Sennep: Vichy through the Medium of Political Cartoons

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Thesis Summary:

Following the fall of France in June 1940 and the creation of the Vichy regime, the government began to install its own order. One of the key underpinnings of this new regime was the control of information, which occurred primarily through the written press. Despite this strict control, Delporte (1993) argues that there is one cartoonist under Vichy, Sennep in *Candide*, who produces weekly cartoons which criticise the ideology of the Vichy regime and Vichy society. However, it is not clear how this criticism manifests and how it develops over the period of the Occupation.

This thesis sets out to analyse the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944 in order to answer this question. Before this, the thesis develops a semiotic methodology to examine the cartoons produced by the artist before the war to build up a lexicon of graphic techniques and visual codes. The thesis identifies the principal themes in Sennep's cartoons diachronically and traces the development of the key themes including the Third Republic, parliamentarianism and rationing. Whilst some criticism of the Vichy regime and the Occupier was discovered in the cartoons produced by the artist, the thesis did not identify the level of criticism suggested by Delporte. Rather, this thesis suggests that the artist's recontextualisation of his work after the Liberation contributed to this image of criticism and dissent.

Key words and phrases:

Vichy, political cartooning, semiotics, collaboration, dissent

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The influence of political cartoons in France has a long tradition and occupies an important place in French culture (Delporte, 1991). This importance is marked by the position of political cartoons as a permanent feature on the front page of national newspapers for decades despite technological advances. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the representation of the Vichy regime and society between 1940 and 1944 in the political cartoons produced by Jean-Jacques Charles Pennès (Sennep) in the weekly newspaper *Candide*, and to provide an in-depth reading of the criticism of the Vichy regime which Delporte (1993) and others have identified in his work. While there is a large existing literature analysing the propaganda produced by the Vichy regime in film, the written press and political cartoons, (Wharton, 1991; Bellanger; 1975; Rossignol, 1991; Delporte, 1994) as yet little work has been done which analyses criticisms of the Vichy regime produced in the authorised press through the medium of political cartoons.

Cartoons, like other stories about culture, are performative, i.e. they construct and reflect the culture in which they are produced. Meaning in cartoons come not solely from the cartoonist themselves, but from the intersection between the political beliefs of the author and the language of symbols which they use. The political cartoon therefore becomes an important source for the cultural historian, as the products combine to form a body of primary sources which illuminate both the culture itself, as well as how that culture was thought to be influenced. As Delporte identifies, Sennep was the only cartoonist working under Vichy who criticised the regime regularly through his work. This body of images has not yet been fully examined and doing so would allow us to further our understanding of how political and editorial cartooning can be used as a tool of political communication, as well as how Sennep's work illuminates the culture of Vichy and illustrate how his criticisms manifested in his images.

Cartooning in newspapers can take many forms, and while it has historically been overlooked as a form of entertainment due to its roots in caricature, the cartoon is more complex than it

appears (Lester, 2000). The modern political cartoon in France has its roots in the early 1920s, as the next generation of artists sought to differentiate themselves from their predecessors, who regarded themselves as humorists. Delporte (1993: p. 15) posits that this "*rupture*" was linked to the growth in demand of editorials and the political press. The development of the political or editorial cartoon was accompanied by the desire of its creators to be seen as journalists, rather than caricaturists, as the new generation of cartoonists sought to work with journalists and become journalists themselves, rather than to work for artistic fame. They argued that caricature was not on a par with the satirical humour they wished to create (Delporte, 1992). This change helped to cement the cartoon as a permanent fixture on the front page of the press, despite the development of photography at the same time. The term *journalistes-dessinateurs* was coined in 1925; however, it was not until 1935 that they were also recognised by the *Syndicat national des journalistes*, cementing their status as journalists and peers to their writer colleagues (Maupoint, 2010). The cartoon functioned as an important tool which was used by the press to both reflect and influence the culture in which it was created. By the outbreak of the Second World War, cartooning was an important cultural product with a wide reach throughout the nation and an ability to influence public opinion (Silverman, 1997). Sennep was one of the leaders of this push towards professional recognition and was a leading figure in the French press at the time of the outbreak of war. As Delporte (1993) argues, Sennep's work was widely read and he was the foremost caricaturist on the right in France in 1940, perhaps only second behind Raoul Cabrol overall. Cabrol is studied alongside Sennep in Delporte and Gervereau (1996), where their styles are compared. Sennep plays with text and image, creating editorial and political cartoons with a clear drawing style. Cabrol preferred to use caricature in his work, and worked for *L'Humanité*, the press organ of the French Communist Party (PCF).

We have already noted that cartoons are not created in a vacuum, but rather exist as reflections of the period of their creation. Of all the Vichy cartoonists, however, Sennep is the only cartoonist cited who bucked the collaborationist trend and continued to publish images

throughout the war in the written press which criticised the Vichy regime (Delporte, 1994). This thesis endeavours to examine the cartoons and explore how Sennep's criticism manifested in his work for *Candide*. It will therefore provide a textual analysis of the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944. This will allow us to discern how Sennep's dissent from Vichy developed and changed throughout the four-year period. Political cartooning under Vichy was used as an important tool by the regime to affect public opinion, however examples of dissenting caricature in the authorised press under Vichy are rare.

Whilst political cartooning under Vichy has received some study, historians have focused on the collaborationist work by artists such as Kern in *Au Pilori* or the images produced in *Gringoire*. Delporte (1993) examines the themes of cartooning as propaganda under the regime between 1940 and 1945. The importance of propaganda and information control by the Vichy regime has been identified as a pillar of Vichy power by Peschanski (1997), and political cartooning was an important tool in the Vichy repertoire for influencing public opinion, as the controls on the press limited expression and cartoonists were subject to punishments if their work did not abide by Vichy regulation. Despite this, Delporte recognises that cartoonists were not monolithic, and were somewhere between the categories of "*attentisme bienveillant"* and "*hostilité prudente"* (1993: p.61).

While these analyses of Sennep represent useful discoveries, they remain, nevertheless, exploratory in nature, as the arguments used by Delporte and Gervereau (1996) do not fully examine the ways in which Sennep criticised the Vichy regime. Sennep received criticism during the Occupation from both the Parisian press and the Occupier for his cartoons. Delporte argues that the negative response to Sennep for his refusal to promote collaboration is a sign of his continued criticism of the Vichy regime. The reprimand from the Occupier which Sennep received in 1944 is cited by Delporte to reinforce the argument that Sennep's work was critical of the regime throughout the period between 1941 and 1944 by Delporte (1993) and Peschanski (1990). Delporte (1993: p. 41) argues that Sennep was able to get away with his criticisms of the regime every week by playing upon "*interstices de liberté"* and playing "*sur la*

confusion entre insolence et conformisme", which again focuses upon the response from the censor rather than the content of the images themselves. However, Sennep's supposed dissent contrasts with his cartoons produced in 1940 which Delporte argues critiqued the Third Republic. It is only in 1941, as a result of collaboration, that Delporte (1993) argues we can detect criticism of the National Revolution and Vichy society in the work of Sennep. The most important reason to push the exploratory work of Delporte further is simply stated: although Sennep produced over 200 cartoons for *Candide* during the Occupation, Delporte only included four of these images in his analysis. Despite this small selection of images, *Candide* is the only newspaper which Delporte cites as being a source for criticism of Vichy, the other newspapers Sennep publishes in are not cited as sources of criticism of the regime. While Delporte argues that Sennep's images express "*son rejet de la Révolution Nationale et de la société vichyssoise"* (1996: p.46), this thesis will argue that an analysis of a more representative selection of the images produced by Sennep which contextualises them through his interwar cartoons and examines his wartime cartoons in Candide from a semiotic perspective, will furnish a more robust test of Delporte's principal conclusions while providing a more nuanced and illuminating analysis of the images than the approach undertaken by Delporte. This thesis will thereby attempt to corroborate and deepen our knowledge of how Sennep's images in *Candide* criticised the Vichy regime and society between 1940 and 1944.

Sennep therefore offers a fascinating window through which to examine the culture he was influencing, as well as how his images wished to influence it. However, while it is easy for the cultural historian to examine material with historical oversight and attribute interpretations, we must refrain from doing so. As previously discussed, Sennep's work for *Candide* is the only regular body of work which can be reliably accessed and is the source of Delporte's argument that Sennep criticised the Vichy regime. I will argue, therefore, that a richer textual analysis of the work of Sennep which uses his interwar cartooning as a framework through which to examine his later cartoons, and which applies a semiotic methodological framework to his cartoons will allow a deeper investigation into precisely how Sennep creates and transfers

meaning in his work, and how the criticism, which Delporte (1993) and others have detected in his work, is manifested.

In order to generate readings of the cartoons there are four stages to the research design. In the first place, we must consider and problematise the arguments and evidence which Delporte (1993, 1996) has used to come to the conclusion that Sennep's work criticised the Vichy regime. It is important to note that Sennep's criticism is a rare discovery due to the stringent methods of press control limiting expression for journalists under the Vichy regime. Undertaking this inquiry will allow us to position this research upon the greater map of cartooning under Vichy. Secondly, so as to analyse the cartoons of Sennep under Vichy we must first establish a methodology to evaluate his work. This thesis will employ the work of Barthes (1977), Saussure (1959) and Baur (1993) to analyse the work of Sennep, using the methodological framework of social semiotics. The third stage of the research design will be to utilise this methodology to examine the work produced by Sennep, in *Candide* in particular, up to the Fall of France in 1940. This will allow us to build up a lexicon of the graphic techniques which Sennep used within his work to depict the subjects of his images. Finally, the fourth stage will analyse the cartoons which Sennep produced under the Vichy regime. During this stage it is important to also contextualise Sennep's work with the framework of press censorship and control which functioned under Vichy due to its strict regulations (Peschanski, 1990).

This thesis is therefore structured accordingly: the first chapter will focus upon the role of Sennep in the historiography, analysing and problematising the evidence put forward by Delporte (1993) to position the cartoonist as a critic of Vichy. The second chapter will provide a methodological framework for the analysis of political cartoons under Sennep. The third chapter will present a methodological lexicon of analysis for Sennep's cartoons, by using the framework to examine his interwar cartooning. The following chapters (no. 4-8) will use a longitudinal approach towards analysing the cartoons produced by Sennep under the Vichy regime, allowing for the development of themes and depictions within his cartoons to be

measured as well. This method enables an exploration of the cartooning language of Sennep within the historical context in which it was produced. The conclusion of the thesis will re-examine the literature surrounding Sennep and Vichy censorship in the light of the examination of his work produced between July 1940 and July 1944 and will contribute to the field of Vichy cartooning by exploring how dissent was depicted in the work of Sennep in *Candide*.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The harrowing and divisive effects of the defeat, the armistice, the Occupation, and the Liberation on French society have given rise to an abundant, but often partial, historiography. This has evolved not only as archives and documentary evidence became available and has been analysed by Lévy (1966) and Bellanger (1975), among others, but also as certain groups promoted a self-serving interpretation of events. Such groups include the Gaullists, the Resistance, the communists, the Pétainists, the Vichyites, and, of course, the collaborationists. Such were the passions of the participants in this debate that the people best placed to provide an objective overview of the Vichy years were, initially, non-French historians, and latterly, a new generation of French historians. The first group includes historians such as Robert Paxton (1966, 1972) and Rod Kedward (1978). The second group includes figures such as Henry Rousso (2014), as well as Michèle and Jean-Paul Cointet (2000). This process is still continuing seventy years after the end of the war. Two complementary analyses of this evolution are particularly helpful: Henry Rousso, whose book *Le Syndrome de Vichy* published in 1987, charts the emergence and the eventual deconstruction of these myths; and Julian Jackson, whose book France: The Dark Years published in 2001, explores the changing foci of historical research in the area. The historiography of press control under Vichy suffers from the Vichy syndrome described above by Rousso and is only more thoroughly explained once the understanding of the regime begins to look at the mediation between the State and society through art, cinema and propaganda. (Jackson, 2001)

Henry Rousso notes that the years from 1944 to 1954 were a period when the memories of the war were too painful for the claims of the competing factions to be reconciled. Tellingly, he names this period *le deuil inachevé*. This painted a picture of an unbeaten France continuing the struggle from overseas while a united population resisted the Occupation at home. It minimised collaboration with the Germans, emphasised national unity, exalted the Resistance, and promoted de Gaulle's wartime leadership. Julian Jackson (2001) argued that the writing

of history in the first twenty years after the war was dominated by the wartime actors promoting their positions. In particular, the Gaullist and the communist factions each sought to establish that they had had the predominant role in resisting Germany and liberating France through the writing of memoirs and the establishment of archives. Rousso names this period *le refoulement*. The first cracks in this facade of collective amnesia followed the efforts of foreign historians. In 1966 the German Eberhard Jäckel published evidence which showed that all the Vichy administrations 'had actively sought collaboration'. And then, in 1972, the American Robert Paxton published a wider ranging work which analysed all aspects of the Vichy government's policies: domestic, foreign, and German. In particular, Paxton's work *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* examined Vichy's initiatives regarding collaboration and anti-Semitism. This was based upon Paxton's access to captured German archives and greater contemporary materials and was followed up by his 1981 work *Vichy France and the Jews*, published jointly with Michael Marrus.

A year earlier, in 1971, a documentary film by Marcel Ophüls, *Le Chagrin et la Pitié*, tackled the subject of collaboration in Clermont Ferrand. However, it was not allowed to be shown on French television until 1981. Rousso calls this period *le miroir brisé*. Since that time a new generation of French scholarship and the French state – with its trials of Klaus Barbie (1987), René Bousquet (1990), Paul Touvier (1994), and Maurice Papon (1997) – have provoked a surge of activity. Rousso names this final phase obsession.

Jackson (2001) notes that in the late 1970s the focus moved from 'a study of the regime to a study of those who lived under it, from politics to society'. He mentions the work of Pierre Laborie (1978) and John Sweets (1986) for their regional studies. These studies had access to reports from *départements* and prefects which allowed for a challenge to Paxton's understanding of the attitudes of the French population and their attitudes to collaboration, challenging the dichotomy of 'resistance' and 'collaboration'. Jackson (2001) also notes this shift in focus extended in the mid-1980s to study of social and cultural institutions and their

role in the mediation between the Vichy regime and the French population. This brought different areas of life under focus, including art, cinema, and propaganda.

The historiography of political cartooning under Vichy is part of this shift towards examination of social and cultural institutions and products. As we have seen, cartooning, and Sennep in particular, have received comparatively little study. The first major study of cartooning under Vichy was from Christian Delporte (1993) which argues that Sennep's work in *Candide* contains weekly criticisms of the Vichy regime and the National Revolution. He firstly analyses an image by Sennep produced in 1940, which demonstrates his support for Pétain as he sweeps away the Third Republic. Delporte argues thereafter that the artist then ended this support for the regime as a result of collaboration with the Germans, and mocked the society, policies and ideology of Vichy. Delporte hypothesises that this criticism was permitted to continue by the Vichy regime because the cartoonist was able to play upon the conflicts within the Vichy regime, however Delporte does not provide any evidence to back this up. Delporte recognises the influence of the German censor and highlights two images which were produced in 1943 and one in 1944 which received criticism. The image in 1943 was criticised by the Germans in the *Spiegel der Französischen Press*, which argued that he was the most openly Germanophobic cartoonist in France. Delporte argues that while the German censor saw criticisms of the effects of Occupation in these images, the Vichy censor saw only simple jokes in the remainder of his cartoons. One further image by Sennep in 1944 received a warning from the Vichy censor, but no official reprimand for the newspaper or artist. Delporte argues Sennep's criticism of the Occupier is aligned with Sennep's pre-war views, however these images, both of which received criticism from the Occupier, are the only images Delporte cites from *Candide* which have any official response. Delporte argues that Sennep's open Germanophobia pre-1940 prevented him from expressing open support for the politics of Collaboration. Despite this, Delporte only selects a handful of images produced by Sennep to illustrate his point. The analysis by Delporte (1993) raises a number of key questions about how this criticism manifested, however the work does not provide a close analysis of the

images to explore how this criticism developed and how he evaded the censure throughout the war. While Delporte (1993) does provide an analysis of the themes of propaganda used by cartoonists under the Occupation, including depictions of the Allied powers and the role of communists and masons within the Third Republic, Sennep is conspicuous by his absence in this analysis. While Delporte's arguments for Sennep's resistance to Vichy's politics of collaboration seem sound, they are not backed up by graphic evidence to support this change in theme or subject, or how this criticism was masked. It is also not backed up by textual evidence of his pre-war work to support the pre-eminence of his Germanophobia. Delporte also assumes that a lack of contextual evidence, such as a response from the censor, is proof that this criticism was enjoyed by the Vichy censor and therefore allowed to pass without reprimand. While the criticism of the Vichy censor, and the German response, does highlight Sennep as an important figure for further analysis, he is not the only cartoonist to receive punishment for criticising the Germans. Jean Effel had his images censored in an album by the Occupier for "*un patriotisme déplacé*", while Bernard Aldebert was sent to a concentration camp for a cartoon which included a figure resembling Hitler (Delporte, 1993 : p. 62). It is clear that, while Sennep's work contain criticism of the Occupier, we must also uncover evidence of his criticism of Vichy, and how this criticism was manifested in his cartoons.

The first biographical study of Sennep came in Laurent Gervereau and Christian Delporte's 1996 text "*Trois Républiques vues par Cabrol et Sennep"*. The work centres on the artistic stylings and political history of the two artists. The chapters on Sennep cover his earlier artistic work and trace his career through to the 1970s in France. In the chapters on Sennep, however, comparatively little time is given to his work under the Occupation. They argue that the work of Sennep, a cartoonist working at *Candide*, demonstrate his critiques of the regime in his cartoons. The analysis of Sennep's work under Vichy begins with his pro-Vichy image in 1940, and the continuation of his work pre-war which attacked the Third Republic and its parliamentarians. Delporte and Gervereau cite the Germanophobic attitude of the artist, and his public opposition to the Munich accords, as the reason for his criticisms of the regime,

citing images in *Candide* and elsewhere to reinforce this point. The text focuses upon his characters of Adhémar and Hermengarde, denoting them as reactionary, and supporters of the Vichy regime, and noting their constant ridiculing in the images as proof of this criticism. They cite the ambiguity of Sennep himself in an article from 1941 where he describes the couple as representing "*une certaine façon de penser, de juger que le lecteur aura rétablie de lui-même*" (Fels, 1941). This ambiguity, while very interesting, does not provide any insight into how exactly the images expressed dissent, but it does offer a possible avenue for further research by examining how the artist used this ambiguity to mask his criticisms of the regime. The chapter also only cites two images from Sennep published during the war, juxtaposed with an image from Sennep after the war which expressly places Pétain as an accomplice to the torture and crimes of the Germans. As noted earlier, the criticism which Sennep received in 1944 is used to reinforce the image of the artist as a critic of Vichy throughout the period. The authors rely again on contextual evidence, such as the negative reception Sennep received from Paris, as proof of his criticism of Vichy, however this conflates rejection of the Occupier with that of Vichy, which was often the source of criticism which Sennep received from the Occupied Zone. Delporte cites the fact that Sennep refused to continue including anti-Semitic caricatures in his work in order to avoid conflating his work with the work of collaborationists, however this does not equate to subtle criticism of the Vichy regime. We must therefore examine if there are other tools which Sennep uses in his images to separate himself both from the Occupier and the Vichy regime.

Sennep's subtle critiques are cited again in the work of d'Almeida and Delporte (2010). They argue that :

> "*Les dessins de Sennep en Candide sont subtilement critiques à l'égard des grands principes de la Révolution Nationale. Il se moque des idées à la mode : le retour à la terre, la renaissance des traditions folkloriques, l'anti-intellectualisme affiché, la valorisation du sport, le culte de la jeunesse…*" (sic).

Earlier work by Rossignol (1991), Peschanski (1991) and Amaury (1969) indicated a propaganda regime with a clear message, and the will to impose fines on those who dissent

from the censor and their aims, yet Sennep and *Candide* escape punishment throughout the war. The work by Delporte (1993) and others has however argued that Sennep provides a rich field through which to examine criticisms of Vichy through political cartooning, particularly as they have successfully avoided the censure of the Vichy authorities.

The existing literature on Sennep is overwhelmingly written by Delporte, and his analysis of cartooning under Vichy and themes of cartoon propaganda are revealing and very useful. His work on Sennep pinpoints the artist as a key figure in Vichy cartooning, as the only cartoonist who successfully created images weekly under the regime which mocked the politics, culture and ideology of Vichy without reprimand. However, the literature relies upon contextual evidence for Sennep's dissent, without in-depth textual analysis of Sennep's work, except for a few select images in a four-year span. Delporte (1996) foregrounds his analysis of Sennep in his pre-war work, focusing on his Germanophobia which allows for further analysis of his output during the Occupation, however other aspects of Sennep's work, such as his criticisms of internal politics, such as the influence of the Masons or Jewish politicians, as well as his support for the military, are ignored. This analysis allows for the work to track the changes in Sennep's work between 1940 and 1944. This reinforces the argument that analysing Sennep's pre-war output is a useful analytical tool for examining his wartime cartoons in *Candide*, the newspaper in which Delporte detected his criticisms of the regime. While the literature indicates this criticism, an in-depth analysis of the body of work of the artist, similar to that which Delporte (1993) undertakes in his analysis of propaganda, would allow for a much greater understanding of the cartoons themselves, and the messages they portrayed. Delporte's work has been very enlightening, and it leaves a gap for further research, which this thesis will undertake. I would argue Delporte's analysis gives us two research questions which the following chapters will undertake:

1. How does Sennep's criticism of the Vichy regime and society manifest in his images produced in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944?

2. How do Sennep's criticisms of the Vichy regime change and develop through his images in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944?

These research questions cannot be evaluated, however, without first employing a methodology through which to analyse the cartoons produced by Sennep. We are turning to this question in the next chapter, where we will discuss the methodological framework which will be used to examine the political cartoons that are the subject of this study.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

The previous chapter examined the historiography of Sennep under Vichy. Delporte (1993) argued that the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* criticised the Vichy regime throughout the war without any punishment from the censor. This analysis from Delporte, however, did not offer a close examination of the cartoons or an exploration of how they escaped censure at a time when the written press was strongly controlled by the censor. (Rossignol, 1991; Amaury, 1969) This thesis aims to analyse the cartoons produced by Sennep in order to examine how his criticisms of Vichy manifested themselves. However, as previously discussed, such analysis requires an understanding both of Sennep and his methods of expression so as to allow us to interrogate the images and discover the meaning intended by the cartoonist. This chapter will explain the methodology which will be used in subsequent chapters of this thesis to examine the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the cartoons of Sennep were discussed by Delporte (1993) in a broad overview which analysed a small selection of images as examples of his argument. Delporte provides a thematic analysis of Sennep's work but chooses to focus on this rather than the semiotics of the images themselves. In terms of methodology, while the existing literature focuses on the iconographical aspect of Sennep's work, this study is intended to complement such works by using semiotics as a framework through which to analyse the images, as well as helping us to understand the graphic techniques employed by the cartoonist.

Methodology

Semiotics

Semiotics refers to a tradition of scholarship in which the meaning, experience, and knowledge communicated through signs and symbols are studied. Semiotics is the study of the conveyance of meaning through words or other ways, either to oneself or others. Saussure's

model of linguistics argued the production of meaning depended upon the activity of signs within a language. As Clarke (1987: p.29) highlights "*Semiology is to have as its subject matter, all the devices used in human society for the purpose of communication, including both linguistic expressions and non-linguistic devices such as gestures and signals with non-linguistic codes*." The sign and sign system are defined simply as "*a sign is something present that stands for something absent, as a cross represents Christianity; a sign system, also termed a code, is a collection of signs and rules for their use*." (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993: p.6) Saussure's main contribution to the field, however, was to argue the sign is composed of two different layers of meaning: the signifier which is 'present' and the signified, the 'absent'. The signified is the mental concept or idea with which the image word or object is associated. Saussure argues that if both elements are required to produce a meaning, then there must be a cultural and linguistic code which fixes that association. This relationship is therefore based upon a system of unwritten rules: in other words, a language and its cultural references. Saussure emphasises the arbitrariness of signs, by which he means that the meanings of signs are unfixed and socially-constructed. Despite this, Saussure is not interested in either the constructions of these meanings, or the diachronic change they undergo as society develops.

Barthes developed Saussure's theory by looking at signs in a diachronic manner, exploring how meanings changed dependent upon historical or cultural contexts. For Barthes since all cultural objects and cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs and work like language does. Barthes applied this theory to the Saussurian dichotomy of the signifier and the signified, highlighting two levels of meaning within the signifier itself: "*Tout système de signification comporte un plan d'expression (celui des signifiants) et un plan de contenu (celui des signifiés) qui sont en relation. Au niveau de l'image, le premier plan est celui de la dénotation et le second, celui de la connotation*" (1964: p. 130) He distinguishes the two levels thus: the first level is a representative, denotative level '*denotation'* which is purely descriptive. This is the literal visual message, recognising who/what is depicted and

what they are doing. The second level is the symbolic or connotative level '*connotation'* where the denotation is interpreted. Connotation is non-linguistic and concerned with the context and content of the sign-system. Barthes used this lens to examine culture: his connotation carried higher-level meanings and concepts which need to be carefully decoded by *signifiers*. Barthes argues that the connotations are essential for interpreting, or misinterpreting, visual messages.

Furthermore, Barthes (1964) not only looks at '*object signs*' (visual lexicon) but also is interested in the interconnection of object signs, which he calls '*syntax*'. He maintains that connotation comes about through the cultural associations attached to people, places or things represented in an image, or through certain '*connotators*' like the syntax, the pose, the photographic techniques and aestheticism, and the accompanied text. It is this visual syntax which will be a useful tool in this analysis of Sennep's work. Through analysing the interconnected nature of Sennep's visual signifiers, this thesis aims to provide a deeper understanding of the messages which he attempted to communicate through his cartoons. By being aware of the socio-cultural codes which Sennep employed in his work, we can begin to construct a semiotic reading of his cartoons. Barthes' work is also useful by bringing the concept of syntax, not just to one image, but in comparing a corpus of images as well. It will allow us to examine Sennep's work in the context of his other images, thus bypassing the semiotic weakness of examining images on their own. However, this neglects a fundamental aspect of the function of language, communication, and we must also think about how we understand the reception of cartoons before we move on. While Barthes helps us to decipher the signs, his work does not aid us in choosing which connotation of an image is the correct one in context.

Barthes attributed greater complexity to drawings due to their nature being 'polysemic' and harder to read due to their multiple interpretations: "*Dans l'image elle-même, il y a bien des modes de lecture: un schéma se prête à la signification beaucoup plus qu'un dessin, une imitation plus qu'un original, une caricature plus qu'un portrait*" (1970: p. 193). Barthes

proposes that the linguistic message or caption that often accompanies a cartoon functions either as '*anchorage'* or '*relay'*: "*L'ancrage est la function la plus fréquente du message linguistique ; on la retrouve communément dans la photographie de presse et la publicité. La fonction de relais est plus rare (du moins en ce qui concerne l'image fixe) ; on la retrouve surtout dans les dessins humoristiques et les bandes dessinées. Ici la parole et l'image sont dans un rapport complémentaire.*" (Barthes, 1964: p.130). Barthes allows for the images to be understood through analysis of the text and the image combination employed. This enables us to begin to decipher one meaning out of the many which can be read through semiotics.

Building on the work of Barthes, Hall (1973) underlined the process of *coding* and *encoding* as signifying practices and proposed the idea of '*preferred meanings'* and '*preferred readings'*. Hall argued these could be established at the level of receiving and transmitting a message using a range of technical codes. The *preferred meaning* is the meaning encoded into the message either deliberately or unconsciously. The *preferred reading* refers to how the message is received, either distorted or not. (Hall, 1973) Hall's work is an important advancement as he distinguishes different levels of meaning between the transmitter and receiver of the message, and how communication can fail if the transmitter and receiver use different codes. (Hall, 1973) Thus, it is useful to be aware of the socio-cultural and aesthetic codes when it comes to approaching a body of work or images such as political cartoons. We can then decipher from the context of the production of the image what the *preferred meaning* of the image is from the author, but also possible alternative readings which may have been decoded by the reader. As noted by Pham (2013) the political cartoon can be open to multiple interpretations depending upon the linguistic codes of the viewer, so we must be aware of the socio-cultural and aesthetic codes which reveal the culture and ideology which surround the image. The combination of Hall's theory of 'preferred readings' is supported by Barthes' use of the text as anchorage. This allows us to decipher a reading of the image which was intended by the artist, if we have an understanding of the socio-cultural codes which the artist uses in their work.

For Hall, (2001) culture is shared through ideas and representations. Through visual communication these ideas can be expressed through codes, and the '*transmitter*' uses signs to ensure the clarity and communication of their message. If the receiver shares these codes, they can therefore use them to understand and interpret the message through its denotations and connotations. The process of *encoding* and *decoding* translates this message into a meaning. In cartoons, this process is often simplified as the cultural codes, such as symbols and stereotypes, carry conventions. They form a universal language common to the *receiver* and *transmitter*'s culture and are easily identified. These are supposed to lead to the same connotations and are therefore convenient for a cartoonist to use. By recognising these common symbols and how they are used by the cartoonist, we will be able to examine his techniques and interpret the *preferred meaning*. This is embodied through the syntax which Barthes characterises as position, framing, and the accompanying text. Barthes' concept of "*photogenia*" (1997: p.23) refers to the technical effects of the image which are utilised to produce connotation in editorial cartoons. These techniques include the distancing from the reader, the narrative or vector lines which draw the eye, the salience or placement of an element of the image, and the framing which is the combination of these put together. By analysing the photogenia in each image it will provide an objective and systematic method of examining each image.

Graphic Techniques

As we have seen, the drawing of a cartoon relies upon the visual linguistic codes employed by the artist to create the intended meaning for the viewer of the image. Baur (1993) argues that there are four codes used by political and editorial cartoonists what are almost indissociable: those of **expression**, **exaggeration**, **identity** and **resemblance**. The code of **expression** consists of a variety of conventions designed to express action and emotion, and these codes often mirror common expressions, such as raised eyebrows for surprise, gritted teeth for anger or frustration. Expression also includes actions, such as lines around the body indicating movement. While expression relies upon common conventions of expression,

exaggeration functions as a distorting mirror by exaggerating characteristics or deformations of a subject, such as lengthening their noses, making their body fatter, or widening their mouth. The following chapters of this thesis will demonstrate how Sennep's characters are no exceptions to these rules as the political figures he depicts are exaggerated or deformed.

Despite this exaggeration, the third code which Baur identifies is that of **identity**. This involves studying the subject of the images to capture their behaviour in order to find specific elements through which a specific cartoon identity can be created. The results of this process, if successful, create a cartoon identity which becomes a rhetorical code of its own. This task is not always easy, however, as a resemblance to the subject is required for a graphic depiction. This final code, **resemblance**, requires that the depictions of a subject do not impede the recognition of the character, and if necessary accessories with names may be added to aid recognition (Baur, 1993). Despite this, the code of resemblance is not always respected, as if a cartoonist is able to create a representation for a character, and reuses this depiction numerous times, it becomes recognisable in its own right. In other words, the identity created by a cartoonist can become a resemblance in its own right for readers.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework through which this thesis will analyse the work of Sennep. It has demonstrated how the methodological approach adopted aims to further the existing literature by not just considering the themes in the cartoons published by Sennep in *Candide* but, significantly, by investigating the semiotics of Sennep's images as well as focusing to a greater extent than previously on the graphic techniques that Sennep employed in his cartoons.

The chapter outlined how from the semiotics literature, this thesis adopts a focus on deciphering the signs and meanings in the images published by Sennep in *Candide*. It considered the work of Barthes (1967, 1970) as well as Hall (1973, 2001). Barthes is particularly useful in relation to three points. First, Barthes (1967) underlines the importance

of analysing how meanings in images are dependent upon historical or cultural contexts. Secondly, Barthes (1964) stresses the interconnected nature of visual signifiers. Thirdly, from Barthes (1970), this thesis adopts the necessity to consider images through analysis of the text and the image combination employed. Hall (1973, 2001) is key to understanding the meaning inherent in images. By recognising the visual syntax and visual codes employed by Sennep in his work, such as the framing and the combination of images and Barthes' (1977) photogenia, we can interpret multiple meanings from the images. Hall (1973) built on the work of Barthes to argue that messages are coded and encoded by the sender and the receiver and that *preferred meanings* and *preferred readings* exist. This thesis will therefore analyse different possible meanings of Sennep's cartoons, investigating the socio-cultural and aesthetic codes which reveal the culture and ideology which surround the images that he produced.

Secondly, the chapter considered literature on graphic techniques. It used Baur (1993) to show how four codes, namely expression, exaggeration, identity and resemblance, are used by political and editorial cartoonists to create the intended meaning for the viewer of the image. This thesis will consider how Sennep used these techniques within his cartoons published in Candide, and in particular, how he employed the techniques to represent the Vichy regime and society between 1940 and 1944. Baur allows us to analyse the graphic techniques employed by the artist to decipher the meanings behind his work. Through combining this with the text as 'anchorage' outlined by Barthes, we can generate 'preferred meanings of the image which Sennep intended.

To sum up, this thesis aims to analyse the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* and will use insights from semiotics and the graphics techniques literature to provide a textual analysis of the images. This textual analysis will be accompanied by an evaluation of the images in their wider significance in their historical moment through Hall's 'preferred readings'. Before doing so, however, it is important that we first examine the work of Sennep pre-war through which to build up a lexicon of the codes and visual symbols which Sennep employs regularly.

This diachronic approach will allow us both to examine the work during the war, but also to track the development of the signs and symbols within Sennep's work as the war progresses. By examining the work of Sennep pre-war, we can examine the characters, scenarios and codes which Sennep employs, and then follow their deployment under the Occupation. This method of analysis will allow us to undertake a thorough textual and historical analysis of the images produced by Sennep throughout the Occupation and examine how his criticisms manifested in his work. This will go beyond the iconographical examination undertaken by Delporte (1993) and others and will examine the works on their own. This will also allow us to avoid the reaction of the censor as a measure for dissent and criticism, by unveiling subtle and hidden criticisms which the censor may have missed.

The next chapter of this thesis will therefore apply the methodological tools developed in this chapter to the work undertaken by Sennep in *Candide* in the interwar years. This, in turn, will allow us to build up a lexicon of expression for the artist which we can then apply to his work under Vichy. 'The problems of data selection and interpretation that such an analysis entails will also be dealt with in the next chapter. The chapter will begin with a brief biographical study of Sennep before analysing his interwar work. This methodology will then be applied, along with the lexicon of codes and symbols which Sennep has used, to his work under Vichy to generate the 'preferred meanings' of the text and allow us to investigate how the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* criticised Vichy and the National Revolution.

Chapter 4 – Sennep in the interwar years

Introduction

At the time of his death in July 1982, Sennep had worked as a newspaper caricaturist through some of the most turbulent and controversial periods of France's history including the fall of the Third Republic, the Vichy regime, the fall of the Fourth Republic and the birth of the Fifth Republic. Throughout his career, his contemporaries recognised him as a primary figure in his field before, during, and after the war. He worked continuously through the period of the Second World War as a prominent cartoonist in Vichy for *Candide* and *L'Echo de Paris*. Then he worked as the main cartoonist for *Le Figaro* from 1946 until 1967. (Delporte, 1993: Rossignol, 1991) He continued to produce work after his retirement from *Le Figaro*, submitting weekly images to *Point de vue - Images du monde* until 1981, a year before his death. This chapter will provide a biography of Sennep and analyse his pre-war work in order to understand how Sennep composed his images using the codes of expression elucidated by Baur (1993) in his cartoons and to provide a semiotic analysis of Sennep's images in *Candide* to build up a lexicon of expression. As we saw in Chapter One, the existing literature highlights the cartoons of Sennep as a voice of dissonance against the Vichy regime; however, his work escaped the punishment of the censors. This chapter will examine Sennep's life up to the outbreak of the Second World War, exploring his political positioning and his cartooning up to that point. It will analyse in depth a selection of the images produced by Sennep in the interwar years to identify the codes and symbols which he employed in his work. This will allow us in subsequent chapters of this thesis to track developments in Sennep's work under Vichy, and to examine, in particular, the codes and symbols which he used in his work for *Candide*. The images selected are a combination of work already examined by Delporte (1993, 1996) and Cantor (2004). This will allow us to assess the methodological approach by comparing the analysis to existing literature to compare the results.

Biography of Sennep and analysis of images produced by Sennep in the interwar years

Born Jean Pennès in 1894 in the Latin Quarter in Paris, Sennep was the son of a manufacturer of pharmaceutical products. His father was a fierce republican and the deputy mayor of the Fifth Arrondissement. The staunch defence of French values and anticlericalism, which marks Sennep's work, can be seen in part as a continuation of his father's political influence, although they disagreed on their support of republicanism (Delporte, 1996). Tales from his youth influenced his patriotism, hearing about his ancestors' time in the Napoleonic army, including his maternal grandfather, Joseph Boisson, a colonel. His brothers' careers were in military aviation. A later, revealing quote, from the caricaturist was that "*s'il n'avait pas été dessinateur… [il] aurait aimé être officier de la Coloniale"* (Le Crapouillot, 1950: p. 176). According to Winock (1995: p. 173) "*Il garda toute sa vie un goût prononcé pour l'uniforme, une vive passion pour l'Empereur et un grand respect pour les valeurs patriotiques*."

Sennep learned to create his cartoons by imitating well-known caricaturists of the nineteenth century. He began to sketch by observing the work of his uncle, a Parisian sculptor. He worked in his early cartoons to imitate the work of Caran d'Ache, Sem and Forain, telling Florent Fels, a journalist, that "*J'avais gardé encore… une admiration totale pour Caran d'Ache. Tout en lui me semblait toujours prodigieux d'intelligence."* (Le Jour – L'Écho de Paris, 1941) By imitating Caran d'Ache, Sennep was practising caricature and political cartooning, a combination that he began to develop and that would lead him to prominence in later years. By 1910, Sennep had published his first cartoon in one of the two mainstream illustrated newspapers of the time, *Le Sourire*, and in early 1911, he had another cartoon published in the other, *Le Rire*. He continued to submit cartoons to these two national newspapers until 1913, when Sennep received his *baccalauréat de philosophie*. His parents desired for him to follow in his father's footsteps, and become a prefect, but Sennep remained focused on working on his caricatures.

Sennep's life as an aspiring artist was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. Enlisting in the war in 1914, he joined the infantry in 1915 and came face to face with the horror of the trenches. He lived through a gas attack in Reims in October 1915, and in June 1916 he was injured at Verdun. The conflict left him severely wounded, nursing a permanent

grudge towards the Germans and never forgiving them for the war. Sennep received commendations through the conflict, being promoted, and receiving both the *Légion d'Honneur* and *Croix de guerre avec palme.* Sennep's time in the military left him with a strong appreciation of the uniform, and a resentment of the Germans, which, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, manifested in his caricatures in the following years.

While working as a *gratte-papier* in the *Compagnie du gaz* at the end of the war, Sennep continued to develop his art and submit his images for publication. As he began to have his images published in the national daily *Le Matin*, he entered his work into national exhibitions. From 1920 until 1922 he appeared in the catalogue of the *salon des Humoristes* and produced the first example of what Delporte calls Sennep's "*vraies compositions caricaturales*"; the first appearance of a political cartoon by Sennep was in 1922. (1996: p. 25) While Sennep continued to publish in *Le Rire* from 1917, as well as *Fantasio* and other newspapers, he began to publish regularly and reach a wider audience in collaboration with the royalist newspaper *L'Action française*. Sennep also began to earn his reputation as a polemicist through working alongside Léon Daudet, the monarchist and clerical nationalist writer. His collaboration with L'*Action française* was short lived, as Roger Giron (1982) remembered, *"Quand je fis sa connaissance dans les années 1920, il collaborait à* L'Action française*, mais fut-il jamais royaliste ? Il admirait Léon Daudet, un grand vivant, disciple de Rabelais, mais tenait Maurras pour un pion ennuyeux."* This lack of ideological cohesion combined with Sennep's frustration at his lack of headline images, and his underpayment for work, meant he parted ways with *L'Action française*. Despite the short duration of Sennep's association with the newspaper, we can still discern trends from Sennep's work with *L'Action française*, as Cantor (2004) argues. In these images the recurrent trends of the attacks on Leon Blum, who was a representative in the National Assembly for the French Socialist Party, as a result of his Jewish identity, as well as the visual representation of Blum as a woman, connoting him as both 'weak', and engaged in a homosexual relationship with Edouard Herriot. When Sennep attacked the *Cartel des Gauches*, Blum appears as a woman when he is not the focus of the

image, and became his defining feature. Herriot and Blum were also repeatedly sexually linked as a couple, and Sennep depicted the *Cartel* as an unnatural marriage and represented the epitome of un-Frenchness. These images tie into the natalist discourse of the time, indicating their childless marriage imperils the nation (Cantor, 2004). Blum was also depicted as a 'rootless' Jew, un-French and usurping the reigns of government. These attacks align with what Reynolds (1996: p. 13) notes, as "*both men and women with all their varieties of status and age, actions and belief, were part of the historical entity 'France' between the wars*". The feminisation and homosexualisation of his political opponents began here but continued in Sennep's work throughout the interwar years. These images also carried the frequent anti-Semitic tropes which Sennep employed to criticise Léon Blum throughout the interwar years, such as him stealing money.

In 1923 Sennep created fourteen images for *La Chambre Nationale du 16 Novembre* in collaboration with Daudet. This collection, along with his *Action française* work, display a clear Bonapartist tendency, as well as virulent anti-communism, xenophobia and Germanophobia. Sennep quickly rose to a position of prominence as he began to publish regularly and developed his art, combining caricature with political cartooning in an expression of anti-republican and anti-communist ideology. The election of the *Cartel des gauches*, an alliance of Radicals and Socialists, in the French legislative elections of 11 May 1924 allowed for the caricaturist, who had already greatly improved his art, to collaborate on political campaigns and broaden his audience into order to become regarded as the number one caricaturist of the French right. (Delporte, 1996)

The ferocious response of the opposition press to the election of the *Cartel des gauches* required propaganda that not only attacked the regime, but also ridiculed their incompetence. Caricature quickly became the best method for this, and Sennep established himself as a key figure and polemicist for the right. As Passmore (2013) argues, the response to the *Cartel des gauches* from the right was fierce, and they required people to lead the offensive. With the retirement of many caricaturists after the war (Delporte, 1990), the press looked to new blood;

they recruited those that had defended the country in the previous war: Hermann-Paul, Barrière, Tap and Sennep. Through working closely with Gassier, a cartoonist at *Canard enchaîné*, Sennep developed his art and became a well-known artist in Paris (Delporte, 1996) In 1924 and 1925 he joined *La Liberté*, *Candide*, and *L'Écho de Paris* as the principal caricaturist; at the same time, he published a collection of images attacking the government entitled *Cartel et Cie*, with such an impact it was reported as "*un des plus gros succès de librarie de la saison"* in *La Liberté* (Mathieix, 1926) Sennep's reputation grew, leading to him becoming the director and parliamentary artist for *Charivari*, an illustrated French magazine, in 1926, which he had to give up the following year due to his diverse collaborations in *Le Rire* and other large right-wing daily and weekly newspapers.

Through his increased prominence and the clarity and expressiveness of his caricatures Sennep was able to articulate a political message. His harsh critiques of the left-wing *Cartel des Gauches* in 1924 brought him to prominence, and his visual style was clear and memorable. As Winock (1995: p. 171) argued "*A une époque où la presse écrite connaissait une large diffusion, la caricature était bien un outil indispensable pour identifier les hommes publics.*" Sennep was succeeding in using his images, not simply as art, but what he argued was the equal of written journalism: to express his distrust and ideological opposition towards

Figure 4-1 Sennep, A l'abbatoir des cartellistes, album-souvenir, 1928

the left-wing government, as well as his anti-Semitism and xenophobia. A later work, of 1928, titled *A l'abattoir les cartellistes* characterises Sennep's visceral and evocative images. "*La description des hommes de gauche, identifiés à des pièces de viande sur pattes, évoque les massacres encore proches de la guerre. Sennep se situe bien dans la brutalisation symbolique de la société française, qui domine l'après-guerre. Il est à droite, voire à l'extrême droite… Il brocarde ; il dénonce : les idées, mais aussi les hommes… et contribue à disqualifier une large partie du personnel politique*" (d'Almeida & Delporte, 2003: p. 88).

His rendering of government members into simple beasts also reflects his message that the stupidity and incompetence of the *Cartel des gauches* was destroying France (Delporte, 1996). The image divides the politicians equally, and they are equally salient, so all the politicians depicted receive equal ridicule, apart from Blaise Diagne in the bottom right. The image on the bottom right depicts the Blaise Diagne, the first Afro-French member of the Chamber of Deputies as "*race sénégalaise"* The animal stands out as it is depicted as entirely black, in contrast to the others who are drawn with outlines but no skin colour. This is designed to reinforce the 'other-ness' of Monsieur Diagne who importantly is depicted in the image with a background of a desert landscape unlike the fields of the other candidates. Sennep's xenophobia was a recurrent theme as he depicted Jews as ethnically different from the French population, and often as agents of Russia, along with the communists. The figures are quite small, so appear distant from the viewer, invoking detachment from the reader and preventing any connection despite them being face on. As will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters, this complete disdain for parliamentarians is a recurring message in Sennep's work. While retaining the human shaped faces to make identifying them easier, even without the name below, the deformation of the bodies renders the characters bizarre and ugly, yet still abides by the codes of identity and resemblance. One further example of Sennep's use of identity in this image is the representation of Monsieur Marcel Cachin as a cow with a hammer and sickle and a black flag. This is designed to identify him as a Communist and create allusions to the support by the French Communist Party (PCF) of the Russian Revolution and

align them with a foreign power. The hammer and sickle connote Cachin's links with the Communists; combined with the black flag, which as a symbol for anarchism can mean an opposition to nation states, the symbols connote Cachin as a threat to France, he is an internal threat to the nation and a traitor to foreign forces.

Figure 4-2 Sennep, A l'abbatoir des cartellistes, album-souvenir, 1928

Figure 4.2 exemplifies Sennep's depiction of Leon Blum's Jewishness as 'other', and continues his depictions of the feminisation of the politician. Blum is depicted as "*La vache enragée"* and his appearance is strikingly different to the previous depictions of ministers as cows. Blum's depiction is marked by two factors: his clothing, and his equine figure. Sennep's feminisation of Blum continues the themes of his work in *L'Action Française*, where the figure depicts his weakness. This image combines with his equine shape to reinforce the unnatural characteristics of the figure. The album evokes the rural life, where the peasant is central to the nation, however this identity is perverted by the alien and unnatural Blum, another example of the 'rootless' Jew seen in his earlier work in *L'Action Française*.

Sennep also produced propaganda supporting right-wing candidates in an effort to reduce the influence of the left-wing government and halt the decline he felt they were causing in France, despite his own disdain for parliamentarianism. Sennep saw himself, not as an artist, but as a journalist. His vision for the role of the cartoonist was reflected through his work in unionising his colleagues and guaranteeing fair rates of pay for his colleagues working in the press

(Delporte: 1993, p. 16). This also had the side effect of guaranteeing caricaturists a seat at government meetings alongside their journalist colleagues, which allowed Sennep to more closely examine and caricature those in parliament. Sennep's allegiance was to his caricaturist colleagues, as evidenced by his support of his communist compatriot, *Cabrol*, when he was attacked by Hitler for a caricature which appeared in a Luxembourgish newspaper. (Delporte, 1996)

Through his new success, Sennep spent his time at the Congresses for the large parties, in electoral meetings, in audiences, and above all, in the Chamber of Deputies. It was here that every afternoon Sennep would look for material for his drawing the next day. While sketching at the Chamber of Deputies, Sennep helped to spearhead the creation of a *salon* for parliamentary artists, which benefited from the involvement of deputies, including Herriot, who wrote the preface for the *Exposition* of the artists' work. These close links with the deputies allowed the cartoonists quasi-total freedom of expression. Sennep benefited greatly from this freedom, which he used to undermine and attack the *Cartel des Gauches* government both in the press and outside of it.

Sennep continued his work against the *Cartel des Gauches* outside of the press, producing work for the *Centre de propagande des républicains nationaux*. Working for the CPRN, set up by the editor-in-chief of *L'Écho de Paris* to support the political campaigns of right-wing parties, Sennep created political leaflets for legislative elections between 1928 and 1936. These leaflets expanded upon the themes that appeared in Sennep's images in the press: anti-communism, anti-republicanism, anti-Semitism and opposition to democracy. Perhaps the most famous of these depicted Léon Blum as a monstrous snake about to devour a small radical rabbit. Published in 1932 and titled *'Le repas du socialiste*', it was based upon an earlier Sennep image in *L'Écho de Paris* in 1930 of Blum, again as a serpent, devouring Edouard Herriot, Edouard Daladier and François Albert, all of whom are depicted as rabbits. Sennep dehumanised his political opponents, rendering many of the cabinet weak, while Blum, a traditionally weak figure, was represented as being about to devour them all due to his vile

socialist nature. Alongside his leaflets, Sennep also produced albums of his work almost every year, rendering him among the most prolific and well-known caricaturists of the interwar years (Delporte, 1993).

In his 1927 album *Aux Grands Hommes*, Sennep continued to launch not only ideological challenges but *ad hominem* attacks against members of the left-wing government. Roger Giron, a colleague at *Candide* argued "*Le crayon de Sennep est une arme qu'il met au commun service du bon sens et de la Patrie trop souvent méconnus ou bafoués.*" (*Candide*, 1928) Darling of the right, Sennep continued with his 1928 album "*A l'abattoir les cartellistes!!..."* to the delight of all those who saw in the *Front Populaire* the catalyst for the decline of France. Robert Brasillach announced that Sennep was the "*plus grand historien de l'époque*" and that through his work "*tous les fantoches du régime, et Briand à jamais immortalisé, et le petit Painlevé, et M. Herriot devenu vache, et Léon Blum… dansent dans notre souvenir sur des airs à la mode, tels que les a vus Sennep.*" (1941: p. 3-4). His increased output was mirrored by an increase in demand. Requests for his work by newspapers grew massively in the early 1930s, and it became a marker of success for a fledgling newspaper if his work was published within it (Delporte, 1996). Sennep's virulent criticisms of the left-wing government were increasingly popular, boosting his own reputation and allowing him to further spread his polemic against the Popular Front.

As explained earlier, in this chapter, Sennep spent his early years influenced by Caran d'Ache, an artist who never refrained from using violence in his images, and had a vigorous, clear style which did not search for realism, but rather strived to use every tool at his disposal to get the meaning across, including references to painting and allegory (Delporte, 1996). Sennep began his images with the idea, then the scene, the graphic composition, the representations within it, the text, and then finally he would create the image.. His style of drawing was a requisite of his subject, parliamentary cartooning, and his career, newspaper cartoonist. The limited ability of the printing presses required a simple, clear line drawing with clarity and limited detail. As Maupoint (2010) argues, this style is better suited to attacking targets than praising people,

which is why Sennep prioritised depicting his opponents in his cartoons. As we have seen in the examples thus far, his political opponents were almost exclusively the featured targets in his images.

Sennep had a key visual tool when designing his images which allowed him to clearly represent his targets. He carried a *trombinoscope* with him, alphabetically organised with each politician's photograph and a number of drawings alongside them. Sennep collected his preferred targets and had depictions of different expressions for him to draw upon in his cartoons. His exhaustive catalogue, which he carried throughout his life, allowed the cartoonist to have a good depiction of politicians to hand to render clear representations of them. This allowed Sennep to quickly and easily use both the codes of identity and resemblance to maximise the impact of his drawings to target his desired opponents. He would take notes, sketch the subject, then focus on what he called the "*sujet symbolique. Cette chevelure féminine, cotonneuse, transcrite par le dessin, permettait d'évoquer les nuages de la pensée de son possesseur. Ce détail devenait pour moi le symbole même de l'homme.*" (Fels, 1941) This technique is on the front cover of his album *Pierre, Édouard et Léon* which identified the characters of Pierre Laval, Edouard Herriot and Léon Blum through abstract symbols which were recurring traits in his depictions. Blum's face is transformed into a broom, his thin figure connoting his weakness both physically and politically. Herriot is denoted through his pipe, and Laval by his tie and collar. These symbols replace the characters themselves, as Baur (1993) argued can occur with a skilful cartoonist and repetition of the symbol itself.

Figure 4-3 Sennep, Pierre, Édouard et Léon, album, 1936

Blum in particular became a key target of Sennep's ridicule as he began to reduce the leader of the *Front Populaire* to as few signifiers as possible and to play with the lower limits of recognition between the real and the abstract for identifying political figures.

As his work output grew, Sennep continued to attack the left-wing *Cartel des Gauches* government over its politics and personalities, often to great effect, but occasionally transgressing in the eyes of the politicians with whom he worked so closely. In all of Sennep's cartoons, the politicians of the cabinet found themselves being harshly criticised, Briand becoming a favoured target of ridicule. On the 31st October 1930 in *L'Écho de Paris*, as punishment for his perceived frailty in the face of a vengeful Germany, Sennep reduced Briand to a chrysanthemum on the grave of the Locarno pact. The dehumanisation of his opponents, and his depiction of Briand as both weak and vulnerable like a flower, but also the connotation of chrysanthemums with death and their use at funerals, symbolises the figurative death of the agreement, foretelling its collapse in 1935. However, this vitriol and anger led him into trouble with the police in 1931 with the creation of "*Un mois chez les députés*". In this special edition of *Rire* containing only his caricatures, Sennep turned the *Palais-Bourbon* into a brothel, with the deputies as prostitutes. In this publication we can see the recurrence of the feminisation and homosexualisation of cabinet members, reinforcing their existence as threats to the identity of France from a nationalist prespective. Léon Blum, in particular, became through Sennep's work the physical embodiment of attacks upon France from Jews and from

republicans. Blum is depicted as an effete man. The representation of the Jewish body as homosexual and feminine was explored by Mosse (1996) who recognised this image of Jewish identity as culturally disruptive. The effete nature of Blum also brings to mind the writer Antoine Rédier, who argued that republican men were effeminate, hyper-intellectual and lacking leadership, contrasting them with 'true men' who subscribed to conservative ideas who could save France and restore its glory (Koos & Sarnoff in Passmore, 2003). Redier's criticism of the effeminate man and the *femme moderne* breaking from the natural and societal order is reflected in another aspect of Sennep's characterisation of the homosexual relationship between Blum and Herriot. Sennep's depictions of France, its 'Others' and its enemies was typical of the French right by criticising the followers of the republican tradition, as well as linking the external and internal threats posed by political figures by connecting Jewish identity with Freemasonry and Communism.

Figure 4-4 Sennep, Un mois chez les deputés, Candide, 1931

Sennep's anti-parliamentary images were a common theme in his work during the interwar years. Herriot, complete with pipe, and Blum are depicted as prostitutes in the Palais-Bourbon. Baur's codes can be used to analyse this image. The code of expression is used in the faces of the characters, Blum's earnest stare as he speaks to the customer, and the smile in the face reflected in the mirror. The lines around Blum and Herriot are used to indicate movement,

showing us that we have caught them in the act. The figure of Herriot uses exaggeration to emphasise his power and control over Blum, whose slight frame is almost stick-thin, depicting both his physical and moral weakness. The figures of Blum and Herriot are both distant from the viewer, but also the centre of the image and where the eye is drawn to. They are the principal focus of the image. The text at the bottom helps with identification of the characters, with Blum a familiar figure to Sennep's readers, and Herriot's pipe there as a symbol of him to aid recognition, both of whom bear a strong resemblance to their real-life counterparts. Naked and entwined upon a sofa, they are acting at the behest of a client. The client is much less salient than Blum or Herriot, their body can be seen in the corner, without a head to identify them. It is only through looking in the mirror that we can determine the identity of the figure. As the client regards them both, Blum tells him "*Et tu sais, ce n'est pas du chiqué*." The eye of the viewer immediately focuses upon the couple on the *chaise longue*. Recreating the feminisation and homosexualisation of Blum and Herriot, the size of Herriot overpowers Blum, which is designed to connote the power which Herriot holds over Blum, the head of cabinet. On the table, we can see alcohol and piles of money, used to pay the politicians to perform whatever task the customer desires. The quote from the couple on the couch attempts to persuade the customer that this is not just for show but fails to persuade the reader. Herriot's pipe is resting on the table, ensuring that readers are aware just who is in the image, if the names in the text are not clear enough. The client 'François Moyen' sits smoking and having a drink, however we only see his face reflected in the mirror. He is occupying the same space as the viewer, looking at the couple. His head is pear-shaped, a reference to Philippon's depiction of King Louis-Philippe. The figure is perhaps that of a republican, an anti-monarchist, like Philippon, and suggests that republicans like the democratic system for what it can do for them, placing the self before the nation. Blum is also described in the sexual encounters Moyen had, Blum asks that clients yell "*Je vous hais*" at the "*moment psychologique*", as the world is backwards to her. This encounter only costs Moyen 50 cents, ridiculing how easily bought Leon Blum is, and how weak he is to the influence of others. The depiction of all the elected officials as women, alongside bizarre descriptions of Moyen's sexual encounters,

reinforce the nationalist conception of democracy as weakening the nation, as well as the idea that these ‘men’ will not save France due to their Republican nature.

No important politician on either the left or right of French politics was spared in Sennep’s images. Significantly, the vitriol and level of offence caused to parliamentarians led the police prefecture to become involved and seize the collection. Prevented from being sold at kiosks, and solely available at exhibition, it still became an immensely popular exhibit in only a few days. (Delporte, 1996: p. 40) This brush with the police did nothing to harm Sennep, he remained popular in the following years, but it was an uncharacteristic encounter with the police for a man who continually pushed the boundaries of what was considered tasteful and acceptable. This outright clash with authority was not repeated before the outbreak of war however.

As an important figure in the interwar press, Sennep was well respected and trusted by his newspaper colleagues, and he was left to work independently, with little input from his editors. He was above all a journalist, and therefore endeavoured to make sure his work was topical and appropriate to the newspaper for which he was working. (Delporte, 1996) Sennep’s work for the respectable, conservative and Catholic *L’Écho de Paris* was not the same as his work for *Candide* or *La Lessive*. As Fils (1948) records, any drawings deemed inappropriate for the prudish *L’Écho* were produced in *Candide*, whose audience were less prudish. This diverse content meant that Sennep was widely popular among all those on the right of the political spectrum, and his ability to tailor his work without offending his audience or the police resulted in him becoming one of the most productive cartoonists during the period as well. It also means, for this study, that *Candide* is a useful source for Sennep’s work because it published the most provocative and forthright images which Sennep produced, where the artist could work with little censorship or editorial oversight and gives us a purer insight into his work. As will be analysed in more detail in subsequent chapters, his work in *Candide* also resembles most closely the work which we have seen in his earlier albums, repeating the dehumanisation

of politicians as well as the feminisation and the anti-Semitic and xenophobic images codes and symbols which the artist employs.

For Delporte (1996) Sennep's work, ferocious as it was and full of spirit, should not be compared or confounded with the work of other caricaturists like Soupault and Roy who set out deliberately to insult, inflame and offend. They argue that if Sennep had been so inflammatory a character, the largest daily newspaper of the pre-war period, *Paris-Soir*, would not have recruited him between 1936 and 1939 to produce regular rejoinders to the work of the left-wing caricaturist Gassier. Importantly, Sennep's work is separate from the often anti-semitic "*caricatures haineuses*" (Delporte, 1996: p. 42) which appeared in extreme-right weeklies at the time, and he was not a participant in the work which led Roger Salengro, the Minister of the Interior under the Popular Front Government, to commit suicide. (Bellanger, 1972)

Sennep's productivity in the interwar years was aided by the political situation, one that offered plenty of opportunities to a keen pamphleteer and artist to attack the Popular Front. Sennep was never found wanting in his production, with *Candide* frequently reserving multiple pages for him. Finding himself allied with the spirit of *Croix de Feu*, Sennep was outraged by the shootings in the *place de la Concorde* on the 6 February 1934 and an anti-parliamentary discourse resurged in his drawings, as well as the dehumanisation of the politicians and attacks on their morality and character, as early as two days later. On the 8 February 1934 *Candide* published one of Sennep's cartoons (Figure 4.5, below). It depicted Édouard Daladier, President of the Council, transformed into a cockerel, atop the Chamber of Deputies, depicted as a dunghill, exclaiming "*Cocorico!"* or 'Hurrah!' in grotesque celebration of the shooting of fifteen protestors. The politician, turned into an animal which sleeps during the day, protects his territory, a building made of dung and straw, which will not last long in the eyes of Sennep. He guards the building where the hens are, another connotation of the deputies as female, Sennep takes this further as Daladier is literally crowing about his actions which led to the death of monarchists. Daladier is nothing but an animal for Sennep, he is not

human, and the reader is invited to share their disgust at the actions of the parliamentarian. Daladier's character is further impugned by the interaction between the text and the image. The title refers to a 'fumier', both a dunghill, and a person of contemptible character. The image is both an image of Daladier on the 'fumier' as well as a cartoon of Sennep's opinion 'sur le fumier'. Sennep's work in *Candide* focuses on the politicians and continues the dehumanisation and provocative work which we have seen in his albums.

Figure 4-5 Sennep, Candide, 8 February 1934

After this event, other right-wing newspapers queued up to criticise and attack the '*République maffieuse*" with renewed fervour. (Delporte, 1996: p. 42) Sennep blamed Blum and the government for the violence that had resulted just prior to their election, as well as following their victory, arguing that they were the reason the country appeared to be teetering on the brink of a possible civil war.

Alongside his campaign waged against Popular Front, Sennep's cartoons approached international politics as well, weighing in on the leaders of Italy and Germany. Published in 1938, and co-written with Gassier, *l'Histoire de France* took aim at Mussolini and Hitler. As much as Sennep was full of disdain for what he saw as a corrupt Republic beset by Jews and communists, the artist's appreciation of liberty, and his own intense Germanophobia, prevented him from being seduced by the regime led by Hitler. As demonstrated below, Sennep's cartoons that year advocated a stern approach towards Germany, and after the Munich Accords were signed, his work mocked those who believed they had protected peace. The patriotism of Sennep did not allow him to accept the aversion to conflict which the French right were beginning to adopt in the face of Germany. His disdain for any who appeased the Germans was apparent in the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* up until 1940.

Figure 4-6 Sennep, Candide, 1 October 1938

The next image of Sennep's to analyse was published in *Candide* in 1938 in the wake of the Munich Agreements which the government leaders of France signed. Sennep had been expressing his disaccord with the idea of appeasement in *Candide* up until this point, but this image makes clear how he saw the Germans and the leaders who he felt had betrayed France by agreeing to it. In Figure 4.6, the background is full of celebrating crowds, wearing nice

clothes and carrying flowers, chanting *"Victoire!!!*". The background above them shows people in their windows displaying tricolore flags from their windows, joining in the celebrations. The figures in the background are in a long shot, and we are unable to distinguish their identity, they are simply a type. The readers eye, however, focuses on the solitary figure on the bottom right of the image due to his increased salience and the empty space around him. Adolf Hitler, recognisable from his moustache and hair, is dressed up as beer maiden, carrying steins of beer to give to the partygoers. At first glance, the image is mocking Hitler as he is dressed as a woman while a crowd celebrates victory. However, the two figures on the left of the image, and the text, unveil the meaning of Sennep's work. The two figures are dressed as soldiers, looking bemused and disappointed by the celebrations. They refer to Hitler as "*La Madelon*" and say that she has "*bien changé*". La Madelon is a French patriotic song from the First World War, which tells of a girl in a country tavern who flirts with soldiers who are about to go to war and will wait for them until their return. The figure is one which refers back to a less urbanised, more traditional France, and the song connotes the strength and tenacity of the French army (Genton, 2003). Sennep, the soldier and avowed supporter of the army, denotes his opposition to the Munich Agreements. The soldiers are bemused by the celebrations of victory for France by signing a document which appeased Germany, an act that Sennep believed would lead to further conflict. *La Madelon* has gone from a figure of French patriotism to being embodied by Hitler, and the support for the military of the French people has been replaced by the leader of Germany, who the French people were happy to appease rather than fight. The crowd then becomes not a symbol of everyday French people, but a certain section of *bien-pensants* who thought this would be enough. The image connotes the betrayal both of France, through the destruction of the patriotic symbol of *La Madelon*, but also the betrayal of the armed forces. This opinion was not an uncommon one in France and, as du Réau (1998) argues, was shared by Edouard Daladier who himself was a signatory to the accords. This image, in particular, is significant as it emphasises the importance of the text and image interaction in analysis of Sennep's work as his depictions on their own can have multiple meanings without proper contextualisation and understanding of the socio-political codes which the artist employs. The

period of work produced after February 1940 is especially interesting due to the change in Sennep's working conditions. After being called up at the age of 45 to Austerlitz to work at a desk for the railway services, he was moved in February 1940 to work in propaganda.

Another image in *Candide* (Figure 4.7, below), from March 1940, again shows the codes and symbols which Sennep employs in his images to depict political figures and scenes. In Figure 4.7 (below), the image depicts a figure standing on a map, which is noted to be Paris. In the centre of the map stands a large obese man carrying bags and items of clothing. The figure, with the face and the jacket covered in medals, is Hermann Goering. He is a figure which Sennep has depicted previously, and the ridiculous number of medals have become his signature accompaniment. His face resembles that of Goering, and his body is an exaggerated form of Goering's weight. Goering's presence in the centre of the image draws attention to him, his eyeline takes the viewer to Goebbels in the bottom corner, isolated and in empty space, then brought back to Goering again. The salience of Goering indicates he is the primary figure in the image, the one for which the ire is meant. The reader is meant to recognise the figures of Goering and Goebbels, who were well known in the news at this point in time. The title is "*En vue de l'entrée à Paris*", which, combined with the image of Goering, implies the image will be about Goering's military entrance into Paris.

Figure 4-7 Sennep, Candide, 13 March 1940

Goering has shed his normal military outfit, which is lying around him on the ground, and some of his extraordinary number of medals. On the map, there are a few points of interest in Paris, however not military ones, but cultural points, like the Moulin Rouge and Eiffel Tower. The map is blank apart from these and the Seine. It becomes clear to the reader that the map is not a military one. The clothing Goering is wearing also unveils some more of the meaning in the image. He is wearing a large spotted cravate, *palmes academiques*, a hat with flowers, and a milliner's box. Goering is also being spoken to by Goebbels, who is telling him which of his items are for which cultural place. Goebbels is another figure which Sennep uses multiple times, however usually he is accompanied by a small bag with his name written on it, like in images published on 24th April 1940. The repetition of figures and accompanying symbols for recognition shows how Baur's codes can illuminate the work of Sennep in the interwar period and under Vichy.

The image, combined with the title and text, create two key messages for the reader. The first one repeats messages that were in Sennep's earlier work, as Goering is depicted as an effete

man, focusing on hats and cravats. He is weak, and can be defeated a strong patriot, like those in the military. The comments from Goering's assistant also suggest he is simple, unable to follow commands and instructions. The second message is propagandistic, attacking and mocking the German military for their poor ability. Goering is depicted as focused more on fashion and flowers, traditionally feminine interests, as well as *les palmes académiques*. These interests relate back to Rédier's argument that these hyper-intellectual and feminine interests betray a lack of leadership. Sennep argues that Goering is more focused on cultural landmarks than the military, and that this will lead to the Germans losing the war against the French. This image of the Germans as incompetent recurs in Sennep's work in early 1940, focusing on the incompetence of the military leaders, as well as their bad planning. A later image in March 1940 references the lack of fuel and supplies the Germans have, promoting the idea that the Germans are ill-prepared and ill-equipped. The above image shows the importance of analysing not just the image, but also the relations with the text accompanying it. Furthermore, by analysing the images within it, we can uncover the ideology behind it, such as Sennep's reference back to the nationalist ideology of the true patriot as opposed to the effete or feminine man. We can also see this representation is not just reserved for republicans, but for external enemies of France as well.

Sennep continued his attacks upon the Germans in the first half on 1940 in *Candide.* The feminisation of German military leaders is repeated, as are images which criticise the weight of Goering, including one published on 1 May 1940, which depicts Goering as a whale in the street receiving Nazi salutes from passers-by, which is a repeat of the animalisation which we saw in the images depicting government ministers in 1928 and beyond. The image published on the 15 May (Figure 4.8, below) repeats the feminisation of the Germans, in one of the last images Sennep produced before the fall of France. It should be noted that the date of publication is also the date upon which the Netherlands surrendered to Germany.

Figure 4-8 Sennep, Candide, 15 May 1940

The centre of the image features Goering and Hitler. Hitler is hunched over in his chair, looking up anxiously at Goering. Goering is the largest figure in the image, drawing the readers eye straight to him. Hitler is looking at him as well, indicating his primacy in the image. The eye then moves to Hitler, the smaller figure. Both are depicted as at an angle from the readers perspective, they are closed off and distant. The expression lines by his foot indicate Hitler is tapping it, in frustration or anticipation. Next to Hitler sits an empty bassinet, with "*Victoire*" written on it, denoting the name of the child who will occupy it. The main figure in the image is Goering, whose weight has been exaggerated again. His excessive medals and insignia are a clue through which he can still be recognised by the reader. The title clues us into the meaning of the excess weight, they are in the ninth month, indicating Goering is pregnant. Hitler's foot tapping is his impatience in waiting for the delivery. The bassinet indicates that the baby inside Goering is not a real baby, but a metaphorical one, named victory. Hitler is waiting for the victory promised to him by his generals. The text at the bottom of the image indicates Hitler's frustration, asking if the promised victory is "*pour bientôt*", which the reader

is invited to believe is unlikely through Sennep's use of visual metaphor. Although Goering is heavy, this time he has not been feminised by Sennep, indicating that he is not really pregnant. Goering is lying to Hitler, with the image inviting the reader to understand the victory will not arrive, and the image acts as another piece of propaganda for the continuing conflict, also arguing the German propaganda is incorrect. The combination of text, visual metaphor, and cartooning techniques employed by Sennep allows us to uncover the composite meaning behind the cartoon

Conclusion

As the discussion on methodology in Chapter 3 showed us, analysis of cartoons requires a combination of methods to uncover the meanings inherent in the images. One must take account of the symbols and images within the text, but also the syntax which occurs from combining them. We must also be aware of the socio-political codes in the image, as well as the interaction between the image and the text. By combining study of the framework of semiotics and the graphic techniques, this chapter aimed to analyse the style of Sennep and uncover the codes and symbols which he frequently employed in his work in the period up to 1940.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Sennep uses political figures overwhelmingly as the main subject material of his images. In *Candide*, as he viewed his work as equal to journalism, his continually focused his ire upon targets such as Léon Blum, Edouard Herriot, and politicians of the Left. His targets were not solely on the left however, as his work covered any republican or parliamentarian prominent in the Third Republic. In targeting his subjects, Sennep employed many graphic techniques to ridicule and satirise them. His techniques included dehumanisation through depicting his subjects as animals, and feminisation of his targets to criticise their republican sympathies. We have seen that Sennep's work, through combining his visual symbols with the text as anchorage, contains messages with regard to

anti-Semitism, xenophobia and anti-parliamentarianism, masking subtle criticisms which can only be fully understood by examining all aspects of the image including framing. This analysis of the images published pre-war give us an insight into Sennep's political views expressed in his cartoons, including his staunch Germanophobia which was included both before the outbreak of war, and unsurprisingly also in his propaganda work published after February 1940. These images also contain the same graphic techniques of exaggeration and expression which can be found in his earlier work. The images in 1940 do not represent a change compared to Sennep's work in the interwar years, but rather a continuation of the same trends and graphic codes and symbols. These codes are useful for analysis as they allow us to position Sennep politically at the outset of the Vichy regime. By focusing on his *Candide* images, we can track the developments and changes in his graphic style between 1940 and 1944. This will allow us not only to test Delporte's assertion that Sennep criticised Vichy, but also to examine how this criticism manifested through the images he published. While Delporte (1996) examined Sennep's cartoons thematically and ideographically, a semiotic analysis allows for a more nuanced understanding of Sennep's '*preferred meanings*' in the words of Hall (1973). In addition, it enables us to examine how these develop as the war progresses. While, as argued above, Sennep's graphic style displays clarity and limited detail, those details are key to examining the work which Sennep produced and the meanings within.

This next chapter of this thesis will examine the work produced by Sennep between June and December 1940. It will compare Sennep's work to his pre-war corpus and enable us to track developments or changes in his graphic style. This will also allow us to examine whether the Vichy regime brings about any changes in the targets, or criticisms which Sennep makes in his work. The chapter on 1940 will be followed by four further analysis chapters examining the cartoons produced by Sennep in Candide between 1941 and 1944. The chapters will also provide analysis diachronically, and will allow us, through the use of Baur (1993) and semiotics, to establish how Sennep's criticisms of Vichy manifested through his images. This

done, the conclusion of this thesis will enable us to position our findings within the broader context of cartooning under Vichy.

Chapter 5 – The Origins of Vichy Censorship July – December 1940

Introduction

Chapter 2 developed the methodologies required for us to provide the textual analysis of the work of Sennep to examine the subtle ways in which he expressed dissent in his images, in order to avoid the criticism of the censor. Chapter 2 then examined the inter-war cartoons of Sennep, with a particular focus on the images in *Candide* produced in the run-up to the outbreak of the Second World War. It demonstrated how Sennep used codes of exaggeration and expression, as well as techniques of feminisation, homosexualisation, and dehumanisation to ridicule his targets: parliamentarians; the German leadership; the Jewish people; and the communists. As we have seen, Sennep's work was very clear, but with layered meanings through combining the visual syntax of his images with the text as anchorage.

The present chapter continues the methodological analysis seen in the previous chapter but applies it to the content of the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between June and December 1940 in order to ascertain whether the cartoons of Sennep changed either their graphic style or subjects in the wake of the Occupation and the creation of the Vichy regime. We must however start our discussion with a contextualisation of the Vichy regime itself, and in particular the impact that the Occupation had upon the press, above all in the form of the new censorship regulations.

Censorship regulations under Vichy

On the 11th July 1940 Pétain installed himself as the head of the Vichy regime. The act was signed at Vichy, forever ensuring the genteel spa town in central France would be associated with this reviled administration. The Vichy regime was a complicated regime with inbuilt rivalries and complexities. Pétain's *Etat français* and the National Revolution aimed to right the alleged wrongs of the Third Republic. As Atkin (2001: p. 16) argues, in the 1930s

"*Politicians of all parties became exasperated with the political system which served France so badly*". The defeat of the French army gave Pétain the opportunity to right these wrongs. His vision was for a nation governed by a decentralised administration, a communal economy, and an integral Catholicism, all this under a benign, but unmoderated authority (Jackson, 2001). These traditionalist views were interpreted by many political groups as answering their own hopes for change, reform, and revenge and their support allowed Pétain to establish his regime with little opposition. As Paxton (1972: p. 137) maintains: "*The defeated republic ... evaporated like the dew*." The new Vichy regime required propaganda and press control to solidify its position and garner support. This can be evidenced through the legislation passed immediately after its formation to organise the censorship regime.

Only one day after Pétain signed the Vichy regime into existence, the law of 12th July 1940 assigned control of radio, press and news to the office of the *Présidence du Conseil*. Six days later the decree of 18 July 1940 passed control of radio, press and news to the *vice-président du Conseil*, Pierre Laval who took control of press and information, utilising it for his own ends. Propaganda and press control under Vichy were founded upon the popularity of Pétain, being used as a method of managing and controlling civil society. (Rossignol 1991: p.9) Laval utilised the censorship regime under Vichy as his own personal tool, employing clientelism, the appointment of his close friends and advisers, to maximise his control over its output as they would do what he asked. Appointing Jean Montigny, his close friend, to work alongside him at the Head of the Information Services, he was able to play upon the many contradictions and divergent elements supporting the regime in the new Vichy regime. The origins of the Vichy censorship regime are based in the regime's need for it to succeed.

From the outset the regime had a substantial level of support from broad cross sections of society inside the *zone libre*, with competing interests able to read into the regime what they wanted. Yet, despite this, *"Vichy n'est pas un bloc"* and "*les contradictions sont les plus vives entre les idéologues du régime, les conservateurs traditionalistes..., et les collaborationnistes parisiens*" (Sirinelli, 1992) These internal power struggles inside Vichy plagued the regime

throughout its short history, and led to the erosion of authority, support, and an increase in dissent and ultimately outright resistance. (Jackson, 2001) The regime saw the importance of control and authority, viewing censorship as a pillar of Vichy power. (Peschanski, 1997) This was maintained through strict state control of public information, such as controlling the output of newspapers and controlling radio broadcasts, and monitoring the public image of Vichy, even going as far as holding staged processions and ceremonies to honour Marshal Pétain, as well as creating propaganda films (Wharton, 1991). All of these had varying degrees of success, but the area where the Vichy control of information was most closely felt was in newspapers. (Bellanger, 1975) This control of the press was intended to popularise both the Vichy regime and the National Revolution which aimed to rebuild France's position of strength and prevent another debacle. (Shields, 1980) From the outset, it is clear that the Vichy regime viewed the press as a key tool for maintaining their control and authority during the German occupation.

The level of censorship and press control under Vichy increased throughout the four years of its existence. The focus on censorship by the regime, particularly on the written press, has been well documented (Peschanski, 1997). Censorship under Vichy, along with propaganda, were pillars of state power (Peschanski, 1997). The reliance on censorship is reflected in the official legislation regarding government control of information. As we will see, this control was manifested through several administrative instruments, including instructions on the length and position of articles, as well as articles to be reproduced in part or in whole. Control and interference were reinforced through financial material penalties for disobeying the censors' commands (Bellanger, 1975). The written press under Vichy became a prime avenue of research in understanding the role of censorship under Vichy.

Before any discussion of cartooning in the press under Vichy can be had, we must first understand the situation that the Vichy press found themselves in and the mechanisms of press control which Vichy used to enforce its authority. From the outset of the war, newspapers' ability to print freely was reduced dramatically by financial and political

challenges. The military defeat and subsequent Occupation brought a large upheaval to those working in the press. There were three main paths for newspapers in July 1940: some decided to cease publication, some elected to return to Paris to join titles created with German support, and some elected to move south to continue publication from Vichy France. As Bellanger (1975) explains, the Occupation took a great toll on the Parisian press, while they numbered 239 in 1939, only 43 remained by 1943. 5 daily newspapers ceased publication in June 1940, among them *Le Populaire* and *l'Epoque*, and more newspapers folded over the course of the Occupation due to material and financial restrictions. A larger number moved south, as 39 daily and weekly newspapers resituated themselves within the *zone libre*. Among the daily newspapers were *La Croix, Le Figaro* and *Petit Journal*. The most notable of the weekly press to move were *Candide* and *Gringoire*. Newspapers such as *Le Matin*, and *Paris-Soir* remained within Paris under the Occupation with German support. They were joined by newly formed newspapers such as *Le Cri du Peuple* and *La Gerbe.* German control of the press in the Occupied Zone was almost complete, with the Occupier aiming to 'divide and rule' by allowing certain newspapers on the left and right to publish, under very strict conditions, which provided an image of tolerance. This apparent tolerance was manipulated by the censors, forcing these newspapers to attack the ideological enemies of the regime and to attempt to render the Occupation more palatable to all sections of the population (Bellanger, 1975). In 1942 these attacks included the Vichy administration, as the occupied press began to attack the Vichy government and their failures to live up to the promises of the National Revolution (Lackerstein, 2012).

The relationship between the government and the press was very different in Vichy, where the press was required to support the National Revolution and Pétain, with much less tolerance allowed. Vichy desired control of its own press, while still acknowledging the role that the Germans had in monitoring and authorising publications. The relationship between the press and the Germans was presented by Vichy to the public as a dialogue "*inspirée par la volonté de tirer la France de sa condition de vaincu*" rather than as direct control from the Germans,

in an attempt to reinforce the image of authority and power (Bellanger et al., 1975: pp. 8-9). This resulted in more autonomy from the German Occupier for the Vichy press.

The press under Vichy was regulated through a two-fold mechanism of control, effectively rendering the newspapers tools of propaganda. Mandel describes the negative and positive definitions of press freedom thus: "*Negative [freedom] means a lack or absence of legal and/or political prohibitions, the absence of censorship and of institutions a priori denying average citizens the opportunity of printing and diffusing their opinions…*" Positive freedom is the "*material capacity of individuals to have their opinions printed and circulated*" (Mandel in Freiberg, 1981 pp. vii-viii). For Vichy, both of these freedoms are absent, in fact, Vichy did the opposite.

The state had strict criteria about what could and could not be published, as well as strict control over the financial means to print as well as the necessary tools, such as ink and paper, in order to allow only select materials to be published and circulated. As Amaury (1969: pp. 636-637) shows, this took the form of a monthly stipend which came from the Vichy regime to support the newspapers which had moved to publish in the unoccupied zone, and in June 1940 it numbered 200000 francs per month per newspaper, a substantial amount. Bellanger (1975: p. 72) demonstrates how this money became more important to the press who had moved to the South due to them losing large swathes of their audience and thus, revenue. Bellanger cites *Gringoire* as an example, which dropped from 500,000 readers a month to 300,000 readers a month over the four-year period. This financial support was reinforced by control of the paper supply rendering newspapers survival entirely at the whim of the censor and the Vichy regime. This material dominance was used to help maintain the influence and control over what information was published by the newspapers. This is evidenced by numerous *"consignes permanentes*" issued by the government to the censors (Amaury, 1969: p. 521). These *"consignes"* gave guidance to the censors, and numbered eighty in 1941, rose slightly in number to ninety-three in 1942, but in 1943 had dropped again to eighty. The list of "*consignes"* found in Amaury (1969) in 1943 illuminates the meticulousness of the censor, as

thirteen are dedicated to technical concerns relating to the layout of the newspaper page, more than any other. The other "*consignes"* concern content, including five "*consignes"* on "*l'unité française"*, eight on "*la politique intérieure"* and six focusing on "*l'agriculture et ravitaillement*". While these "*consignes permanentes"* were important they were outnumbered by the "*consignes temporaires et quotidiennes",* as Amaury (1969: p. 521) demonstrates that 300 were sent in the last six months of 1940 alone. The government issued another 210 "*consignes"* to newspapers and the censors between 5 January and 14 April 1941. These were concerned with the news at the time, dictating permitted content and how newspapers were to discuss important events. This included restrictions on publishing any news of military losses sustained by the Occupier, and any news obtained from foreign sources. These restrictions were often reinforced with templates for the newspapers to reprint; any changes to these had to be approved by the government censor (Peschanski, 1991). Furthermore, the access to materials was strictly regulated by the Ministry for Press and Information, which enforced the press to obey through material and financial penalties. Due to the economic environment in late 1940, the Vichy press at this stage was severely hamstrung, with many newspapers suffering from a fall in readership and becoming reliant upon Vichy subsidies to continue (Bellanger, 1975). In this case, what the written press experienced under Vichy was neither Mandel's conception of negative freedom or positive freedom, but instead the inverse of both (in Freiberg, 1981).

Furthermore, censorship of the press under Vichy did not simply consist of financial penalties and censorship. The state control was more pervasive, with the state not only restricting what newspapers were able to publish, but moreover attempting to insert text and themes into newspapers. This demonstrates the inverse of Mandel's conception of positive freedom, with censorship and propaganda dictating news content and editorials, evidencing positive control. The daily messages from the government were intended to control the information the press was able to distribute, attempting to maintain a homogeneity of message, with the intention of conditioning the French population. (Bellanger, 1975: p. 8) Amaury cites examples of these

"*notes d'orientation"* which dictated newspaper output, and covered events in ways to discredit foreign press output, as well as to maintain the themes of propaganda dictated by the Vichy regime. One such note from 14 September 1942 is worded thus: *"On soulignera l'importance de la loi sur la réglementation et l'utilisation de la main-d'œuvre. On en soulignera également l'absolue nécessité*" (Amaury, 1969: p. 598). This insertion of messages and ideas into the press was pervasive, but as Jackson (2001) reports, carried the consequence of the press appearing homogenous and simply tools of propaganda.

Shortly after the military debacle and the creation of the new *État français,* Vichy began to assert its control over the press with the creation of the *Office français d'information* (OFI) from the remains of the newly nationalised press agency Agence-Havas. The OFI had a dual purpose within the Vichy regime. It was designed to allow Vichy to control the information and articles sent to the newspapers, maintaining tight control over what they were able to publish by restricting newspapers' access to different sources of information. This included banning foreign radio broadcasts and the sale of foreign newspapers. The OFI would then send "*notes d'orientation*" which provided censored overviews of the foreign press to promote key ideas and messages of the regime. (Amaury, 1969) The other purpose was to allow the office of Press and Censorship to focus on commentaries, as news articles were already monitored by the OFI. (Lévy, 1966) The OFI assisted Vichy by pressurising newspapers to publish favourable news reports, privileging news of German military successes and Allied military defeats. They would also include interviews with the Vichy cabinet, proselytising to the audience about the values of the National Revolution. Indeed, as considered in more detail below, the edition of *Candide* published on 13 November 1940 included a front page which trumpeted their honour to print "*La Première Interview avec le Maréchal*". The office of Press and Censorship fell under the jurisdiction of the Secretary General of Information, who also controlled the OFI. (Peschanski, 1991) Laval's appointment in 1940 led him to install his close friend Pierre Cathala as Secretary General of Information. Laval intended to maintain a strict system of control over the press, with himself at the helm. As Limagne (1987) demonstrates,

both permanent and temporary *"consignes de censure"* as well as *"notes"* of orientation, recommendation, insertion and *"interdiction"* which were sent for the press to follow.

These *"notes"* of orientation, recommendation, insertion and *'interdiction'* were enforced by departmental censors who would check and censor newspapers pre-publication and punish those which rebelled. Punishment ranged from fines to restrictions on publication, as well as removal of key supplies such as paper and ink. Laval used this system in service of his goal to improve relations with the Germans, and to enhance his own influence on information and monopolise contact with the Germans, usually taking the form of only promoting positive articles about the Germans and 'consignes' stating: "*Mettre en haut de la page une, chaque jour, soit un titre sur 2 colonnes, soit 2 titres sur une colonne, faisant état d'iniatitives ou de succès de l'Axe*". (Amaury, 1969: p. 523) Internal conflicts within the regime, particularly between Laval and the closest adherents of Pétain, led to his dismissal in December 1940 (Jackson, 2001).

Ultimately, newspapers under Vichy did not have to abide solely by the regulations set by the Vichy regime as the French censor was still answerable to the occupying Germans. German oversight required the Vichy censor to act in two key ways: first, they had to promote articles favourable to the Germans to attempt to sway public support; and secondly, they would restrict any mention of the military effort for fear of any stories bringing a negative reaction from the Occupier. (Amaury, 1969) Otto Abetz, the German ambassador to Vichy had an effective veto over news stories produced by the *Office français d'information* (OFI) before they were sent to the press and was influential in appointments to key positions in the Information Services. (Lévy, 1966) The government at Vichy gave away much of its independence to retain the impression of sovereignty, and for the press that meant that while Vichy carried out its own mechanism of press control, the German threat of intervention loomed ever-present. This intervention did occasionally occur later in the war, with Vichy punishing editors at the behest of the Germans, even if they had not rebelled against the Vichy system of censorship and control. For example, Bernard Aldebert, in October 1943, was punished by Vichy and the

Germans for an image appearing in *Ric et Rac* which led to the newspaper being seized and the caricaturist being eventually sent to Buchenwald concentration camp, then Mathausen, and finally Gusen, where he survived the war (Delporte, 1993: p. 44-45). While the Germans demanded that the cartoonist be punished for the image, it is also important to note that there were no separate instructions regarding press control or censorship for political and editorial cartoons. The censor would simply look at them and decide whether they were suitable for publication (Lévy, 1966). The Vichy regime set about utilising the press to its own ends, with the regime changing and evolving throughout the war as key figures attempted to use the control of information for their own political goals. While the German threat loomed ever larger as the war progressed, and the events of December 1942 consolidated their power over Vichy further, the preceding two years carried their own challenges for the press operating under the *Etat français*.

As this section has made clear, restrictions regarding press control under the Vichy regime were stringent and wide-ranging. The financial and material penalties, alongside the government interventions in publishing, and the requirement for censor approval on any editorial pieces, meant that the press had neither of what Mandel (in Freiberg, 1981) referred to as 'positive' or 'negative' freedom. This close restriction of content affected *Candide* as well as all other newspapers where Sennep worked. The artist was working under close restrictions, and any dissent or criticism of the regime was met with harsh penalties. This can be evidenced by the week-long suspension from publishing which *Candide* received in 1941 for an editorial piece which was published without approval from the censor (Amaury, 1969).

Pierre Laval's position as *vice-président du Conseil* enabled him to be completely in charge of the information services under Vichy. This gave him control of radio, propaganda and newspapers, as well as cinema. As noted above, these services were key to the Vichy regime, and Laval became a hugely important figure in the government. According to Amaury (1969) Vichy viewed propaganda as essential due to institutional and ideological characteristics of the regime. Institutionally, the regime found itself distanced from those it attempted to govern,

both politically and geographically. Ideologically, propaganda was important for the regime because the new *Révolution nationale (RN)* was vague and required definition of its themes in 1940. Vichy also sought to distance itself from the old Third Republic and focused on the popular support behind Pétain and the RN.

As Amaury (1969: p. 86) recalls, the Vichy censorship and propaganda services had to quickly rebuild itself in a new location. However, the regime attempted to solidify the services as quickly as possible by passing numerous *lois* and *décrets* to organise the services. (Amaury, 1969: p. 82) Vichy passed the *Loi du 27 août 1940* which was designed to lift restrictions on publishing put in place by the 1938 law. In particular, this allowed Vichy to publish attacks against ethnic groups. (Remy, 1992) The new legislation also pardoned those who had been convicted of publishing attacks against ethnic groups and was intended to allow newspapers to print attacks against the Jewish population of France. (Remy, 1992: p. 75) As Peschanski & Gervereau (1996) highlight, the use of censorship by the regime is immediate. Laval used daily notes of instruction to the press from the beginning of August to control output and help support his personal politics of collaboration. Newspapers also received 300 *consignes* between the end of July and the end of December 1940. This dramatic increase in this method of press control was symptomatic of Vichy's desire to assure popularity for the regime and to spread the principles of the RN. This new propaganda was based around two key ideas: Pétain and the fall of the Third Republic. The mechanisms of press control worked quickly under Vichy and allowed the regime to take swift control of the press to control their output.

We have observed in this chapter the importance which the Vichy regime placed upon the press as a tool for propaganda and control of information. Vichy viewed the press as a pillar with which to support itself, and Pierre Laval led a system which controlled practically every aspect of the press, materially as well as in terms of content and layout. This system was backed by a stringent system of punishments for journalists who contravened the regulations or attempted to publish work without the authorisation of the censor. These rules applied to political cartoonists as well, whose work was viewed by the censor before publication and had

to be approved. We must take this system into account before analysing the work of Sennep during the Occupation. His work would not have been published by the newspaper, or approved by the censor, if it contained overt criticisms of the Vichy regime. This assessment concurs with Delporte (1993) who argues that Sennep's criticisms of the Vichy regime and ideology are subtle. Therefore, the next section of this chapter will analyse the cartoons produced by Sennep between July to December 1940. Delporte (1996) argues that while some expected Sennep to align himself with the Vichy regime, the artist only made minor concessions to the regime's ideology, retaining his anti-parliamentarian messages from before the Occupation. Delporte (1996) discusses an image produced by Sennep in December, however, which appears supportive of Pétain. This section will analyse these images and evaluate how the artist's images presented the new Vichy regime and whether they conform to Delporte's assessment of criticism.

Sennep June to December 1940

As Sennep moved away from Paris to live near Vichy he found himself publishing within a new political environment. As a newspaper cartoonist, his work was still subject to the regulations of Vichy, and the *Consignes générales permanentes pour la presse* restricted any publication which talked about domestic or foreign politics, or the current economic situation. Otherwise, the newspaper cartoons experienced less direct insertion of messages and themes than the written press. (Rossignol, 1991) However, what is immediately noticeable is the impact of the censor. Newspapers produced in late August 1940 were focusing on the defeat and analysing what happened. They also contained jokes regarding the scarcity of food and petrol. With the consolidation of power by Laval in August 1940 and the reorganisation of the Information Services, the impact of the censor is visible from the beginning of September as all mention of these topics were thereafter prohibited. (Amaury, 1969)

The Information Services at the outset of the *Etat français* focused on producing two key messages: the glory of Pétain, and the degradation of France as a result of the Third Republic, particularly the left-wing governments run by Leon Blum, among others. These ideas were broadly popular in France, and unsurprisingly were adopted by the right-wing press, including newspapers such as *Candide*. On the surface, the criticisms of the Third Republic from Vichy are similar to those from Sennep and combined with his own politics which we analysed in the previous chapter, it is probable that the French population expected Sennep, the right-wing anti-parliamentarian ex-soldier, to declare himself a supporter of Vichy and Pétain, the hero of Verdun.

Figure 5-1 Sennep, Candide, 3 September 1940

The newspaper articles published in *Candide* from early September focused on the themes of reconstruction and the failure of the Third Republic. We can identify the same themes in Figure 5.1 (above). Edouard Herriot, former three-time President of the Council of Ministers, and member of the *Cartel des gauches,* is the first target of Sennep's pen under the Vichy regime. As shown in Chapter 3 Herriot was a frequent target of Sennep's ire pre-war. In this cartoon, the politician receives the same treatment. In the centre of the image, Herriot's oversized rear-end is facing the reader. The figure of Herriot is dressed in shorts and a vest, while he is in his

office which is denoted by the words *Mairie de Lyon* inscribed on the mantlepiece behind him. However, Herriot is in the midst of exercising. He is hanging down from gymnastic bars, by his hands and feet. As Herriot struggles, which Sennep expresses through multiple beads of sweat flying off Herriot's strained face, he is watched by two of his colleagues, also dressed in a combination of sportswear and official insignia. Herriot is also depicted with his customary pipe, but it has been placed in his mouth by Sennep, rather than leaving it on the table, so he is shown as exercising while smoking. The title "*La culture physique à l'honneur*" gives us an insight into Sennep's intention with this image, and the combination of the cartoon with the text uncovers meaning for the reader. The two figures in the right of the image, holding civil documents, are both looking bemusedly at Herriot. While watching him struggle to exercise, they say to one another "*Ce qu'il faut faire maintenant, pour essayer de conserver sa situation*". The gaze of the figures and the text show that they are looking at Herriot with contempt, mocking him as he attempts to maintain his position at the *Mairie de Lyon* through struggling to exercise. The title implies that Herriot's lack of physical fitness is aligned with his lack of morality or honourable character. The use of sport as a theme is important to discuss, however, due to its connections with the National Revolution. Sennep continuously attacked the politicians of the Third Republic, however while his images pre-war mocked Herriot for his weight, the connection between physical fitness and moral character had not been made. I would argue that the image is polysemic. For those supporters of Vichy and the National Revolution, the image can be read as an endorsement of the new sporting policy of the regime which promoted sport as a source of physical and moral regeneration. However, the visual syntax of the image uncovers another meaning. While Herriot is in his office, it has been turned into a gym. His staff are wearing sporting equipment while at work. This situation is abnormal, so appears to have been a choice by Herriot rather than government policy. The text also helps to clarify this image. The text describes Herriot as trying to "*conserver sa situation"*. Rather than Herriot simply being unfit, the politician has chosen to attempt this exercise. It is an act of desperation. He is attempting to exercise to prove to Vichy that he should be able to keep his position. The title in this reading becomes a pun on *avoir l'honneur* as Herriot does it

not for pleasure, but because he fears for his position. The image does not depict Herriot's moral failings through sport, rather his desperation to try anything to retain power. While this distinction may be minor, it is important. This second reading of the image does not use the Vichy ideology in the same manner as the earlier reading and thus, does not imply ideological cohesion with the National Revolution or Vichy, simply a shared target.

This subtle distinction is repeated by Sennep in an image published on 18 September 1940 which depicts a group of Third Republic parliamentarians sneaking through the woods. Among the group is Jules Jeanneney, the former President of the Senate. The group is approaching a sign indicating a *Camp de Jeunesse*. The parliamentarians are in their pants and shoes, because Jeanneney is telling his colleague that this way they can "*tenter de les noyauter*". The old parliamentarians are attempting to infiltrate the youth camp. The image can be read as a criticism of the group, through contrasting their age with the youth camp. While Vichy valued youth through its National Revolution, the image can be read as a confirmation of this philosophy, criticising the parliamentarians for being old and redundant in the new era. However, much like the previous image, the framing of the image unveils a different picture. The positioning of the parliamentarians as central figures here is key. Their central position, compared to the sign on the right of the image, focuses the viewer on mocking the parliamentarians. The youth camp is not shown or described, and the abstract name removes any reference to either the *Chantiers de la jeunesse*, or the *Compagnons de France*, the Vichy run youth organisations (Jackson, 2001). Instead, the focus of the reader's eyes is on the ridiculous sight of a group of old men attempting to infiltrate a youth camp. The reader is invited to mock their desperation to retain any influence, going so far as to strip off to attempt to appear as children. Sennep's images play upon the polysemic nature of cartoons under the Vichy regime, where a surface level reading of Sennep's work could find meanings which would satisfy the Vichy supporter, but for those who were not yet entirely aligned with Vichy, Sennep was able to criticise the Third Republic, using the language of the National Revolution, but without praising or accepting the ideology itself. This duality of reading can be seen in the

newspaper where Sennep's cartoons are published alongside propaganda articles praising Pétain and Vichy.

Figure 5-2 Sennep, Candide, 25 September 1940

Sennep's work continued to attack those responsible for France's defeat for their involvement in the parliamentary democracy that weakened France internally. In Figure 5.2 (above), Sennep depicts Léon Jouhaux, Léon Blum, Jean Zay and Herriot as engines in various stages of exhaustion and depletion. Camille Chautemps is attempting to repair and refuel them to little avail. The empty cans are labelled *parliamentarisme* and *démocratie*. Each of the politicians has run dry of fuel, the parliamentarism and democracy which supported them has run out, and they are unable to function in the new society under Pétain, as Chautemps exclaims that he has to find a new source of fuel. Herriot's increased size makes it appear like he is the bigger drain, as the three cans are lying by his feet. Sennep was thus criticising the Third Republic politicians for their inability to adjust to the new regime. The end of the Third Republic had brought the end of democracy and parliamentarianism, which Sennep wanted in his interwar cartoons as well, and can therefore be considered to be celebrating their demise. It is important to note that this is one of only two times we will see the character of Léon Blum in Sennep's cartoons under Vichy in 1940. As Delporte (1996) argues, the

cartoonist chose thereafter to not depict Blum as he no longer wished to be associated with the anti-Semitism which came from the collaborationist press. For Sennep, one of his primary graphic concerns in the interwar period was the threat that France faced from internal and external threats, Léon Blum came to embody these images in Sennep's work as his alleged links with the Soviet Union and his Jewish identity combined to make him a threat to the nation, but also working for a foreign power. In Figure 5.2, Blum is a minor character at the back of the picture, he is reduced to a secondary figure. Sennep focuses on the removal of power and position from Blum but does not include any visual references to Blum's Jewish identity or left-wing beliefs. The other image of Blum in Sennep's cartoons also appeared in 16 October 1940, as Blum spoke from the walls of the castle where he was being held. As he attempts to recreate a scene from the parliament, we can see animals appear in rows in front of him. The image mocks the end of parliamentarianism, but no reference is made to Blum's other characteristics which appeared so often in Sennep's interwar images as analysed in Chapter 3.

Candide published the first written interview with Pétain on 13 November on their front page alongside an article which criticised the electoral system in the United States. The newspaper continued to publish material supporting the ideology of the National Revolution, the following week's front-page cartoons by Abel Faivre (Figure 5.3, below) were very openly supportive of Pétain and his role in Vichy.

Figure 5-3 Abel Faivre, Candide, 20 November 1940

Faivre's images clearly contrast with the work of Sennep in style, symbols and language. Straightforwardly titled "*Devant le portrait du Maréchal*", the image shows a parent with his arms around children, talking to them about Pétain. He emphasises the importance of Pétain by telling the children in the subtitle "*Vous le reconnaissez, il vous reconnaît aussi, vous êtes sa France!*" The intention of the image is clear: the denotation of the father protecting his children connotes in the mind of the reader the image of Pétain protecting the population of France like the grandfather figure in which he is often portrayed.

Delporte (1993) and Delporte (1996) both analyse an image published by Sennep in *Candide* in December 1940, which symbolises this duality of meaning in his images and through which we can discern criticism and dissent in Sennep's work towards the Vichy regime. The image, published on 3 December 1940, shows three open windows, with a page of the Constitution hanging out of each, being beaten and shaken vigorously to clean it.

Figure 5-4 Sennep, Candide, 3 December 1940

In Sennep's image we see the figures in the bottom right corner of Camille Chautemps, Joseph Paul-Boncour and Jules Jeanneney. Their size is so small in the image, they have been physically reduced, and they are having the rubbish from the Constitution, and the Third Republic, dumped onto them. Amongst the dust we can make out symbols of communism and freemasonry. We can also see the pipe of Herriot, who has replaced Léom Blum as the *bête noire* of Sennep in his images. This is not an uncommon scene in Sennep's work, the ridicule and destruction of the Third Republic and its adherents. The interesting aspect of this image is who is depicted as cleaning the Constitution. While the two furthest windows are indistinguishable, the closest window is where the reader's attention is drawn, as that is where the vector of Chautemp's eyeline is directed. In the window, we can see an arm holding a carpet beater. While the arm gives us no identification, the three stars on the uniform give the reader an idea of the holder. For those who support Vichy, the three stars are enough to indicate Pétain being the holder, and the image can therefore be read as praising the leader. This reduction of Pétain to an arm is used by the collaborationist press to indicate his charisma and his position above normal quarrels (Delporte, 1993). The figures beside Pétain in the other windows indicate that he is not alone but is working with the French people. Sennep's image

is supportive of Pétain at the end of December 1940, possibly as a result of Sennep's support for the armed forces and Pétain's role as the Hero of Verdun.

The images published in *Candide* for the remainder of 1940 focused on the politicians of the Third Republic. Sennep depicts figures such as Herriot, Jeanneney and Chautemps mourning over their past life under the Third Republic. His final image on Christmas day 1940 continued to use the symbols of the Soviet Union as well as the Freemasons to continue to connect the Third Republic with internal and external threats facilitated by those who were supposed to be safeguarding the nation. Paxton (1972: p. 172) explains the virulence and hatred amongst French conservatives towards the masons, who they believed to be undermining France from within. This hatred only grew when several members of the Popular front were revealed to be practicing masons. The masonic support of separation of Church and State in the early 1900s caused the Catholic Church, and the Communist Party, to ban membership for its adherents. Sennep depicts members of the Popular Front government locked away in their cells awaiting trial for their crimes. The reader is invited to mock them for their situation, and Sennep celebrates the removal of the politicians from power.

Conclusion

The previous chapter provided an analysis of Sennep's interwar cartoons. We were able to see how the graphic codes, techniques and symbols he employed were used to express meaning in his work. Employing the four codes identified by Baur (1993), it was shown how Sennep used codes of expression, identity, resemblance and exaggeration to skewer his political opponents in his clear drawing style. The symbols he used were designed to connote foreign allegiances or membership of a political group which Sennep did not deem desirable, such as symbols of communism and Jewish identity, and links to the Soviet Union. He also attacked his targets using codes such as feminisation or homosexualisation to criticise the modern 'effete' man who would be brought low by the nationalist traditional man. These styles

were used on all members of the Third Republic parliament; however, Léon Blum was the singular focus for many of Sennep's techniques and attacks.

In this chapter we have noted similarities and differences in Sennep's cartoons between the interwar period and his work under Vichy. First, the character of Léon Blum became a minor peripheral figure, replaced by Edouard Herriot and other cabinet members. Sennep however maintained his attacks on parliamentarians from the Third Republic. Sennep did not though employ dehumanisation or feminisation in his work in 1940, and his allusions to Jewish identity were dropped from his images. Allusions to Freemasons, communism and foreign powers were nonetheless present however in the first six months under Vichy.

These similarities are to be expected in Sennep's work regarding his primary targets in the first six months after the Fall of France. His opponents have largely remained the same, and the criticisms of them have remained as well, particularly the criticisms linked to Freemasons and the Soviet Union. However, there have been some important changes which can provide answers to research questions which this thesis aims to respond to. First, the removal of Léon Blum is explained by Sennep's desire to avoid conflation of his work with that of collaborationists (Delporte, 1993). In 1937 Sennep depicted Blum in 11 of his front page editorial cartoons as well as numerous appearances in cartoons inside the paper as well, he also reappeared frequently in 1938. His opposition to the German offensive in the inter-war years was apparent in his cartoons. His inability to openly criticise the Germans is explained by the influence of the censor, but his unwillingness to continue to pictorialise anti-Semitism for fear of appearing to support the act of collaboration made his opposition clear. Secondly, while Sennep appeared to use the language of the National Revolution in his images, this chapter has shown how his images used the language and framing of the cartoon to criticise the Third Republic figures without supporting or praising the ideology of Vichy. This can perhaps best be explained through the third difference, the depiction of Pétain. Sennep's unwillingness to depict a key political figure, which his compatriots in *Candide* were happy to do, can be understood as his unwillingness to align himself with Vichy. The act of collaboration

with the Germans appears to be Sennep's primary concern with the Vichy regime and Pétain, and while he is happy for the impact they have had in removing figures who Sennep believed had betrayed France, he is still unwilling to publicly express support for the regime, rather masking his own *attentiste* approach behind the language of the National Revolution to avoid criticism of the censor.

Chapter 6 – Sennep and the *vent mauvais* – January to December 1941

Introduction

Chapter 3 identified the political messages in Sennep's work in the interwar years, demonstrating how his cartoons contained anti-Semitic, xenophobic and anti-parliamentarian messages, The previous chapter, Chapter 4, then examined the cartoons published by Sennep in *Candide* between July and December 1940, the first months of the Occupation of France demonstrating how during the final six months of 1940 Sennep changed the meanings in his images in subtle ways to reflect his attitude towards with the Vichy regime. Sennep continued his attacks on the Third Republic parliamentarians but reduced the appearances of Léon Blum in order to avoid conflation with the anti-Semitic work of collaborationists. The analysis thus confirmed Delporte's (1996) argument regarding the removal of anti-Semitism from his images. His cartoons in *Candide* portray Sennep as something of an *attentiste*, waiting to see how the war developed while maintaining relations with the censor. In addition, Chapter 4 significantly revealed how Sennep's images used the language of the National Revolution to attack his targets and pacify the censor, while he masked his criticisms within the framing of his images and the visual syntax. While Delporte (1996) recognised the disappearance of anti-Semitism, and the continuation of Sennep's anti-parliamentarian messages, through using semiotics and graphic techniques the analysis in Chapter 4 furthered knowledge by uncovering this level of disaffection with regard to the Third Republic, but also Sennep's support for Pétain in 1940.

Delporte (1993) argues that 1941 saw a definitive split with Vichy through Sennep's work as a result of collaboration, and that Sennep's work published that year included criticisms of the National Revolution and Vichy society. Therefore, this chapter will continue analysis of Sennep's cartoons by examining the cartoons between January and December 1941 in *Candide*, the time period where Delporte (1993) argues we witness the cleavage between Sennep and the Vichy regime. During this year we saw the exacerbation of rationing under

the regime as the war continued, but, most importantly, in August 1941 Marshal Pétain gave his '*vent mauvais'* speech to the French people in Vichy. This speech decried those who sought to promote disunity under Vichy and challenge the Government's aims, instead promoting the cause of collaboration. This chapter will compare the cartoons produced by Sennep both before and after Petain's speech, to uncover any developments or evolutions in the work produced by the cartoonist before and after the speech.

The existing literature argues that 1941 is where Sennep broke from Vichy in terms of the messages in his cartoons due to his opposition to collaboration with the Germans. (Delporte, 1996) Through examining the cartoons published in 1941, this chapter will test the key hypothesis that the cartoons produced by Sennep in 1941 represented a deviation from the themes in his work published in 1940, indicating rejection of the Vichy regime and the National Revolution as maintained by Delporte (1996). Table 1 (below) provides a thematic overview of the subjects in Sennep's work published in 1941 by month and will form the basis of our examination in this chapter of his cartoons. Due to the composition of Sennep's work, multiple themes can be identified in the same image such as his rejection of parliamentarianism and the theme of the National Revolution. Therefore, the combined total number of depictions for each theme may exceed the total number of cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1941. The first half of this chapter will analyse the cartoons published between January and July 1941. The second half of the chapter will consider the body of images in *Candide* between August and December of that year. The chapter will adopt the same methodological approach as Chapter 4 – using insights from semiotics and the graphics techniques literature – in order to provide a textual analysis of the messages in the cartoons. Before we analyse the cartoons though, we must first understand the context of censorship around the written press and the influence of the regime and the censor in 1941.

Month	Number of Cartoons	Third Republic	Parliamentarianism	Freemasonry	Communism	Adhémar and Hermengarde
January	4	3	1			
February	4	4		1		
March	4	2				2
April	5					5
May	4					3
June	4	1	1		3	
July	5		2	3		1
August	4		3		1	
September	3		2	1		
October	5			1		2
November	4		2			
December	5		2	1		1
Total	51	10	12	7	4	14

Table 1: Thematic overview of cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1941.

Censorship Regulations under Marion

Laval's removal from his post as *vice-président du Conseil* in December 1940 saw him replaced by Pierre-Étienne Flandin, who was then summarily removed from the role in February 1941. At the behest of the Germans, François Darlan was then selected as the *vice-président du Conseil*. François Darlan's cabinet represented a change in political direction. This change was symbolised by the relative decline of the traditionalists surrounding Pétain and the rise of both 'technocrats' and 'Collaborationists' (Peschanski, 1991).

Paul Marion was seen by the Germans and Vichy as someone who fitted into both groups. Marion was selected by both Vichy and the Germans, since he was "*un excellent propagandiste*… (qui) *s'était signalé au public français comme un partisan éclatant de la collaboration franco-allemande*" (Guérin, 2010: p.1290). Darlan appointed Paul Marion to the position of *Secrétaire général pour l'Information*, but unlike Cathala, who carried out Laval's orders, Marion was solely in charge of the press and information services, implementing his own style of control until his eventual replacement in April 1942 by the return of Laval. As Amaury (1969: p. 89) puts it "*sous le gouvernement Darlan, les diverses entreprises de propagande sont centralisées sous l'impulsion de l'organisateur expérimenté P. Marion. Il crée une centrale et un appareil de propagande d'Etat uniques dans l'histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France.*" This system of control by Marion differed from Laval in its reach. Whereas Laval had primarily punished the press for disobeying orders of censorship, Marion extended his power by suspending newspapers, not just for ignoring censorship regulations, but also for neglecting to print propaganda sent from his office. (Amaury, 1969: p. 634) This allowed for not just preventative control, but also punishments administered *a posteriori*. As we will see, this was designed to reinforce control and maintain a consistent message throughout the press under the Vichy regime.

Marion's goal was to centralise the apparatus of press control, and to use this censorship as a component of total political control of Vichy society (Peschanski, 1997). He removed the existing structures and put in place a centralised apparatus combining the control of the means of

information, and the *encadrement* of the population by a network of propagandists. He consolidated all the quasi-official services which produced public leaflets or newspapers, such as the *Amicale de France*, and brought them all firmly under his control. Marion's goal for the press was "*to substitute the liberal and capitalist press for a press which resembles the German and Italian press, that's to say, without being the press of the state, always being at the aid of the state*." (Peschanski, 1997: p. 70) He spoke to the press directly in a note from April 1941, reminding them: "*N'oubliez pas que vous avez charge d'âmes… Votre métier est un sacerdoce … Nous sommes au service du pays, au service du pilote.*" (d'Almeida and Delporte, 2010: p. 119). It is important to note that Marion used control of the press in his quest for total political control of Vichy society, arguing that the press should guide people as he considered that they were unable to make up their own minds (Peschanski, 1997). Marion was opposed to the suggestion put forward by Darlan, the *vice-président du Conseil*, that the press should have been able to print modest and courteous criticisms of interior politics. Marion clearly envisaged the press under Vichy as a tool through which to promote Vichy and which would act as a guide to the French public, maintaining support for the regime. He also created a series of specialist propaganda services aimed at groups such as farmers or the working class to influence as many people as he could. Marion sought to diversify the output of the press in order to provide specialised material for important groups within the state, however he maintained control of the message and ideas published throughout. His goal was to use the press to gain support for and to maintain the Vichy project.

In contrast to Laval's strict control of every aspect of the press, Marion attempted to maintain the control exhibited by Laval's regime, while also offering flexibility to the newspapers in a quid pro quo relationship. *Notes d'orientation*, which originally under Laval were strict and meant to be reproduced (Amaury, 1969), were sent out that included content for articles which journalists had to reorient into an apparent personal commentary on the action of the government (Limagne, 1948). Marion would allow newspapers to present articles and commentaries in a way better suited to their own audience, and in exchange the newspapers themselves would have to reprint articles

that the Office declared were '*impératif*' under the guise of an editorial. (Jackson, 2001) As the war progressed, while the *notes* began as "*recommandées*", by late 1941 the vast majority had become obligatory and newspapers had no choice but to reproduce them in their own words or face financial and material punishment. (Amaury, 1969: p. 615) Marion's offering of some flexibility and control to newspapers was designed to reduce apparent dissent in the press, which previously had forced the Office of Press and Censorship to ban the use of blank spaces, which had become a popular early method of expressing dissent towards the censor, although this was quickly outlawed in late 1940 (Amouroux, 1990). Sennep had used a blank space with an image of a woman holding large scissors to demonstrate that his images had been cut by the censor in early 1940 before the Fall of France (Delporte, 1996). This was aimed to mirror the German system of censorship in Paris and was designed to prevent newspapers leaving articles unattributed. This lack of attribution became a code for identifying reports as propaganda. The new flexibility proved popular amongst newspapers and benefited the censor as it provided a more efficient means of delivering censorship through a press which was designed to appear more diverse and varied to the consumer. (Peschanski & Gervereau, 1990) This greater consolidation of control by Laval highlights that press consistency was underpinning his methods of control. While appearing to offer more flexibility to newspapers, his aim, nonetheless, was to mask government propaganda as newspaper commentaries. It should be noted that this flexibility still carried with it harsh penalties if newspapers attempted to contravene any *'consignes*' sent by the censor. The control of the press by the censor was still complete, with financial and material penalties in place, and we can see that despite some room for manoeuvre, this was designed to benefit the regime above all else. This flexibility, while allowing for the press to appear less homogenous, significantly, did not provide room for newspapers to produce criticisms of either the Occupier or the Vichy regime.

The flexibility offered to the press identified above brought about an unintended consequence from Vichy and its own system of rivalries. As the number of *consignes* from the Office of Press and Censorship declined in late 1941, other ministers witnessed the success of the censorship up to this point and began to intervene directly by contacting newspapers and censors to demand

changes. This became so prevalent that Marion explained "*95% des consignes ne venaient pas de moi pour une raison très simple : c'est que tous les jours les ministres, le maréchal, le cabinet du maréchal, le cabinet de l'amiral envoyaient des consignes, car les hommes sont ce qu'ils sont : dès qu'il y a une censure dans un pays, chaque ministre s'en sert comme d'un parapluie pour éviter les ennuis dans son secteur ministériel*" (Arbellot, 1952). Marion's drastic changes to the system of press control under Vichy reaped their rewards, but he also fell victim to the factionalism and infighting which had afflicted his predecessor and other governmental departments. On the one hand, Marion's quest for more centralised control was successful, and the newspapers were generally receptive to his quid pro quo offer. However, through the factional infighting of the *État français* Marion's influence and control was weakened as other ministers interfered with his system of press control. This meant that despite Marion's best efforts the press continued to have limited freedom, due to the increased interference from other government departments. As such, the press appeared homogenous as newspapers reproduced numerous government *consignes* (Jackson, 2001). This prevented Marion's goal of a diversified press but did nothing to create any inconsistency within the regime as the censor maintained almost complete control of the press. As evidenced in the previous section, despite the lack of specific censorship regulations for Sennep, and political cartooning more generally, to follow, the Vichy regime was quick to control, and was very sensitive to, the output of newspapers. While the regime welcomed diversity of output, this diversity was still controlled and did not allow for criticisms to appear.

Sennep January to July 1941

The Third Republic

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the last months of 1940 were punctuated by Sennep's acerbic cartoons harpooning the members of the Third Republic who he argued were complicit in the Fall of France. His cartoons in 1940 were also characterised by the return of Sennep's old target which was identified in analysis of Sennep's interwar cartoons in Chapter 3: the members of the Popular Front government who he blamed for leading France to the brink of collapse. Sennep's cartoons in 1941 continued in this vein with his work including a persistent focus on targeting both those responsible for, and those who remained within Vichy, pretending to support the Vichy regime and the National Revolution.

The first day of 1941 brought the first issue of *Candide* and the first Sennep cartoon of the year. The main article of the newspaper front page was a report entitled "*Cinq mois dans l'Angleterre en guerre*." Georges Blond, the prolific French writer who enlisted in the French navy and would later become strongly linked to collaboration reported on the time he spent interned in England following the battle of France, criticising the British government and the conditions of his internment. This series was later published as a book, with Blond's anti-English rhetoric sanctioned by the German government. (Curtis, 2003: p.239) The front page was also led by the recurring section "*Doit-on le dire?*" This section praised the clemency offered by Pétain towards those guilty of the attempted attack on Dakar by the Allied forces in September 1940. The article excoriates "*L'ex-général de Gaulle"*, and praised the Minister for the Interior saying he "*rend un vrai service. Il agit d'abord en loyal collaborateur du Maréchal, comme doit l'être tout ministre*." This piece is attributed to *Candide*, demonstrating the editorial line of the newspaper regarding Vichy is the same as in 1940.

Figure 6-1 Sennep, Candide, 1 January 1941

While the main article took an editorial approach that was critical of the Allies and favourable towards the Vichy regime, Sennep focused his attention elsewhere with his cartoon (Figure 6.1, above) continuing his line of attack from the previous year. Titled *"Les conseillères municipales"*, Sennep's cartoon depicts the office of the *Mairie*. (Candide, 1 Jan 1941) The bust of Marianne, with the initials "RF" below it, in the top left, has been replaced with a fashion mannequin, however the image still connotes the same theme, that of support and commemoration for the Third Republic. The furniture has been feminised with the chairs being adorned with bows and the desk featuring a bouquet of flowers upon it. The *Bibliothèque municipale* on the side includes a mixture of copies of the *Journal officiel* and female magazines such as *Marie Claire* and *Votre beauté*. The wall in the centre of the frame is adorned with three pictures of French historically important republicans who are denoted in women's clothing. M. Thiers was the second President of France and the first President of the Third Republic. M. Sadi Carnot was the fifth President of the Third Republic, and M. Fallières was the ninth President. The text present in the image is spoken by a member of staff for the *Mairie*, highlighted by his waistcoat and pocket watch. He says "*Ne devine-t-on pas maintenant ici une délicieuse présence féminine* ?" As Rault (1993) explains, the Pétain government in September 1940 legislated for the election of women to the *conseils municipaux*,

removing the need for elections and placing the nomination power in the hands of the mayors. This was designed to break with the old Third Republic and to allow for a new regime to begin. However, in the image the staff have simply put feminine objects in the office, to adapt to the new system. Their effort is intended to undermine the legislation passed by Vichy. In addition, the pictures on the wall imply that the republican tradition remained in the halls of power. The most visible figures in the frame are the pictures, in the centre, focusing the readers' eye upon republican figures. The feminisation of republican supporters echoes the work published by Sennep in the interwar years. The repetition of the criticism of republicanism echoes Sennep's criticisms analysed in the previous chapter.

The theme of criticism of the Third Republic and its representatives continued for Sennep, with his cartoon on 8 January 1941 reiterating this critique of the old members of the regime. This image (Figure 6.2, below) entitled "*La profession organisée*" struck again at the heart of what Sennep argued was the primary cause of France's defeat – the failings of the Third Republic and her ministers.

Figure 6-2 Sennep, Candide, 15 January 1941

In a café sits Edouard Herriot, Joseph Paul-Boncour and Camille Chautemps. As noted in the previous chapter, Herriot was President of the Chamber of Deputies. Chautemps had served as *President du Conseil* intermittently from 1936 to 1940. Both were prominent members of the

Popular Front government. Paul-Boncour had served as the Minister of State in 1936 and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1938. Significantly, Paul-Boncour had also voted against the formation of the Vichy government in 1940. (Aron, 1954) Chautemps is holding a newspaper which announces the formation of "*L'ordre des architectes*". Between the three former ministers sits the embodiment of the Masons, denoted by the Eye of Providence. Dressed in rags, Sennep's denotation of the shoeless figure connotes the fall of the masons under Vichy and the new regime, as the figure sits with bare feet on a floor next to his colleagues in shoes. Camille Chautemps bemoans to his colleagues: "*Et ils n'ont pas admis le Grand Architecte !..."* Herriot sits, pipe in mouth, with his arms folded and looking down, his expression displaying disappointment and frustration. Chautemps and Boncour are both looking at the Masonic figure, sharing their disappointment at the removal of power from the masons by the Vichy regime. The image denotes the link between these politicians and the masons, but also connotes the links between the Third Republic and the masons, as an external threat which undermined France for their own benefit. For those who supported Vichy, the image would have been viewed as in praise of Pétain and Vichy for removing the masons from power, as suggested by the written pieces in the paper, however Sennep's image focused upon the ridicule of the former politicians and included no praise or support for the new regime. The front page of *Candide* mirrored this critique of the Third Republic, as well as criticising the Gaullists in London. The paper also carried a commentary entitled "*La grande besogne*" from Charles Maurras praising and commemorating Pétain.

The cartoon published on 29 January 1941 in *Candide (Figure 6.3, below)* continued this attack on the Third Republic targeting the greed and obliviousness of the members of the Popular Front government. Four former ministers, among them Jules Jeanneney, the former president of the Senate, sit discussing the need for Europe to *"reconstituter"*. Their solution to repair Europe is "*quatre quinquinas*", an aperitif wine with medicinal properties. Their solution is surface-level, and also symptomatic of the problems which Sennep argued plagued the Third Republic. As Munholland (in ed. Holt, 2006: pp. 83-84) and Prestwich (1988: p. 247) both argue, Vichy and Pétain blamed alcohol and alcoholism for the defeat, claiming it had undermined the will of the

French army. Professer Heuyer made this claim during the Riom trial, attributing the defeat on May 13 1940 along the river Meuse to the alcoholism present in the military. (Munholland in ed. Holt, 2006: p. 84) The image focuses on the politicians' choice to sit in a café and discuss the situation rather than proposing any form of action, a common criticism of the Third republic and parliamentarianism in general. The waiter looks at them with an air of disdain upon his face, and in offering them the drinks it is clear that he knows they will only sit and drink, rather than producing any solutions. Sennep focused his ire upon the Third Republic politicians, but for the first time mirrored the language of the Third Republic. However, as alcohol is argued to have undermined the army, Sennep's support for the armed forces may be considered a reason why this criticism is mirrored, but not fully supportive of the rhetoric of Vichy.

Figure 6-3 Sennep, Candide, 29 January 1941

Jeanneney is the target of Sennep's next image, entitled "*Pour conserver la forme*", as seen in Figure 6.4 (below). Jeanneney is standing, dressed in long johns, as if he were exercising, with his right hand on top of his left hand over his head, with his palms facing upwards. On his bedside table is a Menorah, an important symbol of Judaism since ancient times, this is particularly surprising as Sennep had removed all allusions to Jewish identity in his work in 1940, and is the only allusion to it under Vichy and the occupation. Framed on his wall is a picture of *L'oeil de la Providence*. Jean Zay pokes his head through the door and asks Jeanneney "*Culture physique?*",

to which Jeanneney replies "*Non: Signe de Détresse !"* The viewer can now decode the stance of the main figure. Jeanneney is not attempting to use sport to retain his position, as our analysis in Chapter 4 of this thesis demonstrated that Herriot did in July 1940 but is instead replying upon his links with the Masons to save himself.

Figure 6-4 Sennep, Candide, 5 February 1941

Sennep is making a number of allusions in this image. The first is that the Masons are linked to the Jewish community, and that this combination supported Jeanneney in the Third Republic. This allusion to Jewish identity is designed to connote Jeanneney's identity as un-French as he is supported by the Masons and the Jews. Jeanneney is denoted as having been supported by these groups and connoted to have been serving these groups above all else. When he is in distress and removed from power, the politician relies upon the masons. The image also could make reference to the Menorah's origin as it is used in a sanctuary in the wilderness, further ridiculing the isolation and hopelessness of Jeanneney.The image repeats Sennep's ambiguity over the National Revolution. While Sennep employs the language of Vichy about sport for moral rejuvenation, Sennep implies that neither action will return the politician to power, as they are pointless for the man who has been removed from power by Pétain as a result of his allegiance to the Third Republic. This image is also important as it contains the only allusion to Judaism, and

indicates Sennep was perhaps not as concerned about his work being linked with that of collaborationists as Delporte (1993) argued, however it is only an isolated occasion.

Jeanneney reappears in a cartoon by Sennep on 12 February 1941. Entitled "*La constitution de 1875*", we see Jeanneney knelt on one knee in supplication to the embodiment of the titular constitution. Sat in very lush surroundings, and dressed as if she were in mourning, the personification of the constitution asks the former minister "*Promettez-moi, mon petit Jeanneney, que vous, du moins, ne m'abandonnerez pas…"*. Jeanneney, depicted as a besotted fiancé in love with the constitution, is repudiated again for his continued allegiance to the dead Third Republic, despite its redundancy and the end of its existence in 1940. Jeanneney is also the last person to support the constitution, as everyone else has abandoned her while he remains steadfast in his adoration. The subsequent four front page political cartoons by Sennep targetted fellow members of the Third Republic. Léon Jouhaux, leader of the Confédération générale du travail unitaire (CGTU), and frequent pre-war target of Sennep (Delporte, 2000), reappeared on 19 February 1941 trying to instigate a return to power by forcing his unwelcome return to the new *Conseil National*, and is depicted as frustrating and interrupting government business despite his presence being wholly unwelcome for both the figures in the room and the reader. Paul-Boncour bemoans his rejection the subsequent week in Sennep's cartoon, lamenting his removal from power. This hunger for power by all prominent figures of the dead Republic is a frequent motif in Sennep's work, as they languish in defeat. Sennep's images celebrated the relegation of these figures to outside of the spheres of political power and their exclusion under the Vichy regime.

Figure 6-5 Sennep, Candide, 5 March 1941

Figure 6.5 (above) is an exemplar of Sennep's rhetoric regarding the responsibility of the Third Republic for the defeat of France. Marianne, the denotation and connotation of the French nation, is sat low in her chair. Marianne looks upset and pained, the reasons for which are her feet, indicated by her hand holding her leg. On her left foot is Herriot, on her right foot is Jeanneney, identified through the pipe and the laces identifying their membership of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. As Marianne states, her "*godasses*" are used up. This image has a dual meaning. The shoes indicate the problems caused to the nation by the parliamentarians, France has been undermined by its own representatives. The other meaning is that the figures are "*usées*", they are used up and removed from any position from which they can sabotage the nation. The Third Republic figures remained the targets of Sennep's ire, and the figures had not changed from 1940, focusing upon Herriot and Jeanneney, but avoiding mention of Léon Blum.

As Table 1 shows us, the appearance of the Third Republic and its politicians in Sennep's work dropped off in March 1941, to be replaced by other thematic subjects and characters. A possible reason for this is that many of the figures who were present in Sennep's images pre-war were no longer active politically under the Vichy regime. For example, Blum was arrested in 1940, and Herriot was in Germany in exile. Sennep changed his focus, but as we shall see later in this

chapter it must be noted that he did not move away from his criticism of parliamentarianism more broadly.

Adhémar and Hermengarde

Delporte (1993) argues that 1941 witnessed Sennep criticising the Vichy regime every week as a result of collaboration. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in 1940 Sennep refrained from either criticising or praising Vichy, but rather simply continued to target his previous victims. It did not matter to Sennep that he shared targets with Vichy, as long as his anti-Semitism was not confused with that of the collaborationists. However, Delporte (1996: p. 46) argues that the characters of Adhémar and Hermengarde, described as "*Son vieux couple d'aristocrates réactionnaires, béni-oui-oui du maréchalisme*", are used to "*divertit, de semaine en semaine, les lecteurs de Candide"*. They quote Sennep himself who discussed the ambiguity of the couple, stating they represent "*une certaine façon de penser*" (Fels, 1941). This section will examine how the couple are used in Sennep's images in the first half of 1941, and whether Sennep simply used them to amuse his audience, or whether his images contained more than just *plaisanteries*.

The first image which depicts the old aristocrats Adhémar and Hermengarde outside of a bookshop is dated 19 March (Figure 6.5, below). The first thing to note is the names of the characters depicted by Sennep. Hermengarde is a name derived from German and is shared amongst various historical women in French history who were members of the French aristocracy. Adhémar is similarly linked to the aristocracy with his name being shared by princes and counts. This connotation of wealth from the names of the characters is our first clue to which section of society Sennep is skewering in his image. Titled "*Soyons serieux*!", the old couple are discussing what to buy. As Adhémar asks: "*Que désirez-vous, Hermengarde?*", his wife replies "*Adhémar, achetez-moi les 'Histoires marseillaises' et les 'Pensées' de Pascal*". The significance of these works is analysed below after analysis of the clothing the couple are wearing and their framing in the image.

Figure 6-6 Sennep, Candide, 19 March 1941

The couple are depicted in expensive finery, Adhémar is wearing a monocle, Hermengarde has her hair coiffed and her hat and clothes are similarly expensive looking. The couple do not represent general members of the French public, and appear to be neither members of the *paysans*, nor workers in cities. Rather the couple represent a particular subset of the French population, wealthy aristocrats who fled the occupied zone for the *zone libre*. Sennep's image focuses the mockery of the audience on the figure of Hermengarde. Their backs to the audience, they are connoted as distant and obscured from the viewer of the cartoon, reinforcing their distance from the reader. With the title "*Soyons sérieux"*, the reader is invited to read the couple as attempting to immerse themselves in the National Revolution. However, the criticisms of the couple are apparent from the texts they choose. Hermengarde is attempting to buy intellectual tomes to immerse herself in the new culture of Vichy, with Pascal's *Pensées* highlighting the importance of tradition and religion under Vichy (Nord, 2010). *Pensées* is Pascal's seventeenth century work in which he discusses his philosophy of abstinence from sensual pleasures, frugal lifestyle and periods of contemplation. This concept is contrasted with that of the characters who have kept their style of dress and markers of wealth from the old regime, they have no intention of undertaking the lifestyle of frugality promoted by Pascal. Their choice of "*Histoires marseillaises"*

also suggests another meaning for the couple. Marseille was a historically republican city, and their desire to read the history of the city could imply that the couple were adherents to the republican tradition, and were simply attempting to disguise themselves within Vichy, to no great avail. Furthermore, her suggestion of that reading material would imply they are not from the South, so perhaps have fled from Paris to escape the Occupation. This ridicule of the aristocracy is anathema to the National Revolution, with its rejection of class conflict (Lackerstein, 2016). The image was not censured, however, perhaps because the image criticised the couple for their hypocrisy and successfully othered them from the readership. The figures of Adhémar and Hermengarde, were depicted by Sennep as aristocratic reactionaries who were attempting to mask themselves within Vichy by sycophantically praising all aspects of the National Revolution. They had become a synecdoche for supporters of the Third Republic who had pretensions of adherence to Vichy but were unable to hide their true affiliations in Sennep's work.

The following week's cartoon also focused on the couple, reiterating the criticisms from Sennep's previous work, however focusing instead on their anti-Semitism.

Figure 6-7 Sennep, Candide, 26 March 1941

The old couple are driving through a town in their car (Figure 6.7, above). Hermengarde asks her husband "*Vous paraissez préoccupé, Adhémar*", to which he replies "*Ne trouvez-vous pas,*

Hermengarde, que notre tacot a le nez juif ? ..." Adhémar stares at the front of his car, ignoring the road and endangering others. The cartoon focuses the satire and derision of the audience on the couple. Their concern lies with the appearance of their car, as if the appearance of their car would somehow bring criticism upon them. The image denotes their preoccupation with appearances and presents them as focused on that above all else. The combination of images connotes that the couple value appearance over action, as that is how they can claim to adhere to the National Revolution. This value of appearance can also suggest self-importance and pomposity. As suggested above, the couple could have fled Paris, and to Sennep, they would have had no problem with the presence of Jews in the Popular Front government and in Third Republic politics. However, now their existence in Vichy required them to pretend to support the new regime and they were obliged to appear supportive of Vichy in order not just to survive, but also to impress others around themselves and to pretend that they were as important under Vichy as they were before the Fall of France.

Sennep continued his cartoons criticising the aristocratic elites embodied through Adhémar and Hermengarde, highlighting their hypocrisy with faux adherence to the new regime in all aspects. Sennep's image on 2 April 1941 depicts the town crier being replaced, on the order of Adhémar with a figure playing the harp. This character of Adhémar has taken the Vichy support for traditionalism and regionalism to extreme lengths, even dressing the harpist in a long white traditional robe. In addition, the image by Sennep on 16 April 1941 depicted Adhémar in a traditional Japanese outfit (Figure 6.8, below). Due to the position of the English as enemies of the Germans and Vichy, Adhémar has eschewed his English suit in favour of what he believes is a more acceptable style of dress. While every other male character in previous images by Sennep has worn trousers and a shirt, Adhémar has gone to the extraordinary lengths of avoiding dressing like an enemy of the Vichy regime. He has gone so far as to dress as a member of the Axis powers, wearing traditional Japanese clothing in an attempt to show his allegiance to Vichy, and the Occupier.

Figure 6-8 Sennep, Candide, 16 April 1941

The following week Sennep once again invited the readers' ridicule of the aristocrats and their attempts to rewrite history. He depicted the old couple outside their home, talking to a city representative as Adhémar highlights the house number '36' outside their door (Figure 6.9, below). Workmen are visible to the left of the image replacing street signs.

Figure 6-9 Sennep, Candide, 23 April 1941

The workmen are changing the signs at the request of the old couple, taking down the names Jaurès, Blum, Jouhaux and Weiss. Significantly, all of these are names of prominent Popular Front and left-wing politicians from the inter-war period. Through the cartoon, Sennep can be considered

to be ridiculing the lengths the reactionary couple will go to in order to display their support of the regime, removing all traces of support for the Popular Front. They are apparently so upset by the history of the Third Republic that they are removing all evidence of those "*élections fâcheuses*" in 1936. The denotation of the literal rewriting of history by the couple connotes in the readers' mind that the couple are rewriting history in other ways. They are attempting to remove evidence of support for the Popular Front from themselves as well, through their indignation.

The image appearing on 14 May in *Candide* (Figure 6.10, below) returned to the figure of the old reactionary aristocrat Adhémar, who is seen standing dressed as a knight. Under the title of "*La carte des vêtements"*, Adhémar is wearing a suit of armour in front of his friends. His crest bears three ducks, with his motto below of "*jamais marre*". The standard, a pun on 'never enough', connotes the greed of the aristocrat and his selfishness in the face of the deteriorating economic situation in Vichy.

Figure 6-10 Sennep, Candide, 14 May 1941

Adhémar is boasting to the *paysan* that he is not grumbling about the new system of rationing, as he will simply wear his old clothing. While his friends are wearing clothes with visible wear and tear, he is adorned in a full suit of armour. He is claiming to be suffering identically to them and in turn, exalting his own virtues in the face of the new circumstances that France was encountering.

The expressions of anger on the man on the left of the image, and exasperation on the woman on the right signal their displeasure with Adhémar. This criticism of the aristocrats in favour of the rural culture falls under what Wharton (1991: p. 72) argues is the prominence of the virtues of hard work and determination embodied in the French *paysan*. Pétain even sanctioned the unofficial title of *Maréchal-Paysan* for himself. Vichy ideology focused upon the countryside itself as the organic France, arguing that if France could return to the values that survived in rural areas then the nation could benefit. This idea of the rural value of France is exemplified in this image by Sennep, as Adhémar is an alien figure to the local *paysan*, and he embodies the values that led to the defeat of France. Adhémar is standing on the road from his *grand chateau*, a marker of his own wealth and high status, further denoting the aristocratic nature of the figure and his own separation from the *paysan*. The figure of Adhémar is contrasted to that of the *paysan*, the group Vichy claims to value. The depictions of the figures unveil criticisms of life under Vichy upon closer examination. The worn-down shoes, torn jackets and tatty clothing reflect the difficulties Adhémar's friends faced under Vichy, although the criticisms are masked in the image through the framing. While the image draws the reader's attention towards the figure of Adhémar, by examining the outer sections of the frame we can uncover these economic criticisms as they are hidden behind the central theme of the image. The *paysan* are struggling for basic items despite the claim from the regime to support them. The second criticism is one of connotation. While the denotation of the couple implies the economic hardship they are suffering, the connotation is of the state of the French economy. The impact of rationing was being felt more every day at this point by the population under Vichy, and Sennep's depiction of these problems is important. Such concerns would not have been allowed in the written press due to the existence of the censor, yet economic concerns would have been most keenly felt by the readership. As Mouré (2010) argues, the economic controls and the black market under Vichy led to a lot of popular resentment and blame was placed at the feet of both the Occupier and the Vichy regime. In Sennep's cartoon, the depiction of rationing hardships and difficulties for the population bring to mind the popular criticism, and this hardship would have been recognised by the reader. Sennep's image criticised

the economic situation under Vichy but masked it through his visual syntax and graphic techniques, instead focusing the eye of the viewer initially upon the figure of Adhémar. His image rewarded the viewer who went deeper with criticism of the rationing situation, if they knew where to look.

The combination of Adhémar and Hermangarde and economic concerns continued in Sennep's cartoons the following week. The cartoon appearing in Candide on the 28 May 1941 reiterated the same message. (Figure, 6.11 below) The aristocratic couple are depicted speaking to their maid in the house. They are imploring their maid to leave her fiancé who is in the army, preferably for someone who can supply them with food. They also express a disregard for the *garde-mobile*, a regiment who were employed to round up those who had avoided conscription. The couple's greed and self-importance come above the needs of both their staff and the nation more generally. The image also recognises the economic hardships suffered by French society, as in Figure 6.9, above. The image contains not only an expression of frustration towards the economic situation as it progressively worsened, but also a rebuke to those who were worsening it through their greed. This may be an oblique reference to the rise of the black market in France as a result of rationing (Sanders, 2008) and the influence of the German army upon that hardship as the progenitor of the Vichy black market. The connotations of the couple as wealthy continued, once again denoted by emblems of class, such as a monocle, but also by their ability to employ a maid to look after their home. Their desire to exploit their maid for their own self-interest is contrasted with that of her fiancé, a member of the military. As shown in Chapter 4, support for the military was a motif to which Sennep returned in his work throughout the interwar years.

Figure 6-11 Sennep, Candide, 28 May 1941

To summarise the discussion in this section, the figures of Adhémar and Hermengarde who first appeared in 1941, were used by Sennep to criticise a particular subsection of Vichy society. While normally anathema to Vichy ideology, this criticism was targeted at the upper-classes, particularly those who were still adherents to the republican tradition. Their chief crime was putting the nation below their own self-interest. The cartoonist used them to skewer their sense of self-importance, but also their attempts to rewrite their own history by denying their support of the Third Republic in the past. However, behind these criticisms the cartoonist also employed his visual syntax to criticise aspect of life under Vichy. By framing his criticisms behind the main theme of the image, they could be overlooked by the censor and allow Sennep to express his frustrations at rationing which was not permitted in the written press at that time. The economic hardships incurred by the population were a source of criticism for the Vichy regime by the population. This hardship was also blamed upon the Germans, and Sennep's references to this hardship contain criticisms of both Vichy and the Occupier. These figures do not, as Delporte (1996) argues, simply amuse their viewers, they contain masked criticisms within them of the ongoing economic situation under Vichy. We can also detect criticisms of some aspects of Vichy policy regarding rationing as the groups most praised by the regime are the ones that suffered the most under Pétain.

Freemasonry and Communism

The recurring themes of communism and freemasonry reappeared in Sennep's work in 1941. As analysed in Chapter 4, external and internal threats through communism and freemasonry were common threads in Sennep's pre-war work and cartoons produced in 1940. Sennep returned to these threats as the political situation changed in France in 1941, creating images in June and July of that year criticising politicians of the Popular Front Government. For example, the image of June the fourth depicted members of the outlawed French Communist Party (PCF) outside a *boucherie* dressed as women. They were attempting to get more food than they were allocated under rationing, a reappearance of the motif of personal greed over national need. This image accompanied a front-page editorial entitled "*L'araignée rouge"* and criticised the socialists, communists, and the eponymous "*Propagandistes communistes"* of the cartoon by Sennep. The image returned to the feminisation of targets which Sennep employed in the interwar years, criticising the republican tradition for producing weak 'effete' men who could only be defeated by the true nationalist man (see Chapter 4). In addition, June 11th brought an image that reintroduced the question of the allegiance and honesty of the former Parisian elite who now occupied Vichy. Furthermore, the last issue of *Candide* in June 1941 focused upon the communists, ridiculing the key figures and their supporters. In a cartoon entitled "*Le Journal Clandestin"* (Figure 6.11, below), we see a mother and father sat in their chair, the mother is knitting. In front of the father stands the son, with his shirt lifted up and his trousers down, and the left-wing weekly *L'Humanite* printed upon his back. On the paper, which is printed across the length of his back and buttocks, we see the subtitle "*Organe central du parti communiste*". We can make out the images of Jacques Duclos and Maurice Thorez, who is firmly ensconced upon a buttock. Sennep can be considered in this cartoon to also be ridiculing the lengths the communists had to go to in order to hide their allegiance, as they were driven underground under the Vichy regime.

Figure 6-12 Sennep, Candide, 25 June 1941

Sennep continued his attacks against the enemies of the Vichy regime later in 1941, aligning himself with the propagandistic output of the censors, and his ire fell upon the masonic order who were seen to be in hiding since the advent of the Vichy government. The image published on 2 July 1941 by the caricaturist reiterated his disdain for the masons. The untitled image (Figure 6.13, below), depicts a member of the elite and the masons in bed with his wife, in his full masonic garb. The style of the image is different to other images by Sennep which are characterised by their use of limited darkness. The dark colouring in one half of this image obscures the view of the reader, covering the room in shadow and darkness. Half of the image becomes a secret, but the reader is able to discern nonetheless what may be hiding in the image.

Figure 6-13 Sennep, Candide, 2 July 1941

This image is subtitled with the explanation for the gentleman's bizarre night-time outfit. He explains to his wife "*Comme je ne puis plus m'habiller ainsi en plein jour…*". The look of surprise and shock on her face as he points his wavy sword in her face further emphasises the bizarre behaviours and ideas of the Masonic Order. He had been driven into hiding by the Vichy regime which had declared freemasonry to be an enemy of the state (Paxton, 1972). Freemasonry had been outlawed by Vichy, and Sennep's images celebrate this removal. By covering half of the image in darkness, Sennep denotes the secrecy with which the man is forced to wear his uniform. The image could also be a play upon the initiation of the Masonic Order where members symbolically move from the darkness into the light. This would further reinforce the ridicule of the masons, as this activity can only be done in one's own home as the Order has been outlawed by the regime. However, the connotation of this darkness is that all masons by this point in 1941 were obliged to hide themselves in their own home away from public life, their influence having been removed from Vichy.

Parliamentarianism

As we have seen in this chapter, and as summarised in Table 1, Sennep's depiction of members of the Third Republic diminished in his work from March 1941. This was perhaps a result of political expediency because the figures he was depicting were no longer influential or important in French politics. Instead, Sennep created his own new character, Ernest, who became a synecdoche for parliamentarians everywhere under Vichy.

Figure 6-14 Sennep, Candide, 9 July 1941

The first depiction of Ernest is in a funereal atmosphere, published on 9 July 1941 (Figure 6.14). As guests comes in, the room is full of flowers and guests dressed as mourners. The title and speech explain the image: the title of the cartoon is "*Les grands souvenirs"* as one mourner tells another "*Il y a aujourd'hui vingt ans, Ernest, prononçait au Sénat son premier: "Très bien !*"" Ernest sits, surrounded by flowers and people shaking his hand and coming to see him. It becomes clear to the reader that this is not a wake for the death of a friend or loved one, but the death of

democracy and Ernest's career. While none of the figures in the image are recognisable to the viewer, they are similarly drawn to members of the political class. Their denotation brings to the mind of the reader other similar figures such as Jeanneney without actually depicting them, making connections between the real political class and Sennep's new imagined political class.

The text in the image also unveils another level of criticism. The party is mourning the death of a career which has accumulated to saying the phrase "*Très bien*" while in office. The denotation of his small contribution to French political life connotes the inherent weakness of democracy which appears to be focused on discussion without any action. His contributions to French politics are symptomatic of Sennep's bigger issue with democracy, the lack of action and the preference to discuss and say nothing, an image which appears in his inter-war work as well. The irrelevance of the contribution of Ernest reflects the cartoonist's disdain for the democratic process and those engaged in it.

The adherence to the Third Republic's Constitution by democrats is targeted on 23 July 1941, in an image in *Candide*. Drawing allusions to freemasons and communists through the repetition of symbols, the image depicts a group weeping while listening to the Constitution of 1875. The image contains symbols such as the Marianne figure of the Republic to clearly identify the group's political leanings. The image also harks back to an earlier image by Sennep in *Candide* in March 1941 in which similar adoration is paid to the human embodiment of the 1875 Constitution. While Sennep does not depict any political figures in these images, the links between the images makes clear that the theme of parliamentarianism will replace the direct references to political figures of the Third Republic, however the criticisms will remain the same.

Conclusion

In the first six months of 1941 we can see clear thematic trends through Sennep's cartoons. The cartoonist targeted those directly responsible for the Vichy regime: the democrats, and

parliamentarians. These groups were targets of the cartoonist pre-1940 and this ire continued into the Vichy era. While his targets were the same as those in Vichy propaganda in *Gringoire* and in propaganda posters attacking the Third Republic and democracy, analysis in this chapter has revealed that Sennep refrained from aligning himself with the Vichy regime. Instead, it has shown how he chose to position himself as an *attentiste*, waiting to see how the war developed. His Germanophobia and opposition to collaboration can be considered to have acted as factors in this decision (Delporte, 1993). Delporte also argues that in 1941 Sennep produced criticism as a result of greater collaboration. Therefore, the next section of this chapter will analyse the work published by Sennep after August of that year to uncover whether this criticism is present in Sennep's work.

Pétain and the *Vent Mauvais* : August to December 1941

As Jackson demonstrates, the deteriorating internal situation in Vichy caused Pétain to implement more repressive internal policies, and it allowed Vichy to maintain the image of sovereignty by preventing German intervention which would make collaboration more unpopular. (Jackson, 2001) Despite its political expediency to those in the Vichy cabinet, as Sweets (1994) demonstrates popular opinion as regards to collaboration was antagonistic. (This collaboration reached its peak in May 1941 with the Protocols of Paris described above. However, this criticism of Vichy was not present in Sennep's work, his only criticisms were of the economic situation in France blame for which Sennep laid at the feet of both Vichy and the Occupier. August 1941 was marked by Pétain's *vent mauvais* speech. This speech called for unity in the face of dissent and was accompanied by internal policies designed to keep order and retain German approval for collaboration. These factors are what Delporte (1996) argues turn Sennep's cartoons away from supporting Vichy to criticising the regime for the remainder of the Occupation.

Adhémar and Hermengarde

Sennep continued to attack the old elites and aristocrats from the Third Republic during the second half of 1941. Indeed, the issue of 8 October 1941 saw the return of the *vieux couple* Adhémar et Hermengarde. The image is entitled "*Les Convertis*" and depicts Hermengarde visiting a friend. As she walks in, his room has been redecorated. All the furniture has been rearranged and redesigned for a specific aim. Her friend tells her "*On doit, chère amie, reconnaître au premier coup d'œil l'intérieur d'un nouveau partisan de l'autorité !*" All of the furniture in the flat has been redesigned to mirror the style of the new emblem of Vichy and the *Etat français*, the *francisque*. The objects and the people are behaving to make themselves look like supporters of the authority of Vichy and the regime under Pétain. Their apparent adherence to the *francisque* is doubly biting due to the conditions under which is it normally given. Michèle Cointet (in ed. Rouche, 1997) explains the award was given to those who were supportive of the regime and the National Revolution and had upheld these ideas before the outbreak of war. The law of 10 October 1941 further clarified the reasons for citizens receiving the award stating it was to be awarded to those "*Français ayant servi l'oeuvre du maréchal dont le passé est garant du passé et de l'avenir."* (Archives Nationales, 2AG 458) Sennep and Hermengarde have not received their award, and from their previous appearances in Sennep's cartoons they would not be likely recipients. Knowing this, they have instead adopted the image of devotion. As the man makes clear, he needs to be seen to be supportive at first glance. This message is underlined by the title of the image the 'converted'. This reflects their previous lack of support in sharp contrast to their new pretensions of devotion to Vichy and the National Revolution.

The rest of the month of October was similarly focused on those adherents of the Third Republic attempting to mask their beliefs in faux adherence of Vichy and the National Revolution. These continued attacks on former prominent figures and supporters of the Third Republic aligned with Vichy propaganda as they focused on the promotion of the traditional values of France, the degradation of which had begun from the Revolution onwards. The image of 15 October 1941 (Figure 6.15, below) again took aim at the *'débrouillards*' of the Third Republic who were masking

their allegiances in the *Etat français*. While the title implies the subjects are ‘crafty or ‘wily’ people, the image depicts them as less crafty than they believe themselves to be.

Figure 6-15 Sennep, Candide, 15 October 1941

The old couple are sat facing their friends and appear the opposite of the *paysan* image of their hosts as they remain in their clothes marking them as aristocratic. In the background of the frame, we can see three portraits of prominent members of the left wing Popular Front government. On the left is Edouard Herriot, on the right Marcel Cachin, one of the founders of the French Communist Party, and in the centre is Léon Blum. Herriot has been given a regional bonnet, and his name under the image has been crossed out and replaced with Botrel. Botrel was a royalist, devout Catholic, and a proud Breton. The regionalism of Vichy is reflected through this support of Botrel, and the man in the chair is wearing the same hat as Herriot. Cachin has had a Viking horned helmet added to his portrait, and his subscription has been replaced with Vercingetorix, the famous chieftain who united the Gauls against Caesar and the Romans. The pictures have hastily been drawn on to attempt to mask their true identity, this denotation brings the connotation to the reader’s mind that the couple are doing the same. They are adopting the language of the National Revolution to mask their republican beliefs. Between this image and the final portrait is a

map detailing all the provinces of France. This map acts as a reinforcement of the importance of regionalism, but also perhaps as indication that the couple depicted need a reminder of the regions of their nations. The central image shows Léon Blum with the addition of a regional hat and a beard so as to more closely resemble his new name. Mistral himself was a writer and lexicographer and received the 1904 Nobel Prize for his work on the Provençal language. These images reflect the encouragement by the Vichy regime of a "*literary and cultural regionalism"* to encourage support. The extent to which this was matched by a desire for decentralisation is debatable. (Muel-Dreyfus: 2001: p. 29) Sennep's cartoons focused on the mocking and ridicule of this old couple, who were clearly aligned to the Third republic and the Popular Front, and then switched their allegiances under Vichy. Sennep portrayed them as fickle, as they have kept the pictures on the wall, and the image implies they still have allegiances to the Popular Front despite their appearances. This ridicule continued in the front-page cartoons from Sennep on the 22 October 1941 and 29 October 1941, as they ridiculed the attempts of the aristocracy and democrats to display their fervent support for the ideas of the National Revolution and mask their former adherence to the Third Republic and those ideas which stood in opposition to Vichy.

November 1941 brought more focus on the remaining groups within Vichy who Sennep felt were undermining the regime and were incompatible with the rejuvenation and moral regeneration that Vichy promoted. The political cartoon of 5 November 1941 is set in a small village and features a crowd of people staring into the foreground of the cartoon. The group is of mixed ages, all looking bemused and staring. At the centre is an old couple, displaying signs of wealth. The title of the image "*Les habiles*" jokingly refers to the man in the foreground. He is arguing with his wife while atop a ladder, while dressed in robes like the ancient Gauls. He is carrying a gold *faucille* and has a basket to carry mistletoe, a Gaul tradition. His wife pleads with him that *"Sans doute, il est bon de faire revivre les vieilles coutumes folkloriques, Félix, mais j'ai l'impression que tu exagères...*" Like all the former aristocrats they are attempting to take their place under Vichy but are unable to fit in. The old man is being ridiculed by the crowd and his own wife thinks he is acting strangely. While she is not as extreme as her husband, she is still dressed in the wealth and extravagance

derived from their time under the Third Republic and is similarly unable to fit into the new life under Vichy.

Adhémar and Hermengarde are walking through the town. Much like the image on 5 November 1941, the man is dressed in traditional clothing. This time Adhémar is dressed as a priest sporting traditional dress in the form of long white robes with a peak on top. (Figure 6.16, below)

Figure 6-16 Sennep, Candide, 10 December 1941

The democrat is carrying a candle, and is saying to his wife "*Mais, ma chérie, si je veux échapper à la revocation, il faut que je montre mon repentir…"* The aristocrats and democrats from the Third Republic are depicted as attempting to save themselves from punishment by showing penitence. The couple are in the centre of the frame, and the figures around them are all staring at the couple, directing our eyelines there. As we look beyond him, we can see the street name of Jaurès is crossed out, and the Marianne statue is upside down. This could also reference the renaming of streets and squares in honour of Pétain. This town, of which the figure is the mayor, has attempted to rewrite history in his town. Through combining the image and the text as anchorage, we can understand fully the meaning of the image. The text explains that the mayor is concerned about his *"revocation*" or dismissal from his post. The attempt to partake in the Catholic traditions and

regeneration under Vichy are portrayed as not for the benefit of the nation, but for his own protection. It is this selfishness and pre-eminence of the self above the nation which Sennep's image cannot defend. The images in *Candide* continued to target these groups who claim to support Vichy simply to protect themselves.

Parliamentarianism

Sennep's work in the second half of 1941 also continued to criticise the parliamentarians who resided under Vichy, and their longing to return to the political reality in which they retained power. One untitled image published on August 20 displays a group of elites sat in their fancy living room. The elder man has installed parliamentary seating in his living room and announces that "*Ainsi, personne ne peut m'empêcher de siéger"*. He is mourning the loss of his power and the installing of the seats in his room is a way for him to hold onto his former status and reputation by. He represents those who were responsible for the decline of France caused by democracy. The second image, also untitled, once again focused Sennep's ire on the former democrats. (Figure 6.17, below)

Figure 6-17 Sennep, Candide, 27 August 1941

In the background of the image a young girl is crying to her nanny because her toys have been taken from her. In the foreground an old man dressed in a suit has positioned the toys in chairs in parliamentary style as he stands and speaks to them. He talks to the toys about non-existent amendments and is clinging on to his own self-importance. His expression looks slightly crazy. Sennep's image thus mocked the redundancy of the democrats as they had been reduced to talking to toys and buying chairs as Vichy swept them out of power. Sennep continued to celebrate the removal of democrats from power and ridiculed their obsolence under the new regime.

September 10 1941 did not feature an issue of *Candide* as they had been censured by the regime. As Amaury (1969) reports, this was due to incorrect placement of news articles which led to accusations of favouring Allied reports over German sources. The following week's edition of *Candide* carried an apology to its readers and offered them a continuation of their subscriptions by a week to cover the absence. (Figure 6.16, below) The content of Sennep's images however remained unchanged in the wake of the temporary closing of the paper as the cartoon published on 17 September continued to target the democrats and parliamentarians. Entitled "*La mort du parliamentarisme"*, a democrat is mourning the loss of his ability to sit in the chamber. He asks his wife "*il serait peut-être convenable que je mette un crèpe à mon fond de culotte?*", to put an item

of mourning on the seat of his trousers as he will never sit again. This overreaction is designed to make fun of the democrats, as well as to celebrate their removal from power by Pétain and Vichy.

CANDIDE

Grand Hebdomadaire Parisien et Littéraire

DIX-HUITIÈME ANNÉE. — N° 913. — 17 septembre 1941

LA FRANCE RETROUVE SON AME

par RENE BENJAMIN

de l'Académie Goncourt

DOIT-ON LE DIRE?

Du mérite personnel

«...En plein ciel de gloire»

Sous les yeux du Maréchal

Guerre aux trusts

LA MORT DU PARLEMENTARISME

— Puisque nous ne siégeons plus, il serait peut-être convenable que je mette un crêpe à mon fond de culotte ?...

Dessin de J. SENNEP.

Figure 6-18 Sennep, Candide, 17 September 1941

The image of 12 November 1941 depicted a democrat having breakfast in his home. (Figure 6.19, below) Titled "*Malgré tout"*, the image showed the man entering his dining room. A large room, draped in banners praising democracy, the *député* and the elected representatives, it holds a huge table with lots of seats.

Figure 6-19 Sennep, Candide, 12 November 1941

In this room honouring his elected status and democratic career, the democrat eats breakfast. The room also has busts of Marianne, a defunct symbol under Vichy and Pétain. The deputy longs for his previous life as a parliamentarian. By mocking his character, the image also celebrated how the Vichy regime had by that point removed these people from positions of power and authority. The deputy is named 'Alcide', and perhaps Sennep is making ironic comparisons between the overweight and impotent deputy contrasted to his name, the French version of Heracles, meaning strength and power.

The next two images of November 1941 continued to play upon the theme of the democrats from the Third Republic who struggle to adapt to life in Vichy and are the victim of the cartoonist's barbs. The image of 19 November 1941 depicted the aristocrats in their home. By the wall sit three large boards displaying speeches. Each member of the house has a board, and on it are family arguments about cold soup and *silence tortionnaire*. The head of the household, a former

democrat, is pleased to see that despite the end of democracy, he still has *"la polémique familiale*". Sennep was again targetting the group who clung to the old regime, incapable of adapting to life under Vichy and helping to restore France to glory. The following image of 26 November 1941 continued to mock the relics of the Third Republic. One of Sennep's frequent recurring aristocrats arrives home to see his wife. He is carrying "*Les statues indesirables"* which he has found. The statues include the head of Marianne, the former symbol of the French Republic. They are described by the man as "*des navets*", or rubbish.

December 1941 did not show any break from the earlier themes of the work of Sennep through 1941. His targets continued to be the democrats of the Third Republic who attempted to remain within Vichy and were only pretending to support the new *Etat français.* The image of 3 December 1941 is titled *"Les petits roublards"*, and three old members of the elite are sat in a café. They are indulging in the *apéro* culture which Vichy argued had contributed to the decline of France in the preceding years. In this café, philosophical treatises are presented like a menu by the waiter. The men are choosing which work they would like to follow, be it Plato, Epictetus, Massillon or Bourdaloue. These works focused on the moral rejuvenation which underpinned Vichy. The aristocrats are picking and choosing which philosophy suits them and are only looking out for their own interests. They are *"roublards*", or crafty, and as the text explains, "*depuis hier, je suis pour la régénération morale!"* This group are depicted as crafty and immoral, in opposition to the new regime under which they reside.

The final images of 1941 also employed the same thematic mould as those which preceded them. The recurring target of Sennep's cartoons were those within Vichy who longed to return to the Third Republic and were unwilling or unable to help return France to its former glory. The final two images, "*Non-activité"* and *"Nature*", depict the same character and are in the same format. Moving from the single panel to a four-panel image, Sennep shows Ernest, who appeared frequently during 1941 and beyond, grappling with adjusting to life under Vichy from his role as a parliamentarian under the Third Republic. In the first image, he is bored in his office which has

cobwebs over his cabinet with official documentation and awards. His boredom is appeased when his wife arrives with a *mannequin* which he then proceeds to pin '*Palmes académiques'* onto in a futile attempt to reclaim his role and power under the new regime which has left him by the wayside. He also chooses to dress himself in his full regalia to relive his past glories. The following week's image similarly focused on Ernest, but rather his ignorance of the Vichy ideals of returning to nature, instead choosing to spend his day in a café. The redundancy of the Third Republic politicians is laid bare by Sennep, they are obsessed with their own loss of position and the artist revels in this abandonment.

Communism and Freemasonry

June 1941 marked the end of the Germano-Soviet non-aggression pact. Sennep's image on that date used the end of this pact to return his ire to the political situation of the communists in France. (Figure 6.20, below)

Figure 6-20 Sennep, Candide, 6 August 1941

In the image titled "*Les variations communistes*", we see a hairdresser. Named after the eponymous leader of the French Communist Party, the image also featured four men dressed as women with their brains on display. The feminisation of his political enemies in Sennep's work returns in this cartoon to criticise the democratic and republican traditions of Maurice Thorez and his comrades. The floor is littered with excess cuts removed by Thorez as he works on his customer reading about the Germano-Soviet war. Thorez asks him "*Je vous mets la cervelle au goût du jour, comrade ?*" The grin on Thorez's face expresses his delight at performing this work, he revels in the influence he has upon his colleagues, forcing them to agree with his politics regardless of the work required to convince oneself to accept the new reality. Sennep is mocking the about-turn in support by the communists regarding the Germans and the Occupation. Their previous support for the Germans was due to their pact with the communist Soviets. Now the pact had ended, the communists were supporting the Allies and de Gaulle. The joke mocks both the severe change in political allegiance by the communists, and the communists themselves as their opinion can only be reached having part of their brain removed.

September 1941 continued the series of images in *Candide* attacking the masons and their obsolescence in French politics. The first image entitled "*La Franc-maçonnerie démasquée*" depicts Ernest outside of his house with his wife. He is about to depart for work, but his wife has stopped him. She is holding the reins to a horse, which is adorned with a full set of armour, depicting his former position as a *chevalier*. His wife tells his "*Non, Ernest !... Puisque tu es Très Illustre Grand Chevalier, tu ne peux pas sortir à bicyclette*." The wife of Ernest appears distraught about her husband's loss of status and wishes he could travel to work upon an armoured horse. Sennep's image celebrates their removal from power and mocks the absurdity of their rituals and behaviour.

The final image is returning to a familiar target for Sennep's ire, that of the masons. In an image entitled "*Plus de journaux le dimanche*", two old men are standing outside a newspaper kiosk. Reacting to the news of no more newspapers on a Sunday due to paper rationing, the other holds

his massive copy of the *Droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, exclaiming that "*Moi, je continuerai à lire le mien tous les jours!*" Atop the copy of *Droits* is the masonic symbol. Here, Sennep is linking the masonic order and the French revolution. The ideas that developed from the French revolution were opposed by key right-wing figures in France in the lead up to the war, such as Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet. Sennep's association is designed to reaffirm the idea that the founding principles of the Third Republic, which came from the revolution, were some of the reasons the nation fell into decline, and that a move away from democracy and towards a more centralised and authoritarian government would help to restore the nation to strength.

The first issue of *Candide* published in October carried a cartoon by Sennep entitled "*La rentrée*", the return to school. (Figure 6.21) In front of a primary school, as the children play and have fun in the background, an old couple are talking to the teacher. The old man is dressed in his masonic uniform with his badges signifying membership of the group. He is carrying a hat and satchel and holds his wife's hand as the teacher looks on. The wife informs the teacher that "*Je ne sais que faire de mon Gustave… on a fermé le Collège des Rites*." The *Collège des Rites* was designed to protect the Masonic Order and was closed by Vichy. The old man is treated like a child as he is unable to look after himself in this new environment, he is shamed and embarrassed, like a child. His lack of knowledge leads him to be placed in another college, although the expressions of the children and teacher indicate he will be unlikely to be admitted. It is thus suggested by Sennep that the destruction of the masonic order had left its members isolated and weak, they were unable to function above the level of children.

Figure 6-21 Sennep, Candide, 3 October 1941

The last three images again targeted the inefficacy of the democrats and their refusal to adapt to Vichy, instead remaining in their old behaviours which Sennep argued led to the defeat of France, and which were leaving them more and more isolated. The first image shows a man arriving in a bar speaking to the waiter. Titled "*Reconstitution d'association secrète"*, we can see a masonic symbol across the torso of the man in the cafe. He is asking the waiter for directions for the secret meeting he is attending. The waiter delivers a series of bizarre directions using drinks in the bar. The image mocks the extreme lengths the masons must go to now in order to meet due to their society being outlawed by Pétain and Vichy. Sennep mocks the masons as a group who are in decline and have lost all power they were accused of having in the Third Republic.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the cartoons produced by Sennep between January and December 1941, the time period where Delporte (1993) argued that dissension would appear due to the fallout from Marshal Petain's '*vent mauvais'* speech. The previous chapter highlighted the cartoons produced by Sennep, excoriating the previous regime and the democrats complicit in the fall of France. It contributed to understanding by demonstrating that Sennep's images failed to support

the Vichy regime, and instead contained more subtle criticism, as Sennep masked this through employing the language and themes of the National Revolution. It also highlighted the positive cartoon which Sennep created of Pétain in 1940. This chapter has argued that these graphic techniques and codes were again employed by Sennep in 1941, with similar results.

The artist continued to distance himself from the Vichy regime by refusing to support its ideas and policies in his images. The artist criticised the *béni-oui-oui* of the regime, however this criticism was aimed at a particular subset, those aristocrats from the north who fled to Vichy. Their sycophancy was repeatedly demonstrated through their support for the Third Republic long abandoned in the hopes of being accepted under Vichy, while demonstrating their inability to live up to any of the ideas which the regime promoted through the National Revolution. Sennep also attacked the Communists and Freemasons and celebrated their removal from power, much like he did with the members of the Third Republic governments, however he stopped short of praising Pétain and Vichy for this. His depictions of the Third Republic underwent a dramatic shift however. Rather than depict recognisable politicians, Sennep instead depicted characters such as Ernest to replace them, figures who had the same connections to Communism or Freemasonry but were a more effective graphical device as the figures he was depicting in 1940 and early 1941 faded from political life.

One important criticism of Vichy was present in Sennep's work, however, in 1941. This criticism related to the economic hardships suffered by the population under Vichy as a result of the war. The images subtly criticised the lack of resources and materials for the population, however the images did not depict the people responsible. Rather, as Mouré (2010) argues, the popular resentment for rationing fell at the feet of both Vichy and the Occupier. At the end of 1941, however, contrary to Delporte's analysis, Sennep's criticisms of the National Revolution or Vichy society were not detectable in his images, only selected criticisms which reflected the economic concerns of the population which Sennep was careful to avoid depicting responsibility for.

Chapter 7 – Sennep and the end of the *Zone Libre*

Introduction

Analysis in the two previous chapters has shown that the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1940 and 1941 do not appear to be "*subtilement critiques à l'égard des grands principes de la Révolution nationale*" (d'Almeida and Delporte, 2003: p. 120). Instead, the chapters demonstrated how rather than criticising the ideas behind the National Revolution, Sennep focused on critiquing targets that he shared with the Vichy regime. First, the images attacked the Third Republic under which France capitulated to the Germans, with criticisms of their support of democracy and their membership of the Masonic Order. These images celebrated their removal from power, but through the framing and narrative of his images Sennep neither praised nor directly criticised the Vichy regime. Sennep moved away from depictions of real cabinet members in 1941, choosing instead to depict the character of Ernest, a former parliamentarian, and his colleagues who mourn the loss of the Third Republic and reminisce about their memories of sitting down and saying little. They were also depicted as being enamoured with either the prose of the 1875 Constitution, or the female embodiment of it. Secondly, the chapters emphasised how Sennep's cartoons attacked towards the communists and freemasons who were still hiding inside Vichy at the start of the Vichy regime. Sennep criticised the communists like Maurice Thorez who had to fundamentally switch their allegiances in the war after the Soviet Union was invaded by the German army. The freemasons were criticised for their influence under the Third Republic and how they continued to undermine France for foreign influences. In addition, whereas Delporte (1993) argued that in 1941 we would see a criticism of the National Revolution and Vichy society in the cartoons by Sennep in *Candide, particularly following Pétain's 'vent mauvais'* speech analysis in Chapter 6 of Sennep's cartoons before and after this speech did not reveal such criticism. The methodological approach adopted did though uncover subtle criticisms of the economic hardship that Vichy citizens were experiencing at the time, which was shown to have been masked through the framing of the image.

The semiotic analysis in the previous chapters uncovered this criticism which Delporte (1993) had overlooked. Furthermore, Chapter 5 analysed how Adhémar and Hermengarde were also employed by Sennep to criticise republicans who had fled to the south and sycophantically supported the Vichy regime, and employed the language of the National Revolution to do so, which supports Delporte (1996). The elderly aristocrats depicted in the cartoons, are portrayed as only becoming supporters of the regime to retain some authority and respect. Overall, Sennep's images refrained from praising the Vichy ideology, rather he chose to aim his criticism elsewhere, at the Third Republic, the Communists and Freemasons who were hiding inside Vichy and the Parisian elites who had fled to Vichy.

This chapter will examine the cartoons produced by Sennep between January and December 1942, to analyse how the criticisms detected by Delporte (1993) of the Vichy regime manifest in his cartoons appearing in *Candide* that year. We have already seen in the previous chapters that Sennep's cartoons criticised many targets, including the democrats, the socialists in the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO), and the Parisian elites who fled to Vichy but remained true to the Third Republic. These criticisms included the failure of the elites to support the National Revolution, symbolised through their inability to work and their resistance to the *'retour à la terre*'. This criticism is exemplified through the elderly aristocrats depicted in the cartoons, Adhémar and Hermengarde. This chapter will analyse the criticism of the Vichy regime and the National Revolution that Delporte (1993) argues the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1942 contain. As we saw previously, Delporte's (1993) iconographical analysis of Sennep's work uncovered criticisms of Vichy's National Revolution and society, however this left the question of how this criticism manifested and how it developed over the course of the Occupation. Therefore, by using Barthes, Hall and Baur we can examine the visual syntax and graphic techniques employed by the artist to uncover the criticisms in Sennep's work. The previous chapter demonstrated how Sennep masked his criticisms through the framing, narrative and graphic techniques of his images, therefore the semiotic method developed in Chapter 3 allows us to

examine the meanings inherent within Sennep's work in 1942 and derive Sennep's *preferred meaning* from his images.

The table below (Table 2) provides a thematic overview of the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1942. As observed in previous chapters, the thematic criticism of parliamentarians who were in power during the build-up to the outbreak of war remained strong that year, appearing in over half of the images. This recurrent theme and its development throughout the war will be explored further in this chapter, as in previous chapters this analysis supported Delporte's assessment that Sennep was unable to express his support for Franco-German collaboration. In addition, how this criticism developed as the war progressed will be investigated. The topic of poverty and rationing only appeared three times in Delporte's work in 1941. The methodological analysis of Sennep's images will allow us to uncover whether the artist continued this trend of masking his criticism of the rationing situation in 1942, or whether his criticism developed and became more overt as the Occupation progressed. The subthemes of sport, agriculture, the cult of youth, and tradition are also recurring, and can broadly be grouped under the theme of the National Revolution. This chapter will also track the development of the use of these themes through 1942 in order to evaluate whether, like previous years, Sennep employed the language of the National Revolution but refrained from expressing his opinion either way, or whether in 1942 we can uncover the criticism that Delporte (1993) discovered in Sennep's work. Furthermore, it is important to note that in April 1942, the return of Pierre Laval as the head of the press brought huge changes (Peschanski,1997). Laval's return was characterised by a move away from the promotion of the National Revolution in the press, which was replaced by a focus on closer collaboration with the Germans (Rossignol, 1991) Marion's oversight with the press, which was characterised by Jackson (2001) as more flexible, was replaced by the more rigorous classical style of censorship employed by Laval. This next section will explore how the images produced by Sennep expressed dissent and criticism of Vichy and the National Revolution. However, as in previous chapters, the chapter must first deal with the influence of press control and censorship upon the press under Vichy at the point when the cartoons were published.

Month	Number of cartoons	Parliamentarians/ Third Republic	Poverty and Rationing	Youth	Sport/ Open Air	Agriculture/ Peasant
January	4	4	1			
February	4	3		2		
March	4	4	2		2	
April	5	2	1	1	1	
May	3	1	2			1
June	4	2	1			2
July	5		4	1		
August	4		3	1		
September	4	1	3		1	1
October	4	1	2	1		
November	4	1	3	1	2	
December	4	3	2			1
Total	49	22	24	7	6	5

Table 2: Thematic overview of cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1942

Press Control under Vichy – The return of Laval

The first three months of press control in 1942 remained the same as the policies from the previous year. However, the return of Pierre Laval to his position as *vice-président du conseil* in April 1942 marked another huge shift in the functioning of press control and the Information Services. It was characterised by a combination of old and new methods as Laval adapted to the new mechanisms of control instigated by Paul Marion. He retained Marion as the *Secrétaire d'État à l'Information* while making himself the Minister for Information. He then installed his former colleague René Bonnefoy as the secretary-general for Information, maintaining his strong personal control over the department and, by extension, the press. Laval's clientilism remained as strong as before but he recognised the success of Marion as a technocrat and indicated his desire to have only professional journalists in key positions in his press control office. Catherine (in Hoover ed. 1957) argues that this change in management was required due to a breakdown in the bridges between the press and the government. Catherine places blame for this at the foot of Darlan and his government, due to the weight of censorship imposed upon the newspapers. Laval instituted a return to his old style of management of the press bringing back his classical style of censorship, while still maintaining Marion's methods such as encouraging newspapers to edit articles and *consignes* sent to them. He also focused more strongly on collaboration in the press, reflecting the growth of collaborationists in the Vichy government as the war progressed, and used censorship in service of promoting collaboration to the wider public.

Paxton (1972) argues that it became apparent that by November 1942 press freedom in Vichy had virtually ceased. Any political articles produced of their own accord had to be sent in triplicate to the regional censor, who would then forward these onto the Office of Press and Censorship. Local news stories and other articles were sent to the regional censor, and in turn, returned either accepted, accepted with corrections, or rejected. (Peschanski, 1997) The imposition of articles and the strictness of the censors meant that the press control under Vichy by November 1942 was

all encompassing and continued to severely limit any positive or negative freedom of the press, as newspapers still required government subsidies to be able to carry on publishing.

In November 1942, Vichy France saw an end to its existence as the *zone libre* or *zone non-occupée* as the German Army alongside their Italian allies invaded the *État français*. This ended the existence of Vichy as a quasi-independent state, and instead it continued to exist as a puppet of the German government. While Vichy maintained the same governmental structures, which existed before the invasion in 1942, their influence was greatly reduced, and the Germans imposed their own systems of censorship upon the press. However, it is important to note that Vichy also adapted their own systems of press control while attempting to resist German influence as much as possible. In reality, this meant that the sharp restrictions on the press continued, with any mention of the Occupier harshly restricted to prevent any complaint or interference from the Germans. The image produced by Bernard Aldebert, in *Ric et Rac* 1943, demonstrates this effectively. His depiction of a man, who had a Hitler moustache, with his hand caught in a jar was enough for him to be sent to a concentration camp at the request of the Occupier (Delporte, 1993). Very few newspapers decided to close down at the outset of the Occupation, but Pierre Limagne (1948) stated when he decided to continue publishing *La Croix* in 1942 despite the German invasion of Vichy that "*Pétain a fait descendre la presse si bas que Hitler ne peut guère faire pire*.*"*

The Third Republic and the democratic elites

The latter months of 1941 were characterised by Sennep focusing his ire upon the democrats of the Third Republic who the artist argued were to blame for the defeat of 1940. As analysed in Chapter 6, while in 1940 and early 1941 this ire was depicted through representations of government ministers, such as Jules Jeanneney and Edouard Herriot, Sennep altered his method of representation in the final months of 1941 by instead depicting the character of 'Ernest'. The denotation of Ernest was as a former member of the Chamber of Deputies, the legislative body in the Third Republic. However, his connotation referred to all former government members. This

suspicion of Third Republic politicians was also shared by the Vichy regime. (Jackson, 2001) Ernest is a democrat who lives within Vichy, but struggles to adjust to the new regime, he does not support the National Revolution, but instead clings to his former glories. This continued focus on the role of Ernest is exemplified by two images produced by Sennep in January 1942. The first image was printed in the edition published on 7 January 1942. Entitled "*La première pierre*", the eight-panel image depicts Ernest, the former government deputy. (Figure 7.1, below)

Figure 7-1 Sennep, Candide, 7 January 1942

In the first panel, the character of Ernest begins the image working on his memoirs, a physical manifestation of his allegiance to the Third Republic and his longing for the past. He works under a picture of Marianne on the wall behind him, the symbol of the French republic. The picture of Marianne is watching over Ernest as he furiously writes his memoirs. The connotation of the figure of Marianne reminds the reader that the Vichy regime had melted down statues of the figure, and removed the image from town halls (Gildea, 2011). Ernest is holding out in his support for the republican tradition, even though according to Sennep that tradition, and he as part of it, brought France to its knees. The second panel of the cartoon then depicts Ernest reminiscing about his former role, including the placing of the foundation stone for a building. Ernest travels to the building where he once placed the stone and speaks to a member of staff there. He demands the return of his stone which he placed. In doing so, he is looking for a material reminder of his role

and authority. The building is then demolished stone by stone, not by Ernest, but by the member of staff, who is able to locate the foundation stone. The building is left in physical ruins as Ernest walks off with the stone, while the member of staff looks on annoyed and aggravated. The character of Ernest in the cartoon is motivated solely by his own sense of self-importance and his demand for one stone as a commemoration of his term in office destroys the *Mairie*.

Ernest is contrasted with the member of staff who does all the work while he stands by and watches. By employing the four codes of expression as outlined in Baur (1997) show that Ernest is angry in the first two panels, his brows are furrowed, and his teeth are gritted. He is annoyed at his lack of authority and power in the new regime, an expression that continues throughout, even in the last panel as his upturned face, closed eyes and gait appear dismissive and haughty. Ernest is not a representation of a living politician, however his 'identity' comes from his repeated depiction by Sennep in *Candide* as detailed in Chapter 6. The character appeared in the previous three weeks of images in *Candide* at the end of 1941, and his bald head and goatee would have become recognisable to readers of the newspaper. The figure is not named in this image in January 1942, but the readership is expected to recognise the figure and remember the depictions previously done by Sennep. The pose of Marianne is abnormal for depictions of her. Her head is resting on her arm as she looks out at the viewer. Through employing Baur's codes of expression, we can see that the figure of Marianne is looking lovingly out of the frame. There are two possible expressions on that face, which is positioned at the back of the image and is very small. The face appears to be either loving or bored, however combined with the depiction of her breasts, which Sennep has not done in other depictions of Marianne, the depiction appears to denote love and affection. The loving image implies that Ernest is not just supportive of republicanism, but that he is in love with the female embodiment of that tradition. Sennep's cartoon of the former deputy is juxtaposed with a front-page article from *Candide*, detailing the hard work done by Marshal Pétain, which further enforces the indictment of the behaviour and character of Ernest, and by extension the political class of the Third Republic. The denotation of Ernest's actions by Sennep is a metaphor for his actions as a politician. In trying to commemorate himself, the politician brought

down a building. Sennep had argued previously in his images in 1940 that the republic was brought down by its parliament. Ernest embodies that destruction, removing one brick for himself, and the destruction of a whole building, or the Republic comes second to his own desires. While Sennep criticises the greed and self-importance, the image does not commiserate with Ernest over the fall of the Third Republic, rather he is the main actor, and his argumentative and demanding behaviour are used by Sennep to paint the figure as self-important but yet redundant, a hangover from the old regime.

Interestingly, only one image in 1942, published on 21 January, makes explicit reference to the role that other interests played in the Third Republic. While the threat of Freemasons and Communists were ever present in Sennep's interwar images and those published in *Candide* between 1940 and 1941, Sennep only depicted these groups once. In an image (Figure 7.2, below) entitled "*Le 33^{e} degré*", Ernest is depicted being captured by Adhémar and Hermengarde after the couple have laid bait, masonic symbols and documents. Through a pun on *degré*, which means both temperature and is the term for levels within the Masonic Order, the *degrés* of the former deputy are used to heat the house in the cold winter. Ernest is depicted as a Mason, a denotation that appeared in 1941, and was utilised to critique particular government ministers. The connotation in this image, that the Masonic Order had an important role in French politics, and were also culpable for the Fall of France, had appeared in Sennep's work both pre-war and during 1940 and 1941 (see Chapters 4 and 5), however this is the only time that this theme appeared in 1942.

In the first panel, the characters of Adhémar and Hermengarde are sitting freezing in their house as their heater has no fuel (the significance of which is analysed below). They both have drips emanating from their nose, indicating they are unwell as a result. In the second image, Adhémar has climbed the stairs in the basement, he has his hand to his ear, listening through the door. In the third panel, Adhémar is on top of Ernest, and Hermengarde is holding the rope which is tying him down. Above the two men, just above the centre of the frame, we can see two Masonic symbols and a certificate for a very high up role within the Freemasons. In the final image, Adhémar and Hermengarde have removed their coats and are sitting in the basement, sweltering from the heat emanated by Ernest. While the image is a joke at the expense of the masons, using the pun on *degré* explained above, importantly, through analysing the framing of the image we can uncover a criticism which was not described by Delporte (1993).

Figure 7-2 Sennep, Candide, 21 January 1942

In 1941, as we saw in the previous chapter, depictions of poverty and hardship were minor visual symbols in a wider joke, often relegated to the edges of the cartoons for the reader to have to search for. In this image, in the first panel, right in the centre of the frame, there is a heater with no supply. While the couple solve their issues temporarily by capturing a masonic parliamentarian

by setting traps, the absence of fuel was a real problem for the French people in 1942. The image emphasises the lack of supplies. As Mouré (2010) argues the population of France blamed rationing and starvation upon the Vichy regime as much as the Occupier. Sennep's images called attention to the economic hardships in France at the time. Overt references to rationing were forbidden in the written press, but, as noted before, it is likely that the reader of the image would have associated the lack of fuel with criticism of the Vichy regime and the Germans. Sennep's criticisms of the Vichy regime or ideology were not overt or direct, but rather his criticisms were centred around the effect of rationing upon the population.

An image published on the 4 March 1942 (Figure 7.3 below) continued this criticism of Ernest and the parliamentarians whom he connoted. Ernest is the central figure once again, reading the Vichy propaganda in the press which promotes the message of *"une vie active*" and calls upon the readers "*retrouvons l'esprit d'aventure*". In response to this call, Ernest begins to pack his bags for a long trip, as his wife weeps, begging him not to go. The expression (Baur, 1993) in the face of the wife is pained and exaggerated, denoting her pain and suffering at the apparent loss of her husband. In the fourth panel, his wife hands him a calendar and a box of letters, depicting how long the voyage will take. In the fifth panel, his wife kisses him goodbye in the street, as he is laden with bags and camping material. The sixth panel reveals the punchline of the image.

Figure 7-3 Sennep, Candide, 3 March 1942

In the final panel, the focus of the image is Ernest with his tent and camping supplies. At the top of the final image, we can detect the wife of Ernest waving at him, as his eyeline directs us towards her figure. The codes of expression and exaggeration allow us to interpret the joke, as the pain and mourning of the wife is humorously relieved through the levity of the final panel. Whereas the reader may have assumed that Ernest was setting off on a trip to the countryside, the image depicts that Ernest has trekked to join the back of a queue outside the *épicerie* to collect his shopping. Sennep uses the sub-theme of sport to criticise the parliamentarians. The image and the joke play upon the theme of sport, and Ernest's failure to understand the concept. The narrative of the image frames the message. The character of Ernest, one whom we have already encountered, is a frequent figure of fun for his stupidity. By utilising Barthes' (1977) concept of photogenia, we can examine the graphic techniques of the artist. The figure of Ernest is always positioned at an angle, his eyes never meeting the gaze of the viewer. Sennep uses this technique to imply distance between the viewer and the character. His understanding of sport as travelling to the shops denotes the stupidity of Ernest. The character's misunderstanding of the Vichy promotion of sport is not blamed upon Vichy, but the character himself. As analysed in Chapters

5 and 6, this technique was repeatedly used in Sennep's images in 1940 and 1941, and recurs in 1942 in other images, such as the following week on the 11 March 1942 where Sennep used the Vichy promotion of self-improvement to ridicule the figure of Ernest. As we have seen in the previous chapter, but more overtly so in this one, Sennep depicts the realities of rationing under Vichy. Despite Ernest being the figure of fun in the image, Sennep is nonetheless depicting a long queue as a result of rationing. Again, Sennep's work combined his criticisms of parliamentarians with the language of the National Revolution and his commentary upon the rationing situation under Vichy. This message appeared more frequently in Sennep's work in 1942, as we can see in Table 2, as the impact of rationing was felt more keenly by the population of France. While this does not constitute the criticism which Delporte argued was present in Sennep's work, Sennep's frustrations over rationing becoming more prevalent is an important development in his cartooning messages which had not been picked up by the previous analysis.

Sennep also employed the language of youth policy to criticise the former parliamentarian. The first two images were published in February 1942, and included the character of Ernest, the former deputy. Both of the images focused their criticism on Ernest and his lack of ability to adjust to life in Vichy and understand what the principles of the National Revolution meant. In the second of the two images, Ernest and his wife are at the theatre (Figure 7.4, below). Entitled "*Théatre de Jeunes*", the couple continually reject the seats that they are offered, whether the stalls, the upper sections, or the boxes. The characters of Adhémar and Hermengarde appear in the second panel, as if to contast their behaviour with Ernest, further ridiculing the figure as even they appear shocked by his action. The final panel shows the couple contented, sitting in children's high chairs watching the play. The play on '*jeunes*', normally used for youth theatre, emphasises the childlike behaviour of the couple. They are the definition of decadence, a term Vichy once reserved for its youth in 1940 before the National Revolution was brought in under Vichy (Pécout, 2008). The theme of youth is used to deride and mock Ernest, the old man, for behaving like a spoiled child and demanding what is best for himself and his wife before anyone else. The parliamentarian's

greed is denoted in the image, which connotes that of the parliamentarians which Sennep argued brought down the Third Republic and weakened the nation.

Figure 7-4 Sennep, Candide, 11 February 1942

1942 is marked by a sudden drop-off in depictions of Ernest, with the character appearing fourteen times and his final appearance being in June. However, it should be noted that he amassed thirteen of those appearances by April. This decrease in depictions for the former ministers could be explained by the Riom trials, which began in February 1942. As Jackson (2001) argues, the trials quickly descended into farce, as Edouard Daladier and Léon Blum were able to show the weakness of the charges brought against them, and the defendants were able to accuse those involved at the end of the Third Republic, including Pétain, of having responsibility for the events of June 1940. The trial was quickly suspended in April at the behest of the Germans.

The recurring pair of Adhémar and Hermengarde also appeared much less frequently in 1942. They were primarily only visible in the background or as secondary characters in Sennep's images, usually in scenes depicting Ernest, and feature in the final image including Ernest of 3

June 1942. The couple appeared more frequently in the first half of the year but were used very sparingly in the second half, much like Ernest. Only two images published in 1942 contained Hermengarde as the central focus of the image, one of which (Figure 7.5 below) was published on the 13th May 1942.

Figure 7-5 Sennep, Candide, 13 May 1942

Entitled "*Elevage familial*", it depicts Hermengarde with her friends in her house. She is holding up a cow, staring into its eyes, as she tells her friends *"Et maintenant, je ne puis me résoudre à manger ce chéri"*. The title means family farming, which is work done on a farm by both men and women. The image contrasts that idea of farming with the depiction of Adhémar, and her total unsuitability for the role of a farmer. As we have seen in Chapter 6 in previous images by Sennep in *Candide*, Adhémar and Hermengarde are depicted as wealthy aristocrats who have fled to Vichy to escape the Occupation. They have been shown as pretending to support the regime while masking their republican tendencies but focusing on the appearance of their support for Vichy above all else, their sycophancy and hypocrisy always on show in Sennep's work. The text tells us that the couple originally bred the cow for food. However, Hermengarde managed to fall in love with her cow and is unable to kill it. The ridiculousness of the scenario is depicted in the image of Hermengarde. She is a slim woman yet is holding up a full-size cow with two hands. The cow is being held up in the fashion of a dog or a small pet and is likewise wearing a dog collar and bow,

indicating how Hermengarde has domesticated the animal despite the ridiculousness of the situation. Adhémar's friends, similarly dressed in finery, are looking lovingly at the animal as well. The women are of the same subset of Vichy society as Adhémar, aristocrats who fled to Vichy but attempt to mask their republic tendencies. The situation is made more bizarre by the depiction of the animal. The size of the cow is enough to realise that the image is mocking the poor decision by Hermengarde. The flies depicted next to the cow also make clear the cow smells and will make a mess. The image takes the imagery and language of the National Revolution, but again uses the figure of Adhémar to criticise a section of Vichy society, and refrain from criticising or praising the National Revolution in its own right. Sennep continues to adopt the language of the National Revolution to criticise is targets but offers no comment on the value of the programme itself.

We have thus seen in the images analysed so far in this chapter that the criticism of opponents of Vichy was a recurring theme in Sennep's work in 1942. His work focused both on government ministers and on the sycophants, who pretended to support the Vichy regime while masking their republican tendencies. In addition, we have also witnessed the preference of the cartoonist to use Ernest as a connotation of government ministers, although the character of Ernest does not appear after 6 June 1942. Criticism of the faux-adherents also appeared in the first half of the year, often intertwined with Ernest but these images also decreased in frequency as the year progressed. These denotations and connotations do not differ greatly from the work of Sennep in 1941, the two key differences being the greater depiction of political figures such as Edouard Herriot in 1941 compared to 1942, and the way in which the faux-adherents were associated with criticisms of the economic situation becoming less oblique in 1942 compared to in 1941. While we examined this theme briefly in Sennep's work in 1941, the following section of this chapter will explore in depth Sennep's depictions of poverty and rationing more generally within his cartoons published in *Candide* in 1942.

Poverty and Rationing

The themes of poverty and rationing had never appeared in Sennep's cartoons prior to 1941. Bellanger (1975) argues that the written press were not allowed to produce editorials about rationing, and were rather given short pieces to reproduce with information regarding allowances and shortages in local areas. Despite these restrictions, as Table 2 shows, 23 of the images produced in *Candide* contained the theme of poverty and rationing. As has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter, as well as in the previous chapter, the criticisms of the economic situation in Sennep's' work were masked behind other criticisms of the targets of the Vichy regime, such as republicans. The first image produced in 1942 which highlights the shortages in essential supplies, like coal and textiles, is the image from 21 January 1942, detailed above (Figure 7.2). The first panel of the image highlights the empty heater in the house, as the aristocratic couple are huddled around it for warmth. The images produced on 3 March (Figure 7.3) and 18 March 1942 were both primarily criticisms of Ernest, the democrat and former deputy. However, both images included depictions of long lines of people at various shops to collect food. The queue in the cartoon of 18 March involves over 55 people. While both of these images included criticisms of former ministers, they also contained a reference to the difficult economic situation and the scarcity of supplies, as well as the difficulties normal French people were encountering at the time. In the previous chapter we saw how Sennep framed his economic frustrations and concerns in images with other primary themes. In 1941 Sennep actively masked his depictions of rationing, only indicating it through certain denotations such as worn shoes and holes with clothes, and these were positioned near the edges or the image. As we have seen earlier in this chapter his depictions of rationing in 1942 are much more overt, depicting queues at shops. This criticism has remained masked in images which skewer Vichy's targets thus far.

The final Sennep cartoon published in April 1942 carried a direct attack on the rationing situation. The image (Figure 7.6, below) contains a man leaving the Office for Clothes and Textiles Rationing. As he leaves, he is instead dressed in his ration book with no other visible clothes on while he receives a confused stare from a female figure standing outside the office.

Figure 7-6 Sennep, Candide 29 April 1942

This criticism of the rationing situation is intended to highlight the difficulties and the exasperation of dealing with the rationing services, a problem which many French citizens faced at the time, though not to the exaggerated extremes within the image (Fogg, 2009). The frustration exhibited is towards the existence of rationing, which was implemented in September 1940 to account for German demands. The images are also highly amusing, which Delporte (1996) argues convinced the censor to permit them. This hypothesis however is unproven. I would argue that, based upon the information present in Sennep's images, his criticisms are related to supplies like coal, textiles and clothing. Sennep does depict people queuing in his images, while skewering Vichy's targets, however he does not depict anyone going hungry or starving under Vichy rationing. Wharton (2018) argues that when Vichy did discuss rationing, they sought to acknowledge the difficulties experienced by the people of France. The radio was used both to recognise these difficulties, and by 1942 it was used to broadcast speeches denouncing the black market and blaming rationing on the Allies. It is perhaps this desire to recognise the effects of rationing, and not to ignore them,

which contributed to why Sennep was able to publish images criticising the mechanisms of rationing under Vichy and received no reprimand from the censors. As we saw previously, in 1941 the censors approved of his criticisms of the republicans (Figure 6.2), behind which he masked his rationing concerns, but his more overt criticisms of rationing were also published by the censor as rationing became more stringent every day. Mouré (2010) argues the popular response to rationing was to blame the Vichy regime and the Occupier, and this was true for food rationing as well as textile and fuel shortages. The readers of the images may well have made the link between the poor management of textile rationing and the poor management of food rationing, but by only depicting textiles Sennep could evade the censor who prevented any mention of food rationing in the written press apart from notices about where to obtain supplies. While his rationing criticisms were minor in 1941, we can see them become a major issue for Sennep as rationing took hold. The focus echoes his frustrations with the economic situation, and his cartoons attempt to balance his frustrations towards rationing, as well as collaboration, with the influence of the censor.

Sennep examined the impact of food rationing on the 20th May 1942 (Figure 7.7, below) but returned to masking his criticism behind attacking republicans. The image depicts the character of Adhémar and his friend in the foreground of the image, looking over a street at a woman walking by. The title of the image is "*Hantise*". Adhémar is depicted with his customary bow-tie and monocle and his friend is similarly well-dressed marking himself out as a member of the same class.

Figure 7-7 Sennep, Candide, 20 May 1942

The text explains the reason for the gaze of the two figures across the street. Adhémar is describing his opinion of the woman "*Evidemment, la figure est peu appétissante. Mais le paleron et le faux-filet sont charmants et le quasi est délicieux !"*. The title of the image becomes clear, the "*Hantise*" is the haunting obsession with food that Adhémar is feeling due to the impact of rationing. However, this image criticises the figure of Adhémar. His discussion of the woman breaks her down into cuts of meat, because of his obsession for food. The humour in Adhémar's description of the woman invites us to laugh at him for his food obsession, he is so hungry that he is considering cannibalism. The figure is again employed by Sennep to mock the values of republicans, but behind it we can see the impact of rationing as the lack of food has reduced Adhémar to this level. The criticisms of the rationing system are masked behind criticism of the republicans. The image only depicts the effect of rationing on Adhémar through his comments,

and he is a figure which the reader has learned to laugh at through Sennep's images. While Sennep depicts his frustration at the effects of food rationing, it is only depicted through the common enemies of the regime and Sennep as depicted through Adhémar and hermengarde, the supporters of the Third Republic residing under Vichy.

Sennep subsequently continued his criticism of the economic situation in France in *Candide*, but between June and September he produced a series of images entitled "*En l'An 2000*" which exaggerated and took the criticisms of the economic situation under Vichy to ridiculous extremes. The name of the series is borrowed from the work of a collection of artists produced at the turn of the twentieth century. They were intended to depict what the artists felt life would be like at the beginning of the twenty-first century, based upon present-day observations. Sennep's images performed the same function but were based upon observations from Vichy in 1942. As Panchasi (2009) argues, the representations of the future have two methods of figuring the future, through tracing ideas which remain, and disappearance. They are documents of cultural anxiety about the future, exploring perceived threats to France in the era in which they were produced.

The images covered the lack of materials and textiles, as well as the scarcity of food and coal at the time. The influence of rationing would have been keenly felt by Sennep and his readers, and the cartoons reveal that Sennep was clearly anxious was that rationing would persist long into the future, and fundamentally alter the landscape of France both physically and metaphorically. The first image published on 17 June 1942 (Figure 7.8, below) exemplifies the series. The image depicts a tour group; all the members of the group, and the guide, are in their underwear. The guide is showing them a fireplace and claims that on feast days a whole egg would be cooked in the fireplace.

Figure 7-8 Sennep, Candide, 17 June 1942

The denotation of the image is the concern of rationing upon the population of France. The image contends that 58 years in the future, the clothing scarcity will remain, and that the scarcity of food will be such that a whole egg will be considered a feast. Historical monuments will be made of chimneys, rather than the domestic stove, as history forgets how food was prepared in France in the 1940s and before. The image is framed by focusing everyone's eyeline upon the chimney, making it the centre of the image. The expression of the faces of the crowd denote wonder and confusion, it is clear the group have never seen a chimney before. This focuses the reader upon the lack of coal for the chimney, a reference to the rationing and shortages imposed by regime and the Occupation due to the war. The image reflects the cultural anxieties of France as rationing took hold. As we have seen in 1942, Sennep's images focused more upon this problem of rationing at the expense of parliamentarians and rationing appeared in more of his images than his other themes. The fantastical nature of the images is perhaps enough to avoid the punishment of the censor, and it is not clear in the image what caused the scarcity, yet the image reveals the primary concern still remains the lack of supplies. The image again reiterates Sennep's concerns with the

impact of rationing, and the worry that food will disappear from life almost entirely if rationing had to continue for much longer.

The concerns about the economy continued throughout the remainder of the year, with Sennep using his "*En l'An 2000"* series to continually comment upon the difficult economic situation. The images produced by Sennep in July again took a humorous distance from the subject but nonetheless provided a strong critique of the economic situation. The image of 15 July (Figure 7.9, below) depicts two young men in a museum. Dressed only in underwear, the two men are examining an exhibit of suits, labelled as armour.

Figure 7-9 Sennep, Candide, 15 July 1942

The eyeline of one of the characters in the centre of the image is directed at his friend as he comments that "*il fallait être costaud pour porter ces trucs-là!"*. The other figure is looking at the display which dominates the top half of the frame, drawing the reader's attention. The image again combined food and textile rationing as its subject. The suit has replaced the historical item of armour, and a bicycle has replaced the horse. The umbrella has also replaced the sword, visible in the figure on the bicycle, as well as in the coat of arms. Both emaciated men are discussing the

requirement of being '*costaud*' to wear this item. Much as chainmail and armour are heavy objects to wear, due to the rationing situation, the everyday suit in 1942 had become a similarly heavy and unsuitable object due to the effects of starvation. While the denotation is humorous, the connotation again criticises the lack of clothing available combined with the lack of food due to the worsening economic situation as a result of the war. Images produced in August and September by Sennep reinforced this criticism through the lens of "*En l'An 2000*". The first, published in 19 August 1942 (Figure 7.10, below) depicted humans in the year 2000 flying. However, contrary to the futuristic depictions of flying through technology found in the original images, the flying is caused by the weightlessness of the humans due to a lack of food. While the crowd of emaciated people, also in their underwear, float skywards, the subtitle reinforces the argument by stating "*Alourdis par la nourriture, nos ancêtres se trainaient par terre*". The image uses Panchasi's concept of trace, as Sennep contends that the long-term impact of rationing upon France would have negative effects. Sennep's criticisms of the system of rationing under Vichy became more prominent as 1942 continued.

Figure 7-10 Sennep, Candide, 19 August 1942

While Sennep's criticism of the economic situation continued throughout 1942, his series of "*En L'An 2000"* ran until the end of September of that year. As argued in Chapter 6, his earlier cartoons in 1941 criticised the rationing situation subtly in images which attacked other targets, those he shared with the Vichy regime. In 1942 Sennep approached the topic of rationing much less subtly, criticising the system of rationing more openly in his images, and focusing on not just textiles and clothes, but food rationing as well. His criticisms of the rationing situation were not censored by the Vichy regime as they sought to recognise the problems and blame them upon the Allies or the black market (Wharton, 2018). The regime allowed Sennep's cartoons to be published, but as we can see Sennep attempted to mask his criticism in different ways, such as only depicting food rationing in criticism of republican figures. There were no direct criticisms of the regime in his images, only frustration at the situation. In his "*En L'An 2000"* series, Sennep depicted his concern about the long-lasting impact of rationing upon French society as food and clothing become lost to history. The distance allowed him to depict the emaciated figures without masking his criticism behind other targets for satire. This change of tactic implies Sennep's increased frustration with rationing and the impact it was having on him and his compatriots.

The National Revolution

This theme is divided into four sub-sections as outlined in Table 2. Each aspect played an important role in the programme drawn up by Vichy. How each theme played out in Sennep's cartoons published in Candide in 1942 will be analysed below.

Youth

As discussed in Chapter 4 and 5, youth was a recurring theme used by Sennep to mock both members of the Third Republic and democrats, emphasising their unsuitability for life under the new Vichy regime. As demonstrated in Table 2, Sennep however only produced seven images in 1942 which were concerned with the idea of youth.

Interestingly, while the first two images of youth appeared in February, the final image was produced in August, long after the end of the National Revolution. Produced as part of his series entitled "*En L'An 2000*", the image (Figure 7.11, below) depicts a government office where a member of staff walks in. The wall is marked with signs which tell the reader we are in the "*Place*

Figure 7-11 Sennep, Candide, 5 August 1942

aux Jeunes" and asking people to be brief, as the bottles of the staff are as important as the bottles of the visitors. In the centre of the office is a baby, who appears to be running the office. He is asking the member of staff, if his secretary could make him his food due to a meeting running late.

While a humorous scenario, Sennep's image here appears to satirise the '*culte de la jeunesse*' employed by Vichy under the National Revolution. The regime's emphasis on rejuvenating the youth revolved around education and nature. The regime promoted exercise and warned of the dangers of too much learning, aiming to inculcate patriotism and community spirit (Jackson, 2000). Sennep's cartoon exaggerates that, based upon present day observations, that by the year 2000

young children would be put in a position of governmental power, a situation which has fundamental downsides. This is the first overt satirisation of the ideology behind the National Revolution that we see from Sennep, mocking the cult of youth. Through analysing the images by Sennep we have uncovered the first criticism of the National Revolution ideology, although it occurred in 1942, later than argued by Delporte (1993). Employing Panchasi (2009), the trace of the importance of youth, taken to its logical and humorous extreme by Sennep, would result in the youth being given power to the extent where babies would hold political power.

The final group of images which Sennep produced concerned with youth were more in line with government concerns around youth and culture, thus once again not supporting Delporte's contention (1996) that dissent with Vichy was evident in Sennep's cartoons published in *Candide*. While Vichy sought to promote a youth culture which was devoted to the Maréchal, there were subgroups and counter-cultures which sprang up. The best known of these was the 'Zazous', a group defined by their odd fashion and their use of English slang. While not a political group, they were often attacked by members of the *Parti Populaire Français*. (Rioux, 1987) It is also notable that, despite their small size, they received frequent attacks from the collaborationist press (Jackson, 2001). Sennep also used his images to attack the 'Zazous' and other youth groups for their bizarre look which consisted of long hair and drainpipe trousers (Jackson, 2001). In an image published on 1 July 1942 (Figure 6.12, below), Sennep used his '*En L'An 2000*' series to mock the style of these groups. In the image, two bizarrely styled men are observing a grandfather and his grandchildren walk by. The grandfather is described as a '*vieux* "swing"' in terms of his style. He is still dressed the same as he was in the 1940s, remaining a member of the subgroup. The grandchildren following him are dressed even more bizarrely, with large shoulder pads, shirts which start below the nipple, and a necklace around the waist.

Figure 7-12 Sennep, Candide, 1 July 1942

Although not a direct reference to the Zazous, the image is designed to connote the group due to its similarly bizarre look. The ridiculousness of the grandchildren is reinforced through the use of "*tagada*" as a descriptor, referencing the fairground ride of the same name. While the Zazous were targets for Sennep, they were also targets for the Vichy regime. The Vichy regime targeted them in propaganda for their desire to avoid work and their bourgeois lifestyle, implying they were living in luxury while the rest of France suffered. Sennep targets the group but does not reference their wealth unlike Ralph Soupault in *Je suis Partout*, a collaborationist newspaper (Delporte, 1993). Their bizarre fashion and effete style are noted in Jackson (2001). As shown in Chapter 3, Sennep's concern for the role of the effete man was prevalent in his work before the war. The reference to the old character as "*swing*" involves an Anglicism, which connotes the foreign influences in the style and language of the group. Employing Panchasi (2009) again, we can examine how Sennep depicted his cultural anxiety about the future. His image shows what he considered would happen if the groups of Zazous were to continue to exist and grow. As we can

see in the image, the younger people's outfits have become more and more bizarre as time has gone on, and they look more and more ridiculous. The criticism of their effete nature in this image relates to that same anxiety from the interwar years, that the effete republican man will bring down the nation and can only be saved through the effort of the true patriot. The zazous in the image are young, and therefore the other aspect of the image is Panchasi's (2009) disappearance, as the traditional and conservative groups are replaced. Sennep's image mocks the group for their bizarre style, their effete nature, and for their use of anglicisms in their language.

We have seen that, in the images selected so far (Figure 7.11 and 7.12), youth has been used as a theme through which to attack the Third Republic as the former ministers or upper classes are mocked for their childish behaviour. While the National Revolution was policy, Sennep repeatedly used its ideas to mock and criticise former ministers, as seen even in March of 1942, but after the policy had become outmoded and unpopular, Sennep used his images to satirise the focus on youth, taking it to ridiculous extremes. Significantly, this is the first rejection of the National Revolution we see in Sennep's work under the Occupation. These cartoons are the first overt rejection of Vichy policy this thesis has identified in Sennep's work. This work confirms the criticism of Vichy which Delporte (1993) detected in Sennep's work, however it comes much later than Delporte argued. This criticism only appeared when it was safe to do after Vichy had begun to phase out its own policy in favour of collaboration. Discussion in this section also revealed that the other area of youth culture which Sennep focused on was the *Zazous* and sub-groups which he criticised for their odd behaviour and fashion. He also targeted them for the threat they represented to the nation of France, much like he did with republicans in the interwar years.

Sport/ Open Air

Chapters 5 and 6 stressed how the theme of sport was a recurring image in 1940 and 1941 for Sennep. Under the National Revolution, physical health was linked to moral health. Through this idea, Sennep was able to mock many political figures, including Ernest, by linking their lack of

physical wellbeing to their moral failings. This theme underpinned much of Sennep's work in 1940 and 1941. The image of 8 April 1942 (Figure 7.13, below) recreated this theme exactly, entitled "*Tous sportifs*" it shows Ernest, our former deputy, leading a group of older men, one of whom is Adhémar, the old aristocrat. They are walking in shorts to the stadium to practice and exercise, with a determined look upon their faces. As the cartoon progresses through each of the eight panels, they walk past more and more exercise equipment, passing rings, bars, ropes and ladders.

Figure 7-13 Sennep, Candide, 8 April 1942

In the penultimate panel, Ernest is reading a newspaper, which uses the language of the National Revolution to denote the Vichy regime's policy of promoting sport and exercise. Finally, we realise that the men have settled for a piece of gym equipment. Ernest is sat on a swing, alongside a sign which declares he is a '*Professeur de Balançoire*'. The figures of Ernest and Adhémar identify the group of men who have come to exercise, they are republicans and parliamentarians, who Sennep considered responsible for the defeat of France. They have come to exercise, but as we see in the image they pass the other exercise equipment defiantly, until they reach their destination. They have chosen the swing, a child's toy, on which to exercise. The image denotes their inability to understand the concept of exercise, instead choosing the easiest option, putting in little effort. By explicitly placing the text, rather than assuming that the reader would accept the premise, the artist

distances himself from the ideology. If Sennep had placed the image without the text, the image would have implicitly shared the ideology of the Vichy regime which argued physical regeneration brought about moral regeneration. The presence of the text instead removes that assumption and focuses the criticism not on Ernest's lack of adherence, but rather on his hypocrisy. Ernest is aware of the ideology but appears incapable of practicing what he promotes. While Ernest is the "*professeur*", his colleagues are watching and learning from him intently, they are similarly lazy and unable to participate properly in exercise. The title "*Tous sportifs*" ridicules their inability to participate in exercise despite Ernest reading the newspaper which promotes the sport policy of the *Révolution Nationale*.

The next appearance of the theme of Sport and Open Air is not until 23 September 1942, in another image (Figure 7.14, below) as part of Sennep's "*En L'An 2000"* series. The single panel cartoon shows a family on a walk. Each of them is dressed in their swimming outfits, and they are balanced upon each other like a gymnastics team, with the dad at the bottom, forming a pyramid-like shape. Behind them, other passers-by are performing athletics or gymnastics in the street, showing off their physical prowess. The wall behind them has posters promoting "*culture physique"* and "*la régéneration par le sport"*.

Figure 7-14 Sennep, Candide, 23 September 1942

Similar to his earlier images, this futuristic image takes the focus on physical fitness to exaggerated extremes. The family are represented as so athletic that the dad can support them all when they climb upon him, and it is clear from the people behind him who are all performing acrobatics while walking around that, in general, society is full of people with extremely high levels of gymnastic ability and skill. Sennep's image takes the trace of the importance of sport policy and exaggerates it to extremes, arguing that a focus on this policy over time would lead to a bizarre scenario where everyone would walk on their hands and families carry each other about. The reader is invited to look at the ridiculousness of the image, pointing out the absurdity of promoting sport to that extreme.

We have thus seen that, while sport played a minor role in terms of frequency of use by Sennep in 1942, it was used to mock the republicans and parliamentarians who remained within Vichy. The language of sport policy was employed by Sennep in his images to denote the hypocrisy of the group who preached their own adherence to the Vichy regime but failed in their actions, an image which connotes their failure to act properly during the Third Republic to prevent the defeat by the Germans. The other important use of the theme for us is present in September 1942, where,

through the distance of the "*En L'An 2000*" series, Sennep criticised the National Revolution policy on sport.

Agriculture

The final theme which was prevalent in 1942 was that of agriculture and the *'retour à la terre*'. As seen in previous chapters, this is a minor theme in Sennep's images, which is used primarily to once again mock the upper classes. This time it is used to emphasise their inability to follow their own teaching as they promote the National Revolution. The repetition of the theme of agriculture as a lens through which to mock the upper classes in 1942 is not unexpected. The juxtaposition of the upper classes and the realities of rural life is a rich area from which to draw humour. The cartoons of early 1942 in *Candide* were no exception. The first use of agriculture appeared in the earlier discussed image "*Elevage familial*" of 13 May (Figure 7.5), with Hermengarde and her pet cow. As mentioned earlier, the image is designed to mock the woman for her hypocrisy. While attempting to raise a cow, she instead fell in love with the animal and tried to raise it like a pet, despite its size. In addition, it is clear that Hermengarde and her friends were connotations of the upper classes more generally, whose understanding of the hardships of rural life were non-existent. This juxtaposition of the upper classes and the new reality of the agricultural landscape in Vichy is an important theme which reappears many times in Sennep's work.

The next image which criticised the upper classes for their failure to adapt to life under Vichy was published on 16 September 1942. Entitled "*Vacances 1942*", the image depicts a dinner in a farmhouse. (Figure 6.15, below) The table is populated by a selection of characters. We have the farmer and his wife, and we have a couple who are in dinner dress, the gentleman wearing a tuxedo and his wife wearing a nice dress. They are surrounded by farmyard animals, and a bull has poked its head through the barn to reach the table. The immediate juxtaposition of the couple and the farmhouse setting is enough to invoke laughter and to reinforce the idea of the unsuitability

of the upper classes for rural life. We can see the figure of Hermengarde in the bottom of the frame, she and her husband, in the tuxedo, are both looking at the disgruntled hostess.

Figure 7-15 Sennep, Candide, 16 September 1942

The contrast is reinforced by the appearance of farm animals, and a dog eating at the table. However, the dialogue further emphasises the distance between the couple visiting and the farmer and his wife who live and work there. The gentleman in the tuxedo is complaining that he has been placed across from the dog, however, not because he wishes the dog to leave, but because he would prefer to be sat next to the bull. Sennep's decision to express the preference of the man to sit by the bull is intended to explore the man's understanding of the importance of rural life. He would like to sit next to the bull, to appear like he is engaging in rural life, at the same time as he is sitting down for dinner at a farm in a full tuxedo. It is this dissonance between the image that the man has for himself, and the clear reality of his inability to live the *paysan* lifestyle that Sennep uses to ridicule the upper classes. The couple have tried to holiday at a farm, wishing to experience life there for a short time before returning to their real life. They also treat it as a holiday by dressing

up. The use of Hermengarde as a figure in the image brings to mind her denotation in previous images as a faux-adherent to the regime, promoting the ideology but unable to live up to her claims. This depiction is similar to that of her previous appearance (Figure 7.5, above), raising a cow, which displayed her lack of comprehension of the realities of the lifestyle which she claimed to support.

The image produced in December 1942 used the theme of agriculture combined with the theme of rationing and poverty to further mock the upper classes. The untitled image (Figure 7.16, below) depicts a farmer being visited by a well-dressed man. The visitor seeks to request food from the farmer and comes with signs of his position and wealth to help to convince the farmer to fulfil his request.

Figure 7-16 Sennep, Candide, 16 December 1942

The farmer notes the "*Grand nom*" and the recommendations that he has received for the man. He asks the man what he would like, and the visitor simply requests one egg. The farmer then asks for further qualifications to decide. The immediate theme is that of rationing, and the scarcity of food amongst the population. However, the framing of the image reveals another meaning. Despite all of the acclaim, prestige and wealth acquired by the visitor, he is entirely at the whim of

the farmer. This juxtaposition of the powerful farmer and the once powerful, now powerless elite invites us to mock the figure, denoted with his customary monocle. The image acts as a repudiation of the upper classes, but there is another contextual meaning in the cartoon which is important. While the image focuses on the influence of rationing, the text uncovers another possible interpretation of the behaviour of the farmer. His questions reveal his power in his situation. As Mouré (2010) argues, Vichy requested that farmers provided surplus food to the State for redistribution. Therefore, it can be considered that the farmer is deciding who can eat based upon who is recommended to him and asks about how much money they have. The expensive clothes of the farmer, and the grandfather clock behind him denote his wealth. Sennep's criticism is of both figures in the image as they are participating in the black market. The denotation of the wealthy man as the buyer also allows us to see who Sennep blamed. Rather than the farmer exploiting poor families, he is selling to the upper classes who Sennep is framing as the primary culprits of the practice. This network only worsened the impacts of rationing upon the population of Vichy as people struggled to acquire enough food to eat. Through this image, Sennep criticised not only the upper classes for attempting to exploit their position for personal gain, but also the farmer for his greed while others are starving.

The only other use of agriculture within Sennep's work in 1942 was in his series "*En L'An 2000*". In this series of futuristic visions of the new millennium, Sennep envisaged how the future would look in 2000 from contemporaneous observations. Sennep took the *retour à la terre* and depicts life in a city in the future. The National Revolution was aiming to encourage people to return to the fields. In Sennep's image (Figure 7.17, below) published on 24 June 1942, the cities are now occupied by a mixture of man and beast.

Figure 7-17 Sennep, Candide, 24 June 1942

At the bottom right of the image we see a traffic policeman directing cows around the buildings. In numerous buildings we can observe cows appearing out of windows and bales of hay and grass for cows to eat. It appears that each flat is shared by a man and his cow. Sennep has taken the concept of *retour à la terre* and exaggerated it to extremes. The exodus of people from cities has led to makeshift cities in the countryside, with shared flats for man and beast, as well as hay roofs. This exaggerated look at life under a full *retour à la terre* ridicules the concept of a full agricultural city. The modern city has been destroyed and replaced by an agricultural skyscraper. The city has physically reverted back in time to an era before cars. Sennep's image takes the concept of *retour à la terre* to its extreme. The denotation of the image is that if this is the guiding principle for a society, it will destroy cities and replace them with agricultural spaces.

To summarise the argument developed in this section of this thesis, while the National Revolution was policy, the *retour à la terre* was used by Sennep to mock and denigrate the upper classes. After Sennep criticised the policy in his "*En L'An 2000"* series, he did not abandon the theme of agriculture. Rather, he used it to talk about two other key areas, the influence of rationing, and the role of the black market in increasing the negative effects of rationing.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed a selection of the cartoons produced by Sennep between January and December 1942. Analysis in the two previous chapters had shown that the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1940 and 1941 did not criticise the National Revolution or Vichy, as had been argued by Delporte (1993) and others. This chapter set out to test the contention put forward by Delporte (1993) and Winock (1995) that the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1942 would provide a criticism of the National Revolution and the Vichy regime, and analyse how these images expressed dissent. Given that there had not been a systematic comprehensive analysis of the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide*, this study was required to examine how the cartoons expressed dissent, as well as how that dissent developed throughout the Occupation. A table was produced at the beginning of the chapter (Table 2) providing a broad thematic analysis of the images produced by Sennep in 1942. From the table, it is clear that the two key areas of concern for Sennep in 1942 were the role and position of the former ministers and aristocratic elites who still populated Vichy, as well as the rise in rationing and poverty as a result of the war.

The research questions outlined earlier in the thesis were examining how the criticism of Vichy manifested, and how that criticism developed over the four years. In this chapter, we have seen that Sennep did not criticise Vichy when discussing the former ministers. Instead, the images were targeted to criticise their adherence to the Third Republic. As Sennep replaced the images of Herriot and Jeanneney with the character of Ernest, his criticism focused on their hypocrisy, as they claimed to support Vichy while failing to adhere to any of the ideals which they claimed to adhere to. On the topic of rationing his criticisms covered all supplies, from food to gas and textiles. In Chapter 6, we saw that Sennep's criticisms of rationing were masked behind criticisms of the Third Republic ministers and parliamentarians. At the beginning of 1942, Sennep continued this trend. However, as the war progressed, and rationing became more prevalent, Sennep depicted rationing more often and explicitly in his images. His images expressed frustration at the lack of supplies of clothing and textiles, however importantly his cartoons did not criticise the rationing

system, only the impact it had. His criticisms of food rationing were less frequent and continued to be masked behind criticisms of parliamentarians and republicans, such as the figure of Adhémar. Sennep was able to express his concerns about food rationing more clearly in his *En L'An 2000* series, depicting emaciated bodies, but his distancing of the subject prevented it being censured. His criticisms became more obvious as rationing increased. Sennep also turned his ire in 1942 towards the role of the black market, criticising the farmers who denied the state their excess supplies, but rather sold them to get rich. The images also criticised the upper classes who sought to take advantage of the underground network. This development of criticism through rationing has developed from 1941 but is the only source of criticism. Sennep couches that criticism in images targeted at other targets of Vichy, but his images do express frustration at the economic hardship due to the impact of rationing.

The other recurring themes in the images were grouped under the heading of the National Revolution. In each of these images, the recurring motifs of these themes were present. Each of the themes of the National Revolution was employed in the same way, and Sennep did not change his depiction in 1942 from the manner he used in 1941. Sennep used each of the themes to mock his common targets for hypocrisy. Whether in the form of Ernest, the old parliamentarian, or Adhémar and Hermengarde, the figures were criticised for their sycophancy to Vichy, as well as their simultaneous inability to adhere to the ideals which they promoted so much. The figures were primarily concerned with their own appearance of adherence and with retaining some form of position or power. Their inability to follow the Vichy regime was not framed in the images in order to praise the ideology of the regime, rather the images focused upon their hypocrisy and pretensions. Each of the themes of youth, sport and agriculture were employed in the same way and criticisms of the upper classes were included in Sennep's images on the black market in agriculture as well.

Alongside the recurrent themes and motifs within Sennep's work, the images of 1942 included a series of images entitled *"En L'An 2000*" which took a futuristic view of life under Vichy. In these

images, Sennep took the ideas of the National Revolution to futuristic extremes. The future society included a family who were so athletic that they could walk as a pyramid, a small child running a government office, and a city built in the countryside to house animals due to the exodus from cities. All of these images criticised exaggerated aspects of the ideology of the National Revolution, expressing Sennep's cultural anxiety about what aspects of society would remain, and which would disappear, if rationing continued in France. It is also important to note that at the time that these images were published, the National Revolution had been phased out by the press in favour of a greater focus on collaboration. (Rossignol, 1991) Delporte (1993) argues that the reaction to the phasing-out of the National Revolution was mixed among cartoonists of the period as they began to become disillusioned with Vichy after the Riom Trials, as well as the slow implementation of the policy which they praised from the beginning. As we have seen in Sennep's images, his response in 1940 and 1941 avoided commenting on the policy, but rather chose to frame his cartoons using the language of the National Revolution to depict the hypocrisy of the parliamentarians and republicans who had fled from the Occupation. Importantly, Sennep's criticisms of the policy in 1942, once it had been removed, reinforce the work of Delporte (1993) who first discovered this criticism in Sennep's cartoons, but the in-depth analysis in this chapter of the semiotics and graphic techniques of the cartoons produced by Sennep in 1942 has revealed that these criticisms did not occur from 1941, rather Sennep's criticisms only appeared in 1942, while before this point the artist refused to promote the ideology. It is a subtle, but important, difference.

Overall, the analysis in this chapter has shown that in his work Sennep continued to criticise the same targets as seen previously in 1941, however there were key shifts in his depictions that have been discussed. The impact of rationing in particular enflamed Sennep and he made it the primary theme of his images in 1942, appearing in almost half of his cartoons, more than his depictions of parliamentarians and republicans. His criticism of the experience of rationing in his images was clear, but he was careful not to depict the regime in any way that would have resulted in his work being censured. As Wharton (2018) argues, the Vichy regime was keen to not be seen to ignore

the issue of rationing, and Sennep's humorous images which made jokes out of the scenario were permitted by the censor. As mentioned earlier, Mouré (2010) argues that the impact of rationing made the Vichy regime deeply unpopular, and the popular reaction was to blame the regime and the Occupier. While Sennep's readers may well have made that link, Sennep's avoidance of depicting the Occupier made clear his frustrations over rationing. His criticisms of the National Revolution reveal the artist is beginning to turn against the regime in his work. While previously his work was careful to distance itself, and avoid expressing an opinion, Sennep began to move away from Vichy for the above reasons. One other factor that is not mentioned in his work is the Riom Trials. The end of the trials brought embarrassment for the regime as Pétain was criticised for his failure to defend France properly. The end of the trial also meant that Laval took his place at the head of the Government at the behest of the Occupier and removed Pétain. Laval turned Vichy towards collaboration, abandoning the National Revolution. Delporte (1993) argued Sennep opposed collaboration, and we have seen in his images that Sennep refrained from praising the Vichy regime which indicated his unwillingness to align himself fully. For the first time in Sennep's images this chapter has demonstrated active criticism in his work for the ideology of Vichy, through applying the methodological framework established earlier in this thesis. The end of 1942 brought the German Occupation of Vichy. The next chapter will examine the work produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1943, examining how his cartoons reflected the new reality of life under the Occupier. 1942 brought criticisms of the Vichy regime's ideology and criticisms of the impact of rationing. In the next chapter we will see whether Sennep's work continued to express the same frustrations, or whether the impact of the Occupation forced the artist to mask his criticisms as he had done in 1941.

Chapter 8 – Sennep and German Censorship

Introduction

Analysis in the three previous chapters has shown that the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1941 did not criticise Vichy or the National Revolution which had been argued by d'Almeida and Delporte (2003). The images in 1942, however, did criticise the ideology of the National Revolution in Sennep's *En L'An* 2000 series, by taking them to logical extremes and ridiculing them. When Laval replaced Marion as the head of the information services in 1942, and the press moved away from the National Revolution so as to promote collaboration, Sennep produced some masked criticisms of the ideology behind the National Revolution, once it had become outmoded, in the press. Sennep also continued to criticise the hypocrites and sycophants of the National Revolution. The images also focused on attacking the previous regime under which France capitulated to the Germans. These criticisms were shared by the propaganda produced by the Vichy regime during the early years of the Occupation. (Rossignol, 1991) In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that Sennep's images criticised the French economic situation as poverty and rationing became more severe. This criticism was not discovered by Delporte (1996). We have also seen how this disapproval was often masked by more overt criticisms of the aristocratic couple Adhémar and Hermengarde, or other opponents of Vichy.

This chapter will continue the analysis by examining a cross section of the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between January and December 1943. This cross section has been selected by providing a thematic analysis of Sennep's work then taking a cross section of months and themes. The cross-section will include the images highlighted in the literature as loci for examination, namely the images for which Sennep received criticism from the German censor. Analysing this cross section is necessary in order to assess how the cleavage noted by Delporte (1993) between the artist and the Vichy regime manifested in the cartoons published at this point. In doing so, the chapter will also seek to provide an answer to the second research question which examines how this criticism develops between 1940 and 1944. In particular, it will evaluate

whether the criticisms we witnessed in the previous chapters continue to develop as the Vichy regime faced increasing pressure due to the German Occupation of Vichy in November 1942 (Paxton, 1972). As shown in the previous chapter, the diachronic analysis allows us to detect criticisms which were missed by Delporte (1993) and also examine how Sennep's response to Vichy progressed from his *attentisme* in 1940 to now. As we have seen, this change over time is a significant factor in examining how Sennep produces meaning in his images.

The below table (Table 3) provides a thematic overview of the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1943 and offers an outline for the structure of this chapter. First, Table 3 shows that, in 1943, Sennep continued to focus upon the issues of poverty and rationing in war-time France. How this criticism developed as the war progressed will be investigated in this chapter. Secondly, the table indicates that, as observed in the previous chapter, the thematic criticism of parliamentarians is a key theme and was employed by Sennep in over half of the images produced in 1943. This recurrent theme will be explored further in this chapter alongside the theme of National Revolution. Finally, as indicated in Table 3, this section will also analyse the new occurrence of cartoons produced by the artist which focused on the topic of the German occupation of the south. This analysis will allow us to fully explore the field of Vichy cartooning by examining how Sennep criticised Vichy and will provide a methodological analysis tool which can be utilised on other cartoonists of the era to examine their body of work over time.

Month	Number of cartoons	Poverty	Parliamentarians	National Revolution	German occupation
January	3	3			
February	4	2	1		
March	5	2	3		
April	4	1	3	2	
May	4	2	3	1	
June	5	1	2	3	1
July	4	2	2		
August	4		3	1	1
September	5	3	3		1
October	3	1	2	2	
November	4	1	1	2	
December	3	2	1		
Total	**48**	**20**	**24**	**11**	**3**

Table 3: Thematic overview of cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1943

Poverty and Rationing

The theme of poverty and rationing was the most depicted theme in Sennep's work in 1942. While it is no longer the most used theme, it is still highly used by the artist. Nonetheless, Table 3 shows that 20 of the images produced in *Candide* in 1943 contained the theme of poverty and rationing. The topic of poverty was central in all three of the images produced in January 1943. The image below (Figure 8.1) encapsulates the extent to which rationing had damaged the French economy by this point, and unlike the images produced by Sennep in early 1942, it does not mask its criticism. The image, entitled "*Lorsque tout est fini*…", depicts a woman in a shop, speaking to a member of staff. In the background we can see entirely empty shelves, and a woman carrying a pair of trousers. The member of staff is in a state of undress as he addresses the woman.

Figure 8-1 Sennep, Candide, 27 January 1942

The member of staff is describing to the woman what is available in the shop on different floors. However, by combining the image with the text, we can understand the meaning behind the image

and the text. It quickly becomes clear to the reader that the different items on offer are the items the salesman is wearing. The woman in the background has taken his trousers to purchase, as there is nothing else on offer. We can see the member of staff has lost his trousers, one shoe and his shirt, and is offering everything including his own aftershave. The image takes to exaggerated extremes the dearth of supplies in Vichy in 1943 due to the ongoing war and the rationing of textiles and fashion. The positioning of the scene in a shop reveals another target of Sennep's ire. The upper-class women, with their expensive coats and hats, are literally taking the clothes off a man's back. This criticism of both the effects of rationing and the greed of others is a theme which Sennep has employed previously. Despite the German occupation the artist remained in January 1943 to have continued the same themes and motifs in his worth. As explained in the previous chapter, the Vichy regime's desire to be seen to recognise the effects of rationing upon the populace (Wharton, 2018) encouraged the regime to allow cartoons about rationing. As we saw in the previous chapter, whilst they did, the images only depicted the frustrations of rationing and neither depicted the effects upon the body nor placed the blame for rationing. Despite this, however, Mouré (2010) and others have argued that the French public had already blamed the Vichy regime and the Occupiers for the rationing and were becoming increasingly unpopular as a result.

Despite this continuation of the theme of rationing for Sennep, his depictions became more blunt regarding the impact of rationing under the German Occupation. Previously his work had only depicted the effects of rationing in his "*En L'An 2000*" series in 1942. This series of images was set in the distant future, allowing Sennep to talk about rationing without receiving criticism from the censor. However, on 17 February 1943, *Candide* published the below image (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8-2 Sennep, Candide, 9 February 1943

In stark contrast to Sennep's earlier work which couched his depictions of rationing in criticisms of other groups or applied the distance of a future setting to avoid criticism, this image depicts the harsh effects and medical issues caused by rationing. The image depicts a couple who have almost wasted away due to starvation. The man in the chair is skeletal, slumped in his chair, his knee bones pocking through his trousers. His wife was similarly wasted away, her arms resemble bones and her dress appears to be wrapped around her spine at the waist. The text uncovers the meaning behind the image. The husband is asking his wife to fetch her a cup of camomile tea, because today is the anniversary of his *"dernière indigestion*". The image does not use framing to mask anything, the cartoon does not employ resemblance or identity. The figures are not known to the audience, they are just meant to be general French citizens suffering under rationing. The text reveals the joke of the image, he wants a tea to commemorate the last time he overate. While the image gently mocks the man for this request, the brutality of the depiction is clear. This image was not censored however, and the newspaper received no reprimand. Sennep's frustration with the effects of rationing were getting even stronger. However, the censor appears to have forgiven Sennep this image in *Candide*.

In February and March, Sennep created a short series of images based on another planet, which was overlooking and commenting on Earth. These images exaggerated the extent to which France was experiencing rationing in order to comment upon the effects of rationing. The first image produced on 24th February pictures the aliens viewing Earth through a telescope. One alien is confused by the appearance of long black lines, believing them to be canals. However, on closer inspection the lines are queues outside shops. Sennep jokes about the challenges of rationing with long daily queues at shops, remarking that they are so long that they appear from space. The images continue to joke about the extent of rationing in France. The final image in the series, published on the 24 March (Figure 8.3, below) depicts a customer and waiter conversing outside a café, discussing their view of Vichy from space.

Figure 8-3 Sennep, Candide, 24 March 1943

The customer remarks that the Observatory has seen a human eating a cut of meat, an event so rare that it became noteworthy. The waiter replies that he hadn't taken the speed of light into account, and the person was eating 3000 years ago. Here, Sennep plays upon the surprise the aliens must feel seeing a human eat meat in 1943, remarking that it is impossible. This series of images published in 1943 are designed to make light of rationing. Despite the harsh effects, and the brutal depiction in Sennep's work in February, these images appear to attempt to raise spirits

of the population rather than solely express frustration. Even in the brutal image of February, the cartoon is still making light of the situation. The censor reaction to Sennep in these images would be unsure as the artist plays upon what Delporte (1993, p. 41) calls *"la confusion entre insolence et conformisme*".

In May Sennep reintroduced the combined themes of rationing and agriculture, and used them to mock the upper classes, as well as those involved with the black market, with an image entitled "*Le conte de fée*" published on 19 May 1943 (Figure 8.4, below). The image depicts an upper-class couple arriving at a farm to request food from a farmer and his wife, an action which Jackson (2001) notes was illegal under Vichy law as farmers were asked to hand their surplus to the state.

Figure 8-4 Sennep, Candide, 19 May 1943

The image represents a fairy tale for the upper-class couple who are in search of food. Rather than asking for financial compensation, the farmer asks to be introduced to the Jockey club in exchange for butter, while the farmer's wife desires the details of the couturier of the upper-class woman. The framing of the image is focused upon the couple who have arrived at the farm, the woman is well-dressed, and the man is carrying a monocle, denoting them as wealthy. However,

as we read the text, the meaning of the image becomes clear. The old couple who are experiencing the fairy tale are exploiting their wealth and connections to take advantage of the black market, placing their own greed over the wellbeing of the nation. However, the farmer and his wife have similarly been criticised for their participation in the black market. This criticism of the black market only began at the end of 1942; however, it continues in 1943.

This use of the theme of rationing and poverty in Sennep's work to mock the wealthy is repeated throughout the year. On 22 September 1943 an image (Figure 8.5, below) is published which again took aim at the upper classes for their lifestyle. In a grand room, twelve of the upper class are positioned to sit around a dinner table, however the table is not there. The group are holding cutlery but there is no food for them to eat.

Figure 8-5 Sennep, Candide, 22 September 1943

The subtitle for the image mocks the group as the host is maintaining her grand dinners every Tuesday, despite rationing and poverty. The willingness of the upper classes to remain true to traditions which were outdated, or no longer worthwhile, is the target of Sennep's ridicule. The group are refusing to adjust to life under Vichy, instead focusing on trying to maintain their life during the Third Republic. It is also important to note the attendance of Adhémar and

Hermengarde, the old aristocratic couple, at the grand dinner. The denotation of the couple is old aristocrats who fled from Paris but are symbolic of the old politics of the Third Republic while proclaiming their support for Vichy. Sennep continued to use the subject of rationing to mock the upper classes who resided in Vichy, a goal which was shared by the Vichy regime and the collaborationist press (Jackson, 2001).

Two of the final images of 1943 continued to focus on the economic challenges faced by the population of France. The image published in the last issue of *Candide* in 1943 (Figure 8.6, below) focused on the issue of scarcity and how the upper class were struggling to adjust to life under the Vichy regime. The image entitled "*Obligations mondaines*", only contains four figures of the upper class, identified by the luxurious and extravagant clothing of both the men and women. The couples are discussing their plans to meet up again.

Figure 8-6 Sennep, Candide, 30 December 1943

The couples are conversing about their logistical challenges, and when they expect to be reunited. From the conversation, their meetings are not in cafés or bars for meals, but rather they meet while performing tasks, their 'societal obligations'. The couples are forced to do tasks for the

shopkeepers, such as walking the dog of the grocer or doing the washing of the delicatessen owner. The image both highlights the extent to which rationing had hit France, but also implies that they are being forced to do tasks by the shopkeepers to receive extra supplies. The greed of the already wealthy figures is the central depiction in Sennep's images and is a common theme in his work throughout the Occupation.

The other image produced in December 1943 (Figure 8.7, below) took aim at a side effect of the rationing continuing in 1943, the growth of the black market. The black market was a constant thorn in the side of the Vichy regime, driving up prices as it drained supplies available to the authorities (Jackson, 2001). Sennep's image denotes the growth and extent of the black market, as well as the authorities' efforts to stop the black market. Published on 10 December 1943, the image is entitled "*La répression du marché noir*". It depicts the scene in front of a prison.

Figure 8-7 Sennep, Candide, 10 December 1943

The entrance to the prison is blocked by a large queue and the sign on the prison door denotes that the prison is full. The guard declares to the people queuing outside that, he does not know if the prison will be able to honour all the sentencing notices for the first 10 days. In the queue,

Sennep has depicted men and women of varying classes, including shopkeepers and the upper class. The image is highly symbolic, demonstrating the depth of the black market. The inclusion of characters from all backgrounds alludes to how the black marked touched all corners of French society. The way in which prison is unable to keep up with the number of arrests and sentences handed out to whose found guilty of participating in the black market indicates how widespread the practice was. The image also mocks the unwillingness (Fogg, 2009) of the regime to prevent the black market, as it had become too ingrained in everyday life to prevent, due to the dearth of supplies available through ration cards. The futility of the choice to prosecute the black market fully becomes clear with the sheer number of arrests made. As Fogg (2009) and Sanders (2008) demonstrate, the Vichy regime did not prosecute everyone involved in the Vichy black market, only those who were in the market purely "*for profit*", as it distinguished between this and entering it for necessities for the survival of citizens and their families. The black market was a necessary part of life under Vichy, one used and accepted both by the occupier and the occupied (Sanders, 2008). Sennep's image mocks the futility of repressing the black market by clearly in all cases, demonstrating how widespread the market was, and the practical difficulties of this repression. Interestingly, in 1943 Sennep produced a propaganda book for the Vichy regime titled "*Devant le marché noir*" which was orchestrated by *le ministère de l'Agriculture et du Ravitaillement*. Despite this book which criticised the black market, Sennep is mocking the efforts of the Vichy regime to combat the problem which a few months ago he was criticising in *Candide* and in official propaganda.

Throughout 1943, the theme of poverty and rationing was a key motif in the work of Sennep. It was used primarily to highlight the lack of supplies and find humour in a difficult situation, as evidenced through his series of images from outer space. The images also are used to mock and criticise the upper classes which is exemplified in "*Lorsque tout est fini*". The depiction of poverty and rationing in this cartoon is in keeping with the themes used in 1942 by Sennep. As noted in earlier chapters, rationing was a result of the ongoing war and the demands of the Occupier. As evidenced in Chapter 4, Sennep was staunchly Germanophobic (Delporte, 1996), and as Fogg

(2009) demonstrates, the public opinion of rationing was that it was the result of the Occupier, although public opinion of both regimes fell sharply as a result of rationing. It is likely that the more robust criticism of rationing in 1943 was a commentary of the effects of the demands of the Occupier. Although it is difficult to separate this criticism of the Occupier from that of the Vichy regime, Sennep's masked criticism in 1941 and 1942 stands in great contrast to his images in 1943 which are very clear on the negative impacts of rationing. Sennep's images of rationing would have been read by the audience as criticisms of the regime as public perception of rationing was that Vichy had managed it poorly and the German demands only exacerbated the problems. The role of the German soldiers in the formation of the Vichy black market was also well known (Sanders, 2008). It is also important to illustrate Sennep's rejection of German propaganda towards the black market. According to Marrus and Paxton (1981), the right-wing press blamed the black market on the Jewish population. As we have seen, however, Sennep refused to do so. Delporte (1993) argues this was because anti-Semitism was so closely linked to collaboration and the Germans that the artist did not wish to promote it in his cartoons. The other key continuation of the theme of rationing is its utilisation as a tool through which to mock the upper classes. This motif was also common throughout the Occupation as it was used to mock the upper classes each year. The images mock the upper classes in two ways: first, the inability of the upper classes to adjust to the realities of the Occupation, and secondly their tendency to cling onto the traditions of the Third Republic, where they held power, in spite of the new Vichy regime.

We can contend from the above analysis that, while criticism of the economy under Vichy was recurrent, the images sympathised with the people of France, criticising the source of the rationing, the Occupation, rather than explicitly critiquing the Vichy regime. This criticism is a continuation of the theme used by Sennep in 1942 and 1943 and challenges the contention by Delporte (1993) that the images produced by Sennep in 1943 regularly criticise the Vichy regime and its ideology. Delporte (1993) failed to detect this economic criticism of the Occupier underlying Sennep's work, but the methodological analysis of the cartoons undertaken in this thesis has done so.

The Democrats and the National Revolution

Throughout the Vichy regime up to 1942, Sennep continually railed against the upper classes and democratic elites whom he viewed as responsible for the downfall and defeat of France by the Germans. As Table 3 shows, the theme of the upper classes was constant in 1943, appearing 24 times throughout the year. We have already seen in the previous chapters that Sennep's cartoons criticised many targets, including the former politicians, and the Parisian elites who fled to Vichy but adhered to the principles of the Third Republic, to which Vichy stood in opposition. This criticism is exemplified through the character of 'Ernest', the former deputy who resided within Vichy but was an exemplar of the opponents within the regime. As discussed in previous chapters, this theme was first depicted as criticism of former ministers, but in 1941 this was replaced by criticism of the character of Ernest, a fictional former member of the National Assembly. In 1942, however, the criticism shifted towards the upper classes more generally and their inability to adjust to life under Vichy.

The images published by Sennep in 1943 reinforced the existing themes criticising the upper classes in Vichy present in his work throughout the occupation. The image published on the 30 March 1943 illustrates Sennep's criticisms of the upper classes and their pretension of adherence to life under Vichy. In the image, a couple of upper-class women are standing outside of a bookshop, the name of which is '*Modes'*. The woman on the right is Hermengarde, the upper-class aristocrat, the other has appeared with her frequently as one of her friends, and they are dressed up in extravagant outfits. The woman on the left is discussing what she would like to buy with her friend, and from the subtitle in Figure 8.8 (below) the context becomes clear.

Figure 8-8 Sennep, Candide, 30 March 1943

The image clarifies that the women are buying the texts as a fashion accessory. The texts themselves cover Corneille, Fustel de Coulanges, and Péguy. The selection of texts is also indicative of Sennep's depiction of the women. The first choice is Corneille, who promotes the development of key characteristics such as willpower and self-mastery in his work. The second choice is Fustel de Coulanges, a nineteenth-century historian notably beloved of Charles Maurras and other social conservatives for his commentary on *la cité antique*. The upper-class women are picking these texts as they consider them to fashion items, deciding to wear them with particular outfits. Nonetheless, they have no desire to read them. The character on the right is Hermengarde, the figure of ridicule who preaches adherence to the regime but is unable to practice it. They are attempting to appear supportive of Vichy while not actually adhering to the philosophies and ideas behind the regime. This motif of faux adherence to Vichy and the National Revolution is repeated in earlier years by Sennep in *Candide*, as demonstrated in previous chapters.

We also, see the use of the combination of the themes of agriculture and the upper classes which was a recurrent motif in Sennep's work in 1942. The character of Ernest, the former member of the Chamber of Deputies under the Third Republic, returns in April 1943, to continue Sennep's attacks against the democrats under Vichy using the theme of agriculture. On the front page of the issue published on the 21 April 1943 (Figure 8.9, below), Sennep published an untitled image.

Figure 8-9 Sennep, Candide, 21 April 1943

In the image Ernest is at home, and his wife is explaining his behaviour to their guest, Hermengarde the old aristocrat. Ernest is standing and reciting the words of Maximilien de Béthune, the Duke of Sully, who oversaw agriculture under King Henri IV. '*Labourage et patourage*' refers to Sully's statement that grazing and tilling are the two '*mamelles'* of France. However, Ernest has dug up the floorboards of the room and has planted some ration cards in an attempt to grow more. Sennep's image depicts Ernest as foolish, as his promotion of the ideals of agriculture far outshine his attempts. However, the deeper connotation of the image repeats that of the earlier image from 30 March (Figure 8.8), namely that the upper classes have a shallow understanding of the political philosophy of Vichy and any attempt that they make to grasp it is ill-fated due to their adherence to the Third Republic and their inability to adapt to the demands of the National Revolution.

The themes of agriculture and the upper classes appeared twice more in 1943, once in August and once in September. The image published on 18 August 1943 (Figure 8.10, below), titled "*Vacances 1943*" is a sequel to the similarly titled "*Vacances 1942"*. The image depicts a similar scene to in the cartoon published the previous year, with a rich couple holidaying at a farm, in an attempt to blend in. However, as depicted in the preceding year's image, they are unsuitably dressed for a farm, instead wearing attire more suited to a country retreat, a symbol of their lack of understanding of agricultural life.

Figure 8-10 Sennep, Candide, 18 Aug 1943

As the couple stay in their room, which is a cowshed, the husband sucks milk directly from the udder of a cow, and the wife is kneeling nearby, apparently about to indulge in the same. While they are drinking the raw cow's milk, the farmer arrives at the barn door to inform them that the cost of meals served in their room has increased by 25%. The farmer is treating the couple as hotel guests, charging them for everything and making them sleep with animals. The figures of ridicule in this image are the upper-class couple who have come to a farm to holiday. The image

mocks their incompatibility with rural life, and further indicates the differences between the life of the farmers, who produce milk and food for the nation, and the upper classes who contribute little to the nation. The theme of this image was repeated in the cartoon published on the 20 October 1943, depicting a wealthy couple holidaying on a farm, again juxtaposing the hard-working farmers with the upper classes. Agriculture was a common way for Sennep to criticise the upper class in Vichy who he felt were responsible for the fall of France. While the couple have come down to experience life in rural France, they are treating it like a holiday and are unwilling to engage with the agricultural lifestyle.

In addition, the other themes of the National Revolution, such as youth, were also used to criticise these groups. The theme of youth appeared only three times in 1943, but one of these images was used to mock the upper classes, while the others were used to mock the '*Zazous*', a sub group which stood in opposition to the Vichy youth groups (Jackson, 2001). The use of the National Revolution theme to mock the upper classes and their failure to grasp the concepts in the National Revolution was a recurring trend in Sennep's work. The image published on the 14 April 1943 (Figure 8.11, below) in *Candide* focuses on the upper classes and their attempts to ingratiate themselves into Vichy culture.

Figure 8-11 Sennep, Candide, 14 April 1943

The image depicts a *"Conférence sur la jeunesse par un jeune*" with an attentive crowd. In the crowd we can see Hermengarde listening to the presentation. Vichy promoted the qualities of youth and attempted to harness the potential of its young people through programmes and youth groups such as the "*Chantiers de la jeunesse française"*. In this image, Sennep depicts the upper classes learning about youth from a seminar, and their advanced age is in sharp contrast to that of the speaker. However, beyond the visible age difference, there is a further barb directed at the group. It is clear from the subtitle that the baby is so young that he is unable to speak. Therefore, we have a group of upper-class people attending a conference on youth from a baby which cannot yet speak, rendering the whole exercise pointless. The upper classes' desire to appear to adhere to Vichy is ultimately doomed as their attempts show a fundamental misunderstanding of the issues at hand.

The final image which we will look at (Figure 8.12, below), produced on the theme of the National Revolution and the upper classes, was published in November 1943. The image titled "*Vocations*", depicts an upper-class woman describing her eldest son to a friend.

Figure 8-12 Sennep, Candide, 20 November 1943

The male figure in the centre is the key for study. The woman to the right of the image is telling her friend that her eldest son is having difficulty choosing between the different aspects of Vichy life. He is carrying symbols of each aspect of Vichy life and the National Revolution, including a pitchfork for agricultural work, a traditional regional musical instrument, and a copy of a text by Charles Péguy. At first glance one would consider this image to be a criticism of the National Revolution due to the apparent confusion and lack of clarity surrounding the ideology. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the image is instead a recurrence of the theme of criticism of the upper classes through their failure to comprehend the ideology of Vichy. The first clear idea from the image of the young man is that of confusion. He has one traditional shoe on, while his other foot is holding a saw, a symbol of tradesmen and craft work. The image of confusion is reinforced by the multitude of hats from different social groups. However, this confusion is his own, it does not come from the National Revolution. He is unsure whether he wishes to work in agriculture, become a tradesman, study the regional and folklorish traditions, join the youth organisations or study scholarly disciplines. The confusion that reigns over the young man is not from the National Revolution but is in its place a sign of his upper-class identity, influenced by his

mother. This image, therefore, does not contain a criticism of the National Revolution itself, but rather a criticism of the upper classes and their pretension to adherence.

The analysis in this section has shown that the criticism of the upper classes is a theme which recurs frequently in Sennep's images in *Candide in 1943*. The upper classes are mocked throughout the images for their failure to adapt to life under Vichy, and their incompatibility with the regime and its goals. We can therefore contend that these images criticising the upper classes cannot be described as criticisms of the Vichy regime. It is also important to note that criticism of the upper classes is continually combined with other themes, such as poverty, as evidenced in the previous section. As Table 3 shows, the theme of criticism of the upper classes and democratic elites appeared throughout the year but was often intertwined with the themes of the National Revolution, which was also apparent in the images in 1942. This motif returned in 1943, and many aspects of the National Revolution are employed to further criticise and denigrate the upper classes who are accused of undermining the Vichy regime. The final image, which Delporte (1996) uses to exemplify the criticism of the National Revolution in Sennep's work has been demonstrated to criticise the upper classes, not the ideology itself.

German Occupation

This section will now examine the cartoons created by Sennep for which he received criticism from the German Occupier as described in Delporte (1993). The theme of poverty and rationing first appeared 1941, as a response to the deterioration of the economic situation from the ongoing war, the German occupation of the former *zone libre* had a similar effect upon the themes of Sennep's cartoons in *Candide*. As Bellanger (1975) demonstrates, criticism of the Occupier was not permitted under the Vichy regime, and this censorship of criticism was further enforced by the German occupation of Vichy. Bonnefoy in Hoover (1986) explains the extent to which German interference affected Vichy censorship, and the use of guidance and orientation notes regarding editorials and articles, with the Germans requiring oversight and instituting their own rules of censorship alongside those of Vichy. Bonnefoy claims, however, that the press was allowed to

criticise domestic politics as long as they did not discuss the war. Despite this leniency, as demonstrated below, Sennep came under criticism from the Occupier for some of his 1943 images (Delporte, 1996).

The first image which Sennep produced criticising the Germans was published in June 1943 (Figure 8.13, below). While ostensibly an image critiquing the upper classes, the image must also be viewed as a criticism of the enforcement of administration regarding ethnicity and nationality.

Figure 8-13 Sennep, Candide, 9 June 1943

The image depicts an old aristocratic couple who are carrying family trees as well as numerous official documents. The wife is criticising her husband, questioning his decision to bring documents to prove his identity to the "*quinzième generation*". In the background of the image, the police are speaking to a passer-by. On this level, the image criticises the desire of the couple to prove their French identity to ridiculous extremes. However, it is important to take into account that Sennep himself was victim to these regulations, his identity being called into question, with accusations

that his *nom de plume* was used to mask his Jewish identity. Through this knowledge, one can suggest that this image was critical of the imposition of these regulations as a result of the German occupation, as depicted by the police stopping civilians to validate their identity hiding in the background of the image. This suggestion is reinforced by the Germans themselves, who reproduced two of his cartoons in the *Spiegel der Französischen Press* which criticised this image for their anti-German stance (Delporte & Gervereau, 1996). Sennep's image was both a criticism of the upper classes, as well as a criticism of the regulations reinforcing the necessity of proving one's identity in Vichy. Despite this criticism from the Germans, the artist received no criticism from Vichy. The only difference between this image and the one which was criticised is the depiction of the Occupier. While the interpretations of the meaning are the same, the depicted presence of the Occupier was enough to bring criticism upon the artist.

This theme of identity was repeated in Sennep's image of 3 November 1943. The image depicts an upper-class couple in bed, with the wife refusing to share the bed with her husband unless he shows her his identity papers. The image criticises the preoccupation with identity and ethnicity which was plaguing Vichy. However, this image received no criticism from the Germans or censure from Vichy. Sennep's cartoons mock the focus on identity imposed by the German occupation, yet despite this they received no official punishment despite its recurrence.

The newspaper which criticised the above image also criticised another (Figure 8.14, below), produced on 1 September 1943. Sennep repeated his attempts to mask his criticism through other themes, however the Germans detected his barbs. The untitled image depicts a family walking down a street, sharing items of clothing, including shoes and glasses.

Figure 8-14 Sennep, Candide, 1 September 1943

At first glance the image appears to be a criticism of rationing with the family sharing clothes; the parents are sharing glasses, the mother and daughter are sharing shoes, as are the father and son, who are also sharing a tie and jacket. However, through the focus on organisation in the subtitle, the criticism was apparent to the Occupiers, who cited the cartoon as a criticism of them on the same page of *Spiegel der Französischen Press* as Figure 8.13 (above). The criticism of order imposed by the Germans appeared in the previous issue of *Candide* without remark however. The image by Sennep depicts an upper-class woman with her friends. The chairs in her room are arranged in rows of three, with Hermengarde sat at the head of the room. The image is reminiscent of a military formation. Hermengarde explains to her friends that her husband demands order. The character, as previously used, is a synecdoche for the upper classes, and criticises her husband's, and the upper classes', obsession with following the order imposed by the Germans, to exaggerated and humorous results. The order imposed, in the image, is that of a military formation, connoting the link between the Occupier and the ongoing war. It is interesting that this image was not criticised however by the Germans, despite the similar themes and terminology and the imposition of regulations inherent within it. In fact, neither image was officially

criticised by either the occupier or the Vichy censor, despite the response from the occupiers to the image produced a week later.

Overall, the theme of the German occupation appeared in Sennep's work four times, although Sennep only received criticism for it twice. While the Germans disapproved of the images and made note of his position as the most Germanophobic cartoonist in the 1930s (Delporte, 1993), the artist received criticism but avoided any official punishment, as did *Candide*. The Vichy censor imposed no punishment upon the artist or the newspaper. We have seen how these images criticise not Vichy or the National Revolution, but they were perceived by the Germans as critical of the occupation and its effects upon France. This reprimand from the Germans certainly suggests Sennep's work was more critical of the regime than first thought. However, the other images carrying similar themes were not criticised by the censor. Overall, while this reprimand reinforces Sennep's position as the most Germanophobic cartoonist of the interwar period, it does not indicate criticism of Vichy or the National Revolution.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between January and December 1943. Analysis in previous chapters had shown that the images produced by Sennep in this publication between 1940 and 1942 did not criticise the National Revolution or Vichy, as had been argued by Delporte (1993) and others. This chapter set out to test whether, the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1943 would be more critical of the National Revolution and the Vichy regime. Given that there had not been a systematic comprehensive analysis of the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide*, this study was required to examine how Sennep criticised the Vichy society and the National Revolution in his images. A table was produced at the beginning of the chapter (Table 3) providing a broad thematic analysis of the images produced by Sennep in 1943. From the table, it is clear that the two key areas of concern for Sennep in 1943 were the role and position of the democrats and republicans who still populated Vichy, and the rise in rationing and poverty as a result of the war.

Sennep did not criticise Vichy when discussing the upper classes. Instead, the images were targeted to criticise their inability to adjust to life under Vichy, as well as their adherence to the Third Republic way of life. In terms of poverty and rationing, Sennep's ire fell on the amount of rationing, and the perilous economic situation that many French people found themselves in. This criticism is much harsher than in previous years and shows the cartoonist was increasingly exasperated at the role of the Vichy regime and the occupier in creating the problems of rationing, although he did not depict them directly in his images. This Germanophobia was detected in his 1943 cartoons by the Occupier, specifically the images published on 9 June and 1 September.

These images criticised both the imposition of regulations regarding ethnic origin and national identity by the Germans, but also the desire for order and organisation. These cartoons did not go unnoticed by the Occupier, with Sennep receiving criticism in Germany over his images. The pre-war ideology of the artist was examined in Chapter 4, and his staunch Germanophobia was used to provide evidence for the German accusation. Despite this, the artist received no censure. This overt criticism of the Occupier is rare within Vichy, with Germany maintaining considered oversight over the Vichy press and censor (Bellanger, 1975). The images produced by Sennep criticised the influence of the Germans in Vichy. Alongside the images about poverty and rationing, this further reinforces the contention that Sennep's criticisms of the economic situation are targeted at the occupier and not the Vichy regime.

Overall, the analysis in this chapter has shown that, as in 1942, contrary to the arguments of Delporte (1993), the images published in 1943 did not criticise the Vichy regime, but instead criticised the Occupier. The images reinforced Vichy propaganda by focusing on criticising the Third Republic and criticising the faux-adherents of the regime embodied by Adhémar and Hermengarde. The research questions in this thesis were centred around the examination of the manifestation of dissent, as well as the development of that dissent. We have seen the economic problems in France have led Sennep to increase the bluntness of his criticisms. Whereas previously in 1941 and 1942 Sennep masked his criticism of the economic situation behind jokes

targeting the Third Republic, in 1943 he depicted citizens starving to death. This criticism of the economic situation displays criticism of the policies of Vichy, however Sennep is still depicting Adhémar and Hermengarde to satirise the hypocrites and *béni-oui-oui* of Vichy.

Chapter 9 – Sennep and the end of *Candide*

Introduction

Analysis in the four previous chapters has shown that the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1943 show Sennep's complex reaction to the Vichy regime. While he originally held back and avoided praising or criticising the Vichy regime, as the impact of rationing and collaboration took hold his images criticized the National Revolution, when it had been phased out, and also his images depicted the realities of rationing in Vichy, expressing his frustration. In the early stages, his images focused on attacking the previous regime under which France capitulated to the Germans, in particular critiquing their support of democracy, republicanism and their membership of the Masonic Order. These targets were the same as were criticized in propaganda produced by the Vichy regime during the early years of the Occupation (Rossignol, 1991). Sennep criticised the parliamentarians for their weakness in the face of the Germans and attacked parliamentarians for their hypocrisy under Vichy. While his attacks were vicious and humorous, his work avoided praising Pétain and the new regime and this was the only concession he made to Vichy politics and ideology.

This chapter will continue the analysis by examining the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between January and July 1944, when the newspaper ceased publication. This is necessary in order to assess whether the cleavage noted by Delporte (1993) between the artist and the Vichy regime became more apparent in the cartoons published at this point and how it manifested. The chapter will evaluate whether the criticisms we witnessed of the Occupier in the previous chapters deepened as the Vichy regime faced increasing pressure due to the German Occupation of Vichy France in November 1942 (Paxton, 1974). The criticisms of the Occupier focused on the themes of rationing and German control. We will uncover in this chapter whether these criticisms continue to manifest and how they develop in the final year of the Occupation.

Rather than provide a thematic analysis of the cartoons in table format as previous chapters have done, due to the limited number of cartoons produced by Sennep in 1944, thirteen in total. This

was as a result of paper and ink shortages due to rationing. This chapter will provide a chronological overview in order to assess whether criticisms of the Vichy regime were presented in Sennep's work in 1944, or whether the cartoons continued to criticise opponents of the Vichy regime as well as the occupier.

Candide from January to July 1944

As detailed in the previous chapters, the criticisms in Sennep's images were targeted at the German occupiers, as well as the parliamentarians within Vichy who were still supportive of the Third Republic. This criticism was consistent with Sennep's work in *Candide* in the 1930s, reflecting his opposition to the expansion of Germany under Hitler, as well as the corruption he viewed in democratic regimes. The images produced between 1940 and 1943 continued this criticism of supporters of democracy, alluding to their links with the Masonic Order and criticising their hypocrisy and faux-adherence to the Vichy regime. As seen in the previous two chapters, the images increasingly focused on the economy and Sennep criticised the role of the occupier. This focus on the state of the economy continued in Sennep's work in January 1944.

The first image produced by Sennep in *Candide* on the 12th of January 1944 (Figure 9.1, below) was untitled but focused on a domestic setting. The image has as its central figure a man dressed up as a maid, complete with moustache and facial hair. Behind him, an upper-class couple, denoted by their monocle and expensive clothing are discussing their new hire of a maid.

Figure 9-1 Sennep, Candide, 12 January 1944

While talking about the new maid, the couple display mixed emotions. While the maid is in the foreground, and the reader is invited to laugh at the figure of the man dressed as a woman, by analysing the text and examining the couple in the background we can uncover the preferred reading behind the picture. The distance of the couple from the camera removed any personification, and their distance makes their features difficult to distinguish, rendering them a type rather than individuals. Although the wife is impressed by the cheap rate that they are paying - 100 Francs per hour – she is concerned by the appearance of the maid, and his moustache. Vichy rhetoric around the role of the family was strictly traditionalist, with the father as the head of the household, and the role of women focused upon motherhood and domesticity (Fishman, 2017). The couple have eschewed this principle in favour of saving money through using a male servant. Anxious about this choice being discovered, the couple request that the man shaves his moustache. The image is primarily concerned with the hypocrisy of the couple, distancing themselves from Vichy domestic policy in order to save money, yet mostly concerned with the appearance of their actions and if they will be criticised. Secondly, however, the depiction of the maid points to an upper-class man, with his bow-tie and jacket, alongside his large build. This depiction of the maid is intended to make the audience laugh at his misfortune, as he is forced to

do domestic chores for money, a role which under Vichy was a feminine task. The feminisation of his role, and also his dress, was a technique Sennep employed previously, particularly often in his images criticising the Third Republic and the democrats who embodied the ‘effete’ man. The image takes aim at both the hypocrisy of the upper classes in exploiting workers for their own gain while ignoring the traditionalist stance of the Vichy regime, and also mocks the demise of the former upper-classes who have been brought low by Vichy and the end of the Third Republic.

The second image in 1944 (Figure 9.2, below), published on the 26 January, is placed within a restaurant, and used the theme of poverty and rationing, another recurring motif employed by Sennep. This theme is once again used by the artist to attack the members of the upper classes who feigned adherence to Vichy when it suited them, which can be seen in the previous image (Figure 9.1). Figure 9.2 focuses upon a customer in a restaurant speaking to a waiter. The bow-tie, cane and coat mark the man out as wealthy.

Figure 9-2 Sennep, Candide, 26 January 1944

The man speaks to the waiter, and requests more bread, although due to rationing the portion size is only 50 grams. He then explains to the waiter that he has not yet abandoned his ‘shamefully materialist’ lifestyle but will do so the following day. To the right, the waiter looks on dismissively at the man, who appeals plaintively for more food. The image repeats the technique employed by

Sennep to criticise the faux-adherence of the upper class, a criticism which usually follows the identification of the figure as a democrat or republican. The hypocrisy of the figure is still present through analysis of the text in the image. The recurring theme of criticism of the faux-adherents from the upper classes is present in this image through the behaviour of the customer. His avoidance of materialism due to its effect of bringing man away from spirituality, an idea supported by Vichy (Lackerstein, 2016), is only followed as and when his own needs are met. The secondary message in the image continues to emphasise the impact of rationing, as the customer is only able to acquire 50 grams of bread due to the ongoing restrictions resulting from the war. The cartoon is both mocking the man for his faux-adherence to Vichy, and again masks the criticisms of the effects of rationing behind criticism of Vichy's enemies to avoid the input of the censor.

The theme of mocking the upper classes continued in February. The first image printed in February mocked both the *zazou* subculture as well as the upper classes.

Figure 9-3 Sennep, Candide, 9 February 1944

The image is dominated by the portrait of Louis XIV, a monarch of the House of Bourbon who reigned as King of France from 1643 until his death in 1715, by Hyacinthe Rigaud. Dressed in his regal attire, we can see his crown beside him, and the monarch is carrying his sword and medal.

In front of the image we can see a hunched over figure. Wearing the coat and scarf, the figure resembles figures of the upper class previously depicted by Sennep. The figure looks at the image of Louis XIV and announces "*Encore un de ces zazous!*". The displeasure of the character is intended to mock him for failing to recognise the figure of the famous monarch, ignorant of the history of the French monarchy. Sennep's work pre-war displayed his monarchist tendencies, and the image criticises those republicans who ignore the history of monarchy in France. In the background, we can see the figure of two men walking in the gallery, both of whom are dressed in a similar style to Louis XIV in his portrait. The image mocks the couple for their bizarre choice of style in 1940s France. They are lacking the regal medallion or crown to associate them with the monarch but are carrying the customary umbrella on the arm which the *zazous* were known for. The image combines Sennep's criticism of the upper classes and republicans for their betrayal of France, depicted through the figure forgetting arguably the most famous monarch in the history of the nation. The *zazou* figures receive the same criticism as previously over their bizarre dress sense and their effete style. Sennep's images continue to criticise the same targets as we saw in previous chapters, maintaining their distance from Vichy ideology and avoiding any comment upon collaboration and the role of the Occupier.

The image published on the 23 February 1944 focused again on the faux adherence of the upper-class supporters of the Third Republic. The image depicts a dining room setting after a meal amongst a group of wealthy people including Adhémar and Hermengarde, the synecdoche for supporters of the Third Republic and democracy who had fled to Vichy and tried to show off their support of Vichy, criticised for their sycophancy and hypocrisy.

Figure 9-4 Sennep, Candide, 23 February 1944

The dinner table at the back of the image with the chandelier symbolises the wealth shared amongst the group, which is mirrored in their expensive clothing. However, the centre of the image is focused upon the communal bed. In the bed, two couples are sitting, one of which is Adhémar and Hermengarde. Adhémar is asleep on the right of the image, and Hermengarde has her back to the reader, again connoting the distance between the reader and the group. The second couple are characters we have seen in other situations alongside the couple, often denoting their wealth and support for the Third Republic. The framing in the background of the picture of a dinner table implies the group is still able to eat well despite rationing, further distancing themselves from the reader and the general population of Vichy. One of the guests looks shocked by the appearance of the bed. Another guest in the bed is asking him if he has "*le sens communautaire*". While the Vichy regime promoted community spirit and was concerned with promoting community values (Lackerstein, 2016), the upper classes denoted in the image are misunderstanding what community spirit means and are behaving bizarrely. The connotation from this depiction aims its satire at the broader community of upper classes who feign support for Vichy. There is perhaps another, more salacious criticism of the upper classes in this image. Sennep could be making allusions to the moral criticisms of the upper classes who are sharing a bed, and not adhering the

traditional family structure which they claim to support. This stratum of society is again firmly in the crosshairs of Sennep's cartoons as the democrats under Vichy receive more criticism in 1944.

The theme of criticism of the upper classes continued in March 1944 in Sennep's solitary image in Candide that month. The image titled *La révision des idées*" (Figure 9.5, below) was published on 8 March 1944. It is important to note that the image received criticism from the Vichy regime, the first time this occurred during the Occupation. It depicts an evening hosted by Adhémar in his house after a dinner party with his male friends relaxing.

Figure 9-5 Sennep, Candide, 8 March 1944

Adhémar explains to his other guest that he has replaced his smoking room, '*fumoir*', with a *'méditoir*', a room specifically designed for contemplation. On the table are two books, the book on the left, *"le problème actuel*" is smaller than the other book, which is called "*les idées nouvelles*". The guests are standing, and their heads are resting on small chairs which are on the top of stands. The guests are contemplating the new ideas which could solve the problems under Vichy. The depiction of Adhémar typically in Sennep's images is used to mark the rest of his companions as parliamentarians and democrats who are still clinging to the Third Republic. A common criticism of the Third Republic in Sennep's images was their propensity for sitting down and chatting with little consequence. The image appears to criticise their focus on intellectual pursuits rather than action, a criticism which appeared in 18 March 1942 both in Sennep's image and the front-page

article from Charles Maurras in *Candide*. However, Sennep's 1944 image received criticism from the Vichy censor as it was deemed "*inopportun"* and Delporte (1993, p. 41) contends that the image was a "*critique directe aux remises en cause en haut lieu*". The denotation of Adhémar and his colleagues are intended to denote the sycophants and faux-adherents who claim support of Vichy while masking their republican tendencies. Delporte (1993) argues that the Vichy censor's response was as a result of pressure from the Germans after Sennep was criticised in 1943. Despite this, Delporte (p.41) notes that "*Ni le dessin, ni Candide, où il fut publié le 8 Mars 1944, ne furent interdits*." The fact that the image received criticism from the Vichy censor was highlighted by Delporte (1993) and Delporte (1996) as an example of the artist rebelling against the Vichy regime and the National Revolution. According to Delporte (1996), this image was taken as criticism of the Vichy regime, and this resulted in an official response from the Vichy censor, however this response was partially as a result of increased German pressure on Sennep's work. The note which Sennep receives from the censor criticises him for mocking the new official policy on "*idées nouvelles*" (Archives Nationales, F 41/256). The impact of the German censor removed the regime's leniency towards Sennep's images which used the language of the National Revolution to criticise parliamentarians and republicans, and the image was judged ill-timed. Despite this criticism, Delporte notes that while the censor criticised the image, neither the artist, nor the newspaper, received any official censure from the regime. The only immediate effect of the criticism from the censor was that Sennep did not publish in the next issue of *Candide*, however it is not clear if this was a direct result of the criticism from the censor. It is also significant that, as we will see, following this image the criticisms in Sennep's subsequent work do not deviate from his earlier themes of critiquing the adherents to the Third Republic, despite the warning from the Ministry for Information.

The images produced in April 1944 by Sennep continued to focus on criticising how the upper classes were struggling to adjust to life under Vichy. The first image "*Le boeuf sous le toit*", published on 5 April 1944 (Figure 9.6, below), is a pun on the opera "*Bœuf sur le Toit*" and depicts a couple in bed with a cow under their mattress.

Figure 9-6 Sennep, Candide, 5 April 1944

In the cartoon, the couple are awakened by the bull lifting the mattress upon his head. The couple are discussing the fact that they must take the bull to the abattoir before it becomes too familiar. This image takes the National Revolution's focus on agriculture to hyperbolic extremes to mock those that claim to support the agricultural way of life. A similar depiction, also a criticism of those who claimed adherence to the National Revolution, appeared previously in an image on 13th of May 1942 (see Chapter 6), which centred upon a farmyard animal being kept inside the house by Hermengarde. Despite it being phased out by Vichy, Sennep used the National Revolution in his images to criticise those faux-adherents and represents a recurring theme from the artist, as the audience is invited to mock the couple, and more broadly the *béni-oui-oui* of Vichy. Sennep's criticisms return to an old policy to avoid censure from the regime, but his targets remained the same, the parliamentarians who were responsible for the Fall of France.

One of the key criticisms in Sennep's work in 1943 was of the black market and those that exploited it in order to earn more money. The primary criticism for these images fell upon the shopkeepers. However, many upper-class people also attempted to exploit the black market for their own gain (Mouré, 2010), and Sennep attacked their greed and individualism, as they put themselves before France.

Figure 9-7 Sennep, Candide, 19 April 1944

The image (Figure 9.7, above) depicts a mother and father looking down at their son. While the mum smiles, the dad looks stern. The child is dressed smartly, while looking down at the ground, his expression is that of shame. He is being spoken to by a woman with a clipboard. The title and text in the image allow us to analyse the meaning behind the image. The title of the image is "*Les métiers difficiles*". The text is being spoken by the woman to the parents, explaining that the child has become a young man and that he is old enough to go to prison. The ire of the image is focused upon the parents. The child, not old enough to go to school based upon his size, is being sent to prison for exploiting the black market. The black-market idea is denoted through the clothing of the parents. The father is dressed as a shopkeeper, and his look is critical of his son. The image leaves the audience wondering what the child could have possibly done to deserve prison time. Rather, the shopkeeper is the locus of criticism as he punishes his son at such a young age. Criticisms of shopkeepers was a theme in Sennep's work in 1942 and 1943 as a result of the effects of rationing. In his work, Sennep continues to criticise those groups who he views as placing themselves over the nation, and his frustration with the black market is clear.

The criticisms of the adherents of the Third Republic was a recurring theme throughout Sennep's work between 1940 and 1943. These groups were antithetical to the Sennep's dislike of

republicanism and democracy and were the frequent recipients of Sennep's acerbic cartoons in *Candide*. This was demonstrated effectively by Sennep's image of the 3 May 1944 (Figure 9.8, below), which involves a criticism aimed at the intellectual elites who tried to retain some grasp of power and authority within a regime which they did not support, and which was opposed to them. In the image entitled "*L'actualité littéraire*", two well-dressed men are in a café, discussing the current state of literature in France, however it becomes apparent that their conversation is an attempt to demonstrate to each other how supportive they are of the Vichy regime.

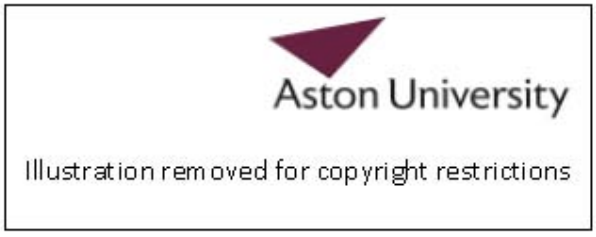

Figure 9-8 Sennep, Candide, 3 May 1943

The men are discussing the literature they have been reading, but it quickly becomes apparent they are not discussing traditional literary forms, but rather communiqués from the Vichy regime. The men are praising the style and quality of the writing in the documents, however the text in the image makes clear that they are praising the writers of documents concerning "*les économies de courant électrique*" and "*la Défense Passive*". The critics are complimenting government documents in an attempt to appear supportive of the Vichy regime, referring to them as masterpieces, and delightful. Their style of dress marks them out as wealthy, with their shirts, ties and smart jackets. Their placement within Brasserie Lipp also mirrors the Vichy regime's

opposition to café culture, which has reappeared many times through Sennep's work, a further criticism of their hypocrisy and a criticism of bourgeois society (Holt, 2006). These men are the subject of ridicule in the image, both through their bizarre approach of praising official documents, and the broader connotation of this stratum of society feigning adoration for the regime through any means necessary.

This criticism of the Vichy sycophants, and their desire to keep up appearances, was a recurring motif from Sennep. The untitled image of 31 May 1944 (Figure 9.9, below) mocks the desire of upper-class women to maintain their appearance of prestige and wealth, as they are debating which farmyard animal is best to wear as a stole, either a traditional fox or a pig, which have become rarer as a result of economic hardship during the war.

Figure 9-9 Sennep, Candide, 31 May 1944

The image is focused upon two women. Their faces are positioned at an angle from the reader, connoting distance. The woman on the left, tall and thin, wearing a fox stole, is looking at her friend. Her friend, much larger, is wrapped up in a pig carcass. The image has several denotations

which connote the meaning of the cartoon. The text explains that pigs have become much rarer. The focus on those that fled from the Third Republic, and their resistance to agricultural life and the new reality of life under Vichy recurred throughout Sennep's images had not been cowed by the criticism from the Vichy censor.

Sennep returns to his criticism of the shopkeepers who are exploiting rationing and scarcity for their own financial gain. The artist fluctuates between criticism of the democrats, who betrayed France under the Third Republic, and criticism of those who are undermining France now under rationing and exploiting their compatriots.

Figure 9-10 Sennep, Candide, 14 June 1944

The image depicts the scene inside a shop. As the people in the foreground sit in the chairs and lounge, they are wearing aprons denoting them as salespeople. They are all overweight and relaxing during their "*Soirée mondaine*", ironising on the social evening they are having to relax. Rather than enjoying a night out at the theatre, the people are being entertained by a musician in the shop. However, the music is coming from the till. The group are delighted to hear the money ringing through the till. Behind the group, the items on display have a tremendous mark-up in price,

and the chandelier from which meat hangs denotes the wealth of the group. The connotation of the combination of these denotations indicates that the shop keepers are exploiting the scarcity of the situation to make money for themselves. The shopkeepers occupy the same space as the republicans for Sennep, their greed is betraying France and they have the same denotations of wealth as the figures like Adhémar and Hermengarde.

The final images produced by Sennep in 1944 all continued to focus on criticising the out-of-touch elites and their focus on wealth and the appearance of prestige and power. The image published on the 28 June 1944 (Figure 9.11, below) depicts a scene in a park where two men are discussing their clothing. Entitled "*Les nouveaux messieurs*", the image focuses on the pair considering the clothing of one of them. The title refers to a stage play, and a subsequent film released in 1929, which criticised the behaviour and mores of parliament to the point where the film was censored by the Third Republic (Douin, 2001). This criticism of the behaviour of democrats is intended to make the link between the men in the park and the Third Republic.

Figure 9-11 Sennep, Candide, 28 June 1944

The image depicts the man on the right wearing absurdly long clothing. When asked if he has lost weight, the man replies that he has not, but in his current situation he cannot appear to be cutting costs on material. This image reinforced the Sennepian motif of the democrats and

parliamentarians focusing on appearances above all else. In order to maintain any semblance of prestige, the man must appear to have the same wealth as before but has chosen to display this wealth in a bizarre manner, rendering him ridiculous. This criticism is made worse by the reader recognising that this image is set in a period where material and supplies were strictly rationed, therefore exacerbating his waste of material, further drawing the ire of the reader. The combination of the title of the cartoon and the depiction are intended to connote the absurdity of the political class of the Third Republic, and particularly those who value the appearance of wealth and power above all else, even in times of economic hardship.

The following week's image (Figure 9.12, below) depicted a couple inside a restaurant, enjoying a 5000 franc meal, having also ordered 10 litres of wine between them. Titled *"Opulence*" and published on 12 July 1944, the clothing the couple are wearing denotes their opulent and expensive lifestyle.

Figure 9-12 Sennep, Candide, 12 July 1944

The wife is deriding the husband as she says to him "*tu crains toujours de ne pas paraître assez distingué*". The overweight denotation of the couple in their fancy clothing is designed to connote their greed, as well as reinforce their separation from the lives of everyday French people. They

can afford to eat regularly, as well as spend money frivolously in a time of economic crisis. The meal is 5000 Francs, and they are spending it on a "*repas clandestin"*, paying extravagant prices to avoid the effects of rationing. The couple in the image are spending their money on food while the population suffers through rationing and economic hardship. The image reinforces the criticism of the political and economic upper class through explicit use of the subtitle; their focus solely on their appearance in times of national crisis.

The final image from Sennep in 1944 (Figure 9.13, below), published on 26 July, does not deviate from the themes of his earlier work in 1944, criticising the shop keepers who were exploiting the economic crisis for their own financial wellbeing.

Figure 9-13 Sennep, Candide, 26 July 1944

The shopkeepers are adorned in the same denoters of wealth as the parliamentarians of the Third Republic wearing monocles and expensive jewellery. The text tells us that the clandestine events the couple hold in their shop unite "*l'élite*" with "*des sacs à provisions*". Like the previous images in 1944, Sennep's ire falls upon the figures of the shop owners who are exploiting the black market to profit from rationing, working with the upper classes to benefit themselves to the detriment of

the nation. Sennep's work in 1944 focused on only two themes which he repeatedly portrayed, the hypocrisy of the upper classes, and the exploitation of rationing by shop keepers who used the black market to profiteer.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* between January and July 1944. Analysis in previous chapters had shown that the images produced by Sennep in this publication between 1940 and 1943 did not criticise the National Revolution or Vichy, to the extent that has been argued by Delporte (1993) and others, but rather aimed subtle criticisms at the occupiers and the effects of rationing. Sennep's images focused upon the parliamentarians and republicans who had fled to Vichy and attacked them for their failures and betrayal of France in the lead up to the war. Sennep attacked them using the language of the National Revolution but framed the images so as to retain a position of *attentisme*. As we saw in 1942, his work criticised the National Revolution, further demonstrating Sennep's unwillingness to align himself with the regime. This chapter set out to test whether the cartoons produced by Sennep in *Candide* in 1944 would be more critical of the National Revolution and the impact of the Occupier.

In this chapter, however, it became clear that the artist had received criticism from the regime for his work. Therefore, although this criticism came from the Vichy censor (Archives Nationales, 1944, F41-256), analysis of the image has indicated that the cartoon was not a criticism of the regime itself. Rather, the response was generated by increasing pressure from the occupiers about Sennep's work as argued by Delporte (1996) as Sennep was still viewed by the Germans as the most Germanophobic of the cartoonists working under Vichy at that time. The Occupier had already criticised the cartoonist in 1943 for images which they felt criticised their position in France. The criticism from the Occupier altered Sennep's images as he criticised two groups, the parliamentarians and the shop keepers profiteering from rationing.

The images produced throughout 1944 focused on Sennep's criticism of the haute-bourgeoisie, denoted through the couple Adhémar and Hermegarde. The upper class, marked by their high-

quality clothing, their high standard of accommodation, and their lack of work, were the figure of ridicule in Sennep's images for their faux-adherence to the regime and their preoccupation with appearances. However, in March 1944, Sennep's depiction of a group of haute-bourgeoisie was criticised as "*inopportun*" (sic) by the Vichy censor. Whilst the artist and newspaper received no punishment, this had a noticeable effect upon the content of Sennep's images as he subsequently focused his criticisms of the haute bourgeoisie more explicitly on their displays of wealth and vulgarity despite the hardening economic situation in France. This criticism of the haute-bourgeoisie continued until the newspaper ceased publication in July 1944 due to lack of printing materials and ink as the Allied invasion of France continued. As discussed in earlier chapters, Sennep's criticism of the hypocrisy of parliamentarians was a theme which Sennep used in his pre-1940 cartoons. His images in 1944 continued to mock and satirise the republicans, as Sennep blames them for the weakness which led to the Fall of France in 1940. As witnessed in Chapter 7, his economic cartoons exhibited a frustration of the impact of rationing, but Sennep was careful to mask his economic frustrations behind criticisms of other targets or used his *En L'An 2000* series to insert distance between the subject matter and the realities of everyday life under Vichy. In 1944, however, his economic criticisms place the blame solely at the feet of those exploiting the black market. Their opulence and greed are the central theme in his economic cartoons, and Sennep denotes them in a similar fashion, with expensive clothing and luxurious surroundings, to the republicans under Vichy, linking the two groups and highlighting their hypocrisy and moral failings.

This still leaves us with a fundamental question resulting from the images produced by Sennep between 1940 and 1944 in *Candide*. Despite his political leanings pre-1940, and his ideological alignment with the Vichy regime as it came to power in 1940, Sennep's cartoons between 1940 and 1944 did not mock Vichy society and ideology in his work in *Candide*. His images display a position of *attentisme*, he employs the language of the National Revolution to criticise his targets but does not endorse it himself, and his economic cartoons were critical of the rationing situation. Sennep was careful, however, not to express criticism of the regime, but rather his anxieties about

the situation. Sennep received criticism in 1943 for his images which the Occupier felt were targeted at the Occupation and the Vichy regime, but he received no official reprimand. In 1944 Sennep did receive criticism from the Vichy regime for an image, but analysis has shown the image was not targeted at the Vichy regime. This criticism can be explained by the influence of the German occupier, as Vichy only gave a light reprimand, but no official punishment was handed out to the artist or newspaper. We have hitherto examined the cartoons and the context they were published in *Candide*, however the events of 1944 quickly altered the context of life under Vichy. The examination of Sennep's images in *Candide* have not portrayed the cartoons as critical of the Vichy regime to the extent as argued by Delporte (1993). As we shall see, it is this changing context of the Liberation which allows us to understand this interpretation of Sennep as mocking Vichy society and ideology and rejecting the National Revolution. It is in the context of the Liberation when Sennep publishes new work about Vichy which recontextualises his work in *Candide*.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

The previous four chapters of this thesis have analysed the images produced by Sennep in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944 under the Vichy regime and the Occupation using an approach combining analysis of semiotics and graphic techniques. The analysis examined the content of the images, as well as the framing of his work in order to understand the meanings inherent in the cartoons. Those themes centred around the role of the parliamentarians and democrats under Vichy, the sycophants of the Vichy regime who were depicted as hypocrites for failing to live up to the ideas that they promoted, and the impacts of rationing upon France under the Occupation. The images employed the language of the National Revolution to criticise the hypocrites under the Vichy regime; a return to traditional values which had been abandoned and as a result had weakened the nation; sport and the open air; and youth. Despite using this language, the analysis has shown that Sennep framed his images to distance himself from the National Revolution as a result of his opposition to the policies of Collaboration, thus justifying the argument put forward by Delporte (1996).

While Delporte (1996) argued that Sennep's images in *Candide* criticised the Vichy regime and its ideology every week, the analysis in this thesis has revealed a more nuanced perspective of *attentisme*, with Sennep focusing instead on criticising the republicans who brought France to her knees. While these targets were shared with Vichy, the corollary does not mean that Sennep was a supporter of Vichy however, rather initially he focused more on the defeat in his images than in commenting on life under Vichy. This changed in 1942 when rationing became a topic of primary concern for the artist. At this point, as discussed in Chapter 6, he expressed his frustration at the situation of rationing but avoided denoting criticism of the Vichy regime or the Occupier in his images. While, as Sanders (2008) argued, the population of Vichy placed the blame for rationing on the Occupiers and the Vichy regime, this thesis has shown how Sennep's images avoided depictions of either party in an effort to avoid the censor. In 1943, the German occupation of Vichy tightened the censorship controls over Vichy and Sennep had to be aware of two censors

examining his work for evidence of criticism or insult. In 1943, The Germans criticised two of Sennep's images in *Candide* for insulting the Occupier. While he was criticised, the artist received no official reprimand and no punishment. The Vichy regime did not the criticism in the image which the Germans detected. In 1944, Sennep's images criticised the republicans who lived within Vichy and derided those who sought to exploit the black market and rationing for their own greed and profit.

As Delporte (1993) argues, the work of Sennep places him as the only critic of Vichy through the medium of political cartooning. While the analysis of Sennep's images in this thesis has demonstrated that Sennep's work was not critical of Vichy society or ideology to the extent argued by Delporte (1996), the work was not created in a vacuum. Sennep worked for one of the largest newspapers under Vichy and received criticism from the Parisian press for his refusal to promote the work of collaboration (cf. Chapter 7). The images themselves have not provided enough textual evidence for the existence of criticism towards Vichy and it's ideology, and while Sennep's images have shared some common enemies with the collaborationist press, his images did not depict many of the same targets, such as his refusal to depict anti-Semitism in his images to avoid being viewed as collaborationist. As noted in Chapter 4, the Vichy regime utilised the press and political cartooning as a tool for propaganda. The images produced in other newspapers of the *zone libre* supported the Vichy regime and produced images which promoted the figure of Pétain, supported the ideology of the Vichy regime, and criticised the opponents of the Germans, frequently attacking the British and Americans. While Sennep's images have portrayed a position of *attentisme*, we must compare his images to the work of other cartoonists to examine whether this is the root of Delporte's (1993) analysis of Sennep as a critic of Vichy.

Vichy propaganda

The use of the written press as propaganda has been discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, which explained how the regime controlled the output of the newspapers in order to control the flow of information and promote news stories and editorials which praised the Vichy regime and the

Occupiers. While political cartooning did not receive the same input from the propaganda services, they still received oversight from the Vichy and German censor (Amaury, 1969). Sennep's images shared common targets with the Vichy regime, but his work did not go so far as to praise Vichy or Pétain while they were in power, instead he maintained his attacks upon figures which he criticised in the inter-war period, such as republicans and members of the Third Republic government. As we have seen, Sennep removed his anti-Semitic criticisms form his work under the Occupation to avoid his work being conflated with those collaborationist cartoonists under the regime.

Delporte (1993) explores the themes of Vichy propaganda and it is useful for the purposes of this thesis to examine four themes which are used throughout the Occupation, and to compare them to Sennep's work: *Guerre des Juifs et croisade antibolchevique*, *la République enjuivée*, *la France du Maréchal* and *Ies nouveaux saboteurs*. Each of themes will be explored with Sennep's work compared to that of his cartooning colleagues so as to assess whether Sennep's distinction from these artists explains Delporte's description of Sennep as a critic of Vichy and its ideas.

Guerre des Juifs et croisade antibolchevique

The use of political cartooning which depicted the Allies under Vichy had two purposes. First, it sought to place the blame for the war solely on the Allies and secondly, it aimed to depict the unavoidable conclusion of the war, a German victory (Delporte, 1993). The images built upon depictions of the Allies and their supporters from the interwar period, such as the depictions of the communists, or those of the British in the lead-up to the signing of the Munich Accords. Cartoonists often depicted the British and Americans as a couple. The Soviet Union was regularly denoted by the figure of Stalin, and the images were used to connote the barbarism of the Soviets and the threat of Communism as an internal and external threat. However, after the British invasion of North Africa, the cartoons changed tactand sought to raise support for the German forces in the face of British aggression. They depicted the British and Americans as cruel and tortuous, abandoning France then returning to punish them out of a sense of vengeance.

An image published in 1941 exemplifies the theme of depicting the Allies as responsible for the conflict. In a repurposed image from *Gringoire*, originally published in 1938, Charlet depicts a young French soldier at the front of a line. Behind the soldier is depicted Georges Mandel, the politician who had led the calls for a conflict with the Germans, Anthony Eden, the British foreign Secretary, the Emperor of Ethiopia, a figure dressed in a traditional matador outfit, Léon Blum, and two communist figures. The image depicts the two aspects of the criticisms for the opponents of the Axis powers. The figures both used France as a shield to protect themselves before the war – Mandel in particular received criticism for putting his Jewish identity above his French nationality- and they literally pushed the French into war for their own interests. This criticism of the Allied forces was a popular image in collaborationist cartoons.

The Vichy collaborationist cartoonists focused their criticisms of the Allies on the betrayal and revenge taken by 'perfidious Albion'. The work by Charlet in *L'Appel* depicts the two sides of Churchill. One half of the image is Churchill on the BBC, asking French workers to stay in France. On the other half, Churchill is in a plane, as he is off to bomb the workers whom he asked to remain. The duality of the British is a recurring role, and Delporte (1993) argues this was depicted as revenge for the hereditary enemy of the Nation. This criticism allowed people to focus their anger upon the British and forget the history of conflict between France and Germany at the same time. The British and Americans were depicted as prisoners of Jewish interests, and not offering the freedom which they promised.

The role of British bombing was key in many depictions, as it allowed the cartoonists to depict the citizens as suffering because of the cruel attacks from their former allies. The raids on Rouen and Toulon, and the following intensification of bombardments, brought criticism from the collaborationist press. *Gringoire*, a newspaper which borrowed the format of *Candide* but was more outwardly collaborationist, described the British as returning to the scene of their crimes. Images in *Gringoire* (19 March 1943) depicted the British bombing emblematic figures of France like Napoléon and Joan of Arc. Each new raid upon France brought more criticism from the

collaborationist press, presenting Churchill and Roosevelt as barbaric, as gangsters and savages. The images contrasted the joy on the face of Churchill or Roosevelt with the pain and suffering experienced by the French. The Allies were also shown to be destroying cultural monuments and religious buildings, not just attacking the people but the Christian heritage of the nation.

The depictions of Stalin and the Soviet Union attacking France began in earnest in 1941 after the German invasion of USSR. The images drew upon imagery present in the interwar period by associating the Communist threat with that of the Allies and the Jewish influence. While the original images mocked the weakness of the Soviets as the Germans marched through Russian territory, after the battle of Stalingrad the images changed their depictions of the Soviets. Suddenly, they depicted the Russians as more of a threat, relegating Churchill and the British to minor players (Delporte, 1994). The British were accused of having whitewashed the Soviets, ignoring their crimes such as the Katyn massacre in Poland in 1940. Stalin was depicted in collaborationist newspapers with a knife in his teeth, crawling over corpses to get to his goal. Stalin replaced the threat of Jewish interests as he worked with the Allies to increase his influence across Europe. The other theme underlying the criticism of the Allies is their threat to the National Revolution. The figure of the revolution, depicted as a female, was threatened by the figures of the British and their Soviet allies.

The collaborationist press focused its efforts upon criticising the opponents of the Occupiers and attacking the British and the Americans for their bombing raids on France, as well as forming an alliance with the Soviets. This task was done in order to promote the idea of a German military victory and to encourage citizens to turn away from the Allies and instead support the Germans. These images were more popular in the Occupied Zone, where more of the press were openly collaborationist, but a select few newspapers, such as *Gringoire*, promoted these ideas through their writings and cartoons. In contrast to these themes, Sennep never commented upon the conflict or the Allied Forces. He never depicted the German military forces either. His only

contribution to this theme were his images in 1941 mocking the communists within France who had to switch their allegiances to the Allied forces after the end of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

The important aspect of Sennep's work which this thesis has uncovered regards Sennep's criticism of the communists in the inter-war period. Sennep's images in 1937 and 1938 criticised the Soviet Union and the internal and external threat of the Communists to France. Despite the fact the Soviet Union became an opponent of France and the Germans, Sennep did not depict the threat of the Communists to France. Much like Sennep's refusal to depict the threat of Jewish influence to avoid his work being compared to the collaborationists, he similarly refused to depict the Communist influence under Vichy to avoid his work similarly being compared to the work of the collaborationist press. While Sennep's refusal to depict the enemies of the Germans during the conflict placed him in stark contrast to the collaborationist press, which included abandoning the key themes of his earlier work, this does not mark him out as a critic of Vichy. It does however reinforce the importance of his opposition to Collaboration which was discovered in his work during the Occupation through the analysis undertaken. We shall now examine the next theme explored by Delporte (1996), and examine whether this theme helps us understand why he argued that Sennep criticised the Vichy regime in his images.

L'Anti-France d'hier

As much as the collaborationist press criticised the external threats to France, they were as concerned with internal threats to the regime and the nation. Similar to the previous theme, the images were based upon the strong criticisms in the right-wing press in the interwar period which criticised the many groups within France who were weakening the nation intentionally. While the figures of the Soviet Union and the communists were not present in the press until the middle of 1941, familiar figures reappeared. Edouard Herriot, Léon Blum, Georges Mandel, Edouard Daladier and others. However, the most frequent recipients of the ire of the Collaborationist press

were Jewish. We shall first look at the criticisms of the Third Republic before examining the Vichy cartoons directed at the Jewish influence.

In the Vichy press, the most common denotation in the wake of the defeat was a broom or a brush. The image of sweeping away the old regime also signalled the drastic change which brought France into a new era. In most of these images, the hands on the broom are unclear. The absence of identity connotes to the reader that the broom is being directed by the French people as it brushes away the symbols of the Third Republic. These symbols often took the form of Communist symbols like the hammer and sickle or the masonic eye. The images symbolised the cleaning of France. An image in *Gringoire* published on 12 September 1940 depicts a broom sweeping away the symbols mentioned above as well as documents listing the strikes, assassinations and affairs which marred the Third Republic. This motif of sweeping away the past was repeated in Sennep's work in December 1940, although rather than the French population sweeping away the past it was Pétain himself, along with the help of two others. As our analysis showed, this was Sennep's way of praising Pétain. The cartoonist and former soldier was glad to see Pétain in the corridors of power, although his images in 1940 and 1941 expressed his unwillingness to sign up to the National Revolution and support the Vichy regime because of collaboration.

The theme of the criticism of the Third Republic was noted for its density and frequency between 1940 and 1942. The impact of the Riom Trials in 1942 meant that the criticisms of the Third Republic almost disappeared from all but the staunchest collaborationist cartoonists. The criticism only appeared in the collaborationist press in the Parisian newspaper *Je suis partout* (Delporte, 1994) The rest of the collaborationist press turned their attention to new threats to the nation, namely the resistance and the progress of the war in Europe.

Many of the collaborationist press were critical of the Third Republic politicians and its policies but were reluctant to criticise the republic itself. Only *l'Action française* supported a return to monarchy. The cartoonists instead criticised the immorality and institutional failures which brought down the Third Republic. These weaknesses were almost universally depicted as being the fault

of masons of Jewish influence. The images depicted the *Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière* being infiltrated by the masons and Jewish influence. The figure of Marianne, which contained a duality in iconographical uses by collaborationist cartoonists, disappeared from use by Collaborationist figures. The figure represented both France and the Republic, instead she was replaced by an old woman. The woman still wore the Phrygian bonnet, but her symbols were replaced by the Star of David. Her depiction often included visual signifiers of her Jewish identity, with a crooked nose and large lips. The figure has become aged and decrepit due to the Third Republic which allowed the infiltration of Jewish influence, masons and parliamentarians. The only group which are not depicted in 1940 and 1941 are the Communists.

The images depicting the parliamentarians published under Vichy made fun of them rather than viciously attacking them. The Vichy regime constituted a break from the Third Republic and the values which came with it, normally depicted in *Gringoire* and *Candide* as corruption, ministerial instability and greed. The images focused upon the deputies, and how they were living on the taxes paid by citizens and abused their power. Overall, however, the Vichy cartoons mocked the parliamentarians as they became redundant. The images mocked their uselessness rather than attacking them viciously as had been done in the interwar years.

The criticisms focused on two key depictions of parliamentarians. The first was depictions of key figures like Edouard Herriot and Jules Jeanneney, emblematic of the parliamentary system. The other were figures who the press deemed responsible for the defeat of France, principally those involved in the government who had dominated until 1940, which the press argued placed the blame for the defeat squarely at their door. These figures included Blum, Mandel and Daladier. While figures like Boncour were attacked for attempting to halt Pétain receiving more powers, the Popular Front did not receive such a negative reaction. Delporte (1993) argues that this is because of the groups associated with the Popular Front and the political realities of the Occupation. It was not possible to criticise the socialists, some of whom had supported Vichy, and spare the communists.

Herriot in particular received heavy criticism in the collaborationist press. He and Jeanneney were depicted as dinosaurs, members of an old system who were men of the past. Herriot also received criticism for his continuing position as the Mayor of Lyon. He was depicted as living in luxury on taxpayer money, a parasite who was testament to the Third Republic. The images published in *Gringoire* in 1940 challenged his integrity and his generosity. Léon Blum and Georges Mandel received criticism from the collaborationist press for their Jewish identity and their conduct during the Third Republic. Blum was portrayed in two contrasting depictions depending upon the artist. He was either an intellectual, feminine character who was weak to the influence of communists, or he was a strict, cruel doctrinarian, and the Marxist head of the Popular Front.

Georges Mandel became the figurehead for the Jewish desire for war. While in the interwar years Mandel was not criticised for his Jewish identity as he was a respected politician on the right of the spectrum, his depiction changed quickly under Vichy. He was an unsympathetic character in the cartoons in the Vichy press, he was an ambiguous figure and a skilled manipulator. Despite his anti-Munich stance, he was heavily targeted by *Je suis partout*, although this was because he was instrumental in closing it down in 1940. Mandel was supportive of the right-wing desire to go to war, although after the Occupation he became the symbol for the Jewish desire to go to war, he was the man who drove France to defeat. He was so hated by the collaborationist forces that his assassination by the *Milice* was praised in *Je suis partout* by Ralph Soupault (Delporte, 1993).

Edouard Daladier was depicted in the press with perhaps the harshest criticisms against him, he was both an alcoholic and a murderer. Daladier was seen as responsible for the events of 6 February 1934. In Sennep's image of 8 February 1934 (Figure 4.4), he depicted Daladier crowing on top of the Chamber of Deputies about the shooting of activists. The images produced under Vichy until 1944 continued to depict Daladier as responsible for those deaths, usually with an expression of shame on his face.

The Riom Trials focused the energy of the right-wing cartoonists of the collaborationist press. The cartoonists initially expressed great joy in being able to depict the political figures in their cells.

This sentiment is shared by Sennep in 1940, who depicted a number of Third Republic politicians in their cells. However, as time dragged on and the trial was delayed, the images began to express frustration at the process. Prisoners were depicted enjoying the break from the process in a life of luxury, intended to inflame the passions of the readers.

However, the caricaturists succeeded in inflaming their own anger in 1942 when at the trial the defendants showed no repentance or contrition, and instead defended themselves. The trial did not go according to plan, and this only enraged the collaborationist press. While cartoonists expressed their incredulity at the behaviour of the defendants, with Blum transformed into a judge, the Vichy regime was embarrassed by the trial. The closure of the trial brought a change in the depictions of the members of the Third Republic. While cartoonists could not directly criticise the regime, they could express their frustrations with the process. The other effect of the collapse of the trial was the disappearance of the Third Republic politicians from the collaborationist press.

As we have seen in Sennep's work, the disappearance of Third Republic figures also occurred after the Riom Trials. In 1940, Sennep targeted the same figures as the collaborationist press. Herriot and Jeanneney were his preferred targets for their responsibility in the downfall of France. Léon Blum became a minor character despite his primacy pre-war. Political figures continued to feature in Sennep's work until 1941 when they were replaced with abstract denotations of political figures, such as Ernest. The figure of Ernest was employed to criticise the morals and values of the Third Republic but he disappeared in 1942 after the Riom Trials. Sennep then turned his ire to the sycophants of the National Revolution. While some of them were depicted as democrats, they were not depicted as government ministers or politicians. Throughout the Occupation, Sennep avoided depicting Blum and Mandel for fear of his work being branded collaborationist, but his work did target Herriot, Daladier and Jeanneney. His criticisms broadened out to general supporters of parliamentarianism, criticising those who fondly remembered the Republic and wished to bring it back. Sennep distanced himself from the collaborationist press who would not go so far as to criticise the Republic itself, and his interwar work with l'*Action française* revealed

his monarchist tendencies. His continued criticisms of the republican form of government positioned Sennep outside of the collaborationist press. It does not, however, denote a criticism of Vichy itself or its ideology.

La France du Maréchal

The third theme which Delporte analyses is that of Pétain and the National Revolution. Delporte explains that the common thread which runs through this theme is the hope of regenerating and rejuvenating France after the Fall. However, while images denoting the National Revolution were common, images depicting Pétain were rare. By December 1941, Pétain had disappeared from political cartooning under Vichy. Of those 15 images which depicted Pétain, they can be divided into three categories according to how they depict the leader of the regime.

The first category had Pétain as the focus of the image. He physically dominates the cartoon, and most of his body was depicted. He was positioned usually in profile or at an angle, giving a sense of honour and profoundness to the image and the figure of Pétain. Despite the gaze of Pétain being fixed upon the horizon, with a gesture of a hand, or a few simple words delivered with authority, he demonstrates the path to follow for France to achieve victory. The figure of Pétain dominates the image as he looms over everyone like a superhuman figure. He has appeared to scatter the enemies of France and protect people under his regime. The second category borrows the depiction of Pétain from his official portraits and places Pétain in the centre of the image. As the central figure he attracts the gaze of everyone else in the image, whose faces are filled with veneration and devotion. The final category reduces the figure of Pétain to key signifiers, such as an arm, a few facial features, or his baton. By reducing the figure of the *Maréchal* to a few defining characteristics, he was depicted as being above human quarrels, lending a supernatural quality to the figure, much like the first technique. The images of Pétain portrayed a dynamism to the figure, the leader of France who will save them and transform France.

Despite the images which glorify the leader, Pétain disappeared from Vichy political cartooning in 1942. Delporte (1993) argues that the disappearance is due to the drop in popularity of Pétain and

the Vichy regime. By removing Pétain from cartoons, the regime was able to protect his image from criticism by his opponents. Delporte (1993) also contends that political cartooning is better suited to criticising than to praising, so Pétain's disappearance can be explained by the nature of the medium itself.

As we saw in Figure 5.4, Sennep's cartoon from 4 December 1940 is the only image in which he depicts Pétain. The image carries the message of "*le balai*", as France is swept clean by an arm belonging to Pétain. Sennep's cartoon uses the same graphic techniques as the collaborationist press, reducing Pétain to a signifier and suggesting he is above human quarrels. In his image, the arm of Pétain appears through the window, beating the constitution clean. Other hands in other windows depict Pétain as working along with other people as they strive to regenerate France. Sennep's image of Pétain does not portray him as a figure criticising the regime and its ideology, but rather happy that his military colleague has taken over and could save the Third Republic. This message is swiftly undercut by Sennep's unwillingness to support the National Revolution and the ideology of Vichy.

Les Nouveaux Saboteurs

The final theme which Delporte examines is that of the internal threats to Vichy which appeared after 1942 in the collaborationist press under the regime. Delporte examines the internal threat from groups who exploit the black market and youth groups like the zazous. The depictions of the black market and traffickers were not a major theme in the collaborationist press. The press did not wish to portray the problem of the black market as a major problem damaging France, instead the images confirmed the problem was a particular subgroup, Jewish capitalists who were hoarding food, textiles and money. One important technique seen in the press was to contrast these people with the impoverished population under Vichy. The theme appeared particularly heavily in 1943 but was not as frequently depicted the following year.

The other theme present in the collaborationist press was the image of the *zazous*. First appearing in *Je suis partout* in 1941, the youth group were favoured targets of the newspaper and its

cartoonist, Ralph Soupault. The group are depicted by Soupault as lazy, workshy, carefree and oblivious. Their dress style is eccentric, and they spend their lives in cafés, drinking American cocktails and using Anglo-Saxon language. They are also depicted as being upper class, a wealthy group who are able to avoid work such as the Service du Travail Obligatoire and instead exploit the black market. They are shown to be lazy, and their extravagant lifestyle is depicted as harming France and supporting the Allied forces and their Jewish supporters. The cynicism, privilege and inertia of the *zazous* are contrasted with those ideals of Vichy which promote courage, effort and idealism to save and regenerate France.

Both of these themes are minor in the collaborationist press but are useful for comparison to Sennep's work to examine for key differences. Sennep's work criticised both the *zazous* and the black-market profiteers. While the collaborationist press attacked the traffickers for being Jewish, Sennep refrained from using that criticism. He still heavily criticised them for hurting France and the population through their greed though. Sennep's work also criticised the *zazous*, but for very different reasons. Sennep attacked the ridiculousess of their costumes and the influence of anglicisms in their language. He did not criticise them for avoiding work expressly in his images, but rather their effete nature and bizarre dress sense.

While there are not many thematic crossovers between Sennep and the collaborationist press, they allow us to compare Sennep's work with his colleagues to see if any great cleavages are present and allow us to examine if this is the reason why Delporte argued that Sennep's work greatly criticised the Vichy regime. Sennep's images make little reference to the Allies. Indeed, only two of his cartoons depict the communists inside France, and his work mocks them for their confusing switch in position during the war. Sennep refrained from criticising the Communists outside of these images, for a similar reason to his refusal to depict anti-Semitic themes in his images, as he is unwilling to support collaboration.

Sennep's criticisms of the Third Republic were broadly similar to those of the collaborationist press. While Sennep focused on the same targets such as Herriot and Daladier, the

collaborationist press went further though by attacking Léon Blum, which Delporte (1996) suggests Sennep refrained from for fear of his work being seen as collaborationist. Both Sennep and the collaborationist press stopped criticising the former politicians of the Third Republic at the same time, as the Riom Trial came to a close. The artist's depictions of Pétain show no deviation with the collaborationist press either.

The other thematic crossover between Sennep and the collaborationist press is shared over the influence of the black market and the youth group known as *the zazous*. While Sennep criticised the greed of the traffickers and attacked them for harming the nation, the collaborationist accused them of being Jewish. Sennep's criticism of the *zazous* was similarly about their fashion sense, but while Sennep criticised their laziness and anglicicms, the collaborationist press criticised their reluctance to work in the face of the STO.

Sennep's comparison with the collaborationist press did not unveil a large deviance in many areas of cartooning. While Sennep did not depict the Allied forces during his work at *Candide*, this can be explained by his opposition to Collaboration, this also explains his unwillingness to criticise the USSR despite his many anti-Soviet cartoons in the build-up to the outbreak of war. Sennep's depiction of the Third Republic was similar to the collaborationist press. In fact, as the only cartoonist who was not opposed to monarchism (Delporte, 2014), Sennep was more critical of the inherent failings of the Third Republic. He depicted the government ministers for the same period of time, and also stopped depicting them after the embarrassment of the Riom Trial. Sennep's depiction of Pétain fits into the positive third category which portrays Pétain as dynamic. The final theme of the zazous and the black market were both criticised by Sennep in equal measure to the collaborationist press, although for different reasons.

The comparison to the collaborationist press is not what portrays Sennep as being critical of the Vichy regime. The textual analysis we have undertaken in this thesis so far has not uncovered any evidence of sustained criticism throughout the period of the Occupation, however periods of

criticism have appeared relating to Vichy ideology or to the economic situation in the country as rationing intensified and the country continued to suffer.

Therefore, we must ask the question where did this perception of criticism come from? I suggest that the publication of a book in 1944 by Sennep, entitled "*Dans l'honneur et la dignité*" is sufficient to recontextualise his Vichy work and portray the artist as more of a critic to the regime than his images suggest.

Dans l'honneur et la dignité

Published in 1944, after the Liberation, the album by Sennep clearly distinguishes itself from the history of Vichy with the title alone. The album is prefaced by Pierre Bénard, a writer for the resistance paper *Combats*. The preface sets the scene for the text, declaring that the memory of Vichy "*nous a laisse tant de honte qu'on ne peut y songer sans colère*". The preface outlines Sennep's relationship with Vichy and Pétain. Bérard describes Sennep as a patriot, who because of his family and traditional upbringing was taught to respect the leader of the nation. He was a militarist from birth according to Bénard. Which made the defeat even worse for Sennep. He watched the "*spectacle incroyable que donnait un état-major de grands chefs occupés seulement à jouer aux petits soldats."*

The preface seeks to retell the history of Vichy and Sennep, arguing that he couldn't live there because the air was *irrespirable*. The album preface ends down by the line "*On peut faire appel d'un jugement. On ne se relève pas d'un dessin de Sennep*".

The next page of the album reveals the dedication of the album, and immediately the album sets out to recontextualise the work of Sennep. The album is *"En souvenir du Comte Adhémar"* and *"Comtesse Hermengarde*". Adhémar, the figure we recognise has a long list of characteristics under his name, many of which are a surprise to the reader. He is described as an *ex-Conseiller National* and an *ex-Membre des Commissions de la Constitution et de la Charte du Travail*. These descriptions should not surprise the reader, as the couple were denoted as having fled the North

of France to live under Vichy. However, the next few sections change the figure from a faux-adherent to a member of Vichy and a true supporter: Adhémar is both an *ex-Milicien* and a recipient of *la Francisque gallique*. The source of the title is also revealed as *Comtesse Hermengarde* is described as someone that Sennep saw "*à Vichy, pendant quatre ans, se désaltérer à la Source de la Révolution Nationale, "dans l'honneur et la dignité.*""

The album is a series of images criticising the Vichy regime, and Pétain in particular for debasing themselves and working with the Nazi occupiers. Pétain is depicted painting pro-Vichy and pro-Pétain graffiti on the walls to give the impression he is well liked. The image is titled "*Propagande*". Another image shows Pétain urinating against a tree as Fernand de Brinon, on of the architects of collaboration, approaches him and asks if he as permission from "*la Commission de Wiesbaden?"*. The images set out to humiliate Pétain and he is dressed as a woman and mocked. In an image called "*La politique de Montoire*", Pétain is giving Hitler a piggy-back ride as Laval and Adhémar watch on. Adhémar is saluting and proud, but Laval is clapping his hands. Laval is depicted as a supporter of collaboration, while Adhémar is a proud soldier and supporter of Vichy, despite the horrors visited upon France by collaboration. Pétain is accused of allowing, and even helping, the German deportation of workers to the STO. Adhémar looks on in the background, with his shoulders hunched and his face looking ashamed of what's happening.

Perhaps the most famous image from the book is entitled *"Les caves de Gestapo*". It depicts the Germans torturing French men and women by pulling out teeth or hanging them upside down and whipping. The Germans are depicted as savage and brutal. They are interrupted when Pétain arrives in the room, apologises, then leaves, abandoning his citizens behind. This depiction is perhaps the cruellest in the book, although he is depicted as a prostitute on the streets of Vichy. Sennep also depicts Pétain as a member of the Milice, however he is posted to guard the door of the *Oberbefehlshaber*. The opposite image in the book depicts the Milice as Nazis. Sennep attacks Pétain for protecting the Germans and abandoning France. As noted earlier, the analysis of Sennep's work in 1940 depicted his positive reaction towards Pétain being in power. I would

suggest that, while these texts can be seen as Sennep indicating his opposition to Pétain and Vichy, part of the reason for these particularly vicious attacks against Pétain himself are because the former military man was betrayed by a soldier that he respected.

The other important aspect of the text is the recontextualisation of Adhémar and Hermengarde. By depicting Adhémar as a former *Milicien*, his hypocrisy is removed, and he is a true supporter of Vichy. In figure 6.6, we can see the figure of Adhémar and Hermengarde in their car. The original image was analysed and interpreted as the cartoon mocking the couple for their focus on appearance and minor issues. However, by portraying them as Milice, Sennep turns Adhémar into a normal supporter of Vichy. His criticism of a particular subset of Vichy society has become a criticism of Vichy society in general, like Delporte (1993) argued. Adhémar's depiction changes, and in one image he is seen spying ominously on a fellow citizen for declaring that he had seen too many posters of Pétain. Adhémar has become a supporter of Pétain and his depictions in Candide now consist of a criticism of regular members of Vichy society rather than a specific group. Their inability to comprehend the regime suddenly becomes a criticism of the regime itself if its own real supporters can't follow it.

The research questions set out at the beginning this thesis sought to examine two key questions, how the criticism of Vichy manifested in Sennep's work, and how that criticism of Vichy developed throughout the Occupation. The thesis set out to do this using a semiotic methodology which examined the graphic codes and visual syntax of the artist to build up a lexicon of his cartooning style. While the textual analysis of Sennep's work in *Candide* between 1940 and 1944 did not uncover the criticism that Delporte (1993) detected, it nonetheless uncovered criticisms surrounding economic pressures, the National Revolution and the impact of the Occupier which Delporte had not observed. The criticisms of the economic pressures developed and grew more prominent in Sennep's work until he published images which were very harsh in their depiction of the effects of rationing. The theme of the National Revolution also developed as Sennep portrayed a level of distance between himself and the policy in his images. It was only in 1942 when the

policy was being phased out by Pierre Laval, in favour of collaboration, that his visual criticisms of the policy were published. Instead the images by Sennep portrayed him as an *attentiste*, which contradicted the existing literature on Sennep and cartooning under Vichy. Through analysing Sennep's post-Liberation work, this thesis has argued that the criticisms of Vichy which were apparent in Sennep's work are only interpretable if examined through the lens of his post-Liberation images. These sought to recontextualise his images and his attitudes towards Vichy, and provide the evidence for the criticism which Delporte (1993) detected which was not present in either a textual analysis, or through comparing Sennep's work to the collaborationist press.

In terms of the broader press on Vichy cartooning, this re-evaluation of Sennep's work opens up other areas for further research, but also explores the nuances in his position in Vichy which was neither overwhelmingly supportive nor overwhelmingly negative.

Avenues for further research

Several avenues for further research can be identified through this analysis of political cartooning under Vichy. This thesis has employed a semiotic methodological approach to analyse a corpus of cartoons from one newspaper and one artist. However there are other methods of analysis which can be undertaken as a result of this research. Research could examine the different methods of expression in Sennep's work across the different newspapers in which he publishes under Vichy. Secondly, it would appear pertinent to apply this methodology to other cartoonists in order to investigate whether they expressed criticism of the Vichy regime, and how this criticism may have developed throughout the Occupation.

Given that this thesis employs a textual analysis, future work could involve undertaking a sociological analysis of cartooning under Vichy in order to better explore the relationship between cartoonists, the censors, and the observation of censorship norms. This thesis has revealed that the censor was more flexible at times than expected, and it would be useful to explore this further.

To conclude, this thesis has provided a semiotic methodological analysis of the cartoons produced by Sennep under the Vichy regime and the Occupation between 1940 and 1944. It examined the pre-war work of Sennep to build up a lexicon of graphic techniques and visual codes employed by the artist, then examined the development of these themes, and the techniques and codes inherent in the images. The principal conclusion of the thesis is that the extensive analysis of the cartoons has not found the level of criticism which Delporte (1993, 1996) has identified. Instead, the thesis has suggested that a subtler level of criticism appears in Sennep's work, but these criticisms take time to develop and only centre around three themes in his work. This thesis has suggested that a possible reason for Delporte's interpretation of Sennep's work is that his analysis was undertaken through the lens of Sennep's post-Liberation cartoons which recontextualise his Vichy work and renders his images more hostile and critical towards the Vichy regime.

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