

La France en Chantant: The Rhetorical Construction of French Identity in Songs of the Resistance Movement

Abstract:

During the German Occupation from 1940-1944, members of the French Resistance sang folk songs to legitimize their movement in the face of widespread support for collaboration and brutal police attacks. Reprising a performative tradition of French political singing, Resistance fighters deployed national narratives and parody to define themselves as transhistorical French heroes while also practicing democratic forms they sought to safeguard. In this way, the songs represented resisters as the guardians of true “Frenchness,” an identity that excluded collaborators from the national community and robbed them of political legitimacy.

On November 11, 1940, more than 3,000 Parisian high school and college students gathered around the *Arc de Triomphe* to stage the first public protest of the German Occupation of France.¹ At 8:30 a.m., they began marching down the *Champs Élysées*, where five months earlier the Germans had paraded in triumph, yelling subversively “Long live de Gaulle!,” “Long live France!”² Reflecting the patriotic character of the protest, some young people wore tricolor rosettes on the lapels of their jackets and nearly all sang *La Marseillaise*, the French national anthem, which had recently been banned by the Nazis.³ In the early evening, German soldiers arrested the protesters and transported them to Paris police headquarters for sentencing.⁴ Upon being questioned by police, high school student Robert Monnerary told the authorities that he did not know why he had been arrested because he “didn’t sing or shout.” Similarly, René Chuzeville told the police that he was simply walking through the streets with friends from his school and had not “sung *La Marseillaise*” or “protested in any way.”⁵ That the arrested students consistently denied engaging in the ephemeral act of singing the French national anthem, that the protesters joined in singing the anthem as an act of resistance, and that Nazis had outlawed the

song in the first place together betray the multitudinous ways in which the performance of *La Marseillaise* exerted rhetorical power in Occupied France.

Despite the country's swift defeat and the harsh terms of the armistice, the students mobilized the principal musical representation of national strength and determination in order to give voice to their hopes of a free France. Originally written as a rallying cry for French Revolutionaries, *La Marseillaise* evoked the memory of the struggle that had come to define France's national character and called citizens to honor the legacy of her fallen patriots. Indeed, as they sang, the students likened the German occupiers to those eighteenth-century Prussian "tyrants" who would dictate France's future and imagined themselves as the faithful partisans who would eventually carry the nation to "triumph and glory." In this way, the French national anthem served as a powerful and widely-used cultural tool in the psychological fight against German Occupation, yet it was just one of the hundreds of songs sung and circulated by members of the French Resistance during the country's *années noires* (dark years). Whistled over the clanking of tools while sabotaging trains, sung in secrecy while hiding in caves, hummed to fight despair while interred in German prison camps, French folk songs sustained Resistance fighters throughout their struggle against the Nazis and their collaborators.

Folk songs, I shall demonstrate, served as a key form of cultural resistance that ideologized, inspired, and emboldened resistance fighters in France's war against Hitler. As resisters sang, they reprised a performative tradition of French political singing begun during the French Revolution. By extending this performative tradition of political singing, resisters asserted themselves as protagonists in national history while literally practicing the democratic forms they sought to safeguard. The discursive features of the songs strengthened resisters' claims to national identity. Deploying traditional national narratives and parody, Resistance

songs, I maintain, defined the individuals who opposed German Occupation as members of a transhistorical community of French heroes. In this way, the songs sought to represent resisters as the guardians of true “Frenchness,” an identity that excluded the Vichy regime from the national community and robbed it of its political legitimacy. Under the threat of fascism and the material constraints of war, the performance of Resistance songs allowed partisans a means to assert political power and maintain influence in the public sphere when other forms of communication were unavailable.

These conclusions are based on an analysis of 137 folk songs, most of which circulated throughout France from 1940-1944 through the act of singing. Because being caught with subversive printed materials could lead to execution, resisters rarely committed songs to paper, creating a challenge for the researcher intent on finding primary sources.⁸ Despite the ephemeral nature of Resistance singing during the war, my archival efforts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the *Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent* have uncovered the lyrics and melodies of thirty songs sung by Resistance fighters from 1940-1944, including an unpublished collection compiled by Jean Maurin, a Resistance fighter in the *Val d'Allier* region.⁹ These newfound texts significantly expand the efforts of French historians who have compiled Resistance songs in two anthologies, *La Résistance en Chantant* and *Paroles et Musique: Les Chansons et la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*.¹⁰ The texts that I have recovered and those available in the anthologies circulated through a variety of media and in multiple contexts. Some songs gained national popularity while others remained regional, their circulation documented in personal memoirs.¹¹ Some were heard over the radio while others were composed and distributed orally between factions of the Resistance. By examining both the songs written by members of the Resistance

and those broadcast over the BBC, my study draws upon the songs that circulated regionally as well as nationally.

Analysis of Resistance singing in France from 1940-1944 yields insights into the cultural rhetoric of WWII and contributes to the discipline's ongoing efforts to resist the "textocentrism" that has dominated our work.¹² Scholars of the rhetoric of music have long stressed the importance of studying musical patterns, demonstrating the constitutive dimensions of melody, harmony, rhythm, and orchestration.¹³ Recently, rhetorical critics of spoken discourse have also challenged the visual approach to rhetorical criticism, emphasizing the persuasive potential of the aural. For example, in his analysis of the voices of the victims of the 9/11 attacks, Joshua Gunn calls the discipline to restore its focus "on something singularly human: voice."¹⁴ Greg Goodale also laments the privileged position of visual texts in the field, arguing that we must develop the skill to understand how "a pause, an intonation, or even a noise can make a forceful argument."¹⁵ My study answers this charge by considering the complex interplay between sound, embodied performance, and discursive speech acts. Indeed, because singing involves both the vocalization of melodies and the utterance of words, studying Resistance singing allows us to undertake what Dwight Conquergood has called "the challenge of braiding together disparate and stratified ways of knowing."¹⁶ By combining an analysis of the act of singing with an explication of the songs' textual and musical appeals, this article attends to the various dimensions of Resistance singing and resists the textocentrism that has often, if unintentionally, limited the scope of our analyses and subjugated the vernacular communication of marginalized groups to the textual discourse of institutional, dominant groups.¹⁷

This article treats seriously the voices of Resistance singers, showing the ways in which the act of singing constructed them as guardians of a traditional French republicanism at a time

when national identity was in flux. To do so, I will first situate the songs in the historical context of WWII France, establishing that the popularity of the Vichy government created the need for a legitimizing discourse that would challenge the dominant perception of resisters as either out-of-touch eccentrics or dangerous outlaws. In the second section, I will theorize the performance of Resistance songs, showing how resisters appropriated a historical mode of political singing begun during the French Revolution to construct themselves as republican patriots. The third section analyzes the performance of Resistance singing, focusing on the discursive and musical deployment of national narratives that connect resisters to an idealized, historical French community. Working in tandem with parodies of Vichy's official anthem, these narratives, I maintain, defined members of the Resistance as the guardians of traditional French values and descendants of France's heroes while excluding Vichy from the nation and subverting the government's claim to political authority.

Fallen France: Vichy, the Resistance, and Public Opinion

On June 17, 1940, just one month after the German army broke through the Maginot line to capture the north of France, World War I hero Philippe Pétain announced that he had agreed to head France's new government, headquartered in the spa town of Vichy, and was asking the Germans for an armistice.¹⁸ Arguing that sustained fighting would prove militarily and politically dangerous, the general urged the French to lay down their arms and accept the nation's misfortune. Pétain insisted that an armistice would protect the possibility of maintaining an independent French government and guarantee France an honorable, though subordinate, place in Hitler's New Europe. The suffering France would endure under the Germans would be brief, he claimed, and would provide the opportunity for national rebirth. To this end, he launched the National Revolution, an ideological campaign aimed at eradicating liberal individualism, the

guiding political philosophy in France since the French Revolution. Instead of honoring the traditional principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, Pétain held that the nation needed a return to the organic communities of family, workplace, and region.¹⁹

Offering himself up “as a gift to attenuate the country’s deep misfortune,” Pétain was met with wild public approval.²⁰ Across France, people lifted him above the stature of modern-day king, laying gifts of local soil at his feet, raising his portrait behind church altars, and comparing him to the country’s original savior, Joan of Arc.²¹ While Pétain’s National Revolution failed to resonate strongly with many French people for whom France’s legacy of republicanism was central to their vision of the nation, the Vichy regime installed itself quite easily due to the unpopularity of the previous government, known as the Third Republic. The shock and pain of defeat turned the Republic into a handy scapegoat and allowed Pétain to settle into his role as redemptive savior.²² Seeking to ease the transition to an entirely new political ideology, Pétain’s supporters capitalized off of his image as France’s truest patriot, grounding the legitimacy of his political authority in his “Frenchness.” One propaganda poster, for example, featured a portrait of a stately Pétain, below which the caption asked, “Are you more French than him?” As the embodiment of a perfected national identity, the poster proclaimed, Pétain had an unquestionable right to overhaul France’s longstanding republican tradition.²³

As a result of Pétain’s popularity, few people actively resisted Vichy’s collaboration with Germany during the first two years of the Occupation.²⁴ Even those who disagreed with the decision to sign the armistice were unlikely to oppose Vichy and Germany due to their confidence in Pétain, uncertainty about the war’s outcome, and fear of German retaliation. In 1942, French essayist Jean Guéhenno documented the anxiety that paralyzed many, calling France a country that was “nothing but a frightened protoplasm.”²⁵ Thus, the first acts of

resistance were initiated by small, disconnected groups of like-minded friends and family, most of whom knew nothing of each other's existence or of Charles de Gaulle's efforts to coordinate an organized Resistance in London. Slowly, these localized groups of resisters formed larger groups that eventually became the well-known movements and networks of the French Resistance. When Vichy imposed forced labor on French youth in 1942, young deserters formed another, more militant unit called the "*maquis*," the French word for "a group of dense shrubs or bush." These youth hid in the countryside and resisted the occupation through acts of sabotage and violence.²⁶

Despite Pétain's popularity, the events of 1942-1943 caused public support to shift against Vichy's policy of collaboration. As hundreds of thousands of French men and women were rounded up for tours of forced labor in Germany, increasing food shortages left entire regions without bread and meat, and German soldiers pushed past the demarcation line to occupy the free zone, Vichy's policy of collaboration began to lose its appeal. Now under the full brunt of German Occupation, French citizens grew hostile to Vichy's policies. The entrance of the United States into the war at the end of 1941 and mounting Allied victories, both of which began to forecast the defeat of Germany, strengthened this opposition and made public opinion more sympathetic to Resistance efforts.²⁷

Yet, even this change in popular opinion did not make joining the Resistance a popular choice. Just when the public became suspicious of Vichy's policies, the government increased its efforts to stamp out partisan activities, setting action against the Resistance as the new gauge of collaboration with the Reich. Indeed, by 1942, Vichy had deported so many of France's Jews and foreigners that the government no longer had sufficient leverage at Germany's bargaining table. Faced with the threat of losing authority in the unoccupied zone, Vichy targeted the Resistance,

offering police action against its members as evidence of cooperation with the Third Reich.²⁸ As a result, many resisters were arrested, tortured, and executed. Those who escaped could not rejoin their units, as their colleagues feared that they would lead police to the group. In addition to strengthening police action against the Resistance, Vichy launched a propaganda campaign against the Resistance, conducted through the medium of the radio. Led by collaborationist politician Philippe Henriot, Vichy's radio broadcasts simultaneously characterized Resistance fighters as naïve, misguided adolescents and dangerous bandits from whom the French needed protection. One broadcast, for example, called the *maquis* "a bunch of bandits and thieves and also, alas, some sincere young boys, abused by the fallacious propaganda from London." These misguided youngsters, the announcer predicted, "will soon realize the enormous material superiority of Germany, and they will be condemned to stay in their camouflage in their forest, in their cavern, and in their den, waiting for a landing that will never come."²⁹ Thus, Vichy's vicious police and propaganda attacks tempered the popularity of the Resistance. While some citizens may have supported the cause of the Resistance, many were simply too afraid to join. Others continued to trust Pétain's portrayal of resisters as dangerous ideologues who were best avoided.

Despite subsequent romanticizations of the French Resistance, those who participated were the object of the public's scorn and Vichy's disdain. In the early years of the Occupation, popular opinion rested overwhelmingly with Pétain. Trusting in their Christ-like figure to protect them from the full force of German repression, the French focused their efforts on resuming life as usual. Those who chose to resist often were ostracized from their communities and families and characterized as maladjusted outsiders. Just as public opinion began to change in favor of the Resistance, Resistance fighters found themselves the target of an aggressive French police hunt

and maligning propaganda campaign. In the face of these hardships, how was the Resistance to establish any sort of political legitimacy? How were the emerging Resistance fighters to imagine themselves as France's rightful political leaders when public support favored the collaborationist Pétain? How were they to craft a positive collective identity for themselves and the French people in the face of Vichy's slanderous propaganda? How were they to sustain morale in the face of the torture and execution of their comrades? A crucial means employed by the French Resistance to overcome these challenges was the singing of folk songs. Through the performance of these songs, resisters recited and disseminated a legitimizing discourse that allowed them to imagine themselves and to be imagined by their fellow citizens as the true arbiters of French culture and values.

Resistance Singing: A Historically Situated Performance Practice

My understanding of Resistance singing is informed by theories that underscore performance as a constitutive mode of action that is situated within certain models of historical practice. Like John MacAloon, I see performances as opportunities in which people “reflect upon and define [themselves], dramatize [their] collective myths and history, present [themselves] with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others.”³⁰ In order to fashion these new subjectivities, performers draw upon inventional resources made available to them by historical discourses and modes of practice.³¹ Anthropologist Richard Bauman explains the contextualized nature of performance events, noting that the form and meaning of performance is “rooted in culturally defined scenes or events” that “constitute meaningful contexts for action, interpretation, and evaluation.”³² While past performance events do not *determine* the meaning of current events, they do “provide precedents and guidelines for

the range of alternatives possible.”³³ It is the audience’s ability to recognize the connection between past model and current action that gives performance its constitutive power. Indeed, according to Marvin Carlson, all performance involves a “conscious of doubleness,” the moment wherein the audience places the execution of a current performance “in mental comparison with a potential, an ideal, or a remembered original model of that action.”³⁴ As the observer, even if that person is also the performer, draws the link between the current performance and the past ideal, s/he validates the symbolic act and is interpellated into its ideology. Thus, understanding the constitutive function of Resistance singing between 1940-1944 requires us to examine the meanings attributed to the mode of French political singing in the years leading up to the nation’s defeat.

French political singing emerged at the very beginning of the nation’s transition from monarchy to republicanism, offering disenfranchised citizens an opportunity to participate in civic life. According to historian Laura Mason, singing was one of the “most commonly used means of communication” during the French Revolution.³⁵ Easily transposed between oral and print cultures, the songs allowed illiterate citizens to demonstrate that the political sphere was not the possession of political elites, but a contested terrain over which many factions of the population struggled.³⁶ Revolutionary singing, therefore, was symbolic enactment of the republican virtues the partisans espoused. After the Revolution, the French continued to look to singing as a means of marking themselves as national subjects. According to historian Eugene Weber, songs were an ideal medium for the formation of national identity. Indeed, it was through a “war of songs” that rural citizens learned what it meant to be “French” and were assimilated into the modern nation.³⁷ While songs such as *La Marseillaise* encouraged the spread of the

national language, others were mobilized as part of a national education campaign designed to teach “a sense of the fatherland, of civilization, and of moral ideals.”³⁸

The legacy of French political singing was again called upon in WWI, the *guerre totale* that marshaled the collective efforts of civilians and soldiers alike. Aided by the burgeoning commercial music market, song culture became enormously important on the home front and in the trenches. As people adapted songs to fulfill their individual requirements and purposes, they drew upon pre-war cultural symbols that songs made available to them. According to historian Regina Sweeney, these conventions lent symbolic meaning to songs, making a certain melody a marker of patriotism, another a villainous act of treason. As soldiers and civilians tried to negotiate their identities amidst a terrifying, alienating political climate, the songs became vital to their relationship to the nation.³⁹ Taken together, these practices of French singing from the Revolution through WWI established the performance of songs as a means by which French citizens could participate in democratic life and in the construction of French republicanism. Indeed, by 1940, national singing was not a form of entertainment, but a radically democratic performance practice that allowed individuals to simultaneously contribute to the meaning of nationhood and derive their own unique interpretations of what Frenchness meant.

By appropriating this historical performance mode, Resistance singers practiced the very republicanism they sought to embody. The act of patriotic, nonhierarchical singing violated the Vichy regime’s emphasis on obedience and service and marked singers as republican citizens, struggling to restore the tenets of liberal individualism. Whether or not they were aware of the rhetorical function of their performances, evidence from the personal memoirs of Resistance fighters demonstrates that they intended to safeguard republican traditions. For example, Alban Vistel wrote that his decision to participate in the Resistance had been a “reaction of individual

honor” and “a victorious refusal of any historical determinism.”⁴⁰ Many articulated their adherence to natural rights in opposition to the anti-Semitism embraced by Vichy and Germany. Like Jules-Geraud Saliège, the Archbishop of Toulouse, these resisters believed that people were governed by “human morality which imposes duties and recognizes rights. These duties and rights are derived from the nature of man . . . it is in the power of no mortal to suppress them.”⁴¹ Engaging the widely-held conception of France as an historic champion of human liberty, these resisters combined patriotism with reverence for individualism. Resisters had a “common patrimony” that bequeathed to them a “profound feeling for human dignity,” as the mayor of Toulouse stated in 1944.⁴² Because political singing had developed in France as a decentralized mode of action tied to the preservation of republican ideals, it offered resisters a perfect inventional resource for the reclamation of a traditional national identity.

Fragmentary evidence of singing in the French Resistance gathered from police reports and resisters’ testimonies attests to the capacity of singing to mark French people as uncompromising opponents of collaboration. As the story of the protest on November 11, 1940, reveals, the singing of the French national anthem, *La Marseillaise* constituted a diverse group of high school and college students as unyielding French patriots who would never submit to German rule. These reports and others repeatedly demonstrate that the act of singing allowed police and citizens to identify resisters. A police report on August 17, 1941, documents the attempted arrest of 150 young people who sang the national anthem at Paris’s *Place du Chateau Rouge*.⁴³ On August 20, 1941, authorities were alerted that four French people had been heard singing the national anthem behind the backs of three German soldiers at *Place d’Italie*, one of Paris’s largest squares. The accused singers ran off before an arrest could be made.⁴⁴

Perhaps the most moving testament to the power of singing to mark citizens as guardians of a republican France can be found in the records of singing in German prisons and concentration camps. Roger Tabar, a prisoner of war from Paris, composed songs of resistance for his fellow Frenchmen. Even within the prison walls, Tabar argued that resistance was possible through singing. “All the prisoners weren’t admirers of Pétain,” he said, “nor were they collaborators like many who lived in Paris.” Tabar’s songs allowed these prisoners to enact their resistance, to “demoralize the Germans” and mark themselves as members of the Resistance.⁴⁵ Tabar’s testimony is only one of many that emphasize the role of singing in linking prisoners to a larger community of resisters. For example, two women who were prisoners at the Ravensbrück concentration camp remember singing the Resistance anthem *Le Chant des Partisans* to “feel at home even in the heart of Germany” and “to reinforce our solidarity, despite our political, religious, and social differences.”⁴⁶ Other prisoners sang *Le Chant des Partisans* song before being killed. Maurice Druon, one of the song’s lyricists, recalls that a group of prisoners sang the anthem before being executed by a firing squad.⁴⁷ Composer Anna Marly remembers that two prisoners sang it while they dug their own grave before being shot by the German guards.⁴⁸ A musical symbol of French resolve and revolutionary spirit, *Le Chant des Partisans* offered a final means by which to defy German authority and express loyalty to France. Thus, while singing held myriad meanings in these moments, one of its powers was to symbolically connect prisoners to an idealized French nation in moments of profound despair and loneliness.

A form of rhetoric available to all classes of people, singing provided French citizens with a participatory, profoundly democratic form of communication that mirrored their republican values. However, if the performance of songs was to be an effective strategy for the seizure of political authority, resisters needed additional means by which to claim national

identity for themselves and exclude Vichy from the nation's fold. Thus, the discursive and musical tropes discussed in the next section were vital to the rhetoric of Resistance singing as they worked to construct resisters as ideal French citizens. The use of lyrics and music grounded in the musical tradition of France transformed the radically de-centralized and democratic practice of communal singing into a means of marking resisters as the only true French and denying the Frenchness of Vichy. Ultimately, singing allowed resisters to negotiate two seemingly conflicting goals: the inclusive act of embodying brotherly republicanism and the exclusive act of rejecting those they considered foreign to the nation.

La France en Chantant: The Discursive and Musical Construction of "Frenchness"

In the winter of 1942, Russian composer Anna Marly wrote the music and Russian lyrics to what would become the most famous anthem of the French Resistance, *Le Chant des Partisans*. In the spring of 1943, the song was set to French text and chosen as the theme of the BBC's *Honneur et Patrie*, a program aimed at encouraging those in Occupied France to continue the struggle against the Germans. To the first time listener or reader, the song functions most obviously as a call to action, urging Resistance fighters to "come up from the mines" and "down from the hills" in order to take up arms against the German occupiers. Embedded in this overt call to action, however, is a national narrative, evoked through appeals to traditional French values of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*. By exploiting these tropes, the song calls forth the memory of France's past and connects Resistance fighters with the nation's historical heroes and patriots.

Like other Resistance songs, *Le Chant des Partisans* deploys a national narrative through both lyrics and music. The constitutive power of narratives to communicate experiences of national belonging has received considerable attention in the field of rhetoric. Scholars like

Michael McGee, Maurice Charland, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson have underscored the ways in which stories about a nation's history work to construct a sense of a collective "people."⁴⁹ While these critics have focused on narratives deployed through discursive means, others have illuminated music's potential to tell national stories. For example, James Irvine and Walter Kirkpatrick show that melodies and rhythms work by evoking listeners' "experiential capacity," or the collections of personal experiences that imbue a set of symbols with meaning.⁵⁰ Alberto Gonzalez and John Makay echo this argument, demonstrating that music functions through a process of ascription whereby listeners assign meaning to certain musical patterns and then recall those meanings each time the familiar music plays.⁵¹ Yet, music does not merely call forth the history of the nation but also sounds the emotions that attend the remembrance of the past. As Deanna and Timothy Sellnow eloquently write, "music sounds the way feelings feel."⁵² Thus, in order to see the ways in which singing constituted resisters as traditionally French, we must probe the songs' discursive and non-discursive elements for the evocation of a traditional, idealized national narrative. By examining the tales of France's national heroes, appeals to its legacy of individual liberalism, and the sounding of its national rhythms and melodies, we can see how invoking the memory of a perfected France works to constitute resisters as the true sons and daughters of that nation.

In an effort to subvert the platform of Vichy's National Revolution and identify Resistance fighters as members of a collective subject that has long been dedicated to the protection of traditional French ideals, *Le Chant des Partisans* exploits the trope of *liberté* through an emphasis on individual rights. By identifying Resistance fighters as free agents who control their own destinies, the song emphasizes each person's agency. As the song proclaims, in the *maquis* "each man knows/What he wants, what he's doing." This belief in the individual's

control over his/her own choices marks a significant departure from Vichy's emphasis on communal living and evokes the Revolutionary doctrine of individual liberalism. By appealing to liberalism's main tenet—individual rights—the lyrics of *Le Chant des Partisans* serve to ideologically connect Resistance fighters to French Revolutionaries. As the song continues, appeals to individual liberty grow even more evident as the lyrics encourage illegal acts of resistance in the struggle for freedom. For example, Resistance fighters may take up arms against their enemies (“Remove from the straw/The rifles, machine gun/And grenades!”), or they may disobey the law by freeing members of their movement from prison (“We are the ones who break/The prison bars/For our brothers”).⁵³ As these lyrics suggest, the fighters are encouraged to battle tyranny through any means necessary; liberty demands and legitimizes any form of resistance. The song ends with a final appeal as the last stanza characterizes Resistance fighters as the champions of liberty, encouraging other members to “whistle . . . in the night,” so that freedom may hear them. Here, a personified liberty draws close to the Resistance fighters in order to guide and protect them throughout their struggle, just as she did with their Revolutionary forbears.

Like *Le Chant des Partisans*, many songs of the Resistance call upon the trope of liberty in order to link the resisters to a transhistorical national community and legitimize their vigilante acts. Made in opposition to the Vichy government, which, in the words of one song “puts France in the service of the Nazis” for “the pleasure of strangling the Republic,” the appeals ground themselves in an allegiance to French Revolutionary republicanism.⁵⁴ Whereas Vichy would happily let the country limp along in servitude, the Resistance proclaims the pursuit of liberty to be the guiding principle under which they fight:

Liberté! Cette grande espérance
 Qui brillait tout au fond de nos
 coeurs,
 Liberté! Pour nous et pour
 la France
 Nous ne voulions pas d'autre bonheur.⁵⁵

Liberty! This great hope
 That has been shining deep in our
 hearts
 Liberty! For us and for France
 We wouldn't want any other
 happiness.

Here, Resistance fighters claim to be driven by a singular desire to restore freedom in France, the same hope that spurred the Republic's very founding. By continuing their forbears' struggle for *liberté*, the singers align themselves with these historical heroes. Other songs make this connection even more explicit by setting France's Revolutionary soldiers as the guides to freedom. As the song, *Pas de Kollaboration*, states, the example set by France's ancestors will lead them to reclaim the nation's freedom:

Ne ne voulons pas vivre en esclavage
 De nos aïeux retrouvant la fierté
 Nous saurons défendre l'héritage
 Des droits et de la liberté!⁵⁶

We don't want to live in slavery
 From our ancestors,
 finding pride again,
 We know how to defend our heritage
 Our rights and our liberty!

Indeed, the appeal to liberty derives its rhetorical power from its status as a culturally salient trope. Appeals to *liberté* carry particular connotations and associations, most obviously evoking France's unique and character-defining battle against the tyranny of King Louis XVI. By exploiting this trope, the Resistance fighters identify themselves as the “defenders of liberty,” the descendants of those who have fought for France's freedom.⁵⁷

Le Chant des Partisans also gives voice to the second Revolutionary ideal of equality by emphasizing the equal status held by members of the Resistance. Because all “march . . . kill . . . [and] die like dogs,” no member is valued above another—all are equal in rank and status. This sentiment is echoed in the fourteenth stanza where the lyrics remind Resistance fighters that no person is more integral to the fight for French independence than another. When one man dies, another “emerges from the shadows/To take [his] place.” While these lyrics may seem callous in

their rejection of individual worth, they serve to emphasize the equality among Resistance fighters. While status, wealth and success may matter in the external world, these things are irrelevant to the fight against Germany. Indeed, many of the songs emphasize this equality among Resistance fighters. One attests that the *maquis* is made up of “children of the common people and of the bourgeoisie,”⁵⁸ another asserts that the movement makes no distinction between those who are “rich or without fortune.”⁵⁹ Despite socioeconomic status, these “soldiers of equality”⁶⁰ “are all the sons of our France.”⁶¹

Not only are men equal in the eyes of the Resistance, but all are bound together in pursuit of their goal. The unofficial Resistance hymn makes explicit appeals to brotherhood, or *fraternité*, as the resisters sing of their attachment to one another. The lyrics address fellow Resistance fighters repeatedly as “friend,” “brother,” “comrade,” and “companion.” These words work to constitute the Resistance fighters as an intimate group. In reality, the Resistance was made up of a variety of networks and movements that worked separately and secretly to overthrow German forces. By addressing fellow Resistance fighters as “friends” and “brothers,” however, resisters created a discursive means by which to overcome the diffuse nature of their movement’s organization and conceive of themselves as members of a larger, more significant community. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of the songs exploit the trope of brotherhood, claiming that resisters are “united like brothers by the same noble ideal,”⁶² and “march together for happiness and justice.”⁶³ The songs portray a fierce devotion among members of the Resistance, even pledging not to leave captured members behind: “We are the ones who break/the prison bars/for our brothers.”⁶⁴ By evoking the ideal of fraternity, the lyrics not only constitute Resistance fighters as a group unto themselves, but implicate them in a broader

collective subject. The guardians of *fraternité*, they become a part of France's Revolutionary past.

The music of *Le Chant des Partisans* also functions to align Resistance fighters with their republican forebears. The song opens with a militaristic cadence played on a single, snare drum. Somber and fatalistic, the cadence calls to mind the image of soldiers resolutely marching toward the battlefield in order to cast resisters as state-sanctioned warriors. The song maintains this militaristic sound by deploying march-like rhythms reminiscent of *La Marseillaise*, the song that became popular during the French Revolution and was later chosen as France's national anthem. Emphasizing beats one and three, the beats on which a soldier's steps would fall, the song evokes a strong sense of forward motion. To lend a sense of exigency to this momentum, *Le Chant des Partisans* begins each musical phrase with a pick-up, or a beat before the downbeat of the measure in which the phrase sounds. By beginning the phrase before the actual start of the measure, the song evokes the same urgent call to action found in the opening lines of the national anthem (See Figures 1 and 2). Appropriating march-like rhythmic devices from *La Marseillaise*, the melody of *Le Chant des Partisans* enhances the song's lyrical appeals to Revolutionary values by grounding them in a musical representation of the Revolution. As they sing, Resistance fighters identify themselves as soldiers in the same Revolutionary tradition, fighting to protect France's traditional values.

Yet, while *Le Chant des Partisans* seeks to align resisters with the soldiers of the French Revolution, its sound makes a clear distinction between the romanticized and mythologized overthrow of the monarchy and the unpopular, arduous work of the Resistance. Indeed, in timbre and melody, the song sounds of somber determination and perseverance. For example, the singer's voice is rich and dark, much like the sound we would expect to come from the lips of the

muscular and fearless Marianne, the allegorical symbol of republican France. Singing in her lower register, the soloist enunciates in a deliberate manner as if each word was a conscious and defiant act of resistance. By deploying glottal stops and articulating the consonants in clear precision, the singer establishes herself as a free agent, resolute in her decision to overthrow the Nazis. As she sings, a chorus of men and women double her in unison, softly humming to convey the solidarity and fraternity to which the lyrics appeal. Unlike *La Marseillaise*, this melody is confined to a narrow range of pitches. Rather than soaring in idealistic expressions of optimism and hope, it remains grounded to the tonic, as if painfully cognizant of the consequences of defying the Nazis. Shortly, an accordion enters the musical fabric, playing ascending melodic flourishes and sustained chords that call attention to its unique and unmistakable sound. The traditional musical instrument of France, the accordion bestows a sense of tradition and patriotism upon the resisters, reinforcing their status as the nation's true patriots and protectors. By sounding the feelings of patriotic determination and fatalistic acceptance, the song constitutes resistance fighters as modern-day soldiers, bravely and stoically facing the dangerous word of resisting the Germans despite the uncertainty of the war's outcome.

While *Le Chant des Partisans* seeks to identify Resistance fighters as members of a transhistorical national community through rhythmic appropriation and the evocation of feelings of determination, other songs borrow entire Revolutionary melodies to make this connection. For example, *La Marseillaise du Maquis* appropriates the melody of *La Marseillaise* for its lyrics:

Amis, voici la Résistance;
 Les vaillants soldats du maquis!
 Debout pour sauver notre France
 Forces française du pays!
 Ils descendent de nos montagnes
 Comme nos ancêtres guerriers
 Et viennent en vrais chevaliers
 Protéger villes et campagnes.⁶⁵

Friends, here is the Resistance
 Vallaint soldiers of the maquis!
 Ready to save our France
 The French forces of the nation!
 They come down from our mountains,
 Like our ancestral warriors,
 And come like true knights
 To protect our cities and towns.

Here, again, the melody and lyrics work together to connect Resistance fighters to the “ancestral warriors” of France’s past. Because the song takes the melody of *La Marseillaise*, the listener or singer cannot help but associate the Resistance members with Revolutionary soldiers who sang the hymn while storming the Bastille. Other Resistance songs also appropriate the melodies of popular and historic national hymns. Among the most popular melodies chosen are those of *Le Chant du Départ*, *L’Internationale*, *La Carmagnole*, *Regiment de Sambre et Meuse*, and *Alsace-Lorraine*, all of which originated during the Revolution and were remobilized for France’s effort in WWI.⁶⁶ As symbols of national identity, these melodies provided Resistance members with a powerful resource in the construction of their own collective identity as the only true French.

The act of singing reinforced these discursive and musical tropes, offering resisters a means to enact their solidarity and resolve. Testimonies from former resistance fighters reveal that singing was an everyday part of life, a communal act that helped them to feel close to one another while giving voice to their shared ideals. For example, recounting his time in the French Resistance more than forty years earlier, François Musard described one Saturday night on the outskirts of Les Glières, a mountain town near the Swiss border. The men had finished their suppers and were playing cards to pass the time. To combat boredom, their sergeant suggested a singing tour where each man would perform a song of his choosing. “Almost all of the group contributed,” Musard remembered. “Some sang well-known tunes, while others, whose voices weren’t as good, spoke monologues or recited bits of poetry.” The men sang many different songs, from military marches to love ballads, but the most memorable was one soldier’s original composition, written on behalf of their unit. As Musard recalled, the song’s “first verses and refrain stayed in the ears of our comrades for a long time.”⁶⁷ Julien Helfgott, another member of the *maquis*, also remembered the bonds forged through singing: “Stuck together, we dreamed,

brothers bound by the same oath, united by a common ideal that we expressed in our songs, our words, and our laughter.”⁶⁸ As both of these testimonies demonstrate, singing was a powerful constitutive practice because it gathered resisters together to enact their ideals of brotherhood and voice their commitment to the reestablishment of a republican France.

Yet, like all constitutive rhetoric, Resistance singing could only effectively construct collective identity if it also excluded certain citizens from the resisters’ community of national heroes. Indeed, as the songs aligned resisters with the republican warriors of the past, they also attempted to dismantle the Vichy government’s political legitimacy by barring it from the nation’s fold. Many of the songs accomplish this goal by combining national narratives with appropriations of Vichy’s songs. Setting their own lyrics to Vichy’s melodies, the Resistance parodies the government’s discourse and illustrates the hypocrisy of its claims to national identity. English scholar Linda Hutcheon has theorized parody as imitation that points out difference through critical distance and irony.⁶⁹ Hutcheon rejects a definition of parody as necessarily satirical, recovering its original meaning as a neutral form of ironic repetition that “can be playful as well as belittling,” “critically constructive as well as destructive.”⁷⁰ Through an ironic appropriation of the form of the original text, parody allows rhetors to demonstrate points of separation and contrast and invite alternative interpretations for consideration. As Bakhtin writes, it shows that one meaning is “incapable of exhausting the subject” and “forces us to experience those sides of the object that are not otherwise included in a given genre.”⁷¹ By setting new lyrics to Vichy’s own melodies, Resistance parodies pointed to the discrepancy between Vichy’s optimism and the harsh reality of life under the Occupation. The songs offered resisters the opportunity to open Pétain’s discourse for collective reflection and to revise the public’s understanding of the regime. The goal was to subvert Vichy’s own claim to national

identity, to portray the regime as corrupt and manipulative outsiders while representing Resistance fighters as the true guardians of French values and culture.

In order to deny the Frenchness of Vichy, the Resistance chose for its songs one of the most popular hymns to Vichy leader Marshal Philippe Pétain, *Maréchal, Nous Voila*. Written in 1941, the song lauds Philippe Pétain as France's "savior" and pledges service in Vichy's

National Revolution:

Une flamme sacré
Monte du sol natal
Et la France enivré
Te salue Maréchal!
Tous tes enfants qui t'aiment
Et vénèrent tes ans
A ton appel suprême
Ont répondu: "Présent"

A sacred flame
Comes up from native soil
And an intoxicated France
Comes back to life at its signal
All your children who love you
And venerate your years
To your supreme call
Responded: Present

Maréchal, nous voilà!
Devant toi, le sauveur de la France
Nous jurons, nous tes gars
De servir et de suivre tes pas
Maréchal, nous voilà!
Tu nous as redonné l'espérance.
La patrie renaîtra
Maréchal, Maréchal, nous voilà!⁷²

Marshal, here we are
Before you, the savior of France
We pledge, we, your guys
To serve you and follow your steps
Marshal, here we are
You have given us back our hope
The fatherland will be reborn
Marshal, Marshal, here we are!

To accompany this optimistic pledge, the Vichy song employs a jubilant march, full of pick-ups and dotted rhythms similar to those found in *La Marseillaise* (see Figure 3). Full orchestration, including a regal brass section, lends additional pomp and confidence to the jaunty march.

Recorded by French singer André Dassary and the Ray Ventura Orchestra in 1941, the song opens with an eight-measure trumpet fanfare that deploys the brass' imperial tones in order to call French citizens to attention as they "venerate" their authoritarian leader. The trumpet section continues to blast triplet figures as the soloist sings, marking Dassary's praise of Pétain with the regal sound of a coronation ceremony. During each chorus, a men's chorus echoes Dassary's

operatic tenor, lending a sense of strength and virility to the song's pledge to national service. At the end of the recording, the men join Dassary in a final, climactic refrain. The men sing at full volume, joining their voices to bestow a sense of tough manhood to the song's call to service. Leading the nation's rebirth is not a slight task, the men's voices suggest, but a struggle that demands physical and mental fortitude. Through the combination of these strong, manly voices, the imperial brass flourishes, and the march-like rhythms, the song characterizes Pétain as a king-like leader whose majesty compels the eager obedience of a tough and muscular citizenry. Vichy attempted to use this melody to ascribe a sense of military honor to the act of serving Vichy and its National Revolution.

However, given the conditions of the armistice (whereby Vichy agreed to the reduction of the French army to 100,000 men, the disarmament of the navy and air force, and the surrender of all French weapons) and Vichy's failure to shield French citizens from the horrors of the Occupation, such a confident, glorious, regal march seems inappropriate for Vichy's call to service. Indeed, in light of the harsh living conditions for most French, Marshal Pétain hardly qualified as the "savior of France." The Resistance points to the irony of Vichy's claims of national defense and protection by pointing to the truth about the Vichy regime, setting their lyrics to the collaborationist government's own melody:

Ayant trahi la France
 Les hommes de Vichy
 Ont fait une alliance
 Avec nos ennemis
 Ils prêchent la défaite
 Et la résignation
 Mais ils paieront leur dette
 A toute la nation.⁷³

Having betrayed France
 The men of Vichy
 made an alliance
 with our enemies
 They preach defeat
 and resignation
 But they will pay their debt
 to all the nation.

Indeed, not only do the Resistance songs blame Vichy for the German Occupation, but they argue that France can only be saved without Vichy's interference:

Nous gars d' la Résistance
 Qui n'avons pas peur de rien,
 Nous sauverons la France
 Sans ce triste Pétain.⁷⁴

We, the men of the Resistance
 Who aren't afraid of anything
 We will save France
 Without this sad Pétain

While these examples put forth compelling and explicit arguments about the hypocritical and treasonous nature of the Vichy government, what is most interesting about the Resistance's use of parody is the way in which the songs deploy the same national tropes I described previously in order to integrate the Resistance into the nation's fold while excluding Vichy from the nationhood. By setting discursive appeals to the nation's history to the music of the Vichy regime, the songs expose the discrepancy between Vichy's self-aggrandizing optimism and the hardship of everyday life. In so doing, they point out the falsity of Vichy's claims to national identity and assert that the Resistance fighters are the only true guardians of France.

Perhaps the best example of the rhetorical strategy of parody employed in the songs of the Resistance is *Les Voilà, Nos Soldats*.⁷⁵ The song opens with the same lines as the Vichy song, but deviates from the original by the end of the first verse. While *Maréchal, Nous Voilà* begins by describing Marshal Pétain as the subject who calls the people to action, *Les Voilà, Nos Soldats* identifies France as the issuer of the call:

Maréchal, Nous Voilà!

A sacred flame
 Comes up from native soil
 And an exhilarated France
 Salutes you, Marshal
 All your children who love you
 And venerate your years
 To your supreme call
 Responded: Present

Les Voilà, Nos Soldats

A sacred flame
 Comes up from native soil
 And a bereaved France
 Comes back to life at its signal
 All of the Empire who loves France
 And calls themselves her child
 To her supreme call
 Responded: Present

By identifying France as the source of the call to action, the Resistance song transfers political authority from Pétain and Vichy to a mythic French community. Marshal Pétain does not issue

the alarm, but France herself beckons her citizens to arms. While this shift may seem subtle, it has three major implications for the Resistance movement. First, this shift takes away Pétain's right to lead and designates France herself as leader of the nation. Because the Resistance serves an abstract France and not a concrete Pétain, its members need an indication of what France would have them do. The only place to look for such guidance is within France's own history. Second, this shift distinguishes Vichy as separate from France. The Resistance song indicates that serving France is not the same as serving Vichy. By separating the French government from the idea of the nation itself, the Resistance song excludes Vichy from the national narrative. Third, the shift transfers agency from the Vichy leaders to the French people. The original song casts Pétain as the main agent in France's fight and asserts that the people's role is merely to follow him. However, because the Resistance song identifies France as the issuer of the call to action, the people are led by history's example instead of a human agent. In the absence of a human leader, the people must become agents in the fight against Germany. They cannot look to a politician or a soldier to restore France to her sovereign state, but must take individual action in order to overcome the enemy.

Having identified France as the source of the people's call to action, the song then constructs an idealized vision of the nation. In the refrain, the song evokes a narrative of France that features the nation's most revered military heroes:

Jeanne d'Arc, les voilà,
 Nos soldats, les sauveurs de la France.
 Les voilà, nos soldats.
 Ceux de Clovis, de Turenne et de Foch.
 A nouveau de l'ennemi,
 Ils ont refoulé la fureur boche
 Debout, la France est là,
 Et la gloire couronne ses soldats.

Joan of Arc, here they are
 Our soldiers, the saviors of France.
 Here they are, our soldiers
 The ones of Clovis, of Turenne and of Foch.
 Once again from the enemy
 They drove back German fury,
 Standing tall, France is here,
 And glory crowns her soldiers.

This refrain names Joan of Arc, the young martyr who returned the area of Orléans to France in the fifteenth century; Clovis, the king who united the Frankish tribes in 481 CE; Turenne, the general who saved Alsace from German annexation in 1675; and Foch, the French general who planned the final offensive against Germany in WWI as the main figures in the narrative of France's glorious past. Taken together, these soldiers represent France's most celebrated military conquests. While the original song identifies Pétain as the "savior of France," this new refrain undermines his credibility and authority by ascribing French heroism to other figures. In other words, the Resistance song denies Pétain's hero status by omitting his name from the list of France's true heroes. Not only does this omission challenge the sincerity of Pétain's intentions and strength of his abilities, it also serves to separate him from the national community that makes up France's past.

While the refrain excludes Pétain from the national community, it includes the Resistance fighters as members of this transhistorical group. After all, the Resistance fighters are the "soldiers of Clovis, of Turenne, and of Foch." By representing members of the Resistance as the descendants of a lineage of French heroes, the song fully integrates Resistance fighters into the national narrative. Constructed as true French citizens, the Resistance fighters then secure ultimate political and moral authority. They may disobey Vichy's laws, sabotage German operations, harbor Jews, etc. because they are members of France's national community. Thus, national identity legitimizes their vigilante approach, transforming a group of rebels into a band of national heroes.

By setting these lyrics to Vichy's own melody, the Resistance song exposes the absurdity of Vichy's call and demonstrates that such a glorious military march is only appropriate for France's true soldiers, the Resistance fighters. Only when the melody is used to call citizens to

oppose German occupiers can its confident, militant sound be genuine. While Resistance singers obviously could not replicate the elaborate and dramatic sound of the original song in their camps, they still associated the military pomp and fanfare of *Maréchal, Nous Voilà* with their version of the song. By mimicking the original melody, the Resistance song denies Vichy's claim to military honor and transfers such honor to the Resistance fight. Indeed, such a grandiose sound proves quite appropriate for the heroic band of French heroes that the Resistance fighters join.

Conclusion

I have argued that the songs of the French Resistance played a vital role in the legitimization of the movement. Suffering from a lack of broad public support and targeted for denunciation in an aggressive propaganda campaign waged by Vichy to mollify Germany, the Resistance remained unpopular until the liberation in the summer of 1944. Yet, Resistance fighters challenged Vichy's negative representations through the performance of songs. By reprising a performative tradition of political singing rooted in republican patriotism, Resistance fighters mobilized a beloved form of popular culture to define themselves as genuinely French. Through the singing of the songs, they aligned themselves with a transhistorical community of patriotic French citizens, using discursive and musical tropes to delineate the boundaries of membership. The songs of the Resistance complemented the use of national narratives with parody to subvert Vichy's political authority. While the government's propaganda aimed to persuade citizens that no one was more French than Philippe Pétain, the Resistance used songs in order to demonstrate Vichy's betrayal of the French people and to cast collaborators outside the

nation's fold. Setting their own national appeals to Vichy's melodies, they illustrated the ludicrousness of Vichy's alleged patriotism and asserted themselves as the only true French. In this way, the performance of folk songs allowed resisters to remain squarely within France's revered republican tradition while excluding Vichy and its supporters from the nation.

Beyond the particular case of the songs of the French Resistance, this study shows the ways in which music opens new resources for the construction of national identity. As rhetoric and music scholars have demonstrated, rhythmic patterns and melodic phrases are symbol systems that have long provided people with a means of understanding, constituting, and representing their nations. Music, like language, is a symbol system that is "kept afloat only because communities of people invest in [it], agree collectively that [its] signs serve as valid currency."⁷⁶ I have suggested that one way to understand the meaning invested in French Resistance singing is to look at the performative traditions from which the practice emerged. As a historically situated performative practice, Resistance singing drew upon an existing tradition of French political singing whereby citizens articulated themselves as members of the nation. During the nation's most politically contentious times, people depended upon singing as a tool for the construction of collective identity, using songs to argue not only for their political inclusion and preferred policies, but for a particular vision of the nation and their relationship to it. Singing—a participatory, de-centralized activity—developed as an expression of the republican values the French nation espoused. This legacy of political singing provided resisters with a performative tradition from which to build their discourse.

This study also emphasizes the importance of music and singing in the construction of national identity during times of war. As the lyricist Maurice Druon astutely observed, World War II was not "the first time in history that a song served as a moral weapon. Since the dawn of

time, all armies—both national and revolutionary—have sung.”⁷⁷ An ephemeral mode of communication particularly well-suited to the material constraints of war, singing offers soldiers and civilians alike the opportunity to constitute themselves as members of the national community. Freed from the centralized hierarchy of spoken discourse and capable of transforming emotions into symbolic form, songs are participatory performative events through which singers contribute to the construction of national identity while deriving unique interpretations of it. Songs and their performance, therefore, offer the critic invaluable insight into the ways in which the boundaries of national belonging become demarcated and invite her to consider the implications of those lines of membership and exclusion. Future criticism of the rhetoric of wartime songs and singing, therefore, might ask who is excluded from the nation, by what means, and at what expense to the well-being of the people. This scholarship must undertake a complex and interdisciplinary methodological approach by which it can account for the ways in which lyrics, music, and performance of songs work to constitute one group while barring another. While we may be tempted to excuse symbolic exclusion in seemingly just and necessary wars, we must remember that even this violence has material consequences. After all, when Allied forces and Resistance fighters liberated France, Vichy government officials were not the only ones who faced retribution. As the violent and publicly humiliating rituals committed against the alleged *collaboratrices* remind us, righteous ends are often achieved through troublesome means. In a contemporary world beset with conflict, we would do well to take account of how songs and their performance create the symbolic opportunity for constitution and exclusion alike.

Notes

¹ According to historian Raymond Josse, between 3,000 and 10,000 students were involved in the protest. The exact number of participants is unknown, as many ran away to avoid arrest and left no record of their activities. Also, it is difficult to separate the protesters from the onlookers who came to watch the protest or happened to be on the Champs Élysées that day. See Raymond Josse, “La Naissance de la Résistance Étudiante à Paris: Et la Manifestation du 11 Novembre 1940,” *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, no. 47 (Juillet 1962): 22.

² Josse, “La Naissance de la Résistance Étudiante,” 17. Josse notes that the protest was patriotic in nature, rather than political.

³ For more on the politics of *La Marseillaise*, see Nathalie Dompnier, “Entre La Marseillaise et Maréchal, nous Voilà! Quel Hymne pour le régime de Vichy?” in Myriam Chimènes, *La Vie Musicale sous Vichy* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 2001), 69-89. While *La Marseillaise* was banned in the Occupied zone, it was allowed in the Unoccupied Zone, controlled until 1942 by the Vichy government.

⁴ All information about the November 11, 1940 protest was taken from Josse, “La Naissance de la Résistance Étudiante,” 1-31.

⁵ Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Box BA 2361, Paris France.

⁸ Occasional access to printing presses meant that some songs could be distributed on paper. In Ardèche, WWI veteran Achille Coevet gave copies of his song to Resistance trucks that carried it to another Resistance group in Les Vans. (See Sylvain Chimello, *La Résistance en Chantant* (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2004), 211.) So great was the fear of arrest, however, that most people did not keep written copies of the songs. Jean Melamed, for example, was arrested in Paris on August, 25, 1941, when authorities found subversive songs in his apartment.

⁹ Jean Maurin, *Chansons et Poésies de la Résistance*, as collection of songs and poems from the French Resistance, Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, ARC 074-72, Paris, France. Maurin's manuscript provides the lyrics and melodies of nearly thirty songs. Half were written by members of the *maquis* and half were created and broadcast by the BBC. In addition, my archival research also uncovered two Resistance songs, “*Chanson du maquis vasio*,” and “*La Ballade des Pendus*.” These songsheets were mixed in with other WWII pamphlets and indicate the presence of other songs still undiscovered in France's archives.

¹⁰ Chimello, *La Résistance en Chantant*; T. Barthoulot et al., eds. *Paroles et Musique: Les Chansons et la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale* (Besançon: Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation, 2003). These anthologies contain the words and sometimes music of Resistance songs, but offer no analysis of their rhetorical function.

¹¹ For example, Jeanne Lerouge, a nurse in the Dordogne region, remembers hearing a song she wrote for a local group sung by soldiers from several neighboring regions. She was “surprised to hear it whistled or hummed . . . in other places and by men that [she] didn't know,” a testament

to the fact that “the song was a bit widespread” despite the fact that it had not been printed. Lerouge’s quotation comes from Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 246.

¹² I borrow this word from Dwight Conquergood, “Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research,” *The Drama Review* 46, no. 2 (2002): 151-152.

¹³ James R. Irvine and Walter G. Kirkpatrick, “The Musical Form in Rhetorical Exchange: Theoretical Considerations” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58 (1972): 272-284; Alberto Gonzalez and John J. Makay, “Rhetorical Ascription and the Gospel According to Dylan” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983): 1-14, Irving J. Rein and Craig M. Springer, “Where’s the Music? The Problems of Lyric Analysis” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 3 (1986): 252-257; Deanna Sellnow and Timothy Sellnow, ““The Illusion of Life” Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music of Communication” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18 (2001): 395-415.

¹⁴ Joshua Gunn, “Mourning Speech: Haunting and the Spectral Voices of Nine-Eleven,” *Text and Performance Quarterly* 24: 2 (April 2004): 92.

¹⁵ Greg Goodale, *Sonic Persuasion: Reading Sound in the Recorded Age* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 3.

¹⁶ Conquergood, “Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research,” 151-152.

¹⁷ Kent Ono and John Sloop, “The Critic of Vernacular Discourse,” *Communication Monographs* 62 (1995): 19-46.

¹⁸ On June 22, 1940, the French signed the armistice with Germany at the same forest in Compiègne where Germany had surrendered in 1918. The agreement granted Germany control over three-fifths of French territory, a space that included the most heavily populated and richest portions of metropolitan France. The rest of the country, the more sparsely populated and poorer regions of central and southern France, would be controlled by Vichy. Although the conditions of the armistice were quite harsh, Vichy lauded the agreement as a safeguard against the full brunt of German regression. Believing that Germany would win the war, Vichy held that a policy of collaboration was the best way to protect France’s overseas possessions and domestic interests during the occupation and to ensure France’s place of prominence in Hitler’s Europe after the war ended.

¹⁹ Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149.

²⁰ Philippe Pétain, quoted in Philippe Burrin, *France Under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise*, trans., Janet Lloyd. (New York: The New Press, 1993), 6-7; H.R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1985), 1-3.

²¹ H.R. Kedward, "Patriots and Patriotism in Vichy France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982): 176.

²² Sweets, *The Politics of Resistance in France*, 6-7.

²³ The Vichy government's claims to "Frenchness" can perhaps best be seen in their propaganda which sought to present Philippe Pétain as an exemplary patriot and guardian of French identity. For examples of this propaganda, see *La Propagande Sous Vichy: 1940-1944* (Paris: BDIC, 1990).

²⁴ Burrin, *France Under the Germans*, 185.

²⁵ Burrin, *France Under the Germans*, 188.

²⁶ H.R. Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France: A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 233.

²⁷ R. Austin, "The Cult of the Outlaw," in *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture and Ideology*, eds. Roger Austin and H.R. Kedward (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), 240-5.

²⁸ Austin, "The Cult of the Outlaw," 242.

²⁹ Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 119.

³⁰ John MacAloon, quoted in Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 20.

³¹ While this study is concerned with the ways in which historical modes of action influenced WWII singing in France, James Jasinski's has theorized the ways in which preexisting speech acts offer inventional resources for current rhetorical action. See, e.g., James Jasinski, "Instrumentalism, Contextualism, and Interpretation in Rhetorical Criticism," in *Rhetorical Hermeneutics: Invention and Interpretation in the Age of Science*, eds. Alan G. Gross and William M. Keith (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 195-223.

³² Richard Bauman, *Story, Performance, and Event* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3.

³³ Bauman, *Story, Performance, and Event*, 4.

³⁴ Carlson, *Performance*, 5. In this passage, Carlson is referring to Richard Bauman's definition of performance that appeared in the *International Encyclopedia of Communications*.

³⁵ Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 2.

³⁶ Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*, 7-11.

³⁷ Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 441.

³⁸ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 442.

³⁹ Regina M. Sweeney, *Singing our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 12-3.

⁴⁰ Alban Vistel, *Héritage Sprirtuel de la Résistance* (Lyon: Éditions Lug, 1955), 63, 81, quoted in Sweets, *The Politics of Resistance in France*, 11.

⁴¹ Copy of Saliège's letter, reproduced in *Ville de Toulouse Bulletin Municipal* (Numéro spécial consacré à la liberation de Toulouse, October 1944 [Marseille: Imprimerie Gaussel & Cie]), 28, quoted in Sweets, *The Politics of Resistance in France*, 11.

⁴² *Ville de Toulouse Bulletin Municipal*, 12, quoted in Sweets, *The Politics of Resistance in France*, 12.

⁴³ Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Box BA 2105, Paris, France.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Roger Tabar, quoted in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 158.

⁴⁶ Raskin, "Le Chant des Partisans," 68.

⁴⁷ Raskin, "Le Chant des Partisans," 76.

⁴⁸ Composer Anna Marly quoted in Raskin, "Le Chant des Partisans," 69.

⁴⁹ Michael McGee, "In Search of 'The People': A Rhetorical Alternative," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 61, no. 3 (October 1975): 249; Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Peuple Québécois*," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (May 1987): 140-1; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 55.

⁵⁰ James R. Irvine and Walter G. Kirkpatrick, "The Musical Form in Rhetorical Exchange: Theoretical Considerations" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58 (1972): 279.

⁵¹ Alberto Gonzalez and John J. Makay, "Rhetorical Ascription and the Gospel According to Dylan" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (Feb. 1983): 4.

⁵² Deanna Sellnow and Timothy Sellnow, ““The Illusion of Life” Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music of Communication” *Critical Studies Media Communication* 18 (Dec. 2001): 397.

⁵³ “Les Chant des Partisans,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 113.

⁵⁴ “Pas de Kollaboration,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 96.

⁵⁵ “Liberté,” Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 191.

⁵⁶ “Pas de Kollaboration,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 96.

⁵⁷ “Francs-Tireurs Partisans de France,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 131.

⁵⁸ “Les Fifis,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 128.

⁵⁹ “Francs-Tireurs Partisans de France,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 131

⁶⁰ “Chant des Maquisards Chauvinois,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 259.

⁶¹ “La Marche du Maquis,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 197.

⁶² “Le Chant des Maquis Ardéchois,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 208.

⁶³ “Le Chant héroïque de la Resistance,” in Sylvain Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 200.

⁶⁴ “Les Chant des Partisans,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 113.

⁶⁵ “La Marseillaise du Maquis,” in Chimello, *La Resistance en Chantant*, 238.

⁶⁶ For more information about the history and uses of these songs, see the indexes of Sweeney, *Singing our Way to Victory* and Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*.

⁶⁷ This anecdote was taken from François Musard’s testimony in Patrick Valérin, *Chansons et Chanteurs des Années Noirs: Une Approche de l’Histoire au Travers de la Chanson et de ses Serviteurs* (Malemort: Proanima, 1996), 192-93.

⁶⁸ Julien Helfgott, quoted in Valérin, *Chansons et Chanteurs des Années Noirs*, 193.

⁶⁹ Hutcheon *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (New York and London: Methuen, 1986), 6-7.

⁷⁰ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 32.

⁷¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 55, quoted in Gray, *Watching with the Simpsons*, 4.

⁷² “Maréchal, Nous Voila!” in Barthoulot, *Paroles et Musique*, 62-3.

⁷³ “Marechal et Laval,” in Maurin, *Chansons et Poésies de la Résistance*.

⁷⁴ “L’Espoir des gars du Maquis,” in Chimello, *La Résistance en Chantant*, 282.

⁷⁵ “Les Voila, Nos Soldats” in Barthoulot, *Paroles et Musique*, 81.

⁷⁶ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 21.

⁷⁷ Maurice Druon, quoted in Raskin, ““Le Chant des Partisans,”” 75.