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French Nationalism and Joan of Arc
The use of the Cult of Joan of Arc
in France between 1871-1926

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Abstract

The cult of Joan of Arc has always had an effect on the people of France, throughout history. It has inspired too many different views and re-surfaced at times in crisis for France. During some turbulent years after the mid 19th century the cult seems to have gained popularity. Emotional and historical writing became a fashion and Joan was presented in different ways depending on the writer and his motifs. As nationalistic front gained in popularity they understood to use her symbol in the name of France.

This following study, named *French Nationalism and Joan of Arc: the Use of the Cult of Joan of Arc in France between 1871-1926*, has been an attempt to study her cult from an ultra nationalistic point of view. By approaching the subject by a History of Ideas theory I have tried to answer my questions in the matter, and tried to de-code the image of Joan of Arc in the name of nationalism. By first studying the nationalistic development in France as background and the basics and philosophy of the ideas I have then begun the research of the period mentioned. First and foremost I have studied the framework of nationalism and then I have used material coherent to my study, such as Action Française, writers of the 19th-20th century and other studies. I have come to learn that the cult of Joan was perfect for the time when ultra nationalistic feelings grew in the late 19th century as a response to the ever twisted Dreyfuss-affair. Along with nationalism came anti-Semitism and fascism and in the line of Action Française also royalism. Joan of Arc stood for all those things, at least that is what the nationalist thought, using history and documents to back it up. And if the legend did not fit the purpose, it was made to fit, all in the ideology of nationalism. Joan of Arc became the symbol they wanted for all their own beliefs. Joan of Arc was to be a piece of raw clay, able to take on any form in the hands of politics.

Keywords: Joan of Arc, Action Française Nationalism, Cult, France

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1. Introduction

The ever disputed saga of Joan of Arc continues. One may think that it would be long since ended. Even if the world of history may have laid out all the facts (and myths) of the French national heroine there are still some aspects yet to be revealed. Like the following essay. My hopes are that this piece could cover a not yet completed discourse. Joan of Arc and her cult have fascinated me for seven years and I have been studying her cult in a historic view and now in the religious field. What I have learned is that she is still fascinating to thousands of people through a variety of walks of life and she is still uniting people all over the world, through religion, through history and through the mere fascinating of a heroine, remarkable to this day for the life she lead, over 500 years ago. In France, where she is still celebrated as a national saint, she continues to be a role model and a strong figure of the state and she is frequently mentioned in politics and identified with the soil of France. My former essay about the canonization of Joan of Arc made me touch the subject of nationalism and so this essay finally had its frames drawn. With the Action Française in the center of French nationalism I became more and more intrigued to see in what way the cult of Joan of Arc was used in France during the period between two great wars. During my own stay in the village of Domremy and the home of Joan of Arc, I became even more aware of the nationalism and patriotism, which surrounds the subject. Every aspect in the small village bears a resemblance to the celebrated saint but not all with the aspect of nationalism. There is also an aspect of life, hope and joy. Joan of Arc may to the nationalist be the perfect symbol of the nation. But in other ways this seems to be a paradox since she is uniting people from all over the world where the boundaries are none existent. I hope the following work may fascinate the reader as much as it has fascinated the author himself.

Jakob Ringbom, Hamra April 28th 2009

1.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of the following work is to identify the use of the cult of Joan of Arc in French nationalism. The time period I have chosen to examine are the years between 1871 to 1926, from when the regions of Lorraine fell into the hands of Prussia (later Germany) to when the Action Française was banned by the Vatican. To fulfill this purpose I have been studying the fields of French nationalism and their surroundings in order to answer my questions. The aim is to map out how the image of Joan was used in the development of nationalism in the late 19th century. The study will hopefully contribute to the studies of the cult of Joan of Arc by "de-coding" the nationalistic and Action Française's view of her, in particular.

My question is twofold:

- **Why Joan of Arc as a symbol of nationalism?**
- **How is the image of Joan of Arc displayed by the nationalists?**

1.2 Methodology and theory

The implemented method in the following work is a qualitative method. The work is based on literature of different nature and I have chosen the literature out of a broad line of works but been trying to use literature responding to my two-folded question. The method is partly biographical, philosophical and sociological based on the world of nationalism and Joan of Arc. This study will concentrate on how political ideas are combined with literature and writers as well as propaganda during the time studied. The object is to understand the mechanics that are fundamental to the world of Nationalism in France and the cult of Joan of Arc and the intention is to as fully as possible understand the historical aspects and the powers in work at the time. By following the different works on Joan of Arc, Action Française and the writers of nationalism I have used the questions to sift the material. The writers I have chosen to examine are the ones I have come across during my research and I have chosen them since their names have surfaced numerous times. They are all important figures of the development of Nationalism during the early 20th century. The work has proceeded by reading and analyzing the texts and out of this aspect. I have interpreted them to my best knowledge. The work has developed in this fashion and I have written as I have gone along. If I have come across new views or facts I have tried to follow them

through. In particular secondary literature has been used in the study but in some cases, as with some of the writers of the 20th, I have used primary sources. My aim is not to find out the "truth" about Joan of Arc according to Nationalism, since I dare to say that the picture of Joan by the nationalists is not as historical as it is mythical, since this is the ideology of nationalism itself. Why I have chosen this way of reading is because I think I will be able to make a more durable research with different eyes discovering the ideas of nationhood and its world more than trying to state what is true or false in a wider sense.

To study the context of Nationalism I have chosen to accomplish my study by a History of Ideas theory. I believe it's in this field that the researcher benefits the most since the nature of Nationalism is an ideological discourse. The material that is the frame to this research is mostly books and essays on the subject of Nationalism, French politics and of course the nature of the cult of Joan of Arc. I have started out by studying nationalism and how it has developed in France from the 18th century onward and I have pinned down the actual ideology and simultaneously compared it to the literature about Joan of Arc concerning the subject. Basically I have sifted the material to lay out the base of the line of history. Studying a text in this theory I have tried to figure out what are the motifs of the text, towards whom is the writer turning (Such as Barré and Peguy). Further I have tried to put the text in a social and ideological context. The contextualization has been important since I have had to see beyond the text and see what is (possibly) left out. Are there any "holes" revealing a view beyond it? It is quiet important that the object of the study is viewed in its discourse and it is also quiet essential to know that History of Ideas bears a close resemblance to History of Literature.¹

What is important to have in mind regarding the material is that the text has in its basic origin been made to bear a message through a media towards an audience. It is essential to be aware that a text of nationalism (such as a news paper) is written for a nationalistic audience. What is also quite remarkable is that the History of Ideas has change over the years and it is notably a big difference between the History of Ideas

¹ Björck, 2008, p. 198

when Joan of Arc actually lived, when Nationalism had its hey-days and today's views on the theory.

Sifting material I have come in contact with many interesting works regarding the nature of Nationalism and most notable is the book *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*, by Marianne Winther-Jørgensen and Louise Phillips in which they give a fine presentation of the discourse analysis in the case of nationality. Here they line up the outer frame by defining that the national state is accompanied with a long series of social practice bound to institutions such as state, school and media for example. The subject itself is broad and it's important to understand the background before continuing to interpretation.

1.3 Limitations

The following work is based on English literature in particular, but also French works in some cases. I have chosen to study the period between the time when Prussia got a hold of the regions of Lorraine and Alsace after the French-Prussian war until 1926 when the Action Française was banned by the Vatican. During this time nationalism grew stronger in France since the land was licking its wounds after the Prussian war and having lost the so loved region of the East. During this time the opinion to beatify Joan of Arc was also initiated and the cult of Joan increased dramatically. The Action Française actually lasted longer than to 1926 but the clash between the church and the organization marked an ending to the popularity of the Action Française.

It may be arguable to discuss the literature chosen since there is a broad nature of literature to examine but I think that I have chosen literature that is representative to my questions. I have naturally also chosen to use in particular literature on French nationhood since Joan of Arc lived and died on French soil. And even though the cult and legend of Joan may have emigrated later she was still the symbol of French souls in the 19th century.

1.4 Words and terminology

The world of religious studies and the world of nationalism contain a lot of remarkable words and meanings, sometimes explaining the same things from different point

of views. These terms may be hard to grasp at first and the small differences in the discourse may have a big difference in the actual world. Speaking particularly about the world of declaring a person a saint, this world may be confusing for the layman. The words used in this study will mostly be *beatification*, which is the first phase in declaring a saint and when the saint finally is declared she (or he) is *canonized*. Between these stages the procedure for the Vatican is to declare the person in mind *venerable* and *blessed* which means the object is permitted to move on to the next phase. Regarding nationalism the words worth mentioning would be *Nation* and *Patrie*, which is basically where the words nationalism and patriotism derived from. *Nationalism* belongs neither to basic French nor common vocabulary, but instead is a neologism uniquely intended for a technical (political) use.² These two forms are the early forms of the nationalism and patriotism, which emerged during the 17th century. *Nation* meaning unity under certain boundaries and *Patrie* referring to the fatherland. Even though I prefer the actual name Jeanne d'Arc (or really Jehanne d'Arc if you will) I have in the following work decided to use the well-known name *Joan of Arc* since this is the English version used widely. Mostly I will just use *Joan*.

1.5 Disposition

Before the actual analysis I have chosen to give some information on how the previous works on Joan of Arc and Nationalism has been presented. The reason for this is to give a broad spectrum of how the studies in the fields of nationalism and fascism are mapped out.

Considering the nature of the essay I have also chosen to give a space to both Joan of Arc and her life in a short, brief background and also how the French nationalism has emerged since the 17th century and the Enlightenment. I have considered this chapter quite necessary for the reader to comprehend the nature of the discourse.

The analysis itself is based on my previous mentioned discourse analysis, which ends with my presentation of the results of the analysis and the discussion, followed, by a conclusion of the whole work.

² Tombs, 1991, p. 77

2. Previous research: Joan of Arc and nationalism

The studies of Joan of Arc and nationalism are basically concerning Action Française, the society that is closely linked with Joan of Arc and her efforts. There are numerous works in this line of study and they reveal the manifestos and other literary concepts of the league. The many books regarding Action Française also briefly mention Joan and the Action Française's close link to her and her story. Charles Maurras, the founder of the Action Française, has been the subject of such studies and there are many works not least of his fight for nationalism. Of course, this is closely linked to history and the development of the Action Française, which basically declined and dissolved after the Vichy-regime during WWII. This particular part of Action Française history has been covered briefly by the author Nadia Margolis whom have written an essay in the anthology *Fresh verdicts of Joan of Arc*, published in 2003. Here she covers the peculiar situation of the district of Lorraine, which was occupied by the Germans as well as governed by them until 1944. She covers the story of Action Française during this period in regard of Joan of Arc. Here she also presents Vichy's image of Joan of Arc where she is imaged as Nazi Germans' idealized woman.

Another work in this genre worth mentioning is the book by Marina Warner whom has in her book *Joan of Arc, The image of female heroism* drawn up a most vivid picture of the saint in the favor of patriotism and nationalism. She mentions some of the most important authors of the time and touches the surface of the subject, giving us a broad picture of the way that they idealized the woman Joan. Also this chapter of her book is mainly occupied by the Action Française and Maurras and I have used this book as a reference.

In the work *Medieval saints in the late nineteenth Century French culture* the author Snypes-Hoyt discusses Maurice Barré and his literary Joan of Arc, which has characterized the development of French nationalism with almost the same importance as Maurras. The chapter is brief but very interesting in this discourse and gives a broad picture of Barré's views on Joan in the name of fascism.

Another important work can be found in another book, which I have used as reference, *Nationhood and nationalism in France*. There is an interesting chapter to be found concerning the fight for Joan between right and left wing during 20th century. Here *Gerd Krumeich* presents some interesting facts in the politics that occurred before and after Joan's canonization, in France.

3. General background

By presenting Joan of Arc and the background of French nationalism I hope to give the reader the facts to easier comprehend the following analysis.

3.1 Joan of Arc

*Oh! What honor for the female sex! It is perfectly obvious that God has special regard for it when all these wretched people who destroyed the whole Kingdom - now recovered and made safe by a woman, something that 5,000 men could not have done - and the traitors have been exterminated.*³

This quote is taken from *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* by Christine de Pizan, written in 1431. These words may be the first ever written about Joan of Arc in a thought of the *patrie*. It is clear what the feelings are for the *wretched people* and the *traitors*. Christine de Pizan was fascinated by the young woman fighting for the country and the king and it is not a very bold statement to say that it may be the first pamphlet on Joan of Arc and nationhood even though Christine de Pizan not only was in favor of the nation but also led a very early gender-discussion.⁴

Born in 1412 and dead in 1431, the girl named Joan of Arc would stifle historians and poets and people with the enigma of her remarkable life. The small village of Domremy in the east of France, close to today's Germany, was in those days haunted by the ongoing Hundred Years War between France and England. Domremy in the district of Lorraine was surrounded by the Burgundians, allied with the English, and

³ Warner, 2000, p. 220

⁴ Warner, 2000, p. 220

the villagers of Domremy pledged their allegiance to the soon-to-be King of France, Charles VII. Joan grew up in the village with her parents Jacques and Isabelle and two brothers and one sister. The facts of Joan might seem ordinary but the reason to draw up these facts is that in the 19th century when nationalism grew stronger, the spokesmen and writers would use various facts of her childhood.⁵

Even though her childhood so far seems ordinary, that's something that would change during her thirteenth year of life. During the trial, in which she was later convicted, she witnessed that she one day heard a voice in her father's garden. A voice she would soon recognize to be Saint Michael, the archangel, telling her not to fear but to listen. This voice would later characterize her life, visiting her more frequently and also present to Joan Saint Margaret and Saint Catharine. Growing more persistent, these voices told her that they were sent by God to tell Joan to go out to save France and have the king crowned.⁶ At the age of 17 she left Domremy to fulfill her mission and was granted to go and see the future king, *Dauphine*, whom resided in the town of Chinon. By this time England besieged a large part of France reaching as far as Orléans, the city that they also had besieged since a few months. Many aspects of Joan's life have later been used by different concentrations and the legend of the first meeting with the king is mythical and used even in modern works about Joan.⁷

Soon the king granted Joan her wish to go out as a messenger in the war for the country and after an interrogation in Poitiers she was sent with an army to Orléans to lift the siege. She was successful in her duties and soon she led the *Dauphine* to the coronation at Reims and her mission was fulfilled. What happens now is still arguable. Some voices say that the king did not have use for Joan anymore and some say that she boasted out that she wanted to continue fighting for France. What is mostly considered to be the fact is that Charles VII, often considered a coward and a pale king, chose the negotiable path and made a treaty with the burgundians to put down weapon. Joan still "wanting" to fight, was sent to Compiègne where she was captured in a skirmish and sold to the English.⁸

⁵ Pernoud, 2000, p. 221

⁶ Ibid., p. 113

⁷ Ibid., p. 23

⁸ Pernoud, 2000, p. 98

A new fight emerged for Joan. A fight for her life against the clergy in Rouen paid by the English to condemn her for heresy. She remained imprisoned in Rouen between hearings and grew weaker and weaker and finally was condemned for wearing men's attire, which was a crime against the holy gospels.⁹ She was handed over to secular power and on the 30th of May 1431, she was burned alive at the stake in the market place of Rouen. The English were defeated in 1453 and the French drove the besieging country from the soil of France.

3.2 The development of French nationalism

*I bend a religious brow with respect.
And lay down today Homage to the patrie.*¹⁰

These words come from a poem written during the Seven Years War (occurred in North America 1756–1763) and display the new religious thoughts of the people. A thought turned toward the nation instead of the church.

It is often stated that the French people, after the death of Joan, sensed a new time for the country. There seemed to be a perception of coming together, wiping out the boundaries between towns and villages. There was a new sense of working together against one enemy, the English, and it is not a far reach towards the feeling of nationality. Joan and the army had been very successful in its deeds and the two years of 1429-1430 had turned the war around, after all the defeats the country had suffered. Even though this sense of nationhood was born it would still take two hundred years before it was a fact. *Patrie*, first mentioned in a sermon by the jansenit cleric Jean Soanen in 1683 would soon be a popular word displaying love for the fatherland. The words *patrie* and *nation* began to feature in criticism of the absolute monarchy and appeared more frequently in these kinds of texts and works.¹¹ The nature of nation building is today so widespread that it is almost un-noticed that it was something brief in history emerging during the 19th century and today it is declining or at least giving away for internationality. Of course the idea of constructing a nation is old, just as the

⁹ Ibid., p. 132

¹⁰ Bell, 2001, p. 120

¹¹ Bell, 2001, p. 10

idea that the human race is divided into nations, but the idea of constructing a nation through political action laid beyond the mental horizon of the Western Europeans.¹² This nationality would emerge and during the Enlightenment it would be something to strive for in a new way and in 1894 the first dictionary of Académie Française defined a nation as "the inhabitants of a common country, who live under the same laws and use the same language."¹³

The Enlightenment brought the writers such as Rousseau and Voltaire to discuss the subject more widely even though the perception of nationality was still not an established theme. Voltaire himself wrote works that made him a refugee from his own country since he wrote pieces that strove against the *patrie* and the nation.¹⁴ The church was struck with severe drawbacks during this period of time. The Enlightenment brought new ideas of how the world should be and there was a new point of view in the vicinity and the church was not a part of it. These new ideas did not just bother the church but also the monarchy in the country and the situation was unstable and shook the foundations of France.¹⁵ An uneasy time brought the idea of nationhood to the new world in the east where there would soon be a revolution and the new soil of nationality was noticeable. Here there was a need to distinguish between nationhood and the new ideas, drawn closer to Europe. Incidents during the Seven Years War in the new world became patriotic topics and voluminous writings celebrated love of the French *patrie*. Merely, the word nation, increased remarkably in French writings and pamphlets and with England and France still in conflict on a nationhood level, people distinguished between citizenship and nationhood.¹⁶ Soon the revolutionary thoughts from North America hit Europe and there was a new world order to come. This order was characterized by an even stronger feeling of nationhood and even though the monarchy was unstable the thought of a nation grew stronger. The revolution that had been in waiting blasted out.¹⁷

¹² Ibid., p. 5

¹³ Ibid., p. 6

¹⁴ *Nationalencyklopedin*, 1996, p. 31

¹⁵ Tønneson, 1986 p. 172

¹⁶ Bell, 2001, p. 12-13

¹⁷ Bell, 2001, p. 44

The towering event in the national mythology was the revolution in particular, traditionally the benchmark of the right and the left.¹⁸ Nationalism was surely making its more political entrance. Symbols, flags and language were on the agenda and the church suffered even more by the chaotic years after the revolution and there would be disturbance until someone could use this situation and channel it for a better purpose. Napoleon was to draw use of the strenuous situation and soon there was a chance to use the anxiety and the restlessness of the people. Napoleon knew what the people craved and gave them guidance and used the church to gain credibility in the country, even though the faith towards nationalism could be seen as a new religion in the boundaries of France. He knew how to make a great nation work together and the nationhood grew stronger with its roots embedded in the soil, deeper than before.¹⁹

Even though the nation would experience a worried decade the nationhood and *patrie* was known in every Frenchman's heart. Even Napoleon III knew to aspire to this alignment but during the Prussian war the unstable situation fell over. The Vatican was threatened by the Italian revolution and emerging nationalism in Italy and France (that had been defending the faith) lost the war against Prussia and thereby lost the beloved regions of Lorraine and Alsace.²⁰ This is where this essay begins and where the nationalism and patriotism found new fire but also found a new way towards nationalism, which would differ from for example Italy and Germany, although there were still similarities in such developments.

The author of the book *The Cult of the Nation in France, Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800*, David Bell claims that France does not deserve particular credit for actually inventing nationalism.

*French Nationalism emerged as a part of a general religious and cultural transformation that reached across Europe.*²¹

Bell continues arguing that France was distinguished by a self-consciousness, with a strong emphasis on political will as a foundation and the amazing suddenness and

¹⁸ Tombs, 1991, p. 4

¹⁹ Mykland, 1999, p. 245-246

²⁰ Norborg, 1986, p. 259-263

²¹ Tombs, 1991, p. 8

strength with which the nationalist program crystallized during the French revolution.²² He also supported that the early French nationalism was characterized with political power more than with language, blood or history.²³ Although these features became more vivid during the period, which this essay aims to examine.

²² Tombs, 1991, p. 8

²³ Bell, 2001, p. 8-9

4. Analysis

4.1 *The dawn of fascism*

The damages that France was to pay for the Prussian war were severe. Not only that the payment was hard on both culture, people and rule. The regions of Alsace and Lorraine fell into the hands of Prussia (later Germany) when the sign was sealed in Versailles in 1871. Again, the humiliation of defeat after war on a foreign country made its self-reminded. During the Hundred Years War it was England who invaded the country, tearing it apart, besieging the valleys and forests of the east and now four hundred years later it was Prussia that became this terrible opponent. History was clearly repeating itself. France was a country on the retreat, healing its wounds, waiting for an absolution. This alone was not the reason for the rising feelings of nationalism. Nationalism had been growing along since the revolution but now it took a sudden turn towards romanticism and it became more acquainted with the kind of nationalism that spread through Europe. Colonization was on the world order during the 19th century and so was the growth and development of nationalism.

But this was definitely fuel for different leagues and movements in France. One great reason for this frustration and hate for the Prussians was clearly the loss of the region of Lorraine, where the village of Domremy was placed, and the sacred birthplace of Joan of Arc. The resolute of this hate for the occupiers was expressed in writing, found in the book in the d'Arc-house in the small village, called the *Livre d'Or*-book.²⁴

The frustration must have been just the same, if not worse for the people still living in the occupied parts, having to witness the new inhabitants taking over the rule. During the Dreyfuss trial it is mentioned how the Prussian people celebrated the anniversary of taking over the region and how the anger was express by the people in the parts invaded.²⁵ The occupation was the topic, not only for the people in the region but for the republicans as well as the royalists and the fight for the region brought them all together in a way. Although this was not, as mentioned, the only fuel for the fire of nationalism. The Jews that had by the revolution gotten a refugee in France were

²⁴ Warner, 2000, p. 258

²⁵ Tombs, 1991, p. 52

suddenly foreigners too.²⁶ Race differences came to the surface and were discussed in a wider sense. In my opinion the author Charles Peguy even gave Joan of Arc the voice to the race question later on in his writing, as I will display later on.

The road that nationalism would take was an opportune one and the event that would release this movement was as unpredicted as it was surprising. The Dreyfuss-affair started out as a minor spy incident in the military and grew out of proportion and became a great divider that would forever change the nation and its management. The accused military captain was Dreyfuss and he was a Jew soon to be convicted for conspiring with the German side. This was in 1896 and it started out as an internal affair but as soon as press figured out what was going on, it could not be stopped. Soon authors and leaders of different sides started a campaign for its own causes with sides accusing each other for treason and treachery. Out of this affaire grew the Action Française and soon it was a society with a cause to be reckoned with. When captain Dreyfuss at last was relieved from the charges (after spending some time in jail) this nationalistic concentration had its foundation and it would continue to grow for a decade. The anti-Semitism in France was a fact. Before we go further with this alignment we need to know what the situation of Joan's cult looked like up until then.

4.2 The cult of Joan and the sainthood case opens

The revolution definitely had an impact on the cult of Joan. The cult did not appeal to the revolutionists that were anti-clerical and even anti-royal, but instead the opposition that fought for the church and king, held her as a symbol. The cult of Joan in the views of royalists and Catholics is of course older than the revolution but during this time a clear race towards the claiming of a symbol began.²⁷ The revolutionists marked their feelings towards royalism by destroying many of the relics devoted to Joan such as her standard and various statues. The tax assumption that King Charles VII made out to the village of Domremy and Greux in 1429 was taken away in 1789 just as many nobles lost their titles since this was all in the ideology of the revolution. The cult of Joan was even forbidden during the terror regimen; the years that followed.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid., p. 54

²⁷ Tombs, 1991, p. 66

²⁸ Warner, 2000, p. 256

The revolution was also of course characterized by the disgust of the church and the break with the Vatican was definite. But the revolution had to come to an end and Napoleon understood the importance of the church for the people of France. He restored the status that the church had lost in the revolution and he acknowledged a feast day for the celebration of Joan of Arc and thus made her cult popular again. The restoration of the dialog of the church was also in the national thought since the church and nationalism would be sharing the same views and ideology in many aspects. The struggle between anticlerical powers and nationalists had been going on in France since long and French history is characterized by it. Napoleons desire to reconcile with the church also expressed nationalistic ideas.²⁹ Napoleon formed a part of a concordat with the Catholic Church but did not let it get the privileges of a state church like before but the Vatican was satisfied for the time being.³⁰ The interest in Joan grew as nationalistic views grew. In 1801 Schiller produced an epic drama with Joan in the lead part in, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*. This drama was one of the first to be published in the romantic theory and was also an answer to Voltaire's mockery of Joan and would later inspire French writers in the nation thought. Schiller's pictures of the saint are speaking for the time of romanticism, with Joan on a white horse charging for the enemy.³¹ Viewers taking part of the saga in directions of Vivaldi and Tchaikovsky filled opera houses around Europe. This was all in the field of the growing national thought that spread through out Germany, Italy and of course France.

In the mid 19th century, Jules Michelet wrote *Histoire de France* in which he tried to give a historic picture of Joan, which definitely contributed to a cumulative interest for the heroine. This was as well just in the order of the thoughts that appeared around Europe at the time. The writing was definitely patriotic and a lot of the nationalistic views that emerged can be traced back to his left-wing historical writings. Napoleon III was also fond of the future saint and just as his ancestor he knew that the way to the French heart was via the church. But it was not until 1868 that her cult would increase to a higher extent. Bishop Dupanloup was to write a panegyric on Joan for his speech to be given in his diocese of Orléans and spent time in the small village

²⁹ Ibid., p. 256

³⁰ Mykland, 1999, p. 202-205.

³¹ Warner, 2000, p. 241

where Joan was born. While there he thought the time had come to make a petition to the Vatican in Rome to try Joan for sainthood. He addressed 13 bishops through which diocese's Joan had traveled during her life. The bishops were unanimous and the petition was sent to Rome for further investigation. This had a snowball effect on the cult of Joan and as nationalistic thought grew, the cult awakened and developed even more. Soon a struggle began between different concentrations, since Joan aspired to a variety of colors. Everybody wanted Joan for themselves and time was short since the Catholics had started their race towards sainthood. Suddenly everyone had to make a move.

4.3 Voltaire

*Moine autrefois, de Jeanne fut le pere, une robust et grasse chambrier!*³²

(Voltaire is claiming that Joans father is a friar, giving his opinion both on the "chaste" life at the monastery and thus taking away the ancestry of her peasant father and mother.)

The great writer and poet had failed to understand Joan's impact on the people of France. In his work *La Pucelle d'Orléans* released in 1762, he mocked her carelessly. His work was focused around Joan's virginity and how she was to guard it for a year and then give it to the Bastard of Orléans, Dunois, a comrade of war. A poem hardly read and not very well known was actually a scurrilous portrait of the heroine and an answer to an earlier poem, which he found ridiculous. Voltaire actually wanted to mock the writer and not Joan in particular, but the reviewers made no mistake.

When the republic celebrated the anniversary of the dead poet in 1878 in Paris there was a great manifesto in Domremy. (Voltaire died on the same day as Joan, the 30th may) The Catholics were raging against the infamous writer and celebrated the saint to be, with a vengeance. The violence that characterized the celebration made the government in Paris ban all demonstrations and procession due to the rivalry between

³² Voltaire, 1970, p. 278

the Voltaire enthusiasts and the Catholics. The celebrators of the revolution and anticlericalism on the one side and the monarchists and patriots on the other. The signatures in the book *Livre d'Or* leave a remarkable trace of the celebration. The increased visiting of Domremy was significant, judging from *Livre d'Or* and one could see that Joan's aspire for sainthood and the rise of the interest of Joan, was apparent. Even though Voltaire's early writings were more nationalistic in a way, he also questioned the state in his works and this led to his exile in England in 1726, and a few years later he was banned to appear in Paris. His *Lettres philosophique*, in which he criticized the state, was considered dangerous and was banned and again Voltaire had to live secluded.³³ In the *livre d'Or* the poets gets his share of hate:

Praise to the chaste maid!

Undying shame to the famous writer.

Who, steeping in mire a divine pen,

*Shameless profaned such beauteous fame!*³⁴

4.4 Domremy

The village is placed in the fertile slopes of Lorraine and it is hard to imagine the impact of importance that the area have had during history. The village is not remarkable in any way from the other surrounding villages, besides a sign at the village border saying "Domremy de La Pucelle" and two statues on each side of the main road. The Meuse is floating in its own phase beside the French houses and continues through Lorraine. The village's most prestigious relic is of course the house in which the young Joan grew up. The small house is not remarkable and placed in a grove next to the church in the quiet village that has been put on the map by the heroine.

The many statues of Joan of Arc that have been erected have their own story and just by the judging of the two statues on each side of the main road, we can easily connect them back to the later part of the 19th century and the different views opposed.

³³ Nationalencyklopedin, 1996, p. 31

³⁴ Warner, 2000, p. 238

On one side of the bridge over the Meuse there is a marble statue with Joan posing in a cloak with *fleur de lys* and she is holding a sword high above her head as if she is going out to defend her country. Her hand is grasping the part of her chest where her heart is placed and it represents secular France standing behind Joan, helping her lift the sword.

On the opposite side of the bank there is another statue in stone pointing out a more religious concentration. This Joan is kneeling down in submission with her right arm reaching for the clouds and holding a rosary. Her other arm is grasping her heart. This statue is instead of the anticlerical, erected in Joan's submission to God.

These two figures strongly represent the currents in the fight between the republic and the church, which has been dividing the memory for Joan's sake. Even though the republic wanted the heroine for their side, the Catholic Church put down its foot in 1926 when the basilica erected in Joan's name, was consecrated. This was in some way the end of discussion, because if one turns its head towards the hills in the east, the Basilica is impossible to miss. Overlooking the valley, the Basilica Bois Chesnu is dressed colorful in royal blue and gold and the statues outside the church are most sumptuous compared to the smaller ones in the village. These statues accentuate even more the virtues of a saint. Joan is kneeled before the three saints and voices and she is accompanied by the hard working father; the peasant sitting by his plow, and her mother; working the spinning wheel. This definitely applies to the concentration of nationalism and its ideology of the time. The basilica was suggested in 1881 and the place for this basilica would in religious terms be where Joan sometimes heard her voices, in the oak forest referred to as Bois-Chesnu. The "Joan kneeling" is hard to misinterpret and her eyes are fixed towards heaven.

The village, as well as the region, has played such an important part in the actual development in the alignment of nationalism. Here, she refers to the soil and peasant theory of the romanticisms aligned with nationalism. She is sprung from the soil of the regions of Lorraine and this becomes an even more important part when the regions are lost to Prussia. Even though Domremy is never really occupied by the Prussians, the memory of the hate for the oppressors is vivid in the *livre d'Or*. Here the Prussians are descendants of the English and history is repeating itself as the

Armagnac party (the royalists) fails to defend the country during the Hundreds Years War.

*Joan! Pray that it might be so with the barbarians from the north who have invaded our fatherland.*³⁵

Referring to the invading Prussia it is not hard to interpret the text. Barbarian's known to have lived in the regions of Prussia, and the fatherland referring to the *patrie*, the word of the time. Of course the quote is also referring to the invading English during the Hundreds Years War, again pointing out the resemblance between the two countries and the history.

Another quote from the same book is also closely connected with history.

*I fear only betrayal.*³⁶

The quote is one of Joan's famous sayings asked what she fears. This referring to the disputed facts whether or not she was betrayed by her King during her lifetime. Of course the nationalist/royalist does not interpret history that way, but the republicans do, but I will return to this fact later on. Referring to history has always been an important part in nationalism and this is most widely known in the history of the Germans during their time of developing nationhood. But even in the history of France this ideology was used and by connecting with history and its events, one can forever refer to the past and by doing so legitimize and derive to the roots. The nationalism often aspires to this discourse of words such as roots, soil and nature. Just as referring to the motherland and the nature nurturing its inhabitants as if a child.

Since the village of Domremy is such an important part of the cult of Joan we will return to it and by this we will see how the physical ground is associated with Joan and her idolization rooted in the regions of Lorraine.

³⁵ Warner, 2000, p. 238

³⁶ Ibid., p. 238

4.5 *The Motherland and Joan*

Even though the French association with the fatherland and *patrie* is common, the use of motherland to describe the land is also used widely. Why a woman as the role model of France? There have been heroes in the history of France before, not least Charlemagne, the king that stopped the Muslims at Poitiers during the 600th Century. Or Clovis for that matter. (The first ruler to accept Christianity) Why a motherland and not a fatherland? The gender question seems to be uninteresting in this question. Or is it a matter of sex? Or the absence of it?

As mentioned before, this motherland is nursing its inhabitants, giving Joan the breast milk with all the deeds and good of the unaltered soil. This could also be in connection to religious thought popular during medieval times, paintings often depicting Mother Mary nurturing Jesus with her life-giving milk, which back then was believed to be blood. Blood is of course a very important part in ideology of Nationalism and so Joan becomes the child of nature and this is an ever returning point for the writers of the time.³⁷ An example of another family parallel drawn are the regions of Alsace and Lorraine, which at the time were referred to as "two sisters" that had been lost and were to be rescued.³⁸ Michelet also refers to France as the motherland, as Marina Warner mentions in her book. She is quoting Michelet in the question of matter, saying that to Michelet, Joan was the spirit of her country:

*The savior of France had to be a woman. France herself was a woman. She had the same fickleness, but also the same lovable sweetness, the same easy and charming compassion, the excellence of her first response at least. Even in the mist of her pleasure in empty elegance and exterior refinement, she remained at heart closer to nature.*³⁹

France's strongly rooted association with motherland is since the revolution in correlation with "Marianne". But not only that, Marianne and the choice of woman has also been suggested to be in contrast to *l'Ancien regime*, which was basically leaders of men. The republicans were responsible for the actual revival of the cult of Joan as we

³⁷ Warner, 2000, p.243

³⁸ Tombs., 1991, p. 51

³⁹ Warner, 2000, p. 244

can see in Michelet's text above. The leftwing that after revolution knew to even draw parallels between Marianne and Joan since they have some of the same virtues. Strong women rising from the soil, rising in a time of worries and delivering the land out of the hands of the barbarians (The royalist and the English) for a better world of revolution. The left wing was quite strong on the point that the church and the priests were responsible of convicting and burning the heroine, and the King was the one that had "sold her out". (This was of course refuted by the Nationalists.)

During the 1880s and 1890s there was a need again to define what the nation was and that the use of the cult of Joan and also Vercingétorix (Gaullic leader that united the tribes in the war against Caesar) became elements in a mythology that could be used to include or exclude. Joan was not understood as a remarkable person by the early royalist historians and it was the mentioned Michelet and other left-wing historians that gave new life to the epic saga. It was also the left wing that began celebrating Joan as daughter of the people, a daughter of France. A Proto-nationalist. From the 1860s the church adopted the symbol of France combining love for the land with religious devotion.⁴⁰

But was it actually the feminine side of Joan that aspired to the people of France? Was it the virtues of a "woman" that enticed the population? Is Joan of Arc and Marianne at all women-like creatures?

I would say not. Of course both women were (and are) celebrated as women in some sense but I would say that the features that at least Joan displays are more androgynous than feminine. During the romanticism she was often depicted in writings and drawings as a fully armored person, with a helmet, high on a steed, charging against the enemy. Sometimes with a sword and cropped hair in a boyish fashion. She wore men's attire, acted in a man's world and died in a man's world. There are not many resemblances to the women-like features since in armor; the normal features of a girl are well secluded. She does not act in a world of women but in a world of military, policy and church, all run by men. Most of her life as it has been displayed, does not represent the women's duties and the leisure of the time. And she does not, at least not

⁴⁰ Tombs, 1991, p. 4

to the republic, display the virtues of a virgin. But she is more the tool for creating the ideology of the different wings.

Marina Warner strengthens this theory and means that Joan's apparent rejection of men (as seen in the writing of the 1900s) can be seen to affirm sexual difference and even male superiority. She continues to say that Joan is an attribute to the traditional sphere of man, so that she became a suitably versatile talisman for a host of causes conducted by men, military and politically.⁴¹ Needless to say that this picture of Joan as a warrior and savior of the religion she aspired to nationalists and especially Catholics. The two wings that would, during the studied period, move closer to one another.

4.6 Action Française and Maurras

*France is catholic, and so must be rid of Protestants, Freemasons and Jews; France is agricultural, and so needs a protectionist policy and back-to-the land movement; France is military, hence her glory and the glory of her arms are a condition of her happiness; France is republican, but not democratic.*⁴²

(From an article by Charles Maurras, published in 1899, one month later he declared himself not republican)

Even to this day the Dreyfuss-affair is remembered and it is a subject, which is buried deep within the French nationalism. It has long been an affair that the country is not too proud of. The affair itself was marked by treachery, espionage and politics. One of the most significant hallmarks was that as an opposition for the Dreyfussards fighting for his justification, the *Ligue de la patrie Française* was established in 1899. This was the response to what the affair was really about: Military politics and the question of Jews and out of concern for national security.⁴³ *Ligue de la patrie Française* considered the Jews treacherous and the way that the republicans scornfully rejected

⁴¹ Warner, 2000, p. 216

⁴² Weber, 1962, p. 22

⁴³ Ibid., p. 89

the army was a deceit towards the fatherland. France was divided and the question of race grew after the affair and came to the surface as an important question. The Jews themselves had since the revolution had France as a sanctuary, as the revolution gave way for freedom of speech and religion and culture. All of a sudden in the beginning of the 20th century there was a new order.⁴⁴ Extreme nationalism was in fashion.

Dreyfuss himself tried to justify his cause and witnessed that him and his family had done nothing but served the country and ensured that he loved the region of Alsace, from where he himself derived. That matter did not appeal to the judges or the anti-Dreyfussards. Instead the manifestation for a national party grew.

During this time the church and the state in France came to a clash and in 1905 the state and church were separated for good. National feelings rose and the Vatican was not pleased with the arrangements feeling that the break pointed out the Catholic Church in particular. The Vatican and the state of France would in the near future have cold relations and many were displeased with the fact and *Ligue de la patrie Française* was one of them. Just as the Vatican before had been antisocialist and liberal the Ligue was aligned with the church and of course the royalists. Charles Maurras supported the Ligue in a fanatic way and became the leader of the emerging Action Française, soon to be a radical monarchistic group that would be a power to reckon with until the end of World War II.

Born in Orléans, the influences of Joan of Arc must have been strong and the Action Française would later also have a stronghold in Orléans. Maurras devoted his life to patriotism and was intense and energetic in his work and even declared that legal methods could be abandoned. And the methods of Action Française would definitely not always be legal. The trail of Action Française would be marked with violence and even death in the fight for royalism and patriotism. When the clash between church and state was definite in 1905 he strongly supported the church and just as the Napoleons before him, had succeeded in using the church as a way to the people of France, he was himself very successful. Just in his fashion, the church was antisocialist and as we can see in the article printed in 1899 his views on Protestants and Jews are clear.

⁴⁴ Tombs, 1991, p. 52-53

He shares many of the views of the church and they shared the royalistic ideas as well. The struggle for royalism was a fanatic one and he also supported the cause of the church because it was true, ancient and the legitimate faith of France and represented high authority.⁴⁵ And Joan of Arc was hence not far-grasped since she was both Catholic and royalist.

Although a quite remarkable parenthesis should be mentioned. Maurras himself was not a believer. This does not seem to have bothered the people supporting Action Française. But even though he was a non-believer, he strongly supported the church and boasted the importance of it. And finally this would be his Achilles' heel. The league's views appealed to the people but not so much to the Pope.

Maurras was an inspiring man giving speeches and lectures that stirred up the feelings from his obedient followers. In a time where papers were an important matter of communication, the Action Française became daily in 1908.⁴⁶ Now the Action Française would be spread in a continuous way and there was a forum where ideas would spread to every corner of France. These ideas were even spread to other regions such as Italy, and Weber points out that Italian nationalism was strongly influenced by Maurras. The Action Française had existed for some time when *Il Regno* was established in Florens.⁴⁷

During this time, according to the manifestos of nationalism, the use of history was important, not least since the realistic views and feelings needed to be recovered. Maurras used the historian Auguste Longnon, who was a medievalist, for lectures and articles backing up the "truth" and Joan of Arc became the symbol for the crown of France. The use of Joan was apparent and she became symbol for the royalist struggle and equal to the nationhood that the Action Française fought for. During the early years of the new century, the Action Française's popular meetings became lectures and meetings frequently visited. On one of the first of these meetings Longnon helped

⁴⁵ Warner, 2000, p. 261

⁴⁶ Weber, 1962, p. 48-49

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 134

out to launch one of the first lectures, which was actually devoted to Joan of Arc.⁴⁸ Maurras himself said that Joan stood for three things:

The [national] heritage maintained.

And the fatherland saved.

*By the monarchy restored.*⁴⁹

Note that Maurras is mentioning the heritage as in connection to heritage of France and its monarchy. In Joan he sees this heritage *maintained* and not altered. Further on the monarchy is male as in fatherland and *not* motherland. And: Through the monarchy (for which he and Joan were fighting) the land and order is restored.

The lectures were characterized by demagogy, striking, but irrelevant arguments, and attempted instead to disprove, factually and logically, the myths, which they believed, were weakening France. Initially there was little attempt to popularize vulgarization, which would later characterize the leagues views. The aim was to cripple the views of the republicans and once the group was stable, they began concentrating on views and new ideas that enticed a wider audience.⁵⁰ And the people replied by joining, supporting and even stirring up commotion in the streets. The *Camelots du roi* were a group of young men, aristocrats, and workers, dedicated to the monarchist cause that were closely linked to the Action Française. They started out by selling the paper and they were responsible for a lot of violence in the favor of royalism and feared by many. They disrupted meetings and rage was aimed against foreigners and of course Jews. Whenever there was a celebration of Joan they would manifest at the places where statues in her name were erected, and often supporters and followers were sent to jail for their actions.⁵¹

One incident is particularly interesting concerning how far these violent incidents went. At Sorbonne, the university, one Professor Thalamas had expressed opinions on Joan of Arc that had caused a minor scandal and he was blamed for teaching a not suitable anti-nationalistic view to his students. His appearance and lectures were in

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 36

⁴⁹ Warner, 2000, p. 261

⁵⁰ Weber, 1962, p. 360

⁵¹ Warner, 2000, p. 262

1909 disrupted by the Camelots and the violence at the school increased. Fights emerged between "Thalamaists" and the Camelots. This ended in an abuse of the Professor in class by the Camelots. Incidents went on, where Jewish lecturers as well as deans were abused sporadically, all accused of being treacherous. All this was approved and even encouraged by Maurras and his Action Française.⁵² All in the work of repeating history, recalling that Joan had been judged by the university of Paris in 1431 and now the same University wronged again by judging her and slandering the good name and embracing the enemy (Germany).⁵³

The actions performed and encouraged by the Action Française were similar to what would emerge in the 1930s Germany, and in 1909 the violent actions were so severe that the police considered the group as the most troublesome of all right-wing organizations. Maurras and his league used allegorical views to justify the cause of *Camelots du Roi*, rewarding them and consoling them that their action led to jail, just like Joan had been punished with the stake.⁵⁴

The young men would support Action Française as long as possible but the violence promoted by the concentration would later be one of the reasons they lost the support of the king's heir, duc d'Orléans, for whose restoration they were fighting.

Not only the Camelots were supporters of Joan and the Action Française. Many organizations supported the manifestos and views that the alignment stood for. Days of celebration for Joan of Arc and the *patrie* were the highlights when followers got together at places with her statues and particularly *Place de la Pyramide*, a memorial for the future saint. Just as the republicans, the Action Française wanted the saint for themselves and finally in 1909 she was declared venerable and was beatified by the Vatican. The Action Française and nationalists marveled over the fact and shared the joy with the Catholics that supported the same matter.

According to Warner the Action Française was urgent in the matter of canonizing her and that the beatification and canonization were actually responses to pressure from

⁵² Weber, 1962, p. 54

⁵³ Hanna, 1985, p. 218

⁵⁴ Hanna, 1985, p. 222

nationalistic groups that shared the same view in fighting the rapid secularization of France.⁵⁵ Supportive of the Catholic Church Maurras would soon make two mistakes that would lead the Action Française to decline. Just before the Great War, Maurras had boasted his views on the church and his own feelings towards it. The fact that he was a non-believer was quite awkward and soon the Vatican frowned upon his articles. Although the Vatican at first would benefit from the popularity, the Pope soon considered the lectures and writings as bad influences on the Catholics in France. Conservative Catholics began to draw away because of the syndicalism, socialism and revolutionary thoughts that Maurras supported. But the actual ban and break with the Action Française would have to be postponed. The outbreak of The Great War came in the way.⁵⁶

Maurras views on Joan and Nationalism were published daily and he was refuted and revised by authors and other politicians. For example Maurice Barré, although a republican, supported (though not officially) the Action Française and Maurras and him had a dialogue between themselves for some time. Barré considered Maurras as responsible for opening up the literary field against the "un-French evil of romanticism" and Barré observed that Maurras's classical criticism could serve as a firm base for more than just literary studies. He claimed that nationalism was more than politics, a discipline, a method to unite the truly eternal and that the development must continue in this fashion. It is a form of classicism and the incarnation of French continuity. Maurras thus symbolized the classic national sentiment opposing Barré's more romantic vision of the matter.⁵⁷

The way that the Action Française experienced Joan was according to them historical of course. They used more or less the same material as other orientations but interpreted it in a different way. Joan was the true heroine of France and she represented the regions of Alsace and Lorraine and was a child of nature and she derived from the soil and the blood of these regions. The Action Française put a lot of weight on the facts that she drove out the English (intruding aliens) and that her mission was to lead the king to Reims for his coronation (restoring the kingdom). In their view it was only

⁵⁵ Warner, 2000, p. 264

⁵⁶ Weber, 1962, p. 76

⁵⁷ Weber, 1962, p. 77

a myth that the king had tried to deceive the actual Joan of Arc by making a treaty with Burgundy or that he was involved in the capture of her, by the English. There are also no hostile feelings towards the clergy that sent her to the stake. According to them, these priests were in the hands of the English.

4.7 The writers of French Nationalism

A great deal of the development of the concentration can be dedicated to the writers of the time. Writers were highly respected and had quite an impact on the society at the time. Papers were important to communicate with the public and each concentration had its own paper promoting its causes, criticizing others. The political impact the writers had was therefore important and they often pushed things further for discussion in politics by addressing politicians. And of course the discussions of Joan were periphery at the end of 19th century, standing aside from for example the Dreyfuss-affair, which had grown out of proportion.

4.8 Maurice Barré

*Une saint pour tous!*⁵⁸

Barrés feelings towards nationhood were strong and as the Dreyfuss-affair divided the nation, his own writing developed and he became a pioneer in what David Carroll calls "French literary fascism". A saint for us all! By chanting along with many, Barré hardly referred to anyone outside the French culture. The Jews were definitely not part of this culture and thus, not part of the nation. Clearly anti-Semitic in his later views, his politics are complex. Although he started out as socialistic and populist, the Dreyfuss-affair gave fire to his views and he became one of the most powerful extremist, ultra-nationalists, throughout France. Barrés vision of France as a unified spiritual totality, depends on the myth of an original, real, national culture, which is presented as an alternative to social and political decline and decrease of the nation in modernity. His nationalism had its roots in the culture-theory and this culture was conceived as a collective subject whose voice manifested itself in art, literature and

⁵⁸ Warner, 2000, p. 263

philosophy.⁵⁹ This thought is supported by the voices of model ancestors, monuments, memorials, local customs and the land itself. This typology of ancestors and the land itself is strongly expressed in his views of Joan of Arc, who becomes Barrés perfect symbol of the virtues of his nationalism. To him Joan is the untainted girl sprung from the life-giving soil from which she has inherited all the virtues. His Joan is characterized by simplicity, inspiration and mission.⁶⁰

Born in Alsace, Barré sprung from very same landscape as Joan, and when the regions were besieged by Prussia, his reaction was both personal and cultural. His feelings for Alsace-Lorraine became one of his most important articles and he would fight for the liberation of the regions, with a vengeance. Inspired by Wagner, his writing in the nationalistic (and anti-Semitic) genre took the course toward German nationalism, although his reactionary writing was directed toward the invading nemesis. Inspired by Wagner, he adopted the history and culture writing but refused the use of paganism and Norse religion. Instead Joan became the analogy for France, the innocent and humble girl destroyed by the barbarians of the north. He was also disgusted by Nietzsche's idea of the superior Aryan race and thought that it was inhumane and un-Christian, to him representing the German people.⁶¹ Barré had a great impact on his audience. He wrote articles, gave speeches to his people and during The Great War, Joan again became the symbol for freedom and Barré often gave speeches to French soldiers before battle. The battle to defend the "defenseless France" against the "monstrous Germany". He had found in Joan a Christian symbol to fight the heathens.

Responsible for the increasing anti-Semitism he made it clear that culture was the most profound expression of an authentic, unified people, and this was used as an explicit political weapon against all those who did not, or were not, allowed to identify (or even be identified) with the national activities. He used phrases as "dangerous parasites", regarding the Jews trying to alter the nationhood of France. He did not even accept the Jews, fighting in the army for the soil of Alsace-Lorraine, to identify themselves with France.⁶² In an article by Phillippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean Luc Nancy entitled *The Nazi Myth*, Barrésian nationalism is defined as protofascist,

⁵⁹ Caroll, 1995, p. 20-21

⁶⁰ Snypes-Hoyt, 2004, p. 201

⁶¹ Snypes-Hoyt, 2004, p. 201

⁶² Caroll, 1995, p. 20

claiming that wherever located, the ideology, whether left or right, is equivalent with fascism. In this discourse Carroll continues:

If there are important links between the philosophy of the subject and fascism, then Barrés "religion" of nationalism must be given an important place in the development of fascism precisely because it represents an explicit dramatization of the process of totalization of the subject and the fusion of the individual and collective objects.⁶³

This would clearly explain the development of nationalism toward fascism. As the climate between "races" froze, the philosophy of Barré's writing became more and more harsh. He is connected with philosophical views on his politics and he uses the *Self* as his ultimate basis. The *Self*-being the contrast of the *Other*, and the *Other* would therefore be alien and foreign. The *Self* is (France, Culture) what one should aim for. This *Self* is also connected with Lorraine and the *Self* is born, occupied with foreigners and Lorraine is the ideal model to stray for. And "race" is not a natural nor a biological ideal, but a cultural ideal.⁶⁴ Even though Barré was ultra-nationalistic and anti-Semitic he approved the struggle of the Action Française, but he never gave his open support for it.⁶⁵

4.9 Joseph Fabres

Fabres' book *Jeanne d'Arc* was well received at the end of the 19th century since he was a pioneer in translating the minutes of the records from her trial. In 1882 his first edition of the book was published and the same book was re-released in 1892. In the preface of the second edition he refers to the ongoing discussion at the time and his views in favor of patriotism are clearly visible. Fabre had been studying philosophy before he got into the political life and he was a radical left wing and made it quite far in the political sphere. Fabre was one of the deputies responsible for making Joan a republic icon and the idea that she should be commemorated by a public holiday was proposed by a mayor of Paris but the bill was tabled by Fabre and the Senate accepted

⁶³ Ibid., p. 22

⁶⁴ Carroll, 1995, p. 26

⁶⁵ Warner, 2000, p. 328

it in 1892. One of the reasons was that the Catholics were clearly interested in the same thing.⁶⁶ But Fabre explains:

*Jeanne est la sainte de la France*⁶⁷

Here we can see Fabres' diplomacy and also a message to the Catholic France that she is everybody's saint, not just a saint for the clergy. The struggle was on and the Catholics had clearly, years before, displayed their disgust for republicanism and liberalism. The preface of *Jeanne d'Arc* continues the previous discussion about the national holiday. The re-edition was released in 1892 (probably in time for the celebration) the same year, the holiday was acknowledged and Fabre ended his preface with a view that "now that we have a celebration of liberty, she will be a celebration of patriotism".

*La nation a déjà sa fête de la liberté. Elle aura sa fête du patriotism.*⁶⁸

4.10 Charles Peguy

Charles Peguy's writing is quite remarkable in the sense that his view of Joan changed radically over time. From a revolt against the Catholic Church and its faiths, to a work of mysteries and recovered faith of Christianity. Born in Orléans his connection with the cult of Joan was vital. He devoted a great deal of his time studying the heroine in a fashion of his own and the Joan of Arc that he developed was really the work of his own inner struggles. His early view on Christianity was one of disgust and he loathed the dogmas of the church. His works were characterized by his own thoughts on the Catholic faith, giving Joan the voice of him, and the nemesis of Joan were the clerks and the prelates. Peguy shows how a positive mind is tormented and destroyed by the church and its servants. Overtime Peguy renounced his Christian faith and joined the new "religion" of universal socialism.⁶⁹ His writing, characterized by strong emotional content, was read throughout France and Maurice Barré even commented the writing of Peguy. Barré fought against the fact that actors like Peguy and Anatole

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 259

⁶⁷ Fabre, 1892, p. X

⁶⁸ Fabre, 1892, p. X

⁶⁹ Raknem, 1971, p. 154

France (Frances work is characterized by non-believing and was strongly opposed by Action Française) made Joan represent their own views.⁷⁰ Peguy and Barré were not of the same concentration, although there is one thing in Peguys text that Barré could relate to; anti-Semitism. And Peguy took it as far as letting Joan speak of racial differences.

Just as Fabre, Peguy made a new revised version of his Joan for the 500th anniversary of Joan's birth. Not only that, he did it as a newly born Catholic and the writer had converted, taken on the dogmas of the church and again boasted them through Joan. All of a sudden he turned against the socialist idea and wrote in the favor of nationalism and patriotism, as a Catholic. Salvation came through the church and not through the temporary salvation of socialism.⁷¹

4.11 The image of Joan on the right wing

Henry Wallon had in 1860 been able to combine Joan's patriotism and Catholic view in his book, *Jeanne d'Arc*. He used traditional historiography but explained Joan's marvel and mysticism beyond natural explanation, and more importantly, the mission to deliver France was God-given and her mission was divine. Catholics as well as patriots also recognized her, as a daughter of the people.⁷² One of the more important ideas was the refutation of republicanism and Maurras gave his strong opinion on this, whenever possible. The image displayed by the right-wing was always a contrary to the republic. Joan of Arc-day became an alternative to Bastille Day and her statues were, as mentioned before, rallied during celebration by people walking from her statue at *Place Augustine* to the popular statue at *Place de la Pyramide*, imaging a Joan in full armor, on a horse and with her banner in her right hand. As the republicans had their Marianne which was often depicted as a prostitute, the image of Joan was on the contrary given the virtues of virginity and humbleness. The nationalists even used the word "slut" about the republic, thus suggesting their own party to be equal (exemplary character) to Joan.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 149

⁷¹ Raknem, 1971, p. 158

⁷² Ibid., p. 68

⁷³ Hanna, 1985, p. 216

Even the famous *The Marseillaise* was not accepted by the nationalists and Catholics. They did not only reject the perverse principles of the revolution, but also fought with the same energy against the symbols that the republic inherited, particularly the Marseillaise. In 1912, for example, the *Association Saint-Rémy* wished to replace the judeo-masonic anthem by Rouget de Lisle, with the *Hymn à l'Étendard de Jeanne d'Arc*. Writers of the nationalism and Catholicism were wretched of the thought of the Marseillaise being sung, as the clergy of the revolution climbed the guillotine. Guilty of their faith for God and their loyalty for the king. The bare sense of what the Marseillaise represented, made the nationalists enraged and when the Marseillaise became acknowledged as the national anthem in 1879 they became even more angered.⁷⁴

A lot of the Action Française's earlier work consisted in making Joan their own saint, by "stealing" her from the republicans. They strongly pointed out that the republicans were unworthy of Joan and insulters of her legend. The Action Française's view on the use of historic writing, was that historians should be allowed to convert people to their beliefs (though of course not republican).⁷⁵

In the daily news of the Action Française, one could read an article on Joan and the image of her, by one of the writers, Pujo. He stressed that; to achieve her goal she had contravened all established laws. Those of sex, her place in society, common practice and established order. The reason she had done this was that the established order was false. In the 15th century it was the order of the invading England, and now (in 1908) it was the order of freemasons and Jews. This gave a sign to Action Française-followers that it was all right to disrupt the order of the time since it was false.⁷⁶

Since the nationalistic view of Joan has always been exemplified by military determination, her legend had an immediate appeal in times of war. During The Great War there was no difference. She became a rallying point and she was great inspiration to the soldiers, not least in the regions of Alsace and Lorraine. To the nationalists she represented, again, resistance to the foreign oppressors, although the Action Française (for a brief time) abandoned their strict, non-republican view on Joan. Now she was

⁷⁴ Tombs, 1991, p. 40

⁷⁵ Hanna, 1985, p. 218

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 221

depicted not in a royalistic view, but a national one. She once again proved her uniting ability. For the duration of the war, the Action Française neither represented itself as the only rightful heir of Joan of Arc, nor symbolized her as an emblem of an alternative France.⁷⁷

In the years after the war, the Action Française and nationalistic views on Joan were a symbol of campaign against anarchy and communism. Postwar France should see Joan a symbol of victory, order and vitality.⁷⁸

*She is eternal youth of our people, who after heroism produce work and after death, bring forth life.*⁷⁹

4.12 The end of an ideology

*Johanna nostra est.*⁸⁰
(Pope Pius X)

In 1920 the battle for Joan was over. The war had postponed the canonization but as soon as the war was over, the regions of Alsace and Lorraine were returned; France got their saint. The republicans rejected the "official Joan" but the Action Française and all other nationalistically oriented groups marveled over the fact. Celebration throughout France was heard, celebrating the end of a war and the coming of a saint. But what would seem as a new beginning for the Action Française, was actually a decline. The Action Française in favor of restoring the monarchy had failed miserably and the monarchists themselves were opposed to the violence that the organization was infamous for. And as soon as the war was over the Vatican resumed the banning of the organization that had been interrupted by the war. There was no way they could support the views of socialism and syndicalism that Maurras spread, and the violence belonged to something of the past. In 1926, the condemnation was definite and the

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 224-226

⁷⁸ Hanna, 1985, p. 227

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 227

⁸⁰ Tombs, 1991, p. 63

Action Française was banned for good by Pope XI, whom had recognized that the Action Française:

*Who in their writings are alien to our dogma and morality.*⁸¹

This was a hard and devastating blow that would make the beginning of the end to the Action Française who replied in their own nationalistic fashion. By using Joan of Arc as an allegory for the incident, in the line of use of history, Maurras and the Action Française saw the whole thing as history repeating itself. The Action Française was the martyr, fighting for the kingdom, judged by the very church they defended, just as Joan had done. Now Joan and Maurras was even closer, both rejects of society. And he boasted out that the church had once again condemned a hero (heroine) by condemnation just as Joan had been condemned 500 years before. But as Joan got her justification after her death, the Action Française did not. Maurras continued his fight for France during the Vichy regimen but failed and was paradoxically convicted for treason and judged to lifetime imprisonment and died imprisoned in 1952.⁸²

Nationalism had declined. There was neither need nor use for it. New times were emerging and nationalism had been pushed out in favor for democracy and globalization. Even though many leaders of France, such as De Gaulle, used both a nationalistic view and the cult of Joan, nationalism in France had had its glory days in the big picture. As in all over the world, national feelings still exist but they have changed, since they are just that, history and not part of a modern view. In recent days Joan has been used by right-wing oriented concentrations, such as Le Pen, but perhaps in a more nostalgic way than nationalistic and historic.⁸³ The Cult of Joan of Arc is still alive. But she is probably more celebrated as a saint or heroine, with the power to unite rather than separate. The cult of Joan has migrated to all continents of the world and her virtues are celebrated perhaps more as a symbol of unity between races, gender and people, rather than a separator of man.

⁸¹ Weber, 1962, p. 234

⁸² Weber, 1962, p. 475

⁸³ Ibid., p. 476

5. Results and discussion

- **Why Joan of Arc as a symbol of nationalism?**

It may be hard to give an absolute answer to the question why France, with its traditional history, chose a woman to be the symbol of power and leadership. France has through times had many strong figures of power that have symbolized the land itself. There have been Charlemagne, Clovis and Vercingétorix to mention a few. But during the 19th century, the turn had come to Joan. It is questionable if she was chosen at all because she was a woman. I would insinuate that this is not the fact, but more for what she represented outside her body. She acted as a motor in military, politics, and faith, dressed as a boy, in a world of men. Her actual story was marked by the absence of women. It is more likely that it is the men's attire, like knighthood and other impeccable virtues that appealed to the leaders of France. And there is also the actual point, that she was created as an anti-republic symbol since the revolutionary republics had their own woman, Marianne. So the nationalists chose Joan, to oppose this view and her virtues were just that, royalist and represented faith, which represented the "true France".

Another reason would be the fact that the history field was perfect. There was enough material to back up the life of the young maid and the story of Joan of Arc was, republic or royalist, an intriguing and perfect story that fascinated many people. And this history could be used in a perfect way for the nationalist party. There was so much space for interpretations and allegories, which could be (and were) used in every possible way. Whenever needed, the Action Française used her legend and interpreted it their way, to fit the "truth". They even boasted out that it should be the historians right to work in this manner. They had a "truth" that was stretchable in every way and inconsistency was not an issue to them.

Another view is that the nationalists came to work closely with Catholic beliefs and by doing so, Maurras and his Action Française followed the line that Napoleon and Napoleon III had drawn. They understood the firm fundamentals of the church in France. Hence, they understood that the way to the heart of the French people was through the church. And by using Joan, that represented both, they could use allego-

ries to justify their reasons. Her royalist view in helping the king was a perfect allegory for restoring the throne, and her faith in God appealed to Catholicism that was still strong throughout the nation.

Joan of Arc could also relate to people. When the literary Joan of Arc increased, popular writers used the fact that there was so much about her life that was recorded, yet enough black holes to fill with their own views. But what I think outmost why she became the perfect symbol, is because she was in fact a piece of raw clay, in the hands of political artists, that could actually be shaped in any way they needed, without stretching history too far.

- **How is the image of Joan of Arc displayed by the nationalists?**

The image of Joan was never fixed and that is probably why she was so popular with the nationalist party. They could apply anything to her symbol and they did.

Even when in crisis, such as when The Great War broke out, the Action Française even changed their hard politics toward republicanism and toned down the voice of royalism on Joan's agenda, recalling the classic feature of standing together, when an outside opponent was threatening. But what is remarkable is that the writers of nationalism could present so many different views of one phenomenon. Every writer had his own version of history, all claiming the historic one, referring to the use of historical material. To Barré, she came to represent the *Self*, philosophically the true France, and she fought in every way possible the oppressors; the *Other*, the foreigner. To Peguy she came to represent anti-Semitism and his own views on socialism, which he fought in the name of the church. Fabre chose a more liberal way and even though she represented patriotism, she was also a liberator of all France. Barré saw Joan as the child of nature, although he did not apply the line of "theory of blood" to her, like the Action Française did. To him she derived from the soil and culture above all.

Joan of Arc was depicted as mother and child, and the discourse of family is obvious. She was the fatherland and represented as a child, the innocence of the regions of Lorraine and Alsace, the two sisters that were to be recovered to the mother, France. To the nationalists she was an extraordinary girl but not an heir to a king but instead the daughter of a peasant, daughter of the people. Actually this is aligned with the ideology of nationalism, the fact that they used chosen parts of the truth to prove a

point. One of the reasons the legend became so popular during the time was thanks to the extended works and articles on Joan and of course, the fact that the church had chosen her to be a saint. This fact was something that both the church and the nationalists benefited from. But as soon as The Great War was over, the nationalism sensed a new time and the cult of Joan in the eyes of the nationalists had had its hay days. She was though forever linked with the nationalist party but the Action Française lost its popularity in the world that was looking for a new world order.

What is remarkable and yet intriguing is that the cult of Joan changed overtime and the nationalist view was never coherent. She was actually a tool for gaining what the nationalists wanted. From the mid 18th century Joan was somewhat displayed in a historical view but after the race towards monopolization of the Cult of Joan, writing increased amazingly. Since the Catholic Church started its sainthood-case, republicans as well as right and left wing, wanted Joan for themselves. She became a topic of discussion and writing towards romantic, as well as republic pictures flooded France. Joan changed in every way from writers to authors to politicians and even in patriotic writing, she changed dramatically because of the reason mentioned above, she was adoptable to every wing.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study is to analyze how the cult of Joan of Arc has been used between the years 1871 and 1926. I have chosen to use an approach in the view of History of Ideas to achieve my goal and answer my two-folded question: Why Joan of Arc as a national symbol? And how did the nationalists image her?

The study begins with a chapter of previous research on how the research field is mapped out and continuous with a background on Joan of Arc and the development of Nationalism. I have chosen these two subjects since Joan's actual story is the one used by the nationalists and because Nationalism in France differs in many ways from other Nationalistic developments around Europe. Even in France the Nationalism develops from a clear political discourse to a more romantic one, to an Ultra-Nationalistic view.

Then begins my analysis in which I have chosen to first and foremost study the world of the Action Française, one of the most influential concentrations towards Nationalism in France. I have also studied the Motherland/ Fatherland in the name of France, to recover the correlation between this discourse and Joan. During the summer of 2008 I visited Joan's home village of Domremy since it has such an impact on the way her cult developed in the name of Patriotism and Nationalism. The writers of the time have also been subjects studied, and through them I have been able to retrieve a wider view of Nationalism, since the writers' impact during the time was vast.

I have come to the conclusion that Joan was the perfect symbol for Nationalism, even though it is remarkable that she was a woman. This could be explained by the fact that she was chosen as an opposing side to the republic and revolutionary Marianne that emerged after 1789. It is also quite questionable if she was chosen at all because of her feminine features, more than her manly ones. She wore men's attire, acted in a world of men and died in a world of men. The picture of Joan as I see it in this study is that, to the nationalist, she became a perfect tool to use in their struggle for royalism and ultra-Nationalism, since she could be transformed in every way. She could fit their "truth" and her story is recorded in such a perfect way, that it could be interpreted without stretching history too far. She was a piece of clay, ready to be transformed to any concentration, fit to any alignment, by the political artists.

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