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English reaction to the Dreyfus Affair

Mobley, Henry Mitchell, D.A.

Middle Tennessee State University, 1993

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ENGLISH REACTION TO THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Henry M. Mobley

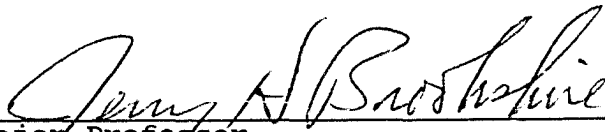
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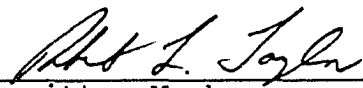
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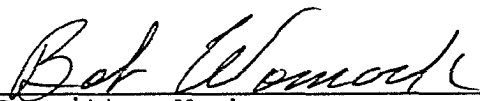
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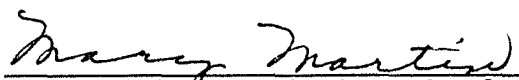
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ABSTRACT

ENGLISH REACTION TO THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Henry M. Mobley

On 15 October 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was serving a probationary term on the general staff of the French army, was arrested and accused of spying for Germany. He faced a court-martial during 19-22 December 1894. The French minister of war, General Auguste Mercier, ordered incriminating documents to be presented to the judges of the court-martial without either Dreyfus or his attorney being aware that those documents existed. Dreyfus was convicted and condemned to perpetual deportation and military degradation. French anti-Semites tried to place the blame for the spy incident on the fact that Dreyfus was a Jew.

In January 1898, the writer, Emile Zola, published an article titled, "J'Accuse." In this article he charged that there was a coverup in the General Staff of the French army, that Dreyfus was innocent, and that Esterhazy was the person guilty of treason.

The scope of the Dreyfus Affair covered the period from October 1894 through July 1906. The case never really became the "Affair" until Zola's article. British interest in the Affair intensified at this time. The major themes of anti-Semitism, nationalism, militarism, and involvement on

Henry M. Mobley

the part of high officials in the Catholic church were developed in the British press throughout the years 1898-1899. British journals supported Dreyfus because they saw the case as a violation of his civil liberties and felt that the Affair was a threat to democratic institutions the world over. British press response kept the Affair alive in Western Europe and brought pressure to bear on the French government.

This paper examines many articles and letters from British journals and papers representing every part of British society. Englishmen safeguarded the liberal institutions of the empire and placed high value on the British judicial system, educational system, and army organizational structure. The press used the power of public opinion as never before to bring about change in a situation that caused an international crisis.

The chapter on classroom applications provides a guide for using this research paper in a Western Civilization history course. The appendices contain four exercises that can be used for class assignments.

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Miss Bethany Dungy has read and reread this manuscript many times. She was assisted by Mrs. Virginia Baxter and

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But what am I asking for night and day? Justice!
Justice! Is this the nineteenth century, or have we gone
back some hundred years? Is it possible that innocence is
not recognised in an age of enlightenment and truth? Let
them search. I ask no favour, but I ask the justice that is
the right of every human being. Let them continue to
search; let those who possess powerful means of
investigation use them towards this object; it is for them a
sacred duty of humanity and justice. It is impossible then
that light should not be thrown upon this mysterious and
tragic affair.

Alfred Dreyfus
Five Years of My Life



ALFRED DREYFUS

1859 - 1935

INTRODUCTION

On 5 January 1894, an exclusive group of witnesses gathered in the courtyard of the Ecole Militaire on Place Fontenay in Paris, France. Thousands of people gathered outside the gates, filled the adjoining streets, and climbed onto roofs of houses. Soldiers, diplomats, and journalists watched the degradation of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a young Jewish officer in the artillery corps. Accused of spying for the Germans, Dreyfus listened to the words of General Paul Darras: "Alfred Dreyfus, you are no longer worthy of bearing arms. In the name of the people of France, we dishonor you." Freezing wind whipped flakes of snow in his face as Sergeant-Major Bouxin ripped the decoration from his cap and his sleeves. His epaulets were removed, as well as the red stripes from his trousers. Sergeant-Major Bouxin broke Dreyfus's saber over his knee. Dreyfus biographer, Jean-Denis Bredin, described the distress that Dreyfus endured, and the state of mental and physical suffering that he was in, as the captive stood erect, held his head high, and cried, "Long live France! I am innocent! I swear it on

the head of my wife and my children!" The crowd outside the courtyard cried "Death! Death to the Jew!"¹

Alfred Dreyfus was born on 9 October 1859, in Mulhouse, to an old established family of Alsatian Jews. Dreyfus's father built a small cotton mill and later expanded that business into a textile factory. The German invasion of France in 1870 forced the Dreyfus family to flee Alsace. Following the Franco-Prussian War, they opted for French citizenship. As many as fifty thousand Jews moved from Alsace-Lorraine to Paris in the 1870s, fleeing from German persecution. Many Parisians assumed that they were Germans. Dreyfus became the focal point of the anti-Semitic movement in France in the 1890s because of his Jewishness and having come from Alsace.

Anti-Semitism was not a problem in France in the early 1870s. Before 1878, the year an anti-Jewish campaign began in the French army, several Jewish officers seemed to enjoy normal careers. There had been little oppression of the Jews in France since the Revolution of 1789. Dreyfus's ambition to serve in the army may have stemmed from the Prussian occupation of his homeland in 1870, for he had a hatred for the invader and wanted revenge for the French defeat in 1871.

¹Jean-Denis Bredin, The Affair (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1986), 3-5.

Upon graduation in 1880 from the Ecole Polytechnique, Dreyfus was appointed a sublieutenant in the school of instruction at Fontainebleau to qualify for a position as officer of artillery. Dreyfus served at Fontainebleau for two years. In October 1882, he was promoted to lieutenant in the Thirty-first Artillery Regiment at Le Mans. During 1883 he served with the First Division of Cavalry in Paris. It was not until 1888 that he decided to try the entrance examination to the Ecole de Guerre, the French war college established in 1876 to study the experiences of war and search for solutions to war problems. He served as captain of the Twenty-first Artillery from September 1889 to April 1890 when he was admitted to the Ecole de Guerre.

At this point in his life things were going well for Dreyfus. In Paris he met Lucie Hadamard, the daughter of a wealthy Jewish diamond merchant, and married her on 21 April 1890, one day after being admitted to the Ecole de Guerre. He graduated in November 1892, ninth in a class of eighty-one. Because he performed so well, he was selected to serve a probationary term with the General Staff of the Army beginning 1 January 1893.

Honor was the most important virtue to Captain Dreyfus. When anti-Jewish agitation rose against Jewish officers in the army, Dreyfus made no issue of his Jewishness. He had a happy home, two children whom he loved very much, and an

honorable career. His wealth assured the presence of the comforts of life.²

The French army's prestige had grown significantly since the war of 1870. The army was a popular career, despite the low pay and the small retirement benefits. Frenchmen had great loyalty to the army. Dreyfus was no different from most other Frenchmen in his fidelity and dedication to France and the French army. A theme of revenge was woven throughout the fabric of French society. There was an attitude of vindictiveness in France, as opposed to defense motives, which was largely responsible for much research for better weapons.

In 1894, both the French and the Germans were trying to develop a large recoil cannon. When suspicion arose in the general staff that information concerning a new cannon developed by the French was being leaked to the Germans, the finger of guilt was pointed toward the young, rich, and Jewish Alfred Dreyfus, Captain of Artillery.

In September 1894, Colonel Hubert-Joseph Henry was the head of the counterintelligence service of the French army. He received the torn pieces of a bordereau, or note listing charges, that came from the trash can of Colonel von Schwarzkoppen, the German military attaché in Paris. The bordereau indicated that certain important documents had passed into German hands. Officers of the general staff

²Ibid., 11-20.

arrested Dreyfus on 15 October 1894 for high treason. A military court tried and convicted him on 22-24 December 1894 and sentenced him to life in prison on Devil's Island, off the coast of South America. Military prosecutors persuaded the members of the court-martial that Dreyfus was the author of the bordereau, which neither he nor his attorney was permitted to see. The events leading up to his arrest and the reaction to these events came to be called the "Dreyfus Affair," or simply, "L'Affaire." This began the most deliberated judicial case in modern history.³

Dreyfus's brother, Mathieu, began to try to have the case overturned. In 1896 Lt. Colonel Picquart, the new chief of the Second Bureau, the section of the general staff in which Dreyfus served, became convinced that the bordereau author was Commandant Marie-Charles-Ferdinand-Walsin Esterhazy. Esterhazy was an infantry officer with a reputation as a womanizer, gambler, and debtor. He began spying for the Germans in 1894.⁴

Picquart then began to call for a revision in the case. He obtained copies of Esterhazy's handwriting and presented them to Alphonse Bertillion, a handwriting expert and head of the Préfecture's Service of Judiciary Identity.

³Jacques Hardré, La France et sa Civilisation (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973), 320.

⁴"The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice," The Jewish Museum (New York: 13 September 1987 - 14 January 1988), 5.

Bertillion had testified against Dreyfus at the trial and identified the handwriting on the bordereau as that of Dreyfus. When Colonel Picquart presented Bertillion with copies of Esterhazy's writing, Bertillion again identified the writing as that of Dreyfus and said that the Jews had succeeded in reproducing the writing of the bordereau. Picquart then showed Esterhazy's writing to Colonel Mercier du Paty de Clam, an officer on the general staff and an early accuser of Dreyfus, who identified it as having been written by Mathieu Dreyfus, the brother of Alfred Dreyfus. It was by this method that two of the strongest witnesses against Dreyfus proved that the writing on the bordereau was that of Esterhazy and not of Dreyfus.⁵

Dreyfus's family continued to demand a judicial revision. Because of action by the vice-president of the senate, Charles Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, Esterhazy was brought before a court-martial, but he was acquitted in January 1898. On 1 September 1898, Esterhazy fled to England where he confessed to Times correspondent Rowland Strong that he was the author of the bordereau.

Up to January 1898 the English public remained calm about the details of L'Affair. On 13 January 1898, writer Emile Zola published an open letter to the president of the Republic, Felix Faure, in Georges Clemenceau's paper

⁵"The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwoods's Magazine, June 1899, 1059.

L'Aurore, titled "J'Accuse." In this letter Zola denounced the general officer corps, revealed the illegality of the process against Dreyfus, and accused those who found Esterhazy innocent of having obeyed the orders of the general officers. Zola fled to England in February 1898 after a criminal court found him guilty of defamation and sentenced him to one year in prison. This celebrated novelist brought the Dreyfus case to the attention of the world.

The country of France was figuratively cut in two. On one side were the Dreyfusards who included such notables as Anatole France, Charles Péguy, Claude Nonet, Léon Bloy, André Gide, Marcel Proust, Georges Clemenceau, and Jean Jaurès; on the other side were the anti-Dreyfusards including Paul Valéry, Charles Maurras, Pierre Louÿs, François Coppée, Maurice Barrès, Jules Lamaitre, and Edgar Degas.⁶

Generally speaking, the anti-Dreyfusards supported the regime, the army, the church, and the institutions. On the other hand, Dreyfus's supporters were those who wanted to change the government, the anticlerics, the pacifists, and the radicals. Many of them were not pro-Dreyfus as much as they were antigovernment or antichurch. They sought to use the Dreyfus Affair as a means to their own ends.

⁶Hardré, La France et sa Civilisation, 321.

On 30 August 1898, Colonel Henry committed suicide. He was the head of the Statistical Section of the General Staff. Henry had begun tampering with documents in 1896 and later forged documents, adding them to the Dreyfus file. Evidence given at Zola's trial exposed Henry as a forger. He confessed in 1898 and was imprisoned at Mont-Valerien Suresnes where he took his own life by cutting his throat. Public emotion then demanded that the government give Dreyfus a new trial. The progress of the Affair from August 1898 to June 1899 was surrounded by bitterness and misunderstanding. Dreyfus's enemies revived the 1894 rumor that the real proofs of Dreyfus's guilt could not be revealed without causing the gravest international crisis.⁷

A second court-martial was held in August 1899 at Rennes, France, and Dreyfus was again found guilty by a vote of five to two. This time he was found guilty with extenuating circumstances and sentenced to ten years confinement. He had already served almost five years and had submitted to degradation before the Paris regiments at the Ecole Militaire on 5 January 1895.

On 19 September 1899, the president of the Republic, Emile Loubet, granted Dreyfus a pardon based on his health. That same morning Scheurer-Kestner, former vice-president and ardent supporter of Dreyfus, died without knowing about

⁷Douglas Johnson, France and the Dreyfus Affair (New York: Walker and Company, 1966), 143.

Dreyfus's pardon.⁸ It would still be several years and much work before Captain Dreyfus would be rehabilitated. Finally, in July 1906, the High Court of Appeals, a civilian court consisting of the combined Criminal Chamber, Civil Chamber, and Chamber of Petitions, reversed the judgment of the Rennes court-martial. Dreyfus was rehabilitated into the army and was received into the Legion of Honor.

English reaction to the Affair was pro-Dreyfus. His religion was not the primary factor in their support of Dreyfus. Englishmen reacted to what they perceived to be a gross violation of very basic human rights. It was inconceivable that an English court could convict a man in a secret trial with evidence not given to either the defendant or his counsel. They viewed this as closed doors within closed doors. The British also rejected the notion that a law could be passed that would install a new penalty for a past crime.

The Times was the first major publication to defend Dreyfus's innocence. Most of the major periodicals sided with Dreyfus. The official English Catholic organ, the Month, never voiced an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, but the Catholic laity was very much in support of Dreyfus. The majority of the British also reacted negatively to the anti-Semitic mood that was active and vocal on the continent. They felt superior to the French in

⁸Bredin, The Affair, 433-35.

both their civilian and military judicial systems. Political and commercial relations were strained. In the end, however, Dreyfus was exonerated and as much of the wrong as was possible was made right. His reinstatement into the army and induction into the Legion of Honor were viewed by the English as the just and honorable thing to do.

The Dreyfus Affair has been one of the most celebrated judicial cases in modern history. Major themes that emerged from the Affair include anti-Semitism, nationalism, civil liberties, and religious strife. The Affair and the relationship of these themes with contemporary problems continue to be examined. The Affair's scope and impact on Western Europe at the turn of the century dictate that the subject be included in any serious study of modern Western European history.

In a college setting, an examination of the Dreyfus Affair will be beneficial in several areas of study including history, law, religion, economics, journalism, and political science. This study will provide an history instructor or a student with a basic understanding of the English reaction to the Dreyfus Affair. The bibliography will be useful for student assignments by providing the titles of many articles and books on the Affair. Individual chapters can be singled out for special studies such as anti-Semitism or English Catholicism. The Dreyfus Affair

had such extensive repercussions and ramifications that it lends itself to an interdisciplinary study.

The historiography of the Dreyfus Affair is a complex chronicle of pro- and anti-Dreyfus, which is to say, anti-Jewish, literature that had its inception before the Affair ended. To be anti-Dreyfus was usually an indication that a person was anti-Semitic. On the other hand, many Dreyfus supporters were not pro-Jewish, but they opposed the violation of his civil rights, civil liberties, and justice before the law. The volatile nature of the themes that emerged out of the Affair, anti-Semitism, religious bigotry, and nationalism, excited writers in every field and on both sides of the channel to participate in either the condemnation or defense of Dreyfus.

The Affair occurred at the time when the press was becoming a powerful influence on public opinion. The Times was the first English journal to take up the cause of Dreyfus and is a rich source of primary material dealing with the Affair. British weeklies like Punch, Saturday Review, and Spectator printed regular features on the Affair. Several monthly magazines served as repositories for dozens of articles by major figures, both English and French, representing both sides of the argument.

The first Dreyfus historian was the English scholar, Dr. Frederic C. Conybeare, who published The Dreyfus Case in

1898.⁹ Conybeare saw the Affair as a conspiracy concocted by French Jesuits. His writing was the impetus for several articles published in the British press on the Affair.

Alfred Dreyfus wrote an autobiography of his life while imprisoned on Devil's Island titled Five Years of My Life. This work was translated into English in 1901 by James Mortimer.¹⁰ After French President Emile Loubet pardoned Dreyfus on 19 September 1899, the agitation subsided in both England and France. In 1937 Betty Morgan translated Dreyfus's Dreyfus: His Life and Letters.¹¹

More recently, Douglas Johnson published a major work on the Affair, France and the Dreyfus Affair.¹² This was the book that set the standard for the study of the Affair until French historian Jean-Denis Bredin published L'Affaire, translated by Jeffrey Mehlman as The Affair: The Case of Alfred Dreyfus.¹³ This book is the best available work on the Dreyfus Affair.

⁹Frederic C. Conybeare, The Dreyfus Case (London: George Allen, 1898).

¹⁰Alfred Dreyfus, Five Years of My Life, trans. James Mortimer (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, reprinted in 1971).

¹¹Alfred Dreyfus, Dreyfus: His Life and Letters (London, Hutchinson and Co., 1937).

¹²Douglas Johnson, France and the Dreyfus Affair (London: Blandford Press, 1966).

¹³Jean-Denis Bredin, The Affair, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman (New York: George Braziller, 1986).

The best source available today for pictures and images of the affair is a work edited by Norman L. Kleeblatt, curator of the Jewish museum in New York City, The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice.¹⁴ This work is a comprehensive collection of images that were found in the daily press and journals, especially in France, during the Affair. This book is important in the historiography of the Affair because it includes the works of artists, sculptures, and painters as well as writers, politicians, and men in the field of religion.

¹⁴Norman L. Kleeblatt, The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987).

CHAPTER ONE
ENGLAND AND THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

The first mention of Dreyfus in the Times of London, on 1 November 1894, was only a short notice revealing the name of a French army captain who was arrested for giving secret documents to certain foreigners. No one, then, could have realized that the article would begin an international movement for support of one man and divide France down the middle. In the next day's article, the Times gave a brief biography of Dreyfus. English readers learned that Dreyfus was a clerk in the first bureau of the general staff. This office kept the secret documents of the war office such as the mobilization arrangements and plans for the deployment of troops if a war should break out. It was not revealed at this time that Germany was the foreign power concerned in the Affair.¹

Britons were thus acquainted with the seriousness of the charges against Dreyfus and the sensitive position he occupied on the general staff. On 21 December 1894, the Times noted that the evidence given in the Dreyfus trial was completed. An update on 1 January 1895 said that Dreyfus would not appeal the findings of the court-martial. The first subjective comment in the Times was made on 7 January

¹"France," Times, 1 November 1894, 3.

1895: "The wardens are forbidden to speak to him. This Trappist treatment will continue."² On 8 January 1895, the Times gave a lengthy description of the degradation of Captain Dreyfus. The Times also noted in passing that the government was to bring a bill adding the Safety Isles as a dependency of French Guiana to the places of transport. This was seen in England as a violation of Dreyfus's civil liberties. After "The Affair" became an international concern in later years, Blackwood's Magazine gave the following analysis of the incident:

Then, at the instance [sic] the Legislature passed a law empowering the State to subject such prisoners to more terrible punishment than the existing law permitted, and by a clause making it retroactive included the unfortunate Dreyfus in its meshes. The laws were broken and laws were made with the one object of insuring condemnation and aggravating its penalties.³

It was almost three years until the Times again mentioned Captain Dreyfus. The 3 November 1897 issue said that "the Dreyfus Affair is assuming larger proportions."⁴

From his position as vice-president of the Senate, Scheurer-Kestner alerted the public that there were people of consequence who believed in the innocence of Captain Dreyfus. The integrity of Scheurer-Kestner was protected by

²"France," Times, 7 January 1895, 5.

³"The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwood's Magazine, June 1899, 1058.

⁴"The Case of Captain Dreyfus" Times, 3 November 1897, 5.

the fact that he did not know even one member of the Dreyfus family. When Scheurer-Kestner became aware of some facts in the Dreyfus case, he was neither for nor against the victim. His sense of justice and fair play caused him to pursue the issue to confirm whether Dreyfus was guilty or innocent. The facts led him to believe in Dreyfus's innocence.⁵

Scheurer-Kestner stated unreservedly that he knew "the truth, the whole truth and that he will tell it."⁶ According to Scheurer-Kestner, Dreyfus was a victim of a terrible judicial mistake.

The first significant theme to emerge in the British press was a harsh reaction to the use of secret trials from which the press and the public were barred and, in this case, deliberation of certain aspects of the case held behind closed doors. In this adjudication, the use of a secret trial was said to have been to humor a foreign power. It was several months later that Germany was identified as the recipient of the purloined information. The Times saw one possible positive result of the Affair while noting "the lamentable Dreyfus Affair still besets the public here."⁷ The Affair would spell doom for secret trials. The Times said that it would have been better a thousand times over to

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 12 November 1897, 3.

displease a foreign power than to sow doubt and discord in one's own country.

On 11 November 1897, the Times described the Affair as a tragedy, "a mystery . . . attributed partly to pecuniary embarrassments and partly to melancholia."⁸ When Scheurer-Kestner became convinced that Dreyfus was not the person guilty of treason, he reported his findings to the French minister of war, General Jean-Baptiste Billot. When no action was taken, he used the press to make his position known. The Times reported on a letter (dated 16 November 1897) by Scheurer-Kestner to a French senator explaining his contact with the press in the Dreyfus Affair. He had used the press to bring pressure on public officials. This letter was caused in part by the anxious state of public opinion.⁹

The Times then reported that Scheurer-Kestner stated his intention of working for the reopening of the Dreyfus case. This effort was augmented by a bill in the French Senate regarding the punishment of spies, including the death penalty.

At this time, the Figaro insinuated that the author of the bordereau was another French artillery officer. On 17

⁸"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 11 November 1897, 3.

⁹"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 16 November 1897, 3.

November 1897 Mathieu Dreyfus charged that Count Walsin Esterhazy was the author.

Esterhazy was born in France in 1847 of Hungarian ancestry. He joined the French army in 1870 and rose in the ranks until he became a battalion commander in 1892. His aristocratic wife, Mlle. de Nattancourt Vaubecourt, was from Lorraine, a part of eastern France taken by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war. Like the Dreyfus family, the Esterhazys had two children.¹⁰ Unlike the Dreyfus family, the Esterhazys did not share the warmth and love of a happy home. Except with a few close friends and confederates in his criminal activities, Esterhazy had a bad reputation and was not well liked.¹¹

By 18 November 1897, the Times was afraid to pronounce an opinion because the Affair was so confused and mysterious. By this time, there were rumors of anonymous letters and midnight meetings with a veiled lady. Race was becoming an issue with Colonel Picquart being falsely identified as a Jew. Count Esterhazy declared to a Figaro reporter that "the Jews" had been laying for his downfall because his handwriting resembled that of Captain Dreyfus. Esterhazy accused Scheurer-Kestner of being in the pay of

¹⁰"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 17 November 1897, 5.

¹¹Bredin, The Affair, 122-24. Also see a special journal published by the Jewish Museum of New York City, The Jewish Museum, 5.

the Jews and took pride in thinking that he had cost the Jews dearly.¹²

By this time it was widely known that the spy activity had been conducted for Germany. The Times reported from Berlin that the resuscitation in France of the Dreyfus Affair was being followed keenly in Germany. The view taken by a prominent organ of the legal profession was that

if Captain Dreyfus was not in the pay of the German Embassy as a spy -- and from the attitude of the German Government organs it is let to conclude that he was not -- he has been the victim of the most monstrous miscarriage of justice that the present century has seen, and it may well be questioned whether it is not the imperative of the German Embassy to formulate an official declaration of the facts of the case for the French Government.¹³

Up to this point, Germany had refused to trouble herself with the affairs of France, because to do so would flatter the Frenchmen and increase their longing to regain the prestige lost in 1870-71. The trial and its eventual repetition were matters that concerned France and France alone.¹⁴

On 20 November 1897, the Times saw in France "everybody exciting himself of others," while the rest of the world was amused. "If you see a group of people talking loudly and gesticulating, you may be sure it is the old story, 'how

¹²"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 19 November 1897, 5.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

goes the Dreyfus Affair'?"¹⁵ In the same issue the Times said:

If the Dreyfus Affair goes on becoming more and more complicated, if it continues to bring forward new personages, if the newspapers continue to add fuel to the flames by violently taking sides, if M. Esterhazy, M. Leblois, M. Bazille, and indeed, all those who are more or less implicated or interested in the affair, go on speaking, writing, or giving interviews, and calling at newspaper offices to deny the utterances imputed to them, if this umbergilio, these surprises, this exchange of insults, and this clash of racial passion is prolonged, France will soon seem like a mad-house. Happily the world does not take it seriously.¹⁶

The Times reported on 22 November 1897 that rumors were numberless and contradictory. "The more inquiries you make the more difficult you feel it to give an opinion which two hours afterwards will not be upset."¹⁷ The Times reported that Major Ferdinand Forzinetti, former governor of Cherchemidi prison where Captain Dreyfus passed three months, said that the notice given him on Monday, 15 October 1894, that Captain Dreyfus would be imprisoned there was dated Sunday, 14 October 1894. This showed that the Captain had not been questioned before his arrest was ordered. The British public interpreted the information given them by Forzinetti to mean that Dreyfus was assumed by his superiors

¹⁵"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 20 November 1897, 7.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 22 November 1897, 5.

to be guilty before he was arrested and tried. On 22 November 1897, anti-Semitic students demonstrated in Paris to castigate the defenders of Dreyfus. They adopted a resolution inviting the government to exclude Jews from public functions and the army. "It was, in a word, the beginning of a new anti-Semitic crusade conducted by the belated Latin Quarter Peter the Hermits of Boulangism."¹⁸ "They are the same vices, the same passions that cried, 'Give us Barabbas' [sic]."¹⁹

The tide seemed to turn against Esterhazy. On 23 November the Times tried to clarify the case by listing seven charges against Esterhazy. The first charge was that his handwriting corresponded with that of the bordereau. The second charge was that when the Matan published a facsimile of the document in November 1896, Esterhazy altered his writing. The third charge was that the document described the writer as about to start, in May 1894, on maneuvers: Dreyfus did not go on maneuvers but Esterhazy did. The fourth charge was the account of the difficulty of obtaining an artillery manual. An artillery officer like Dreyfus would not have had such difficulty. The fifth charge was that Esterhazy's fellow officers were against him. The sixth charge was that whereas Dreyfus was steady

¹⁸"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 23 November 1897, 5.

¹⁹Ibid.

and rich, Esterhazy was dissipated and in debt. The seventh charge was that Colonel Picquart possessed proofs of Esterhazy's guilt.²⁰ "It is not now a question of Captain Dreyfus or M. Esterhazy, but of liberty and toleration, and the civilized world is interested in suppressing the contagion."²¹

By 25 November 1897 there was an emerging theme of terror in the British press as well as in the French press. French journals were filled with anti-Semitism while British journals exhibited shock and dismay at the French political system for allowing such an injustice. The Dreyfus case was seen metaphorically as a smoldering fire. Just as the engines are returning home, their task apparently accomplished, they are summoned back for a fresh outbreak of the flames.²² Zola said that anti-Semitism inspired a craze in certain journals, "alarming some, terrorizing others, and living on scandals in order to triple

²⁰"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 23 November 1897, 5.

²¹Ibid. The Times defined the "civilized world" when used in reference with the Dreyfus case as that portion of the civilized world in which the liberty of person is protected by laws. "The Dreyfus Case," Times, 22 March 1899, 5.

²²"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 25 November 1897, 5.

sales."²³ The style of journalism that Zola was defining became known as yellow journalism.

By the late 1890s yellow journalism had come of age with its use of pictures, photographs, and highly charged stories to attract subscribers. The use of this genre of writing, dripping from the pen of anti-Semites like Drumont, led to a swell of anti-Semitism in France that made it hard for anyone to remain distant and indifferent. Besides the secular opposition that the Jews faced, the anti-Semites of the Catholic right made the Jews the whipping boys for the ills of modernism, secularism, and Jacobinism. Jews were identified with hucksterism, profiteering, and exploitation. It was the few men like Jaurès and Zola who preserved the honor of the progressive forces in France.²⁴

On 19 November 1897 Esterhazy demanded a court-martial to clear his name. This upcoming inquiry did not cause the Times to feel that the end of the agitation was near. In a letter printed in the Times on 4 December, Esterhazy claimed he was innocent. The Times found the resulting excitement hard to understand. It was the French minister of war, Billot, who had to institute an inquiry. Billot took the point of view that Dreyfus's innocence and Esterhazy's guilt

²³Ibid.

²⁴Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein, The Jews in Modern France (London: University Press of New England, 1955), 299.

would have to be based on new proofs. The guilt of Esterhazy would not mean the innocence of Dreyfus. "The upshot of all this is that the case has drifted: that the Dreyfus Affair has become the Esterhazy Affair."²⁵ On the other hand, General Billot said that "the Dreyfus and Esterhazy Affairs have nothing in common."²⁶ It was noted in the same article that some unnamed French journals had lately been urging students to make demonstrations against the "Dreyfus syndicate."

French Prime Minister Jules Méline shocked England when he said, "Let me say immediately what will be the decisive word in this debate. There is no Dreyfus Affair. There is not at present, and there cannot be, a Dreyfus Affair."²⁷ The Times noted that probably there would be a court-martial for Esterhazy because of public demand.²⁸ It was ironic that whether Esterhazy was acquitted or condemned, the decision would be challenged by the other side. The Times reporter stated,

As for my impression of this affair, as regards the Chamber, the Press, and the public, I may remark that the feeling for or against Dreyfus and for or against Esterhazy varies with people's training and position. Anti-Semitism, as M. Zola

²⁵"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 4 December 1897, 7.

²⁶"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 8 December 1897, 7.

²⁷"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 8 December 1898, 7.

²⁸"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 6 December 1897, 7.

says in the Figaro, has prevented many men from exercising their reason in lieu of their Passion.²⁹

"The men at the head of affairs are beginning to be uneasy at the events or rather the event, which for weeks has monopolized the attention of France."³⁰ The coverage of the Dreyfus Affair in the Times began to shift to an interest in the themes of civil liberties and anti-Semitism. The French press was viewed as columns of mud flowing in torrents. "One would think, indeed, that the air of the city claiming to represent light, splendour and poetry had been polluted by the fumes of some mephitic solfatara."³¹

Racial animosity is bearing bitter fruit, and France, whose boast it was that she marched at the head of civilization, is daily relapsing towards ignorance and barbarism. There has for some days been shameless talk of a law excluding from all public posts Jews and foreigners not naturalized for two generations, and this has raised no outcry.³²

The Times kept its English readers informed of the strange scenes that followed the acquittal of Esterhazy. It was censorious in its acute criticism of the French

²⁹Ibid., 7

³⁰"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 15 December 1897, 7.

³¹"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 6 December 1897, 7.

³²"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 15 December 1897, 7.

reception of Esterhazy as, "if he had been an officer returning from a great victory."³³

"The secret is to be found in the subterranean action of anti-Semitism which has been among the masses."³⁴ The author of an article in Blackwood's Magazine used much of the same imagery two years later in describing the impact that Esterhazy had upon France.

Yet this man has been to France for nearly two years, and is to France still, what the convulsing power of the internal fire of the earth is to the globe's surface, when it bursts forth in volcanic fury, breaking tall works of nature and of man to pieces, and filling hearts with present fear and dire foreboding for the future.³⁵

On 13 January 1898, Zola published his open letter to the president of the Republic, "J'Accuse." Over 300,000 copies were published in L'Aurore. This was probably the most powerful document Zola ever wrote and it stimulated a movement for a new trial for Dreyfus.³⁶ French people rose and with one voice demanded Zola's blood. Mobs paraded the streets. Zola was burnt in effigy, which was thrown into the Seine river. He had insulted the honor of the army. The upheaval that followed "J'Accuse" far

³³"The Dreyfus-Esterhazy Affair," Times, 13 January 1898, 5.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵"The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwood's Magazine, 1054.

³⁶Bredin, The Affair, 245-49.

overshadowed the turmoil of the previous two months. There were bloody riots in Algiers where skilled leaders had inflamed anti-Semitism. Jews were killed and their shops burned. The Jewish quarters of many towns in France were sacked and burned. The French House of Deputies was in a reprehensible state of disorder. There were charges and counter charges with fights and challenges to duels being quite common. Socialist leader Jean Jaurès, a strong Dreyfusard, was in the center of the storm.³⁷

Students wrote to Zola and declared that in spite of their own opinions, they placed the army above all suspicion.³⁸ The army could do no wrong. To defend Dreyfus was to attack the honor of the army. The government announced its intention to prosecute Zola. The Times felt that the only way the French could undo the damage of the two previous secret courts-martial was to give Zola a public trial. Zola denied to the president of the student's association that he had attacked the army. He had attacked only those chiefs who compromised the army. The watchword of the students was, "A bas Zola! Vive l'armée."³⁹

In France, more people were protesting the Dreyfus trial. The Times printed a list of prominent persons and

³⁷Matthew Josephson, Zola and His Times (New York: Macaulay Company, 1928), 446.

³⁸"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 15 January 1898, 7.

³⁹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 17 January 1898, 5.

institutions in France who voiced opposition to the original verdict.

The list of persons protesting against the irregularities of the Dreyfus trial and the mystery surrounding the whole affair is becoming more significant. Members of the Institute are numerous in it, and there are such names as Gabriel Seailles, Paul Desjardins, Jean Psichari, of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, M. Lauth, honorary head of the Sèvres Manufactory, Professor Richet, the painters Eugene Carriero and Zuber, M. Pillon editor of the *Amioc Philosophique*, Maurice Bouchor, Ary Renen, André Chivillon, and Professor Stapfer. Doctors and professors abound.⁴⁰

By this time, public attention was focused on the illegality of the Dreyfus trial and on his conviction based upon a single document, or a "secret document," that was not shown either to Dreyfus or his counsel. "It must not be forgotten that, if in this unprecedented affair there was a secret document; there was double secret -- closed doors within closed doors."⁴¹

French socialists said that reactionaries wanted to take advantage of disorder and make anti-Semitism a means of diversion in order to place military authority above the Republic. Socialists distanced themselves from anti-Semitism because of the danger that anti-Semitism posed for French democracy and ultimately the achievement of social democracy.

⁴⁰"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 17 January 1898, 5.

⁴¹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 20 January 1898, 5.

Reaction to the Dreyfus Affair was international. German Secretary of State Count Bernhard von Bulow assured the world that there had never been any kind of relation between German representatives and Dreyfus.⁴² British response during this phase of the Affair reflected a sense of uncertainty that this kind of injustice could have happened in a civilized country.

Why, it is a question which interests the whole civilized world. It is a question of . . . the security of all citizens, and no country in the world has a better right to defend the observance of the law than that focus of individual liberty and inviolability of domicile, England.⁴³

Use of the term "civilized world" is found frequently from this point on in British journalism. The British seem to have wanted to glorify their judicial and political systems while simultaneously to minimize those of France. From Vienna came widespread sympathy for Zola and the Times cited that the Dreyfus-Esterhazy Affair had been dealt with at great length in Vienna and Budapest. Hungarian radicals congratulated Zola for his stand against clericalism, "the hereditary enemy of all free thought."⁴⁴ Zola's reaching out to Dreyfus was not seen as reaching out to a Jew but to a human being. In Italy, a Dreyfus play at a theater named

⁴²"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 25 January 1898, 6. Also see Bredin, The Affair, 272.

⁴³"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 27 January 1898, 3.

⁴⁴Ibid.

San Remo was prohibited by the Italian authorities.⁴⁵ The Italian chamber expressed sympathy for Zola and praised his Italian parentage.

On 3 June 1898 the Times published Esterhazy's signed confession that he had given to Strong in London. Along with the written confession was a package of documents that incriminated Du Paty de Clam and General Auguste Mercier, French minister of war. Esterhazy was "confiding in the nobility and grandeur of that England, which alone of the countries of the world has learned to unite respect for order to the practice of true liberty."⁴⁶ Esterhazy said, "It is I who received an order from Colonel Sandher (head of the section of statistics at the time Dreyfus was accused), to write the Bordereau. That I admit."⁴⁷ In the same edition the Times's correspondent said, "For now at least the clouds are rolling away."⁴⁸

This trial, which has revealed so many wounds, so much hatred, so much baseness, typifies a persecution which has lasted for 19 centuries, and it will go on without the possibility of our seeing any end. . . . It is true, indeed, that if Dreyfus were not a Jew it would not have been possible to obtain revision, for his race has for

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"The Dreyfus Case: Confession by Esterhazy," Times, 3 June 1898, 11.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

centuries presented a solid rampart against persecutions.⁴⁹

The Court of Cassation ruled on 4 June 1898 that Dreyfus would have a new court-martial. At this point the Times began to come down hard on the French and to uphold the English system of jurisprudence, where unlike in France, "every accused man is presumed to be innocent."⁵⁰

The Times went on to say that in the twenty years existence of the famous Second Bureau, ten to fifteen million francs had disappeared, "swallowed up in unknown sands."⁵¹ Dreyfus was an eyewitness. He was in everybody's way and had to be gotten rid of at all costs.

The answer is of slight moment, but when once the charge was directed against Dreyfus everybody took an active hand in it, and the series of forgeries, lies, calumnies, and shameful acts of all sorts finally created this disgraceful solidarity of responsibility which the judgement of the Court of Cassation has just formally declared.⁵²

English Catholics became involved in the Dreyfus Affair at this point with a letter to the editor of the Times from Cardinal Vaughan that stated Catholic neutrality in the Affair. Catholic involvement was expanded by a letter of rejoinder from an English Protestant on 9 September that denounced the French Catholic press and the French Catholic

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰"New Trial Ordered," Times, 5 June 1898, 5.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

clergy for not using its influence to "recall their followers to a sense of duty, truth, and justice."⁵³ The Month, the official organ of the English Catholics, printed only three articles directly concerning the Dreyfus Affair as they tried to distance themselves from their continental brothers. Bickering between English Catholics and Protestants centered on the refusal of the Catholic church to take a stand, not on religious principles, but on a moral question. This theme is found in British journals though September 1899 when Dreyfus was pardoned.

The second court-martial for Dreyfus was held in the city of Rennes from 7 August to 9 September 1899. Compared to the intense excitement and activity that had taken place from the fall of 1897 until August 1899, the scene of the second trial was very quiet. Some placards were posted on billboards, but a local fair would have attracted more attention. The only major event, other than the trial itself, was the attempted assassination of Dreyfus's attorney, Fernand Labori. The press made up the largest part of the audience. There was little local interest in the trial. On the Jewish Sabbath, Saturday, 9 September 1898, Dreyfus was condemned the second time with extenuating circumstances. This is reminiscent of Dreyfus's degradation, which was also held on the Sabbath. British

⁵³"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 9 September 1898, 7.

public opinion was that extenuating circumstances were a demonstration of the arbitrariness which dictated the decision and the condemnation of Dreyfus caused him to become more than ever a symbol.

Dreyfus, recognized innocent by an entire world, is offered up like a living sacrifice to Moloch on the altar of the god of battles. The Rennes guards as we entered the Court-room this morning were playing cards at the doorway like the diceplayers of Golgotha.⁵⁴

The verdict was like a seismic wave traversing the western world, giving a shock to the heart of humanity. It aroused Germans who had treated the whole Affair with utmost coolness. The German Emperor and the Empire, in the Imperial Gazette, renewed German official assurance of the innocence of Dreyfus. The Times reported from statements of the Cologne Gazette that the German military attaché received the bordereau from Esterhazy. He declared on his word of honor that he had no relations with Dreyfus, which the German government officially confirmed.⁵⁵ The verdict was awaited in Vienna with anxiety and interest.

The evidence has now been heard, and one of the most imposing juries to which a question of the kind has ever been submitted has acquitted the accused and condemned his accusers. It will probably be found that this jury, which is nothing less than the entire civilized world, will also agree.⁵⁶

⁵⁴"The Rennes Trial," Times, 11 September 1898, 3.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Condemnation of the Rennes verdict was preached from the pulpits of England. Cannon Scott Holland, speaking at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, took his text from Jeremiah 50:4-5, "They shall go and seek the Lord their God. They shall ask the way to Zion." A nation was on trial. France stood at the Judgment Bar. The Reverend Arthur Robins, Chaplain to the Queen and Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Windsor, said that the civilized world gasped and was aghast at this great crime on the last page of the century when "Finis" should be written.⁵⁷ The Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, preaching to a large congregation at St. James Hall, London, referred to the Dreyfus trial:

Those five soldiers, in the full light of the day, with all the world as spectators, violated every principle of truth, of justice, of honour, and of humanity. The accusers of this unhappy man had been proved to be liars and forgers, and every charge against Dreyfus was broken down.⁵⁸

The fear expressed in England was that the British should take to heart a lesson, lest some similar deed overwhelm them. There was hope that the verdict would be overturned on appeal or that the president of the republic would pardon Captain Dreyfus.

Englishmen, described only as "public men in London," began appealing for public assemblies to show support for Dreyfus and his wife. On 10 September 1899, there was a

⁵⁷"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 11 September 1898, 5.

⁵⁸Ibid.

call for a demonstration at Hyde Park for Sunday afternoon. Leaders in finance, business, and industry gave their support to Dreyfus and his family. At Newcastle-on-Tyne manufacturers and commercial men began threatening to boycott the 1900 Paris Exhibition. W. D. Stephens, owner of a large shipping company, refused to go to the Exhibition. If hundreds of thousands of Englishmen refused to attend the Exhibition, it would be a failure and cause financial trouble in Paris.

Dr. G. Marcel André, a Parisian lecturer, began a series of lectures in London on L'Affaire Dreyfus. He described Dreyfus as the greatest martyr of the nineteenth century. He said the original cause of the Affair was first in the French press, and second, in the anti-Semitic agitation. The thesis of his presentation was that, while Dreyfus was arrested because he was a Jew, his religion had nothing to do with the anti-Jewish convulsion that was taking place in France at the time.

The Jews were not disliked on account of their beliefs, but owing to the fact that they were capitalists. The anti-Semitic agitation was nothing but a great modern struggle of labour against capital.⁵⁹

Letters to the editor were so numerous that the Times could not print all of them. Typical of the type of letter printed was one by Charles Fox, a member of the British

⁵⁹"The Dreyfus Case," Letters to the Editor, Times, 12 September 1899, 8.

Association of Scientists. The Dreyfus case "is clearly one which concerns the whole of the civilized world." He withdrew his acceptance of a French invitation for a meeting of scientists in Boulogne. A writer who signed his letter C. G. B. again suggested that England withdraw from the 1900 Exhibition. "We should thus nationally, and very significantly, testify against a national crime." Joseph Parker said, "The Dreyfus case cannot remain where it is. Dreyfus has been condemned by five men and acquitted by the world."⁶⁰

George Hardyman, M.D., asked all medical men to refrain from sending patients to France that year. John H. Cooke said that all England rejoiced that the English press stood on the side of truth, light, and liberty. Charles Wilson advised all Englishmen not to travel to France where they would be in danger.⁶¹ Wilson's advice was contrary to all of the evidence found in British journals of the period. This research found no case of British citizens being molested in France in the agitation that came out of the Dreyfus Affair.

Zola published a letter on 13 September 1899 in Aurore titled, "The Fifth Act." In this letter, he said that he considered the justice at Rennes a moral Sedan, referring to the site of the French defeat by the Germans in the Franco-

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

Prussian war of 1870, only a hundred times more disastrous. He said that the verdict proved what he had said all along. It is impossible for a court-martial to undo what a court-martial has done.⁶² On the same page the Times noted that a proposal was put forth in Germany to boycott the 1900 Exhibition.

In an article published in Blackwood's Magazine in June 1899 the author wrote of the effects of the Dreyfus Affair. Every area of French life was touched by the actions and reactions to the unjust conviction of an obscure French army officer.

Because of him men are breaking every moral law, and shattering all social peace. For him the Statute law of the land has been changed twice, -- once to aggravate his punishment, and once to take away his appeal from the Constitutional Tribunal which was investigating it. Since he was deported, France has had no tranquility. Riotous murder, pillage, terrorism, dueling, suicides, public uproar, forgery, fraud, lying, slander, threatenings, vituperation, outrage on individual liberty, scandals in the administration of justice, and countless other viles, have made her a sorry spectacle to gods and men. And of all this Dreyfus is the negative cause.⁶³

Many people felt great relief when, on 19 September 1899, the French president pardoned Dreyfus. Charles Péguy wrote of the men who fought for Dreyfus.

⁶²"The Dreyfus Case; M. Zola's Letter," Times, 13 September 1899, 3.

⁶³"The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwood's Magazine, 1067.

And of bitterness which will never be dispelled, our adversaries will never know, our enemies could not know, what we have sacrificed for this man, and with what courage we have sacrificed it. For him we have sacrificed our entire lives, since this case has marked us for life. Our enemies will never know, how we, who have convulsed and turned this country upside down, our enemies will never know how few we were and in what conditions we fought, thankless precarious conditions, in what conditions of misery and precariousness. . . . We had been, and were now once again, that handful of Frenchmen who, beneath withering fire, break through massed troops, lead an attack, and capture a position.⁶⁴

Seven years following Dreyfus's second conviction, on 13 July 1906, the French Court of Cassation quashed and annulled the verdict of the tribunal at Rennes which condemned Dreyfus erroneously and wrongfully. After the Affair, the conservatives were put out of office and the radicals took over. The government made provision for the readmission of Colonel Picquart into the army and promoted him to the rank of General of Brigade. Dreyfus was also readmitted to the army and received a promotion to the rank of Major.⁶⁵

When pressed to give his opinion as to his future, Dreyfus showed his character in his reply; "The verdict of the Court has been pronounced. I am an officer, and as such

⁶⁴David Thomson, Ed., France: Empire and Republic, 1850-1940: Historical Documents (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), 221-22.

⁶⁵"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 13 July 1906, 5.

am obliged to refuse to express an opinion."⁶⁶ On 14 July 1906, Bastille Day, the French national holiday celebrating the French Revolution, the Times heralded "The End of a Nightmare."⁶⁷

Zola did not live to see the rehabilitation of Dreyfus. He had died on the night of 30 September 1900 of asphyxiation. Anti-Dreyfusards contended that he committed suicide. Dreyfus supporters would maintain that Zola had been murdered. A legal investigation failed to turn up any conclusive evidence.⁶⁸ Zola had been sentenced to prison because of his article, "J'Accuse," and had fled to England before finally returning to France where he died. On 14 July 1906, a bill was introduced into the French Parliament to transfer Zola's remains to the Pantheon, a building dedicated to housing the remains of many of France's most prominent citizens. The bill was adopted 344 votes to 210.

Blackwood's Magazine closed the Affair with these remarks in an article titled "France Today" in October 1899.

If the safety of the nation hangs upon a cord so rotten as this, she must, and that soon, fall into the abyss. If this is the outcome of French "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," it gives point to the epigrammatic additions added after these words upon a public building in Paris in 1848 by some hand guided by a prophetic inspiration:--

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 14 July 1906, 3.

⁶⁸Bredin, The Affair, 455.

Liberté -- "de mal faire"
Egalité -- "dans la misère"
Fraternité -- "comme Cain et son frère"⁶⁹

⁶⁹"France Today," Blackwood's Magazine, October 1899,
549. My own translation.

Liberty -- "badly done"
Equality -- "in misery"
Fraternity -- "like Cain and his brother"

CHAPTER TWO

ENGLISH REACTION TO FRENCH ANTI-SEMITISM: WHO IS THIS MAN DREYFUS?

Anti-Semitism can be defined as religious, political, and/or social agitation against the Jews. When anti-Semitism revived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Jews saw the movement as an atavistic renewal of the Jew-hatred of the Middle Ages. The movement was given its name in 1879 by an obscure Hamburg journalist named Wilhelm Marr who wrote a pamphlet titled "The Victory of Judaism over Germanism." He said that people who refused to be identified with a national type, with the same language and racial origin, should be eliminated. The extreme anti-Semites saw the struggle as a racial incident extending from an old conflict between Europe and Asia. Their task was to save the Aryan ideal from being modified by an alien and demoralizing oriental anschauung. However, Jews have been in Europe for over a thousand years. Modern anti-Semitism is a European issue which originated in the social conditions resulting from Jewish liberation in the middle of the nineteenth century.

For centuries the Jews had been secluded in their ghettos that were designed as a quarantine to safeguard Christendom against what some considered the Jewish heresy. In the ghettos the Jews became urban Europeans with a

religion different from most other Europeans. They could not serve in the army, own land, or be members of an artisan guild. They emerged from the ghettos into an industrial society. Some Jews became part of the bourgeoisie class and, after the mid-century revolutions, several of them were in positions of political and social leadership. For many, their activities were almost exclusively intellectual and they moved into the areas of medicine, journalism, and finances. Others worked in the distribution of goods rather than production. Prince Bismarck confessed that the Jewish banker Bleichroeder provided the money to carry on the 1866 campaign.¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, persecution of Jews was significant in Russia and Rumania in Europe as well as in north Africa and Persia. Western European Jews enjoyed more freedom and liberty than their counterparts. Jews enjoyed freedom earlier in France than in the rest of Europe because of legal changes as a result of the French Revolution. England was slower to allow civil rights to Jews but those rights were protected there after anti-Semitism began to convulse the rest of Western Europe.

The first significant rise of anti-Semitism took place in Germany and Austria where there was a larger population of Jews. At the turn of the century, the total number of

¹The Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, 1911, "Anti-Semitism", Volume 1-2, 134-46.

Jews in France stood at 90,000 or 0.14% of the national population. Germany had a much larger Jewish population, 1.22%. (Berlin had 4.36%.)²

Ironically, the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany was caused by one of the most distinguished Jews of his time, Edward Lasker. In 1873 he saw the results of the unification of Germany and the rapid payment by France of war indemnity. Because of unprecedented industrial and financial activity, money was cheap and plentiful. Lasker uncovered scandals involving financial promoters. As a result of many Jews holding positions in commerce and finances, a number of them were involved in the scandals. Lasker and his colleague, Ludwig Bamberger, had learned their politics in England. They wanted a constitutional and economic system in Germany similar to that in Great Britain.

The conflict between the Jews and anti-Semites in the 1870s was literary. Throughout the 1880s agitation was bitter, led by a man named Adolf Stocker. Anti-Semites developed two conflicting views: economic and ethnological. An outbreak of medieval style Jewish persecution erupted in Russia during Easter week of 1881. Thousands of Jews were murdered and many more were reduced to beggary. Scores of women were assaulted. When word of these events reached London, people were horrified. The lord mayor held an "indignation" meeting in London and popular demonstrations

²Ibid., 135.

were held in most major cities in England, as well as on the continent.

Anti-Semitism was evident in France by the late 1880s. Jewish officers in the army began to experience discrimination. The worst manifestations of anti-Semitism were found in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and France. In England, Lord Beaconsfield, of Jewish decent, was prime minister when anti-Semitism became popular in Germany. Nineteenth Century printed several articles by Professor Goldwin Smith in the late 1870s and early 1880s encouraging the English to adopt the nationalist theories of the German anti-Semites. However, leading liberal statesmen took a strong stand against the anti-Semites.

Edouard Drumont, the editor of the Paris journal Libre Parole and author of La France Juive in 1886, had the distinction of writing the best examples of polemical journalism. He attacked indiscriminately all who differed with him. When he felt that it benefitted his cause he would dig up the scandal of General de Cissey, former minister of war and member of the National Assembly who married a Baroness de Kaulla, a Jewess. She regularly forwarded copies of his official papers to Berlin. The scandal was not uncovered for twenty years. Drumont used this incident to stir up anti-Semitic agitation. He wrote a series of articles in 1892 titled, "Les Juifs dans l'armée," (Jews in the Army). Later he denounced Generals Mercier and

Billot for allowing Jews to be officers in the army and for allowing them to attain positions on the General Staff. When General Mercier was appointed minister of war in 1894, he was warned of a "fuite," (a leakage of official secrets). The Quarterly Review compared this with the Marvin Affair at the English Foreign Office that led to the passing of the Official Secrets Act of 1889. The author said that despite all precautions, secret information will from time to time escape to outside ears. On the other hand, someone in the war office leaked the information on the arrest of Captain Dreyfus to the anti-Semitic Libre Parole.³ When it was evident that members of Dreyfus's family as well as some members of the French military were searching for proofs of Dreyfus's innocence, the anti-Semitic press in France began a relentless campaign against Jews and Jewish sympathizers. This attack began in earnest in 1895, with Edouard Drumont in the forefront.⁴

Jews in France were associated with the liberal republicans. They were opposed by conservative Catholics. Forces that united against Dreyfus included the clerical-royalist right and elements of the left. Each of these

³Ibid., 529-33.

⁴In 1886 Drumont published La France Juive, one of the most successful anti-Semitic books ever written. It went through many printings and served as a catalyst for anti-Semitic agitators.

elements hoped that the Dreyfus Affair would spell the doom of the republic.

The migratory trend of Jews in Europe in the thirty years following 1880 was one of westward movement, first to western Europe and then to the United States. During this period western European Jewish populations doubled. European anti-Semitism caused an increase of fear in the older Jewish population in Germany, France, and England. Karl Lueger served as mayor of Vienna from 1897-1910. He appealed to those classes of people who envied the success of Austrian Jews in economics and commerce. Lueger was the mentor of Adolf Hitler while the latter attempted to become a painter in Austria.⁵ Lueger's anti-Semitism was a factor in Theodor Herzl's decision that the hope of the Jews lay in Zionism.

After 1881 anti-Semitism began to be felt in England which had enjoyed thirty years as the European country most free of anti-Jewish feelings. The influx of large numbers of eastern European Jews resulted in several parliamentary commissions to investigate these new workers. Because of these inquiries, the Aliens Act of 1905 restricted the number of incoming Jews. In England the anti-Semitic argument was based on national premises, the need to protect

⁵Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, 1840-1945 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 714-16. Also see Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), 55.

the integrity of national traditions. By 1900 anti-Semitism was a nationalist movement. Anti-Dreyfusards in France opposed Dreyfus for his Jewishness. German nationalists hated Jews although Dreyfus was supposed to have been spying for the German nation.

In 1894 the Students Anti-Semitic League was formed in Paris. In 1897 the Ligue Antisimite was formed by Jules Guérin. Both groups were active during the Dreyfus Affair. The Affair became the focal point between the opponents and partisans of the Third Republic.⁶

A revival of interest in France in the Dreyfus Affair came about in 1897 when Mathieu Dreyfus published an article accusing Esterhazy of being the author of the bordereau. Esterhazy claimed to have traveled to London to retrieve documents proving that Alfred Dreyfus was the person guilty of spying for the Germans. Esterhazy accused Colonel Picquart of being the originator of a plot against him and charged that Picquart was a Jew. The Times noted that such was not the case.⁷ Thereafter, the Times sided with the Dreyfusards and many editorials criticized the anti-

⁶The Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, 1911, "Anti-Semitism". Also see a collection of essays by a number of different authors in Anti-Semitism (Jerusalem, Israel: Israel Pocket Library, Keter Publishing House, 1974), 33-197.

⁷"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 18 November, 1897, 5.

Dreyfusards and defended the character of men like Zola, Picquart, and Scheurer-Kestner.

Esterhazy accused the Jews of planning his downfall and charged Scheurer-Kestner and Picquart with being in the pay of the Jews.⁸ The Times attacked anti-Semitism as "idiotic" and punctuated the argument by saying, "we run the risk of losing our heads in all this hubbub," and "that you hear rumours which would make a puppet's hair stand on end."⁹

The Times began to show alarm at growing anti-Semitism in France. Noting the racial animosity and the bitter fruit it was bearing, it opposed a rumor of a law excluding Jews from public posts.¹⁰ In describing the atmosphere in Paris caused by anti-Semitic agitation the Times said, "A thick fog had begun to settle over Paris, such a fog as is rarely seen here and reminds one of London."¹¹ The press seemed to interpret the character of anti-Semitic demonstrations as a tool to be used to dismantle republican institutions. Many anti-Dreyfusards were not necessarily anti-Semitic as much as they were antirepublic. They were

⁸"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 19 November 1897, 5.

⁹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 25 November 1897, 5.

¹⁰"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 15 December 1897, 7.

¹¹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 18 January 1898, 5.

not going to let the Jews' individual liberties deter their efforts. To the Englishman this attitude was disgraceful.

The Times called 1898 the "Dreyfus Year." French anti-Semitism caused Englishmen to evaluate themselves. The theme that constantly emerged in countless articles in journals, dailies, weeklies, and monthlies was that the race hatred that revealed itself "shocked the world." This was not a blanket indictment of the French nation as a whole. Rather, a few people were responsible for the anti-Semitic agitation. Men like Drumont used the Dreyfus trial to fuel the flames of anti-Semitism and tried to place blame for the supposed crime on the Jewish race as a whole.¹²

H. M. Hyndman gave a lecture at Memorial-hall, Farrington Street, London, on the Dreyfus Affair. He reflected the socialist interpretation that the Affair was not a struggle between an individual and the justice system but a competition of industrialism and justice on one side and militarism and clericalism on the other. Coming on the heels of the French Panama Canal scandal in which millions of dollars were lost, some of it to Jewish bankers, the Dreyfus Affair tended to exacerbate anti-Semitic feelings in France. The wrath of those who had lost money was

¹²"France in 1898," Times, 4 January 1899, 12.

transferred from the corrupt Jewish bankers to the Jewish population as a whole.¹³

The attitude of the Jewish population in England was that Dreyfus was convicted solely because he was a Jew. However, there were many prominent non-Jews who supported Dreyfus because they saw the Affair as a miscarriage of justice. An innocent man had been unjustly condemned by documents not seen by him or his counsel. The same kind of unjust condemnation of a Christian or an atheist may result from popular pressure if this issue were to remain unattacked. In either case, however, the responsibility lay in the anti-Semitism that was being propagated. The Affair was another chapter in the sinister movement of anti-Semitism.

Lucien Wolf, a contributor to the Fortnightly Review, sketched the rise of what he called modern Judeophobia in Germany and Austria but gave a deeper analysis of anti-Semitism in France. The fall of the clerical bank, the Union General, was blamed on the Jews. Edouard Drumont was an anti-Semitic leader and fire-eating editor of the Libre Parole, one of France's most ardent anti-Semitic newspapers. It was his paper that first reported the leak in the general staff of military secrets and suggested that the traitor was

¹³Walter LaFeber, The Panama Canal, the Crisis in Historical Perspective (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1-18. Also see "Panama Canal", The Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, 1911, 666-71.

a Jew. The daily issues of the Libre Parole were nothing more than revised portions of Drumont's La France Juive. The dominant theme that is found in all of the anti-Semitic writers is the blood accusation. Jews are reputed to have killed Christians in order to offer their blood in Jewish religious services. Calling Drumont's literary tactics anti-Semitism at its lowest, Wolf described it as an "appeal to the superstitions, passions, and salacious tastes of the most ignorant in the cause of clerical reaction, to turn the have-nots from the heretical faith of socialism and attach them to the skirts of the dispossessed nobility and faithful."¹⁴

Drumont tried to stir up the passion of the public by charging that Dreyfus would be released because he was a Jew. Wolf gave three examples of other French officers who were convicted of selling military secrets. This was nothing new in continental armies. In 1888, Adjutant Chatelain was convicted for selling secrets to a foreign power. Lieutenant Jean Bonnet was convicted in 1890 of the same crime. In 1895, following the conviction of Dreyfus, a Captain Guillot was indicted for the same offense. None of these cases caused any agitation in France. Wolf said that had they been Jews there would have been attempts to stir up the population. He also noted that Jesus was a Jew and that

¹⁴Lucien Wolf, "Anti-Semitism and the Dreyfus Case," Fortnightly Review, January 1898, 139.

He also was the victim of a judicial error. Wolf credited M. Bernard Lazare, a well-known Paris journalist and author, with being the source of much of his information. Lazare had conducted a profound study on anti-Semitism. Lazare submitted a copy of the bordereau to twelve of the world's best handwriting experts and none of them attributed the writing to Dreyfus.

Wolf drew a parallel between the Dreyfus case and the Norton case, an incident of espionage between England and France in 1893. The difference was that it was the English instead of the Jews who were the objects of this clamor. It was Drumont and the same gang of anti-Dreyfusards who agitated in the Norton case. Drumont denounced Clemenceau as a traitor to France, charging that proof had been found of the intercourse between Clemenceau and England. An employee in the office of Lord Dufferin had filched a collection of compromising documents from a strongbox. The similarities between this event and the Dreyfus case are evident. "It appeared that the British documents made frequent reference to monetary transactions with French politicians, and among them was a BORDEREAU--it is actually so described in the judicial proceedings which grew out of this affair."¹⁵ Norton was the name of the person who supposedly stole the papers. They were not exposed to be forgeries until they had been read aloud in the chamber of

¹⁵Ibid., 145.

deputies. Wolf concluded that anti-Semitism was the cause of the Dreyfus Affair.

The revival of the Dreyfus drama in 1897, generated in part because of Emile Zola, caused rumors to be circulated of a Jewish syndicate that was a source of unlimited funds to be used to cast doubt upon the guilt of Dreyfus.

Scheurer-Kestner and Picquart were the first people to be charged with benefiting from the syndicate monies.¹⁶ The Times defended Picquart against the charge of being Jewish.¹⁷ There were demonstrations in France against Zola and the Times correspondent in Paris described the students there who demonstrated against Zola as "the riff-raff of the floating population of the city."¹⁸ They called for the death of Zola and death to the Jews.

As the Affair developed in the British print media, the theme of British superiority often arose. The Times made comparisons to the responsibilities of the press in England as to the press in France. Here, it noted with interest that the French Press Law of 1881 held the publisher of the paper as well as the writer of the article responsible for any liability. Thus Clemenceau would be tried as well as

¹⁶"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 18 November 1897, 5.

¹⁷"The Case of Captain Dreyfus," Times, 19 November 1897, 5.

¹⁸"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 18 January 1898, 5.

Zola for the publication of "J'Accuse."¹⁹ On the other hand, the British population would never subscribe to a mud-slinging journal like Drumont's La Libre Parole.

An unnamed author writing in Blackwood's Magazine in March 1898 argued that Dreyfus had not been tried in 1894 but that anti-Semites and Catholics were appeased by the sacrifice of an Alsatian Jew. This immolation was made to shore up the falling power of General Mercier, the French minister of war, who had already publicly said that Dreyfus was guilty before he was tried. The author asserted that Dreyfus was tried three times in 1898 with the trials of Esterhazy, Picquart, and Zola.²⁰ Citing the Dreyfus case as an example of anti-Semitism, the author said that if Dreyfus had not been a Jew his case would have long since been revised. It was his race that kept him in prison and not his supposed crime. "So to observe these manifold contradictions is to wonder whether Paris is really in Modern France, or situate on some vague borderland of comedy."²¹ "The wolf of anti--Semitism is lying down with the lamb of Catholicism."²²

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰"The Cries of Paris," Blackwood's Magazine, March 1898, 316.

²¹Ibid., 320.

²²Ibid.

In writing about the demoralization of France, Contemporary Review, in March 1898, said that the Dreyfus agitation brought into focus the firm belief in the infallibility of the army and the union of clericalism, militarism, and anti-Semitism. The sword and the cross had become allies.²³

Anti-Semitism was more obvious in an article on military espionage in France published in Quarterly Review in April 1898. The author gave a general overview of the history of espionage in Europe and remarked on various writings and attitudes concerning the use of spies. Jews in the first part of the nineteenth century were described as having mercenary instincts to which one could successfully appeal. They were classified with peasants, smugglers, priests, and peddlers. They were portrayed as a large class of cosmopolitan wayfarers who had for generations been driven from one country to another by constant persecution. They were, "without any particular nationality, ready for well-paid employment which involves no conscientious scruples."²⁴ Anti-Semitic leaders used this kind of thinking to excite suspicion and hatred against Jews in general but included in this hatred were the old settled

²³"The Demoralization of France," Contemporary Review, March 1898, 313-18.

²⁴"Military Espionage in France," Quarterly Review, April 1898, 527.

Jewish families in Russia and Germany as well as in France.²⁵

By 1897 anti-Semitic persecution in Europe had led to a strong desire in the hearts of many Jews to return to Palestine. Representatives of the Jews met in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897 and again in London in March 1898. In England there were societies like the "Sons of Zion" and the "Zion Lovers" who had about 170 delegates at the London meeting. These delegates were chosen from a list of subscribers numbering about ten thousand families representing nearly half the Jewish families in Great Britain. C. R. Conder broadly defined Zionism as the expression of a desire by Jews to migrate to Palestine and to make it their home. Some Basle representatives went as far as to recommend a Jewish state that would form the home of the Jews and would be recognized as a state by Europe. Not many wealthy Jews were excited about the Zionist movement. Its leaders were independent-minded, educated Jews. In countries where Jews were treated more fairly, there were fewer Zionists. Hungary had no active Zionist movement at that time.

Colonel Goldsmid of London noted that it was vastly different for the Jews of Eastern Europe who were crowded into the ghettos and denied the basic human rights such as citizenship and education as compared to the Jews in Great

²⁵Ibid., 526.

Britain who had never been oppressed. Before the Zionist meeting, the English societies were mainly involved in charitable works. Now the question became one of society and politics and the English groups were going to cooperate with the continental groups. It appears that the political leaders in England were not captured by anti-Semitic fervor.

The London Society of Chovevi had by this time helped settle six families of laborers in Palestine. They also gave £1200 to a colony of Bessarabian Jews. The Maccabean Society in London promoted pilgrimages to Palestine among upper class Jews. Twenty-one Jewish tourists sent out by the Maccabean Society were warmly received by the colonists after having been wished God-speed at Hampstead in a sermon by the Chief Rabbi. The Zionist societies in Britain united in their efforts and the London conference adopted a resolution to establish in Palestine a homeland for the Jewish nation that would be legally safeguarded. Everyone was unanimous that the objectives should be realized immediately. Conder felt that a Palestinian homeland was not an unreasonable goal but that a Jewish state could only come about by conquest. As long as the Turkish empire survived, they would need to be content as subjects of the Sultan. He also noted that the prejudices of the Syrians were no less formidable than the Jew-hatred of Europe.

Conder wanted Palestine to become a neutral country, an Asiatic Switzerland.²⁶

While the British press was focusing on the popularity of the Zionist movement in Great Britain in the spring 1898, anti-Semitic agitation was reaching fever pitch in Paris. There was talk of a new St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in France. Esterhazy said that if Dreyfus were ever allowed to return to France, there would be an uprising that would cause the death of thousands of Jews.

On 23 January 1898, Review writer Gribayedoff interviewed the Libre Parole editor, Drumont. Drumont was a strong supporter of Zionism to the extent that it would rid France of all Jews. Gribayedoff said, "To the average Anglo-Saxon mind anti-Semitism is of course incomprehensible, as a psychological condition or phenomenon out of keeping with the spirit of the age and of modern institutions."²⁷ He was correct in his assessment that certain English journals had so confused anti-Semitism with the Dreyfus case that the reader could not separate one subject from the other. Much of the English criticism of the French press, judicial system, and military was a result of a centuries old rivalry between the two countries. The recent Fashoda crisis had brought England and France to the

²⁶Ibid., 608-9.

²⁷"Zola, the Dreyfus Case, and the Anti-Jewish Crusade," Review of Reviews, March 1898, 311.

brink of war, but English success had strengthened their confidence in their superiority. Drumont charged that the English press showed only the Jewish side of the story and felt it imperative that the Jews listen to the advice of Dr. Herzl, chief leader of the Zionist movement, and return to Palestine en masse.²⁸

Drumont described himself as a humanitarian. By advocating laws that would deprive the Jews of civil rights and civil liberties, he felt that he was being a friend to the Jews. When Gribayedoff commented on the number of Jews in England and the fact that anti-Semitism did not exist there the same way that it did in France, Drumont replied,

Ah, that is altogether a different proposition. But you must not compare our people with the Anglo-Saxons. The Englishman, for example is fitted much better by nature to cope with the Jew than the Frenchman. He is cold-blooded, prudent, long-sighted and a born 'shopkeeper'. . . . England has for centuries enjoyed a degree of liberty unknown to us in France. Her citizens are adults, politically speaking, while ours are the veriest children. That is why the English can hold their own against the onset of the Jewish hordes, while our people succumb.²⁹

Dr. Max Nordau, Parisian Jew, famous author, and Jewish leader was interviewed by Robert H. Shepard for the Review. Nordau was quite sure that France was marching toward a new St. Bartholomew's Eve. The number killed would only be limited by the number of Jews found to murder. According to

²⁸Ibid., 312.

²⁹Ibid., 314.

Nordau, the history of the Jews was one of blood and suffering. They suffered at the hands of the knights going to the Crusades. In 1306 there was a massacre of French Jews over the entire country. He charged that a recently published article by the official organ of the Vatican, L'Osservatore Romano, was directed against Zionism with the argument that Jews must always be outcasts, scattered and homeless. Nordau was emphatic in his belief that Dreyfus was innocent. It was never suggested that Dreyfus had ever dealt with any country other than Germany. It was published often in semi-official and official German organs that Germany had never had any dealings with Dreyfus. Nordau noted that on 24 March 1898, Von Bulow declared on his word of honor as a gentleman that Germany had neither direct nor indirect relations with Dreyfus.

Early in the anti-Semitic agitation Emile Zola was not as alarmed by French anti-Semitism as other writers and leaders. He called anti-Semitism "imbecile" and could not believe that the masses of France would hurl the country back into the Moyen Age (Middle Ages). To expand on the theme of anti-Semitism, the Review had Shepard interview Zola. Zola saw the then current movement of anti-Semitism as the newest form of socialism. The Jews were made to represent capitalists and the cry "down with the capitalists" was changed to "down with the Jews." He similarly charged that the anti-Semitic agitation was

working in the interest of the Catholic church. Ten years earlier the proletariat was invited to breakfast off a priest. Now the "plat du jour" was a Jew. "Anti-Semitism as it exists today in France is a hypocritical form of socialism."³⁰ In March 1898 the agitation was still confined to newspaper polemics. Zola refuted the notion that there was a syndicate of Jews, saying that there was no syndicate of Jews the world over, for any purpose. According to Zola, the origin of the whole business was jealousy. It was with regret that Zola had to compare the different methods in which the Jews were treated in England and in France.³¹

During the Zola trial, Jean Louis Forian and Caran d'Ache established a new journal, psst...!. Forian and d'Arch aided Drumont and his cohorts in attacking Dreyfus and called for severe punishment for Zola. The Libre Parole and psst...! were offset by Clemenseau's L'Aurore and a new journal, Le Sifflet.

A Frenchman, Yves Guyot, defended Dreyfus in the English publication Contemporary Review. He charged that there was a connection between Jesuitism and anti-Semitism. Drumont's Libre Parole had originally been established by the Jesuits. Most of the officers on the General Staff were

³⁰Ibid., 318.

³¹Ibid., 319.

former students of the Jesuits.³² Guyot believed that General Mercier had doubts as to the guilt of Dreyfus and hesitated with the prosecution until in early November 1894 the anti-Semitic press in Paris put pressure on him that Guyot called "Blackmail." Guyot charged that France violated every principle of justice when, on 9 January 1895, it passed a special law for a particular man for a crime already committed. After Dreyfus's deportation, the anti-Semitic journals would from time to time use the case of Dreyfus to denounce Jewish officers in the army and demand that they be expelled from the army.³³

Guyot interpreted the anti-Semitic movement as the revenge of the old parties who were crushed by the Freemasons, the Protestants, and the Jews, i.e., the Republicans. He questioned the prestige of the French army in the eyes of foreign countries and the rights of French citizens to the protection of the law and the equality of all persons. At this point the Dreyfus Affair had the potential to be an indelible disgrace to the Republic but the damage was not irreversible. To Guyot, the scenes that the anti-Semites were permitted to enact in the Palais de Justice were scandalous.³⁴

³²Yves Guyot, "The Dreyfus Case," Contemporary Review, May 1898, 619.

³³Ibid., 620.

³⁴Ibid., 623.

The Times was critical of the French press whose emphasis on yellow journalism had as its only motive to sell as many papers as it could. It published a letter from a French anti-Semite in June 1898 that contained an obscene reference in order to give its English readers an example of the type of language used by the vast majority of French anti-Semites. After that, the Times strongly supported the Dreyfusards. Saying that it would have been impossible for them to "defile" the columns of the Times with quotations from the Libre Parole, the Intransigeant, and other French journals, this letter was given as an example "of the depths to which they have dragged down French habits of thought and language," and "the demoralization that has been wrought under the cloak of Nationalism and Anti-Semitism."³⁵

In June 1899 a new trial was ordered for Dreyfus. This brought a sense of optimism in England that was maintained until the Rennes verdict. Englishmen who saw themselves as possessing a superior political and judicial system were often guilty of the same weaknesses that they saw in their French neighbors. They judged as guilty men who had neither been charged with any crime nor convicted in a court of law. Mercier was attacked because he was in a position to know the truth of the Dreyfus Affair, and Esterhazy was condemned

³⁵"French Anti-Dreyfusite," Times, 13 September 1899, 8.

because he knowingly let an innocent man be convicted and punished for his own crime.³⁶

An article signed K. V. T. in the Contemporary Review in October 1898 charged that the villain of the Affair was du Paty de Clam, aided by Henry, who used every fraudulent means at his disposal to carry out his project. This article was not an indictment against the whole French army for the Dreyfus Affair, but against those individuals who, for whatever reason, stupidity, folly, or fanaticism, committed a blunder or a crime.³⁷ The loyalty that French officers had to each other and to the army was defined as "esprit de caste" rather than "esprit de corps." These officers began to discuss the production of documents that would leave no doubt that Dreyfus was guilty of the crime for which he was convicted and the supposed Jewish syndicate would be destroyed.

The long-awaited blow was delivered on 7 July 1898 by Godefroy Cavaignac, Minister of War in the Brisson cabinet.³⁸ Cavaignac made a speech in the Assembly that he had not cleared with Henry in which he read three documents that were, in reality, written by Henry and not by Dreyfus. The most condemning forgery was the Panizzardi-

³⁶"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 5 June 1899, 7.

³⁷"The Dreyfus Case: A Study of French Opinion," Contemporary Review, October 1898, 594.

³⁸Ibid., 596.

Schwarzkoppen letter with the "Scoundrel D." The "D" replaced the letter "P" that had been scratched out. Covaignac's speech was printed and published in all of the departments of France. The speech was considered a huge success by the anti-Semites, delivering the crushing blow to the syndicate. Ironically, this speech revealed publicly for the first time that there were indeed secret documents, opening the door for a revision that could only be had if new evidence were discovered. Trying to close L'Affair, Covaignac was directly responsible for revision. Socialist leader Jean Jaurès exposed the documents to be forgeries.

On the night of August 13 Captain Louis Cuignet, working under the orders of Caviagnac, was examining that Panizzardi-Schwarzkoppen letter. He discovered that the document consisted of two different types of paper and was made up of two different letters.³⁹ Because of this discovery, Henry either slit his own throat, twice, or was murdered, in September. Coviagnac resigned in disgrace while his speech was still posted in every department in France. Many people coupled Henry's death with the death of Lemerclier-Picquart, an obscure French agent who was found hanged in a lodging house in February 1898. It is suspected that he was used in the execution of one of the forged documents. "There was no public report of the death of

³⁹Bredin, The Affair, 308-24. Also see Yves Guyot, "The Dreyfus Drama and its Significance," Nineteenth Century, January 1899, 158-62.

Henry and no post mortem examination of his body. What would be said of such a case in England, were the coroner's inquest suppressed?"⁴⁰

K. V. T. blamed the Dreyfus Affair on the caste spirit in the army and religious passions. Generally there was disagreement among almost every group, moderate republicans, radicals, socialists, freethinkers, and Protestants. The one group that was clearly united was the French Catholics. They remained unanimous in their conviction that Dreyfus was guilty. K. V. T. credited this unity with the power of the press. Not one Catholic journal called for revision of Dreyfus's trial and any movement toward that goal was blamed on the syndicate. Some even apologized for Henry and said that he was dishonest for the public good.⁴¹ K. V. T. drew the conclusion that the attack on the syndicate grew out of fear that if people were allowed to question the army or the clergy, that is to say, the authority institutions, this would endanger society as a whole. It would be the privileged classes that would be threatened. The author held this attitude in contempt and said, "the fire of truth is alight; and can any one set bounds to its ravages?"⁴²

⁴⁰Ibid., "The Dreyfus Drama," 161.

⁴¹"The Dreyfus Case," Contemporary Review, October 1898, 597.

⁴²Ibid.

One of the first major works published in England on the Affair was The Dreyfus Case by Frederick C. Conybeare in 1898. His thesis was that French Catholics in general and Jesuits in particular were responsible for the anti-Semitic movement in France. He noted that the leading anti-Semitic journal in France, Drumont's Libre Parole, had been founded by the Jesuits. Another significant factor in the involvement of the Catholic Church in the Dreyfus Affair was the major role that they played in educating the children of upper class Frenchmen. Most notable was the Jesuit Ecole Saint Geneviève, commonly referred to simply as Rue des Postes because of its location. Conybeare charged that cheating on examinations was quite common in Rue des Postes but, what is more important, students learned strict obedience and perfected the art of spying on one another and reporting on fellow students. Reporting was seen as a mark of quality in the informer. Conybeare charged that most of the officers of the higher grades were students of the Jesuits. Conybeare questioned the integrity of Comte Albert de Mun, patron of Rue des Postes, and Jesuit Père du Lac concerning their motives and involvement in the Dreyfus case. He charged that the clerical and military press wanted a victim. If there was not a legitimate Jewish traitor available, then one must be created.⁴³

⁴³Frederick C. Conybeare, The Dreyfus Case (London: George Allen, Pub., 1898), 50.

In a strongly worded article in a letter to the editor of the Times, Comte de Mun denied all of the allegations in Conybeare's book and attempted to defend himself and Père du Lac against the charges of corruption in Rue des Postes and anti-Semitism. De Mun, in return, charged that Conybeare's book was nothing more than the publication of a collection of pamphlets and newspaper articles whose arguments had been refuted a hundred times over. De Mun especially took issue with Conybeare's charge that representatives of the Catholic Church were prime authors of the anti-Semitic Dreyfus agitation. He said that anti-Semitism was the result of the Dreyfus Affair rather than the cause of it.

On 27 January 1899 the Times Paris correspondent questioned whether his English readers really understood the full impact of the Dreyfus Affair. France had reached the point where it was impossible to discuss the issue publicly because people were so divided over the subject. He attempted to address the issue of French anti-Semitism to the English public.

The Times printed Conybeare's reply to de Mun in its 28 January edition. Conybeare appealed to Englishmen to examine the facts in his allegation of cheating at the school, Rue des Postes. In this essay, Conybeare identified de Mun as the political leader of the French Catholic faction in the French Government. De Mun's 17 January letter to the editor and Conybeare's reply proved to be but

the first salvo in what was to be a long war of words between Conybeare and the Catholics with English Catholics condemning the actions of some French Catholics.⁴⁴ Yves Guyot identified de Mun as the representative of the Jesuits in the French Chamber of Deputies. Guyot said that the term "Dreyfus Syndicate" was put into circulation by the anti-Semitic journals in answer to those Frenchmen who believed in Dreyfus's innocence and were willing to be publicly identified with the terms that were being bandied about, the search for "truth and justice."⁴⁵

Guyot castigated the French Republicans, some of whom professed to be liberals, because they refused to take action against the anti-Jewish league in Algeria. They refused to demand government measures to protect the Jews. "These Israelites are French citizens; and they must have found a strange contradiction between the acts of a Republican government and its device, 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.'"⁴⁶

In London there was an effort made to help the poor Jews. In 1899, Reverend Michael Rosenthal was carrying on the East London Mission to the Jews. At this time the number of Jews in East London and North London was rapidly

⁴⁴"The Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 28 January 1899, 14.

⁴⁵Yves Guyot, "The Dreyfus Drama and its Significance," Nineteenth Century, January 1899, 154-56.

⁴⁶Ibid., 158.

increasing. A. F. Stepney, Bishop Suffragan for East London, and C. H. Islington, Bishop Suffragan for North London, proposed a special project to help Rosenthal. The East London fund for the Jews was then called the "Church of England Fund for Work among the Jews in East and North London." By involving the Church of England, the appeal for funds was expanded to the whole of Great Britain, which greatly eased the burden on Rosenthal. This is a fair example of the type of sentiment expressed in the letters to the editor of the Times for the remainder of the year 1899.⁴⁷

Oswald John Simon, a contributor to the Times, offered a point of view that gave balance to the proposal of Bishops Stepney and Islington. He suggested that the effort to convert Jews of East and North London to Christianity would cause indignation in the Jewish community. Islington called for religious tolerance among all of the denominations of London. He felt that it was the will of God for individuals to worship Him in different ways and to deny this right was to misunderstand human nature and the Supreme Being. Simon denied the inherent right to any individual or denomination to interfere with the faith of others.

Simon identified the Jewish community of London as highly organized regarding religious education. Jews of

⁴⁷"The Church and London Jews," Times, 4 March 1899, 16.

North London were in many ways examples to men of other creeds. One must note the irony that on the same page in the Times on which the letter from Stepney and Islington was printed there were three columns of Church of England controversy. The Church of England Fund for Work Among the Jews of East and North London was an effort to Christianize the Jews and improve their moral condition, but Simon noted the widespread poverty and crime among the Christian population in London. He offered as an alternative the introduction of Anglicized Jewish services and bringing the Jews into the open Christian services rather than invading the homes of the Jews. Instead of using conversionist schemes, Simon called for cooperation between Jews and Christians to promote respect, recognition, and good feelings.⁴⁸

The final year of the nineteenth century was a period of tension between the two great liberal powers of western Europe. They had not fought each other since Waterloo in 1815. However, in 1899 there were tensions and areas of conflict of interest in northeastern Africa, western Africa, Madagascar, the Far East, Siam, and Newfoundland. England was enjoying the spoils of victory over the Fashoda crisis and feeling strong in her recent success. Terms being bandied about in both England and France were jingoism,

⁴⁸Oswald John Simon, "The Church and London Jews," Times, 7 March 1899, 14.

imperialism, and empire. There were people on both sides of the Channel who did not want to see these two Liberal powers draw swords against each other. Similarly, there were those who would like to have seen such a conflict. A Frenchman, Francis de Pressense, writing in the English publication Contemporary Review, placed responsibility for the crisis on those whom he labeled the foes of peace, the English press. De Pressense was a member of the group of Frenchmen who were, "accustomed to look on England as on a free country, accustomed to self-government and raised above the vulgar temptations of aggressive imperialism."⁴⁹ Those who were indulging in warlike clamors were militarists who were a threat to liberalism. Freedom had planted her standard in the two Liberal nations but events were taking them in a direction that was going to set them back centuries.

De Pressense wrote that the dreadful struggle for elementary rights of freedom and justice that was going on in France at the time was a special aspect of the revival of militarism. The attitude of disquietude was called jingoism or imperialism in England. In France it was called nationalism. Those men who were fighting for full justice for Dreyfus in France were doing so against a coalition of nearly all of the great social powers of France. De Pressense felt that for liberals it was a question of life

⁴⁹Francis de Pressense, "England and France," Contemporary Review, February 1899, 157.

or death. "Now it is for or against Nationalism, for or against the supremacy of military power, for or against anti-Semitism, for or against clerical Caesarism."⁵⁰ De Pressense was repulsed by the rise of militarism and anti-Semitism.

The Spectator attacked French anti-Semitism and what those anti-Semites classified as truth. The French were depicted as drawing a distinction between "a vérité" and "la vraie vérité" (the truth and the real truth). "To tell lies in order to keep a secret is with many of them not only not blameable, but is an imperative duty."⁵¹ Concerning the Dreyfus case, the Spectator said,

The minister who on such a matter told a truth inconvenient to France would be denounced next morning in half the journals of Paris as a semi-traitor, possibly from idiocy [sic] possibly, also, from inability to resist the attractions of English or Jewish gold.⁵²

Examples of this include the attack made on Mercier in 1894 and Picquart in 1897. Mercier was attacked by the Libre Parole and other anti-Semitic journals in Paris in 1894 because he doubted Dreyfus's guilt. With his future on the line and his presidential aspirations intact, he publicly announced that Dreyfus was guilty beyond doubt weeks before he was tried. Immediately Mercier became a

⁵⁰Ibid., 160.

⁵¹"Truth in France," Spectator, 4 March 1899, 305.

⁵²Ibid.

patriotic hero in the anti-Semitic press. Picquart, an active Catholic, was falsely accused of being a Jew. The Spectator presented the ridiculous thesis that France was a nation of liars and Englishmen were lovers of truth. However, in the Dreyfus case, the final argument was true. "If France suffers any misfortune, the official account is always supposed to conceal a cataclysm, and a constitution perishes because its head had trained the nation to expect untruth."⁵³ Even after Cavaignac read forged documents in the Chamber of Deputies and vouched for their authenticity, the use of secret trial was still defended, although there were no longer any secrets that would put France in danger of war with Germany.

The Spectator, in questioning why the French army was so unanimous in their hatred of Dreyfus, offered the explanation that they believed him to be a traitor. They blamed their previous defeats on treachery and they hated traitors with ferocity. This is added to the fact that Dreyfus was a Jew and that a Frenchman of the lower class was taught in his childhood to believe that the Jew inherited a curse that made him the enemy of mankind. They were seen as Christ killers. The unintelligible part of the matter is that even if Dreyfus was guilty, he was tried unfairly. If he could be condemned by evidence he never saw and had no opportunity to rebut that evidence, where was the

⁵³Ibid.

security of any soldier. Unlike other European countries, in France an officer's commission was his personal property by law. Dreyfus was deprived of his property without due process. The Spectator found a great deal of irony that a man who was supposedly twice fairly tried and rightly sentenced in a country where his only defender was a corrupt Jewish syndicate was to be pardoned after the second trial.⁵⁴

By the year 1899, Dreyfus had been changed from a person to an abstraction. Not only France, but the whole of Europe was sharply divided about the Dreyfus Affair. English interest was very keen concerning any relations between Russia and France because of the military alliance between the two countries. In this case, Russia was sympathetic, not just toward France, but toward its army. Russia was not going to offend the French army, especially over a Jew. Beyond this, there was a tremendous amount of anti-Semitism taking place in Russia simultaneously. The British print media kept its citizens informed about Russian public opinion during this critical time.

The Times reported on the division of opinion in Russia. Anti-Semites in the Russian press were led by the Novos Vrenya, an anti-Dreyfus paper, throughout the Affair. It supported the French army and French military justice.

⁵⁴"The Latest Dreyfus Rumour," Spectator, 22 April 1899, 544-45.

The Novosti was the pro-Dreyfus journal and urged revision from the very beginning. The Times called the Russian press a pale reflection of its French contemporaries in every respect concerning the Dreyfus Affair.

The Spectator was a very strong supporter of Dreyfus and offered sharp criticism of France's handling of the Dreyfus case. This journal identified Dreyfus as a "poor pack-saddled ass, upon whose back is thrust the whole load of contemporary hatreds."⁵⁵ Calling Dreyfus possibly the best equipped officer of his standing in the army, two things worked against him. He was more industrious than his fellow officers, and he was a Jew. Prejudice kept him from graduating number one in the military school of Saint-Cyr. He studied at the cavalry school at Saumur and studied explosives at Bourges. He also learned foreign languages. When suspicion was raised of a spy in the general staff, that suspicion naturally fell on Dreyfus. The Spectator found that Dreyfus's only crime was that he was overzealous in the discharge of his duties. Dreyfus enjoyed the largest press coverage in his day. Ironically, he was kept in complete ignorance of what was happening in Europe for his benefit.

The Spectator defended Dreyfus against those officers who, incredibly, said that although the bordereau was written by another officer it was still morally written by

⁵⁵"Alfred Dreyfus," Spectator, 29 April 1899, 600.

Dreyfus. "He still lives upon the Devil's Isle a lonely victim of race-prejudice and religious fanaticism, a hapless champion of mankind, blasted, in his own despite, for the sins of the people."⁵⁶

David Christis Murray interviewed both Zola and Esterhazy for the Spectator. He said that the whole Dreyfus drama was a tragedy that was conducted more like a farce. He doubted that Mark Twain could have written as farce some events that actually happened, and had the writer of farce copied some official records, he would have been hissed from the stage. For instance, Colonel Besson d'Ormescheville reported that proof of Dreyfus's guilt was suggested by the fact that when he was arrested he gave his house key to the arresting officers and told them to search his house and that they would find nothing. His house was searched, and nothing was found. D'Ormescheville said that this was proof of Dreyfus's guilt. Murray recorded one act of the farce that he witnessed outside what he called the "Palace of Injustice" during the Zola trial.

I stood within the courtyard railings at six o'clock on the second day of the trial looking at the crowd which surged up and down outside. A big man accosted a little man within two yards of me. "Thou carriest," he said, with apparent placidity- "Thou carriest a nose too long for my taste. Thou art Israelite, ne c'est pas [sic]?" The little man shrugged his shoulders and spread his hands, and answered, "but yes, sir, I am Jew." The big man hit him on the too long nose and in a second he

⁵⁶Ibid., 600-601.

was down amongst the feet of the crowd. His face was trodden upon.⁵⁷

In all of the events of the farce-tragedy, Murray found nothing stranger to the English way of thinking than the manner in which all sorts of men were allowed to bully the jury impaneled to try the Zola case. He called Edouard Drumont, the publisher of the Libre Parole, the "honorary president of the Anti-Semitic League."⁵⁸ Drumont said that if Zola and his friends were acquitted that he and his cronies would take to the streets and administer justice to the Jews with their own hands. Every day, two or three papers printed the names and addresses of the men who were serving on the jury in bold type and instructed them how to vote. Murray said that this contempt was as flagrant as an open sewer. The jurors determined their futures by the decisions they made on the Zola trial.⁵⁹

The Times Paris correspondent expressed the conviction that the convening of the Court of Cassation marked the beginning of the end of the Dreyfus Affair. There was unanimous agreement in the British press that the lies and deceits were going to be exposed and the decision of the original court martial would be overturned. It would not, however, mean the end of persecution of the Jews.

⁵⁷David Christie Murray, "Some Notes on the Zola Case," Contemporary Review, April 1898, 486-87.

⁵⁸Ibid., 487.

⁵⁹Ibid., 488.

Saying that the play was not over yet, the Times reiterated the theme that the revisionists' opposition was a conspiracy of the Boulangists, royalists, clericals, and anti-Semites, and other adventurers whose only chance was a change of government. All these parties were hostile to the republic. Anti-Semitism was a blind tool used by those who wished for chaos. The Times correspondent said, "I see nobody capable of setting things to rights, and men are preparing to defy the laws, the Dreyfus Affair being their pretext, the army their instrument, and confusion their supreme hope."⁶⁰ The Times never brought a blanket indictment against the French people as a whole but only against that element that tried to stifle truth and justice. There was an expression of great relief with the report that the Court of Cassation found in favor of Dreyfus.

Two significant events resulted primarily from the announcement from the Court of Cassation. The president of France, Emile Loubet, a revisionist, was hooted and assaulted at the Auteuil races by a well-dressed crowd of people. The Times dismissed these people as men who were not of a character to fight and die for their opinions.⁶¹ Significantly, Colonel Picquart was released from prison where he had been held for some months. He, like most others, had an antipathy for Dreyfus because of his race.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

The Jewish race was more disliked on the general staff than anywhere else in the army. English people admired Picquart because he laid aside his prejudice when he saw that there had been a great injustice.⁶²

The Times correspondent took great satisfaction in being the first to report that Zola had found asylum in England after his conviction in France. This Englishman took the point of view that England was open to those who respected her but also to those who even insulted her. The Times also reported that a bill was submitted to the French senate by Joseph Fabre to throttle the power of the press by depriving juries of jurisdiction in defamation cases. "He urges that, while in England, calumny is dying out through the severity of repression, in France, on account of the laxity of juries, it is the easiest method of obtaining readers and money."⁶³

Forty-six judges were unanimous in their decision that Dreyfus's conviction was unjust. Most people felt that there would be a revision but hardly anyone felt that there would be a unanimous decision. This decision deprived the anti-Semites of a weapon which they might have been able to use effectively. The Spectator, a revisionist organ, was not flattering to Dreyfus as an individual. However, it used this drama to caution against the tendency to trust

⁶²"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 10 June 1899, 7.

⁶³"France," Times, 10 June 1899, 7.

democracy in all circumstances. Dreyfus persecutors were not confined to the upper classes. Justice would never have been done had a decision been left to the masses. There was no general outcry from the cities and communities. In every case tried in connection with the Dreyfus Affair (Dreyfus, Zola, and Esterhazy), the jury was on the side of the oppressor. The Spectator said that "we may yet under a democratic regime see a people extirpated because they are misbelievers."⁶⁴

J. H. A. MacDonald, a contributor to Blackwood's Magazine, saw Dreyfus as the man who was blotted out of the world's book of life. His persecutors confined him to a living tomb, the worst imaginable hell, a doom worse than death. The only role left him was a negative role. He was a hateful example to warn others. MacDonald said that if the Dreyfus drama were written down as a romance it would be pronounced impossible. He called it the most concrete case of truth being stranger than fiction that his generation had ever seen. His body was confined thousands of miles from France. His voice was stifled under official censorship. His personality was shut out from national life. Yet he was indeed, the negative ruler of France.⁶⁵

⁶⁴"The Dreyfus Judgment," Spectator, 10 June 1899, 812-13.

⁶⁵J. H. A. MacDonald, "The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwood's Magazine, June 1899, 1054.

MacDonald joined the long and growing list of people who lumped the Roman Catholic press, antirepublican society, royalists, Bonapartists, and the army in a conspiracy that used anti-Semitism as a tool for its own purposes. To defend Dreyfus was to attack the general staff, thus raising the cries of the clerical and political press, "Down with the Jews," and "Long live the Army." Anyone who asked that light and reason should be thrown on the episode was accused of being a traitor and a member of the "Syndicate of Treason." They were without doubt in the pay of foreigners and/or bribed by Hebrew gold. Dreyfus was the only officer in the army whose integrity and patriotism could be questioned. All other inquiries were disloyal to the army. MacDonald condemned the policy of Frenchmen who made life unbearable for those whose only offence was that they were Jewish or that they dared to demand the same justice for a Jew that was given to a Christian, or for that matter, to an infidel.⁶⁶

With the return of Dreyfus to French soil in 1899 there was a change in the temper of many antirevisionist papers. Dreyfus was no longer an abstract but he was a real human being. People began to realize that dignity required the suppression of all personal feelings. The judges were due respect and the accused was considered innocent until he was proven guilty. A handbill denouncing the Jews was

⁶⁶Ibid., 1054, 1067.

distributed in the streets of Rennes but it was expected that they would be seized to prevent a renewed war of pamphlets. At this point, the Times's Paris correspondent felt that acquittal for Dreyfus was certain.

Contemporary Review printed an article in July 1899 written by an author signed E. D. on the situation in France. He used quotations from Yves Guyot discussing the direction taken by the Jesuits in France. Guyot charged that the Jesuits would welcome a savior of any kind, be he a king, emperor, or dictator, if they could be rid of the liberal Republic. Their intent was to use the new ruler as a tool in their own hands. Guyot charged that anti-Semitism was a means of striking at the Jews, Protestants, Freemasons, and freethinkers.⁶⁷ The polemic theory of the anti-Semitic press was an incitement to sedition and a direct appeal to insurrection. The French publication, Petit Journal, said that the civil power broke the contract in its duty to the army and the army was no longer bound to the civil power. The Petit Journal called for a coup d'état and wanted the public to rise and face the "men of no fatherland," the Jews. The attack on President Loubet at Auteuil brought matters to a head more speedily than people expected. All democratic Paris rose to defend Loubet, and had it not been for thousands of soldiers at Longchamps,

⁶⁷E. D., "The Situation in France," Contemporary Review, July 1899, 43; its quotations were from Siècle, 17 June 1899.

there would have been much violence. The radicals and socialists in Paris felt that the thirty year-old republic must now implement true equality before the law for all Frenchmen despite their party, class, or religion. At the time E. D. was preparing his article, a Japanese jurisconsult was in Paris, sent there by his government to study the "excellent" system of civil and criminal justice in France.⁶⁸ This was in contrast to the British who were waiting for France to give Dreyfus the fairness and justice that French laws already provided.

Reporters from throughout the world crowded the courtroom when the Rennes trial began. The president of the court-martial postulated that if Dreyfus could be shown to have been acquainted with certain information, that would suffice to raise the presumption that he was the party guilty of giving information to the Germans. English observers at the trial were appalled at this line of reasoning. Englishmen interpreted the French justice system to be one that held tenaciously to a man once accused and presumed against him on every point until his innocence is proved. "But again we must bow before the inscrutable ways of French justice, and again give up the attempt to understand the logic of this most logical of peoples."⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid., 49-50.

⁶⁹Editorial, Times, 8 August 1899, 7.

In August 1899, the Spectator expected Dreyfus to be found innocent of the charges he confronted at Rennes. It was amazed that after four years on Ile du Diable, Dreyfus should retain his life and his reasoning power. In a nationalistic statement, the Spectator presented the thesis that it was Dreyfus's race that enabled him to endure the hardships that he had undergone.⁷⁰

After the trial opened at Rennes, the proceedings became mundane and many people left the city. The judges and the lawyers spent much time pouring over documents, most of them being set aside as irrelevant. Meanwhile, the government in Paris was very active. Evidence of the existence of a plot against the Republic caused the arrest of Paul Deroulede and other sedition mongers. The Times had only a few days earlier revealed that Esterhazy and Henry has given numerous documents to a foreign power and the French journals were publishing that information.⁷¹

Anti-Semitism became evident at the Rennes trial on 14 August. Dreyfus's lawyer, Fernand Labori, was shot in the back as he walked toward the courtroom. This able lawyer's wound forced his absence for several days and hindered Dreyfus's case. The Spectator reported on the renewal of talk about a St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Jews. This

⁷⁰"News of the Week," Spectator, 12 August 1899, 205.

⁷¹Editorial, Times, 14 August 1899, 7.

was described as one of France's periodic bouts of spy mania. Nobody was afraid of Dreyfus but he was a symbol of a vague danger everyone felt. "France is betrayed' to the foreigner, to the Jews, to England, to the Bourbons, to the socialists, to the Devil, and the whole people, believing the betrayal, plunge into a sort of delirium."⁷² English reporters at Rennes, trained in criminal law, could find no evidence at the trial. The veiled threat of a St. Bartholomew of Dreyfusards was an entreaty to "patriotism" or an appeal to fear. The Spectator gave the following account to illustrate the difference in the way Frenchmen and Englishmen think.

An ignorant Englishman, when told something outside the range of his experience, as a rule stolidly disbelieves it, and, of course, refuses to make it a basis of action. The Frenchman believes it, and believing, imagines a thousand monstrous things which might be true if only the bases on which he builds them were not inventions. The Englishwoman who was told of the flying fish remarked that her son was lying. A Frenchman as ignorant, if told the same thing would have believed it, and immediately have seen clouds of flying fish darkening the air of France, and in their fall and putrefaction producing an epidemic. He would interpellate the Minister of the Interior as to the precautionary measures he had taken for burying the swarm. If anybody thinks that illustration too farcical or exaggerated, let him read General Mercier's evidence as to the money raised to defend Dreyfus.⁷³

Mercier had testified that Germany and England had sent £1,400,000 to the Dreyfus syndicate to protect Dreyfus.

⁷²"The Latest Dreyfus Incident," Spectator, 19 August 1899, 241.

⁷³Ibid.

This made him an extremely valuable spy. Esterhazy was at this time in London where he had confessed to a London journalist, Rowland Strong, that he was the author of the bordereau.

In August 1899, anti-Semitic agitation increased to the point that there was a call to revolution against the Jews. Blackwood's Magazine presented a very scholarly unsigned article, titled "The Ghost-Dance of the French." This work is an astute examination of a book written by Vicomte E. M. de Vogue of the French Academy, Les Morts Qui Parlent (The Dead Who Speak). The main characters are two brothers, one a soldier and the other a deputy in the French parliament, and a Jewish deputy whose family had made money by selling manure. The Jewish deputy was killed by the soldier. The reviewer described the book as a string of hopeless commonplaces. De Vogue used many slurs such as, "Jew dummy," "natural wickedness of the Jews," and "accumulated wickedness of Israel." The book criticized the republican regime. The deputies were presented as a confused mob continually involved in either begging or answering beggars. There were no discipline, no principle, and no attention to serious public business. If any serious business was discussed, most of the deputies drifted off into the lobby. The theme of Les Morts Qui Parlent was a call for Jewish blood to be shed. There was the "cruel wish to wound, the mean fear to strike, and the shame-faced desire to see the

sword" ridding France of the Jew menace.⁷⁴ In the narrative, one deputy had a law passed that limited the naturalization of foreigners that was directed against the Jews.

The purpose of the story written by de Vogue was to stir the French population to shed Jewish blood and act against a perceived Jewish influence that was destroying France. The author of "The Ghost-Dance of the French" did not think that de Vogue would be adhered. He said that the world was clerical and not religious. Men would accept a creed from the teeth outward but the Ten Commandments were nothing. He also said that a large portion of French army officers only kept their heads above water by intermarriage with the rich daughters of Protestants and Jews, whom they envied and hated.⁷⁵

This was described as the ghost dance of the dead which had been going on since the court martial of 1894. The polemics of the Siècle, the Aurore, and other writings were all part of a revival of clericalism and of priest-craft that the author found not only in Austria and France but also among the English.

The Spectator said that the Dreyfus Affair would have never reached the proportions that it did, had it not been

⁷⁴"The Ghost-Dance of the French," Blackwood's Magazine, August 1899, 157.

⁷⁵Ibid., 158-59.

for anti-Semitism. It predicted that attacks against Jews would continue in France, even after the Affair was closed.

In an article examining a book by Arnold White, The Modern Jew, the Spectator found it difficult to figure out whether White regarded the Jews as a serious menace to Western civilization. There was, however, an unrealistic fear on the continent of Jews who had acquired wealth. This misgiving was absurd and unreasonable.

Frenchmen feared that Jews would dominate the government administration and strangle commerce. Russians feared that the Jews would swamp the true Russians and destroy the Russian nationality and the Russian ideal. Austrians believed the Jews would control the land, sources of communication, and the press, and dominate trade and commerce. Germany feared that the Jews would monopolize the universities.⁷⁶

The Spectator defended Jews against charges leveled at them. It depicted the Jew as an expert in patriotism, clinging to nations that hated them, such as contemporary France. Charges that the Jew would not till the ground overlooked the fact that they were excluded by law from farming, owning or leasing land, or occupying farm land. Their aloofness came from the fact that they had for centuries been confined to the ghettos and were inclined to

⁷⁶"The Dread of the Jew," Spectator, 9 September 1899, 333.

keep to themselves. The charge that the Jews controlled financial capital and acted in the interest of their own race to the damage of nations was unfounded. Arnold White said that after the Russian Jews were driven onto the pale, the Russians wanted to obtain a loan from them. Rather than refuse to help their enemy as would be expected, the Jews found the money for Russia. The Spectator addressed the issue of materialism by saying that the Jews were no more materialistic than their neighbors. As for a demoralizing element, White said that Jewish family life was worthy of all praise and that Jewish husbands, fathers, and sons were among the best of the world. Anti-Semites said that the Jew was so strong, so clever, so rich, and so powerful that the world would be ruled by them if there were not a stand made against them. The only solution to eliminate the threat of terror from the Jews was to slaughter them and make a real end of the parasitic race. The student of history now knows that idea was put into action in the 1930s and 1940s.

The Spectator said that if Jews were treated properly, they would fuse with the rest of the nation, and it cited the upper-class English Jews as an example. This journal sounded the alarm that Englishmen should be on their guard lest anti-Semitism come into their society. The attempt to inflict disabilities on the Jews should be viewed with the greatest of suspicion. Any exceptional legislation could contain the seeds of racial persecution. "The nation that

cannot tolerate the Jews, and becomes deeply inspired by the anti-Semitic terror, is not the nation that will win. If we cannot resist the Jew without a resort to persecution, depend upon it we shall not long be fit to rank as an Imperial Power."⁷⁷

Early in the Rennes trial, the Times correspondent was confident that Dreyfus would be exonerated of all of the charges against him. By 9 September, when Demange was speaking for the defense, this correspondent began to doubt that Demange could persuade the judges of Dreyfus's innocence. Prejudices of the past two years had taken root in their minds. He called this the most serious, impassioned and universally interesting of all the judicial trials in history. The military prosecutor was not conscious of what he was maintaining and had not weighed the cause that he was maintaining. "This colossal affair is discussed by him as though a simple soldier had to be tried for selling his uniform to an old clothes dealer."⁷⁸

On 9 September 1899, Dreyfus was again found guilty by a decision of five to two. Only this time, the court found "attenuating circumstances." He was sentenced to ten years detention. This decision brought the biggest outcry that England had displayed during the whole of the Affair.

⁷⁷Ibid., 333-34.

⁷⁸"M. Demange's Speech," Times, 9 September 1899, 5.

Letters to the editor of the Times came in such numbers that it was not possible to print all of them.

On September 13, between 5,000 and 6,000 foreign Jews attended a service in the Assembly Hall, Mile-End, and heard a sermon preached in Yiddish by Rev. Susman Cohen, minister of the United Synagogue to Foreign Jews in London's East End. Cohen said that Dreyfus was persecuted because he was a member of the House of Israel. Prayer was offered up for Dreyfus that he might be delivered, but also for his enemies that they might be brought to a sense of light and that all might live in peace.

On the same night another service was held in the Shoreditch town hall, attended by about 1,600 Jews. Rev. B. Schwenzik delivered a sermon in which he made a special reference to Dreyfus. He concluded that it was not Dreyfus that stood condemned, but France stood condemned by the whole world. Schwenzik specifically blamed the Jesuits. He honored England for being first in the condemnation of Dreyfus's judges.

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, representing 60,000 people, was meeting in London. It drafted a resolution expressing sympathy for Dreyfus and his wife and declared its belief in his innocence. The English Zionist Federation also passed a resolution condemning the Rennes verdict and asserted confidence in the eventual triumph of truth and light over the combined powers of

falsehood and darkness. The Limehouse District Board resolved that a letter of sympathy be sent to the Dreyfus family for the lamentable failure of justice. Lord Londonderry, speaking at Easingwold, Yorkshire, said that his hearers might congratulate themselves on being Englishmen. Events at Rennes the past Saturday would have caused them to be proud to have been born under the British flag. In England the laws of the land were ministered, not only with justice, but whenever possible, with mercy.

The Times printed a sampling of letters that were written to the editor. Walter Nathan tried to offer balance to the dilemma with the argument that like begets like. All of France should not be punished for the actions taken by a small part of the military. He argued that the innocent should not be punished with the guilty, for that sowed seeds of national enmity. S. Flood Page said that he had spent the last month in France and had read the Figaro, a revisionist journal, every day. He called the verdict shabby, false, and cowardly, but he said that the innocence of Dreyfus would not be proclaimed by threats of boycotts and altering travel arrangements between France and England. Page warned against playing into the hands of the conspirators who would charge that the friends of Dreyfus were in reality enemies of France and not supporters of justice.

Francophil did not agree that England should not make a fuss. He said the all civilized nations "do well to be angry," and show their indignation. He also found very un-English the idea that an innocent man should be satisfied with a pardon. There was a general agreement among the Times respondents that Dreyfus should not accept a pardon.

A Times article reported that Oscar Vignon, a French newspaper man, lost his position because he defended the cause of justice in the Dreyfus Affair. He was only one of many who suffered, not for Dreyfus, but for their conviction that an injustice had been done. Vignon had antipathy toward Englishmen who were excited over an officer whom they did not know and who had never had any dealings with them and yet who wanted to slaughter the Boers wholesale, without any judgment at all. Vignon asked that the campaign cease against France so that he and others could continue to fight with the pen for truth and justice.

A French Anglophone tried to show the impossible position which the decision at Rennes had placed the judges. They had to condemn the top men in the army and liberate Dreyfus or condemn Dreyfus and set free the generals and the minister of war. Many Frenchmen were convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus but they felt that the mistake that had been was, for the most part, an honest one.

A colonel suggested that every service club send a telegram expressing its feelings of sympathy for Dreyfus and

his family so that some in France might see that they were misled by the church and the state. "A Septuagenarian Lieut-Colonel" wrote that he had spent many of his happiest days in France and knew her language almost as well as his own. He was nearly involved in a duel in England with a German officer during the Franco-Prussian War. He considered himself a warm friend to France and was deeply moved by her degradation. "Not Guilty" wrote to point out that at the opening of the trial at Rennes, Major Carriere asked that the secret file be considered behind closed doors. The court agreed by a decision of five to two. He found this too strange a coincidence that the final verdict was by the same majority and wondered if the same judges voted the same way each time.⁷⁹

The Times reported on an address given on September 14, the Jewish day of atonement, in which a speaker addressed a large congregation at the Great Synagogue, St. James' Place, Aldgate. He said that the previous Saturday had not been the bitterest day in modern Judaism but that it was the bitterest day in modern France. France had been the first country to abolish disabilities of race and faith and gave Jews all of the rights and privileges of citizenship. For France, the Rennes decision was more disastrous than Waterloo and more humiliating than Sedan. Adler hoped that the mock trial at Rennes would convince the world of the

⁷⁹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

folly and savagery of Jew hatred. He noted that the use of anti-Semitism as a cloak for the defiance of law and order led to cruelty and wrong. He concluded by asking that the fair fame of England not be stained by lack of hospitality and international courtesy.⁸⁰

There were proposals made in various towns in England for the public to hold mass meetings to show support for Dreyfus and his family. A large meeting was held in Hyde Park. Citizens of Hackney announced a meeting to be held at the town hall on September 21. The Hackney Vestry unanimously adopted a motion sending deepest sympathy to Dreyfus and his family. The mayor of Portsmouth received a petition with numerous signatures requesting him to call a town meeting to express support of Dreyfus. He refused to comply with the petition because of fear of setting a dangerous precedent. The annual synod of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Liverpool district formally expressed its indignation at the Rennes verdict and sent its sympathy to Mrs. Dreyfus.

On 16 September, the Times again gave its readers a sampling of letters to the editor. E. Ray Lankester implored Englishmen not to denounce France in this moment of crisis but to extend the hand of friendship to those Frenchmen who had risked all that they had in the cause of justice. Now was not the moment to curse France but to

⁸⁰"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 15 September 1899, 3.

express sympathy for those French citizens who fought against the gutter press of Paris. Lankester said that Englishmen knew France and France was not to be confused with the cowardly bunch of military and clerical conspirators. Auberon Herbert felt that the tornado of righteous indignation that swept over England was a splendid thing for aching eyes to look upon. However, he cautioned his fellow citizens not to blame all of France for the crime of five officers. Herbert described the two officers who pronounced Dreyfus innocent as the salt of the earth. They rendered a priceless service not only to France, but to the whole world.

A correspondent who signed his writing "The Grandson of Mallet du Pan" wrote a very insightful letter to the editor. He saw the amount of indignant verbiage about the Rennes judgment as an uneasy symptom. He questioned the power of media communications which were being used as never before and wondered if the new conditions of communication that "make all the world akin" were causing Englishmen to lose their insular reserve and calmness.

John Burnet wrote that more than the Dreyfus family, the courageous men who upheld the cause of truth and justice had not only won admiration but had saved the honor of France in the eyes of her neighbors. Noting that civilization could not afford to lose France, universal

interest in the Affair was not the act of France's enemies but friends who wanted to see her right herself.⁸¹

The Anglo Saxon Review examined a report by Edmond Demolins, a French professor of social science, that questioned why the English were superior to the French. Demolins said that the Anglo-Saxon was at the head of civilization, the most active, the most progressive and the most energetic.⁸² Demolins blamed the problem on the declining French population and the growing alien population. In 1851 there were less than 400,000 aliens in France. By 1881 there were a million. This was seen as a conquest by industry and commerce and not a conquest by arms. The French did not look favorably on the foreign invasion. In England, thousands of Russian Jews were competing for jobs once held by Englishmen, resulting in anti-Semitic feelings. This hardship was coupled with the displacement of workers because of the industrial revolution which replaced thousands of workers with machines. The Anglo Saxon Review defined French anti-Semitism as only one side of French neurotic impatience with all aliens. They harbored feelings against the English and the Germans almost as strongly as that against the Jews. However, this journal

⁸¹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 16 September 1899, 6.

⁸²"Le monde anglo-saxon est aujourd'hui à la tête de la civilisation la plus active, la plus progressive, la plus débordante."

felt that the submergence of France would be an irreparable loss for the world.

The Anglo Saxon Review said that English superiority was the result of the priority in English education, with English education stressing an atmosphere of athletics over strictly book learning. Lord Rosebery described English schools as the best schools for helping boys develop into young men that the world had ever seen. Dr. Alexander Hill, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, said that the school needed to form more than inform, to form character above giving knowledge. This theory was fashionable at the close of the nineteenth century. The Anglo Saxon Review said that the French hated the Jews because they were succeeding in those branches of practical life where the French were failing. The Jews were active, persevering, and self-reliant.

Englishmen often viewed the French Republic as a volcano of complex emotions always on the verge of revolution. This view is in contrast to the calmness with which France took the Rennes verdict as compared to the rest of the world. Dreyfus fever was far more violent in London than in Paris. English journals were full of indignation and astonishment. English correspondents at Rennes were amazed at the reserve of the people of Rennes who would have been just as aroused by a traveling circus. The Anglo Saxon Review noted that French anti-Semitic agitation was much more limited in its scope than it appeared. Few Frenchmen

outside Paris were more upset than they were before Jew-bating and army worship became fashionable. The Frenchman did not excite himself unduly over public events but left the conduct of public affairs to the professional politicians and to the journalists. It was a mistake for the English to judge all of France by the animation of the press. The Anglo Saxon Review said that nowhere did newspapers accurately reflect public views but that this was especially so in France. Most Frenchmen would gladly watch the game but they would not actively get involved.

The Anglo Saxon Review was convinced that Dreyfus was innocent. They did not, however, indict all Frenchmen or all army officers as guilty in the Dreyfus Affair.⁸³

The Spectator called Dreyfus's second trial a severe blow to democratic theory. "Public Opinion" was personified as a sovereign that was the working law for this world. Public Opinion could be manipulated to work promotions for people like Cavaignac and Beaurepaire. As with Barabbas, Public Opinion could demand that a man be condemned simply because he was a Jew. The Spectator placed blame on France because of the malignant hatred toward the Jews who had in no way harmed them.⁸⁴

⁸³"Impressions and Opinions," Anglo Saxon Review, September 1899, 257-58.

⁸⁴"The Poisoning of Public Opinion," Spectator, 16 September 1899, 370-71.

An Englishman, calling himself "Catholicus," wrote to the Spectator attacking the religious press and ecclesiastical authority in and out of France that gave what he called unqualified and persistent support to anti-Semitism. Saying that the head was being led by the tail, he spoke against La Croix, the official organ of the Catholic Church in France. "It would be unjust to take La Croix and its staff as representatives of French Catholicism: we hope, we believe, that they are not."⁸⁵ La Croix thanked God for the conviction of Dreyfus at Rennes. Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster, declared the verdict to be unjust. He said that the Catholic Church and the Pope were the defenders of the race of Israel. Officially, however, the Catholic Church remained silent on the Rennes verdict.

The Spectator said that if the church would only censure the anti-Semite movement and the anti-Semite papers, both would have died away and been forgotten. "The Church, it would appear, is always the defender of Israel except when Israel is in undeserved and hideous danger from the hate of an army and the violence of a mob."⁸⁶ The Spectator cited the Catholic Church for its inaction rather

⁸⁵"Clerical Anti-Semitism," Spectator, 23 September 1899, 409-10.

⁸⁶"Cardinal Vaughan on Anti-Semitism," Spectator, 23 September 1899. 403-404.

than its action. They called on the church to use its spiritual power to fight against anti-Semitism.⁸⁷

The Spectator printed several poems that were submitted by irate Englishmen calling for the judgment of God on France because of the Dreyfus Affair. Stephen Phillips called for God's vengeance as was shown against Pharaoh when he would not let the children of Israel go out of Egypt.⁸⁸ Edward Sydney Tylee compared the forgers to Judas who clung to Jesus with a "snaky kiss." There were many Pilates around to wash the innocent blood from their hands who feared to lose Caesar's friendship if he should have let Jesus go uncondemned.⁸⁹

The Times reported on anti-Semitic agitation in Austria that had taken on an international character. A servant girl found the half-naked body of a seventeen year-old boy in the cellar of the house where she worked. The victim was an orphan shepherd boy who had his throat cut from ear to ear. The Times called this a pretended ritual murder case and noted the similarities in the anti-Jewish agitation that was going on in France.

In October 1899 the Westminster Review asked the question:

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸"That She Repent," Spectator, 16 September 1899, 378.

⁸⁹Ibid., "The Shame of France."

Who is this man Dreyfus, whose name is on everybody's lips, whose sufferings have drawn tears from the eyes of thousands alien to him in race, in nationality, in everything save in their common humanity? He is a Frenchman and a Jew, an officer in the French Army, an exceptionally well-educated man, whose courage and capacity cannot be questioned. . . . The Jew Dreyfus--like another Jew whom millions since have learned to worship as Divine.⁹⁰

The Westminster Review, like other journals, came down hard on the key players of the Dreyfus drama but did not indict all of France in the Affair. It called Esterhazy the real villain. Compared to the writer of the bordereau, Iago was an angel of light.⁹¹ The nightmare of anti-Semitism came about because of a false militarism, a putrid nationalism, pseudo-Christian priests, and gutter journalists.⁹² This article found it to be reprehensible that at the close of the nineteenth century, cruelty, injustice, and prejudices could still survive.

Blackwood's Magazine despaired the polemic journalism that was coming out of France. Rochfort's L'Intransigent described Dreyfus as base Jew with a repulsive beard, lumpy lips, and an elephantine nose. He was a bird of the night with a crooked beak and glassy eye. Drumont's Libre Parole called him a scoundrel and a Judas. Patrie printed an article titled "The Traitor's Return" by Millevoye, who said

⁹⁰"The Dreyfus Case and the Future of France," Westminster Review, October 1899, 359-60.

⁹¹Ibid., 364.

⁹²Ibid., 365.

that Dreyfus was a sinister bird of evil omen. The author questioned that if an Englishman had been found by the highest court in the land to have been the victim of an injustice, how long would English readers subscribe to a journal in which words like these appeared. "It is a spectacle to make gods weep, and men despair of their race."⁹³

H. C. Foxcroft said that the Dreyfus episode came upon the average Briton with a shock of great surprise. It appeared to the British that the anti-Semitism that existed in France during the Affair was at once monstrous and absurd, a relic of the Dark Ages. He said that French anti-Semitism was less religious than political. He noted that the last quarter of the nineteenth century found the French Jewish-Protestant minority being forced into political and professional prominence by the efforts of the purely secularist party. "Jews and Protestants have been made the instruments of an anti-Clerical campaign; and the present Anti-Semite crusade--discreditable as it is--has about it something in the nature of retaliation."⁹⁴

Foxcroft looked at the Affair and its aftermath from the point of view that the French nation had been hit with disaster after disaster and one Ministry after another had

⁹³"France Today," Blackwood's Magazine, October 1899, 549.

⁹⁴"The 'Dreyfus Scandal' of English History," Fortnightly Review, October 1899, 567.

been discredited. He credited most Jews with being loyal, yet there was an element that could cloud the reputation of the majority. Blackwood's found the most atrocious feature to be the open avowal that the attack on Dreyfus was not just to destroy him, but that Jews in France would be struck as a body.

In France, the nominal home of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, the enmity to the Jew has assumed the proportions of a crusade. . . . 'Let us water the Tree of Liberty with the blood of the last Jew.'⁹⁵

Blackwood's asked if society was going back to the religious intolerance and heathen cruelty of the Middle Ages. Was this to be the outcome of the progress of science and civilization?⁹⁶

The writer could not have been more accurate in his prediction. No one of his day could have imagined the atrocities that the world was to see in the first half of the twentieth century with the rise of Hitler and Nazism. Yet, in the articles that were written concerning Dreyfus and anti-Semitism, not only in France, but in other parts of the world, it was not uncommon to see this theme reflected.

England has long had a history of anti-Semitism. There were occasions when anti-Semitism generated popular appeal. There was, at times, limited support in the House of Commons for anti-Semitic measures, but generally the House deplored

⁹⁵Ibid., 550.

⁹⁶Ibid.

what they felt was cheap demagoguery. Colin Holmes, author of a book on Churchill and the Jews, said, "anti-Semitism was never a vehicle for political success in British society and those who drew from European experience and attempted to inject it into British political life were to be frustrated and disappointed by the results."⁹⁷

Throughout the nineteenth century, British politicians occasionally came up with ideas for dealing with the Jews. Their proposals were often pragmatic but seldom antagonistic. By the mid-nineteenth century, Jews were assimilated into British society. Anti-Semitism was not a problem in England by the time of the Dreyfus Affair although there were a few Zionist leaders who feared that a similar incident could happen in England.⁹⁸ Prominent politicians like Salisbury and Churchill were sympathetic toward Dreyfus. Queen Victoria was moved with compassion for him.

One solution to the Jewish question that was discussed in England was the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Early in the nineteenth century, Lord Ashley,

⁹⁷Michael J. Cohen, Churchill and the Jews (Great Britain, A Wheaton & Co., 1985), 49.

⁹⁸A. L. Shane, "The Dreyfus Affair: Could it Have Happened in England?" Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. (1987-88), 135-48. Three prominent Zionist leaders who feared an English Dreyfus Affair were Israel Zangwill, Joseph Cowen, and Leopold J. Greenberg.

7th Earl of Shaftesbury, was a leading advocate of the Jews returning to the Holy Land. Ashley acted out of spiritual considerations resulting from his study of the Bible. His Zionism was characterized by paternalism. In 1841, Colonel Charles Henry Churchill helped end the rule of Muhammad Ali in Syria and became England's consul in Damascus. He advocated Zionism from a material standpoint as opposed to a religious cause. He felt that the Jews themselves had to be the impetus behind a return to Palestine. Men like Sir Charles Warren, Sir Edward Cazalet, and Sir Laurence Oliphant proposed the settlement of Jews in the Holy Land. These men were frustrated in their attempts because mid-nineteenth century Jews did not share their enthusiasm for a Palestinian homeland. Even by the end of the nineteenth century, many Jews refused to believe that there was a "Jewish problem."

Another obstacle that stood in the way of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine was the Ottoman empire, and Great Britain did not break with the Turks until Turkey sided with the Germans in 1914. Arthur James Balfour, author of the Balfour Declaration, promised to give British aid to the development of a Jewish national home in Palestine in 1917. The desire of Theodor Herzl, witness to the Dreyfus degradation in 1895, for a Jewish homeland, was fulfilled on 14 May 1948, with the formation of the nation of Israel.

One of England's greatest statesmen of the twentieth century, Winston Spencer Churchill, made his debut into politics at the turn of the century from a largely Jewish district. Churchill was not entirely free of bigotry toward foreigners, one of the hallmarks of the English upper class, but he publicly deplored the anti-Semitic prejudice which appeared in public debate.⁹⁹ Writing to his mother in a letter dated 8 September 1898 concerning the Zola trial he said; "Bravo Zola! I am delighted to witness the complete debacle of that monstrous conspiracy."¹⁰⁰ It was because of Zola that Colonel Henry of the French military intelligence branch confessed that Dreyfus was convicted by the use of forged documents. Again, writing to his mother on 13 August 1899, Churchill said,

The developments of the Dreyfus case are wonderful. Never since gladiatorial combats were abolished has the world witnessed such a drama--with real flesh & blood for properties. What a vile nation the French are. Nature must vindicate herself by letting them die out.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Ibid., 11-51, 310-13.

¹⁰⁰Randolph S. Churchill, Winston S. Churchill, 1896-1900 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 976.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 1041.

Churchill did not approve of Dreyfus's conviction at Rennes. He found abhorrent the chants of the French mob, "Death to the Jews."¹⁰²

Lord Salisbury was the prime minister of England at the height of the Dreyfus Affair. British militarism was then at its zenith. During the Fashoda crisis, he was strongly supported by the press and in the street. The French were so strongly divided over the Affair that they feared becoming involved with Great Britain in an armed conflict lest they should soon have Germany on their backs in Europe. Salisbury had no intention of backing down at Fashoda.¹⁰³ Churchill, on the other hand, said the fight over Fashoda would be fought in Westminster with words and not on the field of battle with guns. Salisbury expressed to Queen Victoria his hope that Dreyfus would be acquitted at the Rennes proceedings.

The Queen called the Affair a "dreadful case." She wrote in her journal on 9 September 1899, the day that Dreyfus was again convicted;

Heard the news of poor Dreyfus' fresh condemnation by five votes to two, through Reuter, and also through Mr. Herbert, Secretary of Embassy at Paris. After having been so splendidly defended by Labori and Demange, it is dreadful

¹⁰²William Manchester, The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1983), 194-97.

¹⁰³A. L. Kennedy, Salisbury, 1830-1903: Portrait of a Statesman (London: John Murray, 1953), 288-95.

that it should have been in vain. Everyone is greatly excited and distressed about it.¹⁰⁴

The Queen replied to Sir Michael H. Herbert, secretary of embassy in Paris, with the following telegram. "Thanks for your telegram with the news of this monstrous verdict against this poor martyr. I trust he will appeal against this dreadful sentence. V. R. I."¹⁰⁵ The telegram was not in cipher and, when it leaked out in Paris, it caused a lot of French press abuse of England and of the queen. She wrote to Salisbury on the same date, "I am too horrified for words at this monstrous horrible sentence against this poor martyr Dreyfus. If only all Europe would express its horror and indignation. I trust there will be a severe retribution."¹⁰⁶ Salisbury replied that the events in France gave the impression that truth and justice were no longer regarded as of any serious importance in that country. He questioned how any country could conduct either civil or military government in what he called a deplorable condition of public mind.

Sir Edmund Monson wrote to Her Majesty that Dreyfus's health had been greatly affected and that he could only prolong his life with extreme care. He said that the verdict was gained by using every kind of illegality and

¹⁰⁴George Earle Buckle, The Letters of Queen Victoria (London: John Murray, 1932), 396.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 397.

could not be interpreted as a victory for the prosecutors. "The disappointment on their part is all the greater from the fact that it is notorious that an acquittal was very nearly arrived at."¹⁰⁷

The most lasting effect of anti-Semitism in England that arose out of the Dreyfus Affair was the popular support of Zionism. Jews were never significant in numbers compared to the whole of the British population. According to whose figures used, there were about four thousand Jews in England in the seventeenth century. This figure increased to about 35,000 by the middle of the nineteenth century. From 1850 to 1939 that number multiplied ten times. The dramatic increase caused by the Russian pogrom in the 1880s put pressure on England's limited resources, creating social tension. This came about at a time when England was experiencing an industrial decline and workers felt that the Jewish immigrants weakened their bargaining power. The Aliens Act of 1905¹⁰⁸ was a reaction to social tensions, overcrowding, and unsanitary conditions caused by masses of aliens.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 399-400.

¹⁰⁸"The Aliens Bill," Time, 3 May 1905, 4. The Aliens Act was an attempt to insure that an immigrant possessed some means of providing for himself and his dependants or could obtain the means.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Two frequently used words in the literature on the Dreyfus Affair were "truth" and "justice." Both on the continent and in Great Britain liberals fought with the pen and with the sword against the injustice done to Dreyfus. One of the most famous political caricatures from the era was from Punch magazine on 16 August 1899, titled "His Strongest Witness." Dreyfus was shown sitting in his small cell with truth, personified, standing at his shoulder telling him, "Courage! Mon Capitaine!"¹ This caricature represented the belief that many had concerning the innocence of Dreyfus. Liberal thinkers in England saw the thirty years following the fall of the empire in 1871 as a period during which France was governed by an oligarchy desirous of helping themselves to the sweets of office. Frenchmen did not enjoy the political liberty and equality that were the basis of British institutions.

One of the most important forces on the French government during the nineteenth century was the Catholic church in general and the Jesuits in particular. The church was particularly important because many French army officers had been educated in church schools and were subsequently

¹"His Strongest Witness," Punch, 16 August 1899, 79.

perceived to be under the church's control. For the most part, however, this proved not to be the case as it related to the Dreyfus Affair. A minority element in the French Catholic church was anti-Dreyfus and anti-Semitic. This small group was vocal enough to capture the imagination of many people in England and spark a public debate on the power of the Church in France. The search for truth and justice would pit the church against the state in France, and the Affair precipitated France's separation of the church and the state in the year 1900.

France, like England, also had a long history of anti-Semitism. Unlike England where the official church produced no strong anti-Semitic leaders, French Jesuits included in their membership several strong men who led in the fight against the Jews in France. During the Dreyfus Affair, it was impossible to separate the Catholic church in France from the royalist-militarist French army officer corps.

Examples of modern Catholic anti-Jew polemic writing date back as far as 1796 when Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald, a conservative Catholic, wrote in Le Publiciste of the dangers of Jews becoming their masters. In 1858 Louis Beuillot, a church leader, showed great contempt for Jews in L'Universe. Rising anti-Jewish agitation in 1880 soon developed into anti-Semitism. In 1882, most of the French secular press denounced a Hungarian trial of Jews who were accused of ritual murder as part of a racial war. The

Catholic press, represented by L'Universe, maintained that a Jewish crime did indeed take place and protested the acquittal of the accused. The first significant book dealing with hostility toward the Jews was Anti-Semitism: Its History and Its Causes (1894) by Bernard Lazare.²

In 1880, masses of Frenchmen, wary of the growing power of the Jesuits, were demanding the expulsion of that religious order from France. In March, the government passed a law expelling the Society of Jesus from France forever and dissolving their educational establishments. The measure was counterproductive because many Jesuits took refuge in the homes of local bishops in cities and towns where they had formerly been excluded and created new educational establishments. "As a consequence of the new law, now their influence for good or for evil is a hundred-fold greater than ever it was before, and is not one whit less open."³

The power of the Jesuits over the educational system in France was significant and became the focal point in the Dreyfus Affair for some important English writers. Jesuits supported Drumont's Libre Parole, a journal founded by a Jesuit named Odelin, brother of the vicar-general of the archbishopric of Paris. Many officers on the general staff

²Bredin, 24-25.

³"The Situation in France," Contemporary Review, July 1899, 43.

had been pupils of the Jesuits and often chose Jesuits to be tutors for their sons. Liberal thinkers in England saw the Jesuits in France as in control of the bishops and estimated that the results of thirty years of republican government in France marked a considerable falling away from the liberalism of the empire.⁴

In 1882 Pope Leo XIII encouraged French Catholics to accept the republic and to work for a change in the new educational laws through the legitimate channels of the legislature. However, many priests had monarchist convictions and were antagonistic toward the republic. Besides this, many rural priests were supported by, and therefore under the control of, local landlords. The republicans exacerbated the problems with anticlerical rhetoric.

A theme that emerged in both English and French literature growing out of the Dreyfus Affair was that the French people had a superstitious respect for authority and respected every functionary that had the smallest share of power. Those offices included civil, ecclesiastic, and military positions. Andre Godfernaux, a contributor to the Fortnightly Review, said that the Catholic church supported that kind of "idolatry." The army and the church both maintained the habit of blind submission to the authority of superiors. Godfernaux, reflecting the thoughts of many

⁴Ibid., 44-45.

others of his time, feared that unless changes occurred in French thought and society, France was doomed to suffer the fate of Spain and become a third rate power.⁵

The new century saw dramatic changes in the religious and political climates of France. Liberal politicians enacted legislation that effectively separated the church and the state. For the most part, education was removed from the church and placed under secular control. Students who wanted to hold any significant position in France were required to finish the last three years of their education in public schools. The church never again gained the control over French politics or the army that it had at the end of the nineteenth century. The furor of the Dreyfus Affair died down and later episodes of anti-Dreyfus violence were merely isolated incidents. When Dreyfus was rehabilitated in 1906 there was minimal agitation and he was warmly received back into the army, promoted to the rank of major, and inducted into the Legion of Honor.

There was a distinct contrast in the relations between the Holy See and the governments of Germany and Italy as in its relationships to the government of France. The attitude displayed toward the German government and that of Italy was, if not hostile, at least antagonistic. The Vatican lost considerable political power on the Italian peninsula

⁵"The Philosophy of the Dreyfus Case," Fortnightly Review, 1 September 1899, 377-84.

after Italian unification was accomplished in 1860. Vatican power was further eroded in the 1860s-70s when Otto von Bismarck, a Prussian statesman, led in three wars to unify the German states. Bismarck created the Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria, a defense pact that lasted until World War I. Pope Leo XIII felt that any hope of regaining his political power and influence in that part of Europe depended upon the possibility that France might one day engage in a war with either Italy or Germany. Consequently, France received lavish praise and support from Leo XIII until 1900 when anticlerical laws were passed.

Cardinal Rampolla, secretary of state for the Vatican, successfully effected a rapprochement between France and the Vatican. English liberals interpreted Vatican overtures to the French republic to mean that France was under Vatican control. The pope almost imposed the republican regime on the clergy, but the priests were not happy about giving up their political independence. English Catholics were offended at the deference given to French Catholics. The losers in this political struggle were the French people who had to balance their submission to the church against their independence and their love for their country. The winner was the Society of Jesus which grew in power and prestige.⁶

⁶G. M. Fiamingo, "The Policy of the Holy See," Contemporary Review, February 1899, 290-98.

Dr. Frederic C. Conybeare, an English scholar, catalyzed the agitation against French Catholics, especially the Jesuits. Conybeare was the author of the first history of the Dreyfus Affair. The Dreyfus Case was published in 1898, a year before the revision. Many facts in the case were not known at that time but the book served as a stimulus for discussion of the case on both sides of the channel. Conybeare became interested in the Dreyfus Affair after the trials of Esterhazy and Zola in 1898. He relied heavily on the trial records for his information, but he also drew from the works of Frenchmen like Yves Guyot and Jean Jaurès. Guyot was a former minister of public works, and Jaurès was a Socialist deputy in the chamber of deputies.

On the surface, Conybeare's goal seemed to be the restoration of Dreyfus to his family and to his rightful place in society. The author was outraged at what he perceived to be an injustice done to an innocent man by the French war office. Closer examination, however, reveals several themes that had no relation to the violation of Dreyfus's civil rights. Among the major themes of his work are the ideas that the French army had experienced a significant increase of Catholics in its ranks and a growing feeling of anti-Semitism. What is most important, the army was led by men who had been schooled by Jesuits and still owed their allegiance to the Catholic church and their

Jesuit instructors. Conybeare saw the Jesuits as the guiding hand behind the whole Dreyfus Affair. Dreyfus was merely a Jewish scapegoat that served as a focal point allowing the Jesuits to solidify their power and control over the French army.⁷

A small, vocal part of the French clerical press agitated against Dreyfus, but it included La Croix, the official organ of the French Catholics. It opposed revision of his first trial and called for his conviction at Rennes in September 1899. La Croix was not, however, as vicious in its anti-Semitism as journals like Drumont's Libre Parole.

The failure of English Catholic response to the Affair was its silence as it called for neither conviction nor emancipation for Dreyfus. The Month, the official organ of the Catholic church in England, only published three articles that dealt directly with the Dreyfus Affair. These articles were not for or against Dreyfus but they were directed against Conybeare. They tried to refute his major thesis that Jesuits controlled the top army officers and his charges of corruption at the French school of Rue de Poste. Both English and French Catholics had the unenviable task of countering Conybeare's charge that the Jesuits controlled Drumont's Libre Parole, founded by Jesuits in 1892 and then turned over to Drumont. Drumont's anti-Semitic polemical

⁷Frederic C. Conybeare, The Dreyfus Case (London: George Allen, 1898), 1-13.

journalism was not a position that the Catholic church either wanted or needed to defend. There is no evidence that the Catholics were the motivators of Drumont's anti-Semitism.

In June 1898, Conybeare published an article in the National Review titled "The Truth About the Dreyfus Case," using the pen-name, "Huguenot." He charged that Esterhazy was the French war office spy who sold a total of 162 articles to the German military attaché at Paris, Colonel Maximilien von Schwartzkoppen. It showed that there was a significant problem in the French war office since such a great number of documents could be forwarded to the Germans, many of them after October 1894 when Dreyfus was arrested, without the theft being obvious. Documents in Esterhazy's handwriting were sold to the Germans as late as 1896. Conybeare revealed his authorship of the National Review article after French officials charged one of their own retired officers, Captain Joseph Reinach, with being the author. Authorities accused Reinach of writing the article in a way that made it appear authored by an Englishman and then translated into French for publication in the Siècle as if it represented English opinion. Despite Conybeare's declaration of authorship, Reinach was convicted in France of an "offence against discipline." Conybeare used the

occasion to emphasize his opinions expressed in the Review article.⁸

Conybeare's June 1898 National Review essay resulted in an avalanche of responses to French military and religious papers. After that, a storm of charges and countercharges came from both sides of the English Channel. Conybeare received a great deal of notoriety and remained in the limelight for the next year.

I had the satisfaction of seeing my letter reproduced in extensa in nearly two hundred daily French papers, and it had, I understand, much to do with the decline of Esterhazy's popularity. It is singular how the French will pay attention to the 'ipse dixit' of an unknown Englishman, when they are deaf to their own greatest writers and leaders of thought.⁹

Conybeare was unrealistic in his complimentary description of Jews. They were not the gifted race that he presented them to be, although there were many examples of individuals who were successful in economical and intellectual pursuits. On the other hand, his characterization of Catholics, especially Jesuits, was polemic. Jesuits do not appear to have had the kind of control over the military that Conybeare suggested. Several officers on the general staff were Protestant and, as in the case of Dreyfus, Jewish. By Conybeare's own evidence, 10

⁸Huguenot, "The Truth About the Dreyfus Case," National Review, June 1898, 541-42. Also see Conybeare, The Dreyfus Case, 267-70, and Fred. C. Conybeare, "General de Boisdeffre," National Review, April 1899, 317.

⁹Conybeare, The Dreyfus Case, 271.

percent of those who became officers through open competition were Jews, while in the general population only one in five hundred was a Jew. Yet he presented the Jesuits as living off the officers in the same manner the anti-Semites portrayed Jews sucking the blood out of non-Jews.

The French Catholic officer is a regular gold mine to the priests, to whom, like the pious centurion that he often is, he pays large sums at his birth, at his marriage, at his death, and even after his death when it becomes imperative to get him out of purgatory as soon as possible.¹⁰

The weakness of Conybeare's writings was in his attack on the Catholics. In The Dreyfus Case, as well as in articles such as "The Truth About the Dreyfus Case," and "General De Boisdeffre" (National Review, April 1899), he presented the facts and defended his thesis about the guilt of Esterhazy and the duplicity of Henry, Du Paty de Clam, Mercier, and others on the general staff. Pertaining to his accusations against the Catholics, he again presented an unsubstantiated series of charges. His only proofs were two cases of cheating at Rue des Poste, though the Jesuit Pères du Lac and de Mun both later denied that the incidents of cheating ever took place.

Père du Lac had been the head of Rue des Postes in 1876 when the first supposed cheating incident took place. De Mun was the president of the administrative council during the 1898 incident. It fell the lot of these two men to

¹⁰Conybeare, "The Truth About the Dreyfus Case," National Review, June 1898, 544.

defend the Church against Conybeare's allegations. De Mun used the Times to acquaint the English public with his position. Conybeare seemed sincere in his attempt to elucidate the English public on the facts of the Dreyfus Affair, but the Jesuits interpreted his writings as an attempt to further embarrass the Jesuits and the Catholics. Conybeare further charged that the Jesuits and the Catholic church staked everything on the guilt of Dreyfus and the innocence of Esterhazy. Conybeare's charges lent more credit to the Catholics than they deserved. They would have been very powerful indeed if they could have controlled the entire general staff for the five tumultuous years of the Dreyfus Affair. De Mun felt that The Dreyfus Case would drive Englishmen away from the Catholic Church rather than toward a sympathy for Dreyfus.¹¹

One of the ironies of Conybeare's thesis is that it was Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart who discovered the forgeries in the Dreyfus dossier in 1896 while he was the head of the intelligence division. Picquart was an active and devout Catholic with no predisposition as to the innocence or guilt of Dreyfus. He also had no great love for Jews. It was he who initiated the investigation of Esterhazy and established that Esterhazy was the real spy in the bureau. Picquart was perceived as a traitor because if Esterhazy were guilty, then Dreyfus was innocent and other

¹¹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 17 January 1899, 7.

officers on the general staff were implicated to be guilty of duplicity in the Dreyfus Affair. He was imprisoned for nearly a year. Picquart, a Catholic and the youngest lieutenant colonel in the French army, sacrificed everything, not for the Jew Dreyfus, but for the cause of truth and justice.¹²

Following the publication of Conybeare's impressive work, Frenchman Yves Guyot echoed Conybeare's sentiments in France. The fact remained that Conybeare had used some of Guyot's writings in preparation for The Dreyfus Case. As early as January 1898, Guyot charged in the English publication Nineteenth Century that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the Dreyfus drama and that most Catholics found difficulty adapting themselves to liberal ideas and institutions.

Their (Jesuit) pupils constitute in the army and navy a society apart, designed to favour its affiliated members, to persecute those who are independent of it, and to mold the military power which is theirs so that it shall become, one day, the sole and supreme power of the land.¹³

In his 17 January letter to the editor of the Times, De Mun showed the Catholic clergy and congregations, along with the Jesuits, to be against the anti-Semitic agitation in Paris during the period. Conybeare replied with a letter to the editor of the Times on 28 January 1899. He cited the

¹²Yves Guyot, "The Dreyfus Drama and its Significance," Nineteenth Century, January 1898, 166-67.

¹³Ibid., 171.

French journals Temps and Figaro as his authority.

Conybeare's reply was not so much addressed to de Mun as it was to Englishmen.¹⁴ Conybeare, responding to de Mun in the March 1899 issue of the National Review, maintained his position that the Catholic church was responsible for the Dreyfus Affair. "A great historic church which in a case like this supplies no champions of innocence, must as a whole be regarded as championing guilt."¹⁵ Conybeare quoted from the Bible, "He that is not with me is against me."¹⁶

Conybeare was careful not to group the English Roman Catholics with the French Catholics. He was consistent with other English writers in insisting that his compatriots were Englishmen first and Roman Catholics second. His attitude about the superiority of the English social and political systems was in agreement with other English writers.¹⁷ The theme of British superiority was evident in much of the writing of the period whenever there was a comparison between English and French education, politics, military and civil justice, and civil liberties.

¹⁴"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 28 January 1899, 14.

¹⁵F. C. Conybeare, "Il Caso Dreyfus; Or, The Jesuit View." National Review, March 1899, 149.

¹⁶Matthew 12:30, (KJV).

¹⁷Conybeare, "Il Caso Dreyfus," 153.

Captain Philip C. W. Trevor, writing in the June 1898 issue of the Nineteenth Century, said that "there is no community in the world in which the spirit of religious toleration is so marked as in the ordinary English regiment."¹⁸ Trevor credited this spirit of religious tolerance in the British army to training, that is, to the practice of self-control and not to regulation. His dialogue between a recruit and sergeant is worth repeating because it shows the attitude that Trevor felt depicted the average soldier in the British army. Trevor wanted the English nation to know that the British army was not going to be guilty of relighting the fires of Smithfield.

"What's yer religious persuasion?" said the sergeant to the recruit.

"My what?"

"Yer what? Why what I said. What's yer after o' Sundays?"

"Rabbits mostly."

"Ere, stow that lip. Come, now, Chu'ch, Chapel, or 'oly Roman?"

And after explanation from his questioner the recruit replied:

"I ain't nowise pertickler. Put me down Chu'ch of England, I'll go with the band."¹⁹

The one area in which both the English and French agreed was the degree of freedom that the Jew had in France for the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century. Emancipation of Jews in England followed that in France by

¹⁸Philip C. W. Trevor, "The Catholicism of the British Army," Nineteenth Century, June 1898, 957.

¹⁹Ibid.

forty years. But again Conybeare was harsh with his criticism.

We look across our narrow seas and our eyes are riveted with horror on the events which are passing in France. . . . The heroic figures of justice and of her children Liberty and Truth are being slowly strangled and crushed to death in the monstrous folds of militarism and priestcraft.²⁰

English readers and journalists unanimously agreed that English courts would never have allowed the many injustices that took place in each trial connected with the Dreyfus case. Those trials included the first Dreyfus trial, the trials of Zola and Esterhazy, and the second Dreyfus trial at Rennes. In many instances there was a lack of cross-examination. Attacks on the court by men like Rochefort and Drumont were more shocking to Englishmen than they were to Frenchmen. Witnesses were not compelled to answer questions or produce documents. During the Rennes trial, the names and addresses of the judges were published every day with instructions on how they should vote on the question of Dreyfus's guilt. Any witness in an English court who refused to testify as to the facts and tried to tell the judges how to conduct their court would run the risk of being found in contempt of court and imprisoned.²¹

Conybeare did not cease to castigate the Catholic church for what he perceived to be their actions in the

²⁰Ibid., 157.

²¹Fred. C. Conybeare, "Fresh Evidence on the Dreyfus Case," National Review, June 1899, 477-78.

Dreyfus Affair. After the French supreme court moved for a revision of the original Dreyfus verdict and gave Dreyfus the opportunity to defend himself at a new court martial, Conybeare felt that the Affair was about over. All that remained was for the new court martial to make a formal declaration that Dreyfus was not the author of the bordereau and could not have been the spy who was guilty of selling secret documents to the Germans. The court's decision, however, brought an unexpected attack on the French president Emile Loubet at the Auteuil horse races on the fourth of June. Conybeare blamed this action on French Catholic chivalry, led by de Mun.²² Whatever the impetus of the attack on Loubet, it was not expected that the crowd would rise in his defense as they did. This action tended to rally French liberals around Loubet's government and make it more stable. He had greater support when he pardoned Dreyfus than he would have had otherwise.

As will be seen later, several British journalists took issue with Conybeare. His criticism was often harsh. They disputed the validity of his "facts" though he supported his arguments with information largely from French journals and strictly Catholic newspapers. He drew from articles like one published in La Croix, 28 August 1898, by Abbé Pichot who called the conviction of Dreyfus unjust. Pichot denied

²²Fred. C. Conybeare, "A Study in Jew-Baiting," National Review, July 1899, 788.

in Figaro on 12 December 1898 that Catholics were responsible for the Dreyfus Affair or any involvement in the conduct of the general staff. For this he was censured and punished by his superiors. Priests were refused the right to express an opinion on the Dreyfus case because their mission was considered spiritual and not temporal.

The Civiltà Cattolica, the official organ of the Jesuits published in Rome, outlined the Jesuit position on the Dreyfus case in a lengthy article on 3 February 1898. The main points called for Jews to be politically disenfranchised, rather than killed or exiled, and forbidden to hold public office. They should be excluded from citizenship and positions of leadership in public affairs. This was the same stream of polemic pejorative that flowed from the pages of the Libre Parole. Conybeare consistently asserted that Drumont's Libre Parole was controlled by the president of the Rue des Postes, Odelin. He never failed to remind his readers that the Rue des Postes was the school that prepared students for the great military colleges, St. Cyr and the Polytechnique. Drumont would have denied civil rights not only to Jews but to Protestants whom he considered the valets of the Jews. Conybeare suggested that Drumont was in the hire of La Croix. Conybeare's harsh criticism of the Catholic church and the Jesuits brought responses from the English public in the Times, the Literature, the Pall Mall Gazette, the Glasgow Herald, and

the Outlook. British readers were equitable in their evaluation of the myriad of information that was available to them concerning the influence that the Catholic church had on the Dreyfus Affair. On the other hand, Conybeare must be credited with keeping the Dreyfus Affair alive in the minds of many Englishmen. His inimical writing style forced people on both sides of the Channel to define their positions on the Dreyfus Affair and anti-Semitism. He also filled the protagonist position of the Dreyfusards against the antagonistic, anti-Jew, pro-Catholic pen of Drumont.²³

The Review of Reviews examined a couple of Conybeare's articles for its readers. In November 1898 it presented a sketch of his National Review article, "Side-Lights on the Dreyfus Case,"²⁴ and followed it with a January 1899 review of "A New Development in the Dreyfus Case."²⁵

Other English journals shared Conybeare's view concerning the influence that the Catholics had on the French army. Even before Conybeare's The Dreyfus Case, the Contemporary Review stressed the "revenge" theme of the French army and the schooling of Catholic officers by the Jesuits. It suggested that Pope Leo XIII was the protector

²³Fred. C. Conybeare, "A Clerical Crusade," National Review, February 1898, 787-805.

²⁴"More Light on the Dreyfus Case," Review of Reviews, November 1898, 595.

²⁵"Why Henry Traduced Dreyfus," Review of Reviews, January 1899, 88.

of France and that the cross and the sword had become allies. This alliance explained the direction of agitation against Jews and Protestants.

This union of clericalism and militarism explains the religious aspect which the Dreyfus Affair has assumed. The Jews and the Protestants are to be driven away, annihilated, as were the aristocrats and clericals during the Great Revolution in the name of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. For the last few years the agitation against these two sects has been increasing by leaps and bounds.²⁶

The evidence shows that at this time there was much more religious bigotry in France than in England. Englishmen tolerated differences of opinion in religious and civil matters. In France there was a well-defined line establishing the boundaries between religious and secular sects, and friendly relations were difficult at best.²⁷

Nowhere was bigotry more evident than in Drumont's writings. Drumont denied to Valerian Gribayedoff, writing for the Review of Reviews, that he was backed by the Jesuits or the Roman Catholic Church. He denied that anti-Semitism was religiously oriented.

Anti-Semitism is an economic, not a religious war. In our ranks you will find men of every religious belief, also atheists and agnostics. As to the church dignitaries or the Jesuits being interested in our movement, I know absolutely

²⁶"The Demoralization of France," Contemporary Review, March 1898, 318.

²⁷"The French Revolution and Modern France," Edinburgh Review: or Critical Journal, April 1898, 533. Also see M. Betham-Edwards, "A Publicist's View of France," National Review, May 1898, 422-31.

nothing about that. I have no personal acquaintanceship, no relations with any cardinal, bishop, or Jesuit. I never see any, and, in fact, the higher clergy are rather inimical toward the movement. They are the servants of the Jews as much as our magistrates and politicians.²⁸

The weakness of the English Catholic position was the same as that of the French Catholics. The Month, the official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in England, only published a total of three articles dealing directly with the Dreyfus Affair. None of these articles proclaimed Dreyfus innocent or guilty. Their focus was to combat errors presented by other writers, especially Conybeare, as to the Church's position. Writing in the Month in June 1898, Herbert Thurston defended Jews against French Catholics. English Catholics wrote from a perspective of a people who had themselves known what it was like to be the victims of prejudice after having experienced three hundred years of persecution. Except for the very vocal agitation of La Croix, most French Catholics never spoke out against Dreyfus. They never made an effort to defend him either. Silence by both English and French Catholics emerged as a theme in many British journals.

English Catholics also had to deal with obtrusive problems brought on them by their French brothers. Thurston was in the unenviable position of disposing of the Diana Vaughan episode of French history. An impostor named Leo

²⁸Valerian Gribayedoff, "M. Drumont, Who Rings the Tocsin," Review of Reviews, March 1898, 311-15.

Taxil fabricated a story of the birth of a Jewish maiden who was to be the Antichrist's grandmother. A child was conceived by the devil at one of the lodges of the Freemasons. These events were supposed to have been witnessed by a nonexistent lady named Diana Vaughan who was a convert to Catholicism. Vaughan was blessed by Pope Leo XIII, and many French prelates believed in her existence. When Taxil confessed in 1896 that the whole thing was a hoax, many French Catholics refused to accept his recantation. They continued to believe that the devil visited the Freemason's lodges and that the Antichrist's grandmother was born.²⁹

English defenders of Catholicism had to confront the teaching of another French Catholic scholar, Father Constant. Constant advocated the restoration of the ghetto system of the Middle Ages and called for the renewal of old repressive legislation. Constant said that each year on the anniversary of the deicide, Jews participated in the ritual of what he called the "murder" of a "human sacrifice." Absurd issues and situations like these made it difficult for serious Catholic writers to deal with legitimate issues.

Constant held a doctorate degree and served in two Catholic educational institutions. His writing was sanctioned by one of the most reputed religious orders of

²⁹"The Demoralization of France," Contemporary Review, March 1898, 322. Also see Coneybeare, "Il Caso Dreyfus; Or the Jesuit View," 145.

the Catholic church, the Dominican Order. Such polemic writing, coming from the pen of someone with his credentials, damaged the credibility of Catholic scholarship in the minds of many Englishmen. It was incomprehensible that a serious scholar could propose such absurd actions. Thurston said, "We feel sure that many members of that distinguished body (Dominican Order) will regret as much as we ourselves do the extreme position taken up by Père Constant in the matter now before us."³⁰ Writings and attitudes like these led to many anti-Popery lectures in England. Although the Month never declared its belief as to Dreyfus's innocence or guilt, neither it nor Catholic writers in other publications tried to defend or justify nescience of people like Taxil, Constant, or Drumont.

Conybeare's tremendous impact on the English people is evident from the amount of response that his writing elicited from the English public. He, along with Barlow and his History of the Dreyfus Case, and Yves Guyot writing in the Nineteenth Century, were the main anti-Catholic writers who had articles published in English journals. As has been shown, Conybeare's main thesis was that Jesuit's controlled of the educational institution Rue des Postes, which prepared many officers of the French army for military college. The recipients of his charges were du Lac and de

³⁰Herbert Thurston, "Anti-Semitism and the Charge of Ritual Murder," Month, June 1898, 567.

Mun. Because of the intense pressure on the Catholic church due to its silence in the Affair, the Month was forced to address the issues of Jesuit control of the army by way of its former pupils.

In June 1899 the Month tried to distance itself from Drumont, his book, La France Juive, and his paper, the Libre Parole. Yet, it used Drumont's argument that the anti-Semitic movement was not religious but social and economic. It had to draw on Gribayedoff's interview with Drumont in the Review of Reviews and referred to Jewish financiers in Russia, Poland, and Austria to substantiate the economic theory. The Month, while accusing some Jews of nefarious practices, was quick to point out that the crimes of a few members of any society did not indict the whole group, whether Jewish or Protestant. The Month defended the Jesuits and absolved them of any involvement with the movement's agitating within France.³¹

Conybeare's March 1899 article in the National Review, "The Jesuit View," was a rejoinder to the February 1899 article in the Month, "The Jesuits and the Dreyfus Case." Although much of the Month's article simply built on the arguments of its previous installment, it was significant in its attack on Conybeare and its fear of the influence that he was having on the English people. The Month professed to

³¹S. F. S. "The Jesuits and the Dreyfus Case," Month, February 1899, 113-34.

be speaking only to Catholics, but the tenor of the article left little doubt that the author was trying to reach outside the Catholic church. The article branded Conybeare as a fanatic living in a glass house and said that the reader might find a good deal of the hyena in his style of writing.

The Month again had to defend the church against two of its own writers who had articles published in the Civiltà Cattolica, a Catholic journal under Jesuit management. These authors, Valentine and Piud de Langanio, suggested taking the church back into the Middle Ages and burning people at the stake as punishment for infractions of church law. This research found no English writer, Catholic or Protestant, who suggested such outlandish ideas. Conversely, England seemed to be an example of men of different ethnic backgrounds and religions living peaceably under the same laws and social systems. The Month again defended the rights of minorities and denied that any race of people should be branded with the crimes of any of its members.³² In this vein, the use of a secret trial was seen as tantamount to the inquisition. Englishmen, Catholics and Protestants alike, were united in their disdain for the tactics used in the Dreyfus trial.

Englishmen have a great dislike, and a very wholesome dislike, of everything that is not open and above-board. The idea of a secret tribunal is

³²"Mr. Conybeare Again," Month, April 1899, 405-12.

one from which they are very averse, and they seem unable to see that it is sometimes necessary for the avoidance of greater evils. They distrust it, and are unwilling to accept its decision, as has been recently shown in the sympathy felt for Dreyfus. They do not admire the secret tribunals of Rome, and hate the very name of the Inquisition.³³

By the spring of 1899, it was the consensus of the English people that Dreyfus was innocent, that Esterhazy was guilty of treason, that Zola was sentenced to prison for telling the truth, and that Esterhazy was set free because he lied. This was not only true in England but in the whole of Europe outside France.³⁴

In March 1899, the Pope spoke on the Dreyfus case and the strategy of silence that had been the unofficial policy of French Catholics. "Let no one hope to make a religious matter of this party business. Our religion has already consecrated by silence and resignation the just cause."³⁵ The Pope had been urging French Catholics for several years to accept the French republic. This action was viewed with mistrust in England, even among Catholics, where many people feared that the Vatican was becoming more Italian than

³³R. F. Clarke, "The Vitality of Anglicanism," Month, March 1899, 273.

³⁴Godfrey Lushington, "The Dreyfus Affair: M. De Beaurepaire and M. Dupuy," National Review, March 1899, 139.

³⁵Editorial, Times, 16 March 1899, 5. Also see "The Dreyfus Case," Times, 17 March 1899, 5.

Catholic.³⁶ The pressure put on Catholics in both France and England because of the Dreyfus case clearly illuminated the differences in the attitudes of the two peoples in their approaches to religion, civil rights, and their respective homelands. French Catholics were Catholic first and Frenchmen second. English Catholics were Englishmen first and Catholics second.

The English public seemed to have missed the very significant point that the Affair served as a rallying point for a widely diverse representation of French society. They saw all anti-Dreyfusards as rogues or fools and considered their actions as intrigues of the Jesuits, the army, or the royalists who would use any tool to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. The Affair united men from different backgrounds who probably would not have ever agreed on any other subject. They included men from every field including the military, judicial system, religious organizations, writers, artists, laborers, and different political parties.

Many anti-Dreyfusards had everything to lose and nothing to gain by their participation in the Affair. One example was the poet Paul Deroulede, who invested his fortune in organizing a group called the Ligue des Patriots. The goal of the Ligue was to prepare young men of France for

³⁶Wilfrid Ward, "Italy: Vatican and Quirinal," Fortnightly Review, March 1899, 462.

a war of revenge against Germany. The Ligue was responsible for instilling in young Frenchmen the love of outdoor games and sports requiring great athletic ability.

One of the most important anti-Dreyfusard French intellectuals was Comte Albert de Mun. De Mun was from a prominent French family. He was a socialist with a Christian perspective and a militant leader of Catholics in the French government. He was also a monarchist. De Mun served in the French army during the Franco-Prussian war, serving first with the army at Metz, and then with the Versailles Army. His life was altered by the war. Later he founded Catholic workmen's clubs all over France. De Mun also played a significant role in Catholic education and managing the church's schools. It was in this role that he challenged the writings of Conybeare.³⁷ Besides defending Rue des Postes to English readers in the Times, de Mun defended the honor of the French army in the Chamber of Deputies.

There were other significant contributors to the melee on both sides of the issue. These writers included men like Cardinal Vaughan, the spiritual leader of English Roman Catholics, an anonymous writer named Verax, and Godfrey Lushington. Letters to the editor of the Times after the Rennes conviction were so numerous that the paper could not possibly print all of them. There were no articles in the

³⁷"Dreyfusards," Pall Mall Magazine, June 1899, 203-6.

British press concerning the Dreyfus Affair before Zola's "J'Accuse" other than general reports of a French spy scandal. Zola's article, along with his trial, brought the Dreyfus agitation in France into perspective for English readers. These events, coupled with the Esterhazy trial, clarified the anti-Semitic mood in France and the desperate struggle of the anticlerical forces in France against the church, with education being at the center of the schism.

Writing in the Fortnightly Review, Pierre de Coubertin, a Frenchman, held the opposite opinion. He felt that the Zola trial hindered many Englishmen from properly realizing the situation in France. In trying to explain to the English public the military and the political paradoxes in France, De Coubertin said that militarism and instability were the forces that consolidated the French republic. He accused Englishmen of losing their habitual sang-froid and being "carried away" like so many Parisians.³⁸

In 1880, the republican government in France tried to remove all church influence in education by establishing public schools called lycées. For a brief period Catholics seemed to lose control over their own educational institutions, including the famous Rue des Postes, but this situation did not last long. The Edinburgh Review castigated the French system and described the

³⁸Pierre de Coubertin, "Contradictions of Modern France," Fortnightly Review, March 1898, 989.

disappointment some French politicians had in the late 1890s with the failure of the anticlerical propaganda which the lycées were designed to conduct.

But whether successful or not, in each case, so far as the Government can effect it, Government dictates the intellectual tendency of all education. Boys at school are given a ready-made code of beliefs and political aspirations; when they become government officials they find a fresh set of formulae which have to be swallowed and the result is to emphasize that likeness between one Frenchman and another. . . . ³⁹

The thesis of the Edinburgh Review's argument was that English people were superior to French people. Education was one of the most significant factors that caused that superiority. This theme was echoed in many British journals by way of articles and letters to editors of the publications. It must be noted, however, that never, even at the height of the Dreyfus drama in September 1899, did the British press hold the entire French nation responsible for the actions of those few individuals who lied, fabricated false documents, and did everything in their power to hold an innocent man captive in the living hell of Devil's Island. There was an immense amount of energy displayed by many intellectuals in France who were convinced that Dreyfus was innocent and who worked for four and a half

³⁹"The Success of the Anglo-Saxons," Edinburgh Review: or Critical Journal, January 1898, 137.

years for a revision of his conviction.⁴⁰ As far as they were concerned, they were fighting against the Church, the chiefs of the army, the royalists, and the imperialists, not to mention the riff-raff of the cities, to bring about a reversal in Dreyfus's condition.

"Tricolor," writing in the Contemporary Review, represented that portion of British society that was antagonistic toward the French and could see nothing good in all of the French system. According to his interpretation, there was no government in France. France was a republic in name only. Tricolor judged that Catholics were of the same temperament that he perceived the Jesuits to be. "The clergy, paid to inculcate love of one's enemies and peace to all men, preach the supremacy of the sword and hatred of Jews and Protestants."⁴¹ Tricolor echoed the Edinburgh Review's theme that French education was under the control of the church.

Education in France is but mental and moral gymnastics, with the avowed object of preparing the young generation to accept Roman Catholic doctrine, just as instruction is but an exercise of the memory, to enable them to pass certain examinations and obtain degrees and situations.

⁴⁰Tricolor, "The Coming Social Revolution in France," Contemporary Review, January 1899, 106. Tricolor's list of a few of the major French intellectuals included Zola, Picquart, Clemenceau, Guyot, Reinach, Gohier, Jaurès, Pressense, and Quillard.

⁴¹Ibid.

Education today . . . is the hand-maid of the church.⁴²

L. J. Maxse, author of "M. Caviagnac's Vindication of Captain Dreyfus,"⁴³ postulated in the March 1899 National Review that French anti-Dreyfusards were trying to transpose the so-called "Jewish syndicate" into a "British syndicate." Dreyfus's enemies accused this clandestine organization of buying French newspapers and French politicians to tarnish France's reputation internationally. This idea was literally laughed out of the British House of Commons. England refused to become the whipping-boy of the French anti-Semites. Maxse accused the French nation of committing political and moral suicide and said that France "henceforward will be regarded by other nations as the late Colonel Henry is regarded by other soldiers. She will be the Esterhazy of Europe."⁴⁴

The Times was sympathetic toward Dreyfus from the time that it was rumored that he had been unjustly condemned. After the publication of Zola's "J'Accuse," the Times was a staunch supporter of Dreyfus, and that support never wavered. The Times wrote about Dreyfus frequently during 1898. In 1899 he was in almost every day's edition. This

⁴²Ibid., 121.

⁴³L. J. Maxse, "M. Caviagnac's Vindication of Captain Dreyfus," National Review, July 1898, 814-34.

⁴⁴L. J. Maxse, "The Sins of the Syndicate," National Review, March 1899, 158-68.

support was balanced with both the positive and the negative being reported. The Times printed anonymous letters from French citizens who complained that interest by English citizens in the Dreyfus case was an intrusion into the private affairs of France. It even printed letters that were not complimentary to England to show the English public the kind of polemic writing that was being submitted to the French public.

The Times contrasted the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church after the supreme court overturned Dreyfus's conviction against its inaction before that court made its decision. "While the mortal struggle for justice was going on the Vatican never raised a finger in the cause of right and mercy, while some of its most active agents in France were foremost in hounding on the ignorant populace and in playing upon every unworthy prejudice."⁴⁵ After the case was overturned, the Vatican asserted that it had never departed from its instructions to French Catholics to obey the laws of the republic. The Vatican never made a plea for justice in the Dreyfus case and never attempted to silence the anti-Semitic agitation of La Croix. Catholic organs in France were using all sorts of ridiculous rhetoric in the Dreyfus case.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Editorial, Times, 8 June 1899, 11.

⁴⁶"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 25 July 1899, 3.

The Times was incensed with the attempted assassination of Dreyfus's attorney, Fernand Labori, on 14 August 1899. "It is the natural result of the appeal to the most brutal and savage passions which has been assiduously made in France for a long time past by the clerical and military faction committed to the hunting down of Jews and Protestants."⁴⁷ There was an outpouring of condemnation, not only in the Times, but in journals all over England.

British analysis of the Rennes court-martial suggested that the trial quickly degenerated into a farce of irrelevant charges, gossip, and forged documents. "The greater portion of the matter put in as evidence to-day would shame the gossip of an afternoon tea-party of village spinsters."⁴⁸ The Times was not at all flattering in its description of the Rennes trial and was quick to condemn the French Catholic clergy and the French military for their anti-Semitism and violation of civil liberties.

On 29 August 1899, Cardinal Vaughan, the spiritual leader of English Catholics, addressed the Catholic Truth Society at Stockport. The theme of his address was the social evils of the time and the degraded conditions, morally and physically, of the poor. Vaughan advised the English Roman Catholics to devote themselves to helping

⁴⁷Editorial, Times, 15 August 1899, 7.

⁴⁸"The Dreyfus Trial," Times, 22 August 1899, 9.

various agencies who were aiding the poor, and work for a revival of Christian brotherhood. Vaughan's address caused a lot of response from English Protestants who interpreted his remarks to mean that economic and social infirmities were due largely to the substitution of Protestant politics for Catholic politics.

Vaughan went on to say that the English people would have been in better financial and moral conditions if they had stayed in the Catholic church. This is a case where religious practice was vastly different from religious theory. The Catholic church around the world had amassed great wealth by the end of the nineteenth century yet, the Times concluded, the Catholic countries of Italy, Spain, and France were in worse economic condition at the beginning of the twentieth century than the Protestant countries of England or Germany.⁴⁹

Response to Vaughan's Stockport address was immense, especially in the letters to the editor of the Times. They questioned not only the spiritual benefit of a return to Rome by the English people, but also the social and material benefit. The first serious rejoinder to Vaughan's sermon came from a writer using the pen-name Verax. Verax, himself a Roman Catholic, attempted to direct attention away from the thesis of Vaughan's speech and place the blame for the conditions in France upon the French Catholic press and the

⁴⁹"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 30 August 1899, 5.

educational system under the Jesuits which provided the bulk of the officers in the French army. Verax had been educated in the French Catholic system and was a classmate of Du Paty de Clam. He found that the atmosphere of the schools of his day did not differ much from that of the general staff.

But the atmosphere of lying, tale-bearing, envy and intrigue was an atmosphere only too well calculated to breed forgers and perjurers. Every boy was encouraged and, indeed, compelled under penalty of marked displeasure to act as a spy upon his neighbour.⁵⁰

Verax could not conceal his prejudice or his sense of English superiority. He absolved all English schools of every denomination of the repugnant acts of jealousy and falsehoods that he found in the French system. Neither Vaughan nor Verax was completely right or completely wrong. Both operated within the limited scope of their experiences and prejudices. However, if Vaughan had read the journals that were available to him, he would have had to acknowledge that France did not enjoy all of the spiritual advantages that he supposed England had forfeited with its reformation.

Verax was supported by a writer named Portia who affirmed the spirit of bigotry that animated French Catholics. When it came to the Dreyfus case, people often took positions that seemed out of character for them. He told of a visit to France and a discussion with a French lady who was a devout Catholic. Her opinion was that

⁵⁰"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 1 September 1899, 6.

Dreyfus should have been gotten rid of at the beginning of the Affair and saved the country much trouble. This theme is frequently found in the literature of the period.⁵¹

R. F. Horton claimed that the Roman Church was at its best in England where it was a more efficient, morally effective, and socially active agency. The Church was more successful in accomplishing its mission in England than in countries where it was not hampered by Protestantism. Horton gave spurious statistics that showed that Catholics were four times more criminal than Protestants. Horton was glad that Vaughan was turning the attention of the Catholic Truth Society to the social and moral improvement of British Catholics instead of just focusing on the conversion of Protestants. His statistics are only significant in that they highlight the irony that, "if he should succeed, a quarter of our prison population would become honest citizens, and the slums in the great cities would come near to being reformed."⁵²

The silence of most of the Catholics who took no part in the Dreyfus Affair came back to haunt them during the controversy surrounding the Rennes trial. Vaughan sought in vain to persuade Englishmen that French Catholics were

⁵¹Verax, "The Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 7 September 1899, 10.

⁵²R. F. Horton, "Cardinal Vaughan's Stockport Address," Times, 7 September 1899, 10.

divided on the question of the Dreyfus's innocence. Even families were divided over the issue. But, as Verax pointed out, if there were such a division among Catholics in France, why was not one influential voice lifted up to preach moderation and charity? The damning position of the French Catholic press was that those who professed to believe in the guilt of Dreyfus used a program of falsehood and intimidation against those who believed in his innocence. This was a position that English Catholics could not defend. Worse yet, Picquart and Labori were both Catholics and the Catholic press attacked them vehemently. These men were lumped in with Jews, Protestants, and other traitors. This was inexcusable in the minds of the British. When Vaughan finally did speak out, he spoke not for truth and justice but in defense of some of the most ardent French anti-Semites involved in the Dreyfus Affair.⁵³

Vidi, author of a letter to the editor of the Times, agreed with Verax but he castigated the Roman Church even more. He believed that the whole principle of Catholicism was the welfare and triumph of the church. He, too, had been educated in the Catholic school system and confirmed the loss of moral fiber that attended a Catholic education. In his opinion, anyone who went all the way through the system of clerical training would be a moral cripple for

⁵³"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 7 September 1899, 10.

life. Verax's correspondence dealt with the facts but not with the reasons for those facts. Vidi saw the reason for the agitation of the nationalists, the anti-Semites, and the anti-Dreyfusards in France to be the building of a movement capable of overthrowing the republic and destroying the government system of education that was rearing a generation of non-Catholic Frenchmen. The dictatorial or monarchical government that replaced the republic would be expected to turn over all education responsibilities to the church. "The foremost object of the directors of the Catholic Anti-Dreyfusard campaign has been to regain for the Church her lost political, educational, and spiritual hegemony over the French nation."⁵⁴

British opinion found no justification for French Catholics and Jesuits who were ardent anti-Dreyfus agitators and used their journals to spout out anti-Semitism. The British concluded that French non-Catholics did not have the same interpretation of what truth and justice were as did the Catholic. For example, Dreyfus was condemned and punished for a crime that he knew nothing about, but this was acceptable to French Catholics because it was necessary for the security of the nation. On the other hand, when Henry confessed to being the author of several forged documents, he was justified by many Catholics and

⁵⁴Vidi, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 8 September 1899, 5.

nationalists who said that he was a hero because he did it for the good of the country and the army. Truth and justice could only be determined by whether it aided the church in its divine mission.

Judged by this standard there could be no question as to the attitude of the Church in regard to Dreyfus. The acquittal of a miserable Hebrew could only redound to the credit of his accursed race and consequently work harm to the Church. On the other hand, the establishment of a regime well disposed towards the church, even though riot and massacre were needful for the purpose, would discomfit "the enemy" and would enable the church to continue, under favorable conditions, the work of leading 40 millions of Frenchmen back to the path of salvation.⁵⁵

The author did not charge the Pope with consciously pursuing such a path but he did charge the Jesuits with this kind of reasoning. An examination of contemporary British literature reveals that it was not unusual for English writers to believe thus about the Jesuits. Contributors to English journals found Catholics culpable either by their action or their inaction. The idea that it was better for one man to suffer than for the peace of the nation to be disrupted, or that one man's innocence was not much compared to the welfare of the church, was not acceptable to the English people. This theme was found frequently in French publications, both secular and religious, of the period.

The irony of this theory is that it was the condemnation of Dreyfus that destroyed the peace and harmony

⁵⁵Ibid.

of both the Church in France and the French nation. The disruption of society in France and the riots in Algeria were the direct result of the Dreyfus Affair. Worse than this, France became the laughingstock of Europe, especially of Germany, which knew that Dreyfus was innocent. This must be considered along with the point made by Vaughan that England had suffered great losses since and by the Reformation. One can only deduct, ironically, that England's loss was peace and the maintenance of truth and justice while France's gain was disharmony, riot, race prejudice, condemnation by its allies, and even murder. There were about thirty-six duels fought over the Affair.

The tone of the letters to the editor of the Times was progressively more acute in criticism but the general trend was toward French Catholics and not English Catholics. A writer who signed his letter "A College Tutor" attacked Verax's letter as pathetic. He implied that ecclesiastics had never been blessed with the virtues of judicial impartiality, fairness, and honesty, and had never dealt leniently or justly with their opponents. This writer was very harsh with the Roman Church but he saw the English Church as rational and capable of comprehending the spirit of the modern age. In his judgment, the English Church was the interpreter and reconciler of modern thought and religious spirit. A College Tutor was himself irrational in his condemnation of Catholics, particularly the clergy. His

unstated motivation seems more of an anti-French bias than an anti-Catholic bias.⁵⁶

Another English Catholic, Vincit Veritas, gave a fair assessment of both Vaughan's and Verax's thoughts. He did not discount the good points presented by Vaughan but heartily endorsed Verax's condemnation of French Catholics who were guilty of complicity in the Dreyfus conspiracy by their silence. This was the feeling of most Englishmen, no matter their religious affiliation.⁵⁷

The Times was very uncomplimentary in its reporting of the Rennes trial. It described the scene as a tragi-comedy and declared that the English judicial system was much more fair and just than the French system.⁵⁸ Upon the conviction of Dreyfus at Rennes, the Times reported on reactions from most of the European countries. In keeping with its pro-Dreyfus policy, most of its emphasis was on Dreyfusards and anti-French demonstrations. Except for two Italian publications, most Italians were indignant with the judges' decision. The Jesuit Voce Della Verita found great satisfaction with Dreyfus's guilt. The finding of extenuating circumstances only showed that Esterhazy was guilty also. The Popolo Romano maintained its hostility

⁵⁶"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 8 September 1899, 5.

⁵⁷"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 9 September 1899, 8.

⁵⁸Editorial, Times, 8 September 1899, 7.

toward Dreyfus. The Times was not flattering in its attention given to these Catholic journals or any other publications that were anti-Dreyfus.⁵⁹

The Times was unrelenting in its criticism of the Catholic position. It did not attack the pope directly but those under him were chastised severely. It described the writing of the Jesuit organ, La Croix, as savage wickedness. The Vatican organ, the Osservatore Romano, tried to defend itself against attacks for its anti-Dreyfus stand in not espousing the cause of a Semite accused of treason. The response of the Times was, "Who founded the Catholic Church but a Semite accused of treason?" Englishmen looked on Dreyfus not as a Semite but as a human being.⁶⁰

A journalist who identified himself as an English Roman Catholic took the liberty of speaking for his co-religionists. He supported the lashing that the Times gave La Croix. He, along with many other English Catholics, was as indignant as any of the English Protestants at the Rennes verdict. English Catholics felt disgraced by the Catholic press of France and Italy. The common theme running throughout all of their letters was that the French bishops

⁵⁹"An Appeal Signed," Times, 11 September 1899, 7.

⁶⁰Editorial, Times, 12 September 1899, 7.

should have strongly pronounced, if not in favor of Dreyfus, at least against anti-Semitism.⁶¹

An Englishwoman who was a Roman Catholic was dismayed at the attitude of the Catholic clergy toward the conviction of Dreyfus at Rennes.⁶² Cardinal Rampolla openly approved of the verdict. This, coupled with the silence of the French clergy, the vehement attitude of the French Catholic press, and the confusing utterances of Vaughan, put English Catholics in a difficult position while trying to reconcile English Protestants with the Catholic church. The decisiveness of the English Church in its vigorous denunciation of the injustice of the Affair stood out in sharp contrast to the silence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another English Catholic displayed disgust with the French Catholic church and the clergy in France. He called upon English Catholics to distance themselves from their continental brethren and to withdraw all financial support from French religious institutions within England. Cardinal Vaughan had suggested turning over a new cathedral in England to French monks, which made English Catholics indignant. The writer, who signed his letter H. B., exhibited the fractious attitude of many English Catholics when he set limits to which he would go for the church.

⁶¹"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 13 September 1899, 8.

⁶²"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 16 September 1899, 6.

Should the Roman Catholic Church in England try to interfere in temporal matters, it would have been impossible for H. B. to remain in the Catholic church.

Placed in the position of having to choose between my religion and my nationality, (I) would decide in favor of the latter, since the British nation is assuredly a greater power for good in the present day than the Roman Catholic Church.⁶³

A proclaimed new convert to Catholicism saw the greatest harm of the Dreyfus Affair in England to be the damage done by the French Catholic press to the possibility of converting England back to the Catholic church. In reality, England contained only a small percentage of the total Catholic membership. This writer called Dreyfus the greatest martyr of the century and asked the question, "Can any Catholic, with one fraction of independent judgment left in him, view such a violation of all that is called Christian without a blush of shame?"⁶⁴

A letter to the editor of the Times from an anonymous writer, using the name Catholicus, called on English Catholics to boycott nuns of French extraction who were living in England. Catholicus also admonished them to quit teaching the catechism. His letter caused a flurry of response from other English Catholics. A letter signed "A

⁶³H. B. "To the Editor of the Times," Times, 16 September 1899, 6.

⁶⁴"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

Revising Barrister" strongly endorsed the views of Catholicus and encouraged carrying out his suggestions as a way of showing disgust with the Rennes verdict and the Catholic press in France.⁶⁵

John G. Kenyon rejoined Catholicus by charging that he was attacking innocent people who may have never heard of Dreyfus. Kenyon contended that the cause of Dreyfus should be championed without throwing mud at innocent holy men and women. Kenyon charged that Catholicus used the Dreyfus Affair as an excuse to attack the Catholic church in France and in England.⁶⁶

"Another Catholic Journalist" charged that La Croix was a disgrace to the religious press of the world. Ironically, copies of La Croix were found in Catholic areas of London.⁶⁷ It must be noted that most of the Catholic writers who were Dreyfusards refused to identify themselves. One can only surmise that the reason for their anonymity was a fear of peer pressure or reprisal for their beliefs.

On 17 September 1899, the Vatican finally spoke, addressing the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France. The Holy See encouraged the French clergy to continue in

⁶⁵"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

⁶⁶"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

⁶⁷"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

their zeal and devotion and think about the future of the church by the early education of the children. The Times criticized the Pope's injunction as too little too late. It was so vague that it left itself open to every man's interpretation. The French clergy were no-better off than if the Vatican had maintained its silence.⁶⁸

Vaughan allegorically described the response to his Stockport address as a tornado of feeling sweeping through the English press, indiscriminately destroying much that should be left standing. In the face of all the evidence, including the objections of many of his co-religionists, he again denied that the Catholic church had anything to do with the various trials that took place resulting from the Affair. Vaughan also denied that the church in any way promoted anti-Semitism and affirmed that the church condemned persecution of the Jews and of every other race. "But I say fearlessly that the Popes and the Catholic Church have been the defenders of the race of Israel, and that, whatever inter-racial [sic] antipathies may arise, the Church will always seek to moderate and in the end subdue them."⁶⁹ This statement contradicts the evidence found in contemporary literature. Rather than seek to moderate the campaign against Jews in France, any astute observer could

⁶⁸"The Pope and France," Times, 18 September 1899, 3.

⁶⁹Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 18 September 1899, 9.

have only detected silence coming out of the Vatican. Vaughan united with the rest of England in his condemnation of the Rennes verdict on the grounds that it was unjustified by the evidence. However, he opposed condemning the whole of the French nation for the mistake of the five judges at Rennes.

Stephen Eyre Jarvis, Rector of St. Etheldrada's, Ely Place, Holborn, broke the silence of the English clergy by strongly denouncing the Rennes verdict as iniquitous. Reiterating many British journalists, he asked that Britons not interpret the silence of English Catholics as a sign that they approved of the Rennes judgment. "It would be manifestly unjust to regard the many who do not protest publicly as less indignant and aggrieved at what has happened than the few who do."⁷⁰

Jarvis lived in a community that was home to a large Jewish population that had often supported his fund-raising drives to help the poor. His sympathy expressed the feelings of many of his co-religionists to Dreyfus and to the Jewish population. Generally, Englishmen believed in Dreyfus's innocence and were convinced that eventually the whole truth would be made known and Dreyfus would be exonerated. The common interpretation was that Dreyfus was acquitted before the bar of the civilized world. The

⁷⁰"To the Editor of the Times", Times, 18 September 1899, 9.

actions of the five judges who condemned Dreyfus had only succeeded in dishonoring those judges and the general staff of the French army.

The honor of France was redeemed by the two judges who found in Dreyfus's favor, and by the entire Court of Cassation, the highest civil tribunal in France, which had overturned the original conviction of Dreyfus. Most Englishmen did not condemn the whole of France for the actions of the few and saw themselves as according to those innocent Frenchmen the same justice that they wished for Dreyfus.

A. St. John Seally, a retired major and a Roman Catholic, called Dreyfus the victim of the foulest conspiracy of modern times. He demanded to know what was behind the silence of the church. This silence stood in sharp contrast to the normal procedure of announcing its smallest acts of as examples of divine charity.⁷¹

A Catholic Journalist wrote a second letter to the editor of the Times, directed toward Cardinal Vaughan. This writer was not asking for a pronouncement in favor of Dreyfus, but for some kind of action that would end the movement by French priests against the Jews. Vaughan held the position that the church had no right to interfere with French politics. A Catholic Journalist called the race

⁷¹"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 19 September 1899, 6.

hatred seen in France the most shocking in Europe in living memory. English Catholics and Protestants contended that French priests should stop encouraging race hatred.⁷²

Wilfrid Ward defended Vaughan against those English Catholics and Protestants who countered Vaughan's defense of the French clergy. Ward charged that the facts were distorted and exaggerated and that the worst motives were given for the actions of the French clergy in the Dreyfus Affair.⁷³

Vaughan's defense of the pope and of the Jesuit Catholics was weak. Vaughan denied that officers on the general staff had been Jesuit's pupils, but his authority was only the word of de Mun and the Jesuits of Paris. It is certain that officers' clubs all over France banned almost all publications that were not representative of the Catholic church. Most prominent in their clubs were issues of La Croix. They were expressly forbidden to read Clemenceau's Aurore. Conybeare had previously given examples in the National Review of the polemic journalism found in several Catholic journals. These journals included Drumont's Libre Parole (that he consistently affirmed was founded by the Jesuits), the Gaulois, and the Gazette de France. There were several other journals quoted from, but

⁷²"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 19 September 1899, 6.

⁷³"The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 21 September 1899, 10.

none was more antagonistic than the Libre Parole. Conybeare charged that Vaughan was trusting to the ignorance and good nature of Englishmen to support his position. Clearly, Vaughan's position was an unenviable one in the face of the evidence against him and his defense of the French clergy.⁷⁴

Eva Cock used the Times to defend the individual French clergymen who were working for Dreyfus. Abbé Pichot had formed an organization called the Comité Catholique Pour la Défense du Droit made up of Roman Catholics exclusively. The purpose of this organization was to combat intolerance and race-hatred. Pichot was the author of two important works dealing with the Affair and anti-Semitism. One was a pamphlet titled "la Conscience Chrétienne et L'Affaire Dreyfus" and the other was a small book titled La Conscience Chrétienne et la Question Juive that dealt with the question of race-hatred.⁷⁵ Men of this stature were seen by Englishmen as not just being Catholic in name but also Christian in principle.

Verax continued his attack on Vaughan in the pages of the Times. There was no question in his mind that La Croix was the mouthpiece of the Catholic church in France, and it was the consensus of British writers that La Croix was

⁷⁴Fred. C. Conybeare, "To the Editor of the Times," Times, 21 September 1899, 10.

⁷⁵Eva Cock, "To the Editor of the Times," Times, 21 September 1899, 10.

second only to the Libre Parole in its ability to inflame racial hatred, using as its tools anti-Semitism and nationalism. In his Stockport address and in his later letters in the Times, Vaughan consistently affirmed that the Affair was a state affair and not a religious affair. La Croix left Vaughan open for Conybeare's attack when it stated on 8 September 1899 that the Affair was indeed a religious affair.⁷⁶ One of the strongest denunciations of Vaughan and of the French Catholic press came from the pen of Verax.

When we find the most popular and widely read of the religious organs of Catholic France sunk to such depths of gutter journalism; when we find almost every secular newspaper which professes to champion Catholic interests adopting the same line . . . no amount of special pleading on the part of Cardinal Vaughan, no tardy and ambiguous exhortations from the Holy See, can diminish the heavy responsibility which the Catholic Church has incurred before history, before the outraged conscience of humanity.⁷⁷

There were many more contributors to the Times throughout the months of October, November, and December 1899. Vaughan's Stockport address and his defense of the French were much canvassed. Most contributors were Catholic. The basic themes were the condemnation of the Rennes verdict and the five judges who found Dreyfus to be

⁷⁶Verax, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case: to the Editor of the Times," Times, 20 September 1899, 4. Verax translated from the French publication La Croix (8 September 1899): "The Dreyfus case has hardly anything military about it; it is a religious case."

⁷⁷Ibid.

guilty, the silence of Catholic priests and bishops, both in England and in France, the muteness of the pope, and the role of Jesuits in the education of young men destined for the French army. Names of many writers who contributed to the Times were also found in other English publications.

Both Verax in the Times and Catholicus in the Spectator referred to the expression used by the Jesuit organ, La Croix, when upon the conviction of Dreyfus at Rennes, it said, "As patriots we rejoice; as Catholics we give thanks to God." These words would come back to haunt Catholics. French Catholics who did not sympathize with the anti-Semitic press were branded as liberals. Yet, even these Catholics came under fire in the British press for their silence, that being interpreted as acquiescence in the deeds done by the vocal minority. Catholicus defended the English press, which was accused of being hostile to France and French Catholics. The evidence shows that this was not true. The English Catholic press was guilty only of the sin of silence. It was the French Catholic press that was openly anti-Dreyfus and anti-Semitic. "It would be unjust to take La Croix and its staff as representatives of French Catholicism: We hope, we believe, that they are not. But when no authoritative voice is raised to disclaim them judgement goes by default."⁷⁸

⁷⁸Catholicus, "Clerical Anti-Semitism," Spectator, 23 September 1899, 409-410.

It was easy for Englishmen of the 1890s to exaggerate the power of the Roman Catholic Church. This was evident in many articles dealing with the Affair and hundreds of letters written to the various journals of the period. This does not diminish the fact that the church had significant influence. It was accepted that most of the women in France were participants in their churches as were about one third of the men. Many children were educated in Catholic schools. Besides this, the church in France was monarchical in its sentiments. The Spectator expressed the opinion held by many Englishmen that, if Frenchmen thought that a monarchy could defeat the Germans and fulfill their desire for revenge, they would have been willing to suspend their republican form of government for a while.⁷⁹

The Spectator personified French public opinion as a sovereign that accepted the guilt of Dreyfus, despite the preponderance of evidence to the contrary, and held him worthy of punishment, even if he were innocent. This journal charged that the church nourished and fed the agitation against Dreyfus with calumnies and atrocious menaces. The analogy used by the Spectator was that of Barabbas, who, though he was a murderer, was released

⁷⁹"The Next Great Trial in France," Spectator, 9 September 1899, 337.

because of public opinion, while Jesus was crucified as a consequence of public demand.⁸⁰

The Spectator made a strong attack against Cardinal Vaughan's stand on anti-Semitism and his declaration that the Dreyfus Affair was a state matter and not a religious concern. This journal refuted the notion that the church was a defender of the race of Israel and editorialized that there was a far more significant reason for the pope's sympathetic attitude toward the French army and his refusal to speak out against the injustice done to Dreyfus. This had to do with returning the Vatican to power in Italy.

There were only two means by which the Vatican could recover the temporal power that it had once enjoyed. One was the overthrow of the house of Savoy. The other was the conquest of Italy by the French army. France, in turn, would be inclined to restore the pope to a position of power in Italy because a united Italy would then be impossible. Under this theory, the Vatican could not afford to alienate the French army by seeming to be sympathetic toward Dreyfus.⁸¹ The latter hypothesis discounted the system of alliances that was developing in Europe at the time. Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, making an attack on Italy by France highly unlikely.

⁸⁰"The Poisoning of Public Opinion," Spectator, 16 September 1899, 370.

⁸¹"Cardinal Vaughan on Anti-Semitism," Spectator, 23 September 1899, 403-4.

Echoing the voice of many other British journalists, the editor of the Spectator defended the French clergy against duplicity in the Dreyfus agitation but was harsh in its criticism of the ecclesiastical authorities in France and in Rome. Even an honest belief in the guilt of Dreyfus was no excuse for the actions of the anti-Dreyfusards. Both Catholicus and Wilfrid Ward used the pages of the Spectator to attack Catholic anti-Semitism while simultaneously defending those French clergy who were not involved in the case.⁸²

The consensus of British public opinion concerning the pope and the Dreyfus Affair was that not all of the French clergy were bad men doing evil intentionally. St. George Mivart, writing in the Spectator, brought the issue into sharp focus. No one expected the pope to be Dreyfus's arbitrator, but, the thing that condemned the Vatican was its silence in not rebuking the infamous utterances of the religious press. The editor of the Spectator summed it up by saying:

No reasonable person ever expected or desired that Rome should make itself the judge of the innocence or guilt of Captain Dreyfus; but it could and ought to have condemned the methods and inspiration of the Anti-Dreyfusards and the Anti-Semite campaign.⁸³

⁸²Catholicus, "The Peril of the Roman Church," Spectator, 4 November 1899, 657. Ibid., Wilfrid Ward, "The French Clergy and the Dreyfus Case."

⁸³"The Peril of the Roman Church," Spectator, 11 November 1899, 694.

S. F. Cornély was not as kind to the French clergy as were some other British writers. He proposed an interesting theory that divided the French population into two classes, the impulsive and the reflective. The impulsive class was made up of those people who concluded that Dreyfus was guilty or innocent because of preexisting prejudices. Jews found Dreyfus innocent because of his race while anti-Semites found him guilty for the same reason. The reflective class of people was made up of those who formed their own opinions only after reading available information and documents. The reflective class was made up of people who were convinced that Dreyfus was innocent. The impulsive class, except the Jews, believed that Dreyfus was guilty of the charges lodged against him. In France, anti-Semitism were usually of conservative persuasion, that is to say, the Catholics.

Cornély's indictment against the press and the clergy was not that they were dishonest, but that they were willfully ignorant of the facts in the Dreyfus Affair in order to remain satisfied with their hypothesis. The clergy should have been able to offset the influence of the radical press, but it did not. Ecclesiastics did as much damage by their silence as the radical press did with its noise. The silence of the ministry made it seem that it concurred with the method of the anti-Semites. Failure to silence or neutralize La Croix was a mistake by the French clergy.

Cornély described La Croix as "abominable pamphlets in which mendacity, calumny, and outrage masquerade under the image of Christ crucified."⁸⁴ La Croix was the most important of the anti-Semitic journals of the religious press in France.

The Westminster Review joined the ranks of those who identified the Dreyfus drama as a military-clerical conspiracy. It was the view of this publication that Mercier and the other persecutors of Dreyfus had reached such depths of disgrace that it could not even be said of them that "their honour rooted in dishonour stood."⁸⁵ Cardinal Vaughan faced the dilemma of defending the church against public opinion in the face some clergy who were unrepentant and unashamed. This left them open to the sharp rebuke of the Westminster Review.

Priests who profess to be followers of Christ allow the minds of French Catholics to be poisoned by rabid anti-Semite newspapers. It would be a bad day for the Church of Rome if it were to be identified with "the act of injustice whereby Dreyfus was condemned at Rennes without clear evidence of guilt"---an assumption against which Cardinal Vaughan has protested, though, we fear, without sufficient reason to justify his defence of the Church.⁸⁶

⁸⁴S. F. Cornély, "The Case of Dreyfus: A Judicial Error," Anglo-Saxon Review, September 1899, 236.

⁸⁵"The Dreyfus Case and the Future of France," Westminster Review, October 1899, 366.

⁸⁶Ibid., 368.

The Catholic church's involvement in the Dreyfus Affair revived at least a half-dozen stories from French history that were paradigmatic examples of injustices involving Catholic clergy. In most of these cases the impetus of the crime was race hatred, but at least one case involved covering up the crimes of the real criminals. The most famous case was that of Jean Calas, a Calvinist accused of killing his own father in 1762. Calas, his son, and a friend were condemned to be tortured and broken at the wheel at the instigation of some fanatic priests. His wife was to be burned alive. Calas was executed in the prescribed manner but before the other sentences could be carried out, the case was brought under revision by the highest court of the land and the verdicts reversed. Calas was declared innocent and his family was allowed to sue the judges for damages.

The champion in the Calas case was the French writer and philosopher, Voltaire. Voltaire defended this and other cases in his fight against religious intolerance and his struggle to help victims of religious persecution. It was easy for the British to make a comparison between Voltaire and Zola, the defender of Dreyfus. The essential ingredients of the cases were very similar. Zola assumed the position of Voltaire of the nineteenth century. In both cases the Roman Catholic Church was seen as aiding and abetting the state in carrying out an injustice. Dreyfus

was banished to Devil's Island where he languished for almost five years. His tormentors were not allowed to speak to him except on official business regarding his punishment. Calas was dragged with a gag in his mouth to the Place de Grève to die. George Allen, writing in the Times, made a parallel of the two cases by using nineteenth century substitutions for those of the Calas Affair.

Jews for Protestants, the Jesuits for Confréries de l'enlèvement, Dreyfus for Calas père, the Court-martial for the magistrates, the Ile du Diable for the "tortures de la question," Zola for Voltaire, the Court of Cassation for the Tribunal de Maîtres des Requêtes, Labori and Demange for Peaumont and Mauleon, Henry for David.⁸⁷

Voltaire and Zola were alike in their ability to put the finger on the very fault in each issue. Each had a writing style that was noble and eloquent. It was Zola's "J'Accuse" that broke the Dreyfus case as Voltaire's writings on the Calas Affair caused a public attack on the judicial system.⁸⁸

⁸⁷George Allen, "The Dreyfus Case: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 31 August 1899, 6. Also see C. Rivers Wilson, "The Dreyfus Trial: To the Editor of the Times," Times, 24 August 1899, 9. "The Dreyfus Case," Times, 28 January 1898, 3. R. E. Bartlett, "Voltaire and the 'Affaire Dreyfus,'" Spectator, 23 September 1899, 410. (Bartlett recommended Voltaire's correspondence on the Calas case in Volume XXX of his collected works.) W. K. Gill, "M. Zola and the Papacy," Spectator, 23 September 1899, 410. An Anglo-Parisian Journalist, "A Regenerated France(?)" Fortnightly Review, July 1899, 140-50. "Voltaire and Dreyfus," Nation, 8 December 1898, 424-25.

⁸⁸"French Criminal Procedure," Quarterly Review, January 1900, 201-205. Also see Tricolor, "The Coming Social Revolution in France," Contemporary Review, January 1899, 121.

A second important parallel to the Dreyfus case cited in the British press was the experience of Galileo, the Italian astronomer and physicist whose discoveries proved that the Copernican system was correct, that the earth revolved around the sun. When he published A Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the World, the Inquisition called him in to appear before it. He was forced to say that he had given up his belief that the Copernican theory was correct and was sentenced to an indefinite prison term. Dreyfus was seen as the Galileo of the nineteenth century. The parallel here was that the clergy misled the world in both cases. Time proved that Galileo was correct and that Dreyfus was innocent. In the Dreyfus case, Mercier was seen as the type and mirror of a Jesuit grand inquisitor.⁸⁹

H. C. Foxcroft reminded the English of their own political/religious scandal. He said that the "Popish Plot" was the Dreyfus Affair of English history. In 1678, a Briton named Titus Oates concocted a story about a plot by Roman Catholics to assassinate Charles II, the king of England, and to destroy Protestantism. The Popish Plot, as

⁸⁹"The Peril of the Roman Church," Spectator, 21 October 1899, 557-59. "The Dreyfus Case," Times, 16 March 1899, 5. St. George Mivart, "The Peril of the Roman Church," Spectator, 11 November 1899, 694. Catholicus, "The Peril of the Roman Church," Spectator, 4 November 1899, 657. "Some Recent Catholic Apologists," Fortnightly Review, June 1900, 31. Wilfrid Ward, "Catholic Apologetics: A Reply," Nineteenth Century, June 1899, 959-61. G. W. Stevens, "Scenes and Actors in the Dreyfus Trial," McClures, October 1899, 519.

the scheme was called, caused the English to be suspicious of Catholics, especially Jesuits. There were several comparable incidents in both affairs. Lord Danby in 1678 was General Mercier in 1894. Publication of the arrests was premature. In both cases forgeries were used against the victims. There was a discrepancy in handwriting in each case. In one respect, the English scandal was worse than the French event. The crime for which Dreyfus was punished was committed while the charges formulated by Oates never happened. The purpose of Foxcroft's contribution to the Dreyfus documentation was to remind his countrymen that they, too, were not immune to insane suspicion and rabid sectarian fury. The irony of these kinds of national incidents is that a country can emerge stronger and better because of them.⁹⁰

The themes that flowed from the pages of British journals almost every day during the years of 1898 and 1899 were themes of accusation upon guesswork, condemnation without solid proof, contempt of the very basic principles of law, and condemnation of race hatred and religious bigotry. After the Esterhazy trial on 11 January 1898, and Zola's "J'Accuse" printed two days later in the French journal L'Aurore, under the political authorship of Georges Clemenceau, there was little doubt in the minds of

⁹⁰H. C. Foxcroft, "The 'Dreyfus Scandal' of English History," Fortnightly Review, October 1899, 565-75.

Englishmen as to the innocence of Dreyfus. The broader issue became not the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus but the question of the infamy of his accusers. British writers were as firm in their belief that the highest ranking officers in the French army were guilty of conspiracy and fabricating false documents as they were in the conviction that Dreyfus was innocent. They rejected the argument that those officers were deceived or mistaken or that they could have sincerely believed in the treachery of which Dreyfus was accused.⁹¹

The British public had no sympathy for Drumont and his contemptible publication, the Libre Parole, which may or may not have been under the influence of the Jesuits. This accusation was never substantiated. The religious counterpart of the Libre Parole was the Jesuit publication, La Croix.⁹² The Month, the official organ of the English Roman Catholic Church, never declared itself either for or against Dreyfus nor involved itself in the anti-Semitic agitation that overwhelmed France.

English Roman Catholics were not pressured to side with their French brethren in the Dreyfus Affair. They accepted as fact Conybeare's assertion that the Jesuits were in

⁹¹"The Lookers On," Blackwood's Magazine, September 1899, 424-27. "France Today," Blackwood's Magazine, October 1899, 543-55.

⁹²Frederick C. Conybeare, "General Picquart," Cornhill Magazine, August 1914, 169.

control of the educational facilities in France where future French officers were trained. One could distinguish a definite cleavage in French society between the liberal republicans and the conservative royalists, of whom the clergy were a part. The main contention between English pro-Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards was whether the actions and reactions of French Catholics were proper. English revisionists felt that had French Catholics spoken out against the injustice of the Dreyfus conviction, he would have been set free much sooner. Anti-revisionists felt that, for the most part, their French brothers took the right course of action in their silence, although most Englishmen, whatever of their religion, were not in favor of the polemic writings of La Croix.

It does appear that the silence of the Catholic church was considered by many Englishmen to be an admission of approval of the polemic journalism of La Croix and other French anti-Semitic Catholic journals. This assumed approval was then transposed to mean that their motives involved anti-Semitism by the entire French clergy. The Dreyfus agitation was too complicated to try to explain with simplistic analysis, yet much of the British response tried to illustrate the causes of the Affair in terms that could be easily managed and dissolved by the public without a lot of analysis. Most Englishmen probably did not have enough knowledge of the inner workings of the French society to

know what the Catholic church could have done early in the Affair that would have changed the course of events.

The Roman Catholic Church in England was not permanently damaged by the Affair. English Catholics and Protestants were strong in their disagreements over the particulars of the case, but they never achieved the degree of bitterness that France endured. The situation in France was vastly different. The church lost its position of prominence in French society that it has never been able to recover. It lost its influence on French education that it had enjoyed. British writer G. W. Stevens, writing in the American publication, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, summed up the situation.

Poor France indeed! The government paralytic, her army cankered, her press putrid-- What remains to her? The Church? The Church remains, but the influence of the Catholic leaders and the Catholic clergy in the cause of anti-Semitism has discredited her among all fair-minded men.⁹³

⁹³G. W. Stevens, "France as Affected by the Dreyfus Case," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, October 1899, 797.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EXHIBITION OF 1900 AND THE DREYFUS AFFAIR: THE POLITICS OF ECONOMICS

The Exhibition of 1900 was the fourth in a series of exhibitions held by the French. The political turmoil in France at the turn of the century raised doubt in the minds of many whether the Exhibition would be successful or even if it would be held. Splits within the French society between the republicans, monarchists, authoritarians, and socialists threatened to destroy the Exhibition before it started. The central theme of the agitation was not republicanism, however, it was the Dreyfus Affair.

Many British companies and individuals were calling for a total boycott of the French event because of their dissatisfaction with the Rennes verdict. Such a boycott would have had a devastating effect on the French economy. The political and economical atmosphere was best expressed by Alfred Picard, the commissioner-general for the exposition.

Boycott here, boycott there, boycott everywhere! This repetition of the same word, somewhat obsessive, a catchword, is the perfectly natural consequence of the importance which in a very topical question has assumed in the press. Certain foreign journalists, unhappy with the outcome of the Dreyfus Affair, which they have made their concern, with a zeal as intemperate as

it is indiscreet have begun a campaign to have their fellow countrymen unite to punish France.¹

The Paris Exhibition was not unique. These international events, labeled Expositions Universelles in France, Great Exhibitions in England, and World's Fairs in America, grew from an original French idea, but the first was in England in 1851. Exhibitions were used to promote trade and new technology, educate the middle classes, and present political views. France had used national exhibitions after the revolution of 1789 to stimulate production and consumption at home. England expanded the idea by inviting other nations to take part in the Great Exhibition of 1851 to create new markets abroad. The motive was economics.

France followed with its first international exhibition in 1855. This exhibition was inspired by the rivalry between England and France. The second French exhibition, held in 1867, set the standard by which all other exhibitions were gauged until the end of the Second World War. From 1855 to 1914 an event was held an average of every two years somewhere in the world. Occasionally nations boycotted some of these events or scheduled events of their own to hurt the attendance of those meetings. Lost

¹Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939 (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1988), 36; its quotes were from Richard D. Mandell, Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1967.

income from gate receipts could spell disaster for the organizers of these events if boycotts were successful.

The Exhibition of 1900 marked the ending of an old century and the beginning of a new one. The four major themes presented in the Exhibition were education, trade, progress, and, very importantly, peace. At the turn of the century, European countries were unanimous in their desire for peace between nations. People not only wanted peace abroad but they also wanted peace at home.² Others in France, a small but powerful minority, wanted revenge for their defeat by the Germans in 1870-71. During the 1890s serious problems existed between France and Germany in the areas of finance and economics. The Dreyfus Affair stirred the passion of the French rivalry and hatred for the Germans, who they thought might try to hold an event the same year. Technology was seen as a means of transforming the world and bringing peace and progress.³

²Maurice Baumont, L'Europe de 1900 à 1914 (Paris, France: Editions Sirey, 22 Rue Soufflot, 1966). "Paix intérieure, paix extérieure. "On note une tendance marquée au développement de l'idée internationale. L'exposition, manifestation française, est en même temps universelle." 278.

³France made several serious miscalculations in its judgement of Germany during the period that began with the Dreyfus case and went through the beginning of World War I. After the Affair, a militarist and nationalist party took over. About the only tangible result of the victory over the army in the Dreyfus case was a reduction of the term of military service. For a further examination see John F. V. Keiger, France and the Origins of the First World War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).

Exhibitions were very expensive to present and required the involvement of local and national governments. The first three French exhibitions were financed solely by public money. It was hoped that this investment could be recouped with entrance fees.⁴ The Exhibition of 1900 was filled with liberal ideology, and the government used this event to present to the world its vision of republican liberalism.⁵ It could very easily be interpreted as a counterrevolutionary measure.

The Exhibition of 1900 was very popular and proved to be perhaps the largest public gathering ever. As with previous exhibitions, many people saved for years to go to this event. It proved to be a financial success.

Two other significant developments marked the Exhibition of 1900. People had accepted the idea of entertainment, and exhibitions depicting education, commerce, and propaganda had to be made pleasurable to attract the masses. The concept of entertainment was what brought about the fairgrounds and amusement parks. This was

⁴One of the best sources for information about financial costs of exhibitions is a work by Kenneth W. Luckhurst, The Story of Exhibitions (London: Studio Publications, 1951). For information on the cost of the Exhibition of 1900, see Appendix 11.

⁵For an examination of the propaganda motive on the part of governments financial backing of international exhibitions see John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1984).

also the first time electricity was used so extensively to enhance the environment and give a fairy-tale atmosphere.

The economic consequences of the exhibitions were significant. National economies were rewarded through the income to private manufacturers. Service industries always profited for themselves and for the host cities. Hotels, restaurants, and transportation systems had to be used whether or not the Exposition itself made any money. The events also left behind permanent facilities such as museums, stadiums, and parks. Exhibitions were intended to distract the nationals from their own problems and unite the nation to work together for its own good. They were also intended to indoctrinate the population. The Paris event of 1900 was successful in every way. This exhibition contained all of the ingredients of politics, commerce, and social promotion to preserve the liberal ideal.

In the summer of 1899, the British were well aware of the impact that a successful boycott of the Paris Exhibition could have on the French economy. This was pointed out in a couple of journal articles early in the year. The best sources of information on the Exhibition are the English newspapers.⁶ The upcoming event drew intensive coverage in the British press during the months of August and September 1899, before and during the Rennes trial. After the trial

⁶Most notably Times, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Manchester Guardian, Pall Mall Gazette, and Telegraph. The best French source was Le Figaro.

ended with a second conviction of Dreyfus, the British used the daily papers to vent their anger toward the French by making thousands of demands for a total boycott of the Exhibition of 1900.

Some British writers also realized a boycott would hurt the British economy as well by depriving thousands of English manufacturers of international exposure to their products and access to markets in other nations that they so badly wanted and needed. The British publication, Punch magazine, identified the problem in a caricature in its 30 August 1899 issue. France was personified as a large woman trying to silence the howling mobs in Paris. She was shown holding a newspaper with a leading article on the Exposition and saying to the people of Paris, "Keep quiet, you madmen! If you go on making such an Exhibition of yourselves you'll ruin mine."⁷

J. H. A. MacDonald saw the contrast between the theme of peace of the exhibitions which ran from 1851 through 1900 and the agitation of the Dreyfus drama as a psychological object-lesson. Englishmen had difficulty accepting that an international exposition, celebrating the arrival of a new century, could be held in a country that had openly violated the civil rights of one of its officers and then covered up the injustice. MacDonald, like many other Englishmen, saw

⁷"France to Paris," Punch, 30 August 1899, p. 79.

France as a degenerate country, deplete of moral and ethical values and unworthy of hosting such an event.⁸

The evidence suggests that public opinion outside France had an impact on the French population. In May 1899, the Times reflected the attitude of many Englishmen that the crime committed against Dreyfus ought to be made right before the opening of the great Exhibition. Britons believed that Dreyfus's trial would be revised and that Dreyfus would be brought before his peers and rehabilitated by them. Many people felt that last exhibition of the century should not be held in France unless the Dreyfus matter was settled so that foreigners could feel safe and comfortable in that country.

A nation which invites others to entrust to it its treasures and accept its hospitality was bound to wash its hands of all complicity in this act of cruel injustice of which there has been an effort to make it accept the responsibility.⁹

Cardinal Vaughan used the Times to condemn the Rennes judgment as he tried to distance himself and the Catholic Church in England from the Dreyfus drama being played out in France. On the other hand, he held that it was childish for the British nation to propose to punish France by boycotting the French Exhibition. It would be the British

⁸J. H. A. MacDonald, (Published anonymously), "The Negative Ruler of France," Blackwood's Magazine, June 1899, 1054-55.

⁹"The Dreyfus Case: M. Ballot-Beaupre's Report," Times, 29 May 1899, 5.

manufacturers of commodities like cotton and chemicals that would ultimately pay for such a boycott. It was also proposed in the English press to banish from England all French subjects, but especially Catholics, who were involved in charitable works among English poor. Men like Vaughan and Stephen Eyre Jarvis, rector of St. Etheldrada, Holborn, had to defend not only the English Catholics but also the French Catholics.¹⁰

The Saturday Review saw more subtle reasons and suspicious motives by some Englishmen for the proposed boycott. Some people were glad to use the Affair as an excuse for not attending the Exhibition. The inherent rivalry of the business world would have necessarily forced some companies to attend the event, though it was not deemed financially profitable for those particular companies.¹¹

The Times reported that Sheffield manufacturers, while discussing the possible boycott, had to consider the consequences to their own companies. Many Englishmen believed that although the Rennes verdict was unjust, a boycott would be counterproductive for the English.

Some British manufacturers, though, threatened a boycott. Wesley Richards, a well-known gun manufacturer at Birmingham, wrote that he would withdraw his support for the

¹⁰Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Case," Times, 18 September 1899, 9.

¹¹"Notes," Saturday Review, 16 September 1899, 345.

Exhibition unless France acknowledged and reversed the terrible wrong done to Dreyfus. J. and J. Hopkinson, pianoforte manufacturers, notified British commissioners that they had decided not to participate in the Paris Exhibition. M. B. Foster and Sons, beer, spirit, and cigar merchants, withdrew their support for the Exhibition.¹²

James Dredge, former commissioner-general for Great Britain at the Brussels International Exhibition in 1897, urged the wisdom of delay and moderation before British manufacturers withdrew from the Exhibition of 1900. He pointed out what many others had overlooked, that if the first class firms withdrew, there would be plenty of less scrupulous firms who would gladly fill those places and lower the standard of English exhibits. This would have been a serious blow to British prestige. Dredge was counting on some unforeseen event taking place that would take the pressure off English participants in the Exhibit. This happened when the French president pardoned Dreyfus.¹³

Dredge was not the only writer who expected some new event would salvage the Exhibition. The editor of the Spectator asserted that France would do whatever was required to insure the successful execution of the Paris

¹²"The Dreyfus Case: Address by the Chief Rabbi," Times, 15 September 1899, 4.

¹³"To the Editor of the Times," Times, 15 September 1899, 4.

Exhibition because it stood to make millions out of the event. France would restrain all of her discontents and avoid acting on them until the year 1901. Time proved that the Spectator's predictions were not foolish.¹⁴

Calls for boycotting the Paris Exhibition came from every level of society. At Newcastle, W. D. Stephens, a large shipowner and a member of the Royal Commission of the Paris Exhibition, concluded that he did not want to participate in the Exhibition. The popular assumption was that if hundreds of thousands of Englishmen would refuse to go to France, the Exhibition would be a fiasco and Paris would be financially ruined. Stephens built on this popular sentiment and announced that he would not go to the Exhibition and discouraged others from going, unless Dreyfus was acquitted with honor. The Abbey Improved Chilled Shot Company, at Newcastle, announced that it would not be participating in the Exhibition.¹⁵ The Abernant Dinal Silica Brick and Cement Company of South Wales, the first British company to apply for space in the 1900 Exhibition, withdrew. The Times reacted to the large number of letters to the editor by singling out the letter of George Trollope, a well-known builder, who had been preparing an expensive exhibit to be shown in Paris. The Times called for

¹⁴"The Outlook in France," Spectator, 2 September 1899, 305.

¹⁵"The Dreyfus Case: Proposed Demonstrations in London," Times, 12 September 1899, 8.

moderation in any reaction to the Rennes verdict and felt that it was too soon to form any kind of protest. This did not stop the hundreds of letters being written to the Times and other publications.¹⁶

By 13 September 1899, the secretary of the Royal Commission for British Exhibits had received several cancellations from British firms intending to withdraw. In the end, however, less than a dozen firms refused to participate in the Paris Exhibition of 1900. Some firms which threatened to boycott the Exhibition did so out of economical considerations. They feared that the attendance would be so small that there would not be enough customers to make the venture worthwhile. The respondents to the Times dealt with the Dreyfus Affair and the Paris Exhibition from many different, and often opposite, standpoints.

Richard H. McDonald wanted to present a petition to Queen Victoria that the British government not be represented at the Exhibition. Copies of this petition were to be sent to every newspaper in the country. Joseph Parker, in a letter to the editor of the Times, urged every country to boycott the Exhibition. He felt that Germany and Italy had been badly insulted and that they should participate in the boycott. The consensus of the English people writing to the Times was that there was a need to

¹⁶George Trollop, "To the Editor of the Times," Times, 12 September 1899, 8. Also see the Times editorial on page seven of the same issue.

bring moral pressure on the French conscience and to awaken their sense of need for truth and justice.

As the fury over a potential boycott of the Exhibition reached its zenith, a new consideration was introduced to the English. Many began to question whether people and goods alike would be safe from hostility while in France. Charles Wilson, writing in the Times, was among the first to warn Englishmen not to attend the Exhibition for fear of violence. He described Paris as being in a state of madness unknown since the Commune. His warning of imminent danger to foreigners was not supported by news accounts or editorials in the major publications, including the Times. The Saturday Review felt that art objects that had been loaned to the Exhibition were in danger and that people who had offered to lend them to the exhibit were justified in withdrawing their offer. This research found no incidents of foreigners being attacked or threatened in Paris because of the Dreyfus Affair nor of any articles on loan for the Exhibition being damaged in any way.

In September 1899, before the pardon of Dreyfus, representatives of Punch went to Paris to examine firsthand the political atmosphere in Paris. Other English journals had led them to believe that they would face an anti-English bias there. Many Englishmen perceived that every Frenchman was either pro- or anti-Dreyfus. Punch representatives reported they found exactly the opposite of what they had

expected. All of the conversation was of the coming Exhibition and there was no mention of the Dreyfus Affair except when the "shrieking brotherhood of news-paper sellers was let loose on the streets at the hours of various editions."¹⁷ Frenchmen expected the Exhibition to be successful. Workers were busy erecting buildings for the event and remodeling hotels and other buildings for their anticipated guests. The journalists representing Punch took strong exception with the French journals.

Sometimes the four of us, walked, drove, breakfasted and dined at various restaurants, and with the solitary exception of an itinerant vendor of papers, who exhibited in front of the Cafe de la Paix a scandalously blasphemous caricature a propose of Dreyfus (for which artist, publisher, engraver, and seller ought all to have been heavily fined and sentenced to six months with hard labour in proportion of their responsibility), we with eyes wide open and ears alert, neither saw one single sign, nor heard one single remark, about the case which, on the strength of our own newspapers at home we had been led to believe would be the one absorbing topic every-where in France and, above all, in Paris.¹⁸

Punch was not in favor of a boycott of the event and did not foresee that the Exhibition would be a great disaster for France. While they were in Paris dining at Chez Noël Peters, there was more emphasis put on how to properly cook a wild duck than on the Dreyfus case. In

¹⁷Aller et Retour, "Paris en Vacance," Punch, 27 September 1899, 154-55.

¹⁸Ibid., 154.

fact, the English journalists from Punch were the only ones talking about the Dreyfus Affair.

Punch went as far as to ridicule those Englishmen who were calling for a boycott of the Paris Exhibition because of their righteous indignation at the Rennes verdict. It facetiously recommended that Englishmen enact further self-denying ordinances. "Undergraduates will faithfully attend every lecture, city clerks will bury no more aunts, cooks will cease to entertain policemen, and there will be a close time for burglary, kleptomania and kissing under the mistletoe."¹⁹

The tumult over British firms calling for a boycott caused many people to reconsider their plans to attend the Exhibition. Early in 1899, a committee was formed at Bournemouth to help working-class people who could not afford to pay for the Paris Exhibition in a lump sum to pay by subscription. Several people had subscribed and the committee anticipated a successful trip to the Exhibition. However, the Rennes verdict caused the committee to hold a special meeting which canceled the trip and resolved that all subscribers receive a refund. This was an over-reaction by the committee.

C. E. Howard Vincent confirmed the idea that the Dreyfus case was more talked about in London than in Paris.

¹⁹"Some Further Self-denying Ordinances," Punch, 20 September 1899, 137.

The Anglo-Saxon interest was one of sentiment and humanity alone as compared to Germany and Italy who had a moral right to be offended. Their embassies had been invaded and their mail and telegrams had been tampered with. The English concern was one of truth and justice where the rights of the individual had been violated.

The Times ran a copy of a resolution by the Universal Exhibition Agency, Westminster, offering refunds to all clients and canceling all agreements with any person who wanted to withdraw from the Paris Exhibition. This precautionary measure was taken because of a fear that the Exhibition was going to collapse before it could begin. E. A. Reid, secretary for the Shell Transport and Trading Company, was instructed to write to the Suez Canal Company and the Marseilles Dock Company and withdraw permission for these companies to participate in the Paris Exhibition. Shell had intended to show models of the company's steamers at the Exhibition. H. W. Dillon, a London shipowner, wrote to his agent at Dunkirk telling him that he would not allow any of his ships to land at French ports until the injustice done to Dreyfus was resolved. He called for all Englishmen to do all in their power to show France that she could not violate every sentiment of justice with impunity.

I think if the shipowners of England generally would take a step of this kind, the French commercial public would very quickly find out that it was not a paying game to encourage

such scoundrelism in their army and allow it to override law and equity.²⁰

Not everyone agreed that England should participate in a boycott. There was a myriad of arguments for some form of protest of the Dreyfus verdict. The question was to what extent a protest should go. T. Cameron Wilson, Christ Church Vicarage, Paignton, expressed the futility felt by the common man because of his lack of means to protest the Rennes verdict. It would have been ludicrous to expect the British government to interfere with the actions of a military court in France. Ordinary people had no businesses with which to boycott. Wilson called for a national movement to organize what he called "indignation meetings" to protest the Dreyfus verdict. Firms like Farmer and Brindley that dealt with art marble could have a significant influence by threatening to withdraw from the Exhibition, but a writer named Lex brought the issue down to a more personal level. "But we can abstain from trusting our persons, property, and capital, without absolute necessity, in the jurisdiction of a State where civilized justice is for the time being in abeyance."²¹ Lex offered balance to the English reaction by arguing that wholesale censure of the French character and French institutions would have been in very bad taste, even if the circumstances had been worse.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

John Lobb presented a resolution to the London School Board to withdraw its representation from the Paris Exhibition. The board had passed a resolution on 26 May 1898 regarding participation in the Exhibition.

The International Arbitration and Peace Association met in London on 13 September 1899 and took just the opposite position to most Englishmen.

This committee views with deep regret the attempts now being made in this country, in the United States, and on the Continent to organize a boycott against the Paris Exhibition and in other ways to conspire against the welfare of the French people. The committee begs all friends of truth and justice in this matter not to allow the violence of protest to lead them into the opposite extreme of error and injustice. Dreyfus and France are equally the victims of militarism. There is no evidence that the Rennes Court-martial represented the French people. France is not the only country where militarism reigns and military men wield an oppressive authority. There are misguided factions in every country; but in every country there is also a natural objection to foreign interference. This committee still trusts to the noble heart of France. . . . ²²

Walter Nathan pointed out that the chief sufferers of an international boycott would be the thousands of small shopkeepers and their families, many of whom were Dreyfusards and had wanted his acquittal. The French army would be little affected by a boycott. A boycott would punish a class of people distinct from, and in many cases opposed to, the army. S. Flood Page felt that talk of boycotting the Exhibition was playing into the hands of the

²²"The Dreyfus Case," Times, 14 September 1899, 8.

conspirators. His point was valid that anti-Dreyfusards would use the boycott to proclaim that the friends of Dreyfus were in reality haters of France and not supporters of justice. Another writer who signed his letter Francophil called the idea of a boycott childish and affirmed that a boycott would punish the wrong parties.

The English public was sharply divided on the issue of a boycott of the Paris Exhibition of 1900. An examination of the material shows that everyone agreed that an injustice had been done and that England needed to apply some kind of pressure on France to force a revision. Duke Gandolfi of Pall Mall suggested that a committee be formed to gather the names of everyone who had planned to visit the Exhibition but had decided not to attend as a protest against the Dreyfus conviction. Such a collection would send a message to France that the coming Exhibition may be facing failure.

The English statesman, John Morley, showed that France had done more for human liberty than any other nation. Morley felt that France achieved a great deal for humanity by its revolution, and by it, helped both England and America and was entitled to the admiration of all truly liberal minds.²³ The Westminster Review called the proposal of a boycott of the Paris Exhibition illogical and charged that it would not be justice.

²³"The Dreyfus Case and the Future of France," Westminster Review, October 1899, 358-59.

"Two wrongs do not make a right." All level-headed Englishmen will soon recognize the applicability of their common-sense principle to the present case. English manufacturers cannot injure the trade of France without injuring their own trade. It is to moral and spiritual agencies, after all, that we must have recourse in order to save unhappy France. In spite of her artistic greatness, in spite of her splendid services to civilization, France is decadent.²⁴

Not everyone agreed with the Westminister Review. The Review of Reviews countered that the Exhibition would bring out those good qualities in the French people that would triumph over the arrogance and brutality of militarism. Unlike England, Germany, the United States, and Russia, the population of France did not increase during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Review of Reviews saw France as advancing in wealth and power and in the enlightenment and happiness of her citizens.

The exposition was praiseworthy in its inception, and it belongs distinctly with those forces that make for education and refinement and for the promotion of a spirit of true brotherhood among men of all nations who believe in science, art, and the dignity of labor.²⁵

After Dreyfus was pardoned on 19 September 1899, the clamor for a boycott of the Exhibition soon died down. The Paris Exhibition of 1900 was one of the most successful international events ever held. Attendance at the 1900 event was an astronomical forty-eight million people. The

²⁴Ibid., 365.

²⁵"All hail the Great Exposition," Review of Reviews, October 1899, 396-97.

total population of France stood only at about thirty-five million people. The numbers themselves show that a wide selection of Frenchmen attended the event but also there were more foreigners at this Exhibition than at any other Exhibition. Splits within the French society and the pressure of foreign opinion almost caused a collapse of the 1900 Exhibition. There is no question that Dreyfus was the central issue, more than republicanism, clericalism, or militarism.

Calls for a boycott of the Exhibition served as a safety valve for Englishmen to let off steam over their frustrations with the Dreyfus verdict. One motive for English anti-French feelings may have been the animosity that the English felt toward the French because of their sympathy for the Boers in the war in South Africa. Another political issue was the terrorist threat in Paris during the last decade of the nineteenth century. There was a certain amount of anarchist activity in Paris during the Exhibition, but no one suffered from terrorist bombs during the event. Over two thousand English firms participated in the Exhibition, and as has been stated, only a handful boycotted the event. Those who did may have used the event as an excuse for not participating when the real motive was another issue. In any event, the Exhibition was very successful, not only for the French, but also for the English. France did not stage another international

exposition for twenty-five years. However, there never was another exhibition as successful as the Paris Exhibition of 1900.²⁶

English people disdained the injustice of the Rennes decision and the disregard by a small element in France for truth and justice in the Dreyfus Affair. Many Englishmen strongly condemned what they saw as a cowardly act. The majority had no way to show their feelings and protest what they felt was a crime by the French government, other than the use of newspapers and letters to the editor. The number of letters received by the Times and all other major newspapers was so great that they could not print all of them. The Times tried to print a cross-section of opinion expressed by the English public.

It is reasonable to assume that world opinion had some effect on the thinking population in France. In reality, however, it was Frenchmen who were responsible for the rehabilitation of Dreyfus. Scheurer-Kestner was the first to denounce Esterhazy and proclaim Dreyfus's innocence when most French people still believed him guilty. Picquart sacrificed his career and his future to establish the innocence of Dreyfus. Ludovic Trarieux founded the League of the Rights of Man²⁷ for the defense of Dreyfus and

²⁶For more information on attendance records and the financial success of gate receipts see Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas, chapter two, "Funding, Politics and Society," 27-51.

²⁷Ligue des droits de l'Homme.

became an important Dreyfusard leader. Zola was responsible for reopening the case with his letter, "J'Accuse." Edgar Demange and Fernand Labori were attorneys who put their futures, and in Labori's case, his life, on the line to defend Dreyfus. Very importantly, it was the Court of Cassation, the highest court in France, which rendered a unanimous decision from forty-six judges that overturned the original conviction. Wholesale condemnation of the entire French nation by many Englishmen was as unjust as the verdict rendered by the five judges who condemned Dreyfus at Rennes.

There is no documentation supporting the argument that the English calls for a boycott of the Paris Exhibition resulted in the pardon of Dreyfus. The political atmosphere in France in September 1899 was such that the French government had to take some measure to insure stability. There were not only mounting pressures within France, but pressure from her neighboring countries. On the other hand, the magnitude of protest from Englishmen calling for a boycott most surely had to have been considered by French authorities. The final attendance figures of the Exhibition of 1900 and the participation of British merchants and manufacturers indicate that many English people were gratified with the actions of the French president in pardoning Dreyfus.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

When Dreyfus was arrested for espionage on 15 October 1894, he was the victim of a few war office miscreants, including Lieutenant-Colonel du Paty de Clam and Generals Mercier, Billot, Gonse, and Boisdeffre. Immediately, because of forces like nationalism and anti-Semitism, many politicians, journalists, churchmen, and professional soldiers became entangled in what came to be called the Dreyfus Affair.

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, around whom the Affair centered, played no part in the Affair. He had been banished to Devil's Island for nearly three years before his case became an affair. During his incarceration, he was kept in a state of ignorance about his legal status and only learned of the long struggle on his behalf upon his return to France in the summer of 1899. Thereafter, he maintained silence, voicing no opinion about his condition, and trusted in the honor and integrity of his superior officers for his freedom. Dreyfus could not have known how baseless were his hopes, since it was because he was a Jew that the false charges were lodged against him. This espionage case became an international affair because a strong nationalist and

militarist movement in France developed out of its humiliating defeat by the Germans.

After the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1871, France established the Third Republic. The government was made up of men from every political persuasion including monarchists, militarists, socialists, and anarchists. Men from both the right and the left supported Georges Boulanger in the late 1880s in an attempt to overthrow the republican government. When this attempt failed, the resulting political void was partially filled with an assortment of anti-parliamentarians who attempted to use the Dreyfus Affair to their own ends and overthrow the government.

England was acutely aware of the strong nationalist movement in France, but British interest in the Affair developed, not because of nationalism, but because of an appreciation of civil liberties. Englishmen felt that an injustice had been done to an individual and used the press to express fear, lest a similar incident take place in England. The British also jealously guarded their form of government in which the civilian politicians held power over the military.

The army was the strongest power in France at the end of the nineteenth century. Its officer corps consisted of a cadre of conservatives, some of whom were monarchists who despised the democratic programs of the republic. Some, but by no means all, of these officers took advantage of the

Dreyfus Affair to try to achieve their own ends or to further their own careers. The actions of these French officers were an anathema to many British officers, both active and retired, who used the press to express surprise and contempt at the brotherhood of French officers who conducted themselves in such a degrading and offensive manner.

In the literature of the Dreyfus Affair, it is often hard to separate the themes of nationalism and anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism existed outside the nationalist mood, but the spirit of nationalism absorbed the anti-Semitic movement and gave anti-Semites a focal point for their prejudice, political bigotry, and financial woes which they blamed on Jews. Several Jesuit priests who were prominent in the anti-Semitic movement caused the Catholic church to become involved in the Affair.

There were many leaders in the Catholic church who were against the republican government in France. The Catholic church had a strong influence on the army officer corps which had largely been educated in church-sponsored schools, controlled primarily by the Jesuits. The Catholic church wanted to restore the monarchy in order to reestablish its power. If this were not possible, then any change in government that would restore its influence was acceptable. Because of Jesuit involvement in education, and of a few Jesuit anti-Semitic leaders, the Catholic church was caught

up in the middle of the tempest. The conflict between the Catholic church and the secular authorities in France stirred up similar feelings in England between Catholics and Protestants causing an outburst of argument in the British press. There were strong feelings among the Christian denominations in England over the Dreyfus Affair, and there was a significant anti-Catholic bias exhibited in newspapers and journals. However, this Catholic/Protestant strife was balanced by a strong sense of unity among all sectors of the Christian faith that a grave injustice had been done to Dreyfus, and they were strong in their resolve that the wrongs must be rectified by Dreyfus's rehabilitation.

British Catholics were put in the awkward position of defending the church and yet standing against the injustice done to Dreyfus. This is exemplified in the many letters to the editor of the Times from Catholics who, while defending Dreyfus, were reluctant to sign their names to their letters.

The French press was dynamic in its support of, or opposition to, Dreyfus as an individual and to the living symbol that Dreyfus became. To the anti-Semites he was the embodiment of all the atrocities attributed to the Christ killers since the crucifixion. Drumont's anti-Semitic La Libre Parole was failing in 1894 at the time when it printed the leak that a spy had been arrested in the war office and that the spy was a Jew. He used the Dreyfus Affair to

rebuild support for his paper. Drumont was offset by Georges Clemenceau and his journal, L'Aurore, that printed Zola's "J'Accuse." The pro-Dreyfus papers, L'Aurore and Le Sifflet, and the anti-Dreyfus papers, La Libre Parole and psst...! best demonstrate the polarization of the French press over the Affair. British journalism offers no comparable examples. For the most part, the British press was pro-Dreyfus. The most obvious example of apparent neutrality was the Catholic origin, the Month. In this case, its neutrality was interpreted as being anti-Dreyfus and worked against Cardinal Vaughan and the Catholic church.

French anti-Semitism and the anti-Semitic movement in England resulted in an outpouring of sympathy for British Jews and the establishment of several agencies to help poor Jews. This anti-Jewish agitation also produced tremendous support for the Zionist movement and large funds for Zionist projects.

British Jewish Zionists used the Affair and its resulting hysteria to intimidate fellow Jews by contending that England was ripe for a similar incident of anti-Semitism. A. L. Shane, writing in the British publication, Jewish Historical Studies, contends that the Dreyfus Affair could have happened in England.¹ Some of Dreyfus's

¹Shane, "The Dreyfus Affair: Could it have Happened in England?" 135-38.

contemporaries also held the same view. While this theme was voiced in England at the turn of the century, it was usually done by Zionist leaders like Israel Zangwill, Joseph Cowen, and Leopold J. Greenberg. Zangwill felt that the general attitude in England toward Jews was that "You are not a brother, you are a bother."² There were many Jews, especially those who had acquired a degree of wealth, who were comfortable with their stations in society and did not accept the ideas of British Zionists and did not believe that England could experience such a travesty of justice.

The safeguard in England at the turn of the century against an English Dreyfus Affair was not based on race or the rebellion against French anti-Semitism but in the British attitude which jealously guarded democratic institutions and the rights of the individual. This is shown in the hundreds of letters and articles of protest, not against an injustice done to Dreyfus the Jew, but directed toward the violation of the civil liberties and civil rights of an individual. Dreyfus was defended by Catholics and Protestants. Politicians like Salisbury and Churchill rallied to his support. Queen Victoria was dismayed at Dreyfus's plight and his second conviction.

The British press was relentless in its support for a victim of racial discrimination and judicial error. The Times was not Dreyfus's supporter early in the fight but

²Ibid., 142.

became Dreyfus's strongest supporter in the British press. It is the best source for continuous chronological coverage of the Affair.

Western Europe in 1899 was replete with nationalism. However, the politics of economics dictated a continuous search for new markets as well as new goods and services. The Exhibition of 1900 gave France the opportunity to showcase advancements in technology, education, and entertainment. It was also used as propaganda to show the rest of Western Europe the superiority of the French political system and French culture and as a counter revolutionary measure against those Frenchmen who wanted to abolish the republic and restore the monarchy or institute a socialist form of government. Consequently, the British call for a boycott of the Exhibition put significant pressure on France to resolve the Dreyfus issue. There is no way of measuring the amount of influence England's call for a boycott had on Loubet's decision to pardon Dreyfus, but the magnitude of response from English citizens was such that there were calls from France for moderation.

More sober voices in England pointed out the consequences that a boycott would have had on English manufacturers and merchants. Beyond this, had England not participated in the Exhibition, many Britains felt that there would be other countries with inferior products that would take their place and reap the financial rewards.

Dreyfus's pardon settled the issue of a boycott and the Exhibition of 1900 was one of the most successful public events ever held. The significance of the Exhibition and the threatened boycott is that it gave England a powerful bargaining tool at the height of the Dreyfus Affair when otherwise its arguments would have been limited to moral and ethical values. Economic and commercial threats were something that every Frenchman could appreciate.

The Dreyfus Affair and its effects are still with us today. The 1987 Dreyfus exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York City was an example of the lingering effect of the Affair. Hundreds of articles and Dreyfus memorabilia were on display. Besides newspapers, there was a myriad of commercially produced products that expressed pro- and anti-Dreyfus positions.³ There were games, posters, postcards, comics, and many other novelty items associated with the Affair. A popular pro-Dreyfus board game was "The Game of the Dreyfus Affair and Truth." The goal of the game was to reach the truth. In the middle of the board was the picture

³The best source for an examination of Dreyfus memorabilia is a work edited by Norman L. Kleeblatt, The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice, (Los Angeles, The University of California Press, 1987). This book was published on the occasion of the opening of a Dreyfus memorabilia exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York City 13 September 1987-15 January 1988. This was the first time there had ever been an assemblage of documents and items associated with the Dreyfus Affair.

of a well and the idea comes from a French saying that "Truth lies at the bottom of the well."⁴

Historians today have the advantage of examining articles, biographies, and court records to try to get at the truth of the Dreyfus affair. One can not help but wonder, though, how much truth is still at the bottom of the well. Occasionally one may want to ask, "How goes the Dreyfus Affair?"

⁴Kleeblatt, The Dreyfus Affair, 191.

CHAPTER SIX
CLASSROOM APPLICATIONS

The Dreyfus Affair had an enormous impact on England, France, and the rest of Western Europe. Dreyfus was illegally tried and unjustly condemned when he was caught up in the imbroglio of anti-Semitism and nationalism in France in the 1890s. The themes that are found in the Dreyfus material can be used by classroom teachers in several disciplines. The Dreyfus Affair involved the French military as well as the judicial, executive, and legislative branches of the French government. Several leaders of the Catholic church in France agitated against Dreyfus. Because of this, Catholics in other nations were forced to decide either for or against Dreyfus. For the most part, interaction by French politicians, church leaders, and officers in the French military caused the themes that developed out of the Affair to come into focus for the British people.

A partial listing of disciplines which could find a study of the Dreyfus Affair useful, or even necessary, include history, both European and United States history, economics, journalism, political science, law, and religious studies. Most European historians consider the Affair to be the most celebrated judicial case in modern history.

Englishmen became convinced that unless some action was taken to try to rectify the incongruity of the Affair, the safety and security of all peoples living in democratic societies were in danger. Consequently, the Affair is important for more than just its historical perspective.

The importance of the Affair in European history is evident. It came at a time when nationalism, militarism, anti-Semitism, and religious animosity were galvanizing different factions in European society, and Dreyfus became a cynosure for those who believed in democratic government, liberal principles, and religious tolerance.

To facilitate the use of this research in a classroom environment, four assignments are provided in the appendix section of this document. They are designed to be adaptable for use as outside reading assignments, class discussion, or taken directly from the appendix and used as essay examination material. There were many thousands of articles and essays written about the Affair. These were chosen because of the diversity with they may be used in the various disciplines of higher education. They highlight the themes of anti-Semitism, nationalism, and the power of the press.

The first exercise is taken from an article of moderate length that gives the reader a fair analysis of the details of the Affair. The sample questions that are provided are designed to cause the students to do some critical thinking

and to equate the themes of the Affair to contemporary problems. Because the questions are in an essay format, it may not be possible to use all of them in a limited section of study of the period. Depending on the discipline of the class, the questions provided should give an instructor enough guidance to formulate appropriate material for a given class.

Exercise number two consists of a copy of the front page of Edouard Drumont's La Libre Parole, Saturday, 23 December 1899. Drumont was the most ardent of the French anti-Semites. Besides allowing students to become familiar with a journal from the period, they can be made aware of the destructive nature of pejorative terms and the dangers of anti-Semitism. Guidelines for using this article and questions can be found in appendix number two.

As with exercise number two, the third exercise can be used to show the power of the press. By the 1890s, the press had adapted the use of pictures and photography to make newspapers more attractive to buyers. A style of writing that came to be called "yellow journalism" was employed to incite readers and build circulation of journals. The British publication Punch used satire and allegory to call attention to problems in society at home and abroad. The use of this genre often served as a relief valve for a public that was bombarded by other journals that

tried to present problems in the worst possible light to increase sales.

During August 1899, during the Rennes trial, thousands of people in England were calling for a boycott of the French Exhibition of 1900. There were reports that English citizens were being mistreated in France and that English exhibits would be in danger if entrusted to the Exhibition. Punch representatives went to France and reported that there was no danger there for Englishmen. They found the idea of a boycott ludicrous.

In the 30 August 1899 issue of Punch, there was what appeared to be an appeal to France to quiet the Paris population in order to make the Exhibition more acceptable to the British. Incorporated into the appendix are suggestions for using this illustration in the classroom in a discussion of press politics and the Dreyfus Affair. Judicial use of these guidelines should enable the students to see there were many possibilities as to the intent of the publishers.

Unlike Punch and some other major publications, the Times represented not only the opinions of the editors and reporters, but it served as a forum for interested persons to air their opinions and feelings about the Affair. The Times printed hundreds of letters to its editor in the weeks and months before and after the Affair. Exercise number four is a selection of some of these letters. By using some

of these letters in the classroom, students can be made to experience first hand the thoughts and feelings of Dreyfus's contemporaries. Here again, the major themes that evolved out of the Affair can be detected and studied as they were presented by the writers.

An outline is provided in appendix number five that should cover a fifty minute lecture of the Affair. This outline is designed as if it were to be used in a Western Civilization course, i.e., History 172, Tuesday, 10 November 1992. Because of the ramifications of anti-Semitism in the twentieth century and contemporary anti-Semitic agitation, the theme of anti-Semitism will be the most important discussion in this lecture. Democracy, nationalism, and civil liberties also are important contemporary issues as well as historical topics. A study of the themes of the Dreyfus Affair will reveal remarkable similarities to current events such as growing democracy in Europe, sentiments by German neo-Nazis, and religious strife between Christians and Moslems in Eastern Europe.

Finally, to provide the instructor and/or the student with a sense of continuity of the Affair, appendix number six contains a chronology of the Dreyfus Affair. Appendix number seven is a facsimile of the bordereau and the handwriting of both Dreyfus and Esterhazy. Students may find it interesting to make comparisons of the differences in the writing styles.

With proper preparation and guidance by the instructor, the techniques discussed in this section should enable the students to accomplish the objectives required by the course. This discussion hardly exhausts the possibilities in classroom teaching and the Dreyfus Affair but it must be remembered that the greatest resource in the classroom should be the teacher. I prefer to use the term, "guider."

APPENDIX ONE

The following article, "The Case of Captain Dreyfus--A Judicial Error," by S. F. Corn  ly, was printed in the Anglo Saxon Review in September 1899. It is reproduced in part as a teaching aid because it contains several unique qualities that lend themselves to a study of the Dreyfus Affair. The article was written during the period between the Rennes conviction and Dreyfus's pardon ten days later. It contains the excitement with which British society expected Dreyfus to be acquitted and the terrible disappointment of his conviction. They did not know that he would be pardoned shortly, but they could not accept the fact that the conviction could stand.

Corn  ly covered all of the major themes of the Affair that made it an important human interest event. His analysis of the Affair reflected the opinion expressed by most Britains who responded in the English press. A careful reading of this article will familiarize a student with the details of the Affair and give that person a perception of English reaction to the Dreyfus Affair.

The following questions are structured for essay examinations but they can be adapted to shorter, objective questions or classroom discussions. They are intended to

cause the student to think analytically, formulate opinions of the major themes, and react according to those opinions.

QUESTIONS

1. What examples does Cornély use to show that the Affair was truly an international affair and not just a concern to French citizens only? Are his examples valid?
2. Cornély's definition of "Civilization" reflects the attitude of English society in the 1890s. What was his definition, and in what ways does contemporary society agree and/or disagree with that interpretation? Is our perception of civilized society broader today or more narrow than during the period in which the article was written?
3. After reading the seventh paragraph, beginning with the words, "Times without number," decide whether, in your opinion, society has become "morally civilized" as Cornély had envisioned. Have we reached his ideals and, if not, are they in sight? How can we reach them? Did Cornély conceive the germ of an idea comparable the modern concept of the United Nations organization?
4. What is the "powerful monarch" in the world to whom kings and peasants bow? Can you think of examples where public opinion has forced change in national politics? Consider the civil rights movement in the United States, the

fall of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

5. What is Cornély's definition of anti-Semitism?
6. How was the press used to incite anti-Semitic feelings in France? Against Dreyfus? Against Picquart? Was there an attempt to stir up anti-Semitic feelings in England?
7. What does Cornély mean when he uses the term "whole world" in relation to the Dreyfus case?
8. What did Cornély see as the root cause of the Dreyfus Affair in France? Militarism, nationalism, anti-Semitism, or a combination of all three conditions? Discuss it from the point of view of the author.
9. Name some ways in which the French judicial system was different from the British system. Could the Dreyfus Affair have happened in England?
10. Cornély was emphatic that all of England and most of France believed that Dreyfus was innocent. How did the defense of Dreyfus become a contest between the French military and Dreyfus? Did Englishmen consider the rights of

an individual and personal liberty more important than
defense of a corrupt general staff?

THE CASE OF DREYFUS--A JUDICIAL ERROR.

BY S. F. CORNELLY

The Anglo Saxon Review
September 1899

Some weeks ago a friend of mine, M. Robin, a celebrated French Doctor and member of the Academy of Medicine, told me that he had just returned from La Bessaralué, where he had gone for a consultation. To reach his patient he had been obliged to travel by a somewhat primitive steam-boat which was rowed by the crew when the current allowed, and only propelled by steam when the tide was contrary. The engineer on board stood in the same relation to the human species as the boat did to a steamer; he was elementary, primitive--a Tartar bordering on the savage. A passenger who was steering the boat said to the engineer: "Look! that must be a Frenchman!" The Tartar looked at the Academician and muttered "Yes! you hail from the country where there is no injustice!"

In his rude vessel this man had been meditating upon the Dreyfus affair.

The Prince of Monaco recently returned to Havre on board his yacht, the "Princess Alice," which had nearly been lost in the cause of science during a voyage into polar regions. The night of his return he dined in Paris at a house where I was staying, and related the following story:

On arriving at Tromsøé, a pilot's boat came alongside the "Princess Alice." The Pilot of the ship, a Norwegian, who had steered the boat into the Polar circle, perched himself on the bridge of the little barque and called out to his brother pilot:

"What about Dreyfus? What news is there of him?"

We see from this that at the two extremities of Europe, men, whose calling keeps them aloof from those things which ordinarily excite and arouse interest, are deeply interested in the Dreyfus affair; and if we made the round of the globe by way of Asia, America, Africa, or Australia--everywhere, in all latitudes, we should find men of all grades on the social ladder, consumed with the same curiosity for news on the same subject. For the Dreyfus affair is not a matter for a nation, but one for all humanity. The interest which it awakens, the eager anxiety it excites, constitute, in my opinion, the most reassuring and convincing symptom of the progress realised by humanity in its march towards civilisation--that is to say, towards justice, for civilisation is but the concrete and multiple form of justice.

Times without number we are tempted to ask ourselves if we really are more civilised than our fathers before us. We see crimes committed around us, wars carried on, massacres executed, which rival those of ancient barbarism. Frequently deeds and words, like lightning flashes illuminating a chasm, reveal to us fathomless abysses of savagery among our contemporaries, and in despair we ask if our moral progress is in accordance with that which we call our material progress; and if we are not at heart exactly what we were when electric light appeared to us a miracle, the steam engine a monster, and the telephone a work of magic. Now turn to the Dreyfus affair. Consider how much it has excited the entire universe. Ask yourself why mankind--the Christian, the fetish-worshipper, the Mahometan--are troubling themselves about an insignificant Jewish Captain, and you will be reassured. You may well conclude that when almost the whole of humanity interests itself thus in a problem of justice, it is because humanity has allowed itself to be penetrated by the idea of justice; it is because it understands the need that men have of justice; and because it loves justice; it is because it is becoming morally civilised at the same time as it is becoming materially civilised. We all--atoms lost in space--ought to bless the solidarity of which we see the magnificent example, because thereby we find ourselves a pledge of security. We see it as the dawn of the era of peace predicted by poets and philosophers, longed for by Christians; That era when men will be no more ardent in defence of their individual rights than of their collective rights; when crimes will be rare; when wars will appear monstrous; and when peoples of the earth, while they preserve their political institutions, which are the offspring of their history, will, on the other hand, form a sort of Areopagus, before which they will voluntarily bring their disputes.

This Areopagus exists already in embryo. Nations watch over and control each other mutually, and it is to this vigilant control, much more than to combinations and alliances, that we owe the peace of Europe. There is a powerful monarch in the world called "Opinion," to whom kings bow the knee as well as peasants; for at the close of this century we live in, all dynasties, and all governments, no matter what may be their form, are compelled to consider the average opinion of the nations of the world. A great lesson given by England in the seventeenth century, and by France in the eighteenth, has taught them that the heads of the people, while having the right to influence public opinion, gain nothing by setting their faces against it, and indeed injure themselves by doing so. Thus monarchies, instead of being obstacles to public opinion, have become its mouthpieces. It was natural, then, that humanity did not remain unmoved while this great convulsion was shaking

the very existence of one of its representatives. Of what avail is it to criss-cross our globe with a trellis of railway lines, and a network of telegraph wires--and with what object do we link together continents with cables of steel which serve as a pathway for thought, while above them on the blue surface of the waters, fleets of ships, becoming every day more rapid and more numerous, pass swiftly--of what use is all this, if we do not succeed in transforming the earth into a gigantic harmonious keyboard in which all the notes sound at once, if but one of them is touched? I cannot contain my laughter at the puerile barbarism of some feeble souls among us who fear for the national dignity, and think it wrong for foreigners to occupy themselves with our affairs--at the people who wish to live in Europe with Europe concerning itself about them. It is a theory which has had its hour of success among savages. If the tribe of Pierced Noses chose a hunting territory, and a member of the tribe of Flat Ears came to inquire what was going on in this territory, he was immediately tomahawked. We find this theory, too, in the Chinese Empire. Hatred and contempt for the foreigner has been the sole national bond among this vast community of men. The theory still exists, if no longer among nations, among individuals who have done things of which they are ashamed and who would escape the resulting disgrace. Such individuals are not anxious for others to meddle in their affairs. From the nurse who hides the still-born child under the mattress, to the millionaire who cheats fools of their money, one phrase is in constant use: "That is my affair; it has nothing to do with you," a cloak beneath which they would hide their shame. The man who has no cause to blush for his actions does not fear publicity. Now a nation's public is the rest of the world, the other nations that are in the world. They have the right to view and pronounce upon what passes within its borders, just as it has the right to pass judgment upon them. And where is the Tamerlane, the Gengis-Khan, the Sesostris, the Napoleon who can prevent them from examining and judging?

I am not going to relate the history of the Dreyfus affair in detail. It is well known, and even if it were not, the matter is so tangled and complicated that it would be necessary to interlard the recital with many quotations from documents which would occupy more space than I have at my command. But I will endeavor to bring out the salient points, and make the moral clear by an impartial account. The expression "impartial" is, perhaps, not altogether correct, since I have taken a part in the affair, and am convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus, and of the error committed by three Courts-Martial--that which condemned him in 1894; that which acquitted Esterhazy in 1898; and that which has just condemned Dreyfus afresh in 1899. We will substitute, if you wish, the word "just" for the word

"impartial," and the reader must judge for himself whether the substitution is justified.

Towards the end of September 1894 a scrap of paper, torn in four pieces, was brought in the ordinary way to the Intelligence Department at the War Office: this was the "bordereau," the point at issue, the basis of all the future proceedings. What I have called "the ordinary way" was through a woman, a woman who was paid by the war office. This woman laid the fires in Count Münster's room at the German Embassy, and while cleaning the grate she used to put in her pocket any papers which were scattered on the chimney-piece, under the tables, or in the waste-paper basket. In her position as fire-keeper, as we call the women whose duty it is to attend to the fires and grates, she collected everything that was lying about. Now it appears that gentlemen at the German Embassy, notwithstanding their reputation for carefulness and extreme neatness, leave a good many things lying about. As a rule the papers the good woman brought were torn or crumpled up, and it was a work of patience for the gallant officers in the Intelligence Department to arrange and piece them all together. Formerly this work, which is not taught at the College of St. Cyr, nor at the Polytechnic School, and for which it seems at first sight hardly necessary to employ the wearer of a sword and spurs, and was performed by underlings in the detective force, namely that branch of the police which works under the Home Department, But General Boulanger, who was not given to hiding his light under a bushel, proposed as a reform of great importance the formation of an Intelligence Department at the War Office, the officials of which were to do the work which up to that date had been in the hands of the police. It was a point of honour with French officers to do this work as badly as possible, and the Intelligence Department at the War Office became the happy hunting-ground of the lowest intriguers and members of the police. There is no one so easy to deceive as an officer or a priest, because their education has never taught them to distinguish between falsehood and truth. That is the reason, I would remark in passing, why one comes across so many names of retired officers and clergy in connection with absurd, unsound, and utterly "charentonnesques" (footnote; Charenton is our Bedlam.) speculations.

At the head of these officers, who understood so little of the business of piecing together papers, and still less of obtaining secret information (which is to their credit as officers) was Colonel Sandherr, an Alsatian, who died later on of paralysis. The bordereau was reconstituted, that is to say, repatched, by Commandant Henri, who succeeded him as Lieutenant-Colonel at the head of the Intelligence Department, and died a tragic death three years later.

Below is the bordereau, one of the few documents which it is necessary to reproduce here:

Sir--Although you have not asked to see me, I send you some interesting intelligence:

1. A note on the hydraulic brake 120 and the way in which it is worked.
2. A note on covering troops. (Several modifications will be brought forward in a new plan.)
3. A note on a modification in the formation of artillery.
4. A note relating to Madagascar.
5. Manuel's project for Field Artillery gun practice (March 14, 1894).

This last document is extremely difficult to procure, and I have only a few days at my disposal. The Ministry for War has sent a particular number of copies to the corps, and these corps are responsible for it. Every officer possessing one must return it after the manoeuvres.

If you like to take out of this what interests you and give it back to me afterwards, I will replace it, provided that you do not require me to copy it "in extenso," and to send you a copy.

I am just starting for the manoeuvres.

This bordereau caused a great sensation in the Intelligence Department, and everybody there held the opinion that it could only have emanated from an officer on the Staff. People more "in the know" as regards judicial investigations would have immediately reflected that it was not possible to judge of documents forwarded by a spy merely from their nomenclature; that the value of goods is not to be determined by the seller's prospectus; and that before deciding that the documents enumerated in the bordereau had been forwarded by one of the General Staff Corps, the documents should have been read, in order to arrive at their technical value, and to come to any reasonable conclusion as to who had sent them. A sacristan may send some one a Bible, but it does not follow that he wrote it. An orderly or a hard-swearing corporal might ornament with the title of "Notes upon Madagascar" some fragment of geography filched from a book in order to make it pass for unpublished matter. But simple things of this kind are not taken into consideration, and it was decided by all these gentlemen at the Intelligence Department:

First, that the author of the bordereau was the author of the notes, and, secondly, that these notes, of which the contents were unknown, were the work of one of their colleagues. An investigation was made; the bordereau was submitted to several officers, two of whom believed they recognised a similarity in the writing of the bordereau to that of an officer who had just left the bureau in order to

serve his time in a regiment of artillery at Paris--Captain Dreyfus.

Captain Dreyfus, as his name shows, was a Jew; he was thirty-four years of age, married to a young wife, father of two children, and rich to the extent of about 30,000 francs a year. He had passed the Military College, after having left the Ecole Polytechnique with an ordinary certificate, and had passed ninth out of the Military College--a very good place. It was whispered that he deserved an even better place, but that, on account of his religion the Commandant of the school had given him questions intended to handicap his efforts and to make his place lower than it would otherwise have been, and that he had a right to be dissatisfied with the result.

Captain Dreyfus had few friends among his colleagues. They recognised his unquestionable intelligence and his keen desire to get on, but they accused him of a fault, unhappily too common among those of his race--boastfulness, and a tendency to show off. In short, he was not popular. Indeed, he was intensely disliked on the account of something which had happened the year before during a tour of inspection made by officers of the Staff Corps under the command of Major-General de Boisdeffre. The group of officers, of whom Captain Dreyfus was one, met the officers of the Staff Corps at Charmes, and were invited by them to dinner. Captain Dreyfus gave such interesting information upon question of military technique that he was asked about nothing else until the end of the meal. After dessert the General beckoned to him to join him, and for a whole hour they both walked up and down the bridge which crosses the Moselle, followed by the whole group of officers, dumfounded at the unusual spectacle of a long tête-à-tête between a General and a captain of artillery.

It was this more than the resemblance of his writing bore to that of the bordereau which was the Captain's undoing. All his colleagues naturally began to ask themselves if this "dirty Jew," this "pusher," thus petted by the leading men, would not get the better of them all. At Rennes we have seen fresh proofs of this extraordinary hatred, which four years of suffering have been powerless to subdue, in the fact that many of Dreyfus's fellow soldiers who had no connection with the case were anxious to appear as witnesses against him. It is a well-known fact that Dreyfus was disliked by almost the entire body of the military administration.

The bordereau and specimens of Dreyfus's signature were placed before M. Gobert, an expert of the Bank of France. On October 13th, after four days' examination, M. Gobert declared that he was not certain that the bordereau had been written by the writer of the specimens. The same day the fragmentary specimens were sent to M. Bertillon, and in the evening he stated that the bordereau had been written by the

author of the Fragments. The next day the Minister of War gave the order for Captain Dreyfus's arrest.

The Minister was General Mercier. General Mercier had enjoyed in the army a great reputation for cleverness; he was one of three or four Generals who had been talked about for a long time before being called to the post of Minister. His chief gifts were a great rapidity of comprehension and a remarkable facility of elocution. He has given proofs of this at Rennes by a deposition which is a monument of condensed hatred and malice, but also a masterpiece of clearness and method. His gifts are discounted by a lack of stability. On the Tribunal he was marked as a man who never brought good luck. He once talked lightly about his "flair d'artilleur," and this picturesque expression has been used against him.

But charges of a much more serious nature are brought against him. He is reproached with having prepared the expedition to Madagascar in defiance of all the principles of common sense. The effective strength of the expedition was fixed at 14,000 men, but in estimating the total expenses on paper, a rough calculation had to be made as usual of the number of men who would not survive the expedition. The number was computed at 5 per cent of the actual force, that is, 700 in all. General Mercier sent back the statement which had been drawn up for him with the marginal note: "Why this ominous figure?" Yet the conquest of Madagascar was to cost us 4000 men--some say 6000. And there was no resistance of any kind. These men were not killed by bullet or shell. They succumbed to noisome exhalations from the dank soil; and last year in his tour of inspection through the island, General Galliéri discovered them still piled up in heaps in wagons which had been abandoned in the open fields after having been spiked. The "flair d'artilleur" had not been of much use on this occasion, and the French press almost unanimously laid the blame for all these unnecessary deaths upon General Mercier.

On October 15 his order was executed by Commandant du Paty de Clam, and Dreyfus was arrested under the following circumstances. He was summoned before the Ministry, and there M. du Paty de Clam made him sit down at a table, and dictated to him a letter in which there were some expressions used in the bordereau. Under a paper on the table was a loaded revolver. Dreyfus began to write. At a given moment du Paty de Clam said to him, "You are uneasy." Dreyfus replied "My fingers are cold, and my writing looks less clear."

Notice that we are not told whether du Paty de Clam's brusque interruption preceded or followed the change in the writing; notice, too, that the letter which was dictated to Dreyfus was unusual as he had ceased to have anything to do with the bureau; that it raised the hypothesis of treason of an officer well acquainted with the usages of the bureau;

that it is possible Dreyfus had discovered the revolver, and if he knew the traditions of St. Dominique, he realised what the offer of it meant. Notice further that it is quite possible Dreyfus really had cold fingers, because on the day in question there was a keen wind; and there are no military regulations which forbid an officer of artillery to have cold fingers. Let us assume that there are people who on the facts named above could arrest an officer, dishonour a family, destroy a home; let us agree that these people considered Dreyfus's statement about his cold hands a proof of unnatural flippancy. But let us remember, too, that it was at this moment Dreyfus began that long an untiring protest which has lasted for more than four years and a half. Glancing at the revolver he said: "Kill me if you wish; put a bullet through my brain; but I am innocent; and I will not kill myself for the sake of my wife and children." They took him to the Cherche-Midi prison where he was left for more than two months and a half, feverish, delirious, but never flagging in denial of his guilt. Meanwhile General Mercier had assembled those Ministers whom this event interested most directly: the Minister of the Interior, the Keeper of the Seals, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had previously announced his intention to M. Casimir Périer, President of the Republic. Every one recommended him to use extreme prudence; and in particular the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Hanotaux, who opposed to a prosecution of the matter upon diplomatic grounds, and because of the weakness of the proofs they possessed. The Commander-in Chief, Saussier, shared this opinion, which in the case of both became more and more definite and decided, until after the Court-Martial it developed into a firm conviction of the innocence of Dreyfus.

While Dreyfus was undergoing at Cherche-Midi all the moral tortures which were inflicted upon him by Commandant du Paty de Clam, the inquiry was, so to speak, set on foot on three sides at once. In the first place experts worked at the bordereau. M. Bertillon built up a colossal mathematical theory (which has since been demolished), and after having declared that the bordereau, a forged document, ought to be discarded, proceeded to demonstrate scientifically that the document had been written with extraordinary precautions on thin paper folded in squares. He proved all this with every kind of elaboration, with plans, with maps, with a mass of material. Of the three other experts two were his friends, MM. Charavay and Tayssonnieres. The third, M. Pelletier, did not agree with them, and General Mercier looked on him with but little favour. At the same time, Dreyfus's colleagues at the Ministry questioned, and from them it was ascertained that Dreyfus was indiscreet. He asked for information. He tried to gain knowledge. He wished to know more about things than

others did. The bridge on the Moselle. The tête-à-tête with the Major-General! Oh human nature.

At the same time the Ministerial police were set to work. Among these policemen there was one named Guénée, a little man with a waxed moustache, whom I have seen pass in the crowd, where he came and went freely when he had no gamblers to watch on behalf of the Préfecture. When they gave him a message to take he went to the café and after he had taken his bock, returned with items of information, which, of course, were merely invented, but which produced as much effect as if they had been true. This Dreyfus affair was a triumph for Guénée. He frequented the clubs, and questioned the managers and the waiters, these being the only persons whom he knew and associated with. "Do you know a gambler who comes here named Dreyfus?"

"Oh, yes! they replied."

As a general rule there is always a Dreyfus to be found among the gamblers in the Parisian clubs, because the number of Dreyfuses is very considerable, and that of gamblers also. There was one in particular at that moment, a mad reveller about whom we know everything. He is not content to burn the candle at both ends, but is always searching for a third end to light, and he usually ends by finding a fourth.

Guénée returned to the Ministerial Department declaring that Dreyfus was a confirmed gambler. He may have been deceived in good faith about Dreyfus, but in order to have avoided his error he should have discovered the first name, the baptismal name. Unfortunately Jews are not baptized, and the club waiters are not in the habit of calling their clients by their first names. As for the minister, he did not trouble himself about such a trifling detail, and the officials of the military police took their cue from the Minister. It was in the same way and by the same summary means that they learnt that Dreyfus had not worn the robe of innocence until his marriage day, but that before his marriage he had led a fast life and been an admirer of the fair sex. And one of the witnesses, a comrade of Dreyfus, further unravelled this mystery of iniquity by saying that when Dreyfus obtained the favours of a beauty, he gave her more money than his colleagues did. How, after this, could one believe that the man was not a traitor?

The inquiry was continued. It had not yet come to an end; but it might now have stopped short, the accusation been abandoned, and Dreyfus set at liberty, but for the anti-Semitic press.

For ten years an evil influence has been at work in France which is called anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is a social and religious system which consists in the affirmation that 38,000,000 of Frenchmen have become the slaves and beasts of burden of 70,000 Jews settled in France, of whom 50,000 at least live miserably by petty

trades and small industries which only just keep them from dying of starvation. If anti-Semitism spoke the truth, the Jews would be the finest race that ever came forth from the hands of the Creator, and would merit all our respect and admiration; and we, Frenchmen, should be fools and cowards, because we have allowed ourselves to be swamped by a handful of men, whom we could crush by simply turning over on the bed of torture. Anti-Semitism, if it exposes the evil, suggests the remedy. This remedy is simple and can be comprehended by the meanest intelligence. It consists of driving out the Jews, of making them disgorge, and of depriving them of all they have. But this, you will say, is the remedy of a robber. Certainly, but these people do not go as far as their logic would take them; and the greater part of the anti-Semites would recoil with horror if the unhealthy dreams with which they lull themselves were to be realised before their eyes. I shall have to speak of them again when I enumerate those who opposed the pardon, but it is sufficient here to say that anti-Semitism did not spare the Jewish officers. The anti-Semites howled with rage if the Jews were excused from military service; but they howled with joy if Jews were interdicted from passing the rank of a simple soldier. The first episode of the campaign which they carried on against the Jews closed with the death of Captain Meyer, who was killed in a duel by the Marquis de Morès, the man who since then has found in his turn a tragic and frightful death in the heart of Tunis. The anti-Semites have some sympathisers among the officers--if not the most intelligent, at least the most violent. And commandant Henry, the auxiliary of the Colonel Sandherr, belonged to the second class of these two classes. It was he who took upon himself the task--not exactly part of his duties--of informing the anti-Semite press that a Jewish Captain of Artillery was imprisoned on a charge of treason at Cherche-Midi.

The thing was done. That was enough. The tiger's mouth had been smeared with blood. In order to reduce it to tranquility it needed a master who would not be afraid of it.

There was nothing about General Mercier which rendered him fit to be this master. He was still smarting under the lash of a violent attack in consequence of Madagascar. He gave way and threw Dreyfus to the anti-Semites with the approbation of the Ministerial Council, several members of which have, it is true, since then declared that he presented the Affair under false colours, and are not upholders of the innocence of the man whom they sent before a Court-Martial.

Everybody is acquainted with the result of the first Court-Martial which convicted Dreyfus of treason and condemned him to military degradation and to transportation for life to a fortified stronghold. The case was heard with

closed doors, but we know to-day after the inquiry of the Court of Cassation and after the depositions and the confronting of witnesses with the accused at Rennes, what took place behind those closed doors.

Dreyfus had to yield to the evidence of the officers and the police of whom we have already spoken. But these expert opinions did not seem perfectly sound, and M. Bertillon with his calculation, at once romantic and conclusive, stunned the judges more than he convinced them. One testimony, however, had some effect: It was that of Colonel Henry, the auxiliary of Colonel Sandherr, who seemed to have made the ruin of Dreyfus the object and aim of his existence. This officer ended his deposition with the melodramatic words: "I swear that there was a traitor on the Staff." And he added, pointing to Dreyfus, "I swear that there stands the traitor."

Nevertheless, after the speech for the defence by Maître Demange, who restricted himself to discussing the bordereau, both before the Court-Martial and before du Paty de Clam; and after Dreyfus's energetic denial of its authorship, the cause did not appear to be lost. It seemed so far from lost that, at the close of the debate, the perfect of police, Lepine, came to the house of an acquaintance of mine and said: "I have been present at the trial with closed doors, and I believe that Dreyfus will be acquitted, so I must leave you now and take the necessary steps." For all that it was announced upon that same evening of December 22 that Dreyfus had been convicted. What had taken place? The most monstrous and flagrant defiance of justice.

Upon re-entering the room where they deliberated, the members of the Court-Martial found a sealed packet which Commandant du Paty de Clam had just brought to their president, Colonel Maurel, from the Minister of War, with the order to communicate its contents to them. But never since there was a regular judicial system, never since there were judges, accused and advocates, never in any civilised nation has it been tolerated, or even dreamed of, that a tribunal should have the right to judge an accused person on the evidence of documents of which that accused person knows nothing--documents which had not been shown to his counsel, which had not been verified and discussed by him.

This arbitrary and savage act rendered the verdict which followed null and void. Later, before the Court of Cassation, General Mercier refused to answer when interrogated upon this feature of the case, revealed by one of the judges, Captain Freystaetter, who wished to relieve his conscience; and confirmed by the President of the Republic, M. Casimir Périer. But before the Court-Martial at Rennes General Mercier was more communicative; he acknowledged the existence and despatch of the secret dossier, composed of four documents enclosed in an envelope

by Colonel Sandherr. "I left it to Colonel Maurel," said he, "not by formal order, but by a moral order, to open this envelope and communicate the contents of the documents." I should do wrong to weaken by any commentary the force of this subtle distinction between formal and moral command. Moreover, a Colonel would meet with cool reception did he permit himself to distinguish between the formal and moral orders of a Minister of War.

General Mercier also added that circumstances justified the prevarication of which he had been guilty. "We were not ready," said he, "and war might have ensued."

And it is a Minister of War who declares in the face of the world, represented at Rennes by that world's intellectual ambassadors, that twenty-three years after her great disaster France was not ready, and that she was reduced to violating the sacred forms of justice through fear of war! And people who call themselves patriots applaud these criminal declarations! I have no wish to be one of them. They sicken my very soul, for if they were speaking the truth instead of being carried away by the exigencies of an attempt at an impossible justification they would dishonour my country.

Well then, Colonel Maurel had the envelope. He found four fragments inside. He also found a commentary on these four fragments written out by M. du Paty de Clam. Some of these documents were false, others were genuine, but none of them applied to Dreyfus. As to the commentary, now that we know the value of the four documents, it appears to us simply monstrous that this, which was intended to authenticate them, should have been destroyed by General Mercier, because he saw at a glance what the effect of it would be. This constitutes a crime recognised and punishable by law in all civilised countries.

Dreyfus was condemned and replaced in his cell. He was brought out on January 4 to be degraded in the courtyard of the Military Academy. They took off the insignia of his rank. They made him pass before the troops that they might see the traitor. During the whole of this promenade of agony he uttered but one cry: "I swear by my children that I am innocent!" Beyond the line of troops there was a group of civilians, noisy and excited. These were the representatives of the Press. When he reached them, Dreyfus repeated his hoarse cry, adding: "Tell It! Tell the whole world that I am innocent!" They answered him with a clamour of insults, scoffs, and blasphemies. Nevertheless, it was at that moment that some of them for the first time conceived the idea of Dreyfus's innocence. It was the arrow that pierced them to the heart, and they went home saying to each other: "Those are not the words of a traitor."

At the head of the squadron of Republican Guards which escorted the prison van in which the victim was seated rode a captain adjutant-major destined to become one of his

executioners, not, indeed, from ill-will, but from the necessity of playing a particular "rôle." His name was Captain Lebrun-Renaud, and he seems to have been in other respects an excellent officer. When the parade was over, Captain Lebrun-Renaud sent in his report, giving an account of the departure from the prison, the degradation, and the return; and ending with these words: "Nothing noteworthy."

This was the authentic official document, the only one to be relied on. But at mess Captain Lebrun-Renaud began to gossip. He related how Dreyfus had chatted with him when he was inspecting a division of the Guards at the Military academy, waiting for the parade to begin; and went on to say that he had confessed to him (Lebrun-Renaud) that the Ministry knew that he was innocent, and that if he had handed over any documents they were of no importance, and only delivered for the sake of obtaining more important ones in their stead. All this was told in such a roundabout and incoherent way that it was impossible to tell whether it was the Minister or Dreyfus who had said this, but also so successfully that the Colonel of the Republican Guard told him to be less talkative, and sent him to the Minister of War, to whom he repeated his story. The minister sent him to M. Casimir Périer, but he added nothing new. This was all for the time being, but the question of the confession was to be brought forward later, on the firmer foundation of a leaf from the Captain's note-book upon which he had written an account of the scene, but which he afterwards burnt as the commentary was burnt. For fire played a conspicuous part in this drama. It consumed such documents as might have been useful to Dreyfus, while such as might do him harm grew under the hands of forgers.

Both before the Court of Cassation and at Rennes, Captain Lebrun-Renaud on being cross-examined, ended by saying that Dreyfus had made this confession unawares, and that it could not be regarded as constituting any kind of admission.

Can we believe for a moment that General Mercier really supposed that Dreyfus had made this avowal? A moment's reflection will convince us that it was impossible. Here was a Minister of War brought face to face with an act of treason which he considered to be of sufficient importance to cause the condemnation of the traitor. He did not know precisely what documents had been betrayed, nor the importance of those enumerated in the bordereau. He was greatly concerned with the contents of those documents. Yet when he had just been told that the traitor had confessed, he never even took the trouble to ask him what documents he had betrayed. He never attempted to buy from him, by a relaxation of rigorous treatment, or a promise of commutation, or anything else, the indispensable sequel to his confession! Does such a story hold water? Moreover, the law has always considered confessions extorted from the

guilty in the light of a triumph, a safeguard for the consciences of the judges. It has instituted a ceremony of confession, questions, declarations, judicial officers to put the questions and to take down the declarations. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the Dreyfus affair; and the Court of Cassation made an absolutely true statement when it declared that Dreyfus's confession did not exist legally, and would have had no kind of value had it existed. Besides we have a visible and palpable proof in writing that Dreyfus made no confession. Sentenced to transportation and imprisonment in a fortress he should by rights have been sent to New Caledonia. His wife should have had permission to rejoin him there, for the law is sufficiently humane not to separate the exile from the bosom of his family, although it cuts him off from his native land. But Dreyfus was treated with exceptional harshness. The climate of New Caledonia was apparently too mild for a traitor, so the Chamber of Deputies passed a law which condemned him to the torrid zone of Guiana, instead of the Isles of Health. A traitor was unworthy, too, of the comfort which he might have derived from the presence of his wife. They refused him that consolation. And why did they treat him so rigorously? The order sent by the military officials to the prison officials with the prisoner will tell us: "Treat him with every severity: he has refused to confess."

In spite of all this, the legend of a confession was still adhered to, and I came across really honest people, who have, it is true, read nothing about the affair (the case with the greater number of Dreyfus's enemies), who say even at this present time: "Dreyfus innocent! But he confessed his guilt." And even after the proceedings before the Court of Cassation, the Court-Martial found it necessary to discuss his confession. It is impossible to say what effect this confession may not have had on the decision of some of its members.

Dreyfus sailed for Devil's Island on March 12. He stayed there more than four years, under the ceaseless surveillance of six wardens, who never addressed a word to him; he was ceaselessly covered by their revolvers, and subjected to discipline which daily increased in severity. They even went so far as to erect round his cell a palisade which enclosed him as though he were in a cupboard. They went so far as to put him in irons every night for two months, though he had never, by word or action, provoked such savage treatment.

At last he was punished for the tentative efforts which were being made in France to seek for the truth by the deprivation of the poor joy of beholding his wife's handwriting. During the last two years he and his family only received passages copied from their correspondence, and the unhappy man would have been justified in believing that

his family had abandoned him, and in seeking death, as the only reason for his existence seemed to have disappeared.

In the middle of the year 1895 Colonel Sandherr was replaced at the head of the Inquiry Office by Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart. In the opinion of all his chiefs, who looked upon him as a boy and a prodigy, Lieutenant--Colonel Picquart, the youngest officer of his rank, had before him a brilliant military future, and was destined to wear, while still in his prime, the white plumes of a General (Chef d'armée). In handing over the office to him, and in reviewing with him the dossiers of the principal cases, General de Boisdeffre, Chief of the Staff, the most important personage in the army after the Minister of War--and even, up to a certain point, of more importance than the Minister, for the Minister changes every six months while the General remains, and the Commander in Chief only has power in time of war--General de Boisdeffre came across the dossier of the Dreyfus affair, and said to Colonel Picquart: "It will be necessary for you to give some attention to this dossier. There is nothing much in it. If the family claim it, it could only be shown to them."

A few months later one of those telegraphic despatches which we call "petits-bleus" was brought to the Minister of War in the same way as the bordereau had been brought. The petit-blue bore the usual signature of the German military attaché and it was addressed to Commandant Esterhazy, 27 rue de la Bienfaisance. The Chief of the Intelligence Department determined to find out what kind of person Colonel Schwarzkoppen's correspondent was, and his investigation revealed that Commandant Esterhazy was a dissolute officer, over head and ears in debt. Picquart obtained some letters of Esterhazy's, and he--as well as Commandant du Paty de Clam and M. Bertillon himself--was struck with the identity of the handwriting with that of the bordereau. M. Bertillon, who appears to have a taste for complication, made this reflection when speaking of Esterhazy: "He must have practised imitating Dreyfus's handwriting." Then Colonel Picquart studied the Dreyfus dossier and perceived with horror that if the bordereau were the work of Esterhazy, the rest of the dossier fit him like a glove. He considered that it was his duty to notify his superior officers, who did not appear to be excited at his discovery. General Gonse, for instance, had a conversation with him which does not deserve to be passed over in silence. "What business is it of yours that this Jew is at Devil's Island?" said the General. "But his is innocent?" replied the Colonel. "If you say nothing about it, no one will know." "But, General, what you have just said is abominable. I do not know what I shall do, but be sure of this, I shall not carry this secret with me to the grave." What happened next? The Intelligence Office combined

against its chief. Esterhazy was warned anonymously that something was being plotted against him. At the same time it began to be said that Colonel Picquart neglected his duties. In fact the press had been set to work. Through the medium of an "employé" who worked for the newspapers, the conspirators at the Intelligence Office caused an article to appear in the Eclair. This article, reverting to the condemnation of Dreyfus, affirmed that the bordereau had only secondarily contributed to bring it about, and that it had really been arrived at through the communication of a secret document to the judges, unknown to the accused or to his counsel. Up to this point the article was true. The secret document was a letter from the Italian military attaché Panizzardi to the German military attaché Schwarzkoppen, which did, in fact, contain the words "Ce canaille de D____". But the journalist in order to make his article appropriate and convincing substituted the name 'Dreyfus' for the initial D____ and the passage in the dossier became "Cet animal de Dreyfus devient plus exigeant."⁵

Now it had been acknowledged before this date that the words "Ce canaille de D____" did not apply to Dreyfus but to a poor devil called Dubois who had handed over to Italy what is called the "plan of manoeuvres" and who had never even been called to account for it. Nevertheless, the article in the Eclair, which appeared on December 14, 1896, contained:

First, an avowal that some secret documents had been communicated to the Council of War, and that consequently the operations were cancelled. Attention was called to this by the first of Dreyfus's defenders, M. Bernard Lazare, in a pamphlet which appeared a fortnight later which served as a starting-point for the revision-campaign.

Secondly, a qualified forgery.

The Chamber was about to re-assemble. A Boulangist deputy named Castelar had announced that he intended to bring forward the question of the Dreyfus affair. Madame Dreyfus had addressed a petition to the Chamber requesting the revision of her husband's trial, the illegality of which had been revealed by the Eclair. The Minister of War, Billot, wavered between the innocence of Dreyfus and the culpability of Esterhazy. Captain Henry began to manufacture a false correspondence between Panizzardi and Schwarzkoppen into which he introduced this note which has become famous in the connection with the name of its forger: "I have read that a deputy is going to raise the question of the Dreyfus affair. If so . . . I shall say that I never

⁵Cornély was not aware that Henry had scratched out the letter "P" and replaced it with the letter "D" before placing the document in Dreyfus's dossier. For more information see Bredin, 194-95, and 224-25.

had any connection with this Jew. That is understood. If you are asked, say the same thing, for no one must ever know what really happened."

This note had a tranquillising effect on the Staff. Castelin's question was put to the Camber on November 18. General Billot and M. Méline affirmed the authority of the "chose jugée" and all came to an end by an insignificant order for consideration of the matter. Two days before, Colonel Picquart had been sent on a mission to the East. He was ordered first to Lyon, then to Marseilles, then to Nice, then to Tunis, then to Gabés. He would have been sent to Hell if that locality had been marked on the charts of the General Staff. He protested.

Several days previously the Matan had obtained by the kindness of one of the experts a facsimile of the bordereau and had published it. Shortly afterwards M. Scheurer-Kestner, the Vice-President of the Senate, a man of some prominence and universally respected, intervened. M. Scheurer-Kestner had believed in the guilt of Dreyfus and had refused to give his attention to the affair although it concerned a family from Alsace, of which he had been the last deputy before the war of 1870, until he discovered by chance the falseness of the various accusations brought forward. Then he made an investigation, compared the handwriting of Esterhazy with that of the bordereau, and had no longer any doubt as to Dreyfus's innocence.

In the autumn of 1897 he went for information to General Billot, whom he addressed with the friendly "thou," and whom he called familiarly Daumanet. Daumanet did not know how to answer, and asked for time. At the same time, while Picquart was at Sousse, and Scheurer-Kestner was arriving at the conviction of Esterhazy's guilt, a third person was brought to the same conviction by an accident. A banker, M. de Castro, catching sight of the facsimile in the Matan, recognised the handwriting of one of his clients, numerous letters from whom he possessed. This client's name was Captain Esterhazy. He communicated his discovery to M. Mathieu Dreyfus, the brother of the victim of Devil's Island, the man who, throughout this sad affair, has rivalled in self-denial and ardent devotion his sister-in-law, the wife of the condemned man. M. Mathieu Dreyfus, in a letter which was afterwards published, denounced Captain Esterhazy to the Minister of War, and accused him of being the author of the bordereau for which his brother had been condemned.

It was necessary to institute an inquiry. The match had been put to the powder. The Intelligence Office, which still clung to its iniquitous work, was in an extraordinary state of agitation. In order to warn, support and save Esterhazy, Captain du Paty de Clam, Captain Henry, the keeper of the records, Gribelin, organized a kind of pantomime, with the accompaniment of blue spectacles, false

beards, and meetings arranged in improbable places such as the Park de Montsouris; Behind the Sacré-Coeur de Montmartre; in the Square Vintimille; at the Cour la Reine. They went so far as to send him by means of a "veiled lady" a document, evidently taken from the Dreyfus Dossier, which was adorned with the title of "document libérateur." This document had to be taken back to the Minister of War by Esterhazy himself in exchange for a receipt signed by General de Corcy, chief of the Cabinet of the Minister of War. Esterhazy also went to the German Embassy to Colonel de Schwarzkoppen, to abuse and threaten him, and call upon him to save him. For Esterhazy knew the German military attaché, whom Dreyfus had never seen.

At the same time this precious gang addressed letters and telegrams, signed by false names, to Colonel Picquart, intended to promulgate the belief that the Colonel was party to a plot the object of which was to ruin Esterhazy; and that he had forged the petit-blue sent by Schwarzkoppen. But, at the same time, the Figaro furnished some awkward information concerning the life and moral character of Esterhazy, by publishing the letters which he had addressed to one of his cousins, Mme. de Boulancy.

It would be no exaggeration to say that this entrance into the controversy of the most powerful journal in France determined the irresistible movement which resulted in revision. In one of the letters to Mme. de Boulancy, the Captain expressed his desire and hope of entering Paris some day at the head of a squadron of Uhlans in order to put it to the fire and sword. In a letter of the same date addressed to the President of the Republic, the Captain threatened to make an appeal to his sovereign, the Emperor of Germany. If it had been possible to find, in the correspondence of Dreyfus, the hundredth part or even the thousandth part of all this, not one of those who defended him would have given him another thought.

The inquiry, which was opened against Esterhazy was entrusted to M. Le General de Pellieux; a special inquiry it might be called, which appeared to be directed in favour of Esterhazy and against Picquart. Its object was an examination, and the result of this examination was Captain Ravary's report which was an impeachment of Picquart, and which concluded with a verdict in favour of Esterhazy--"Not sufficient evidence"--the experts Belhomme, Varinaud and Conard having declared that the bordereau was not in his handwriting, but had been copied from it.

However, the Governor of Paris ordered Esterhazy to appear before a Court-Martial all the same in order to give him an opportunity of completely exculpating himself. He was acquitted. Henceforth he could not be accused of the manufacture of the bordereau, of which military justice had declared him guiltless; and we should have the honour of his presence again in this Paris of ours which he wished to take

with Uhlans if, in order to escape an accusation of swindling brought against him by his own nephew, he had not thought it wiser to go into exile first in Holland and then in England, where he ultimately confessed on oath and with the customary legal formalities that he was the author of the bordereau. He added, it is true, that he wrote it by order of Colonel Sandherr with the object of trapping Dreyfus, who had committed treason, but who could not be brought to justice by fair means. It is a story which does not bear examination, and every honest man at the present day knows that the author of the bordereau was Esterhazy; and consequently the man who gave up documents was Esterhazy, for the bordereau was merely the letter drawing attention to the documents. The whole world and a portion of France consider this fact as proved. It is admitted that Esterhazy's ordinary correspondence was written on the same paper as the bordereau, thin paper ruled in squares. This is more than a coincidence.

The day after Esterhazy's acquittal, January 12, 1898, Emile Zola published in the Aurore the famous letter beginning "J'accuse," in which he exposed all that could then be known of the schemes which I have just described. This letter accused by name the principal actors in this iniquitous drama. It looked astonishing. To-day it seems ordinary. Zola had guessed what he could not know, and all his clairvoyance has been surpassed by what we have learned. The Count de Mun put forward a question in the Chamber on this subject, declaring that the honour of the army was attacked, and Zola was summoned before the Seine Court of Assize for one single sentence in his long letter--that in which he said that Esterhazy had been acquitted "by order." He came before the Court in the midst of an agitation which showed itself by outward disturbances and threats of death. In spite of the tactics of the president (Delegargue) who tried to limit the scope of the Esterhazy discussions, and forbade and mention of the Dreyfus affair, repeating over and over again: "the question shall not be asked," the efforts of the lawyers, Labori and Albert Clémenceau, clearly demonstrated that Dreyfus had been illegally condemned, that the bordereau had been written by Esterhazy, that Picquart had been sacrificed to bolster up a judicial error, and that the proceedings against Esterhazy had been a farce.

General de Pellieux threatened the jury, saying that if they refused to maintain the honour of the army their sons would be led like sheep to the slaughter. General de Boisdeffre came to swear to the authenticity of the Panizzardi note which I have reproduced above, and which was a forgery. He threatened the resignation of the Chiefs of the Army, and the jury, intimidated on the one hand by the menaces of the Staff, on the other by the mob, condemned Zola to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs.

This verdict was annulled by the Court of Cassation for an error of form; and on April 3 Emile Zola reappeared before the Court of Assize at Versailles, presided over by President Périmer, who was not all sorry, being well advanced in years, to show by bullying those brought before him, that he had lost none of his youthful vigour. Having stated that President Périmer was only an amended edition of President Delegargue, Emile Zola refused to appear and took refuge in England. His work was accomplished; and he went away to await in silence and solitude the result of his great effort.

The battle continued to rage between the partisans and the adversaries of revision until, on June 14, 1898, the chamber overthrew the Méline ministry. Méline was replaced by Brisson, and in the new Ministry M. Cavaignac figured as Minister of War. M. Cavaignac espoused all the prejudices and all the quarrels of the Intelligence Department. It was he who had Picquart arrested and imprisoned for eleven months without anyone knowing exactly of what he was accused. More than that, he tried hard to crush the Revisionists, declaring solemnly in open Court his belief in the guilt of Dreyfus--basing that opinion, first, on the alleged confession to Captain Lebrun-Renaud, the improbability and falseness of which I have already shown; and, secondly, on the Panizzardi note which he had contrived to read and which had been cited by General de Boisdeffre before the Court of Assize.

The Chamber, carried away with enthusiasm, voted that Cavaignac's address should be placarded on the door of the Town Halls of all the Communes of France. On that day, July 8, 1898, I was disheartened and believed that all was lost. I make this confession in all humility. God seemed to me to be too far off and solitary, and the adversaries of truth too numerous and near. But, mark! A few days later, one of the officers of the Ministry, Captain Cuignet, while examining by lamplight the original of this famous note--written like all documents of the kind of fragments of paper, torn and placed in juxtaposition--perceived with astonishment that the squares of the different pieces did not correspond. The Panizzardi document was written on blank sheets collected at random and put together anyhow. The Panizzardi document had not been written on a single sheet of paper torn into bits and thrown away. Consequently, the Panizzardi document had not been written by Panizzardi. Consequently the Panizzardi document was a forgery. Captain Henry, promoted by this time to be Lieutenant-Colonel, like his accomplice Captain du Pay de Clam, was summoned before the Minister and ordered to give an explanation. He was agitated, stammered, and ultimately admitted that he had written the Panizzardi document; that he was a forger. He was immediately arrested and taken to the fortress of Mont Valérien where he was imprisoned.

When Dreyfus was arrested, a loaded revolver was left significantly on the table where a trial letter was dictated to him. When Henry was arrested, this tradition was adhered to, and his razors were carefully left in his bag. Dreyfus would not kill himself because he was innocent, and he would not dishonour his family. Henry, who also had a family, was not restrained by these scruples. Next day he was discovered dead; he had cut his throat from ear to ear.

On the evening of this dark day, General de Boisdeffre handed in his resignation. Two days later M. de Caviagnac followed him, while that declaration of his fixed to the walls of every Mayor's house in France was still fluttering in the wind. Three days later Madame Lucie Dreyfus made an official demand for a revision of her husband's case. M. Brisson, whose energy and moral courage during this crisis were admirable, placed himself at the head of the hesitating members of his Cabinet, bore without flinching the successive defections of two Ministers of War--Generals Zurlinden and Chanoine--who could not bring themselves to consent to a revision; and in spite of the adverse opinion of the Minister of Justice, extorted from them a demand for revision of the case by the Court of Cassation, which, on October 29, 1898, declared that this demand was admissible, and that it would itself proceed to a new inquiry destined to bring the Dreyfus affair to a satisfactory conclusion.

I shall here suspend the narrative for a few moments, in order to examine, in the light of the Dreyfus affair, the situations of the different political parties and the different classes of society which divide France, as well as their numerical strength. I hesitate the less to do this because the greater part of the details which figured in the inquiry of the Court of Cassation, and again before the Court-Martial in Rennes, have been already utilised in relating the history of the case--not as we knew them when its phases were gradually developing, but as we know them now--and in a few pages I shall have done abusing the patience of the readers of this review.

It is difficult to even approximately appreciate the respective strengths of the two parties, one of which affirms the guilt of Dreyfus and the other his innocence. But to see more clearly into the heart of these opinions, the expression of which escapes spontaneously, one must give up mathematics and fall back on psychology.

It is convenient at the outset to institute two great methods of inquiry. The first will consist in showing that the mass of the citizens of France remain profoundly indifferent to the "affaire Dreyfus." One may say in a general way that the events which move the masses in France are extremely rare. I am not sure that during the last twenty-five years one could find four. But three can be named by way of example. The substitution of Republicans

for Conservatives in the Government of the Republic was the first; Boulangism was the second; and the Russian alliance, with the manifestations which accompanied it, constituted the third. The Dreyfus affair is not the forth. To begin with, its root is anti-Semitism, and anti-Semitism does not exist in three-fourths of France--that is to say, among the rural population, which does not know the Jew, and does not hate him. Even in the fourth part, among the crowded population of the towns, anti-Semitism is only rampant among the Conservative classes, who do not demonstrate in the streets, who do not even demonstrate by "bulletins de vote" on election days. The working classes who take up politics are not anti-Semitic. They are not anti-Semitic because they are not reactionaries, and it is the reactionaries who are anti-Semitic. Further, the Dreyfus affair is complicated; it has varied phases, many aspects. It is wearisome to the primitive brain, and this characteristic alone would be sufficient to alienate the masses, who like things simple, and who will never find a complicated affair interesting, be that affair ever so great a crime. My first work of selection leads me to think that if the Dreyfus case troubled two millions of thinking beings out of thirty-eight millions in France, it is sufficient for all the world. Surely, two millions is a great enough number. Two millions of beings who reflect, and who are guided by reason--there is enough material here to uphold intellectually all humanity. It is here that the second work of selection should begin, and be applied to the remainder of the first, to those who have taken part in the Affair. I shall divide them into two classes--the impulsive and the reflective.

Among the impulsive are all those who have a prejudice of caste or of race, which makes them accept as a foregone conclusion the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus. For example, the anti-Semites, for whom Dreyfus is guilty because he is a Jew; the Jews, for whom Dreyfus is innocent because he is of their race; the officers, for whom Dreyfus is guilty because their generals have told them so. In each of these three last groups there have been dissentients. There have been some anti-Semites who have refused to condemn Dreyfus as Jew. There have been some Jews who, actuated by low enough motives, have maintained his guilt; and, finally, there have been officers, a large number of officers, who, without making their opinion manifest, have not assented to the hasty judgment of the General Staff and its stubborn adherence to it after the first condemnation. Among the reflective are all those who have taken care to form their own personal opinions, who have forced themselves to read the accounts given of the judicial debates, the "procès verbaux" of the inquiries, and the principal documents relating to the Affair. To do this meant not only an effort of the brain, but also an expenditure of time. The inquiry of the Court of Cassation alone represents nearly twelve

hundred pages of closely printed octavo. And the shorthand report of the trial at Rennes daily filled, during a month, six pages of the Figaro. I must remark here, because it is the truth, that the whole of this last class--the reflective--is composed of people who are convinced of the innocence of the accused. In the same way the impulsive, with the exception of the Jews, are all inclined to a belief in his guilt.

I have already said what I think of that anti-Semitism which furnished weapons for the anti-Dreyfusite battalions. Anti-Semitism is recruited, especially in France, among the Conservatives, that is to say, the Catholics, the small bourgeoisie, the petty tradesmen; or what it is convenient to call the aristocracy, as the members of this group wear legitimately, or have usurped, the mantle of the old nobility. From the day on which they were told that the cause of the evils of which they complain was the Jew, they adopted this theory without hesitation; they found in it an honourable explanation of their grievances against the social and political condition of things in modern times. A few years earlier the Republicans had told the French people that their worst enemies were the priests. And the Conservatives had protested with the greatest energy. They do not see that they have admitted an analogous reason and a similar calumny; both reason and calumny being transferred from the priest to the Jew. They had been told before: "If you are not masters of this country, it is because of your apathy and your frivolity; if you lead a restricted life and if you gain little money it is because you do not rise early enough, and because you do not work hard enough." These reproaches were severe. So they listened, as though it spoke from heaven, to the voice which said: "You have nothing to reproach yourselves with; it is the dirty Jew who has done it all." This voice flattered their pride and justified their degeneracy. They had besides the burning remembrance of the failure of a great Catholic financial company--the Union Général. This failure they attributed to Jewish intrigue; not even caring to inquire if the too magnificent and daring conceptions of the founder of the Union Général had not been the real cause of its ruin. And then, at least in the case of the most influential among the Conservatives, wounded vanity stepped in, and whispered "treason." They envy the handsome town mansions, the country-houses of the Jews; their style of living; their boxes at the theatre. They have a grudge against the Jew for his taste for pomp and ostentation. They pardon neither his good luck nor his luxury, nor even that naïf pride which carries him the length of giving his richly dowered daughters to them. They like the Jew in no rôle, not even in that of father-in-law.

All the anti-Semites then instantaneously declared themselves anti-Dreyfusites. And, as to this day, the

journals which they read have impudently travestied the facts, altered the documents, converted proofs of innocence into proofs of guilt--as these journals have organised the most colossal conspiracy against truth ever known since a press existed, so the anti-Semites have remained irreducible, irreconcilable. All are not dishonest, certainly; but all have shunned being informed of facts in order that they might not be shaken in an opinion which pleases them, which satisfies them, in a hypothesis which explains to them all that they want to know. One power alone would have been able to counterbalance the influence of their press and of their prejudices on the Conservatives--that of their clergy. That power did not manifest itself. The French clergy, with a few honourable exceptions, is in the mass anti--Semitic.

The Church of France comprises a secular clergy, and what may be called a regular clergy composed of a great number of societies. The secular clergy, that is to say, the national priest inscribed on the Budget, has never forgiven the Republic; and in this I think he is justified, for it has driven him out from the official hierarchy, has dispensed with his presence at all national ceremonies, has proscribed the catechism, and has expelled him personally, as well as his doctrine, from all the primary schools maintained by the State. No formal opposition is allowed him. The Pope has forbidden it. But he has seen the Jew invade the official body. He has seen the Conservatives, whose liberality has come to the aid of his distress, become anti-Semitic, and he has fallen into anti-Semitism in order to remain with his friends and to fight his enemies the Republicans in a round-about fashion. As for the regular clergy and the Societies their rôle has been a much more active one. The Republic committed a mistake in 1882, for which it will have to pay heavily before long, in applying to the members of Societies the laws of another age and expelling them. The expulsion has been a double mistake. First, because it gave to the members of Societies the palm and prestige of the martyr, and secondly because the expulsion could not be maintained. The result has been that the Societies have become in the Church what the General Staff is in the army, a self-elected body and an instrument possessing power without responsibility. One of these Societies has sown broadcast small journals called the Croix, which are given away or sold for a mere nothing--abominable pamphlets in which mendacity, calumny, and outrage masquerade under the image of Christ crucified. The Croix tools of anti-Semitism have led the anti-Dreyfusite campaign with extraordinary ardour and false--witness.

As opposed to these creatures of impulse, these adversaries, deaf to all inquiry and blind to all truth, we have seen what I have called the party of reflection, form and grow little by little; that is to say, a party of men

who take the trouble to look below the labels and to undo the packages which have been sent to them by rail in order to see that the sender has neither deceived himself for them. These are the Dreyfusites.

From my nomenclature the result would seem to be that the anti-Dreyfusites are, in the mass at least, and with some exceptions, of a much inferior intellectual calibre to the Dreyfusites. If I allow myself to use this nomenclature, it is because I have always been of the opinion that my opponents had read nothing; and that it would only be necessary for them to read what was usually very difficult for them to get in order to share my belief. Besides, we had conclusive proof of the singular capacity of their minds in the treatment accorded to the Figaro by certain social and military cliques on account of a campaign which will always redound to its honour and glory. When they saw that the Figaro reproduced faithfully all documents relating to the affair they withdrew their subscriptions, thereby showing that they did not wish to be enlightened, and no intelligent man suppresses discussion. He rather seeks it for self-enlightenment. It is only a savage to whom explanations mean disgust and boredom. I am, therefore, forced to conclude that the average Dreyfusite has superior mental powers to the average anti-Dreyfusite. And facts justify this theory. It is only necessary to look at the procession which has left the Institute, and descended from the intellectual heights of this country, to hold out their hands to the victim. It is only necessary to think of the galaxy of celebrated men who have left the laboratory and the lecture-room, where men are wont to find them, in order to take their part in the combat in public places where there was nothing to be gained but blows. It may be said, with truth, that the masters of French thought have done their duty, and their whole duty; and from this point of view the Dreyfus affair has been of infinite gain to this country, because it has compelled great minds to leave their lofty retreats and mingle in public affairs. It has made them understand that before philosophy one must seek unity, that before plunging into the mysteries of Nature barbarism must be beaten back, and that the glories of science are useless to a nation which has lost the security of justice.

I am not at pains to recognize that the anti-Dreyfusites appeared the strongest, not only because they could reckon on the moral support of the army, but because they were in reality the more numerous. This moral support of the army and the force of numbers explain without justifying the dubious attitude of Parliament and of the majority of the Ministers who succeeded one another during the whole crisis. One of the Ministers made an unlucky speech, and one which throws much light on politics, when he said: "Gentlemen, consider what is happening within our

boundaries." He should have said: "Consider what is just, what is right, what is honest." He merely told them to look at the elector, for he believed that elector was growing uneasy about the Dreyfus affair, a fact which was incontrovertible. So the deputy looked at the phantom of the elector, the Minister looked at the deputy, and the different Governments endeavored to block the advance of truth by suppressing petitions, suppressing appeals, suppressing documents; most of them being at once cowardly and dishonest, as are and ever will be those who fear the mob, and who govern not for the good, but according to the caprices of the people.

Nevertheless, the minority prevailed, because the minority had truth and justice on their side. The inquiry ordered by the Criminal Chamber began in the month of November and was carried on with the greatest discretion, with impenetrable calm and perfect dignity. It may be guessed that it did not do the work of the anti-Semites, nor of a body which I have designedly left out of the previous nomenclature, the patriots or nationalists. If this body has been passed by in silence it is not on account of its being less clamorous than the others, but because I saw no practical object in including it, as it preached war without wishing to make it. The whole press--anti-Semite, Nationalist, and reactionary--had already loaded the unhappy Criminal Chamber, its president, the Procureur-Général Manau, and some of his councillors with abuse under the pretext that they were Dreyfusites, and wished to upset the verdict. Rumours soon began to circulate, information to spread, which cast a doubt, not only on the impartiality, but on the good faith of the members of the court. It was said that they had nothing but smiles for witnesses favourable to Dreyfus, and frowns for unfavourable ones. A Magistrate, a President of the Chamber at the Court of Cassation, a former Attorney-General, who had appealed against General Boulanger before the High Court, M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, made himself the mouthpiece of the libellers of the Criminal Chamber, gave in his resignation and accused his colleagues of being unworthy magistrates. It was a scandal in which the Chamber of Deputies, following their usual custom, immediately took part.

The Minister of Justice confided to the first President of the Court of Cassation, M. Mazeau, and to the two seniors of the Civil Chamber and of the Chamber of Requests, the task of examining the irregularities denounced by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire. None of these irregularities were proved, but the first President--unfaithful guardian of the honour and prerogatives of his Court--finished his report by saying that he would prefer that the Criminal Chamber should not be asked to pronounce upon revision alone. This gave rise to what has been called the law of "Desaisissement" by a large majority. The Senate, which contains a greater number of

competent men, made difficulties, and only passed the law in order to avert a Ministerial crisis.

The anti-Dreyfusites believed that they had gained their end. They would not have set the legislative machine going had they not believed that the Criminal Chamber contained a revisionist majority, and that the two other Chambers contained anti-revisionists, who would form a majority sufficient to swamp and annul that of the Criminal Chamber when all the Chambers voted together. It is true that the results of the inquiry of the Criminal Chamber had to be made public; but the anti-Dreyfusites were not going to worry themselves about a little thing like that. They said, "A supplementary inquiry will have to be made by the united Court. Then this same Court will have to give the verdict confirming the condemnation of Dreyfus. The inquiry will be printed and given to the public. It will contain twelve hundred pages, but will have no other interest, and nobody will read it."

Now the balance swayed considerably to the side of the justice and truth which were to triumph at last over all obstacles. One of these soon disappeared in the person of the most sullen and powerful enemy of revision--Félix Faure, President of the French Republic, who died suddenly of apoplexy. Félix Faure knew that Dreyfus was innocent. One of his most intimate friends, Dr. Gilbert du Haure, had affirmed and proved it to him. But Félix Faure did not wish the matter discussed. And in order to remain peacefully at the Elysée with his wife and children he left Dreyfus at the Devil's Island, and his family plunged in grief. Those Christians who believe that God occupies Himself with things which happen here below, and that He does not always wait for men to appear before Him to punish them, have a right to think that Faure's death was the punishment for a monstrous insensibility to the suffering of his fellow creatures.

Meanwhile, the whole Court of Cassation pursued the inquiry, now three parts finished by the Criminal Chamber. The magistrates, who were not merely great juris-consults, but honest men as well, saw their prejudices vanishing before the touch of truth. Though opposed as a majority to revision beforehand, the report and pathetic adjuration of their most notable member, Ballot-Beaupré, induced them to vote unanimously for the principle of revision. On June 3, the Court of Cassation, all Chambers united, gave a verdict, annulling the judgment of the Court-Martial of 1894, against Alfred Dreyfus. The verdict was couched in terms which had no suspicion of ambiguity. It stated that a secret dossier had been communicated to the Court-Martial without the knowledge of the accused and his counsel; that Dreyfus had not written the bordereau; and, finally, that Dreyfus had made no confession to Captain Lebrun-Renaud. And it summoned the prisoner to appear before a new Court-Martial to be judged on this question: Did he betray the documents

enumerated in the bordereau into the hands of foreigners in the year 1894 and is he guilty of treason? It is on this charge that Dreyfus was brought before the Rennes Court-martial, whose sessions began August 7.

The Rennes Court-Martial

I shall always regard the days I spent at Rennes attending some of the sitting of the Court-Martial as among the saddest and most painful of my life, for they were passed in elbowing members of my own profession whom I saw attacking the unhappy victim of a miscarriage of justice. They appeared to me like ferocious beasts mauling a corpse. Those days were rendered still sadder and more painful by the feeling that the animosity of those whom I love was directed against one whom I believe to be innocent. I love the army. I love the Catholic Church. My earliest cradle was the arms of one of Napoleon the First's veterans, and my next, the bosom of the Church. Hence the extremity of my grief when I discovered that my judgment was no longer on the side of my affections.

The widening of the breach between the brain and the heart was insupportable torture. Up to the last day, up to the last minute, up to the last second, I thought that they would acquit Dreyfus; that they would open their eyes to the light; that they would forget that they were soldiers, and remember they were men. But I do not blame them. They are not guilty. Those only are guilty who have abused military obedience and forced the judges to pronounce the most incoherent of all judgments.

The first day was a terribly moving one. As we sat in the banqueting hall at Rennes, guarded by gendarmes with bristling bayonets, studded with sentinels, who treated us almost as though we were naughty children in a school where the President was headmaster, Dreyfus appeared before us, entering by a little low door, arrayed in the uniform of an artillery captain but without his sword. It was a thrilling moment, the dramatic character of which was increased by the agonised cry "I am innocent" which he uttered on perceiving the fatal bordereau.

After the reading of the articles of procedure that first sitting was devoted to the examination of the accused. The four following days were given over to the famous secret dossier. But those four slips of paper which were the cause of Dreyfus's condemnation in 1894 had multiplied considerably since then! There were more than six hundred documents, divided into the military dossier, the diplomatic dossier, the secret dossier, and the ultra-secret dossier. It needed a General and a Plenipotentiary Minister to bring forward, to sort, and to arrange this medley. Two door-keepers could have done it as well. For all those bits of

paper merely represented the current gossip from the lodges of our great houses. The examination was continued for twenty days and more. We went again over the whole ground covered by the inquiry of the Court of Cassation. The work of the Supreme Court was treated as null and void.

My feeble intelligence had led me to believe that the Court-Martial intended to act on the mandate of the Court of Cassation, and seek to find out if Dreyfus had supplied foreign courts with the documents mentioned in the bordereau. Had I been Dreyfus's counsel, I think I should have put but one question to each witness, that unanswered question, "Have you proof that Dreyfus handed over to foreigners the documents mentioned in the bordereau?" Should you answer--"No"--that will be enough: should you answer--"Yes"--I will ask you to make good your assertion.

Instead of that, the lawyers followed whatever the prosecution chose to lead. They discussed the secret dossier. They discussed the confession. They discussed the bordereau. They not only heard those witnesses who were regularly called, but also all those who took a fancy to present themselves; including those who had been enlisted by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire to carry out his hateful ends, and whose testimony was so false and unreliable that the Court, which at first listened to them with evident complaisance, ended by blushing for them, and declaring their evidence null and void.

It was evident that the Court, or at least the President, Colonel Jouaust felt nothing but respect and sympathy for the witnesses who deposed against Dreyfus; and nothing but antipathy and disdain for those who witnessed in his favour. It was interesting to observe Colonel Jouaust under these conditions. Before the five Ministers of War, whose accusation against Dreyfus was well prearranged and learnt off, before General Mercier, whose deposition was a masterpiece of cold malice--General Mercier, who deprived his evidence of all judicial value by telling the judges that they had to choose between Dreyfus and him, and by saying later that they must choose between Captain Freystätter and him; before General Chanoine, who knew nothing about Dreyfus, but wished to have him found guilty all the same; before what I would call the amateur commissioners of the Government; before General Roget, who was not a witness because he had seen nothing; before General Deloye, Director of Artillery to the War Office, who said that Dreyfus was guilty, though he affirmed at the same time that he had no material proof; before all this brilliant world Colonel Jouaust bowed with respect and deferential sympathy. These Generals were quite at ease in the hall where the Court-Martial was held. They guided the debates. They prepared elsewhere, in the daily secret meetings held by the military in Rennes, the session for the next day.

And Colonel Jouaust punctually carried out the programme that they had arranged. But with the witnesses for the defence he became rigid, abrupt, imperative, incisive, sarcastic. I said to myself, as I watched his obsequious behaviour to the one party, and his brutality to the other: "Evidently this bad temper arises from his conviction that the partisans of Dreyfus are in the right. The Colonel is furious at being obliged to acquit Dreyfus, and at being in the position of finding his superior officers in the wrong. He hopes to be pardoned for acquitting him, by gushing friendliness to the Generals and harshness to the partisans of Dreyfus. But it was not so. The Colonel was absolutely sincere. His antipathy to the Dreyfusites was naturally made the most of by Dreyfus's enemies. These pretended friends of the army called officers of the highest rank who had been cited for the defence, disobedient. They insulted and ridiculed every man who had the courage to come forward and declared what he believed to be the truth before the Court-Martial, devoted to the Generals, frankly hostile to the prisoner, and evidently looking forward to his ruin as a victory.

The prisoner himself was not spared the pleasantries of these cut-throats. They reproached him with not being sympathetic. What do they mean by being sympathetic? Is bitter grief sympathetic? Is it to possess normal physical health and mental equilibrium? Dreyfus does not possess them. He is as thin as a post, and stoops; he is nothing but skin and bone and has lost all his muscle through five years of enforced inactivity. Dreyfus flushes and pales alternately because he has a terrible internal malady arising from a diet of tinned food, and is now only able to take two quarts of milk a day; he is only kept alive by artificial means, such as kola nuts. Dreyfus has bloodshot eyes, because he has wept much. Dreyfus's voice is hoarse, stammering, disagreeable, because of four years he has spoken to no one, and because he has no teeth, the result of the prescribed diet. This is why Dreyfus is not sympathetic to those who have transformed him into a mere human husk, to those who, as Jaurés said eloquently, reproach the corpse with bearing the imprint of the grave.

And, as if the malice of the President were not sufficient, as if the ferocity of one section of the press were still too mild, assassins were called in to help. On August 16, at half-past six in the morning, as Labori was walking along the Vilaine quay on his way to the court-martial, where he was about to put some embarrassing questions to General Mercier, an assassin shot him in the back with a revolver. And the assassin fled. They searched the surrounding country but they failed to find him. They told stories of people to whom he had said: "Let me pass, I have just killed Dreyfus," and who replied, "Pass." But I do not guarantee this story; it is a little too

melodramatic. Anyhow, he was not caught. But the victim, returning a week later to the Court, had to submit to the jests of the journalists, some accusing him of having never been wounded at all; others of having pre-arranged the affair with a comrade.

Finally, there was the episode of a foreign witness, cited by President Jouaust. In the usual way he affirmed the guilt of Dreyfus without any proof. Labori immediately called on Colonels Schwarzkoppen and Panizzardi, who were ready, as all the world knew, to affirm on oath that Dreyfus had had no dealings with them. President Jouaust refused the necessary commissions of inquiry. He refused the accused the advantage he had not denied the prosecution. Then, by a declaration in the official organ of the Empire, the German Government again made a statement that their agents had never had any secret dealings with Dreyfus.

To sum up, in spite of the judges, in spite of the journalists, in spite of the assassins, it was proved, proved up to the hilt, at Rennes:

(1) That not one of the numerous pieces in the secret dossier applies to Dreyfus or proves his guilt.

(2) That he never made any confession after his condemnation.

(3) That he could not have written, and that he did not write, the bordereau.

Consequently it was proved at the Court-Martial at Rennes that Dreyfus had not betrayed the documents enumerated in the bordereau to the enemy, the sole question that the Court of Cassation put to the Court-Martial.

Consequently the unanimous acquittal of Dreyfus seemed inevitable to all reasoning beings. As for me, I would have wagered my life upon it, but I should have lost it.

As the moment for the verdict drew near, we all felt that it would be of importance not only for Dreyfus, but for all Frenchmen. We were devoured by a growing anxiety at the thought that one false step, one imprudence, one word too much might, perhaps, ruin our future as well as that of Dreyfus. And here I will confess that we were afraid of Labori. He was out of favour with the Court-Martial. He had trapped the greater part of the witnesses in the meshes of an ingenious cross-examination which had forced them to say precisely what they had intended not to say. They issued from that cross--examination mortified, ridiculed, furious with themselves, and with this clever lawyer. And the judges seemed to share their anger. Their ill-will to Labori was evident. At this juncture several of us implored him not to deliver a speech. Others wrote and asked him to make a canonical speech, as the term goes. That was much the same thing as asking him to forego his speech altogether, as he intended to close his peroration with these words:

"I do not ask you to acquit him: I defy you to condemn him."

Labori, with a tact and modesty beyond all praise, gave up his speech, which is not to be regretted either for his sake or for ours. For, had he spoken, we should always have had the uncomfortable feeling that it was to him, to the unjust prejudice of the judges against him above everything else, that the issue was due.

Then there was Maître Demange, Dreyfus's counsel in 1894, the man who said: "My friend, you are the greatest martyr of the century!" and who had never doubted the innocence of the Captain. Demange pleaded with immense talent, but he pleaded timidly, for he also was crushed under the burden of responsibility, under the weight of the approaching sentence. Consult eminent physicians, and they will all tell you that kings in their palaces are harder to cure than cab-drivers in the hospitals; for the hand of the doctor or surgeon that will handle the cab-driver without fear hesitates and trembles when it touches him whose recovery or loss may influence the destiny of the world. Thus it was with Dreyfus, with whose destiny we felt that the destiny of the nation was united.

Demange wished to be prudent. Demange pleaded not proven. Perhaps he was right. Perhaps had he pleaded otherwise the result would have been still worse.

I know no one who foresaw such an issue, and the sentence disconcerted every one by its inconsistency. How could the judges admit extenuating circumstances and at the same time believe in the confession? How could they allow extenuating circumstances in the connection with an act of treachery committed by the rich and well-educated Dreyfus? We are reduced to supposing that the Court-Martial, by that phrase, "extenuating circumstances," bought one, if not two, of the votes which otherwise weighed down to balance in Dreyfus's favour. By that phrase the waverers were induced to believe that they were not throwing in their lot with the Generals. By this compromise the members of the Court thought that they were being faithful to that false idea of discipline which bade them declare the Generals right at any cost, as well as to their consciences, which demanded the acquittal of Dreyfus. The verdict was deplorable in that it decided nothing, and can decide nothing. A wrong-headed judgment followed by an apology. Such a judgment must maintain the moral agitation to a fatal extent. Dreyfus had previously been condemned unanimously; he is now only condemned by a majority. He was in the Devil's Island; he is now in France. His innocence has been virtually demonstrated. All the civilized world and part of France believe in it, but its proclamation is still wanting. He is innocent. And we who believe in it, and in him, cannot help him to obtain that proclamation, because we are sharers in his misfortune. The Court-Martial at Rennes has fettered our

consciences. We cannot rest until we have released our consciences from that fetter, and until the uneasiness of our individual consciences can find a reflection in the national conscience--that is to say, in the moral ideal of our country; as our physical sufferings, were we ravaged by an epidemic, would be reflected in the material welfare of the country.

And this is what men call "l'affaire Dreyfus."

APPENDIX TWO

The cause of the Dreyfus Affair was anti-Semitism. From the mid-1880s, anti-Semitic agitation was evident in the French army. Edouard Drumont was the most radical anti-Semitic writer in France during the 1880s and 1890s. He took over the publication of the La Libre Parole, a journal that had been established by Jesuits. The following illustration is a reproduction of the front page of the 23 December 1893 issue of that paper. This exercise is designed to acquaint students with anti-Jewish stereotypes by using a pictorial display of perceived Jewish qualities and characteristics.

Make a copy of the illustration for each student. This picture lends itself well for a classroom discussion. Jewish men were often portrayed with grotesque noses, big ears, thick lips, and black, curly beards. Notice also the lumpy head and long, sloping forehead. The left eye is drawn to look crafty or shrewd. The eyebrows are thick and bushy. Facial hair on the image is in sharp contrast to the bald head. Have the students discuss Drumont's depiction of Jews. Note the variety of opinions expressed and see if they notice any other outward features about this person.

Drumont looked inside the head of his imaginary Jew and saw many vile and unattractive characteristics. After the

class discussion, make a written assignment, asking the students to use a short essay format to discuss Drumont's perception of Jewish attitudes. It should not be necessary for the students to be able to read French to complete this assignment successfully. Drumont did not leave room for any doubt about how he felt about Jews. They were shown as unpatriotic, cowardly, self-serving individuals who spend their time worshipping at the altar of money or trying to get more money by whatever means necessary. They lived off the fruits of other men's labors but they would steal money if given the opportunity.

This exercise will give the teacher an excellent opportunity to make students aware that the use of pejorative terms is destructive and should be avoided always. The word "Jew" is sometimes used as a noun or as an adjective to describe someone who is stingy or selfish. To bargain or haggle over the price of an item is often described as "Jewing down" the price of that article. The use of such terms is offensive to members of the Jewish faith and degrading to the person using them. This exercise should be used to illustrate the repressive nature of anti-Semitism.

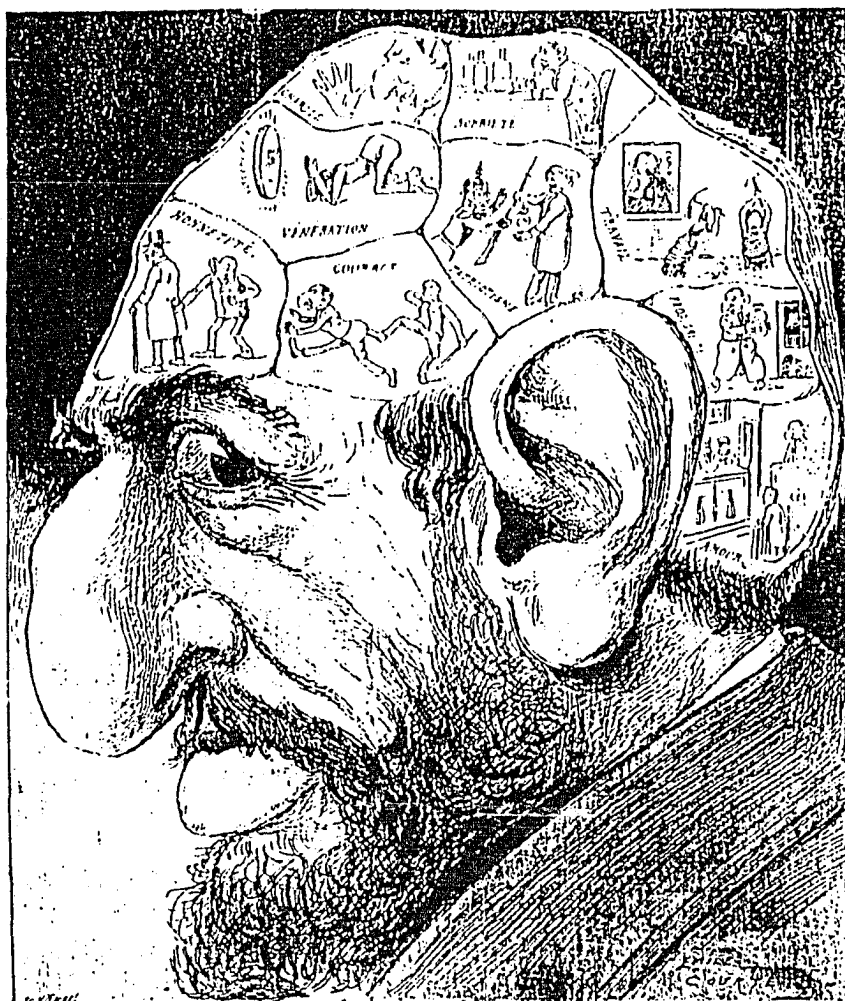
LA LIBRE PAROLE

ILLUSTRÉE

La France aux Français

 REDACTION
 14 Boulevard Montmartre.

Directeur : EDOUARD DRUMONT

 ADMINISTRATION
 14, Boulevard Montmartre


Les qualités du Juif d'après la méthode de Gall

Figure 2, Cat. 400

Emile Courtet

 Jewish Virtues According to Gall's
 Methods (Les qualités du Juif d'après la
 méthode de Gall)

La Libre Parole, 23 December 1893

Photomechanical print

The Jewish Museum

APPENDIX THREE

The British press was strong in its support of Dreyfus. During August 1899, at the height of the Affair, there were many calls for a boycott of the Exhibition of 1900, to be held in Paris. More cautious voices warned that a boycott would be detrimental to the British economy as well as the French economy. The English publication Punch used a blend of satire, allegory, and humor to condemn French anti-Dreyfusards while not placing blame for the Affair of the French nation. Punch editors laughed at the idea that Englishmen were at risk if they chose to attend the French Exhibition. They made fun of those who seemed to fear the Paris mobs that were supposed to be thronging the streets. Punch supported the Exhibition and saw it as a positive event for English merchants and manufacturers.

The 30 August 1899 issue of Punch contains a caricature in which the nation of France was shown as a woman standing on a balcony overlooking a Paris mob and trying to silence them. The message was that the anti-Dreyfus protests coming out of Paris would be costly to both nations. This exercise is designed to give students an idea of the power of the press and the feeling, by use of a visual aid, of the political atmosphere in Paris and the tension between England and France.

Make a copy of the following illustration for each student. This exercise is more suitable for a class discussion than as a writing exercise. Discuss the environment depicted in the picture. Ask questions about the mob, the architecture, and the location of Lady France. Stimulate discussion of the lady by pointing out her clothes, hair, and facial expression. Question students about whether the editor was making a statement about the power of the press by having the character waving a sheet newsprint at the mob.

There may be underlying themes in this picture that would not be obvious to the modern readers. Discuss whether the artist really meant this illustration to be a plea from France to Paris or whether it was really directed to France from England. Lead students in a discussion of whether the "madmen" that were addressed in the caption were actually Englishmen who were calling for a boycott of the Exhibition. The exercise should be concluded with a short lecture on the growing power of the press in 1899 and the use of drawings and pictures to reinforce the impact of the written word.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—August 30, 1889.



FRANCE TO PARIS.

"KEEP QUIET, YOU MADMEN! IF YOU GO ON MAKING SUCH AN EXHIBITION OF YOURSELVES,
YOU'LL RUIN MINE!"

APPENDIX FOUR

The following is a selected collection of letters to the editor of the Times at the height of the Dreyfus Affair. They will enable a student to read primary material concerning the Affair written by individuals to the Times. They express the attitudes and fears of Englishmen as they cover some major themes that emerged from the Affair. An instructor can make photocopies of the letters and provide each student with a copy. After students have had time to study the material, the instructor can lead the class in a discussion of the feelings expressed by the writers.

During this period, the themes of anti-Semitism, Catholic involvement in the Affair, civil liberties, and freedom and responsibility of the press became so entangled that it is easy to pick out several of them in a given document. Have students identify the themes and discuss them in the context of the writers' opinion and the students' perception of the Affair.

These documents have been reproduced as they were written using the authors' spelling, style, and format. Make sure that students are aware that the letters have not been altered and are presented as accurately as possible.

The following list of questions can be used as a guideline for a review or an examination of this assignment.

These questions are designed for short essay-type answers but they can be modified for objective-type examination.

QUESTIONS

1. List at least five examples from the following exhibits showing that English Catholics disagreed with the French Catholic position on the Dreyfus Affair. Discuss whether the writers whose examples you have chosen presented their arguments from the same point of view or did they have different motives.
2. After an examination of the letter written by "Catholicus," discuss the sanctions that the writer wanted to impose on the nation of France. Were his desires justified? Justify your answer.
3. Discuss Henry Silver's attitude toward the French soldiers willingness to tell lies if it was for the good of the army. Is this unique to the French army? Can you cite contemporary examples where military figures have been less than honest when they felt it was for the benefit of the army. How about Oliver North and the Iran Contra scandal?
4. After reading the contribution from "Womanly Indignation," discuss the significance of three Jews who had converted to Catholicism. What is the relevance the quote, "Monsieur, nous sommes quatre!"? What is the author saying about Englishmen returning to the Catholic church?

5. The theme of Cardinal Vaughan's letter to the editor was that the Dreyfus Affair was a state affair and not a church affair. After reading this and the other letters to the editor of the Times, determine whether the evidence supports Vaughan's position. Defend your decision with quotes from the exhibits.

6. Find at least three cases in which the writers use phrases that can be interpreted as symptoms of nationalist and/or militarist sentiments.

7. Discuss C. E. Howard Vincent's interpretation of French feelings towards England. How does Vincent compare or contrast the power of the press in England and in France?

8. Each of the examples cited reflect the size and content of many of the letters written to the editor of the Times. Write a paragraph in which you show ways that those samples are alike and different from letters found in modern newspapers.

The Times

From the Times, 12 September 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--1. Would it not be opportune at this moment for England, composed of all creeds and denominations to express its admiration for those heroic advocates of justice and truth--Maitres Demange and Labori--by presenting them with a testimonial subscribed for exclusively by the English people? 2. To my own co-religionists here, who, from Cardinal Vaughan downwards, are, I believe, to a man Dreyfusards, I would say, "Demonstrate in the most public manner your detestation of the malice of certain French Catholic newspapers and ecclesiastics by withdrawing your support from the numerous French clergy, and religious of both sexes, who have established themselves and been hospitably entertained in England." Let them see that English Catholics are scandalized and disgusted at the absence of charity and the spirit of vindictiveness displayed by some, happily met all, of the clergy and religious of France. Let parents remove their children from French schools, whether located here or on French soil, lest they be corrupted and contaminated by the anti-Catholic temper of French "Catholics," and so we may teach "the eldest daughter of the Church," forsooth, the first elements of the Catechism she has forgotten. Surely after this Cardinal Vaughan will have no desire to bring over a colony of French monks to sing in our grand Cathedral. We have a flourishing province of the Benedictine Order already here, which has preserved the traditions of the ancient Benedictines of England, to which order two of the Cardinal's own brothers belonged. His Eminence will displease the vast majority of the Catholics and the whole of the non-Catholics of England if he carry out his intention of entrusting the conduct of the Cathedral services to foreign monks who may be tainted with scandalous uncharitableness which is so prevalent among the French. We prefer English monks for the English nation. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
September 11.

CATHOLICUS

From the Times 13 September 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--There are some indulgent souls who may be disposed to regard the action of the Rennes Judges in asking that their victim should not again be subjected to the torture of public degradation as a slight mitigation of their crime. If so, let them read the following extract from an article which appeared some ten days before the verdict in the Petite Gaulois, the popular edition of the fashionable organ of upper-class anti-Dreyfusism. It indicates the cynical sentiments which doubtless prompted the added outrage of "extenuating circumstances," it illustrates the fierceness of the hatred which M. Labori has concentrated upon himself by his fearless exposure of the generals, and it explains the sacrifice he made in surrendering his right to address the Court in order to avoid the risk of weakening by his more passionate style of eloquence the conciliatory impression which his elder colleague laboured to create in the masterly address which you have rightly described. Sir, as a triumph of cogent argumentation and powerful self-restraint.

"In this sinister group," says this mouthpiece of military justice, "Made up of Dreyfus who sells our generals, of Demange who turns them into ridicule, of Labori who besmirches their honour, the last-named in the worst. The traitor can no longer do any harm, a series of sunstrokes has probably made him harmless: the old advocate would gladly retire from the poisoned table: but Labori is the voice of the syndicate, the triumphed of the foreigner and of the mercenaries leagued against France."

Yours obediently,

C.

From the Times, 16 September 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--Doubtless you remember Carlyle's famous question--"Man! hae ye no respect for the Eternal Verities?"

This, you recollect, the sage addressed to a plausible tobaccoist, who tried to sell him something spurious that was labeled as "York River." What would Carlyle have said to many of the witnesses at Rennes, and to the five officers who gave judgment on such evidence?

In a country where all men must serve for some while in the army, may a light regard of truth be looked on as purely military failing? As if telling lies be sanctioned, nay, commanded, under colours, will men quite drop the habit when they doff their uniform?

To show the influence of army training, quickly following a boyhood schooled under the Jesuits, may I briefly tell what recently occurred to me? Dining here with me, a young Frenchman of good family "did seriously incline" to talk about the Dreyfus case. He began by a complaint that our Press gave so much space to it, and in this respect The Times had specially offended. Had we now plenty of unpleasant social scandals of our own, and why need we poke our noses into foreign Courts of justice? Then he defended what he called "the honour of the army" and declared his firm conviction that we could not comprehend and therefore should not criticize the code of its morality. Obedience to his officers was the prime duty of a soldier, and, if ordered to tell lies, he must, like obedient Yamen, simply answer Amen, and do as he was bid. For himself, though a civilian, he had, of course, his yearly term of service in the ranks, and, if ordered there and then to do some dirty work, he, clearly must not shrink from it. Would he commit a forgery? Well, yes, he thought he would, were he assured that it might save the honour of the army. Still there seemed to be some moral limit in his mind, for he owned that his obedience would stop short of murder.

He spoke quite frankly, without flinching, and in the simplest manner possible. What he said may throw some light on the astonishing Rennes verdict, and on the scenes in Court preceding it; and in some measure it may justify the amazing supposition that an officer may lie like a trooper, and may forge and bear false witness, and yet, according to French morals, do nothing unbecoming to a Christian and a (military) gentleman.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
HENRY SILVER

11, Prince's-gardens, S.W., Sept. 13

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--Will you allow me, as an Englishwoman, hitherto proud to call herself a Roman Catholic, to express my dismay at the attitude of the Catholic clergy towards the Rennes Court-martial verdict?

Is the conclusion to be forced upon us that humanity has attained to higher ideals of justice and truth than the standards of the Catholic Church, which were formed and developed in ages when individual rights were little understood and rarely obtainable, and when--might being

always right--the might of the Church was certainly more tempered by mercy than that of temporal authorities? If, as we are sometimes told, the action of the Roman Church is necessarily influenced by motives of policy, what can, in the face of the present crisis in the English Establishment, when Rome would fain persuade our perplexed fellow-countrymen to return to Catholic unity, be more foolish than the open approval of an infamous verdict by Cardinal Rampola, the silence of the French clergy, the opinions expressed by the Continental Catholic Press, or even the luke-warm utterances of Cardinal Vaughan?

In the life of a Jewish friend of George Sand, well-known in Paris musical circles, who after his conversion and religious profession devoted his life to the service of French prisoners detained in Germany after the war of 1871, it is related that, on a particular occasion of his career, among the French priests who came to offer him their congratulations were two other converted Jews. Attention being drawn to the unusual fact of three Jews being present together in a Carmelite monastery, one of them raised his hand towards the crucifix and replied reverently, "Monsieur, nous sommes quatre!" Have Catholic priests forgotten that the sacrifice they are appointed to offer "from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof" is the sacrifice of a Jew condemned for the sins of others?

Have Cardinal Rampolla and Père Didon chanted year after year the solemn reproaches of the Good Friday office--"Insurrexerunt in me testes iniqui, et mentita est iniquitas sibi." "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus." "Quia non est inventus qui me agnosceret et faceret bene"--without learning to extend compassion to a victim because they do not happen to approve of his religion?

The National Church of England is a mass of contradictions, and its annals in past centuries are stained by records of oppression alike of Catholics and Nonconformists, but, at least, to-day there is no uncertain sound about its vigorous denunciation of injustice, and I fear many Englishmen will think twice before giving their consciences into the keeping of a priesthood which has apparently lost sight of the very *raison d'être* of its existence.

Yours faithfully,

WOMANLY INDIGNATION

This letter to the editor, printed by the Times on 18 September 1899, was from Herbert Cardinal Vaughan. Vaughan

was the spiritual leader of English Roman Catholics during the time of the Affair.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE DREYFUS CASE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--The unprecedented tornado of feeling which in the name of justice has not unnaturally been sweeping through the English Press, like all hurricanes, is apt to be indiscriminating and to destroy much that should be left standing. It may perhaps be vain to speak in the midst of a storm; nevertheless I offer the following observations:--

First, it is unjust to identify the Catholic Church with the act of injustice whereby Dreyfus was condemned at Rennes without clear evidences of guilt.

The Catholic Church has had nothing to do with the various trials that have taken place; and I learn on reliable authority that all, or nearly all, the generals and persons concerned in the trials had not been pupils of the Jesuit or Catholic colleges, as has been said, but of the State Lycées, and that I was in error when I spoke even of Colonel Picquart as a Catholic. It has been from beginning to end a State affair, an affair of military interests and of State treason, in which the Church has had no place. The Bishops, therefore, rightly made no attempt to interfere in a matter that belonged to the secular power. But it is urged that they did not control the opinions of the clergy and faithful, and are therefore deserving of censure. But for years the case was at least doubtful, and there was *prima facie* presumption of guilt against Dreyfus. Men of undoubted candour and intelligence were found on either side, and nothing was certain until the full evidence was published. What would be said in England if, in a debateable matter of great public interest, the Bishops sought to impose silence or their own opinion upon a people priding themselves on their freedom of opinion? And where is the freedom of opinion if a man is to be branded with ignominy unless he adopt the judgment prescribed for him by another? The French people are as free as we are to hold what opinion they think right or the most likely to be right. That on one side or the other there should have been violent and passionate feelings is only to say that the French are formed of the same clay as ourselves and are swayed by feelings as well as by reason. But when there was a danger of disturbance, as at Rennes, we see that the Church spoke through the Cardinal Archbishop, counselling calm and moderation.

An attempt has been made to drag in the Holy See. But the Holy See has taken no side, and I say of my own knowledge that the Holy See declined to intervene in a matter that fell so clearly within the competence of the state. If the Holy Father had advice to offer to the Government, he has his accredited representative in Paris and would have spoken through him, not through the Press.

One cannot help wondering sometimes how it happens, if all this indignation be but the virtuous result of love of justice, that no public protest has been raised in England against the unjust and penal measures that have been passed in France against a multitude of men and women because they exercise their natural right to live together in association and to spend their own money on good works.

The other point on which I would say a word is that the Catholic Church condemns the persecution of the Jews, and of every other race. If Jews or Christians practise usury and extortion or do any other hurtful thing, let laws be passed, not against Jews, but against the malpractices complained of; and let the law strike Jew or Gentile with equal severity when guilty.

And if in one country or another Jews are persecuted by Christians, this must no more be put down as a charge against the Catholic Church than drunkenness, rioting, or any of the crimes that disgrace Christian communities. The Catholic Church may here or there fail in her mission--sometimes by the human frailties from which Churchmen are not always exempt, sometimes by the fact that her free action is impeded, and that she has to work, as Archbishop Whateley said of himself, with one hand, and that the best, tied behind her. But I say fearlessly that the Popes and the Catholic Church have been the defenders of the race of Israel, and that, whatever inter-racial antipathies may arise, the Church will always seek to moderate and in the end subdue them.

I do not wish one word I write to be taken as an approval of the Rennes verdict. On the contrary, I share the indignation expressed against it because it was unjustified by the evidence: and it is within the right of any man, in any country, to say that upon the evidence before him a verdict is infamous. But, having denounced the judgment pronounced by the five officers, it is simply monstrous that foreigners should at once rush in and, before the judgment has been considered by the supreme authority of the State, should denounce a whole nation as savages, outside the pale of civilization, and cover them with dishonour and abuse, childishly proposing to punish so odious a people by sending no English cottons or chemicals to their exhibition. It has been even proposed through the Press, as a righteous expression of indignation, to banish, not, indeed, all French subjects, but all French Catholics engaged in works of mercy and charity amongst us--bands of

heroic souls who spend themselves and their French money in nursing and succouring our destitute classes, with a generosity and a self-sacrifice no words can express or ever repay. Could the folly of passion go to a stranger or more unseemly length?

The Guardian newspaper pointed out very well last week that France is our next-door neighbour in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe, and that not only Christianity but self-interest demands the cultivation of friendly relations. But these will be rendered simply impossible if we sting a highly sensitive people in their honour and cover them unjustly with self-righteous scorn and abuse.

It seems to me that, whether we regard the history and character of the great nation which is our next-door neighbour, the interests of the unfortunate man whose cause we have espoused, the self-respect due to ourselves as a people, or the law and spirit of the Christian commonwealth, we are bound to a greater measure of self-restraint and discrimination than some of us have hitherto shown.

HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN

Archbishop's-house, Sept.17

A writer who called himself A Catholic Journalist responded to Vaughan in the 19 September 1899 issue of the Times.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--In spite of the respect which I and every English Catholic must feel for Cardinal Vaughan and his high office, I cannot refrain from pointing out that his letter to The Times does not touch the real point. As I said in my previous letter, what English Catholics would like to see is not a pronouncement by the Church in favour of Dreyfus, but some vigorous action which should put an end to the formentation by French priests of the present horrible movement against the Jews. I am quite sure that movement receives the strongest reprobation from Cardinal Vaughan personally, but the fact remains that if the French Bishops have taken an action whatever it has been almost, if not quite ineffectual.

I thoroughly agree with Cardinal Vaughan that it is no part of the Church to interfere in French politics. I do contend, however, that some action should have been taken to put a stop to the encouragement by French priests of one of

the most shocking manifestations of race hatred which has been seen in Europe within living memory, and I believe the discipline of the Church is such that urgent commands, not advice, to the clergy would have been obeyed.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

A CATHOLIC JOURNALIST

September 18

The following letter was written by journalist Edward Russel and printed in the Times on 26 September 1899. It gives the reader an idea of the power of the press and shows to some extent how the press in both France and England interacted and were dependent on one another.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--As a working journalist I claim the privilege of proposing in your columns that due honour should be done by the British Press to the unselfish, the self-denying bravery of the Paris Figaro, which more than anything else has saved France from the deep damnation of sacrificing Dreyfus.

I have no special knowledge of the relations or the ordinary policy of that journal. In this matter I am a "man of the street." But I have read pretty constantly the Figaro's bold articles. I have conversed in various parts of France and with various sorts of Frenchmen at all stages of the case. I can come to no other conclusion than that the Figaro took its line, not only regardless of consequences, but expecting very bad consequences, though, of course, determined if possible to avert them by using in every way the finest powers of its writers.

In an article of yesterday's date--alike strong, beautiful, and modest--that typical and ideal great journalist M. J. Cornély, at the end of a brilliant tribute to others, breaks silence for the first time, I think, as to the action of the Figaro. He considers it unique.

There have been other cases. I myself witnessed one from very near, the pathos and courage of which were even more remarkable. It was during the American war between North and South. But the Figaro's struggle for truth and right against all the predilections of its writers has been unique as to scale and in distinction.

M. Cornély says of the Figaro's constituency as King Joseph of Portugal said of his subjects, "My people are like

children. They cry when their faces are being washed." Now that the faces are coming clean the crying will cease and the faces will smile upon the noble newspaper which in spite of everything resolved to be and was "an organ of justice and truth."

And let all the journals of the world smile on the Figaro also.

I am, yours faithfully,

EDWARD R. RUSSELL

Hotel König von Freussen, Cassel, Sept. 21.

FRENCH FEELING TOWARDS ENGLAND

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,--The English at Cannes and other places on the Riviera are receiving constant letters from friends in England asking if the quest for the sun in the South of France will expose them to any of the hostile feeling of which they read in some organs of the Press. It may tend to reassurance if you will let me say that neither on the journey nor in any place at Cannes or elsewhere will they be able to discover that they are otherwise than most welcome. Indeed, one of your contemporaries recently despatched a commissioner to Paris in order to discover the contrary. In witty words he announced his failure to provoke the slightest sign of Anglophobism.

Any one who has had aught to do with Press matters knows that France has legions of papers with trivial circulation and neither financial nor other status. To attribute to them the weight or the power of reflecting public opinion possessed by great English journals is a most serious error. They have no influence in France. They should have none out of France, and least of all in England.

If the vile caricaturists who have incensed our loyalty wish to know what the great majority of Frenchmen think of them, they have but to announce themselves in any decent gathering. They had better have corporal protection, for they will need it. The savate is painful. But as long as Englishmen, among others on the boulevards buy these productions at enhanced prices, just for a laugh, they will be produced.

Neither the President of the Republic nor things good and venerable in France, neither the French Government nor the Roman Church are spared. French Press laws are weak, and ours, too, for that matter.

But it is absurd to hold France as a nation responsible for the freaks of irresponsible lampoonists. Their productions, nor yet exaggerated headlines nor imaginary

stories from South Africa, do us no harm as a people or as individuals.

If we are so sensitive we had better close the bookstalls at home.

In a moment England can spread ruin in France by a mere Customs order against the 3,000,000,000f. worth of French exports to the British Empire, not one ounce of which is a necessary of life.

But until then there is no reason for boycotting places like Cannes, which are practically English, without frost or fog. The efforts of the local authorities have much improved communication, while golf and tennis reign under the facile sceptre of the Grand Duke Michael, whose friendship for England cannot be sufficiently acknowledged, amid picturesque, health-giving, and attractive surroundings.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
C. E. Howard Vincent

Villa Flora, Cannes.

APPENDIX FIVE
TEACHING OUTLINE

HISTORY 172

HENRY M. MOBLEY
TUESDAY
10 Nov. 1992

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

I. Anti-Semitism

A. Definition

B. Europe

1. England
2. France and Algeria
3. Germany, Austria, and Russia

II. Democracy and Nationalism

A. British Democracy and Liberalism

B. French Republicanism and Nationalism

III. Civil Liberties

A. As understood in England at the turn of the century.

B. As understood in France at the turn of the century.

Appendix number two should have been handed out at least one week before this lecture. Classroom discussion about anti-Semitism should be followed by a written assignment on the impact of anti-Semitism on Alfred Dreyfus.

APPENDIX SIX
CHRONOLOGY OF THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

1894

- September Mr. Casimir Perler, President of the Republic:
M. Dupuy, Prime Minister: General Mercier,
Minister of War. The bordereau is brought to
the War Office.
- Oct. 14 Dreyfus arrested by Du Paty de Clam and
conveyed in great secrecy to the Cherche-Midi
prison.
- " 29 The Libre Parole and other papers commence their
campaign against the Jewish "traitor."
- Nov. 28 General Mercier announces in the Figaro that he
has "the most positive proofs" of Dreyfus's
treason.
- Dec. 19 The Court-martial assembles.
- " The War Office communicates secret documents to
the Court upon which Dreyfus is condemned.

1895

- Jan. 5 Dreyfus publicly degraded.
- " 17 M. Félix Faure elected President of the Republic.
- " 26 M. Ribet, Prime Minister: General Zurlinden,
Minister of War.
- Feb. 9 The Chamber passes a law with retroactive force
under which Dreyfus is sent to the Ile du
Diable.
- June 1 Colonel Picquart succeeds Colonel Sandherr as head
of the Intelligence Department.
- Apr. 29 M. Méline, Prime Minister: General Billot,
Minister of War: and M. Hanotaux, Foreign
Minister.

273

- May The petit-bleu (a telegram-card alleged to have been addressed by Colonel von Schwarzkoppen to Major Esterhazy) is brought to Colonel Picquart.
- July Colonel Picquart acquaints his chiefs with his suspicions regarding Esterhazy.
- Sept. 7 Colonel Picquart writes to General Gonse strongly urging a full investigation in order to anticipate the pressure of outside opinion.
- " 14 The Eclair in order to reassure public opinion divulges the fact that documents were secretly communicated to the Court-martial.
- Nov. (early in) M. Bernard Lazare's "La vérité sur l'affaire Dreyfus" appears.
- " 10 The Matin publishes a facsimile of the bordereau.
- " 16 Colonel Picquart sent away from the War Office and replaced by Colonel Henry.
- " 18 General Billot, replying to an interpellation in the Chamber, proclaims the doctrine of the chose jugée.

1897

- January Colonel Picquart sent to Tunisia.
- June Colonel Picquart comes to Paris and consults his lawyer, M. Leblois.
- Sept. M. Scheurer-Kestner, President of the Senate, takes up the case at M. Leblois's instance.
- Oct. The broker De Castro recognizes the handwriting of the bordereau as that of Esterhazy.
- Nov. 15 M. Mathieu Dreyfus, the prisoner's brother, formally charges Esterhazy with having written it.
- " 19 Esterhazy demands an inquiry.
- " 25 Colonel Picquart summoned back from Tunis on counter-charges of Esterhazy.
- Dec. 7 In answer to M. Scheurer-Kestner, the Prime Minister, M. Méline, declares in the Senate--Il n'y a pas d'affaire Dreyfus.

- Dec. 13 M. Rochefort states in Intransigeant that one of the documents on which Dreyfus was condemned was an autograph letter from the German Emperor.

1898

- Jan. 7 The Siècle publishes the text of the original indictment drawn up by Major d'Ormescheville against Dreyfus.
- " 11 Esterhazy acquitted by Court-martial amidst tremendous enthusiasm. Prince Henry of Orleans embraces him.
- " 12 Colonel Picquart arrested and sent to Mont Valerien.
- " 13 M. Emile Zola's letter "J'accuse" published in the Aurore. Stormy debate in the Chambers. M. Zola to be prosecuted.
- " 22 Violent discussions in the Chamber. Government declarations against reopening the case adopted by 386-138.
- " 24 Herr von Bulow, Foreign Secretary, declares in the Reichstag that there have never been any relations between Dreyfus and any German representative.
- " 31 A similar declaration is made in the Italian Chamber.
- Feb. 11 The Zola trial begins.
- " 23 M. Zola sentenced to maximum punishment.
- " 25 Picquart placed on the retired list.
- Mar. 6 Duel between Picquart and Henry, the latter slightly wounded.
- Apr. 2 Court of Cassation quashes the sentence on M. Zola on technical grounds.
- " 7 Fresh prosecution of M. Zola ordered.
- " 8 The Siècle publishes Count Casella's revelations respecting Esterhazy's relations with the German and Italian Military attachés.

- May 23 M. Zola's second trial. He appeals on a point of law.
- June 27 M. Brisson, Prime Minister: M. Caviagnac, Minister of War: M. Delacasse, Foreign Minister.
- July 7 M. Caviagnac in his famous declaration in the Chamber reads out the "canilled de D." and other documents as proving Dreyfus's guilt.
- " 10 Colonel Picquart writes to the Prime Minister denouncing the documents read out by M. Caviagnac as forgeries.
- " 13 Colonel Picquart arrested.
- " 18 M. Zola again condemned. He escapes to England.
- " 21 Père Didon delivers a speech at the distribution of prizes at Arcueil College glorifying the supremacy of the army.
- Aug. 31 Arrest and suicide of Colonel Henry, who confesses to having forged the chief document used by M. Cavaignac against Dreyfus in the Chamber.
- Sept. 4 M. Cavaignac resigns.
- " 6 General Zurlinden succeeds him as Minister of War.
- " 9 Esterhazy flees from France.
- " 13 Du Paty du Clam compulsorily retired from the active list.
- " 18 The Government decides to refer the question of revision to a Commission. General Zurlinden resigns and is succeeded by General Chanoine.
- " 21 Colonel Picquart declares in the Civil Court that whatever happens he has "no intention of committing suicide."
- " 22 General Zurlinden in his capacity of Military Governor of Paris arrests Colonel Picquart on his liberation Civil Courts and has him transferred to solitary confinement at the Cherche-Midi Prison.
- " 25 The Commission on revision comes to a negative conclusion.

- Sep. 26 The Government decides to remit the case for revision to the Court of Cassation.
- Oct. 13 The Times publishes an "Examination of the facts and evidence in the Dreyfus case" by Sir Godfrey Lushington.
- " 14 Rumoured military plot in Paris.
- " 25 Fall of the Brisson ministry.
- " 27 M. Bard, the Reporter of the Criminal Court of Cassation, reports strongly in the essence of revision.
- " 30 The Court of Cassation decides that there is a "prima facie" case for revision.
- " 31 M. Dupuy Prime Minister, M. de Freycinet War Minister in the new Cabinet. M. Delcassé remains at the Foreign Office.
- Nov. 8 The Court of Cassation begins to take evidence.
- " 15 The Court informs Dreyfus that proceedings are being taken with a view to revision of his case.
- " 25 General Zurlinden decides to send Colonel Picquart before a Court-martial for forgery and the use of forged documents.
- " 28 M. Poincaré, one of the Ministers of 1894, makes an important declaration in the Chamber.
- Dec. 9 Colonel Picquart's prosecution suspended by the action of the Court of Cassation.
- " 17 General Mercier subscribes 100 francs to the fund in favour of Henry's widow.

1899

- Jan. 1 The League de la Patrie Francaise founded under military and anti-revisionist auspices.
- " 8 M. Quesnay de Bearepaire, President of the Civil Chamber of the Court of Cassation, resigns as a protest against the alleged "revisionist" partiality of the Criminal Chamber.
- " 13 Stormy debate in the Chamber on M. de Beaurepaire's charges.

- Jan. 24 Esterhazy, under a safe conduct, gives evidence before the Court of Cassation.
- " 29 President Mazeau's report on M. de Beaurepaire's charges.
- " 30 The Government introduces a Bill transferring the case for revision to the plenary Court of Cassation.
- Feb. 1 Esterhazy again flees from Paris before having concluded his evidence.
- " 8 The report of the Committee of the Chamber entirely exonerates the Criminal section of the Court of Cassation from M. de Beaurepaire's charges.
- " 13 The Government passes the Government bill for altering the composition of the Court by 313 to 213.
- " 16 Sudden death of President Faure.
- " 19 M. Loubet elected President of the Republic.
- " 23 Arrest of M. Déroulède for inciting General Roget to a military coup d'Etat.
- " 28 The Government Bill respecting the Court of Cassation passed in the Senate 158-131.
- Mar. 14 M. Gohier acquitted on the charge of insulting the army in his book "L'Armée contre la Nation."
- " 24 M. Monod's revelations with regard to President Faure and the Dreyfus case.
- " 31 The Figaro begins its publication of the evidence taken before the Court of Cassation.
- May 5 M. de Freycinet resigns after a heated debate in the Chamber on the scandalous scenes at the Ecole Polytechnique.
- " 6 M. Krantz succeeds M. de Freycinet as War Minister.
- " 12 Statement by M. Deleassé in the Chamber respecting the fraction between the War Office and the Foreign Office in the Dreyfus case.

- May 24 M. Billot-Beaupré, Reporter of the Court of Cassation, hands in his report on the case for revision.
- " 30 M. Billot-Beaupré, having formally declared Esterhazy to be the author of the bordereau, concludes his report in favour of revision. M. Déroulède is acquitted on the same day amidst anti-revisionist demonstrations.
- " 31 M. Manau, Procureur-General, addresses the Court in favour of revision.
- June 1 M. Mornard addresses the Court on behalf of Madame Dreyfus.
- " 2 Esterhazy states that he wrote the Bordereau under Colonel Sandherr's instructions.
- " 3 The Court of Cassation delivers judgment in favour of revision, Dreyfus to be tried again before a fresh Court-martial at Rennes.⁶
- " 22 Constitution of the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, called the government of "Republican Defense," with the socialist Millerand as Minister of Commerce and General Galiffet at the War Office.
- August 7- September 9 Rennes Trial. Dreyfus is condemned to ten years detention.
- Sep. 19 President Loubet pardons Dreyfus.

1900

- Dec. 27 Law of Amnesty passed for all infractions of law committed in connection with the Dreyfus Affair. Dreyfus requests and is granted an exception in order to pursue his case for exoneration.

1906

- July 12 The united chambers of the Court of Appeal, after a new inquiry, proclaim the innocence of Dreyfus.

⁶"Diary of the Dreyfus Case," Times, 5 June 1899, 6.

July 21 Captain Alfred Dreyfus, reinstated in the Army, is made Chevalier of the Legion of Honor at the Ecole Militaire.⁷

1935

July 12 Alfred Dreyfus dies. Dreyfus outlived all of the major figures of the Affair.⁸

⁷The Jewish Museum, 2.

⁸Bredin, The Affair, 496.

APPENDIX SEVEN

FACSIMILE OF THE BORDEREAU

FACSIMILE OF DREYFUS'S HANDWRITING

FACSIMILE OF ESTERHAZY'S HANDWRITING⁹

⁹These facsimilies were reproduced in the Quarterly Review, April 1898, between pages 536 and 537.

L'écriture du Capitaine DREYFUS

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