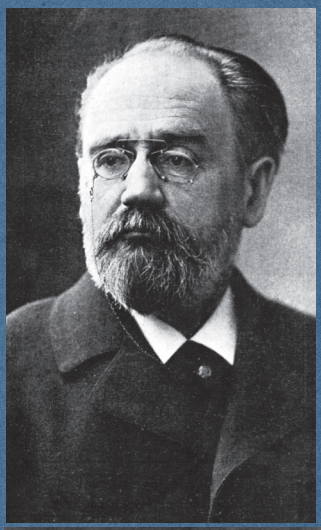
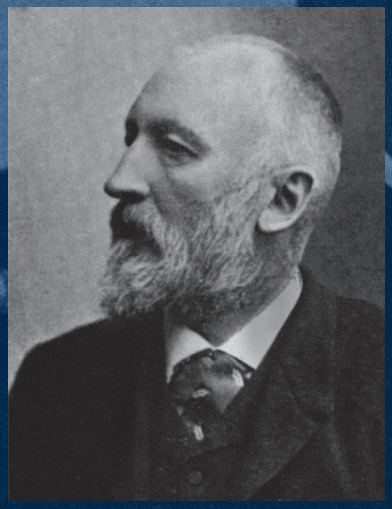
# The Dreyfus Affair: Voices of Honor





United States Naval Academy
The Commodore Uriah P. Levy Center
Annapolis, Maryland
October 2007- April 2008

*An Exhibition based on the*
*Lorraine Beitler Dreyfus Collection*

# The Dreyfus Affair: Voices of Honor

Le Petit Journal

Le Petit Journal
CHAQUE JOUR 5 CENTIMES
Le Supplément illustré
CHAQUE SEMAINE 5 CENTIMES

SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ
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LE TRAITRE
Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus

*United States Naval Academy*
*The Commodore Uriah P. Levy Center*
*Annapolis, Maryland*
*October 2007 - April 2008*

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February 27, 2008

Dr. Lorraine Beitler, Director
The Beitler Family Foundation
1225 River Road, Suite 4C
Edgewater, NJ 07020

Dear Dr. Beitler:

Thank you for sharing your thorough and insightful exhibit, *Voices of Honor: The Dreyfus Affair*, with the midshipmen and faculty of the Naval Academy. The Dreyfus Affair embodies consequential lessons about the core Navy values of honor, courage and commitment.

The conduct of those in uniform serves as a moral compass for the entire country. At defining moments – for an individual or for a nation – finding the courage and commitment required to act with honor can be an enormous challenge. Your exhibit underscores the sacred importance of individual honor as well as maintaining a transparent judicial system that provides fair treatment for the accused.

Beyond these lessons, though, lies a larger axiom. As with France at the turn of the last century, our armed forces today represent our nation in the eyes of the world. The Dreyfus Affair created the widespread impression that the French armed forces were defined by conscienceless anti-semitism, at the expense of security and honor. As our armed forces conduct themselves with honor, it reflects favorably on America and makes us more secure.

George Washington said, "Without a decisive naval force we can do nothing definitive; and with it, everything honorable and glorious." Your exhibition on the Dreyfus Affair is a wonderful example for midshipmen at the Naval Academy of the importance of remaining true to their core values as they prepare themselves to fulfill their to duties to each other and their country. Your contribution to the Annapolis educational experience is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Carl Levin
Chairman

## *Preface*

Although the Dreyfus Affair took place over a century ago, the subject remains of interest for the timeless issues that it raises. The false accusation and ultimate exoneration of Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935) mark a crucial episode. The trial of Dreyfus aroused worldwide interest in its time; it continues to speak to us today and raises profound issues for modern society.

One hundred years ago, a young officer in the French Army was unjustly convicted for treason. The effort to clear his name, known to history as the "Dreyfus Affair," divided French society and echoed around the world The Affair reminds us of the continued need for vigilance--in individual lives and in our institutions--to guard against intolerance, ethnic discrimination, persecution, and genocide. In its time, the Dreyfus Affair aroused worldwide interest; it continues to speak to us today.

Developed over the course of more than a decade of research, the Lorraine Beitler Dreyfus Collection has provided an international forum for diverse audiences by means of exhibitions, publications, and conferences. As the Collection grew, the concept evolved--moving from archive to exhibition. The aim was to stimulate critical thought and widen perspectives in the belief that the responses to the challenges faced by a democracy in the fledging Third Republic in France allow reflection in other histories and on our own. To date, exhibitions from the Collection have been seen across six continents and translated into five languages*

The documents are both historically rich and visually striking. They provide graphic witness to a formative period in modern culture and society. While presenting the issues of the Dreyfus Affair as they were recorded and expressed historically, the exhibit offers compelling parallels with our own time. The aim has provoked insight, to provide a basis for understanding the context, the opposing voices, and differing agendas. Although the events took place one hundred years ago, the issues remain critical: the battle against hate and prejudice, the abuse of power in the judiciary and functions of state, the role of the citizen in democratic society, and the imperative necessity of personal courage in the public sphere.

We are part of a long continuum: each generation has a responsibility to transmit history's truths, to add to the moral foundations of society and government, to inspire an understanding of the ethical issues that face all individuals. Much has changed since the turn of the century; much has remained the same. The last century provided ample evidence that the issues raised by the Affair continue to have relevance. The darkest horrors are there but so are the shining examples of resistance, hope, and triumph.

Active participation and inquiry are essential to an environment that will encourage citizens to reflect, analyze, and make responsible choices. The rights we enjoy in Democracies are never absolutely secure: it is necessary that those who value justice and liberty, defend in order to preserve them. In the interests of our highest ideals of democracy and freedom, it is vital that we, the public, whether engaged in civilian, professional, or military life, remain alert to issues of social injustice, both at home and in the international sectors.

Penn
University of Pennsylvania

Lorraine Beitler, Ed.D, L.H.D.
Curator, The Lorraine Beitler Dreyfus Collection, University of Pennsylvania

* Bar-Ilan University (Israel); Capetown University (South Africa); the French Senate, Palais du Luxembourg; U. S. Military Academy; Royal Library of Belgium; University of Toronto Art Center; Escuela Superior de Guerra, Buenos Aires; Museum Narodowe (National Museum) Wroclaw (Poland); Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg and Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr, Dresden; Migration Museum, Adelaide.

## *Acknowledgements*

The United States Naval Academy extends its deepest appreciation to: Dr. Lorraine and Martin Beitler, the Friends of the Jewish Chapel, and Captain Allison Webster Giddings,USN (Ret.), for bringing the exhibit to Annapolis.

★★★★

# The Dreyfus Affair:
## Voices of Honor

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- **Séverine: Woman of Social Justice**

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The Legacy: Across the Years, From Then to Now

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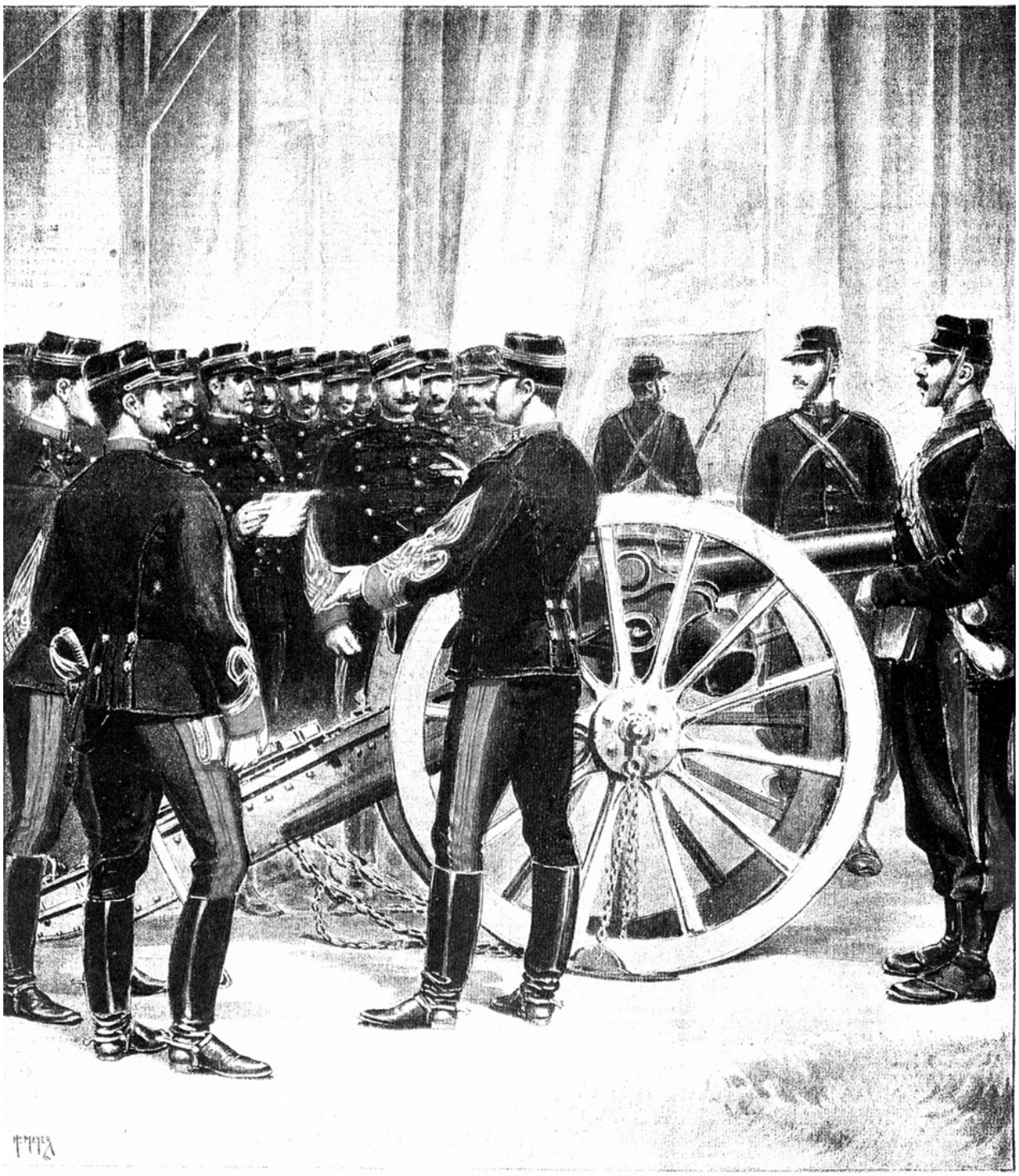
Huitième année DIMANCHE 14 NOVEMBRE 1897 Numero 365



LE NOUVEAU CANON FRANÇAIS

# Turbulent Times: France in the Nineteenth Century

*Men are born and remain free and equal in rights . . . (Article 1)*
*[The law] must be the same for all . . . (Article 6)*
*The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. (Article 11)*
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen [1791]

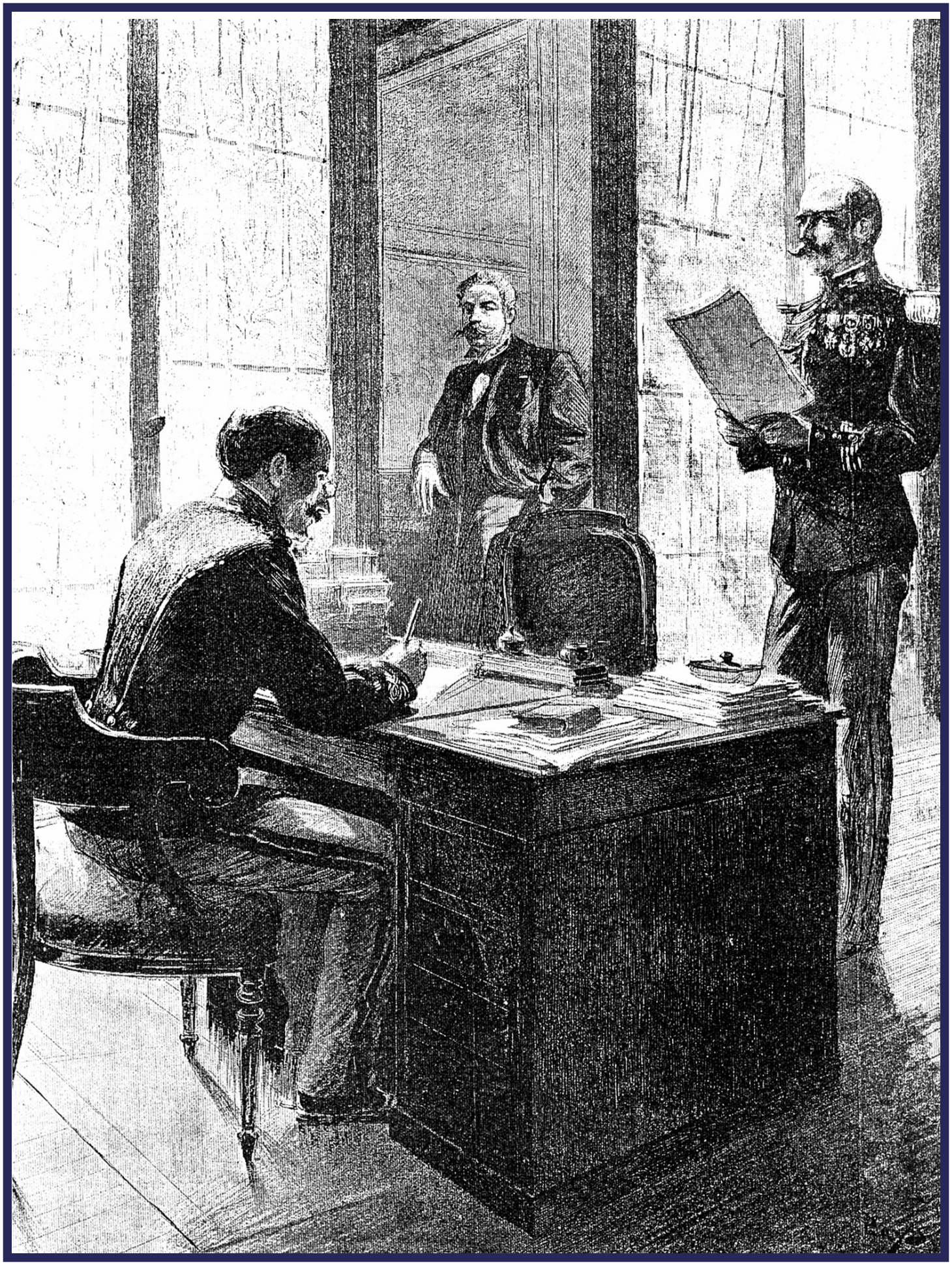
Events at the close of the eighteenth century provided a violent prelude to the development of modern France. After the storming of the Bastille in 1789, the monarchy was abolished and the revolutionary French Republic proclaimed the principles of *Liberty, Equality,* and *Fraternity*.

New democratic principles ushered in a century of enormous change, accompanied by dramatic shifts in power and outbreaks of social and political unrest, as France struggled to maintain its position as a world leader. The beginnings of industrialization, the expansion of capitalist enterprise, and demographic concentration in the cities fuelled modern social and political consciousness. As the century progressed, the influence of the Church continued to wane, particularly in the field of education. Economic depression aroused social discontent. The crash of the *Union Générale*, a Catholic banking concern, in 1882, followed by political scandals and the failure of the Panama Canal Company, were exploited by all shades of opinion.

Military decline following the Napoleonic Wars was compounded by defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and crushing reparations. These humiliations provoked the desire for revenge (*la Revanche*) and lent strong social and political support to military authority as the guardian of national honor. The promise of democratic reforms in the military, the establishment of qualifying examinations for the officer cadre, and calls for a citizens' army, were a source of tension between the liberal Third Republic, established after the war with Prussia, and traditional social elites.

Journalism became an important engine of opinion. The nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary expansion of the press and opportunities for worldwide communication. Mechanization reduced costs and allowed for proliferation of imagery to an ever-expanding public--with all the attendant possibilities for publicity, propaganda, and sensationalism.

The Republic faced antagonism from a broad range of political groups--from monarchists and militarists on the Right, to socialists and anarchists on the Left. Some groups wished to work for peaceful reform; others were committed to revolutionary change. During the period of the Dreyfus Affair, anti-Semitism was developed as a nationalist political platform. Rabble-rousing tactics produced a climate of unthinking prejudice which would explode during the Dreyfus Affair.



# The Incident: A Case of Espionage

In September 1894, French Intelligence intercepted a document (the *bordereau*) in the German Embassy in Paris. The document indicated that highly-classified information concerning artillery mobilization was being offered to Germany by a French officer.

On October 15, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an artillery officer assigned to French Intelligence, was told to appear at the Ministry of War, in civilian dress. In the presence of the Chief Detective of Police, Dreyfus was ordered to write out a prepared text, dictated by Colonel Du Paty de Clam. Dreyfus was then immediately arrested.

***"What do you accuse me of?" exclaimed Dreyfus***
***"You know well enough" Du Paty replied; "the letter***
***I have just dictated is sufficient proof . . . your treason is discovered."***

Dreyfus was taken into custody and imprisoned under conditions of great secrecy.

On October 29, an anonymous letter informed the antisemitic newspaper, *La Libre Parole* that an officer of the General Staff had been arrested. "*High Treason: Arrest of a Jewish Officer, Captain Dreyfus*" announced the headlines. One month later, Minister of War, General Mercier, reacting to criticism of incompetence for his lack of response to the case, announced in the press he had "positive proof of Dreyfus' treason."

A court-martial was held in the Cherche-Midi military prison. Removed from public scrutiny, the Ministry of War furnished judges with a "secret file" to incriminate the prisoner. Fabricated documents, never seen by the defense, were used to secure the condemnation of Alfred Dreyfus. He was sentenced to degradation and life imprisonment in a fortified place.

On January 5, 1895, Dreyfus was stripped of his rank in the courtyard of the Ecole Militaire before officers and new recruits representing every regiment in Paris. A violent crowd of twelve-thousand onlookers witnessed the ceremony, hurling insults: *Death to the traitor, Death to the Jews!!*

Dreyfus was deported to perpetual incarceration on Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guyana. Conditions in this isolated, disease-ridden, and torrid place were inhumane and represented a virtual condemnation to death. Surrounded by a high-walled enclosure, a prey to vermin and scorpions, Dreyfus was shackled for extended periods of time. His diet, often consisting of foul food, was cooked and eaten in rusty cans.

Throughout his torment, Dreyfus maintained an unflinching loyalty to the French judicial system, a belief in the honor of the Army, and a devotion to his family.

# Chronology

*(1791-1998)*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1791 | The new republic proclaims the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.* |
| 1871 | Alsace annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War. |
| 1881 | Republican legislation begins to limit the civil power of the Church. |
| | Press freed from censorship by the Law of July 29. |
| 1882 | Crash of banking consortium, *Union Générale*, founded in 1876 with funds from Catholic investors. Failure used as pretext to attack republican government and Jewish financiers. |
| 1886 | Edouard Drumont, self-appointed "pope" of antisemitism, publishes *La France Juive*—100,000 copies sold within two months; runs to more than 200 editions. |
| 1890-1893 | Anarchist bombs terrorize Paris. |
| | *Panama Scandal*. Bankruptcy of the Panama Company and ensuing ruin of small investors sparks antisemitic agitation and bitter criticism of the Republic. Drumont's newspaper, *La Libre Parole* leads the attack and enflames public opinion. |
| 1894 | (October) Captain Alfred Dreyfus charged with high treason. |
| | (December) Dreyfus condemned to perpetual imprisonment. |
| 1895 | (January) Dreyfus degraded in the courtyard of the Ecole Militaire. |
| | (April) Dreyfus deported to Devil's Island, a former leper colony. |
| | (July) Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart appointed Chief of French Intelligence. |
| 1896 | (March) Picquart identifies Major Esterhazy as author of the *bordereau*. |
| 1897 | (December 7) Vice-President of French Senate, Auguste Scheurer-Kestner appeals for renewed investigation of the *bordereau*. |
| 1898 | (January 13) *J'Accuse…!* which results in suit against Zola for libel. |
| | Antisemitic riots erupt in provincial centers in France and Algeria. |
| | (February 7-23) During Zola's trial the *League of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* is founded in support of the revision. |
| | (May) In government elections, antisemitic candidates make political gains; prominent Dreyfusards lose seats. |
| | (August) Major Henry, his forgeries discovered, is arrested and found in his cell with his throat cut—officially-reported as suicide. |
| 1899 | (May-June) National and international pressure brings about *revision* (a new trial) of Dreyfus' case. |
| | (June 3) United Courts of Appeal order a retrial in Rennes. |
| | (August-September) Dreyfus' second court-martial at Rennes. Again found guilty and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. A pardon is offered by President Loubet which is accepted on the understanding that Dreyfus will continue efforts to prove his innocence. |

1900 (April) Despite threats of international boycott, the *Exposition universelle* opens in Paris.

(December) In an attempt to close the *Affair*, the government decrees amnesty for all crimes connected with the Dreyfus case.

1903 (April) Jean Jaurès reopens debate on the need for revision. General André, Minister of War, begins inquiry in the War Office.

(November) Dreyfus, supported by new, irrefutable findings, successfully appeals for revision of the verdict at Rennes.

1906 (July) Dreyfus exonerated: appointed Knight of the Legion of Honor and reinstated into the Army at the rank of Major. Georges Picquart is promoted to Brigadier-General.

(October) Picquart appointed Minister of War by President of the Republic, Georges Clemenceau.

1908 (June) Transfer of Zola's remains to the Panthéon. In the cortège, Alfred Dreyfus is shot and wounded: the would-be assassin, Grégori, is acquitted September 11.

(August) Major Henry, his forgeries discovered, is arrested and found in his cell with his throat cut—officially-reported as suicide.

1998 (February 2) Commemorative plaque unveiled at the Ecole Militaire paying tribute to Alfred Dreyfus.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1859 | Alfred Dreyfus born in Mulhouse, Alsace to a Jewish family. |
| 1871-1874 | Dreyfus family members leave Alsace to maintain French citizenship following the annexation by Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. |
| 1878 | Enters *Ecole polytechnique*. |
| 1890 | Marriage with Lucie Hadamard |
| 1892 | Graduates with honors from the premier French military academy, the *Ecole supérieure de la guerre.* |
| 1893 | Captain Dreyfus is awarded a probationary assignment with the General Staff. |
| 1894 | (September-December) The *bordereau* is intercepted by French Intelligence. General Mercier, Minister of War, orders investigation. Dreyfus is falsely accused and sentenced to perpetual deportation. |
| 1895 | (January) Public degradation at the Ecole Militaire before crowds hurling violent insults. (April) Solitary confinement on Devil's Island, off French Guyana, a former leper colony. |
| 1896 | (March) New chief of French Intelligence, Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart identifies Major Esterhazy as author of the *bordereau*. (November) Writer and journalist, Bernard-Lazare, the first publicly active Dreyfusard, exposes illegality of Dreyfus' trial in his book, *Une erreur judiciaire*. (January) Esterhazy unanimously acquitted at a pre-arranged court-martial. Picquart is imprisoned. |
| 1899 | (June) Court of Appeal orders a retrial for Dreyfus. (August) Second court-martial at Rennes finds Dreyfus "guilty," with "extenuating circumstances"; sentenced to ten years detention. (September 10) Dreyfus offered pardon by President Loubet. Dreyfus accepts with proviso that he will continue efforts to prove his innocence. |
| 1906 | (July) Dreyfus exonerated, reintegrated into the Army and promoted. Appointed Knight of the Legion of Honor at the Ecole Militaire. |
| 1914-1918 | Dreyfus serves with his son Pierre on active duty at the front lines during the First World War. |
| 1935 | Alfred Dreyfus dies on the twenty-ninth anniversary of his reinstatement into the Army. |

# Captain Alfred Dreyfus:

## Man of Honor

1859-1935

*My life . . . belongs to my country . . .my honor . . . is the patrimony of my children.*

Alfred Dreyfus
*Letter to the President of the Republic, July 8, 1897*

Alfred Dreyfus was born in Alsace where his father, Raphaël, was a successful textile manufacturer. At the age of twelve, following the Franco-Prussian War, Alfred witnessed the annexation of his native province by Germany. The Dreyfus family chose French citizenship and left for France.

Alfred aspired to a military career to restore French honor. He entered the *Ecole polytechnique* at the age of nineteen and in 1889 was appointed a captain of artillery. In April 1890, the day following his acceptance by the *Ecole supérieure de la guerre* (the West Point of France), Alfred married his fiancée, Lucie Hadamard in Paris. At the age of thirty-two, he graduated with honors. His success led to a probationary appointment on the General Staff, attached to the Intelligence Service. Dreyfus would reflect on his happiness during this period of his life

*The path of a brilliant career lay open before me; the future appeared under the best possible light. After the day of work, I enjoyed the rest and charms of familial life . . . We were perfectly happy, a first child brightened our home; I had no material cares, the same deep affection united me both to my own family and that of my wife.*

In September 1894, French Intelligence retrieved a treasonous document. Alfred Dreyfus, an artillery officer, and the only Jew on the General Staff, was a likely target. He was charged with treason and sentenced to life-imprisonment. Throughout his ordeal, Dreyfus never lost faith in the integrity of France, its judicial system, and the honor of the Army.

Emile Zola, France's most famous novelist, penned *J'Accuse…!* which galvanized an international campaign for the revision. The struggle for justice in the Affair led to a second court-martial at Rennes in 1899. Again, Dreyfus was found guilty of treason, this time with "extenuating circumstances"—a verdict which sparked an international outcry. Ten days later, President of France, Emile Loubet offered a pardon. Dreyfus accepted on condition that he would continue efforts to redeem his honor

*My liberty . . . is nothing to me . . . without my honor . . .*
*I want all of France to know that I am innocent . . .*

Twelve years after the initial condemnation, Alfred Dreyfus was exonerated of all charges. In July 1906, following a decision of the Supreme Court of Appeal, he was reintegrated into the French Army, promote to Squadron Leader, and appointed a Knight of the Legion of Honor at the Ecole Militaire. Following the ceremony of decoration--to enthusiastic cries of "*Long live Dreyfus*!"—Dreyfus responded, "*Long live France!*"

*I loved you before with all my heart and soul; today I do more, I admire you. You are assuredly one of the noblest women in the world. My admiration is such that if I succeed in drinking this bitter cup to the dregs it will be in order to be worthy of your heroism.*

Alfred to Lucie Dreyfus

*while a prisoner on Devil's Island*

1869 Lucie-Eugénie Hadamard born to an eminent Jewish family in Paris.

1890 (April) Civil marriage of Lucie and Alfred at the Mairie du IXe arrondissement; religious ceremony subsequently conducted by Grand Rabbi of Paris, Zadoc Kahn.

1894 (October-December) Captain Alfred Dreyfus falsely accused of treason and sentenced to perpetual deportation.

1895 (January 5) Degradation of Dreyfus at the Ecole Militaire before vast and violent crowd.

Lucie implores her husband to maintain his composure: You are innocent.

(February) Lucie petitions to accompany her husband to Devil's Island—the request, though admissible under French law, is denied.

1896 (September) *L'Eclair* reveals unwittingly that Dreyfus has been condemned illegally on "secret" evidence. Madame Dreyfus' petition for revision of her husband's case is rejected by Parliament.

1898 (April) An Appeal to the Women of France by Leopold Monod, Protestant pastor of Lyon, demands that Lucie be allowed to see her husband.

Lucie publishes Alfred's letters from prison, the *Letters of an Innocent.*

(August 31) Major Henry confesses his forgeries and is found dead in his cell on Mont-Valérien.

(September 3) Lucie again submits an appeal for revision.

(October 29) The Council of Ministers authorizes an assembly of the Court of Appeal which judges the Dreyfus case readmissible.

1899 (August) Second court-martial at Rennes.

(September 10) Pardon signed by President Loubet. At the urging of friends and family, Dreyfus accepts with proviso that he will continue efforts to prove his innocence.

1906 (July) Court of Appeal exonerates Dreyfus. He is promoted to Major and in the presence of Lucie and the children, family and friends, is appointed Knight of the Legion of Honor at the Ecole Militaire.

1914-1918 While Alfred and their son are on active duty at the Front, Lucie serves as a nurse for the Red Cross. Both son and son-in-law of Alfred's brother, Mathieu are lost in the service of France.

1939-1945 During the Second World War, members of the Dreyfus family serve France, some in the armed services, others participating in the Resistance. Madame Dreyfus' funds are expropriated by the Vichy régime. A nephew, a hostage victim, is killed; granddaughter Madeleine Lévy dies at Auschwitz (January 1944).

1943-1944 At the age of seventy-four, Lucie Dreyfus, under the name "Madame Duteil" is given shelter by the Catholic nuns of Valence.

1945 (December 14) Lucie Dreyfus dies at her home in Paris.

# Madame Lucie Dreyfus

## Woman of Valor

1869-1945

Lucie-Eugénie Hadamard was born in the Parisian suburb of Chatou to an eminent, affluent Jewish family. Her grandfather had studied in the military school, the *Ecole polytechnique*, and had been an officer in the French Army. At twenty-one she was married to Captain Alfred Dreyfus. Her husband's income ensured the financial security of his new family; Lucie's generous dowry further promised the couple a brilliant place in society. They lived in Paris and shared the joy of two children, Pierre (1891) and Jeanne (1893). Her husband's career, and their domestic happiness, was brutally shattered by the accusation in September 1894.

In December, Dreyfus was condemned by court-martial for "delivering secrets to a foreign power or its agents." Aware of the devastating effect of this charge, yet conscious of Alfred's sense of duty to his wife and family, Lucie immediately wrote to sustain her husband

*You must live for the children . . . Think of the good years we have had together and the ones we shall have again. . . . We will fight together . . .*

Throughout the years of his imprisonment, Lucie wrote constantly to her husband, addressed many appeals to the French authorities and even to the Pope. Without her constancy the efforts for revision could not have been sustained. Though shunning publicity for herself, Lucie published the letters received from her husband. She hoped the *Letters of an Innocent* would convince the world that Alfred was a loving husband, a devoted father, and a loyal soldier of France.

Her appeals led to a new court-martial in Rennes. Lucie's constancy throughout the struggle for justice, her dignity, and her courage, evoked worldwide admiration. Among the many international expressions of support, a group of "Women of Brazil" presented an inscribed, jewelled casket to Madame Dreyfus, in homage of "*she who has been the exemplar of wife and mother*."

The verdict, after five weeks of deliberation at Rennes, was bitter. Dreyfus was again found guilty, with "extenuating circumstances," and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment. On September 10, 1899, he was offered a pardon. In deplorable health, Dreyfus was prevailed upon by family and friends to accept, on proviso of continued efforts to establish his complete innocence.

In 1906, in the presence of Lucie and the children, family and friends, Alfred Dreyfus was made a Knight of the Legion of Honor at the Ecole Militaire where he had been degraded twelve years earlier. Lucie's heroic struggle to restore her husband's honor, and the family's unfaltering devotion to France, was affirmed.

# Le Petit Journal

Le Petit Journal
CINQ CENTIMES
Le Supplément illustré
CINQ CENTIMES

SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ
Huit pages : CINQ centimes

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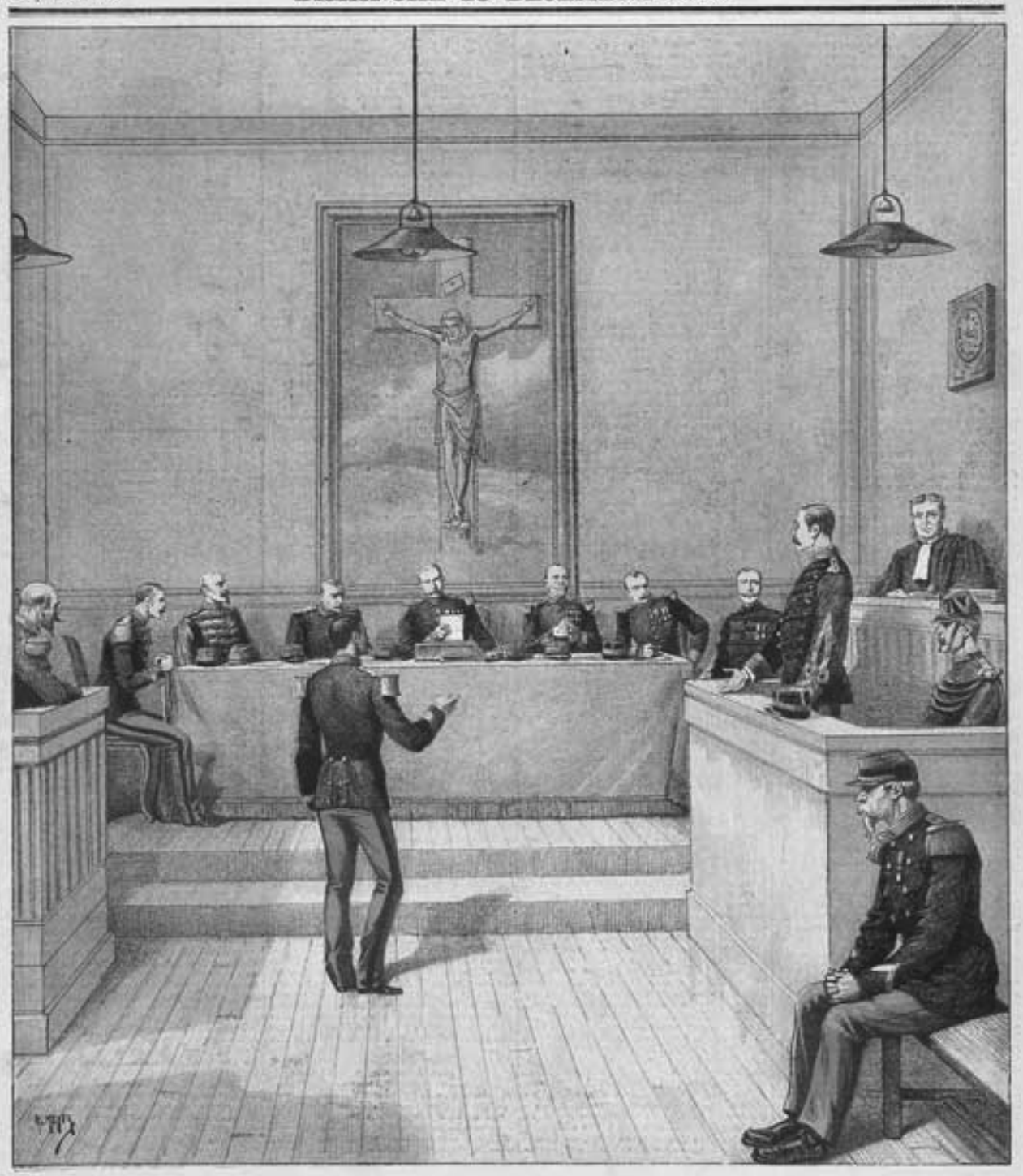
| ÉTRANGER | 30 | 50 | 90 |

Cinquième année — DIMANCHE 23 DÉCEMBRE 1894 — Numéro 214

Le capitaine Dreyfus devant le conseil de guerre

Onzième année. — N° 150. Huit pages : CINQ centimes Dimanche 20 Août 1899.

# Le Petit Parisien

TOUS LES JOURS
Le Petit Parisien
5 CENTIMES.

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DIRECTION : 18, rue d'Enghien, PARIS

TOUS LES JEUDIS
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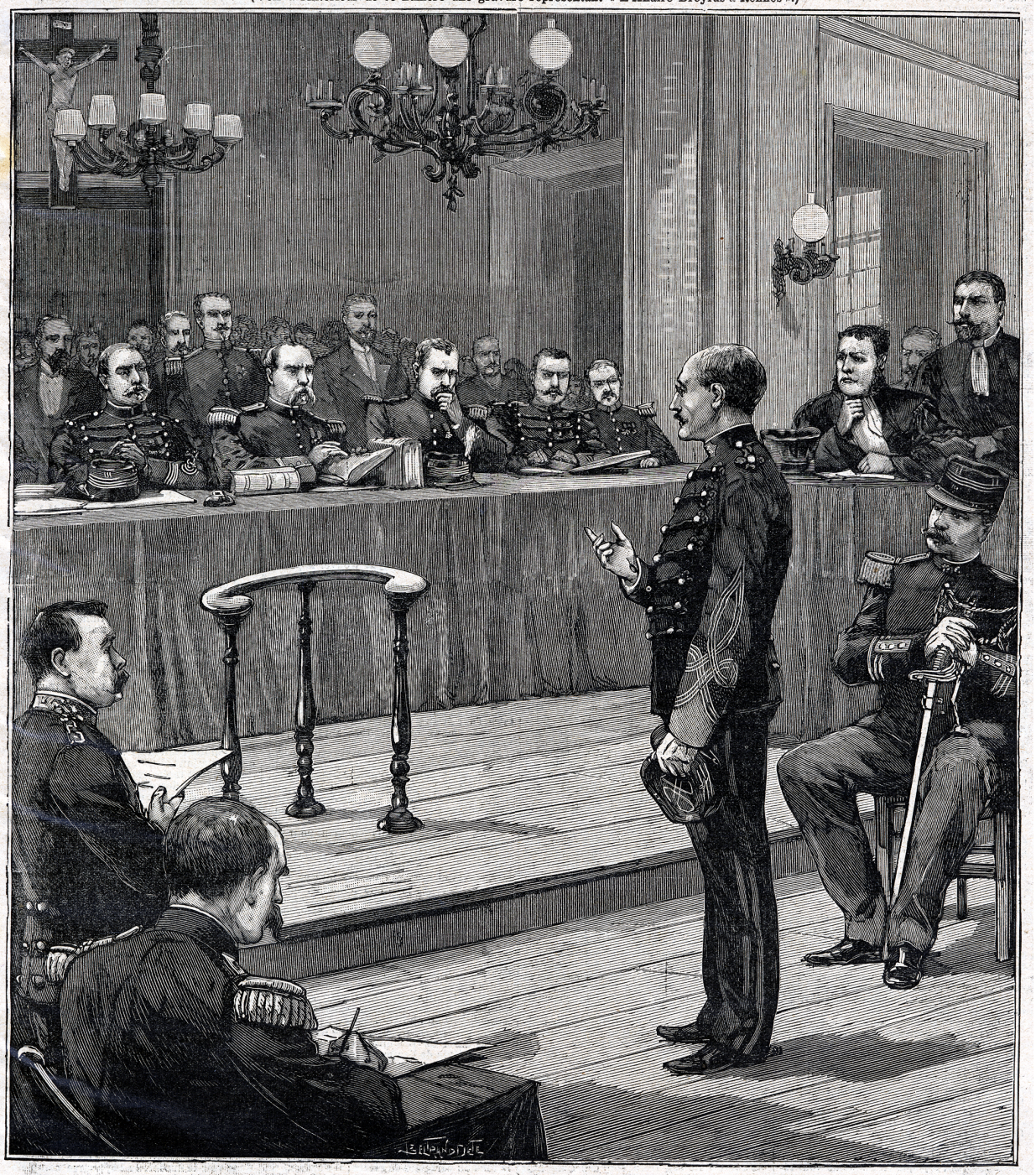
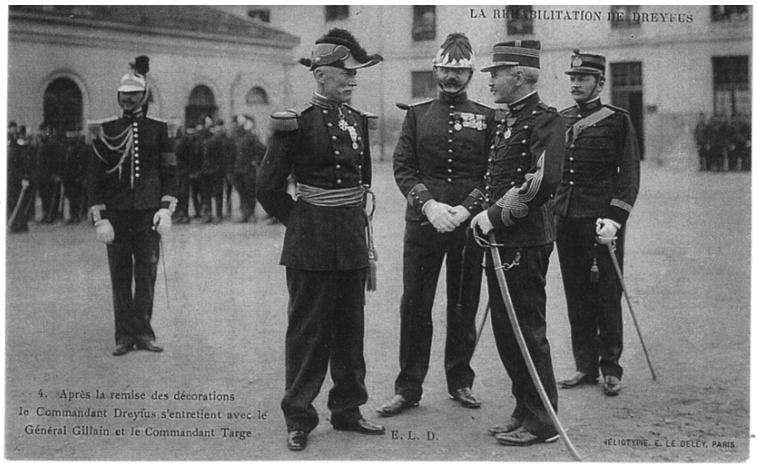
(Voir à l'intérieur de ce numéro une gravure représentant « L'Affaire Dreyfus à Rennes ».)



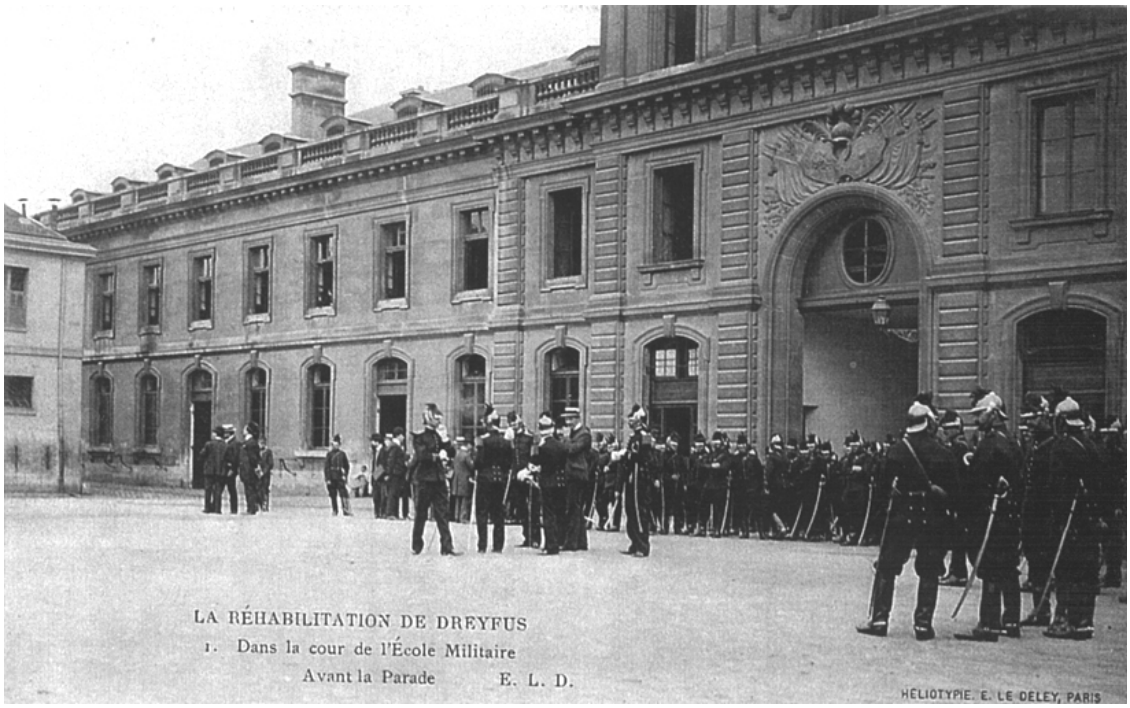
Le Procès de Rennes

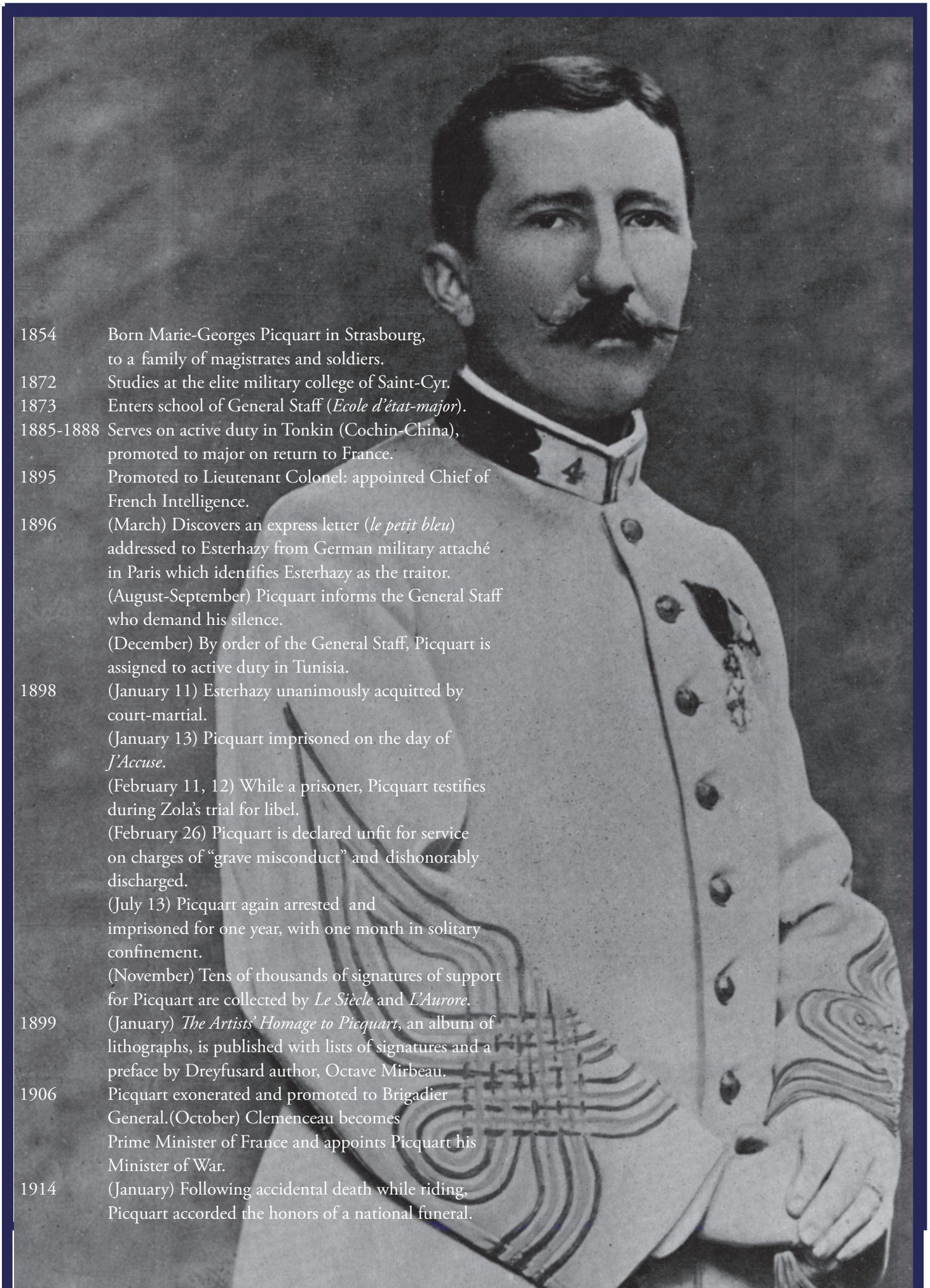
## DREYFUS PENDANT SON INTERROGATOIRE

*The Dreyfus brothers, Alfred and Mathieu. Mathieu's devotion to his brother's defense changed history. He quit his family business to save his brother's life.*


LA RÉHABILITATION DE DREYFUS
4. Après la remise des décorations
le Commandant Dreyfus s'entretient avec le
Général Gillain et le Commandant Targe
E. L. D.
HÉLIOTYPIE E. LE DELEY, PARIS

LA RÉHABILITATION DE DREYFUS
6. Le Commandant Dreyfus
va reprendre sa place dans le rang
E. L. D.
HÉLIOTYPIE E. LE DELEY, PARIS


LA RÉHABILITATION DE DREYFUS
1. Dans la cour de l'École Militaire
Avant la Parade
E. L. D.
HÉLIOTYPIE E. LE DELEY, PARIS



| | |
|---|---|
| 1854 | Born Marie-Georges Picquart in Strasbourg, to a family of magistrates and soldiers. |
| 1872 | Studies at the elite military college of Saint-Cyr. |
| 1873 | Enters school of General Staff (*Ecole d'état-major*). |
| 1885-1888 | Serves on active duty in Tonkin (Cochin-China), promoted to major on return to France. |
| 1895 | Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel: appointed Chief of French Intelligence. |
| 1896 | (March) Discovers an express letter (*le petit bleu*) addressed to Esterhazy from German military attaché in Paris which identifies Esterhazy as the traitor. (August-September) Picquart informs the General Staff who demand his silence. (December) By order of the General Staff, Picquart is assigned to active duty in Tunisia. |
| 1898 | (January 11) Esterhazy unanimously acquitted by court-martial. (January 13) Picquart imprisoned on the day of *J'Accuse*. (February 11, 12) While a prisoner, Picquart testifies during Zola's trial for libel. (February 26) Picquart is declared unfit for service on charges of "grave misconduct" and dishonorably discharged. (July 13) Picquart again arrested and imprisoned for one year, with one month in solitary confinement. (November) Tens of thousands of signatures of support for Picquart are collected by *Le Siècle* and *L'Aurore*. |
| 1899 | (January) *The Artists' Homage to Picquart*, an album of lithographs, is published with lists of signatures and a preface by Dreyfusard author, Octave Mirbeau. |
| 1906 | Picquart exonerated and promoted to Brigadier General.(October) Clemenceau becomes Prime Minister of France and appoints Picquart his Minister of War. |
| 1914 | (January) Following accidental death while riding, Picquart accorded the honors of a national funeral. |

# Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart:

## Man of Courage

1854-1914

*The day will come when the truth will be understood by all: why public opinion was misled, why the criminals of the country were left unpunished.*

Lieutenant Colonel Picquart

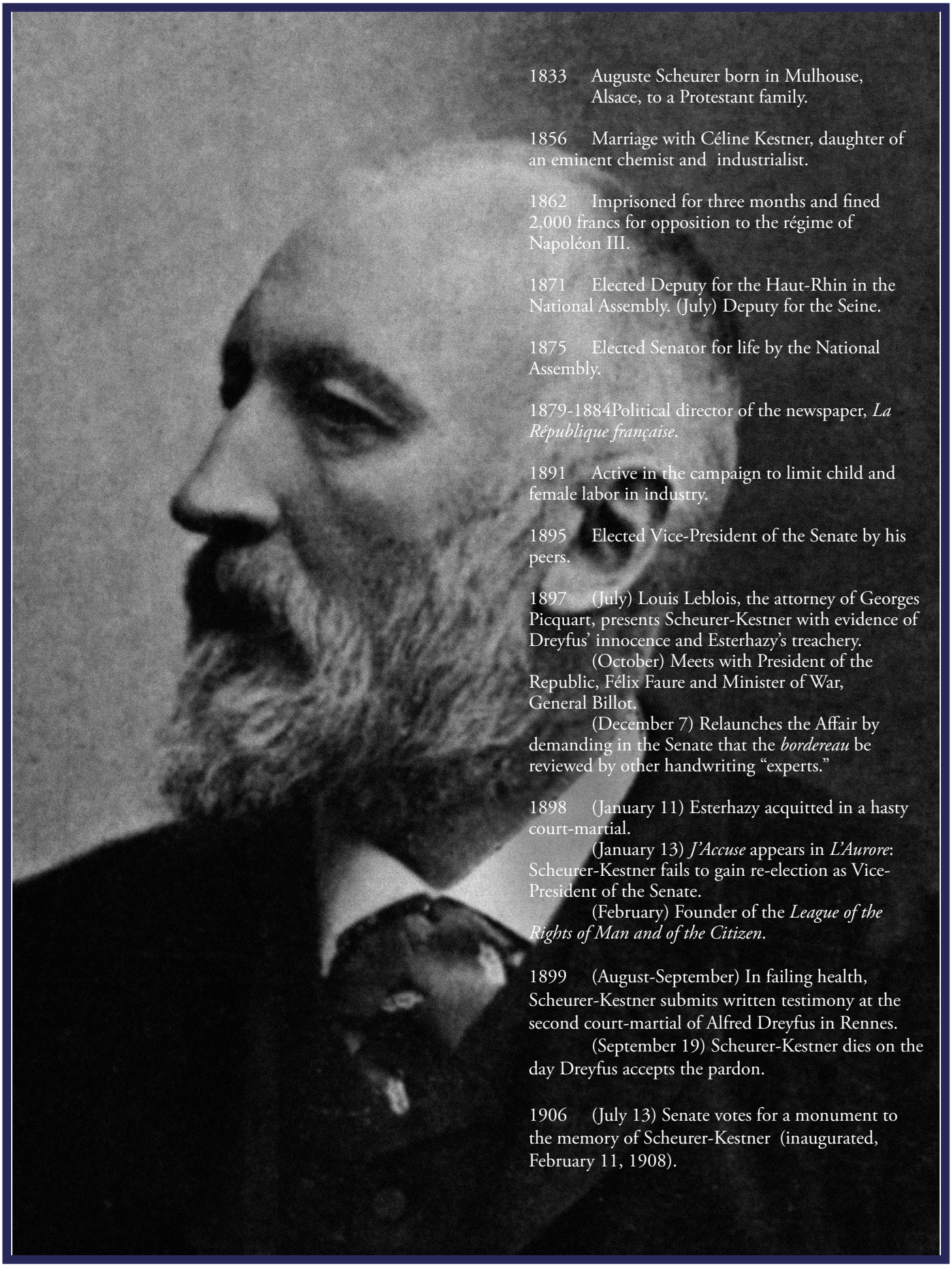
At the age of forty-one, Georges Picquart was the youngest Lieutenant Colonel in the French Army and, in the eyes of his superiors, one of its most promising officers. Picquart served on the General Staff and was a professor at the *Ecole de guerre*. Like Alfred Dreyfus, he was Alsatian by birth. He had facility in five European languages and spoke perfect German. Books, music, and art were an important part of his life.

In 1895, Picquart was appointed head of French Intelligence. The following year he discovered an express letter (*le petit bleu*) addressed to a French officer, Major Ferdinand Esterhazy from the German military attaché. In the course of his personal inquiry, Picquart found further evidence that Esterhazy was the author of the *bordereau*, the letter which had been used to incriminate Alfred Dreyfus. He immediately informed the General Staff of this infamy and received a shocking reply: "of what consequence to you is the innocence of a Jew?" Picquart realized that persistence would place his career, his honor, even his life in jeopardy. But to the demands of his superiors for silence, he vowed, *I will not take this secret to the grave!*

Torn between allegiance to his Army chiefs and his personal integrity, Picquart remained steadfast in his struggle to establish Dreyfus' innocence and Esterhazy's treason. Picquart was dismissed as Head of Intelligence: in an attempt to ensure his silence, the High Command ordered him on a tour of active duty in Tunisia. On January 11, 1898, after a staged court-martial, Esterhazy was officially absolved of all charges while Picquart was arrested. Picquart spent more than one year in prison and was dishonorably discharged from the service. Incensed by this flagrant injustice, Emile Zola rose ardently to Picquart's defense in *J'Accuse…!*

> *The one honest man . . . who alone has done his duty, is to be the victim. . . . We are witnesses to an infamous spectacle—a man of stainless life, is stricken down. When a society reaches that point, it begins to rot.*

During the Affair, Georges Picquart's uncompromising commitment to truth and his staunch courage unquestionably revealed him as a man of honor. In 1906, both Dreyfus and Picquart were exonerated. Picquart was promoted to Brigadier General and when Georges Clemenceau became President of France he served as Minister of War.



1833 Auguste Scheurer born in Mulhouse, Alsace, to a Protestant family.

1856 Marriage with Céline Kestner, daughter of an eminent chemist and industrialist.

1862 Imprisoned for three months and fined 2,000 francs for opposition to the régime of Napoléon III.

1871 Elected Deputy for the Haut-Rhin in the National Assembly. (July) Deputy for the Seine.

1875 Elected Senator for life by the National Assembly.

1879-1884 Political director of the newspaper, *La République française*.

1891 Active in the campaign to limit child and female labor in industry.

1895 Elected Vice-President of the Senate by his peers.

1897 (July) Louis Leblois, the attorney of Georges Picquart, presents Scheurer-Kestner with evidence of Dreyfus' innocence and Esterhazy's treachery.

(October) Meets with President of the Republic, Félix Faure and Minister of War, General Billot.

(December 7) Relaunches the Affair by demanding in the Senate that the *bordereau* be reviewed by other handwriting "experts."

1898 (January 11) Esterhazy acquitted in a hasty court-martial.

(January 13) *J'Accuse* appears in *L'Aurore*: Scheurer-Kestner fails to gain re-election as Vice-President of the Senate.

(February) Founder of the *League of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*.

1899 (August-September) In failing health, Scheurer-Kestner submits written testimony at the second court-martial of Alfred Dreyfus in Rennes.

(September 19) Scheurer-Kestner dies on the day Dreyfus accepts the pardon.

1906 (July 13) Senate votes for a monument to the memory of Scheurer-Kestner (inaugurated, February 11, 1908).

# Senator Auguste Scheurer-Kestner:

## Man of Justice

1833-1899

*I will die faithful to the Republican cause . . . to the right to free thought; I will die, as I have sought to live, with respect for all opinions, as long as they are sincere.*

Scheurer-Kestner

Auguste Scheurer-Kestner was born in 1833, in Alsace, to a family with staunch Republican traditions. He studied chemistry and in 1894 was elected President of the Society of Chemistry in Paris. As a student he was outspoken in his opposition to the Imperial régime and as a result was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a fine of two thousand francs.

His devotion to the republican cause secured him the respect and friendship of many leaders of the future Third Republic. In 1875 he was appointed a Senator for life: four years later he became political director and financial supporter of the newspaper, *La République française (The French Republic).*

Scheurer-Kestner was passionate in his belief in social justice. Through personal investigation he confirmed his own belief in Dreyfus' innocence. Ignoring potential dangers to his position as Vice-President of the Senate, he set in motion efforts for a revision. With evidence that the *bordereau* had been written by Esterhazy, Scheurer-Kestner met with President Félix Faure and the Minister of War. The Senator's petitions for revision were met with silence and resentment. On December 7, 1897, Scheurer-Kestner rose in the Senate, to demand that the Dreyfus case be reopened and that the *bordereau* be reviewed by other experts

*Justice will be done, gentlemen . . . sooner or later, Truth will triumph.*

Scheurer-Kestner's conviction, courage, and reputation provided a moral example and drew several fellow-senators to his side, fortifying others in their commitment to the Dreyfusard cause, including Zola and Clemenceau. Established power and the General Staff—fearful of the results of a reexamination of the Dreyfus case--stood behind the barriers of "*la chose jugée*" (the thing as judged) and the "honor of the Army." On January 11, 1898, Esterhazy was fully acquitted by a hasty and clearly biased court-martial. Two days later, Zola's incendiary article, *J'Accuse* appeared. On the same day, after twenty years of service in the French Senate, Scheurer-Kestner's mandate as Vice-President was revoked.

During the turmoil generated by Zola's trial in February 1898, Scheurer-Kestner joined with Senator Trarieux to found the *League of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*—an association which aimed to safeguard individual rights, the liberty of citizens, and equality before the law.

On July 13, 1906, it was voted that a bust of Scheurer-Kestner be placed within the French Senate. Two years later, on February 11, 1908, a *Monument to Scheurer-Kestner* was unveiled on the Senate's grounds, in the gardens of the Palais du Luxembourg.

New-York Tribune.

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# DREYFUS CONDEMNED.

## *COURT MARTIAL AGAIN FINDS THE PRISONER GUILTY OF TREASON*

### SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT—RIOTS TAKE PLACE AT RENNES, BUT PARIS RECEIVES VERDICT WITHOUT DISORDER.

Rennes, Sept. 9.—The final session of the court martial held here to-day found Captain Dreyfus guilty of holding treasonable relations with a foreign Power, and sentenced him to a detention of ten years. The vote stood 5 to 2 in favor of the prosecution. The text of the judgment was as follows:

To-day, June 9, 1899, in the court martial of the Tenth Region Army Corps, deliberating behind closed doors, the president put the following question:

"Is Albert Dreyfus, brevet captain, 14th Regiment of Artillery, probationer on the General Staff, guilty of having, in 1894, entered into machinations or held relations with a foreign Power, or one of its agents, in order to induce it to commit hostility or undertake war against France, or to procure for it the means therefor, by delivering the notes and documents mentioned in the documents called the bordereau, according to the decision of the Court of Cassation of June 3, 1899?"

The votes were taken separately, beginning by the inferior grade and youngest in the last grade, the president having given his opinion last. The Court declares on the question by a majority of 5 votes to 2, "Yes," the accused is guilty.

The majority agreed that there are extenuating circumstances, in consequence of which, and on the request of the Commissary of the Government, the president put the question and received again the votes in the above mentioned form.

As a result, the Court condemns, by a majority of 5 votes to 2, Alfred Dreyfus to the punishment of ten years' detention.

### SPECTATORS STRUCK DUMB.

Though a majority of those in the court room this afternoon fully expected the verdict, they were completely stupefied when it was given, and the silence which prevailed in the room and the way men turned pale and caught their breaths was more impressive than any other manifestation could have been.

Maître Demange sank back in his chair and tears trickled down his cheeks, and Maître Labori turned white as a sheet, while all around the court men looked at each other in silence. Positively the only sound to be heard was the rustling of papers from the reporters' benches as each press representative tried to be first to send the news.

As the audience left the courtroom fully ten or fifteen men were crying openly, but the majority of those present walked quietly down the street for more than a block without speaking a word. It was like a funeral procession.

Meanwhile, a tragedy was being enacted in the [illegible]

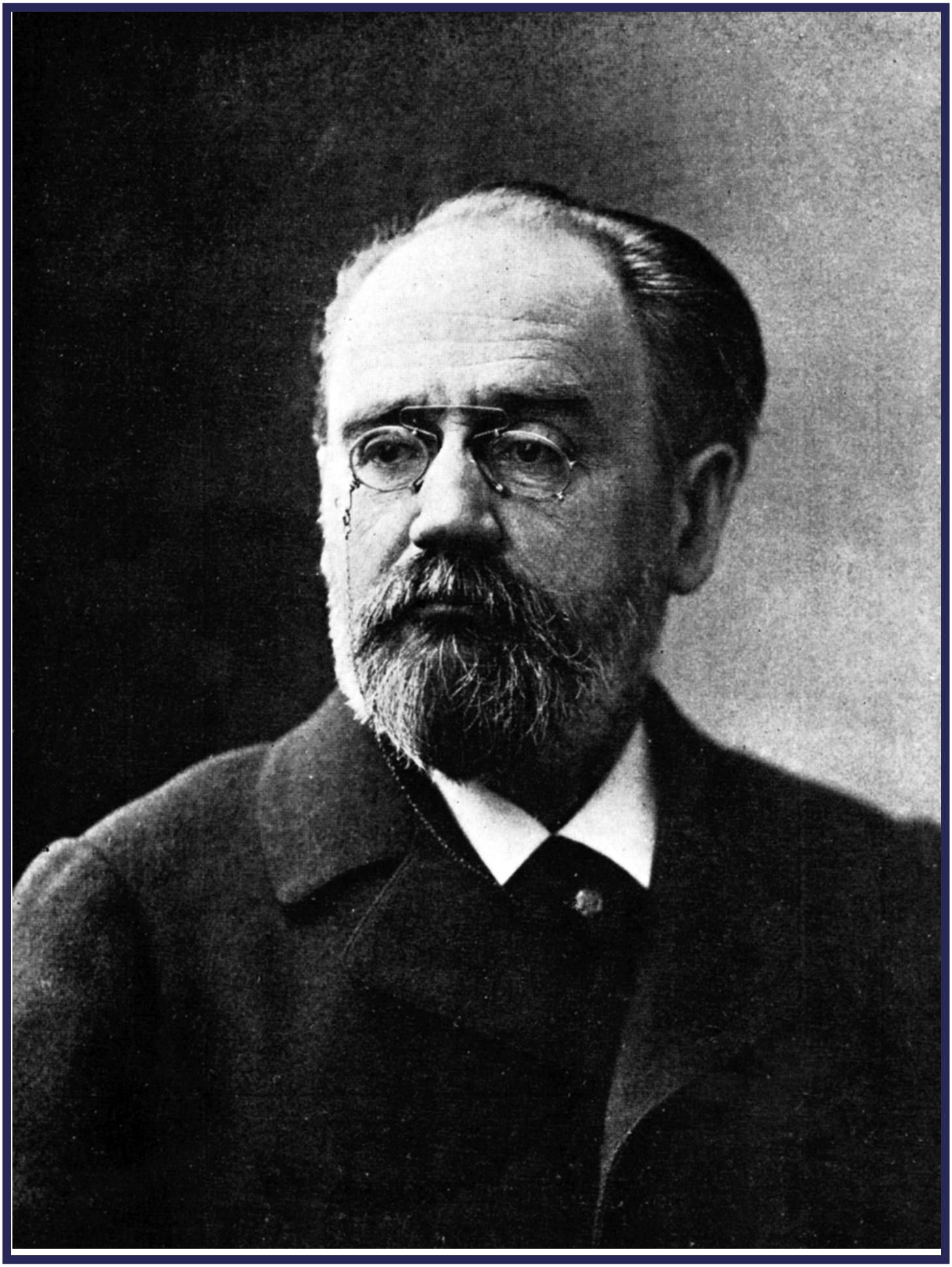
# The Power of Pen, Print, and Press

The Dreyfus Affair made an enormous cultural impact inside France and abroad. The Affair was commented upon in songs, books, paintings, sculpture, and the decorative arts, as well as in the more novel arts of photography and film. But the central medium of cultural engagement during the Affair was the press.

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary expansion of the French press. Several factors were at work in the development of its power. The law of July 29, 1881, enacted by the new Republic in fulfillment of its promise of press freedom, liberated journalism from previous restrictions and censorship. Advances in industrial techniques of photomechanical and color printing and their commercial potential contributed to make this a "golden age" of print with over seventy daily newspapers in Paris alone catering to new and increasing readerships. The press presented a vast field of opportunities for artists and writers and was the single most important forum for exchange of views and information regarding the Affair. The growth of literacy and expanded use of imagery enlarged the audience hungry for news. Innumerable articles, cartoons, and photographs appeared, competing for public opinion in support (Dreyfusard) or against (Anti-Dreyfusard).

An "art of the streets," the poster had come into its own as an aesthetic medium while catering to the demand for advertising of all kinds. During the Affair posters were used to broadcast official pronouncements, political propaganda, publicity, and satirical comment. Through portraits and caricature, through popular songs, broadsides, postcards, games, and every variety of paper novelty, the Affair was purveyed to an extensive public, eager for news or distraction. Artists unleashed their imaginations for publishers ready to seize commercial opportunity.

1898 was the crucial year which marked a mass mobilization of the media. *J'Accuse…!* was the point of departure for an army of commentators and illustrators. Zola was portrayed as a moral and political subversive, because of his support for Dreyfus and for his own novels. But his stand also served as a beacon. Many writers, artists, and academics--the "*intellectuals*"—along with politicians and public figures, followed Zola's lead. They contributed to the international Dreyfusard mobilization which would force revision of Dreyfus' court-martial.



# Emile Zola:

## Man of Conscience

1840-1902

*To feel the continual and irresistible need to cry aloud that which one believes, above all when one is alone in believing it . . . if I am worth anything, it is by this, and this alone.*

Zola, *Une campagne* (1882)

In his youth, Zola knew hardship and endured harsh poverty. Drawn into a bohemian existence, with hunger a constant companion, he realized that writing would be central to his life. As a journalist and novelist, Zola remained hostile to the social inequalities of his time. Through his novels, with their powerfully-drawn scenes of impoverishment, degradation, and revolt, the author raised economic and social questions which revealed worlds largely ignored by contemporaries.

At the age of fifty-three, Zola was France's most famous novelist and enjoyed a worldwide reputation. In spite of his success, he remained committed to the ideals that underpinned his work. Alerted to evidence of Dreyfus' innocence by Senator Scheurer-Kestner, Zola recognized the issues as a struggle for Truth and Justice.

Intent on drawing public attention to the injustice, Zola denounced official corruption. In an open letter to the President of the Republic, he indicted by name those in government, the handwriting "experts," and the High Command for the wrongful condemnation of Dreyfus. Zola's letter, published by George Clemenceau's newspaper, *L'Aurore*, under the incendiary title, *J'Accuse…!,* produced the required effect—a public trial in which to refocus attention on the Affair. National feeling in France escalated and international support was aroused as Zola offered himself as the most visible target of Dreyfusard resistance

*My ardent protest is a cry from my very soul. Let them dare to summon me before a court of law!*
*Let the inquiry be held in broad daylight!*

Zola was condemned to fines and imprisonment. Advised to leave France, to be more effective as a Dreyfusard, the author sought refuge in England. But *J'Accuse* became the lightning-rod of the cause and galvanized an international struggle for the revision which would eventually lead to the full exoneration of Alfred Dreyfus.

Zola's courageous stand threatened his security and well-being: the venom of the Antidreyfusard press mirrored the death threats and physical danger to which he had exposed himself. But some writers, artists, and politicians followed his lead: in the press, in art, and in the political arena, these "intellectuals" contributed to the revision.

*Action! Action! All must act, all must know*
*it is a social crime to remain passive in the face of injustice!*

Deuxième Année. — Numéro 87

Cinq Centimes

JEUDI 13 JANVIER 1898

Directeur
ERNEST VAUGHAN

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| | Un an | Six mois | Trois mois |
|---|---|---|---|
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| Départements et Algérie | 24 » | 12 » | 6 » |
| Étranger (Union Postale) | 36 » | 18 » | 10 » |

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# J'Accuse...!

# LETTRE AU PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

## Par ÉMILE ZOLA

### LETTRE A M. FÉLIX FAURE

Président de la République

Monsieur le Président,

Me permettez-vous, dans ma gratitude pour le bienveillant accueil que vous m'avez fait un jour, d'avoir le souci de votre juste gloire et de vous dire que votre étoile, si heureuse jusqu'ici, est menacée de la plus honteuse, de la plus ineffaçable des taches?

Vous êtes sorti sain et sauf des basses calomnies, vous avez conquis les cœurs. Vous apparaissez rayonnant dans l'apothéose de cette fête patriotique que l'alliance russe a été pour la France, et vous vous préparez à présider au solennel triomphe de notre Exposition universelle, qui couronnera notre grand siècle de travail, de vérité et de liberté. Mais quelle tache de boue sur votre nom — j'allais dire sur votre règne — que cette abominable affaire Dreyfus! Un conseil de guerre vient, par ordre, d'oser acquitter un Esterhazy, soufflet suprême à toute vérité, à toute justice. Et c'est fini, la France a sur la joue cette souillure, l'histoire écrira que c'est sous votre présidence qu'un tel crime social a pu être commis.

Puisqu'ils ont osé, j'oserai aussi, moi. La vérité, je la dirai, car j'ai promis de la dire, si la justice, régulièrement saisie, ne la faisait pas, pleine et entière. Mon devoir est de parler, je ne veux pas être complice. Mes nuits seraient hantées par le spectre de l'innocent qui expie là-bas, dans la plus affreuse des tortures, un crime qu'il n'a pas commis.

Et c'est à vous, monsieur le Président, que je la crierai, cette vérité, de toute la force de ma révolte d'honnête homme. Pour votre honneur, je suis convaincu que vous l'ignorez. Et à qui donc dénoncerai-je la tourbe malfaisante des vrais coupables, si ce n'est à vous, le premier magistrat du pays?

⁂

La vérité d'abord sur le procès et sur la condamnation de Dreyfus.

Un homme néfaste a tout mené, a tout fait, c'est le colonel du Paty de Clam, alors simple commandant. Il est l'affaire Dreyfus tout entière, on ne la connaîtra que lorsqu'une enquête loyale aura établi nettement ses actes et ses responsabilités. Il apparaît comme l'esprit le plus fumeux, le plus compliqué, hanté d'intrigues romanesques, se complaisant aux moyens des romans-feuilletons, les papiers volés, les lettres anonymes, les rendez-vous dans les endroits déserts, les femmes mystérieuses qui colportent, de nuit, des preuves accablantes. C'est lui qui imagina de dicter le bordereau à Dreyfus; c'est lui qui rêva de l'étudier dans une pièce entièrement revêtue de glaces; c'est lui que le commandant Forzinetti nous représente armé d'une lanterne sourde, voulant se faire introduire près de l'accusé endormi, pour projeter sur son visage un brusque flot de lumière et surprendre ainsi son crime, dans l'émoi du réveil. Et je n'ai pas à tout dire, qu'on cherche, on trouvera. Je déclare simplement que le commandant du Paty de Clam, chargé d'instruire l'affaire Dreyfus, comme officier judiciaire, est, dans l'ordre des dates et des responsabilités, le premier coupable de l'effroyable erreur judiciaire qui a été commise.

Le bordereau était depuis quelque temps déjà entre les mains du colonel Sandherr, directeur du bureau des renseignements, mort depuis de paralyzie générale. Des « fuites » avaient lieu, des papiers disparaissaient, comme il en disparaît aujourd'hui encore; et l'auteur du bordereau était recherché, lorsqu'un *a priori* se fit peu à peu que cet auteur ne pouvait être qu'un officier de l'état-major, et un officier d'artillerie : double erreur manifeste, qui montre avec quel esprit superficiel on avait étudié ce bordereau, car un examen raisonné démontre qu'il ne pouvait s'agir que d'un officier de troupe. On cherchait donc dans la maison, on examinait les écritures, c'était comme une affaire de famille, un traître à surprendre dans les bureaux mêmes, pour l'en expulser. Et, sans que je veuille refaire ici une histoire connue en partie, le commandant du Paty de Clam entre en scène, dès qu'un premier soupçon tombe sur Dreyfus. A partir de ce moment, c'est lui qui a inventé Dreyfus, l'affaire devient son affaire, il se fait fort de confondre le traître, de l'amener à des aveux complets. Il y a bien le ministre de la guerre, le général Mercier, dont l'intelligence semble médiocre; il y a bien le chef de l'état-major, le général de Boisdeffre, qui paraît avoir cédé à sa passion cléricale, et le sous-chef de l'état-major, le général Gonse, dont la conscience a pu s'accommoder de beaucoup de choses. Mais, au fond, il n'y a d'abord que le commandant du Paty de Clam, qui les mène tous, qui les hypnotise, car il s'occupe aussi de spiritisme, d'occultisme, il converse avec les esprits. On ne croira jamais les expériences auxquelles il a soumis le malheureux Dreyfus, les pièges dans lesquels il a voulu le faire tomber, les enquêtes folles, les imaginations monstrueuses, toute une démence torturante.

Ah! cette première affaire, elle est un cauchemar, pour qui la connaît dans ses détails vrais! Le commandant du Paty de Clam arrête Dreyfus, le met au secret. Il court chez madame Dreyfus, la terrorise, lui dit que, si elle parle, son mari est perdu. Pendant ce temps, le malheureux s'arrachait la chair, hurlait son innocence. Et l'instruction a été faite ainsi, comme dans une chronique du quinzième siècle, au milieu du mystère, avec une complication d'expédients farouches, toute cela basé sur une seule charge enfantine, ce bordereau imbécile, qui n'était pas seulement une trahison vulgaire, qui était aussi la plus impudente des escroqueries, car les fameux secrets livrés se trouvaient presque tous sans valeur. Si j'insiste, c'est que l'œuf est ici, d'où va sortir plus tard le vrai crime, l'épouvantable déni de justice dont la France est malade. Je voudrais faire toucher du doigt comment l'erreur judiciaire a pu être possible, comment elle est née des machinations du commandant du Paty de Clam, comment le général Mercier, les généraux de Boisdeffre et Gonse ont pu s'y laisser prendre, engager peu à peu leur responsabilité dans cette erreur, qu'ils ont cru devoir, plus tard, imposer comme la vérité sainte, une vérité qui ne se discute même pas. Au début, il n'y a donc de leur part que de l'incurie et de l'inintelligence. Tout au plus, les sent-on céder aux passions religieuses du milieu et aux préjugés de l'esprit de corps. Ils ont laissé faire la sottise.

Mais voici Dreyfus devant le conseil de guerre. Le huis clos le plus absolu est exigé. Un traître aurait ouvert la frontière à l'ennemi, pour conduire l'empereur allemand jusqu'à Notre-Dame, qu'on ne prendrait pas des mesures de silence et de mystère plus étroites. La nation est frappée de stupeur, on chuchote des faits terribles, de ces trahisons monstrueuses qui indignent l'Histoire, et naturellement la nation s'incline. Il n'y a pas de châtiment assez sévère, elle applaudira à la dégradation publique, elle voudra que le coupable reste sur son rocher d'infamie, dévoré par le remords.

Est-ce donc vrai, les choses indicibles, les choses dangereuses, capables de mettre l'Europe en flammes, qu'on a dû enterrer soigneusement derrière ce huis clos? Non! il n'y a eu, derrière, que les imaginations romanesques et démentes du commandant du Paty de Clam. Tout cela n'a été fait que pour cacher le plus saugrenu des romans-feuilletons. Et il suffit, pour s'en assurer, d'étudier attentivement l'acte d'accusation lu devant le conseil de guerre.

Ah! le néant de cet acte d'accusation! Qu'un homme ait pu être condamné sur cet acte, c'est un prodige d'iniquité. Je défie les honnêtes gens de le lire, sans que leur cœur bondisse d'indignation et crie leur révolte, en pensant à l'expiation démesurée, là-bas, à l'île du Diable. Dreyfus sait plusieurs langues, crime; on n'a trouvé chez lui aucun papier compromettant, crime; il va parfois dans son pays d'origine, crime; il est laborieux, il a le souci de tout savoir, crime; il ne se trouble pas, crime; il se trouble, crime. Et les naivetés de rédaction, les formelles assertions dans le vide! On nous avait parlé de quatorze chefs d'accusation : nous n'en trouvons qu'une seule en fin de compte, celle du bordereau; et nous apprenons même que les experts n'étaient pas d'accord, qu'un d'eux, M. Gobert, a été bousculé militairement, parce qu'il se permettait de ne pas conclure dans le sens désiré. On parlait aussi de vingt-trois officiers qui étaient venus accabler Dreyfus de leurs témoignages. Nous ignorons encore leurs interrogatoires, mais il est certain que tous ne l'avaient pas chargé; et il est à remarquer, en outre, que tous appartenaient aux bureaux de la guerre. C'est un procès de famille, on est là entre soi, et il faut s'en souvenir : l'état-major a voulu le procès, l'a jugé, et il vient de le juger une seconde fois.

Donc, il ne restait que le bordereau, sur lequel les experts ne s'étaient pas entendus. On raconte que, dans la chambre du conseil, les juges allaient naturellement acquitter. Et, dès lors, comme l'on comprend l'obstination désespérée avec laquelle, pour justifier la condamnation, on affirme aujourd'hui l'existence d'une pièce secrète, accablante, la pièce qu'on ne peut montrer, qui légitime tout, devant laquelle nous devons nous incliner, le bon dieu invisible et inconnaissable. Je la nie, cette pièce, je la nie de toute ma puissance! Une pièce ridicule, oui, peut-être la pièce où il est question de petites femmes, et où il est parlé d'un certain D... qui devient trop exigeant, quelque mari sans doute trouvant qu'on ne lui payait pas sa femme assez cher. Mais une pièce intéressant la défense nationale, qu'on ne saurait produire sans que la guerre fût déclarée demain, non, non! C'est un mensonge; et cela est d'autant plus odieux et cynique qu'ils mentent impunément sans qu'on puisse les en convaincre. Ils ameutent la France, ils se cachent derrière sa légitime émotion, ils ferment les bouches en troublant les cœurs, en pervertissant les esprits. Je ne connais pas de plus grand crime civique.

Voilà donc, monsieur le Président, les faits qui expliquent comment une erreur judiciaire a pu être commise; et les preuves morales, la situation de fortune de Dreyfus, l'absence de motifs, son continuel cri d'innocence, achèvent de le montrer comme une victime des extraordinaires imaginations du commandant du Paty de Clam, du milieu clérical où il se trouvait, de la chasse aux « sales juifs », qui déshonore notre époque.

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Et nous arrivons à l'affaire Esterhazy. Trois ans se sont passés, beaucoup de consciences restent troublées profondément, s'inquiètent, cherchent, finissent par se convaincre de l'innocence de Dreyfus.

Je ne ferai pas l'historique des doutes, puis de la conviction de M. Scheurer-Kestner. Mais, pendant qu'il fouillait de son côté, il se passait des faits graves à l'état-major même. Le colonel Sandherr était mort, et le lieutenant-colonel Picquart lui avait succédé comme chef du bureau des renseignements. Et c'est à ce titre, dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, que ce dernier eut un jour entre les mains une lettre-télégramme, adressée au commandant Esterhazy, par un agent d'une puissance étrangère. Son devoir strict était d'ouvrir une enquête. La certitude est qu'il n'a jamais agi en dehors de la volonté de ses supérieurs. Il soumit donc ses soupçons à ses supérieurs hiérarchiques, le général Gonse, puis le général de Boisdeffre, puis le général Billot, qui avait succédé au général Mercier comme ministre de la guerre. Le fameux dossier Picquart, dont il a été tant parlé, n'a jamais été que le dossier Billot, j'entends le dossier fait par un subordonné pour son ministre, le dossier qui doit exister encore au ministère de la guerre. Les recherches durèrent de mai à septembre 1896, et ce qu'il faut affirmer bien haut, c'est que le général Gonse était convaincu de la culpabilité d'Esterhazy, c'est que le général de Boisdeffre et le général Billot ne mettaient pas en doute que le fameux bordereau fût de l'écriture d'Esterhazy. L'enquête du lieutenant-colonel Picquart avait abouti à cette constatation certaine. Mais l'émoi était grand, car la condamnation d'Esterhazy entraînait inévitablement la revision du procès Dreyfus; et c'était ce que l'état-major ne voulait à aucun prix.

Il dut y avoir là une minute psychologique pleine d'angoisse. Remarquez que le général Billot n'était compromis dans rien, il arrivait tout frais, il pouvait faire la vérité. Il n'osa pas, dans la terreur sans doute de l'opinion publique, certainement aussi dans la crainte de livrer tout l'état-major, le général de Boisdeffre, le général Gonse, sans compter les sous-ordres. Puis, ce ne fut là qu'une minute de combat entre sa conscience et ce qu'il croyait être l'intérêt militaire. Quand cette minute fut passée, il était déjà trop tard. Il s'était engagé, il était compromis. Et, depuis lors, sa responsabilité n'a fait que grandir, il a pris à sa charge le crime des autres, il est aussi coupable que les autres, il est plus coupable qu'eux, car il a été le maître de faire justice, et il n'a rien fait. Comprenez-vous cela! voici un an que le général Billot, que les généraux de Boisdeffre et Gonse savent que Dreyfus est innocent, et ils ont gardé pour eux cette effroyable chose. Et ces gens-là dorment, et ils ont des femmes et des enfants qu'ils aiment!

Le colonel Picquart avait rempli son devoir d'honnête homme. Il insistait auprès de ses supérieurs, au nom de la justice. Il les suppliait même, il leur disait combien leurs délais étaient impolitiques devant le terrible orage qui s'amoncelait, qui devait éclater, lorsque la vérité serait connue. Ce fut, plus tard, le langage que M. Scheurer-Kestner tint également au général Billot, l'adjurant par patriotisme de prendre en main l'affaire, de ne pas la laisser s'aggraver, au point de devenir un désastre public. Non! le crime était commis, l'état-major ne pouvait plus avouer son crime. Et le lieutenant-colonel Picquart fut envoyé en mission, on l'éloigna de plus loin en plus loin, jusqu'en Tunisie, où l'on voulut même un jour honorer sa bravoure, en le chargeant d'une mission qui l'aurait fait sûrement massacrer, dans les parages où le marquis de Morès a trouvé la mort. Il n'était pas en disgrâce, le général Gonse entretenait avec lui une correspondance amicale. Seulement, il est des secrets qu'il ne fait pas bon d'avoir surpris.

A Paris, la vérité marchait, irrésistible, et l'on sait de quelle façon l'orage attendu éclata. M. Mathieu Dreyfus dénonça le commandant Esterhazy comme le véritable auteur du bordereau, au moment où M. Scheurer-Kestner allait déposer, entre les mains du garde des sceaux, une demande en revision du procès. Et c'est ici que le commandant Esterhazy paraît. Des témoignages le montrent d'abord affolé, prêt au suicide ou à la fuite. Puis, tout d'un coup, il paye d'audace, il étonne Paris par la violence de son attitude. C'est que du secours lui était venu, il avait reçu une lettre anonyme l'avertissant des menées de ses ennemis, une dame mystérieuse s'était même dérangée de nuit pour lui remettre une pièce volée à l'état-major, qui devait le sauver. Et je ne puis m'empêcher de retrouver là le lieutenant-colonel du Paty de Clam, en reconnaissant les expédients de son imagination fertile. Son œuvre, la culpabilité de Dreyfus, était en péril, et il a voulu sûrement défendre son œuvre. La revision du procès, mais c'était l'écroulement du roman-feuilleton si extravagant, si tragique, dont le dénouement abominable a lieu à l'île du Diable! Ce crime ce qu'il ne pouvait permettre. Dès lors, le duel va avoir lieu entre le lieutenant-colonel Picquart et le lieutenant-colonel du Paty de Clam, l'un le visage découvert, l'autre masqué. On les retrouvera prochainement tous deux devant la justice civile. Au fond, c'est toujours l'état-major qui se défend, qui ne veut pas avouer son crime, dont l'abomination grandit d'heure en heure.

On s'est demandé avec stupeur quels étaient les protecteurs du commandant Esterhazy. C'est d'abord, dans l'ombre, le lieutenant-colonel du Paty de Clam qui a tout machiné, qui a tout conduit. Sa main se trahit aux moyens saugrenus. Puis, c'est le général de Boisdeffre, c'est le général Gonse, c'est le général Billot lui-même, qui sont bien obligés de faire acquitter le commandant, puisqu'ils ne peuvent laisser reconnaître l'innocence de Dreyfus, sans que les bureaux de la guerre croulent sous le mépris public. Et le beau résultat de cette situation prodigieuse, c'est que l'honnête homme là-dedans, le lieutenant-colonel Picquart, qui seul a fait son devoir, va être la victime, celui qu'on bafouera et qu'on punira. O justice, quelle affreuse désespérance serre le cœur! On va jusqu'à dire que c'est lui le faussaire, qu'il a fabriqué la carte-télégramme pour perdre Esterhazy. Mais, grand Dieu! pourquoi? dans quel but? Donnez un motif. Est-ce que celui-là aussi est payé par les juifs? Le joli de l'histoire est qu'il était justement antisémite. Oui! nous assistons à ce spectacle infâme, des hommes perdus de dettes et de crimes dont on proclame l'innocence, tandis qu'on frappe l'honneur même, un homme à la vie sans tache! Quand une société en est là, elle tombe en décomposition.

Voilà donc, monsieur le Président, l'affaire Esterhazy : un coupable qu'il s'agissait d'innocenter. Depuis bientôt deux mois, nous pouvons suivre heure par heure la belle besogne. J'abrège, car ce n'est ici, en gros, que le résumé de l'histoire dont les brûlantes pages seront un jour écrites tout au long. Et nous avons donc vu le général de Pellieux, puis le commandant Ravary, conduire une enquête scélérate d'où les coquins sortent transfigurés et les honnêtes gens salis. Puis, on a convoqué le conseil de guerre.

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Comment a-t-on pu espérer qu'un conseil de guerre déferait ce qu'un conseil de guerre avait fait?

Je ne parle même pas du choix toujours possible des juges. L'idée supérieure de discipline, qui est dans le sang de ces soldats, ne suffit-elle à infirmer leur pouvoir même d'équité? Qui dit discipline dit obéissance. Lorsque le ministère de la guerre, le grand chef, a établi publiquement, aux acclamations de la représentation nationale, l'autorité absolue de la chose jugée, vous voulez qu'un conseil de guerre lui donne un formel démenti? Hiérarchiquement, cela est impossible. Le général Billot a suggestionné les juges par sa déclaration, et ils ont jugé comme ils doivent aller au feu, sans raisonner. L'opinion préconçue qu'ils ont apportée sur leur siège est évidemment celle-ci : « Dreyfus a été condamné pour crime de trahison par un conseil de guerre; il est donc coupable, et nous, conseil de guerre, nous ne pouvons le déclarer innocent; or nous savons que reconnaître la culpabilité d'Esterhazy, ce serait proclamer l'innocence de Dreyfus. » Rien ne pouvait les faire sortir de là.

Ils ont rendu une sentence inique qui à jamais pèsera sur nos conseils de guerre, qui entachera désormais de suspicion tous leurs arrêts. Le premier conseil de guerre a pu être ininteligent, le second est forcément criminel. Son excuse, je le répète, est que le chef suprême avait parlé, déclarant la chose jugée inattaquable, sainte et supérieure aux hommes, de sorte que des inférieurs ne pouvaient dire le contraire. On nous parle de l'honneur de l'armée, on veut que nous l'aimions, que nous la respections. Ah! certes, oui, l'armée qui se lèverait à la première menace, qui défendrait la terre française, elle est tout le peuple et nous n'avons pour elle que tendresse et respect. Mais il ne s'agit pas d'elle, dont nous voulons justement la dignité, dans notre besoin de justice. Il s'agit du sabre, le maître qu'on nous donnera demain peut-être. Et baiser dévotement la poignée du sabre, le dieu, non!

Je l'ai démontré d'autre part : l'affaire Dreyfus était l'affaire des bureaux de la guerre, un officier de l'état-major, dénoncé par ses camarades de l'état-major, condamné sous la pression des chefs de l'état-major. Encore une fois, il ne peut revenir innocent, sans que tout l'état-major soit coupable. Aussi les bureaux, par tous les moyens imaginables, par des campagnes de presse, par des communications, par des influences, n'ont-ils couvert Esterhazy que pour perdre une seconde fois Dreyfus. Ah! quel coup de balai le gouvernement républicain devrait donner dans cette jésuitière, ainsi que les appelle le général Billot lui-même! Où est-il, le ministère vraiment fort et d'un patriotisme sage, qui osera tout y refondre et tout y renouveler? Que de gens je connais qui, devant une guerre possible, tremblent d'angoisse, en sachant dans quelles mains est la défense nationale! et quel nid de basses intrigues, de commérages et de dilapidations, est devenu cet asile sacré, où se décide le sort de la patrie! On s'épouvante d'abord à ce terrible que vient d'y jeter l'affaire Dreyfus, ce sacrifice humain d'un malheureux, d'un « sale juif »! Ah! tout ce qui s'est agité là de démence et de sottise, des imaginations folles, des pratiques de basse police, des mœurs d'inquisition et de tyrannie, le bon plaisir de quelques galonnés mettant leurs bottes sur la nation, lui rentrant dans la gorge son cri de vérité et de justice, sous le prétexte menteur et sacrilège de la raison d'État!

Et c'est un crime encore que de s'être appuyé sur la presse immonde, que de s'être laissé défendre par toute la fripouille de Paris, de sorte que voilà la fripouille qui triomphe insolemment,

# Emile Zola

1840 Emile Zola born in Paris, only child of Francesco Zola, a brilliant Italian engineer and Emilie Aubert from the Beauce, to the south west of Paris.

1847 Untimely death of Zola's father: unfair legal procedures against the estate leave the family without resources.

1865-
1876 With publication of *Thérèse Raquin* (1867) begins dual career as novelist and journalist. Writes over 1800 articles for the press during this turbulent period.

1869 Conceives plan for a series of novels based on a fictional family—the *Rougon Macquart*—tracing the fortunes of twelve hundred characters through several generations (1871-1893).

1870 Marriage with Gabrielle-Alexandrine Meley.

1877 *L'Assommoir* establishes Zola as France's most famous contemporary author.

1888 Awarded Knight of the Legion of Honor.

1889 First of many rejections by the Academie Française, the elite body of France's most honored artists and intellectuals.

1897 (November) Zola learns of Dreyfus' innocence from Senator Scheurer-Kestner.
(November 25) Denounces in *Le Figaro* the abuse of military authority press irresponsibility, and growing antisemitism: *Truth is on the march and nothing shall stop it*.
(December 14) Zola's *Letter to Youth* implores students and young people to take up the Dreyfusard cause.

1898 (January 7) Zola's *Letter to France* appeals to the nation for justice.
(January 13) *J'Accuse…!* published in *L'Aurore*, edited by Georges Clemenceau, with the intention of producing a public legal forum for the *Affair.*
(February 7-23) Zola tried and condemned for libel. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment and fine of 3,000 francs. Although willing to face prison, is persuaded to seek refuge in England.

1899 (June 5) Zola returns to France following decree of revision of Dreyfus' trial.

1902 (September 29) Found asphyxiated due to a blocked chimney in his Paris apartment—suspicions of foul play linger.
(October 5) Zola's funeral is a day of national mourning.

1908 (June) Transfer of Zola's remains to the Panthéon. While in the cortège, Alfred Dreyfus is shot and wounded: the would-be assassin, Grégori, is acquitted.

1844 Sarah (Rosine), eldest of three, illegitimate daughters, born in Paris to Judith (Youle) Van Hard, a Dutch woman of Jewish descent and prominent *courtisane*.

1854 Enters convent of Grandchamps in Versailles.

1862 Debut at the Comédie Française as Iphigenia in Racine's *Iphigénie en Aulide*. Begins career as France's greatest tragic actress of her time.

1864 Sarah gives birth to Maurice, illegitimate son of Prince Henri de Ligne.

1883 Bernhardt is the target of a satirical book, sharply inflected by antisemitic prejudice, by an actress and former colleague.

1886-1893
Tours of North America and the world spread the international fame of the "Divine" Sarah.

1894 Witnesses public degradation of Alfred Dreyfus.

1897 During production of *Les Mauvais Bergers (The Bad Shepherds*) discusses with author, Octave Mirbeau the wrongful conviction of Dreyfus. Meets Emile Zola and encourages his support of the revision.

1898 (January 13) *J'Accuse…!* Sarah congratulates Zola and makes public her solidarity with the author.

1899 Leases the Théâtre des Nations renaming it *Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt*—which exists today as a premier venue for modern dance.

1906 (July) Dreyfus exonerated. Sarah addresses letter of support to Dreyfus and his family.

1908 (June 4) Zola's remains transferred to the Panthéon. In the cortège, Alfred Dreyfus is the victim of an attempted assassination, much to the grief of Sarah.

1914-1918
A neglected knee-injury necessitates amputation of right leg. Sarah continues to perform. Plays for troops at the Front.

1923 Dies at the age of seventy-eight, immortalized by her career as one of the first modern "stars." She is buried at Père Lachaise, the celebrated cemetery overlooking the city of Paris.

# Sarah Bernhardt:

## Woman of Spirit

1844-1923

*You have suffered again, but will suffer no more. The flag of truth . . . snaps louder than the barking of the dog-pack. . . .*

Sarah Bernhardt to Alfred Dreyfus
Following attempted assassination of Dreyfus during the transfer of Zola to the Panthéon, June 4, 1908

Sculptor, author, impresario, Sarah Bernhardt was a great and serious tragic actress dedicated to her work, recognized and beloved of audiences throughout the world as "Madame Sarah," the "Divine" Sarah, or "Sarah."

She experienced the vicissitudes of life during an uncertain childhood. At the age of ten, Sarah entered the convent of Grandchamps at Versailles and was baptized. Once, when asked if she was a Christian, she replied, "No. I'm a Roman Catholic and a member of the great Jewish race."

Throughout her life she abhorred tyranny and injustice. Aware of the *Affair* through the press reaction, and a witness to the public degradation in January 1895, she became convinced of Dreyfus' innocence. Assembled among the many dignitaries, diplomats, and journalists for the painful ceremony at the Ecole Militaire, Sarah heard and believed the condemned man's pleas of innocence.

Her Dreyfusard commitment made her a target for the nationalist and antisemitic press, alienating her from former friends and artistic collaborators. Support for Dreyfus caused a rupture in her own family with her son, Maurice, who was vehemently Antidreyfusard. During performances in the winter of 1897 of a play by Dreyfusard author, Octave Mirbeau, the repeated cries against injustice in the drama drew powerful emotions from audiences. Sarah was asked to suspend performances by the Chief of Police.

In the tense and critical moment of January 1898, when Zola rose to protest the monstrous injustice against Dreyfus, Bernhardt visited him to publicly offer her support. She confronted and assisted in dispersing an angry crowd gathered before Zola's home in Paris. On reading his masterpiece of denunciation, *J'Accuse*, Sarah addressed a moving homage to the author

> *. . . the beautiful words you wrote yesterday brought tremendous relief to my great suffering. . . . I say thank you with all my strength . . . Thank you, Emile Zola . . . Thank you in the name of eternal justice.*

In 1908, during the transfer of Zola's remains to the Panthéon, the resting place of France's honored dead, Dreyfus resolved, contrary to the advice of family and friends, to pay his respects. In the funeral cortège, he was shot by a would-be assassin, who was later acquitted. Sarah wrote to the wounded Dreyfus

*Look around you, near and far . . . and you will see a multitude who love you and who will defend you against cowardice, lies, and oblivion.*

Onzième année. — N° 540.

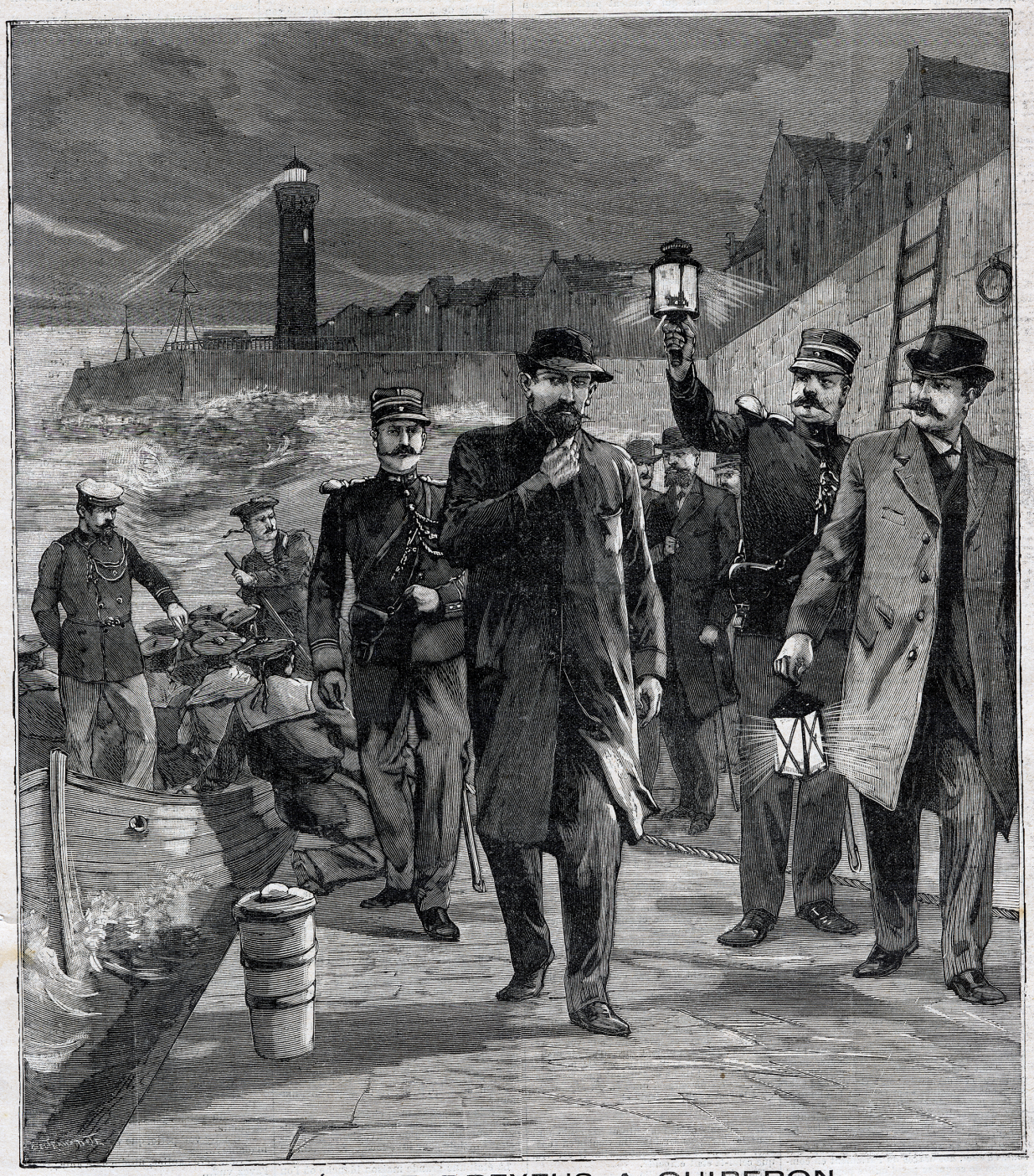
# Le Petit Parisien

TOUS LES JOURS
Le Petit Parisien
5 CENTIMES.

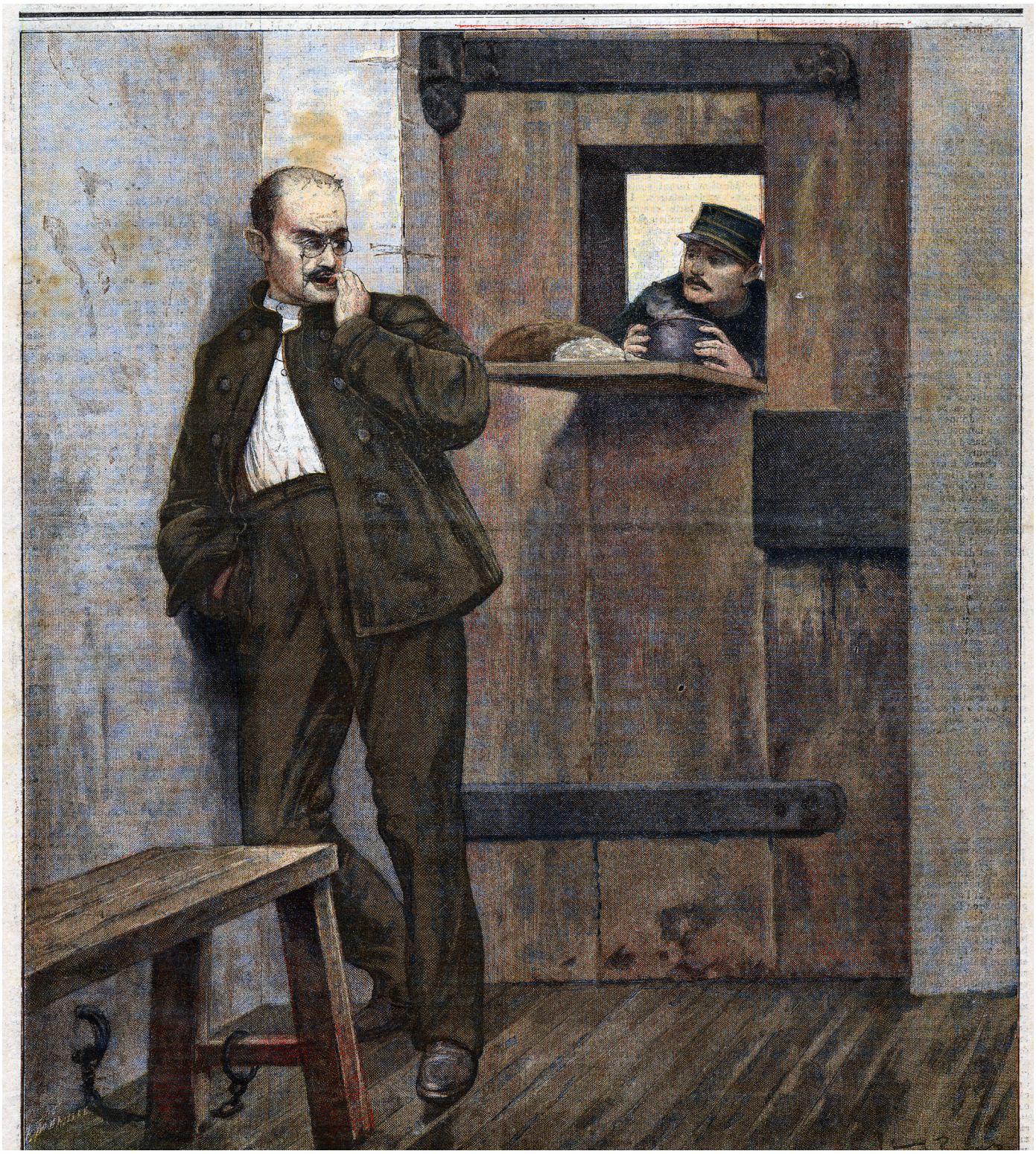
SUPPLÉMENT LITTÉRAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

DIRECTION : 18, rue d'Enghien, PARIS

TOUS LES JEUDIS
SUPPLÉMENT LITTÉRAIRE
5 CENTIMES.



ARRIVÉE DE DREYFUS A QUIBERON



# SÉVERINE:
## Woman of Social Action
1855-1929

*The entire Dreyfus Affair may be summarized thus: indiscretions, lies, investigations, and the selection of a scapegoat—for some through carelessness, for others from personal hostility or religious fanaticism—with also some criminals, who wished to cover their own acts…*

Séverine

Caroline Rémy, who took the *nom de plume, Séverine,* was a highly regarded and popular journalist and author during a period when both occupations were considered, generally, a male preserve.

She was born in Paris in 1855 to a *petit-bourgeois* family. Her father was a police administrator, her grandfather a soldier during the Great Revolution. At the age of seventeen she entered into a short-lived marriage which produced one son. A second liaison with Dr Adrien Guebhard followed, to whom she also bore a son.

At twenty four, Séverine met Jules Vallès, writer, journalist, and social revolutionary. The influence of Vallès was profound and her relationship with him bestowed enormous prestige. Following his death in 1883, her demonstrated eloquence opened the door to a career in journalism. Séverine's career spanned forty-six years during which she authored more than six-thousand articles. She wrote for various newspapers (*Le Gaulois, Le Gil Blas, La Libre Parole*)—but as an independent voice, and always with her heart set on sympathy and solidarity with the poor. In the summer of 1892 she was commissioned by *Le Figaro* to visit Rome where she obtained from Pope Léon XIII an astonishing declaration against antisemitism.

At first, like many others, she was uncertain of the truth behind the Dreyfus case but was suspicious of official accounts. In 1897, *La Fronde*, the first daily newspaper in France entirely edited by women, began to appear. Séverine pursued her investigation of the *Affair* through its columns. Made conscious, through the writings of Bernard Lazare of the attempts to stifle the case, and then aroused by the fire of Zola's *J'Accuse…!*, Séverine was won to the Dreyfusard cause which she saw as a symbol of *the great struggle of ideas*, against the submission demanded by Authority

*. . . there was a will not to know: an inexorable, tenacious, commitment to silence, to cover the tomb with a stone.*

Séverine participated in the founding of the *League of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* with Senators Scheurer-Kestner and Ludovic Trarieux. Her commitment to liberty, equality, and justice guaranteed her allegiance to the League throughout her life.

Following the pardon of Dreyfus in September 1899, Séverine redoubled efforts for his exoneration. She undertook a lecture-tour in Belgium where her oratorical presentations of the events of the Affair were compared with Sarah Bernhardt. On October 10, 1899, she appeared before an audience of three thousand at the *Maison du Peuple* in Brussels. An important voice in the defense of Alfred Dreyfus, Séverine became for many an ardent symbol of justice and truth.

# International Echoes

*We have watched with indignation and regret the trial of Captain Dreyfus based on bitter religious prejudices. You cannot benefit one class by pulling down another.*

Theodore Roosevelt (1859-1919)
26th President of the United States

*J'Accuse* sparked activism throughout the world. Many voices were raised in support of Alfred Dreyfus following Zola's courageous engagement in the cause of Truth and Justice. Numbered among the Dreyfusards were such celebrated artists as Claude Monet and Camille Pissarro, and the American, Marie Cassatt, writers Anton Chekov, Mark Twain, and Henry James, and actress Sarah Bernhardt. The injustice suffered by Dreyfus led to composer Edvard Grieg's refusal to tour France and, following *J'Accuse*, a world boycott threatened the imminent Universal Exhibition scheduled to open in Paris during 1900. Many took great risks, lost patronage, incurred the wrath of family and friends, and made sacrifices in order to express their support of the Dreyfusard cause.

Illustrated or textual homages, postcards, and telegrams to Alfred and Lucie, to Senator Scheurer-Kestner, Georges Picquart, and Zola were all important in expressing global solidarity. Correspondence from all parts of the world, expressing personal or group sympathy and support, was received by Lucie Dreyfus.

Without freedom of the press, an integral part of France's democratic traditions, the case would never have become the *Affair*. Newspapers were an essential instrument of information and galvanized opinion. Aided by technical advances in production and distribution, artists, writers, and publishers were able to reach a concerned and impassioned global audience anxious for news. *J'Accuse* had spoken to the world, and foreign newspapers were quick to follow the alarms sounded by Zola and others in the French press. International reports and comment were largely sympathetic to Dreyfus and his defenders.

There were other means of extending support. The public meeting hall, the theatre, and the new art of moving pictures, then in its infancy, provided influential forums. In 1897, an American play, *Devil's Island, A Novel founded upon the Famous Dreyfus Case* opened in New York and later toured the States, running until the final rehabilitation of Dreyfus in 1906. Since the turn of the century, film has continued to play a significant role in memorializing the Affair and the issues it raised.

Zola's pen lent the cause of Alfred Dreyfus a wider international dimension. The extensive press coverage and various testimonies of support during the Dreyfus Affair demonstrate the power of international solidarity in the cause of human rights.

378 LA VIE ILLUSTRÉE

AUTOUR DE L'AFFAIRE. — TROIS INSÉPARABLES : M. CLAIRIN, Mme BRÉMONTIER, M. HENNION.
(Croquis d'après nature de notre envoyé spécial, Georges REDON.)

## L'Affaire de Rennes. — Coins de Comédie

L'affaire de Rennes qui se déroule actuellement, mêlée d'incidents tragiques n'est point dépourvue de toute espèce de gaieté dans ses petits côtés, et certains de ses acteurs témoignent, dans leur personne comme dans leur allure, d'infiniment de pittoresque.

Voici, d'abord, la toute blonde Mme Brémontier, d'un blond peut-être pas absolument dépourvu du concours de l'art, mais d'un art si parfaitement heureux, si délicieusement mis au point, qu'il apparaît plus exquis, dans ses manifestations, que la nature même. Elle est gentille, la reporteresse de la *Fronde*, souriante, romanée, pimpante et guillerette, et, sauf aux heures où elle « trime », dans la salle de la Presse, sur les nombreux télégrammes, qu'elle adresse chaque jour, rue Saint-Georges, à son journal, on la voit toujours coquetant et coquetant — en tout bien tout honneur — avec ses confrères, avec les artistes, avec les fonctionnaires, avec tout le monde, en somme, et ne répugnant point, car il importe d'être « dans l'train », aux mots un peu vifs et aux allusions épineuses.

Un bon garçon, n'est-ce pas Madame, vous dites, durant les entr'actes de vos fonctions, un bon garçon, mais un bon garçon fort occupé de sa petite personne et changeant de toilette trois ou quatre fois par jour, au moins : toilette d'audience, toilette de déjeuner, toilette de télégraphe, toilette de dîner, et, en cas de besoin, toilette de soirée? Je sais sûr qu'il y a une toilette de soirée dans vos malles.

Mme Brémontier travaille, magistralement, dans les choses judiciaires, mais elle est si élégante qu'on peut être assuré qu'elle fonctionnerait avec non moins de maîtrise dans les choses de la mode.

La gentille reporteresse, fort choyée par ses collègues, est pourvue spécialement de deux gardes du corps qui ne la quittent guère : le peintre Georges Clairin et le très aimable commissaire de la sûreté générale, M. Hennion.

Voici encore une personne des plus célèbres depuis quelques jours, Madame... — mettons Mme X... — et dont l'arrivée à Rennes a provoqué un vif mouvement de curiosité, curiosité justifiée, d'ailleurs, attendu que, si l'on en croit des propos dignes de foi, la dite Mme X... ne serait autre que la fameuse *cocotte-dessous* par laquelle le bordereau est arrivé au ministère de la guerre.

Elle est réjouie et bonne enfant, Mme X...

Un autre « type de l'Affaire », c'est la Dame Blanche, Mme Amélie Darthout, brune, grande, de verbe haut, et violente terriblement, dans ses opinions. Certains incidents plutôt vifs furent vraisemblablement son œuvre, et on doit s'étonner que, grâce à elle, une moitié des habitants de l'Hôtel Moderne n'aient pas mis la main sur la figure de l'autre moitié.

La veille de la première audience, dans le couloir de l'immeuble, elle causait, le soir, avec M. Forzinetti, qui n'est pas précisément un Adonis.

— Tenez, dit M. Forzinetti, désignant un homme dont on ne voyait plus que le dos, voici Lebon.

— Le tortionnaire?

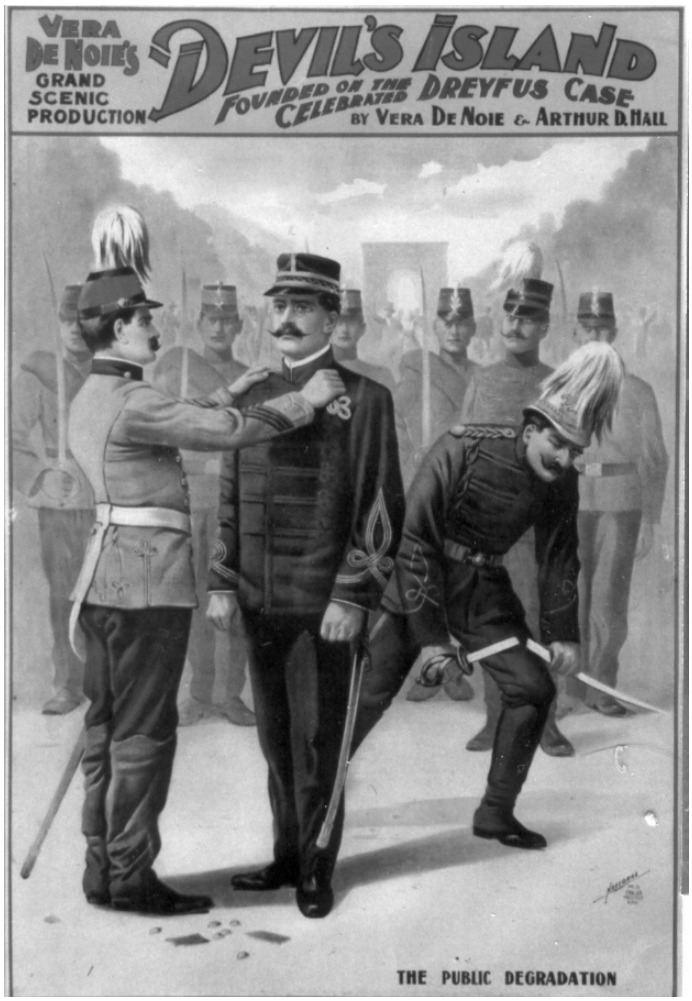
— Lui-même.

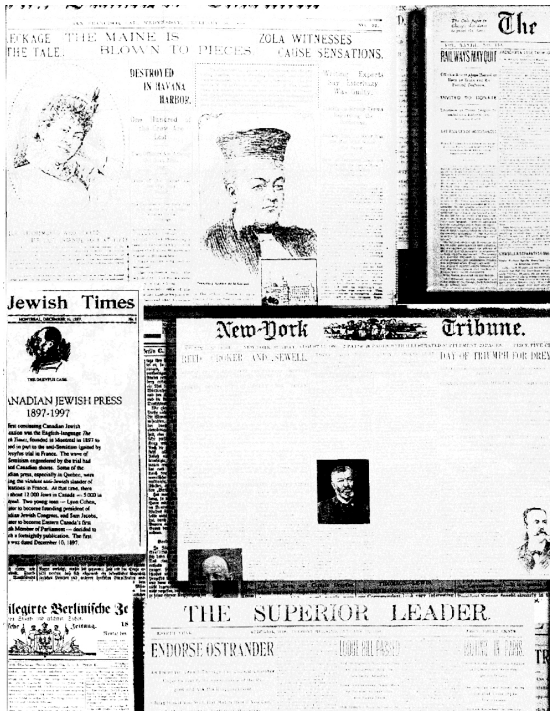
— Ah! fit la Dame Blanche, quelle horrible tête.

Vrai, malgré que l'Affaire soit essentiellement dramatique, on rencontre à Rennes, de jolis coins de comédie.

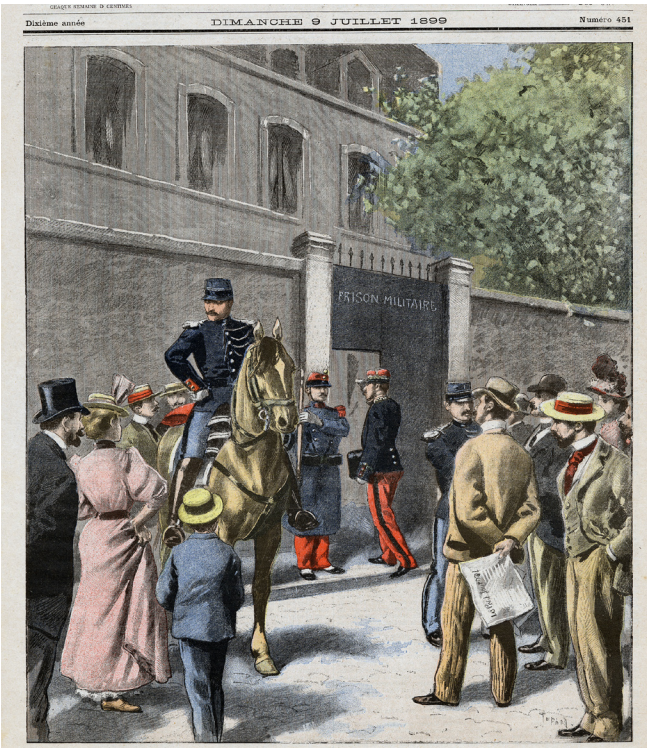
Henri DE WEINDEL.

Autour de l'Affaire. — La « Dame Blanche ».
(Croquis de notre envoyé spécial, Georges Redon.)



LE PROCÈS DE RENNES : Dreyfus devant le Conseil de guerre.




L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS
La prison militaire de Rennes

# Revision at Rennes

The tide was beginning to turn. In August 1898, the suicide of the forger, Major Henry, followed by the flight of Esterhazy dramatically and undeniably validated the Dreyfusard cause. When interviewed in exile, the following year, Esterhazy openly confessed to having been the author of the *bordereau*. In September 1898, Madame Dreyfus again submitted a request for revision of her husband's case which was accepted by the Court of Appeal.

The march of Justice continued. The election of a new president, Emile Loubet and the formation of a new cabinet under Prime Minister Waldeck-Rousseau cleared a political path for resolution of the Affair. On June 3, 1899, the verdict of the first court-martial was declared null and void by the Court of Appeal. A second court-martial was ordered to take place in Rennes, Brittany.

Zola was able to return to France, Picquart was set at liberty, and Dreyfus began the long voyage from Devil's Island to France, across the Atlantic, aboard the cruiser, *Sfax*. After a twenty-day crossing, the prisoner was secretly landed, under cover of night, at Port Haliguen on the French coast. Fearful of the hostile crowds awaiting him, authorities provided a heavily-guarded escort to the military prison at Rennes.

The court-martial opened under conditions of extreme tension during the first week of August 1899. In spite of the distance from the capital, many made the journey to attend the trial. Army representatives, barristers, journalists, domestic and international, flocked to Rennes. Antidreyfusard demonstrations were mounted in the streets and an attempt was made on the life of Fernand Labori, Dreyfus' attorney.

Despite the disarray of the prosecution, the military judges, by a vote of five to two, again found Dreyfus guilty—"*with extenuating circumstances*." Following the Rennes trial, Dreyfus remained a prisoner. On September 9, he was sentenced to ten further years of detention.

The verdict reverberated around the world and was received with horror and scorn. The American press lashed the court-martial as a travesty of justice. The headlines of September 10, on the front page of *Chicago's Sunday Inter Ocean*, rang with indignation

*FIVE FRENCH ARMY OFFICERS CONDEMN AN INNOCENT MAN*
*TO SATISFY THE VANITY OF A FEW GENERALS.*

International feeling ran high and there were threats of a worldwide boycott of the Universal Exhibition scheduled to take place in Paris in 1900.

A pardon was offered by President Loubet. On the advice of counsel and entreaties of family and friends, the pardon was accepted on September 19, 1899, although Dreyfus remained steadfast in his resolve to establish his innocence

> *I want all of France to know by a conclusive judgment, that I am innocent. I will only be at peace when not a single Frenchman will ascribe to me the crime that another has committed.*

# L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS A RENNES

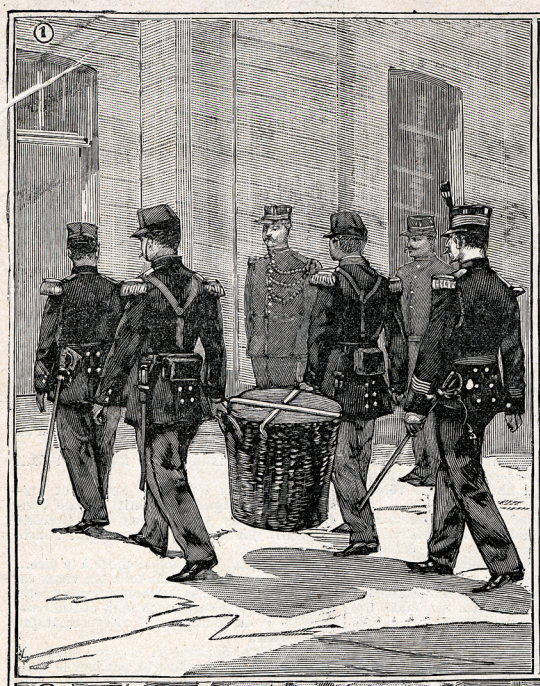
LE GÉNÉRAL MERCIER DESCENDANT DE VOITURE

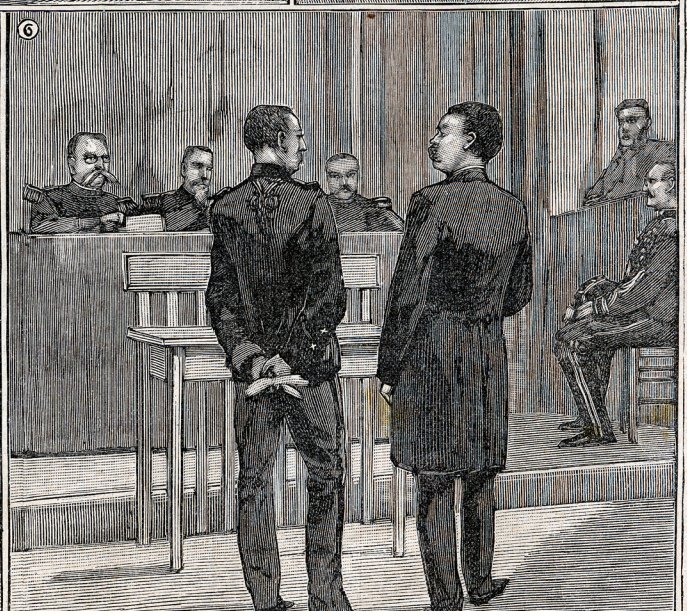
L'ARRIVÉE DE M. CASIMIR-PERIER A RENNES

(Photographies instantanées de nos envoyés spéciaux.)

DREYFUS RECONDUIT A LA PRISON MILITAIRE APRÈS L'AUDIENCE DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE

# L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS A RENNES





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## AFFAIRE DREYFUS
### Dreyfus et ses défenseurs

# Exoneration

## The Triumph of Truth: Honor Regained

Alfred Dreyfus and committed Dreyfusards remained steadfast in their resolve to establish his innocence. In 1901, the struggle continued with publication of Zola's *Truth on the March*, Joseph Reinach's first volume of his *History of the Dreyfus Affair*, and Dreyfus' own account, *Five Years of My Life*.

In 1903, Jean Jaurès, a representative in the French Parliament, appealed in the Chamber of Deputies against the baseless charges and false evidence used in the condemnation at Rennes. At the War Office, Minister of War, General André discovered further evidence of Dreyfus' innocence. Three years later the United Courts of Appeal, the highest legal body in France, declared the judgement of the court-martial of Rennes null and void.

***"Nothing which might support the accusation against Dreyfus remains standing."***

The decision was ordered to be announced in the *Journal officiel* and fifty newspapers of Dreyfus' choice throughout France.

By a law passed on July 13, 1906, Alfred Dreyfus was reintegrated into the Army and promoted to Major: Georges Picquart was promoted to Brigadier General. On July 20, in a courtyard of the Ecole Militaire, before military officials, troops, family, and friends, Alfred Dreyfus was solemnly awarded the Cross of a Knight of the Legion of Honor by General Gillain. Dreyfus was innocent: the Truth had taken twelve years to establish.

Sadly, two longstanding and courageous supporters did not witness the final victory. On the day of Dreyfus' pardon, in 1899, Senator Scheurer-Kestner died. Emile Zola too succumbed before the final triumph of Dreyfus' exoneration. Zola's funeral in October 1902 was a day of national mourning. A procession through Paris, over twenty thousand strong, ascended to the cemetery in Montmartre. Crowds of mourners filed past the author's grave, casting flowers. Among the speakers at the tomb the celebrated writer, Anatole France pronounced a eulogy which memorialized the civic significance of Zola's involvement in the Affair.

*Envy him! He has honored his country and the world . . .*
*He was a moment in the conscience of humanity!*

At the outbreak of war, in August 1914, Dreyfus volunteered for active service. He fought in the heavy engagements at the Front as did his son, Pierre. In September 1918, Alfred Dreyfus was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.

To his death in 1935, Alfred Dreyfus remained without any trace of bitterness for his ordeal as the heroic martyr of the *Affair*. In 1907, the year following his exoneration he confided to his journal the facts of his case and its broader ramifications

> *I consoled myself . . . in reflecting on my trials . . . that the iniquity I had so prodigiously suffered might serve the cause of humanity . . . and aid in the development of sentiments of social solidarity*
>
> Alfred Dreyfus

DREYFUS
EST
INNOCENT
LES DÉFENSEURS DU DROIT, DE LA JUSTICE ET DE LA VÉRITÉ
VIVE
LA
FRANCE!
VIVE
LA
RÉPUBLIQUE!
L. TRARIEUX
ÉMILE ZOLA
SCHEURER KESTNER
YVES GUYOT
GEORGES CLÉMENCEAU
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PICQUART
« Je n'emporterai pas dans la tombe un pareil secret. »
JOSEPH REINACH
Par la Vérité, vers la Justice!
JEAN JAURÈS
VIVE
L'ARMÉE!
A BAS
LES
TRAITRES!
BERNARD LAZARE
FERNAND LABORI
FRANCIS DE PRESSENSÉ
10
CENTIMES
10
CENTIMES

# The Legacy:

## Across the Years, From Then to Now

*No case has ever excited such universal and profound interest throughout the civilized world. Every government, every military officer, every judge . . . in every country has followed with intense interest . . . every stage of this trial.*

James B. Eustis, American Ambassador to France [1899]
quoted by Egal Feldman in *The Dreyfus Affair and the American Conscience* [1981]

In France, at the turn of the last century, deep-rooted passions and blind beliefs were unharnessed. Religious intolerance was used as fuel to sustain false accusations. Modern racial hatred was spawned during the Dreyfus Affair—a problem that clearly remains of major significance today, given the widespread existence of prejudice, hate crimes, and "ethnic cleansing."

In 1994, the Director of the Historical Section of the French Army, General Mourrut, was unequivocal regarding both the innocence of Dreyfus and the import of the issues raised by the Dreyfus Affair--the Affair offers a mirror of the worst and the best of a society, at a particular historical moment, but more, the questions raised speak also to our time. Indeed, the lights and shadows cast by the Affair have continued to the present.

In 1998, during the centenary of *J'Accuse*, President of France, Jacques Chirac reiterated the need to remember the Affair in an open letter to the Dreyfus and Zola families

> Indignant in the face of injustice which had struck Captain Dreyfus, whose sole crime was to be a Jew, Emile Zola launched a cry in his famous "*J'Accuse.*" . . . On that day, Emile Zola addressed himself to the President of the Republic . . . Today I would like to say to the families of Dreyfus and Zola how grateful France is that their ancestors, with admirable courage, knew the value of liberty, dignity, and justice. . . . Never forget their magisterial lessons of love and unity that speak to us across the years . . . .

The present exhibition has been mounted in the belief that the Dreyfus Affair is not an isolated event. There is the historical episode of the miscarriage of justice and the ultimate triumph of truth. There also remain, in the Affair, issues of continuing significance: the social role of artists and intellectuals; the intrusion of the media in the modern world; and the need for a critical awareness of all forms of intolerance. In the interests of the preservation and expansion of our highest ideals of democracy and freedom, it is vital that we, the public, whether engaged in civilian, professional, or military life, remain alert to issues of social injustice, both at home and in the international sectors.