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Imagining Anti-Semitism: artistic representations of the Dreyfus Affair

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Introduction

The masses are like a grown-up child who demands a picture album to leaf through in order to forget his miseries... The charmed masses will learn to not think anymore, to resist all desire to reason and construct; they will know only how to open their large and empty eyes, only to look, look, look.1

Louis Haugmard

The industrialization and large-scale urbanization of France in the nineteenth century drove many working-class people to Paris. With new disposable income and leisure time, they flocked to the boulevards, department stores and cafés of the capital to amuse themselves or simply to wander around the city. Though 1848 was to be France’s last real political revolution, Paris remained the scene of cultural and social innovations due largely to this street culture; the mob was as powerful at the turn of the century as it had been in 1789. Vanessa Schwartz writes, “The crowd and the experience of belonging to an urban collectivity... did not disappear but their violence did, there was a new consumer crowd that became the audience of urban spectacles.”2

City life was the ultimate source of distraction and one of the most avidly followed and hotly debated spectacle of the decade was the Dreyfus Affair. The Dreyfus question dominated publications and intellectual salons for the better part of a decade; politicians, journalists and artists created a unique discourse that has remained of cultural and historical interest.

Commenting on the power of the press during the Dreyfus Affair, Historian Pierre Miquel writes, “Jaurès the journalist was stronger than Jaurès the Deputy; Clemenceau, defeated in the elections, was more formidable in L’Aurore than in parliament. As a Deputy, Drumont


had no audience. That the press played an important role in the outcome of the Dreyfus trials is much discussed and without doubt. Jean-Denis Bredin also asks, "Without L'Aurore and Zola, Dreyfus might have remained in prison. But without Drumont and La Libre Parole, would he ever have even been found there?" What is important to note, however, is that the press distributed images as well as text and those images played an equally important role in the formation and expression of public opinion.

This study considers an exhibition of illustrations and paraphernalia relating to the Dreyfus Affair that ran at the Jewish Museum in New York from September 1987 to January 1988. The exhibition, curated by Norman Kleeblatt, presented a vast number of mass-produced images from the popular press as well as pieces of decorative art created between 1894 and 1906. Little attention was given, however, to close analysis of the images and the distinct iconographies that developed within the groups of artists who came together to speak out for or against Dreyfus. Further, little attempt was made to examine the association between the elite and non-elite art forms. These and similar omissions have made previous discussions of the imagery of the Dreyfus Affair disjointed and lacking in relevance. Rather than simply placing

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5 Most narrative or political histories of The Dreyfus Affair, for example that of Bredin cited above, do not discuss the illustrated publications or the representation of the Affair in images. Recently, essays have been written on the Dreyfus debate within the Parisian artistic community: see Philip Dennis Cate, "The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair" in Art. Truth and Justice, ed Norman L. Kleeblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 62-93. Jacques Lethève mentions the rise of caricature during the Affair briefly in his study of the press during the Third Republic. Jacques Lethève, La Caricature et La Presse Sous la IIIe République (Paris: Armand Colin, 1961)
After an initial presentation of relevant background information, my central argument begins in chapters two and three with an investigation of portrayals of the Dreyfus Affair in the illustrated mass media. A number of Parisian artists with successful exhibitions chose to express their political thoughts outside the field of fine art and found a voice by publishing cartoons and sketches in the popular press. Print media was one of the most profitable commodities produced for the mass consumption of the new restless crowd. The Belle Époque truly became the golden age of the French press as “the freedom of the press law” of July 1881, which gave the media total freedom of expression, coincided with the attainment of almost universal literacy. Newspapers and journals were sold cheaply on the streets of Paris and, due to the technological advances in lithography and photomechanical printing, these papers began to include images. The illustrated journals appealed to the Parisian crowds as they presented current events in a dramatic way. These were the people described by Michelet as simple and instinctive; they were, by and large, looking to be entertained rather than informed, and the publishers were all too willing to accommodate them.7

Raymond Williams explains that terms like “mass” or “popular” immediately connote a society divided by social class.8 That which is popular is usually described as such to distinguish it from what is of higher quality. “Popular culture,” he explains, “still carries two older senses:

6 The images used in the study are mostly those that appeared in the exhibition, latter published in the exhibition catalogue: Art, Truth and Justice, ed. Kleeblatt. Images are included at the end of the paper as numbered figures and are arranged by chapter. Unless specifically noted, translations are my own.


inferior kinds of work (cf. popular literature, popular press as distinguished from quality press); and work deliberately setting out to win favor (popular journalism)." The images of the journals and commercial newspapers reinforce this idea. Aiming to make a profit, the anti-Dreyfusard publications both reflected and encouraged the prejudices of the majority and their aggression towards Dreyfus and the Jewish community by using the popular press. The cartoons we find in these journals, especially Jean-Louis Forain and Caran d'Ache's Psst..., are extremely vulgar; they use caricature widely as well as crude humor, bestial imagery and scatology. They appealed to the masses because of their simple, everyday references and tropes that were quickly and easily understood.

The creation of this new urban class and the popular consumerism it inspired did not mean the destruction of the established intellectual and bourgeois classes. There remained, as Rosalind Williams notes, a more exclusive market "elitist in spirit and derived from the dandy tradition [that] attempted to transcend the supposed vulgarity of ordinary consumption through a uniquely individual arrangement of commodities serving lofty spiritual and aesthetic ideals." The anti-Dreyfusards scoffed at these opponents, calling them ineffectual intellectuals. This was an accusation to which a host of Dreyfusards, including many artists, pled guilty. They embraced their position as the cerebral minority and refused to lower themselves to coarse and offensive humor, despite the latter's more wide-reaching application. Most of the Dreyfusard illustrated journals, such as the renowned Le Sifflet, shunned the bloodthirsty crowd and focused on a small group of peers by choosing to use more beautiful, realistic images. By referencing literature or fine art and Revolutionary imagery, the Dreyfusard artists appealed to the humanity and reason

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9 Ibid, 237.

of their audience rather than their desire to be shocked and amused. The result was the 
emergence of two very distinct and recognizable iconographies. An important aspect of my 
examination of the illustrated journals considers how the two camps were able to argue so 
successfully without the use of text. Techniques such as citation of their opponents’ work 
allowed the Dreyfusards to attack their challengers with acerbic irony.

The discussion of elite art is continued in chapter four, which investigates how the 
Dreyfus Affair penetrated the world of decorative art. In keeping with the separate spheres of 
elite and popular consumerism and their opposing ideals and target audiences, it is unsurprising 
that this field is dominated almost entirely by the Dreyfusards. Classical and revolutionary 
images abound and the social messages contained are heavily veiled in allegory. I argue that the 
aesthetic views of the Art Nouveau movement, along with its promotion of social consciousness 
and responsibility, made the field of decorative art exceptionally suited to Dreyfusard expression. 
Even the ways in which these pieces took on meaning were different from those mass produced 
images that had power simply because of their proliferation.

Finally, this study ends, as did the attention the media gave to the Dreyfus trials, with the 
Exposition Universelle of 1900. The Affair challenged Paris’ reputation as an international 
symbol of civility and progress and, as more and more countries threatened to boycott the 
upcoming World Fair as an expression of their outrage after Dreyfus’s second conviction in 
Rennes, anti-Dreyfusards and Dreyfusards, intellectuals, and the general public all began to 
worry that their obsessive debate might prove costly and humiliating. The Exposition provided 
the urban audience with another, more grand spectacle, and Alfred Dreyfus was left to protest his 
innocence in relative silence with only his most fervent supporters by his side.
Benedict Anderson suggested that the invention of print media created "imagined communities" of people who were then able to interact without direct personal contact. The readers of the different journals and newspapers and the creators and patrons of the decorative arts became members of new invented groups in fin-de-siècle Paris. Members were allied by their social class or political opinion and united by their views on the Dreyfus Affair. Within these groups, images became one of the most effective languages used to discuss "le traître Dreyfus," and each faction created its own specific dialect, embracing dissimilar themes and distinct techniques that appealed to the tastes of its constituents. These images allow us to reexamine, with new evidence, the opinions the divergent groups had of themselves and of their opponents, the values they each upheld as well as the many socio-economic reasons for these differences.

The Making of an Affair

Commenting on political and financial controversies, J. Verdès-Leroux wrote: "Though it seems to be disorder, the scandal is the uncovered face of the order, the true image of a regime. [Whether] the Parliament or Justice or the army is at the heart of the scandal, it is true to say that every regime has the humiliations it deserves."12 The series of scandals that shook the Third Republic, chief among them the Dreyfus Affair, was similarly warranted; the result of years of government corruption and mismanagement as well as the particular socio-economic situation in fin-de-siècle France. Further, the rise of the popular press meant that parliamentary mistakes were more likely to result in nationwide scandals. The publications had an ever increasing power over members of government. Jean-Denis Bredin writes, "The Dupuy government, the Méline government, and the Brisson government were already suffering from the congenital weakness of republican regimes: to govern with one eye on the newspapers, perpetually intent on charming its supporters, terrified of causing displeasure, and most frequently diverted from action for fear of judgment."13

Like other European countries, France underwent a series of socio-economic changes in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rapid industrialization brought with it extensive urbanization and broke down the cultural divides that separated the provincial regions from each other and especially from the capital. The rise of capitalism after the 1848 revolution caused improvements in living conditions, a better network of railroads facilitated travel and


communication and an overhaul of the education system meant that the French people were practically universally literate by 1890.\textsuperscript{14}

Between 1852 and 1870, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, under the commission of Napoleon III, replaced the narrow and irregular streets that had wound through Paris since the middle ages with a planned system of wide, open boulevards. The new open areas with their cafés and scenic views of the city drew the public onto the streets and allowed for the creation of the boulevard culture that is still associated with Paris. The new urban crowd sought to enjoy its new leisure time and spend its disposable income, entertainment was the primary goal and city life was the ultimate spectacle. Publishers leapt to take advantage of this voracious consumerism; carts selling novels, newspapers and weekly journals lined the streets and fed the desire of the public for distraction and gossip. The freedom accorded to the media by the Act of 29 July 1881 on the freedom of the press and the technological developments made in the field of printing made these publications cheap and available in high volume and, with the invention of lithography and photomechanical printing, journalists were able to use images to grab the attention of passers-by. Of course, the new methods of mass communication bred new opportunities for political expression. Through newspapers, journals and posters, groups were able to attract like-minded members and form popular parties, hold rallies and create leagues. The emergence of mass media had another significance: specialists of French Jewish history argue that this rise of the popular press facilitated the rise of popular anti-Semitism.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} For more information on the social and economic conditions in France during this period, see Roger Price, \textit{A Social History of Nineteenth Century France} (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987).

It seems that, in the early nineteenth century, there had been a gradual integration of Jewish people into the traditionally Catholic French society. Though anti-Semitic writers were not unheard of, they were mainly socialists who attacked Jews as representations of the capitalist ideals they despised. These men circulated ideas and images that were almost entirely focused on attacking Jews as a group for their association with money; their representations had little influence. However, in the 1880s, when a number of political and economic scandals, all supposedly orchestrated by Jews, disrupted the Third Republic, the virulent anti-Semitic authors and politicians realized that, using mass propaganda, their hatred of the Jews could win widespread public support.

The thirty years between the formation of the Third Republic after the defeat of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte in 1870 and the beginning of the twentieth century was rife with embarrassments and instability. The Third Republic was declared in Paris on 4 September 1870 in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war. The armistice the following January, after a crushing French defeat, brought with it the unification of Germany and a sense of Revanchism [revenge-ism] in the republic. The war was over, but Germany and France settled into a tense and permanent state of crisis. The German, presented as ruthless, efficient and scheming, became the enemy of every Frenchman.

The first event that evidenced the mismanagement of the regime was the collapse of the Union Générale, a Catholic bank, in 1882. The crash had a disastrous effect on the French economy and provoked an immediate anti-Semitic backlash. The Panama Canal scandal ten years later, another illustration of the parliamentary corruption of the Third Republic, was also

16 Jewish people had been fully integrated into the French population by law since the Revolution of 1789, though they remained socially ostracized in many regions. Historians specializing in the history of the French Jews suggest that the creation of state-run institutions that assumed stereotypically Jewish professions like money lending in the nineteenth century removed a great deal of the social stigma and facilitated a more complete assimilation of Jews into Catholic French communities.
blamed on the Jews in French society and the Jewish community once again became the scapegoat for an ailing government. Prominent members of the French government had accepted bribes from people within the Panama Canal Company to quiet rumors of the organization's financial instability resulting in the loss of nearly a billion francs from the treasury. The two men responsible for liaising between the government and the Canal Company and distributing the bribe money, Jacques Reinach and Cornelius Herz, were both of Jewish origin. Though anti-Semitic feeling had existed in France for centuries, a new wave of prejudice gripped the public along with a distrust of the weakened government. The Panama scandals were used by anti-Semitic journalists to imply that the Jews who seemed to control the business world were also gaining influence in politics. The result was national paranoia. It seemed that the consortium of Germans and Jews threatened the very existence of the republic and the safety of its people.

Certain journalists began to take advantage of the wave of anti-Jewish sentiment. Perhaps most famous was Édouard Drumont, founder of the newspaper *La Libre Parole* (The Free Speech) and the Anti-Semitic League of France as well as the writer of the pamphlet *La France Juive* (Jewish France). Other particularly anti-Semitic newspapers included the Catholic *La Croix* (The Cross), *L'Antijuif* (The Anti-Jew) and Marice Barrès's *La Cocarde* (The Rosette). The number of publications released with the intention of attacking Jews increased from one in 1886 to twenty in 1890. It is in these newspapers, and the subsequent publications that directly concerned the Dreyfus Affair, that we see the formation of many of the anti-Semitic caricatures that we consider to be stereotypical today. Whereas previously a small group of people had represented Jews as a financial threat, anti-Semitic journalists now attempted to convince the

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17 Byrnes, *Anti-Semitism in France*, 55.
public at large through mass media that Jews had the power to shake the very foundations of the republic.

In 1894, a handwritten compilation of French military secrets known as the bordereau was found by a French spy in a wastepaper basket in the German Embassy in Paris. Because the document included information on weaponry, an artillery officer was suspected as being the traitor. Captain Alfred Dreyfus was arrested shortly afterwards and accused of leaking French military secrets to the Germans. Dreyfus was a Jew of Alsatian origin; his parents had chosen to remain French after the take-over of Alsace by the Germans during the Franco-Prussian War. They had moved to Paris. Dreyfus studied in the highly competitive École Polytechnique military school before joining the French Army. Apart from his artillery training, Dreyfus’s German connections and Judaism made him a likely suspect in the eyes of military officials.

When the case began to appear in the press, the French government, terrified that the effects of another scandal would be irreparable, was eager to seem in control of the situation. Despite the lack of any binding evidence, Dreyfus was found guilty by a military tribunal, cashiered in a public ceremony and imprisoned on Devil’s Island near French Guiana (fig. 1.1).

Initially, only Dreyfus’s immediate family petitioned for his release. His brother Mathieu and wife Lucie worked tirelessly to affirm the captain’s innocence. In 1895, however, Colonel Marie-Georges Picquart was elected head of the French counter-espionage department and he too soon became convinced that Dreyfus was not the real traitor. Picquart began to demand a revision of the trial, accusing Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy of writing the bordereau. A letter was even discovered in which Esterhazy writes that he would not dare harm a small dog but would see a hundred thousand Frenchmen killed without hesitation. Despite this, and emerging evidence in Dreyfus’s favor, Esterhazy was acquitted after a trial that lasted only two

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18 The most complete narrative history of the Dreyfus Affair is probably Bredin, The Affair.
Picquart was arrested shortly afterwards, which shocked the newly forming group of Dreyfusards.

While the Dreyfus case received some attention in the press, it was not until Émile Zola exposed the scandal to the public in January 1898 that it exploded into the Affair and became a media event. Zola, a famous and controversial novelist, wrote an open letter to President Faure that was published in the newspaper *L'Aurore* under the headline “I accuse!” (*J'accuse!*) In publishing the letter, Zola was attempting to bring about his own arrest for libel, which he hoped would then reopen the Dreyfus case after the injustices and errors of procedure of the first trial had been made public. The result was monumental; as is depicted in cartoons such as Caran d'Ache’s “Family Dinner” (fig. 1.2) and Félix Valloton’s “The Age of Paper” (fig. 1.3), the Dreyfus Affair flooded the newspapers and divided the French population in a heated debate.

Due to public pressure and the tireless work of his family and supporters, Dreyfus's case was reopened in 1899 on the grounds that new evidence had been discovered and that the captain had initially been denied due process. A second court-martial took place in Rennes, Brittany, in August and resulted, to the surprise of Dreyfus’s supporters, in another conviction. However, on 19 September 1899, Dreyfus was pardoned by President Loubet and was allowed to return to his family, ill and physically exhausted. The pardon was not an official affirmation of Dreyfus’s innocence, which would only follow in July 1906. The Court of Cassation, France’s court of last resort, finally annulled Dreyfus’s convictions and fully exonerated him twelve years after his initial arrest.
The Anti-Dreyfusard Mass Media: Making Anti-Semitism Visual

In the same way that Noam Chomsky proposed that people possess an innate sense of the grammar of their original spoken language that allows them to follow argument in speech or writing, art critics and scholars suggest that visual communication relies on a similar natural understanding of the grammar of images that allows us to derive meaning from pictures. A person looking at an image has a more considered response than might be assumed at first; the reaction is not simply one of reflex, despite the more immediate emotional effect of pictures than of text. While images cannot be “read” in a conventional sense, they create a language with form, structure and convention. This language of images was one of the most important methods of communication and persuasion used by the popular press during the Dreyfus Affair, especially from 1898 onwards. Dora Polachek writes, “If the Dreyfus case became the Dreyfus Affair because of the power of the pen (and the breaking of Dreyfus’s sword takes on further symbolic overtones as a result), it is precisely because the pen was the generator not only of logos but of imago.”

Of the beginning of the Dreyfus case, Jacques Lethève writes, “It all started in a relatively discrete manner and the French were not profoundly moved: it concerned a sad affair of espionage, once more a worrisome game brought to us by German agents.” In 1894, when Dreyfus was first convicted, a scattering of images appeared in the republican and anti-Semitic

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21 Lethève, *La Caricature et la Presse Sous la IIIe République*, 78.
publications. Realistic sketches of Dreyfus's cashiering were published in national newspapers, some illustrated journals put forth grand classical images that denounced Dreyfus as a traitor, a modern Judas, and anti-Semitic journals satirized the event. La Libre Parole, the first publication to have publicly announced Dreyfus's guilt, featured a cover illustration showing Edouard Drumont holding a figure of Dreyfus who is depicted with exaggerated Semitic features with a pair of tweezers (fig. 2.1). The caption reads: "Frenchmen, I've been telling you every day for eight years!!!" The Dreyfus case was represented as proof of what the anti-Jewish journalists had said for years and, with Dreyfus out of sight on Devil's Island, the case seemed to slip out of the minds of most of the artists. It seems that no one paid any mind to those few who had been struck by the miscarriage of justice; there is certainly no representation of their cause in the popular press.

After Dreyfus's imprisonment, his wife Lucie and his brother Mathieu petitioned tirelessly for a review of his case. In 1896, the efforts of Dreyfus's family inspired Bernard Lazare, Jewish anarchist and journalist, to write a pamphlet entitled "A Judicial Error: The Truth on the Dreyfus Affair," and whispers of possible injustice began to echo through France. The Dreyfus Case and the revision debate exploded into The Dreyfus Affair in early 1899 after L'Aurore's publication of Zola's "J'accuse!" letter. Over the following eighteen months, Dreyfusards rallied to demand another Court-Martial and the anti-Dreyfusards responded with renewed fervor affirming his guilt. The largest number of Dreyfus related images in the popular press were published during this time of revision and it was then, really for the first time, that Dreyfusard artists emerged in support of the captain. Each side soon developed a unique visual language using differing techniques that allowed them to argue against each other without the use of text.
Two journals in particular stand out as examples of the distinct iconographies developed by the Dreyfusards and their challengers. *Psst...!* founded on February 5 1898 by Jean-Louis Forain and Caran d’Ache, was an entirely illustrated publication dedicated to confirming Dreyfus’s culpability. In response, artist and Dreyfus supporter Henri-Gabriel Ibels began publication of *Le Sifflet* (The Whistle) with Achille Steens as director. The two men devoted their journal to demanding the convening of a second Court-Martial; they maintained the captain's innocence and the injustice of the Affair. These two weekly publications enable us to trace the development on each side of a style of drawing and illustrative techniques as well as motifs that quickly became attached to prominent figures involved in the Affair. Both journals ran from the beginning of 1898 until Dreyfus's retrial in Rennes in September 1899.

A reviewer of the exhibition of Dreyfus-related illustrations at the Jewish Museum in 1987 commented that the skill of the Anti-Dreyfus artists was greater than their opponents’. He writes, “This is not to belittle the caricaturists on the other side: there are some telling examples of their work on view. But with the single exception of Vallotton, none of the Dreyfusards are really in the same class as the most gifted of their opponents. A sad fact, but one that has to be faced.” 22 In truth, this is a misleading comment. The differences in style and technique between the two groups can be attributed to the divergent goals of the artists and their very different target audiences.

Anti-Dreyfusard publications both mirrored and sought to influence public opinion. They were directed at the working class Parisian crowd, who gathered in the streets looking to be entertained. Anti-Dreyfusard artists attempted to appeal to these people by making use of vulgar humor and caricature. The Dreyfusard journals, on the other hand, aimed to interest a like-

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minded intellectual minority who were accustomed to reason and debate. Accordingly, they preferred to call upon the education and tastes of their audience by referencing works of fine art and literature and by using subtle irony rather than crude humor. Given its strategies, the Dreyfusard press did not hope to attain the same scale of influence as its opponents, but many artists and journalists seemed to prefer their peripheral status. At the height of the Affair, the Dreyfusard press had only eleven regular publications in Paris and seventeen nationwide. It is estimated that they reached approximately eleven percent of the Parisian readers and only fifteen percent of those in France. Despite their condescension, the Dreyfusard Intellectuals saw the crowd as a threat; its sheer force could overwhelm even the most rational men, and the temptation of the urban spectacle was difficult to resist. In response to the anti-Semitic student riots in the Parisian Latin Quarter, for example, Christopher Forth quotes Steens as saying, "They are contemptible because they have willingly renounced their free will. They could have been independent but they want to be part of the crowd."24

The exhibition reviewer’s preference for the anti-Dreyfusard images is understandable given their exaggeration and obvious comedy. People are able to recognize caricatures more quickly and with more ease than non-caricatured drawings. This preference has been the subject of studies in the field of experimental psychology. Gillian Rhodes and her colleagues at the University of Western Australia compared people’s reactions to caricatures (drawings where distinctive physical features are highly exaggerated) with their response to anticaricatures in which the features are less emphasized and to uncaricatured drawings that are as realistic as possible. Rhodes concluded that figures in the caricatured drawings were recognized more than

23 Bredin, The Affair, 518.
twice as fast the realistic illustrations. The average passer-by was much more likely to be enticed to buy a journal with a striking, immediately recognizable cover illustration than one that demanded closer analysis and reflection. By the time the specialized journals began publication the pursuit of profit and mass appeal encouraged the anti-Dreyfusards to use obscenity and farce. The more obvious the racism, the more crude the comedy, the more absurd the figures, the more revenue for the artists. The exaggerated style of drawing also removes the people depicted from reality, dehumanizing them in a way that makes the abhorrent jokes less shocking for the reader.

In late 1899, after the Rennes trial, V. Lenepveu began to sell his “Musée des Horreurs” (Freak Show), a poster series of more than fifty lithographs that transposed the heads of prominent figures in the affair onto the bodies of monsters and animals. The posters are outstanding among anti-Dreyfusard mass produced images in that the figures' faces are photo-realistic, in no way caricaturized and exaggerated as the trend had been before. The sixth poster shows Dreyfus himself with the body of a seven-headed Hydra and, if compared to a photograph of Captain Dreyfus, the accuracy of the depiction of the face is astounding (fig. 2.2 and fig. 2.3). Despite echoing aspects of images that had been published in the preceding year, the posters were too shocking and the Ministry of the Interior ordered Lenepveu to cease publication less than a year after printing began, probably through fear of promoting a negative image of France at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. This experimental break with the caricature tradition of the anti-Dreyfusards illustrates how useful their earlier technique of exaggeration was in placating censors.

Gillian Rhodes, Superportraits: Caricatures and Recognition (New York: Psychology Press, 1997)

The Hydra was a mythical monster with many serpent-like heads. When a head was cut off, more grew in its place making the Hydra increasingly difficult to kill and one head was said to be immortal. Dreyfus is portrayed as a Hydra to symbolize, in the anti-Dreyfusards' minds, the never-ending danger of traitors and Jews.
The “Freak Show” series is also notable as it moves away from the traditional rendering of the stereotypical nameless, representative Jewish man. Lenepveu put faces to his allegories, Dreyfus himself and Jewish public figures like actress Sarah Bernhardt. Dreyfus himself is featured less in the anti-Dreyfusard press than one might imagine, indeed Zola is caricaturized more often by far. Before the release of these posters, it seems that the press at large was more comfortable using the image of “the Jew.”

This fundamental change in anti-Semitic imagery was facilitated by the political environment of the Third Republic during the late nineteenth century. Historically, anti-Semitic journalists in France were almost exclusively socialist. Their views had little relevance to the political issues of the time and they attacked Jews en masse as a representation of capitalism. The images from this time are mostly financially based, showing Jews universally as greedy bankers praying to the stock market. However, as the supposed treachery of Jews began to be suspected as the cause of the corruption scandals that almost crippled the Third Republic, their representation in images changed and became more threatening. In the illustrations from the time of the Dreyfus Affair, Jews are represented as locusts and rats – pestilent swarms and symbols of destruction.

After the accusations against Dreyfus were made public, anti-Semitic images flooded publications and many exhibited a newly menacing tone. For example, a cartoon by Adolphe Willete published in Le Pierrot in August 1889 shows a threatening Jewish figure crouching on the river bank outside Paris, waiting to loose rats and vicious wolves into the city (fig. 2.4). The caption reads “winter will be hard for the goyim (Christians) this year.” Also striking is a drawing by Alfred Le Petit that shows a disgusting reptilian creature with Semitic features tearing the flesh off France’s breast (fig. 2.5). Jews in these cartoons had emerged from the
caricatured world of the stock exchange and were now shown to be disrupting government and the judicial system. Note Forain’s cover illustration for the 13 October 1898 issue of *Psst...!*, captioned “An Enlightened Magistrate.” It shows a large Jewish businessman pushing a judge, usually meticulous as suggested by the magnifying glass, face-first into his papers (fig. 2.6). Another shows a Jewish man in judicial robes breaking the *tricolore* over his knee (fig. 2.7). The title, “cassation,” refers to judicial annulment but is also a pun on the verb “casser” (to break).

Another interesting technique used often in anti-Semitic cartoons, especially by Forain, to mock the Jews and make them immediately recognizable to the reader is the suggestion of accent. The cover illustration of the ninth issue of *Psst...!* entitled “A Success” features yet another Jewish businessman, this time returning home to his wife, who asks him how his dinner went (fig. 2.8). He replies: “Charming, nobody dared to talk to me of the Dreyfus Affair” (Charmant, Bersonne n’a osé me barler de l’affaire Treyfus) spelt phonetically with “b” replacing “p” and “t” in the place of “d” to demonstrate the speaker’s Jewish accent. Similarly, the cover of the first issue of *Psst...!* featured an illustration by Forain that shows Zola posting his open letter to President Faure (fig. 2.9). The title “Le Pon Badriote” is an inversion of the correct French “Le Bon Patriote” (The Good Patriot). Any French Christian seen to be aiding the Jews was also a target of the artists’ bile and considered a foreigner. Here, Forain is clearly stating sarcastically that Zola’s submission of his letter was an act of treason and, considering that the caption is spelt “Ch’ accuse,” it is clear that the artist is again suggesting a Jewish accent.

In a drawing from *Psst...!*, “Allegory,” a German soldier ties a mask of Zola’s face onto a Jewish man in a business suit (fig. 2.10). It is, as the caption says, a summary of the entire affair according to the anti-Dreyfusards. In another, Zola, crying for help, swims towards a dark and menacing shore on which a shadowy German stands (fig. 2.11).
Maurice Barrès, a fervently anti-Semitic writer and politician, wrote, “I need no one to tell me why Dreyfus committed treason... That Dreyfus is capable of treason, I conclude from his race.”27 Barrès emerged as a prominent thinker in the ethnic nationalism movement in France with the claim that “the individual is nothing, society is everything.”28 “France to the French” became the rallying cry of the far-right and the anti-Dreyfusards, along with “Down with the Jews! Down with traitors!” Ironically, on a poster advertising the verdict of Zola’s trial, these two slogans are included with the motto of the republic that promotes inclusion and tolerance: “Freedom, equality, brotherhood” (Liberté, égalité, fraternité) (fig. 2.12 and fig. 2.13). The anti-Dreyfusard press unanimously responded to the affair with exaggerated nationalism in which France, her army and her church were lauded as beyond reproach, and Dreyfus was seen as a threat and a traitor to all three.

Barrès’s definition of nationalism was exclusionary: only people whose ancestry was French and Catholic could be considered true Frenchmen. Zola, a favorite subject of the anti-Dreyfusard artists, was a Parisian born Christian and an influential scholar, yet the anti-Dreyfusards had to make him “other” in order to explain his apparent treachery. The names given to other Dreyfusards by their opponents also reflect this idea; they are often “sellouts” (vendus) or “without a country” (sans-patries). In a pamphlet published and distributed around the time of his trial, Zola is described as a supporter of the Dreyfusard syndicate and an insulter of the French Army but, most importantly, he is “the Italian” - a reference to his father’s Italian origin. With a foreign parent, Zola was apparently unable to think and act like a real French citizen would. The anti-Dreyfusard press emphasized an instinct that apparently came with

being part of a national tradition. The illustration on the brochure is called “Zola against Zola” and shows a well dressed Zola with a laurel wreath around his head trying to get into the l’Institute de France building, home of the L’Académie Française (fig. 2.14). He is stopped by another Zola, a sewage worker, standing at a barricade of containers of steaming human waste that are labeled with the names of Zola’s novels. The illustration is a warning to Zola that his involvement with Dreyfus has made him an outcast. It is also one of the first scatological references that would become synonymous with the writer.

To the anti-Dreyfusards, Zola was the embodiment of the dangerous Intellectual. The term “Intellectual” was used widely by both Dreyfusards and their opponents with different connotations. Dreyfus’s supporters popularized the word, using it in a positive way, but it was quickly adopted by the anti-Dreyfusards and used pejoratively. To be sure, Zola was already very much a public figure by the time Dreyfus went to trial. As one of the foremost members of the literary school of Naturalism, Zola had gained some critical acclaim and popularity. At the same time, his novels incited much public outrage. In contrast to the Symbolist writers who preceded him, Zola was candid and pessimistic in his writing, often dealing openly with such subjects as alcoholism, prostitution and poverty. Naturalism, above all, showed respect for truth without the overly poetic and affected literary mechanisms of previous schools. The harshness of expression and the frankness of subject matter attracted much criticism from the more conservative Catholic circles in France who condemned the work as sordid and inappropriate.

29 An extremely sarcastic blow. Zola is described as the perennial candidate to the French Academy whose members are the official authority on the French language. Despite his influential work, Zola was never admitted to l’Académie.


The illustration that appeared on the cover of the first issue of *Psst...!* has already been mentioned (fig. 2.9). Zola is hidden under a large overcoat and his face shaded by a hat that does not completely disguise two crafty, half-closed eyes and a large hooked nose. Despite being a French national and a Christian, Zola is undeniably being tied to the Germans and the Jews. Of particular importance, however, is the fact that Zola is dropping his letter not into a postbox but an outhouse. This association of the Dreyfus supporters, particularly Zola, with filth and bodily waste was to become a recurring theme in the work of the anti-Dreyfusard artists. On the twenty-sixth of the same month, the fourth issue, the cover of *Psst...!* showed a street sweeper brushing away a pile of debris that includes a copy of “J’accuse!” as well as other papers signed by Zola (fig. 2.15). The caption reads “What garbage!..., this could get 100000 men killed!”

Note also the cartoon from 10 June 1899, entitled “Peek-a-boo! There he is!” (fig. 2.16). Zola is represented as a Jack-in-the-box emerging from a toilet.

The most telling example of Zola’s association with dirt and excrement, however, does not come from a journal but from the “Freak Show” posters. The fourth in the series is entitled “The King of Pigs,” and shows Zola’s head transposed onto a pig’s body sitting on a chamber pot full of his own novels (fig. 2.17). The creature holds a pot of feces labeled “Caca international” and is busy painting the contents onto a map of France. The association of Zola with pigs, undoubtedly a revival of the derogatory Judensau images popular in Europe since the thirteenth century, was another way to depict him as unclean while associating him with the Jews.  

Zola appears as a pig in many subsequent posters in the series as well as in prints and later journal illustrations. Some of the same people who accused Zola of spreading obscenity with his novels are here using vulgar images of filth to mock him.

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32 Judensau, German for “Jewish Sow,” was a recurring theme in images of the Middle Ages showing Jews in inappropriate contact with pigs.
With intense expressions of nationalism, the inviolability of the republic and the honor and importance of the military dominated anti-Dreyfusard imagery. This idea was common to all publications and all artists in that camp. “What is Dreyfus?” asks Oswald Heidbrinck in an 1895 illustration for *Le Rire* magazine (fig. 2.18). The response comes from a crowd of women with their arms stretched out in accusatory gestures as well as scared children and angry men who have cornered a handcuffed and sinister looking Dreyfus: “It’s the man who wanted to make all the women of France widows, make the small children cry tears of blood and deliver his comrades-in-arms into enemy bullets, for 30 deniers!” The word “L’homme” (man) is written in italics, suggesting that Dreyfus cannot even really be considered human. Other publications were equally eager to provide Dreyfus with a label. Perhaps the most popular, and the most expected, was “Judas,” which was particularly successful as it not only identified Dreyfus as a traitor but did so with specific Christian connotations. In an illustration by Lionel Royer, “The Degradation,” a soaring female figure representing both justice and the republic casts Dreyfus, branded Judas, out of France with the military standing behind her in support (fig. 2.19).

“Long live the Army!” was another resounding call from those professing Dreyfus’s guilt. The rights of a single Jewish officer could not be allowed to threaten the power of the entire army. In a print with that caption artist L. Calot shows the sun rising over a dark France while a giant figure in military uniform sweeps away a horrible Semitic lizard and several Dreyfusard newspapers (fig. 2.20). In the foreground are Zola and Dreyfus with two other presumably Jewish men also being cast out by the strength of the army. In 1898, in the midst of the Dreyfusards’ demand for a retrial, the anti-Dreyfusard feeling was that the civilians were pressuring the judicial system into making rulings that were disrespectful and harmful to the military whose authority was unquestionable. Forain was one of many artists who depicted this
sentiment in the illustrated journals on the cover of the third issue of *Psst*...! (fig. 2.21). The title reads “let weapons yield to the toga (the audience’s impression)” with the caption adding “And we allow it!” A judge is shown kicking a military cap, symbolizing what a publicly demanded revision of the Dreyfus case would be: an injustice and an insult to the army.

Robert Hoffman writes, “To form and maintain a conviction that Alfred Dreyfus was guilty, people had to believe an unending series of unlikely and incredible assertions and fables.”\(^{33}\) The question that must be asked, then, is why the urban audience was generally more receptive to the arguments of the anti-Dreyfusards? The answer, perhaps, when talking about the illustrated press, could be as simple as taste. “Aesthetic disposition,” writes Pierre Bourdieu, “Like every sort of taste... unites and separates. Being the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, it unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others.”\(^{34}\) The anti-Dreyfusard artists used tropes and everyday references that would have been familiar and appealing to the average person on the street. The Dreyfusard discourse, on the other hand, addressed a different, much smaller audience. The pro-Dreyfus press catered to the educated classes with more subtle, complicated images that often made use of literary or artistic allusions. These illustrations would most probably have been ignored by the Parisian crowd because, as Bourdieu explains, “Considered as symbolic goods, works of art only exist for those who have the means of appropriating them, that is, of deciphering them.”\(^{35}\)

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The Dreyfusard Mass Media: The Intellectual’s Response

The day after *L’Aurore* published Zola’s letter, its journalists released a statement signed by prominent members of the fields of literature and science protesting the injustice of the Dreyfus’s trial. The petition is now known as “the manifesto of the Intellectuals” and its publication marked, writes David Drake, “The entry en masse of the ‘Intellectuals’ into politics... in the sense that they were stepping outside their spheres of expertise and publicly and collectively taking a position on a political and moral issue.”  

To be sure, scholars and artists had always held an important place in French society, but it was for the first time in 1898 that they formed a group to involve themselves in a social and political cause. Bredin writes, “It signified not merely the moral imperative of truth and justice, but the demands of free inquiry against blind fanaticism... scruples against arbitrariness. It was, in a pure state, a revolt of intelligence.”  

The Dreyfusards were not united by as definite a doctrine as socialism or anti-Semitism as many of their opponents were but rather they shared values and general ideas that were the product of the Enlightenment and their tertiary education. Chief among these values were universalism, tolerance and reason.

In adopting the term “Intellectual” as an epithet for their opponents, the anti-Dreyfusards were highlighting a key difference between the two groups: the anti-Dreyfusards were men who admired physical force and action and who backed the military with fanaticism. The Dreyfusards, on the other hand, were cerebral men of discourse who praised Zola as much as

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their opponents despised him. They valued debate and the concepts of truth and justice. In a cartoon, Caran d'Ache shows disgruntled women sitting unattended in an “intellectual salon” while the men convene in the background, presumably discussing the Dreyfus Affair (fig. 3.1). The artist is mocking the Dreyfusards as ineffectual then even questions their very masculinity, since no anti-Dreyfusard man would ever abandon a beautiful woman for something as effeminate as political debate. However, the label “Intellectual” was clearly one that the Dreyfusards embraced. Forth comments, “Dreyfusards scarcely had a kind word to say about the masses...even these champions of public opinion distinguished ‘the people’ whose legitimate desires merited respect, from the unruly mob whose rebelliousness and irrationality called for vigilance.”

The illustrations produced for the Dreyfusard journals tend to shy away from caricature and crude humor and tend more towards realism. The wit in these images is more subtle, using irony and cultural references. Take, for example, a cover for Le Sifflé by one of its founding artists, Ibels. The work is called “The New Raft of the Medusa” (fig. 3.2). It is a parody of Gericault’s iconic Romantic painting. The Medusa was a ship that sank off the coast of West Africa in 1816, forcing a few survivors onto a raft where they lived by pushing the dead members of their group overboard after feeding on their bodies. To Ibels, the survivors are now shown as the General Staff of the French Army, adrift on a sea of lies. The reference to Gericault’s work would have meant little to the average working class viewer.

Similarly, Ibels and his colleagues produced many realistic court scenes and created a series of lithographs dedicated to Dreyfus supporters, cast in a classical style. Many of the lithographs depicted beautiful women as the allegorical figures of Truth and Justice. Female allegorical figures drawn in a classical style, quickly abandoned by the anti-Dreyfusards in favor

38 Forth, Dreyfus Affair, 102.
of masculine military characters, were taken up universally by the Dreyfusard press. In the place of fanatic sensationalism there is a clear appeal to sympathy and logic.

The images of court scenes also emphasize the importance of the judicial process and the power and humanity of the defense. Engraver and cartoonist Charles Paul Renouard created a collection of 150 prints dedicated to the "defenders of justice during the Dreyfus Affair." Renouard sketched prominent members of the defense during powerful moments in their speeches as well as men such as Esterhazy, considered to be the real author of the bordereau, looking sullen and sinister (fig. 3.3 and fig. 3.4).39 A lithograph by Maximilien Luce, "Truth at the Court-Martial," shows a realistic court room with the naked female figure of Truth being presented as a witness (fig. 3.5). An outraged member of the military council shouts "In the name of god go and get dressed, this isn't a physical examination!" With these words, the councilman betrays his ignorance and vulgarity. Beautiful and proud, Truth stands bathed in light while the rest of the courtroom is in shadow.

Marianne, a national emblem of France as well as the personification of its republican values, appears as a kind of mother figure. In contrast to the exclusionary anti-Dreyfusard cries of "France to the French," this representation connotes inclusion and unconditional love, suggesting that the Dreyfusards felt that this discrimination of other citizens was against the values of the republic. Many images also include the warrior-like figure of Justice, but the most common personification in these illustrations is Truth in feminine form. She appears smothered, hidden, threatened and attacked in allusions to the unfair trial of Dreyfus and his conviction.

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39 Colonel Picquart exposed Major Ferdinand Esterhazy as the most probable author of the list that caused Dreyfus's arrest. In his guilt, Esterhazy fled to England but he underwent a trial by the French Military that lasted only two days in January 1898 during which he was shockingly absolved of the charge. It is said that during the trial Esterhazy refused to answer any of the questions that were asked of him by the defense.
without evidence. The representation of Truth as a threatened woman does much to invoke the sympathy and protective spirit of male readers.

The French proverb “Truth is at the bottom of a well” (La vérité est au fond d’un puits) had been used in cartoons relating to the Panama Canal Scandal as the public and the press alike became obsessed with the idea of government corruption and deception, but it reemerged during the Dreyfus Affair as the single most frequently recurring image in the Dreyfusard press. In most of these illustrations, Truth finally emerges from the well and holds a mirror to those people who had tried to keep her in the darkness: army officers, state officials and clergymen. Note, as an example, a drawing for *Le Siflet* by Ibel published in July 1898 (fig. 3.6). Truth has risen from the well and defeated a man in military uniform. The power of this drawing lies in its inspirational beauty and emotion. Like most of the pro-Dreyfus illustrators, Ibel appeals to human compassion and the strength of reason. Compare the image to Caran d’Ache’s snide interpretation of the same idiom called “peek-a-boo, there he is!” in which the well has been transformed into a toilet and truth is now Zola holding a Dreyfus puppet (fig. 2.16). The obscene mocking humor of the anti-Dreyfusards is a stark contrast to the high-minded, realistically drawn scenes published by their rivals.

The Dreyfusard press was also quick to respond to their rivals’ exaltation of the military and the Catholic state. They also tried to play on their readers’ nationalism by alerting them to the threats they felt that France was facing. However, instead of pointing to external enemies (traitors, Jews and Germans), Dreyfus’s supporters attacked the very military-state-church alliance that their opponents were trying to protect. The Church (not yet separated from the state) and the army had become a single enemy institution in the minds of the Dreyfusards. A man
standing outside Paris in a cartoon by Ibels sees a crucifix-like object rising like a sun on the horizon and asks himself "Is that a Cross or a Sabre?" (fig. 3.7).

In yet another reference to the French idiom "Truth lies at the bottom of a well," an illustration by Raoul Barré, part of the fifth issue of *Le Sifflet* published on 17 March 1898, shows Truth struggling to escape (see fig. 3.8). The young, beautiful Truth is naked and apprehensive as she tries to push the covering off her enclosure. The lid that the two men, one named as the president of France, Meline, the other in an army uniform, has put over the well is laden with military and religious artifacts: swords, drums, caps and miters. The men, despite their efforts to contain her, are worried that Truth may surface. Meline says, "In spite of it all, I'm afraid she'll come out, the beast!" The president and the officer are huddled together, allied in their attempt to conceal truth. The title suggests that they are right to be scared, as they cannot be successful: "The truth nevertheless."

The weekly anarchist newspaper *Le Père Peinard* (The Easy Father) never really took a side in the Dreyfus debate, preferring rather to mock both factions. Its artists, however, were even less discrete than those of *Le Sifflet* in their antagonism towards the corrupt pact between the government, the Catholic Church, the military, and the anti-Dreyfusard press's support of it. In October 1898, the paper included a drawing called "The new Siamese twins" that showed an officer and a member of the clergy artificially joined at their stomachs (fig. 3.9). The figure in military uniform also has a halo, a crucifix and rosary beads while the representative of the church is brandishing a sword. The cartoon depicts the ridiculous results of each institution interfering in matters that do not concern it and their complicity as they both intruded on state business. Less delicate still is the illustration by renowned artist and Dreyfusard Maximilien Luce for *Le Père Peinard* that is dedicated to Forain and Caran d'Ache, and shows the two
artists as prostitutes hoping to catch the attention of men representing the Catholic Church and
the French Army as they sit in a bar called “Pssst” (fig. 3.10). The anti-Dreyfusards, who prided
themselves on their more masculine support of the military and enjoyed accusing the
Dreyfusards of being effeminate, are here themselves drawn as women and further as prostitutes.

In 1904, the French Criminal Chamber agreed to review the verdict of the second court-
martial in Rennes while on 3 July 1905, the parliament passed a law officially separating church
and state. The separation as well as the new investigation into the Dreyfus Case were both seen
as victories for the Dreyfusards. On of them, Félix Vallotton, prepared a wood engraving to be
used in printing that shows the victory of justice over the church, the army and the corrupt
magistrates (fig. 3.11). Justice, a sun, rises over France with three figures, representing the three
fraudulent groups, lying dead in the foreground.

The artists of Le Sifflet developed a particularly effective technique that allowed them to
illustrate their arguments against the anti-Dreyfusards: imitation and alteration of their
competitors’ published images. The issue of Le Sifflet that was released within a week of the
third issue of Pssst...! had a cover that was practically identical in composition and caption (fig.
3.12 and fig. 2.21). This time, however, an army officer is shown kicking a pair of scales
representing justice. “Let’s go!” is his cry, once again said to be the audience’s impression, and
the caption at the bottom of the page mockingly echoes “And we put up with it!” According to
the artist, Ibels, France was allowing the military to disregard legal procedure and justice by
convicting Dreyfus after an improper court martial with no solid evidence. This pattern of parody
recurred throughout the months of publication of the two journals. Le Sifflet, published about
five days after its rival, was usually the imitator. Whether copying images almost exactly or just
responding to themes explored by the anti-Dreyfusards, Ibels and his colleagues established their
position by obviously opposing the arguments made by the artists for *Psst...!* Forain and Caran d’Ache, on the other hand, were more content to ignore what was being said by the Dreyfusards and focus on their own sensationalist publications. It suggests that the anti-Dreyfusard majority felt completely unthreatened by the ineffectual Intellectuals.

The Dreyfus Affair, as it was represented in non-elite art, that is to say illustrations and cartoons in the popular press, exposed divisions in the French population based on class conflicts as well as simple differences of opinion. The upper classes were as wary and contemptuous of the Parisian mob as they had been a hundred years before. The rise of popular consumerism and the golden age of mass media pushed many members of the bourgeois and intellectual classes into self-imposed isolation; they attempted to create more intellectualized publications and certain of them took refuge in the sphere of elite art. Almost all of the pieces of decorative art that were created in reaction to the Dreyfus Affair exhibit Dreyfusard tendencies; there is no sign of the engaged debate that unfolded in the press. It would seem that the Intellectuals considered fine art a medium through which they could interact with each other while the anti-Dreyfusards recognized that their audience would not be effectively reached in this way. Commenting on visitors to French art museums, Bourdieu writes,

> Statistics show that access to cultural works is the privilege of the cultivated class...Each individual possesses a defined and limited capacity for apprehending the “information” proposed by the work, this capacity being a function of his or her overall knowledge (itself a function of education and background) of the generic code of the type of message under consideration...When the message exceeds the limits of the observer’s apprehension, he or she does not grasp the ‘intention’ and loses interest in what he or she sees as a riot of colors without rhyme or reason...In other words, faced with a message which is too rich, or as information theory says, ‘overwhelming’, the visitor feels ‘drowned’ and does not linger. 40

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The Dreyfus Affair and the Decorative Arts

All efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing: war. 41

Walter Benjamin

The ravenous consumerism of the urban working class that arose in the late nineteenth century in France did not eclipse that of the Parisian elite. While the desire of the crowd to be entertained was fed by mass publications, the intellectual and aristocratic or bourgeois classes remained, by and large, more involved with elite art forms like the creation and patronage of decorative art. The argument was made in the previous chapter that the Dreyfusards separated themselves from popular opinion and targeted an intellectual minority with their publications. It is unsurprising then that the Dreyfusard artists were more motivated than their opponents to represent their opinions of the Affair in their works of fine art. These pieces were created, not to influence public opinion but rather as a statement of the personal opinion of the artist.

Despite the virulently anti-Semitic attitude of many notable figures in the Parisian artistic community, there is a striking lack of obviously anti-Dreyfus decorative art from the time of the Affair. Though many chose to submit illustrations to the journals, the anti-Dreyfusard artists perhaps found it difficult to reconcile their hateful social views with their professional aesthetic ideals. In the exhibited work of key anti-Dreyfus cartoonists Forain and Ibels, there is little trace of their anti-Semitic political arguments. This discrepancy could also be explained by the more general target audience of the mass-produced images, which has been discussed.

On the other hand, many artists who supported Captain Dreyfus chose to politicize their work. Painters Edouard Debat-Ponsan, Samuel Hirszenberg and Ferdinand Hodler notably became sympathetic to Dreyfus's cause and chose to mirror their support in their work as did

sculptor Aimé-jules Dalou, and renowned glass worker and furniture maker Emile Gallé. The Dreyfusard imagery in these art pieces is not always immediately apparent and lacks the emotional rush of the caricatures. This is not surprising since elite art was not intended to catch the eye of the hurried pedestrian. The different genres merit different methods of expression. Here, the viewer is generally invited to assess the image and draw meaning from it and from himself. Fine art is an elite form of production and targeted an elite circle; the bawdiness and racism found in the popular anti-Dreyfusard journals, meant for a restless working-class mob, was inappropriate in a field dominated by the cult of beauty.

It is also valuable to note that the protection given to the press by the Act of 29 July 1881 was not extended to decorative art. Exhibitions considered to be inappropriate or vulgar were still likely to be forcibly shut down. Violently opposing the government's decisions could thus be unwise. Artists themselves also could not afford to distinguish themselves too obviously from the status quo as they often depended on art sales and patronage to survive. For these reasons, the messages found in the works of decorative art are, as a whole, more veiled in symbolism and allegory when compared to those in the mass media.

The dominance of Dreyfusard references in decorative art can perhaps be further explained by the rise of the Art Nouveau movement in France at the time and the attitudes it promoted. At the turn of the twentieth century, Art Nouveau was at the height of its popularity. At its core was a sense of social duty to somehow change a deteriorating society through beauty and the promotion of moral and social ideals. The Art Nouveau artists claimed to base their art on the present social realities. The movement grew out of a dissatisfaction with the low quality mass produced items manufactured in the newly industrialized environment and the Naturalist...
artists whom they accused of being obsessed with the “sordid and plebeian.” ⁴³ Most importantly, although their intention was to create works of great beauty, the artists also felt a profound social responsibility. However, the efficacy of using elite art forms as instruments of social education is questionable, especially in this case where decorative arts were confined to the world of the rich and educated. Renato Barilli explains, “They were often highly conscious of their social task. But they did believe that the public duty of an artist was not so much to mirror the wretched facts of everyday life as to create an image of a world of universal happiness and beauty. In reality, Art Nouveau was enjoyed by only a very restricted and overwhelmingly upper-middle-class public.” ⁴⁴ The injustice of the Affair provided a perfect subject for the outraged, high-minded Dreyfusard artists. Out of the ugliness and atrocity, they were inspired to create objects of beauty with messages of social reform.

In the art produced in the years following 1894 a sudden resurgence of figures and motifs originating in the iconography of the French Revolution is noticeable. Marianne as well as the Greco-Roman female figures of Truth and Justice were prevalent. It is striking that the artists felt it necessary to use the typically republican imagery in a decade when France was neither at war nor facing a revolution. These members of the artistic community clearly felt that key values at the very cornerstone of French society were being undermined by the governmental and military actions during the Affair. It was noted in the previous chapter that both Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards used the figure of Truth in their journal work, but the fine artists seem to have held her as the most powerful allegorical representation of their position.

Edouard Debat-Ponsan’s 1898 oil on canvas “Nec Mergitur” (she is not drowning) provides an opportunity to closely examine the differences between political expression in elite


⁴⁴ Ibid.
and non-elite art forms (fig. 4.1).\textsuperscript{45} Compare this painting with the Dreyfusard cartoon by Raoul Barré (fig. 3.8). Once more the artist invokes the French idiom “truth is at the bottom of a well” (la verité est au fond du puits). The beautiful, bare-breasted figure of Truth with her mirror held high reflecting the vanity and evil of the world, confidently pulls herself out of the well in which she has been captive. Unlike the more timid Truth presented by Barré, the female figure shown by Ponsan is triumphant and almost completely free. Two men, dressed in classical Venetian style rather than modern French dress are brutally grabbing her, trying to force her back into the darkness. Unlike the figures in Barré’s illustrations, these men are unnamed and identified only by their professions; they are symbols of the groups to which they belong. The taller man, with a sword, is a clear representation of the military, while the man on the ground wears clerical robes: the church and army are once again the threatening forces. There is even a sexual greed suggested in the way they clutch at the cloth covering her, implying even further violation of Truth. There is no humor in the painting, as there is in the cartoon and, if one were to examine it out of context, there is nothing to directly tie it to the Affair. However, the image of Truth rising from a well had become so synonymous with the Dreyfus case, and such a recognizable symbol of the Dreyfusard cause, that analytically minded viewers at the time would have made the connection nevertheless. The strong political opinions of the artist would also have been known to most members of the close-knit artistic community in Paris as would the fact that this particular piece was given to Zola as a personal gift.

\textsuperscript{45} “Fluctuat Nec Mergitur” (Tossed by the water, she does not drown) is also the motto of the city of Paris and the only subtle hint as to the setting or national connotations of this painting.
Consider too Theo Van Rysselberghe’s untitled contribution to the artists’ homage to Picquart (fig. 4.2).\textsuperscript{46} A straining masculine hand forcefully covers the mouth of a young and beautiful Truth. She looks both saddened and pleading yet she is still surrounded by an emanating light. In her work on the iconography of the French Revolution, cultural historian Joan Landes comments on the use of female figures to represent theoretical ideas such as truth and justice. While the main actors of the revolution were male, the incarnation of truth in female form made the intangible idea more real to the people of France and her being represented beautiful and nude makes her even an object of sexual desire. These “visual imaginings may be part of the process by which a citizen learns to love an abstract object with something like the individual lover’s intimacy and passion.”\textsuperscript{47} Here again, two centuries later, the artists use feminine forms to evoke feelings of outrage and protectiveness in the spectators, especially male, by playing on the sexuality of the audience. By deepening the attachment the viewer feels to the beautiful women, especially in pieces such as this that explicitly reference Dreyfus’s supporters, the artists hoped to incite fury at the injustice of the Affair.

Dreyfusard sentiment is not only found in painting. Emile Gallé, who worked primarily with glass, was one of the driving forces of the Art Nouveau movement in France as well as an ardent Dreyfusard. He was outspoken about his support of Dreyfus and created a number of vases and pieces of furniture that were inspired by his feelings about the Affair. Gallé proposed a revision of the decorative arts, incorporating both form and function with a sense of moral and civil awareness. Though the artist was adamant that his pieces be beautiful, he said that there

\textsuperscript{46} The former head of Army intelligence had tried to vindicate Dreyfus by forcing a revision of the case and had consequently been court-martialed himself.

was always something more luminous within the ornament: the symbol.\textsuperscript{48} Rather than allegory, Gallé used extracts of poetry as well as symbols drawn from nature and zoology to give his work socio-political relevance. One of his most famous pieces, “Elms,” expresses a sentiment of mourning and affliction using muted colors and the representation of elm trees, the ancient symbol of suffering (fig. 4.3). The artist transposed his feelings towards the Affair into a natural environment. On another notable vase, “The Fig Tree,” the Gallé glazed a quotation from Victor Hugo’s \textit{Contemplations} in an attempt to reconcile the divisions in society emphasized by the Affair.\textsuperscript{49} The refinement and subtlety of Gallé’s work and his social messages would clearly never have a profound influence on public opinion; the mythological and literary symbols he used and the price of his work narrowed his audience to the wealthy and highly educated upper classes.

In his influential work, cultural philosopher Walter Benjamin remarks, “The unique value of the ‘authentic’ work of art has its basis in ritual.”\textsuperscript{50} The process of creating and exhibiting art is like a ceremony through which original works can grow to have power or some influence. Within the context of the Affair, artists incorporated politics in this ritual by dedicating pieces to key figures involved in the case or by offering their work to them as gifts, even oblations. As was mentioned previously, Debat-Ponsan’s “Nec Mergitur” was given to Emile Zola by the artist and Gallé’s “seahorses” was dedicated to Joseph Reinarch, the author and politician who was one of Dreyfus’s earliest defenders. The problem, however, with a painting or sculpture’s singularity and its power being derived from ceremony is, of course, that its message has limited


\textsuperscript{49} The inscription reads: “Car tous les homes sont les fils d’un même père, ils sont la même larme. Ils sortent du même oeil.” (Because all men are the sons of the same father, they are the same tear. They come out of the same eye.)

\textsuperscript{50} Benjamin, \textit{Illuminations}, 226.
power of persuasion, and it can be easily suppressed. While it is more difficult to stem the
influence of a mass produced image that disseminates into society at large, a painting can be
relegated to anonymity and impotence merely by removing it from view. Such was the case of
Samuel Hirszenberg’s critically acclaimed painting “The Wandering Jew” created in 1899 that
depicts an old Jewish man surrounded by crucifixes and stumbling over a number of dead bodies
(see fig. 4.4). After garnering much critical acclaim and winning a prize at the 1900 Exposition
Universelle, the canvass was moved by the state to a small gallery outside Paris and largely
forgotten.

Despite previously having been accused of subversion, Art Nouveau triumphed at the
World’s Fair held in Paris in 1900. Gallé especially, with his pieces that advocated fraternity and
expressed suffering over the Affair, won numerous awards. The image that France wished to
present to the international community was embodied in the refined reflection of remorse and
sophistication presented by the elite artists, rather than the vulgarity and hatred that had spread
through the media.
Conclusion

The Truce of the Exposition: An End to the Affair in the Media

During the height of the Dreyfus Affair, France was preparing for the Exposition Universelle, scheduled to take place in Paris in 1900. The French capital was to become the center of the artistic and technological worlds and, in this era of industrialization, many of the exhibitions were expected to showcase technological inventions from various countries and celebrate the advancements made during the previous century. A poster advertising the Exposition illustrates these goals and the grandeur of the occasion (fig. 5.1). A regal, classically represented Marianne unveils a view of Paris showing the Eiffel Tower, created as a gateway to the exhibition grounds of the previous World Fair in 1889 celebrating the centennial of the French Revolution. Steamboats are shown on the Seine and smoke stacks demonstrate the industrial power of the booming city. Attendance was expected to reach up to a hundred million people with over 70,000 exhibitions covering more than a square kilometer of central Paris (fig. 5.2). Some twenty-six newspapers and magazines were opened exclusively to report on the Exposition. The French government invested a huge amount of money in the fair and saw it as a chance to recover the nation’s former prestige and to present France as a world power.

International perception of France, however, was quickly worsening and threatened to limit participation in the Exposition. The Panama Canal Scandal had been widely reported outside France, and it led to much suspicion about the instability of the Third Republic across continental Europe. Franco-German relations remained tense, and the Fashoda Incident in 1898 and France’s support of Spain in the Spanish-American War that same year considerably

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worsened the opinion of France within the United States and the United Kingdom. By the time the Dreyfus Affair broke into international headlines, France had done much to make herself unpopular in most of the western world.

Journalists traveling around Europe in order to gauge the continent’s reaction to the Affair reported back with the same conclusion: Europe was convinced of Dreyfus’s innocence. Sympathy letters and postcards addressed to Lucie Dreyfus flooded in from the continent and the New World and as far away as the Cape Colony and Australia. One particular postcard sent to Madame Dreyfus from Guiana refers to her husband as a martyr and expresses joy at Dreyfus’s return to France from Devil’s Island (fig. 5.3). Cards and good wishes - such as this Jewish New Year card sent from Prague - were also sent to the captain himself while he was imprisoned on Devil’s Island (fig. 5.4).

When Dreyfus’s second court martial was announced, set to begin on August 7 1899, it was decided that the trial should take place in Rennes, in provincial Brittany. The authorities thought it necessary to move the proceedings away from Paris where the debate over the Affair was at its zenith and the exposition grounds were already under construction. The international community watched with interest and skepticism. It was widely suggested that The Dreyfus Affair was, more than a travesty of justice, an indication of the corruption and incapability of the French Republic. A cartoon published in the Belgian newspaper La Reform the day before the court-martial began clearly illustrates the cynicism of the international press (fig. 5.5). “Noble Mission!...” is the title of the illustration showing three anti-Dreyfusards (the journalist Eduoard Drumond on the right, Jules Quesnay, a president of the court of cassation in the middle and Henri Rochefort, journalist and politician, on the left) knee-deep in manure and searching for

truth with pitchforks. The caption reads: "And they are looking for the pearl of truth in all this sh...!" Strangely, the ironic humor, the use of extreme caricature and the scatological references that the French Dreyfusards shied away from were used with great effect by at least one of their Belgian counterparts. This is probably due to the fact that popular opinion in the rest of Europe was largely pro-Dreyfus.

On September 9, less than a month after the second court-martial began, Dreyfus was convicted for a second time and sentenced to another decade in prison. A postcard printed in Berlin announced the shock and dismay in Europe (fig. 5.6). Dreyfus’s conviction was clearly seen as an unacceptable political act for which the Republic needed to be punished. The card is called “The state in the State- Here is the sad result” and the caption, printed in both French and German reads: “In the opinion of the civilized world: Dreyfus is judged, - France is condemned!”

The report of Dreyfus’s conviction by the Times of London on September 9 was hyperbolically outraged and vicious. It illustrates how badly the Rennes verdict was received internationally:

By a compromise as execrable as it is absurd, five of the Judges of Rennes have entered into history the worthy descendants of those soldiers of 1897 who absolved Esterhazy by order...Dreyfus, recognized as innocent by an entire world, is offered up like a living sacrifice to Moloch on the altar of the god of battles....Dreyfus was to be condemned and to become more than ever a symbol. At this epoch of dying faiths the time was, perhaps, ripe for the revelation of so steadfast a martyr and of a cause so great...53

The correspondent does not hesitate to describe the inhumanity of the French people, describing how many of the guards and audience members played cards throughout the trial and "the note of gaiety in the air" after the sentence was announced.54 The article continues with extracts from international newspapers offering "opinions abroad." Berlin reports, "A cowardly verdict,"

54 Ibid.
Rome: "Stupefaction combined with boundless indignation." "Disappointment and surprise" are the sentiments conveyed from St. Petersburg, while New York writes, "The unanimity and intensity of the sympathy felt throughout the United Stated for the unfortunate Captain Dreyfus in view of his reconviction are manifested with an accord with is probably unprecedented in its completeness." Most interestingly, the Times article concludes with the threat that "in some places there is talk of boycotting French goods and the Paris Exhibition of 1900."

The mention of boycotting the Exposition induced a panic. Editors of the Exposition publications and members of the French government began to worry that the Dreyfus Affair and the reputation of injustice and incivility it was giving to France would menace the success of the fair.\footnote{Mandell, "The Affair and the Fair," 253-265.} This is not to say that a new pro-Dreyfus spirit arose or that the French people now felt a sense of national guilt for the suffering of the man and his family. Rather, it was merely an effort to make the unsightly effects of the Affair go away.

The press was strictly kept out of the Rennes trial. A very select group of artists were admitted to sketch the proceedings, and photographers snapped the participants entering and leaving the lycée where the trial was held. The resulting images were realistic and generally unremarkable. Even the more striking events during the trial, such as the assassination attempt against Fernand Labori, one of Dreyfus's lawyers, were illustrated frankly and without agenda despite the opportunity they must have presented to the Dreyfusards (fig. 5.7). Le Sifflet ceased publication after the retrial was announced. "Too happy," wrote the journalists in the last issue, "If our efforts stood for something in the final result." Clearly, their efforts had meant little, and Ibels and his colleagues were not moved to recommence publication after the second conviction. Similarly content that their goal had been achieved, Forain and Caran d'Ache stopped releasing \textit{Psst...!} on 16 September 1899 after Dreyfus had been declared guilty by the court-martial.
Compared to the thundering media attention given to the Affair thusfar, the coverage of the Rennes verdict by the French illustrated press was perfunctory.

Ten days after the Rennes verdict, on 19 September 1899, President Loubet pardoned Dreyfus. The captain, by this stage physically very ill, was allowed to return to his family. The pardon, however, was not a declaration of innocence; Dreyfus was still technically guilty. Surprisingly, most of the Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfusards alike seemed to be willing to accept this compromise. The anti-Dreyfusard newspaper *Le Petit Journal* and anti-Semitic public figures like Barrès advised the press and the public to be silent about the Affair, and both sides started to talk of a truce for the sake of the Exposition Universelle.56 Ibels, one of the most outspoken Dreyfusard cartoonists, contented himself with sketching what he imagined Dreyfus’s reunion with his children might look like (fig. 5.8). The image was not published; it was a single ink drawing given to Madame Pellet in honor of her family’s support of Dreyfus. Though the figure of Dreyfus is strained and gaunt, he has a weary smile on his face as he gathers his children close to him. There is no indication of the injustice Dreyfus experienced or the hypocritical motives for the pardon.

The only major publication of anti-Dreyfus sentiment after the Rennes trial was the much-discussed “Freak Show” poster series, and that was forcibly shut down by the ministry of the interior within a year. France clearly recognized the need to quell the violent Dreyfus debate that engulfed the country through the media before she opened her capital to millions of international visitors. A truce had been agreed upon, for the sake of the Exposition and the glory it would bring to a humiliated and mistrusted France. The exhibition at New York’s Jewish Museum in 1987 contained no explicitly Dreyfus related images produced between 1900 and 1905, though the themes of truth, justice and brotherhood were still echoed in the field of

decorative art, as has been discussed. The veiled metaphors contained in the furniture and
glasswork of artists such as Emile Gallé were just what was needed to convince the international
community of the integrity of the republic.

It is unsurprising that the anti-Dreyfus press was so ready to acquiesce for the sake of the
Exposition and the glory it would bring to France; after all, Dreyfus had been declared guilty for
a second time, which is what they had wanted. What is shocking is that all but the most militant
Dreyfusards accepted the pardon. Both groups set aside their rivalry over the Dreyfus case for
the good of the patrie, but it was clear that, despite appeals to fraternité and the common good,
the nation they were defending was exclusionary and the rights of a single Jew were insignificant
compared to the prosperity of the society of les vrais Françaises.

The Exposition Universelle de Paris ran from April to November 1900 and admitted
more than fifty million people, turning an enormous profit for the French government. The
Dreyfus Affair was over; talk of the case disappeared from the media as suddenly as it had
broken out in 1898. Bredin writes, “The public had tired of the Affair... Anti-Semitism itself,
after 1902, despite a few efforts by the right wing press, seemed exhausted and in decline. The
press could hardly prevail against popular sentiments to which it ultimately submitted.”

Dreyfus’s appeal continued for six years until the complete retraction of his guilt and his
reinstatement in the army in 1906. Only a very small number of Dreyfus supporters continued to
voice their concern over the hypocrisy of Loubet’s pardon. Zola, still the captain’s most militant
advocate, openly blamed the Exposition, saying it “suffocated truth and justice” and spoke out
against the way the Affair had ended:

It seems that our perception of victory was too abrupt and too thoughtless...the struggle
is never finished. And if, in my ardent love for our French People, I will never console
myself for not having been able to draw out, for her civil development, the lessons of The

57 Bredin, The Affair, 519.
Dreyfus Affair, I have long since resigned myself that the truth will only penetrate into her little by little until the day when she will be ripe for her destiny of liberty and brotherhood.\(^58\)

Images

Fig. 1.1

Fig. 1.2

Fig. 1.3

Fig. 2.1
Fig. 3.3 Renouard sketches Dreyfus and his main defense Attorney.
Fig. 3.4 A series of sketches of Esterhazy by Renouard

Fig. 3.5
Fig. 4.4

Fig. 5.1

Fig. 5.2

Fig. 5.3
Fig. 5.6
A la gloire de Scheurer-Kestner.

Fig. 5.7

Fig. 5.8
Chronology of Events

1859
Birth of Alfred Dreyfus

1870
July
Start of the Franco-Prussian War
September
Foundation of the French Third Republic

1881
Act of 29 July gives freedom to the press

1882
Collapse of the Union Générale Bank

1892
Panama Canal Scandal

1894
October
Discovery of the bordereau
December
Arrest of Dreyfus

1895
January
Dreyfus is publicly degraded
March
Imprisonment on Devil's Island begins

1898
January
The trial and acquittal of Esterhazy
January 13
Zola's "J'accuse!" is published in L'Aurore
February 5
Fortain and Caran d'Ache begin publication of Psst...!
February 17
Steens and Ibels begin publication of Le Sifflet
June 3
The Appeals Court annuls Dreyfus's condemnation in preparation for the court-martial in Rennes
June 16
Publication of Le Sifflet ceases

1899
August
Second court-martial in Rennes
September 9
Dreyfus is condemned a second time
September 16
Publication of Psst...! Ceases
September 19
Dreyfus is pardoned by President Loubet

1900
Exposition Universelle in Paris

1902
Death of Zola

1903
Dreyfus requests a revision of the Rennes verdict

1906
July 12
Rennes verdict is annulled by the Court of Cassation
July 22
Dreyfus is decorated and reinstated in the French Army

1907
Dreyfus retires

1935
Death of Dreyfus
Bibliography


