

STILL HIDDEN: ACKNOWLEDGING THE INFLUENCES OF THE *JUSTES*' HISTORIC
HETEROTOPIA

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Existence is blatant. It is every element of our lives functioning cohesively, evidently. However, what we fail to realize is that since existence is entirely habitual it can take heed of our innate lack of awareness in order to sustain its occasional latent form. The awareness of apparent elements of regularly encountered space that are seemingly irrelevant to our conscious minds is what allowed for the infinite successes of *la résistance lyonnaise*¹ throughout World War II, in particular, those who are now referred to as the *Justes parmi les Nations*.

The *Justes parmi les Nations*, otherwise referred to in English as the “Righteous Among the Nations,” were first formally identified in 1953 by Yad Vashem, an Israeli organization whose mission is to seek out and preserve information that contributes to a historically accurate remembrance of the Holocaust.² This prestigious honor is bestowed upon those who helped the

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¹ The French term for the resistance movement specific to Lyon, France.

² “Etude De Cas: Les “Justes De France” (1940-1944),” Mémorial de la Shoah réalisé avec le soutien du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et de la Vie associative, last modified 2011, <http://www.enseigner-histoire-shoah.org/outils-et-ressources/fiches-thematiques/le-regime-de-vichy-et-les-juifs-1940-1944/etude-de-cas-les-justes-de-france-1940-1944.html>.

Jews, without any requests from other groups affiliated with the resistance, in their time of peril.³ In order to be declared a *Juste*, it is stipulated that the rescuer aided at least one Jew; that the rescuer received no compensation or reward of any kind, apart from this title; and most importantly, that the rescuer's efforts be formally documented by the rescued party.⁴ According to Cindy Banse and Laurent Beauguitte, the *Justes* were modest citizens performing gestures in a “natural” manner, many of whom, for this reason, chose to maintain their anonymity even after the war had ended. More often than not they believed they were doing nothing exceptional, simply helping a neighbor.⁵ The Jewish Virtual Library emphasizes that the *Justes* “were ordinary human beings, and it is precisely their humanity that touches us and should serve as a model.”⁶

In contrast to our understanding of the overly generalized French Resistance, “the reality was far more complex than the image so often presented today, with 100,000 resisters, 100,000 collaborators and nearly 40 million people living in stubborn and cautious ‘politics of patience.’”⁷ In “Fitting in to the French Resistance,” resistance specialist, Valerie Deacon acknowledges that more recent scholarship on the Resistance “has highlighted its diversity.”⁸ These efforts to categorize the French Resistance have indeed complicated our understanding of

³ “Qui sont les Justes?” Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed May 24, 2020, <https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/qui-sont-les-justes/>.

⁴ Mordecai Paldiel, “Righteous Gentiles,” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 30, no. 2 (2012): 135, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42843757>.

⁵ Cindy Banse, Laurent Beauguitte, “Mesurer l’efficacité d’un réseau de sauvetage d’enfants juifs: l’exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944),” Colloque CTHS (2015), <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01150975>.

⁶ “‘Righteous Among the Nations’: History & Overview,” Jewish Virtual Library, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/history-and-overview-of-the-righteous-gentiles>.

⁷ Laurent Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” *Contemporary European History* 28, no. 1 (2019): 24, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/contemporary-european-history/article/perilous-history-a-historiographical-essay-on-the-french-resistance/C22DD3AEC2A1FB4A5CFB8E6C0D35B762/core-reader>.

⁸ Valerie Deacon, “Fitting in to the French Resistance: Marie-Madeleine Fourcade and Georges Loustaunau-Lacau at the Intersection of Politics and Gender,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 2 (2015): 260, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43697374>.

the resistance at large. Nevertheless, it has also given scholars ample opportunity to recognize the movement's participants and their efforts.

In the case of the numerous networks functioning against the Nazi and Vichy regimes, the essence of heterotopic space was—and still is—the driving force to their success, seeing as their space allowed their societies' existence to be ever-present, yet at the same time, remain entirely unnoticed. Today, the lived experiences of the anonymous, and debatably forgotten, resistance members exist in an unchartered heterotopia⁹ that lies beyond our collective conception of history. Our minimal understanding of the actual historic reality causes for the lesser known, yet equally influential, resistance members, such as the *Justes*, to remain hidden within what I refer to as a historic heterotopia.

By analyzing the archival evidence present at *Les Archives départementales du Rhône* and *Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation* pertaining to the French resistance and the agential capacity offered by the metropolitan landscape of Lyon as seen through personal ethnographic encounters, this work demonstrates in what ways the *Justes*—whose experiences remain preserved in their heterotopic form—understood and, therefore, made use of the agency their space provided to aid the Jews who were being threatened by the era's attempt to eradicate all non-Aryan persons. To do so, I will be referring primarily to French scholar Henri Lefebvre's theory articulated in his work, *The Production of Space*, originally published in 1974 as *La production de l'espace*.¹⁰ To justly recognize the monumental impacts the infamous *Justes* had in favor of the protection of the Jewish population during the World War II, this article unveils the

⁹ "Heterotopia" is a space originally defined by philosopher Michel Foucault in his essay, "Des espaces autres", originally published in 1984. Henri Lefebvre expands on this idea in *The Production of Space* which is the primary text referenced throughout this article.

¹⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009).

substantial efforts that took place within their historical social space via a newfound production of mental space.¹¹ This research thus surpasses the simple act of name recognition and, instead, argues for the importance of spatial interaction within our understanding of the past. In turn, the significance of *Justes*' willingness to secure the lives of those vulnerable throughout the war will, consequently, be seen in a "new light."¹²

Lefebvre argues that lived experience exists within its own entity and that it is unable to be genuinely understood by anyone who cannot claim said unique experience as their own.¹³ Therefore, for articulations of these experiences to become viable resources when analyzing history there must be a correlation between both the history of space and its representations.¹⁴ However, this essential qualifying correlation is often difficult to achieve when unveiling historic recounts. Thus, there is a generalized conception of what history is that disregards the relevance of the other lived experiences that have passed without definitive claims of their existence. For example, the French are notorious for holding the French Resistance in high regard, but it is because of history's natural "reduction of reality" that only a select few well-known historical encounters are reduced to what Lefebvre defines as "logic."¹⁵ It is the emphasis on the French Resistance that leads to the general disregard of the substantial influence of individuals, in particular the *Justes*, who also opposed the anti-Semitism that plagued Europe from 1939 to 1945.

The subject of the Resistance is one that is continuously debated among scholars, historians, and enthusiasts alike. British historian Rob Kedward elaborates on this subject

¹¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 296.

¹² Lefebvre, 27.

¹³ Lefebvre, 149.

¹⁴ Lefebvre, 42.

¹⁵ Lefebvre, 44.

throughout one of his many articles on the French Resistance, “Resisting French Resistance,” where he states that “discovering what is specific to those places, groups, events and institutions, which created or sustained the resistance, has replaced the search for generalized categories,” such as *la Résistance Française*.¹⁶ In her work mentioned above, Deacon refers to Kedward’s proposal that, “it may be more appropriate to discuss ‘resistances,’ in the plural, than resistance, given how many kinds were found in France.”¹⁷ Throughout the duration of the war, as acts of resistance evolved, the definition of the term resistance transformed over time. Cécile Vast’s work analyzes this evolution particularly in the southern region of France between the years 1940 and 1944. Her study insists that “the changes that the identity of the resistance underwent,” discredit the stereotypes that inaccurately distinguish the “different levels of resistance” from one another.¹⁸ Kedward notes, and rightfully so, that only recently have we begun to reshape our perspective. Now, what was once a question of what resistance had to offer to certain places and people is being approached based on the more prevalent question of what places and people had to offer to the resistance.¹⁹ It is imperative, in this case, that there is a distinction between not only specific terminology being used to define these groups, but also between the demographics of the members of each unit of resistance and their respective contributions to the overarching movement.

With the complexity of the contextualization of the “resistance” in mind, based on my findings collected during my time spent in Lyon, France, I argue that from the years 1939 to 1943, all French citizens opposing the Nazi and Vichy agenda were referred to as part of “la

¹⁶ Kedward, “Resisting French Resistance,” 271.

¹⁷ Deacon, “Fitting in to the French Resistance: Marie-Madeleine Fourcade and Georges Loustaunau-Lacau at the Intersection of Politics and Gender,” 260.

¹⁸ Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 19.

¹⁹ Kedward, “Resisting French Resistance,” 272.

resistance.” On June 18, 1940, Charles de Gaulle called on those who wished to resist the Germans to reach out to him. The manuscript of “*l’appel à la résistance*,”²⁰ heard on the BBC shows *la résistance* as a general noun.²¹ However, as the war progressed, members of the French resistance acted through various forms of participation and began either to form specialized movements or to act on their own accord. In this sense, the resistance, written as a general noun, is referring to *résistants*, in its plural form, including all those who partook in the movement through many differing forms of opposition. This includes the now world-renowned—and as I argue, overly generalized—French Resistance Movement in addition to the many other participants of these clandestine efforts such as the *Justes*. Mid-way through the war, *Résistance* as a proper, singular, noun began to refer solely to the formalized Resistance Movement whose specific motives were established on May 27, 1943 at the first *Conseil National de la Résistance* run by head *Résistant*, Jean Moulin.²² From this point on, any time the Resistance is referred to as a proper noun, it is referring to the specific French Resistance Movement whose *Résistants*, otherwise known as declared Resistance Members, are notorious for having functioned collectively against the Nazi and Vichy Regimes. It is because of the direct evidence and testimonies that the lives and actions of the *Résistants* are historically celebrated more so than those of the lesser known, yet equally essential, *résistants*.

Given the importance of historical accuracy when validating claims of involvement with the resistance, again, it is imperative that a discrepancy be made between *les résistants* and *les Résistants*. The significance of this distinction is exemplified via the demanding process

²⁰ Note: All translations of texts originally published in French are my own, unless otherwise noted.

²¹ “Appel du 18 Juin 1940 - L'appel à la Résistance lancé par le général de Gaulle,” Fondation Charles de Gaulle, last modified 2017, <http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Appel-à-la-résistance-sur-les-ondes-de-la-BBC-Londres.pdf>.

²² “La lettre de la Fondation de la Résistance,” Humancom, last modified 2019, https://www.fondationresistance.org/catalogue_2019_2020/index.html#page/1.

necessary to be declared a formal Resistance member. This process is depicted through documents available at *Les Archives départementales du Rhône* which reveal a correspondence between Général Granier and Madame Marcelle Bonnefoy, the wife of a man who participated in the resistance but had yet to be deemed a Resistance Member due to lack of formal acknowledgement from the nation's government officials.²³ Since his name was not formally noted as one of those affiliated with the highly regarded *Résistants* under the direction of de Gaulle, substantial evidence would need to be provided to prove his participation in this specific form of combat operated by the widely acknowledged Resistance Movement. Therefore, at this stage in the recognition process, Monsieur Edouard Bonnefoy would be considered a *résistant* whose actions were seen as independent while furthering the movement as a whole. Based on the formal historic recognition required to be deemed a Resistance Member, this group is not to be confused with, or perceived as, the numerous *résistants*, such as the *Justes*, who functioned separately, but for the same cause.

There is speculation that there are tens of thousands of French *Justes* who actively participated in *la résistance*, yet only 3,000 French citizens have been duly noted as such.²⁴ This lack of recognition is due to the fact that one can only be deemed a *Juste parmi les Nations* by Yad Vashem when inquiries of having sheltered Jews, saving children procuring false identification paperwork, or aiding in the clandestine migration to Switzerland or Spain²⁵ are confirmed directly by a person who was saved.²⁶ An example of a *resistant* who also holds the

²³ Marcelle Bonnefoy, "Letter to Général Grainer" (unpublished letter, 1952-54), manuscript.

²⁴ Mémorial de la Shoah réalisé avec le soutien du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et de la Vie associative, "Étude de cas : Les 'Justes De France' (1940-1944)."

²⁵ "À propos des Justes parmi les Nations," Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed May 24, 2020, <https://www.yadvashem.org/fr/justes/a-propos-des-justes.html>.

²⁶ "Comment soumettre une demande de reconnaissance," Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed May 24, 2020, <https://www.yadvashem.org/fr/justes/a-propos-des-justes.html>.

official title of *Juste* is Blanche Milono. Though she is most commonly accredited with having hid one of the most famous Jewish *Résistants*, Marc Bloch, in Caluire on rue de l'Orangerie,²⁷ her formal acknowledgement from Yad Vashem has only been awarded based on the testimonies of persons saved. These testimonies include those of M. Renée Mayer and the Bruhl and Morguleff families.²⁸ However, had all those Madame Milono helped perished before the end of the war, substantial documentation proving the claim would be sufficient when declaring her a *Juste*.²⁹ Though many *résistants*, by definition, could be categorized as *Justes* based on their demonstrations of resistance, the vast majority either wishes to be, or simply remains, anonymous. Therefore, since there are few direct depictions of how the *Justes*, named or not, saved the lives of many Jews, their historic heterotopia remains a pertinent point of research.

When discussing the relationship between the Resistance Movement and the *Justes*, it is understood that, “relationships of this kind may be figuratively represented by means of rectangles or squares.”³⁰ In this regard, if the *Justes* are understood to be the squares, they, too, could have been declared a part of the formal Resistance Movement—which for the sake of this argument, would be the rectangle. For example, Jean Mallen of Caluire-et-Cuire, a district of Lyon, is recognized as a *Juste parmi les Nations* for providing false identification work paperwork and his home as a shelter to Jewish refugees. However, his biography, as per Yad Vashem’s database, notes his collaboration with the Resistance Movement and also refers to him as a *Résistant*. Mallen was known to have offered his home as a security point to those actively participating in the Resistance Movement under the leadership of *Résistants* Jean Moulin, Henri

²⁷ Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 306.

²⁸ “Milono Blanche,” Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/les-justes-de-france/dossier-297/>.

²⁹ Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, “Comment soumettre une demande de reconnaissance.”

³⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 294.

Fernay, and René Hardy.³¹ *Résistant* is a title that can be awarded based on various acts of resistance as long as they coincided with the Resistance Movement's formal agenda. In this sense, like a rectangle, these individuals take form in many variations of the same shape. Whereas, like a square, the *Justes* have more specific parameters used to categorize them as such. Therefore, the *Justes*, who, I argue, have not yet properly been recognized for their actions, are their own entity, thus proving that when a rectangle is seen in reference to a square, both deserve equal and independent recognition.

On September 14, 1944, leader and future president Charles De Gaulle, declared Lyon *la capitale de la Résistance* proving the existence, not only of the most renowned Resistance Movement, but inevitably the other equally influential clandestine peoples that resisted the Nazi and Vichy influences.³² Though all resisters aimed to sustain their covert existence, since, in Lyon, *la Résistance* prevailed over the others who constituted *la résistance*, it was these individuals' imperceptible functionality that provided their Nazi and Vichy predators minimal evidence of the growing movement. Throughout this form of heterotopic space, in which the various resistance groups functioned, it is understood that, "in space, or behind it, there is no unknown substance, no mystery. And yet this transparency is deceptive, and everything is concealed: space is illusory and the secret of the illusion lies in the transparency itself."³³

As previously stated, though the existence of the underground resistance was evident, their heterotopic space was achieved by the Nazi and Vichy government's lack of viable resources when trying to make predictions about their locations, operations, and the other

³¹ "Mallen Jean," Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/les-justes-de-france/dossier-9717/>.

³² "20 ans du CHRD," Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation, last modified 2012, http://www.fondationshoah.org/sites/default/files/2016-09/CHRD_20ans_reouverture.pdf.

³³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 287.

countless acts of resistance against the newly instated societal expectations. Therefore, it was not the representational space alone which permitted these clandestine undertakings, it was also the participants' ability to seamlessly interact in accordance with the general social order whilst, at the same time, defying the Nazi and Vichy regulations. Well-known *Résistant*, Marc Bloch, was determined to continue his life's work as a renowned historian and active Resistance member. To function within this heterotopic space, not only did Bloch require a secure dwelling, but he also needed to make himself appear homogenous within his seemingly law-abiding society. Bloch was known for being, "singularly adept at fitting in," acting as a traveling businessman under the name M. Blanchard.³⁴ It was this way of interacting with heterotopic space that allowed for the *Justes*' social order to remain hidden within the order of space.³⁵

The lives of these *Résistants* have been recorded by historians, such as Carole Fink who wrote the biography *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*.³⁶ These works have proven the distinct presence of Lyon's once-heterotopic Resistance Movement. However, again, it is important to recognize that, "the French resistance is only partially known," as many of the *résistants*' lived experiences remain hidden in a historic heterotopia. The appropriate recognition of the French Resistance's numerous counterparts, such as the *Justes*, whose contributions greatly altered the outcome of the war, have still not been formally investigated and then inserted into our history of the resistance movement.

Scholar Laurent Douzou stresses that though "silence is indeed part of this story and must be taken into account,"³⁷ many of these crucial details that create the reality of what history was are lacking. When discussing the role of women in the resistance, for example, Catherine

³⁴ Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 306-8.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 289.

³⁶ Fink, *Marc Bloch: A life in History*.

³⁷ Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 22.

Lacour-Astol notes that, “although women’s resistance was very efficient it can be difficult to uncover not only because it was often restricted to the domestic and private sphere of home,” and their lack of formal government recognition is due to their role in society as women.³⁸ Similarly, because the *Justes* were individually motivated, they were often disconnected from the resistance groups being directly influenced by the Resistance Movement. Since the influences of the *Justes* were overlooked by those who had the power to dictate history directly after the war, when compared to those who were part of the Resistance Movement, they, too, remain difficult to uncover. Therefore, whether it be to maintain their own safety due to a lingering fear of punishment for their actions, lack of opportunity to formally declare their contributions, their humble demeanor, or the fact that they genuinely did not perceive their influence as significant, the *Justes* deliberately preserved their heterotopic society to surpass historic timelines, and—ironically—remain hidden within them.

Yet, to fathom the complexity of space’s historical influences on the French resistance movement, when looking to understand what lies behind the veil of time, one is forced to rely on the analysis of the representational space in which the lived experience took place, and the depictions of said experience through various representations of space.³⁹ Representational space is, as understood by Lefebvre, an ever-present environment, “and hence the space of ‘inhabitants.’”⁴⁰ It is this space which offers its occupants, and in this case, those who wish to sustain a covert existence, the necessary means to function based on their own agential accord. Based on this definition, it is no wonder Lyon was the ideal representational space for the French resistance movement. Being geographically located between Paris and Marseille, it naturally

³⁸ Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 17.

Note: Douzou is referring to Catherine Lacour-Astol’s *Le Genre de la Résistance*.

³⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, 39.

became a major node for the nation's rail lines and main roads. Another key attribute to the success of the underground activity was the fact that Lyon possesses a plethora of old homes and warehouses along the banks of where the Rhône and Saône rivers converge with one another. With additional "buildings on the hills of Fourvière and the Croix Rousse with their seemingly endless staircases, entries on different levels, and passageways (*traboules*), in its labyrinthine alleyways and along the avenues of its working-class quarters, there were ample opportunities to distribute and gather information, take shelter, and carry out evasive maneuvers."⁴¹ However, in these upcoming pages, I will demonstrate how representational space is merely the overarching setting which hosts the various abstractions required to "modify spatial *textures*"⁴² within the space itself. It is the texturization of space⁴³ that permits the various forms of lived experience—or more specifically, how the inhabitants take heed of the agential capacity available within a given space—at a certain point in time.

When these lived experiences are then recounted, since lived experience cannot be fully comprehended by another being, or even, arguably, by the self, these articulations of past endeavors are then seen as representations of space. Prime examples of these include images, testimonials, and legal documents that offer "knowledge." These lived experiences are then reproduced through "codes"⁴⁴ such as language. The earliest traces of written representations of space regarding the French resistance began to be seen as early as April 1944. In fact, "many publications on the resistance were to follow, totaling almost 4,500 between 1946 and 2001."⁴⁵ However, the lived experience, can only be rendered a valuable contribution to our universal

⁴¹ Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 301.

⁴² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.

⁴³ A term deriving from Lefebvre's use of the word "texture".

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* 33.

⁴⁵ Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 2.

historic timeline if the language used depicts the event in a way that can be visualized via mental space. From this perspective, language is the “vehicle of understanding.”⁴⁶ This idea of visualization that contributes to our cognitive relation to history is well represented by the description of Resistance Member Lucie Aubrac’s thesis titled *La Résistance (Naissance et organisation)*.⁴⁷ It was through this representation of space that she “painted a general picture” that was understood by readers to be both “authentic and inspiring.”⁴⁸ These articulations of lived experiences, or representations of space, must therefore have a substantial role in the production of space that one recognizes as history.⁴⁹

Our faith in the logic used to inquire about the reality of those whose lived experiences remain in a historic heterotopia based on various representations of space can be understood in the form of “absolute” space.⁵⁰ These clandestine social orders were motivated by a production of space that was seen as “purely mental, and hence ‘imaginary.’” However, the term “imaginary” is not to be used to devalue the influence of this form of space based on its commonly accepted definition. In this case, to conceptualize a historic heterotopic space, one must understand that “a discourse on space implies a truth of space, and this must derive not from a location within space, but rather from a place imaginary and real – and hence ‘surreal,’ yet concrete.”⁵¹

For the *Justes*, as well as many other resistance participants in France, there was a common aspiration to counter how anti-Semitism was dictating the war-torn society. Among the

⁴⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 133.

⁴⁷ The English version of this book can be found under the title, *The Resistance (Birth and Organization)*.

⁴⁸ Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 1.

⁴⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.

⁵⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 35.

⁵¹ Lefebvre, 251.

resisters, the shared vision of the enemy,⁵² which was “purely mental,”⁵³ acted as a catalyst to the growing resistance movement. Since “everyone fought in accordance with the image of the enemy,” this created an illusory, or absolute, space in the mind that initially encouraged the French to combat the many antisemitic injustices of the time. Yet, there was no singular absolute space responsible for the continuation of this subconscious motivation to resist. Writer and Resistance Member, Jean Cassou, articulates how “death was constantly on the mind of each resister,” and demonstrates how this sense of death could only be understood via an absolute space when he states that it is “something unheard of, ‘almost a dream’ (*presque un songe*).”⁵⁴ Though the concept of death seems “surreal,” its lingering presence as a probable fate was certainly “concrete.”⁵⁵ With these more common versions of absolute space motivating the resistance movement, one must not overlook the more specified absolute spaces that, based on logic, must have encouraged individuals who functioned based on motives similar to those of the *Justes*.

Seeing as this idea of absolute space is most commonly practiced in the form of religion, given that *Justes* were “non-Jews”⁵⁶ primarily following various denominations of Christianity, I argue the origin of these gestures used to combat anti-Semitism were heavily dependent on the Church’s ideals. Absolute space is, more specifically, the belief in a “non-place”⁵⁷ as though there is confirmation it, indeed, exists. In this case, the absolute space motivating the *Justes* would be Heaven. In 1942, a Christian group known as *Amitié Chrétienne* asked the priests and pastors of *Haute-Savoie*, a French department in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region, to aid in the

⁵² Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 14.

⁵³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 251.

⁵⁴ Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 15.

⁵⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 251.

⁵⁶ Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, “Qui sont les Justes ?”

⁵⁷ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 35.

opposition of the antisemitic legislation brought forth by the Vichy government. The federal chaplain, Camille Folliet, responded favorably to the idea.⁵⁸ The word of the Lord that Christians were told to abide by in order to guarantee an afterlife in the absolute space known as Heaven was what inspired its followers to see their physical elements of space in a way that would be used to protect those defenseless against the wrath of the Nazi and Vichy agenda. In return, they had faith that they would one day be welcomed into the promised land.

Though certainly not all resistance participants were influenced by such spiritual motives, seeing as the majority of French citizens were affiliated with either Catholicism or other Christian groups, the morals created through this form of absolute space were seen as not only religious, but political as well. From a linguistic perspective, the effect of said absolute space can be seen in General Charles de Gaulle's broadcast to France on June 6, 1944. In this speech, De Gaulle refers to the obligation of the sons of France as "simple and sacred."⁵⁹ This choice of language associating the morals of resistance movement with that of the "sacred" further supports the notion that the absolute space often derived from religious beliefs was a driving force for one of France's key political movements during the war.

Though the space that cannot be seen outside the mental realm surely played a significant role in the foundation of the resistance movement during this era, this opposition was also heavily dependent on the role of physical space.⁶⁰ When analyzing specific forms of resistance, such as those of the *Justes*, in terms of their geographical spatial relations, Lyon's role as resistance hegemon throughout World War II becomes evident. Very quickly, Lyon established itself as a resource because of its prospects to enable powerful resistance movements based on its

⁵⁸ Cindy Banse, "Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes."

⁵⁹ Richard Doody, "The World at War: Operation Overlord," *The World at War*, accessed May 14, 2020, <http://worldatwar.net/article/overlord/>.

⁶⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 6.

relative distance to the *ligne de démarcation*. This demarcation line was the most well-known checkpoint that permitted entrance into the *zone libre*⁶¹ of southern France. The lack of occupation in this zone until 1942 offered ample time and opportunity for the *Justes* to identify in what ways they would be able to aid the Jews who were rapidly beginning to migrate to the South. The Garel Network, whose primary objective was to use “spatial logics” to save Jewish children in the Lyon region from 1942-1944, demonstrates how the *Justes* were likely performing the same task. Managing to save almost 2,000 children, this group’s members, most of whom were Jewish women, interacted with their designated geographical zone in a way that allowed them to identify safe homes, visit the children they had saved, and pay the host families without being detected by the Nazi and Vichy forces who were closely observing the area.⁶² The positioning of this city, both on a national and global scale, provided the *Justes* with agential opportunities, not only to shelter Jews within the city of Lyon, but to help “those hopeful of reaching Switzerland.”⁶³ The Garel Network member, Fanny Loinger, was known to have specialized in the migration of children to Switzerland,⁶⁴ proving this type of aid was possible for the *Justes*, as well. These geographical, and therefore physical, characteristics of space explain, without a doubt, the elevated number of *Justes parmi les Nations* in the Rhône-Alpes region of France.⁶⁵ More specifically, however, it was the geographical evolution of Lyon’s metropolitan landscape since the time of the Gaul that allowed for numerous abstractions to be texturized to serve various purposes throughout the centuries. Though it was the geographical space which

⁶¹ French term referring to the “free zone” located in the south of France until 1942.

⁶² Banse, Beauguitte, “Mesurer l’efficacité d’un réseau de sauvetage d’enfants juifs: l’exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944).”

⁶³ Banse, “Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes.”

⁶⁴ Banse, Beauguitte, “Mesurer l’efficacité d’un réseau de sauvetage d’enfants juifs: l’exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944).”

⁶⁵ Banse, “Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes.”

offered the opportunities to aid the Jewish population, the texturizations of space were what permitted the *Justes* to fulfill their promise of providing for both migrating and sedentary Jewish refugees.

Space's texture would not be possible if space was not also acknowledged in its abstract form.⁶⁶ Contrary to the common definition of the term abstract, in Lefebvre's theory, abstract space includes all of the tangible elements within a physical spatial region. This detailed form of space was what made an area such as Lyon capable of supporting such heterotopic endeavors. Tangible space, or abstractions,⁶⁷ can be identified through elements, such as architectural influences, that enable the rhythm of a given area. The most notorious architectural abstractions in Lyon are the *traboules*. These hidden passageways, which are prevalent throughout the city, were initially texturized in accordance with the social priorities of the Middle Ages; in particular, for the facilitation of the distribution of silk. In order to accelerate the silk trading process, the *traboules* were fashioned in a way that would protect this vital good, while also allowing for the shipment of silk despite the geographic obstacles the city possessed.

Though initially intended for the distribution of silk, these passageways allowed for the city to be texturized to influence the rhythm of social order during World War II. As economic production shifted with time, the *traboules* became a social system used to "link opposite worlds and establish connections; as they have become a town within a town they now bypass the city life and incite to secret, they build up, in the capital of silk, networks of a hidden occupation of places."⁶⁸ Therefore, this texturization of space via any abstraction can be seen as a code: "a code

⁶⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 49.

⁶⁷ Lefebvre, 134.

⁶⁸ Poirieux, Corinne, and Fabienne Berganz. *Lyon et ses traboules : Cours, passages, Vieux Lyon, Croix-Rousse, Presqu'île : Guide*. (Lyonnaises D'art Et D'histoire, 2011), 10.

which allowed space not only to be, ‘read’ but also to be constructed.”⁶⁹ The developing of codes within space can be seen in the context of medieval times as compared to World War II, in the sense that they were manipulated to cater to a given societal group. During wartime France, though the abstraction of the *traboules* appeared to be the same to both parties—clandestine and common passerby—the abstraction offered a sense of agential capacity to alter the “code” based on each group’s own accord. Thus, when analyzing the use of the *traboules* by members of the resistance, we see a transition from silk exportation to the creation of a heterotopic rhythm that allowed for subjects to maintain their various disguised practices. To do so, members of such heterotopias, such as the *Justes*, “would have acceded by [...] acting within that space and (in the broadest sense of the word) comprehending it.”⁷⁰ Prior to Bloch’s arrest, his familiarity with the *traboules* enabled him to take footpaths that were not visible on formal cartography of the region. The ability to read the codes within the landscape allowed the *Justes*, such as Blanche Milono, to secure Jews in a location where they could reach safety efficiently.⁷¹ It then becomes clear that a spatial code should not be simplified to the act of reading and interpreting the abstractions within a space, but rather living among them, understanding them, and in turn, producing a new sense of space because of them.⁷²

The *traboules* played a pertinent role in the resistance’s interaction with their heterotopic space but were not the only abstraction utilized by the resistance. *Imprimeries*⁷³ are yet another example of how the *Justes* were able to texturize space. These facilities functioned as Nazi-approved newspaper companies by day, and as underground printing facilities by night. Initially

⁶⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 7.

⁷⁰ Lefebvre, 17.

⁷¹ This was explained by Lyon native, Agnes Fereyre, when exploring the *traboules* Bloch was known to have used in his home neighborhood during the war, the *quartier Bissardon*.

⁷² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 48.

⁷³ The French term referring to “newspaper printing facilities.”

these printing locations produced clandestine newspapers. Papers such as, *Libération*,⁷⁴ blatantly listed the necessary considerations to be taken into account when partaking in any form of resistance. As noted in the paper published on May 18, 1942, covered, “*Consignes aux militants*,” this edition offered insight on how to appear to be congruent with the rest of society in order to maintain their heterotopic space. Suggestions in this column included: only refer to others by their pseudonyms instead of their first names, do not use the telephone, write as little as possible because 30% of all letters are monitored by authorities, never be seen (in public) with more than four fellow resistance members, and lastly, if you are arrested, remember it is a “*devoir d’honneur*”⁷⁵ to remain silent and request a lawyer.⁷⁶ However, as the coding of this space and its numerous abstractions progressed, further opportunity to protect Jews became apparent.

Imprimeries are a direct example as to how the *Justes* were able to code the machinery used to operate the newspaper facilities and create a new space that produced *faux papiers*.⁷⁷ Like Marc Bloch, who possessed the false paperwork identifying his as M. Blanchard,⁷⁸ many other vulnerable individuals were also heavily dependent on the materials resulting from the transformation of preexisting appliances. The text, *Cahiers de la Résistance: Imprimeurs et éditeurs dans la Résistance*, notes that the production of false identification started on a modest scale at the *Libération*’s publishing company, yet by 1942, majority of Lyon’s *imprimeries* functioned as headquarters for false identification services after hours. The English translation of an anonymous testimony reads, “The calculation is simple. In one hour, I produce thirty false

⁷⁴ *Libération* was a popular clandestine newspaper used by the resistance during WWII that continued to be publicly published throughout France after the end of the war.

⁷⁵ The French term referring to “honorable responsibility.”

⁷⁶ “*Consignes aux militants*,” *Libération*, May 18, 1942.

⁷⁷ The French term referring to “false identification paperwork.”

⁷⁸ Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 306-8.

papers. If I sleep for one hour, thirty people will die.”⁷⁹ Again, the idea of absolute space based on the concept of death, in this case the death of others, prompted the mentality used to inspire the texturization of abstractions in a way that would ensure the persistence of this heterotopic society’s movement.

When considering the reality of the *Justes*, due to the fact that the truths of their experiences remain in a historic heterotopia, one has no choice but to actualize the *Justes*’ significance based on their own cognition. The understanding of that which one cannot claim as their own is based on a theoretical practice which is seen as a, “central reference point for all Knowledge,” otherwise known as the use of mental space.⁸⁰ Given the common misconception that history is a universal, and therefore all-encompassing, representation of the past, it is no surprise that, “there is a gap between the reality known and lived by the resisters and what appears when the reconstruction is complete.”⁸¹ However, even with new approaches, such as this effort to recognize the *Justes* in terms of their historic spatial encounters, history is perceived based on that which occupies the mind in the present. In this sense, it is impossible to interrogate the past without the influence of taught biases and an understanding of the modern world. Though this inability to conceptualize the past without bias may seem problematic in terms of seeking out the fuller truth behind the lives of the *Justes*, it is possible to observe and therefore gain respect for the past in new ways. To do so, Julien Blanc states, one must “forget this [modern-day perception of the world] entirely and to immerse himself in and discover the world he wanted to explore.”⁸² It is through the use of mental space that this becomes possible.

⁷⁹ Thibault, Laurence. *Imprimeurs et éditeurs dans la Résistance* (Documentation Française, 2010), 165.

⁸⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 6.

⁸¹ Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 22.

⁸² Douzou, “A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance,” par. 20.

Ethnographic recounts of interactions with some of the most pivotal spaces utilized by the resistance in Lyon is certainly one way to promote the natural creation of mental space used to fathom the realities of the *Justes*. After surveying the home of *Juste*, Jean Mallen, located in Vassieux, it became clear that spatial encounters offer illustrative historic details which cannot be accurately envisioned when simply transcribed onto paper. This address was marked by *Résistant* Jean Moulin as “Point A” and is known to be one of the most highly trafficked points of security used to aid in the Jewish migration to neutral territory. The home temporarily housed Jewish refugees of all ages and provided them with the necessary means such as *faux papiers* to have a successful venture over the border to Switzerland. The current homeowner explained that the Jews were housed in a third-story annex whose entrance was located behind a bookshelf. The interior of the first two floors were so spacious that, when seen from the exterior, there is no impression that a third level to the house exists. Micha Roumaintzeff, a knowledgeable source who has spent a substantial portion of his retired life documenting the historic significance of various landmarks throughout the city, noted that seeing as the neighbor at the time was said to be a high-ranking officer working for the Nazi and Vichy forces, the illusive structure of the home and surrounding land were fundamental components of the operation’s success. With an abundance of intentional overgrowth, the yard’s bushes and trees allowed the back of the property to double as a historic “*traboule*-style” passageway. It only took 15 minutes by foot to get from the street address directly to the Rhône River, whereas it took the Nazi and Vichy troopers nearly 35-40 by vehicle when relying on maps. If this journey by foot was successful, Jews would find permanent refuge in the neutral Switzerland in a matter of hours. Though these individuals’ agential capacity was great given the deceptive elements of their space, that did not lessen the great risk that loomed over the Mallen family who were well aware of the horrid fate

they would face if arrested. Using this representational space as a way to envision how all aspects of the *Justes*' efforts functioned cohesively conjured an overwhelming sense of respect for their historic influences. This effect of thoroughly understanding the significance of history would not be possible without our ability to regard all components of history, heterotopic or apparent, via our own mental space.

The wide array of exemplary tales of resistance from a once heterotopic space permits an understanding of the substantial impact the *Justes* had in favor of the Jewish population when opposing the antisemitism that dictated the order of Lyon's society throughout World War II. This chain of resistance can begin with a subtle act, such as identifying a new way of interacting with space. Or, it can be as drastic as risking a life to procure illegal paperwork in order to transfer and shelter families at risk of unjust persecution, just as the *Justes* did. Regardless, it is though these actions that are seemingly insignificant, or done in such a "natural" manner they are believed to be nothing exceptional,⁸³ that we are capable of contributing to the magnitude of a movement, such as that of the resistance.

These offerings, which exemplify the possible historic realities through the analysis of spatial relations according to Lefebvre's theory in *The Production of Space*, provide acknowledgement of the *Justes* in a way that goes beyond name recognition. This newfound mental space proposes the reality of—and consequently, pays homage to—the *Justes* whose true testimonies remain hidden within their historic heterotopia. "Nobody can fill this void, which is consubstantial with the reality being studied,"⁸⁴ however, it is by inquiring what lies beyond

⁸³ Banse, Beauguitte, "Mesurer l'efficacité d'un réseau de sauvetage d'enfants juifs: l'exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944)."

⁸⁴ Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 22.

history's "reduction of reality"⁸⁵ that enables us to try and do so. Today, it is our "*devoir d'honneur*"⁸⁶ to recognize our understanding of history's shortcomings and to realize that we, too, must make use of the agency that is ever-present. It is because our space possesses infinite opportunities to not only see history in a "new light,"⁸⁷ but to understand this new perception of our own space that we are then able to utilize its agential capacity to combat discrimination. After all, it is through action we honor.

⁸⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 44.

⁸⁶ The French term referring to "honorable responsibility" as seen in the newspaper article "Consignes aux militants" in *Libération* published on May 18, 1942.

⁸⁷ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 27.

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