the separation of Church and state Ibels felt at liberty to be more crudely explicit in his anticlerical illustrations.

Antimilitary thinking was a major new dimension in anticlerical discourse in the anti-Jewish dispute of the late nineteenth century. The representation of the military was vehemently

contested. Anti-Dreyfusards promoted the concept of a powerful, all-conquering re-Christianised army vanquishing a puny and disorderly liberal resistance. A popular visual device for representing clerical and military leaders as equivalent or interchangeable has been termed 'conflation' by this study. It constituted a muscular new avenue of anticlerical thinking and expression to show the two institutions of Church and military as effectively synonymous and in league with one another in their conspiracy against the Republic. Dreyfusard images concentrated attention on elite officers conspiring with Churchmen depicting the two as symbolically, and sometimes literally, as synonymous. Exchanged attributes, particularly the 'sabre' and 'goupillon', symbolised their joint guilt. Photomontage and spoonerisms were also used to suggest the blurring of clerical and military identities. The shared puns, metaphors and visual devices underscored the interconnectivity and common purpose among intellectuals like Ibels, Zola, Guyot, Scheurer-Kestner and Reinach. Social and working connections between intellectuals disseminated ideas like the conflation of the Church and military and they were used repeatedly to drive the joke home.

Using established revolutionary symbolism such as the Phrygian cap to denote the Republic Ibels and others were instrumental in a seismic shift during the polemic in moving to a form of personalised attack on Church and military leaders. This was a far cry from the generic, often animalised or inanimate figures of earlier in the century and before. Instead of representing Jesuits as supernatural or vulpine, real characters were illustrated as fallible men who did not inspire fear but were capable or guilty of sinning. Keen to articulate the guilty party was not the army or its ordinary men but the chief of staff, anticlericals targeted churchmen such as the Jesuit father Père Stanislas du Lac and the Dominican friar Père Didon, who were believed to have had a perfidious role in the scandal, were depicted paired with named officers involved in Dreyfus' Court-Martial.

The notion of 'honneur et patrie', revered by the pro-military faction for its association with the highest accolade of the Légion d'honneur, was reviled by Ibels as a vehicle for scorn. Ibels' purpose was to convey the supremacy of the individual and justice for the individual over the superficiality of the corporate elite's reputation. A scrutiny of Ibels' work has shown he and Zola thought similarly about the big ideas such as the need to defend the Republic from clericalism and militarism. But it has also found that their ideas were in synergy in the way they expressed ideas within those larger themes, about light and darkness, disease, intolerance, the use of antisemitism as a means to encourage a return to the religious fold.

These can be added to truth and justice and the founding revolutionary credo of 'liberté', 'égalité' and 'fraternité' that were central to the Dreyfusard demand that the wrong done to the Jewish captain be righted in the name of the Republic. Visual and textual language emphasized their mutual concerns about violence, religiosity and societal malaise. Admiration, homage and camaraderie played their part in furthering ideas between Ibels and Zola and their associates within the intellectual sphere more broadly.

The priest's body was weaponized by anticlerical artists like Ibels to show a range of defining traits such as sloth, wiliness and viciousness. Gesture was used to indicate what this politicised figure would do next in the satirical visual narrative. Anticlerical and antimilitary artists used exaggeration to embody individuals such as the oversized moustache for the real spy, Esterhazy. The seminal mid-nineteenth century idea of 'le progrès' was developed as an aspiration for Republican civil society that Ibels characterised as threatened by the military. Figuration in Ibels' cartoons often used a bold linear form and vectors that would be particularly effective in communicating a political message, whether communicated from the front cover of a journal, within the pages of a book, or in a poster.

## Chapter Five - The Representation of the Jew in the polemic

The previous two chapters investigated what anticlerical ideas were represented in visual satire, why they were articulated, and how they were represented in anti-Jewish controversies, focusing on the Dreyfus polemic. A supplementary aim investigated the sharing of ideas between Emile Zola and Henry-Gabriel Ibels. Chapter five now turns its attention to the secondary pillar, in examining the representation of the Jew in visual satire within the ambit of the anti-Jewish polemic. The main focus are the cartoons of the Dreyfus debate. Zola's open letters and his column 'Pour les Juifs' continue to serve as main primary sources. Examining this art has provided the opportunity to probe competing notions of Jewish identity amid the socio-political tensions amid rapid change of modernising Europe. This chapter tackles old and newer ideas about Jews in the cartoons. To be examined are the amalgams these composite ideas created, in which longstanding, particularly religious, narratives merged with newer themes to 'other' Jews. Anti-Jewish tropes being scrutinised include 'Judas', the 'Jewish king' and its synecdoche as a crowned head, the 'nouveau riche' and what this study terms 'the interloper'. The influence of racist thinking and theories about biological determinism on representations is weighed as are ideas about the malign or demonic. Also being explored are the designation of Jewish women as outside aesthetic female norms and the use of sex as a critique with polarised accusations against Jews ranging from predatory male behaviour to effeminacy.

The following images are examined in chapter five: 'Naquet', *La Libre Parole*, 1893 (fig. 61);<sup>1</sup> 'Le Pon Badriote' for *Psst...!*, Forain, 5 February 1898 (fig. 62);<sup>2</sup> 'En Famille', Donville, *La Libre Parole illustrée*, No 174, 7 November 1895 (fig. 63);<sup>3</sup> 'C'est nous qui sont les nobles', Chanteclair (Lucien Emery), *La Libre Parole*, 13 April 1895, Paris (fig. 64);<sup>4</sup> 'Leurs soldats' (left) and (right) 'L'Aristocratie de demain', compendium of *Psst... !*, 1899 (fig. 65);<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caricature\\_de\\_Alfred\\_Naquet-Dans\\_Libre\\_Parole.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caricature_de_Alfred_Naquet-Dans_Libre_Parole.jpg) (last accessed 29 January 2022).

<sup>2</sup> Tr. De Goot Patriot; [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1949-0411-4998](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1949-0411-4998) (last accessed 28 Jan 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Kleeblatt. 'Plates', p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Tr. It's we who are the nobles; <http://www.collections.musee-bretagne.fr/ark:/83011/FLMjo212779> (last accessed 21 Jan 2022).

<sup>5</sup> Tr. Their soldiers. / The Aristocracy of tomorrow.

<https://www.klinebooks.com/pages/books/45435/caran-dache-jean-louis-forain-emmanuel-poire/psst-bound-volume-of-the-complete-85-issues> (last accessed 21 Jan 2022).

'The World Turn'd Upside Down' by TJ ('a well-willer'), 1646 (fig. 66);<sup>6</sup> 'Mr Franco', James Gillray, engraving, 1800, London (fig. 67);<sup>7</sup> 'La France et L'Araignée', *Figaro*, Vienna, 20 January 1898 (fig. 68);<sup>8</sup> 'AN INCUBUS', Georges du Maurier, illustration for his novel *Trilby*, New York, 1895 (fig. 69);<sup>9</sup> 'Friday Evening', Izidor Kaufmann, 1897–1898, oil on canvas (fig. 70);<sup>10</sup> 'Page d'histoire', Caran D'Ache, *Psst...!*, 5 February 1898, Paris (fig. 71);<sup>11</sup> 'Le Traître', Oswald Heidbrinck, *Le Rire*, 5 January 1895 (fig. 72).<sup>12</sup> 'Allégorie', Forain, *Psst...!*, 23 July 1898 (fig. 73);<sup>13</sup> 'No 9', *Histoire d'un crime* series, Couturier, 1899 (fig. 74) ;<sup>14</sup> Detail, 'Affaire Dreyfus, 1894-1899 L'heure de la justice a sonné', Couturier, 1899 (fig. 75);<sup>15</sup> 'Le Goupillon', Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, 1898, Paris. (fig. 76);<sup>16</sup> 'Les qualités du Juif d'après le method de Gall', Courtet, *La Libre Parole*, 23 December 1893 (fig. 77) ;<sup>17</sup> *Grandes Chroniques de France*, 1182, Diaspora Museum, Tel Aviv (fig. 78) ;<sup>18</sup> (left) detail, 'Le Jeu de 36 Têtes', by Lambot for *L'Antijuif* on 12 February 1899 and (right) a photograph of Captain Dreyfus after his Degradation ceremony on 5 January 1895 (fig. 78);<sup>19</sup> 'Candidat Antisémit', Willette, lithographic poster, 1889 (fig. 80);<sup>20</sup> 'Vote Maker (for the People's Party)', Carl Browne, 1892 (fig. 81);<sup>21</sup> 'Il nous écrase et nous pressure, et plane au-dessus de nous', *Ohe, Les Dirigeants*, Gyp, 1896 (fig. 82);<sup>22</sup> Detail, 'Vote Maker' (fig. 83); Detail, 'Candidat Antisémit' (fig. 84); Detail, '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France', *Le Rire*, Gyp, 28 December 1895 (fig. 85); 'La Sécheresse', Willette, the defining first front cover for *La Libre Parole*, No 1, 17 July 1893 (fig. 86);<sup>23</sup> Detail, 'La Sécheresse' from Cate's 'The Paris Cry: Graphic

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/uk/crown/large2180.html> (last accessed ibid).

<sup>7</sup> Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. France and the spider; Grand-Carteret, *L'affaire Dreyfus et l'image*, p. 190.

<sup>9</sup> <https://archive.org/details/trilbynovel00dumarich/page/n5/mode/2up> (last accessed 16 July 2021).

<sup>10</sup> <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/media.aspx?start=20> (last accessed 13 June 2020).

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.parismuseecollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/page-d-histoire#infos-principales> (last accessed 18 June 2021).

<sup>12</sup> Tr. The traitor. Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 161.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/collections/psst> (last accessed 26 July 2021).

<sup>14</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 207.

<sup>15</sup> Tr. The Dreyfus Affair, the hour of justice has sounded; Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, illustrations.

<sup>16</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p.39.

<sup>17</sup> Tr. The qualities of the Jew after the method of Gall; Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p. 53.

<sup>18</sup> [www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/11/14/invention-jewish-nose/](http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/11/14/invention-jewish-nose/) (last accessed 7 December 2021).

<sup>19</sup> Tr. The game of 36 heads; Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 192. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/the-dreyfus-affair-french-officer-alfred-dreyfus-is-news-photo/89863654?adppopup=true> (last accessed 29 Jan 2022).

<sup>20</sup> Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p. 57.

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[https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/page/13/?wordfence\\_logHuman=1&hid=B00010E18A5F91291F922610F32B28A7](https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/page/13/?wordfence_logHuman=1&hid=B00010E18A5F91291F922610F32B28A7); <https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2020/01/07/carl-browns-vote-maker/>;

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31175035166548&view=1up&seq=8> (all last accessed 7 June 2020)

<sup>22</sup> Tr. He crushes and squeezes and hovers over us... Oh the Masters.

<sup>23</sup> Tr. The Drought; Cate, 'The Paris Cry' p. 77.

Artists and the Dreyfus Affair' (fig. 87); 'Que le chambardement commence!!' No. 34, *Musée des Horreurs*, by V Lenepveu, hand-coloured lithograph, 1900 (fig. 88);<sup>24</sup> Oil painting 'Dans les coulisses', Forain (fig. 89);<sup>25</sup> Detail, 'Histoire de la Troisième République', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896 (fig. 90); Detail, 'Juifs d'Algérie', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896 (fig. 91);<sup>26</sup> 'Excepté le cochon, tout nous est permis', Hermann-Paul, *Le Canard sauvage*, No 4, 11-17 April 1903 (fig. 92);<sup>27</sup> and 'Une page d'amour', *L'œuvre de Zola*, by H. Lebourgeois, 1898 (fig. 93).<sup>28</sup> Figs. 62, 72, 73, 76, 85 and 87 are examined using the tripartite semiotic methodology.

### Othering the representation of the Jew amid late nineteenth century tensions

Guiraud argues the visual signage of an image worked on a dual level, — the cognitive of the referential, and the emotive.<sup>29</sup> The facility of visual satire to work on both these levels made it a potent force in designating and characterising the Jew as outside the society in which he (or she) lived. In law, being an outsider in France was historical fact for Jews prior to the First Revolution. Citizenship for Jews was the final accomplishment of 'égalité' since they remained outside the body politic for two years following the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Before September 1791 Jews were then, legally and de facto, 'others'. Hyman suggests French Jews gave public recognition to the revolutionary moment of their emancipation when they became the first in Europe to receive citizenship and the rights it conferred.<sup>30</sup> A century after post-revolutionary legislation granted these, the visual representation of the Jew became a contested fusion of ideas in the Dreyfus divide flowing from the evolution of their place in French and wider European society.

The target of the anti-Dreyfusard artist was not the long-established Sephardi community, the descendants of Jews from Spain and Portugal. These were broadly accepted as merchants and had been feted by 'philosophes' as intellectuals. The polemical cartoon attacked the non-aculturated 'Ashkenazim' from northern Europe.<sup>31</sup> These contrary

<sup>24</sup> Tr. Let the upheaval begin !!; Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 251.

<sup>25</sup> Tr. In the wings; *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>26</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> Tr. Everything is permitted us, except pig; Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> Tr. A page of love; Tillier, *Les Artistes et l'Affaire*, illustrations.

<sup>29</sup> Guiraud, Pierre (1978) *Semiology*, Boston, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Hyman, 'The French Jewish Community', p. 25.

<sup>31</sup> Jews originating from northern Europe

negative perceptions translated into discrete visual stereotypes. The Jew from Alsace who had moved to metropolitan France in the 1870s was depicted as a boor, lacking sophistication, sometimes a gauche ruffian or incongruous peasant in the metropolis. He was 'un-French' even if he had French citizenship. Dreyfus' own family was among those who chose to relocate to France from Alsace-Lorraine after the region was incorporated into the German empire following the Prussian victory of 1871. But Jews were also depicted as vain and wimpy aristocrats or members of the bourgeoisie who aped their betters. Jewish figures in the polemical cartoons displayed gaudy or ostentatious wealth as in Lenepveu's caricature of Joseph Reinach as an eighteenth-century despot in Rococo frills and satin for his *Musée des Horreurs* series, or Lebourgeois' allegorical Jewish truth who is preoccupied with her reflection and jewellery. The Jew was represented as having an underlying moral bankruptcy as Everton argued, and as economically exploitative.<sup>32</sup> Class dimension provided a paradox for these ideas as seen from Barrès' writing about rich and poor Jews like peddlers in *Le Courrier de l'Est*. On the significant Republican date of Bastille Day, he wrote that "Jewish usurers, peddlers and merchants were sowing ruin". Five years before Dreyfus' arrest he described Jews as "stock-market speculators.... Hebrews crossed with Germans".<sup>33</sup> These perceptions were translated into satirical stereotypes in the art drawing in Jews of every rank, aptitude and background, be he the distinguished parliamentarian and professor of chemistry, Alfred Naquet, as seen in *La Libre Parole* below (fig. 61) or Forain's nameless everyman in 'Le Pon Badriote' for *Psst...!*, as seen further below (fig. 62).

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<sup>32</sup> Everton, Elizabeth, 'The Veiled Lady and the Razor: The Visual Language of Truth and Falsehood during the Dreyfus Affair', *Society for French Historical Studies*, March 2010, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Barrès, 'Le Juif dans l'Est', *Le Courrier de l'Est*, 14 July 1889; Sternhell, 'Roots of Popular Antisemitism' *The Jews in Modern France*, p. 109; Sternhell, Zeev, 'National Socialism and Antisemitism: The Case of Maurice Barrès', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (October, 1973), p. 59.



Fig. 61 'Naquet', *La Libre Parole*, 1893

### Foreign 'interlopers' and 'outsiders': language and identity

As Marrus argues, the new antisemitism attracted supporters across a broad spectrum in the Third Republic.<sup>34</sup> From Jules Guérin on the right, a founder of the *Ligue antisémite française*, to those on the left who framed the polemic as the “Jewish propensity for capitalist exploitation”.<sup>35</sup> ‘Antisemitism’, and the campaign networks that grew around the ideology like the *Ligue antisémite de France* a decade later, channelled hostility not reliant on religious difference. Laqueur argues that while Wilhelm Marr popularized the term and gave it wide currency in the late 1870s, it had already been in existence for at least two decades.<sup>36</sup> Hess contends that when the term ‘antisemitism’ was first introduced, those who used it did so in order to stress the radical difference between their own ‘antisemitism’ and earlier forms of antagonism toward Jews and Judaism”.<sup>37</sup> Laqueur defines Marr’s philosophy as rejecting medieval arguments for othering Jews and formulating attacks based on what Marr called the “Jewish spirit” and its impact on modern culture and life.<sup>38</sup> Amid the rising nationalism and protests against cosmopolitanism, anti-Dreyfusards like

<sup>34</sup> Marrus, ‘Popular Anti-Semitism’ pp. 50-61.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>36</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*, p. 21. Marr’s second wife, who died in childbirth, was Jewish and his third from a Judeo-Christian background, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> Hess, Jonathan M, ‘Johann David Michaelis and the Colonial Imaginary: Orientalism and the Emergence of Racial Antisemitism in Eighteenth-Century Germany’, *Jewish Social Studies*. 6 (2), Winter 2000, p. 56.

<sup>38</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*, p. 21.

Forain pushed notions of Jewish 'otherness' quite separate from religious difference. One way to achieve this was to promote perceptions of Jewish foreignness and foreign wealth controlling the Republic. When *Psst...!*, the image-only journal Forain and Caran D'Ache launched in February 1898 to repudiate in cartoon Zola's allegations in 'J'Accuse...!'.<sup>39</sup> 'Le Pon Badriote' was the defining cover image as seen below (fig. 62).

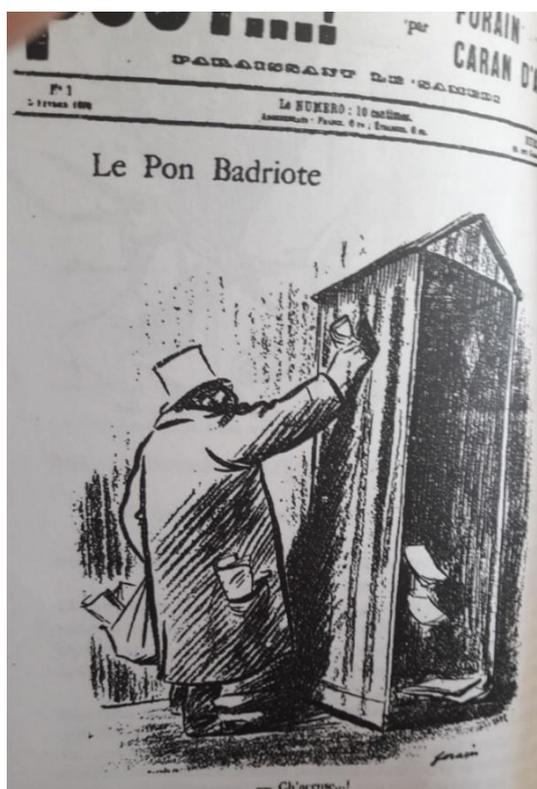


Fig. 62 'Le Pon Badriote', Forain, *Psst...!*, 5 February 1898

### *First reading*

This image was published three weeks after 'J'Accuse...!' It shows a man in a hat and greatcoat. His face is largely hidden. He is posting papers through the aperture of a structure. His pocket is stuffed with more papers, and he carries a bag full of them too. The posted papers accumulate as they fall to the ground in a pile. The text 'Le Pon Badriote' is high above the image, just below the journal's masthead. In smaller lettering underneath the image, is the legend '— Ch'accuse...!' The name of the artist, Forain, is positioned above the legend and directly under the papers that are spilling out.

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<sup>39</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 91.

### *Second reading*

The legend apes the title of Zola's open letter in a deliberately corrupted form, using an ellipsis and exclamation mark like the original to underscore their shared DNA. The man in the overcoat is depicted with stereotypically antisemitic features. This figure is a metonymic device symbolising all Jews in France. He is characterised as devious, because it is difficult to make out his face hidden by the collar of his coat, the brim of his hat and the angle of his upraised arm caught in the act of posting a wad of the newspapers with 'J'Accuse...!' on its front page. But, says Forain, their scheming will come to nothing, since these copies are simply dropping to the floor of a privy where they belong. Forain is making the claim that Jews were outsiders who had come into Christian France, the daughter of Rome, to spread manufactured slander which belonged in the sewer. The man's figure and clothing resemble those of the Naquet caricature for *La Libre Parole*. While the figure is furtive, the act of pushing the paper through the aperture near the centre of the image draws attention to the boldness of the Jewish act taking place. This action is signified to be Zola's attack on the French nation, church and army. The cartoon cautions that a Jewish strong arm or syndicate, by its very nature foreign, is behind 'J'Accuse...!'. But it informs the reader that despite the amount of information being pumped out, signalled by the number of copies being pushed through the privy, this malign influence will fail. Forain has depicted them all in a downward momentum, falling pointlessly, to amass on the floor. Forain identifies himself and his resistance with their failure, by signing his name just below the heap of redundant papers.

The figure in Forain's drawing is the "[p]on [b]adroit not 'bon patriot'. The corruption of the phrase denotes a guttural accent suggestive of the German Jew. This is reinforced by the single word of the legend, the distorted 'Ch'accuse...!' which mocks Zola's original open letter. The device undermines and ridicules the dominant word for the first person and first letter of 'Je' of Zola's original accusation. The 'a' of 'accuse' has also been transposed into the lower case to further diminish the power of the original statement. The spoonerism in the phrase '(L)e Pon Badriote' is used to subvert the phrase and invert the meaning to imply the opposite. This inversion of the consonants signals a foreign interloper without understanding of French cultural references or facility to speak the language. The boorish, guttural disfigurement of the language was a metaphor in its own right.

### *Myth*

The visual satire paralleled newspaper commentary. Bernard Lazare drew attention to hostile organs of the press like *La Vérité* and *La Patrie* which characterised Jews as ‘un-French’, discussed their explicit shortcomings, and presented the Jewish Dreyfus as unquestionably guilty.<sup>40</sup> Lazare recorded *La Vérité* asking:

“Quand on a su à Paris, disait-elle, qu’il s’agissait d’un juif, l’indignation l’a emporté sur la tristesse. Pourquoi aussi, demandait-on, laisser un juif au bureau des renseignements confidentiels. C’était la première idée qui venait à l’esprit. S’il faut être juste pour les Juifs, parmi lesquels il en est qui portent avec résignation le poids de la malédiction jetée sur leur race, ce n’est pas moins un crime que de leur confier la clef de nos serrures de sûreté”.<sup>41</sup>

Lazare provided a list of publications including *La Cocarde*, *La France*, *L’Echo de Paris*, *La Croix*, *Le Pelèrin* and *La Libre Parole*, which made rapid antisemitic pronouncements about the predictability of Jewish treachery. The notion that Jews were not compatriots but belonged to an international grouping that favoured external interests is captured by the *La France*’s commentary on 5 November 1894. It declared that Dreyfus was “l’agent de ce pouvoir occulte, de cette haute juiverie internationale qui a décidé la ruine des Français et l’accaparement de la terre de France”.<sup>42</sup> The bulky, shadowy male figure with hidden face and Germanic accent who pretends to be a patriot in Forain’s ‘Le Pon Badriote’ achieved all of these critiques in a single drawing.

Its linguistic device was repeated in other anti-Dreyfusard captions as in another *La Libre Parole* front cover ‘En famille’, published a month after the captain’s arrest.<sup>43</sup> Donville has depicted a Jewish father and son whom the artist contrives to resemble Dreyfus while giving him stereotypical semitic features — an affectation frequently used to caricature the captain. The father is predictably large-nosed and thick-lipped. His elegant attire is rumpled

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<sup>40</sup> Lazare, *L’Affaire Dreyfus: une Erreur Judiciaire*, Paris, p. 17. Even-Zohar, ‘Language Conflict and National Identity’ in Alpher, Joseph (ed) *Nationalism and Modernity*, Haifa, pp. 17, 23.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 17. Tr. When we knew that a Jew was involved, it [*La Vérité*] said, indignation outweighed sorrow. Why, we wonder also, let a Jew into an office of confidential information? It was the first idea that came to mind. If we are being fair to the Jews, among whom there are some who bear with resignation the weight of the curse cast on their race, it is no less a crime to entrust them with the key to our security locks.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 15. Tr. The agent of this occult power, of this high international Jewish set which has decided the ruin of French people and the grabbing of France’s home soil.

<sup>43</sup> Tr. at home

and he has slipped feet. He is shown in the act of issuing a warning to his soldier son delivered in a heavy accent, as below (fig. 63).

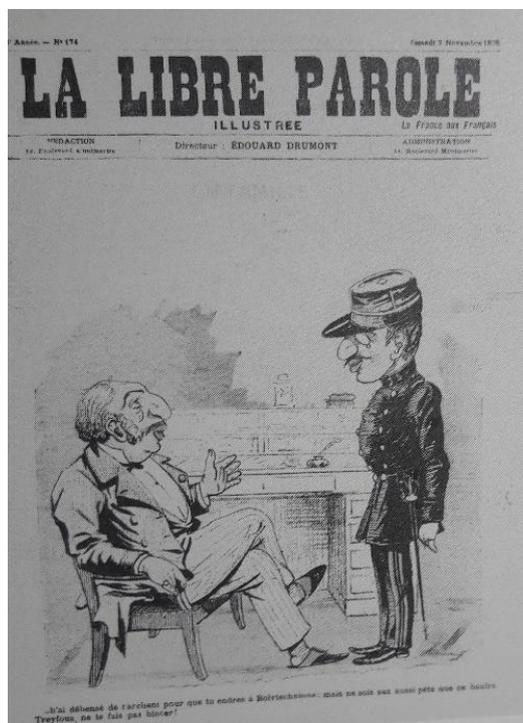


Fig. 63 'En Famille', Donville, *La Libre Parole illustrée*, No 174, 7 November 1895

Warning him not to get caught doing something dishonourable, the father mangles his French and employs cheap slang: “Ch’ai débensé de l’archent pour que tu endres à Bolythechnique: mais ne sois pas aussi pète que ce baufre Treyfous, ne te fais pas bincer!”.<sup>44</sup> This Judaizing or Germanizing of the French language was a trope also found in contemporary literature. Anglo-French writer George du Maurier’s best-selling novel *Trilby*, first published in serial form in January 1894, then as a book in September, a month before Dreyfus’ arrest, told the tale. Set in Paris, the antagonist is a Jew called Svengali. Described in the narrative “as bad as they make ’em” the narrator later says of him:

“...let me say vicious imaginations of Svengali’s, which look so tame in English print, sounded much more ghastly in French, pronounced with a Hebrew-German accent, and

<sup>44</sup> Tr: I schpent moniesh for you to go to the Bolytechnic: but don’t be as shctoopid as that poor Treyfus, don’t get nicked!

uttered in his hoarse, rasping, nasal, throaty rook's caw, his big yellow teeth baring themselves in a mongrel canine snarl".<sup>45</sup>

The use of the word 'mongrel' reinforces the notion of a devalued hybrid whose speech compromises the language. The notion of a "Hebrew-German" accent tallies exactly with Barrès' qualification. The 'rook's caw' re-emphasised the idea that the speech was not only less than French but less than human, flattened and debased. Svengali's speech defects are like those of the 'Pon Badriote' and Donville's father. Svengali says "Ils savent tous un peu toucher du piano mais pas grand'chose" replacing the 'v' of what should be 'savent' and the 'p' of what should be 'piano'.<sup>46</sup> The 'a' in 'piano' is accented to show further mispronunciation. The 'p' in 'pas' is not represented as mispronounced. To do so would have been too confusing for the reader. A silly accent linked to more sinister narratives was a well-established device in European visual satire, as in the English Mezzotint produced in 1792, 'I've Got de Monish'. Felsenstein and Mintz suggest the notion that Jews rich and poor were "combining to expropriate for themselves the finances of the state" as this image did, was a recurrent theme.<sup>47</sup> Selling the idea that Jews were un-French in the way antisemites said they looked, acted and spoke, was a clear objective for the image-only anti-Dreyfusard press like *Psst...!* which carried no stand-alone text unless one counted the 'petits annonces' on the back pages.<sup>48</sup> These journals relied on bold, witty, accessible cartoons to attract, persuade, or reaffirm readers' prejudices. The journal's defining launch front cover 'Le Pon Badriote' set out on its mission from the onset to advance the idea Jews tainted the mother tongue and the ideals and standards of the nation, a Trojan horse destroying France from within. But the cartoon predicted this project would ultimately collapse and its job was to help achieve that.

Mispronunciation in a lowered standard of speech and language tapped into broader pro-clerical resentment about education being wrestled from the Church by the secularising state. It also spoke to what Stone argued was a sense of 'national consciousness' in late nineteenth-century France which saw a drive to harmonise the French language eliminating linguistic differences such as Breton patois.<sup>49</sup> Language was important since the nation-

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<sup>45</sup> Du Maurier, George (1895) *Trilby*, New York, p. 136.

<sup>46</sup> Tr. Everyone know how to tinkle a bit on the piano but nothing that great (*sic*); *Ibid*.

<sup>47</sup> Felsenstein and Mintz, *The Jew as Other: A Century of English Caricature 1730-1830*, New York, p. 15.

<sup>48</sup> Cate, 'The Paris Cry', p. 90.

<sup>49</sup> Stone, Norman (1983) *Europe Transformed 1878-1919*, Glasgow, pp. 17, 59.

state, as Seton-Watson contended, used it in the nineteenth century to define itself.<sup>50</sup> While for Even-Zohar, language was a vehicle of symbolic value in the construction of national identity.<sup>51</sup> In the Third Republic, in which the nationalising and homogenising of the French language was taking place, stigmatising a guttural accent of rich Jews like Baron de Reinach identified Jews as ugly, discordant and out of place. The linguistic differential serving to ridicule the 'Pon Badriote' stressed the Jew was outside the nation-state. An accent signalled as 'bad' or 'wrong' was used to show the Jew disfiguring not just the language but the nation. Applying Segre's theory about ideology around state, nation and religion takes this a step further. Anti-Dreyfusard representations defined Jews as a burden in what Segre called a biosocial syncretism within an ideological framework around state, nation and religion through the caricature of having nothing of value to contribute, only 'dis-value'.<sup>52</sup>

The notion of the Jew as a counterfeit citizen was testament to what Rubinstein *et al* called a lack of agreement about their acculturation, elevation or inclusion in society.<sup>53</sup> De Goncourt's play 'A bas le progrès', for which Ibels had illustrated a poster, had the character of the thief complain about Jews and the cheap imitations of modern life. A major theme in Caran D'Ache's representations of Jews was of them degrading the public and private sphere. They are seen doing this in the literary salon, the scholar's retreat, in the corrupted judiciary and as aberrant soldiers. Chanteclair's 'C'est nous qui sont les nobles' as seen below (fig. 64) put forward a similar characterisation of drippy, self-interested parvenus as Caran D'Ache's 'Salons Intellectuels', 'l'Aristocratie de demain' and the bungling marksman of 'Leurs soldats' also below (fig. 65). Moreover, the legend of 'l'Aristocratie de demain', "mais c'est nous", was the same as Chanteclair's cartoon to make of it a satirical refrain to stress the sense of misappropriation.

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<sup>50</sup> Seton-Watson, Hugh (1986) in 'State, Nation, and Religion: Some General Reflections in Alpher, Joseph (ed) *Nationalism and Modernity: A Mediterranean Perspective*, Haifa, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Even-Zohar, Itamar (1986) 'Language Conflict and National Identity', p. 126.

<sup>52</sup> Segre, Dan V (1986) 'Zionism, Marginalism, and Cosmopolitan Centralism' in Alpher, Joseph (ed) *Nationalism and Modernity: A Mediterranean Perspective*, Haifa, p 80.

<sup>53</sup> Rubinstein *et al*, *The Jews in the Modern World*, p. 33.

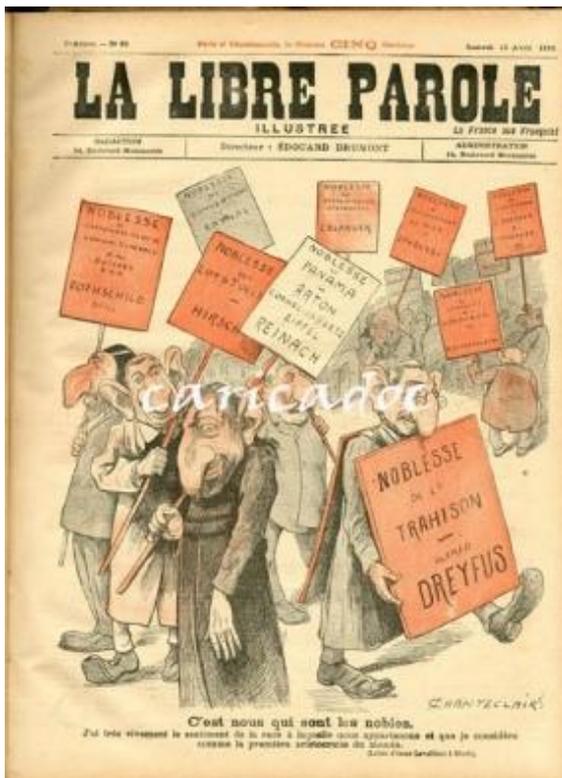


Fig. 64 'C'est nous qui sont les nobles', Chanteclair, *La Libre Parole*, 13 April 1895



Fig. 65 (Left) 'Leurs soldats'; and 'L'Aristocratie de demain', compendium of *Psst... !*, 1899

For anti-Dreyfusards, the mantra of “[m]ais c’est nous” presented the public with the spectacle of an overturned world order in which the ‘ancien régime’ has been resurrected in

the form of a parody in which its former lowest class is now the most elevated. These depictions of the Jew used the idea of ridiculous role-reversal as much as the English woodcut frontispiece 'The World Turn'd Upside Down', did to protest socio-political change, seen below (fig. 66).<sup>54</sup>

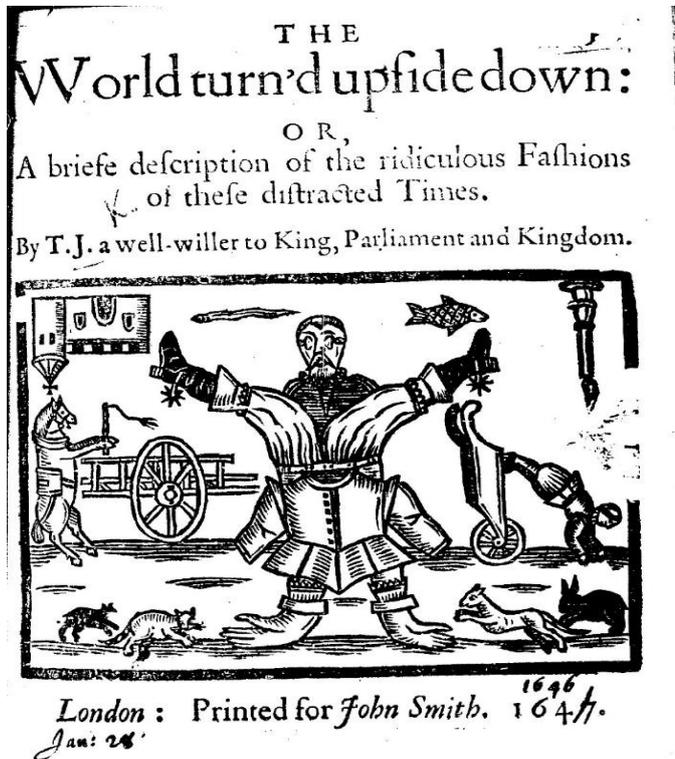


Fig. 66 'The World Turn'd Upside Down', TJ ('a well-willer'), 1646

By the time of the war of images in the Dreyfus debate the absurdity of the Jewish arriviste was a well-established idiom in European satire. The individual, 'Mr Franco', was depicted by the English caricaturist James Gillray as a self-conscious fop almost a century before Chanteclair and Caran D'Ache held characterisations of Jewish gentlemen or the professional classes up to ridicule. A prominent nose, self-satisfied fatuous expression and pig iconography, in the form of trotters disappearing out of the frame, confirmed the man's Jewish identity (fig. 67).

<sup>54</sup> The ballad protested the English Parliament's outlawing certain celebrations at Christmas.

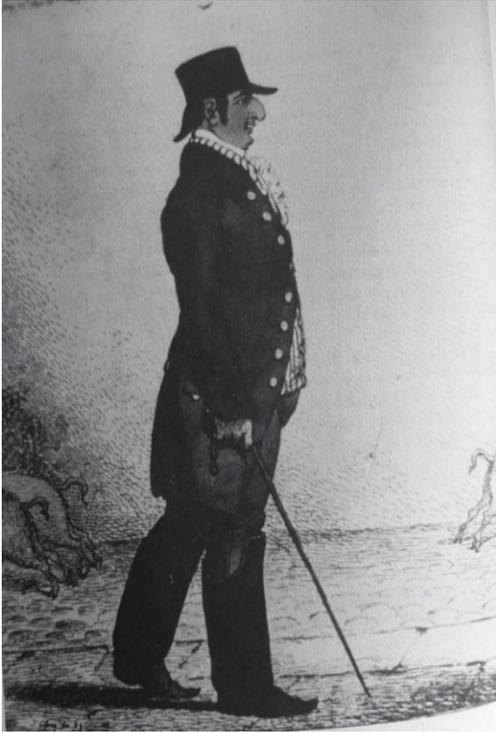


Fig. 67 'Mr Franco', James Gillray, engraving, 1800, London

### The confluence of ideas about religious and non-religious difference

As McManners posits, members of the Catholic Church made a significant contribution to Judeophobic themes from sensational blood libel claims to more nuanced protests about “a society in which religion is scorned and the family imperilled”.<sup>55</sup> Byrnes noted that nearly a third of antisemitic books published between 1870 and the year of Dreyfus’ arrest in 1894 were written by priests.<sup>56</sup> Accentuating religious difference in vituperative images of Jews catered to what McManners identified as the popular Catholic mentality in those who saw themselves as the “defeated” of secular cosmopolitanism.<sup>57</sup> One response came from ‘La France et L’Araignée’ drawing these narrative threads together in depicting Dreyfus as the architect of a Jewish conspiracy against the state. It did so using the metaphor of a sticky spider’s web that had already ensnared Zola and Scheurer-Kestner as seen below (fig. 68).

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<sup>55</sup> McManners, *Church and State*, p. 122.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123



Fig. 68 'La France et L'Araignée', *Figaro*, Vienna, 20 January 1898

The image uses vectors to emphasize the impact of a Jewish contingent within the French nation. A prominent vector forms one of the constituent parts of the web. It is longer than the other lines radiating out from the centre of the web with a Jew at its heart, traversing the image from the top right to the bottom left corner and cutting the picture in two diagonally. This long vector runs from Dreyfus at the centre of his web, through the Zola-fly, to pierce the jugular of the allegorized screaming French Republic. The vector effectively guillotines France where the shape above the open mouth is like small cross. The vector's dissection of the image into two halves constructs a notional diptych with the miscreants and guillotined head of France in one, and Esterhazy and France's body representing the nation in the other. The accusation and alliances represented in the diagonal diptych are given strongly religious overtones by depicting the Dreyfus-spider as a Jewish zealot. Zola responded to such views in *Lettre à la France* warning against "a return to the dark ages of intolerance".<sup>58</sup> The spider metaphor was a key motif in the antisemite's arsenal of

<sup>58</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, pp.13, 19.

iconography. A markedly similar human-spider representing the antagonist character of the Jew, Svengali, as seen below (fig. 69), made an appearance in du Maurier's *Trilby* published in 1895, the year after Dreyfus' arrest.<sup>59</sup>

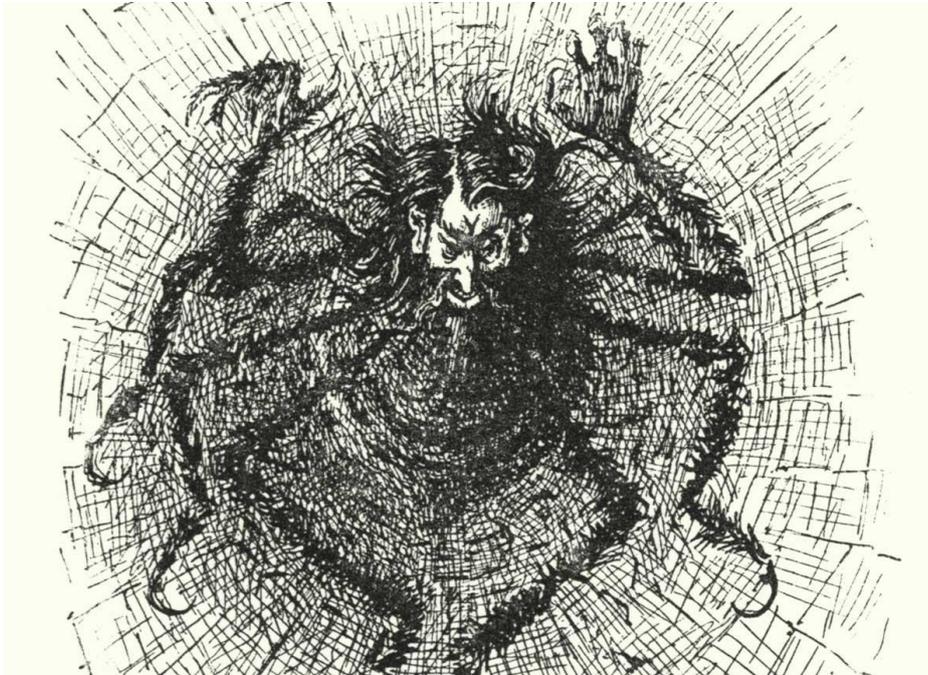


Fig. 69 'AN INCUBUS', Georges du Maurier, Illustration for his novel *Trilby*, 1895, New York

Lyons calls the Svengali character a “grotesquely antisemitic caricature” in a story first serialised in January 1894 in *Harper's Magazine*.<sup>60</sup> Du Maurier created the illustrations for the 1895 edition of the book himself. The spider is not a religious Jew as in 'La France et L'Araignée' but du Maurier's narrative binds the negative character of Svengali with pejorative references to Judaism describing him as a “lordly, god-like, shawm-playing, cymbal-banging hero and prophet of the Lord God of Israel — David and Saul in one”.<sup>61</sup>

There was also a connotation with the devil articulated by the spider illustration. The drawing was entitled 'an incubus' and the Jewish Svengali was depicted with a demon's claws.<sup>62</sup> Zeldin observed that publications such as Gougenot des Mousseaux's *Le Juif, Le Judaism et la Judaisation des peuples Chrétiens* published in 1869 had characterised Jews

<sup>59</sup> <https://archive.org/details/trilbynovel00dumarich/page/n5/mode/2up> (last accessed 16 July 2021).

<sup>60</sup> Lyons, Mathew, 'The First Svengali', *History Today*, Volume 70, Issue 9 September 2020. <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/months-past/first-svengali> (last accessed 16 July 2021).

<sup>61</sup> Du Maurier, p. 137. <https://archive.org/details/trilbynovel00dumarich/page/n5/mode/2up>, p. 62 (last accessed 16 July 2021).

<sup>62</sup> In mythology, a demon that engages in sexual congress with sleeping victims.

as a people apart.<sup>63</sup> Part of the approach by Gougenot, a commander of the order of Pius IX, was inspired by the belief Jews were cabbalistic worshippers of Satan indicating such extreme views were held as late as the last half of the nineteenth century by an educated, high-ranking officer of the Church. Weber says in the 1890s “quite a few” believed Jews were really in contact with devils.<sup>64</sup> The connotation was an old one, rooted over the centuries to a high prevalence for literacy among Jews when the majority was illiterate and, following Weber’s argument, when written material was associated with spells, incantations, sorcery and witchcraft.<sup>65</sup> Du Maurier’s spider shows the demonic connection was still common currency at the time of the Jewish captain’s arrest.

In this vitriolic climate, visual representations of Jewish faith traditions had a role to play in redefining and repositioning the notion of the religious Jew in wider society. Representations of Jews at prayer or in reflection like Izidor Kaufmann’s demure woman, seen below (fig. 70), projected a sense of grace and virtue, as an alternative to anti-religious tropes.



Fig. 70 'Friday Evening'. Izidor Kaufmann, 1897–1898, oil on canvas

<sup>63</sup> Zeldin, *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, p. 1038.

<sup>64</sup> Weber, 'Reflections on the Jews in France', p. 11.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Painted at the zenith of the Dreyfus crisis, Kaufmann depicted a woman seated quietly beside Shabbos candles on a snow-white tablecloth. The figure and scene radiate serenity and calm. Miriam Rainer suggests the traditional Jewish figures found favour beyond the Jewish community evinced by Kaufmann winning prizes for his paintings in Vienna and Munich in 1897, achieving a Silver Medal at the Paris International Exhibition in 1900.<sup>66</sup> Yet while the Jewish woman in Kaufmann's 'Friday Evening' was feted among the literati of Vienna and Paris, the contemporaneous image of the 'La France et L'Araignée' in Vienna's *Figaro* indicates the image of the religious Jew was contested and weaponised in the political arena. In *à la jeunesse*, Zola urged readers to put aside such tensions he saw as manufactured by the Church, warning: "A hundred years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a hundred years after the supreme act of tolerance and emancipation, we go back to religious war, to the most odious and the most stupid of fanaticisms!"<sup>67</sup> Zola's appeal came as anti-Dreyfusards created satirical images of the Jew which blended modern arguments about suspect Jewish loyalty and patriotism following Dreyfus' arrest while stressing religious difference. They did this by foregrounding the centuries-old accusation of deicide.

### The Judas-idea

Religious influence was receding in secularising European societies but anti-Dreyfusards used religious belief and difference as a framework for their satirical representations of Jews to make their arguments recognisable and hold traction. The Judas-idea was a particularly fruitful idiom. Ideas about financially-induced treachery were a long-standing trope associated with the betrayal of Jesus by his disciple Judas Iscariot in the New Testament. It was to become a familiar device in the way Jewish figures were depicted by anti-Dreyfusards. Bernard Lazare methodically noted Judas references in newspaper commentary on the burgeoning Dreyfus case. *L'Echo de Paris*, writes Lazare, "se demandait quelle somme le 'Traître' avait pu recevoir pour prix de son forfait, et celui qui posait la question répondait: 'trente deniers, ça suffit'".<sup>68</sup> In the context of the Dreyfus controversy the biblical act of Judas' betrayal of Jesus is translated into the betrayal of the

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<sup>66</sup> [https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Kaufmann\\_Izidor](https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Kaufmann_Izidor) (last accessed 29 April 2021).

<sup>67</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 8.

<sup>68</sup> Tr. Wondered what sum the 'traitor' had been able to receive as the price for his transgression, and the one who posed the question replied 'Thirty deniers, that will do'; Lazare, *L'Affaire Dreyfus*, p. 15.

French motherland.<sup>69</sup> An advantage of the Judas-idea was that it was supple. It could be grafted on to different claims through which it was made to resonate with the discreet audiences Marrus identified. The Judas-idea was malleable. It could be help seal a joke as in Caran D’Ache’s ‘Page d’histoire’ as seen below (fig. 71). Or it could underscore the most disturbing of images as in Oswald Heidbrinck’s ‘Le Traître’ (fig. 72).



Fig. 71 ‘Page d’histoire’, Caran D’Ache, *Psst...!*, 5 February 1898

The cartoon is a snapshot of a scene inside a shop called ‘Monsieur Alfred Dreyfus, Judas & Co’ with the bespectacled Dreyfus recast as a shopkeeper serving a rustic German paying him for whatever treacherous services he has rendered. The payment is in notes proffered on the tip of a bayonet. The implication is even he does not trust ‘Dreyfus, Judas and Co’. Here the Judas-idea plays directly to the popular antisemitism that Marrus calls the “cri de coeur” of the petit bourgeois, the “small shopkeepers, artisans, employers and others for whom the growth...of large-scale economic organisation and the emergence of modern economic relationships seemed profoundly unjust”.<sup>70</sup> In ‘Page d’histoire’ the Judas-idea and Dreyfus’s treachery in bundling up secret documents are topical hooks as Caran

<sup>69</sup> Judas’s actions are disputed by some scholars as a mistranslation, misrepresentation or early Church ploy.  
<sup>70</sup> Marrus, ‘Popular Anti-Semitism’, p. 56.

D'Ache articulates concerns about the displacement of Christian and small-time workers by Jewish businessmen using economies of scale. This is the gallery he is playing to. Heidbrinck's 'Le Traître'<sup>71</sup> (fig. 72) and Forain's 'Allégorie' (fig. 73), seen below, use the Judas device. The images are examined together using the tripartite methodology to probe the versatility of the Judas-idea during the anti-Jewish polemic.



Fig. 72 'Le Traître', Oswald Heidbrinck, *Le Rire*, 5 January 1895

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<sup>71</sup> Tr. The Traitor.

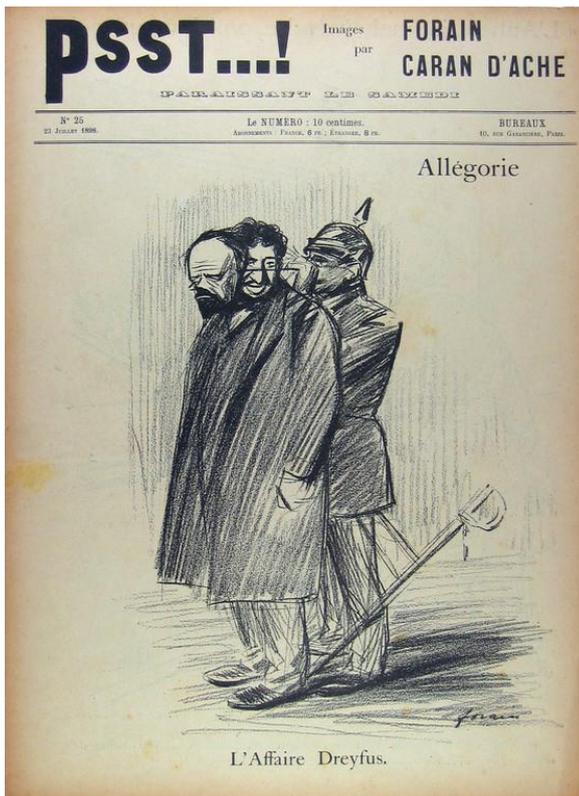


Fig. 73 'Allégorie', Forain, *Psst...!*, 23 July 1898

*First reading*

In 'Allégorie', Forain has depicted two men. The one standing in front is wearing an overcoat and has the mask of another face held in front of him which he is about to assume. The man at the rear is in uniform and wearing a helmet. A sword has been placed in the air to their right, with a dripping pommel. Apart from the caption 'L'Affaire Dreyfus', centre-bottom, no other context is given. By contrast, Heidbrinck's 'Le Traître' represents a crowded outside scene bristling with action past, present and future. The title of 'Le Traître' is importantly displayed in a central position overarching the scene. Underneath the mouth of a gun or cannon poking through the crenel of a walled battlement, is a man with his hands bound. He does not look at the crowd who approach him or the reader-viewer, though we are afforded a clear view of his evasive gaze. There are two old men and six children. All the other figures are women. Figures to the rear are sketched more lightly. Children, sheltering in the skirts of women, comfort each other, avert their faces or gaze at the man with fear. Women stretch out their arms to him. One, giving succour to three children, is bare-breasted, her naked breast at the very heart of the image, along with the pointing finger of another woman. Stones are scattered about on the ground and a cap and a sword's broken pommel rest at the feet of the bare-breasted woman and her children. The

legend asserts: “C’est l’*homme* qui pour trente derniers a voulu rendre veuves toutes les femmes de France, faire pleurer des larmes de sang aux petits enfants et livrer ses compagnons d’armes aux balles de l’ennemi!”.<sup>72</sup>

### *Second reading*

In ‘Le Traître’ the multiple, stretched-out arms of the women who surround the Dreyfus-like figure create parallel vectors drawing the eye of the reader to accentuate the crime. To highlight the guilt of the skulking Dreyfus-figure, these female arms do not all have pointing fingers. Some reach out to appeal because Heidbrinck is representing the crowd, despite their greater numbers, as the victims. There are no young men, only old. The implication of the rubble strewn in the foreground in the context of the legend is the other soldiers have been away fighting in honourable combat or the flower of French manhood is dead, betrayed for thirty pieces of silver like Judas. A white border around the body of ‘the traitor’, without shading, creates a further gulf between him and those who confront him suggesting emotional or human distance.

Both representations use vectors to make their point. In ‘Allégorie’ a downward, dripping sword symbolises the violence of the act of betrayal. It is connected to the German soldier in a ‘pickelhaube’ helmet characterised as a puppet master or classical choreographer fastening the actor’s mask in place. The mask has Zola’s face because the cartoon’s publication is after Zola’s intervention with ‘J’Accuse...!’. Forain applies a vicarious Jewishness to the Dreyfusard author. The positioning of the figures signifies the German military’s dominant role as puppet-master but also carries a derogatory implication of the act of sodomy. The mask is an important iconographic device, denoting a clandestine threat to France posed by intellectuals like Zola who are a front for the partisan Jewish syndicate which in turn acts for the German Empire. The device of the mask was later used to depict Father Gapon as a traitor to the people during the 1905 Russian Revolution. In ‘Allégorie’, the face behind the mask has stereotypically Semitic features and the figure is wearing the iconographic overcoat to display his affluent civilian Jewish identity. He could and may be ‘[l]e Pon Badriote’. The warm coat was often depicted with a luxurious fur collar in hostile cartoons to become a kind of uniform for a standardized antisemitic imaging of the capitalist Jew. Huard’s illustration for a song-sheet created especially for the ‘local de la Jeunesse

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<sup>72</sup> Tr. The *man* who for thirty deniers wanted to turn all wives in France into widows, make small children weep tears of blood and deliver his companions-in-arms over to enemy fire.

'Antisémitisme' at 3, rue de Cluny in Paris entitled 'Dreyfus, Reinach and Company' typified the Jewish businessman trope seen in 'Allégorie'.<sup>73</sup>

'Le Traître' and 'Allégorie' share ideas in the way they represent 'Jewish treachery'. Neither Jew engages eye contact with the viewer because they have something to hide, their dishonourable conduct. In 'Le Traître', the man's face is fully exposed, but he cannot meet the eyes of his victims who, in contrast to him, can hold him in their gaze, even children bold enough to put aside their fear to look at him. Representing him as looking at the viewer might also engender a bond of sympathy for a man who was shackled. Nor does he look upwards as this might have implied the prisoner was pious and looking to a higher code for guidance. Instead, the eponymous 'Traître' looks angrily away and *downwards*, to perdition, shrinking back from the imploring fingers of the women who reach out to touch him. The downward vector was also the negative trajectory. In 'Le Traître' the Jew has recognisable features and a degraded uniform and lost cap as his attributes. In 'Allégorie', the traitor is generic or universal: he is connoted to be an anonymous 'Jew', an everyman representing the 'syndicate'.

The scene depicted in 'Le Traître' invites every woman to see herself in every mother in the crowd, and appeals to every man to taste the outrage and revulsion that any husband, father or son would experience at such a prospect. In 'Allégorie', the triumvirate made up of the Zola mask, the Jewish man and the enemy soldier is armed with a sword already wielded in anger. Again, the vector of the sword is shown pointing downwards, lest it create the suggestion the Jew himself was a victim, in danger from his German military manipulator. As with Heidbrinck, so Forain is at pains to show putative Jewish power not victimhood. As Kleeblatt noted, another factor influencing the representation of such anti-Jewish figuration was the commercial benefits that accrued but such incentives were never out of step with the political views of the artist.<sup>74</sup>

Using metaphor and allegories, the cartoons frame Jews as actors within contemporary events akin to the way Witkin, citing Nochlin, contended were reflected in Manet's 'The Execution of Maximilian' and Goya's 'The Third of May'.<sup>75</sup> The representations showed not

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<sup>73</sup> Tr. Local Antisemitic Youth; Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism' p. 60.

<sup>74</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Introduction', p. 10.

<sup>75</sup> Witkin, *Art & Social Structure*, pp. 83, 95-6.

only the present moment, but the successive phase of violent action — its consequences or aftermath so the full implication of the represented act can be understood.<sup>76</sup> 'Le Traître' exhibits both the past and immediate future within the world of the cartoon. The past is the treachery of the traitor, as signalled by the officer's cap and broken sword lying dishonoured in the dust. Yet danger to the nation remains, with a sin of even greater magnitude on the cusp of taking place, signified by the gun on the battlements which has the traitor's back and is trained obscenely on an old man in the crowd. The next stage of treachery is signified through the vector running from the nozzle of the angled gun to the vulnerable bulge of the old man's head, emphasized by its domed baldness and its light treatment against dark shading. The vector creates a link between the gun and the crowd to accentuate its helpless position. The hazy outlines of more distant members of the crowd suggest the larger number that has been betrayed while still allowing the focus to remain on a small group of innocents so as not to victimise the traitor. Both Heidbrinck's gun covering the traitor's back and Forain's sword in 'Allégorie' are the enemy's weapon. The past in both 'Allégorie' and 'Le Traître' is bloodshed, the future in both is control by Germany and the Jewish syndicate, and more destruction.

### *Myth*

The date of publication for 'Le Traître' and 'Allégorie' demonstrates the resilience of the Judas idea from early 1895 for the former to six months after 'J'Accuse...!' for the latter. Both images draw on the military theme but significantly in 'Le Traître', the month after Dreyfus was convicted, the traitor is a disgraced soldier. By the time of 'Allégorie' in 1898, the traitor had become a civilian. The cartoons show how the anti-Dreyfusard view of Jewish treachery expanded from Dreyfus himself to take in civilian Jews as a whole in the narrative, or, as Zola put it "tout le monde juif, traqué, insulté, condamné!".<sup>77</sup> The ancient stigma of deicide was to the fore in the polemic. As Berkovitz argued, the Jew's refusal to accept Christ is again seen to be used in persecuting him.<sup>78</sup> Pierrard concluded 'deicide' was at the heart of *La Croix's* antisemitism.<sup>79</sup> In his imagining of Dreyfus' degradation for *Le Journal Illustré* published the same month as 'Le Traître', Lionel Royer's illustration promoted the Judas analogy. The figure of Dreyfus, with face again hidden, this time by spectacles, is in the act of falling into hell as he clutches the ever-present motif of the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>77</sup> Tr. The whole of Jewry surrounded, insulted, condemned. Zola, 'Pour les Juifs'.

<sup>78</sup> Berkovitz, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity*, p. 33.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

moneybag, while an avenging angel rips his uniform from him and holds a plaque above his head with the single word 'Judas'.<sup>80</sup> In Chanteclair's front page cartoon for *La Libre Parole* the synonym of Judas with Dreyfus was simply named as such in the legend as 'A propos de Judas Dreyfus'.<sup>81</sup> The phrase accompanied an image of Drumont ridding France of a tiny repellent, highly-semiticised Dreyfus, using a pair of tweezers to cast him into the sewers of Paris.<sup>82</sup>

In spite of his undoubted wish to see antisemitism consigned to the past, Zola himself drew on the Judas story in 'Pour les Juifs' writing that political machinations "poursuivant jusque dans les Rothschild, par un abus de littérature, les descendants du Judas qui a livré et crucifié son Dieu".<sup>83</sup> Heidbrinck's caption describes the traitor as having sold French women, children and fellow-soldiers for 'thirty deniers' in a pointed reference to Judas and the thirty pieces of silver. The difference between Zola and Heidbrinck is that Zola was commenting on how the trope was being mediated to prolong prejudice and injustice while Heidbrinck was actively subscribing to it to debase and 'other' the Jew.

### Reclaiming the polemical narrative

Supportive artists like Ibels and Couturier sought to reclaim the polemical narrative around the disgraced captain to represent the Jewish Dreyfus as synonymous with the highest Republican principles of equality, truth and justice. Couturier's postcard 'No 9' in his *Histoire d'un crime* series depicted Dreyfus in an assertive posture embodying these virtues as pictured as below (fig. 74).

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<sup>80</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 160

<sup>81</sup> Tr. About Judas Dreyfus.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.156.

<sup>83</sup> Tr. Pursuing into the Rothschilds, through an abuse of literature, the descendants of Judas who delivered up and crucified his God.

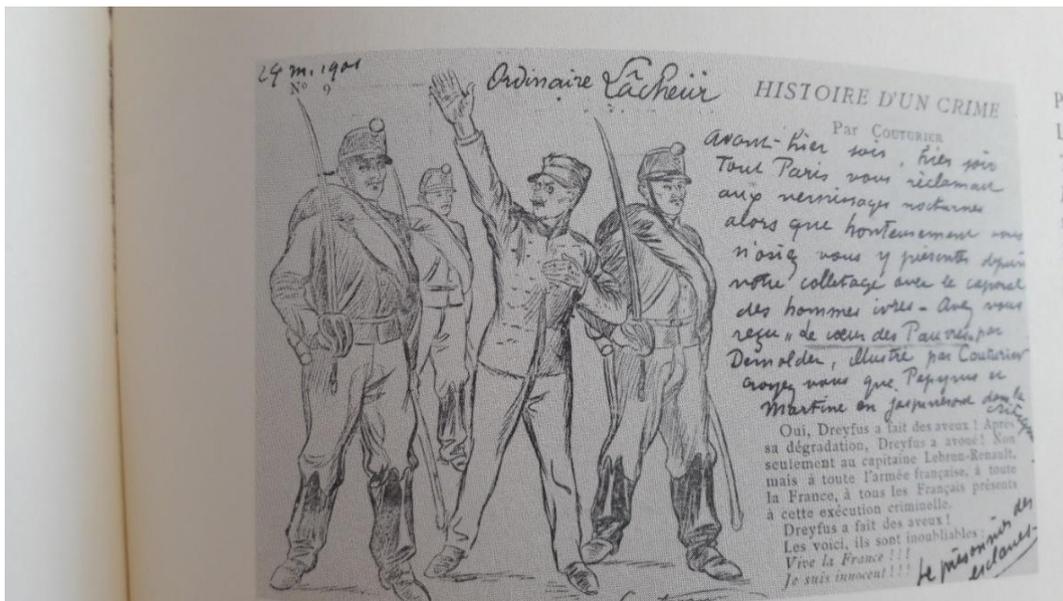


Fig. 74 'No 9', *Histoire d'un crime*, Couturier, 1899

Couturier signalled Dreyfus' moral elevation through his upraised arm paralleling the angle and vector of his escorts' swords. While they hold upraised, naked weapons signifying the Dreyfusard concern of a military threat to the Republic, Dreyfus is unarmed. The extended, emphasised right arm gives Dreyfus back his officer's 'attribute' and dignity with the implication the naked hand of an innocent is mightier than the sword in what the side text calls an 'exécution criminelle'. The cartoon's paradoxical assertion is that the convicted Dreyfus is defenceless in his innocence and that his innocence is his defence. Dreyfus' left hand is held over his heart to emphasize his integrity.

The text accompanying the image adds weight to the visual claim by explaining that Dreyfus "a avoué ... à toute l'armée française, à tous les Français ... *Je suis innocent !!!*".<sup>84</sup> The final words are italicised and followed with three exclamation marks to reinforce the appeal to Republican notions of an inclusive nation for "all French" including Jewish citizens. The text links the Jewish Dreyfus to its patriotic penultimate words, italicised for emphasis — "*Vive la France !!!*". Justice was the driving message of another Couturier postcard which juxtaposed caricature and realism to burnish its antimilitary, Republican credentials and diminish the enemy. In doing so, it enabled the artist to contrast disrespectfully the elite officers in the case, General Mercier and du Paty de Clam as decapitated heads dwarfed underneath a lifelike Dreyfus. Dreyfus, in military uniform, is the

<sup>84</sup> Tr. vowed... to the whole French army, to all French... *I am innocent !!!*

only figure given weight and density by shading, to appear three dimensional. In the bottom left and right are a mêlée of military officers including Esterhazy, a masked advocate denoting errant justice and the iconography of the Cross to infer the presence of the Church in the chaos. Where Heidbrinck and Forain represented the Jew as a traitor, the antimilitary Couturier is at pains to depict the Republican ideals of *humanité, vérité* and justice incarnated in a Jew as seen below (fig. 75).

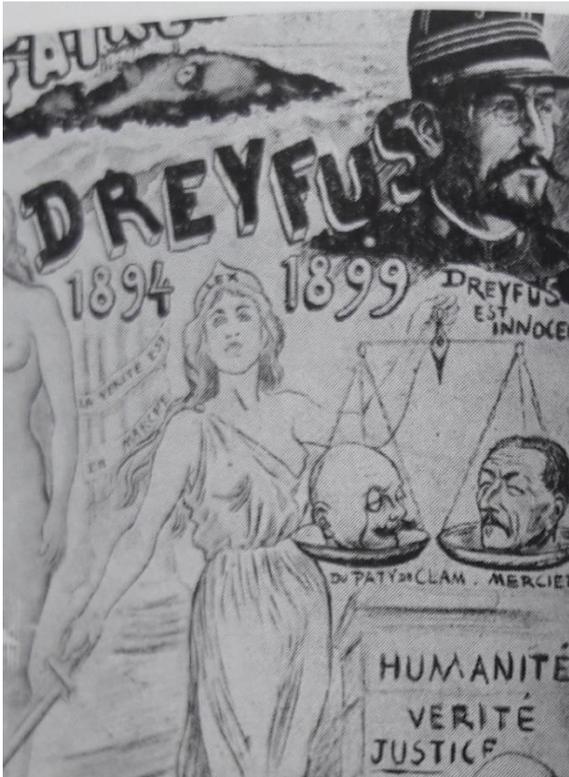


Fig. 75 Detail, 'Affaire Dreyfus, 1894-1899 L'heure de la justice a sonné', Couturier, 1899

ibels' dedication in *Allons-Y!* also sought to give the Jewish officer back his status. Ibels similarly notionally reinstated Dreyfus eight years before the army rehabilitated him. In the dedication of the section entitled 'Le Goupillon' or 'The Cassock' Ibels addresses Dreyfus, who had been deprived of his rank, as 'Capitaine', as seen below (fig. 76).

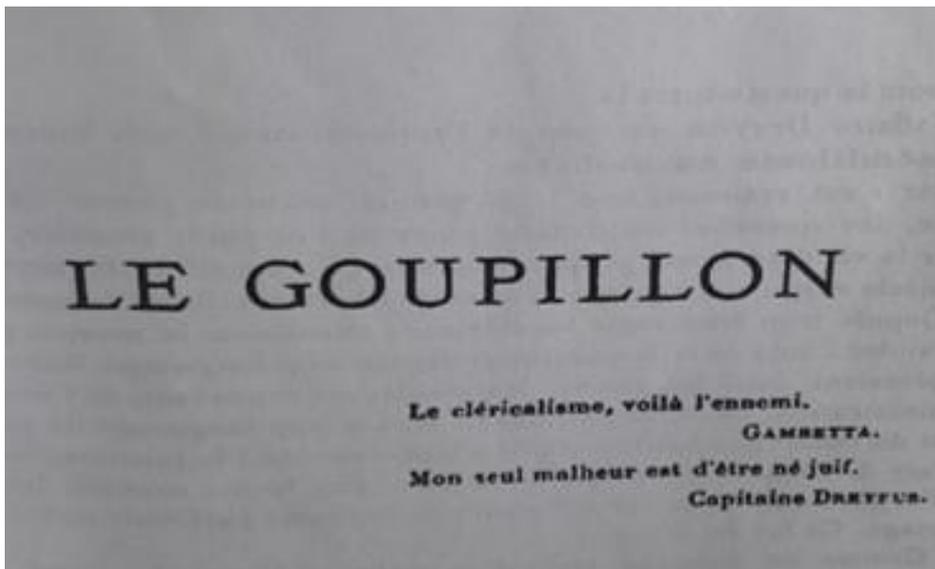


Fig. 76 'Le Goupillon', front page, Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, 1898

Those stressing Jewish rights in the debate as Ibels did returned Dreyfus' status to him by using his military title or dressing him in uniform like Couturier. In *Allons-Y!*, in the frontispiece to the section of cartoons on the Church Ibels positions two quotes starkly on the white page. One is Leon Gambetta's warning against clericalism. The other states simply "Mon seul malheur est d'être né juif. Captain Dreyfus."<sup>85</sup> In doing so, Ibels further elevates the Jewish Dreyfus by putting him second only to the famous French statesman and revered anticlerical, Gambetta. Clemenceau, who published 'J'Accuse...!', invoked the same ideas of justice and freedom to defend Beilis as had been done with Dreyfus. Whereas the reactionary French press, for its part, saw the Beilis affair as so pivotal a fault-line that they believed it would decide France's foreign policy with Imperial Russia.<sup>86</sup> Notably, it would be a leftist antimilitary journal that would run a series of cartoons in support of Beilis in that debate.<sup>87</sup>

## Race

This visual narrative in the Dreyfus debate was assisted by the relatively recent phenomenon of race to define identity.<sup>88</sup> Mosse posits that "after the defeat of 1870 diffused currents of aggression and race entered France ... an aggressive, monarchical and clerical

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Clemenceau writing in *L'Homme Libre (The Free Man)*, 14 October 1913, Paris; Szajkowski, 'The Impact of the Beilis Case on Central and Western Europe', p. 210.

<sup>87</sup> Szajkowski, 'The Impact of the Beilis Case', p. 211.

<sup>88</sup> Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe*, pp. 63-4.

nationalism combined with racism”.<sup>89</sup> It was at this point, Mosse contends, that racial appeals were first used in France to organise mass political movements such as in the nationalist Action française. The view that Jews were a distinct race with intrinsic qualities and traits was seen on both sides of the Dreyfus divide. It spanned such widely opposing viewpoints as the artist Emile Courtet and his editor, Drumont, as well as Zola, and the socialist leader Jean Jaurès, whom Mosse suggests “propounded racial ideas until the Dreyfus case opened his eyes”.<sup>90</sup>

Zola dubbed the discord of the polemic ‘race wars’ in ‘Pour les Juifs’, which is sprinkled with references to race. While some contemporary thinkers like Wilhelm Schallmeyer believed racial integrity was the responsibility of the state to protect, Zola saw the solution as the “intermingling of the races” or assimilation of Jews.<sup>91</sup> Zola rejected the notion of racial difference as justification for discord.<sup>92</sup> For his final article on antisemitism in *Le Figaro*, Zola returned to the argument about race railing against what he called a barbaric campaign of religious persecution “qu’on s’exterminé de race à race”.<sup>93</sup> Even for Zola, Jews were a ‘race’ apart with praiseworthy and negative characteristics which could be modified or lost over time through intermarriage with Christians. While Zola was sympathetic to perceived racial differences others believed Jews were an inferior race, biologically, mentally and emotionally. These ideas shaped a major strand of the anti-Dreyfusard visual representation and are forcefully articulated on the eve of the controversy in Courtet’s cartoon ‘Les qualités du juif d’après la méthode de Gall’, as seen below (fig. 77), now examined using the tripartite semiotic methodology.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Hayes, Peter (2015). *How Was It Possible? A Holocaust Reader*, University of Nebraska Press, p. 23; Weiss, Sheila (1987). *Race Hygiene and National Efficiency: The Eugenics of Wilhelm Schallmeyer*, Oakland.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Tr. that we exterminate from race to race. Zola, Emile, *Le Figaro*, 5 December 1897. See Zola, (1969) *L’Affaire Dreyfus: La Vérité en Marche*, Paris, p. 85.

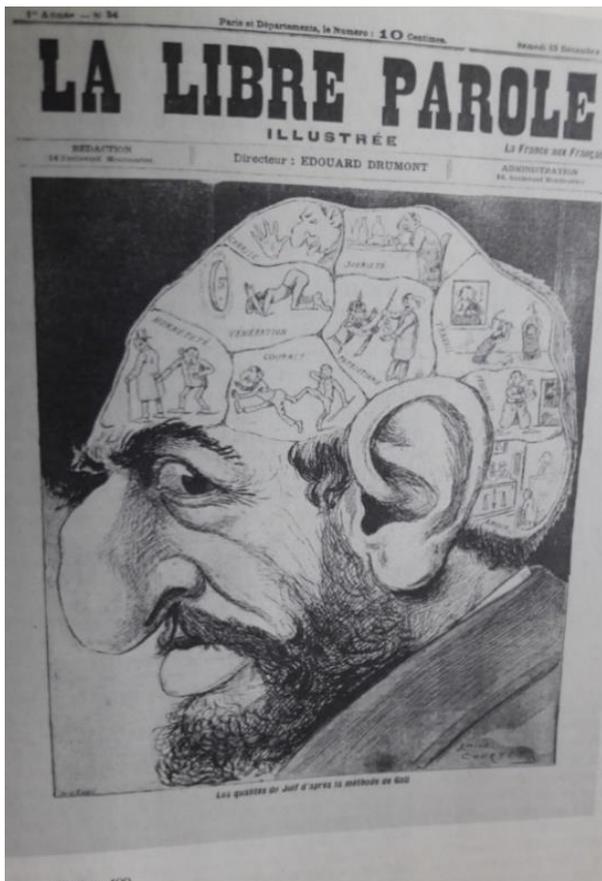


Fig. 77 'Les qualités du Juif d'après le méthode de Gall', Emile Courtet, *La Libre Parole*, 23 December 1893

### *First reading*

A giant head occupies the whole of the journal's front cover. The hairless profile shows a bearded man, with a large ear, protruding lower lip, bulbous nose and bumpy skull. The figure is represented looking sideways at the viewer. The head is dissected into different sections each with a cameo scene in miniature: From this angle the viewer can see nine of these illustrated vignettes. They comprise 'charité', 'sobriété', 'vénération', 'patriotisme', 'travail', 'honnêteté', 'courage', 'prodigalité' and 'amour'.<sup>94</sup> The only other text is the short legend which states: 'Les qualités du Juif d'après le méthode de Gall'.

### *Second reading*

The drawing pays homage to Gall's theories, as seen through the eyes of an anti-Semite with Courtet distorting these to represent a head partitioned in zones for negative traits like treachery, dishonesty and cowardice. Gall's ideas were published posthumously in English

<sup>94</sup> Tr. Charity, sobriety, veneration, patriotism, work, honesty, courage, abundance and love.

in 1835.<sup>95</sup> His field of research, later called phrenology, was laid out in his book *On the Functions of the Brain and of Each of Its parts: With Observations on the Possibility of Determining the Instincts, Propensities, and Talents, Or the Moral and Intellectual Dispositions of Men and Animals, by the Configuration of the Brain and Head*. As Pick found, the branch of research advocating the typecasting of individuals according to physical traits, and the belief that like physical traits behavioural instincts were hereditary, gathered pace in the same period as Darwin's publications during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>96</sup> This thinking was taken further into notions of extreme biological fatalism by the Veronese doctor and criminologist Cesare Lombroso, himself from a Jewish family.<sup>97</sup> In *Criminal Man: According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso*, Lombroso categorises skulls and faces according to phrenology and physiology to determine what he saw as innate criminal impulses.<sup>98</sup> In the year of Dreyfus' arrest, Lombroso tackled antisemites' use of his work in *L'antisemitismo e le scienze modern*. But as Haller found from analysing nineteenth century discourse from Winchell, and Blumenbach "inferior physiological development stemmed from a scientific belief in degeneracy".<sup>99</sup> The concept had gained credence as a 'bone fide' branch of science. Antisemitic claims that Jews could not escape their pre-determined nature and 'dégénérescence' underpin Courtet's 'Jewish' head.<sup>100</sup>

The exaggerated physical features conforming to antisemitic stereotypes declare the head to be that of a male Jew, but the legend is needed to make sense of what is being seen. Where Gall had broken new ground in researching and dissecting the human brain, the picture applies the scientific principles for racialist arguments in an attempt to show inherent negative traits in Jews. Courtet's head is hard-wired for 'degeneracy' and the behaviours such degeneracy dictates including criminal activity, low morals and cowardliness. Each vignette illustrates a failing. Thus, honesty shows a figure with stereotypical Jewish features picking a gentleman's pocket. Compromised qualities are expounded: veneration sees the Jew idolise money; charity shows he has none since he immaturely pokes fun at the idea. Sobriety is trumped by an indulgence in food and wine; work shows the Jew doing nothing while others toil; abundance, like veneration, defines the word in financial terms. Patriotism

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<sup>95</sup> Cohn-Sherbok, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 209.

<sup>96</sup> See Pick, Daniel (1996) *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918*, New York, p. 45.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-134, Lyon, 'Notes', xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>98</sup> Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, p. 45.

<sup>99</sup> Haller, John Jr, 'The Species of Man Problem: Nineteenth century concepts of racial inferiority in the origin of Man controversy' in *American Anthropologist*, 1970, New York, p. 1320.

<sup>100</sup> Tr. Degeneration.

shows betrayal for money to a German soldier as a metonym for its empire and army. Love depicts divorce in a court where a child is connoted to be the loser without its mother. This cameo image is a nod to the laws brought in by Jewish-born parliamentarian Naquet. No woman is featured to keep Courtet's critique resolutely focused on the supposed biology of the male Jewish physique.

### *Myth*

The belief that Jews were a race apart was woven into the Dreyfus case. It had persuaded the military General Staff to arrest Dreyfus in the first place, since he was a Jew among the officers who might have had access to the military secrets being leaked to the Germany Ambassador.<sup>101</sup> The lauded French national poet Maurice Barrès said he knew Dreyfus was guilty because he was Jewish. The perception of inferiority coloured the rebuke of General Gonse of the chief of staff to the investigating Colonel Picquart that he should not expose the real culprit, Esterhazy, asking his fellow officer "what do you care if this Jew stays on Devil's Island?".<sup>102</sup> The perception of Jews as racially separate to their compatriots was not unique to the Third Republic. Green found that during Imperial Russia's war with Japan government propaganda depicted the Jews as secretly helping the Japanese, claiming they were "kinsmen by race".<sup>103</sup> Thinking about race during the polemic was influenced by 'social Darwinism', a concept that first appeared in Europe at a health conference in Berlin in 1877 at the same time as 'antisemitism'. This was the idea that biological heredity inescapably influenced the direction of one's life. In a viewpoint that would be widely and conclusively debunked in the twentieth century, adherents held that societies conformed to Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest; as part of this thinking, races were believed to be relative to one another with some inferior to others as in Courtet's satirical Jewish head.

Such ideas of biological determinism underpinning antisemitic representations in art and literature held wider traction. In *The Secret Agent*, published in 1907, the anarchist Comrade Ossipon declares himself an enthusiastic disciple. He observes of the character, Stevie, at a meeting with his fellow conspirators, "[t]hat's what he may be called scientifically. Very good type too, altogether, of that sort of degenerate. It's enough to

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<sup>101</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, p. 40.

<sup>102</sup> Picquart's testimony, stenographic record, court-martial, Rennes, 7 August - 9 September 1899. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k24250f.textelimage> (last accessed 1 November 2022).

<sup>103</sup> Green, Nancy L (1986) *The Pletzl of Paris*, New York, p. 11.

glance at the lobes of his ears. If you read Lombroso —“ Ossipon himself and the other anarchists are painted as if their physiognomy mirrors their personalities. Such arguments were applied not only in the debate over perceived differences between Jew and non-Jew but in regard to a litany of ‘others’ who were marginalised or seen as inferior. In his introduction to Conrad’s *The Secret Agent*, Lyon suggests: “the primitive and the civilised, between European and African or Asian, between Caucasian and non-Caucasian, was rendered internal to European culture as an opposition between those in power and the criminal, the weak, the sick, the working classes, the homosexual... and read as indications of degeneracy and atavism”.<sup>104</sup>

Notions of biological determinism on display in Courtet’s satirical head were also taken up enthusiastically by Zola in *Les Rougon-Macquart*, a dynastic meta history of two sides of the family in which ‘blood will out’. The ideas Zola voiced about Jews and race in ‘Pour les Juifs’ and *à la jeunesse* were reflected in his fictional characters.<sup>105</sup> Maurice’s ideas about the ‘degeneration of his race’ are not applied to Jews but to a family bloodline in *La Débâcle*.<sup>106</sup> This was very close to the visual caricature that said Jews were bound by their own natures and could not escape inherent archetypal behaviours. Antisemites like Courtet merely extended the bloodline to include all Jews as one family no doubt aware of the Jewish tradition to marry within the faith.<sup>107</sup>

Zola, a liberal-thinking republican, extended biological destiny to dovetail with ideas about Jews as a homogenous race in ‘Pour les Juifs’. In *Le Débâcle*, these ideas are voiced by Maurice to his friend Jean, as “he tried to make him understand the impoverishment of the race, its extinction in a necessary stream of fresh blood”.<sup>108</sup> Despite receiving jibes himself for not being French due to his father’s Venetian origins, Zola viewed Jews born and bred in France as being unlike Christians everywhere. ‘Pour les Juifs’ exposes the mentality embedded in society even among liberal thinkers which reverberated in the visual representation and found an extreme outlet in Courtet’s cartoon. Yet Zola was also the ultimate rationalist and adversary of fake science, as the foremost Naturalist author of his

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<sup>104</sup> Lyon, ‘Notes’, xxvii.

<sup>105</sup> Zola, *à la jeunesse*, p. 8.

<sup>106</sup> Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 322.

<sup>107</sup> To honour the promise made by Moses in the old Testament for Jews to pass the religion on through their children.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

generation; and Ibels was a member of the Nabi group of artists whose aspirations embraced the philosophy of positivism founded on empirical, evidence-based fact. Such a perspective was antipathetic to the exploitation and manipulation of scientific theory adopted by the antisemitic Courtet cartoon.

Courtet's Jewish head was part of the relentless repertory of stereotypes, Lippmann argues, is the "subtlest and most pervasive of all influences".<sup>109</sup> Lippmann captured the way the stereotype worked: "They mark out certain objects as familiar or strange, emphasizing the difference, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the somewhat strange as sharply alien. They are aroused by small signs, which may vary from a true index to a vague analogy. Aroused, they flood fresh vision with older images, and project into the world what has been resurrected in memory".<sup>110</sup> Racial difference, the Judas idea, the treacherous foreigner, even the 'Jewish nose' conformed to satirical stereotyping. The latter is a kind of deformity signifying revulsion and difference. Pearl and Lipton argue prior to 1182 it was not associated with Jewishness but lower status individuals, as in the miniature below (fig. 78) depicting the Jews' eviction from France. Only the low-status figure helping to shepherd them on their way has a hooked nose.



Fig. 78. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, 1182

<sup>109</sup> Lippmann (2010), *Public Opinion*, Cambridge, p. 52.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

The visual signifier of the downward hooked nose to denote Jewishness was taken up vigorously in the polemic. It was all the more striking as the only feature changed in the caricature of Dreyfus himself, when compared to a photograph (fig. 79).



Fig. 79 (Left) Detail, Dreyfus portrait in 'Le Jeu de 36 Têtes, Lambot, *L'Antijuif*, 12 February 1899; and photograph after his Degradation, 5 January 1895

Dreyfus himself felt defined by his own Jewish origins. At the start of his section on 'Le Goupillon' in *Allons-Y!* Ibels cites Dreyfus' observation that his 'seul malheur est d'être né juif'.<sup>111</sup> The words set the tone for the rebuttal of such stereotypes in the cartoons of priests which followed the quotation.

### 'Jewish kings'

The notion of a 'nouveau riche' and elite powerbroker, expressed as an omnipotent 'Jewish king' reverberated loudly in the hostile iconography of the polemic. As Marrus noted, Alphonse Toussenel's contention that Jews were 'kings of their time' cast a long shadow of influence in perceptions of Jews in France.<sup>112</sup> Toussenel's oeuvre was based on the economic strand of antisemitism consistent with modernising societies. The belief that a Jewish syndicate was being funded by a kind of latter-day Jewish Croesus permeated the

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<sup>111</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 39.

<sup>112</sup> Alphonse Toussenel's *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque histoire de la féodalité financière*, 1845 ; Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism' p. 50.

Catholic press. As a visual motif, the 'Jewish king' expounded the prevailing strand of belief that Jews were enriching themselves at the expense of France and native Frenchman. In his letter-pamphlet Zola castigated those who gave credence to a Jewish plot funded by extraordinary wealth exhorting his readers to "[p]ut aside the imbecile Antisemitism, with its ferocious monomania which sees a Jewish plot sustained by Jewish gold..."<sup>113</sup> In legislative elections of 1889, the trope about 'Jewish kings' made its appearance in a poster advertising Willette's antisemitic candidature. The political poster's iconography blended biblical stories with new antisemitism. It used the representation of a crowned head that was a common device in the anti-Dreyfusard art which in this case was not human but a calf's, as seen below (fig. 80). Willette thus emphasizes the inhuman nature of the Jew by merging the notion of a crowned head with the biblical narrative about Jews abandoning God to idolise the golden calf.



Fig. 80 'Candidat Antisémit', Willette, lithographic poster, 1889

<sup>113</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la jeunesse*, p. 4.

On the eve of the Dreyfus controversy in 1889, Willette was standing for election as a self-declared 'antisemite'. It was, therefore, natural for him to support his candidature by publishing hostile representations of Jews that played to familiar tropes. As Curticapean contended, these were helpful for winning political arguments.<sup>114</sup> Representations of Jews were then at times motivated, as Willette's poster was, by political expediency through candidacy and activism. An arc in this relationship between political agency and the characterisation of the Jew can be traced to François-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, the first of a series of French men of letters to mix political and literary careers in which he targeted Jews in France.<sup>115</sup> With Louis de Bonald, Chateaubriand jointly edited an ultra-conservative newspaper which attacked the Jews for undermining Christianity. As Rubinstein et al contend such ideas "set the scene for the anti-liberal, antisemitic, ultramontane strand in French Catholicism" so influential in creating a perception of Jewry reflected in the polemical cartoon.<sup>116</sup> In 1898, as the Affair gained new impetus from Zola's intervention with 'J'Accuse...!', antisemitic illustrations were flourishing. As Wilson reports, in that same year more than twenty-two openly-declared antisemitic deputies were elected to the Chamber of Deputies along with a further forty others who supported antisemitic legislation.<sup>117</sup> Highly political images of Jews were at the heart of these developments.

The head of the golden calf adds weight to the antisemitic trope that Jews worshipped gold and were associated ineluctably with money. The accusation is given additional force by being positioned in the composition above a line of text that chastises the French for being subservient, and for being 'sans espérance' or without hope.<sup>118</sup> The calf's head also equated Jews with a lesser, lower species than Man in the Christian schema of the hierarchical Great Chain of Being, consistent with belief that animals nearer the ground were more base.<sup>119</sup> The crowned head in the poster had the added emotional currency of being decapitated. In Willette's poster, this signified the defeat of the Jew and his putative religion of gold. The dehumanised head allowed for the depiction of a more violent act than the disembodied heads of Mercier and du Clam had signified in Couturier's postcard about

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<sup>114</sup> Curticapean, 'Walls, doors and exciting encounters', p. 154.

<sup>115</sup> [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fran%C3%A7ois-Ren%C3%A9\\_de\\_Chateaubriand](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fran%C3%A7ois-Ren%C3%A9_de_Chateaubriand) (last accessed 22 June 2020)

<sup>116</sup> Rubinstein et al, *The Jews in the Modern World*, p. 32.

<sup>117</sup> Wilson, *Ideology and Experience*, p. 734. See also Marrus, 'Popular Anti-Semitism', p. 60.

<sup>118</sup> Tr. Without hope.

<sup>119</sup> Preece, R and Fraser, D (2000) 'The Status of Animals in Biblical and Christian Thought: A study of colliding values', *Society & Animals*, 8 (3), p. 249.

justice since an axe is seen to have been wielded in Willette's poster. The motif of the 'Jewish king' was to make further appearances in Willette's representation of the Jew. This ranged from emphasizing Jewish alienation and association with vermin in the forlorn figure of a king of rats for *Le Pierrot* to the crowned, bespectacled enforcer in 'La Sécheresse' for *La Libre Parole* to be examined later in the chapter.

An interplay of ideas was associated with the crowned head in the election poster. Aimed at drumming up votes, the crowned head decapitated by the native Christian French hero's axe is held aloft by him even as the Torah, resting on a bag of spilled gold coins lies cracked on the ground. The Jewish laws are signalled as broken, along with the feting of money above morals. The hero was himself a stereotype resembling the brawny blond native who upended Jewish weeds in *La Libre Parole*'s front cover under the banner "France for the French". As the iconography of Willette's poster promoted the stereotype of the wealthy Jew, its integral text declared 'JUDAISM voilà l'ennemi', despite claiming "Il n'est pas question de religion".<sup>120</sup> In doing so Willette was inverting Léon Gambetta's famous slogan of "La clericalism, voilà, l'ennemi". First spoken in the 'chambre des députés' in May 1877, the phrase was appropriated by Willette in the next decade to identify Jews as the national pariah.

The motif of the crown representing Jewish dominance was sufficiently widespread as to be found in political commentary not only outside France but on the other side of the Atlantic. The American Carl Browne published political drawings in 1892 to support his activism for the People's Party in San Francisco. Browne produced paintings of 'The Lord's Supper' and the Franco-Prussian War so like Willette his art melded ideas about religion and putative Jewish exploitation in the modern era. In the year the Panama scandal broke one of Browne's sketches included the crowned king's head motif in the corner of a drawing dominated by a figure representative of the English baron Rothschild. A "king of money" is linked by lines in Browne's drawing acting as vectors, to the figure of Rothschild. Browne's 'king' is an oppressor of men with notional Jewish power rooted in wealth (fig. 81).

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<sup>120</sup> Tr. It's not a question of religion.

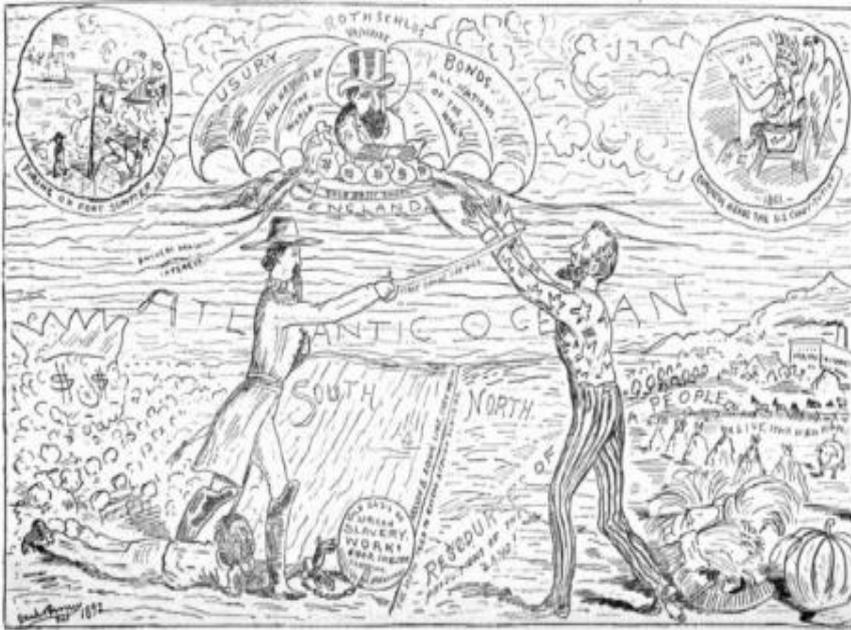


Fig. 81 'Vote Maker (for the People's Party)', Carl Browne, 1892

The Jewish king was deployed by Gyp on a number of occasions. He is an oppressive and indolent deity, enjoying the luxury of a cigar as he floats above France in 'Il nous écrase et nous pressure, et plane au-dessus de nous', *Ohe, Les Dirigeants*, as seen below (fig. 82).



Fig. 82 'Il nous écrase et nous pressure, et plane au-dessus de nous', Gyp, *Ohe, Les Dirigeants*, 1896

In Gyp's '— Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France' deconstructed in chapter three, her king's head is human but strikingly similar to Willette's crowned calf, with its large ears.

Gyp's 'king's head was conceived as a picture within a picture, the head part of a fairground contraption against which an allegorised naked France is pinioned and debased, symbolising the callous gamesmanship Gyp claimed was at work. The detached head of the Jewish king without a body, was a synecdoche, in which a part was made to represent the whole as seen below in figs. 83, 84, and 85.



Fig. 83 Detail, 'Vote Maker (for the People's Party)', Carl Browne, 1892

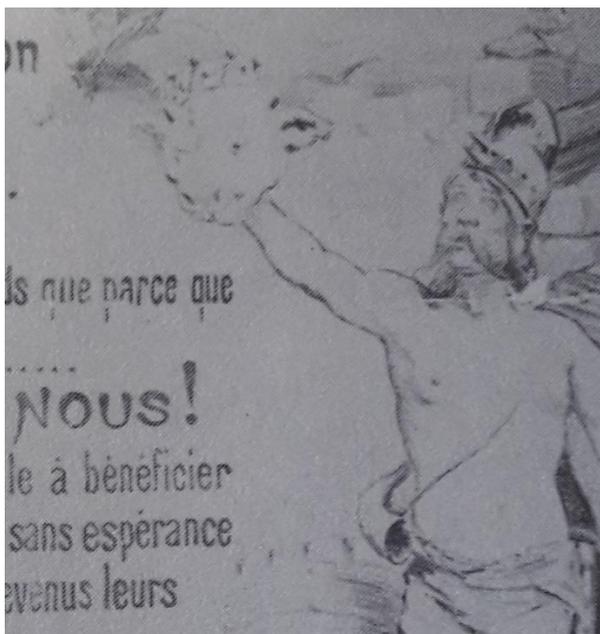


Fig. 84 Detail, crowned head, 'Candidat Antisémit', Willette, poster, 1889



Fig. 85 Detail, '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 28 December 1895

In Blum's eyes, Gyp's work was foremost among that which "fixed in the minds of French people the most powerful antisemitic images".<sup>121</sup> This antisemitism, Blum writes, was born in Parisian society, in its fashionable and professional classes, and consisted not of violence, in the main, but was about maintaining boundaries and keeping newcomers out. Blum writes "sa cause directe avait été l'intrusion indiscreète de Juifs enrichis ou la pénétration, jugée trop rapide, de Juifs studieux".<sup>122</sup> Silverman suggests Jews were represented in terms of polarities. Where non-Jews stood for stability, morality, landed wealth, agriculture, honour, tradition, property and patriotism, Jews were equated to change and modernity, immorality, capital, industry, expropriation, cosmopolitanism. 'La Sécheresse' by Willette exemplifies this in its visual tableau of a barren landscape against which stands the Jewish king, a destructive imposter growing gold instead of crops.<sup>123</sup> This important image (below fig. 86), the first for Drumont's new antisemitic periodical *La Libre Parole* in July 1893, is now interpreted using the tripartite semiotic methodology.

<sup>121</sup> Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, Oxford, p. 129; Blum, *Souvenirs Sur l'Affaire*, p. 68.

<sup>122</sup> Tr. — its direct cause had been the indiscreet intrusion of Jews who acquired money or the penetration, judged too rapid, of studious Jews; *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Tr. The Drought.



Fig. 86 'La Sécheresse', Willette, *La Libre Parole*, No 1, 17 July 1893

First reading

First, the legend at the bottom integral to the image, needs to be considered as seen below (fig. 87).

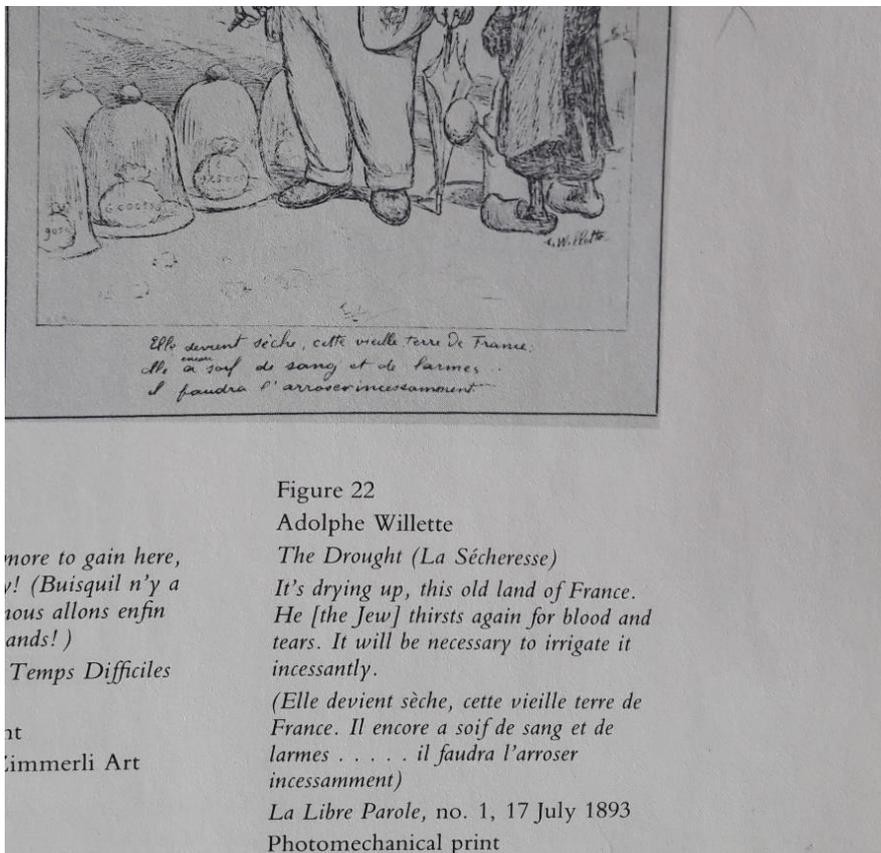


Figure 22  
Adolphe Willette  
*The Drought (La Sécheresse)*  
It's drying up, this old land of France.  
He [the Jew] thirsts again for blood and tears. It will be necessary to irrigate it incessantly.  
(Elle devient sèche, cette vieille terre de France. Il encore a soif de sang et de larmes . . . . il faudra l'arroser incessamment)  
*La Libre Parole*, no. 1, 17 July 1893  
Photomechanical print

Fig. 87 detail, 'La Sécheresse', Willette, in Cate's essay

"Elle devient sèche, cette vieille terre de France.

**elle** a (encore) soif de sang et de larmes

il faudra l'arroser incessamment".<sup>124</sup>

In his fascinating essay 'The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair' Cate has wrongly translated the legend as "He (the Jew) thirsts again for blood and tears", as seen above. The first 'e' of the word 'elle' in the second line is in the lower case but the word is clearly 'elle' not 'il' or 'he'. It is not the masculine pronoun for the Jew. The 'elle' or female pronoun thirsty for blood and tears is 'la terre de France' which puts a different complexion on the message being communicated, discussed in the second reading. Visually, the cartoon represents a rotund male with a swollen belly in the centre of the composition,

<sup>124</sup> Tr. It (she) becomes dry, this old land of France; it (she) needs more blood and tears; you have to constantly water it.

wearing a crown. In his left hand he has a parasol, in his right a cigar. A skeleton is positioned to the right of him, wearing a broad-brimmed hat with rolled up sleeves, exposing the bony joints of arms, hands and fingers. Shorter trousers expose the bones of the ankles and feet shod in clogs. A row of bell jars run from left to right. Each one contains a small, sealed sack labelled with a high sum. Smaller bags are dotted in the immediate foreground. The background shows almost nothing but open land. To the left in the distance are two bent and withered trees. Black birds have flown past these trees to the midground. In the far distance is the spire of a church on a small bluff, dark lines in the sky above it. The image of the Cross atop the spire can be distinguished with what seems to be a black bird crouching on it. Another building to the left of the church is faintly sketched in. The horizon transects the neck of the 'king'.

### *Second reading*

A powerful visual statement was required to grace the front cover for the new daily newspaper dedicated to antisemitism that would play a pivotal role in the polemic in breaking the news of Dreyfus' arrest and the narrative of his guilt the following year. Drumont's *La France Juive* had paved the way for a 'quotidienne' or daily. The 'king' of the cartoon proclaimed the journal's idea of the Jew's world-view. The legend expresses the approach of the 'Jewish king', his role clearly defined through his stereotypically bulbous face and hooked nose. The antisemitic implication was the newly-rich Jew did not understand the land, the land of France, with which his ancestors had no connection, but is himself the cause of the drought, which he feeds and propagates with the blood and tears of those he oppresses in order to grow rich himself. This is an unceasing project for him, putting forward the claim that under Jewish domination the need for such suffering is continual. That is the extent of his self-serving, destructive ambition for France and the nation: the husbanding of sterile, inorganic matter (money) embodying the antisemitic belief and socio-economic argument highlighted by Laqueur that Jews were incapable of engaging in productive labour.<sup>125</sup>

The deplorable need for blood and tears expressed in the legend is articulated in the way the gaze of the 'Jewish king' connects with the viewer. Michel Foucault considered notions of gaze theory in his examination of 'Les Meninas' in which a number of figures including

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<sup>125</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*, p. 73.

the painter, Velásquez, addressed the spectator by appearing to look at him or her.<sup>126</sup> In the case of Willette's front cover, the spectator is drawn into the world of a land bled dry by Jews. The use of this visual device uncomfortably diminishes the distance and divide between the represented figure and the viewer. It is the viewer whom the Jewish king is speculatively considering in the need for fresh blood and tears to continue making money. This implication is only fully understood when the legend is correctly translated to be the musings of the Jewish king about the land and his destructive relationship with it, rather than referring *to* him. Doing this Willette was able to foster antipathy for his subject.

The spout of a watering-can be seen resting on the ground in front of this figure. The only part of this instrument depicted is the upward-tilted spout which, together with the king's squared stance carries the implication of a phallic connection. This idea is signalled by the the spout's contact with the parasol the king is holding in his left hand, and the diagonal vector that passes through the spout, the king's genitalia and the hand holding the downward-pointing cigar. The iconography alludes to prevailing ideas about predatory sexual appropriation of Catholic women and thus hints at what Blom interpreted as "procreation by the wrong people".<sup>127</sup> Yet, at the same time, only death is capable of propagating as it is the spectral figure's watering can.

Much of the rest of the visual representation appears empty in keeping with its title of 'The Drought'. This was to say that France was now a wasteland, an arid desert, a bleached and barren landscape devoid of fecundity or fruitfulness in which spectral carrion is the only functioning living thing. The sole creatures at work are the Jewish king and his lieutenant, Death, who assists him in his work. Death holds the scythe like a rifle, ready to do his superior's bidding. The dynamic of the relationship between the Jew and Death, is conveyed through the figuration. The Jew is depicted nominally as dominant: he is placed in the centre of the image. He is bigger because of his distended belly and rotundity. The parasol, like the cigar, underscores the cushy life of the king, as seen with the sunshade of Hermann-Paul's comfortably plump priest in 'The Augustinians'. In that anticlerical image, the sunshade was a cypher for the indolence and protections reserved for those who grew rich on the backs of the oppressed. But in this cartoon, the totemic parasol is rolled up,

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<sup>126</sup> <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/gaze/> (last accessed 15 July 2020).

<sup>127</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*. For sexual appropriation, pp. 15, 2, 32, 400, for procreation p. 348.

despite the evident heat and sun, so it can act as a sceptre or staff. It also physically connects this 'sceptre' with the spout of death's watering-can linking Jewish power with death's terrible watering. The spout blots out a part of the sceptre signifying death's ultimate triumph over the Jew. For the king's dominance over the death-figure who is pushed to the right is ephemeral. The rolled-up sleeves of the death's head suggests he is ready to carry out his terrible work but his exposed ankles hint at something else.

This macabre figure simultaneously represents the nemesis of French Catholics who are characterised as the exploited. But the stance of the lower legs in clogs to the right, which points to the future, whispers something of the defiance of the oppressed themselves who are seen nowhere else in the image. The inference is the ordinary Catholic rural peasant will ultimately triumph over the 'Jewish king'. This outcome is reinforced by the 'Jewish king' depicted to be ultimately lower in stature than Death, whose grinning, hatted head and scythe are positioned higher in the composition than the crowned head. The message is the 'Jewish king' will ultimately fall, thereby liberating Christian France. That Christian France is oppressed is signalled by the delapidated church spire on the horizon, dominated by the dark bird atop it. The birds are carrion, scavengers, sucking the life out of France and lording it over the Church. The row of bell jars offers a glimpse of how scientific research was a current theme. Here they are shown nursing and protecting sacks of money, the only things that can grow on such a drought-ridden landscape.

### *Myth*

Words and image in the legend of the cartoon recalled the mantra of French nationalists, 'la terre et la mort',<sup>128</sup> which Blom likens to the German 'Blut und Boden'.<sup>129</sup> The arguments over who was exploiting whom was a theme of contention between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusard artists. In his drawing 'Le Chanson du Gas' for the cover of a song sheet printed in the same year as Willette's 'La Sécheresse', Ibels offered a rebellious worker shaking a fist at the glittering lights of Paris in 'La Belle Epoque' on the distant horizon. Both images were complaining that new forces were abusing those working the land and encroaching on good old soil. While Hermann-Paul's drawing of the corpulent priest complacently watching stooped peasants carry out back-breaking work was an anticlerical framing of the debate, Ibels' 'Le Chanson du Gas' attacked capitalism even as Willette's cartoon stigmatises the

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<sup>128</sup> Tr. The soil and the dead.

<sup>129</sup> Tr. Blood and soil. Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 14.

Jew, blaming Jewish capitalism. Lazare characterised this as an excuse for wider stigmatisation arguing that “under the cover of the Jewish financier or monopolist, all Jews are attacked”.<sup>130</sup> Nativist claims of Catholic French through long-established connections to the land, indeed to the soil itself, were put forward by the leading anti-Dreyfusard and nationalist academician, Maurice Barrès.<sup>131</sup> The accusation from Barrès that Jewish “‘greed, speculation and cosmopolitanism’ were threatening to empty the land of its substance” as suggested by Sternhell found an echo in the bleached earth of ‘La Sécheresse’.<sup>132</sup>

Willette’s characterisation of the Jew as hoarding land to bleed it dry for financial benefit directly correlated to ideas in the national press. Willette’s ‘farmer-king’ appeared the year before Lazare noted one paper, *La France*, declared Dreyfus shortly after his arrest, to be an agent “de cette haute juiverie internationale qui a décidé la ruine des Français et l’accaparement de la terre de France”.<sup>133</sup> The extent to which the ‘Jewish king’ was an ‘idée-fixe’ embedded in the Third Republican mind-set can be understood from even Zola’s glancing reference in ‘Pour les Juifs’ when he asked the question: “...and who in under a hundred years has amassed huge fortunes which bid fair to earn them the title to a kingdom in an age when money is king”.<sup>134</sup> The ‘Jewish king’ as a leitmotif for morally-debased outsiders was further put to work by Willette five years before the polemic in a cartoon for *Le Pierrot*. The legend ‘L’Hiver sera dur pour les goymes cette année (Discours de S M Rothschild, roi de France)’ depicted the bank S M Rothschild begun by that family as itself the anthropomorphised crowned king of France, outcast on a distant shore, but preparing to unleash wolves, rats and crows on the unsuspecting city of Paris.<sup>135</sup> Salmon Mayer von Rothschild had been dead for more than forty years but this was immaterial to Willette, for whom his spirit and legacy lived on in the bank he had founded. High-profile, living Jews were also represented as a king to construct political narratives about Jews, as seen in the

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<sup>130</sup> Glasberg, Victor ‘Intent and Consequences: The “Jewish Question” in the French Socialist Movement of the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Jewish Social Studies*, Jan 1, 1974; 36, 1, *Periodicals Archive Online*, p. 64.

<sup>131</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 15.

<sup>132</sup> Sternhell, ‘National Socialism and Antisemitism’, p. 55.

<sup>133</sup> Tr. The agent of this occult power, of this high international Jewish set which has decided the ruin of French people and the grabbing of France’s home soil; see Lazare, *L’Affaire Dreyfus: une Erreur Judiciaire*, p.15.

<sup>134</sup> Zola ‘Pour Les Juifs’ (In Defence of the Jews), *Le Figaro*, Paris. English translation by Jack Dixon, November 2006. [https://www.newenglishreview.org/custpage.cfm/frm/4330/sec\\_id/4330](https://www.newenglishreview.org/custpage.cfm/frm/4330/sec_id/4330). (last accessed 2 December 2018).

<sup>135</sup> Tr. Winter will be hard for the Christians this year (speech by S.M Rothschild, king of France); Cate, ‘The Paris Cry’, p. 67.

caricature of Joseph Reinach in 'Que le chambardement commence!!', as seen below (fig. 88).



Fig. 88 'Que le chambardement commence!!'  
No. 34 *Musée des Horreurs*, V Lenepveu, 1900,  
hand-coloured lithograph

### *First reading*

A plump man is wearing a befrilled costume, cascading cloak, beribboned shoes and a crown. He has distinctive features of full lips and round eyes. He is seated in a throne on a dais. He clutches a scroll of paper on which the words 'Affaire Panama' and 'ci-joint la liste des 104' can be seen to be written.

### *Second reading*

*Musée des Horreurs*, a series of fifty-one posters was published in 1899 after Dreyfus was again found guilty with extenuating circumstances in a retrial. On 19 September Dreyfus was granted a royal pardon and in November the government proposed a general amnesty

for all parties but the law would not be passed for another year.<sup>136</sup> Lenepveu's series of lithographs was able to offer a strident critique of the Dreyfusards until shortly before the amnesty was enacted when the series was halted by an order from the Ministry of the Interior.<sup>137</sup> Shortly before that cut-off, Lenepveu was free to caricature Reinach with his trademark features of popping eyes, heavy brows and bulbous lips. Reinach is depicted wearing the fabled crown of Jewry that Willette had included in his election poster as an antisemitic candidate seventeen years before so the longevity of the idea can be appreciated. The king's clothes belong to the rococo fashions of Louis XV.

The representation captures something of the 'Mr Franco' caricature. Here, the stereotypical features are meant to contrast to ridiculous effect with the plumage of a monarch from a bygone age. The excess of this Jewish 'king' is driven home by Reinach wearing a crown studded with diamonds. He sits on a plush, embossed and bejewelled throne luxuriating in his wealth and power but still a decorative fool and popinjay. Reinach is creating a 'chambardement' by meddling in the affairs of Republican France. The representation of Reinach as Louis XV also constituted a taunt since the excesses of Louis' reign were anathema to the values of the 1789 Revolution which Dreyfusards revered as their spiritual source. A further layer of meaning is created by placing in the centre of the composition the scroll naming the Panama Affair and 'the list of 104'. For Kleeblatt this representation depicted Reinach as the king of bribery, clutching his father-in-law's alleged list compromising the list of public figures implicated in the scandal of the Panama Canal, allowing him, as his accusers maintained, to wield wide influence over French politics.<sup>138</sup> Though it has Joseph Reinach's face, the figure stands in for many figures, all of them Jews: for Reinach himself, for Baron Jacques de Reinach as well as the anti-Dreyfusards' bogeyman of the wealthy Jewish industrialist.

### *Myth*

In this series Lenepveu depicted Zola with his publications as a pig daubing excrement, an idea frequently utilised in hostile caricatures of the author. Scatology was an anti-Dreyfusard weapon of choice used frequently to taint Zola's image. Lenepveu's cartoon of

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<sup>136</sup> Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair*, London, xx.

<sup>137</sup> Kleeblatt, 'Plates', p. 244.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Zola was entitled 'Le Roi des Porcs' to taunt Zola with a vicarious Jewish identity.<sup>139</sup> This idiom united two concepts: the notion of an egregious 'Jewish King' and the mocking, pejorative association of Jews and those allied to them with pigs, whole or in part, in judeophobic iconography, as in 'Mr Franco'. Reinach, in the guise of the 'Jewish king', has risen above his station, wields too much power and as with the Bourbon kings of old, must fall. Reinach's face placed on the body of a king works as a dig on a number of levels. First, the 'ancien régime' and the absolutist monarchy of the past ended by the 1789 Revolution flew in the face of the Republican values Dreyfusards held dear. Secondly, there is Kleeblatt's contention of a 'king of bribery' in which the bribes associated with Reinach senior are repurposed and placed into the hands of Reinach junior. This linked to the belief of a Jewish syndicate funding efforts to free Dreyfus and in so doing damage the reputation of France's military. Thirdly, the representation of Joseph Reinach as a corrupt and monied king speaks directly to the mythology that appeared repeatedly in the art of the Dreyfus polemic that a 'Jewish King', perhaps embodied by one of the new banking or business entrepreneurs, was manipulating events in the Third Republic. This concept was supported by the religious press like *La Croix*. Brennan notes *La Croix's* bizarre claim that Dreyfus' lawyers — Labori and Demange and other Dreyfusards were agents of all-mighty gold and a "king of the Jews" who lived somewhere in Russia and was Dreyfus' employer.<sup>140</sup>

This new critique of satirical representations of the Jew in anti-Jewish political crises supports Bruce's theory about the secularising state with its rising social and cultural diversity and economic advancement for new individuals.<sup>141</sup> Stone argues this representation of Jews was rooted in reality because secularised Jews and Calvinists *were* driving modern capitalism.<sup>142</sup> Blom extends this positing that "capitalism, city life, newspapers, stock markets and other aspects of modern life were strongly identified with Jews".<sup>143</sup> Reconstructing Reinach, a Republican intellectual, into an antique king symbolising the past was the ultimate sabotage of such achievements. Sexuality was another dimension of Lenepveu's Reinach, prinked out in frills, bows and velvet, as a fop. Gilman suggests Jewish men were often characterised as effeminate and that historically

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<sup>139</sup> Tr. King of Pigs.

<sup>140</sup> Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair*, p.103.

<sup>141</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 27.

<sup>142</sup> Stone, *Europe Transformed*, p. 408.

<sup>143</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 245.

there was a link to a supposed propensity towards homosexuality and 'sexual deviance'.<sup>144</sup> Beusterien noted effeminisation tropes held Jewish men were 'unclean' and, indeed, menstruated.<sup>145</sup> Blom found antisemitic stereotypes portrayed Jews as effeminate city people who effeminized other men, "luring virile peasants away from their fields and into their factories" where they were emasculated and enslaved by their new masters.<sup>146</sup> There was a paradox in the representations of the male Jew in the polemical cartoons since while Lenevpeu cast the married Reinach as effeminate and anachronistic, other images used phallic iconography, as Gyp had with Moses, characterising him as a sexual predator of women. Forain's 'Dans les coulisses', was one, as seen below (fig. 89).



Fig. 89 'Dans les coulisses', Forain, 1899, oil on canvas.

### Sexuality, crudity and the representation of Jewish women and girls

The rude, the shocking and the obscene had long formed a strand of expression in the depiction of Jews and Jewishness by others. The most searing example was the visual trope investigated by Poliakov of the sexually explicit 'Judensau' which showed Jews fornicating with pigs.<sup>147</sup> Anti-Dreyfusards offered a more palatable but still disapproving sexual innuendo to construct an image of Jewishness from the sexual act of the Jewish

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<sup>144</sup> Gilman, Sander (1988) *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to Aids*, Cornwell, pp. 160-2.

<sup>145</sup> Beusterien, J L, 'Jewish male menstruation', *Bull. Hist. Med.* 73(3), 1999, pp. 447-56.

<sup>146</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 245.

<sup>147</sup> Poliakov, *A History of Antisemitism*, pp. 123-69.

man on the female body of the French nation in Gyp's *Histoire de la Troisième République* and 'Juifs d'Algérie'. In the former, a clash was connoted between the good forces of rural France and sexually-obsessed Jewish men. Both illustrations, as seen below, (figs. 90 and 91) use the theme of the sexual invasion of France to make their point.



Fig. 90 Detail, 'Histoire de la Troisième République', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896

Sex was a favoured ingredient in how Gyp represented Jewish identity. The theme linked to Gyp's novels in which she showed the modernising Republic made the subversion of morality possible.<sup>148</sup> In *Histoire de la Troisième République* France is depicted as a towering but elegant and delicate faery, with large gossamer wings suspended amid trees and flowers and grasses carrying a banner proclaiming the principles of the 1789 Republic. This vision of a fruitful, pastoral idyll and natural order jarred only by the presence of the bat fits with Blom's assertion that Dreyfus, as a Jew, "was identified with international capital and the end of France's traditionally rural way of life".<sup>149</sup> To articulate this critique the elongated legs of the allegorised France lean towards the miniscule, bearded figure of the bat-Jew. The banner proclaiming "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité", transecting the image in half carries the words "probité, honneur". This male figure is suspended immediately below "probité, honneur" and thus placed at a lower level than these aspirations. The bat's attentions are seen to be elsewhere even as one of his wings clips the banner where it says

<sup>148</sup> Silverman, *The Notorious Life of Gyp*, pp. 128-34.

<sup>149</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 14.

'honneur' thus tarnishing that of the nation. The bat's head is in profile because it is turned towards the nether regions of France with which it is level. The arms of the creature hang down gormlessly, open-handed, the fingers ready to grasp what it wants. If any further signification were needed, Gyp provides it, representing the tip of the wing penetrating the posterior of France. The relationship between the bat and France expressed fears that with declining birth rates French men were losing their virility and at risk of being displaced by their Jewish counterparts at the 'fin-de-siècle'. The fear was, as Blom puts it, that "if the nation's men were no longer man enough to father children in sufficient numbers, perhaps the rot had reached the very core of France's historical greatness and virility, the military caste".<sup>150</sup> Elsewhere Jewish men were designated as numberless base undesirables through Gyp representing them as a swarm of locusts, as seen below (fig. 91).

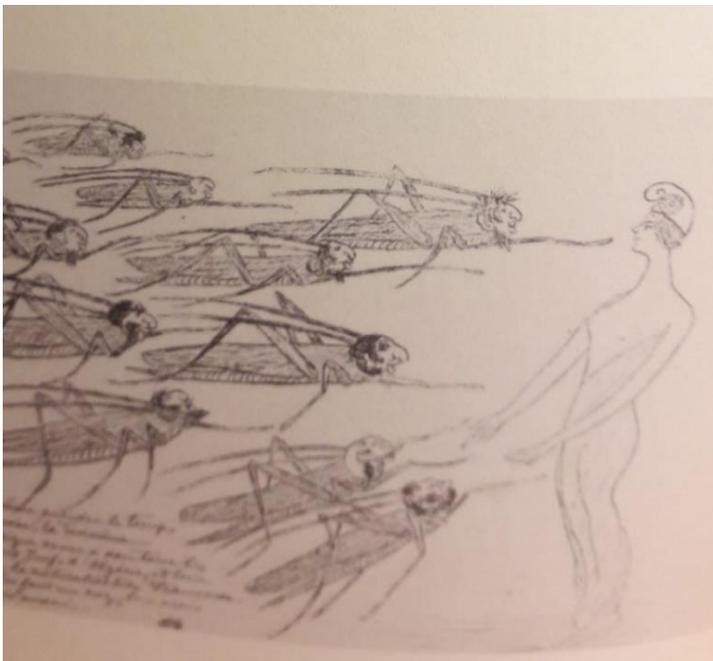


Fig. 91 Detail, 'Juifs d'Algérie', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896

The disproportionate influence of Jews themselves on the polemical visual satire is itself worth noting. Jews comprised just 0.02 percent of the population compared to 35,000 million Catholics in France at that time.<sup>151</sup> In a controversy about one man, a tiny minority of the entire population dominated much of the anti-Dreyfusard visual satire and its pejorative depictions of Jewish identity. Gyp's image inverted the plague of locusts, one of the ten plagues visited on the Pharaoh, who had enslaved the Israelites in ancient Egypt, as told in

<sup>150</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 14.

<sup>151</sup> Pierrard, *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*, p.9.

the Old Testament book of Exodus. In Gyp's image, the nearest insect stretches out its proboscis towards the mouth of an allegorised Republic, naked apart from her revolutionary Phrygian cap and cockade, her open palms reaching out willingly to welcome and give succour to the predators who will decimate and overwhelm her. The image folds together accusations of new antisemitism about rapacious businessmen who might strip a field of its crop, with the expectation of knowledge of the bible to become a parable of its own.

During the Dreyfus debacle the majority of Jewish figures represented in cartoons on either side of the political divide were men. However, Jewish women were also depicted. The use of size and exaggeration to create a sense of intimidation and 'otherness' was used for Jewish women and girls as well as the Jewish man. It was utilised by Gyp for her large naked woman in an illustration trashing Zola's call to action in 'La Vérité en marche, Drame à grand spectacle', and in Hermann-Paul's 'Excepté le cochon, tout nous est permis' as seen below (fig. 92).<sup>152</sup>



Fig. 92 'Excepté le cochon, tout nous est permis', Hermann-Paul, *Le Canard sauvage*, no 4, 11-17 April 1903

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<sup>152</sup> Tr. Truth is on the march, spectacular drama.

In Herman-Paul's rendition of the Jewish family, there is little of the sympathy seen in Ibels' portrait of Dreyfus and his children in 'A la Gloire de Scheurer-Kestner' celebrating the Dreyfusard senator's life. In this highly caricatured working, the daughter is an echo of the mother, both their faces masculine, emphasizing the departure from normative values of classical womanhood and traditional female beauty. The daughter is androgynous with a large nose and only the curve of her form denoting her gender. The father's milder, more conventional persona is reflected in his passivity, put in his place in the composition by the thrusting bosom of his wife. The depiction of the matriarch and daughter show even the work of artists who went on publicly to support Dreyfus were willing to jeer Jewish 'otherness'. The painting is imbued with an undercurrent of antisemitic sentiment, not least in the ironic title that despite all excesses, suggested in the size of the women, eating pork is still forbidden. Another such image was Lebourgeois' 'Une page d'amour', a pun on Zola's novel of the same name, eighth in the 'Rougon-Macquart' series. In this 'Page of love', Zola himself is depicted clasping a naked woman the reader understands to be Jewish, as seen below (fig. 93).



Fig. 93 'Une page d'amour', *L'œuvre de Zola*, H. Lebourgeois, 1898

The woman with a long nose and pendulous breasts exists as a prop to denigrate Zola in a mockery of the popular myth that the allegorised lovely female form of Truth was to be found at the bottom of the well, from which this sordid, self-interested romp is a far cry. This corrupted 'Jewish Truth' is exposed as narcissistic, using the mirror to reflect her bejewelled self back at her. The lifegiving action of drawing water is shown to be redundant as the bucket is forgotten, empty and sterile, as is Zola's truth. Zola has a phallic-shaped left foot pointing towards the well, a device seen in Ibels' 'Le Coup du Père François' where the priest's right foot chasing an allegorised Republic was also denoted as rapine, underscoring the synchronicity of these satirical critiques.<sup>153</sup> As Everton contends, it was all part of the "visual dialogue between the two sides".<sup>154</sup> Like Gyp, Lebourgeois is out to trash Zola's rallying crying to Dreyfusards "La vérité est en marche, et rien ne l'arrêtera" published in *Le Figaro* the year before this antisemitic caricature of love and truth responded.<sup>155</sup> The cartoon implies the relationship between Zola and Jewish interests is transactional. For anti-Dreyfusards the image was a protest against the putative Jewish syndicate.

## Conclusion

Representations of Jews in the polemic constructed stereotypes that targeted Ashkenazi Jews to marginalise them as outsiders who mangled their French. Judaized traits were equated with the Germanic. The notion that Jews were counterfeit or inferior was a major preoccupation in the satirical art. Racist theories that gave credence to ideas of biological determinism were used to justify this. Jewish figures were characterised as self-obsessed, vainglorious and excessive, be it as a Jewish female truth in the well, or a reedy male ignoring a pretty woman. Jewish men were depicted as both sexual predators and effeminate. Anti-Dreyfusard artists represented them and Jewish women as outside aesthetic norms to place Jews outside the nation. New forms of anti-Jewish discourse responding to changes in the modernising and secularising society of the Third Republic accommodated and merged with older religious forms of expression like the 'Judas-idea' to represent the Jew as a traitor eternally guilty of deicide. The Jewish king gained widespread traction as an 'idée fixe' amid reactionary fears about new Jewish wealth, influence, power and assimilation far removed from their idea of blood-and-soil-based Frenchness. For

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>154</sup> Everton, Elizabeth, 'The Veiled Lady and the Razor', p. 13.

<sup>155</sup> Tr. Truth is on the march and nothing will stop it.

antisemitic commentators in the Dreyfus debate, the new order equated to a world in disarray under threat from international Jewish interests. Revolutionary iconography such as the allegorised Republic and Phrygian cap were used to score political points in the competing images. Dreyfusards sought to redress the balance to reclaim Jewish identity in positive representations depicting the Jewish Dreyfus as unarmed and innocent, as superior to his aggressors, as family members, and above all an integral part of the Republican body politic embodying the highest standards of humanity, truth and justice. In a letter to Alfred Dreyfus's wife, Lucie, published in *L'Aurore*, republished in *Le Siècle*, days after the Rennes trial failed to exonerate her husband, Zola comforted her: "Madame, c'est nous, les poètes, qui clouons les coupables à l'éternel pilori".<sup>156</sup> His words could just as easily have applied to the polemical artist.

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<sup>156</sup> Tr. It is we, the poets, who'll nail the guilty to the eternal pillory.

## Chapter Six - Conclusion

This study used a tripartite semiotic methodology to tackle questions about ideas in anticlerical visual satire in 'anti-Jewish' affairs. It investigated what ideas were articulated and why, and how they were represented. While the data set drew on art from 'anti-Jewish' cases between 1840 and 1914, it predominantly focused on the 'cause célèbre' of the Dreyfus debate in France's Third Republic, scrutinising images between 1880 and 1906. A supplementary aim was to examine ideas in common between the two Dreyfusard intellectuals, Emile Zola and his one-time illustrator, Henri-Gabriel Ibels. Ibels' satirical art formed a major component of the data set as did Zola's open letters. A secondary pillar examined the representation of the Jew in the visual satire of the anti-Jewish debate, focusing on the same period and controversy. Images from other anti-Jewish crises, including the Mortara furore in the Papal States and the Beilis Affair in Imperial Russia, were used to enrich the analysis. Images from newspapers, periodicals, calendars, books, song-sheets, theatre programmes and political posters all served as primary sources. This body of research is offered to scholars, decision-makers and all those engaged with the very live questions society continues to confront about anticlericalism, antimilitarism, the separation of church and state, antisemitism and the representation of the Jew. The analysis adds to understanding about the demonisation of the Jewish person as 'other', and by extension deepens scholarship on the nature of othering minorities more broadly.

Ninety-three images have been examined and a bespoke semiotic methodology applied to sixteen of these. Cartoon was chosen as the ideal medium made by those at the centre of the political campaigns. Scrutinising Ibels' thinking between 1893 and 1906 enabled a perspective on the arc of ideas over time, as the Republic, the Dreyfus dispute and campaign to exonerate him, matured. Comparing ideas in Ibels' earlier and later work permitted nuanced changes to be probed and to connect it to wider events, such as with 'La Situation' for *Le Sifflet* in May 1898 and 'La Semeuse', chosen as the cover image in 1901 for the series *Les Légendes du Siècle*. Both depicted France under attack from clericalism but while 'La Situation' characterised the architects of state as dozily preoccupied, the later styled it a vigorous Republic defending herself, indeed fighting back. The cover image shows that at a time when the antisemitic Assumptionists had been disbanded and the laicisation project was felt to be moving in the right direction, hope and confidence of

anticlericals in the state grew. Thus, analysis of the ideas in art provides a clear line of sight into contemporary anticlerical and antimilitary thinking at different points in the lifespan of the polemic. The antimilitary dimension of the anticlerical art was fundamental to it. Ibels' cohort characterised the clerico-military alliance they feared as led by a corrupt elite betraying France's revolutionary achievements. This argument was flung back by anti-Dreyfusard artists as in Clérac's 'Honour à l'armée', perhaps the author's favourite cartoon, depicting the military as a crusading army, an integral Christian host, sweeping away the shambolic assortment of insignificant, crass intellectuals mooching around in their path.

It was at a time when Jews were able to participate and, indeed flourish, in the modernising France following their emancipation in 1791, after centuries of exile in a world that closed its doors to them.<sup>1</sup> For some this was an effrontery, and as an anachronistic counterpoint, European Jews continued to face the old charge of ritual murder. Beliefs about such diabolical practices and a connection to the demonic, held by high-ranking members of the Church and statesman such as Adolphe Thiers, chief of the executive and later president of the Third Republic, persisted.<sup>2</sup> The false charge of treason against Dreyfus was represented in cartoons like Heidbrinck's 'Le Traître' as a kind of blood libel against the family of the nation. The biblical charge of deicide was woven into images like 'Le Traître' in which Dreyfus' putative treachery symbolised and became that of the eternally cursed Jew. Newer ideas were also brought to the fore. Racist theories were applied to the Jewish face, body, mind, behaviour and inclinations. Anti-Dreyfusards like Courtet in his depiction of the Jewish brain drew on experimental thinking from subsequently discredited theories in degeneracy, phrenology and social Darwinism to claim traits and aptitudes were racially determined.<sup>3</sup> Visual satire knitted these ideas together with older religious themes, as in Huard's antisemitic drawing of Dreyfus and Reinach fulfilling their treacherous destiny by going into business with Judas.

Critiques of higher status and cosmopolitanism could be superimposed over those of religious particularism, exposing and exploiting the continuing vulnerability of the Jew a century after emancipation. Non-normative faces, bodies, formulaic apparel and parodied

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<sup>1</sup> Blom, *The Vertigo Years*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Rogger, *Jewish Policies*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup> Haller, 'The Species of Man Problem: Nineteenth century concepts of racial inferiority in the origin of Man controversy', *American Anthropologist*, p. 1320. Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, p. 45; Lyon, 'Notes', xxvii-xxviii.

accents in the corrupted language of titles, legends and captions expressed claims the Jew was 'un-French' and counterfeit. Exaggerated physiognomy, often coupled with metaphor, signalled the Jew was outcast, an invading weed with bulging features and extended proboscises, to be pulled up by the roots in *La Libre Parole's* nativist banner headline of 'La France aux Français'. Such narratives were articulated in the modern Catholic and antisemitic presses. The Assumptionists' *La Croix*, the Jesuits' *La Civiltà Cattolica* and journals such as *L'Antijuif* all disseminated ideas about power and fantastical wealth, promoting the existence of a putative Jewish 'syndicate' and mythological, omnipotent 'Jewish king'. These ideas were taken up and advanced by anti-Dreyfusard artists such as Gyp, Willette, Régency, Lenepveu and Forain. The crowned head was itself a widespread 'idée-fixe' in the polemical art. The head was a synecdoche and a metonymic device. Detached, it represented the whole of Jewish wealth and influence. The pliable device was employed by Willette to depict a calf's head, illustrating once more the interlinkage between old and new, between ideas rooted in religious difference and modern antisemitism. The idiomatic head was itself dissected by Courtet. Not only did ideas move between sympathetic artists and writers but contributed to shaping the rebuttals of ideological opponents. A postcard by Courturier depicted the separated heads of Dreyfus' tormenters in the 'état-major' weighed by justice.

Revered iconography invoking the Revolutionary spirit of 1789 included allegorical figures such as Marianne and the Liberty or Phrygian bonnet, deployed by artists from both camps to give traction to their arguments. This ranged from Ibels' shocking cameos in which a priest attacks the allegorical France as in 'Le Coup de Père François' or 'Leur dernier viol' to the Vienna *Figaro's* depiction of the Republic in her bonnet transfixed by Dreyfus' web which ensnares the supporters he feeds off. In probing these visual representations, the project makes an important contribution towards understanding how anticlerical republicanism militated against antisemitic nationalism within the prism of the Dreyfus polemic. Anticlericals offered images of the predatory and devious priest whose morphology, like the Jew's in the visual satire, matched his character, whether a bloated figure of privilege or a scrawny, vicious self-server violating nation and innocent alike. The priest's body was weaponized by Ibels and applied as an anticlerical visual comment in its own right as in his depiction of Coppée. Hochberg's argument about caricature, facial expression, gesture and stance was applied to anticlerical representations of the clergy as well as antisemitic representations of Jews to see how they signalled malign intent and

acted as cyphers for personality traits. Ibels' oversized moustache synonymous with the spy, Esterhazy, and the populist Drumont gripping a bag of gold, reversing the charge levelled at Jewry, are just two examples. Priests and Jews were depicted as shifty by opponents and sometimes shown masked.

Analysis has shown a plethora of visual devices used to impart and reinforce messages in the cartoons. Vectors drew the eye. The use of left and right and an ascending or descending trajectory in the composition suggested good or bad. Satirical art from both sides misappropriated religious iconography. Moses and his stone tablets were repeatedly shown trampled while anticlericals depicted the Cross as compromised by association with other dangerous objects such as swords or snakes. This tactic of negative equivalence was used by both sides. Identities were represented as interchangeable or hybridised or counterfeit in a technique this study has termed 'conflation'. It was a favoured ploy of anticlerical artists to show complicity or vicarious association between Church and military. Anti-Dreyfusards used a similar approach to depict Zola as Jewish by default, as in Lenepveu's characterisation of Zola as the 'king of pigs'. The cartoon spliced two tropes, the Jewish 'king' and the longstanding iconography of the pig to denote Jewishness using ridicule and offense to make its political point.

One of the most singular developments and dimensions about the anti-Jewish debate this thesis offers to scholarship is its finding that anticlerical Dreyfusards championed a Jew publicly in art. Intellectuals followed in the footsteps of Victor Hugo, and even Voltaire, to oppose the Catholic Church and champion equality. The polemic crystallised this alignment in which Dreyfusards took their corresponding anticlericalism and philosemitism to an unprecedented level. Anticlericals, championing a Jew for the first time in Dreyfus, fully and publicly supported Jewish rights, agitating for equality for all citizens of the Republic for whom their demands of 'justice' and 'vérité' were paramount. During the controversy, Ibels' art was as unequivocally critical of the Church it held to have engineered antisemitism as Oppenheim's painting of the abduction of Edgardo Mortara condemned the Holy See's intransigence and lack of humanity. Networks in which intellectuals worked, socialised and campaigned, including Libre Pensée associations, the new human rights movement and the editorial teams of liberal periodicals like *La Revue Blanche*, facilitated the flow of ideas. Notions about free thought, secular morality and socialism with its belief in collective responsibility and benevolence towards others, contributed to the art.

Dreyfusard groupings were able to bring about meaningful, indeed momentous, achievements, such as the formation of the Ligue de Droits de l'Homme, the birth of the movement the natural extension for the enshrining revolutionary principles of 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' from which polemical anticlericals insisted Jews ought not to be excluded. In the opening text in *Allons-Y!* Ibels praised and spoke of "l'admiration des citoyens soucieux de conserver les droits attachés à leur titre".<sup>4</sup> His published letter to Drumont in 1901 stated that had viewed the debate as the greatest humanitarian cause. Within the orbit of the Affair, Zola and Ibels celebrated humanity and were instrumental in the formation of that first national league to defend inalienable rights. Indeed, Ibels was a member of its militant wing.

This study used the anticlerical images to test Bruce's paradigm and found the visual satire supported his theory of religious diversity, economic growth and urbanisation as elements occurring in the secularisation of the modernising state. Enhanced social mobility, a facet of Bruce's theory, did not obviate the characterisation of the Jew as an outsider but rather contributed to it.<sup>5</sup> The resulting tensions took place within an unstable republic with an uncertain start. That instability opened up a polemical culture and environment. Griffiths found the "art of attack" on display in society and language generally. It flourished in the anticlerical and rival art. It was a kind of dialogue in which a spectrum of ideas was disputed ranging across the army and military, honour and dishonour, patriotism, respect, abuse of power, manliness and effeminacy, and rival perceptions about threats from within and without France. Concerns about profiteering and corruption, who belonged to the nation and who did not, what constituted 'le progrès', and the role of the Jew in all of these were articulated. Ibels' illustration for a poster on the eve of the crisis painted the obstacle to modernity as an armed military cohort shouting 'A bas le progrès!'. But for reactionaries in the Dreyfus debate, 'le progrès' was a shoddy lie replacing what was authentic with cheap imitations in which, for them, Jewish business and modern scales of economy were implicated.

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<sup>4</sup> Tr. Admiration of citizens concerned about the retention of the rights they are due. See Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, *Secularization*, p. 27.

A competitive reciprocity between rival images was a prime stimulant in the ideas that emerged. Ideas were trumped, trashed, cannibalised and regurgitated, driven by one-upmanship and truth claims as in Ibels' debasement of the concept of 'Honneur et Patrie'. In some cases, as in his 'Allons-y', a subversion of Forain's 'Cedant Arma Togae', the anticlerical image would almost entirely reproduce its competitor with only minor iconographic changes to turn meaning on its head. This interaction between combatants made for a symbiotic relationship in the respective treatments of an 'idée-fixe', as in Ibels' reworking of the antisemitic trope of the moneybag, seen in Courtet's caricature of a head five years before. In 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!', Ibels transferred the emblematic moneybag into the grasp of Drumont to embody the fruits of his antisemitic populism.<sup>6</sup> Pro-clerical ideas about 'soil' became anticlerical 'mud'. It was a mutually-recognisable currency of ideas with subjective meaning seized on in the service of opposing ideologies. The carrion bird, dark bird, crow or bat were all examples of how iconography could be exploited to mean something different. The satirical art showed that religion, at least its iconography, still held traction for Dreyfusards.

Investigating ideas shared between Zola and Ibels contributes a new dimension to discourse about Zola and his direct influence on intellectuals in the crisis. A significant number of ideas were held in common by the author and the artist. Both men expressed the conviction the Gallican Church was fostering antisemitism as part of its drive towards a reinvigorated religiosity. They each made appeals for tolerance, Zola in his *lettres*, Ibels in *Allons-Y!*. Both sought to reorient the argument away from Jews and towards what they warned was the real foe, the alliance of Church and military. Humanitarianism, truth and justice, the rights of the individual from which flowed law and order, were promoted by Ibels in his cartoons and accompanying text in *Allons-Y!*, as Zola called for them to be upheld in *à la Jeunesse*, *à La France* and 'J'Accuse...!'. As in Zola's *lettres* and novels like *La Débâcle*, Ibels deployed dramatic imagery, metaphors of hanging, strangulation and rape conjuring brutal snapshots of the Third Republic. As a journalist, Zola had reviewed art and his writing was itself very visual: thrilling political ideas were visualised as in the "shadow of the sword and blood". The quality and nature of light as an idea, carrying with it the sense of enlightenment and its antithesis of obscurantism, was another shared, defining symbol. Zola used references to light and darkness to signify meaning and deepen the textural

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<sup>6</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, p. 65.

narrative of *La Terre* and his *lettres* as when he protested the French had “shut their eyes to the most blinding light” of truth and decried “this blackness of intolerance”.

This connotation of physical light with enlightenment and its banishment with obscurantism saw Ibels represent a Church assault on the state as a sunset on the Republic or a clerical-sword rising on the horizon. Both men described hostile moves by the Gallican church as a disease, Ibels questioning whether there was a recovery from the sickness to what Zola called “the virus of fanaticism”.<sup>7</sup> In characterising religion in this way, Dreyfusards were advancing Holbachian notions which considered religion to be a ‘contagion’. In contrast, ‘reason’ was fêted. Both promoted intellectual, secular processes as Beilis’ supporters had in drawings memorialising the Jewish postal worker’s acquittal based on considered evidence by a jury of equals. The commissioning of Ibels to illustrate the 1897 edition of Zola’s *La Terre* suggests the empathetic nature of their ideas was already in place two years before Ibels launched *Le Sifflet* as a platform to support ‘J’Accuse...!’s allegations. Ibels was Zola’s self-appointed first-lieutenant, dedicating *Allons-Y!* to the author on the levels that mattered most, “as an artist, as a human-being and as a citizen”.<sup>8</sup>

During the polemic Ibels, like Zola, sought to characterise the Jewish Dreyfus and his co-religionists as human. Humanity was the very first word in the title of Zola’s letter à *la Jeunesse*.<sup>9</sup> At the height of the Affair, Ibels like Couturier, used his crayon to personalise Dreyfus as a man, as a father of children, a man of integrity, a victim not a pariah. The mentality of the times was such that even Zola in ‘Pour les juifs’ subscribed to tropes about racial failings, as he saw it. Similarly, Ibels, who had decried antisemitism in *Allons-Y!*, allowed personal disappointment, anger and disillusionment to become generic criticism against Jews after the embattled Dreyfus accepted a pardon. The cartoonist who had placed the antisemitic iconography of the moneybag with which Gyp and Courtet had made free into the hands of Drumont, took up the ideas of such tropes in letters published in the newspaper of Dreyfus’ chief detractor, whom Ibels still addressed as “the enemy”. Their publication must be seen in the context of its occurrence at a time when relations had soured in the Dreyfusard camp following the failure of the second Court-Martial. Yet there

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<sup>7</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, flyleaf.

<sup>9</sup> Zola, *Lettre à la France*, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, flyleaf

were the personal reasons for Ibels' 'volte face'. Ibels felt slighted after having given and risked so much for what he saw as the greatest humanitarian cause of the century. However, his anticlericalism remained viscerally intact as seen in his illustrations for Mirbeau's *Sébastien Roch* five years later. In its exploration of the interlinkage of Henri-Gabriel Ibels' and Emile Zola's ideas, and use of Ibels' work as a major primary source, this research is intended to raise Ibels' profile in scholarly discourse, not least in the anglophone world, which this author feels is richly deserved. Perhaps it may also, in some small way, make long overdue amends for the lack of recognition given to Ibels for the personal risks he undertook on principle in the white heat of the Affair.

The polemic was both a symptom and catalyst of the rift in Republican fin-de-siècle society, an intense, totemic and reductionist expression which the satirical art gave vent to. At a moment in time when the rights of Jews — the last to receive citizenship in France, but the first to receive it in Europe — were being questioned, the campaign for a single wronged Jew embodied the revolutionary ethos of 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' in the quest for the guiding principles they had bequeathed in this context of judgements, court-martials and trials — 'justice' and 'vérité'. Ibels and his fellow intellectuals embraced the challenge as an elemental part of the fight, as they knew it to be, for the future of the nation and humanity. Looking forward from that point in time, the Dreyfusard anticlerical art would contribute to the shaping of republican France far into the future. At the dawn of the twentieth century the battle of ideas articulated by the cartoons would see the Assumptionist Order dissolved, followed by further legislation to suppress most religious orders in France and confiscate their property, then, the fundamental contribution it made towards the detachment of government and state from church, the link between religion and state sundered in 1905. A significant degree of the Gallican Church's authority to speak for and to the nation in offering spiritual solace would return amidst the horrors of World War One, a conflict in which Ibels, who had been an antimilitary artist in the campaign for a secular republic, would lose a son. Yet the separation of church and state in which republican France's identity as a secular state is itself sacrosanct, has prevailed. As part of this legacy, discrete religious iconography cannot be seen to represent the state including by those who represent the state. This is now being challenged as the France of Baubérot's "pluralism of recognised religions" continues to evolve in the twenty-first century.

The Dreyfus case pinpointed the degree to which a dialectic around a citizen from a minority background, in this case a Jew, could become imbued with, and come to reflect, the most pressing questions about society. The Affair galvanised clerical and anticlerical, and pro-military and antimilitary supporters to campaign and speak for their values. The expression of ideas in visual satire and the place that has in the questions society is asking of itself is part of an ongoing debate. There is a long history of anticlerical irreverence, caricature and satirical art used to make political arguments about the Church in France and wider Europe. For some, the secular state and its tradition of anticlerical cartoon aimed at the Gallican Church in revolutionary France and the 'fin-de-siècle' polemic a hundred years later, are part of hard-won nineteenth century freedoms that embody the French Republic. For them, following the lifting of censorship laws around caricature in 1881, modern cartoons and what political art could say were seen as a dimension of freedom of speech. Others vehemently disagree, believing that faith and ideas sacred to them as equal citizens in the state should be respected and protected in law, and excluded from visual satire, as other offensive ideas, like those channelling racism, are.

Captain Dreyfus' role in the Affair is, at times, still disputed in France. A number of the tropes used to represent the Jew in the controversy are still propagated in visual media. Comments about "demon seed" can be seen posted under an online video about the Rothschild family. Handler's contention that the Tiszaeszlar Affair is still a live political issue is echoed by the Jewish Hungarian conductor Ivan Fischer. Fischer has dubbed it "a present day hot political issue" and his opera 'The Red Heifer' is about it.<sup>10</sup> In the UK, a commentator on BBC1 Question Time called ideas about power and exploitation seen in a controversial mural in Brick Lane, east London "medieval". Some aspects were, such as a hooked nose and connection with usury in Christendom, since Jews were prohibited from most other work.<sup>11</sup> But tropes like the putative link to freemasonry and complaints about modern economies were ideas produced in the modernising age, coming to prominence in the satirical representations of the Dreyfus crisis. These were narratives that Dreyfusards countered with their own arguments in the illustrations. It was the century of the image in

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<sup>10</sup> Handler, *Blood Libel at Tiszaeszlar*, pp. 173-83. Fischer insists the grave of the 14 year old victim, Eszter Solymosi, is now a shrine of pilgrimage to supporters of the far right. See <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-music-fischer-idUSBRE9960I720131007> (last accessed 15 September 2021).

<sup>11</sup> Kaplan, Zvi Jonathan, "A Socialist Drumont?' Alphonse Toussenel and the Jews' in *Jewish History*, Vol. 29, No 1 (March 2015) pp. 39-55, Springer, p. 43. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24709707> (last accessed 12 December 2021).

which the image became a powerful anticlerical instrument, compact, produced at speed and bristling with ideas. In pursuing justice for one individual against the corruption of the state, Zola, Ibels and the intellectuals laid the foundations for human rights beyond borders, and beyond lifetimes. The struggle was intense and sustained, but as far as Alfred Dreyfus was concerned, one in which those championing 'justice' and 'vérité' would ultimately triumph.

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## Appendix – List of Illustrations

Chapter One — Introduction and literature review

Fig. 1. Shmuel Yatskan, editor of *Haynt (Today)* bows down before a bespectacled bust of Mendel Beilis, *Latkes (Potato Cakes)*, December 1914.

Fig. 2. ‘Le coup de l’éponge’, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, drawing for Joseph Reinach, 1899.

Chapter Two — Methodology

Fig. 3. ‘The martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer’ in John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of the Church Containing the History and Sufferings of the Martyrs*, published in 1838 by Scott, Webster and Geary, London.

Fig. 4. From left to right: portrait of Louis XIV by Hyacinthe Rigaud; portrait of Louis XIV by Henri Testelin; and the Victory Arch in Francoist Madrid.

Fig. 5. Drawing by former political prisoner recording the practice of torture.

Fig. 6. ‘En Balade’, Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896.

Fig. 7. ‘A faut espérer qu’eu s’jeu la finira bentot’, L’auteur en campagne A P, 1789.

Fig. 8. ‘The French Revolution: Before and After’, Caran d’Ache, 1898.

Fig. 9. (Left) ‘Zola’, Picasso, 1900; (right) ‘Ibels’, Toulouse-Lautrec, 1893.

Fig. 10. ‘Les Tisserands’, Ibels, 1893.

Fig. 11. Ibels’ letter, *La Libre Parole*, 3 December 1901.

Fig. 12. Ibels’ letter to Messieurs Bernheim, *La Libre Parole*, 3 December 1901

Fig. 13. 'Le roi Rothschild', Charles Lucien Léandre, *Le Rire*, 16 April 1898

Fig. 14. 'Salons intellectuels', Caran D'ache, *Psst... !*, 10 December 1898

Fig. 15. Upper margin of Exchequer Receipt Roll, Hilary and Easter Terms, 1233.

### Chapter Three — Illustrations and cartoons in the anti-Jewish debate

Fig. 16. "—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas à la noce, la France", Gyp. *Le Rire*, 28 December 1895.

Fig. 17. 'De l'Or, de la Boue et du Sang!', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 16 June 1898, republished in *Allons-y!*, 1898.

Fig. 18. The 'Le coup de l'éponge' set: Ibels' drawing for Joseph Reinach, 1899; and Arthur Byl, 1899; *Le Siècle*, 18 September 1899; No. 19, *Les Images du Siècle*, 1901.

Fig. 19. Detail of dedications to Reinach and Byl.

Fig. 20. Illustration, *Sébastien Roch*, Ibels, 1906.

Fig. 21. 'Shrine to the Virgin', Frid'Rick, 1880.

Fig. 22 'Jesus Christ' (Hyacinthe Fouan) and his daughter 'La Trouille' (Olympe Fouan), Ibels, *La Terre*, 1897.

Fig. 23. 'Les Juifs et La Semaine Sainté', Adolphe Willette, *Le Courrier français*, 5 April 1885.

Fig. 24. (Left) 'Edouard Drumont, author of *La France Juive*', Willette, *Le Courrier français*, 16 May 1886 ; (right) 'Drumont et Vacher', Louis Anquetin, *La Feuille*, 3 November 1898.

Fig. 25. 'Le Droit prime la Force', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 22 September 1898; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 26. 'Dans le Maquis', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 28 July 1898; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 27 (Left) 'Cedant arma togae', Jean-Louis Forain, *Psst...!*, 19 February 1898; (right) 'Allons-y', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 24 February 1898; *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 28. 'As a souvenir from the Beilis trial', 1913', Photo Archive, Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, Western Galilee, Israel.

Fig. 29. Commemorative image of Andrei Yushichinsky.

Fig. 30. (Left) 'La France aux Français', *La Libre Parole*; (right) 'Exposition d' Horticulture', *Le Pèlerin*.

Fig. 31. 'Les Vertues Laïques', Jules Grandjouan, *La Raison*, 1907.

Fig. 32. 'A Second Degradation', W.A. Rogers, *American Harper's Weekly*, 23 September 1899.

Fig. 33. (left to right) 'A la gloire de Scheurer-Kestner', Ibels, 20 September 1899; *Le Siècle*, 25 September 1899, p. 2; No 20, *Les Légendes du Siècle*, 1901.

Fig. 34. 'Le Coup du Père François', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 24 March 1898; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Chapter Four — Anticlerical images in the anti-Jewish crisis

Fig. 35. (Left) Cover image 'La Semeuse', *Les Légendes du Siècle*, and (right) illustration No 7, Ibels, 1901.

Fig. 36. 'La Situation', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 8 May 1898; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 37. Illustration, Ibels, *Sébastien Roch*, Paris, 1906.

Fig. 38. Sixteenth century woodcut, anon.

Fig. 39. 'Der blinde Passagier', *Leuchtkugeln*, Anon., Munich, 1948.

Fig. 40. 'E Amen de Conscience', Pépin, *Le Grelot*, 20 February 1898.

Fig. 41. Ibels' dedication to Fernand Labori, *Allons-Y!*.

Fig. 42. No. 11, *Histoire d'un crime*, Léon-Antoine-Lucien Couturier, 1899.

Fig. 43. 'Les Nouveaux Frères Siamois', F G Keronan, *Le Père Peinard*, 30 October 1898.

Fig. 44. 'Filles à Soldats', Maximilien Luce, *Le Père Peinard*, 2 October 1898.

Fig. 45. (Left) 'La Chanson du Gas', Ibels, *Le Père peinard*, 22 January 1893; (right) '—Est-ce une Croix ou un Sabre?...?', Ibels, 10 March 1898, *Le Sifflet*; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 46. 'Une mesure radicale/RADICALE', Ibels, *Le Sifflet* 4 August 1898; and *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 47. 'La Dernière Dame voilée, en place pour la quadrille', Ibels, pastel, ca. 1899.

Fig. 48. 'Father Gapon', *Pchela (The Bee)*, No. 5, 1906, and detail.

Fig. 49. 'Le R.P. Jamont et le général Didon', *Le Siècle* supplément, photomontage, 11 January 1899.

Fig. 50. Detail, 'On Liquide!', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 2 June 1899.

Fig. 51. 'The Augustinians', René Georges Hermann-Paul, *Le Figaro*, 1901.

Fig. 52. 'L'abbé Godard', Ibels, *La Terre*, 1897.

Fig. 53. Detail, 'The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara', Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, painting, 1862.

Fig. 54. Detail, 'Leur dernier viol', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 17 February 1899.

Fig. 55. 'Honneur & Patrie', Ibels, *Le Sifflet*, 12 May 1898.

Fig. 56. 'Honneur à l'armée', Clérac, *Le Pilon*, 20 February 1898.

Fig. 57. 'A Bas le progrès', Ibels, lithograph for theatre programme, *The Beraldi Album of Theatre Programs*, 1893.

Fig. 58. 'A Bas le Progrès', Ibels, poster, 25 April 1894.

Fig. 59. 'Le Traître: Dégradation d' Alfred Dreyfus'. H. Meyer, *Le Petit Journal, Supplément Illustré*, 1895.

Fig 60. Illustration, Ibels, *Sébastien Roch*, Paris, 1906.

Chapter Five — The Representation of the Jew in the polemic

Fig. 61. 'Naquet', *La Libre Parole*, 1893.

Fig. 62. 'Le Pon Badriote', *Psst...!*, Forain, 5 February 1898.

Fig. 63. 'En Famille', Donville, *La Libre Parole illustrée*, 7 November 1895.

Fig. 64. 'C'est nous qui sont les nobles', Chanteclair, *La Libre Parole*, 13 April 1895.

Fig. 65. (Left) 'Leurs soldats'; (right) 'L'Aristocratie de demain', Caran D'Ache, *Psst... !* compendium, 1899.

Fig. 66. 'The World Turn'd Upside Down', TJ ('a well-willer'), 1646.

Fig. 67. 'Mr Franco', James Gillray, engraving, 1800, London.

Fig. 68. 'La France et L'Araignée', *Figaro*, Vienna, 20 January 1898.

Fig. 69. 'AN INCUBUS', Georges du Maurier, illustration, *Trilby*, 1895, New York.

Fig. 70. 'Friday Evening'. Izidor Kaufmann, oil on canvas, 1897–1898.

Fig. 71 'Page d'histoire', Caran D'Ache, *Psst...!*, 5 February 1898.

Fig. 72 'Le Traître', Oswald Heidbrinck, *Le Rire*, 5 January 1895.

Fig. 73. 'Allégorie', Forain, *Psst...!*, 23 July 1898.

Fig. 74. 'No 9', *Histoire d'un crime*, Couturier, 1899.

Fig 75. Affaire Dreyfus, 1894-1899 L'heure de la justice a sonné', Couturier, 1899.

Fig. 76. Front page of 'Le Goupillon', Ibels, *Allons-Y!*, 1898.

Fig. 77. 'Les qualités du Juif d'après le méthode de Gall', Emile Courtet, *La Libre Parole*, 23 December 1893.

Fig. 78. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, 1182.

Fig. 79. (Left) Detail, Dreyfus portrait in 'Le Jeu de 36 Têtes', Lambot, *L'Antijuif*, 12 February 1899; (right) photograph of Dreyfus after Degradation, 5 January 1895.

Fig. 80. 'Candidat Antisémit', Willette, poster, 1889.

Fig. 81. 'Vote Maker (for the People's Party)', Carl Browne, 1892.

Fig. 82. 'Il nous écrase et nous pressure, et plane au-dessus de nous', *Ohe, Les Dirigeants*, Gyp, 1896.

Fig. 83. Detail, 'Vote Maker (for the People's Party)', Browne, 1892.

Fig. 84. Detail, 'Candidat Antisémit', Willette, poster, 1889.

Fig. 85. Detail, '—Sûr qu'elle n'est pas- à-la noce, la France', Gyp, 1895.

Fig. 86. 'La Sécheresse', Willette, *La Libre Parole*, No 1, 17 July 1893.

Fig. 87. Detail, 'La Sécheresse', Willette as reproduced in Cate's essay.

Fig. 88. 'Que le chambardement commence!!' No. 34 *Musée des Horreurs*, V Lenepveu, 1900

Fig. 89. 'Dans les coulisses', Forain, 1899, oil on canvas.

Fig. 90. Detail, 'Histoire de la Troisième République', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896.

Fig. 91. Detail, 'Juifs d'Algérie', Gyp, *Le Rire*, 14 November 1896.

Fig. 92. 'Excepté le cochon, tout nous est permis', Hermann-Paul, *Le Canard sauvage*, 11-17 April 1903.

Fig. 93. 'Une page d'amour', *L'œuvre de Zola*, H. Lebourgeois, 1898.

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