

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Manipulating History: The Camelots du Roi's Campaign to Quash Dreyfusard Monuments

Brooke Stacey Rosenblatt, Master of Arts, 2005

Thesis directed by: Professor June E. Hargrove
Department of Art History and Archaeology

This thesis examines the Action française youth organization, the Camelots du Roi, and their destruction of Dreyfusard monuments during the winter of 1908-1909. By contextualizing the Camelots' vandalism with the Action française ideological program, this thesis contends Camelots du Roi's iconoclasm functioned as an attempt to manipulate history and revise the legacy of the Dreyfus Affair.

The reinterpretation of history was a central objective for the Action française. Members of the association believed that the French public education system distorted the past, and to prevent further misrepresentations, the Action française developed a pedagogical program. This thesis argues that the Camelots' dedication to the Action française educational agenda prompted their attacks on the monuments to Ludovic Trarieux, Émile Zola, Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner and Bernard Lazare. Evidence demonstrates that the Camelots' vandalism of Dreyfusard memorials operated as a means to reinvent the past and rewrite the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair.

MANIPULATING HISTORY: THE CAMELOTS DU ROI'S CAMPAIGN TO
QUASH DREYFUSARD MONUMENTS

by

Brooke Stacey Rosenblatt

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2005

Advisory Committee:

Professor June E. Hargrove, Chair
Professor Renée Ater
Professor Steven Mansbach

© Copyright by

Brooke Stacey Rosenblatt

2005

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My experience studying art history at the University of Maryland has been extremely rewarding, and I feel privileged to have worked in such a stimulating and convivial environment. Above all, I would like to acknowledge my advisor, Dr. June Hargrove, whose intellectual curiosity served as the catalyst for this thesis. In the summer of 2003, Dr. Hargrove brought the *Camelots du Roi* to my attention, and her depth of knowledge on nineteenth century public sculpture has helped shape my scholarship. I am also grateful to Dr. Hargrove for her understanding, guidance and friendship throughout my graduate studies. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Steven Mansbach and Dr. Renée Ater for serving on my advisory committee and offering me much-appreciated guidance throughout the creation of this thesis. I am grateful to Esther Adler, Bill Caine and Margaret Morse for their careful readings of my thesis and insightful suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank Benjamin Barbin. Benjamin's patience, assistance in translations and willingness to traverse Paris with me in search of the "perfect" photograph of the monuments examined in this work were invaluable to the development of my thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	v
Introduction	1
The Dreyfus Affair	2
Origins of the Action française	4
Integral Nationalism	6
Intellectuals and the Action française	7
Scholarship on the Action française	10
Chapter 1	14
Action française and pedagogy	14
Education and the Dreyfus Affair	15
<i>Coup d'état intellectuel et moral</i>	16
The Camelots du Roi	20
Chapter 2	25
Amédée Thalamas and the Thalamas Affair	25
The First Wednesday	27
The Second Wednesday	29
Maurice Pujo's lecture on Joan of Arc	30
The Last Wednesday	31
Vandalizing the monument to Ludovic Trarieux	32
Chapter 3	36
Vandalizing the monument to Émile Zola	36
Zola and the Dreyfus Affair	37

Vandalizing the monument to Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner	40
Vandalizing the monument to Bernard Lazare	44
Chapter 4	48
Statues as signs	48
Motives for vandalism	50
“Statuemanie”	52
Interpretations of the Camelots’ vandalism	53
Conclusion	57
Réal del Sartre and monuments	57
Summary	60
Appendix	63
Illustrations	71
Selected Bibliography	75

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Jean Boucher, *Ludovic Trarieux*, 1907, Jardin Denfert Rochereau, Paris (present state minus portrait bust removed in 1942). Photo by author.
2. Jean Boucher, *Ludovic Trarieux*, 1907, Jardin Denfert Rochereau, Paris. Reprinted from Laurent Chastel, *À nos grands hommes—la sculpture française jusqu'à la second guerre mondiale*, [CD-ROM] (Lilles, 2004).
3. Émile Derré, *Émile Zola*, 1908, Collège Emile Zola, Suresnes. Photo by author.
4. Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner*, 1908, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Photo by author.
5. Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* (detail), 1908, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Photo by author.
6. Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* (detail), 1908, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Reprinted from Laurent Chastel, *À nos grands hommes—la sculpture française jusqu'à la second guerre mondiale*, [CD-ROM] (Lilles, 2004).
7. Paul Roger-Bloche and Hippolyte Lefebvre, *Bernard Lazare*, 1908, formerly in the Jardin de la Fontaine, Nîmes. Reprinted from Philippe Oriol, *Bernard Lazare: Anarchiste et nationaliste juif*, (Paris, 1999) photo insert.
8. Emmanuel Frémiet, *Joan of Arc*, 1874, Place des Pyramides, Paris. Reprinted from June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris*, (Antwerp, 1989) p. 107.
9. Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* with vandalism by the Camelots du Roi, 1909, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Reprinted from *L'Humanité*, March 4, 1909.
10. Heuriaux, *Lion* with vandalism by the Camelots du Roi, 1909, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Reprinted from *L'Humanité*, March 5, 1909.
11. Paul Roger-Bloche and Hippolyte Lefebvre, *Bernard Lazare* with vandalism sustained in 1941, formerly in the Jardin de la Fontaine, Nîmes. Reprinted from Armand Cosson, *Nîmes et le Gard dans la guerre 1939-1945*, (Le Coteau, 1988) p. 68.
12. Maxime Réal del Sartre, *Terre de France*, 1920, later installed in Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Reprinted from Anne André Glandy, *Maxime Réal del Sartre: Sa vie, son œuvre*, (Paris, 1955) photo insert.

13. Maxime Réal del Sartre, *Jeanne au bûcher*, 1928, later installed in the Place du Vieux Marché, Rouen. Reprinted from Agès Callu, “*La Jeanne au bûcher* de Maxime Réal del Sartre (1927-1928): sculpture et politique,” (Paris, 2001) p. 356.
14. Maxime Réal del Sartre, *Monument to Marius Plateau*, 1923, Cimetière Vaugirard, Paris. Photo by author.
15. Maxime Réal del Sartre, illustration of Joan of Arc, 1931. Reprinted from Charles Maurras, *La méditation sur la politique de Jeanne d’Arc*, (Paris, 1931) p. 55

INTRODUCTION

On February 18, 1909, the political association known as the Action française heartily congratulated their youth organization, the Camelots du Roi.¹ The night before, several Camelots had clandestinely mutilated Jean Boucher's (1870-1939) monument to Ludovic Trarieux (1840-1904) (Figures 1, 2), the founder of the League of the Rights of Man. Trarieux's defense of civil liberties and, in particular, his early support of the Jewish Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935) incited the youth group to vandalize his effigy located in the Jardin Denfert Rochereau in Paris. According to a journalist from the daily newspaper, *L'Action française*, the Camelots du Roi had executed an "act of justice" because the reporter considered this Dreyfusard sculpture a "typical example of Jewish sadism" that "still pollutes the neighborhood."²

A few weeks later, the Camelots attempted to destroy another memorial, once again targeting a prominent Dreyfusard. On March 1, 1909, members of the youth group traveled to the Parisian suburb of Suresnes where they vandalized Émile Derré's (1867-1938) monument to Émile Zola (1840-1902) (Figure 3). Though the Camelots only had time to throw a rope around the sculpture before the police intervened, the youths remained undeterred—and subsequently, they attacked two other monuments honoring Dreyfus's most ardent supporters, those of Charles Auguste Scheuerer-Kestner (1833-

¹ Throughout this thesis, I have adopted the orthography of the Action française employed by the organization; however, since scholars disagree about the capitalization of the affiliation's name, the reader will notice inconsistencies in the spelling of Action française within the footnotes of this thesis. When citing the titles of secondary sources about the Action française, I adopt the orthography employed in the source.

² "Thalamas corrigé—les arrestations—au monument Trarieux," *L'Action française*, 18 February 1909. The author calls the Camelots du Roi's vandalism "l'acte de justice," and writes that the sculpture is an "exemple typique du sadisme juif" that "se complait à souiller toujours du voisinage..."

1899) (Figures 4, 5, 6) and Bernard Lazare (1865-1903) (Figure 7). This thesis examines the historical circumstances surrounding the Camelots du Roi's vandalism of Dreyfusard monuments, contending that with their destruction of art, the Camelots du Roi attempted to manipulate history and rewrite the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair.

Although Dreyfus had been declared innocent three years prior to the Camelots du Roi's iconoclasm, the Dreyfus Affair continued to divide France. In 1894, Dreyfus, who worked as an artillery captain in the French army, had been tried and found guilty of selling military secrets to the Germans. Despite the verdict, Dreyfus affirmed his innocence, and after his conviction evidence emerged that supported his position. In 1896, Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart (1854-1914) discovered that the handwriting on the correspondence that Dreyfus supposedly sent to the Germans belonged to another officer. When Picquart revealed his findings, Senator Scheurer-Kestner requested that the state reopen Dreyfus's case, and shortly thereafter, the Dreyfus Affair began to captivate the public. On January 13, 1898, Zola published his famous article, "J'accuse," in the daily newspaper *L'Aurore*. "J'accuse" functioned as an open letter to French President Félix Faure in which Zola charged army officers with conspiring to maintain Dreyfus's guilt. Simultaneously rousing Dreyfus's supporters and appalling resolute anti-Dreyfusards, "J'accuse" operated as a turning-point in the case; moreover, the article was translated into multiple languages, drawing international attention to the Dreyfus Affair. By 1899, a British journalist called Dreyfus "the most famous man in the world," and nations like England, Germany, Sweden and the United States declared their support for the army captain.³ Despite this defense, the French High Court of Appeals found

³ Michael Burns, *France and the Dreyfus Affair: A Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1999), vii.

Dreyfus guilty of espionage for a second time in 1899, but soon after the ruling was delivered, mounting pressure from Dreyfusards prompted newly elected President Émile Loubet to grant him a pardon. In 1903, Dreyfus requested that the case be reexamined in an effort to expunge his record, and in 1906, the French High Court of Appeals rehabilitated Dreyfus's reputation by declaring him innocent.⁴ Ostensibly, the 1906 ruling marked the official conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair; however numerous nationalist organizations, such as the Action française and the League of French Patriots rejected the verdict as well as the opinion of Dreyfus's international supporters.⁵ Until the outbreak of World War I, these associations continually endeavored to reestablish Dreyfus's guilt, and for the Camelots du Roi, vandalizing Dreyfusard monuments functioned as an attempt to challenge Dreyfus's innocence and revise his legacy.

⁴ For more information on the Dreyfus Affair, see Burns (1999) and Leslie Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).

⁵ John Plamenatz describes nationalism in late-nineteenth-century France as “the desire to preserve or enhance a people’s national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it where it is felt to be in adequate or lacking,” see John Plamenatz, “Two Types of Nationalism,” in *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. Eugene Kamenka (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1976): 23-24. Nationalist philosophies began to appeal to the French in an effort to heal the nation after France’s embarrassing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Initially, right-wing nationalist affiliations, such as the League of French Patriots, sought to recover the territories of Alsace and Lorraine—a concept known as *revanche*. However, Paul Déroulède, the founder of the League, argued that before France could liberate the invaded regions, the French had to free themselves from foreign influences; thus, Déroulède encouraged his followers to “rally and love each other, be Frenchmen, good Frenchmen, nothing but Frenchmen.” Following the Franco-Prussian War, numerous right-wing theorists attempted to explain France’s embarrassing loss by arguing that foreign powers weakened France. For instance, author Edouard Drumont concurred with Déroulède that France had been tainted by foreign influences. In his 1886 book, *La France Juive*, Drumont blamed Jews for disempowering the French; in particular, he argued that Jews wandered into the nation and seized control of the French economy. Maurice Barrès synthesized Déroulède’s desire for *revanche* with Drumont’s anti-Semitism. According to Barrès, eliminating foreigners and establishing a powerful, centralized government would revitalize the nation. Although an in-depth examination of French nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century remains outside the scope of this investigation, the introduction of this thesis explores how the Action française incorporated nationalist theories into their doctrines. For more information on Déroulède, Barrès and Drumont, see William Curt Buthman, “The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France,” Ph.D diss, Columbia University, 1939, 23-75. For Déroulède’s statement, see Buthman, 27. For more information on French nationalism in general, see Raoul Girardet, *Le nationalisme français, 1871-1914* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966) and Jean-François Sirinelli, *Histoire des droites en France*, 3 vols (Paris: Gaillimard, 1992).

By and large, the Camelots du Roi's concern for the interpretation of the past stemmed from their allegiance to the Action française, an association which was originally "organized for study."⁶ Before formally establishing the Action française, its founding members took part in the League of French Patriots, which during the Dreyfus Affair, aimed to galvanize the anti-Dreyfusard intelligentsia in order to counter university professors and elementary schools teachers who identified themselves as Dreyfusards. While numerous inductees of the French Academy participated in the League, Henri Vaugois (1864-1916), a high school philosophy teacher, and Maurice Pujo (1872-1955), a young author, considered the organization ineffective because it lacked a specific doctrine.⁷ In June 1899, they separated from the League of French Patriots to create the Action française, and shortly after its formation, polemicist writer Charles Maurras (1868-1952) joined their ranks.⁸ Though Maurras considered himself a poet, his talent for political journalism quickly established him as the Action française's leading theorist and most outspoken affiliate.

Members of the Action française maintained that the organization aimed to combat the "the four confederated states" in France: Jews, Protestants, Freemasons, and

⁶ Buthman, 256.

⁷ Members of the Academy who joined the League of French Patriots included Albert Sorel, Paul Borget and Jules Lemaître.

⁸ Maurras established his provocative reputation in September 1898, when he published an article in the *Gazette de France* defending Colonel Hubert Joseph Henry after he committed suicide. In 1894, Henry testified at Dreyfus's trial, identifying him as a traitor; furthermore, to ensure a guilty verdict, Henry forged incriminating documents. Four years later, Henry confessed to having distorted the evidence and was arrested. Twenty-four hours later, he was found dead in his prison cell; though officials claimed that Henry committed suicide, anti-Dreyfusards insisted he had been murdered. Maurras's article in the *Gazette de France* celebrated Henry by calling him a hero and a martyr for the anti-Dreyfusard cause, and following its publication, anti-Dreyfusards started a collection to donate to Henry's family. For more information on Maurras's defense of Henry, see Buthman, 92-93.

“métèques,” a term that Maurras coined to describe foreigners.⁹ Action française affiliates argued that by controlling national governance, these groups undermined the country’s stability and prestige. Jews, in particular, were targeted, described as “foreigners” who directed the Republic.¹⁰ Members of the Action française believed that as “outsiders,” Jewish leaders were likely to fall prey to treachery and corruption.¹¹ In addition, Maurras contended that Jews disseminated “individualistic theories” to isolate, alienate and eventually trigger anarchy among the French.¹² Although considered less caustic than the Jews, Protestants were also accused of advancing individualism to instigate the dissolution of French society. Maurras claimed that “the Protestant spirit” jeopardized the “French spirit” because Protestantism’s “intellectual tendencies result in...perfect individualism.”¹³ Both Freemasons and “métèques” were charged with attempting to consolidate political power; moreover the Action française claimed that both groups, in addition to Jews, wreaked havoc on the French economy. The Action française framed Freemasons as a secret Jewish organization whose members operated as

⁹ Girardet cites Maurras’s discussion of “the four confederated states,” see Girardet, 209-212.

¹⁰ Stephen Wilson, “A View of the Past: Action Française Historiography and its Socio-Political Functions,” *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 1976): 159.

¹¹ For the Action française, Dreyfus’s Jewish identity would have validated their premise that Jews were capable of treachery. Members of the organization outlined what they perceived as Jewish shortcomings, such as betrayal, corruption and greed, in “The Principles of the Action Française,” published in *L’Action française*, 23 March 1908. The article is translated and reproduced in Derfler, 145-146.

¹² In 1895, Maurras wrote that “All individualist theory is of Jewish making,” as cited in Michael Sutton, *Nationalism, Positivism, and Catholicism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 37. By 1898, Maurras wrote that individualism “dissolves societies,” see *Ibid.*, 18. Tannenbaum explains that Maurras believed that individualism would clear “the way for disorder and chaos,” see Edward R. Tannenbaum, *The Action Française* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), 70.

¹³ Sutton, 18.

“financial parasites.”¹⁴ Meanwhile, Maurras maintained that “métèques” robbed Frenchmen of jobs, producing economic difficulties and a “professional crisis.”¹⁵

Vaugeois argued that if the Action française wanted to combat the immense sway of the “the four confederated states” and recalibrate the balance of power in France, then they had to “clarify and satisfy the needs of the injured patriotic spirit that was being awakened in the hearts of many Frenchmen.”¹⁶ To fortify France, Maurras developed his theory of Integral Nationalism, which located the source of national woes in the Revolution. According to Maurras, when Frenchmen abolished the monarchy, they threatened France’s “natural state.”¹⁷ He believed that centuries of tradition had established a highly stratified society where every Frenchman understood and respected his position. At the top of the hierarchy, the king acted as the father of France, promoting fraternity and order among his subjects. Maurras thought that when the French eliminated their monarch, they eliminated their source of stability, security and significance. Since the Revolution, France had floundered, undergoing a series of seemingly incessant regime changes, and under the Third Republic, “the four confederated states” wielded government control. Maurras argued that if the French

¹⁴ Buthman, 45. The author of “The Principles of the Action Française,” describes Freemasons as “financial parasites,” see Derfler, 146.

¹⁵ Girardet cites Maurras’s discussion of métèques, where Maurras argues that they incited “une crise professionnelle,” see Girardet, 209-210.

¹⁶ Tannenbaum, 36. This is Tannenbaum’s citation of Vaugeois. For information on the origins of the organization, see Tannenbaum, 23-43; Ernst Nolte, *The Three Faces of Fascism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 65-68; Samuel Osgood, *French Royalism Under the Third and Fourth Republics* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 54-57.

¹⁷ As cited in “The Principles of the Action Française.” See Derfler, 146.

wanted to restore the nation's former greatness, then they had to restore the monarchy.¹⁸ He also advocated prevailing nationalist ideologies: the importance of tradition, anti-Semitism, Catholicism, anti-revolution, and decentralization. While Integral Nationalism incorporated several right-wing philosophies, Maurras contended that only royalism could effectively unite these beliefs. He believed that as subjects of the monarch, the people of France would grant the king unmitigated authority, subordinating their “feelings, interests and systems” for the “good of the homeland.”¹⁹ With his power, the king could revive the nation, producing solidarity and prosperity. To familiarize the French with the tenets of Integral Nationalism and convince them to reinstate the king, the Action française developed a program of study, which is discussed in detail in this thesis.²⁰

In the early years of the organization's history, Maurras's theory of Integral Nationalism attracted numerous intellectuals to the Action française, including historians, art historians and artists.²¹ For instance, in 1901, author Jacques Bainville (1879-1936) joined the Action française, and he later became one of the association's most influential

¹⁸ Maurras and the Action française believed that the Duc d'Orléans should claim the throne. According to Osgood, Maurras identified with the Duc d'Orléans's anti-Semitism and admired his public denunciation of Dreyfus that occurred on September 21, 1898. See Osgood, 71.

¹⁹ In an article for *Le Soleil* written in 1900, Maurras defines a nationalist as “un nationaliste...[est] un bon citoyen [qui] subordonne ses sentiments, ses intérêts et ses systèmes qu bien de la patrie.” As cited in Girardet, 201.

²⁰ For more information on Integral Nationalism, see Buthman, 270-293; Wilson, “A View of the Past: Action Française Historiography and its Socio-Political Functions,” 139-144; Girardet, 195-216; J.S. McClelland, “The Reactionary Right: The French Revolution, Charles Maurras and the Action Française,” in *The Nature of the Right*, ed. Roger Eatwell and Noel O'Sullivan (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 79-98.

²¹ Stephen Wilson discusses the intellectual prominence of the Action française. See Stephen Wilson, “The ‘Action Française’ in French Intellectual Life,” in *Contemporary France: Illusion, Conflict and Regeneration*, ed. John C. Cairns (New York: New Viewpoints, 1978), 139-167.

writers. Bainville regularly authored articles on international affairs for *L'Action française*; in addition, he contributed pieces to several other newspapers such as *La Liberté*, *L'Excelsior*, *L'Éclair*, *Candide* and *Le Petit Parisien*. Despite this prolific journalistic career, Bainville earned his reputation as a popular historian. His most famous work, *Histoire de la France* (1924), was a best-seller, with three hundred editions printed by 1939.²²

Art historian Louis Dimier (1865-1943) was another important scholar associated with the movement. A classmate of Vaugeois at the Sorbonne, Dimier joined the Action française shortly after its inception and made significant contributions to the organization's program of study. In 1906, he helped to found the Institut d'Action française, which aimed to reinterpret the past in accordance with Maurras's theory of Integral Nationalism. For his first lecture series, "Les maîtres de la contre-révolution au dix-neuvième siècle," Dimier criticized the Revolution, arguing that it was responsible for the demise of French customs during the nineteenth century.²³ In 1910, Dimier began to author a regular column for *L'Action française* titled "Chronique artistique," where he reviewed contemporary exhibitions and discussed French museums and their practices. Throughout his career, Dimier wrote books on the history of French painting from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but he is best known for his scholarship on the French Renaissance, and his 1928 study of Primaticcio.²⁴ Dimier also authored *Vingt ans*

²² Shortly before his death, Bainville was elected to the Academy. For more information about Bainville, see Tannenbaum, 58-59 and Wilson, "The 'Action Française' in French Intellectual Life," 149-151.

²³ The *Institut d'Action française* is discussed in detail in the first chapter of this thesis. Dimier's course was later published in Louis Dimier, *Les maîtres de la contre-révolution au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917).

²⁴ For more information about Dimier, see Jacques Foucart, "Louis Dimier et la pratique de l'histoire de l'art d'après sa chronique de l'Action Française," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 133 (1999): 145-172. Foucart

d'Action française, which is an insightful chronicle of the early history of the organization.

For several decades, Maxime Réal del Sartre (1888-1954) operated as the unofficial artist of the Action française. A descendent the Florentine painter Andrea del Sarto, the sculptor initially trained at the École Nationale des Beaux Arts, as the pupil of Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), the leading artist of the League of French Patriots.²⁵ According to René Edouard-Joseph, however, Réal del Sartre found the university “too official for his temperament;” thus, he left the national school to finish his studies at the Académie Julian.²⁶ The aspiring sculptor complemented his artistic training with political activism. By the age of twenty, Réal del Sartre had launched a career as an Action française polemicist, and which is examined in this thesis.²⁷ In 1908, Réal del

also surveys Dimier’s publications in Jacques Foucart, “Louis Dimier, admirateur critique du Louvre et des musées. A propos de ses chroniques de L’Action Française,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art français* (1996): 249-277.

²⁵ Réal del Sartre descended from an extremely artistic family. His grandfather, François Delsartre, was an actor, singer and philosopher who was famous for his theories on the aesthetics of body language and its relation to dramatic expression. For more information on Delsartre, see *Dictionnaire de biographie française* vol. 10, ed. Roman Amat and R. Limouzin Lamothe (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1965), 926. Réal del Sartre’s mother, Marie-Madeleine Réal del Sartre, was a painter who participated in at least 36 Salons. She received a bronze medal in 1900 and an honorable mention in 1889. For more information on Marie-Madeliene Réal del Sartre, see René Edouard-Joseph, *Dictionnaire biographique des artistes contemporains 1910-1930*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librairie Grund, 1934), 181.

²⁶ Edouard-Joseph describes the school as “trop officiel pour son tempérament.” See Edouard-Joseph, 184.

²⁷ Although sources do not indicate why Réal del Sartre became politically active at such an early age, it is possible that his conservatism stemmed from his family’s beliefs. Amat and Limouzin indicate that François Delsartre was a royalist until the time of his death in 1871; it is conceivable that in 1888, when Réal del Sartre was born, the family was still royalist. Anne André Glandy suggests that Réal del Sartre felt polarized from left-wing students as early as middle school. As a boy, Réal del Sartre attended a Jesuit academy, and, according to André Glandy, his uniform provoked students from the Lycée Carnot to start arguments with him. André Glandy describes an episode (originally recounted by the artist to her) where a “Jewish boy named Ascoli” stabbed Réal del Sartre in the head with a penknife, perhaps laying the foundations for his later contempt for Jews. For information on Delsartre, see Amat and Limouzin, 926. For information about Réal del Sartre’s childhood, see Anne André Glandy, *Maxime Réal del Sartre: Sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris: Éditions Plon, 1955), 24.

Sartre founded the Camelots du Roi, and led rallies for the Action française in Paris's Latin Quarter. The following year, he played a pivotal role in the Camelots' campaign to destroy Dreyfusard sculptures.

Despite the artistic and intellectual draw of the Action française, until recently, scholars have largely overlooked the organization's activities. To date, Edward R. Tannenbaum's *The Action Française: Die-hard Reactionaries in Twentieth Century France* (1962), offers the most comprehensive history of the association from the tracing its inception to its demise after World War II. Ernst Nolte's *Three Faces of Fascism* (1963) provides another important perspective because Nolte's history of the Action française examines the organization's ideological program, emphasizing how Action française political beliefs led to their support of the Vichy government. Nolte also discusses Maurras's trial for collaborating with the Nazis. In 1939, William Curt Butman completed his Ph.D. dissertation on the philosophy of Maurras. His work highlights Maurras's prominence among nationalist theorists and situates the Action française and Integral Nationalism among French right-wing movements.

In the last decade, several art historians have focused their attention on the Action française, with Neil McWilliam making the most significant contributions. In "Action Française, Classicism, and the Dilemmas of Traditionalism in France," McWilliam analyzes the aesthetic philosophies of the organization, arguing that classicism appealed to the group because of its empirical qualities.²⁸ Jacques Foucart's work on Dimier also offers important insights on the artistic preferences of the organization. Foucart attempts

²⁸ Neil McWilliam, "Classicism and the Dilemmas of Traditionalism in France 1900-1914," in *Nationalism and French Visual Culture*, ed. June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam (New Haven: National Gallery of Art distributed by Yale University, 2005): 269-292.

to redeem Dimier's importance by contending that he offered astute suggestions on matters such as bibliography, restoration and the misuse of vocabulary to the field of art history.²⁹

Very little scholarship examines the Camelots du Roi. The most inclusive analysis of the youth group is Rajani Elizabeth Alexander's dissertation, "The Camelots du Roi, 1908-1914: Youth and Violence on the French Right." Employing a variety of archival sources, Alexander investigates the Camelots activities and their relation to the Action française. She argues that the Camelots du Roi merit close examination because they embody the principal characteristics of the French Right prior to the First World War.³⁰ McWilliam's work offers an art historical perspective on the Camelots' activities. His article, "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Étienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic," discusses the Camelots' pilgrimages to several monuments honoring Joan of Arc in Paris.³¹ Another article by McWilliam, "Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle over 'Les Statues Dreyfusards,' 1908-1910," functions as the only art historical discussion of the Camelots du Roi's vandalism of the Dreyfusard monuments.³² This concise essay considers the political importance of the iconoclasm, maintaining that the defacement allowed the

²⁹ Foucart, "Louis Dimier et la pratique de l'histoire de l'art d'après sa chronique de L'Action Française," 145-172, and Foucart, "Louis Dimier, admirateur critique du Louvre et des musées. A propos de ses chroniques de L'Action Française," 249-277.

³⁰ Rajani Elizabeth Alexander, "The Camelots du Roi: Youth and Violence on the French Right," Ph.D diss, Notre Dame University, 1983.

³¹ Neil McWilliam, "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 381-418.

³² Neil McWilliam, "Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle over 'Les Statues Dreyfusards,' 1908-1910," in *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*, ed. Wessle Reinink and Jaroen Stumpel (Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999): 581-586.

Action française to challenge the significance of individuals whom the Third Republic deemed worthy of commemoration.

This survey of literature demonstrates that only a handful of scholars have focused their attention on the Action française and the Camelots du Roi, and only one art historian has investigated the Camelots du Roi's destruction of public art in the winter of 1908-1909. In contrast to McWilliam's work on the Camelots du Roi's vandalism, I situate the Camelots' iconoclasm within a more detailed historical framework. By associating the Camelots' actions with the Action française's larger academic agenda of reinterpreting history, my investigation illuminates the Camelots' dedication to this pedagogical program. Drawing upon primary sources such as police archives, contemporary newspaper accounts and memoirs, I establish the correlation between the Action française's didacticism and the Camelots du Roi's destruction of public art and how their dedication to the interpretation of the past motivated the Camelots to destroy art.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I explore the Action française's commitment to rewriting history. According to Maurras, France had "lost all general perspective on its past."³³ The Action française attempted to remedy this situation by establishing a newspaper, a publishing house and even its own institute where students participated in university-level courses. The first chapter also establishes the Camelots du Roi's role within the organization, focusing on their participation in the Action française's pedagogical program. With the second chapter, I demonstrate that the Camelots' dedication to public instruction triggered their assault on the Trarieux monument.

³³ Charles Maurras, "A la tête," *L'Action française*, 1 December 1908. He writes about the French spirit, claiming that "il a perdu toute vue générale et sommaire de son passé."

Moreover, I argue that members of the Action française interpreted the Camelots du Roi's vandalism as an extension of their program to reinterpret the nation's past. In the third chapter, I detail the Camelots' subsequent attacks on other Dreyfusard monuments to Zola, Scheurer-Kestner and Lazare, illustrating that the Camelots du Roi willfully assaulted these monuments in an attempt to rewrite the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair. With the fourth chapter, I contextualize the Camelots' vandalism with art historical scholarship on the destruction of art, suggesting that vandalizing monuments enabled the Camelots to subvert the historical importance of the Dreyfusards commemorated. I conclude this thesis by considering how World War I brought to a close the Action française objections to the Dreyfus Affair. Finally, I provide an overview of R  al del Sartre's artwork in an attempt to understand the choice of iconoclasm by a man who devoted his life to creating public monuments.

CHAPTER 1

The reinterpretation of history operated as a central objective for the Action française. Members of the organization condemned the French public education system, arguing that schoolbooks distorted the nation's past while educators conspired to destroy traditions, ruin patriotism and prejudice French youth. Action française affiliates vociferously complained that civic institutions alienated Frenchmen from their past; in addition, they claimed that republican instructors belittled the significance of historical figures of the *ancien régime*, such as the kings of France, Joan of Arc, Charles Martel and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve.³⁴ In 1908, Jules Lemaître, writer and Action française affiliate, encapsulated the organization's frustration with public education, declaring that French pupils suffered from "a century of false history teaching;" Charles Maurras echoed his sentiments, describing the "bad education" as a "tradition of error."³⁵

Maurras traced this corruption of historical pedagogy to the Revolution, contending that republicans espoused a new "manner of thinking" to justify the nation's shift from monarchical rule to a democratic system.³⁶ Action française royalists alleged that public schools targeted the French kings and disparaged their accomplishments to facilitate this transformation. Pierre Lasserre, Action française member and high school history teacher, claimed that his colleagues framed history classes around the Revolution;

³⁴ Charles Maurras, *La contre révolution spontanée* (Lyon: Lardanchet, 1943), 71.

³⁵ "L'Institut d'Action française: séance d'ouverture," *L'Action française*, 21 November 1908. Lemaître says "un siècle de faux enseignement de l'histoire." The second quote is from Charles Maurras, "Non," *L'Action française*, 26 November 1908. In the article, Maurras writes that students suffer from "la mauvaise éducation" which created "la tradition de l'erreur."

³⁶ Maurras, "Non," *L'Action française*, 26 November 1908. He states, "Mais la révolution a produit une manière de penser."

meanwhile, Louis Dimier characterized the Revolution as the “enemy of the integrity of history.”³⁷

The Dreyfus Affair compounded the Action française frustration with public education. Throughout the scandal, members of the organization speculated that republican teachers defended Dreyfus in their classrooms, and after Dreyfus’s final acquittal in 1906, educators, such as Anatole France, Marcelin Berthelot and Gabriel Séailles confirmed this assumption.³⁸ Widespread endorsement of Dreyfus among instructors prompted Dimier to state that “popular universities, by the end of the Dreyfus Affair, served it.”³⁹ Another member of the Action française, Emile Para, reiterated Dimier’s observation, asserting that “every professor known for inspiring in his teaching only the interests and the passions of the Jewish nation...we can say, has an uncontested right to a chair at the Sorbonne.”⁴⁰ Léon Daudet, one of France’s leading journalists and a writer for the Action française, feared that these Dreyfusard educators could brainwash the nation. He believed that instructors would “control your thoughts and those of your children,” and that teachers were “carefully sorted, selected, adapted to that special task:

³⁷ Pierre Lasserre, *La doctrine officielle de l’université* (Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1913), 370. Louis Dimier, *Les préjugés ennemis de l’histoire de France* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917), 12. Dimier writes, “La révolution l’ennemie de l’intégrité de l’histoire.”

³⁸ Léon Daudet, “A ceux qui viennent,” *L’Action française*, 22 November 1908. The historian and professor Gabriel Monod was also known to have publicly defended Dreyfus in his classroom, see Buthman, 222-223. Moreover, even before Dreyfus’s acquittal in 1906, many university professors supported him. For instance, in 1903, Marcelin Berthelot of the Académie française organized a “Congress of Free Thought” dedicated to Dreyfus’s defense with the participation of Gabriel Séailles of the Sorbonne and a preface by Anatole France. See Coudekerque-Lambrecht, *Léon de Montesquiou: sa vie politique L’Action française* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1925), 93.

³⁹ Dimier, *Les préjugés ennemis de l’histoire de France*, 22. “Les universités populaires issues de l’affaire Dreyfus y ont servit.”

⁴⁰ Emile Para, “Le scandale Thalamas: le doyen Croiset,” *L’Action française*, 14 December, 1908. Para writes, “Tout professeur connu pour ne s’inspirer dans son enseignement que des intérêts et des passions de la nation juive on peut dire bien à la droit incontesté à une chaire de la rue de la Sorbonne.”

the deformation of French reason.”⁴¹ Maurice Pujo reaffirmed Daudet’s accusation, stating that the republican agenda resulted in “the liquidation of the moral good and the material goods of our country.”⁴² To prevent public schools from further distorting the nation’s past and spreading Dreyfusard sympathies, the Action française launched a “*coup d’état intellectuel et moral*.”⁴³

Aiming to produce a “French Renaissance,” the Action française developed a program of study that undermined the importance of the French Revolution as well as its principal supporters—Jews, Protestants, Freemasons and “*métèques*.”⁴⁴ Action française affiliates maintained that the Revolution enabled the “the four confederated states” to secure political power, and they employed their authority to promote individualism in France. According to Maurras, individualism compromised national “order” and “public safety,” since it gave rise to disparate opinions which eventually “dissolved societies” and created anarchy.⁴⁵ To unify the nation, the Action française endorsed Maurras’s theory of Integral Nationalism, arguing that only the dynamic leadership of the king

⁴¹ Daudet, “A ceux qui viennent,” *L’Action française*, 22 November 1908. Daudet believes that “Il aura votre pensée et celles de vos enfants par ses éducateurs soigneusement tire, choisie, adaptes a cette besogne spéciale: la déformation de la raison française.”

⁴² “Ils opéraient à leur profit la liquidation des biens moraux et matériaux de notre pays.” Maurice Pujo, *Les Camelots du Roi*, 2nd ed. (Alençon: Les Éditions de Manant, 1989), XIII. This is a reprint of Pujo’s memoirs originally published in 1933. It is also interesting to note that the public education system frustrated republicans. For instance, the Marquise Arconti-Visconti, a wealthy Frenchwoman who held salons for progressive members of the Left stated in 1907, “We are working to destroy the French spirit itself by our so-called educational reforms...” As cited in Robert Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics in Modern France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 315.

⁴³ Stephen Wilson cites this quote from Maurras’s *La contre révolution spontanée*, see Wilson, “The ‘Action Française’ in French Intellectual Life,” 140.

⁴⁴ An Action française mission statement from 1903 affirms that only by restoring the monarchy could France welcome a Renaissance, as cited in Buthman, 291.

⁴⁵ Buthman cites individualism as a threat to “order” and “public safety,” see Buthman, 273. In 1898, Maurras wrote that individualism “dissolves societies,” see Sutton, 18. Tannenbaum explains that Maurras believed that individualism would clear “the way for disorder and chaos,” see Tannenbaum, 70.

could reestablish the social harmony and greatness that France enjoyed under the *ancien régime*. With his unmitigated authority, the monarch could swiftly resolve national scandals like the Dreyfus Affair; furthermore, the king's long reign ensured a stable and structured government.⁴⁶

The Institut d'Action française operated as a primary initiative of the Action française's "*coup d'état intellectuel et moral*." Opening its doors in February 1906, the "royalist Sorbonne" presented lessons covering a variety of topics including history, politics, economics, literature and philosophy.⁴⁷ Despite the range of subject matter, many lecturers, including Bainville, Dimier and Lasserre, framed their courses around history and the glories of the *ancien régime*. For instance, in 1906, Dimier conducted a course titled "Les préjugés ennemis de l'histoire de France," which featured a series of lectures designed to nullify "the Revolution and its conspiracy against history."⁴⁸ Throughout the semester, Dimier demonstrated how the individualistic theories implicit in Revolutionary ideas endangered France; meanwhile, he promoted "the praise of the *ancien régime*," a task that he considered to be the Institute's "most urgent job."⁴⁹

The Action française encouraged anyone wishing to be "cure[d]" from republicanism to attend classes at the Institute, yet courses were tailored to university students. Initially, the Étudiants d'Action française, a preexisting student organization founded to study Maurras's theory of Integral Nationalism, may have composed the core

⁴⁶ Maurras, "A la tête," *L'Action française*, 1 December 1908.

⁴⁷ Buthman cites Daudet's description of the institute as the "royalist Sorbonne." See Buthman, 298.

⁴⁸ Dimier writes "la Révolution dans sa conspiration contre l'histoire" in Dimier, *Les préjugés ennemis de l'histoire de France*, 11. The course was later published in book form.

⁴⁹ Dimier, *Vingt ans d'Action française et autres souvenirs* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1926), 101. Dimier writes, "L'apologie de l'ancien régime...était la plus urgente besogne."

audience for the Institut d'Action française.⁵⁰ However, the popularity of the school grew quickly, and by its third year, at least 500 people attended the Institute's opening ceremony.⁵¹ One student's impressions of the school illustrate the degree to which the Action française pedagogy clashed with the republican approach to education. After a course with Lasserre he joyously proclaimed, "I cleaned my brain!"⁵² Action française affiliates stressed the importance of improving the collective consciousness. In 1908, Lemaître stated that the Institut d'Action française set out to "recreate the brains of young Frenchmen."⁵³ Maurras also emphasized the significance of this task, stating, "There is nothing more important to national interest than the work of cleaning French intelligence."⁵⁴

This use of hygienic terminology to describe the advantages of the Institute correlates to contemporary efforts to combat national degeneration. France's embarrassing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War coupled with an increasing number of prostitutes, alcoholics and divorces prompted several late-nineteenth-century scholars to

⁵⁰ As cited in Alexander, 23. Lucien Moreau founded the Étudiants d'Action française in December 1905. The group met bimonthly and Maurice Pujo served as its president.

⁵¹ The article, "L'Institut d'Action française: séance d'ouverture," *L'Action française*, 21 November 1908 claims that over 500 people attended the ceremony; meanwhile, police records estimate that 1,000 people were present for the meeting. For more information, see the Telegram from M. Roy to the Police, 20 November 1908, BA1341-Action française, 1908, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France. Alexander provides additional information on the Étudiants d'Action française, see Alexander, 22-24.

⁵² Daudet, "A l'Institut d'Action française," *L'Action française*, 20 November 1908. Daudet recounts "Un de nos ligueurs m'exprimait la joie profonde que lui avait procuré le cours Lasserre: J'y fait toilette de mon cerveau." The statement by another Parisian youth, Henri Hoppenot, reiterates this statement. Hoppenot credited Maurras with liberating him from "revolutionary liberalism." As cited in Paul Cohen, "Heroes and Dilettantes: The Action Française, Le Sillon and the Generation of 1905-1914," *French Historical Studies* 15, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 685.

⁵³ "L'Institut d'Action française: séance d'ouverture," *L'Action française*, 21 November 1908.

⁵⁴ Maurras, "Non," *L'Action française*, 26 November 1908. He writes, "Il n'est pas d'intérêt nationale plus fort que ce travail de nettoyage de l'intelligence française."

posit that the moral, social and physical fabric of the nation was in a state of decay. To breathe new life into the country, physicians encouraged educators to promote cleanliness among students, since research indicated that improving the quality of the population's hygiene would improve the quality of the population. Though members of the Action française never mention degeneration specifically, their aim to restore France's greatness by reinstating the monarch as well as the Institute's mission to ameliorate France's intellectual and moral condition aligns with theories on how to reverse degeneration. Moreover, adopting the popular hygienic language may have lent credibility to the Action française as well as its fledgling school.⁵⁵

To help foster their fundamental goal of reeducating the French public, members of the Action française also inaugurated a publishing house, La Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. Aiming "to manufacture the implements of the war of the nationalist independence," the works produced at the publishing house included books for courses at the Institute, history books that reinterpreted France's past and championed the country's kings, as well as various pamphlets.⁵⁶ Dimier justified the need for La Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, arguing that it granted Action française authors the freedom to express their views without the censorship of hostile editors. Additionally, he likened the scope and importance of the writers' work to the creation of a nationalist encyclopedia.⁵⁷

In 1908, the organization developed a newspaper to disseminate Action française rhetoric. Titled, *L'Action française*, the daily provided members with an outlet to

⁵⁵ For more information on degeneration and the role of hygiene, see Nye, 43-48 and 310-319.

⁵⁶ Coudekerque-Lambrecht, 192.

⁵⁷ Dimier, *Vingt ans d'Action française et autres souvenirs*, 103.

communicate to a wide audience. Action française affiliates advocated for the establishment of a newspaper because they believed that preexisting papers participated in a “conspiracy of silence,” and deliberately devoted limited coverage to the Action française; thus, with the “weak sum” of 300,000 francs, the association launched *L’Action française*.⁵⁸ While detractors predicted that the newspaper would collapse after three months, it prevailed, largely because it provided Dimier, Maurras, Lasserre and Bainville with the opportunity to publicize their support of Integral Nationalism as well as their convictions about the nation’s past and present.⁵⁹ The success of *L’Action française* was guaranteed when two of France’s most respected writers, Lemaître and Paul Bourget, joined the corps of contributing journalists, lending additional credibility to the budding daily.⁶⁰

The Camelots du Roi operated as another essential component in the circulation of Action française beliefs and the reeducation of the French public. Founded in November 1908, this group of young men, primarily between the ages of 18 and 23 years old, peddled *L’Action française* outside of churches and on the streets of Paris.⁶¹ According to *L’Action française*, the ideal Camelot du Roi was a “royalist comrade” who understood “the necessity of propaganda.”⁶² Marius Plateau, a founding member of the group, amended this description, stating that the Camelots aimed to recruit “decided,

⁵⁸ Coudekerque-Lambrecht, 309. Coudekerque-Lambrecht states that there is a “conspiration du silence.” Dimier describes the budget as “une somme si faible,” see Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action française et autres souvenirs*, 181.

⁵⁹ Dimier, 182.

⁶⁰ Buthman, 301.

⁶¹ Alexander, 123.

⁶² “Les Camelots du Roi,” *L’Action française*, 17 November 1908. The article states, “Les Camelots du Roi font un appel pressant à tous leurs comrades royalists qui comprennent la necessite de la propagande.”

disciplined and vigorous” young people.⁶³ While the Camelots came from all social classes, the majority were university students. At the outset, the Étudiants d’Action française composed the nucleus of the group, but only two months after the creation of the Camelots, over 60 youths had joined, and by the end of 1909, over 600 Parisians had signed up as Camelots du Roi.⁶⁴

The burgeoning interest in the Camelots du Roi can be located in their activities as well as the enthusiasm generated by the group’s leadership. Maxime Réal del Sartre, a twenty-year-old sculptor from the École des Beaux Arts, headed the Camelots. The young artist seemed the natural choice to direct the youth group since he had recently established a reputation for his anti-Dreyfusard actions. In October 1908, Réal del Sartre interrupted the trial of Louis Gregori, who was accused of shooting Dreyfus while Emile Zola’s remains were transported to the Pantheon. Gregori’s audacious action earned the esteem of the Action française, and Réal del Sartre demonstrated this by calling out amid his trial, “What about Article 445...Worthless magistrates and forgers, let it not be said that a Frenchman would not spit in your face for your betrayal and infamy.”⁶⁵ Article 445 was notorious among anti-Dreyfusards. In 1906, when the French High Court of Appeals finally declared Dreyfus innocent, they invoked Article 445 to prohibit another retrial. The Action française alleged that the appellate judges erroneously applied the article to the case because they believed that Dreyfus’s convictions for treason in 1894 and 1899 precluded him from the protection of Article 445. In fact, members of the

⁶³ As cited in Paul Cohen, 685. For more information on Plateau, see Figure 12 which is discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

⁶⁴ Alexander, 51.

⁶⁵ “Le talisman au palais,” *L’Action française*, 17 October 1908. “Et l’article 445...Magistrats indigne et faussaires, il ne sera pas dit qu’un Français ne vous cracher pas au visage votre forfaiture et votre infamie.”

Action française registered their discord with the judicial verdict regularly—every day *L’Action française* published the same editorial about the judges’ misuse of Article 445 to conclude the Dreyfus Affair.⁶⁶

When R  al del Sartre disrupted Gregori’s trial and referred to Article 445, he called attention to what the Action fran  aise perceived as corruption in the republican courts of law. By questioning the legality of the article’s injunction, R  al del Sartre questioned the integrity of the court’s decision to exonerate Dreyfus; members of the Action fran  aise who attacked Article 445 attempted to rewrite history by manipulating the conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair. Rather than accepting his innocence, these individuals denigrated the judicial verdict. Belittling the ruling enabled the Action fran  aise to perpetuate the national scandal and continue to raise doubts about Dreyfus’s incorruptibility.⁶⁷

Immediately following his court appearance, R  al del Sartre demonstrated his allegiance to the Action fran  aise by selling *L’Action fran  aise* on the streets of Paris.⁶⁸ Members of the organization responded by profiling R  al del Sartre for the next week in the newspaper, and shortly thereafter, R  al del Sartre united with several of the   tudiants d’Action fran  aise and founded the Camelots du Roi to sell the daily paper. They elected

⁶⁶ According to Eugen Weber, “the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of Article 445 became a nationalist slogan.” As quoted in Alexander, 25.

⁶⁷ McWilliam points out that anti-Dreyfusard sentiment was the life-blood of the Action fran  aise. He cites Maurras’s remarks, “By liquidating Dreyfus, the Action Fran  aise would lose its best weapon against the republic.” McWilliam, “Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle over ‘Les Statues Dreyfusards’, 1908-1910,” 584.

⁶⁸ “Les Camelots du Roi,” *L’Action fran  aise*, 17 November 1908.

Réal del Sartre president and Pujo became the Camelots' official liaison to the Action française.⁶⁹

Besides hawking *L'Action française* the Camelots du Roi were expected to stimulate interest in the organization and its activities. To familiarize themselves with Action française beliefs, many Camelots took courses at the Institut d'Action française. Additionally, all members were required to attend weekly meetings where they studied the nation's past and performed historical dramas.⁷⁰ The Action française recognized the intellectual investment of certain Camelots by allowing them to give lectures at Action française conferences.⁷¹ This pedagogical training prepared the Camelots to disseminate Action française propaganda by buttressing their rhetoric with the theory of Integral Nationalism. In their efforts to educate the public, however, the Camelots du Roi adopted a distinctly different approach from the larger body of the Action française. A 1908 statement from one Camelot provides the rationale for their instruction, and at the same time, clarifies the distinctions between the two groups. He stated, "We conspire to create a state of mind, this state of mind we will employ to instigate a *coup*, a *coup de force* directed against the regime that is the killing of France."⁷² Clearly, the Camelots' "*coup de force*" departs from the Action française's "*coup d'état intellectuel et moral*."

⁶⁹ Police archives reiterate that Réal del Sartre was the clear choice to lead the Camelots du Roi. An unsigned letter dated 21 October 1908 states that the Action française "wanted to take advantage of the Réal del Sartre incident to attract youths to its organization." See Anonymous letter to the Police, 21 October 1908, BA1341-Action française, 1908, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

⁷⁰ Alexander, 35.

⁷¹ For instance, Réal del Sartre addressed members of the Action française on December 6, 1908 and February 7, 1909 in Paris. He also went to Rouen to address provincial chapters of the Action française on December 14, 1908.

⁷² Paul Cohen, 682.

While intellectuals such as Maurras, Dimier and Lasserre contented themselves with proselytizing the nation on a cerebral level, the pugnacious rabble rousers among the Camelots never shied away from using violent actions to voice their concerns and convey their convictions. R  al del Sartre incited Camelots in 1909 stating, “The time for platonic protest has been passed and surpassed. We believe that there are acts of considered violence which are necessary and legitimate.”⁷³ The exploits of the Camelots du Roi, which are discussed in detail in the following chapter, earned them a reputation for stimulating the Action fran  aise.⁷⁴ To propagate Action fran  aise beliefs to future generations of Frenchmen, the Camelots du Roi took action.

⁷³ “La r  union de la salle de Wagram,” *L’Action fran  aise*, 2 March 1909. “Le temps des protestation platoniques est donc pass   et d  pass  . Nous consid  rons qu’il y a des actes de violence r  fl  chis sont n  cessaire et l  gitime.”

⁷⁴ According to Edward Tannenbaum, “The activities of the Camelots gave the Action fran  aise most of its notoriety. Without them it would never have been anything more than a coterie of caf   intellectuals,” see Tannenbaum, 96.

CHAPTER 2

Less than a month after the creation of the Camelots du Roi, the Sorbonne provided the youth group with a target for its aggressive activities. In November 1908, the university announced that Amédée Thalamas (1867-1953) had been invited to lead a twelve-week lecture series on “The Pedagogy of History.” A disreputable professor, Thalamas had been reprimanded several years earlier for employing inappropriate language with pupils and publicly slapping the deputy mayor of Amiens.⁷⁵ Instead of dismissing Thalamas for his unprofessional conduct, officials transferred him from Amiens to the Lycée Concordet in Paris, where he caught the attention of the Action française.

In November 1904, while Thalamas was instructing at Concordet, he critiqued a student’s oral presentation that characterized Joan of Arc as inspired by God. Challenging his pupil, Thalamas suggested that scientific evidence could not corroborate this premise; furthermore, he stated that “miracles have nothing to do with history.”⁷⁶ Although Thalamas awarded his pupil with a score of 15 out of 20, the student, along with many of his comrades, protested their professor’s interpretation of Joan of Arc by writing letters of complaint to the Ministry of Education.⁷⁷ Within days, news of the incident leaked to the press, reverberating among young Parisians who believed in Joan of Arc’s divine inspiration. Over 200 local students rallied to defend la Pucelle, and

⁷⁵ For more information on Thalamas, see Jean-François Sirinelli, *Génération intellectuelle* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 219-226.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 222. According to Paul Cohen, Thalamas also doubted Joan of Arc’s virginity. See Paul Cohen, 677.

⁷⁷ Sirinelli, *Génération intellectuelle*, 222.

several were arrested for misconduct.⁷⁸ To demonstrate their devotion to Joan of Arc further, thousands made pilgrimages to the various statues of their heroine throughout the city, especially to Emmanuel Frémiet's (1824-1910) equestrian monument at the Place des Pyramides (Figure 6).⁷⁹ Action française affiliates championed these measures; they even hosted a conference to condemn Thalamas, during which Maurras officially dubbed the professor an "insulter of Joan of Arc."⁸⁰ To placate the public outcry, officials from the Ministry of Education promptly transferred Thalamas to a school outside of Paris.⁸¹

Thus, when the Sorbonne engaged Thalamas for a lecture series in 1908, many among the Action française felt that the university was rubbing salt in a wound that had not yet healed. According to Pujo, Action française members and Camelots du Roi feared that Thalamas would "treat the glories of France like he treated Joan of Arc."⁸² A week before the conferences began, Action française journalists started to slander Thalamas, labeling him a "mediocre professor of secondary education who didn't even have the title of doctor."⁸³ Para considered Thalamas's engagement a "challenge" from

⁷⁸ Ibid., 222.

⁷⁹ Neil McWilliam examines the rallies at the statues of Joan of Arc in great detail. See Neil McWilliam, "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 381-418.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 403. McWilliam cites the Action française pamphlet, *Contre les insulteurs de Jeanne d'Arc: Meeting nationaliste du 5 décembre 1904*, where Maurras calls Thalamas one of the "insulteurs de Jeanne d'Arc."

⁸¹ Sirenelli indicates that officials called for the transfer only two weeks after the scandal began. See Sirenelli, *Génération intellectuelle* 222.

⁸² Pujo, 34: "Sur la manière de traiter toutes les gloires de la France comme il avait traité Jeanne d'Arc."

⁸³ Ibid., 33: "Qui était-il? Un médiocre professeur de l'enseignement secondaire qui ne possédait même pas le titre de docteur."

the Sorbonne, predicting that the patriots of France would protest the institution's support of this Dreyfusard professor.⁸⁴

Thalamas's impending course provoked a violent reaction from the Camelots du Roi. On December 2, 1908, the date of his first class, members of the youth group slipped into his lecture hall, and as soon as Thalamas entered, they taunted him with boos and insults, while some Camelots threw eggs and vegetables at him. According to one spectator, the Camelots produced a racket that lasted for nearly fifteen minutes.⁸⁵ As Thalamas attempted to flee the auditorium, R  al del Sartre seized the professor and slapped him. When Thalamas's supporters rushed to his assistance, the Camelots abandoned the classroom to rally in the street.⁸⁶ An account published in *L'Action fran  aise* estimated that over one thousand "patriots" joined the Camelots du Roi in their campaign.⁸⁷ The assembly chanted "Boo Thalamas!" and in a repeat of their protests four years earlier, throngs of angry students headed to the Place des Pyramides to hail Fr  miet's statue of Joan of Arc, where several demonstrators were arrested.⁸⁸ Those who managed to avoid the police went on to salute the offices of *L'Action fran  aise*; finally

⁸⁴ EP [Emile Para], "M. Thalamas en Sorbonne," *L'Action fran  aise*, 28 November 1908. In the article he calls the engagement of Thalamas a "d  fi." It is interesting to note that Sirinelli frames Thalamas's employment as an attempt by republicans at the Sorbonne to maintain their sway in the Latin Quarter. In the early twentieth century, the institution was primarily republican, but royalists had begun to have an increasing influence at the school at the time of the Dreyfus Affair. According to Sirinelli, employing staunchly republican professors, like Thalamas, enabled the republicans in the Sorbonne to maintain control of the Latin Quarter. See Sirinelli, 225-226.

⁸⁵ "Thalamas gifl   en Sorbonne," *L'Action fran  aise*, 3 December 1908.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

they proceeded to another nationalist newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, where the rally drew to a close.⁸⁹

The next morning *L'Action française* lauded the Camelots, stating, “We can only be delighted to see the French youth educate themselves in such a way for the future.”⁹⁰ Despite their aggressive approach, the Camelots’ protest confirms their investment in the “*coup d’état intellectuel et moral*” promoted by the Action française.⁹¹ Clearly, the Sorbonne’s support of Thalamas’s “obscene and anti-French teaching” corroborated Action française concerns about the French public education system.⁹² To prohibit Thalamas from propagating his interpretation of the nation’s past, the Camelots du Roi disrupted his history class and made a mockery of him.

Less than a week later, at a dinner honoring R  al del Sartre, Action française member L  on de Montesquiou praised the president of the Camelots du Roi. Furthermore, he related the Camelots’ campaign against the deplorable state of French history instruction, pointing out that “Thalamas insults Joan of Arc, and we open the doors of the Sorbonne for him.”⁹³ R  al del Sartre’s exploits, however, boosted Montesquiou’s morale. He congratulated the young Camelot saying:

⁸⁹ Ibid. *La Libre Parole* was the daily organ run by Edouard Drumont.

⁹⁰ Ibid. The author writes, “Nous ne pouvons que nous r  jouir de voir la jeunesse fran  aise faire ainsi son   ducation pour le jour lendemain.”

⁹¹ The ideological connections between the Camelots du Roi and the Action fran  aise are corroborated by Alexander in her dissertation on the Camelots du Roi. She mentions that the Action fran  aise provided the youth group with instructions before their demonstrations. Alexander also points out that those Camelots who did not follow Action fran  aise orders were scolded, see Alexander, 40.

⁹² Para, “M. Thalamas en Sorbonne,” *L'Action fran  aise*, 28 November 1908. He refers to Thalamas’s teaching as “enseignement obsc  ne et antifr  an  ais.”

⁹³ L  on de Montesquiou, “A Maxime R  al del Sartre: qui a gifl   Thalamas en Sorbonne,” *L'Action fran  aise*, 8 December 1908. “Thalamas insulte Jeanne d’Arc, on lui ouvre les portes de la Sorbonne.”

If we ask principally in a history lesson to inspire respect in those who, over the course of the centuries, formed our France, I can assure you that it never happened as successfully as the one you [Réal del Sartre] gave last Wednesday. And if that lesson does not suffice, well, I am certain we will start again.⁹⁴

On December 9, 1908, the second week of Thalamas's course, the Camelots du Roi attempted to replicate their assault on the "insulter of Joan of Arc." This time, the Sorbonne tried to impede their efforts by posting guards at the entrance of the lecture hall, and several students barricaded the door with their desks. Despite these precautions, the Camelots forced open the door of the auditorium, penetrated the lecture hall, and began fistfights with members of the class. Meanwhile, guards swiftly escorted Thalamas to safety. Frustrated that their target was protected, the Camelots abandoned their efforts and regrouped on the streets. Again, they headed to the Place des Pyramides to pay homage to the monument of Joan of Arc, and similar to their demonstrations one week earlier, numerous Camelots were taken into police custody for committing a variety of misdemeanors.⁹⁵ Once again, the Action française championed the Camelots for their second Sorbonne invasion, suggesting that with their demonstrations, the youth group furthered the Action française's goal of reinterpreting the nation's past. Vaugois, who was the editor of *L'Action française*, commended the Camelots for combating the

⁹⁴ Ibid. "Et si ce qu'on demande principalement à une leçon d'histoire, c'est d'inspirer le respect de ce qui, au cours des siècles, a constitué notre France, je puis vous assurer que jamais il n'a été fait en Sorbonne leçon plus fructueuse que vous avez donnée mercredi dernier. Et si cette leçon ne suffit pas eh bien j'en suis certain on la recommencera."

⁹⁵ "L'insulteur de Jeanne d'Arc: la Sorbonne envahie," *L'Action française*, 10 December 1908. The appendix lists the names, addresses and professions of those arrested on December 9, 1908, as well as the charges filed against them. The appendix is transcribed from Anonymous Police Report, 9 December 1908, BA1341-Action française, 1908, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

“criminal follies that are destructive to all civic education.”⁹⁶ Other Action française journalists buttressed Vaugeois’s comments, warning readers that Thalamas “told only a part of the truth,” but predicted that the “class of this foul teacher will not be, will never be tolerated by the youth of France.”⁹⁷

When the lecture series continued, agitation among the Action française and the Camelots escalated. Protests persisted outside the Sorbonne the following week, resulting in the arrest of at least twenty-four Camelots.⁹⁸ By the fourth week of Thalamas’s course, the Camelots adapted their approach; rather than merely demonstrating against the “insulter of Joan of Arc,” Pujo led a campaign to restore their national heroine’s reputation. With the assistance of several Camelots, Pujo seized control of an auditorium at the Sorbonne on December 23, 1908, and for forty-five minutes, he glorified Joan of Arc to an audience of 300 pupils (composed of Camelots and students enrolled in a Latin poetry course that normally met in the lecture hall). In his talk, Pujo emphasized la Pucelle’s role in strengthening France in a moment of great discord; moreover, he related Joan of Arc’s crusade to that of the Action française, pointing out the similarities between her battle against the British and the Action française struggle with contemporary republicans.⁹⁹ Pujo’s lecture represented a new tactic for the Camelots that further demonstrated their concern for the interpretation of

⁹⁶ Henri Vaugeois, “Les forces de la raison,” *L’Action française*, 14 December 1908. “Contre ces folies criminelles, destructives de toute éducation civique...”

⁹⁷ Emile Para asserted that Thalamas only tells half of the truth, stating “Sa méthode consiste à ne dire qu’une partie de la vérité.” See Emile Para, “Le cours inflame: les propos de Thalamas,” *L’Action française*, 15 December 1908. The following day, Jean Rivarol proclaimed, “Le cours secrète du maître immonde ne sera pas, ne sera jamais toléré par la jeunesse françaises.” See Jean Rivarol, “Echos,” *L’Action française*, 16 December 1908.

⁹⁸ Emile Para, “La Sorbonne et le Quartier Latin en état de siège,” *L’Action française*, 17 December 1908.

⁹⁹ Pujo, 57.

history as well as their investment in the Action française “*coup d’état intellectuel et moral.*” If Pujo and the Camelots could gain control of a class at the Sorbonne, then they believed they could shape the public’s understanding of the nation’s past and convince others to join their ranks. In fact, Action française affiliates embedded the idea of conversion through education into a 1903 mission statement that proclaimed:

The Action française has aimed more particularly at the patriots still enlisted in the old democratic, revolutionary, and republican prejudice...Many republicans have thus been brought back to royalty. Many others will come if the Action française is enabled to reach them and teach them.¹⁰⁰

Brawls and rallies continued throughout the duration of Thalamas’s lecture series, and on February 17, 1909, the Camelots united for a final *coup de force* for the “insulter’s” last class. Again, university officials attempted to protect the lecture hall, but numerous Camelots managed to infiltrate the auditorium by arriving earlier in the day or deceiving the guard posted outside the classroom. An account published in *L’Action française* estimated that approximately twenty Camelots breached the lecture hall, and as soon as the professor entered, they commanded, “Shut up, M. Thalamas... You don’t have the right to speak in the Sorbonne.”¹⁰¹ When a republican student stood up in Thalamas’s defense, several Camelots overpowered and spanked him. Amid the turmoil, Pujo attempted to conduct another lesson on Joan of Arc; police arrested him, however, before he had the opportunity to begin his presentation.¹⁰² While patrols restored order inside

¹⁰⁰ As cited in Buthman, 291.

¹⁰¹ For an account of the day’s events, see “Thalamas corrigé—les arrestations—au monument Trarieux,” *L’Action française*, 18 February 1909. The reporter quotes the Camelots as stating, “Taisez-vous M. Thalamas...vous n’avez pas le droit de parler en Sorbonne.”

¹⁰² In addition to the course that Pujo held on December 23, he also attempted to lecture on January 11. He describes these in his memoirs of the Camelots du Roi. See Pujo, 71, 163.

the lecture hall, Camelots gathered outside the Sorbonne to rally. R  al del Sartre instructed them to cross Paris in groups and to congregate at the Place Denfert-Rochereau. As more and more youths arrived on the square, they attracted the attention of law enforcement officials. This created a diversion that provided R  al del Sartre and several other Camelots with the opportunity to enter the nearby Garden Denfert-Rochereau unnoticed. The small contingent encircled and attempted to mutilate Jean Boucher's monument to Ludovic Trarieux (Figures 1, 2).

Trarieux was a former Minister of Justice and an early supporter of Dreyfus. In 1897, he organized a campaign to reopen Dreyfus's trial, and the following year, Trarieux established the League of the Rights of Man to assist "any person whose freedom might be threatened or whose right might be violated."¹⁰³ Boucher's pyramidal sculptural group honored Trarieux's contributions to the Republic by elevating a bust of the statesman (now removed) and surrounding him with allegories of *Work* and *Justice*.¹⁰⁴ The artist also included statues of a widow and child to symbolize Trarieux's defense of just causes.¹⁰⁵ Evidently, Boucher's opus did not convince R  al del Sartre of Trarieux's heroism. The president of the Camelots climbed the base of the sculpture, and struck the

¹⁰³ As cited in June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989), 151.

¹⁰⁴ The bronze bust of Trarieux was dismantled in 1941, in accordance with a Vichy law which mandated the removal of French monuments that did not "present artistic or historic qualities." During the Second World War, over 200 Parisian sculptures were melted down, and the metal was recycled for weapons for the German army. Georges Poisson argues that this destruction of public monuments could have operated as a means to enact ideological iconoclasm. Eliminating monuments honoring left-wing heroes, such as Trarieux, enabled members of the Vichy government and the Germans to undermine their importance. For more information on the removal of Parisian monuments throughout the Second World War, see Georges Poisson, "Le sort des statues de bronze parisiennes sous l'occupation," *M  moires de la f  d  ration des soci  t  s historiques et arch  ologiques de Paris et de l'  le-de-France*, vol 47 (1996): 165-309. For the 1941 law, see *Ibid.*, 173. For Poisson's discussion of ideological iconoclasm, see *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁰⁵ For more information on Trarieux's accomplishments and the public's donations to the Trarieux monument, see "Le monument Trarieux," *Le Temps*, 13 May 1907.

bronze bust several times with a hammer (Figure 2). Though Trarieux's nose remained intact after four hits, R  al del Sartre and his accomplices managed to break off the nose of the child, and sever the hand of *Work*. They also chipped the sculpture's base in several locations.¹⁰⁶ After the vandalism, the clandestine group rejoined the Camelots who proceeded to the Paris suburb of Montrouge.

Although the Camelots' protest initially targeted Thalamas and his course at the Sorbonne, their attack of a Dreyfusard monument related to these demonstrations as well. The youth group associated Thalamas with Dreyfus as early as their first rally. In December 1908, an *Action fran  aise* journalist wrote that it was the "uncontrollable wish of the [students/Camelots] to put an end to the regime of Dreyfuses and Thalamases."¹⁰⁷ Several weeks later, on February 3, 1909, 300 Camelots concluded their weekly campaign against Thalamas by gathering outside Dreyfus's home, and jeering at him. Again, a reporter for *L'Action fran  aise* justified their actions, stating that the Camelots "had not forgotten that Dreyfus is the source of all of the current ignominies, and that he alone allowed Thalamas to happen."¹⁰⁸ After the Camelots attempted to destroy the Trarieux monument, an *Action fran  aise* journalist related the vandalism to the Thalamas Affair and the Dreyfus Affair by claiming, "Dreyfus is the origin of all our current

¹⁰⁶ Several accounts describe the destruction of the Trarieux monument. Pujo discusses R  al del Sartre's participation, see Pujo, 168. Contemporary newspapers also covered the event, see "M. Thalamas    la Sorbonne," *Le Temps*, 19 February 1909 and "Les Camelots du Roy au Quartier Latin," *L'Aurore*, 18 February 1909.

¹⁰⁷ "Thalamas gifl   en Sorbonne." *L'Action fran  aise*, 3 December 1908. The author writes, "La volont   indomptable d'en finir avec le r  gime des Dreyfus et des Thalamas."

¹⁰⁸ "Contre Thalamas et contre Dreyfus," *L'Action fran  aise*, 4 February 1909. The author writes, "Ils n'oubliaient que Dreyfus est    la source de toutes les ignominies actuelles, que lui seul a rendu Thalamas possible."

scandals. It is true that the patriotic demonstrators who protested against Thalamas did not forget that for one instant.”¹⁰⁹

While republican journalists described the physical damage to the Trarieux monument as “not important,” members of the Action française immediately understood the ideological significance of the destruction.¹¹⁰ *L’Action française* editor Vaugeois commended the Camelots, calling the damage symbolic of their “happiest, most admirable, and surely the most avenging of their patriotic inspirations.”¹¹¹ Collectively, Action française affiliates and the Camelots du Roi identified with Pujo’s statement that the Trarieux statue functioned as one of the “monuments that the Dreyfusards imposed upon Paris to commemorate their victory and affirm their domination over the French people that they made swallow treason.”¹¹²

Since Thalamas’s course at the Sorbonne operated as the catalyst for the Camelots’ vandalism, clearly their destruction of the monument to Trarieux corresponded with the Action française endeavor to manipulate history. By disrupting Thalamas’s lecture series, the Camelots attempted to discredit the professor and prevent him from disseminating his interpretation of the past to future generations of Frenchmen. When the youth group continued their rallies on the streets of Paris and concluded their final protest against the professor by damaging Boucher’s monument, they associated their efforts to

¹⁰⁹ “Thalamas corrigé—les arrestations—au monument Trarieux,” *L’Action française*, 18 February 1909. According to the reporter, “Dreyfus est à l’origine de tous les scandales actuels. C’est une vérité que les manifestants patriotes n’ont pas oublié un seul instant.”

¹¹⁰ An article in *Le Temps* describes the vandalism as “pas très importants,” see “M. Thalamas à la Sorbonne,” *Le Temps*, 19 February 1909.

¹¹¹ Henri Vaugeois, “Autour de Traireux,” *L’Action française*, 19 February 1909. “Les Camelots du Roi ont eu avant hier la plus heureuse, la plus admirable et la plus sûrement vengeresse de leurs inspirations.”

¹¹² Pujo, 167. “Des monuments que les Dreyfusards ont imposé à Paris pour commémorer leur victoire et affirmer leur domination sur le peuple français à qui ils ont fait avaler la trahison.”

reinterpret history with the Action française campaign to rewrite the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair. Even Maurras recognized the relationship between the Camelots' vandalism and the Action française's attempts to reframe history and the Dreyfus Affair. He identified the Camelots' destruction of art as a challenge to Dreyfus's innocence. Damaging monuments honoring Dreyfus's supporters allowed the Camelots and the Action française to "reestablish the truth by all means necessary."¹¹³ Vaugeois concurred, and he appealed to the Camelots du Roi, urging them that "all of these monuments to the great Lie must be knocked down."¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Ch. M. [Charles Maurras], "La guerre aux statues," *L'Action française*, 21 April 1909. Maurras writes, "Nous rétablissons la vérité par tous les moyens."

¹¹⁴ Vaugeois, "Autour de Trarieux." *L'Action française*, 19 February 1909. Vaugeois incites the Camelots that "Il faudra bien que tous les monuments du grand Mensonge soient abattus."

CHAPTER 3

The Camelots du Roi wasted little time in answering Vaugeois's plea. On March 1, 1909, the Action française organized a celebration in honor of the Camelots' victory over Thalamas, and at the event, Réal del Sartre gave a speech where he incited the youth group to continue their rallies. He also encouraged them to "prepare the future," declaring, "The lesson of these happy and brilliant demonstrations is clear and simple: We understood that words without actions mean nothing."¹¹⁵

Galvanized by their president's call to arms, several Camelots du Roi took the last tramway out of Paris after the ceremony.¹¹⁶ The youths proceeded to the western suburb of Suresnes, where Émile Derré's sculpture of Émile Zola (Figure 3) sat perched in the town's primary plaza.¹¹⁷ The Camelots surrounded the monument, threw a rope around the neck of the statue in an attempt to dislodge the sculpture and throw it into the Seine,

¹¹⁵ "La réunion de la salle Wagram," *L'Action française*, 2 March 1909. Réal del Sartre says, "Nous sommes ici pour préparer l'avenir." He also states, "L'enseignement des heureuses et brillantes manifestations du quartier latin est simple et clair: Nous avons compris que la parole sans l'action ne signifie rien."

¹¹⁶ A police report from March 2, 1909 describes the departure of seven or eight Camelots du Roi, led by Jean d'Orléans, taking the last tramway out of the city at Porte Maillot. See Anonymous, Report to M. Soullière, Commissaire de Police, 2 March 1909, BA1342-Action française, 1909, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris. On April 8, 1909, Orléans admitted to the police that he tried to knock down the statue. See Anonymous, Extrait d'un rapport 1er brig, dossier no. 340700-28-a, 8 April 1909, 114.476, Orléans, Jean, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

¹¹⁷ Derré's sculpture has been relocated several times since the Camelots' vandalism. From 1908 until 1926, the work was sited near the center of town in the Place Trarieux, but in 1926 officials moved the work to the Boulevard Henri Sellier. Derré's work was transferred again in 1992 to its current location at the Collège Émile Zola.

but the sculpture did not budge.¹¹⁸ Before the Camelots could employ levers and other implements they had brought, law enforcement agents thwarted their endeavor.¹¹⁹

The extensive praise the Camelots received for damaging the Trarieux sculpture accounts for their second monumental assault. Again, they targeted a prominent Dreyfusard: Zola had demonstrated his support for Dreyfus in 1898 with his famous article “J’accuse,” which defended Dreyfus, and mobilized his supporters in France and abroad; furthermore after the article’s publication, Zola was tried and found guilty of libeling the French army—he was forced to flee France for England to avoid imprisonment.¹²⁰ On a formal level, Derré’s monument alludes to Zola’s involvement in the Dreyfus Affair. Surrounded by a massive arch, the sculpture features a portrait bust of the writer with his left hand resting on his forehead in a contemplative gesture. On the pedestal, Derré inscribed, “One day France will be grateful to me for having saved her honor,” a dedication which clearly refers to Zola’s efforts to defend Dreyfus during the

¹¹⁸ McWilliam, “Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle over ‘Les Statues Dreyfusards,’ 1908-1910,” 581.

¹¹⁹ A report composed by the M. Neuville, Communal Architect of Suresnes, indicates that the Camelots enacted very little physical damage to the monument. Neuville states that traces of the rope that the Camelots employed were visible around Zola’s wrist. In addition, he mentions that the Camelots tore away ivy growing near the sculpture and damaged the gate surrounding the monument. See E. Neuville, Rapport de l’Architecte Communale, 2 March 1909, Les archives municipales de Suresnes, Suresnes, France.

¹²⁰ For information on Zola’s role in the Dreyfus Affair, see Derfler, 3. It is also interesting to note that when Zola published “J’accuse” in *L’Aurore*, Georges Clemenceau was the newspaper’s political editor. His involvement with the Action française and the Camelots du Roi spanned from the Dreyfus Affair until his death in 1929. Initially, animosity existed between the politician and the royalist organization because Clemenceau fiercely defended Dreyfus and Zola. In 1908, Clemenceau, who was then the Prime Minister of France, summoned Réal del Sartre to his offices and attempted to convince him to abandon the Camelots. Réal del Sartre responded by sculpting a bust of the politician with crows pecking at his head, which is illustrated in Pujo, 278. During World War I, however, when Clemenceau was serving his second tour of duty as the Prime Minister, Réal del Sartre applauded the politician for exposing the corruption of the Minister of the Interior, Louis Malvy. In 1917, the sculptor contacted the politician, and following a second meeting, the two struck up a friendship which literally lasted until the moment of Clemenceau’s demise. In fact, Réal del Sartre visited Clemenceau on his deathbed when he sketched a portrait of the politician, which appeared on the front page of *L’Excelsior* on 25 November 1929. For more information on the relationship between Réal del Sartre and Clemenceau, see Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action française*, 299-300; Pujo, 88; “Le 16e Congrès de l’Action française,” *L’Action française*, 20 November 1929.

scandal.¹²¹ Not surprisingly, evidence demonstrates that the Action française disagreed with the caption's heroic characterization of Zola. For instance, when Zola's ashes were transferred to the Pantheon in 1908, Montesquiou described the event as a "scandalous apotheosis," claiming that Zola represented "treason."¹²² Montesquiou's portrayal suggests that the Action française continued to perceive Zola as a trenchant writer with caustic political philosophies, and the Camelots du Roi wholeheartedly agreed. Just two weeks before they attempted to destroy the sculpture, Pujo characterized Zola as taking "a position contrary to French patriotism" in the Dreyfus Affair.¹²³ R  al del Sartre concurred, labeling Zola "a pig."¹²⁴

While the deeply entrenched rancor the Action française held for Zola explains their attack upon his effigy, the Camelots' vandalism can also be contextualized within their allegiance to the Action française mission to revise history, especially the Dreyfus Affair. Evidence demonstrates that the destruction was premeditated: several Camelots arrived at the ceremony armed with tools to destroy the sculpture. Furthermore, a police report from February 20, 1909, indicates that the Camelots du Roi had already targeted Derr  's monument in their "mission of statues."¹²⁵ According to contemporary

¹²¹ The translation of the sculpture's inscription is found in McWilliam, "Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle over 'Les Statues Dreyfusards,' 1908-1910," 584.

¹²² Coudekerque-Lambrecht, 330, 334. On 330, he cites Montesquiou's statement that the event was "la scandaleuse apothe  se du V  nitien Zola." Several times on 334, Montesquiou links Zola with "trahison."

¹²³ "En simple police," *L'Action fran  aise*, 19 February 1909. Pujo states in the article, "De plus, il a pris dans l'affaire Dreyfus une attitude contraire au patriotisme fran  ais."

¹²⁴ Ibid. R  al del Sarte says, "J'appelle un chat un chat et Zola un cochon."

¹²⁵ See Anonymous Police Report, 20 February 1909, BA1342-Action fran  aise, 1909, Les archives du mus  e de la Pr  fecture de Police, Paris, France. The author writes that "the statues that are going to receive the visit of royalist demonstrators, in Paris or in province, are those of men who played a role in the Dreyfus Affair. Those of Bernard Lazare in N  mes and Zola in Suresnes are designated as the first to be mutilated." The author calls the campaign the "mission des statues."

journalists, this forewarning enabled patrolmen to intercede before the Camelots reduced Zola's monument to rubble.¹²⁶ These calculations indicate that the Camelots deliberately damaged the monument on the evening of the banquet honoring their victory over Thalamas and his allegedly false teachings. As early as the professor's second course at the Sorbonne, the Camelots connected Zola and Thalamas when they concluded their protest against Thalamas by proceeding to the Pantheon to object to the glorification of Zola's remains.¹²⁷ Like Dreyfus, Zola could be held responsible for France's "current ignominies," and this established his monument as an appropriate target in the Camelots' wave of destruction.¹²⁸

The morning after the attempted mutilation, a journalist for *L'Humanité* predicted that the Camelots du Roi's iconoclastic campaign would surely "finish like vaudeville."¹²⁹ Maurras's position, however, corroborates that the vandalism operated as a deliberate attempt to reshape, or in his words "erase," the republican reading of the Dreyfus Affair.¹³⁰ He wrote:

¹²⁶ An article in *L'Aurore* points out that the Camelots' actions were premeditated and that they brought tools such as rope and levers with them to the Action française ceremony. See "Les Camelots du Roy," *L'Aurore*, 3 March 1909. For the more on the premeditated nature, see "Les Camelots du Roy," *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, 3 March 1909 and Ernest Judet, "Simila similibus," *L'Eclair*, 4 March 1909. Judet remarks, "C'est bien une campagne organisée...mais suivi méthodiquement."

¹²⁷ "L'insulteur de Jeanne d'Arc: la Sorbonne envahie," *L'Action française*, 10 December 1908.

¹²⁸ Here I quote from the article which situates Dreyfus as the source of contemporary problems in France. "Contre Thalamas et contre Dreyfus," *L'Action française*, 4 February 1909. The author writes, "Ils n'oublièrent que Dreyfus est à la source de toutes les ignominies actuelles, que lui seul a rendu Thalamas possible."

¹²⁹ R. Figeac, "Les Camelots du Roy contre la statue du Zola," *L'Humanité*, 3 March 1909. Figeac states that the campaign "se termina sous un aspect de vaudeville."

¹³⁰ Maurras writes, "Il faut effacer les hontes," in Criton [Charles Maurras], "Revue de presse," *L'Action française*, 13 March 1909. Osgood identifies Criton as a pseudonym for Maurras, see Osgood, 81.

Why aren't these Camelots du Roi content with their victory over Thalamas? Why do they attack public monuments and damage works of art like the statue of Zola at Suresnes?...A national shame cannot have the right to be located on national soil. We must erase these disgraces. Well, the hammer is the only instrument capable of erasing them when these disgraces are in marble.¹³¹

These references to wiping out national disgraces resonate with Maurras's earlier remarks about reshaping history by "cleaning French intelligence" and the Action française mission to rectify the supposed falsification of Article 445.¹³² Although police impeded the Camelots' initial effort to destroy the monument and thus, "decontaminate" the public consciousness, evidence reveals that the Camelots periodically tried to reattempt Zola's erasure. For instance, an anonymous poem placed at the sculpture's pedestal warned:

In this place
You stand erect in bronze stolen from our bells
Unclean Zola
You who with your writings
Insulted the peasant and worker of France
And all our national glories
But beware¹³³

This threat proved serious when, in July 1910, several Camelots returned to the site and poured acid on the statue.¹³⁴

In the early hours of March 4, 1909, only a few days after the Camelots du Roi's first assault upon the monument to Zola, the youth group continued their crusade of

¹³¹ Criton [Charles Maurras], "Revue de presse," *L'Action française*, 13 March 1909. Maurras states, "Pourquoi ces camelots du roi ne se sont contenté de leur victoire sur Thalamas. Pourquoi s'attaquent-ils à des monuments publics et dégradent-ils les œuvres d'art comme la statue de Zola à Suresnes?...Une honte nationale ne peut avoir droit de cité sur le sol de la nation. Il faut effacer les hontes. Or, le marteau est le seul instrument capable de les effacer quand ces hontes sont en marbre."

¹³² Maurras, "Non," *L'Action française*, 26 November 1908.

¹³³ Cited and translated in Alexander, 90.

¹³⁴ "Avant Waldeck, Zola!" *L'Action française*, 5 July 1910.

vandalizing Dreyfusard sculptures. Undetected, several Camelots slipped into the Luxembourg Gardens and proceeded to mutilate Jules Dalou's monument to Senator Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner (Figures 4, 5, 6). Inaugurated one year earlier, Dalou's monument is composed of an obelisk with a low-relief portrait medallion of the senator flanked by two allegorical statues representing *Truth* and *Justice*. While the sculptural group publicly commemorated Scheurer-Kestner's twenty years of civic service, the references to *Truth* and *Justice* alluded to his efforts to rehabilitate Dreyfus's reputation. In 1897, Scheurer-Kestner petitioned the senate to reexamine the Affair because he had obtained evidence corroborating Dreyfus's innocence. Although Scheurer-Kestner died before Dreyfus's record was expunged in 1906, both the senator's advocates and detractors acknowledged his pivotal participation in reigniting public interest in the Affair.

Since the Action française believed that Dalou's monument legitimized Scheurer-Kestner and "perpetuated across centuries the memory of the senator," it served as an appropriate target for the Camelots' monumental mutilation.¹³⁵ A photograph taken after the Camelots' assault shows the sculptures covered by tarps and scaffolding (Figure 9), suggesting the extent of the vandalism. According to journalists, the Camelots du Roi hammered and cracked Scheurer-Kestner's portrait; they covered the monument's pedestal in brown paint; smashed the noses of *Justice* and *Truth*; damaged the sword of *Justice*; and shattered the mirror held by *Truth*, which is visible in its original condition in

¹³⁵ "Une visite nocturne à Scheurer-Kestner," *L'Action française*, 4 March 1909. The reporter states, "le monument élevé pour perpétué à travers les siècles la mémoire du sénateur."

Figure 6.¹³⁶ Another photograph (Figure 10) illustrates that the Camelots du Roi also painted the plinths of other monuments with mottos such as “Long Live the King,” “445,” and “Down with the Republic.”¹³⁷ With this graffiti, the vandals literally inscribed state-owned sculpture with their royalist and anti-Dreyfusard slogans. Moreover, the inscriptions provide a visual association between the Action française “*coup d’etat intellectuel et moral*,” referenced in the statement, “Long Live the King;” the Action française attempts to revise the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair, encapsulated in “445;” and the Camelots’ destruction of art.¹³⁸

Whereas some critics derided the vandalism, calling it “stupid,” others immediately understood the significance of the Camelots’ third attack on a Dreyfusard monument.¹³⁹ For instance, a reporter from *Le Temps* wrote, “They mercilessly break the mirror in the hands of *Truth*, and we immediately perceive the symbolic value of such destruction.”¹⁴⁰ An Action française journalist clarified the importance of the vandalism, arguing that the Camelots shattered the mirror of *Truth* because it was “ashamed to have

¹³⁶ Pujo describes the damage to the portrait as receiving “strikes from the hammer that made him appear as though he had a wart,” see Pujo, 176.

¹³⁷ For contemporary accounts of the event, see R. Figeac, “Les camelots barbouilleurs,” *L’Humanité*, 4 March 1909; “Encore un monument endommagé,” *Le Temps*, 4 March 1909; “Les royalistes iconoclastes,” *Le Temps*, 5 March 1909; “Les Camelots du Roy,” *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, 4 March 1909; “Vandales royalistes: contre Scheurer-Kestner,” *L’Aurore*, 4 March 1909.

¹³⁸ It is possible that the Camelots du Roi deliberately targeted the sculpture of a lion in their vandalism, since images of lions operated as republican symbols honoring the power of the people. Auguste Bartholdi demonstrated this concept with his monument, *Le Lion de Belfort*, which features a lion to commemorate the strength of the citizens of Belfort during the siege of the city in 1870-1871.

¹³⁹ Figeac, “Les camelots barbouilleurs,” *L’Humanité*, 4 March 1909. Figeac calls the assaults, “exploits des Camelots du Roy...aussi stupides les une que les autres.”

¹⁴⁰ “Les royalistes iconoclastes,” *Le Temps*, 5 March 1909. The author writes, “Ils brisent impitoyablement le miroir que tenait la Vérité, et l’on aperçoit immédiatement tout la valeur symbolique d’une pareille destruction.”

reflected the image of Dreyfus.”¹⁴¹ Outspoken nationalist and staunch anti-Dreyfusard, Victor Henri Rochefort agreed; he even suggested that the statues of *Truth* and *Justice* be replaced with “*Worry and Lies* or *Falsification* and *Prevarication*.”¹⁴²

Similar to their mutilation of the Trarieux and Zola monuments, the Camelots du Roi’s attack on the Scheurer-Kestner sculpture should be contextualized with their investment in the interpretation of history and the Dreyfus Affair. Several months before the vandalism, Emile Para profiled the monument in *L’Action française*, arguing that the statue communicated “lessons of pushfulness and lessons of baseness.”¹⁴³ Remarks by Daudet imply that damaging the sculpture would undercut the authority of these messages. Three days after the Camelots’ mutilation he wrote, “Let us honor the statue breakers when these statues were breaking the nation.”¹⁴⁴ The Camelots’ public declarations about reshaping history even helped identify the guilty party. Police detained Camelot Charles Hubert for mutilating the Scheurer-Kestner monument; although Hubert denied participating in the mutilation, law enforcement agents cited his sardonic caricatures of Thalamas as partial grounds for his arrest.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ “Une visite nocturne à Scheurer-Kestner,” *L’Action française*, 4 March 1909. The article states, “il était honteux d’avoir reflété l’image de Dreyfus.”

¹⁴² As cited in Criton [Charles Maurras], “Revue de presse,” *L’Action française*, 5 March 1909. He writes, “On pourrait cependant les remplacer par les statues de l’inquiéter et du mensonge, ou encore celles de la forfaiture et de la prévarication.”

¹⁴³ Emile Para states that the sculpture communicates “leçon d’arrivisme et leçon de bassesse!” in Emile Para, “Nos enquêtes: les effigies Dreyfusards,” *L’Action française*, 4 October 1908.

¹⁴⁴ Léon Daudet, “Les idoles du bordereau,” *L’Action française*, 7 March 1909. Daudet remarks, “Honneur au briser de statues, quand ces statues brisait la nation,” and he proudly called the vandals “dreyfusiconoclasts.”

¹⁴⁵ “Les Camelots du Roy,” *L’Aurore*, 6 March 1909. It is also interesting to note that the Camelots’ crusade may have inspired copycat vandalism. On the evening of March 4, 1909, several individuals attempted to destroy the Parisian monument to Chevalier de La Barre, a well-known eighteenth-century anti-cleric. Although this vandalism of art coincides temporally with the Camelots’ attacks, ideologically, the target differs because the vandals selected a religious rather than a political icon. Additionally, Eugène

On March 7, 1909, Daudet marked another Dreyfusard monument for mutilation: Paul Roger-Bloche and Hippolyte Lefebvre's homage to Bernard Lazare (Figure 7) in Nîmes.¹⁴⁶ While this targeting came at the height of the Camelots' didactic destruction, it was not the first time that an Action française affiliate proposed razing the monument. Even before the citizens of Nîmes inaugurated the statue in 1908, Maurras beseeched his allies to block the installation. Should the unveiling succeed, Maurras encouraged residents of Nîmes to throw rocks at the work or employ explosives to blow it up.¹⁴⁷

What stimulated this violent plan of attack? Maurras and other members of the Action française rebuked Lazare for generating international interest in the Dreyfus Affair. Lazare was the first public figure to defend Dreyfus after his condemnation, and from 1895 until his death in 1903, he continually authored pamphlets and articles defending Dreyfus's honor. Whereas Dreyfusards compared Lazare's work to that of a "saint" or "prophet," some anti-Dreyfusards called him the "first agent of the Dreyfus conspiracy," and they blamed him for "agitating all of France, upsetting society" as well as "modifying political orientations."¹⁴⁸ Thus, when the city of Nîmes planned a

de Boewer, the General Secretary of the Union Catholique, was arrested on the scene. Accounts in *L'Action française* never identify Boewer as a Camelot du Roi.

¹⁴⁶ Daudet, "Les idoles du bordereau," *L'Action française*, 7 March 1909.

¹⁴⁷ Charles Maurras, "Bernard Lazare," *L'Action française*, 15 September 1908.

¹⁴⁸ For information on Lazare's political sainthood, see Burns, 168. For information on "l'agent de la conspiration dreyfusard," see "L'Action française à Nîmes," *L'Action française*, 5 October 1908. On September 29, 1908, *L'Action française* reprinted Paul Mathieux's description of Lazare, see "Le monument Bernard Lazare à Nîmes," *L'Action française*, 29 September 1908. In the text Mathieux describes Lazare as "Ce petit juif...devait pourtant agiter la France entière, bouleverser la société, modifier l'orientation politique..."

monument in Lazare's honor and the state donated 5,000 francs to its erection, the *Action française* protested passionately.¹⁴⁹

To mitigate the republican fervor that the statue's unveiling generated, the *Action française* conducted a counter-inauguration. Leading up to the ceremony, *Action française* affiliates produced a series of articles condemning the sculpture. Journalists called it "La Saleté," and critics predicted that the statue would demoralize the citizens of Nîmes, functioning as "the monument of our ineptitude...Every day it will tell us again— Idiots, idiots, idiots, idiots!"¹⁵⁰ This press campaign attracted an overwhelming number of *Action française* supporters to the counter-inauguration: nearly 4,000 delegates from all over the south of France attended the ceremony.¹⁵¹ Daudet served as the event's keynote speaker with an address that cautioned the audience about the monument's potential historical significance. Framing his speech around Théophile Gautier's statement, "the bust survives the city," Daudet worried that "centuries to come" would consider the monument to Bernard Lazare "a vestige of the proud, ardent, and magnificent city of Nîmes," when in fact he thought that the work was "dung."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Bernard Derrieu, "Bernard Lazare," *Inventaire général du Ministère de la Culture*, <[¹⁵⁰ For "La Saleté," see Jean Rivarol, "Echos," *L'Action française*, 3 October 1908, and Léon Daudet, "La statue infâme," *L'Action française*, 5 October 1908. The anonymous quote is cited from the article "Le Monument Bernard Lazare," which states, "Ce monument de Bernard Lazare sera donc le monument de notre ineptie...Chaque jour il nous redira:—Idiots, idiots, idiots, idiots," see: "Le monument Bernard Lazare," *L'Action française*, 24 September 1908.](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/palissy_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_4=AUTR&VALUE_4=BLOCHE%20ROGER.></p></div><div data-bbox=)

¹⁵¹ Coudekerque-Lambrecht, 365-366. The author mentions that delegations came from Montpellier, Saint-Rémy, Narbonne, Aix en Provence, Marseille, Avignon and Lyon.

¹⁵² Daudet remarked, "Théophile Gautier dans un vers fameux 'le buste survit à la cité.'...[l'effigie] apparaisse aux siècles de venir ainsi qu'un vestige de la fière, ardent, et magnifique cité nîmoise." Later in the article he writes, "C'est une statue de fumier," see Daudet, "La statue infâme," *L'Action française*, 4 October 1908.

Following the inauguration, members of the Action française continued to protest the monument. After viewing the marble sculpture, which included a relief-portrait of Lazare hovering above an allegory of *Truth*, Action française journalists called it “hideous,” describing the monument as “an allegory of Truth lighting the lie.”¹⁵³ In response to appeals to annihilate the sculpture, such as that of Maurras, the city hired guards to protect it. Despite these precautions, on the evening of July 14, 1909, a Camelot du Roi gained access to the monument and mutilated it.¹⁵⁴ Reports indicated that the Camelot destroyed Lazare’s portrait, breaking off his nose, cracking his forehead, and hammering out his eyes and moustache.¹⁵⁵ As with the Camelots’ prior mutilations of Dreyfusard monuments, the Action française praised the defacer. Journalists credited the Camelot with purifying the city, enabling the residents of Nîmes to enjoy strolling again; furthermore, they congratulated Maurras for his insightful predictions that the monument would fall.¹⁵⁶ Although the identity of the vandal was never revealed, Maurras confirmed his status as a Camelot, bragging as late as 1943 that the youth offered him Lazare’s nose to use as a paperweight.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ See “Dernière heure,” *L’Action française*, 4 October 1908 for the description of the work as “une énorme et hideuse plaque blanche.” The article “Le Monument Bernard Lazare à Nîmes,” *L’Action française*, 9 October 1908 includes the quote: “allégorie de la vérité éclairant le mensonge.”

¹⁵⁴ The article “Le Monument Bernard Lazare à Nîmes,” mentions the guards. See “Le monument Bernard Lazare,” *L’Action française*, 9 October 1908.

¹⁵⁵ “Mutilation de statue,” *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, 16 July 1909.

¹⁵⁶ For the hearty words of congratulations, see “Les statues dreyfusards: Bernard Lazare martelé,” *L’Action française*, 16 July 1909. For information on how the mutilation improved the city, see “Les statues dreyfusards: l’attentat de Nîmes,” *L’Action française*, 17 July 1909.

¹⁵⁷ Maurras, *La contre révolution spontanée*, 93. For the use as a paperweight, see Derrieu, “Bernard Lazare.”

The Camelots' destruction of the monument to Bernard Lazare in July 1909 conforms to the paradigm of mutilation they established several months earlier. Evidence illustrates that both the Action française and the Camelots believed that the monument glorified Lazare and his support of Dreyfus, symbolizing the decline of France's traditional values and the alienation of Frenchmen from their past. For example, Maurras called Lazare a "theorist of disorder, and of the truth of history;" he dubbed the sculpture, a "monument of destruction."¹⁵⁸ Many reputed nationalists concurred: Paul Mathieux claimed the sculpture would "destroy the most stable traditions of our country," while Édouard Drumont argued that "The statue of Bernard Lazare is made of the debris of all contexts, of all forms that contained and represented French society for a thousand years."¹⁵⁹ With these viewpoints, the Camelots' mutilation should be read as an effort to undermine the monument's destructive signification. Remarks by Daudet confirm this interpretation because, according to him, obliterating republican symbols that distorted traditional values and perspectives of the past enabled the Camelots "to keep the balance between villainy and virtue."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Maurras, "Bernard Lazare," *L'Action française*, 15 September 1908. Maurras states that Lazare is one of France's, "théoriciens du désordre, et de la vérité de l'histoire." An article from 5 October 1908 mentions that Maurras refers to the statue as, "ce monument de la destruction," see "L'Action française à Nîmes," *L'Action française*, 5 October 1908.

¹⁵⁹ For Mathieux's quote, see "Le monument Bernard Lazare à Nîmes," *L'Action française*, 29 September 1908. In the text Mathieux describes Lazare as able to "détruire les plus solides traditions de notre pays." Drumont's quote is cited from: "Le monument Bernard Lazare," *L'Action française*, 24 September 1908. The author cites Drumont, "La statue de Bernard Lazare est fait des débris de tous les cadres, de toutes les formes qui ont contenu et représenté la société française depuis mille ans."

¹⁶⁰ Daudet, "Les idoles du bordereau," *L'Action française*, 7 March 1909. Daudet describes breaking statues as "Cette façon de tenir la balance égale entre la scélérate et la vertu."

CHAPTER 4

With the previous chapters of this thesis, I have examined how the Camelots du Roi's vandalism of Dreyfusard monuments correlates with their participation in Action française efforts to reshape history and manipulate the judicial conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair. In this chapter, I locate the Camelots' destruction of art in context with scholarship on iconoclasm, and I conclude by analyzing the efficacy of the Camelots du Roi's campaign.

David Freedberg's work on the mutilation of art operates as a useful model for studying the Camelots' vandalism. In *Inconclasts and Their Motives*, Freedberg frames iconoclasm as a semiotic problem, maintaining that those who damage art conflate the signifier, or artwork, with its signification. According to Freedberg, attacking images simultaneously undercuts the physical authority of the work of art and the symbolic authority of its meaning. In other words, "iconoclasm makes plain one's superiority over the powers of both the image and its prototype."¹⁶¹

Although Freedberg's paradigm postdates the Camelots' destruction of art, his model is relevant to this discussion because evidence suggests that members of the Action française did not concern themselves with the formal qualities of the Dreyfusard monuments, but rather, their symbolic import. For instance, Maurras saw the monuments as a part of an interrelated system of signs. Shortly after the Camelots' vandalism in the spring of 1909, he wrote, "Statues are signs...if the statues of Zola, Scheurer-Kestner, Bernard-Lazare, all of these altars to the traitor Dreyfus...should be indifferent to us, one

¹⁶¹ David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Their Motives* (Montclair: Abner Schram, 1985), 35.

would be pleased to tell us why salute the flag that passes.”¹⁶² Like Maurras, Dimier did not comment on the aesthetic merits of the monuments, despite his professional involvement in the field of art. When a critic asked him, “Monuments do not feel anything...knocking down statues, what does that prove?” He replied, “That we detest the originals.”¹⁶³ Dimier’s response suggests that he viewed the Dreyfusard sculptures as surrogates for Trarieux, Zola, Scheurer-Kestner and Lazare, an opinion which is consistent with Freedberg’s hypothesis about the conflation of the signifier and the signified. Thus, for Dimier, the Camelots’ attack on these works of art operated as a symbolic assault on the originals.

As a budding sculptor, R  al del Sartre seemed like an unlikely leader of the Camelots du Roi’s iconoclastic campaign; yet, evidence indicates that he, too, privileged the symbolic meanings of the Dreyfusard sculptures to their artistic qualities. A police report about the “unbolting of the Dreyfusard statues” from March 3, 1909, clarifies R  al del Sartre’s position. With the account, the officer describes the Camelots’ plan to “blow up” the Dreyfusard monuments, stating that the youth group plotted the destruction “unscrupulously and without hesitation.”¹⁶⁴ The officer indicated that R  al del Sartre,

¹⁶² Maurras, “La guerre aux statues,” *L’Action fran  aise*, 21 April 1909. Maurras writes, “Les statues sont des signes...si des statues de Zola, de Scheurer-Kestner, de Bernard-Lazare, tous ces autels du tra  tre Dreyfus...doivent nous   tre indiff  rents, on sera bien aimable de nous dire pourquoi saluer le drapeau qui passe.” As early as 1897 Maurras took a stance against the glorification of republican heroes and the symbolic significance of these works. In an article for the *Gazette de France*, he criticized the sculptor Louis Clausade for aggrandizing notable figures from the Revolution to please the “little people.” See Buthman, 253.

¹⁶³ Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action fran  aise*, 118. “Les monuments ne ressentait rien...abattre des statues, qu’est-ce que cela prouve? Qu’on d  teste les originaux.”

¹⁶⁴ The police report calls the dismantling of the Dreyfusard sculptures “le d  boulonnage des statues dreyfusards.” It mentions the Camelots’ plan to “blow up (faire sauter)” the monuments was “d  cided sans l’ombre d’un scrupule ou d’une h  sitation.” See Anonymous Police Report, 3 March 1909, BA1342-Action fran  aise, 1909, Les archives du mus  e de la Pr  fecture de Police, Paris, France.

Maurras and Daudet communicated their dedication to the demolition by stating that they were “ready for everything, decided to finish, at whatever the cost.”¹⁶⁵ This unwavering support of the Camelots’ vandalism suggests the importance of the campaign: the *Action française* was willing to risk “everything” to filter the past and ruin Dreyfus’s legacy.

While the Camelots du Roi were not alone in their desire to call Dreyfus’s integrity into question, they were the sole party to channel this antagonism directly onto artworks commemorating his advocates. To account for art vandals’ motivations, historians have developed a number of theories. For instance, in his book, *Histoire du vandalisme: les monuments détruits de l’art français*, Louis Réau frames the destruction of art as a taboo; furthermore he cites a variety of factors which might compel people to break images, such as greed, jealousy, intolerance, religion, propriety and aesthetics.¹⁶⁶ Julius Held also condemns iconoclasm, contending that “for a person who cares for beauty, it is hard to imagine that anyone would willfully alter—let alone mutilate—a work of art.”¹⁶⁷ Like Réau, Held identifies a number of motives for iconoclasts, including personal taste and fashion. More recently, Freedberg examined iconoclasm’s history, and similar to his predecessors, Freedberg considers the variety of factors inciting iconoclasts, from religious iconoclasm to political iconoclasm to iconoclasm motivated

¹⁶⁵ “Prêts à tout, décidés aller jusqu’au bout, coûte que coûte,” see Anonymous Police Report, 3 March 1909, BA1342-Action française, 1909, Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France. Other contemporary evidence suggests that Réal del Sarte probably concerned himself with the symbolic import of images. On February 3, 1909, the *L’Action française* reported that several Camelots broke a store window on the corner of the rue de Richelieu and boulevard Montmartre where poster displayed an image of Joan of Arc in “une pose grotesque.” See “Les Camelots du Roi,” *L’Action française*, 3 February 1909.

¹⁶⁶ Louis Réau, *Histoire du vandalisme: les monuments détruits de l’art français* vol 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1959), 13-25.

¹⁶⁷ Julius Held, “Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* vol LXII, no 1 (Winter 1963): 3.

by madness.¹⁶⁸ To some degree, several of these stimuli probably prompted the Camelots du Roi's vandalism; however, by locating the Camelots' destruction of art within the framework of their active participation in the Action française's "*coup d'état intellectuel et moral*," as well as their own "*coup de force*," I argue that the Camelots du Roi's mutilation of Dreyfusard monuments was primarily a deliberate attempt to control memory.

The work of several scholars supports my conclusion that the premeditated destruction of art enabled the Camelots to cast doubt upon Dreyfus's innocence and reshape history. For instance, Keith Moxey's research on iconoclasm in sixteenth century Netherlands demonstrates that the Calvinist community targeted image-laden Catholic churches carefully: in some cases, if the church could not be easily converted to a Calvinist meeting hall, then they did not destroy its artwork.¹⁶⁹ Meticulous calculation also informed the Camelots du Roi's destruction of art. In their initial wave of iconoclasm, members of the youth group deliberately attacked the memorials to Trarieux, Zola, and Scheurer-Kestner on dates associated with the Thalamas Affair. Although their mutilation of the monument to Lazare occurred several months later, the Camelots selected the most important holiday associated with the Revolution, Bastille Day, to demonstrate their distaste for Republic.

Examining the research of several other scholars helps to explain how the Camelots' carefully planned vandalism operated as an attempt to manipulate history. According to Louis Réau, since the beginning of time, people have attempted to reshape

¹⁶⁸ Freedberg, 11-17.

¹⁶⁹ Keith Moxey, "Pieter Aersten, Joachim Beuckelaer and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation," Ph.D diss, University of Chicago, 1974, 178-186.

the past and “erase the traces” of their predecessors by demolishing their statues.¹⁷⁰

Dario Gamboni’s work on the removal of Communist monuments after the fall of the Soviet bloc exemplifies Réau’s premise. Gamboni maintains that those who opposed the dismantling of Soviet monuments considered their destruction an “elimination of history.”¹⁷¹ William Cohen concurs: in his examination of iconoclasm during the French Revolution, he argues that republicans tore down sculptures honoring the *ancien régime* as a means of “taking vengeance on the past and shaping a new understanding of it.”¹⁷² Although the political philosophies Revolutionary republicans clashed with the royalist beliefs of the Action française, their motives for vandalizing art are surprisingly similar—both groups mutilated monuments to challenge the historical heroes that their adversaries imposed upon them. While eighteenth-century republicans wanted to purify the nation from the taint of the monarchy, the Camelots du Roi aimed to undermine the deification of contemporary Dreyfusards.

Dimier viewed the glorification of Dreyfusards as symptomatic of the underlying contradictions in the Third Republic’s fervor for public sculpture. Over 150 monuments were erected in Paris between 1870 and 1914—a sculptural surge that contemporary scholars describe as “statuemanie.”¹⁷³ Republicans maintained that these works

¹⁷⁰ Réau, 17. “De tout temps, les souverains ont essayé d’effacer la trace de leurs prédécesseurs, soit en détruisant les effigies...” Julius Held’s reading of iconoclasm parallels Réau’s position. Held identifies individuals who deface art as “a public that often enough cares little for historical truth.” See Held, 10.

¹⁷¹ Dario Gamboni, “Images to Destroy, Indestructible Image,” in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe: Center for Art and Media, 2002), 100.

¹⁷² William Cohen, “Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no 2 (July 1989): 493-494.

¹⁷³ June Hargrove, “Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic,” in *Nationalism in the Visual Arts*, ed. Richard Etlin (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991): 49. On “statuemanie,” see Maurice Agulhon, “La ‘statuemanie’ et l’histoire,” *Ethnologie française* 8, no. 2-3 (1978): 146.

functioned as civic symbols, honoring “the Enlightened minds through which the reign of justice has come,” but Dimier disagreed.¹⁷⁴ He claimed that the plethora of public sculptures demonstrated how “the parties of our days are greedy for statues, consecrations, apotheoses. As soon as they are victorious, they bustle about to melt their triumph in bronze.”¹⁷⁵ If commemorative monuments legitimized individuals’ historical importance, Dimier wondered why a Parisian statue honored Claude Chappe, the inventor of the telegraph, while “Racine continues to wait for his own.”¹⁷⁶ In terms of the Dreyfusard sculptures, Dimier contended that it was the actual monuments that secured the Dreyfusards’ place in history and *not* the memory of their accomplishments, stating in 1911, “But without a monument, what remains of Scheurer-Kestner and Zola?”¹⁷⁷ According to Dimier, “by taking up the image-breakers’ hammer [and] going to hit upon these barbarisms,” the Camelots took “revenge” and began to correct this republican mockery of monuments.¹⁷⁸

While Dimier championed the Camelots’ vandalism, members of the left-wing press belittled their actions. A reporter from *Le Temps* called the Camelots du Roi

¹⁷⁴ Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris*, 106.

¹⁷⁵ Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action française*, 117. “Les partis de nos jours sont avides de statues, de consécration, d’apothéoses. A peine sont-ils vainqueurs qu’ils s’empressent de couler en bronze leur triomphe.”

¹⁷⁶ Dimier’s remarks on the monumental injustice are noted in, Dimier, *Les préjugés ennemis de l’histoire de France*, 18. He writes, “Le pauvre Chappe qui inventa qu’un télégraphe fort méprisable, a sa statue dans Paris, ou Racine continue d’attendre la sienne.”

¹⁷⁷ Dimier states, “Mais sans monument, que-reste-t-il de Scheurer-Kestner et de Zola?” Louis Dimier, “Chronique Artistique,” *L’Action française*, 11 March 1909.

¹⁷⁸ Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action française*, 117-118. Dimier calls the vandalism “la revanche,” and he describes the Camelots as “prenant en main le marteau des briseurs d’images, on s’en alla frapper sur ces magots.”

“kids;” meanwhile, a journalist at *L’Humanité* described the vandalism as “ridiculous acts to attract attention,” which seemed to “succeed each other as stupid as the last.”¹⁷⁹

Rather than denigrating the destruction, writer Jean Jaurès concerned himself with its symbolic signification. In an article titled, “Dégoût Trahison,” Jaurès equated the Camelots’ mutilation with betrayal, calling the Camelots du Roi “intolerable.”¹⁸⁰ Even Prime Minister Aristide Briand considered the import of defacing public monuments following the vandalism. Though he never mentioned the Camelots du Roi specifically, in his speech at the Mascuraud Banquet on October 11, 1910, he proclaimed, “We see every day in the street, the halls of justice invaded by gangs who desire disorder and violence; we see statues of honest republicans and deserving of our veneration stained and insulted...”¹⁸¹ Paradoxically, some staunch anti-Dreyfusards also admonished the mutilation. Right-wing journalist Ernest Judet initially championed the vandalism, but before long, he feared that the destruction of Dreyfusard monuments polarized anti-Dreyfusards. Judet also doubted the usefulness of the vandalism writing, “the war against statues is not an effective and serious oppositional program... We must find something else.”¹⁸² Collectively, these condemnations from both the left and the right

¹⁷⁹ In “Les royalistes iconoclastes,” *Le Temps*, 5 March 1909, the reporter calls the Camelots “gamins.” Figeac describes the vandalism as “des actes assez ridicules,” in R Figeac, “Les ‘Camelots du Roy’ contre la statue de Zola,” *L’Humanité*, 3 March 1909. The following day Figeac wrote, “les grossiers exploits des ‘Camelots du Roy’ se succèdent aussi stupides que les autres.” Figeac, “Les camelots barbouilleurs” *L’Humanité*, 4 March 1909.

¹⁸⁰ Jean Jaurès, “Dégoût trahison,” *L’Humanité*, 3 March 1909. He calls the Camelots “insupportables.”

¹⁸¹ As cited in Maurras, *La contre révolution spontanée*, 96. “On voyait chaque jours dans les rues, les prétoires de justice envahies par des bandes désireuses de violences et de désordres; on voyait des statues républicains intégrées et dignes de notre vénération maculées, insultées...” Maurras’s citation of this speech suggests that it pertained to the Action française and the Camelots’ exploits.

¹⁸² Ernest Judet states his support of the mutilation in Judet, “Simila similibus,” *L’Eclair*, 4 March 1909. By April 20, 1909, he had reconsidered his position stating, “La guerre aux statues n’est pas efficace et

probably accounted for the lack of reprisals; monuments that the Camelots revered, such as Frémiet's *Joan of Arc*, were never subjected to retaliatory vandalism.¹⁸³

Despite this widespread disapproval, members of the Action française delighted in the Camelots' destruction of Dreyfusard monuments for years to come. In 1926, Dimier fondly recalled the Camelots' "extraordinary brilliance," comparing the scope and magnitude of their iconoclasm to the Reformation.¹⁸⁴ Nearly twenty years later, in 1943, Maurras continued to cheer the Camelots' vandalism. He revealed that he kept "the precious nose of the Jewish Bernard Lazare" in his drawer and relished the fact that all over the south of France, people still called the sculpture "Bernard Lazare without a Nose."¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, the new designation for Bernard Lazare's monument might be used to gauge the efficacy of the Camelots' campaign. The title "Bernard Lazare without a Nose" suggests that with their physical assault, the Camelots grafted a new and defamatory meaning onto the sculpture. When visitors viewed the nose-less monument, they were continually reminded of the Camelots' violent acts and their efforts to undermine Lazare's historical importance. Ostensibly, municipal authorities condoned

sérieuse...Il faut décidément trouver autre chose." Ernest Judet, "La guerre aux statues," *L'Eclair*, 20 April 1909.

¹⁸³ Given their royalist political philosophies, it is interesting to note that the Action française and the Camelots du Roi did not make pilgrimages to monuments honoring France's kings; however, the Action française did integrate several royalist symbols, such as the fleur de lys into their visual program. For instance, Réal del Sartre incorporated images of the fleur de lys in his illustrations of Joan of Arc for Maurras's book, *La méditation sur la politique de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Les Éditions de Cadran, 1931), frontispiece, 9, 23, 39, 75. Réal del Sartre also included images of the fleur de lys on the side of his monument to Marius Plateau (Figure 14).

¹⁸⁴ Dimier, *Vingt ans d'Action française*, 117. He claims the events were executed with "un extraordinaire brio."

¹⁸⁵ Maurras, *La contre révolution spontanée*, 93. "Je garde encore dans un tiroir le précieux nez du juif Bernard Lazare que les dreyfusards avait statufié à l'entrée du jardin de la Fontaine, à Nîmes...Bernard Lazare denasa, chantait tout notre Midi..." Several other sources note that the statue became known by this new title in Nîmes. See Pujol, 177 and Philippe Oriol, *Bernard Lazare* (Paris: Editions Stock, 2003), 17.

this signification. No efforts were made to repair the sculpture, and after it was vandalized further during the Second World War (Figure 11), city officials removed the monument to Bernard Lazare from the public gardens and had it destroyed.¹⁸⁶

Unlike the Lazare statue, the monuments to Trarieux, Zola and Scheurer-Kestner were restored. Repairs to the Trarieux sculpture began just two days after the vandalism, while refurbishing Scheurer-Kestner's sculptural group took at least four months.¹⁸⁷

Although the Camelots enacted only ephemeral physical transformations to these works of art, from the perspective of individuals like Maurras and Dimier, the symbolic damage was permanent. Maurras and Dimier's statements indicate that they continued to read the Dreyfusard monuments through the lens of the Camelots du Roi's defacement, suggesting their belief that the sculptures assimilated the violence. For them, the defacement recontextualized the Dreyfusard monuments, permanently marking them with the Camelots' efforts to undermine Trarieux, Zola, Scheurer-Kestner and Lazare's historical importance. With their destruction of art, the Camelots attempted to expose what they perceived as the Dreyfusards' historical *insignificance*, and when the Action française remembered and celebrated their vandalism, they perpetuated the Camelots du Roi's desire to reshape history and revise the memory of the Dreyfus Affair.

¹⁸⁶ The French Ministry of Culture notes that the marble from *Bernard Lazare* was recycled and used in a monument dedicated to heroes of the Resistance. See Derrieu, "Bernard Lazare."

¹⁸⁷ An article by Léon Daudet indicates the swift repair of Trarieux, see Léon Daudet, "Cérémonie expiatoire," *L'Action française*, 20 February 1909. In his press review from 18 July 1909, Maurras quotes Martin Gale from *L'Intransigeant*, who indicates that the Scheurer-Kestner sculpture is still covered by tarps. See Criton [Charles Maurras], "Revue de presse," *L'Action française*, 18 July 1909.

CONCLUSION

Probably much to the dismay of Dimier and Maurras, the passage of time diluted the efficacy of the Camelots du Roi's course of action. By and large, the French forgot about the pugnacious youth group's crusade to quash Dreyfusard sculptures and with the outbreak of World War I, the public's attention shifted toward more pressing matters. Ultimately, the war concluded lingering disputes associated with the Dreyfus Affair because it drew national interest away from the twenty-year-old scandal.

The military welcomed Dreyfus back into active service in 1914, and by the war's end, he retired with the rank of colonel. Numerous Camelots du Roi, including Réal del Sartre, also fought in World War I.¹⁸⁸ While a direct link between the Camelots and Dreyfus cannot be established during combat, the international conflict and its devastation brought to a close the Action française's challenges to the Dreyfus Affair. Following the war, the organization centered its attention on encouraging of the return of the monarchy, and even today, the Action française actively promotes the reinstatement of the king.¹⁸⁹

In the wake of World War I, Réal del Sartre was left with numerous wounds to heal. Not only was his brother and fellow Camelot du Roi, Serge, killed in action, but the conflict also threatened his professional aspirations. In 1916, Réal del Sartre suffered an injury that necessitated the amputation of his left hand; despite this handicap, he

¹⁸⁸ Réal del Sartre was promoted to the rank of lieutenant during the war. See Edouard-Joseph, 184.

¹⁸⁹ For information on the Camelots du Roi's activities after World War I, see Pujo, 265-273. The current initiatives of the Action française are described at www.actionfrancaise.net.

continued to pursue a career as an artist.¹⁹⁰ Less than a year after losing his hand, Réal del Sartre began sculpting again, and in 1921, he was awarded the “Grand Prix National de Sculpture.” Subsequently, Réal del Sartre received numerous civic commissions throughout France, creating a body of work that his contemporaries characterized as a mélange of war monuments and introspective renderings of Joan of Arc.¹⁹¹ An examination of *Terre de France* (Figure 12), a World War I memorial in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and *Jeanne au bûcher* (Figure 13), located in Rouen, reveals how Réal del Sartre’s early experience as a Camelot du Roi informed his artwork throughout his career.

Representatives from Saint-Jean-de-Luz ordered *Terre de France* after seeing the statue at the Salon of 1919.¹⁹² Like the many of Réal del Sartre’s war monuments, the sculpture emphasizes the suffering and the loss that World War I caused in France. The sculpture depicts a barefoot young woman visiting what is presumably the grave of her fiancé.¹⁹³ The contemplative mourner casts her gaze at the tombstone, and she grasps several stalks of wheat, which is growing around the burial site. This juxtaposition of the fertility of the land with the solemnity of death suggests that France’s fallen soldiers nourished the earth with their blood.¹⁹⁴ The iconography also calls to mind a couplet from the Camelots du Roi’s 1909 theme song, *La France Bouge*, which states,

¹⁹⁰ Annette Becker points out that due to his amputation, Réal del Sartre needed assistants to employ his chisel. See Annette Becker, *Les monuments aux morts: Mémoire de la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 1988).

¹⁹¹ “Le sculpteur Maxime Réal del Sartre,” *Le Monde*, 17 February 1954.

¹⁹² Becker, 24.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

“Tomorrow on our tombs, the wheat will be more beautiful.”¹⁹⁵ In fact, R  al del Sartre quoted these lines in 1923, during the dedication of another work where he employed stalks of wheat to symbolize sacrifice, his monument to Marius Plateau (Figure 14), who was a fellow Camelot du Roi murdered at the offices of *L’Action fran  aise*.¹⁹⁶

Like his war memorials, R  al del Sartre’s statues of Joan of Arc can be associated with his experience as a Camelot du Roi. This thesis has examined the sculptor’s early admiration for la Pucelle during the Thalamas Affair, and R  al del Sartre’s oeuvre indicates that his appreciation for the young warrior never wavered. By the end of his life, the artist completed 36 public works depicting Joan of Arc.¹⁹⁷ The Rouen monument, *Jeanne au b  cher* (Figure 13), operates as one of the sculptor’s most important renderings, especially because it is located in the town of la Pucelle’s demise. With her hands clasped in prayer and her eyes closed, R  al del Sartre’s Joan of Arc seems meditative, despite the undulating flames that rise from the base of the sculpture. A halo of thorns surrounds la Pucelle’s head, which might imply a connection between her martyrdom and that of Christ. Although *Jeanne au b  cher* was completed nearly twenty years after the Thalamas Affair, when discussing the work, R  al del Sartre may have alluded to the incident. During the dedication of the monument R  al del Sartre called attention to the sacrifices that he made for Joan of Arc, stating “You know, I

¹⁹⁵ “Demain sur nos tombeaux, Les bl  s seront plus beaux,” cited in Pujo, 136.

¹⁹⁶ R  al del Sartre’s speech is reproduced in the article, “A Marius Plateau,” *L’Action fran  aise*, 12 November 1923. Marius Plateau was murdered by anarchist Germaine Berthon on January 22, 1923. For more information on the crime, see “Camelots du Roi,” *Time*, 23 March 1923, 10; “No Regrets,” *Time*, 31 December 1923, 11; “On an Acquittal,” *Time*, 7 January 1924, 9-10.

¹⁹⁷ This statistic is cited in Agn  s Callu, “La *Jeanne au b  cher* de Maxime R  al del Sartre (1927-1928): sculpture et politique,” in *  tudes d’histoire de l’art offertes    Jacques Thirion*, ed. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Jean-Michel Leniaud (Paris:   cole des Chartes, 2001), 347.

suffered for the Cult of Joan of Arc, but her Cult has become a continual assistance to me. Every year of my career, I made a new Joan. I am happiest with the last one.”¹⁹⁸

Three years later, R  al del Sartre included an illustration of *Jeanne au b  cher* in Maurras’s book, *La m  ditation sur la politique de Jeanne d’Arc* (Figure 15).

As a professional artist, R  al del Sartre no longer concerned himself with vandalizing works of art. Perhaps, once he embarked upon a career as a public sculptor, he gained a greater respect for the work of his peers. Or, perhaps he was aware that the Camelots du Roi were ultimately unsuccessful in rewriting the conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair with their destruction of Dreyfusard sculptures. Examining the Camelots’ iconoclasm, however, offers valuable insights into how the premeditated destruction of art, and in particular commemorative monuments, can operate as a means to subvert the memorial’s historical significance. By actively participating in the Action fran  aise’s “*coup d’  tat intellectuel et moral*,” the Camelots du Roi demonstrated their concern for the interpretation and dissemination of history. Attending courses at the Institut d’Action fran  aise familiarized the Camelots with their parent organization’s academic agenda of glorifying the *ancien r  gime*; moreover, the youth group disseminated the Action fran  aise’s philosophies to the general public by hawking the daily paper on the streets of Paris.

When the Camelots organized a campaign against Thalamas at the Sorbonne, they coupled violence with the Action fran  aise’s appeals to reinterpret the past. Ridiculing

¹⁹⁸ “Vous le savez, j’ai souffert pour le culte de Jeanne d’Arc, mais son culte est devenue pour moi un continuel secours. Chaque ann  e de ma carri  re, j’ai fait une nouvelle Jeanne. C’est de la derni  re que je suis le plus content.” Callu cites this quote from *L’Action fran  aise*, 13 May 1928. Callu argues that when R  al del Sartre mentions his suffering, he is referring to his involvement in the Thalamas Affair and the time he spent in prison for his involvement with the Affair. See Callu, 354.

Thalamas allowed the Camelots to undercut his academic authority; furthermore, their rallies against this “anti-French” teacher exposed what they considered to be corruption in the republican education system.¹⁹⁹ Additional corrections to Thalamas’s “obscene teaching” came with Pujo’s alternative history course on Joan of Arc at the Sorbonne.²⁰⁰

The Camelots’ involvement in the Thalamas Affair establishes their dedication to the Action française’s educational program; and on February 17, 1909, when the Camelots du Roi concluded their protests against Thalamas by damaging Boucher’s monument to Ludovic Trarieux, they associated their desire to reinterpret the past with their desire to reinterpret the Dreyfus Affair. The Camelots strengthened this connection on March 1, 1909: immediately following their banquet to celebrate their victory over Thalamas, they targeted Derré’s homage to Emile Zola in Suresnes. Their subsequent attacks on monuments to Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner and Bernard Lazare firmly situate the Camelots du Roi’s iconoclasm as an attempt to revise the legacy of the Dreyfus Affair. According to Dimier, damaging the monuments honoring prominent Dreyfusards demonstrated that the Camelots “detest[ed] the originals.”²⁰¹ By contextualizing Dimier’s remarks with the art historical scholarship on the destruction of art, this thesis demonstrates that with their vandalism, the Camelots du Roi enacted symbolic assaults on Trarieux, Zola, Scheurer-Kestner and Lazare as well as Dreyfus. Maurras aptly characterized these attacks as a means to reinvent the past when he

¹⁹⁹ Para, “M. Thalamas en Sorbonne,” *L’Action française*, 28 November 1908. He refers to Thalamas’s teaching as “antifrançais.”

²⁰⁰ Ibid. He refers to Thalamas’s teaching as “enseignement obscène.”

²⁰¹ Dimier, *Vingt ans d’Action française*, 118. “Qu’on déteste les originaux.”

described the iconoclasm as a way of “erasing national shames,” and “reestablishing the truth by all means necessary.”²⁰²

²⁰² Criton [Charles Maurras], “Revue de presse,” *L’Action française*, 13 March 1909. Maurras states, “Une honte nationale ne peut avoir droit de cité sur le sol de la nation. Il faut effacer les hontes. Or, le marteau est le seul instrument capable de les effacer quand ces hontes sont en marbre.” The second quote comes from Maurras, “La guerre aux statues,” *L’Action française*, 21 April 1909. Maurras writes, “Nous rétablissons la vérité par tous les moyens.”

APPENDIX

9 Décembre 1908

LISTE des individus arrêtés au cours des manifestations d'aujourd'hui²⁰³

REAL DEL SARTRE, Serge, 16 ans, étudiant, demeurant chez ses parents 88, boulevard de Courcelles.	Voies de fait et rébellion. Envoyé au Dépôt
LAFONT, Edmond, 33 ans, demeurant 3, rue Jean-Vaury, pharmacien.	Outrages et rébellion. Envoyé au Dépôt
DEVAULX de CHAMBORD, Albérie, 17 ans, étu- diant, demeurant 4, rue Jean-Bart.	Voies de fait envers les agents. Envoyé au Dépôt
SALMON-LEGAGNEUR, Henri, 22, étudiant en sciences, demeurant chez ses parents, II bis, rue Portalis.	Tapage injurieux et cris séditieux.
DURMERIN, Jacques, 18 ans, étudiant, demeu- rant 43 rue de Lille, chez ses parents.	Tapage injurieux. -libre
TERRIS, Jean Joseph, 18 ans, étudiant, de- meurant chez ses parents, 66, rue de la Pompe.	Tapage injurieux. d°
GARILLAND, Albert, 19 ans, étudiant, demeu- rant en hôtel, 54, rue Monge.	Tapage injurieux. d°
BRICHET, Jean, 19 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant 40, rue de Verneuil.	Tapage injurieux. d°
JOURNAULT, Gaston, 18 ans, étudiant en sciences, demeurant 33, rue Monge.	Tapage injurieux. d°

²⁰³ Transcribed from Anonymous Police Report, 9 December 1908, BA1341-Action française, 1908, Les Archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

ROMANET du CAILLAUD, Joseph, 23 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant 39, rue Jussieu.	Tapage injurieux et cris seditieux. -libre
PELOUSE, Germain, 17 ans, élève aux Arts Décoratifs, demeurant 33, rue de Coulommiers, chez ses parents.	Tapage injurieux. -libre
SOURY, Maurice, 23 ans, élève a l'Ecole Normale, demeurant 45, rue d'Ulm.	Tapage injurieux. d°
BONDE, Charles, 19 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant chez son père, 16 rue de Bagneux.	Tapage injurieux. d°
MICHOT[the letters aud are hand-written], Albert, 17 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant 28, rue Berthollet.	Tapage injurieux. d°
DELHAY, André, 19 ans, étudiant en lettres, demeurant chez son père, 74, rue Claude-Bernard.	Tapage injurieux. d°
CALLON, Emmanuel, 19 ans, étudiant, demeurant chez son père, 3, rue Monsieur.	Tapage injurieux. d°
TREMAUX, Louis, 20 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant chez son père, 17, avenue d'Orléans.	Tapage injurieux. d°
TOURLIERE, Paul, 18 ans, étudiant en droit, demeurant chez ses parents, 20, place de la Nation.	Tapage injurieux. d°
BEVELECQUA, Paul, 19 ans, étudiant aux Etudes (sic) politiques, demeurant 12, rue Royer-Collard.	Tapage injurieux. d°
REYNAUD, PAUL, 18 ans, sans profession, demeurant chez ses parents, 3, square du Roule.	Tapage injurieux. d°
POUCH-VALETTE, Robert, 18 ans, étudiant en lettres, demeurant 50, rue Saint-Sauveur.	Tapage injurieux et cris seditieux. d°

RAINGO, Germain, 17 ans, demeurant chez ses parents, 33, rue de Coulommiers, élève à l'Ecole des Beaux Arts.	Tapage injurieux libre
LE ROY, Marcel, 21 ans, élève à l'Ecole Centrale, demeurant chez ses parents, 53, rue de l'Abbé-Groult.	Outrages par paroles d°
ROBIN, André, 20 ans, courtier d'assurances, demeurant chez sa mère, 114, avenue d'Orléans.	Tapages injurieux et cris seditieux. d°
PUJO, Maurice, 36 ans, rédacteur à l'Action Française, demeurant 38, avenue de l'Observatoire.	Refus de circuler. d°
DE LOSTALOT, Jean, 22 ans, élève à l'Ecole Centrale, demeurant 72, boulevard Saint-Germain.	Refus de circuler d°
HUART, Albin, 16 ans, publiciste, demeurant chez ses parents, 43, rue Madame.	Refus de circuler -libre
DELORME, Eugène, 23 ans, garçon d'hôtel, 23 rue des Messageries.	Refus de circuler d°
NICOLAS, Roger, 18 ans, étudiant électricien, demeurant 28, rue Bertrand.	Refus de circuler d°
ADAM, Adrien, 18 ans, sans profession, demeurant chez ses parents, 4, rue Saint Florentin.	Refus de circuler d°
PICOT, Pierre, 18 ans, étudiant a l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, demeurent 20, rue Soufflot.	Refus de circuler d°
DE TRINCAUD LA TOUR, Jean, 19 ans, élève à l'Ecole des Sciences politiques, demeurant 4, passage Stanislas.	Refus de circuler d°

GAUTIER, Georges, 20 ans, commis mètreur, demeurant chez son oncle, M. Barbary, 19, avenue Carnot, à Vitry-sur-Seine.	Refus de circuler d°
REAL DEL SARTRE, Maxime, 20 ans, étudiant à l'Académie Julian, demeurant chez ses parents, 88 boulevard de Courcelles.	Refus de circuler d°
DEROUET, René, 19 ans, élève à l'Ecole Brégeut, demeurant chez son oncle, M. Sapillaud, 59, route de Clamart, à Issy.	Refus de circuler d°
ROY, Félix, 20 ans, étudiant à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, demeurant 9, rue Dupin.	Tapage injurieux et cris séditieux. -libre
LEROY, Paul-Charles, 18 ans, étudie en science physiques, dem. 7 rue des Chantiers [This entry is hand-written.].	Cris séditieux. -libre

APPENDIX
(TRANSLATION)

December 9, 1908

List of individuals stopped
during today's demonstrations²⁰⁴

REAL DEL SARTRE, Serge, 16 years old, student, resides at his parents 88, boulevard de Courcelles.	Violence and rebellion. Sent to prison
LAFONT, Edmond, 33 years old, resides 3, rue Jean-Vaury, pharmacist.	Insults and rebellion. Sent to prison
DEVAULX de CHAMBORD, Albérie, 17 years old, student, resides 4, rue Jean-Bart.	Violence towards police officers. Sent to prison
SALMON-LEGAGNEUR, Henri, 22 years old, student of science, resides at his parents, II bis, rue Portalis.	Abusive uproar and seditious shouting.
DURMERIN, Jacques, 18 years old, student, residing 43 rue de Lille, at his parents.	Abusive uproar. -free
TERRIS, Jean Joseph, 18 years old, student, residing at his parents, 66, rue de la Pompe.	Abusive uproar. d°
GARILLAND, Albert, 19 years old, student, residing in a hotel, 54, rue Monge.	Abusive uproar. d°
BRICHET, Jean, 19 years old, student of law, resides 40, rue de Verneuil.	Abusive uproar. d°
JOURNAULT, Gaston, 18 years old, student of science, resides 33, rue Monge.	Abusive uproar. d°

²⁰⁴ Transcribed from Anonymous Police Report, 9 December 1908, BA1341-Action française, 1908, Les Archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

ROMANET du CAILLAUD, Joseph, 23 years old, student of law, resides 39, rue Jussieu.	Abusive uproar and seditious shouting. -free
PELOUSE, Germain, 17 years old, pupil at Arts Décoratifs, resides at 33, rue de Coulommiers, at his parents.	Abusive uproar. -free
SOURY, Maurice, 23 years old, pupil at Ecole Normale, resides 45, rue d'Ulm.	Abusive uproar. d°
BONDE, Charles, 19 years old, student of law, resides at his father's, 16 rue de Bagneux.	Abusive uproar. d°
MICHOT[the letters aud are hand-written], Albert, 17 years old, student of law, resides 28, rue Berthollet.	Abusive uproar. d°
DELHAY, André, 19 years old, student of letters, resides at his father's, 74, rue Claude-Bernard.	Abusive uproar. d°
CALLON, Emmanuel, 19 ans, student, resides at his father's, 3, rue Monsieur.	Abusive uproar. d°
TREMAUX, Louis, 20 years old, student of law, resides at his father's, 17, avenue d'Orléans.	Abusive uproar. d°
TOURLIERE, Paul, 18 years old, student of law, resides at his parents, 20, place de la Nation.	Abusive uproar. d°
BEVELECQUA, Paul, 19 years old, student of political science, resides 12, rue Royer-Collard.	Abusive uproar. d°
REYNAUD, PAUL, 18 years old, without profession, resides at his parents, 3, square du Roule.	Abusive uproar. d°
POUCH-VALETTE, Robert, 18 years old, student of letters, resides 50, rue Saint-Sauveur.	Abusive uproar and seditious shouting. d°

RAINGO, Germain, 17 years old, resides at his parents, 33, rue de Coulommiers, pupil at Ecole des Beaux Arts.	Abusive uproar free
LE ROY, Marcel, 21 years old, pupil at Ecole Centrale, resides at his parents, 53, rue de l'Abbé-Groult.	Insulting words d°
ROBIN, André, 20 years old, insurance broker, resides at his mother's, 114, avenue d'Orléans.	Abusive uproar and seditious shouting. d°
PUJO, Maurice, 36 years old, writer for the Action Française, resides 38, avenue de l'Observatoire.	Refusal to circulate. d°
DE LOSTALOT, Jean, 22 years old, pupil at Ecole Centrale, resides 72, boulevard Saint-Germain.	Refusal to circulate d°
HUART, Albin, 16 years old, adman, resides at his parents, 43, rue Madame.	Refusal to circulate -free
DELORME, Eugène, 23 years old, hotel waiter, 23 rue des Messageries.	Refusal to circulate d°
NICOLAS, Roger, 18 years old, electrician student resides 28, rue Bertrand.	Refusal to circulate d°
ADAM, Adrien, 18 years old, without profession, resides at his parents, 4, rue Saint Florentin.	Refusal to circulate d°
PICOT, Pierre, 18 years old, student at Ecole des Hautes Etudes, resides 20, rue Soufflot.	Refusal to circulate d°
DE TRINCAUD LA TOUR, Jean, 19 years old, pupil at Ecole des Sciences politiques, resides 4, passage Stanislas.	Refusal to circulate d°

GAUTIER, Georges, 20 years old, quantity surveyor, clerk resides at his uncle's, Mr. Barbary, 19, avenue Carnot, à Vitry-sur-Seine.	Refusal to circulate d°
REAL DEL SARTRE, Maxime, 20 years old, student at Académie Julian, resides at his parents, 88 boulevard de Courcelles.	Refusal to circulate d°
DEROUET, René, 19 years old, pupil at Ecole Brégeut, resides at his uncle, M. Sapillaud, 59, route de Clamart, à Issy.	Refusal to circulate d°
ROY, Félix, 20 years old, student at Ecole des Beaux-Arts, resides 9, rue Dupin.	Abusive uproar and seditious shouting. -free
LEROY, Paul-Charles, 18 years old, student of physical science, res. 7 rue des Chantiers [This entry is hand-written].	Seditious shouting. -free

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1
Jean Boucher, *Ludovic Trarieux*,
1907, Jardin Denfert Rochereau,
Paris (present state minus portrait
bust removed in 1942).



Figure 2
Jean Boucher, *Ludovic Trarieux*,
1907, Jardin Denfert Rochereau,
Paris.



Figure 3
Emile Derré, *Emile Zola*, 1908,
Collège Émile Zola, Suresnes.



Figure 4
Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste
Scheurer-Kestner* 1908, Jardin du
Luxembourg, Paris.



Figure 5
 Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* (detail), 1908, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris.



Figure 6
 Jules Dalou, *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* (detail), 1908, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris.



Figure 7
 Paul Roger-Bloche and Hippolyte Lefebvre, *Bernard Lazare*, 1908, formerly in the Jardin de la Fontaine, Nîmes.



Figure 8
 Emmanuel Frémiet, *Joan of Arc*, 1874, Place des Pyramides, Paris.

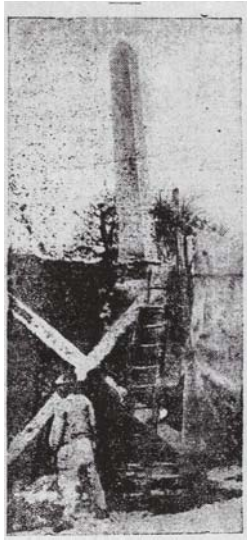


Figure 9
Jules Dalou's *Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner* with vandalism by the Camelots du Roi, 1909, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris, reproduced in *L'Humanité*, March 4, 1909.



Figure 10
Heuraux's *Lion* with vandalism by the Camelots du Roi, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris, reproduced in *L'Humanité*, March 5, 1909.



Figure 11
Paul Roger-Bloche and Hippolyte Lefebvre, *Bernard Lazare*, 1908, formerly in the Jardin de la Fontaine, Nîmes, photograph of vandalism in 1941.



Figure 12
Maxime Réal del Sartre, *Terre de France*, 1920, Saint-Jean-de-Luz.



Figure 13
Maxime Réal del Sartre,
illustration of Joan of Arc from
Charles Maurras's *La
méditation sur la politique de
Jeanne D'Arc*, 1931.



Figure 14
Maxime Réal del Sartre,
Monument to Marius Plateau,
1923, Cimetière de Vaugirard,
Paris.



Figure 15
Maxime Réal del Sartre,
Jeanne au bûcher, 1928, later
installed in the Place du Vieux
Marché, Rouen.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agulhon, Maurice. "La 'statuemanie' et l'histoire." *Ethnologie française* 8, no. 2-3 (1978): 145-172.
- Alexander, Rajani Elizabeth. "The Camelots du Roi: Youth and Violence on the French Right." Ph.D diss, Notre Dame University, 1983.
- Amat, Roman and R. Limouzin Lamothe, eds. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 10. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1965.
- André Glandy, Anne. *Maxime Réal del Sartre: Sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris: Éditions Plon, 1955.
- Becker, Annette. *Les monuments aux morts: Mémoire de la Grande Guerre*. Paris: Éditions Errance, 1988.
- Burns, Michael. *France and the Dreyfus Affair: A Documentary History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Buthman, William Curt. "The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France." Ph.D diss, Columbia University, 1939.
- Callu, Agnès. "La Jeanne au bûcher de Maxime Réal del Sartre (1927-1928): sculpture et politique." In *Études d'histoire de l'art offertes à Jacques Thirion*, edited by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Jean-Michel Leniaud, 345-357. Paris: École des Chartes, 2001.
- "Camelots du Roi." *Time*, 23 March 1923, 10.
- Chastel, Laurent. *À nos grands hommes—la sculpture française jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale*. CD-ROM. Lille: Le musée d'Orsay et l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2004.
- Cohen, Paul. "Heroes and Dilettantes: The Action Française, Le Sillon and the Generation of 1905-1914." *French Historical Studies* 15, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 673-687.
- Cohen, William. "Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no 2 (July 1989): 491-513.
- Cosson, Armand. *Nîmes et le Gard dans la guerre 1939-1945*. Le Coteau: HORVATH, 1988.

- Coudekerque-Lambrecht. *Léon de Montesquiou: sa vie politique l'Action française*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1925.
- Derfler, Leslie. *The Dreyfus Affair*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Derrieu, Bernard. "Bernard Lazare," *Inventaire général du Ministère de la Culture*, <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/palissy_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_4=AUTR&VALUE_4=BLOCHE%20ROGER>
- Dimier, Louis. *Les maîtres de la contre-révolution au dix-neuvième siècle*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917.
- Dimier, Louis. *Les préjugés ennemis de l'histoire de France*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917.
- Dimier, Louis. *Vingt ans d'Action française et autres souvenirs*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1926.
- Edouard-Joseph, René. *Dictionnaire biographique des artistes contemporains 1910-1939*, vol. 3. Paris: Librairie Grund, 1934.
- Foucart, Jacques. "Louis Dimier et la pratique de l'histoire de l'art d'après sa chronique de L'Action Française." *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 133 (1999): 145-172.
- Foucart, Jacques. "Louis Dimier, admirateur critique du Louvre et des musées. A propos de ses chroniques de L'Action Française." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1996): 249-277.
- Freedberg, David. *Iconoclasts and Their Motives*. Montclair: Abner Schram, 1985.
- Gamboni, Dario. *The Destruction of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Gamboni, Dario. "Images to Destroy, Indestructible Image." In *Iconoclasm*, edited by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, 88-135. Karlsruhe: Center for Art and Media, 2002.
- Girardet, Raoul. *Le nationalisme français, 1871-1914*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1966.
- Hargrove, June. "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic." In *Nationalism in the Visual Arts*, edited by Richard Etlin, 49-64. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991.
- Hargrove, June. *The Statues of Paris*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989.
- Held, Julius. "Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* vol LXII, no 1(Winter 1963): 1-28.

- Joly, Bertrand. *Dictionnaire biographique et géographique du nationalisme français (1880-1900)*. Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1998.
- Lasserre, Pierre. *La doctrine officielle de l'université*. Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1913.
- Maurras, Charles. *La contre révolution spontanée*. Lyon: Lardanchet, 1943.
- Maurras, Charles, *La méditation sur la politique de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Les Éditions de Cadran, 1931.
- McClelland, J.S. "The Reactionary Right: The French Revolution, Charles Maurras and the Action Française." In *The Nature of the Right*, edited by Roger Eatwell and Noel O'Sullivan, 79-98. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990.
- McWilliam, Neil. "Classicism and the Dilemmas of Traditionalism in France 1900-1914." In *Nationalism and French Visual Culture*, edited by June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, 269-292. New Haven: National Gallery of Art, distributed by Yale University Press, 2005.
- McWilliam, Neil. "Commemoration and the Politics of Iconoclasm: The Battle Over 'Les Statues Dreyfusards,' 1908-1910." In *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*, edited by Wessle Reinink and Jaroen Stumpel, 581-586. Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999.
- McWilliam, Neil. "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic." *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 381-418.
- Meurgey de Tupigny, Jacques. *L'Oeuvre de Maxime Réal del Sartre*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1956.
- Moxey, Keith. "Pieter Aersten, Joachim Beuckelaer and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation," Ph.D diss, University of Chicago, 1974.
- "No Regrets." *Time*, 31 December 1923, 11.
- Nolte, Ernst. *The Three Faces of Fascism*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- Nye, Robert. *Crime, Madness and Politics in Modern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- "On an Acquittal." *Time*, 7 January 1924, 9-10.

- Oriol, Philippe. *Bernard Lazare: Anarchiste et nationaliste juif*. Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1999.
- Oriol, Philippe. *Bernard Lazare*. Paris: Editions Stock, 2003.
- Osgood, Samuel. *French Royalism Under the Third and Fourth Republics*. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960.
- Plamenatz, John. "Two Types of Nationalism." In *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, edited by Eugene Kamenka, 22-37. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.
- Poisson, Georges. "Le sort des statues de bronze parisiennes sous l'occupation," *Mémoires de la fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, vol 47 (1996): 165-309.
- Pujo, Maurice. *Les Camelots du Roi*. 2nd ed. Alençon: Les Éditions de Manant, 1989.
- Réau, Louis. *Histoire du vandalisme: Les monuments détruits de l'art français*, 2 vols. Paris: Hachette, 1959.
- Sirinelli, Jean-François. *Génération intellectuelle*. Paris: Fayard, 1988.
- Sirinelli, Jean-François. *Histoire des droites en France*, 3 vols. Paris: Gaillimard, 1992.
- Sutton, Michael. *Nationalism, Positivism, and Catholicism*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Tannenbaum, Edward R. *The Action Française*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962.
- Wilson, Stephen. "A View of the Past: Action Française Historiography and its Socio-Political Functions," *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 1976): 135-161.
- Wilson, Stephen. "The 'Action Française' in French Intellectual Life." In *Contemporary France: Illusion, Conflict and Regeneration*, edited by John C. Cairns, 139-167. New York: New Viewpoints, 1978.

Archival Records Consulted

Les archives du musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France.

BA1341-Action française, 1908.

BA1342-Action française, 1909.

114.476, Orléans, Jean.

Les archives municipales de Suresnes, Suresnes, France.