

Faith and Race: Gougenot des Mousseaux and the Development of Antisemitism in France

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The philosophical and theological question of antisemitism can be found in certain countries whose religions originally claim succession from Judaism.¹ To understand the exact meanings of these related historical, literary, and social phenomena one must carefully examine these complicated interconnections. After various French revolutions one of antisemitism's earlier proponents, Henri-Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux (1805-1876) sounded the alarm in 1869 with the publication of his main book, Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens. He was a scholarly and productive precursor of what would soon become antisemitism for those *écrivains de combat* like Drumont, Barrès, Maurras, Céline, and their followers in France and abroad.

The purpose of this study is the exploration of those various factors that permitted antisemitism to develop according to Gougenot and modern scholars on the subject. The first factor deals with its definitions, the second examines respective banking scandals, the third follows those conflicting features of the French Catholic church and the Second Empire, the fourth reviews the first Vatican council (1869), the fifth compares racist historical theories in France, the sixth outlines Gougenot's principal books, and finally their impact on multiple European political sensibilities.

The first factor to consider is the difficult (or simple) interpretations of antisemitism. There are so many conflicting theories of anti-Jewish hostility that Professor Yves Chevalier cited one scholar from Poland, Bernard Weinryb, who estimated there are about 30 varieties including three that appealed to assimilating Jews.² In his 1990 study Toward a Definition of Antisemitism Gavin Langmuir for example tries to design a three stage sliding scale of antisemitism in order to explain the relative neutrality of some people and the physical animosity of others towards the Jews. According to this scholar Christianity is critically founded on the theological assumption that Judaism must be superceded by what he initially calls "realistic assertions."³ On the second stage "xenophobic assertions" represent annoyance at alleged Jewish crimes. Finally, writes Langmuir, in the third stage "chimerical assertions" are present and manifest negative physical reactions. Langmuir "introduced the neologism 'chimera' (334) to identify the ultimate dangers of the Jewish presence. It "justifies their total elimination from the earth." (352).

According to Langmuir stages one and three are not supposed to be synonymous, but stage one can occasionally lead to stage three and the final physical battle, and this is the reason Gougenot des Mousseaux and confederates are central in understanding the special power of his writings. His 1869 denunciation is more complex after analysis of his stated aims and this text is a palimpsest which could be read on different levels of meanings. Rare

praise for pre-Christian Judaism is classic but the text is punctuated by myriads of denunciations. This unusual phrase: "We profess for the honorable, honest, peaceful Jew a sincere spirit of tolerance..."(xxxv) is overwhelmed by infinitely more condemnations of post-Christian Judaism. This perspective is the traditional Christian response. Gougenot for the most part shared this ancient reaction but the system he preached changed at the beginning of the industrial and political tremors which characterize the inception of what certain historians consider to be the development of the modern world.

To define the term "modern" depends on who is the definer. Gougenot, like certain other contemporary writers, was aghast by what he witnessed as the decline of his civilization and religion. He was similar to what Albert LaValley wrote about Thomas Carlyle who tried "...to demonstrate his central role in the dominant modern tradition, that of the artist as problematic prophet, the seer who is himself a quester into self and society."⁴ The connection between Gougenot, Carlyle and others could also be an antipathy towards Jews. Among these assorted modern enemies Carlyle displayed a deep scorn for Jews as is demonstrated by this passage of Froude: "His dislike for Disraeli was perhaps aggravated by his dislike of Jews. He had a true Teutonic aversion for that unfortunate race."⁵ Froude also observed him examining Rothschild's mansion and imagining himself as King John who historically had pincers forcibly applied to the goldfilled teeth of Jews he thought still owed him money. Gougenot could sympathize with this drastic solution.

France often saw itself as a leader in what was considered the modern way of action. According to Henry Weinberg: "Historians have stressed France's role in the birth of modern racist theories..."⁶ He listed some but not all the various modern theories of race and racism. Although Gougenot could and did use racial arguments, economic, cultural, and religious rhetoric figured largely in his works. What Gougenot, Gobineau, Michelet, Drumont and others had in mind were invasions of France by people of foreign origins that could lead to wars of annihilation. On the other hand he could occasionally claim to be a sincere pro-Semite, a true Jew in accordance with traditional Catholic theology. For this reason Leon Poliakov remarked that the Abbé Grégoire, the great friend and emancipator of Jews during the revolution, thought the Talmud was "almost ...a cesspool"...that ultimately kept them from conversion to Christianity.⁷ Certain but by no means all assimilationist Jews could share parts of this view, which indicates how complicated the definition of anti-Jewish animosity can be. In short for some philo-Semites the line between them and their rivals the antisemites could be thin. This statement is harsh. Ultimately both groups wished the Jews to disappear either spiritually or physically. Christian philo-Semites wanted Jews to vanish by becoming, in their view, Christians. Antisemites, however, simply demanded the Jews to disappear from their society. The bases of Gougenot's philosophy gradually evolved throughout his long career. In themselves these ruminations were traditional anti-Jewish complaints, but he made them more dangerous because of what he claimed to be the Jews' modern social and economic growth. He attributed to them an attack on France's cultural and economic standing.

The second factor to examine in the appeal of antisemitism was the economic theme which involved Jews and their struggle with banking interests. The nineteenth century witnessed the expansion of capitalism, imperialism, and socialism. The Rothschild banking and financing family along with other firms helped themselves and aided projects in several countries. In the words of Paul Johnson: "It was, in its own way, perhaps the key factor in the birth of the modern world because it made so many other developments possible."⁸ In the capitalist financial system, however, banking booms can at times change into banking busts. When Jewish bankers were supposed to be involved gentiles' reactions could follow various routes to assign blame: Socialists blamed the capitalist system, Catholics blamed the Jews, governments blamed anyone but themselves, and the average stock buyers and investors demanded their money back and punishment for the guilty.

Two key examples of Catholic banks collapsing were illustrated by the bankruptcies of large savings and investment firms. Some forms of antisemitism were attributed in both cases. During the Second Empire Napoleon III's regime started with a series of pro-Catholic legislation, but toward the end of its tenure it adopted certain liberal policies that did provoke conflict within conservative French circles. Yves Chevalier writes: "Now with the Second Empire Christianity felt more and more threatened by the rise of secular forces...From then on, in so far as the social and political rise of Jews seemed to be the counterpart of the decline of the Christian state, a more violent antisemitism became the defense of Christian society against all that threatened and made it decline."⁹ This was the period during which Gougenot was at work. In the mid 1860s some conservative Catholics experienced what they called an anti-Catholic banking scandal that would be repeated in the 1880s, and they both followed familiar scenarios. One feature of this present article is to demonstrate how similar economic and cultural clashes in Gougenot's and later Drumont's periods could attain exaggerated proportions.

Jean Lacouture in his study on the Jesuits remarked that in 1850 Victor Hugo gave a impassioned speech in France's parliament in which he claimed the Catholic church sought help "...in the counting houses of the Jews whom it would like to burn at the stake."¹⁰ Hyperbole aside, there was still an element of truth in this outburst. In Gougenot's era André Langrand-Dumonceau, a Catholic financier with church approval, founded a Catholic banking house in order to divert business from Jewish financial concerns and to increase the profits and influence of that church. He mishandled the business, turned to the Jewish bankers for assistance, and after financial collapse, accused them for its demise. Gougenot was still involved with financial matters, and he attended a Catholic congress at Malines, Belgium in 1865. His view like that of his convention colleagues held that fiscal capital must be converted to Catholicism. Langrand-Dumonceau professed the same plan in his ruined fiscal program. Historian Vladimir Dedijer accurately observed: "...the Vatican suffered heavy financial losses when it tried to convert a part of its agrarian-feudal economy into a commercial-capitalist one...The fact that there were some Jews among the capitalists was used by the Vatican in the 1880s as a pretext for reviving anti-Semitism."¹¹ The Vatican

played the same game in 1865 by allowing blame to fall on the Jews when Gougenot and others tried to warn them about their reputed banking habits. Impartial studies cannot find material proof to inculcate the Jews.¹²

Edouard Drumont, France's leading antisemite after Gougenot's death, witnessed a similar scandal that followed the collapse of the Union Générale in 1885, and the Jews again were blamed together by angry church figures, bankrupt investors, and vindictive journalists.¹³ Drumont's journalistic talents exploited this second scandal and established his reputation one year later when he published one of France's major bestsellers La France juive (Jewish France) in 1886. He was largely inspired by much material borrowed from Gougenot's 1869 tract. These two banking scandals seem similar in nature and illustrate Gougenot's ability as well as Drumont's to arouse the public's indignation. Jews were not the only members of this important financial group, but the names Rothschild, d'Eichtal, and Fould (converted to Christianity) gave the public the impression that they controlled France's financial fortunes. According to Theodore Zeldin: "The Jews joined this select circle in the nineteenth century."¹⁴ Many conservative Catholics who disliked modern capitalism and risky banking practices believed they had another reason for mistrusting Jews.

The third factor in Gougenot's career was his long relationship with conservative and influential figures in France's Catholic church and the Vatican's bureaucracy which included Pope Pius IX and his subordinates. What was the historical structure and status of the French Catholic church in mid-nineteenth century France? Adrien Dansette remarks: "Under the Second Empire we hear a veritable orchestra playing an unknown music. And this renewal of history and philosophy is but one aspect of a more general renewal."¹⁵ He was referring to the new philosophies of contemporaries but much of these novel ideas such as socialism, materialism, spiritualism, and various forms of democracy were aimed at the older intellectual establishments, the regime of Napoleon III, and often the Catholic church itself which felt the barbs of younger thinkers and popular anticlericalism and atheism. According to Jean Lacouture: "In France itself, nineteenth-century Catholicism was deeply divided."¹⁶ He identifies various minds such as small groups of supporters for liberal democracy that were greatly outnumbered by old-fashioned Gallicanism and of ultramontane partisans of papal leadership. Gougenot upheld the last group. He believed French Catholic teachings were too narrow in scope and preferred the pope's authoritarian direction which was not supposed to be subjected to modern egalitarian political tendencies.

In general the first half of the nineteenth-century was mainly beneficial to the French Catholic conservative agenda, whereas after the Second Empire's disappearance the political agenda slowly and inexorably began to swing to the left. In Gougenot's lifetime the French Catholic church officially had negative reactions to the development of secular philosophies. After Louis Bonaparte had himself crowned emperor he abandoned his earlier liberal avocations and became somewhat conservative until the last years of his reign. Napoleon III was a bit fickle in his changing political career. Robert Aubert observed: "The Catholic church in France had broadly profited, it has been seen, from its alliance with the imperial

regime."¹⁷ But having tied its political strings to a vascillating leader there should be scant surprise that the church suffered its own reversal of fortune after his losses in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.

After this military and spiritual collapse of France antagonistic national factions sought to assign blame. The political center cited evident military unpreparedness, the left blamed imperialist and religious groups, and the right denounced spiritual blindness. The radical left accused foreign spies, and the religious cited a lapse in cultic devotion to the national heritage. Associated with this last group were some who harbored antisemitic views and from them Gougenot drew early inspiration for his anti-Jewish book of 1869.¹⁸ In this volume Gougenot was able again to draw attention to the supposed link between Jews and the devil.¹⁹ He wrote this book in what was considered to be an erudite and scholarly manner. The occasionally ponderous style did not at first increase his popular appeal. Nor was it meant to. What made him ultimately respected was this book's long list of previous studies he wrote and consulted on subjects like magic, phrenology, and occultism. These were the initial studies he published that received papal and episcopal support which endowed him with the mark of authority.

Gougenot was a Catholic nobleman, traditional Bourbon monarchist, land owner, and scholar who had made an erudite name for himself in some intellectual circles concerning research on the magic arts to be discussed later. Analysis of his career at times vexed different generations of readers. A modern Catholic scholar Pierre Pierrard accused him of antisemitism whereas a non-Catholic researcher Leon Poliakov, for example, expressed some doubt on the radical implications of his calling.²⁰ This personal ideological identity problem between Catholicism and antisemitism may seem confusing but analysis of his 1869 book and his earlier works shows his mind and imagination to be more inventive and confusing than had been previously assumed.

By Langmuir's complex definition of antisemitism Gougenot appeared to be an opponent of Judaism somewhere between stages two and three with an inclination towards the latter. Large parts of Gougenot's works could be valued by those of differing political traditions. Langmuir's structure of antisemitism enabled this writer to present a general negative assessment to be corrected by present and future political and religious leaders. Like other catholic writers it was customary for him to preface several of his volumes with letters of praise and endorsement, in his case, from his papal court protector, Father Ventura, and others that showed prominent church support. This official church approval, stemming from hatred to overbearing paternalism, presents a problem. Problems can have solutions. But dilemmas do not. There were, as has been seen, religious and social activists like the Abbé Grégoire who championed Jewish equality, emancipation, modern education, and ultimately their eventual conversion to Catholicism.²¹ This priest's task was not unlike that of Gougenot with one major difference: the priest was optimistic whereas Gougenot was pessimistic. And in this pessimism Jewish refusals to convert can lead to their annihilation. The abbés Grégoire and Chiarini in Russia did not realize that their conversion

calls could become the death sentence of the Jews. In Lessing's 1779 play, "Nathan the Wise," for instance, to each successive plea for Jewish improvement his Jerusalem Christian patriarch responded that they will have to be burned to death. In short, Jews would either be killed by kindness or exterminated like rats. Gougenot preferred the latter solution as will be observed by examination of his various books. In spite of these early awkward threats many western European Jews felt their future was legally secure at best during the first half of the nineteenth century. These Jews had their own inner identity conflicts, but they hoped their safety would be protected in states where some church reactions were potentially offensive. According to church historian Pierre de la Gorce another viewpoint also was available: "One can only be persuaded that this joyous, opulent society, regulated in such a beautiful manner is undermined by dissolving germs."²² Gougenot would later identify these noxious microbes as Jews bent on destroying Catholicism.

Gougenot's books were based on theology, folklore, politics, and religion. Regarding the perception of certain conservative and reactionary Catholics on their church's relative decline, he was ultimately able to direct this pessimistic view onto the Jews. Not all Catholic leaders, not even the majority perhaps, accepted this radical perception. But it is undeniable that the worst judgment, *la politique du pire*, can be present especially if the country is in a state of political stress. In the words of Robert Byrnes's pioneering inquiry into early French antisemitism it was thought that Jews believed Restoration France, for all its shortcomings, to be their golden moment for advancement: "The Church and feudal landlords lost some of the controls which they had held, and with the rise of the commercial middle class...gave the Jews more freedom and greater opportunity."²³ Nevertheless Phyllis Cohen Albert remarked: "Social integration was even more elusive than legal equality, despite many individual cases of assimilation, largescale social integration of the Jews never occurred; there was a continued current of anti-Jewish sentiment, which engendered periodic outbursts of slander, discrimination, and even violence."²⁴ This would be the emotional climate to be exploited by Gougenot. Some eminent Jews partially helped France and themselves before 1870 to gain prosperity in the areas of banking, financing, journalism, commerce, and industry. The average Jew tried to adjust himself into the lower middle class. This expansion of good fortune induced their rivals to view them as leeches on French society.

For religious and historical reasons Europe's Jews gave the impression of being "the Jew as pariah," which was the title of Hanna Arendt's collected essays on this period. She observed: "The general history of Europe from the French Revolution to the beginnings of World War One, may be described in its most tragic aspect as the slow but steady transformation of the citoyen of the French Revolution into the bourgeois of the pre-war period."²⁵ Gougenot had little sympathy for the citizen and bourgeois classes. He began his career by participating in the regime of Charles X and after his fall in 1830 he denounced the decline of France. Charles was the last "king of France " whereas his royalist successors were considered "kings of the French." The former royal title was the preferable conservative political position of the Catholic church. According to Paul Johnson this last

king of France "...completed the process whereby power was supposed to shift back from the commercial and monied classes to the nobility and gentry."²⁶ Here is another reason why Gougenot supported divine right government because of his family's landholdings. It also guaranteed him a political post in this royalist regime. He early abandoned his political services to Charles X after his disappearance. This monarch was identified as one who "...moved in a dreamlike trance." (968) Gougenot was thought to behave similarly and his books on occultism and magic gave credence to this behaviour.

The fourth factor in Gougenot's development was the effect of the Catholic church's first Vatican council and the Franco-Prussian war. These two events were linked in ways that inspired him to publish and promote his antisemitic book in 1869. At that time most conservative French Catholic thinkers like Bonald, de Maistre, and Veillot, among others, were believers in the pope's universal spiritual authority and its theocratic rule in the Papal states in Italy. Gougenot followed this line of politics. Many French bishops had leaned towards Gallicanism, the nationalist version of French religious authority. The general Catholic public was split on this matter. According to Kenneth Latourette: "...the Catholic cause was handicapped by dissensions among its supporters."²⁷ Only a strong pope, it was asserted, could overcome this particular conflict.

The pope of this period was Pius IX. Whatever one thinks of his reign he was determined to leave a lasting image of an intransigent, reactionary pontiff. He briefly seemed liberal in the 1848 Italian convulsions but he quickly turned to conservative principles. In 1864 he proclaimed a devastating denunciation of modern spiritual and political trends called the *Syllabus Errorum* condemning almost all progressive theories and practices. To solidify his position he summoned the church hierarchy to gather in Rome in 1869 for the council. There was little doubt about his hostile attitude towards the Jews. In 1858, for example, he was the leading defender of the church's kidnapping of the Jewish Mortara children and their forced conversion to Catholicism. Most of the western world denounced this scandal. Gougenot approved of the pope's decision.²⁸

What Gougenot did not approve was the fall of the papal states in Italy caused by the withdrawal of the French army which kept Pius IX on his secular throne. This political issue became prominent among many French political groups during the 1850s and 1860s. Napoleon III was tricked by Bismarck to declare war on the Germans on 15 July 1870, and the dogma of papal infallibility was proclaimed on 18 July. With France's military defeat the pope became the prisoner in the Vatican, and Gougenot was convinced that his land was the victim of diabolical forces.²⁹

The fifth factor affecting Gougenot's world view was the theme of race. His professional research concerning the impact of occultism on ancient and modern religions could not avoid contemporary investigations on this theme. Much of this train of thought was dominated by theology and anthropology, and regarding the latter the questions of racial and racist distinctions were introduced. One has only to consider what happened to the thought of Charles Darwin which in the hands of others was transformed into social

Darwinism and served as a rationalization for European imperialism. What constitutes race and racism depends on the aims of the research under investigation. In France, for example, one outstanding instance of explaining the 1789 revolution was postulated by the historian Henri Martin, a Celtomaniac, who was convinced that his fatherland finally liberated itself from foreign overlords. He was certain that the real France was populated mainly by Celts who defeated their Germanic masters. The fact that Marie- Antoinette was Austrian and widely despised should not be exaggerated. Other historians like Michelet and Toussenel were convinced France was the victim of alien intriguers like Rothschild and his Jewish minions. Brian Juden states that Gougenot de (sic) Mousseaux was a "...fervent apostle of Celtic matters..."and admirer of Adolphe Pictet, a writer on the mystical and racial aspects of religions.³⁰

On certain occasions Gougenot tried to enlist some current anthropological and racist theories to bolster his anti-Jewish claims. According to Poliakov he relied on the speculations of his friend, Dr. Jean Boudin, the anthropologist, advocate of medical statistics, and former president of the Anthropological Society in France who affirmed the Jews' physical hardiness.³¹ Gougenot, observes Poliakov, also shared this physiological theme: "...a strange physical superiority..." (393) which supposed to be one of the sources of their strength. In his 1869 book he thanked Boudin for stating that "Jews stink like bugs." (229n2) These are the anthropological points where Gougenot's thinking seems to diverge from traditional Catholic theology and to approach the notion of racism. In the mid-nineteenth century this physical and moral divisiveness grew steadily more popular to the point that many believers found it difficult to ignore or to denounce.

Some of these racist distinctions recall parts of the anti-Jewish value scale made by Langmuir. In Catholic France those who were conservative had two choices before them: conversion of non-Catholics for salvation or non-conversion of those who would be viewed as obstacles to the nation's religious and ethnic heritage. The latter view was extreme and condemned by the Catholic church. David Borg writes on Germany: "The cast of their theology discouraged orthodox conservative churchmen from subscribing to the racist folkish nationalism, though they were tempted."³² In France the temptation also existed but to a somewhat lesser degree. Because of the strong bureaucratic structure of Catholicism there was less chance of its radical right-wing political factions from enacting such an extreme official policy. Gougenot like many others was obliged to submit to this non-racist requirement, but not completely.

There was one historical point in Catholicism that would violate this official non-racist policy. On the question of banning Jewish converts from entering the Society of Jesus the church was equivocal. They could join other religious orders but not the Jesuits. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond Jean Lacouture blames "...the Inquisition which turned Spanish social life into a permanent open season on false converts and into a never-ending kangaroo court in a climate of pervasive suspicion."³³ This reign of persecution extended in particular to converted Jews who did enter the Jesuit order at the highpoint of

its initial activities. Contrary to the wishes of its founder Loyola subsequent Jesuit leaders and the church's hierarchy hounded those converted Jews from one end to the other of the Catholic world. In 1547 the Archbishop of Toledo, Martinez Siliceo, proclaimed a law on the purity which contained these anti-Jewish propositions: "differentiation, isolation, and elimination." This statute somewhat resembles the three-pronged anti-Jewish description whose third category "chimera" was denounced by Langmuir. This modern scholar claims the Catholic church had no right to persecute racially Jewish converts, but the Spanish example provides historical evidence to the contrary.³⁴ If the Spanish church ignored Catholic tradition, one could expect no less from Gougenot des Mousseaux.

In France in the nineteenth century not all converted Jews were harrassed. The few that did change religions and took holy orders occasionally created controversy throughout that land. The church expected them to work to bring fellow Jews into the Catholic fold. Because of these incidents Gougenot's thoughts on what would become the Jewish question undoubtedly began long before he published in book in 1869. On that topic he did experience a sea change by his association and friendship with the former rabbi David Drach who upon conversion changed his name to Paul. They met and became friends early in their lives after Drach made a spectacular change to Catholicism in 1823 and sued his wife for hiding their children from his ultimately successful conversion attempts. The former rabbi became a scholar in residence at the church's Inquisition headquarters in Rome. Drach's bitterness toward Judaism must have compelled Gougenot to contemplate the former rabbi's divine imprecations. According to Paul Catrice: "Indeed, after reading "The Jew" one clearly notices that Drach is one of the main sources of Gougenot."³⁵

Even before Gougenot's death in 1876 antisemites rarely hesitated to borrow directly from the Catholic convert polemicist. In this elevated and erudite atmosphere Drach taught Gougenot that special rabbis could discern and dissimulate occult Talmudic references to the divinity of Christ. These anti-Christian doctrines were supposedly mentioned in secret to certain elect rabbis, so it was argued. The Jewish masses were not expected to know this clandestine blasphemy, which accounts for it not being mentioned in Jewish scripture and commentary. Unassimilated Jews were standoffish toward gentiles and their own acculturated kin, but this is not racism. What can be called racism was that of extremist Christians and pagans who used it as one of their favorite anti-Jewish arguments. Some French gentiles believed the French army was weakened in 1870 by the musical satire of Jacques Offenbach, the Jew born in Germany. It was the opinion of Michael Marrus that "...the Jewish community was caught unawares by the anti-Semitic crisis with its 'violent denunciations of Jewish 'foreigners.'"³⁶ This was the development of the biological racism that flourished in the twentieth century. In Gougenot's mind faith and race were not in great conflict. Church doctrine prohibited this connection but in practice this issue was occasionally cloudy not only for church factions but even more so for the popular imagination. In their minds there was no distance at all between the death of Christ and the

death of Louis XVI. It was believed, they argued, that these crimes were committed by the same racial group.

The sixth factor of influence on Gougenot's work was his acclaimed publishing record on occultism, magic, and devil worship. Those who read and approved his philosophy thought him a leading Catholic authority on diabolism. One need not be a Catholic to be intrigued by the notion of the devil. On this subject of the diabolical presence he wrote on personal encounters, popular perceptions, church teachings, and occult manifestations. All four perspectives eventually contributed to his developing anti-Jewish orientations. He was initially convinced of Jewish devilry in his close discussions with his friend Drach. He also claimed he was the assault victim of a physical encounter with a demon in his city of Coulommiers where he was the local president of the Saint Vincent de Paul society. This dramatic clash of faith and foulness with a creature of a different species can be variously explained: first to deny the author's account; second to accept this account; third to consider the chance of hallucination; fourth to contemplate the possibility of a devilishly disguised bandit to rob Gougenot. This last choice was the preferred explanation of G. Margain, the former assistant mayor of Coulommiers, in his letter to me: "Gougenot..having triumphed over the Devil or a bandit who dressed like one..."³⁷ In any event a small existing chapel, Notre-Dame des Vignes, was built on the attack site, modest pilgrimages were organized, and they continued well into the twentieth century.

On a broader level Gougenot must have felt like the popular preacher, the curé d'Ars, Father Vianney, who also suffered physical attacks from the devil.³⁸ The devil's popular manifestations were still accepted among segments of the peasantry and the devout middle class. Gougenot could not tolerate the growing power of the secular bourgeoisie and Jews who were supposed to acquire authority once held almost exclusively by landowners like himself. In the words of Shulamit Volkov: " While changes in the Jewish community and Judaism itself paralleled those taking place in the wider society they present us with a particularly extreme case."³⁹ Despite the fact that most French Jews lived modestly and some in poverty Gougenot chose the path of extremism by declaring Jews to be the servants of Rothschild in all matters. His status in the declining landowning class and theological bias encouraged him to take this route. These untrue charges had nothing to do with occultism except in the minds of those whose spiritual and material holdings were threatened with decline. Many of Gougenot's beliefs on Jews, the devil, and magic were reflected in his various books and based mainly though not exclusively on church doctrine. What is curious about his intellectual development is the observation that his early volume *Des Proletaires* (1846) on the working class appeared to be progressive by Catholic standards. It was also partly influenced by Alphonse Toussenel whose work, *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque* (1844) contained anti-Jewish and anti-capitalist propaganda.⁴⁰

In the second phase of his scholarly career Gougenot wrote a series of books that would establish his expertise as a scholarly Catholic investigator in the field of religions. In 1854 he published *Dieu et les dieux* and then began to compose other volumes emphasizing

those occult subjects which he among others and the Catholic church sought to condemn. Occultism, magic, and demonism were domains of intense public concern. Some conservative and reactionary Catholics like Bonald and Veillot perceived what they saw as their church's relative decline and blamed progressive groups such as secularists, atheists, socialists to which they added the Jews. They were convinced that modern liberal Jews sought total assimilation to what D.G. Charlton termed "secular religions."⁴¹ This radical vision somewhat modified would become the policy of some leftwing parties after the war of 1870 in their attempt to displace Catholicism and remove it from public education, marriage, and the question of divorce. In reality most French Jews were trying to remain Jews of sorts and more importantly to adjust or assimilate themselves with no desire to become a dominating class to destroy Catholic beliefs.⁴²

During the decade 1854-1864 Gougenot wrote four books mainly on magic and conspiracies, and he developed the arguments which he ultimately used to condemn Jews. In 1854 his volume *Moeurs et pratiques des démons* emphasized this subversive theme. The great divide between conservative Catholics and non-Catholic spokespersons, according to Gougenot, was wide and unbridgeable. For Max Milner, one of the major scholars on demonism, "the devil's greatest force is to succeed in making himself denied."⁴³ This apparent downplaying was recognized by Gougenot although it was differently interpreted: he saw this disappearing act as a challenge to deceive the public regarding a Jewish presence behind the forces of secularism and occultism. One might think these two forms of anti-Catholicism could not coexist together. Gougenot thought otherwise and he trained his attacks against the Freemasons.

The group that Gougenot denounced was the Freemason movement, and the fact that certain branches used Hebrew in rituals was proof enough for him of its Jewish antecedents. (The same could be said of the Catholic mass) One item he deemphasized was the case of Jews earlier being barred from membership of some of these lodges. A greater contemporary matter that he stressed was the high positions occupied by Rothschild and Cremieux in the masonic and Jewish hierarchies.⁴⁴ According to Jacob Katz: "...De (sic) Mousseaux maintained that Freemasonry was tied up with Jewish cabalistic teachings. Such an assertion was not altogether groundless--but he inflated the influence of these teachings on the Masonic movement out of all proportion."⁴⁵ It is interesting to note in passing that the mystical Theosophist movement often criticized Gougenot. Its leader Madame Blavatsky frequently referred to him in her major works and accused him of plagiarism. She in turn was accused of the same dubious practice.⁴⁶ Freemasonry was the great divisive point. By the logic of the Catholic church French freemasons formally rejected the idea of God, and Gougenot hastened to what he called the next theorem that this anticlerical force was dominated by Jews.⁴⁷

In the 1864 revised edition of *La Magie au dix-neuvième siècle* Gougenot cited Deuteronomy xviii:5 and repeated God's promise "to exterminate all these peoples..." His interpretation was directed at all Jews. Once Catholicism returned to full power, asserted

Gougenot, this solution would in times of need be applied against the Jews themselves because they caused the death of Christ and their eyes "...have a privilege against the miracle." (36) These sinful eyes would eternally curse the Jews until they converted and rejected carnal temptations. Gougenot invoked in *Les Hauts phénomènes de la magie* in 1864 a sexual interpretation of spiritual and material aberrations. Almost one half of this volume was devoted to erotic problems, particularly the consequences of the incubus-succubus positions of sexual intercourse. In Gougenot's later views the Jews are supposed to be dominant when they assume the upper position. These opinions of Gougenot on Jews as sexual fiends were not his alone. In 1894, the year of Dreyfus' arrest the novel *Trilby*, for example, was published by George du Maurier. Trilby the heroine was seduced by Svengali, the Jew from Paris whom she described: "He seemed to her a dread, powerful demon, who...oppressed and weighed on her like an incubus."⁴⁸

With such inflammatory material Gougenot would reinforce the charge that Jews were spiritual as well as carnal defilers of Catholics. By wading through this chaotic cloaca of invective the only image emerging is the persecution by demons as sexual predators often in the form of were-wolves. On this point, wrote Gougenot, the demon intends to transmit altered sperm to a woman in order "...to create a race of mongrels." (395) These demonic "germs" became the devil's playground for ruining the human race.

In 1864 when Gougenot published these speculations Louis Pasteur was scientifically experimenting to prove the physical existence of various germs capable of bettering or befouling humanity.⁴⁹ Gougenot believed he was then doing the same experiment for mankind's spiritual salvation by first attributing satanic traits to germs and later in 1869 by uniting Satan and the Jews. In his view and as a last resort preserving the faith required destroying the noxious germs. During this same period Gougenot mentioned in passing the question of interracial crossmating in the case of humans and demons. As was mentioned in the fifth part of this article these ruminations are the closest to Nazi biological race theories and their genocidal implications. It must be remembered that Hitler's exterminating policies were first put into practice for eugenical reasons against the mentally and physically afflicted. The Catholic church vigorously protested and the project was suspended. When it came time for exterminating Jews this church and others lacked the same will to protest this holocaust. In his time Gougenot was not remiss in invoking what many thought were scientific and anthropological research claiming to prove these racist theories. It must not be forgotten that during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century many anthropologists like Boudin could be labeled racist by their colleagues following the Second World War. From one extreme to the other.⁵⁰

During the late 1860s Gougenot's research and writing were indirectly and directly oriented toward the double dangers he claimed were posed by the Jews. He must have been indirectly influenced by two related events, the Vatican council and the fall of France.⁵¹ Papal infallibility and war against Prussia were both proclaimed a few days apart. The French army in Rome, the pope's protector, returned home to be beaten on the field of

battle. According to Robert Byrnes, "The Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the resounding French defeat in that war, and the disappearance of the Second Empire were in many ways the turning points of all modern European history."⁵² Gougenot claimed to be as fearful as the rest of his land's inhabitants and to find a cause for this national and religious humiliation. French nationalists wanted the missing provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, returned and devout Catholics began to build the Sacré Coeur basilica in Paris in expiation for their sins. Gougenot did not forget and his timely book blamed Jews for various misfortunes affecting France. Throughout much of his life Gougenot was directly influenced by his friend Drach who furnished him with what he claimed to be theological and anthropological reasons to inculcate his former believers. This combination of major events and the devout friendship of Drach pushed forward to express in writing his radical views on the nature of France's decline in politics and religion.

After the 1870 war the German economy was overheated and eventually suffered a stock market collapse in 1873. Bankers and Jews were blamed, and traditional Jew hatred assumed political form culminating with the birth of the term "antisemitism."⁵³ In France similar reactions formed as a result of the Union Générale bank scandal, and the Boulanger and the Panama canal collapses.⁵⁴ Out of the three central disasters hate groups crystallized from preexisting negative attitudes toward Jews, and it was Gougenot who led the way through his prophetic writings.

In 1869 Gougenot finally published his book against the Jews. This event was the seventh factor that solidified his long-established and scholarly career as an expert on mythology, religions, occultism, and now antisemitism. The book is long and dense but never flags in its main intent. According to historian Pierre de la Gorce the fate of the church was similar to that of France in the period of what has been labeled decadent: "...one can only be persuaded that this joyous, opulent society, regulated in such a beautiful manner is undermined by dissolving germs."⁵⁵ For Gougenot that was the main point of Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens. Its insidiously poetic title suggests a variation of a problem that upset many French Catholics who believed their country despite a sporadic beneficial truce between church and state was being slowly "dechristianized." Gougenot goes one step further and claims that France is being "Judaised."⁵⁶ In the introductory comments called the "causerie" Gougenot outlined the general features of his conversionary campaign: "Regarding that person whose beliefs and customs are one of the curses of civilization if we have to make his soul bleed, our necessary violences will be the ones that humanity commands the surgeon who, in the unique interest of curing evil, bears the hot instrument onto live flesh--Society will thank us, even pardon us." (xxxv-vi)⁵⁷ Catholics must convert Jews but failing this approach stronger physical measures could be taken.

What is also revealing on this same page of the "causerie" are frequent references to Maxime du Camp, the writer, sometime friend of Gustave Flaubert, and an antisemite. It should dispel any doubts one may harbor about the genocidal impulse of Gougenot's

philosophy. This incident mentioned here is not trivial and deserves comments. The main point in question here was an article by du Camp "Le Clan du vol à Paris" (The Clan of Theft in Paris) which appeared in the 1 June 1869 edition of La Revue des Deux-Mondes claiming to reveal the reputed machinations of a group of Jewish jewel thieves. It infuriated various Jewish groups. Gougenot referred to this occasion of theft as "...of the highest interest." (xxxvii) The idea of the incident in question is not impossible, but what counts here is the aftermath of this bias in the mind of du Camp. In 1869 Gougenot could not have known that this particular author's anti-Judaism would blossom into intransigent, violent antisemitism. Such proof about du Camp can be found in the memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst which claimed he "...believes that the Jews are striving after universal domination..." Du Camp reportedly advised that "Jews like Rothschild be executed and his wealth confiscated."⁵⁸ What was posthumously and historically certified about du Camp's thought resulted in his being an accurate prophet like Gougenot.

In the late 1860s Gougenot the writer was astute enough to observe, collect and pit rival Jewish claims against one another to create the appearance of Catholic unity and supremacy. Large sections of his 1869 book were comprised of conflicting views of belligerent Jewish factions as reflected in the two contending journals, the liberal Archives Israélites and the conservative Univers Israélite. Here Gougenot's approach to this opposition was theologically and politically based with just enough printed material to make Jewish disunity plausible and dangerous to itself and to all those who came into contact with it. This volume is filled with invective and a fatal sense of prophecy for the future. His observations, for example, on the 1848 uprisings in the German states contain these forboding threats: "They (the Jews) will have a frightful day for Germany...probably entailed by a frightening following day for them." (372).⁵⁹ Such accusations would come true just after the First World War, and Gougenot would have his part in that chain of circumstances that led to the genocide of the Jews.

Gougenot did not stand alone in his denunciations. Before his writing career conservative Catholics already complained about the dechristianization of traditional society. He went one step further and accused Jews of trying to Judaize or Jewify that same social structure. Almost all progressive Western thinkers had trouble accepting Christ as a historical Jew. In her study of the Jewish philosopher Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) Susannah Heschel remarks that "His scholarship was not an effort to Christianize Judaism; it was an effort to Judaize Christianity. It is not surprising that Christian reactions were marked by outrage."⁶⁰ On a more radical note Richard Wagner, according to Theodore Ziolkowski, "...had concluded that true Christianity...was corrupted by the legalism of 'Judification' (Verjudung)."⁶¹ It must be remembered that Christians thought Jews, short of conversion, were hopelessly lost whereas Jews rarely thought about Christ at all regarding their religion.

After using the superstitious, intellectual, and divine justifications for Jewish sufferings Gougenot profitably turned to the contemporary political situation. Romania, for

instance, was supposed to be a sister Latin civilization for many French subjects despite the fact that its religion was Eastern Orthodox and anti-Catholic. His reference to Romania was designed to be a warning to France about what can happen because of the arrival of Jews. They fled Russian persecution in the first half of the last century only to rediscover physical retribution in Romania. What Gougenot did was to achieve a clever union of official church and state anti-Jewish animosity with more assertive forms of Judeophobia which could easily be connected to the extreme forms of antisemitism. In the realm of politics, Suzanne Heschel writes, this was "the danger of ambiguity." (82-92). To illustrate this point Edouard Drumont, France's leading antisemite, later felt urged to publish this news item: "The Holy Father, while condemning violent means, upholds the antisemitic movement as long as it is carried out in a legal fashion, as in Germany for example."⁶² This reaction remained in force well into the twentieth century on the part of many churches which deplored physical retribution but failed to vigorously condemn antisemitism. Gougenot echoed the more radical solution with these words: "On all sides Germany rises up against the Jews, tracks, hunts, and pursues them with death cries."⁶³ (434)

Gougenot's treatise against the Jews first underwent a modest reception with the public. Social Judeophobia was present but the proper historical setting was then somewhat subdued at the moment of its publication. It was a book slightly ahead of its time, and its author did not provoke the high degree of antisemitism that he desired. On the negative side it appeared just before France and Germany went to war and France lost. For many readers his denunciations were valid. Gougenot used the same excuse Drumont later employed about his own book to the effect that rich Jews bought all available copies and destroyed them. On the other hand Gougenot had a talent for exploiting internal Jewish dissent, and he often wrote incendiary prose that could not fail to appeal to those who expected the worst details to be exposed by an author whose reputation was established as an expert on magic, occultism, and demonism.

How much of an influence did the French Catholic church play in the formation of Gougenot's spiritual development? From his bibliographies, encouragements, and references it played a major role. It should also be noted that he did not fail to accept negative anti-Jewish information when it was needed from non-Catholics, anticlericals, and atheists. It would also be worthwhile, briefly, to compare his general career with that of Eudes de Mirville, author of *Des Esprits et de leurs manifestations fluidiques*, a treatise on demonology and occultism and often mentioned by name with his own studies of the same subjects.⁶⁴ Mirville refrained from attacking Jews at length in this work. In short, Catholic theology and philosophy both formed their world views. But why did Gougenot turn to what would soon be labeled antisemitic whereas Mirville did not? What was missing was what Langmuir termed the external critical mass of virulent anti-Jewish sentiment, the transition point from "xenophobic" to "chimerical assertions." More importantly, Mirville did not have as a friend the convert Drach who kept Gougenot informed about alleged occult Jewish forces bent on destroying their religious views on society.

The nascent conditions for French political antisemitism existed one generation before the Dreyfus affair in 1894. Most French Jews were reluctant to see this increasing threat. To this social imperception Paula Hyman comments: "Could such Jews ever transform themselves into useful French citizens?"⁶⁵ Many French Jews thought they had made the transition, but many more French gentiles had doubts about their presence and negative reputation. From the Damascus and Mortara affairs (1840, 1858) till Gougenot's time their existence was sporadically questioned. Gougenot did experience the Langrand-Dumonceau bank collapse in 1865, but it did not have the greater impact of the Union Générale crash of 1885.⁶⁶ The Third Republic in 1889 almost collapsed to the partisans of General Boulanger some of whose followers were antisemites, and the Panama Canal scandal was exploited by the radical right and some of the left in their wars against what they believed to be Jewish plots.

Gougenot's influence was widespread. Drumont attacked Jews through his books and newspaper, and he helped activate the explosion of the Dreyfus affair.⁶⁷ He borrowed from Gougenot on the theme of Jewish treachery as did the anonymous authors of the popular Protocols of the Elders of Zion. In the words of its historian Norman Cohn it drew "...on the writings of Des Mousseaux and Drumont."⁶⁸ Finally of all the foreign language antisemitic books he could have translated, Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi party ideologist and Hitler's friend, selected Gougenot's and emphasized the most lurid passages to produce a volume somewhat more slanderous than the original version.⁶⁹

At the middle of the nineteenth and at the end of the twentieth centuries modern France faced various moments of progress and regression. They both would often be expressed in terms of economic, social, and religious language occasionally charged with hysteria. According to Pierre Birnbaum: "...as in the era of Drumont, Toussenel or even Gougenot des Mousseaux, it is the haunting theme...which reappears, the domination of the state relying in this perspective on the control of gold and capital."⁷⁰ This author literally discerns Gougenot's words when he refers to modern right-wing complaints about the "Judaization of French society." From this revolutionary viewpoint such opinions in certain circles seem not to have changed that much in France or elsewhere. The main war cry goes back to Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux whose place in French history deserves to be remembered.

Notes

¹ The books and bibliographies on anti-Semitism are extensive and expanding. For widely divergent viewpoints see various studies on this subject.

² Yves Chevalier, L'antisemitisme: le Juif comme bouc émissaire (Paris: Cerf, 1988) 15; Bernard Weinryb, "L'antisemitisme en Russie soviétique," Les Juifs en Union soviétique depuis 1917, Lionel Kochan, ed. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d.), 387-431.

³ Gavin Langmuir, Toward a Definition of Antisemitism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 334.

⁴ Albert LaValley, Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

⁵ James Anthony Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), vol. 2, 384. On Carlyle's connection with Germany's right wing politics see also Herbert Grierson, Carlyle and Hitler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).

⁶ Henny Weinberg, The Myth of the Jew in France...1967-1982 (New York: Mosaic Press, 1987), 111.

⁷ Tony Judt writes on this problem: "Like the Abbé Grégoire and his many successors, they are happy to promise equality for all, but at the price of a denial of individual or communitarian identity." Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944-1956 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 312.

⁸ Paul Johnson, The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830 (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 851.

⁹ Chevalier, 287.

¹⁰ Jean Lacouture, Jesuits: A Multibiography (Washington, D.C. Counterpoint, 1995), 371.

¹¹ Vladimir Dedijer, The Road to Sarajevo (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966). See also G. Jacquemyns, Langrand-Dumonceau, promotion d'une puissance financière catholique 5 vols. (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1960).

¹² See Alain Plessis, La Banque de France et ses deux cents actionnaires sous le second empire (Geneva: Droz, 1982).

¹³ See Jean Bouvier, Le Krach de l'union générale: 1878-1885 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960).

¹⁴ Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973) vol. 1, 77-78.

¹⁵ Adrien Dansette, Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine (Paris: Flammarion, 1965), my translation 329.

¹⁶ Lacouture, Jesuits, 375.

- ¹⁷ Roger Aubert, Nouvelle histoire de l'église (Paris: Seuil, 1975) vol. 5, 80.
- ¹⁸ These internal Catholic conflicts are carefully examined by René Rémond, "Recherche d'une méthode d'analyse historique de la Déchristianisation depuis la moitié du XIX^e siècle," Colloque d'Histoire Religieuse (Lyon: Octobre, 1963), 123–154.
- ¹⁹ See Rivkah Sharf Kluger, Satan in the Old Testament, trans. Hildegard Nagel, (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1967 and Joshua Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).
- ²⁰ According to the Catholic historian Pierre Pierrard, "The second empire (1852–1870) undoubtedly was the golden age of 'assimilated Jews,'" "Autour du Chevalier Gougenot des Mousseaux." Rencontres (1972, tome 6, no. 29), 272–75. For another opinion see Léon Poliakov, The History of Anti-Semitism, Miriam Kochan, trans., (New York: Vanguard Press, 1975) vol. 3, 336.
- ²¹ See Ruth Necheles, The Abbé Grégoire: 1787–1831 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1971).
- ²² Pierre de la Gorce, Histoire du second empire (Paris: Plon, 1900), vol. 5, 373.
- ²³ Robert Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1950) vol. 1, 75.
- ²⁴ Phyllis Cohen Albert, The Modernization of French Jewry (Hanover, NH, University Press of New England, 1977) xii.
- ²⁵ Hannah Arendt, The Jew as Pariah (New York: Grove Press, 1978). For the anti-Jewish views of Marx and Proudhon see Poliakov, The History of Anti-Semitism, vol. 3, 421. In his notebooks Proudhon strikes this prophetic note: "The Jew is the enemy of mankind. That race must be sent back to Asia or be exterminated." Carnets de P-J Proudhon (Paris: 1960), vol. 2, 337.
- ²⁶ Johnson, The Birth of the Modern, xvii.
- ²⁷ Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Roman Catholic Phase (New York: Harper, 1956), 409.
- ²⁸ See David Kertzer, The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara (New York: Knopf, 1997) and Jean-Marie Mayeur ed. L'Histoire religieuse de la France 19^e–20^e siècle (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975).
- ²⁹ See Rupert Christiansen, Paris Babylon: The Story of the Paris Commune and Alistaire Horne, The Fall of Paris (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965).
- ³⁰ Brian Juden, Traditions orphiques et tendances mystiques dans le romantisme français: 1800–1855 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), my translation, 526n2.
- ³¹ Léon Poliakov, The Aryan Myth trans. Edmund Howard (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 280.

³² Daniel Borg, the Old-Prussian Church and the Weimar Republic (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1984), 177.

³³ Lacouture, Jesuits, 163.

³⁴ For a view on modern racial research see Eric Hobsbawm, the Marxist historian, The Age of Extremes (New York: Pantheon, 1994), 553.

³⁵ Paul Catrice, L'Harmonie entre l'église et le judaïsme (Lille: Thèse de doctorat en théologie, 1978), 566.

³⁶ Michael Marrus, The Politics of Assimilation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 45.

³⁷ Letter to me 25 June 1985, personal correspondence, trans. Frederick Busi.

³⁸ See Marc Jouin, La Vie du curé d'Ars (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1986).

³⁹ Shalomit Volkov, "The 'Verbürgerlichung' of the Jews as a Paradigm," Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe, Jurgen Kocka and Allen Mitchell, eds., (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 379.

⁴⁰ Peter McPhee, A Social History of France 1780–1880.

⁴¹ D. G. Charlton, Secular Religions in France: 1815–1870 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1–12.

⁴² See Philippe Bourdrel, Histoire des Juifs de France (Paris: Albin-Michel, 1974).

⁴³ Max Milner, Le Diable dans la littérature française (Paris: Corti, 1960), my translation, vol. 2 441n. See Joseph Bizouard, Des Rapports de l'homme avec le démon, 6 vols. (Paris: Gaume, 1864).

⁴⁴ See Pierre Chevallier, Histoire de la francmaçonnerie française 3 vols. (Paris: Fayard, 1975).

⁴⁵ Jacob Katz, Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723–1939 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 45.

⁴⁶ See Sylvia Cranston, HPB: The Extraordinary Life and Influence of Helena Blavatsky, Founder of the Modern Theosophical Movement (New York: Putnam's, 1993).

⁴⁷ On the reputed Jewish-Freemason link see C.C. de Saint-André, Francs-maçons et juifs: sixième âge de l'église d'après l'apocalypse (Paris: Société générale de librairie catholique, 1880), 134, 508, 511.

⁴⁸ George du Maurier, Trilby (New York: Harper, 1895), 136–37. Du Maurier drew his own impression of Svengali in this incarnation as a monstrous spider seated in the center of his web.

⁴⁹ For the influence of Pasteur on modern life see Patrick Debré, Elborg Foster, trans. Louis Pasteur, (Baltimore, MD; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). For the Jewish use of

incubus and succubus considerations see Joshua Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study of Folk Religion (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 51–54.

⁵⁰ See Poliakov, The Aryan Myth. For more than one century it was not uncommon among certain German Christian churches and neo-pagan groups to convince their flocks that Christ was no Jew but a gentile Aryan. See Doris Bergen, The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) and Richard Noll, The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung (New York: Random House, 1997).

⁵¹ See A. Campenhausen, L'église et l'état en France (Paris: Editions de l'Epi, 1964).

⁵² Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, 21.

⁵³ See Moshe Zimmerman, Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Antisemitism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁵⁴ See Michael Burns, Rural Society and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁵⁵ De la Gorce, Histoire du second empire vol. 5, 373. According to historian Stephen Eric Bronner one of the main sources of the infamous forgery The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion stems from "...what would become modern classics of antisemitism: The Jew, Judaism, and the Jewification of the Christian People (sic) (1869) by Gougenot des Mousseaux..." A rumor about the Jews (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 81.

⁵⁶ See Maurice Olender, The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁵⁷ On the question of murdering Jews for the good of all concerned see Daniel Jonah Goldhagen Hitler's Willing Executioners (New York: Vintage, 1997).

⁵⁸ Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst, Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst (New York: Macmillan, 1906), vol. 2, 364.

⁵⁹ See Richard Weisberg, Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

⁶⁰ Susannah Heschel, Abraham Geiser and the Jewish Jesus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 3.

⁶¹ Theodore Ziolkowski, "Wagner's Parsifal between Mystery and Mummery; or, Race, Class, and Gender in Bayreuth," Werner Sollers, ed. The Return of Thematic Criticism (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 277.

⁶² Quoted and published by Drumont in La Libre Parole, 11 August 1892. The words, he claimed, were taken from The London Daily Chronicle. See Frederick Busi, The Pope of Antisemitism: The Career and Legacy of Edouard-Adolphe Drumont (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 115. See also Guenter Lewy this response was the same of most German Catholic bishops in Hitler's time. The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 275.

⁶³ Among the many publications on the Holocaust see Michael Meyer, ed. German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Renewal and Destruction: 1918–1945 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), vol. 4.

⁶⁴ Eudes de Mirville, Des Esprits et de leurs manifestations fluidiques, 6 vols. (Paris: Vrayet de Surcy, 1853).

⁶⁵ Paula Hyman, “The French Jewish Community from Emancipation to the Dreyfus Affair,” The Dreyfus Affair, Norman Kleeblatt, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 25.

⁶⁶ On coverage of these scandals in the Catholic Press see Jacqueline and Philippe Godfrin, Une Centrale de presse catholique: la Maison de la Bonne Presse et ses publications, (1965 n.p.)

⁶⁷ See Frederick Busi, “A Bibliographical Overview of the Dreyfus Affair,” Jewish Social Studies, vol. XL, no. 1 (Winter 1978), 25–40.

⁶⁸ Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish Worldwide Conspiracy and the Protocols of Zion (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 57.

⁶⁹ See Robert Cecil, The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Germany (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972).

⁷⁰ Pierre Birnbaum, La France aux Français (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 113. For other studies that mention Gougenot des Mousseaux see David Kertzer, The Popes against the Jews (New York: Knopf, 2001), 128, 174, 310, 335, and Roggero Taradel and Barbara Raggi, La segregazione amichevole: “La Civiltà Cattolica” e la questione ebraica 1850–1945, (Rome: Einaudi, 2000).