

THE DREYFUS CASE.

History of the Sensational Case Told in Chronological Order.

Discovery of the "Leakage" of Confidential Documents from War Bureau—The Bordereau and Secret Dossier.

ALFRED DREYFUS, captain in the Fourteenth regiment of artillery in the French army, was attached to the second bureau of the general staff, where future plans of mobilization and other military measures of great importance are discussed, prepared and drawn up. For some time



CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS.
(From a Photograph Taken Before His Deportation and Suppressed by the French Government.)

a constant "leakage" of these confidential documents had been noticed, detectives had been employed and Dreyfus was under suspicion. On October 1, 1894, he was suddenly detached from the war office and appointed to service in the Thirty-ninth regiment at the Ecole Militaire. On October 14 he received at his luxurious home near the Trocadero a summons to attend at the ministry of war, and he went there the next morning. He was received by Maj. du Paty de Clam, who said that he was very busy and asked the captain to help him by taking down a letter that he would dictate. There were other persons in the room who were strangers to Dreyfus, and a circumstance that only struck him afterward—an arrangement of mirrors by which his every movement and expression could be seen by everybody present. Du Paty then dictated to him the memorandum which afterward became famous as the bordereau. At one point Du Paty suddenly asked Dreyfus what was the matter, and asserted that his hand shook. Dreyfus replied that his hands were cold. Then he was left alone in the room and found a loaded revolver lying among some papers on the table beside him. Half an hour later M. Cochefert, head of the detective police, accompanied by Commander Henry, of the second bureau, entered, and Dreyfus was placed under arrest on the charge of high treason and taken to the Cherche-Midi prison, all the time protesting his innocence. The order committing him was dated October 14, the day before he was arrested or examined.

On October 28 a hint of the arrest was conveyed to one of the Paris newspapers and the next day an ambiguous note appeared in that journal asking if it were true that an important military arrest had recently taken place. This set everybody talking, for in France anything concerning the army is considered of paramount importance. Wild stories were afloat, and the excitement reached fever heat when the news was confirmed on November 1, by the appearance of a brief official communication in all the papers. Dreyfus was kept in close confinement until Decem-



MAÎTRE LABORI.
(Dreyfus' Attorney Recently Wounded by an Assassin.)

ber 6, when his counsel, M. Demange, was allowed to see him. On December 19 Dreyfus was arraigned before the court-martial, which was held in the Conseil de Guerre building, opposite the Cherche-Midi prison. Great crowds gathered to see him cross the street and shouted: "Death to the traitor!" The trial was secret and lasted until December 22, when the court found the prisoner guilty and sentenced him to transportation for life, after being subjected to military degradation.

On the morning of January 4 the condemned man was ordered to put on a captain's uniform that had been spe-

cially prepared by having the lace on the cap, the red seams of the trousers, and the buttons and trimmings on the tunic taken off and then stitched on again loosely enough to stay in place, but so loosely that they could easily be torn off. The sword that he was made to buckle on had been filed on each side about half way down the blade. He was then searched, handcuffed, placed in a prison van, and taken by a military escort to the Ecole Militaire, where he was marched between guards into the center of a hollow square of troops in the large courtyard of the school. He had already twice asserted his innocence to Capt. Lebrun-Renaud, who commanded his guard. The morning was misty and rainy, and the courtyard was a muddy waste, round which loomed the buildings with windows filled with faces, while a vast crowd that surged and pushed in the avenues without uttered loud and menacing cries against the prisoner. At exactly nine o'clock the drums rolled, the troops presented arms, and the regimental band played a melancholy tune. The sentence was read, Dreyfus standing firmly with head erect, his left hand resting on the pommel of his sword, and his eyes looking squarely in the eyes of Gen. Darras, who commanded the troops. Then a gigantic sergeant tore the triple band from the captain's cap, the buttons from his coat, the gold lace from the collar and sleeves, and the red stripes from his trousers. As the sergeant flung them on the ground Dreyfus threw up his arms and cried in a voice heard far beyond the limits of the courtyard: "You are degrading an innocent man. Long live France!" A roar of execration answered him: "Death to the traitor!" and the big sergeant roughly tore the sword belt from him, wrenched the sword from its scabbard, broke it across his knee, flung the fragments on the ground and stamped upon them. Then, amid howls from the mob without, the degraded officer, a grotesque and lamentable figure in



DEGRADATION OF CAPT. DREYFUS IN THE SCHOOL OF WAR, JAN. 5, 1895.

his defaced uniform, was marched round the hollow square, protesting his innocence and crying: "Long live France!" while the drums rolled in order to drown his voice. Finally, after being photographed and measured as a criminal, he was driven in the prison van to La Sante prison, and thence taken, on January 19, to La Rochelle, where he was embarked for the neighboring Ile de Re, on which is the prison wherein convicts sentenced to transportation await their embarkation. Mobs all along the route sought to attack him, and the guard of gendarmes had to struggle hard to keep their prisoner from being murdered. He was eventually taken to the Ile du Diable off the coast of French Guiana.

The chronology of this famous case follows:

OCTOBER, 1894—Gen. Mercier, minister of war, gives order after an investigation conducted by Commandant du Paty de Clam to arrest Capt. Alfred Dreyfus. This is done by Du Paty de Clam and M. Cochefert, chief of detectives. Capt. Dreyfus is lodged in the Cherche-Midi prison by Lieut. Col. Henry, who delivers him to Commandant Forzietti, in charge of the prison.

NOVEMBER, 1894—An indictment is found against Capt. Dreyfus by the officers of the bureau of information connected with the general staff.

DECEMBER, 1894—The first council of war, assembled at Cherche-Midi, unanimously condemns Capt. Dreyfus to transportation for life in an incised fortification.

JANUARY 4, 1895—Capt. Dreyfus is degraded by Gen. Darras in the School of War.

FEBRUARY, 1895—Dreyfus is taken by the steamer La Rochelle to the Island de Re, thence to be embarked for Devil's Island.

MAY, 1896—Lieut. Col. Picquart discovers the "petit bleu," successively attributed to Cols. Panizzardi, military attaché of the Italian embassy, and Schwarzkoppen, military attaché of the German embassy, and addressed to Commandant Esterhazy by Lieut. Col. Picquart comes to the conclusion that Commandant Esterhazy is guilty.

SEPTEMBER, 1896—The *Eclair* publishes the secret document: "Ce canaille de Dreyfus."

OCTOBER, 1896—M. Bernard-Lazare publishes his first pamphlet tending to show the innocence of Dreyfus.

NOVEMBER, 1896—Publication of the copy of the bordereau in the *Matin*. M. Castelnau, representative from the L'Aisne district, interpellates Gen. Billot, minister of war, upon the publication of papers connected with the trial.

MAY, 1897—First dispute between Lieut. Cols. Picquart and Henry.

JUNE, 1897—Lieut. Col. Picquart takes counsel with Mlle. Leblois.

JULY, 1897—Mme. Leblois interests M. Scheurer-Kestner, vice president of the

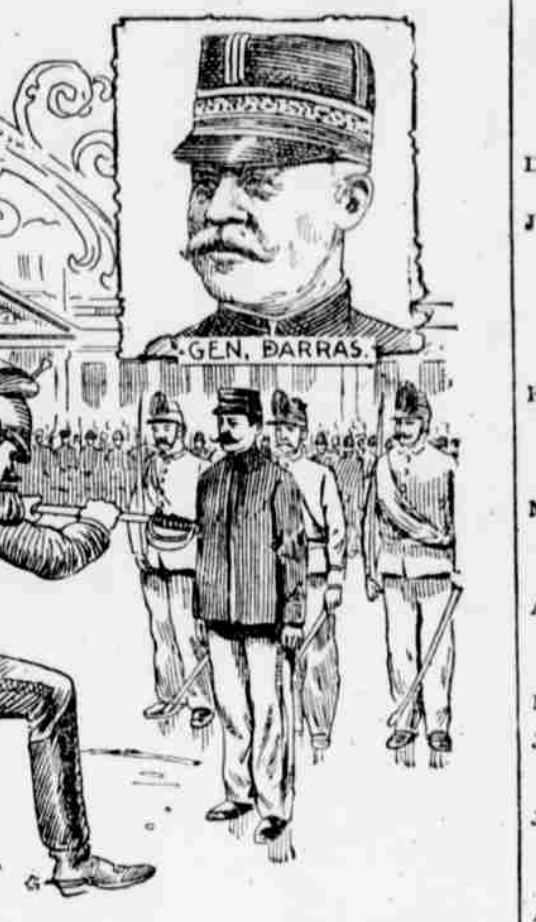
senate, in the case of Dreyfus, who declares on the 14th to his colleagues in the Luxembourg palace that he is "convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus."

OCTOBER, 1897—M. de Castro, banker, believes that he recognizes in the facsimile of the bordereau, once more published in the *Matin*, the handwriting of Commandant Esterhazy. M. Ranc, senator of the Seine district, carries to the lobby of the chamber of deputies the speech delivered by M. Scheurer-Kestner in the senate. He has, on the 20th, an interview upon this subject with Gen. Billot, minister of war.

NOVEMBER, 1897—Interview of M. Mathieu Dreyfus, the condemned, with M. Scheurer-Kestner. Beginning of the campaign of the *Figaro* in favor of a revision. M. Mathieu Dreyfus officially accuses Commandant Esterhazy with being the author of the bordereau. Esterhazy is turned over to a council of investigation. Commandant Forzietti is dismissed because he stated to M. Henri Rochefort that Dreyfus had confessed. Search of the home of Lieut. Col. Picquart in Yron-Villarsou street. Lieut. Col. Picquart is recalled from Tunis, where he had been sent on a mission, and is examined by Gen. Pellier, commissioner of investigation in the Esterhazy matter.

DECEMBER, 1897—The Dreyfus bordereau, examined in 1894 by the experts Gobert, Peillet, Charavay and Crepinux-Jarun, is turned over to the papers in the Esterhazy case and is submitted to a new examination by the experts Belhomme, Couard and Varnard. Interpellation in the chamber of deputies and in the senate. Gen. Billot declares that "Dreyfus has been justly and legally condemned." Letter of Emile Zola to the young people of France. The documents of Lemercier-Picard upon the "factory of forgeries" of a syndicate (documents themselves recognized as forgeries in the trial) are published in the *Transigence*.

JANUARY, 1898—In consequence of a report by Commandant Ravary, Commandant Esterhazy is acquitted by the court-martial presided over by Gen. Luxer and leaves the Cherche-Midi prison on the arm of his friend, Mlle. Marguerite Pays. He receives an ovation in the street. Lieut. Col. Picquart lodges a complaint against the subject of two telegrams signed "Blanche" and "Speranza" addressed to him at Tunis and intended to compromise him. On the 13th *Aurore* publishes Emile Zola's "J'accuse" letter to the president of the republic. Lieut. Col. Picquart is arrested. The chamber of deputies votes the order of the day upon the motion of M. de Melin, representative of the Morlaix district, accepted by M. Guerin, minister of justice, and demanding that the *Aurore* be prosecuted. The letter signed "J'han," produced by Mme. de Boulangay, and work of Commandant Esterhazy, delivered to M. Beufelus, examining magistrate. Beginning of public meetings of the revisionists in the



GEN. DARRAS.

Tivoli-Vaux hall. The minister of war lodges complaint against M. Emile Zola and against the *Aurore*. Messrs. Zola, author of "J'accuse," and Perreux, publisher of the *Aurore*, are summoned. M. Jaures addresses this question to M. Melin, president of the cabinet: "Has or has not information been given to the court-martial by the defendant's own handwriting?" M. Melin refuses to answer.

FEBRUARY, 1898—Formation of the League of Human and Citizens' Rights. From the 21st to the 23rd trial of Zola in the court of the Seine under the presidency of Councilor Delegergous. M. Labori defends Emile Zola. M. Albert Demonceau defends M. Perreux, and M. George Clémenceau defends the *Aurore*. Zola is sentenced to one year in prison and a fine of 3,000 francs; M. Perreux to four months in prison and a fine of 3,000 francs. Lieut. Col. Picquart is placed on the retired list.

MARCH, 1898—The revisionists provoke an incident in court during the attempt of M. Jules Aulray, who proclaims in favor of the Zola cause, to make himself heard. The incident has no consequences. Suicide of Lemercier-Picard. Duel between Picquart and Henry. Emile Zola and the *Aurore* appeal on the 27th against the sentence of February 23.

APRIL, 1898—Annulment of the sentence against Messrs. Zola and Perreux because the minister of war did not let the court-martial make the complaint. This complaint is made by the court-martial on the 8th.

MAY, 1898—Second Zola trial before the court of Versailles under the presidency of M. Perivier. Tumultuous scenes result when the court is declared to have no jurisdiction.

JUNE, 1898—Minister Melin is relieved from office and M. Brisson appointed to form a new cabinet.

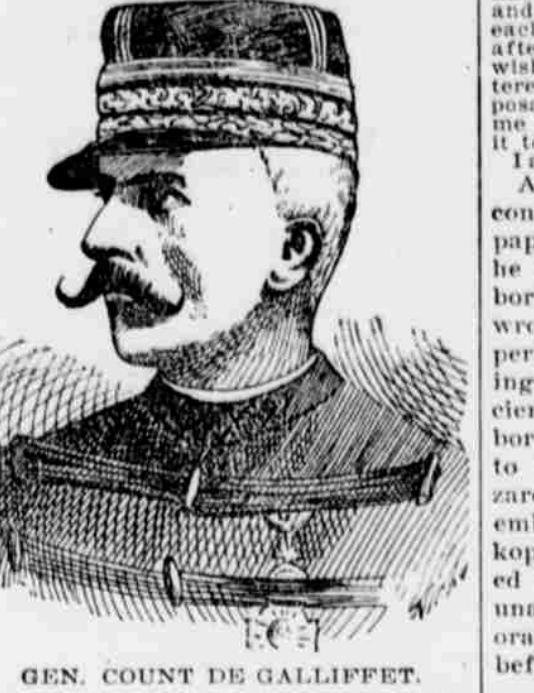
JULY, 1898—M. Cavaignac, minister of war, affirms in the chamber of deputies the guilt of Dreyfus. His speech is voted to be posted throughout France. Ex-Lieut. Col. Picquart is prosecuted for having communicated papers of the ministry of war to Mme. Dubouché, Commandant Esterhazy and Mlle. Pays are arrested upon the charge of having manufactured the "Blanche" and "Speranza" telegrams. Third Zola-Perreux trial before the court of Versailles. Both are sentenced, as before, to imprisonment of one year and a fine of 3,000 francs. The next day Zola disappears mysteriously. Esterhazy is restored to office. The roll of the Legion of Honor. Suit of M. Picquart against Du Paty de Clam. The court of appeals sentences Messrs. Zola and Perreux to one month in prison and a fine of 2,500 francs for defamation of the experts Belhomme, Couard and Varnard. The defendants also have to pay 5,000 francs damages. On the 20th M. Bertulus, examining magistrate, registers a decision closing the prosecution in the Blanche and Speranza affair against Du Paty de Clam, Esterhazy and Mlle. Marguerite Pays.

AUGUST, 1898—The chamber of deputies orders the prosecution of Lieut. Col. du Paty de Clam to be dropped. On the 12th Commandant Esterhazy writes to M. Cavaignac, minister of war, admitting that he is the author of the paper "Ce canaille de Dreyfus." He is arrested and imprisoned in the Mortellerie. On the next day he cuts his throat with a razor.

Gen. Boisdeffre, chief of staff, is dismissed.

SEPTEMBER, 1898—Dismissal of M. Cavaignac, minister of war. Gen. Renaud succeeds Gen. Boisdeffre, and Gen. Zurinden succeeds M. Cavaignac. On the 25th Mme. Alfred Dreyfus writes to M. Morand, keeper of the seals, asking for a revision of the trial of December, 1894, against her husband. Lieut. Col. Du Paty de Clam suspended from active service. On the 25th the council of the cabinet directs the court of cassation to order a revision of the Dreyfus case. Gen. Zurinden is dismissed and succeeded by Gen. Chaudoire. Commandant Esterhazy is dismissed and disappears immediately. League of Patriots is reorganized.

OCTOBER, 1898—Trouble at a public meeting caused by Messrs. De Pressensac and Deroulede. Attorney General Manau finishes his investigation and demands revision of the Dreyfus case. M. Leow, president of the criminal chamber, appoints M. Hurd reporter. Search of Zola's res-



GEN. COUNT DE GALLIFFET.
(Present Minister of War Who Insisted Upon a Revision of the Dreyfus Case.)

idence and confiscation of a table to pay his fine. The table is sold for 25,000 francs. On the 23rd Gen. Chaudoire is dismissed and the Brisson cabinet ensues. On the 27th-28th discussion in the criminal chamber of the court of cassation upon the demand for revision.

NOVEMBER, 1898—The Dupuy cabinet takes office on the 1st. Gen. Renaud is dismissed and replaced by Gen. Brauit. The criminal chamber decides that Dreyfus is to be informed by telegraph of the demand for a revision and to be notified to present his means of defense. M. de Pressensac is expelled from the Legion of Honor. The court of cassation begins its investigation on the 21st, and hears Gens. Roget, Goussé, Boisdeffre, M. Picquart and others.

DECEMBER, 1898—The criminal chamber receives communication concerning the secret dossier from the minister of war. JANUARY, 1899—M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, president of the civil chamber of the court of cassation, resigns. He is replaced by M. Baillet-Latour. The criminal chamber examines Du Paty de Clam, Trarieux, Couard, Belhomme, Varnard, Bertillon, Gobert, Esterhazy and Hanoaux and proceeds to examine the dossier of the minister of war.

FEBRUARY, 1899—M. Renault-Morliere, reporter of the commission for the procedure of the revision, reports favorably to such extent that discussion in the senate concerning a law to dispose of the criminal chamber.

MARCH, 1899—The senate votes to dispose of this chamber and directs the entire court of cassation to proceed with the revision. The latter court examines again the secret dossier.

APRIL, 1899—The *Figaro* publishes the record of the investigation of the court of cassation and is fined 500 francs. The court hears Messrs. Lepine, Frystaeffer, Bertillon and Roget.

MAY, 1899—M. Baillet-Latour finishes his report to the court.

JUNE, 1899—Paul Deroulede acquitted. Court of cassation decides in favor of Dreyfus on the revision. Esterhazy confesses having written the bordereau.

JULY, 1899—Dreyfus returns to France on the 2d. Governor of Devil's Island dismissed for cruelty to Dreyfus. Esterhazy refuses to testify before the new court-martial which is to retry Dreyfus.

AUGUST, 1899—New trial of Dreyfus begins on the 7th.

August 7, 1899, the court-martial held its first session. The court was composed as follows:

Col. Jouanest, director in the engineer corps, president.

Lieut. Col. Brognolant, director of the school of artillery.

Maj. De Breon, of the Seventh regiment of artillery.

Maj. Profflet, of the Tenth regiment of artillery.

Maj. Merle, of the Seventh regiment of artillery.

Capt. Parfait, of the Seventh regiment of artillery.

Capt. Beauvais, of the Seventh regiment of artillery.

Counsel for Dreyfus were Maîtres Labori and Demange—the latter one of



EMILE ZOLA.
(The Man Who Compelled the Government to Hear Dreyfus.)

the most celebrated criminal lawyers in France. Maj. Carriere represented the government as counsel for the prosecution. Early on Monday morning, August 14, while Maître Labori, one of Dreyfus' attorneys, was on his way to the court, he was shot by an assassin and seriously wounded.

THE FAMOUS BORDEREAU.
Acknowledged to Be the Main Evidence Against Dreyfus.

The famous bordereau (memorandum list), which is acknowledged to be the main evidence against Dreyfus, was discovered in April, 1894, among waste papers from the German embassy, in

the particular department of Col. Count Schwarzkoppen, the military attaché, by secret emissaries of the French government, who had bribed the janitor to surrender these papers. It is in translation as follows:

In the absence of any news indicating your desire to see me, I nevertheless send you, sir, certain information of interest:

1. A note on the hydraulic brake of 120 (method of operating this piece).
2. A note on the outfit for troops. (A few modifications will be made by the new plan.)
3. A note on modifications of artillery formation.
4. A note relating to Madagascar.
5. The scheme relative to the manual of field firing (March 14, 1894).

This last paper is extremely difficult to procure, and I can have it at my disposal only for a very few days. The ministry has issued a definite number to the corps, and these corps are responsible for them; each officer is obliged to return his copy after the maneuvers. If, therefore, you wish me to take from it whatever may interest you, and hold it afterward at my disposal, I will take it, unless you do not want me to make a copy in extenso and address it to you.

I am just leaving for the maneuvers. According to Esterhazy's voluntary confession, made to a London newspaper, and repeated since then, it was he and not Dreyfus who wrote this bordereau. Esterhazy states that he wrote it at the instigation of his superior officers, intimating but not saying so in so many words that Gen. Mercier, then minister of war, ordered the bordereau written. In a letter written to the *Siecle* March 25, 1898, Panizzardi, military attaché of the Italian embassy, relates that Count Schwarzkoppen received the articles enumerated in the bordereau, but was entirely unaware of the existence of the memorandum itself, for it had been stolen before it reached him.

THE SECRET DOSSIER.

Records of the Trial Preserved by the Department of War.

The secret dossier, which figures so prominently in the Dreyfus case, is a collection of papers belonging to the war department and collected in connection with the case. These papers are said to contain proof of Dreyfus' guilt even beyond the bordereau. The latter was admittedly written by Esterhazy. During the first Dreyfus trial this dossier (which in free translation would mean "record of the case") was submitted to the court-martial in executive session, not even Dreyfus' attorneys being permitted to be present during this examination. There are, all told, some 400 documents in this collection. These papers are examined in secret session, but Dreyfus' attorneys are present, so they may be informed of the record of the charges based upon these papers. Secrecy is demanded by the government because it is claimed that publication would cause complications with foreign governments. The secret dossier has been in exclusive control of the general staff up to the present trial, and there is, of course, no saying what it may contain. So far the entire nasty Dreyfus mess has shown so much corruption, conspiracy and forgery that the value of this secret dossier is very problematical.

GENESIS OF THE CASE.

How the Web to Catch Capt. Dreyfus Was Woven.

Gen. Mercier was minister of war when the French spy at the German embassy brought to the secret service of the French army the fragments of the bordereau. The report was received by Col. Paty de Clam, head of the secret service. He was a violent Jew-hater. He appealed to Bertillon, and the man who invented the Bertillon system for measuring and identifying criminals, following Paty's suggestion—who in turn reflected Gen. Mercier's antipathy to the Jews—said it looked like Dreyfus' handwriting. It was reported. Mercier ordered that Dreyfus be arrested. Paty de Clam tried to prepare the case against him. It was not strong enough to suit Mercier, and the minister of war secured a pleader whose skill was as great as Paty's infamy. The anti-Semitic party and press had doubts of Mercier, and caught at the first hint of Dreyfus' denial to charge the minister with trying to smother the case because Dreyfus was a Jew. That added fuel to his flame, and Mercier became the most rabid foe of the imperiled captain. The press rewarded him by declaring him the paragon of patriots. Yet he knew he could not crush Dreyfus with the material at hand, and he must act at once. He rose at the first court-martial—minister of war in the republic's cabinet—and said: "Gentlemen, there is something more. I shall read you one sentence from a letter in cipher that some months ago came into possession of the ministry. You will comprehend its source, although I am not permitted to present its context: 'Decidedly this scoundrel of a Dreyfus is becoming too exacting.' He had, wholly, deliberately changed the sentence, for the paper from which he read did not contain the name of Dreyfus, but the initial 'D.' only. On this bit of irregularly-submitted, boldly perjured bit of evidence the judges based a decision they had already formulated. Furthermore, that scrap of paper in Gen. Mercier's trembling hand was not even the remotest manner connected with the alleged selling of French army secrets to the Germans. It was a fragment from some intercepted correspondence, passing between attaches of different embassies, and related to matters even more infamous, more unspeakable, than any treason of which Dreyfus was accused."