

Submission Guidelines

Collaborate with your team on your case study presentation. When it is complete, the team leader is responsible for submitting it in the Assignment Lab, or for making sure that another team member submits it. Please note that all learners should visit the assignment lab and provide feedback on at least 2 other team presentations, before the deadline.

As a reminder, your presentation should:

1. Be limited to no more than 750 words
2. Engage the materials in the case studies, lectures, and text.
3. You are free to import material from outside the course, but this is not necessary and may detract you and teammates from the task. Don't go overboard!

Instructions

Step 1: Read the case study introduction, background information, and the primary sources below.

Step 2: Work with your team to answer the challenge question for this case study.

Step 3: Go to the Assignment Lab to post your response, and to read and comment on other learners' submissions.

Track A, Case study 6: The Dreyfus Affair

STEP 1

Case Study Introduction

This case study focuses on the Dreyfus Affair, and touches on nationalism, stereotyping, citizenship, exclusion, and other core themes. It raises important questions about the role of the media in stirring up populist sentiment and bias. It also asks how a person's right to citizenship and equality in her/his own land can be undermined by the seemingly arbitrary ways in governments use and abuse power. The Dreyfus Affair brings into focus the question, "Who is the 'other' nearby?" It highlights how the growth of discrimination can estrange and deprive others of rights, and, ultimately, lead to forms of statelessness.

Background Information

Two events took place in France in January 1898 that divided national public opinion and set off riots not only in dozens of French cities, but also in Algiers, at the time capital of French colonial territory. On January 11, 1898, Army Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy was acquitted of treason charges after a secret, two-day trial; On January 13, French writer Émile Zola published an open letter to the President of the Republic of France, Félix Faure, in the newspaper *L'Aurore*. Zola's letter, headed, "J'Accuse...!", charged the government with a willful miscarriage of justice and rallied readers to the cause of the man wrongly convicted for Esterhazy's treachery, Alfred Dreyfus. Zola wrote that the treatment of Dreyfus was a "crime against society."

Alfred Dreyfus was a French artillery officer from Alsace, of Jewish descent. He was arrested in October 1894 and charged with passing confidential military materials to agents at the German Embassy in Paris. Convicted on flimsy evidence of treason, Dreyfus received a life sentence that December and was exiled as a criminal to Devil's Island in French Guiana. Two years after his conviction, convincing evidence was found that the spy was in fact Army Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy. After a brief, closed, military trial, Esterhazy was acquitted and fled the country. Additional charges supported by spurious documents were made against Dreyfus, who was again put on trial.

The bias and intrigue against Dreyfus and increasing anti-Semitism in public debate spurred French writer Émile Zola to publish his open letter to the government, *J'Accuse!*, on the front page of a newspaper. Zola argued that the very foundations of the Republic (liberté, égalité, fraternité) were being shaken and that the State's unwillingness to offer Dreyfus, a Jew, a fair trial, called into question the rights of citizenship. Zola expressed outrage at the treatment Dreyfus continued to suffer, and the intrigues that had informed the case against him (Zola himself was convicted of libel on 23 February, 23 1898 and fled the country). The genre of 'J'accuse' continues to resonate in public life and can be traced through the twentieth century: its deployment as a public appeal adds an historical resonance and depth to instances of injustice and discrimination around the world.

The Press played a pivotal role in influencing public sentiment and shaping the 'Dreyfus Affair': intellectuals and others rallied to Dreyfus' cause, inspired by Zola's letter, while anti-Semitic, right-wing agitators caricatured both Dreyfus and his supporters (the 'Dreyfusards') in publications like Édouard Drumont's *La Libre Parole* and virulently anti-Semitic posters such as those of the Musée des Horreurs (while its supplement, the Musée des Patriotes, paid tribute to 'true' Frenchmen). Drumont's 1886 book, *La France Juive* (*Jewish France*), had already ignited a fire of virulent anti-Semitism, using religion, science, and capitalism to stereotype, blame, and attack Jews. In the wake of the Dreyfus affair, the flames of bigotry were further fueled by a powerful press, sectors of which stereotyped and othered people with Jewish heritage.

The Dreyfus Affair took place against the historical background of the trauma of France's defeat in the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War. The War casts a long shadow in France's history, and added to the nationalist response against the first sign of treason, an accusation initially leveled against Dreyfus. This was the age of high imperialism and France was enthusiastically embarking on colonial expansion. Thus, the anti-Dreyfusards were defensive against what they saw as an attack on the army's 'honor' on the part of the Dreyfusards. Finally, the affair prompted a resurgence in the language of the rights of men, prompting the foundation of the *Ligue des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (League for the Rights of Man and the Citizen). The title itself is expressive of the tensions between individual rights, universal rights, and rights grounded on the foundation of the nation-state idea of citizenship ascendant at the time.

The question of Dreyfus' innocence animated debates in France for over a decade. (Dreyfus himself was only exonerated July 12, 1906 and thereafter readmitted into the French army). Many Jews, who had seen themselves as French citizens first and Jews second, realized that they were often deemed outsiders and distrusted, even if they had defended their nation by serving in its army (as Dreyfus had).

Journalist Theodor Herzl attended Dreyfus' trial as the correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse*, and witnessed the anti-Semitic mass rallies in Paris that followed. This convinced him that no matter how assimilated Jews were in Europe, anti-Semitism posed a constant threat of displacement. His envisaged solution was the creation of a nationalist rather than religious Jewish state, a case he argued in a pamphlet published in English in April 1896, *Der Judenstaat: Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* ('the Jews State: Proposal of a modern solution for the Jewish question,' commonly translated as *The Jewish State*). By March 1897, Herzl convened the Zionist Congress at Basel, and in August that year the First Zionist Congress adopted the national platform, "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly legally assured home in Palestine."

The Dreyfus Affair seems particularly pertinent to our current political realities.

The Case Study

This case study asks you to ponder how a miscarriage of justice by the State summarily deprived a man (and a soldier!) of his citizenship rights, exiling him as a criminal to a remote outpost (Dreyfus was, literally, moved outside of the nation). It questions how and why this particular case so divided French society and continues to resonate today. It considers how notions of belonging and patriotism were promoted in sectors of the press to exclude certain categories of people (in this case Jews and, to a lesser extent, certain intellectuals), who were depicted as traitors or less than human. This case study should inspire you to think of your own notions of citizenship and identity, and how they relate to nationality, nationalism, and the identity of the nation state itself.

Primary Sources

Please refer to these primary sources, provided below, for this case study:

1. Emile Zola's front-page letter to the President of the Republic of France, Félix Faure, "I accuse" (Image of original source and excerpt of English translation provided), January 13, 1898.
2. Cover image of Édouard Drumont's *La France Juive*, 1886. (1892 edition cover shown).
3. Édouard Drumont, *Les Juifs Contre la France*, (Paris, Librairie Antisemite), 1898. Excerpt of English translation provided.
4. Caran D'Ache, "Un Diner en Famille," cartoon from *Le Figaro* newspaper, February 14, 1898.
5. Caricatures and depictions - "History of an Innocent," 1898; "History of a Traitor," 1899; "Dreyfus is a Traitor," November 1898; "Dreyfus is Innocent," December 1898.

Publication information for 'L'Éclair' newspaper, including date (JEUUDI 13 JANVIER 1898), price (Cinq Centimes), and address (132 - Rue Montmartre - 143).

LE DÉCRET DE LÉTAT-MAJOR ET LE DÉCRET DE LÉTAT-MAJOR Par ÉMILE ZOLA

LETTRE A M. FÉLIX FAURE Président de la République

Me permettez-vous, dans ma gratitude pour le bienveillant accueil que vous m'avez fait un jour, d'avoir le sonnet de votre juste gloire et de vous dire que votre dévouement, si heureux jusqu'ici, est menacé de la plus horrible, de la plus ineffaçable des taches? Vous êtes sorti sain et sauf des basses colonies, vous avez compris les courses. 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 tremblement de notre Exposition universelle, qui couronnera notre grand siècle de travail, de vérité et de liberté. Mais quelle tache de boue sur votre robe... J'allais dire sur votre visage... que cette abominable affaire Dreyfus! Un conseil de guerre vient, par votre ordre, d'être constitué, et vous allez assister à son procès. C'est à vous, monsieur le Président, que je m'adresse, car c'est à vous, monsieur le Président, que je m'adresse, car c'est à vous, monsieur le Président, que je m'adresse, car c'est à vous, monsieur le Président, que je m'adresse...

Est-ce donc vrai, les choses indéchiffrables, les choses dangereuses, capables de mettre l'Europe en flammes, qu'on a dû entrer soigneusement derrière soi, puis de la conviction de M. Schœner-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'un puissance étrangère. Son devoir strict était d'ouvrir une enquête. Le doute est qu'il n'a jamais agi en vertu de la volonté de ses supérieurs. Il soumit donc ses soupçons à ses supérieurs hiérarchiques, le général Gonse, 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 fait par un subordonné pour son ministre, le dossier qui doit exciter encore au ministère de la guerre les recherches d'aujourd'hui.

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. Lorsque le ministre 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 formal démenti? Hiérarchiquement, cela est impossible. Le général Billot a suggéré les juges par sa déclaration, et ils ont jugé comme ils devaient aller en feu, sans raisonner. L'opinion préconçue qu'il avait apporté 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; ou nous savons que reconnaître la culpabilité d'Esterhazy, ce serait proclamer l'innocence de Dreyfus. A rien ne pouvait les faire sortir de là. Il ont rendu une sentence inique qui à jamais pésera sur nos conseils de guerre, qui enlèveront d'éternité de nous le repos et la sérénité que le conseil de guerre a vu être intelligible, nous surprenant au sein de la chambre de justice, nous surprenant au sein de la chambre de justice, nous surprenant au sein de la chambre de justice...

Excerpts of Zola's letter, translated from the French

Sir,

Would you allow me, grateful as I am for the kind reception you once extended to me, to show my concern about maintaining your well-deserved prestige and to point out that your star which, until now, has shone so brightly, risks being dimmed by the most shameful and indelible of stains? ...

As they have dared, so shall I dare. Dare to tell the truth, as I have pledged to tell it, in full, since the normal channels of justice have failed to do so. My duty is to speak out; I do not wish to be an accomplice in this travesty. My nights would otherwise be haunted by the spectre of the innocent man, far away, suffering the most horrible of tortures for a crime he did not commit. ...

The truth, first of all, about Dreyfus' trial and conviction:

At the root of it all is one evil man, Lt. Colonel du Paty de Clam, who was at the time a mere Major. He is the entire Dreyfus case, and the entirety of it will only come to light when an honest enquiry firmly establishes his actions and responsibilities. He appears to be the shadiest and most complex of creatures, spinning outlandish intrigues, stooping to the deceits of cheap thriller novels, complete with stolen documents, anonymous letters, meetings in deserted spots, mysterious women scurrying around at night, peddling damning evidence. He was the one who came up with the scheme of dictating the text of the *bordereau* (report) to Dreyfus; he was the one who had the idea of observing him in a mirror-lined room. And he was the one that Major Forzinetti caught carrying a shuttered lantern that he planned to throw open on the accused man while he slept, hoping that, jolted awake by the sudden flash of light, Dreyfus would blurt out his guilt...

The *bordereau* had already been for some time in the hands of Colonel Sandherr, Head of the Intelligence Office, who has since died of a paralytic stroke. Information was 'leaked', papers were disappearing, then as they continue to do to this day; and, as the search for the author of the *bordereau* progressed, little by little, an *a priori* assumption developed that it could only have come from an officer of the General Staff, and furthermore, an artillery officer. This interpretation, wrong on both counts, shows how superficially the *bordereau* was analysed, for a logical examination shows that it could only have come from an infantry officer.

So an internal search was conducted. Handwriting samples were compared, as if this were some family affair, a traitor to be sniffed out and expelled from within the War Office. And, although I have no desire to dwell on a story that is only partly known, Major du Paty de Clam entered on the scene as soon as the slightest suspicion fell upon Dreyfus. From that moment on, he was the one who 'invented' Dreyfus the traitor, the one who orchestrated the whole affair and made it his own. He boasted that he would confuse him and make him confess all. Oh, yes, there was of course the Minister of War, General Mercier, a man of apparently mediocre intellect; and there were also the Chief of Staff, General de Boisdeffre, who appears to have yielded to his own religious bigotry, and the Deputy Chief of Staff, General Gonse, whose conscience allowed for many

accommodations. But, at the end of the day, it all started with Major du Paty de Clam, who led them on, hypnotised them, for, as an adept of spiritualism and the occult, he conversed with spirits. Nobody would ever believe the experiments to which he subjected the unfortunate Dreyfus, the traps he set for him, the wild investigations, the monstrous fantasies, the whole demented torture.

Ah, that first trial! What a nightmare it is for all who know it in its true details. Major du Paty de Clam had Dreyfus arrested and placed in solitary confinement. ... I would like to point out how this travesty was made possible, how it sprang out of the machinations of Major du Paty de Clam, how Generals Mercier, de Boisdeffre and Gonse became so ensnared in this falsehood that they would later feel compelled to impose it as holy and indisputable truth. Having set it all in motion merely by carelessness and lack of intelligence, they seem at worst to have given in to the religious bias of their milieu and the prejudices of their class. In the end, they allowed stupidity to prevail. ...

... No! No! It is a lie, all the more odious and cynical in that its perpetrators are getting off free without even admitting it. They stirred up all of France, they hid behind the understandable commotion they had set off, they sealed their lips while troubling our hearts and perverting our spirit. I know of no greater crime against the state.

These, Sir, are the facts that explain how this miscarriage of justice came about; The evidence of Dreyfus's character, his affluence, the lack of motive and his continued affirmation of innocence combine to show that he is the victim of the lurid imagination of Major du Paty de Clam, the religious circles surrounding him, and the "dirty Jew" obsession that is the scourge of our time.

And now we come to the Esterhazy case. Three years have passed, many consciences remain profoundly troubled, become anxious, investigate, and wind up convinced that Dreyfus is innocent.

... Lt. Colonel Picquart came into possession of a telegram addressed to Major Esterhazy by an agent of a foreign power. His express duty was to open an inquiry. The investigation lasted from May to September 1896, and what must be said loud and clear is that General Gonse was at that time convinced that Esterhazy was guilty and that Generals de Boisdeffre and Billot had no doubt that the handwriting on the famous *bordereau* was Esterhazy's. This was the definitive conclusion of Lt. Colonel Picquart's investigation. But feelings were running high, for the conviction of Esterhazy would inevitably lead to a retrial of Dreyfus, an eventuality that the General Staff wanted at all cost to avoid.

... Can you understand this: for the last year General Billot, Generals Gonse and de Boisdeffre have known that Dreyfus is innocent, and they have kept this terrible knowledge to themselves? And these people sleep at night, and have wives and children they love!

Lt. Colonel Picquart had carried out his duty as an honest man. He kept insisting to his superiors in the name of justice. He even begged them, telling them how impolitic it was to temporize in the face of the terrible

storm that was brewing and that would break when the truth became known... And so Lt. Colonel Picquart was sent away on official duty. ...

Meanwhile, in Paris, truth was marching on, inevitably, and we know how the long-awaited storm broke. ... A retrial would mean that this whole extraordinary saga, so extravagant, so tragic, with its denouement on Devil's Island, would fall apart! This he could not allow to happen. From then on, it became a duel between Lt Colonel Picquart and Lt Colonel du Paty de Clam, one with his face visible, the other masked. ... It came down, once again, to the General Staff protecting itself, not wanting to admit its crime, an abomination that has been growing by the minute.

The Esterhazy affair, thus, Mr. President, comes down to this: a guilty man is being passed off as innocent. For almost two months we have been following this nasty business hour by hour. I am being brief, for this is but the abridged version of a story whose sordid pages will some day be written out in full. And so we have seen General de Pellieux, and then Major Ravary conduct an outrageous inquiry from which criminals emerge glorified and honest people sullied. And then a court martial was convened. ...

... It is a crime to poison the minds of the meek and the humble, to stoke the passions of reactionism and intolerance, by appealing to that odious anti-Semitism that, unchecked, will destroy the freedom-loving France of the Rights of Man. It is a crime to exploit patriotism in the service of hatred, and it is, finally, a crime to ensconce the sword as the modern god, whereas all science is toiling to achieve the coming era of truth and justice.

Truth and justice, so ardently longed for! How terrible it is to see them trampled, unrecognized and ignored...

But this letter is long, Sir, and it is time to conclude it.

I accuse Lt. Col. du Paty de Clam of being the diabolical creator of this miscarriage of justice - unwittingly, I would like to believe - and of defending this sorry deed, over the last three years, by all manner of ludicrous and evil machinations.

I accuse General Mercier of complicity, at least by mental weakness, in one of the greatest inequities of the century.

I accuse General Billot of having held in his hands absolute proof of Dreyfus's innocence and covering it up, and making himself guilty of this crime against mankind and justice, as a political expedient and a way for the compromised General Staff to save face.

I accuse Gen. de Boisdeffre and Gen. Gonse of complicity in the same crime, the former, no doubt, out of religious prejudice, the latter perhaps out of that *esprit de corps* that has transformed the War Office into an unassailable holy ark.

I accuse Gen. de Pellieux and Major Ravary of conducting a villainous enquiry, by which I mean a monstrously biased one, as attested by the latter in a report that is an imperishable monument to naïve impudence.

I accuse the three handwriting experts, Messrs. Belhomme, Varinard and Couard, of submitting reports that were deceitful and fraudulent, unless a medical examination finds them to be suffering from a condition that impairs their eyesight and judgement.

I accuse the War Office of using the press, particularly *L'Eclair* and *L'Echo de Paris*, to conduct an abominable campaign to mislead the general public and cover up their own wrongdoing.

Finally, I accuse the first court martial of violating the law by convicting the accused on the basis of a document that was kept secret, and I accuse the second court martial of covering up this illegality, on orders, thus committing the judicial crime of knowingly acquitting a guilty man.

In making these accusations I am aware that I am making myself liable to articles 30 and 31 of the law of 29/7/1881 regarding the press, which make libel a punishable offence. I expose myself to that risk voluntarily.

As for the people I am accusing, I do not know them, I have never seen them, and I bear them neither ill will nor hatred. To me they are mere entities, agents of harm to society. The action I am taking is no more than a radical measure to hasten the explosion of truth and justice.

I have but one passion: to enlighten those who have been kept in the dark, in the name of humanity which has suffered so much and is entitled to happiness. My fiery protest is simply the cry of my very soul. Let them dare, then, to bring me before a court of law and let the enquiry take place in broad daylight! I am waiting.

With my deepest respect, Sir.

Émile Zola,

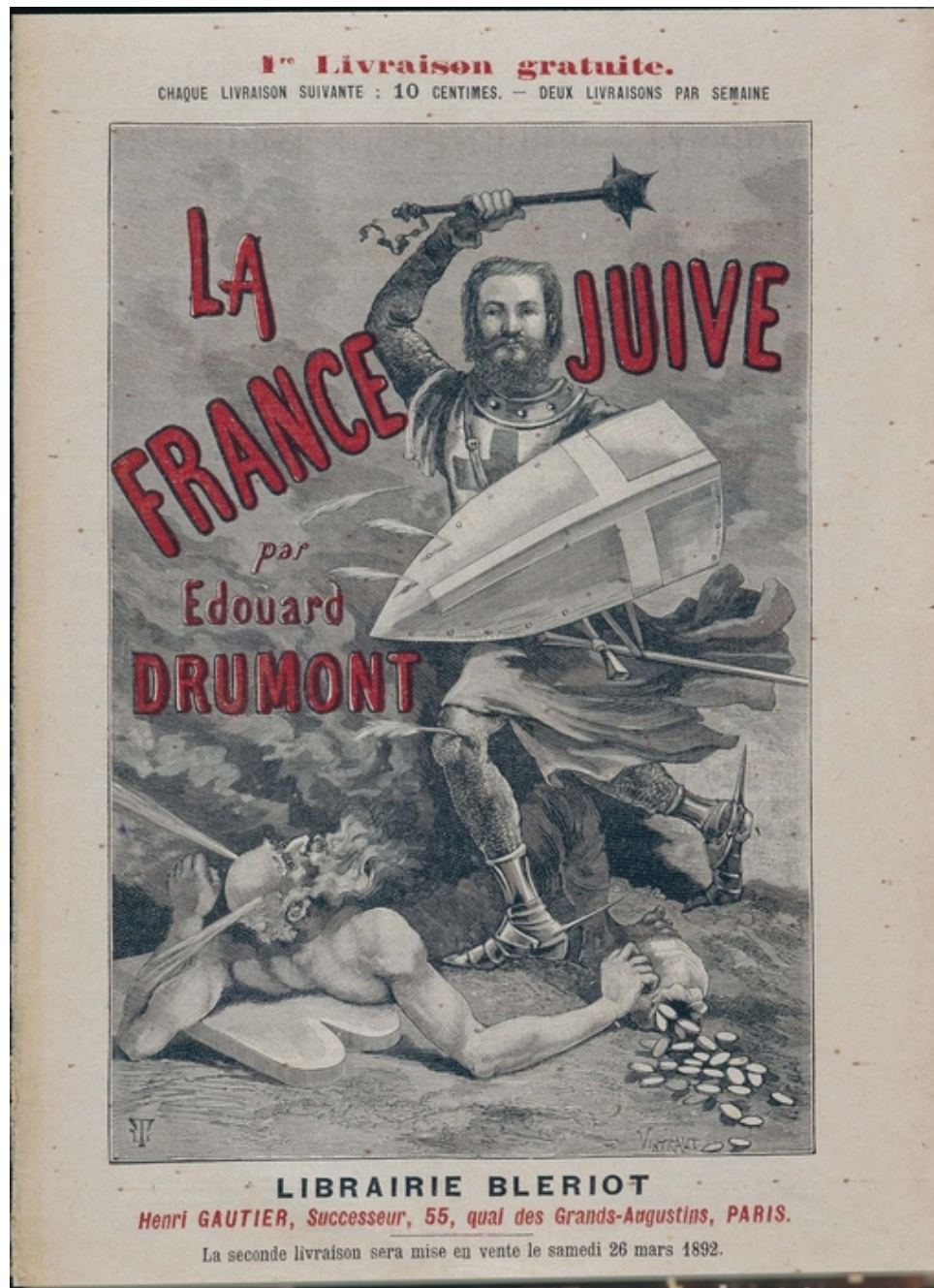
13th January 1898

COMPASS POINTS

- Notice how meticulous Zola is in laying out the details of the case, and the actions of individual actors: once you have read the other materials you can think of how this differs from Drumont's writing on 'world Jewry.' Think of how people respond differently to individuals or to groups: is it rational to ascribe universal motives to a group of people sharing, for instance, the same religion, ethnicity, or nationality?
- Pay attention to Zola's appeals to ethical values such as justice, truth, and fairness, and their importance in leadership and national identity.
- Note how Zola's final appeal, "to enlighten those who have been kept in the dark, in the name of humanity which has suffered so much and is entitled to happiness," resonates with Dreyfus's actual experiences as a prisoner. Consider how words and ideas can be used to both inform people through rational argument and to enrage them through baseless diatribe.

Primary Source Two: Cover of Édouard Drumont's *La France Juive*. 1st issue of the 1892 edition.

Of those leading the public attacks on Dreyfus and Jews in France in the late nineteenth century, perhaps none was as virulent as writer Édouard Drumont. Drumont's two-volume 1886 book, *La France Juive*, subtitled, *an essay on Contemporary History*, blamed Jewish people for every perceived ill in contemporary France, even providing a list of well-known Jews, French or otherwise, whom he accused of various misdeeds. Drumont's diatribe was built on the tropes of racial inferiority and difference, control of capital, and religion (the imagined role of Jews in the death of Christ). Following the Dreyfus Affair, Drumont continued to stoke the fires of anti-Semitism with various publications including *Les Juifs Contre la France: une nouvelle Pologne*, (*The Jews against France: a New Poland*) in 1898, and the newspaper started in 1892, *La Libre Parole*. He later embarked on a career as a politician.



Source: *La France juive* par Édouard DRUMONT (1844-1917). 1er fascicule de l'édition de 1892 (1ere édition de 1886) © Collection Jonas / KHARBINE-TAPABOR, Le Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration.

Primary Source Three: Excerpt from Édouard Drumont, *Les Juifs Contre la France*. (Paris: Librairie Antisemite), 1898. Translated by Mitchell Abidor and shared under the Creative Commons license.

What follows below is an excerpt from *Les Juifs Contre la France: une nouvelle Pologne*. Notice how Drumont speaks of ‘world Jewry’ as a homogenous group with a national identity:

What is the exact meaning of the frenzied campaign organized by world Jewry to panic France, dishonor the French army and, in so doing, put it in no condition to play a role in Europe?

This campaign simply means that the totality of interests of which Jewry is composed has taken a position against France and finds it advantageous that France cease to be a great European power. It seems pointless to me in these articles, which are written from a philosophical and social point of view, to give myself over to puerile indignation and vain declamations on this subject.

If the circumstances were such that I was invested with an authority that would permit me to save my country I would turn the big Jews and their accomplices over to a court martial that would have them executed. But in the theoretical and speculative domains I find it quite natural and logical that the Jews do what they do. To think otherwise would mean falling into the mania common among Frenchmen, who find themselves so lovable that they imagine that the whole world should love them.

The Jews formerly had a nationality. They lost it because of their divisions and their absolute lack of any instinct of hierarchy and order. Thanks to their genius as conspirators and traffickers they reconstituted a money power that is formidable, not only through the force that money itself possesses, but because the Jews have diminished or destroyed the other powers so that only theirs remain, because they have modeled, fashioned, molded a society where money is the true master of all.

This money power, like all powers, is only inspired by its own interests. It goes in the direction that seems most profitable to it. At the time of the Revolution it was for us; it then supported Bonaparte; in 1815 it was clearly against him and, at the time of Waterloo it fought with Rothschild as energetically as did Wellington.

It was for the Second Empire at the beginning, and was against it at the end. It worked for Germany. It provided funds for republican newspapers of the Ferry tendency just as today it supports internationalist and anarchist newspapers. It prepared our destruction then as it prepares it today.

After our disasters this power came back over to us. It gave us an appearance or an illusion of revival and prosperity through financial movement, and it profited from this by making France a prey upon which all the Jews of the world fell. Financiers have grabbed all our savings, the others have invaded the posts and great worldly situations and shared honors and decorations among themselves.

Today the Jews think that there is nothing else they can get from us, aside from the last honorary baubles from the World’s Fair. They know our cashboxes are empty, that the savings banks will be unable to reimburse

the billions that were confided to them. They know the depths of the abyss hidden by the false décor of our budgets. They are preparing to liquidate France the same way they liquidated Spain.

If the anti-Semites don't manage to save France by the means used by Danton this liquidation will be carried out in the blink of an eye.

Never has there been a more serious moment. We are going to witness: we already are witnessing a new sharing out of the world. The question is: are we going to intervene in this sharing out or will we be excluded. When the Russian alliance was concluded it was decided that we would take part in this; today they no longer see the necessity of giving us our share.

The true goal of the campaign organized by the Jews, and for which Dreyfus was only ever a pretext, was to destroy the might, or the appearance of might, that was given by an army that only a few years ago seemed to be an element which Europe had to take into account.

An autocratic government like that of the Tsar had to pass through many prejudices and hesitations in bringing about a rapprochement with a government as unstable and bizarre as ours. What decided the Tsar was obviously not the sympathy inspired in him by our politicians, it was that still imposing and solid mass that was the French army barely three years ago.

The Jews said to Russia: "You believe this? You are naïve. We are going to make a consortium, add a few million to those that Germany will give us, group together all the frothers of the press, all the worm-eaten crooks of Panama and the *Chemins de fer du Sud*. After all this you'll see what's left of the army.

"Every day you'll be able to read in the newspapers in huge print that General Mercier, who had pushed his audacity so far as to arrest a wretched Jew who had turned French military secrets over to Germany, should be sent to a prison camp. ..."

The Jews have done what they announced, and we must recognize that they have proceeded to this moral destruction of the French army with unequalled virtuosity.

COMPASS POINTS

- Look at the two people in the image from *La France Juive*: one is dressed for battle as a Christian knight while the other (the 'Jew') is naked, underfoot, has a pronounced nose, and is holding a bag of money. The lack of clothing suggests that Jews are all Jews, no matter where they are from, and that money is what they want. The image of the knight suggests a Christian battle against Jews, a religious crusade. The prostrate figure's naked torso and gnarled bare feet make him someone bestial rather than civilized, a lesser 'other.' Such dehumanization was a common tactic of anti-Semitic materials and images. Note the feathered pens in the 'knight's' shield: the knight is resisting written attacks.
- Drumont writes of a 'frenzied campaign' organized by Jews. In fact, the frenzied campaign was that of anti-Semites or opportunistic individuals in the military against Dreyfus and Jews in France.
- Notice how Drumont speaks of Jews, and world Jewry, as an homogenous group (in other words, as all being the same and with the same motives). He makes claims about the actions and motivations of this group without providing evidence or actual examples to back up his assertions.

- Pay attention to Drumont's appeals to French nationalism and fear: does he see people of Jewish origin in France as citizens of France and concerned with its best interests, or as of a different nation? Remember that Israel did not exist at this time.
- Note how Drumont suggests that the only motivation for Jews to be in France is money: what does this suggest about the rights of French people with Jewish heritage to French citizenship? Note how the national identity of Jews, for Drumont, is separate from that of French national identity, and a threat to France.

Primary Source Four: 'Un Diner en Famille,' by Caran D'Ache, cartoon from *Le Figaro*, February 14, 1898

The 'Dreyfus Affair' sharply divided and inflamed public opinion in France, even within families



Source: Cartoon by Caran D'Ache, *Le Figaro*, February 14, 1898.

Primary Source Five: Caricatures and depictions

Note: It is not important that you can read the text in these particular materials: what you should focus on is how people are depicted, on whether you can notice different approaches to representations of different groups of people: Are the materials concerned with the validity of the charges against Dreyfus or with a preoccupation about who is an acceptable Frenchman? Note the interplay between materials produced by the Dreyfusards and the Nationalists/Militarists, where both offer radically different interpretations of the same event/s.



Source: "History of an Innocent," 1898, National Library of Israel

HISTOIRE D'UN TRAITRE

PRIX : 0 Fr 10

IMAGE FRANÇAISE



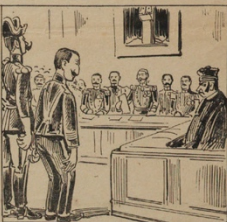
L'histoire que nous allons raconter est déjà connue dans tout l'univers. C'est celle d'un homme, qui se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Un lieu de vue des inspecteurs on de l'histoire à la Bourse, à l'étranger, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



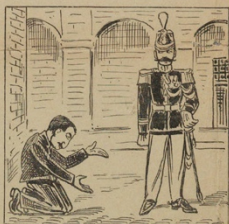
Mais honnête, contact des faits, une surveillance très étroite, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Confinés par les émissaires allemands de vingt-trois autres, Dreyfus, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Un prisonnier, au point de vue de la Bourse, à l'étranger, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Depuis, Dreyfus, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Un moment où un sous-marinier Dreyfus pour l'Etat-Major, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Trois ans après, selon la promesse du traître, un sous-marinier allemand se présente devant tout le monde que Dreyfus avait promis. Dreyfus est mort d'une inspiration subite.



Un certain nombre d'hommes politiques, plus ou moins compromis dans le scandale de l'affaire Dreyfus, ont été accusés de trahison. On se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



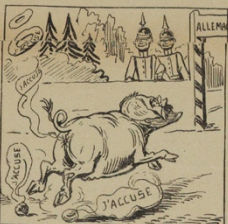
La Vieille Jean apparaît presque innocente, victime d'un acte d'insubordination qui les caractérisent en tant que tels. On se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Mémoires Dreyfus, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Mais l'histoire s'est terminée. La bande est venue à sa fin. On se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Un certain nombre d'hommes politiques, plus ou moins compromis dans le scandale de l'affaire Dreyfus, ont été accusés de trahison. On se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Un autre moment de l'histoire Dreyfus, on se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Tous les moments de la France ont marqué la suite dans la suite avec les noms de Dreyfus. On se nomme Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major. Il en perdra pour vendre ses secrets à l'étranger.



Les Français ont été surpris par cette effroyable aventure, que les seuls noms des deux insubordinés et démissionnaires ont pu leur donner l'impression. La suite de l'histoire, qui leur a permis de voir de leur caractère sans laquais, le chef errant.

La Complainte de l'Ile du Diable

Air de FALDES

I
Foule nombreuse et diverse
Qui se trouve en ce moment,
Apprends l'histoire d'un traître,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

II
Au lieu de venir des inspecteurs
Comme un grand fort d'acier,
Dreyfus, à l'Etat-Major,
Faisait de riches comptes
De papier d'argent comptant
Qui payaient les Allemands.

III
Mais, en contact des faits
On ne voit la conviction
D'un acte de haut traître
Qu'on a vu dans l'histoire.
Et Dreyfus, officier d'Etat-Major,
Fut pris dans son mensonge.

IV
Tout content de cette brigue
Par vingt années d'attente,
Il ne peut pas attendre
Même que ce soit le Dreyfus,
De l'histoire de Dreyfus,
De l'histoire de Dreyfus.

V
Ce mensonge n'est que l'histoire,
Mais c'est que c'est l'histoire,
Quand on voit des gens soldats,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

VI
Tous les moments de la France
Ont marqué la suite dans la suite
Avec les noms de Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus.

VII
Le noble Dreyfus, on l'histoire
Pour le fils de l'Etat,
Faisait voir de quel côté
Le fait de l'histoire,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

VIII
Tous les moments de la France
Ont marqué la suite dans la suite
Avec les noms de Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus.

IX
Plusieurs hommes politiques
Qui viennent de l'histoire,
Viennent à passer par là,
Et ce sont ceux de l'histoire,
En France, c'est l'histoire,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

X
Tous les moments de la France
Ont marqué la suite dans la suite
Avec les noms de Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus,
On se nomme Dreyfus.

XI
Là d'un — voyez l'impression !
Le fait de l'histoire,
Fait, sans perdre un instant,
Le fait de l'histoire,
Pour Dreyfus — dit-il !
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

XII
Dreyfus — dit-il qu'en son caractère
Il était tout de son caractère,
Après tout son caractère,
L'histoire de l'histoire,
Pour Dreyfus — dit-il !
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

XIII
Zola, ce grand personnage,
Fut un grand personnage,
Accuse — oh ! la la, malheur !
Par l'histoire, qui est l'histoire,
Puis, vers ses amis d'histoire,
Comme un autre, il se nomme !

XIV
Un des chefs de la campagne,
Fut Dreyfus, un grand personnage,
Vint de l'histoire de l'histoire,
Et ce sont ceux de l'histoire,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus,
C'est l'histoire de Dreyfus.

XV
Les moments de la partie
On voit de la partie
On voit de la partie
On voit de la partie
On voit de la partie
On voit de la partie.

Impr. MULLER, 10, rue Montmartre, Paris.

DREYFUS EST INNOCENT

LES DÉFENSEURS DU DROIT, DE LA JUSTICE ET DE LA VÉRITÉ

VIVE
LA
FRANCE!

VIVE
LA
RÉPUBLIQUE!



L. TRARIEUX

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« Derrière Ludovic Dreyfus, au regard levé vers les partis qui s'abaissent ? »
(Lettre à M. Godfrey Compton.)



EMILE ZOLA

ROMANCIER, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

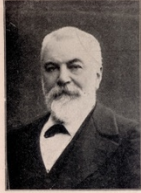
« La Vérité est en marche, rien ne l'arrêtera ! »



SCHEURER-KESTNER

DÉPUTÉ

« Je ne pourrais plus vivre ! C'est par ce mot admirable que M. Scheurer-Kestner a traduit son espoir, quand cette parole est venue sur lui sans son vœu, que Alfred Dreyfus était peut-être innocent. »



YVES GUYOT

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« L'honneur de l'armée ne consiste pas à maintenir une condamnation, illégitime et fautive, et à couvrir le coupable. »
(L'Intransigeant et la Tribune.)



GEORGES CLÉMENTEAU (L'Aurore)

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« La France ne vivait plus la France et elle refusait de nous reconnaître. »
(L'Aurore, 29 novembre 1898.)



JOSEPH REINACH

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

Par la Vérité, vers la Justice!



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PICQUART

« Je n'emporterai pas dans la tombe un pareil secret. »

Le colonel Picquart au général Gonse.



JEAN JAURÈS (Patrie Républicaine Française)

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« Et par la seule force de la lumière, nous vaincrons. »
« Et l'honneur grande France gémira, dans sa fièvre de plus aux prisonniers de réclusion et de solitude, avec leur attitude de gens humains. »
(La France, griffon.)

VIVE
L'ARMÉE!

A BAS
LES
TRAITRES!



BERNARD LAZARE

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« Pourquoi se accuser à parler au nom de droit ? Je n'ai le droit pas. La preuve que c'est toujours, rigoureusement, elle qui est, même indolente, se consoler, et, sans être, elle ne permet pas qu'un innocent, qui n'a jamais cessé d'être innocent. »
(La Voix et l'Éclair, Dreyfus.)



FERNAND LABORI, AVOCAT

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« On ne se dispute pas le droit, on se dispute les moyens légaux que nous n'avons jamais cessé de rechercher, sans être, sans être, et sans solliciter l'armée (c'est la loi que je lui donne à la barre, contre tout le conseil des ministres, puis, au conseil de guerre) nous aurons droit elle devrait être honorée, et elle n'est que nous grand pour servir à être l'honneur de par nous ! »
(L'Éclair, 10 novembre 1898.)



FRANCIS DE PRESSENSÉ

AVOCAT AU BARREAU DE PARIS, ANCIEN DÉPUTÉ

« Une figure par-dessus toutes s'élève et d'un air noble. Un homme singulièrement pur, s'il est au premier rang des avocats, des victimes de la répression inouïe. C'est le colonel Picquart. Nous demandons un héros : le voilà. »
(Annoté par M. de M.)

10
CENTIMES

10
CENTIMES

DREYFUS EST UN TRAITRE

Général MERCIER

Le général Mercier est né à Arles, le 8 décembre 1835. Sous le drapeau de l'École polytechnique en 1854.
En 1870, M. Mercier partait, comme capitaine, en Algérie, où il y fit preuve, à Paris, d'un très brillant caractère militaire, et reçut le grade de Lieutenant.
En 1876, le général Mercier commanda à Tlemcen, sous le général Dégoy, le général Mercier de venir en contact avec les autres troupes. Il fut commandant en Chef de l'École normale de polytechnique.
Il se distingua en 1877 par sa conduite de plusieurs bataillons de ses collègues le reconnaissant pour le grade de colonel de la Guerre, dans la colonne Dupuy. Contre lui, le général Mercier fut à l'initiative contre l'officier Dreyfus à son départ.
Le général Mercier, qui est un patriote, a été injustement accusé de trahison et de la France. Il n'en a rien fait et est resté par ses hauts grades.



Général Mercier

« Des notes que j'ai eues en ma possession m'ont révélé qu'un officier des bureaux de l'État-Major avait communiqué à une puissance étrangère des documents dont il avait eu connaissance en vertu de ses fonctions. »
« Je l'ai fait arrêter. »
Général MERCIER, Ministre de la Guerre.
(Novembre 1894.)

Général BILLOT

Né à Chassagny (Côte-d'Or), le 15 août 1846, le général Billot est le premier de corps d'armée, commandant le Corps expéditionnaire de Tunisie.
Le général Billot, le héros du siège de la Citadelle de Constantine. Il combattit à Bouardouch, à Guelma, à Bône, à Mascara, et fut tué en combattant de Alger et repartit du service à Tunis. Il est général et a été fait prisonnier à la suite de l'insuccès.
Le général Billot est un héros de la Grande Guerre. Il a été nommé commandant en chef de la 1^{re} Armée, à la suite de la chute de la République.
Le général Billot est un héros de la Grande Guerre. Il a été nommé commandant en chef de la 1^{re} Armée, à la suite de la chute de la République.



Général Billot

« Dreyfus, en mon âme et conscience de soldat et de chef de l'armée, Dreyfus est coupable ! Dreyfus est un traître ! »
Général BILLOT, Ministre de la Guerre.
(Décembre 1894. — Discours à la Chambre des Députés.)

Vive la France!

VIVE
LA
RÉPUBLIQUE!

M. CAVAIGNAC

M. Cavaignac est né à Paris le 15 mai 1817. Il est le fils d'un ouvrier géométrien distingué qui fut de l'école de l'École Polytechnique.
Il fut député de Paris, de 1848 à 1851, et fut élu président de la République.
C'est pendant son mandat de Cavaignac que l'armée fut dirigée par le général Dreyfus.
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M. Cavaignac

« J'ai la certitude absolue de la culpabilité de Dreyfus ! »
CAVAIGNAC, Ministre de la Guerre.
(7 juillet 1896. — Discours à la Chambre des Députés.)

« Je demeure convaincu de la culpabilité de Dreyfus et aussi résolu que précédemment à combattre la révision du procès. »
CAVAIGNAC, Ministre de la Guerre.
(8 septembre 1896. — Lettre de démission adressée au Président du Conseil, M. Brisson.)

Général ZURLINDEN

Le général Zurlinden, né à Colmar, le 3 novembre 1835, fit ses études à l'École polytechnique. L'année suivante, en 1854, rejoignit le régiment de la 1^{re} Division de la 1^{re} Armée, où il fut nommé capitaine de la Légion d'honneur.
Zurlinden, député de Wissembourg, élu député, en 1876, au grade de vice-président de la Chambre des Députés.
Après la guerre, le général Zurlinden a servi sous les ordres de l'armée. Il est grand officier de la Légion d'honneur, commandeur de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, et grand officier de la Légion d'honneur.
Après la guerre, le général Zurlinden a servi sous les ordres de l'armée. Il est grand officier de la Légion d'honneur, commandeur de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, et grand officier de la Légion d'honneur.



Général Zurlinden

« L'étude approfondie du dossier judiciaire de Dreyfus m'a trop convaincu de sa culpabilité pour que je puisse accepter, comme chef de l'armée, toute autre solution que celle du maintien intégral du jugement. »
Général ZURLINDEN, Ministre de la Guerre.
(17 septembre 1896. — Lettre au Président du Conseil, M. Brisson.)

Général CHANOINE

Le général Chanoiné fut à l'École polytechnique sous le général Zurlinden.
Le général Chanoiné fut à l'École polytechnique sous le général Zurlinden.
Le général Chanoiné fut à l'École polytechnique sous le général Zurlinden.



Général Chanoiné

« Puisqu'on a parlé de cette affaire néfaste devant laquelle mes prédécesseurs se sont retirés, je déclare que je respecte la séparation des pouvoirs politique et judiciaire ; j'ai le respect de la chose jugée. Mais j'ai le droit aussi d'avoir mon opinion. Et elle est conforme à celle de mes prédécesseurs. »
Général CHANOINE, Ministre de la Guerre.
(26 Octobre 1896. — Discours à la Chambre des Députés.)

VIVE
L'ARMÉE!
A BAS
LES TRAITRES!

En dépôt : 3, rue Saint-Joseph.

Source: "Dreyfus is a Traitor," November 1898, Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme, Paris

COMPASS POINTS

- Note how the figures are drawn in the graphic strips: in "History of an Innocent" all men are represented as equal and human whereas in "History of a Traitor" Jews are drawn in a more primitive way, with stereotyped features such as hooked noses. The drawing of these figures lack the complexity and dignity of those of the military officers other than Dreyfus, for instance, and are caricatures. Again, note the way that Jews are depicted as naked and as animals.
- Note how both of the posters with photographs appeal to nationalism and the army, and denounce traitors. In each case the traitors are seen as a different group: for the Dreyfusards the traitors are those who falsely accuse Dreyfus and undermine the principles of the liberty, truth, and justice; for the anti-Dreyfusards the traitors are those who do not blindly support the army.

- The photograph posters aim to promote the heroes of each group defending and opposing Dreyfus, while the graphic images present the story of Dreyfus from two very different perspectives. In the graphic stories the first example shows the equality of rational men deliberating and the eventual triumph of justice and Dreyfus' exoneration. Dreyfus is presented as a wronged fellow citizen. The second suggests that all Jews are a group someone different to Frenchmen and should, literally, be kicked out of France. Dreyfus' defenders are presented as animals and the text says that Dreyfus had a pact with the devil.
- Both sides mobilized discourses shaped by similar rhetorical styles but that centered on different visions of solidarity and honor. You can think of how these inform what they understood to be the social compact of the nation state.

Case study challenge question

Please answer the following question (750-word response):

While Dreyfus saw himself as a patriotic Frenchman, his identity as a Jew seemed more significant to his detractors than his nationality -- or the facts of his case. How did the media contrast ideas of French nationalism and citizenship in such polarizing ways?