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Rocking the Third Republic:
The Succession of Political Crises That Led to the Rise of Xenophobic Nationalism in France

Sophia DeLeonibus

PSU Honors Modern European History
Mr. Vannelli
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In July of 2014, Muslim demonstrations in Paris against Israel's action in Gaza turned violent. The growing strength of anti-Zionism in France, as clearly portrayed through this incident, has led recently to a fear, insinuated by *The Economist*, that anti-Zionism is bringing back the anti-Semitism of yore.\(^1\) Muslim protestors, themselves a discriminated group within France, have ironically found their anti-Zionist cries backed by French anti-Semitic sentiments.\(^2\) Indeed, though shocking, the prevalence of such ethnic prejudice in France is not a recent development, suggesting that anti-Zionism is an echo of past anti-Semitism within the nation or, as the *New York Times* recently argued, a mask covering historical French anti-Semitism.\(^3\) When considering the turbulent politics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is unsurprising that French Jews have increasingly emigrated (despite Middle Eastern turmoil) to Israel, where they can both practice their faith without prejudice and feel secure from what seems to be an alarming return to the past. Throughout the past century, the level of intolerance towards Jews and any outsiders has become an integral aspect of French culture, notably illustrated through the evolution of nationalism in France. The beginnings of this modern element of French nationalism can be traced to the 1870 Prussian defeat of Emperor Napoléon III and the formation of the Third Republic, where soon after a strong combination of anti-German sentiment and French protectionism marked the birth of a new phase of French nationalism that embraced revanchism and xenophobia, as opposed to the Napoleonic *mission civilisatrice*\(^4\) mindset and promotion of the French Revolutionary values of the early nineteenth century. As a succession of crises rocked the young Republic, undermining the democratic values on which it was formed, a

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\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) French phrase, translation: civilizing mission.
new branch of right-winged thinkers emerged and mobilized. The Dreyfus Affair of 1894, following the disruption caused by the Boulanger Crisis of 1889 and the Panama Canal Scandal of 1892, would come to represent the coalescing element of this nationalist ideology, cementing xenophobic, notably anti-Semitic, and revanchist ideals into the mindset of conservative France at the time.

To truly comprehend the birth of such nationalism, an understanding of prior French nationalist ideology is vital. Post-French Revolution, French nationalism was defined by the *mission civilisatrice*, an ideal characterized by the new Republic’s humanitarian desire to spread French civilized society to the uncivilized. Napoléon Bonaparte perpetuated said ideals, using *mission civilisatrice* not only as a rational for colonization but as a political strategy to create a buffer zone of new allies around the young nation in an effort to appease surrounding hostile monarchies.\(^5\) By virtue of such principles, Jews were included in this effort, clear through Napoléon Bonaparte’s efforts to assimilate the discriminated race into the nation. By repealing laws restricting European Jews to living in ghettos as well as promoting progressive notions of religious tolerance, evident through the enacting of his Napoleonic Codes, Napoléon succeeded in reviving the Jews within France.\(^6\) His proclamation of Jews as the “rightful heirs of Palestine” sharply contrasts with the anti-Semitic sentiments of the later 19\(^{th}\) century.\(^7\) Clearly, such *mission civilisatrice*, strengthened in France through the Napoleonic wars, embodied the nation’s revolutionary values, maintaining the democratic notion set forth in the 1789 “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen” of the equality of all men by birth.

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\(^7\) Ibid., 56.
Such liberal views, however, did not completely dominate French ideology. A significant group characterized by conservative royalist (thus, anti-revolutionary) views rose to power after the 1814 to 1815 Congress of Vienna where, in response to political issues raised in Europe due to the persistence of the Napoleonic wars, Napoléon Bonaparte was exiled and his reign terminated. In his place rose Louis XVIII of the House of Bourbon, who established a constitutional monarchy in an attempt to restore the ancien régime of the past.\(^8\) Known as the Restoration period, its counter-revolutionary ideals mirrored the sentiments of the nationalistic right post-1870. The Restoration government’s view that its monarchs derived their kingships from divine will (over the revolutionary notions of power derived from the will of the people) led to its subsequent deposition in the 1830 July Revolution.\(^9\) Louis-Philippe promptly assumed control, admonishing the monarchism of the Restoration period. Despite his assurance of himself as the “citizen’s king,” committed to representing the interests of the people over those of the nation, Louis-Philippe’s oligarchic reign, known as the July Monarchy, left many dissatisfied.\(^10\) Though he embraced the Napoleonic ideals of *mission civilisatrice*, seen in his push for colonialism through the French conquest of Algeria from 1830 to 1847, his monarchy was antithetical to the Republic which the Revolution had strived to establish.

The February and June Revolutions of 1848, inflamed by sentiments aspiring to return to the past glory under Napoléon, provided the means for Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoléon I, to rise to power.\(^11\) The 1848 revolutions established the short-lived French Second Republic which elected Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte President. The “President Prince” led a successful coup d’état against the Republic in 1851 in response to a constitutional requirement

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\(^8\) French phrase, refers to the pre-French Revolution monarchy.
\(^10\) Ibid., 44.
\(^11\) Ibid., 51.
limiting his presidency to one term. The success of this violent overthrow of the Second Republic allowed Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte to create the Second French Empire and crown himself Emperor Napoléon III. The Second French Empire, defined by colonialism, interventionist foreign policy, and the promotion of the *mission civilisatrice* nationalist ideals, saw Napoléon III attempt to encompass the heroic persona of his uncle and perpetuate patriotic values of French supremacy within Europe. Such efforts perhaps explain Napoléon III’s arguably rash decision to enter the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.\(^\text{12}\) Lacking allies and with an inferior military, France lost decisively to Prussia and the German states. Napoléon III’s reign ended with his capture at the Battle of Sedan and the Second French Empire was abolished. In September of 1870, France proclaimed its Third Republic.

The war subsided by means of the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871, which signified the birth of new French nationalist thought. The Treaty’s reworking of the French-German border and ceding of the French-controlled territories of Alsace and Lorraine to the newly formed German Empire marked the emergence of revanchist ideology.\(^\text{13}\) Due to the loss of historically French lands, a French nationalist movement surfaced with the hopes of avenging their nation’s catastrophic defeat in the War of 1870 and reclaiming Alsace-Lorraine from their new enemies – the Germans. As revanchism gained strength within the nation, it began to influence various parts of daily life. For example, sentiments of the necessity of French protectionism against Germany (in essence, xenophobia) manifested itself through the nation’s attempt to incorporate such protectionism into their trade policies, in turn leading to economic difficulty.\(^\text{14}\) Frenchmen strived to instill revanchist values within the youth of France, clear through the presence of


\(^{13}\) Derived from Revanchism, a French term for the policy of a nation to retaliate against another, particularly in the instance of lost territory.

\(^{14}\) Mitchell, 192.
nationalistic board games. In one such game, points were gained by pulling a nationalistic image relating to the Franco-Prussian war and lost by pulling one relating to the Prussians (i.e. the card “Bismarck” was worth negative 70 points and the French flag was worth positive 30).15

While vitally significant to the emergence of national ideology within the nation, revanchism was not the only outcome of the War of 1870. Elements of anti-Semitism, which would be expanded and strengthened through the succession of political crises in the Third Republic, became clear through France’s accusation of Jews as leading to its defeat in the war.16 As the Treaty of Frankfurt’s financial provisions had been handled by Jewish bankers, the French felt justified in blaming Jews for their losses. French anti-Semitic writer Edouard Drumont wrote in his incendiary piece, *La France Juif* that “jewish financiers” were to blame for “all the corpses” from the war, claiming that they “spied on France” solely for gaining “gold”.17 Such a belief that Jews were single-mindedly focused on capitalist gains is further illustrated by the Musée des Horreur’s malicious caricature of Alphonse James de Rothschild, a member of a prominent Jewish banking family and a regent of the National Bank of France.18 By portraying him as monster-like, crouched over a treasure chest of gold, the image reinforces the French perception of a Jewish obsession with money. Such anti-Semitism, though modest at the time (compared to sentiments to come), would come to represent a dominant aspect of growing French nationalist ideology.

Revanchism strengthened as an element of French political thought with the arrival of General Georges Ernest Boulanger to the political scene. Boulanger, a popular general from the

15 See Appendix A, Figure 1. My translation.
18 See Appendix B, Figure 1.
Franco-Prussian war, was elected as French Minister of War in 1886. Known for his promotion of aggressive nationalism and revanchism against Germany, Boulanger became a coveted guest and speaker at military institutes around the nation. His desire to “build a national army despite all the hesitations and resistance” reflected his belief that mobilizing the French military would reinforce “patriotism and nationalism.”19 His advocacy to strengthen the army not only granted him the title of “General Revanche” but led to his removal from his Ministry post in 1887 by the French government, anxious that Boulanger’s patriotic words would lead the country into a second devastating war. By this time, Boulanger had an established following consisting of Frenchmen, from the left and right alike, dissatisfied with the young Republic. Propaganda pieces circulated promoting Boulanger, describing him as “work, liberty, honesty, rights, the people, peace” and urging people “to support general Boulanger.”20 For them, Boulanger was the key to restoring the Napoleonic France of the past and re-obtaining the territory of Alsace-Lorraine.21

Upon his dismissal, Boulanger’s supporters rallied around him in opposition to the government of the Republic. Their support deepened with the revelation that current President Jules Grévy planned to step down and yield his powerful position to an elected replacement. Grévy’s resignation was not a choice – when a political scandal exposed Grévy’s son-in-law Daniel Wilson as guilty of selling Légion d’Honneur22 decorations, he was left with no other options. The scandal increased the public’s disillusionment with the Republic and allowed for the

22 French order established by Napoléon Bonaparte to decorate Frenchmen based on merit. Translation: Legion of Honor.
mobilization of Boulanger’s followers. In 1888, Boulanger stood for election as a deputy for Paris and was overwhelmingly successful, his triumph placing him in the position necessary to initiate a coup d’état and overthrow the Republic with the help of his fervent supporters. His hesitation however allowed the French government to gather and quell any potential rebellion before it occurred, effectively ending Boulanger’s political influence.

The Boulanger Affair is widely considered one of the political and social crises that rocked the Third Republic. It notably consolidated and structured the nationalistic force that arose out of the Franco-Prussian war, forming a new right-winged authority within the nation composed of those from the anti-parliamentary left as well as the monarchist right. This force would maintain considerable influence in the shaping of nationalist ideology, one focused on “spirit of the homeland” during the following decades. Such growing nationalistic spirit strengthened through the right’s exaltation of French heroine Joan of Arc. The right depicted Joan of Arc as a martyr for the nation and a patriotic defender of the old ways of Catholic and monarchical France, clear through various chants dedicated to her. One such chant describes her as a “saint of the homeland” who epitomized “the spirit of the ancients,” while a second calls to Joan of Arc to “guide [French] soldiers.” The right, whether monarchist in nature or patriotic in outlook, found much to revere in Joan of Arc, a symbol of France prior to the Third Republic.

Such denunciations of the Republic, furthered by Boulanger’s almost-coup and almost-restoration of a Caesarian dictatorship in France, would be upheld by the political crises in the years to follow, as well as by the addition of anti-Semitic and xenophobic sentiments to the revanchist ideology that constituted the new right’s sense of nationalism of the time.

The Boulanger Crisis of 1889 was followed shortly after by the Panama Canal Scandal of 1892. The scandal arose out of the news that the Panama Canal Company, financed by investments made by the French public, was in debt. To make this worse, it came out that members of the French government had accepted bribes from the Company to withhold from the public disclosure of its bankruptcy.\(^{26}\) French citizens, enraged that their own politicians put their own material greed before the financial health of their countrymen, began doubting the Republic’s ability to govern. *Le Petit Journal*’s illustrated cover from December 31, 1892, depicting various French politicians worshiping a golden calf, clearly exemplifies such misgivings.\(^{27}\) By portraying government officials as obsessed with the idol, here symbolic of greed and desire for wealth, the image suggests the nation’s politicians to be focused on their own capital gains, rather than on the welfare of French citizens. Their criticism of the corruption within their country’s politics mirrored the opposition voiced by the newly formed right towards the Republic during the Boulanger Crisis, ultimately bringing support to the nationalist cause.\(^{28}\)

The Panama Canal Scandal’s influence was deepened by the mobilization of anti-Semitism within the public sphere due to the involvement of two Jewish men, Baron Jacques Reinach and Cornelius Herz, in the crisis. Though elements of anti-Semitism appeared throughout the Boulanger Crisis, the Panama Canal Scandal is considered more of a catalyst.\(^{29}\) When French journalist Édouard Drumont wrote about the Jewish involvement in the canal scandal in his young but influential anti-Semitic newspaper *La Libre Parole*, much of the French public quickly adopted negative outlooks towards Jews.\(^{30}\) Reinach and Herz’s roles as

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27 See Appendix B, Figure 2.
28 Fuller, 47.
30 Ibid., 62.
distributers of the bribe money to French politicians strengthened the notion of Jews as middlemen between the capitalist business sector and the state that many Frenchmen carried at the time. As a result, many began to equate capitalism with Jews and both capitalism and Jews with evil (an idea long perpetuated by the Catholic Church), thus adding significantly to the anti-Semitism cause within the nation. When *Le Petit Journal* published its cover from August 19, 1893, portraying left winged government official Georges Clemenceau simultaneously dancing and juggling money bags, under the watchful eye of conductor Cornelius Herz, it added to the notion within France that French Jews were not only obsessed with capital gains, but were manipulating and controlling politicians in the process. Anti-Semitism, clearly revealed through this incident, would soon become cemented within the growing nationalist ideology through the culminating scandal of the Third Republic – the Dreyfus Affair.

The Dreyfus Affair, commonly known as *L’Affaire*, deeply polarized France between the new nationalists and the defenders of the Republic. The Affair began in 1894, when Captain Albert Dreyfus, a young French artillery officer of Jewish descent, was accused of treason and sentenced to prison. He was convicted for allegedly spying for the Germans and passing French military secrets to the German Embassy in Paris. Dreyfus’s innocence soon became clear in 1896 when evidence surfaced identifying French Army major Ferdinand Esterhazy as the true culprit. However, driven by the perception that a “Jewish syndicate” was working to discredit the army, military officials suppressed the evidence. When this devious act came to light, supporters of Dreyfus, commonly known as Dreyfusards, voiced outrage. Their words, particularly those of French writer Émile Zola in his publicized letter to the President of the

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31 Byrnes, 63.
32 See Appendix B, Figure 3.
34 Opponents of Dreyfus are known as anti-Dreyfusards.
Republic, *J'Accuse*, led to a reopening of the Dreyfus case in 1899. Though this trial resulted in a second conviction for Dreyfus, his innocence eventually led to his official pardon and reinstatement in the French Army.

While the detailed workings of the Dreyfus trial are of importance to understand the affair, its significance truly arose out of the discord between the Dreyfusards, the Republic-defenders, and the anti-Dreyfusards, the anti-Semitic and pro-Army new nationalists.  

At the heart of this divide were the opposing values of the Revolution’s “Declaration of the Rights of Man” versus the *ancien régime* and Reformation period of France. The cries from each camp, of Dreyfus’s guilt or his innocence, polarized public opinion and caused a mass hysteria within French society. The words of countless influential writers and public figures from each side aided in the shaping of such opinion and, to a larger extent, the shaping of French nationalist ideology at the turn of the century.

The anti-Dreyfusard voices greatly developed the new right, cementing anti-Semitism into their nationalist ideology. One such voice was Drumont, whose belief in the inferiority of all Semitic people went back years before the commencement of the Dreyfus affair. The strength of his sentiments is clear through his formation of the Anti-Semitic League of France in 1889 as well as his establishment of the newspaper *La Libre Parole*, which played a key role in the development of anti-Semitic arguments in *L’Affaire*. Not only was it among the first to announce the arrest of Dreyfus, but it wrongly accused the President and the Cabinet of the

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37 Halasz, 3.
Republic of having been involved in the espionage.\textsuperscript{39} By undermining the Republic’s authority in this manner, Drumont suggested the government of France to be controlled by Jews, thus expanding the Boulangist disdain for the French Republic to include an anti-Semitic outlook.

Maurice Barrès, another dominant anti-Dreyfusard of the time, contributed significantly to the solidification of the new right’s nationalist ideology. Barrès, a Boulangist, popularized the notion of ethnic nationalism through his writings, such as his \textit{Roman de l’énergie nationale} trilogy. Influenced by the fact that he was born in Lorraine, part of the territory ceded to Germany after the War of 1870, Barrès specified the word “nationalism” to ensure he was part of the French nation. He declared the “nation” to belong to those who were included in the French “cult of soil and the dead”.\textsuperscript{40} In other words, to be a true “Frenchman”, one must not only have been born in France, but one’s ancestors must have been French as well. Through this idea of regionalism as well as lineage as a basis for national identity, Barrès expressed the Jewish race’s exclusion from France. By means of his xenophobic sentiments that France should be reserved to the Frenchmen, Barrès revealed his anti-Semitic outlook and his fear that the Jews within France, particularly within the French government, would undeniably manipulate and obstruct the French race.\textsuperscript{41}

This notion of “France for the French” was reiterated through \textit{La Libre Parole}’s illustrated cover, portraying an animalistic and stereotypically Jewish Dreyfus clinging desperately to the world and his money.\textsuperscript{42} The lone phrase “their homeland” lies beneath the caricature, suggesting that, as Jews don’t seem to have an established homeland, they attempt to create one wherever they can – implying Jews to lack patriotism and nationalism for France (a

\textsuperscript{39} Halasz, 3.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} See Appendix B, Figure 4. My translation.
notion supported by Barrès). Barrès’s anti-Semitism and strong patriotism synthesized with his Boulangerist inclinations and anti-parliamentarian (anti-Republic) sentiments to mirror the nationalist ideology taking root within the new right.\textsuperscript{43}

A final influential anti-Dreyfusard thinker of the time was Charles Maurras. A defender of the French monarchy and principal ideologue of the Action Française, a far right political movement and journal formed as a nationalist reaction to Dreyfusard intervention within France following \textit{L’Affaire}, Maurras is considered a leading advocate against the democratic ideals of the French Republic.\textsuperscript{44} His exclusivist philosophy, inspired by Barres’s “cult of soil and the dead,” separated France into two classes: the French and the Anti-French.\textsuperscript{45} Similar to Barrès, Maurras believed the Anti-France consisted of all those who worked to destroy France from within its borders, specifically the “Four Confederate States” of the Protestants, the Freemasons, the Metics\textsuperscript{46} and the Jews.\textsuperscript{47} In the eyes of Maurras, the Dreyfus Affair provided proof of a Jewish conspiracy against France.\textsuperscript{48} His radical outlook on the French nation not only invigorated the anti-republican nationalism of the time but also promoted his anti-Semitic and xenophobic outlook on the nation and the Jews within it.

While the individual voices of anti-Dreyfusards added significantly to the consolidation of the right’s views, the influence of institutions, primarily the Catholic Church, was extensive. According to the republicans, the church’s power, immense wealth, and control of the education

\textsuperscript{43} Zeev Sternhell, \textit{Maurice Barrès et le Nationalisme Français} (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1985), 364.
\textsuperscript{46} Ancient Greek term for foreigner, used pejoratively by Maurras.
\textsuperscript{47} Evans and Godin, 72.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
of the masses, was the greatest barrier to the principle of the 1789 revolution.\textsuperscript{49} Consequently, the church found the anti-republic right an ideal ally. Come the Dreyfus Affair, the church echoed much of the same anti-Semitic views expressed above, significantly affecting the public opinion of Catholics throughout the nation.\textsuperscript{50} Catholic newspapers, notably \textit{La Croix}, expressed the church’s sentiments that Dreyfusism was both a “heresy” and the “eighth mortal sin”.\textsuperscript{51} One such newspaper, \textit{Civiltà Cattolica}, described Jews as “created by God to be [spies]” and decried the fact that “Jews [had ever] been granted French citizenship”.\textsuperscript{52} The strength of such anti-Semitism within the church mirrored the anti-Semitism of anti-Dreyfusard thinkers throughout France. The combination of their influence greatly increased the prominence of the growing anti-Republic right and expanded the exclusivist character of its nationalism. The right’s fear of foreigners, particularly Germans, that was so clearly perpetuated through its revanchist ideals, and the right’s disapproval of the parliamentary system of the Third Republic united with the ever-strengthening anti-Semitism within the nation. The right’s membership and political influence greatly increased due to the Dreyfus affair as well – from 1898 to 1902, votes from the conservationists (the right-winged party of the time, duly named for their desire to conserve the old ways of France) more than doubled, resulting in an 82 legislative seat gain.\textsuperscript{53} Thus, the exclusivist aspect of the right’s nationalism, seen though the patriotic and xenophobic redefinition of what it meant to truly be “French”, became solidified within the right’s ideology.\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{49} Evans and Godin, 68.
\textsuperscript{50} Soltau, 72.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 73.
\textsuperscript{53} See Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{54} Winock, 115.
\end{flushright}
The ability of the nationalist right to consolidate their views with those of the anti-Dreyfusards was enhanced by the polarization within France between the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. The Dreyfus case provided means for both political factions to rally support for their drastically differing ideologies and goals. As the Dreyfusards, spearheaded by Zola’s accusatory letter to President Faure that rekindled the question of Dreyfus’s guilt, fought to preserve the Republic and its democratic values, anti-Dreyfusard voices sounded louder and more forcefully. When Dreyfusards attacked the Church’s influence within political life, anti-Dreyfusards retaliated by challenging Jews in France.

Though anti-Dreyfusard sentiments penetrated the public’s mind both during and after the Affair, it is important to realize that the new right never gained complete political control over the nation. Certainly, the right’s anti-Semitic propaganda ingrained xenophobic views within the nation, clear through the strength of Maurras’s monarchist Action Française in the early 20th century and the passage of the Statute on Jews in 1940 by the Vichy regime. However, their ideology never completely overshadowed the notions of justice and equality internalized by the democratic Dreyfusards. The Republic’s passage of an anti-clerical law in 1905 in response to the Catholic Church’s activism during the affair on the part of the anti-Dreyfusards signified a return to power of the anticlerical left. Soon after, in 1906, the Republic officially pardoned Dreyfus, enhancing the left’s sense of victory exiting the Dreyfus affair.

55 Soltau, 71.
57 Winock, 144.
59 Evans and Godin, 74.

The anti-clerical left had met with victories during the later part of the 19th century, clear through the passage of the Jules Ferry Laws of 1882 that called for the creation of lay (and thus republican) schools.
60 Ibid.
Despite these setbacks for the anti-Dreyfusard movement, the right maintained substantial influence, leaving behind two notable legacies: hatred of Jews and suspicion of the Republic itself, both intensified during the Nazi’s control of France through the Vichy administration.\textsuperscript{61} Considering such legacies, as well as the right’s origin and history, the current severity of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist demonstrations in France becomes increasingly intelligible. Though ironic, the July 2014 Muslim protesters’ anti-Zionism has found a place within anti-Semitic France.\textsuperscript{62} Their violence, clear through their burning of an Israeli flag, destruction of Jewish shops, launching of a Molotov cocktail towards a synagogue and chants of “Death to the Jews,” mirror anti-Dreyfusard sentiments both during and after \textit{L’Affaire}.\textsuperscript{63} With this in mind, such protests come less as a surprise – they are consonant with the anti-Semitic tradition established by the xenophobic and nationalist right. Though such ethnic prejudice and brutality is by no means condonable, an understanding of the succession of French political crises following the War of 1870, as well as recognition of the relationship between anti-Semitism and modern anti-Zionism, provides insight to their manifestation within contemporary France.

\textsuperscript{61} Arendt, “Dreyfus Affair,” 198.

\textsuperscript{62} Bohlen.

\textsuperscript{63} M.S., “Anti-Semitism in France: Dark Days.”
Appendix A: Nationalistic Propaganda from the Third Republic

Figure 1: “Lottery of the War, 1870-1871”

Figure 2: Triumphant Ode to Joan of Arc

*Ode triomphale à Jeanne d’Arc.* Music de Charles-Ferdinand Lenepveu et Poésie de Paul Allard.

Figure 3: Patriotic Chant for Joan of Arc


Appendix B: Right-Winged Political Cartoons from the Third Republic

Figure 1: *Musée des Horreurs'* caricature of Alphonse James de Rothschild


http://library.duke.edu/.
Figure 3: *Le Petit Journal*’s Cornelius Herz conducts Clémenceau’s dance


gallica.bnf.fr.
Figure 4: *La Libre Parole*’s Dreyfus’s Homeland

Appendix C: Election Results from 1893 until 1906 (votes and seats)

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<th>Partisan affiliations</th>
<th>1893 votes</th>
<th>1893 seats</th>
<th>1898 votes</th>
<th>1898 seats</th>
<th>1902 votes</th>
<th>1902 seats</th>
<th>1906 votes</th>
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Sources: Lancelot (1968) and Duverger (1992).

Notes: Républicains include Ralliés and Action Populaire; in 1906 together with Conservateurs.

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