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THE RECEPTION OF THE AFFAIRE DREYFUS IN BRITISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE, 1894-1940

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Abstract:

La tesi propone lo studio della ricezione dell'Affaire Dreyfus (1894-1906) nella vita politica e culturale inglese della prima metà del ventesimo secolo attraverso l'analisi della sua rappresentazione nella produzione letteraria. Pur appartenendo alla vita politica e culturale della Francia moderna, l'Affaire Dreyfus divenne oggetto di ampio dibattito anche in territorio inglese, intrecciandosi con la storia della società tardo-vittoriana tra il 1897 e il 1900. In Gran Bretagna come in Francia, l'Affaire instaurò un forte legame con la letteratura, con la vita degli intellettuali e con il romanzo, entrando con forza nei testi sia a livello tematico che formale. Nonostante l'entità del fenomeno Dreyfus, la presenza dell'Affaire nella produzione letteraria inglese è raramente riconosciuta e mai studiata. La ricerca intende quindi muoversi verso una ricostruzione quanto più possibile completa della ricezione dell'Affaire Dreyfus in Gran Bretagna passando attraverso lo specchio della letteratura, sia popolare che canonica. La prima parte dell'indagine è quindi dedicata alla produzione culturale e letteraria popolare: dopo aver descritto la presenza pervasiva dell'Affaire nell'ambito dell'intrattenimento popolare, verrà analizzata l'assenza (assoluta e quindi sospetta) dell'Affaire nel romanzo gotico di fine secolo, sito preferenziale di rappresentazione delle fantasie di eliminazione dell'altro. In seguito, verrà evidenziato il ruolo chiave che il caso Dreyfus ebbe come catalizzatore della nascita della *spy story* inglese, rintracciando temi, motivi e caratterizzazioni ad esso ispirati. La seconda parte della tesi è invece dedicata alla presenza sotterranea dell'Affaire nella produzione cosiddetta *highbrow*. Dopo aver brevemente delineato le caratteristiche della ricezione dell'Affaire da parte della classe intellettuale inglese, ci si propone di evidenziare come la presenza, seppur tacita e sempre mascherata, dell'Affaire presti vivacità al romanzo di fine secolo: prima come prototipo dello scandalo, o *Affair,* al centro del romanzo impressionista di Ford Madox Ford e Joseph Conrad; poi, come materiale estetico che, con le sue ascese, cadute e accelerazioni drammatiche, diventa funzionale all'opera mondo Joyciana.

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A romance *à la* Dumas ?
Spectacularizing and narrating the Affaire

"The Dreyfus affair has convinced the writers that truth is stranger than fiction"
- MARY F. ROBINSON

> It is often said that the age of adventure and romance are dead. The Affaire Dreyfus is the supreme contradiction of that statement. The escape of Alfred Dreyfus from the Ile du Diable yields not a jot in romantic interest to the escape of Edmond Dantès from the dungeon of the Château d'If. Consigned by treachery to a living tomb, Dreyfus, like Dantès, has been miraculously restored to life. In a few weeks, if all goes well, that restoration will be complete; and then we shall see what we shall see. Will this romance *à la* Dumas – a romance which might well make the "ventripotent Mulatto" stir in his grave in sheer sympathy – have, like its prototype, a second part? Is the suffering Dantès of the Château d'If destined to become the avenging Monte Cristo, the relentless instrument of the Divine vengeance upon those who have wrought the great wrong? We cannot tell. It is enough, for the present, that the Dantès of real life has escaped from his sea-girt prison, and that he stands – all but free – upon the soil of France, from which his enemies believed that they had banished him for ever.
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> "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small," is the final lesson of the great romance to which we have turned to find a prototype and a precedent for the drama of real life which has been played before a wondering world during the past four years. […] Monte Cristo has left his dungeon, and, if he does not get vengeance upon his enemies, there is every reason to believe that he will, at least, get justice for himself. (*The Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 July 1899)

Unjustly accused of being a Bonapartist traitor on the basis of a forged note, Captain Edmond Dantès was arrested, condemned without trial and imprisoned in Château d'If, on a fortified island once used as a prison. Little did Dumas know that, a few years later, Captain Alfred Dreyfus would be bound to have a similar fate. A Jew of Alsatian origin, Dreyfus was unjustly accused of treason for delivering French military secrets to a foreign power, the German embassy in Paris; he was then tried with closed court proceedings, sentenced to military degradation and life imprisonment on Devil's Island, a penal colony in French Guiana. A story of danger, suspense and surprise follows. Alfred spent five years on Devil's Island, he became sick, feverish, he was chained to his bed and forced to stay motionless for two endless months; meanwhile, in Paris, his indomitable defenders, the Dreyfusards, guided by Emile Zola, confronted their enemies in a war they relentlessly fought with pen and paper. And, to answer the journalist's question, yes, the story had,

like its supposed prototype, a second part. After the publication of Zola's *J'accuse*, his trial and exile, Dreyfus' return to France and the trial in Rennes, the poor Captain had his own happy ending and, through a presidential pardon, was reinstated as artillery major in the French army. *The Times* commented: "justice is outraged when an innocent man has to slink away under cover of a 'pardon', while the vile conspirators… are even now swaggering about in their uniforms and their cassock as if they had the fortune of France in their polluted hands" (21 Sept. 1899). In the end, Dreyfus did not live up to the journalist's expectations by becoming a *relentless instrument of the Divine vengeance*; still, he was named Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and lived quite happily ever after.

FRANCE AND THE AFFAIRE DREYFUS

A romance *à la* Dumas, then? Perhaps. What is certain is that, *avenging Monte Cristo* or insipid young soldier, Alfred Dreyfus and his story seem to belong to the pages of a novel. And, one way or another, the Affaire did step into quite a few fictional worlds. Hardly an evening went by at the Verdurin's and at the palace of the Guermantes, without there being a heartfelt discussion on the innocence of Dreyfus: "Toute cette affaire Dreyfus," Charlus told the Narrator, "[…] n'a qu'un inconvénient: c'est qu'elle détruit la société (je ne dis pas la bonne société, il y a longtemps que la société ne mérite plus cette épithète louangeuse) par l'afflux de messieurs et de dames du Chameau, de la Chamellerie, de la Chamellière, enfin de gens inconnus que je trouve même chez mes cousines parce qu'ils font partie de la lingue de la Patrie Française, antijuive, je ne sais quoi, comme si une opinion politique donnait droit à une qualification sociale"[1] (Proust III, 1988, p. 280). Likewise, the main events of the Affaire were faithfully recreated by Martin du Gard in *Jean Barois* (1913), and satirically narrated in Anatole France's *L'île des pingouins* (1908); an eighteenth-century transposition of the Affaire is at the heart of Romain Rolland's historical drama *Les Loups* (1898), while Zola used the case as a reference for the allegorical universe of his last work, *Verité* (1903)[2]. The Affaire is also deeply intertwined with the real lives of the professionals of literature: it notably inspired one of Zola's most popular texts, *J'accuse* (1898), following which he was morally and legally persecuted. Anatole France and Charles Péguy - director of the Dreyfusard periodical *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* - took part in demonstrations, protests and marches; they wrote extensively on newspapers and periodicals and talked about the case at public events. Bernard Lazare fought

[1] M. Proust, *Le Côté de Guermantes*, Editions Gallimard, 1988, p. 280 - "All this Dreyfus business," went on the Baron, still clasping me by the arm, "has only one drawback. It destroys society (I do not say polite society; society has long ceased to deserve that laudatory epithet) by the influx of Mr. and Mrs. Camels and Camelfies and Camelyards, astonishing creatures whom I find even in the houses of my own cousins, because they belong to the Patrie Française, or the Anti-Jewish, or some such league, as if a political opinion entitled one to any social qualification". Translated by C.K. Scott Moncrieff.

[2] For a complete study on the Affaire Dreyfus in the French literary production, see: S. R. Suleiman, "L'Affaire Dreyfus e la letteratura" in N.L. Kleeblatt (ed.) *L'Affare Dreyfus. La storia, l'opinione, l'immagine*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1990 and J. Lalouette, "L'Affaire Dreyfus dans le roman français", *Revue historique*, Oct. – Dec., 1999

strenuously to defend Dreyfus, as well as justice and freedom; by their side, were Léon Blum, Julien Brenda, Jean-Richard Bloch, Gabriel Trarieux, André Beaunier, Jules Renard, Daniel Halévy, Jean Jaurès. On the opposite side, Maurice Barrès, Paul Bourget, Éduard Drumont, Léon Daudet, François Coppée, José-Maria de Hérédia, Pierre Lamaître, Ferdinand Brunetière fought to defend order, French institutions and the values of the Establishment, in which they worked and prospered.

Dreyfusards on one side, anti-Dreyfusards on the other; outcast intellectuals and members of the Establishment, but also, in political terms, promoters of progress and promoters of order. The Affaire Dreyfus was indeed, quoting the title of Pier Paul Read's recent retelling of the case, *the scandal that tore France in two*[3]. The question – peculiar to the Affaire - is, who is the source of such a rift? In other words, who acted first, the intellectuals or the politicians? The polarized response to the Affaire would be easily explained by assuming that the logic of the political field shaped the French social deployment by attracting the conservatives and the members of the Establishment – church, army and judicial system – towards the anti-Dreyfusard pole, the outsiders and the progressives towards the Dreyfusard pole. However, – as Christophe Charle notes in his sociological analysis of the Affaire - the political field of the Third French Republic was in a state of chaos and showed no clear divide between right and left[4]. Following Charle's suggestion, it would be helpful to turn the attention away from the political field, and look at another matrix, a rising micro-reality populated by intellectuals, a complex and composite group which assumed, for the first time during the affair, a leading role in the definition of culture, but also, and this is the distinctive trait of the event, politics. Borrowing P. Bourdieu's definition, Charle named such micro-reality *champ littéraire* [5]– literary field (Charle 1977, p. 241). After the outbreak of the affair, the literary field split in two clear factions: on the anti-Dreyfusard side, the dominant pole; on the Dreyfusard side, the dominated pole (Picture 1). Each pole was quite compositely populated, as their members differed in motivations, aims and identity: the dominant pole was made up of established authors and their institutions, such as the Académie française, the Parnassians, the followers of Psychologism, as well as a few established dramatists and academics; on the other hand, the dominated pole was composed of marginal individuals and schools, mainly Symbolists

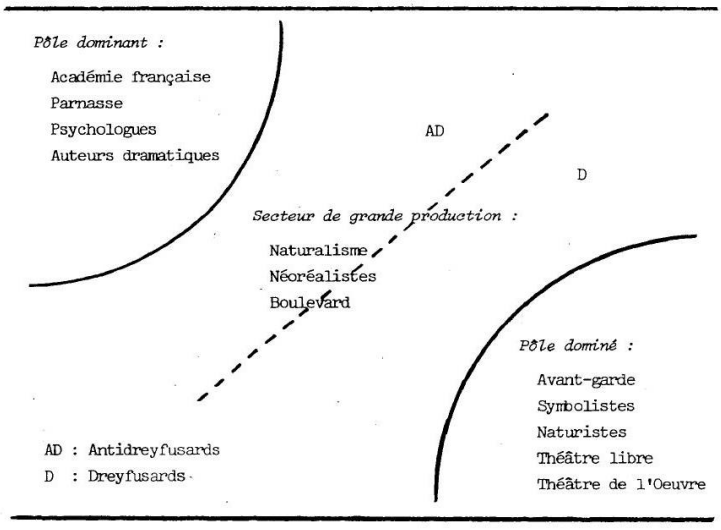
[3] Piers Paul Read, *The Dreyfus Affair. The Scandal that Tore France in Two*, Bloomsbury Press, 2012

[4] A clear-cut opposition between left and right was prevented by the weak state and internal fragmentation of the parties of Méline's government, together with the President's refusal to acknowledge the existence of any Affaire Dreyfus (Charle 1977, p. 243)

[5] C. Charle defines the literary field as the reconstruction of the stances taken by writers and literary groups in their fight for symbolic dominance; the fight was carried out within the power field, the symbolic space in which social classes and factions face each other to gain social power. He writes: "[…] nous partirons non des individus mais de ce que P. Bourdieu appelle le 'champ littéraire', reconstruction de l'ensemble des positions des écrivains et des groups littéraires les uns par rapport aux autres dans leur lutte pour la domination symbolique, replacé dans le 'champ du pouvoir', lieu symbolique où s'affrontent pour la domination sociale les classes et fractions de classes". C. Charle, « Champ littéraire et champ du pouvoir : les écrivains et l'Affaire Dreyfus » in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations,* 32e année, N. 2, 1977. p. 241

and avant-garde authors. However, if the dominant pole could control the cultural inclination of French society and, faced with the Dreyfus threat, defend the established social and literary order from centre stage[6], the Symbolists refused to conform and compromise with the audience and envisaged the Dreyfusard fight as a chance to radicalize their marginal position. Consequently, their subordinate role within society, while defining their identity, prevented them from being suited to undertake a leading ideological and political role.

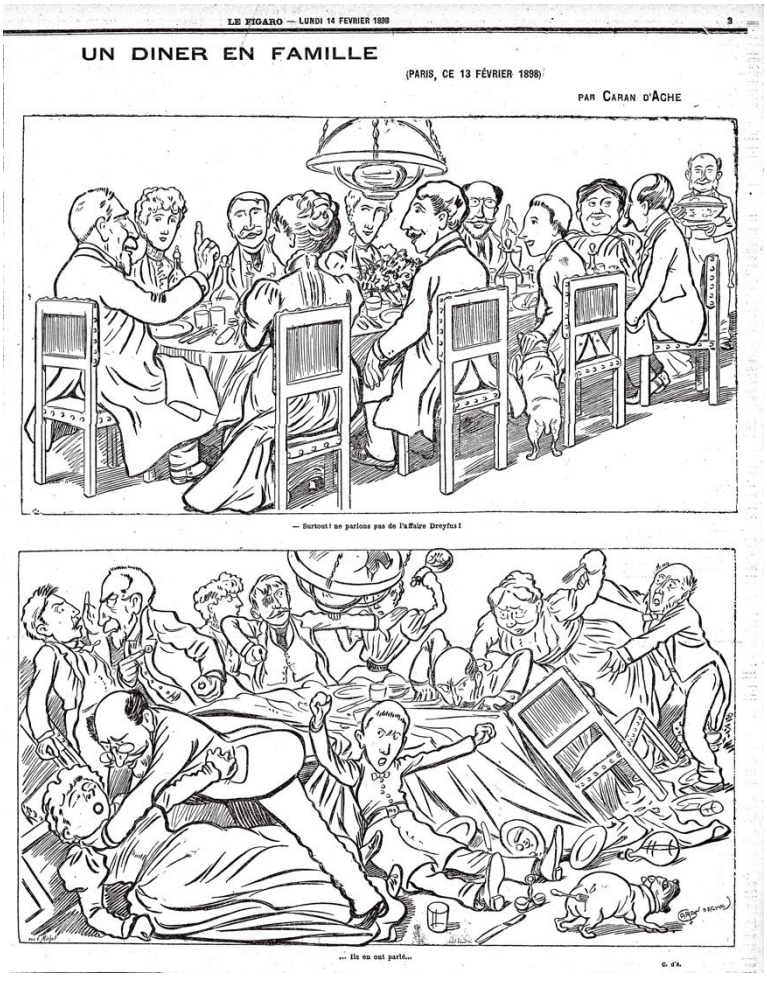
Which is why the popularity of the much-dispraised producers of profitable literature suddenly became convenient to the Symbolists. In particular, their alliance with Zola proved to be invaluable, as his popularity conferred on his actions enormous political resonance. And so it was that the intermediate section, guided by Zola, acted as a bridge between the *champ littéraire* and the *champ politique*, forcing both the entirety of the literary field and the political field to take a stance on the Affaire (Charle 1977, p. 241). The peculiarity of the Dreyfus case therefore resides in its inherent connection to literature: not only did the literary field act as a matrix for the political field defining the priorities and values that would dominate the public sphere, but it also redefined the boundaries of the political left and right by returning to French parties ideologies to fight for, on which they based their new-found identity: nationalism to the right, and anticlericalism to the left (Charle 1977, p. 243).



Picture 1- Articulation of the champ littéraire within the field of power;
C. Charle, « Champ littéraire et champ du pouvoir: les écrivains et l'Affaire Dreyfus » Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 32e année, 1977. p. 243

[6] To the detriment of poets, the members of the dominant pole seized the most influential positions in newspapers, so as to control cultural order. Charle highlights that the members of the dominant pole "ont compris à temps que le nouvel état du marché vouait la poésie à l'obscurité et ont conquis les places essentielles dans les journaux pour contrôler l'ordre culturel dominant. Ils fournissent à la classe dominante le supplément d'âme nécessaire pour garder confiance malgré la montée des périls sociaux. C'est donc tout naturellement que, face au péril politique qu'est l'Affaire et aux assauts de leur anciens adversaires, poètes obscurs symbolistes et romanciers de la bassesse humaine, naturalistes, ils se retrouvent en première ligne de défense de l'ordre social et littéraire qui les a tant comblés". C. Charle, « Champ littéraire et champ du pouvoir : les écrivains et l'Affaire Dreyfus » in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations,* 32e année, N. 2, 1977. p. 251.

While – Susan Suleiman argues – Charle's interpretation potentially reduces the ideological and moral motives behind the intellectuals' actions to the mere fight for professional prestige, his thesis on the polarizing effect of the Affaire remains valid. In the same way, several scholars, and Suleiman herself, envisaged the Affaire as a catalyst for the definition of the boundary between two political and ideological families. In his best-seller *L'Affaire* (1983), Jean-Denis Bredin emphasised the status of the Affaire as permanent mark of division between two modern French attitudes, the defence of order and the defence of ethical values; and, referring to François Goguel's *La politique des partis sous la Troisième République* (1946), such attitudes correspond to two modern French political trends, the party of order – the Conservatives – and the party of movement and action – the Progressives. Either way, the outline of the *champ du pouvoir* suggests that discussing the Affaire entails a language of boundaries, distinction, discrimination, identification, belonging, inclusion and exclusion, self and other; in other words, the language of borders, a space the Affaire Dreyfus inhabits from the outset.



Picture 2 - A family dinner, *drawing by Caran d'Ache; Le Figaro, February 14, 1898.*
"Above all, let's not talk about the Affaire Dreyfus!" – "…they talked about it…"

The Affaire Dreyfus inhabits the space of the border, as it began and evolved around spatial oppositions. Physical oppositions, since it started with the annexation of Alsace to the German Empire after the Franco-Prussian War, a redefinition of national borders that entailed a shift in identity from French to German, from self to other. It was, as the outbreak of the Affaire suggests, an *ex post facto* shift that implied the presence of a now-German spy in the French army, then translated as invasion and treason, real or masterfully devised. Moreover, F. Goguel's emphasis on the political opposition between movement and stillness in response to the Affaire is indicative not only of the future outline of the two major modern French parties, but also of the dynamics that would regulate the Affaire as it unfolded: on the one hand, a stable group maintaining order; on the other hand, a militant group which repeatedly crossed the internal border set by the Establishment, thus creating chaos and uncertainty. In short, the Affaire Dreyfus began with a physical opposition, that soon generated an abstract opposition charged with psychological, ideological and moral meaning.

The Affaire Dreyfus inhabits the space of the border like, one might add, the majority of historical fiction, in which the internal border works, in Franco Moretti's words, as an *on/off switch* generating narrative (Moretti 1998, p. 38). Likewise, the Affaire sets off as the border between France and Germany is redefined and retrospectively crossed, while its major turning points are produced as the Dreyfusards trespass the internal ideological border set by the Establishment; for instance, Bernard Lazare's and Georges Piquart's accusations against Esterhazy determined the reopening of the judicial case; the publication of Zola's letter *J'accuse* resulted in his condemnation and exile; the Dreyfusard intellectual's petition led to the Rennes trial. Because the physical and ideological geography of the Affaire seems to be closely related to its development, borders can be intended, like for novels, as a structural principle. After all, Franco Moretti notes, "from Propp to Lotman, the crossing of a spatial border is usually also the decisive event of the narrative structure" (Moretti 1998, p. 46); thus began the fight between Ashtons and Ravenswoods, Saxons and Normans, Bourbon supporters and Bonapartists, Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. However, it might be argued, the Affaire was but a petty display of antisemitism and the poor Captain has little to do with Scott's and Dumas' unflinching heroes. Yet, from the pages of *The Era*, a journalist begs to differ: "The narrative of the prisoner of Devil's Island" – they write – "the intrigue of people in high places, the […] courage of the victim reads like a chapter from Dumas, and, told badly with close adherence to facts, becomes a story of thrilling interest – a story of one of the greatest fights for justice ever recorded" (11 Aug. 1906). Here we go again, back to the opening question: a romance *à la* Dumas?

It is quite safe to assume that the Affaire was perceived and enjoyed, at least in part, as fiction. Besides, it was narrated mainly by the professionals of popular literature and promoted just as flamboyantly. Its complexity was reduced to the classical conflict between good and evil, typical of children's tales. As it unravelled, it was narrated through a variety of media - text, film, theatre, ballet - and adapted as a documentary, a satire, a pantomime, a transposition, a tragedy and a comedy, a poem, a song, a sketch etc. Is it possible then that, along the way, the Affaire became a cultural product closer to historical fiction than history? Certainly. But then again, all narrations – including historical ones - are arbitrarily fashioned and consequently, at the level of the discourse, contain fictionalizing elements regardless of their truthfulness (White, 1978). So, what if the reason behind the exceptional proximity between the Affaire and fiction was not to be researched at the level of the discourse exclusively? What if its fictionality, or better, the illusion of fictionality it tends to produce had deeper roots?

Admittedly, the story of the Affaire shows a very high degree of narrativity[7] (Ryan 2007). Looking closely, its characters and development seem to be surprisingly akin to well-known narration schemes and tropes typical of popular fiction, appealing to the public precisely because they are familiar – the good against the bad, treason, suspense, the heroic act, the happy ending etc. Regardless of the way in which it is narrated, the story of the Affaire leads the public through a suspenseful, yet comforting journey from disorder, instability and crisis to a situation of relative order, stability and happiness (Fletcher 2016, p. 3). In fact, between crisis and happiness, much happens: the arrest, the degradation, the deportation on Devil's Island, the fight between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards culminating in the Rennes trial and Dreyfus' eventual return to France. Almost like instalments, the series of events was followed closely by the public, French and otherwise. Issue after issue, people read about the Affaire on local and national newspapers, hooked by a strong sense of curiosity and suspense. Who did it? What happened? How will it end? were the questions at the heart of most press speculation, questions that call to mind those elicited by the carefully-crafted narrative of crime fiction (Bal 1999, p. 161). Between 1898 and 1900, when the Affaire reached its climax, such was the frenzy that most newspapers featured daily updates on the case, often consisting of conjectures on the events prior the finding of the *bordereau*, fanciful sketches on the life of Dreyfus on Devil's island, and much-anticipated graphological studies comparing Dreyfus' handwriting with the *bordereau* to counter the accusation at the core of the case;

[7] In her essay, Marie-Laure Ryan offers a set of eight conditions or criteria of narrativity whereby it is possible to measure the degree of narrativity of a story, regardless of medium or distinction between fiction and non-fiction (Herman 2007, p. 26). Such criteria unable the reader to establish not only the degree of narrativity, but also the semantic typology of a given story, depending on the prominence of the four dimensions – spatial, temporal, mental and formal. Ryan's disregard for the truthfulness of the story in question makes her method applicable to the story of the Affaire which fully fulfils all eight conditions, thus showing an extremely high degree of narrativity. M. Ryan, "Toward a definition of narrative" in D. Herman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, Cambridge University Press, 2007

careful analyses were published on popular newspapers and demonstrated at open conferences held by both professionals and amateurs, in France and abroad[8]. Such attempts, not unlike the extravagant investigations led by their contemporary Sherlock Holmes, filled the downtime and gave the audience an impression of scientific rationality that informs the process of crime resolution in detective fiction.

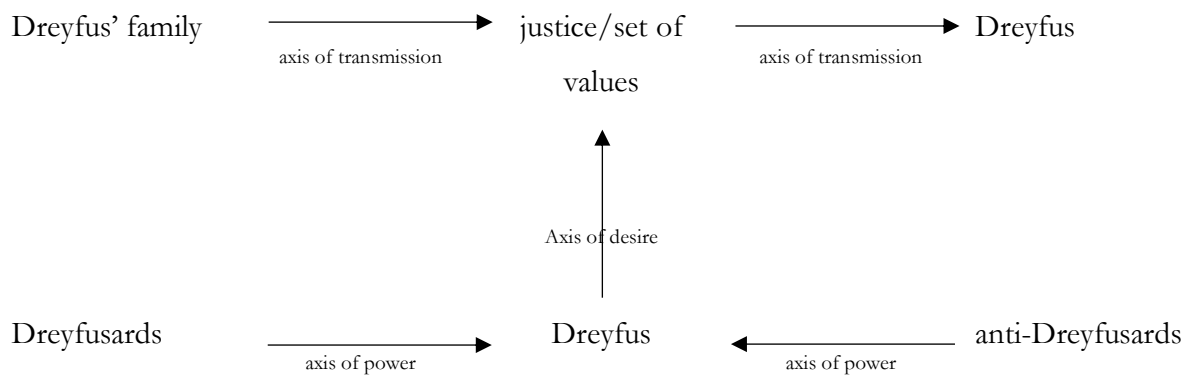
The Affaire Dreyfus as a crime novel, then, maybe even in conversation with Newgate fiction; ultimately, it satisfied the popular fascination with criminals and prison life, and shared with detective fiction both the presence of judiciary procedures and the court setting (Priestman 2003, pp. 19-20). Speaking of settings, in her study on space and genre, L. Fletcher points out that "writers and readers of popular fiction understand that there is a powerful correspondence between types of settings and types of narratives" (Fletcher 2016, p.1). Which is why the deportation of Dreyfus to Devil's island added a touch of adventure to the story: the novelistic name of the penal colony of Cayenne conveniently matches what F. Moretti identified as the rise in figurality readers have come to expect whenever a character enters the site of adventure; he argues that "although the novel usually has a very low figurality […], near the border figurality rises"; and later, "here, even proper names lose their modern, indexical quality (their 'meaninglessness') and re-acquire a striking semantic intensity" (Moretti 1998, p. 43). Not *Bagne de Cayenne*, but *L'Ile du Diable*, a name that foreshadowed the destiny of the protagonist, the inhuman treatment and the hell-like tortures he would endure. Therefore, one may say, the story of the Affaire contains elements of historical fiction, crime fiction, adventure, but also spy fiction, a rising genre featuring military espionage, spies, treason, secrets and encrypted messages, materials the story at hand has in plenty.

Overall, as extraordinary as it might have been in real life, from a narratological perspective the story of the Affaire seems to be, like popular fiction, quite convention-bound, with its troubled

[8] On 28 January 1898, Mr. David Christie Murray – who, in time, became known in Britain as an authority on the case – wrote to the editor of *The Daily News*: "Sir, - As a pendant to the narrative of this morning, I ask you kindly to permit me to lay before your readers the twenty points of difference between the genuine handwriting of Dreyfus and the handwriting of the incriminatory bordereau, on which I shall rely for the conviction of my hearers when I am able, with the aid of Mr. Maskelyne's lantern and my own transparencies, to give a clear demonstration of each point. I shall offer ocular demonstration of these twenty facts, and having always had the advantage of a rehearsal, I am able to promise that the definition will be sufficiently neat and clear" (*The Daily News*, 28 Jan. 1898). Two days later, he held a lecture at the Home of Mystery in Piccadilly. After having gone through the main events of the case, he "dwelt with special emphasis upon the important question of handwriting, and upon the fact that twelve unbiased experts of distinguished repute had given a decision emphatically in favour of the condemned man in respect to the now famous 'bourdereau'. By means of magnified transparencies of that incriminatory document places by the side of those disclosing the genuine writing of Dreyfus, he sought to demonstrate the impossibility of the so-called traitor having written the notorious letter. A detailed analysis of the characteristics of the two handwritings as shown to the audience resulted in those present unanimously endorsing the lecturer's contention that the dissimilarities in question were such that Dreyfus could by no stretch of imagination be the guilty party. To this end the exhibition of a series of minute comparisons regarding the formation of individual letters and figures as instituted by M. Gustave Bridier, the well-known Swiss expert, largely contributed, and when, finally, the last word had fallen from the lips of the lecturer, he met with a reception at once cordial and sincere" (*Daily Telegraph*, 31 Jan. 1898). In September 1899, at the Crystal Palace, London, Dr. Marcel André, a French lecturer, held a series of three lectures on the case: "The lectures were largely attended and the audiences greatly appreciated the very lucid manner in which the Dreyfus drama was unfolded to them by Dr. André. The lectures were illustrated by numerous limelight photographs of portraits of the principal actors and scenes connected with the case" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899).

beginning, climax and resolution. What is even more striking is that the protagonists of the case seem to share with popular fiction characters their formulaic quality (Bal 1999, p. 117). Tying human beings to a formula can be a risky stretch of the imagination; nevertheless, for many reasons, the exceptionality of the case in question calls for an effort. First of all, not only did the people involved conveniently divide between friends and enemies, but every one of them steadily maintained his/her role from the very beginning to the very end. Alfred is the hero-victim - confronted with his opponents, he is unable to vanquish them on his own and, as a typical nineteenth-century hero, he is forced to survive in a ruthless society. Zola shares with Dreyfus the role of protagonist, but as an active and successful hero who guides Dreyfus' helpers, the Dreyfusards. Esterhazy is the evil, deceitful antagonist. The rest of the opponents, otherwise known as the anti-Dreyfusards, fight to defend their privileges. Throughout the course of the affair, none of them shows any significant psychological development, except perhaps for Colonel Henry who, after having been discovered as the author of the *bordereau*, commits suicide. The rest tends to exhibit a specific behaviour and set attributes coherent to their structural function in the story (Bal 1999, p. 120).

But there is more. Suleiman argues that, during the affair, individuals occupied such a central place that they eventually turned into symbols (Suleiman 1988, p.19) - symbols of good and bad, virtue and vice, movement and stillness, progress and order. Undoubtedly, individuals stood on the front line, but such individuals need to be envisaged first and foremost as part of a group. There is a certain affinity between Charle's depiction of the polarized outline produced by the affair, and the scheme that results by applying the actantial model (Hébert 2007) to the story. In particular, the axis of power – which corresponds to Charle's *champ du pouvoir* - depicts the relationship between the helpers, the opponents and the central conflict.



Their posture with respect to the central conflict is mirrored in their name as a group, Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards, labels that warrant a moment's reflection. *Dreyfusard*, *dreyfusarde*, but also *dreyfusienne* and *dreyfusiste* feature in French dictionaries. The history of the word shows two major

points of interest: first of all, *dreyfusard* derives from the sum of the proper noun Dreyfus and the French suffix –*ard*, used to form nouns that indicate the belonging to a particular class. However, in light of the actantial model, the Dreyfusards' and anti-Dreyfusards' efforts cannot be directed at or against Dreyfus *per se*, but at or against the set of values that is the central conflict. Let's not forget that, with a few exceptions, most of them hardly knew Dreyfus in person. Nevertheless, because their belonging referred to the name 'Dreyfus', an almost synonymic relationship between Dreyfus, Dreyfusard and the set of values they fought for emerged, a relationship confirmed by the second point of interest, that is the history of the word 'dreyfusard', whose meaning over time extended to designate those with a left-wing political position[9].

Coincidences? Absolutely, but very interesting ones. Interesting, because they are in conversation with fiction, exceptionally so. More than the plot and the discourse do, they evoke, at the level of the *fabula*, a sense of fictionality which has the same role the illusion of reality plays in the novel; in other words, while the reader's pleasure in consuming a novel resides in its proximity to real life, the reader of the Affaire basks in the familiarity and comfort of reading fiction - there is nothing foreign in the plotline or the characters of the affair, however they appeal to the public because they are familiar. Besides offering a justification for the extent of its popularity, the high degree of narrativity of the case is fundamental to the understanding of its presence within the literary production. The affair's affinity to popular fiction justifies the need to overstep the limits of the canon in the analysis of its literary reception; moreover, the fictional quality of the Affaire is essential in explaining the evolution, over time, of its changing modes of representation.

CROSSING THE CHANNEL: THE AFFAIRE DREYFUS IN GREAT BRITAIN

"If the constant repetition of one's name in the papers is to be famous, then Captain Dreyfus is the most famous man who ever lived," wrote the editor of *The Review of Reviews* in 1899; "never since journalism began has any single man figured so conspicuously and so continuously in the newspapers of the world as this artillery officer of thirty-nine"[10]. Despite its turn-of-the-century popularity, the scandal did not attract the British interest until 1897, when Dreyfus' family publically denounced Esterhazy as author of the *bordereau*, and *The Times* published its first leading article on the case. The public interest towards the Affaire grew rapidly with the publication of Zola's *J'accuse*

[9] "**A.** – (Celui, celle) qui est partisan de Dreyfus et convaincu de son innocence; *p. ext.*, qui a des conceptions politiques de gauche" - TLFi : Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé - http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/dreyfusard

[10] 15 Sept. 1899. Quoted in A.L. Shane, "The Dreyfus Affair: could it have happened in England?" in *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 30 (1987-1988), Jewish Historical Society of England, pp. 135-148, p. 135-6

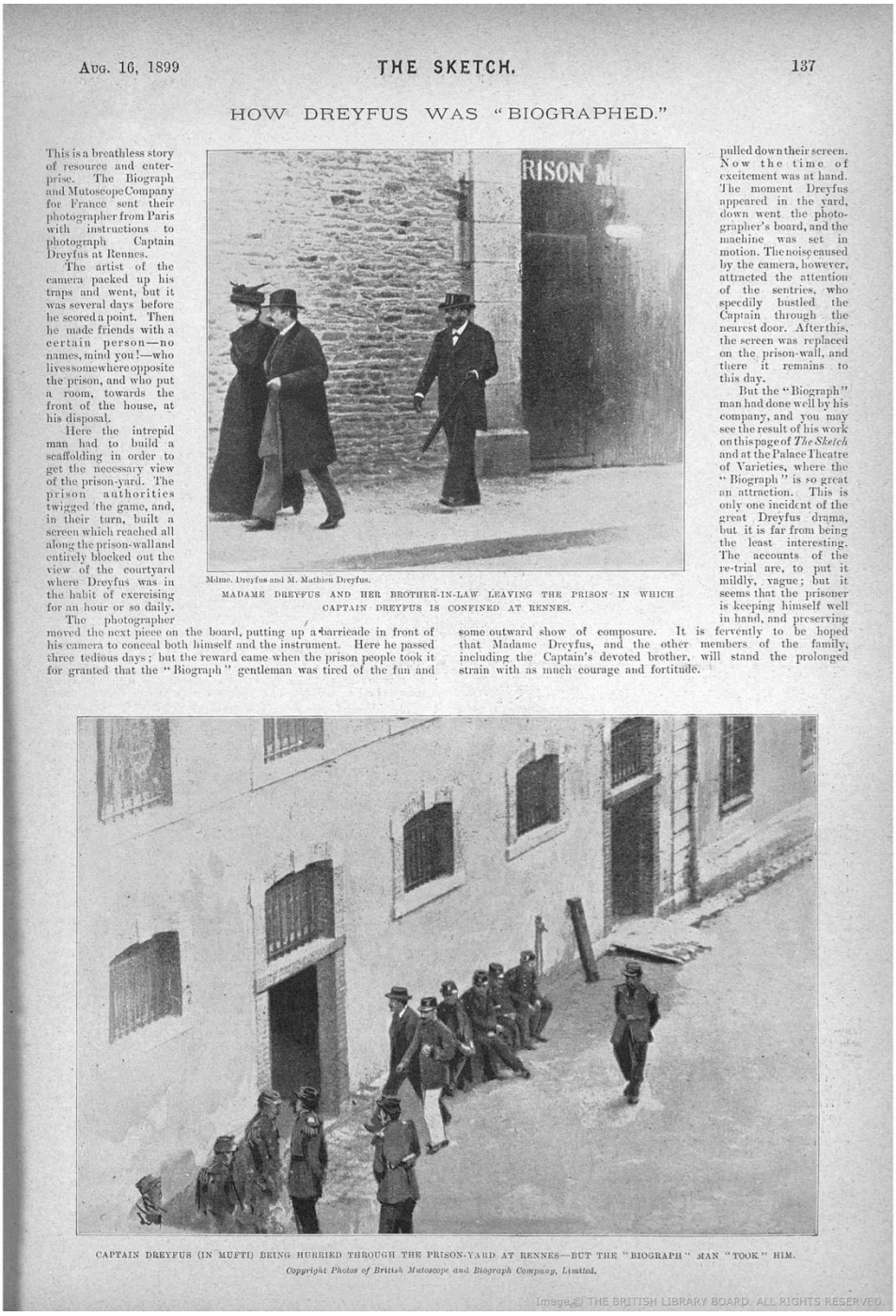
and culminated during the Rennes trial[11]; by 1898, "the newspapers were […] full of it," R. Tombs observes, "and remained so. The index of *The Times* for the whole period from the summer of 1898 to the late summer of 1899 reads simply 'Dreyfus case: see each day's paper'" (Tombs 1998, p. 500). Reports from the British embassy in Paris became less and less necessary as, it seemed, the Affaire was almost entirely carried out on newspapers. "The Dreyfus Affair," A.L. Shane adds, "heralded a new phase in mass communication. It was the first occasion when a national issue was debated through the national and international press" (Shane 1987-88, p. 138). The British audience was a voracious reader of Dreyfus' story, but also, and for the very first time, a voracious viewer: in July 1899, the Mutoscope and Biograph Company produced a series of news reports showing a fleeting glimpse of Dreyfus in the prison yard in Rennes, Dreyfus' wife and brother leaving the prison, and several shots of the court entryway as notable people walked in and out[12]. The Biograph's endeavour became a story of interest in itself as a proof of British cunning (picture 3): "The British Biograph Company, despite the utmost endeavours of the French Government, have succeeded in getting photographs of Dreyfus exercising in the prison yard at Rennes. […] Great difficulty was experienced in getting the film from Rennes to Paris, and it has taken the Biograph Company three weeks to circumvent the police and postal authorities and get it out of France. It, however, safely arrived in London at midday yesterday, and was exhibited at the Palace Theatre last night" (*Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 27 July 1899). The short film clips were played all through Great Britain, they were extensively reviewed and advertised on newspapers and magazines[13]. Such an extraordinary response, in turn, begs the question, how could a strictly Parisian scandal, initially

[11] The increasing interest towards the Affaire is clearly visible in the growing number of front page articles about the Affaire on British newspapers; a research on the BNA - The British Newspaper Archive (which does not however include major national newspapers, such as *The Times*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian* etc.), shows an increase in the number of front page articles from 76 pieces in 1897, to 590 in 1898 to 1729 in 1899.

[12] The film clips are today held by the Filmmuseum in Amsterdam.

[13] The Amusements sections of *The Era* and the Advertisement sections of *The Daily Telegraph* published between August and October 1899 include reviews and advertisements of the Biograph film clips; they were shown several times a week in theatres throughout Great Britain: The Empire Palace of Varieties of London, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Holborn, Dublin, Norwich, Bristol, Belfast, the Olympian Cirque in Blackbourn, Nottingham and Manchester, to name but a few. Here is a review of the first reproduction of the clips on 26 July 1899 at the Palace Theatre in London: "Last night the biograph had another surprise in store. One went to the Palace to pick up information about the sports of Saturday. We got that and more, for after a capital selection of very clear views of the finishers of all Saturday's races and of the whole of the sprints, taken from a point some 10 yards beyond the tape, an announcement suddenly presented itself on the screen to the effect that with much difficulty the biograph had managed to get a glimpse of Captain Dreyfus in the prison yard at Rennes. The picture of the evening, however, was preluded by some ordinary photographs of Rennes and an animated one of Madame Dreyfus and her brother leaving the prison, hardly noticed, it seems, by the townspeople who throng the street. Then came the yard, as seen, apparently, from a neighboring roof. Far below, on the left of the spectator, is the prison building, in the wall of which are two doors some ten yards apart. Out of the further comes Captain Dreyfus in civilian attire escorted by an official. Before the pair have walked five yards towards us the official espies the camera, and at once hurries his charge out of sight again through the nearer door. Captain Dreyfus, who has come out for daily exercise, does not get much, for he is not in our sight for more than five seconds. The biograph kindly repeats the view, not as an encore, but in consideration of its brevity. Without being a great artistic success, it is likely to remain for some time the view that will excite the most interest. Last night it was received in ominous silence, but was heralded and succeeded by loud cheers" (*The Morning Post*, 27 July 1899).

seen by the British embassy as a routine case of spying[14], elicit such a widespread and intense interest?



Aug. 16, 1899 THE SKETCH. 137

HOW DREYFUS WAS "BIOGRAPHED."

This is a breathless story of resource and enterprise. The Biograph and Mutoscope Company for France sent their photographer from Paris with instructions to photograph Captain Dreyfus at Rennes.

The artist of the camera packed up his traps and went, but it was several days before he scored a point. Then he made friends with a certain person—no names, mind you!—who lives somewhere opposite the prison, and who put a room, towards the front of the house, at his disposal.

Here the intrepid man had to build a scaffolding in order to get the necessary view of the prison-yard. The prison authorities twigged the game, and, in their turn, built a screen which reached all along the prison-wall and entirely blocked out the view of the courtyard where Dreyfus was in the habit of exercising for an hour or so daily.

The photographer moved the next piece on the board, putting up a barricade in front of his camera to conceal both himself and the instrument. Here he passed three tedious days; but the reward came when the prison people took it for granted that the "Biograph" gentleman was tired of the fun and pulled down their screen. Now the time of excitement was at hand. The moment Dreyfus appeared in the yard, down went the photographer's board, and the machine was set in motion. The noise caused by the camera, however, attracted the attention of the sentries, who speedily bustled the Captain through the nearest door. After this, the screen was replaced on the prison-wall, and there it remains to this day.

But the "Biograph" man had done well by his company, and you may see the result of his work on this page of *The Sketch* and at the Palace Theatre of Varieties, where the "Biograph" is so great an attraction. This is only one incident of the great Dreyfus drama, but it is far from being the least interesting. The accounts of the re-trial are, to put it mildly, vague; but it seems that the prisoner is keeping himself well in hand, and preserving some outward show of composure. It is fervently to be hoped that Madame Dreyfus, and the other members of the family, including the Captain's devoted brother, will stand the prolonged strain with as much courage and fortitude.

Mme. Dreyfus and M. Mathieu Dreyfus.

MADAME DREYFUS AND HER BROTHER-IN-LAW LEAVING THE PRISON IN WHICH CAPTAIN DREYFUS IS CONFINED AT RENNES.

CAPTAIN DREYFUS (IN MUFTI) BEING HURRIED THROUGH THE PRISON-YARD AT RENNES—BUT THE "BIOGRAPH" MAN "TOOK" HIM.

Copyright Photos of British Mutoscope and Biograph Company, Limited.

Picture 3 - The Sketch, *16 Aug.1899 – © The BNA – The British National Library*

[14] In this regard, R. Tombs writes: "The embassy barely reported the beginning of the case, referring obliquely, without mentioning Dreyfus' name, to 'the recent "espionage" scandals in Paris', and then only because the German ambassador Count Münster was angry at insulting remark about his embassy. The main interest seems to have been to discover whether it was in fact the Germans who were involved" (p. 496) in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510

Anyone familiar with British late-Victorian immigration history would perhaps be prone to looking into antisemitism, the very trigger of the Affaire in France. The late-Victorian and Edwardian periods were notoriously marked by the coexistence of antisemitic and philosemitic feelings, directly related to a rising friction - within the British Jewry itself - between the established middle-class Jews of the West End and a group of impoverished Jewish immigrant from Eastern Europe[15]. Such dis-homogenization gave rise to a highly ambivalent image of the Jew, at once extremely rich and extremely poor, alien and Briton in disguise, cosmopolite and tribal, foreign and familiar, colonizer and immigrate. The initial compassion towards the victims of the Russian pogroms soon turned into overt hostility which resulted in an anti-alien campaign, promptly exploited by the conservatives as a way to direct the malcontent of the EastEnders for their own poverty and insecurity (Bar-Yosef, Valman 2009). And, predictably, it did not take much to unearth and revive a series of deeply-rooted myths and stereotypes concerning the Jews: the villain, the clown, the bogey, the degenerate, the parasite (Rosenberg 1960); in particular, their participation to the British public life, their patriotic feeling and loyalty to the Crown were yet again under discussion.

In retrospect, the story of Dreyfus might have represented a powerful instrument in the hands of those in favour of anti-alienism, especially taking advantage of the coincidence in time between the Rennes trial and the Second Anglo-Boer War. In order to prove their loyalty to the British Crown and Empire, the old British Jewry decided to support the conflict; however, their support was read as a traitorous way towards economic interest, within the background of a secret Jewish capitalistic plan[16] (Bar-Yosef, Valman 2009). In fact, any effort towards integration on the part of the British Jews seemed to go hand in hand with their deceitful reputation: because Jews did not have any distinctive physical, cultural or religious feature, they were not easily distinguishable from British citizens and, worse still, they made a habit of anglicizing their names; but – as the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1902) noted – they tended to create a nation within the nation, a dynamic group organized in accordance with their economic interests, whose members shared a religious belonging, but differed for observance, political views and ideas (Ben-Amos 1973). In such a climate, the charges against Dreyfus might have worked as a deterrent and

[15] Between 1881 and 1914, 120.000 to 150.000 Jews from Eastern Europe emigrated to Great Britain. Feeling threatened, the wealthy English Jewry of the West End (whose members had, after their readmission, gradually gained social consent and occupied key places in the public life of the country, such as the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli) supported the anti-alien campaign promoted by the British conservatives. As part of such campaign, the East End Jews were frequently described as aliens, dirty, inferior, a menace to British workers; in particular, the most alarming trait was the notion of Jew as carrier of diseases. Generally, the hygienic conditions and the controls on the ships arriving in British ports were sufficiently accurate. Nevertheless, the immigrants travelling from Russia to Great Britain on Danish ships represented an unwelcome exception. After the opening of the Kiev Channel in 1895, the number of ships from the Baltic rose, as the length of the journey shortened from five to six days; since the dangers associated with the passengers' health did not concern the Danish territory directly, migrants were transported without respecting the health norms (Bar-Yosef, Valman 2009).

[16] Because the main magnates of the Transvaal area were Jewish, the British were easily led to think about the Second Anglo-Boer War as a Jewish War.

a warning – after all, what could have been more suitable than the story of a Jewish traitor, a Shylock-like social parasite, a spy infiltrating the very heart of the nation, threating national order, stealing territory, selling secrets for monetary gain?

And yet, in a startling turn of events, Great Britain sided with the Dreyfusards: "to realise a little of the depth of feeling in this country, it is only necessary to pay a visit to the Biograph at the Palace Theatre. Dreyfus is wildly cheered, Mercier, Roget, and the rest are freely conspewed in vigorous Anglo-Saxon. Every French uniform is loudly hissed. The same thing is going on in America, in most European cities, in nearly every great town in the world" (*St. James's Gazette*, 13 Sept. 1899). Every great town and, it seems, every social circle, even Queen Victoria's - the Affaire was widely discussed by the Queen and her entourage, becoming one of the main topics of the Queen's letters to the Prime Minister, the prince of Wales, the Kaiser and his mother, and particularly her daughter, to whom the Queen recommended related articles from *The Times*. Such was the extent of her interest that she required the British ambassador in Paris to personally attend the Rennes trial and to report the verdict - which was also communicated to her by Reuters – as soon as it had been pronounced. Once she heard the news from her holiday residence in Balmoral, she telegraphed her PM, Lord Salisbury, to express her indignation for the "monstrous horrible sentence against the poor martyr Dreyfus"[17]. She also wrote a letter to her daughter announcing her intention to cancel her annual, symbolic visit to France. Moreover, in order to subtly let her views on the Affaire be known, she signed an enciphered telegram addressed to the Paris embassy which was, not quite accidentally, intercepted by the press: "I trust," she wrote, "that [Dreyfus] will appeal against this dreadful sentence"[18].

The Queen's outrage soon extended to her subjects: numerous letters were sent to newspapers, as well as to the French ambassador, by aggrieved readers; the widespread indignation resulted in public protests throughout Britain, insults against the French flag and boycott plans to the expenses of French tourism and trade. The extent of Dreyfus' popularity in Great Britain inspired several questions not only among an admittedly low number of scholars[19], but much more

[17] George Earle Buckle, *The Letters of Queen Victoria, vol. III: A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1886 and 1901* (London, 1932), pp. 396-7. Quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510

[18] George Earle Buckle, *The Letters of Queen Victoria, vol. III: A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1886 and 1901* (London, 1932), pp. 396-7. Quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510.

[19] The reception of the Affaire Dreyfus in Great Britain is a curiously overlooked topic. For a complete account on the knowledge and impact of the Affaire on the British Establishment at the time of its unfolding, see R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510; Tomb's analysis is one of the very few historical studies to date that considers the British reception of the Affaire Dreyfus, together with the main themes that emerged from its impact with the culture of the British Establishment. Similarly, R.K. Huch focuses on the anti-French reaction of both the press and the British people, dwelling briefly on causes and effects (R.K. Huch, "British Reaction to the Dreyfus Affair", *Social Science*, Vol. 50, No.1 (1975) pp. 22-28). In her essay "The Dreyfus Affair: could it have happened in England?", A.L. Shane contemplates

among Dreyfus' contemporaries: "Why is it that Dreyfus has become the human unit whose fortunes interest all mankind?," asked W.T. Stead, "it is not his personality. When I began this Character Sketch, I thought of confining myself solely to an attempt to delineate the character of the man. But that, I speedily found, would have interested nobody. For the man himself is very much as other men" (*The Review of Reviews*, 15 Sept. 1899).

THE AFFAIRE ON THE BRITISH PRESS: REPRESENTATION, RHETORIC AND IMAGERY

When I began this Character Sketch... W.T. Stead's words bring back a very familiar question: was the Affaire Dreyfus perceived as a romance *à la* Dumas? If the analysis of the story is any indication, then it probably was. At this stage, though, it is worth noting that shifting the focus from French to British territory entails a radical change in perspective. First of all, bearing both R. Tombs' analysis and Charle's sociological approach in mind, it is safe to say that in Great Britain the outline of the *champ du pouvoir* was radically different: as opposed to France, the British dominant pole – composed of members of the Establishment, the court, and the press – was unanimously Dreyfusard, while a minority of people, the dominated pole, mostly Irish, Catholics and anti-Semitic socialists, was anti-Dreyfusard. Moreover, if the British internal division appears almost inconsequential when compared to the French national fracture, another, much stronger opposition defined the relationship between the English and the Dreyfus affair, the sour antagonism between Great Britain and France, an opposition aggravated, in 1898, by the Fashoda Incident. If the reason at the heart of Britain's popular Dreyfusardism is unrelated to the story of the affair, then it could be worth considering whether it might have its roots in the way in which the case was portrayed by the British press; in narratological terms, the level of the discourse, also responsible, according to H. White, of the fictional quality of historical narration. In which case, the illusion of fictionality produced by the Affaire would be closely connected not only to its popularity, but also to Britain's political orientation.

On the other side of the Channel, the Affaire continues to inhabit the space of the border, be it physical or ideological. The opposition between France and Great Britain - literature reveals - is much older than the affair; discussing geography and nineteenth-century villains, F. Moretti notes that "something […] is often located abroad, in British novels: villains. But the horizon has narrowed: from the Caribbean and Bengal, to France: an enemy just a few miles away, in full view – and so much more effective. This is the strictly nationalistic aspect of British fiction" (Moretti

the possibility of a British Affaire Dreyfus, focusing particularly on the point of view of the British Jewry (A.L. Shane, "The Dreyfus Affair: could it have happened in England?" in *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 30 (1987-1988), Jewish Historical Society of England, pp. 135-148).

1998, p. 29). The affair, it is clear, merely rekindled old enmities, but it also offered the perfect opportunity to better define them, in moral and ethical terms: on the one hand, the Anglo-Saxon conservativism, patriotism and Protestantism; French absolutism, demagoguery and Catholicism on the other. Following the affair, such national characters were translated, in ethical terms, as virtue and vice: British "honesty, civic courage, enlightenment, true military honour, family loyalty" (Tombs 1998, p. 504) stood opposite French "lying, forgery, corruption, immorality, cruelty, and, on the part of the majority of Frenchmen, 'that lack of manly spirit which made possible the infamies of Jacobinism and the brutalities of Napoleonic Tyranny'" (Tombs 1998, p. 505). Thus, the Affaire Dreyfus - symptomatic, in British people's eyes, of the failure of the judicial system, the army, the church and of French civilization in general - served as confirmation of the Anglo-Saxon superiority: the story of the Affaire "will cause every Briton to realize the DIFFERENCE between ENGLISH and FRENCH notions of JUSTICE" (29 May 1898), the press declared on the page of *The Era*. In short, the Affaire provided the British Establishment, going back to Moretti and nineteenth-century fiction, with "a hostile Other as the source of collective identity" (Moretti 1998, p. 29).

Providential as it might have been, the French downfall was also tailored with a certain degree of intent. Employing a language of virtue and vice, us and them, the British press acted at the level of the discourse to subtly strengthen the impact of such an unexpected, yet efficient social glue, thus exacerbating the pre-existing opposition between Great Britain and France. In the aftermath of the publication of Zola's *J'accuse*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* commented: "there is this curious thing about the interest in him, that, whereas as a rule *the British citizen of the more severely respectable* sort is content to leave the outpourings of M. Zola to M. Zola's less particular compatriots, this time the *respectable British citizen* is far more anxious to hear from him than most of Paris is […]. That, of course, is not because there is any sudden corruption of taste *over here*; it is only because *we* have no interest in the matter but to get at the truth" (31 Jan. 1898)[20]. A few days later, the *The Globe* responded to a French article with biting sarcasm: "The *Figaro* is vastly taken with our settlement of the Engineers' Strike, without rioting and bloodshed. After such a spectacle, 'it may be said of the British', says our French contemporary, 'that they are in truth a nation'. For this, many thanks; and, not to be lacking in politeness, we will say that after the spectacle of the Dreyfus case, it may be said of the French that they *are* a nation, too!" (8 Feb. 1898). After Colonel Henry's admission of guilt, "the *infamous Government* of France," reported the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "resolved on revision, with the ready assent of its *idiotic population* and no present sign that its *arrogant though dubiously effective army* will rise in mutiny" (13 Sept. 1899)[21]. The reiteration of Dreyfus'

[20] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 Jan. 1898, my italics
[21] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 Sept. 1899, my italics

conviction at the Rennes trial, on basis that – according to *The Times* – would not have been accepted "for a single moment by any *English court*"[22], was followed by a cautious, if biased comment: "the day may come when it will have to be recognized that France has finally divorced herself from justice, but that day has not come yet […] unfortunately, the majority of the French people appear, in spite of all that has happened, to be in sympathy with the persecutors of Dreyfus" (*The Times*, 13 Sept. 1899)[23].

If France, "the nourishing mother of a Mercier, a Henry, and a Du Paty de Clam"[24], was a nation gone astray, Alfred Dreyfus and his supporters were its innocent victims. The Dreyfus family, in particular, was often depicted as a model of domestic virtue - Dreyfus' loyal sibling Mathieu, upon seeing his released brother, "consents to everything, like a *happy papa* who has a *dear child*"[25]; "suffering and *devoted*"[26] Madame Dreyfus, "abruptly sunk under the weight of adversity, of a frightful concourse of catastrophes, will remain for ever laden with the burden of grief"[27]; Dreyfus' children are his "greatest joy upon earth"; and finally, Dreyfus himself "our *hero*, our *victim*"[28], the "victim of ideas"[29], the "*martyred innocent*"[30]; while he talks, the reporter writes, Dreyfus "has two favourite gestures. When he is arguing a point he raises his hand, making an O with his thumb and forefinger. When he is carried away by emotion or gets excited he opens his hand wide with the fingers outstretched, a gesture, by the way, which has been noted as an indication of an *open and sincere character*"[31]. The Dreyfusards, akin to the respectable Anglo Saxons, were without fail linked to virtue, justice and unconditional bravery: among them, Zola is "a man of supreme *honesty*, prepared to *face* the murderous malice of the French mob, *brave* the gaol, and *confront* poverty and public execration in the *cause of justice*"[32]. On the other hand, "the unspeakable Esterhazy"[33], "the forger"[34], is "the type of bandit that we had thought peculiar to the creative genius of Balzac"[35], "the *bravo* of the Italian Renaissance"[36]; moreover, as opposed to Dreyfus and Lucy's solid marriage,

[22] *The Times*, 17 Aug. 1899, my italics; quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510
[23] Quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510
[24] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1899
[25] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899, my italics
[26] *The Times*, 13 Sept. 1899, my italics; quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510
[27] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899
[28] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899, my italics. Note the repeated use of 'our'.
[29] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899
[30] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899, my italics
[31] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899, my italics. This is also a typical example of the way the British press used speculation together with seemingly-scientific rationality.
[32] *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 Jan. 1898, my italics
[33] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899
[34] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 April 1899
[35] *Illustrated London News*, 10 June 1899
[36] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1899

"the Civil Tribunal of the Seine […] granted the application made by Countess Esterhazy for a divorce from her husband"[37]. Nevertheless, something crucial is clearly missing: Dreyfus the hero, Dreyfus the victim, Dreyfus the martyr… but what about Dreyfus the Jew? *The Times* promptly clarified the issue in its leading article: "Dreyfus is, to the untained conscience of humanity, no Semite, but a human being. Where it is a question between justice and a cruel and odious conspiracy, neither circumcision availeth nor uncircumcision" (12 Sept. 1897)[38].

With Dreyfus' Jewishness conveniently erased, the set of values associated with him perfectly fit Britain's ideological position. Stable, unifying and reassuring, the Dreyfusard values reinforced "the rightness of [the British Establishment's] own beliefs, practices, and even prejudices at a time of growing military, economic, and political challenges" (Tombs 1998, p. 509). The values of truthfulness, justice and freedom, in equal association to both the French Dreyfusards and the Anglo Saxons, were enhanced by the press, to the point where Dreyfus was assimilated to the British national symbols. Between 1898 and 1900, Dreyfus and Zola commonly featured in "The London Music Halls" section of *The Era* among the celebrities and symbols of Great Britain variously represented in sketches: at The Grand, Henri Cazman made a series of "impersonations of famous men, among them Dickens, Tennyson, Disraeli, Zola, and Dreyfus" (2 Dec. 1899); at The Alhambra, Herr Charles Rauchle's "embodiments of Dreyfus, Zola, Esterhazy, Gladstone, and the Prince of Wales are excellent likenesses, and evoke loud plaudits" (17 June 1899); "another notable artist […] is Ludwig Amann, who, with extraordinary rapidity, assumes the features, dress, and posture of Regal, Diplomatic, Senatorial, and military personages of renown, who are instantly recognized as Beaconsfield and Gladstone, Napoleon Bonaparte and Wellington, President Faure, Cecil Rhodes, Dreyfus and Zola, the Prince of Wales, and many others known to history" (*London Evening Standard*, 13 May 1899); and finally, at The Standard "an interlude that wins very great popularity is that furnished by Miss Lillie Vento, a pretty and effective skirt dancer […] - As she waves her skirts, the portraits of heroes, poets, and statesmen are thrown upon them from the front, and loud cheers greet the features of Sir George White, "Bobs", Dreyfus, Kipling, Gladstone, Disraeli, Marquis of Salisbury, and the Queen, the audience singing "Rule Britannia" and the National Anthem" (11 Aug. 1900). The list could go on, but these few examples are enough to prove the point: Jewish or not, Dreyfus is there, between the Queen and the Prince of Wales, *Rule Britannia* and the National Anthem.

In hindsight, the effects of such anti-French campaign are unsurprising: in the wake of the Rennes trial, "at the Palace Theatre, […] the large audience greeted the representation of Maître

[37] *St. James's Gazette*, 9 June 1899
[38] *The Times*, leading article, 12 Sept. 1897; quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510

Labori with deafening cheers, while the portraits of General Mercier and other members of the General Staff were received with hisses and groans. At the Oxford, references of French justice, introduced into Mark Melford's sketch, were met last Monday night with a perfect storm of hisses; and at the Tivoli the French flag was received with more than disfavour" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899). Less predictable may be the fact that the highly divisive, if a bit distorting, tone employed by the British press would emphasise the narrative potentiality of the Affaire and produce in the readers a novelistic feeling. Such proximity to fiction tends to affect the language employed by the press itself, which often strays onto literary territory: "Next Monday," the *Pall Mall Gazette* announced, "if there be no postponement, the curtain will rise on what should be the last act of the greatest melodrama of real life that the history of this century has recorded. At such a conjecture, it may be of interest to point out what is the precise position of the hero and the villains" (5 Aug. 1899). *The Times* depicted the Affaire as "a hideous recrudescence of medieval passions" recalling "the darkest of the dark ages"[39] while, the *London Daily News* warned that "the affair Dreyfus-Esterhazy, like some monstrous cuttlefish of Victor Hugo, or of M. de Rougemont, is extending its inky ramifications of obscurity to this country" (26 Sept. 1898). The dark medieval climate painted by the press, together with the surreal events taking place in a Catholic country overseas, and the inauthentic characters, idealized heroes driven solely by their moral and political concerns, often recalls the atmosphere of a romance or a gothic novel. And, what is more, the story of the Affaire tended to appear on newspapers in instalments, frequently divided into little episodes with dialogues and illustrations, not unlike a Dickensian novel.

So, a romance *à la* Dumas? Yes. And the *Pall Mall Gazette* journalist admittedly had a surprising log-term outlook, mostly in sensing the presence of a very intimate relationship between the Affaire Dreyfus and literature. A very fruitful relationship, in which both the unprecedented matrix role played by the French intellectuals, and the flourishing literary production related to the case are rooted. The artificiality of the characterization, perspective and language adopted by the British press is at the heart of the British vision of the affair. Politically, it is the reason of both the near unanimity of Britain's Dreyfusardism, and of its internal opposition: indeed, the Socialists' anti-Dreyfusard orientation did not stem from any conviction of Dreyfus' guilt; they simply reproached the Establishment and the press for having provided distorted information on the case and manipulated the British public opinion. All the same, a question remains unanswered: the lack of studies on the matter suggests that, despite its popularity and narrative potential, the Affaire played

[39] *The Times*, 13 and 28 Sept. 1899; quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510

no role whatsoever in English literature; have we missed it all along? And, if it indeed remained absent, why?

Part 1 -
The Dreyfus sensation, or the Affaire in popular culture

To be quite up to day – to you I'll relate
A scandalous piece of romance,
Where a soldier, they say, was banished away
By the chiefs of the Army in France.
'Twas to hide their own shame – on him they cast blame,
By evidence forged and untrue;
But now he can smile – he'll get a fair trial,
And justice, tho' only a Jew.
- ALMA CURZON

Only a few months after the outburst of the Dreyfus Affair, the dramatist W.S. Gilbert visited Ellaline Terriss and Seymour Hicks, she the daughter of the actor William Terriss, and her husband an actor and playwright himself. Ellaline recalls in her memoir:

> One day at breakfast he read out an account of the celebrated trial of Dreyfus in Paris. At the end he turned to Seymour and said: 'There's a plot for you. Why don't you write a drama like it for your father-in-law and lay the scene in England?' Seymour jumped at the idea and the result was *One of the Best*, that military drama which was one of my father's greatest successes. (Terriss 1955, p. 114)

Premiering as early as 21 December 1895, *One of the Best* is possibly the very first representation of the Affaire in English theatres. A transposition, to be exact. Which is, in itself, an element of interest, as well as a common feature found in many English stage productions based on Dreyfus' story. If one aspect stands out above all it is in the choices Hicks made as he transposed the Affaire in England: Alfred and Lucy become Lieutenant Dudley Keppel and Mary Penrose, both very British and very Christian. While her name already alludes to the process of Christianisation undergone by the Dreyfuses, Mary is also the daughter of the Revered Robert Penrose; and Dudley the very antithesis of the stereotypical Jewish Frenchman: he was an "all-round sportsman" (Hicks 1899, p. 57), "equally good, if not better, in the sterner business of war" (Hicks 1899, p. 58)[40]. Like Dreyfus, he is publicly accused of betraying his country, tried before a court martial, banished from the army and condemned to imprisonment and exile. In the Keppel Affair, the French army is

[40] The script written by Seymour Hicks for theatre has today gone completely lost. Only a few reviews of the play in the "Music Halls Sections" of the newspapers of the time remain; nevertheless, from the reviews it is possible to gather some of the plot: "The central scene of this play is the public degradation before his regiment of Dudley Keppel, who has been convicted on false evidence of having been a traitor to his country, and the stripping from his of his insignia of his rank in the same way that the unfortunate French officer was treated" (*The Sporting Life*, 31 May 1899). The part of Dudley Keppel was initially played by William Terriss, as suggested by W. Gilbert, and later by Leonard Robson. The plot of the play, though, was turned into a novel by Seymour Hicks, *One of the Best. A novel by Seymour Hicks. Founded on the military drama by Seymour Hicks & George Edwards*, this still available. It was published by Routledge in 1899, when the Affaire reached its climax in popularity with the Rennes trial.

replaced with the British army, the French court becomes a British court - after the degradation scene, Dreyfus exclaimed "Vive la Republique!"; Keppel cries out "God save the Queen!". Everything shifts together with the setting, everything is anglicized, everything except for the villain, Jules de Gruchy, who remains French, and stereotypically so: "There was no mistaking his nationality: it was written plain in every line of his face and covered figure, apart from the usual Gallic idiosyncrasies such as the butterfly tie, the close-cropped hair, upstanding like a door-mat, the pointed, well-waxed moustache, and Imperial tuft of the chin. No, Jules de Gruchy was a Frenchman of the French, and never attempted to hide the fact" (Hicks 1899, p. 17).

One of the Best enjoyed a vast and lasting popularity, which only grew in 1899, with the Rennes trial[41]. One of the very first performances was attended by none other than George Bernard Shaw. In the first volume of the collection *Our Theatre in the Nineties* (1932), he included a review dated 28 December 1895 quite boldly entitled "One of the Worst". He writes:

> The new entertainment at the Adelphi has for its object the reproduction on the stage of the dramatic effect of the military ceremony of degradation undergone not long ago in France by Captain Dreyfus. The idea is not a bad one from the Adelphi point of view; but the work of setting it into a dramatic frame has fallen into the wrong hands, the two authors' familiarity with the stage and its requirements only giving an absurdly cheerful and confident air to their feeble and slippery grip of a subject much too big for them. (Shaw 1932, p. 283)

Too big for them, but not for Shaw, who takes this opportunity to comment on said subject. Two years before *The Times*' first article on the case, Shaw offers a critical reading of the French political system, which is also a self-critique. He points at the theatricality of the French who, he writes, "govern by melodrama," while the British "keep up by breaking and getting rid of [their] Dreyfuses in the quietest possible manner, instead of advertising them by regimental *coups de theâtre*" (Shaw 1932, p. 283). In such a popular melodrama, France, unlike Great Britain, needed someone to play the part of the villain: "a delinquent like Dreyfus is a perfect godsend to the French authorities, and instantly has all the national limelights flashed on him, whereas here he would be quietly extinguished in support of the theory that such conduct could not possibly occur in the British army" (Shaw 1932, p. 284).

However, at the sunset of the Victorian Age, even Great Britain was in need of a good villain, a Dreyfus, someone who could be made to embody the evils afflicting the community. And, as was shown, the Affaire provided Great Britain with one, or several. But where, within the literary landscape of the time, can such villains be found? Shaw's essay points at an uncharted territory, the one of popular entertainment, theatre and popular literature; a direction that agrees with the

[41] "The recent development and termination of the 'affaire,' though, has given a new lease of life to the play" (*The Era*, 30 Sept. 1899).

argument brought forward in the former section, which pointed at the affinity between the story of the Affaire and certain narrative schemes typical of popular literature as an explanation of its exceptional popularity in Great Britain. With its notoriety and high degree of accessibility, the Affaire offered a potential appeal to all levels of public; as such, turned into popular entertainment, it represented at once a chance to strengthen certain values and a commercial opportunity, given the expansion of the publishing market and the downward broadening of the literary domain (Spinazzola 2005). Hicks wisely sized the opportunity with both hands: "It is the dramatic Dreyfus Case in a nutshell," writes *The Sporting Life* about *One of the Best*, "Human, interesting, pulsating, holding the audience spellbound" (6 July 1899).

I. Captain Dreyfus at the Music Hall

A sensation. That is perhaps the best way to describe what the Dreyfus Affaire was in Great Britain between 1897 and 1900, to the point where even Ernest Shackleton - the BBC has recently revealed - kept a copy of the prison diaries of Alfred Dreyfus in his cabin on the Endurance[42]. Between December 1898 and September 1899, the Madame Tussauds museum offered a few tableaux featuring Dreyfus[43]. In 1898, the Christmas entertainment at the Drury Lane Theatre included the pantomime *The Forty Thieves*, in which Dreyfus, together with Zola and other celebrities such as Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain were trapped in cages at the zoo in place of the animals[44]. And, speaking of pantomimes, one year later, the ballet *A Day Off* by Dundas Slater was staged at the Alhambra where, *The Era* reports, "the house was packed from floor to ceiling" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899) – Charles Raymond, dressed up as the recently pardoned Dreyfus, was surrounded by some of the main European powers and, "in a pantomime expressive of poignant mental suffering, pleaded for justice" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899); naturally, France turns its back to him, and as several French officers treat him with deep disdain, "immediately the audience burst into a perfect storm of hissing and 'Disgrace!'" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899). Germany extends its hands and consoles the unhappy Captain; England, of course, "bestowed a glance of infinite pity on Dreyfus. The incident," the reviewer continues, "occasioned an extraordinary display of feeling" (*The Era*, 16 Sep 1899)[45].

Similar reactions occurred in the wake of the Rennes trial: "A number of remarkable scenes were witnessed at many of the London music halls on Saturday night, when demonstrations of popular feeling in the Dreyfus verdict occurred. In some instances the programme was seriously interrupted. At the Metropolitan Music Hall, Edgware-road, the audience cheered a topical song

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42 Paul Kerley, "What books were taken to the Antarctic 100 years ago?", BBC News Magazine, 24 February 2016.

43 "MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION, Baker-street Station, In connection with trains and buses from all parts. The Brightest and most Comfortable Promenade in London for Ladies and Children. The TRANSVAAL CRISIS / The TRANSVAAL CRISIS Portrait Model of Sir ALFRED MILNER, High Commissioner of South Africa. PRESIDENT KRUGER. LORD SALISBURY. The Right Hon. Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN. Captain DREYFUS. / Captain DREYFUS. Hall of Tableaux" (*The Sporting Life*, 30 Dec. 1898). The same advertisement, with a few variations in the characters represented in the tableaux (but Dreyfus is present), is present in The Sporting Life and the Morning Post on 10 January, 6 July, 18 and 30 August, 6, 7 and 11 September, 11 October 1899.

44 "DRURY LANE THEATRE - The Christmas Pantomime "The Forty Thieves" started last night at half-past seven punctually. […] The second part of the piece was, as far as was seen, rather better than the first, one scene which takes place at the Zoo causing special delight in old and young. […] In due course various celebrities are introduced, and, changing places with the animals, are confined in their cages. The celebrities so treated are Lord Salisbury, Messrs. Chamberlain, John Burns, Tod Sloan, De Rougemont, Hooley, Beerbohm Tree, Zola, Captain Dreyfus, Dr. W.G. Grace Lord Kitchener, and, lastly, Mr. Dan Leno" (*The Morning Post*, Dec. 27, 1898)

45 "Mr Charles Raymond, admirably made up as the unhappy Dreyfus, came on amid a tremendous burst of cheering, and in pantomime expressive of poignant mental suffering, pleaded for justice. France, turning from him, was confronted by Germany, who gave both hands to Dreyfus, bidding him meanwhile not to despair. England bestowed a glance of infinite pity on Dreyfus" (*The Era*, 16 Sept 1899). "In the scene in which the chief European nations are symbolized, an actor, made up very closely to represent the recently 'pardoned' prisoner, appeals in dumb show for justice to a number of French officers, who turn their backs on him with disdain and indifference" (*The Era*, 23 Sept. 1899).

alluding to the case, while cries of 'Mercier' and 'Roget' were signal for loud hissing. Cheers were called for Dreyfus, and responded to again and again. […] A comedian, at the Walworth Palace of Varieties, on Saturday night, sang a song entitled 'Dreyfus, victim,' and the mention of the name was the signal for a most touching demonstration of sympathy" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899). The Affair, so it would seem, became a hot topic for songs as well: at the Crystal Palace, "Charles Coborn, vocal comedian, has added two topical verses anent the Dreyfus affaire to his ditty 'We don't want him down our way,' and, needless to add, the allusions elicit a perfect storm of applause" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899). Rutland Barrington, "with his crisp, dryly humorous style, […] makes every line tell. His topical song 'I want to be popular' has fresh verses concerning Captain Dreyfus" (*The Era*, 4 Feb. 1899). And again, "the Dreyfus affair is still receiving topical attention from our descriptive vocalists, and the following verse, sung by Miss Alma Curzon in her well-known song, tersely expresses the situation: To be quite up to day – to you I'll relate / A scandalous piece of romance, / Where a soldier, they say, was banished away / By the chiefs of the Army in France. / 'Twas to hide their own shame – on him they cast blame, / By evidence forged and untrue; / But now he can smile – he'll get a fair trial, / And justice, tho' only a Jew" (*The Era*, 2 Sept. 1899). At the Oxford, Leo Dryden added a sketch concerning Dreyfus to his popular show: "Mr Leo Dryden makes his fine voice reach the confines of the spacious auditorium in 'What's bred in the bone,' a ballad of the virtues of the English race; while he touched the vexed question of the Dreyfus's doom with a song in which the French convict is seen lamenting his fate on l'Ile du Diable" (*The Era*, 11 Feb. 1899).

The Dreyfus Affair, it is quite apparent, became a popular sensation, as well as a commercial opportunity[46], not lost on the rising industry of cinema. The French companies Star-Film, Pathé Frères and Société Française de Mutoscope et Biographe, as well as the latter's British and American branches, the Mutoscope and Biograph Co. and the Lubin Manufacturing Company produced a series of films on the Affaire while it was still ongoing. After the news reports by Biograph, in September 1899, the Lubin Manufacturing Company released a film entitled *The Trial of Captain Dreyfus at Rennes, France*. The film starts when Dreyfus, escorted by a group of *gendarmes*, leaves his prison cell in Rennes and heads to the court for the famous trial; there, he is joined by seven judges, the President of the Court, and his lawyers Edgar Demange and Fernand Labori. The

[46] It is worth mentioning that, as the case was unrolling, the story of the Affaire was used not only at the cinema and in theatres, but also in a series of academic or journalistic texts published mainly in 1899, as the Rennes trial was happening together with the second Anglo-Boer war. Interestingly, the texts share – not only with each other but also with the reportages on the British press – the episodic structure, often accompanied by a series of illustrations, due probably to the way the Affaire was reported in Britain which was, for the very first time, strongly visual. One of the earliest texts is *The Dreyfus Case* (1898) by Fred C. Conybeare, an Orientalist and Theology professor at Oxford; in 1899, a series of texts came out: *Dreyfus: the Prisoner of Devil's Island* by William Harding, *The Dreyfus Story* by Richard W. Hale and *The Tragedy of Dreyfus* by G.W. Stevens, who, since 1896, had been a journalist for the *Daily Mail*, but did not work as their official Paris correspondent during the Affaire (it was John Nathan Raphael instead); in the same year, E.A. Vizitelly told the story of Zola's exile in *With Zola in England: A Story of Exile*.

Lubin catalogue reports: "The trial scarcely proceeds before the detestable General Mercier enters, who finally takes the witness stand. In his testimony he declares that he would be the first to declare the victim innocent did he consider him so. Dreyfus jumps to his feet and cries: 'Why don't you do it?' Pandemonium reigns for the time being and the excitement can hardly be quelled until the audience is threatened with expulsion by the Court". And, the summary goes on, "No film of any subject has ever been produced that is so realistic, and men who are wise will buy this film at once"[47]. Similar renditions of the trial were produced by Biograph in 1899 with *Trial of Captain Dreyfus*[48] and *Dreyfus Receiving His Sentence*[49], in which the mimic actor Sigmund Lafayette plays Dreyfus in court and, after the verdict, the very dramatic scene of the meeting with Madame Dreyfus. An earlier example produced by Biograph depicting another key episode of the Affaire is *The Zola-Rochefort Duel*[50] directed by William K.L. Dickson.

Tableaux, pantomimes, ballets, sketches, topical songs, films, several artists, actors with a common denominator, the Court. No staging, however, of the discovery of the *bordereau*, nor of the arrest of Dreyfus; rarely of his life on Devil's Island; nor even the story of espionage preceding the Affaire. Instead, the French Court is the main setting, and the trial the moment of the Affaire preferred by the producers of popular entertainment for its sentimental potential and inherent affinity with the stage and drama. Which brings to mind G.B. Shaw's words: "The Dreyfus affair was interesting in many ways. It was French – French in the most un-English way, because it was not only theatrical, but theatrical at the expense of common sense and public policy" (Shaw 1932, p. 283). And theatrical it was indeed, both in France and Great Britain, although in two very different ways.

The theatricality inherent to the French judicial system is at the heart of many critical studies, from Katherine Fischer Taylor (1993) to Michel Foucault (1975); it is also, perhaps, what lies behind G.B. Shaw's remark. In this respect, Christopher Forth observes that, as opposed to the English accusatorial system, the French inquisitorial legal procedure followed certain "cultural

[47] LCMP, p. 62, column 3 in the AFI Catalog of Feature Films, the first 100 years 1893-1993; American Film Institute (AFI) website, http://catalog.afi.com/Catalog/Showcase

[48] "An impressive character impersonation by Lafayette, the great mimetic comedian. The scene is from the famous court-martial at Rennes, ending with the prisoner's dramatic declaration, 'I am innocent.'" - MB Picture Catalogue, Nov. 1902, p. 60, in the AFI Catalog of Feature Films, the first 100 years 1893-1993; American Film Institute (AFI) website, http://catalog.afi.com/Catalog/Showcase

[49] "Lafayette, the mimic, showing Captain Alfred Dreyfus reading the verdict of the court-martial in his prison, and meeting with Madame Dreyfus. This picture is very dramatic, and true to the details of the actual scene" - MB Picture Catalogue, Nov. 1902, p. 60, in the AFI Catalog of Feature Films, the first 100 years 1893-1993; American Film Institute (AFI) website, http://catalog.afi.com/Catalog/Showcase

[50] "This is a replica of the famous duel with rapiers between Emile Zola, the novelist, and Henri Rochefort, the statesman. The duel takes place on the identical ground where the original fighting occurred, seconds and doctors being present as in the original combat. The picture gives a good idea of how a French affair of honor is conducted" - AMB Picture Catalogue, Nov. 1902, p. 238, in the AFI Catalog of Feature Films, the first 100 years 1893-1993; American Film Institute (AFI) website, http://catalog.afi.com/Catalog/Showcase

scripts" (Forth 2004, p. 34), which contributed towards the impression of a courtroom performance. Each character had its well-defined role: the defence attorney was expected to "be emotive and theatrical in order to sway the jury"; the defendant needed "to face the jury directly, and given the architectural structure of the courtroom, this meant that the jury and the public saw the defendant primarily in profile. The judge however, was seen in full face" (Forth 2004, p. 26). The position of the defendant did not prevent the eager public from speculating, turning to a tradition whose main interest lies in profiles, physiognomic interpretation (Taylor 1993). Yet, as a legal actor, Dreyfus failed rather spectacularly:

> After all the "facts" were in and the guilt of Dreyfus seemed without question, the public expected the accused to conform to the standard script of guilty parties; yet insofar as the legal theatre was a stage that sought to pass for reality, this performance had to be credible enough so as not to appear "performed". […] during Dreyfus' degradation in Paris, and again during his retrial in Rennes, the most common complaint about him was that he seemed to be merely performing, which ironically meant that he had failed to perform properly (Forth 2004, p. 34).

Exposing the artificiality of the French court, Dreyfus confirmed the terms of his accusation: he brought chaos to the established order, undermined French institutions and was thus unsuitable as a Frenchman. Therefore, his failure to perform as a guilty party strengthened the stance of his detractors in the Affair, which turned out to be *theatrical at the expense of common sense and public policy* indeed.

In Great Britain, the Affaire was not any less theatrical: it is on stage that the Affaire was represented for the very first time, pervasively and repeatedly; at theatre, people cheered Dreyfus and swore against the French flag and the members of the General Staff. That is nothing new for the British stage, always in touch with actual events since Elizabethan times: the audience enjoyed knowing what they were going to see, enjoyed watching their world on stage, their values, worries, preoccupations performed, but at a distance, and playwrights were willing to please them, starting with the author of *One of the Best*. Speaking of which, Hicks' play was only the first of a long list of productions based on the Affair. With a few exceptions mostly antecedent to 1899, playwrights took the liberty of transposing or freely modifying the Dreyfus Affair, probably sensing that, given its enormous popularity, the pleasure of the audience would not stem from yet another faithful retelling of the case, but rather from recognising its main events hidden or intertwined with those presented on stage.

In 1899, every French military man on stage seems to have been a Dreyfus in disguise. Beginning with a French Sergeant of the 17th Guards, the protagonist of *The Gamester of Metz* (1899?) a romantic French drama by Charles March, described with morbid enthusiasm by *The Stage* as "The greatest Dreyfus play. A replica of the Dreyfus tragedy. Court-martial! Unjust Sentence!

Degradation! Exile! Pursuit of Revenge! Nemesis!!!" (*The Stage*, 8 Nov. 1899)[51]. Or Major Suaroff in *Under the Czar* (1899): no sooner did he step on stage that, *The Era* reports from Edinburgh, "the audience shouted long and loudly, 'Good old Dreyfus!' It is evident that the sympathy felt for the victim of French injustice is as strong in Scotland as in other parts of Great Britain" (*The Era*, 16 Sept. 1899)[52]. Or poor Private Robert, the innocent victim of Sergeant Usher of the 17th Lancers; in *Drummed Out* (1900?), a sketch by the East-End actor A.C. Lilly, Usher steals the locket of the Colonel's son and puts it in the pocket of Private Robert's coat; but the cunning little child witnesses Usher's mischiefs and the Sergeant, as the title suggests, is drummed out of the regiment[53]. The plot, *The Era* comments, "has evidently been suggested by the notorious Dreyfus case" (*The Era*, 10 Feb. 1900).

And, of course, Dudley Keppel, protagonist of Seymour Hicks and George Edwardes' *One of the Best*, performed for the first time at Christmas 1895 at the Adelphi and brought back possibly for the next four years. "On Thursday next, June 1, at 8.0, will be produced the stirring, romantic, patriotic military drama ONE OF THE BEST," says one of the advertisements, "Two Military Bands and 100 Guardsmen will assist in the great DEGRADATION SCENE, in which the hero is stripped of the insignia of his rank, as was Captain Dreyfus". "This great play," the advertisement concludes, "will cause every Briton to realise the DIFFERENCE between ENGLISH and FRENCH notions of JUSTICE" (*The Sporting Life*, 29 May 1899). Regardless of G.B. Shaw's criticism, Hicks' military drama was so enormously successful that Robert Arthur, manager of the Princess's Theatre, decided not only to stage it almost every evening from, presumably, 29 May to 19 July 1899, but also chose it as the opening play for the reopening of the theatre in August 1899; and how convenient, since the Rennes trial was just about to start: "Next Saturday the Princess's Theatre will be re-opened by Mr. Robert Arthur with the military drama, 'One of the Best'. This is a Dreyfus play. The real 'affaire' is assuming such striking dramatic proportions as the date of the Court Martial at Rennes approaches, special and daily increasing interest attaches to its reflection on the stage" (*The Sporting Life*, 2 Aug. 1899).

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[51] The play was also staged in 1900 at the Metropole Opera House & Theatre. It starred Mr Charles March himself and Miss Marie North.

[52] "In the course of the performance of *Under the Czar* at the Pavillion Theatre, Edinburgh, on Monday evening, Mr Oswald Cray, in the character of Major Suaroff, was made up with a remarkable resemblance to the French officer whose trial has created much interest and indignation, and the audience shouted long and loudly, "Good old Dreyfus!" It is evident that the sympathy felt for the victim of French injustice is as strong in Scotland as in other parts of Great Britain" (The Era, 16 Sept. 1899).

[53] From the London Music Halls section. "THE PARAGON. A sketch in the more serious vein is *Drummed Out*, which winds up the bill. It has evidently been suggested by the notorious Dreyfus case, which agitated Europe during the summer of last year during the trial at Rennes. The short piece is written by Mr A.C. Lilly, a favourite actor in the East-end, who appears as Sergeant Usher, of the 17th Lancers. Usher, in order to wreak his spit on a trooper (?), steals a locket belonging to the colonel's little son and places it in the pocket of Private Robert's great coat. Fortunately for Robert, the dastardly deed of the sergeant is witnessed by the youngster, and the real culprit very soon gets his deserts by being drummed out of his regiment." (*The Era* – February 10, 1900)

Interestingly enough, *One of the Best* anticipated many of the main themes that would later emerge from the interaction between the Affaire and the birth of spy fiction: Great Britain threatened by a foreign power, France, with the theft of secret military documents; the female spy, Esther Coventry, who unknowingly becomes a traitor to her country. Then, the evil master spy, Jules de Gruchy, French, cunning, manipulative, mephistophelic; he uses his accomplice as a "tool", "an apt pupil in his master's hands" (Hicks 1899, p. 23). And, of course, the espionage plot, the trial of Dudley Keppel and his conviction. The so-called drumming-out scene, the reviewer of *The Era* reports, "became the talk of London" (*The Era*, 3 June 1899), and not without reason: the mute despair of the Captain was counteracted by the presence of a hundred men of the First Battalion Scots Guards; Keppel, previously convicted by the court martial as a traitor to his country, receives the same treatment as his French counterpart, Dreyfus: the insignia of his rank are stripped off of him, his sword broken. But the degradation scene is not the only element of interest: the play also includes the love story between Keppel and his wife Mary Penrose, and a prophetic rehabilitation scene. The anticipation on stage of Dreyfus' real-life rehabilitation does nothing but prove how exceptionally adherent to fiction the story of the Affaire was. In a later review, a journalist observes: "the characters are well and distinctly drawn, and as psychology plays no part in their composition, the audience is not mystified as to their intentions – they know their hero to be a hero and their heroine to have all that gentle trustfulness beloved to popular audiences" (*The Era*, 30 Sept. 1899).

Similarly prophetic, although slightly more controversial, was the military musical drama in Hebrew *Captain Dreyfus* (1898) by Nahum Rackow, and its sequel *Zola, the Truth Seeker* (1898). The title, *Captain Dreyfus*, is quite telling: Rackow does not hide his model behind a fictional name or a fictional location, yet, because the play was written before the conclusion of the original case, with a cunning move he does provide his public with reassurance and something of a happy ending: "The plot deals with the well-known degradation of the French officer, and a sensational scene is provided of the unfortunate Captain being stripped of his honours, while further interest is lent to the piece by a dream, which the chief character has of his acquittal of the charge brought against him, and of his restoration to former rank" (*The Stage*, 16 June 1898). Once again, playwrights anticipate history in Dreyfus' story. Produced in London, the play was a success: it became "quite a feature of the Standard, and attract[ed] considerable numbers of the Jewish members of the community, who reside so largely in the neighbourhood" (*The Stage*, 16 June 1898).

Yet, as Dreyfusard and liberally tolerant as the British Establishment might have proclaimed itself to be[54], a Jewish production about a Jewish spy still generated anxiety and, although similar,

[54] In his "Jewish stereotyping and English literature 1875-1920: towards a political analysis", Bryan Cheyette underlines that while British antisemitism did not take the same politicized *genocidal model* as it did in Germany, it is still present and materialized in a double characterization of the Jew: on the one hand, the Jew was assimilated as a model of the values of the

the play was not received with as much favour as *One of the Best*: indeed, annoyed by the choice of producing the play in Hebrew, Lord Chamberlain asked to be provided with a literal translation of *Zola, the Truth Seeker* before allowing its production at the Standard[55]. Controversies aside, Rackow and Ferdinand Staub, who co-authored the play, took a lot more liberty in bringing Zola's story on stage. The first act is set amongst the editorial staff of the anti-Semitic newspaper *La Libre Parole*, where Jacques, a commanding young man, stares rather lustfully at Lizette, an unknowing servant asking to put an advertisement on the newspaper. And, a reviewer notes, "as evidence of the racial and religious hatred on the Continent, one Josephus, an ecclesiastic, is introduced, and is made one of the instruments to prevent light being thrown on *l'affaire Dreyfus*" (*The Stage*, 11 Aug. 1898). In the next scene, the editor of *La Libre Parole*, M. Drumont and Esterhazy discuss Zola's *J'accuse…!*; Esterhazy, ever the fierce villain, predicts a life of imprisonment for Dreyfus regardless of his defender, Zola. After a second act exploiting the pathos and the despair of Madame Dreyfus and her fatherless children consoled by a magnanimous Zola, the story moves on to Matthias Dreyfus[56] wandering in disguise through the streets of Paris. He stumbles by chance upon Esterhazy returning from a meeting with the other conspirators against Dreyfus. The third act closes with Esterhazy in his rooms who, in his drunken state, has a terrifying vision of Alfred being freed, reinstated in the army and welcomed back by his fellow soldiers. Finally, the last act is dedicated to Zola's trial and to his final speech concerning justice and freedom[57].

British Establishment, on the other it was used – especially in periods of rising tensions as the one of the migration wave of fin-de-siècle Britain – as a negative Other embodying a set of opposing values (Kushner 1989 : 12-13).

[55] "M. Zola […] is requisitioned in his stead, and the author places him on a pedestal from which he delivers lengthy orations in vindication of his warfare of words, and furthermore would have us regard him as a hero on whom it is impossible to look except in admiration for the position he has taken up. Possible, in view of the highly-coloured character of Captain Dreyfus, with its innuendoes, insinuations, and, above all, its undisguised charges against certain persons in high places, the Lord Chamberlain on this occasion insisted on being furnished with a literal translation of Zola before he would sanction its being placed on the stage. However, either the Lord Chamberlain's assistants were somewhat lax in their perusal of the MS., or else the translator put a very liberal interpretation on the meaning of a "liberal [literal?] translation," for without a doubt *Zola, The Truth Seeker* is every whit as outspoken and incriminating as the play produced last June. With the exception of the two chiefs, the characters in each are almost identical. The same free and irresponsible tone is adopted throughout, and speeches are put into the mouths of certain of the players which, in anywhere but England, would certainly bring down upon them the wrath of the authorities in the shape of a committal to durance vile for a more or less lengthy period of time." (*The Stage*, 11 August 1898)

[56] It is not clear why the author would name Dreyfus's brother Matthias, instead of Mathieu, or if it is a mistake made by the reviewer.

[57] "The curtain rises in the first act on a scene in M. Drumont's office of the *Libre Parole*, where a facetious young man names Jacques appears to hold sway. Lizette, whom, if the programme did not so set forth, nobody would take for a servant, enter, and expresses a desire to put an advertisement in the paper to go as companion to a lady. The young man Jacques takes advantage of the opportunity to ogle her rather more than seems to be necessary, and makes (*sotto voce*) sundry remarks as to her good looks, which remarks he chooses to ornament with language which, however acceptable in Yiddish, in English would not be deemed nice. As evidence of the racial and religious hatred on the Continent, one Josephus, an ecclesiac, is introduced, and is made one of the instruments to prevent light being thrown on *l'affaire Dreyfus*. […] Esterhazy next comes on the scene, and discusses with Drumont the now famous letter which Zola wrote to the *Aurore*, and, full of hatred and vindictiveness, apostrophizes the writer, declaring that, despite the new-found champion, Dreyfus will never escape from his far-off prison. The second act discloses a drawing-room at Dreyfus's house. Mdme. Dreyfus, stricken with grief, calls her little son to her, and, in a pathetic scene, both kneel down and pray for the husband and father across the sea. Presently Zola is announced, and he bids the sorrowing wife to be of good heart, and tells her that eventually justice will triumph, and set the captive free. Matthias Dreyfus, brother of the convicted captain, assumes a disguise, and goes out into the streets to watch the movements of the men suspected to have betrayed their country's secrets. In one quarter of the town he comes across Esterhazy, who is supposed to be returning from a meeting of the conspirators in the plot to screen themselves from

One final example: *A Secret Spy* by Mr. Geo. "*A Secret Spy*," a reviewer writes, "deals with the Dreyfus sensation, a case familiar in the majority of its details to the most unlettered" (*The Era*, 15 July 1899). In this instance, the play does not deal with the Affaire as the public knew it, transposed or otherwise, but with the fictional story of a Dreyfusard, Captain Simon, whose arrest was to be generously rewarded by the police. Michelot, the villainous spy of the story, finds Simon in Paris; not only does he wish to capture Simon and earn the reward, but wants to marry his daughter Estelle as well, who is in love with Gustave Danton. Yet, Danton sees Estelle embracing another man, her father Simon. Jealous and unknowing, Danton decides to help Michelot in his endeavour to capture the man who allegedly stole his beloved Estelle. During one of their attempts to catch the Captain, a newsvendor called The Cricket shields Simon from a bullet and falls dead. Meanwhile, Michelot sends a letter to Estelle and tricks her into going to his rooms. Once again, The Cricket arrives providentially: he manages to save Estelle by menacing Michelot with a revolver and takes her to her father in his hiding hut on the coast. But Michelot manages to find them. This time, though, The Cricket is knocked down and bound. Gustave, who accompanied Michelot, sees the Captain and his daughter and understands his mistake; instead of capturing Simon, he reconciles with Estelle and brings the good news: Dreyfus is free[58].

Surprisingly enough, today no trace of such productions remains, apart from a few reviews in the Music Halls Sections of the theatre newspapers of the time. Their disappearance may perhaps be attributed to their poor quality, by all means, but it might also be symptomatic of the disappearance, with the advent of the First World War, of the Affaire Dreyfus from the public imagination; no Affair, no transpositions. In her study dedicated to the Affair, Hannah Arendt observes: "while the Dreyfus Affair in its broader political aspects belongs to the twentieth century, the various trials of the Jewish Captain Alfred Dreyfus, are quite typical of the nineteenth century" (Arendt 2017, p. 117). Even the *dramatis personae*, their roles and characterisation, she continues,

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the consequences of their crime at the expense of an innocent man. This chance meeting confirms a suspicion which Matthias previously had as to Esterhazy's complicity in the matter, the last scene of the third act reveals Esterhazy's rooms, where a drunken carouse is in progress. After the departure of his guests, the Count is terrified by a vision which his muddled brain conjures up of Dreyfus being reprieved, and later reinstated in his regiment, and welcomed back by his brother officers. The last picture presented by this somewhat disjointed play is the Court where Zola is condemned to fine and imprisonment, and the opportunity is seized for another flight of oratory on his part with the well-known platitudes anent freedom and justice" (*The Stage*, 11 Aug. 1898).

[58] "The friends of the unfortunate French officer are proscribed by the Government, and a heavy reward is offered for the arrest of one in particular, Captain Simon, an enthusiastic Dreyfusard. The Captain is found out in Paris by Michelot, a malignant spy, who not only covets the price of Simon's capture, but wishes to marry his daughter Estelle. The latter, however, has a lover in Gustave Danton, who grows madly jealous at the sight of Estelle embracing a man, whom he does not know to be her father. He assists Michelot to capture Simon, who nevertheless gets clear away through the friendly offices of a light-hearted newsvendor called "The Cricket," who falls apparently wounded by a bullet intended for the Captain. Michelot afterwards gets Estelle by means of a fraudulent letter to his apartment in a low quarter of the city; but here again the "Cricket" turns up to restrain Michelot's aggressiveness at the point of a revolver, and to get Estelle away to her father, who is in hiding in a hut on the coast. With unfailing tenacity Michelot appears again to capture Captain Simon. He effects an entrance to the hut, knocks the "Cricket" down and binds him, and bids Gustave arrest the old man. Gustave has, however, become reconciled to Estelle, and has brought the good news that Dreyfus has been restored to rank and position" (*The Era*, 15July 1899)

"all this belongs typically to the nineteenth century and by itself would never have survived the two World Wars" (Arendt 2017, p. 119). While this holds true for Great Britain, in France the Affaire Dreyfus remained a relevant political topic throughout the twentieth century. In fact, Arendt concludes, in France "the Dreyfus Affair in its political implications could survive because two of its elements grew in importance during the twentieth century. The first is hatred of the Jews; the second, suspicion of the republic itself, of Parliament, and the state machine" (Arendt 2017, p. 119). The same cannot be said for Great Britain, where the Affaire and, with it, its dramatic representations slowly vanished: indeed, even *A Secret Spy*, in its partial narrative independence, would lose most of its appeal in front of a contemporary audience, having no interaction with the Dreyfusmania, which, as any sensation, came violently and disappeared leaving almost no trace.

II. The Affaire in Gothic guise

If the Affaire Dreyfus was a sensation, almost a Dreyfusmania, it was also, and quite paradoxically, in competition with another *cause célèbre*, Trilbymania. Today almost forgotten, *Trilby* (1894) was a best-selling novel by George du Maurier which enjoyed exceptional popularity both in America and Great Britain. Published as an illustrated serial in *Harper's Monthly*, it became the first modern best seller in America, selling more than 200,000 copies in only one year[59]. And not only that:

> Trilby generated a craze – 'Trilby-mania' – that went beyond the novel itself. Socialites performed *tableaux vivants* from the book, and sang Trilby's songs to raise money for charity; art galleries exhibited the manuscript, illustrations, and photographs of the play; […] The American playwright Paul Potter adapted the book for the stage, concentrating on the relationship between Trilby and Svengali; and it became a huge hit first in New York and then London, where it was revised by Herbert Beerbohm Tree and Du Maurier for the Haymarket Theatre. (Showalter 1995, p. x)

If Elaine Showalter's words sound familiar it is, quite possibly, because they mirror the description of the British reaction to the Affaire Dreyfus advanced in the former section. The Trilbymania[60] and the Dreyfusmania, both with a Jewish character in the lead, coexisted for a few years in what Showalter calls "the cultural mythology of the *fin-de-siècle*" (Showalter 1995, p. ix), and their evolution over time followed a nearly identical pattern, from omnipresence to oblivion.

Trilby is generally described as a *roman-à-clef*, in which Du Maurier's own autobiographical recollection of 1850s Paris (Showalter 1995, p. xiii) merges with the fictional tale of three English artists living in a bohemian Latin Quarter studio. While Taffy, Sandy and, particularly, Little Billee might be read as androgynous aesthetes, they become conservative symbols of English respectability and domesticity when compared to the two main characters of the novel, Trilby O'Ferrall – an artist's model and then grisette – and Svengali, a Jewish musician living in the neighbouring Rue Tireliard – Pickpocket Street[61]. If, originally, the novel centred around the love story between Trilby and Little Billee, what little remains of the Trilbymania in the English imagination is to be found in the storyline concerning Trilby and Svengali, already singled out and highlighted in the stage and film productions of the time. Once boyish and promiscuous, Trilby is transformed, or better, anglicized, by her relationship with Little Billee – she becomes domestic, virginal, maternal; "she gives up modelling and becomes a laundress, a *blanchisseuse*, as if to signify

[59] On the subject, E. Showalter reports: "*Trilby* became the first modern best seller in American publishing, and the first to use modern advertising and marketing techniques. Published in book form in the United States in the summer of 1894, the novel sold more than 200,000 copies in the first year; the English editions were hugely successful as well, marking 'one of the rare instances when the British reading public reacted favourably to a book that made its first success in America' (Purcell, p.64)" (Showalter 1995, ix).

[60] The Trilbymania started in 1894 and, Showalter notes, Du Maurier's death in 1896 "slowed down the pace of Trilby-mania; by 1900 a reporter in New York declared that the craze was over" (Showalter 1995, xxiii).

[61] The allusion to pickpocketing is significant in relation to the character of Svengali and resonates with the popular idea of the Jew as usurer and pickpocket, within a fictional world inspired by Thackeray's satiric style.

her own purification and revirginization. She stops smoking, loses her slangy French" (Showalter 1995, p. xx). She is, in other words, a *garçonne* turned into a Victorian angel of the house. But, forced to end her engagement with Little Billee, Trilby returns to Paris and becomes an instrument in the hands of Svengali. Svengali, as the present connotation of the term suggests, is a hypnotist and, through his hypnotic gaze, turns the tone-deaf Trilby into the most famous diva of her days, the opera singer La Svengali.

Why, then, should *Trilby* be studied in connection with the Dreyfus Affair? Mainly because, as N.R. Davison remarks, "when linked to a historical trajectory of twentieth-century construction of 'the Jew', the novel's rhetoric parallels much of that surrounding the Dreyfus Affair" (Davison 2002, p. 75). The parallelism refers, of course, to the rhetoric of prejudice, intolerance and demonization employed by both the French anti-Dreyfusard press and by Du Maurier in depicting the figure of the evil Jew, Dreyfus and Svengali[62]. Even George Orwell noted that Du Maurier used the trope of the satanic Jew at an age perilously close to the outburst of the Dreyfus Affair[63]. Svengali was, in Du Maurier's words, "a tall, bony individual of any age between thirty and forty-five, of Jewish aspect, well-featured but sinister. He was very shabby and dirty […]. His thick, heavy, languid, lustreless black hair fell down behind his ears on to his shoulders, in that musicianlike way that is so offensive to the normal Englishman" (Du Maurier 2015). Much like the impoverished Jews escaping from the Russian pogroms, Svengali was poor, yet "there was no pathos in his poverty – a poverty that was not honourable" (Du Maurier 2015). Set aside not only from the Englishman and the honourable poor, but also from the naturalised middle-class Jew cherished by liberal culture[64], Svengali incarnates the undesirable alien.

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[62] This apparently simplistic reading of Du Maurier's novel and of the construction of the two main characters, Trilby and Svengali, needs further explanation. Indeed, while the novel was reviewed favourably by many of Du Maurier's contemporaries, such as George Bernard Shaw and Henry James, and in spite of the richness in cultural references that nourish the novel, its audience was mostly popular and enjoyed the stereotypical aspects of it, rather than its cultural depth, as its subsequent theatrical and cinematic adaptations testify. Not to mention that what remains of Svengali today is the image of a stereotypical evil Jew very much in conversation with figures such as Fagin and Shylock. Du Maurier, to be fair, gave a much deeper and complex representation of the Jew - Svengali is an evil hypnotist, true, but his Jewish blood is also the responsible of his musical genius; moreover, "although he seems at many points to endorse the anti-Semitic feelings of the English artists, at the end of the novel, Du Maurier suddenly switches perspectives, and writes about the effects of anti-Semitism on Svengali's life and psyche" (Showalter 1995: xxii). Even Trilby, generally considered to be the innocent victim of Svengali's hypnotic influence, is in truth a victim of puritanism and of a society unable to handle changes concerning female sexuality and independence. On the characterization of Trilby and Svengali, see: E. Showalter, "Introduction" to Trilby, Oxford UP, 1995; M. Banta, "Artists, Models, Real Things, and Recognizable Types", *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, xvi, Autumn 1983, pp. 7-34. On androgyny, masculinity and aestheticism, see: J.H. Grossman, "The Mythic Svengali: Anti-Aestheticism in *Trilby*", *Studies in the Novel*, 28, Winter 1996, pp.525-42; G. Taylor, "Svengali: Mesmerist and Aesthete", in R. Foulkes (ed.) *British Theatre in the 1890s*, Cambridge UP, 1994.

[63] "As I Please" in *Tribune*, 6 December 1946. Orwell reconsiders the success of Du Maurier's *Trilby* and writes: "There is no question that the book is antisemitic. Apart from the fact that Svengali's vanity, treacherousness, selfishness, personal uncleanliness and so forth are constantly connected with the fact that he is a Jew, there are the illustrations. Du Maurier, better known for his drawings in *Punch* than for his writings, illustrated his own book, and he made Svengali into a sinister caricature of the traditional type. But what is most interesting is the divergence of the antisemitism of that date—1895, the period of the Dreyfus Case—and that of today".

[64] Within Britain's fin-de-siècle liberal tradition and what Bill Williams calls 'antisemitism of intolerance', Brian Cheyette identifies two concurring images of the Jew, an idealized and assimilated Jewish middle-class which embodies the values of the British bourgeoisie and a group of working-class Jews who conformed to the stereotype of the evil Jew, in dialogue with

Davison: "The rhetoric of Svengali's background that opens the second part of the novel owes a great deal to Dickens. Here are the quintessential, popularized tropes of the nineteenth-century dirty, scheming, criminal Jew: Svengali is poor, vindictive, unwashed, and turns obsequious or abusive as suits his manipulative desires" (Davison 2002, p. 93). He is also deceitful, metamorphic, morally and sexually ambiguous. To be fair, Du Maurier's Svengali is a highly complex figure, a mirror of the ambiguities at the heart of the nineteenth-century visions of the Jew - from the *banned* poet with the fiery eye of the Romantics, to the heroic and inspiring alienness of genius and despair, to the *juif errant* of so many penny dreadful, to paradoxical and stereotypical Fagin, but also Daniel Deronda (in a contrary sign), finally reaching Marcel Proust and the fluid movement of Jewishness, artistry and homosexuality of his Baron de Charlus. Yet, the film and stage versions of the novel amplify the stereotypical aspects of Svengali as an evil Jew, to the point where, contrarily to the novel, he dies cursing or reciting a confused Hebrew prayer. Such depiction, in which *fin-de-siècle* fears concerning both race and gender converge and intermingle, earned huge popularity; as Davison duly observes, "it gave a pacifying, palatable affirmation to a popular set of much more sinister assumptions about 'the Jew' than merely the dirty, unwelcome, alien-pariah. Rather, the central pseudo-scientific discourses the novel vulgarizes at the heart of its narrative are no less than a nexus of fin-de-siècle racial theories about 'the Jew' as complete human anomaly" (Davison 2002, p. 75).

At the same time, faced with another Jew, Dreyfus, described by the French press with the same rhetoric of prejudice and intolerance, the near unanimity of the British population assumed a Dreyfusard stance. Perhaps, the British defence of Dreyfus can be read as part of a nineteenth-century tradition of enlightened defence of the Jew in which Great Britain took great pride, from Queen Victoria bestowing the knighthood to Moses Haim Montefiore, to the 1858 emancipation of the Jews, and Benjamin Disraeli's appointment as Prime Minister. Still devoted to nineteenth-century notions of justice and impartiality of the law, the British responded to such a resonant miscarriage of justice as the Affaire Dreyfus by embracing the role of "latter-day heirs to the Enlightenment" (Forth 2004, p. 6). Hannah Arendt:

> The doctrine of equality before the law was still so firmly implanted in the conscience of the civilized world that a single miscarriage of justice could provoke public indignation from Moscow to New York. Nor was anyone, except in France itself, so 'modern' as to associate the matter with political issues. The wrong done to a single Jewish officer in France was able to draw from the rest of the world a more vehement and united reaction than all the persecutions of German Jews a generation later (Arendt 2017, p. 118).

a series of anti-Semitic fears of invasion and violation. B. Cheyette, "Jewish stereotyping and English literature, 1875-1920: towards a political analysis" in T. Kushner and K. Lunn (ed.) *Traditions of Intolerance. Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain*, Manchester University Press, 1989

Yet, in the eyes of the British, it was they who stood for modernity and the defence of human rights in the face of France's medieval attitude and penchant for tradition and prejudice. In addition, such role fit quite nicely in the rising Imperial ideology, which opposed the enlightened superiority of Great Britain to the barbarity of the rest of the world (Arendt 2017).

Moreover, the coexistence of philosemitism and antisemitism, and, consequently, of Trilbymania and Dreyfusmania, is hardly news for Great Britain. It is, in fact, part of what Arendt calls the "tradition of hypocrisy" (Arendt 2017, p. 274). After all, Great Britain is the mother of both Shylock and Barabas, of benevolent Sheva, who is only a few decades older than evil Fagin, of Daniel Deronda and Svengali. Under the liberal reign of Queen Victoria, Jewishness was in many respects a symbol of change, modernity, and tolerance. But, from the 1870s onwards, with the Jewish migration from the East, the Eastern Question, the Jewish Question and then the Boer War, liberal values started to be questioned and the liberal attitude towards the Jew came to represent "the dangers of excessive liberal tolerance" (Cheyette 1989, p. 14). Such a crisis in liberal certainties was followed by a rise in anti-Semitic feelings, leading to the birth of modern antisemitism in Great Britain - that is to say, of a *politicized* antisemitism mirroring the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Continent (Cheyette 1989). "Nevertheless," Cheyette argues, "without the complete rejection of liberalism and liberal state, Jews in Britain continued to be perceived in terms of an ambivalent discourse and not an illiberal Judeophobia as most commentators assume" (Cheyette 1989, p. 16).

Therefore, when the Affaire broke out at the end of the nineteenth century, the figure of Dreyfus interacted with an ambivalent discourse concerning 'the Jew' deriving its meaning directly from liberalism (Cheyette 1989). Bill Williams (1985) coined the term *anti-Semitism of tolerance*: "Jews were validated not on the grounds of their Jewish identity, but on the basis of their conformity to the values and manners of bourgeois English society" [65]. Hence, the double representation of the Jew, later institutionalized through the Aliens Act (1905): on the one hand, the assimilated Jewish middle class, embodiment of the enlightened values of tolerance, justice and equality, as well as the values of the bourgeoisie and of the Empire; in other words, Alfred Dreyfus, part of the wealthy middle-class, living a respectable, heterosexual life, who became a living symbol of values, such as justice and truth, which very much conformed to those represented by the respectable British Jewry. On the other hand, the Jewish migrants of the working class: after a brief period in which they inspired compassion, they were made to represent a set of opposing values linked to both fears of invasion and violation, and fears concerning gender and masculinity: moral inferiority,

[65] Quoted in Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in British Society During the Second World War*, Manchester: Manchester UP 1898, p. 10. See: B. Williams, "Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews 1870-1900" in A.J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester,* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985, PP. 74-102.

sexual ambiguity, degeneracy, deceitfulness, effeminacy, values embodied by Svengali, together with several protagonists of Victorian Gothic fiction.

ABSENCE AND UBIQUITY

At the close of the nineteenth century, the Gothic witnessed a revival: R.L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Grey* (1891), George Du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894), Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). As opposed to previous examples of Gothic fiction, in which authors tended to displace the story in time and space, from the 1880s onwards "writers root their action firmly in the modern world" and bring "the terror of the Gothic home" (Arata 1990, p. 621). This "'modernizing' of Gothic" (Arata 1990, p 621) may be read as a response to anxieties, specific to the fin de siècle, about national decline and immigration, about invasion, gender and, in particular, race. Stephen D. Arata (1990) locates such fears in the Empire, arguing for *Dracula* as a response to the anxiety of reverse colonization; but the representation of the Gothic other within the national borders may also be read in relation to the Jewish migration from the East of Europe, contemporary to the Gothic revival and the Trilbymania.

Unsurprisingly, the Wandering Jew reappeared in the 1890s in Gothic fiction in an increasingly metamorphic, demonic and vampiric form (Davison 2004), coming from the East, sucking the life out of the Englishmen and possessions out of the Empire. The vampiric Jew became one of the most frequent antagonists of shilling shockers and mass circulation Gothic novels, in which writers "reworked 'medieval' Christological stereotypes of the Jew as an anti-Christ" (Cheyette 1898, p. 26). Nadia Valman:

> Gothic terror was also, by the end of the century, perhaps the most favoured literary mode for representing Jewish males. The villainous and power-hungry Jew appeared in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), George Du Maurier's *Trilby* (1984), and Marie Corelli's *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895), in each case posing a special threat to, and attraction for, British women. Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), in particular, has been seen as figuratively encoding anxieties about Jewish immigration. (Valman 2009, p. 55-6)

In sharp contrast with the universalist and tolerant stance of the Establishment, popular fiction provided the British with a reassuring confirmation of their suspicions. By implication, the satanic Jew had its positive double in a British character – the hero or heroine; this way, the evil Jew became essential in building and strengthening the British sense of national belonging as the Gothic doppelgänger of the fair British identity, or, as Cheyette calls it, a dark double of the Empire (Cheyette 1993). In this respect, Franco Moretti adds: "this literature, having produced terror, must

also erase it and restore peace […] because the monster expresses the anxiety that the future will be monstrous. His antagonist - the enemy of the monster - will always be, by contrast, a representative of the present, a distillation of complacent nineteenth-century mediocrity: nationalistic, stupid, superstitious, philistine, impotent, self-satisfied" (Moretti 1997, pp. 83-4). And, it goes without saying, nineteenth-century mediocrity always defeated its fictional monsters.

Gothic fiction, it is quite clear, became one of the preferred sites in which the British got rid of their own Dreyfuses – returning to G.B. Shaw's essay - "in the quietest possible manner, instead of advertising them by regimental *coups de théâtre*, which," he continues, "in addition to being as demoralizing as public executions, would shatter that national confidence in the absolute integrity of our public services and institutions which we all keep up with such admirable *esprit de corps*, not that any of us believes in it, but because each of us thinks that it is good for all the rest to believe in it" (Shaw 1932, p. 283). Despite the patent affinity between the undercurrent of fear that led to the Affaire in France and to the revival of Gothic fiction in Great Britain, with the Other in the form of a vampiric Jew, the themes of invasion and expulsion, the motif of the theft of lands, race and gender anxieties merging together[66], British Gothic fiction remains utterly devoid of allusions to the Affaire Dreyfus.

Its absence would not be relevant if the rest of popular fiction written at the time of the Affaire Dreyfus were not saturated with allusions to the case: it appears as historical background in Arnold Bennett's *The Old Wives' Tale*[67] (1908), in William Le Queux's *The Hunchback of Westminster*[68] (1904), and *The German Spy System from Within*[69] (1915), in A.E.W. Mason's *At the Villa*

[66] In his work *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (2004), Christopher Forth underlines that stereotypes linked to gender and race are interrelated; "the language employed in the creation of one 'other' often borrows from the rhetoric used to construct another". Such "slippage between gender and racial stereotypes" was in fact very "common in fin-de-siècle culture" (Forth 2004: 22). It was in France, where the Dreyfus scandal – primarily about race, society and politics – became "an opportunity to elevate hitherto localized anxieties about masculine identity to national proportions" (Forth 2004: 5). And it was in Great Britain, where the figure of the New Woman often appeared as a counterpart to the effeminate evil Jew – from Du Maurier's Trilby and Svengali to Joyce's Molly and Bloom.

[67] Two of the characters, the doctor and Sophia, discuss French literature and Zola in particular: "Sophia has read practically nothing since 1870; for her the latest author was Cherbuliez. Moreover, her impression of Zola was that he was not at all nice, and that he was the enemy of his race, though at that date the world had scarcely heard of Dreyfus". Arnold Bennett, *The Old Wives' Tale*, Produced by Charles Franks and the online Distributed Proofreading Team, [2002] 2011, The Gutenberg Project.

[68] The protagonist, a Spanish hunchback, has been caught by the British police and is being interrogated; the Foreign Secretary says: "We have been quite sharp enough to know that ever since you set foot in London you have acted as one of the spies of Spain, and in pursuance of instructions from Madrid you have often bribed some of our men to do worse things than even Alfred Dreyfus was accused of". William Le Queux, *The Hunchback of Westminster*, Produced by Nick Hodson of London, England, 2012, The Gutenberg Project.

[69] "The direct effect of the Mesnard pamphlet was small, but evidently the policy that it outlined was found worth following. The first great demand of the Syndacalists on behalf of the railwaymen of France was made at the time that the Dreyfus trial was causing definite friction between France and Germany in official circles". William Le Queux, *The German Spy System from Within*, Produced by Nick Hodson of London, England, 2012, The Gutenberg Project.

Rose[70] (1910), in Robert Barr's *The Triumphs of Eugène Valmont*[71] (1906). These are all brief allusions, fleeting, insubstantial; and yet, they are important as an acknowledgement of contemporaneity, fundamental, in turn, to the comforting vocation of popular literature. Moreover, the story of the Affaire has a much more consistent role, as will be seen, in many of Marie Corelli's works, but also in popular romance, detective fiction and in the birth of spy fiction. And yet, even though the Affaire Dreyfus is nominally absent from Gothic fiction, it seems to be adumbrated in both George Du Maurier and Bram Stoker, who struggle with antithetical perceptions and conceptions of otherness.

In recent years, many critics have reexamined the figure of Dracula in connection to Stoker's manifest interest in the Wandering Jew (Davison 2004). They argue that there are many features in the depiction of the bloodthirsty Count, not least his overt affinity with the very Jewish Svengali[72], that suggest he might be, if not a Jew, a nexus in which most of the characters connected with Jewishness converge and nourish his monstrosity, thus rendering him a useful equivalent of the Jewish bogey. Dracula has a "stereotypical Jewish physiognomy" (Davison 2004, p. 135): his nose is "aquiline" (Stoker 2003, p. 19) with "peculiarly arched nostrils" (20); he has a "smile that Judas in hell might be proud of" (57). His smell is pungent. He is a "voracious scholar" and a "social polluter who threatens to infect the British nation" (Davison 2004, p. 136). He travels not only in

[70] During an investigation, Inspector Hanaud meets a judge, M. Fleuriot, with is obsessed with the Affaire Dreyfus and with a possible Jewish conspiracy, so much that he is disappointed upon discovering that the suspect is not Jewish: "'Yes, yes, he is a good judge, M. Hanaud – quick, discriminating, sympathetic; but he has that bee in his bonnet, like so many others. Everywhere he must see l'affaire Dreyfus. He cannot get it out of his head. No matter how insignificant a woman is murdered, she must have letters in her possession which would convict Dreyfus. But you know! There are thousands like that – good, kindly, just people in the ordinary ways of life, but behind every crime they see the Jew'. Hanaud stared at him for a second, then smiled. 'L'affaire Dreyfus?' he cried. 'Oh la, la, la! No, but there is something else'". And later, listening to a witness, "She spoke with a simplicity and a remorse which it was difficult to disbelieve. M. Fleuriot, the judge, now at last convinced that the Affaire Dreyfus was for nothing in the history of this crime, listen to her with sympathy". A.E.W. Mason, *At the Villa Rose*, Produced by Charles Franks and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team, [2002] 2013, The Gutenberg Project.

[71] The motif of the Affaire is treated in quite a humorous manner. The novel, narrated in first person by a French private detective working in London, Eugène Valmont, begins with the fictional story of a case that caught the attention of the world in 1893: "The year 1893 was a prosperous twelve months for France. The weather was good, the harvest excellent, and the wine of that vintage is celebrated to this day. Everyone was well off and reasonably happy, a marked contrast to the state of things a few years later, when dissension over the Dreyfus case rent the country in twain". Valmont's case revolves around the finding of an old diamond necklace at Chateau de Chaumont. Valmont says that the necklace seems to be cursed and to cause misfortunes to anyone who came into contact with it, so much that, the narrator jokes, "it was carried safely and delivered promptly to the authorities by Alfred Dreyfus, a young captain of artillery, to whom its custody had been entrusted". Robert Barr, *The Triumph of Eugène Valmont*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1906. Internet Archive.

[72] The affinity between Svengali and Dracula is quite apparent – they are both described as intellectuals and thus, effeminate; they are, from a physiognomic point of view, stereotypically Jewish; they are also foreign, parasitic, and metamorphic. Not to mention their common hypnotic powers. In the scenes in which they submit their victims, each of them shares a few details which recall the other. Indeed, the focus on the gaze and the eyes of Count Dracula as he looks into Lucy's eyes recall Svengali's hypnotic power: as Lucy and Mina catch a glimpse of Dracula, Lucy recognizes his red eyes and Mina comments: "I was a little startled myself, for it seemed for an instant as if the stranger has great eyes like burning flames" (Stoker 2003: 109). In turn, the focus on Trilby's check and neck as she is being hypnotized by Svengali recalls an image that is perhaps more congenial to a vampire like Count Dracula. "Recartez-moi pien tans le planc tes yeux", Svengali asks Trilby. "He made little passes and counterpasses on her forehead and temples and down her cheek and neck. Soon her eyes closed and her face grew placid". Under Svengali's hypnotic control, Trilby cannot move, spellbound. "'You shall see nothing, hear nothing, think of nothing but Svengali, Svengali, Svengali!' […] And 'Svengali, Svengali, Svengali!' went ringing in her head and ears till it became an obsession, a dirge, a knell, an unendurable burden".

space, but also in time. Moreover, the pile of gold in his room at once calls to mind Shylock and the Jewish usurer; the gold is also covered in dust which suggests another element, filth. He is linked to the figure of the Jewish capitalist, in that he is "self- interested, egoistic, monopolistic" (Davison 2004, p. 142), in a word, parasitical. But, most of all, like Svengali, his metamorphic nature is in tune with the ambivalent visibility/invisibility discourse concerning the modern Jew, and makes him a threat to the nation: if Svengali "spoke fluent French with a German accent, and humorous German twists and idioms, and his voice was very thin and mean and harsh, and often broke into a disagreeable falsetto" (Du Maurier 2015), Dracula spoke English excellently, if "with a strange intonation" (Stoker 2003, p. 17), and aimed at perfecting it so as to pass for an English native: "Well I know that, did I move and speak in your London," he tells Jonathan Harker, "none there are who would not know me for a stranger. That is not enough for me" (23).

Even more than Svengali, Dracula is shape shifting in the extreme[73]. The instability of his identity is linked to his effeminacy and deceitfulness, two characters that invariably connect him to the gender anxieties surrounding the rising figure of the New Woman. Anxieties represented and amplified in the Count's female and extremely lustful counterparts: "Two were dark, and had high aquiline noses, like the Count, and great dark, piercing eyes" (Stoker 2003, p. 42). Both the Count and the Vampiresses are linked not only to blood, but also to the Blood Libel, a connection made patent as Dracula brings to the castle a bundle with an infant inside as a nibble to the Vampiresses: "If my ears did not deceive me," Harker writes, "there was a gasp and a low wail, as of a half-smothered child" (Stoker 2003, p. 45). Such behaviour is enough to bring back the medieval imagery and the Christological stereotypes linked to the Jew as an anti-Christ, ready to invade and desecrate the Christian host nations. Like Svengali, who, taking advantage of Trilby's momentary weakness, examines her mouth, which becomes a cathedral, the Church of her body, a vulnerable Christian nation, and Svengali the vampiric and conspiratorial Jew ready to invade and desecrate it:

> "Will you permit that I shall look into your mouth, matemoiselle?", Svengali asks Trilby.
> She opened her mouth wide, and he looked into it.
> "Himmel! The roof of your mouth is like the dome of the Panthéon; there is room in it for 'toutes les Gloires de la France,' and a little to spare! The entrance to your throat is like the middle porch of St. Sulpice when the doors are open for the faithful on All-Saints' day; and not one tooth is missing—thirty-two British teeth as white as milk and as big as knuckle-bones! And your little tongue is scooped out like the leaf of a pink peony, and the bridge of your nose is like the belly of a Stradivarius—what a sounding-board! And inside your beautiful big chest the lungs are made of leather! And your breath, it embalms—like the breath of a beautiful white heifer fed on the

[73] He acts as the coachman, the servants and the Count, not to mention that he dresses up as Harker to deceive the locals into thinking it is him who sends letters home: "this, then, is the new scheme of evil: that he will allow others to see me, as they think, so that he may both leave evidence that I have been seen in the towns of villages posting my own letters, and that any wickedness which he may do shall by the local people be attributed to me" (50-1).

> buttercups, and daisies of the Vaterland! And you have a quick, soft, susceptible heart, a heart of gold, matemoiselle—all that sees itself in your face!" (Du Maurier 2015)

And, in turn, Dracula, "the being," Harker reflects, "I was helping to transfer to London, where, perhaps, for centuries to come he might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever-widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless" (Stoker 2003, p. 59). Reading Dracula as a metaphor for capital, Moretti argues that "like monopoly capital, his ambition is to subjugate the last vestiges of the liberal era and destroy all form of economic independence" (Moretti 1997, p. 92). He represents a threat coming from the East to London, settling in an old and big estate, Carfax, close to a church, as required by Dracula himself; Harker: "The house is very large and of all periods back, I should say, to mediaeval times […] It looks like part of a keep, and is close to an old chapel or church"; and the Count: "'I rejoice also that there is a chapel of old times" (Stoker 2003, p. 26). Moreover, the estate is, not without reason, located in the East side of London. Once there, Dracula starts building his evil army. His first victim is Lucy Westenra: on the (unsurprisingly!) East Cliff, clear against the moon, Lucy succumbs to Dracula: "something dark stood behind the seat where the white figure shone, and bent over it. What it was, whether man or beast, I could not tell" (Stoker 2003, p. 105), writes Lucy's friend, Mina. A few days later, Lucy and Mina sit once again on the East Cliff; the red light of the setting sun shines in the sky: "'His red eyes again!'," says Lucy all of a sudden, "she was in a half-dreamy state, with an odd look on her face that I could not quite make out; […] She appeared to be looking over at our own seat, whereon was a dark figure seated alone" (109).

Both La Svengali and Lucy Westenra become powerful, lustful New Women who, needless to say, die at the end of the novel. It is a common feature of *fin-de-siècle* Gothic fiction, in which the evil Jew represents not only a threat to the nation, but also, recalling Valman, a threat to British womanhood. Thus, both Lucy and Trilby are turned into monsters by monsters. Monsters, Moretti observes, which serve "to displace the antagonisms and horrors evidenced *within* society *outside* society itself" (Moretti 1997, p. 84): effeminacy, degeneration, degradation, all converge into Svengali and Count Dracula. Nothing to do with polished, heroic, military Alfred Dreyfus. Nothing, unless one considers that Svengali, Dracula, Dreyfus and, on second thought, Oscar Wilde were all victims, real or fictional, of a fantasy of communal execution. Because, when displacing antagonisms outside society is not enough and the antagonist is so threatening as to invade and merge almost undistinguishably within society itself, society responds by eliminating the Other; and, no matter how tolerantly anti-Semitic the British were, such need of expurgation remained. *Dracula* and *Trilby* stand as tangible proofs.

Because anti-Semitism in Great Britain was hidden behind a veil of tolerance, and intolerance behind a veil of respectability, it may be necessary to look for such fantasies of communal execution beyond the story. In particular, it is the case of *Trilby*, the composition of the scene is quite suggestive. The expurgation of the Other begins as one of the Englishmen, Taffy, "seized Svengali's nose between his fore and middle fingers and nearly pulled it off, and swung his head two or three times backward and forward by it, and then from side to side" (Du Maurier 2015); "Svengali," the narrator comments, "had never been quite the same since the 15th of October previous, and that was the day he had got his face slapped and his nose tweaked by Taffy in Paris" (Du Maurier 2015). Taffy can be said to embody here the liberal discomfort with difference, that desire to "see the Jews adapt to the norms of the dominant culture" (Cheyette 1989, p. 12); in other words, tweaking Svengali's nose, a notorious sign of Jewishness, is equivalent to erasing Otherness "by means of assimilation" (Cheyette 1989, p. 12) without succeeding. Svengali never recovers from the incident: "He was thinking about it always - night and day - and constantly dreaming at night that he was being tweaked and slapped over again by a colossal nightmare Taffy, and waking up in agonies of terror, rage, and shame" (Du Maurier 2015).

The incident leads to the night of Svengali's death: the occasion is the début of La Svengali at the Drury Lane in London, with a repertoire entirely written by Svengali himself, who, nevertheless, is given a passive role, as he is "absolutely forbidden to conduct" (Du Maurier 2015) by his doctor. The whole of London respectable society attends the performance and, among them, is Taffy with his two companions. "Svengali for a moment glared at them. And the expression of his face was so terrible with wonder, rage, and fear that they were quite appalled – and then he sat down, still glaring at Taffy, the whites of his eyes showing at the top, and his teeth bared in a spasmodic grin of hate" (Du Maurier 2015). In the middle of the performance, Svengali dies of a stroke: he dies in London, at the centre of the Drury Lane theatre, under the eager eyes of the London Establishment and his enemies. Robbed of Svengali's hypnotic guidance, La Svengali dies shortly after her master, and later, if slightly more privately, dies Trilby. With the Jew and the New Woman dead, the Victorian respectability triumphs undisturbed once again.

As for *Dracula*, it is worth relying on Moretti's analysis of its "system of narrative senders" (Moretti 1997, p. 26). Moretti shows how the narration is reserved for a specific set of narrators: Jonathan Harker, Mina Murray, Lucy Westenra and Dr Seward, in other words the main narrative senders, are all British and representative of the desirable Victorian respectability threatened by Dracula. Moretti:

> The string of events exists only in the form and with the meaning stamped upon it by British Victorian culture. It is those cultural categories, those moral values, those forms of expression that

> are endangered by the vampire: it is those same categories, forms and values that reassert themselves and emerge triumphant. It is a victory of convention over exception, of the present over the possible future, of standard British English over any kind of linguistic transgression. (Moretti 1997, pp. 96-7)

While the first part of the novel is told by individual narrators, each one independent from the other and in possession of a personal point of view, for the second part, that of the hunt of the Count, they merge together in a chorus. Moretti again: "It is more accurate to speak of a 'collective' narrator. […] The collation is, in other words, the Victorian compromise in the field of narrative technique. […] It restores the narrative equilibrium, giving this dark episode a form and meaning which are finally clear, communicable and universal" (Moretti 1997, p. 98).

Additionally, such dark expurgations of the Other are not only all universal and communal, but also inherently theatrical: Svengali dies at the centre of a theatre, Dracula's death is narrated by what might appear as a Greek chorus, Dreyfus is convicted in a courtroom and the ceremony of degradation takes place in the Morlan Court of the Military School in Paris. All sites of expurgation function, like the stage, as places of public theatre, and the inherent theatricality of such executions confers them the value of ceremonies. Discussing the purpose of Dreyfus's ceremony of degradation, Forth remarks: "a ritual of atonement whereby a wronged collective would avenge itself by crushing the guilty, the degradation also functioned as a theatre where loyalty triumphed over betrayal and honour conquered cowardice" (Forth 2004, p. 18). Thus, the execution of Dreyfus, just like that of Wilde, Svengali and Dracula at the hand of the guarantor of morality and guardians of respectability lead to purification: "The disappearance of the traitor was greeted by an immense relief. The air seemed purer, we breathed easier,"[74] said the French press after Dreyfus' conviction.

Clearly, the reception of the Affaire Dreyfus in Gothic literature is intrinsically conflicting: despite the affinities between the functions, the forms and the themes underlying the story of Dreyfus in France and the stories of Svengali and Dracula in Great Britain, the Affaire never appears in Gothic literature and yet, it seems to be quite ubiquitous. It is nominally absent from Du Maurier's and Stoker's works, but also from the Gothic novels of other successful writers of popular fiction, such as Richard Marsh, Arthur Machen, Marie Corelli and William Le Queux, yet the persona, the trial, the otherness of Dreyfus tinges both characters and situations. It well may be that the British, looking at the Affaire through their liberal goggles, could not see Alfred Dreyfus and the expurgation of the nation as a mirror to their own need to expurgate the Other. But the silence,

[74] Thomas Grimm, "L'Expiation," *Le Petit Journal*, 6 January 1985, I. Quoted in C. E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2004.

absolute and noisy, surrounding the Affaire in Gothic fiction speaks louder than words. On second thoughts, its absence may very well be read as a symptom of the British "plan […] to govern by humbug," as G.B. Shaw puts it, "and to let everybody into the secret" (Shaw 1932, p. 283). In fact, placing Alfred Dreyfus side by side Svengali or Dracula, in other words alluding to the Affaire within the ultimate British site of expulsion of the Other that was 1890s Gothic fiction, would have rendered a bit too plain, a bit too obvious the similarities between Britain's and France's fin-de-siècle fears and necessities. Something that needed to be avoided, especially by the authors of popular literature. In fact, one thing was vulgarizing pseudo-scientific racial theories on the inferiority of the Jew; quite another was placing Great Britain on the same footing as France. It would have been detrimental to the national morale they were so desperately trying to protect.

EXFILTRATIONS

In this respect, quite conclusive evidence is provided by the two most sold authors of popular fiction of their time, Marie Corelli and William Le Queux. Contrary to many other popular fiction authors, they did not specialize in a specific genre, so that the diversity inherent to their production allows an exploration of the distribution of Dreyfus material within different genres. Le Queux is remembered today, if scarcely, as one of the fathers of spy fiction. As shall be seen in the next section, Le Queux finds in the Affaire Dreyfus a model and a source of inspiration; as a consequence, his spy novels are filled with Dreyfus material in the form of theme, motif, historical background, allusion, transposition. At the same time, he also wrote a few Gothic novels, such as *The Bond of Black* (1899). And, it goes without saying, the Affaire Dreyfus is never mentioned, even where sections of the novel are set in France. Similarly, Arthur Machen never mentions the Affaire Dreyfus in his Gothic production, but does so in his adventure novel, *The Secret Glory*[75] (1922).

Furthermore, one of Queen Victoria's favourite authors, Marie Corelli was a committed anti-alienist writer and her novels offer, according to Cheyette, "the most elaborate articulation" of the theme of the "'medieval' Christological stereotypes of the Jew as an anti-Christ" (Cheyette 1989, p. 26). The East invariably represents a "site of pastness" (Galvan 2003, p. 88), of pre-Christian or medieval traditions. As a consequence, Jews are always suspect: in *Barabbas: A Dream of the World's*

[75] The novel deal with the adventures of a young man, Ambrose Meyrick. Part of the book is also dedicated to his education: "Do you remember how Zola, viewing these worlds from the train when he visited London, groaned because he had no English, because he had no key to open the treasure-house before his eyes? He, of course, who was a great diviner, saw the infinite variety of romance that was concealed beneath those myriads of snug commonplace roofs: I wish he could have observed in English and recorded in French. He was a brave man, his defence of Dreyfus shows that; but, supposing the capacity, I do not think he was brave enough to tell the London suburbs the truth about themselves in their own tongue". Arthur Machen, *The Secret Glory*, Produced by Malcolm Farmer, Mary Meehan and the online Distributed Proofreading Team, 2011. The Project Gutenberg.

Tragedy (1894), for instance, she rewrites the Gospels so as to underline the role of the Jew as an anti-Christ in the story of Jesus. The figure of Svengali, together with the anti-Jewish mythology, seems to be behind the characterization of many of her villains. Prince Rimanez, the Mephistophelian antagonist of her Gothic novel *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895), exercises his hypnotic or, should one say, Svengali-like influence on the protagonist, Geoffrey Tempest. In spite of his apparent affinity with Svengali, it is he who utters the most anti-Semitic statements: "By the way, have you noticed how the legended God still appears to protect the house of Israel? Particularly the 'base usurer' who is allowed to get the unhappy Christian into his clutches nine times out of ten? And no remedy drops from heaven! The Jew always triumphs. Rather inconsistent isn't it, on the part of an equitable Deity!" (Corelli 2013). The same Jew usurers with whom the Earl of Elton exchanges his daughter, Lady Sibyl, as if a commodity (Davison 2004). The Jew is thus pictured, once again, drawing from the cradle of stereotypes upon which was based the consensus between Corelli and her readers.

Following the Second Anglo-Boer War, the positive figure of the Jew as part of the middle-class ideal self suffered a downfall in imperialist circles (Cheyette 1989). One of the earliest results is the creation of an antagonistic middle-class Jew, David Jost, in *Temporal Power: A Study in Supremacy* (1902). Even though *Temporal Power* is not, strictly speaking, a Gothic novel, in Jost - who is an embodiment of the Jewish usurer of the *Sorrows of Satan* - converge the stereotypes liked to the Jewish financer as a symbol of anarchy, conspiracy and decline of the Empire, as well as the features of the Gothic vampiric Jew inspired by Svengali. He encapsulates the concepts of wealth and vulgarity: living in an imaginary modern metropolis, Jost was "immensely wealthy, openly vicious, and utterly unscrupulous" (Corelli 2016); he made "speculative 'deals' in the unsuspecting natures of those who were led, by that bland and cheery demeanour which is generally associated with a large punch, to consider him a 'good fellow' with his 'heart in the right place'" (Corelli 2016). "The fat Jew-spider[76] of several newspaper webs," he is the sole proprietor of the main newspapers of the country, whatever their political inclination – "Jost and his companies virtually governed the Press; and what was euphoniously termed 'public opinion' was the opinion of Jost" (Corelli 2016). Wealthy and respectable, Jost "can turn his coat a dozen times a day," and is in truth a conspirator, mesmeric and metamorphic: he spreads a "carefully-concocted rumour of war with a foreign power". He "enjoyed to the full the tranquil sense of having flung a bone of discord between two nations, in order to watch them from his arm-chair fighting like dogs for it tooth and claw, till one or the other gave in" (Corelli 2016). If this last turning point might recall, if distantly, some of the events of the Affair, it does so very subtly. In the end, Jost's empire is destroyed, he is condemned

[76] An image which recalls one of the most famous illustrations of Trilby depicting Svengali in the form of a spider at the centre of his web.

to death as a traitor and forced to move to the United States. The fantasy of expulsion of the Other is still there and, consequently, Dreyfus is not.

However, switching to a genre devoid of any Gothic influence, Corelli's harsh critique of the Christian ecclesiastical system that is *The Master Christian*[77] (1900), Dreyfus appears as the topic of one of the conversations between Monsignor Gherardi and Aubrey Leigh, an English socialist who stands against the corruption of the church. Leigh discusses the power and role of the Pope, and argues:

> Temporal power! What is temporal power compared to spiritual power! If he were the true representative of Christ he would move the world by deeds of benevolence, goodness, and sanctity! In such a case as that of the unhappy Dreyfus for instance, he would have issued a solemn warning and earnest reproach to the French nation for their misguided cruelty; he would have travelled himself to Rennes to use his personal influence in obtaining an innocent man's release with honour! That would have been Christian! That would have been a magnificent example to the world! But what did he do? Shut comfortably up in his luxurious palace where no harm could touch him, where no crucifixion of the heart or soul could torture him, he announced to his myrmidons his opinion that the wretched martyr would be found guilty! (Corelli 2003)

Monsignor Gherardi agrees with Leigh, but for an entirely different reason: "Quite true it is that the Pope lost a magnificent opportunity in the Dreyfus affair, if he had spoken in favour of mercy and justice he would have won thousands of followers" (Corelli 2003). Interestingly enough, in the absence of vampiric Jews to be expelled, not only does Marie Corelli address the question of the Affaire overtly, but employs a rhetoric of martyrdom and sacrifice to depict Dreyfus as a Christ-like figure, a victim at the mercy of temporal power.

Not much critical material is available on neither LeQueux nor Corelli. Still, the near unanimity of critics tends to put forward the prevalence of anti-Gallic and anti-Catholic feelings as an explanation of the British reaction to the Dreyfus Affair, and, by extension, of the coexistence, within the same body of work, of the defense of Dreyfus and the use of an anti-Semitic rhetoric. N.R. Davison:

> Given the widespread delight with narrative built from anti-Semitic myths and stereotypes, it could be seen as curious that mainstream American and, to a lesser degree, English presses did not reinforce an animus towards Dreyfus. But, though Svengali appears to have modeled middle-brow cultural aspirations, allowing for a newly charged attraction/repulsion to 'the Jew,' a ranking Jew

[77] The critique is addressed to the Church of Rome and, partly, to that of England. The main accusations are against hypocrisy and the lifestyle of priests, as well as the promotion of ignorance and superstition. The main negative figure, used to exemplify the hypocrisy of the church, is Abbé Vergniaud, depicted in opposition to Cardinal Boupré, who represents the saintly ascetic man of the church. The book consists mainly of conversations between the members of the church or the members of fashionable society. The common theme is the struggle between spiritual and temporal power.

> in the French Army who posed no threat to American or British high culture seems to have occasioned more anti-Catholic and anti-Gallic venom than domestic antisemitism. (Davison 2001, p. 79)

And, similarly, P. Knepper:

> While leading political figures acknowledged the Dreyfus Affair was more than a routine case of spying, they did not see the affair in the context of anti-Jewish prejudice. Rather, they saw it as affirming the superiority of British political institutions and styled their comments as criticism of the French judicial system and French civilization. (Knepper 2008, p. 308)

A convincing statement, without question. Nevertheless, the prevalence of anti-Gallic feelings does not explain away the virtual absence of the Affaire from Gothic fiction. Moreover, the British Dreyfusard stance seems to be too neat to be merely a product of anti-French feelings alone, especially in the context of the ambivalent discourse concerning modern Jewishness, and particularly in light of the opposition (which is also a cause for association) between Christ-like Dreyfus and anti-Christ Jew produced by the antithetical imageries employed by writers of popular fiction.

Corelli, for instance, uses a vocabulary very close to that of the biblical narrative of the Passion to describe Dreyfus: torture, sacrifice, execution, the "crucifixion of the heart or soul" of a "wretched martyr" (Corelli 2003). It is the same rhetoric employed by the Dreyfusards in France, where the two factions had developed two opposite sets of "stock languages" (Griffiths 1991): while the anti-Dreyfusards employed a language of purification and expurgation, the Dreyfusards adopted a language of "sacrifice, duty and abnegation" (Forth 2004, p. 63). After all, depending on the point of view, crucifixion may have two diametrically opposed meanings: what may be perceived as an execution by some, can be read as sacrifice by others. Through the appropriation, in secular terms, of the Passion narrative, not only did the Dreyfusards successfully counteract the anti-Dreyfusards' rhetoric that casted Dreyfus as a lying Judas, but they also strengthened their status as defenders of humanity, truth and justice. All values that sounded very familiar and very dear to the Victorians.

Moreover, the association between Christ and Dreyfus is problematic only inasmuch as one does not consider Christ's own Jewish origins. Therefore, just as the Christian narrative is based on the "imaginative disengagement of Jesus from the negativity of his Jewishness", so "Dreyfus could not be made to play the role of the universal Christ without undergoing a similar transcendence of his Jewish particularity" (Forth 2004, p. 94). The image of Dreyfus as a living symbol of liberal values, stripped of his Jewishness, was therefore welcomed by the British Establishment, quite conveniently matching their liberal ambitions of universalism, which depended on a shift from ethnic particularity towards the embodiment of the universal, from

Jewishness towards humanity. And *The Times* had made it clear from the very beginning: "Dreyfus is, to the untained conscience of humanity, no Semite, but a human being. Where it is a question between justice and a cruel and odious conspiracy, neither circumcision availeth nor uncircumcision" (12 Sept. 1897)[78]. Therefore, the British anti-Gallic and anti-Catholic feelings, although present and crucial in determining the Dreyfusard stance taken by the Victorians, did not alone determine the British characterization of Dreyfus as a suffering Christ figure. What the anti-Gallic feelings entailed, though, was that the Establishment, the British press, and with it popular fiction authors embraced the narrative, rhetoric and language promoted by the French Dreyfusards, and that alone. Moreover, the disengagement of Dreyfus from the negative side of his Jewishness conveniently put further space between Dreyfus and the figure of the vampiric, anti-Christ Jew and, by extension, between Great Britain and France.

Yet, the appropriation of the Passion narrative and its basic categories entails, structurally, the presence of a Jewish antagonist. In other words, if Dreyfus was made to play Christ, then someone else had to play the Jew. Luckily, Forth notes, Jewishness was, at the time, a very protean category (Forth 2004); it was in France, and it was even more in Great Britain, where the double representation of the Jew already conferred 'Jewishness' quite a high degree of ambiguity, the prerequisite for all its subsequent metamorphoses. Davison:

> As George Mosse, Peter Gay, and Sander Gilman have all demonstrated, from mid-century onward, Continental discourse about 'Jewishness' often became the fulcrum of broader intellectual tensions surrounding such Western binaries as liberalism/nationalism, racism/universalism, science/religion, and masculinity/femininity. (Davison 2001, p. 77)

As such, in the 1890s Jewishness needs to be envisaged not so much as an ethnic category, but more as a set of negative attributes which could be conveniently displaced and attached onto an Other. In this respect, Forth argues that in France, "'the Jew' emerged as an integral aspect of Dreyfusard thinking, for the negative qualities associated with 'Jewishness' were displaced into another troublesome category of fin-de-siècle social life: the anti-Semitic crowds" (Forth 2004, p. 100), led by the anti-Dreyfusards themselves "ironically revealing them to be the true 'Jews'" (Forth 2004, p. 64).

Turning a liberal blind eye to their own anti-Semitic crowds[79] cheering Svengali's and Dracula's executions, the Victorians in turn displaced 'Jewishness' outside of their fair nation, led

[78] *The Times*, leading article, 12 Sept. 1897; quoted in R. Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894-1899", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), Cambridge University Press, pp. 495-510

[79] As forcefully as the press may have proclaimed Britain's tolerance and the impossibility of a Dreyfus case in Great Britain, there was in truth a Dreyfus in England, not a Jew, but a woman, Florence Maybrick. The similarities and the dramatic potential of the case were so strikingly similar to what was occurring in France that it became known as the 'English Dreyfus Case'; for details, see G. Robb, "The English Dreyfus Case: Florence Maybrick and the Sexual Double Standard", in G. Robb and N. Erber (ed.), *Disorder in the Court. Trials and Sexual Conflict at the Turn of the Century*, MacMillan Press LTD, 1999. As

by their anti-Gallic feelings, just across the Channel. And indeed, Paris is the place allowing Trilby enough freedom to grow up as a *garçonne* and pose naked, and she only becomes respectable after staying in London and undergoing a process of anglicization; in Marie Corelli, every Jew *and* every Frenchman is suspicious; in William Le Queux's *The Bond of Black* (1899), British women are victims of French Satanists[80]. Englishmen are connected to the hyper-masculine type: "giant in stature, fair, with long, drooping moustache that a cavalry officer might have envied, broad shouldered, burly, a magnificent type of an Englishman" (LeQueux 2012). France and the French are, by contrast, morally inferior, sexually ambiguous, effeminate, medieval, degenerate, deceitful, metamorphic. All attributes they share with the vampiric Jew of Gothic fiction. Yet, as opposed to anti-Semitism, anti-Gallicism did not pose a threat, nor undermined the role of the British as "latter-day heirs to the Enlightenment" (Forth 2004, p. 6) when confronted with France's barbaric attitude. The French were the ones who crucified Christ/Dreyfus and who persecuted his loyal followers; amongst them, Zola who, after being convicted, found refuge in Great Britain, the land of truth, justice and freedom. But the opposition between Great Britain and France is better developed in a then rising genre in which the Imperialist legend and the geopolitical opposition between powers has a more fruitful ground, spy fiction.

Robb notes, like the Dreyfus affair, the Maybrick case inspired several fictional accounts such as *Bonnie Mackirby* (1898) by Laura Dayton Fessender and *Strong Poinson* (1930) by Dorothy Sayer.

[80] Accepting the conclusions of Tombs' study, what is apparent is that the vice/virtue dichotomy was absorbed directly from the press concerning Dreyfus. The motif of the *femme fatale*, its duplicity and danger, intertwines with that of France – Aline, the female protagonist, possesses the 'beauté du Diable', she is defined "a veritable temptress, a deistical daughter of Apollyon". It is a place in which the natural link between the effeminacy of the femme fatale and the nature of the French is highlighted the most; apparently, the cunning Frenchman manages to seduce them (because they are intellectually inferior by nature) and use their inherent duplicity for their purposes. Aline says, "in Paris, and there by his trickery I was initiated as a Diabolist" and by contrast "I escaped from this man and came to England, I was received into the English Church". Here again, the conclusion between the virtue of the Church of England and the vice of the Roman Church. In the conclusion, the narrator comments: "Truly this religion of darkness, springing as it has done from the drawing-rooms of debased Paris, is a terrible and awful spectacle in our present enlightened age".

III. Into the spy story

That the origin of spy fiction is traceable to the climate of rising tension that defined European relations at the turn of the century is no secret to critics; nor is it the fact that, as John Hughes-Wilson remarks, "the Dreyfus affair signalled the start of a Europe-wide spy mania, well before the First World War" (Hughes-Wilson 2016, p. 36). In fact, just as the Affaire is known to be a result of the redefinition of the frontier between France and Germany, so spy fiction shall be read as the literary genre of the border: it emerged from the opposition between European powers, that is when the space of the border, physical and *then* ideological, is threatened or violated, when the space within the national border and the space beyond the national border collide or are made to collide. As far as literary tradition is concerned, spy fiction stemmed from the convergence of the sensation novel, the imperial adventure, the war prophecy novel, the detective novel and popular romance; LeRoy Panek:

> All these forms blossomed in the 1880s. They crystalized into the spy novel when the Dreyfus Case rocketed espionage and its sentimental potential into the public eye. Joining Dreyfus material with war prophecy themes and with characters and settings from the love romance and the Sensation Novel, Oppenheim and Le Queux created the spy novel in the late 1890s. (Panek 1981, pp. 282-3)

And yet, the legacy of the Affaire Dreyfus in the history of spy fiction has been, truth be told, acknowledged by few and scarcely analysed.

It is safe to say that the Affaire Dreyfus worked as an enabler of sorts: before the end of the nineteenth century, espionage represented, borrowing Brett F. Woods' words, a sort of "political nether region" (Woods 2008, p. 9); the spy, in turn, was too distasteful a figure to appear in novels either as a hero or a villain. But, Woods continues, "in 1894 the reality of the existence of espionage was brought to the forefront by the monumental scandal in France known as 'The Dreyfus Affair,' which revealed German espionage activities in France" (Woods 2008, p. 9) after the Franco-Prussian war. "It is impossible," Eric Ambler confirms, "to find any spy story of note written before the twentieth century"; the reason behind its sudden appearance is to be found, according to Ambler, in the Dreyfus Affair, "not so much on its having created a new public appetite or whetted an unfamiliar curiosity, as on the fact that it re-opened a discussion which had been firmly closed for nearly a hundred years" (Ambler 1964, p. 7).

The Affair, popular and flamboyant, set espionage and counter-espionage in the public imagination as integral parts of the dynamics regulating the political relations between modern states. It also "made espionage a hot topic for popular fiction" (Panek 1981, p. 9): with the Affair, spy fiction became extremely popular and remained so, from the very first attempts made by its forefathers, William Le Queux and E. Phillips Oppenheim, all the way to John Buchan, Graham

Greene, Ian Fleming, and John Le Carré. About three hundred spy novels, so it would seem, were published between 1901 – just after the Rennes trial - and 1914 in Great Britain (Burton 2016). In a world dominated by rising international tension and fears of invasion culminating in 1899 with the Second Boer War, spy fiction allowed the readers to get a glimpse of the dark underbelly of the political world. At the same time, it ensured reassurance through the figure of the British agent, who piloted Britain through the troubled waters of international espionage, while reaffirming liberal values in the face of the dying reign of Queen Victoria.

DREYFUS MATERIALS

In this connection, it might be worth dwelling on that "Dreyfus material" Panek mentions in his study. First and more obvious contribution, the espionage plot[81]. It is indeed true that the landmark of invasion novels - Le Queux's *The Great War in England in 1897* - was written and published serially in 1893, a few months before the outbreak of the Affaire Dreyfus (Stafford 1981). Besides, the Affaire Dreyfus did not appear consistently in the British press until 1897 anyway. Nevertheless, it is also true that the espionage plot occupies a very small, almost irrelevant portion of the novel.[82] The birth of spy fiction would require a few more years. Panek observes:

> The Franco-Prussian War, so argues I.F. Clarke in *Voices Prophesising War*, gave birth to the war prophecy movement, but it also added another event necessary for the start of the spy novel in Oppenheim and Le Queux – the Dreyfus case. […] Dreyfus added just what Le Queux and Oppenheim needed to bring them to the spy novel: a hot public issue and a figure of great sentimental potential. The connection to the Dreyfus case and the spy novel was not lost on contemporary reviewers. Thus, in reviews of one of Le Queux's novels we get critics saying that "the subject of international espionage and the possibilities of secret service have been suggested to novelists by the Dreyfus case." and that "the Dreyfus case has probably inspired the author". (Panek 1981, p. 7)

[81] The popularity and the extent of Le Queux's and Oppenheim's production means that I had to select a number of works to be considered. Moreover, as LeRoy Panek observes, Oppenheim's "spy novels present numerous problems to anyone attempting to survey the history of the form. The primary problem is that they are bad novels, bad technically, stylistically, and bad morally. Reading much Oppenheim tests the resolve of any analyst. About the best thing I can say about them is that they are not quite as bad as LeQueux's" (Panek 1891: 18). That being said, I have selected a number of works written and published between 1898 and 1905, but mostly in 1899, at the pick of the British interest in the affair, when the development of the Affaire was advanced enough to provide spy fiction writers with enough elements for their plots. Moreover, considering novels from 1899 offers an interesting counterpoint to Le Queux's *The Great War in England in 1897* (1893).

[82] The detective novel was a genre which, with Oppenheim, LeQueux was exploring, as opposed to the detective short story. Indeed, Arthur Conan Doyle was a fundamental source of inspiration to LeQueux and Oppenheim on the subject of detective fiction, but it is worth noting that Sherlock Holmes remained the protagonists of short stories exclusively, never expanding into a fully formed detective novel (Panek 1981).

And indeed, it is only after 1897 that the espionage plot acquired space and centrality in Le Queux's and Oppenheim's novels, starting with *England's Peril* (1899) and *The Mysterious Mr. Sabin* (1898). The shift is quite apparent: LeQueux devotes the majority of his *England's Peril* to the narration of the shady activities of the infamous Gaston La Touche, head of the French Intelligence Department; "attached to the Embassy were many spies, for the recent years the French Secret Service has grown almost as formidable in its proportions as that of Russia, and their constant reports from political and official centres in London would have surprised the Admiralty and War Office" (LeQueux 1899, pp. 105-6). As such, La Touche's core business consisted in sending to France documents belonging to the British War Office, documents that would have provided any enemy trying to invade the English coast with a major advantage. Meanwhile, Oppenheim's Mr Sabin was working towards the restoration of the French monarchy by sacrificing Great Britain to the German Empire: in exchange for a set of papers detailing the weaknesses of the British navy and coast defences, Germany would have invaded France and brought to the throne Mr Sabin's niece, Princess Helène de Bourbon and Prince Henri of Ortrens. In the meantime, the luxurious life of the London Establishment continues undisturbed. So much so, that a Russian spy, Felix, tells Mr Sabin in the closing lines of the novel, "there are many pages of diplomatic history which the world will never read, and this is one of them" (Oppenheim 2011).

Even where the sense of an upcoming war, the presence of secret negotiations unknown to the press and the public prevail over the general climate of the novel, the British hero remains exceedingly oblivious. For one, Oppenheim's romantic hero, Wolfenden, the Earl of Deringham, is confident in the absolute lack of intrigue in British territory: "Here there is nothing of that. You could not intrigue if you wanted to. There is nothing to intrigue about," he tells Felix, who answers: "You speak […] what nine-tenths of your countrymen believe. Yet you are wrong. Wherever there are international questions which bring great powers such as yours into antagonism, or the reverse, with other great countries, the soil is laid ready for intrigue, and the seed is never long wanted. Yes; I know that, to all appearance, you are the smuggest and most respectable nation ever evolved in this world's history. Yet if you tell me that yours is a nation free from intrigue, I correct you; you are wrong, you do not know - that is all!" (Oppenheim 2011).

And the press, aware or not of the ways of international diplomacy, often occupies centre stage in spy fiction, as it did in the Dreyfus Affair, especially during the Rennes trial. The press is often depicted in close connection to a new category, the crowd, susceptible, unstable and yet easily hypnotizable, and thus one of the major sources of anxiety of modern times. LeQueux's *The Day of Temptation* (1899), for instance, opens with the case of the mysterious death of a young Italian girl on a journey to London, Vittorina Rinaldo. The case, Le Queux writes, "had aroused public curiosity to fever-heat" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012), something that, written in 1899, must have

rung a bell. And Le Queux makes no secret of the proximity between the wave of unprecedented sensationalism surrounding the Rennes trial and what he allusively describes as a *mysterious affair*: "the inquest […]," he writes, "was largely attended by the representatives of the Press. All the sensationalism of London evening journalism had, during the two days intervening, been let loose upon the mysterious affair" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012). The motif of the trial followed by the press with morbid curiosity returns in *The Bond of Black* (1899), in which the inquest following the mysterious death of an M.P., Le Queux writes, "was attended by more newspaper reporters than members of the public" (LeQueux *Bond* 2012). A sensation fever, pervasive and blinding – so much that Hurcutt, the journalist of Oppenheim's *The Mysterious Mr Sabin*, turns his head away from Helène de Bourbon's astounding beauty, only to follow the movements of her uncle: "The journalistic fever was upon him. He was no longer in love. He had overheard a few words of a discussion of tremendous import. If only he could get the key to it!" (Oppenheim 2011).

However, the motif that has been inspired by Dreyfus's story to a greater extent is the exchange of letters and secret documents which, Panek notes, represents an evolution of the theme of blackmail typical of detective fiction: "it is a short step," he writes, "from threatening an individual with exposure of his secrets to threatening a nation with exposure of her momentary weaknesses and secrets" (Panek 1981, p. 20). In spy fiction, anything sensible in terms of international politics seems to be written, often unnecessarily, on paper. So, it is only natural if paper, and the possession of paper play a fundamental role in Oppenheim's novels. In *The Mysterious Mr Sabin*, classified papers become the means of payment that would lead to the fall of Great Britain. The author of such documents, Lord Deringham, is the authority on British battleship "selected by no less a person than the Secretary for War, to devote the rest of his life to the accomplishment of a certain undertaking! Practically his mission was to prove by figures, plans, and naval details (unknown to the general public), the complete helplessness of the empire" (Oppenheim 2011). As promised, he sacrifices his life and sanity for the security of such papers, only to be betrayed by the stupidity of his own son and wife, who, fooled by a forged letter (which, again, should ring a Dreyfus-related bell), let a Russian spy under the guise of a renowned doctor into Lord Deringham's office – the spy, pretending to be able to diagnose Lord Deringham's mental illness by analyzing his documents, gains possession of a share of the intelligence. But in the end, of course, the only owner of the complete set of documents will be Mr Sabin.

Needless to say, letters, notes, telegrams, dispatches carrying sensitive information are exchanged, stolen, retrieved, burnt throughout Le Queux's production as well, often paired with a special attention to handwriting. In *England's Peril*, La Touche practices forging a signature for pages on end: "His dexterity in calligraphy would certainly have surprised any casual observer, for, putting aside the original, he continued to scrawl these signatures one after another with the flourish at the

exact angle, and every feature of the handwriting reproduced with fidelity that was absolutely marvelous" (LeQueux 1899, p. 81). Similarly, in *The Day of Temptation*, the Italian Ambassador in London compares a letter found in Vittorina's bag with a dispatch from the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, proving, through an amateurish graphological analysis, the involvement of the latter in the girl's death:

> The instant Inspector Elmes had closed the door the Ambassador took up the letter found in the dead girl's bag, together with the file of papers lying before him. Carrying them swiftly to the window, he readjusted his gold-rimmed pince-nez, and hurriedly turned over folio after folio, until he came to the secret dispatch with the sprawl signature of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then, placing the letter beside the dispatch, he closely compared the signature with the handwriting of the letter.
>
> His face grew pale, his grey brows contracted, and he bit his lip.
>
> The "l's," "p's" and "t's" in the strange missive were exactly identical with those in the signature to the closely written dispatch which had been penned by the private secretary.
>
> With trembling hand he held the soiled scrap of paper to the light. (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012)

The publication date of the novel is an important indicator: behind the ambassador's graphological analysis there might be the controversial analysis of the bordereau at the hand of the much-celebrated French expert Alphonse Bertillon, disputed on British newspapers and vastly discussed at conferences open to the public.

Even Sherlock Holmes, Dr Watson writes, acknowledges Bertillon and his work. Speaking of which, and one may only speculate why, while in "The Adventure of the Naval Treaty" (1893), written well before the outburst of the Dreyfus scandal, Holmes appears to be keen on Bertillon's methods, in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1901-2) he sounds less than happy to be compared by his client, Dr. Mortimer[83], to the French criminologist, whose analysis of the bordereau had been, in the meantime, questioned. Not to mention that, at the time, talk was of bestowing Doyle the title of Sir, so it was perhaps best not to displease the Dreyfusard Queen. Returning on more solid

[83] In "The Adventure of the Naval Treaty" (1893), Watson recalls Holmes talking enthusiastically about Alphonse Bertillon; he writes: "His conversation, I remember, was about the Bertillon system of measurements, and he expressed his enthusiastic admiration of the French savant" (Doyle 2004: 530). Yet, in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, published in 1901-2, thus right after the Rennes trial in which the mistakes made by Bertillon were made public, he appears to be offended by the comparison made by dr. Mortimer:
"I came to you, Mr Holmes, because I recognize that I am myself an unpractical man, and because I am suddenly confronted with the most serious and extraordinary problem. Recognizing, as I do, that you are the second highest expert in Europe - "
"Indeed, sir! May I inquire who has the honour to be the first?" asked Holmes, with some asperity.
"To the man of precisely scientific mind the work of Monsieur Bertillon must always appeal strongly."
"Then had you not better consult him?"
"I said, sir, to the precisely scientific mind. But as a practical man of affairs it is acknowledged that you stand alone. I trust, sir, that I have not inadvertently - "
"Just a little," said Holmes. "I think, Dr Mortimer, you would do wisely if without more ado you would kindly tell me plainly what the exact nature of the problem is in which you demand my assistance" (Doyle 2015: 256).

ground, paper and, particularly, stolen documents, play without fail a central role in Doyle's stories as well, even more so in the three Sherlock Holmes short stories that are closer to spy fiction than detective fiction, "The Adventure of the Second Stain" (1904), "The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans" (1908-1917) and "His Last Bow" (1917). In each case, secret documents of international importance are stolen and the British government – in the person of the Prime Minister or Mycroft Holmes – goes to Sherlock asking for assistance. In "The Adventure of the Second Stain", a letter from a foreign potentiate, probably France, is stolen from the Secretary of State for European Affairs; if divulged, the content of the document would have very unfortunate consequences in terms of European relations. Doyle's attention is clearly on the handwriting: "the envelope is a long, thin one of pale blue colour. There is a seal of wax stamped with a crouching lion. It is addressed in large, bold handwriting" (Doyle 2016). In "The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans", a set of missing submarine plans would potentially enable Britain's enemies to build a Bruce-Partington submarine. And in "His Last Bow", Von Bork, a German spy, is on the point of leaving Britain with a collection of intelligence, the result of a four-year undercover work, when Holmes and Watson readily intercept him. Each time, Holmes who, from London consulting detective becomes, for a few pages, an international secret agent, saves his country, never letting the intelligence cross the national border.

The theme of paper, stolen documents, intelligence received or sold notably enters the history of spy fiction and remains as a staple element. One example amongst many that could be mentioned: just a few years later, John Buchan's *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) featured the freelance spy Franklin P. Scudder and his black notebook, in which are encoded the details of a secret plot against the Greek Premier at the hands of the German Empire. The notebook will cost Scudder's life and endanger the brave Richard Hannay. Eventually, amongst the encoded notes, Hannay will find the key to the mystery, the thirty-nine steps that give the title to the novel.

The Affaire Dreyfus is linked to the violation of another border, the one splitting the Victorian universe, and the fictional one, in two distinct spaces: women in the domestic sphere and men in the public one. By the end of the century, it is true, the figure of the *femme fatale* – connected to a wave of feminism and the rising New Woman – was quite common and very much *en vogue*, from Mata Hari to the fictional Irene Adler, but also, Dracula's vampiresses, Lucy Westenra, or Trilby. But the Affair, unhinging the taboo of espionage, eased the natural connection between women, scheming and deceiving by nature, and the figure of the spy. Truth be told, they make their first appearance in spy fiction well before the figure of the British agent. Moreover, the Affaire had its own female spies, figures who inspired much fascination, Madame Bastian and the mysterious *dame voilée*. The latter, according to Esterhazy, would have exchanged secret documents with him at night, on Pont Alexandre III and other secret places in Paris. Then and today, the

identity of the *dame voilée* remains unknown, while quite renown is the key role played by Madame Bastian as the secret agent of an espionage operation at the hands of the French Military Intelligence Service. Employed as a cleaning lady at the German Embassy in Paris, Madam Bastian secretly retrieved the content of the rubbish of the Embassy and delivered it, every one or two weeks, to Colonel Henry in a chapel of the church Sainte Clotilde. In September 1894, she handed a ripped note to the staff of the SR, a note that will turn out to be the infamous *bordereau*.

Similarly, the female characters of spy fiction cross, or rather, violate the border of the domestic sphere, abandoning their very Victorian role of grantors of morality and respectability to become spies, often persuaded by negative forces coming from the outside, as it was the case for Lucy Westenra and Trilby. First and most innocent amongst them all is Gemma Fanetti from *The Day of Temptation*. Gemma, a Florentine noblewoman forced to act as a secret diplomatic agent under the guise of the adventuress Contessa Funaro for a group of Italian spies, is the closest thing to a British agent[84] appearing in spy fiction before the advent of Richard Hannay and Duckworth Drew. In an attempt to cut the strings with her past and gain her freedom back in order to marry the blissfully ignorant Englishman Charles Armytage, she agrees with Marquis Montelupo, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to go to the house of the Italian Ambassador in London, Count Castellani, and steal a letter with some documents that, if rendered public, would incriminate Montelupo and make the Ambassador the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. Yet, having taken the letter, Gemma is surprised by Count Castellani, who manages to take the letter away from her only to be blackmailed by the ruthless woman; and with what? Paper, once again, a check that would incriminate Count Castellani of theft.

Irma is a secret agent of the French Intelligence Department in *England's Peril*. She hands La Touche cyphered letters containing the secrets of the British War Office, kept inside a fort in the library of her unknowing uncle:

> He loved her with his whole soul. Her glance, each time she looked at him with those dark earnest eyes, sent a thrill though him. She held him entranced.
>
> That night, however, while the whole household was soundly sleeping, a single silent, white-faced figure crept noiselessly along the thickly-carpeted corridor towards the library wherein were locked the nation's secrets.
>
> It was the spy of France. (LeQueux 1899, p. 124)

Another one of LeQueux's unscrupulous women is the young Filomena of *Behind the Throne* (1905), employed as a secret agent by Angelo Borselli, a collaborator of the Socialists trying to overturn the Italian government. Filomena acts as a link between Borselli and a French spy, handing

[84] Gemma Fanetti is admittedly not British, nevertheless she is described as one from the very beginning. She merges perfectly with the English, so much that she is generally believed to be half-Italian, half-British.

documents with sensitive military information. When they meet in Bologna, Borselli thanks her: "'You have done exceedingly well,' declared the schemer. 'In this last affair you have rendered me the greatest assistance. Without you we should have failed'" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012).

The female spy appears in Oppenheim's fiction as well in the form of stock character, the lady typist (Panek 1981). In Oppenheim's *The Mysterious Mr Sabin*, Miss Merton. Indeed, the theft at the hands of the Russian spy was not the first time Lord Deringham's precious documents left his rooms. Miss Merton, Lord Deringham's former secretary, is accused of copying and selling the documents. Declaring her innocence to Lord Deringham's ever clueless son, Wolfenden, she says: "just lately he seems to have got the idea that I have been making two copies of this rubbish and keeping one back. […] This morning your father came very early into the study and found a sheet of carbon paper on my desk and two copies of one page of the work I was doing. As a matter of fact I had never used it before, but I wanted to try it for practice" (Oppenheim 2011). Yet, unlike poor Dreyfus, she turns out to be guilty; guilty and unrepentant[85].

Finally, the motif of exile on a penal colony as a universal punishment for treason. Le Queux in particular seems to have found the Italian equivalent of Devil's Island in the Island of Gorgona, "that rocky island," says one of the spies in *The Day of Temptation*, "which lies within sight of the land we all of us love" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012). Le Queux's association is not ungounded: indeed, in 1869, part of the Island of Gorgona was used as an open-air penal colony, with a reputation so terrible as to cause even the brave General Valentini of *Behind the Throne* (1905) to flinch at the thought that his innocent friend, Captain Solaro, might be transferred there from the military prison in Turin: "'To Gorgona!' exclaimed the general in surprise; for the name of that lonely penal island in the Mediterranean opposite Leghorn was sufficient to cause him to shudder" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012).

[85] It is interesting to notice how, once again, the invasion scare and therefore race discourse intertwines inextricably with gender anxieties and, specifically, with the figure of the New Woman, intrinsically weak and therefore subject to the risk of corruption and contagion at the hand of evil forces coming from outside Great Britain. Miss Merton, of course, is found to be guilty and to be selling copies of the documents to Mr Sabin; after being dismissed by Lord Deringhan, she is employed as a typist by Mr Sabin yet, faced with a better economic reward, she betrays him. She is unscrupulous, much more than Mr Sabin, and is often described in promiscuous activity to gain information. She is also an expert driver and smokes cigarettes, like a true *garçonne*. In Le Queux's novel women, and also English ones, are indeed described as schemers, temptresses, adventuresses. But in the end, they inevitably redeem themselves, ask for forgiveness and marry the English male character. It is almost as if women could not help themselves: they fall prey to foreign schemers and then cannot untangle from the web of lies, mysteries they have been forced into. Starting from Gemma Fanetti in *The Day of Temptation*, an intelligent and skilful agent trapped in the role of the adventuress Contessa Funaro. In *The Bond of Black*, the dark and mysterious Aline Cloud is "a veritable temptress, a deistical daughter of Apollyon", possessing the "*beauté du Diable*"; Aline and her friend Muriel embody in many ways the threat of castration of the New Woman, with their hypnotising gaze and tempting beauty. Clifton, a poor English man who had the misfortune of meeting Aline, is rendered irrational by her; Aline requests from him passive obedience: "Recollect that passive obedience is absolutely essential. If I command you will obey passively, without seeking to inquire reason, without heed of the difference between good and evil". Although both her and Muriel turn out to be the Pristesses in a Satanic group in London, they repent and marry their loved Englishmen, one of whom is even a priest. And again, in *Behind the Throne*, in spite of having acted as a secret agent and having caused the conviction of the innocent Captain Solaro, Filomena is eventually forgiven and marries Solaro.

Speaking of Captain Solaro, he is only the first of a series of wrongly-accused figures possibly inspired by Captain Dreyfus. For a start, Arthur Cadogan West of Doyle's "The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans", a clerk in a government office at Royal Arsenal wrongly accused of stealing and selling Britain's secret submarine plans to a foreign power. Then, the clerk of *England's Peril*, victim of La Touche's ambition: acting as an *agent provocateur*, La Touche goes to the clerk's lodgings in Toulon and finds (not so accidentally) a newspaper suspiciously marked with words and letters: "The mysterious paper was brought to the Intelligence Department in Paris, and it was found that the words and letters formed a communication meant apparently, for a foreign naval attaché. Who, after this could doubt the guilt of the clerk?" (LeQueux 1899, pp. 98-9). Later, one of La Touche's detractors will find a newspaper similarly marked in his hotel room, yet the old spy is never incriminated.

There is also LeQueux's Captain Frank Tristam, the King's Foreign Service Messenger of *The Day of Temptation*. Tristam is a "smart, military-looking man of not more than thirty-three" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012), thus curiously close to the age of Dreyfus at the time of his conviction. He is "the modern Wandering Jew", albeit not Jewish. He too is "the victim of some foul plot" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012). He accompanies Vittorina from Livorno to London, leaving her in the cab in which she dies, only to flee secretly back to Italy. The fact is, the Captain was not only the innocent victim of Nenci, the Italian Anarchist who killed Vittorina, but also of Le Queux's indecisiveness over his character. In the face of the many incoherencies regarding Tristam, it is easy to image his creator changing his mind midway through the story: if, at the beginning, Tristam is described as a "tall, dark, and slim" Englishman, "with a merry face a trifle bronzed, and a pair of dark eyes beaming with good humour" (LeQueux *Temptation* 2012), a few chapters later, he tries to strangle Gemma Fanetti to death for no apparent reason. He then reappears towards the end of the novel, falls in love with Gemma's friend Carmenilla, asks for Gemma's forgiveness and marries her friend. Redeemed at last. But, as we are aware, Tristam is not the only Captain in Le Queux's production.

A few years later, in 1905, Captain Felice Solaro appears in *Behind the Throne*. And Felice Solaro might as well have been called Alfred Dreyfus, because his storyline is a clear transposition of the Affaire in Italy. To be fair, Le Queux does call it the "Solaro affair"; and Mary Morini, the fictional daughter of the Italian Minister of War, makes the connection between the two affairs plain: "It is a vile, despicable conspiracy," she announces, "which has sent to prison in disgrace an innocent man – a second case of Dreyfus!" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). Even deprived of the explicit reference to the French Affair, the average reader of the time would have doubtlessly recognised

Dreyfus as the model for Solaro and his story. Felice Solaro, Captain of the 6th Alpine Regiment, enters the novel by the side of his superior and defender, General Valentini – a military Zola, or a Picquart –, going to the Minister of War, Camillo Morini, to ask for a more merciful sentence for Solaro. The reader slowly learns that Solaro had been "convicted of treason, degraded, dismissed from the army of Italy and imprisoned at the military prison of Turin" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012) for selling military secrets to France. Apparently, in the event of hostilities, Italy had been building a fortress at Tresenta, on the border between Italy and France. A few French spies had already tried to gain information about the plan of the fortress, but the Italian army had always managed to successfully catch and imprison them. Nevertheless, a few months after the completion of the fortress, fragments of a letter written in French were found in Solaro's room - the writer thanked *cher Felice* for the plans and details of the fortification, enclosing the agreed sum of money.

While the path towards the resolution of the case is not perfectly adherent to the development of the Dreyfus Affair[86], the structural opposition between good and evil characters is maintained, not to mention their two-dimensional characterisation – General Valentini and Mary Morini on the side of justice, the French spy and the Socialists defending their interests at any price. The General, grantor of virtue, morality and respectability, is "short of stature, white-haired, with firm military step, a red face, and white moustache" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). Captain Solaro's portrait is much closer than Captain Tristam's to the depiction of a fearful Dreyfus given by the British press - he is "a smart-looking, dark-haired man of forty"; in front of the Minister, "he visibly trembled", "his faced blanched, his hands trembling" (LeQueux *Thone* 2012). Later, General Valentini and Mary Morini visit Solaro in Turin and learn that he is going to be transferred to the penal island of Gorgona. Before letting them see the Captain, the governor of the prison warns them: "I may tell you that the prisoner has become much changed since his sentence. He declares his innocence, and sits pondering all day in idleness" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). And indeed, not only does Solaro reflect the image of an ill, decaying Dreyfus relentlessly proclaiming his innocence, but the popular image of the encaged animal, used in theatrical performances, returns as well:

> They passed through a door, and walking along a short corridor entered a small room divided in half by long iron bars from floor to ceiling, like the cage of some ferocious animal in captivity. Behind those bars stood the bent, pale-faced figure of Felice Solaro, different indeed from the

[86] In Le Queux's novel, the Affaire is the result of the plans of a group of Italian Socialists who planned to use the story of the plans sold to France to make political capital and unsear Morini. the Minister of War refuses Valentini's and Solaro's requests on the basis of the fact that the secret service had seen Captain Solaro in Paris, during his leave, in company of a man, Georges Latrobe, a notorious French secret spy. The captain was then seen going to Bologna to see Signora Nodari and her daughter Filomena, Solaro's soon-to-be wife; Latrobe would have later received a packet coming from the garrison from Solaro's fiancé. In truth, Filomena was working as a secret agent herself for Angelo Borselli, assistant of Morini but really planning with the Socialist in order to assume the War Ministry himself. On the other hand, Mary Morini, the Minister's daughter, had once known Solaro and believes him to be the innocent victim of a plot concocted by the enemies of her father. She tries to persuade her father and, in a sudden turn of events, ends up being accused of helping Solaro access to her father's rooms and steal the documents. In the end, Solaro is set free by the King, and the Socialists' plan is discovered.

> straight, well-set-up man who had stood before the Minister of War and defiantly broken his sword across his knee. Dressed in an ill-made suit of coarse canvas, the beard he had grown gave him an unkempt and neglected appearance, the aspect of one in whom all hope was dead. (LeQueux *Throne* 2012)

Needless to say, in the end Solaro receives an official pardon from the King of Italy, "was soon gazetted major" and "transferred to the gaiety of Naples" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). Not a very surprising conclusion, all things considered, yet transposing the case was quite a smart move on LeQueux's part since, in 1905, the Dreyfus case was coming to a close and, although much less discussed on newspapers, still vividly present in the memory of the British people; therefore, while the happy resolution of the Solaro affair may not have come as a surprise, the reader would at least have been pleased to be able to recognise its French counterpart. Not to mention that it also cemented the British pride for belonging to a nation who, like General Valentini and Mary Morini, eventually triumphed for their Dreyfusard stand, their belief in justice, freedom and honour.

FRENCH VILLAINS

So, the espionage plot, the trial, the press, the public frenzy, stolen documents, handwriting, the female spy, exile, the penal colony, wrongly-accused military men: here is, possibly, the "Dreyfus material" mentioned by Panek. However, if the incorporation of some of the motives of the Affaire to spy fiction may indeed be of some importance, it is also the more obvious, and thus least interesting aspect emerging from the interaction between the Affaire and spy fiction. Especially in light of a still-open question: by unhinging the taboo of espionage, the Affaire plunged Great Britain in the space of the border which is not only physical, but also abstract, ideological and moral; something that is intimately connected to the birth of two new characters of popular fiction, the evil spy and the British agent. Which begs the question, to what extent did the Affaire and its characters, good and bad, interact with the birth and characterisation of the hero and the villain of spy fiction?

In this regard, it might be useful to return to the concept of border and clarify how the theme of espionage, as the distinguishing feature of spy fiction, works in relation to the space of the novel. Moretti dwells on the function of borders in early nineteenth-century fiction:

> Borders, then. Of which there are two kinds: external ones, between state and state; and internal ones, within a given state. In the first case, the border is the site of adventure: one crosses the line, and is face to face with the unknown, often the enemy; the story enters a space of danger, surprise, suspense. […] External frontiers, in other words, easily generate narrative – but in an elementary way: they take two opposite fields, and make them collide. *Internal* borders work differently, and

> focus on a theme which is far less flamboyant than adventure, but more disturbing: *treason*. […] In one guise or another, treason is there in all great historical novels: as the hero reaches the internal border, he immediately joins the Rebel, the Riot, the Pretender, the *gars*, the heretics. Rebelliousness? I doubt it, these are 'insipid' young men (as Scott says of his Waverley), and their actions show rather how weak national identity still is, in nineteenth-century Europe (Moretti Atlas, pp. 35-7).

This was not the case for fin-de-siècle Europe, where the necessity to claim and protect the national border became stronger and stronger. In Great Britain, in particular, protecting the border represented a major priority because borders were perceived to be under attack: the arrival of the Jewish migrants from Russia, the Affaire Dreyfus itself in France, the first plans for the construction of the Channel Tunnel, the idea of isolationism changing definition. As a consequence, the invasion of the British coast, it is by now quite clear, became somewhat of a leitmotif of English spy fiction. Less frequent, but ever present, are the border of the Empire, threatened by the expansionist ambitions of other European powers, France and Germany in particular. Gaston La Touche, for instance, can be easily read as a fictional embodiment of such threat; Le Queux writes: "Now, as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England he had access to plans and maps, which, to a man of his occupation was, of course, a distinct advantage. The latest delimitation of the frontiers of our colonial possessions he communicated to the French War-Office, and a copy of every new map prepared in London, whether confidential or public, at once found its way to Paris" (LeQueux 1899, p. 101).

Therefore, because of new imperialism and the uncontrolled competition between European powers, at the end of the century the idea of border needs to be understood as a site of growing concern and anxiety. As a consequence, borders do not generate adventure, nor treason in the context of spy fiction. They do not generate adventure because the hero, at the beginning at least, does not cross the national border, but merely defends it. Then again, it is not possible to find a fully-fledged hero in early spy fiction; the evil spy, the female spy, of course, but no British agent. And the border does not generate treason either because, at the end of the nineteenth century, the climate of rising international tension made the idea of betraying the State hardly conceivable, especially in fiction. Just like G.B. Shaw, the judge pronouncing the sentence against Dudley Keppel in *One of the Best* is very aware of it: "'Lieutenant Keppel,' said Sir Archibald, 'you have been found guilty by this court of treason, a verdict with which, I must say, I agree. The sentence is deferred. Such a crime is, happily, so unheard of among English officers that I have no precedent to guide me, and must take time to consider what will form a fitting punishment'" (Hicks 1899, p. 228-9). Nobody, then, would betray the State. Not even Dreyfus, actually: he was, in fact, identified as an Alsatian Jew, not as a French, which made him not a traitor, but a spy. So, while the spy is Other and thus cannot betray, s/he can violate the border by pretending to be *us*. Which means

that the theme of espionage is generated by the violation of the border, which is not merely crossing, and that violation is the driving force setting the narrative machine of spy fiction into motion.

Not only that. There is, in fact, a reason – dependent on the idea of border – why the figure of the British agent, today so popular, struggled so much to gain a legitimate role in spy fiction, and was thus the last to join the set of characters that populate the spy story. It is fair to say that the space of the border is ambiguous, and thus (in theory) extremely un-English. It is a space, in other words, that questions, that puts under pressure even, the moral integrity of the ideal British gentleman. And, in fact, one of the first spies of literary history, Kim, is Irish. What happens, then, to the respectable Victorian, incapable of faking, cheating, lying? Can the British gentleman become a spy? It is a question aptly put by Stafford, who writes:

> If there was an apparent contradiction between the activities of the international spy and the calling of an English gentleman […] then it was a contradiction largely resolved through the attribution of all the negative connotations of espionage to the figure of the foreign spy. It quickly became established as a convention of the genre that there was a clear distinction between spies, who were foreign, and secret agents, who were British. The fictional British agent, in direct contrast with his foreign opponent, was and remained, despite his activities, quintessentially a gentleman. (Stafford 1981, p. 491)

But, before the hero, the villain. "The Napoleon of crime," as Holmes likes to call the British turn-of-the-century antagonist par excellence, James Moriarty. On second thought, Moriary as a villain is very close to the antagonist of spy fiction – he steals documents, kills, is manipulative, subtle, cunning. He represents, nevertheless, an exception in the context of crime literature and, not surprisingly, does not appear much in Doyle's stories, despite his prominent role as Sherlock Holmes' archenemy. Returning to Stafford, "crime literature as a whole offered its readers a reassuring world in which those who tried to disturb the established order were always discovered and punished" (Stafford 1981, p. 509). Detective fiction, in other words, responded to an in-house thirst for justice. And yet, if Holmes refers specifically to a *Napoleon* of crime, there might be a reason - possibly because, with Moriarty, Doyle[87] goes some way towards a villain who, like Napoleon, violates borders, invades. And indeed, not knowing how to punish him, he kills him, together with his hero, beyond the national borders, at the Reichenbach falls.

[87] Surprisingly enough, while the Affaire is very much in conversation with A.C. Doyle's production, no mention or allusion to the case appears, to my knowledge, in the canonical Sherlockian body of works. It is not until 1979 and in a non-canonical universe that Holmes has finally the chance to solve the infamous Dreyfus case; indeed, the story of the Affaire was so congenial to detective and spy fiction that, in lack of an original case of the unfortunate Captain by Arthur Conan Doyle, Michael Hardwick wrote it in *Prisoner of the Devil*, a pastiche featuring Holmes, his beloved Watson, together with all the protagonists of the Dreyfus affair. Not only Hardwick, though: in 1997, Donald S. Thomas published "The Case of the Unseen Hand" in *The Secret Cases of Sherlock Holmes*.

Surely, spy fiction does not lose its comforting vocation as part of popular literature, and still artificially reflects the image of a reassuring world. At the same time, though, it leads its readers, hand in hand, in the underbelly of international politics, offering a glimpse of the dark side of modern diplomacy. There is a shift, Panek has shown, from blackmailing an individual, to blackmailing a whole nation; besides, espionage moves the border, the border as the "on/off switch" (Moretti 1998, p. 38) of the narration, towards the national frontier, so that the narrative machine is set into motion as the frontier is violated. And the character who fulfils such role is not the hero, but the villain: this is when the figure of the evil spy rightfully enters, for the very first time and well before its fair counterpart, the stock of characters of British genre fiction. Nevertheless, the spy remains external, foreign: no English, no Scottish, no Welsh spies; nothing from Ireland, nor from the colonies. The spy, at least in the beginning, is French or German, or better, French and *then* German, as the First World War drew closer.

As already mentioned, the Affaire redefined in moral terms the old enmity between Great Britain and France by reigniting the anti-Gallic feelings that had been animating British foreign politics on and off for centuries. It is thus imaginable that the Affaire might have had a part in the process of re-functionalization of the old French villain, father of the early foreign spy. Before anything else, the Affaire redefined it by placing it geographically, and with precision. Back to Moretti, on a map tracing the distribution of nineteenth-century villains: "Although France is clearly the epicentre of the world's evils, the map actually under-represents its symbolic role, in part because France is not always explicitly mentioned […] and in part because anti-French sentiments are conveyed through other means, such as language […], or character description" (Moretti 1998, p. 30). After the Affair, France remains the epicentre of the world's evils, by all means. But it is also clearly and overtly identified as the home of the great villains of the rising spy fiction; amongst them, Jules de Gruchy, Gaston La Touche, Jules Dubard, and Mr Sabin. France, "the nourishing mother of a Mercier, a Henry, and a Du Paty de Clam" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1899); France, therefore, mother(land) of a long line of spies. As such, their compatriots are quite familiar with their nature and habits. Buchan reminds it, a bit cheekily, when in *The Thrity-Nine Steps* Royer, a French politician, says: "You do not understand the habits of the spy. He receives personally his reward, and he delivers personally his intelligence". And, with a brief hint at the Affair, which is also a wink to the reader, he continues: "We in France know something of the breed" (Buchan 2010, p. 91).

Just as Moriarty, this new breed of villain does not ostensibly display any of the distinctive features allowing an immediate identification as the antagonist, something quite common amongst other great villains of British genre literature. And yet, a closer look at the characterization of the early villains of spy fiction reveals a few common threads of some importance. For starters, and it

comes as no surprise, they all are overtly and ostentatiously French. Gaston La Touche wears the *Légion d'honneur* badge, he drinks *chartreuse*, smokes *caporals*, sings *chansonnettes*. Metamorphic, persuasive, manipulative, he manages to become a member of the Royal Geographical Society in London, where he appears for the first time in the novel. He is, according to Irma, "the cleverest and most unscrupulous spy in France. As the chief of the Intelligence Department he had no equal, either in unscrupulousness or inventiveness" (Le Queux 1899, p. 98). Like Jules Dubard, French spy of *Behind the Throne*. Pretending to be a member of the French nobility as Count Dubard, he befriends the Morini family, while helping Angelo Borselli and the socialists to unsear the Italian Minister of War, Camillo Morini. In Paris, where, LeQueux writes, he had always lived, he "led the gay, irresponsible life of the modern Parisian of means, was a member of the Jockey Club, and a well-known figure at the Café Américain and at Maxim's. As a young man about the French capital he gave frequent bachelor parties at his cosy flat in the Avenue Macmahon" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). Furthermore,

> Dubard was not a handsome man— for it is difficult to find a man of the weak, anaemic type of modern Parisian who can be called good-looking from an English standpoint. He was thin-featured, lantern-jawed, with a pale complexion, dark eyes, and a brown moustache. He wore his hair parted in the centre, and as an élégant was proud of his white almost waxen hands and carefully manicured finger-nails. His dress, too, often betrayed those signs of effeminacy which in Paris just now are considered the height of good form in a man. His every movement seemed studied, yet his stiff elegance was on the most approved model of the Bois and the ballroom. He played frequently at his cercle, he wore the most hideous goggles and fur coat and drove his motor daily, and he indulged in le sport in an impossible get-up, not because he liked tramping about those horrid muddy fields, but because it was the correct thing for a gentleman to do. (LeQueux *Throne* 2012)

A French man, Parisian, elegant, effeminate, fashionable, thus in stark opposition to the overt virility displayed by the English gentleman, ever the man of sports. Along with Mr Sabin, or Herbert de la Meux, Duc de Souspennier. A member, as the highfalutin name suggests, of the old aristocracy, with his Byronic loneliness, his rakish past, his delicate features recalling the effeminacy of the Old Regime - "His eyes, underneath his thick brows, were dark and clear, and his features were strong and delicately shaped. His hands were white and very shapely, the fingers were rather long, and he wore two singularly handsome rings, both set with strange stones" (Oppenheim 2011). Quite a counterpoint to the very virile body exhibited by the hyper-masculine British male. Moreover, speaking fluently several languages, he is metamorphic in the extreme and ready to "cheat at card" (Oppenheim 2011), as one of the other characters tells him. In order to convince Lord Deringham to hand over the intelligence, he pretends to be the Minister of War, Mr C. (Churchill, presumably); upon which, Felix comments, "you must add the power of hypnotism [...]

to your other accomplishments" (Oppenheim 2011). And, with them, Monsieur Delanne, the rabidly Anglophobic French Minister of Foreign Affairs of *The Secrets of the Foreign Office* (1903), a "spruce, rather dandified figure in silk hat and frock coat" (LeQueux 2010); or, Dr Vaux who, from his hiding place in Brussels, agitated the anti-English movement in Paris (LeQueux 2010).

So, otherness, effeminacy, metamorphosis, ambiguity, deceitfulness, hypnotism. A set of features that, while making this new breed of villain threatening, represented nothing new in the social and literary panorama of the time. It coincides, looking back at the former section, with the series of attributes connected to in-home racial and gender anxieties attributed to troublesome groups fulfilling the role of competing Others – the homosexual (in particular, Oscar Wilde), the New Woman, the Jew[88], something Dreyfus paradoxically was as well. Assigned to France after the Affaire, such characters were also displaced outside of the British territory just across the Channel, separated by the national frontier and yet clearly visible. In other words, France came to embody "a hostile Other as the source of collective identity" (Moretti 1998, p. 29). After all, Stafford notes, "values are affirmed not only by what members of a society share, but by contrasting them with a set of values held by others outside the group" (Stafford 1981, p. 503). Conservatism, Protestantism, patriotism, honesty, civic courage, enlightenment, respectability, truthfulness, justice, freedom at home; absolutism, effeminacy, demagoguery, Catholicism, corruption, immorality, cruelty across the Channel. Which means that, with regard to fin-de-siècle Britain, the frontier needs to be read not merely as a geographical border, but also as a clear valorial demarcation.

In fictional terms, the rhetoric of prejudice, intolerance and demonization used to describe the villain of spy fiction is nothing more than that informing the villain of Gothic fiction, the vampiric Jew, which, in turn, is in conversation with the vocabulary of hatred the French press used to describe Dreyfus and the Dreyfusards. Then, Monsieur Delanne, Mr Sabin, LaTouche and Dubard share a few of the bohemian, almost dandyish, traits typical of Svengali and Dracula; naturally, they lose the supernatural connotations distinctive of Gothic fiction in the narrow sense, only to acquire new alarming powers linked to politics and diplomacy. Dubard, for instance, shows

[88] To be fair, the Jew also appears in spy fiction as a spy. But the Jew of spy fiction is an Anarchist, a capitalist or a spy; or possibly all of them at once - always cunning, cowardly, ambiguous, unscrupulous; most of all, he is a man without country, and therefore unloyal and unpatriotic. All characteristics which, paired with the Jew's tendency to merge undistinguished within the society, made him perfect as a mercenary villainous secret spy selling national secrets to foreign countries for monetary gain. "The 'Bolshevik Jew', the 'Portuguese Jew', and the German-Jewish spy are all prominent figures in Edwardian popular fiction which were especially popularized during the First World War" (Cheyette 1993: 69). Not so much in Oppenheim's fiction, he himself of Jewish descent, or – as Buchan ironically called him, "the greatest Jewish writer since Isaiah". But the Jew villain, in its unrealistic two-dimentionality, was convincing, fantastically so, from a dramatic point of view in the context of genre literature. It stood, Stafford explains, "as the dialectical antithesis, the symbolic negative, of the English gentleman" (Stafford 1981: 503). That is why, free of familial obligations, LeQueux's fiction is swarming with Jewish spies and Dreyfus is the single big absent – for instance, Hemann Hartmann, in LeQueux's *Spies of the Kaiser* (1909), "a fat, flabby, sardonic-faced man of about fifty-five. He had grey eyes full of craft and cunning, a prominent nose, and a short-cropped grey beard", is the "ingenious and fearless secret agent who controlled so cleverly the vast army of German spies spread over our smiling land England" (LeQueux 2010).

an appreciation for the Italian opera, and Mr Sabin, "with a cigarette between his teeth, and humming now and then a few bars from one of Verdi's operas," is pictured while selecting "a bagful of golf clubs from a little pile which stood in one corner of the room. […] As they grew brighter he whistled softly to himself. This time the opera tune seemed to have escaped him; he was whistling the 'Marseillaise!'" (Oppenheim 2011).

Moreover, the vampiric Jew and the evil spy share a natural bond with the theme of temptation, very dear to both LeQueux and Oppenheim. The hypnotic powers of the spy manifest primarily in the relationship with his protected - Mary Morini, Irma, Helène, Miss Merton. The spy seems to craft his accomplish and then turn her into a powerless tool, a mirror of the relation between Svengali and Trilby, Dracula and Lucy, women turned into monsters by monster. LeQueux himself explores the theme of temptation in his Gothic novel *The Bond of Black*. Francis Vidit is a (unsurprisingly!) French Satanist who persuades and turns Alice and Muriel, the two seemingly-innocent protagonists of the novel, into Priestesses of the Temple of Satan at Passy; he is, according to Muriel, "the man whose heart is as black with wickedness as that of the Evil One" (LeQueux *Bond* 2012). Such dynamic is replicated quite faithfully by LeQueux in his spy stories - the villain becomes a Mephistophelian character, almost a Devil tempting his innocent victim. A few examples: in the chapter of *Behind the Throne* entitled "The Path of the Tempter", Dubard persuades Mary Morini to sacrifice herself for her father's safety. And, in a scene which bears a striking similarity to *Trilby*, he asks her to go to the piano and, "in a sweet contralto," sing some Florentine *stornelli* – "'Brava! Brava!' cried the young Frenchman standing by the piano, and as she raised her eyes to his, it was patent that the pair entertained a regard for each other" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). Praising Italian culture, Dubard continues: "'We have had no poet like Dante, no composer like Verdi, no musician like Paganini - and,' he added, dropping his voice to a low whisper as he bent quickly to her ear, "no woman so fair as Mary Morini'" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012).

Cunning, deceiving and yet easily persuaded, the accomplish of the evil spy is invariably female[89]. "You are a cunning woman, my dear Mademoiselle." La Touche tells Irma, "I verily believe that you could deceive the very devil himself" (LeQueux 1899, p. 95). Irma, trying to resist his hypnotic influence, replies: "I have risked my honour – nay, my life – for you, because you are relentless. You, Gaston La Touche, have no pity for a woman! You know well enough that by your devilish cunning and your master-stroke of ingenuity you have succeeded in holding me fettered as your slave, so that you can now use me as your catspaw to attain your own despicable ends!" (LeQueux 1899, p. 96). Similarly, Mr Sabin is said to give his protected a "liberal education in

[89] The theme of temptation is very much linked to the figure of the New Woman as a temptress. Indeed, the figure of the New Woman was often linked to mythological figures such as the siren, to Medusa. Their promiscuousness both in terms of sexual ambiguity and in their metamorphic ability meant that they represented a threat mainly for the very stable, very Apollonian identity of the British male who, tempted by such villainous figures, would succumb.

corruption" (Oppenheim 2011). He persuades Helène, indulging her ambitious nature, to become the new Queen of France, thus restoring the French monarchy. Meanwhile, he bribes Blanche Merton in order to gain possession of Lord Deringham's papers: "'Blanche,' he said, 'it was a lucky thing that I discovered you. No one else could have appreciated you properly.' She looked at him with a sudden hardness. 'You should appreciate me,' she said, 'for what I am you made me. I am of your handiwork: a man should appreciate the tool of his own fashioning'" (Oppenheim 2011).

The theme of temptation, accompanied by several references to Satan, points at the religious, if secularized, overtones employed by both LeQueux and Oppenheim to describe their villains. Successfully opposing France to fair and enlightened Britannia, a Medieval atmosphere seems to surround the French spy. Jules Dubard comes from the South of France, where he grew up in "the old family château - a grey, dismal place full of ghostly memories and mildewed pictures of his ancestors - stood high up in the Pyrenees above Bayonne, five miles from the Spanish frontier" (LeQueux *Throne* 2012). In turn, Mr Sabin startles Lady Deringham as he approaches her in the twilight, with the "extreme pallor of his skin" contrasting with his "black flannel clothes", "a strangely winning smile upon his dark face" (Oppenheim 2011). Moreover, Felix warns Wolfenden: "avoid Sabin and his parasites as you would the devil"; after seeing him, Lord Deringham wonders, "They told me that he was dead… Has he crawled back out of hell?". He is "a terrible vision", a "fiend", a "parasite" and eventually he is compared to the plague – "he is like the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, poisoning every one that us in the way of his horrible infection" (Oppenheim 2011). Which calls to mind one of Du Maurier's most famous illustrations, the image of Svengali as a huge black spider controlling his schemes and lies from the centre of his web; but also, *The Times'* depiction of France on the eve of the Rennes trial, "extending its inky ramifications of obscurity to this country" (26 Sept. 1898). Which means that, if not inspired directly by the British reception of the Affair, the depiction of the French spy surely interacted nicely with it.

Finally, a few words should be spent on Mr Sabin: "Mr Sabin," Panek writes, "does a lot of underhanded things in this novel: he blackmails Lady Deringham, coshes Wolfenden and assorted servants, employs thieves, lies and steals. Yet he refuses to consider himself a spy and the readers are not supposed to do so either" (Panek 1981, p. 20-1). And yet, he is indeed a spy, if a diplomatic one, as long as he remains French and fiercely opposed to Great Britain. He is, after all, "a prince of wickedness", "a man of mystery and incognitos", "a plotter of great schemes" (Oppenheim 2011). But, as Panek rightfully remarks, after the war between Germany and Britain has been prevented, the last eighty pages of the novel are dedicated to the redemption of Mr Sabin: "Sabin is suave, witty, and courageous; he escapes from nasty Germans and also atones for having been a rake" (Panek 1981, p. 21). But, just like Trilby, Sabin's redemption takes place only after his

anglicization, when his commitment to Great Britain leads him to favour it over Russia[90]. His, so to speak, 'Jewishness' is then displaced and transferred on to a couple of German spies[91]. Indeed, with the Affaire Dreyfus at a close, the Entente signed, France could no longer be made to play the antagonistic Other.

And indeed, "By the time 1914 erupted," John Hughes-Wilson remarks, "Erskine Childers and John Buchan – aided and abetted by the newspapers of the day – had ensured that Germany replaced France as Britain's enemy of choice" (Hughes-Wilson 2016). Different Other, same attributes: Doyle's "His Last Bow", set on the eve of the First World War, features two German spies, Von Bork and his colleague – "from below the two glowing ends of their cigars might have been the smouldering eyes of some malignant fiend looking down in the darkness" (Doyle 1993, p. 401). Similarly, the German spies of the Black Stone manage to pass as middle-class British gentlemen and nearly fool Richard Hannay; they plan to assassinate the Greek Premier, Constantine Carolides, start a war in Europe, steal naval intelligence to attack Britain from the coast, and not for nothing: after all, "there's an east wind coming" (Doyle 1993, p. 413).

BRITISH HEROES

"There's an east wind coming all the same, such a wind as never blew on England yet. It will be cold and bitter, Watson, and a good many of us may wither before its blast. But it's God's wind none the less, and a cleaner, better, stronger land will lie in the sunshine when the storm has cleared" (Doyle 1993, p. 413). Sherlock Holmes' last words reflect the climate of rising conflict opening the Edwardian era. It is from its changing international relations, by then made of espionage and counterespionage, that will emerge, at last, the figure of the British agent. Heir, partly, of Holmes and the tradition of the detective novel, the British agent's main job is to navigate Britain through the storm of an upcoming conflict and prevent, when possible, its blasts. Such storm was not merely political; Stafford: "The duel between the figure of the English gentleman secret agent and the alien enemy spy symbolized a conflict of values which lay at the heart of Edwardian society and was responsible for so many of its anxieties about the future" (Stafford 1981, p. 509). In this respect, spy fiction and Gothic fiction rest on the same structural opposition:

[90] After some mysterious organization forces him to burn all the documents, effectively preventing him from selling Britain to Germany and accomplish his plan to restore the monarchy in France, Mr Sabin decides to migrate to the United States. Before leaving, though, Felix proposes him to undertake a mission for Russia in the East, to which Mr Sabin responds: "what would benefit Russia in Asia would ruin England, and England has given me and many of my kind a shelter, and has even held aloof from France. Of the two countries I would much prefer to aid England" (Oppenheim 2011). He also forms quite a strong alliance with the British captain of the ship for America against a couple of German spies.

[91] Albeit this shift from France to Germany happens very early respect to the rest of spy fiction. Moreover, Oppenheim represents a peculiar example, since he was of Jewish origins so, in contrast with LeQueux's production, in his works there are no anti-Semitic characters, nor transpositions of the Affair, probably not wanting to be denounced in case Alfred turned out to be guilty.

the vampiric Jew had a positive double in the British protagonist, and the evil spy had a positive double in the British agent. Yet, if the protagonist of Gothic fiction remains within the safe confines of the Victorian respectability s/he represents, the British agent is required to walk through such confines, whether geographical or ethical.

To be fair, not only does the British agent arrive late in the risky space of the border, but, in the beginning, he stumbles on the frontier rather than walking through it with assurance in a Bond-like fashion. His main job is to protect the border, keep inside what cannot exit, find and expel people who violate it; broadly speaking, provide, through his victories, a "deeply conservative reassurance" (Stafford 1981, p. 509) to the Edwardian public. This, at least, at the beginning. But then, with the birth, in 1909, of MI5 and MI6 and the appearance in the European bureaucratic structure of the secret service agencies, the necessities change and with it the role of the British agent, who cannot merely defend the frontier. Frontiers – geographical and moral – need to be crossed and violated. In order to defend his country, the British gentleman is required to disguise himself, lie, cheat, in other words, turn into a spy, a role as improper as necessary.

Preventing until then the birth of the British agent, the conflict between the necessity to protect the values of the British Establishment and to take part to international diplomacy was solved firstly through the adoption of the label *British agent* in opposition to *foreign spy* (Stafford 1981). Secondly, while the spy seems to be one essentially, by nature, almost by birth, the British agent becomes a spy often by chance, thus remaining a gentleman, "loyal to country, family, and God" (Stafford 1981, p. 503), a patriot ready to sacrifice himself and his safety for the interests of his country. He is an agent, never a spy[92], often an amateur, yet skilled, brave, and calm under pressure. Like John Buchan's Richard Hannay, described by Alan Burton as "the archetype of the 'accidental agent,' the gentleman cast unexpectedly into danger and rising magnificently to the challenge" (Burton 2016, p. 4). Thus, after Scudder's sudden death, Hannay is thrown almost against his will in the midst of an international drama:

> The sight of Scudder's dead face had made me a passionate believer in his scheme. He was gone, but he had taken me into his confidence, and I was pretty well bound to carry on his work. You

[92] Among the reasons why, while present, espionage had never figured among the subject of Victorian writers, was the fact that a respectable Englishman was not believed to be able to be as deceitful and daring as a spy needed to be. Yet, with the Dreyfus affair, the birth of the British secret services and spies as integral parts of the relations between European states, Great Britain could not be caught unprepared. And so it was that Holmes began to get acquainted with the British espionage world – relegated before to the figure of Mycroft Holmes – first by creating a network of spies ("The Adventure of the Second Stain") and then as an agent in disguise himself ("His Last Bow"). Yet the conflict between the Victorian values – honesty, truth – and the job of the spy was a tricky one, and spy fiction writers needed to find a respectable way out: so to the word 'spy', reserved to foreign agents and villains, they tended to prefer and effectively oppose the word 'agent', the respectable equivalent of the foreign spy. To such linguistic stratagem, they added a layer of amatoriality, in that the British agent became one often accidentally, at least at first, forced by the circumstances to defend and save the nation (Stafford 1981). Yet, agents still reflect on their conduct and their morals; Richard Hannay: "I reflected in the various kinds of crime I had now sampled. Contrary to general belief I was not a murderer, but I had become an unholy liar, a shameless impostor, and a highwayman with a marked taste for expensive motor-cars" (Buchan 2010: 57).

> may think this ridiculous for a man in danger of his life, but that was the way I looked at it. I am an ordinary sort of fellow, not braver than other people, but I hate to see a good man downed, and that long knife would not be the end of Scudder if I could play the game in his place. (Buchan 2010, p. 23)

Hannay's monologue, placed in the opening pages of the novel, must look quite unconvincing to the expert eye of the accustomed reader of spy fiction. Nevertheless, Buchan manages at least to effectively oppose Hannay to the spies he is fighting, for whom intrigue seems to be second nature. Less accidental, and thus much more narratologically convincing, is LeQueux's Duckworth Drew, a British secret agent employed by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

> Well, I recalled you, knowing that to your hands I can entrust the delicate mission of ascertaining the true state of affairs," the Secretary tells him, "Your previous successes, Drew, warrant this perfect confidence I repose in you. […] We are both doing our utmost to serve our Sovereign and our country honestly and well—you and I. Do not think that I am heedless of the risks you so often run. As I've told you before, each confidential report of yours that reaches me causes me to fear for your safety. To my own knowledge you've more than once risked your life long liberty in the service of your country, and I may say without undue flattery that you have my personal esteem and regard. (LeQueux 2010)

And, after them, Jack Jardine, Hugh Morrice, George Smiley, James Bond and so on.

The British agent is thus, first and foremost, a patriot ready to sacrifice himself, his safety, his freedom to defend a blissfully ignorant England, unknowing victim of foreign plots, waiting for the day in which France "will strike vengeance for Fashoda" (LeQueux 2010), or in which Germay will vindicate its maritime and colonial supremacy. Speaking of which, in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, Hannay discovers Germany's secret plot against Britain; he comments, "this war was going to come as a mighty surprise to Britain. […] While we were talking about the good will and good intentions of Germany, our coast would be silently ringed with mines, and submarines would be waiting for every battleship" (Buchan 2010, p. 40). David Stafford: "In the hazardous new world of foreign powers abroad and foreign residents at home, […] Britain is presented as the innocent victim of foreign machinations" (Stafford 1981, p. 499). The only one with the ability to prevent such foul destiny is the British agent: like Hannay who, before blowing up the hut of a German spy, declares: "The prospect was pretty dark either way, but anyhow there was a chance, both for myself and for my country" (Buchan 2010, p. 67); or Drew, who talks about being secret agent: "Herein lies considerable peril, for he may be arrested with the others for some offence against the law, and, although perfectly innocent, must necessarily keep his mouth closed and go to prison" (LeQueux 2010).

With his courage, virility, loyalty, sense of sacrifice and duty accompanied by a veil of amatoriality, the British agent opposes effectively the effeminacy, ambiguity and natural evil of the

foreign spy. He represents, therefore, a new figure. At the same time, he is heir of what Michael Nerlich calls "ideology of adventure"[93], one of the "most powerful and enduring myth of Western world" (Forth 2004, p. 11). Coming from medieval romances, it promoted an ideal of masculinity embodied by the men of action - the knights, who "embark and court danger in their quest and find their virility validated through heroic deeds" (Forth 2004, p. 11). This was compounded by the Imperialist ideology, come to light at the end of the nineteenth century with Rudyard Kipling's tale "First Sailor" (1891). Hannah Arendt: "What brings the little tale of the 'First Sailor' so close to ancient foundation legends is that it presents the British as the only politically mature people, caring for law and burdened with the welfare of the world, in the midst of barbarian tribes who neither care nor know what keeps the world together" (Arendt 2017, p. 273).

The Dreyfus Affair, erupted just a few years after the publication of the "First Sailor", matched Kipling's rhetoric and thus interacted without effort with the Imperialist narrative. And it did more: it demonstrated that Great Britain, in the face of the barbarity displayed by the French political and judicial immaturity, was the only nation capable of assuming the role of grantor of justice. Paradoxically so, because the racist roots of the Imperialist ideology are the same as those fueling the antisemitism of Dreyfus' France; they were, in other words, the final response to a declining identity and an ending era. "Yet," Arendt goes on, "there was a certain reality in England herself which corresponded to Kipling's legend and made it at all possible, and that was the existence of such virtues as chivalry, nobility, bravery" (Arendt 2017, pp. 273-4). To which is to be added the sense of sacrifice, the sense of duty, and a certain independence from the written law – which is the affirmation of the law of exception over the principle of law – which characterizes the figure of the British imperialist. Such figure too is fed by the ideology of adventure or, as Arendt calls it, the British "tradition of dragon-slayers who went enthusiastically not far and curious lands to strange and naïve peoples to slay the numerous dragons that had plagued them for centuries" (Arendt 2017, p. 274). All attributes that, according to Arendt, converge into the figure of the British agent.

And yet, behind the self-sacrificing spirit of the British agent might also be the rhetoric of sacrifice coming from the Anglo-Saxon muscular Christianity used, in the nineteenth century, as a counterpoint to the very feminine quality of French Catholic practices. In this respect, Christopher Forth writes: "When appropriated as a masculine exemplar, Christ epitomized the qualities of detachment, renunciation, sacrifice, and heroism demanded of any 'true' man faced with the jolting conditions of the modern world" (Forth 2004: 91). Such rhetoric of sacrifice integrated the figure of the hero where he failed as a man of action, as a dragon slayer, that is in the active research of

[93] M. Nerlich, *Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100-1750*. Translated by Wlad Godzich. 2 vols. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, citato in C. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004

adventure demanded of any true hero to prove his virility. In fact, it should not be forgotten that, in the beginning, the British agent did not consciously choose a life of adventure, unlike Lawrence of Arabia or Kim, but was thrown into it by accident, and only then chose to pursue the cause in the name of some noble principles. This is a rhetoric of sacrifice amply used by the Dreyfusards to vindicate their own virility, not phallocentric in the least, and legitimize their role as defenders of Dreyfus, of justice, truth and freedom (Forth 2004). In such context, the words used by the British press to describe Zola, in turn accidental hero of the Affair, come back to mind: "a man of supreme honesty, prepared to face the murderous malice of the French mob, brave the gaol, and confront poverty and public execration in the cause of justice"[94]. Detachment, renunciation, sacrifice, heroism - the same qualities demanded of any British agent.

Therefore, could the figure of the Dreyfusard have contributed, to some extent, to the characterization of the hero of spy fiction? There seems to be at least a conversation between the two figures, and popular entertainment suggests it: divested of the negative side of their 'Frenchness' and, at times, 'Jewishness,' the Dreyfusards were welcomed, with Dreyfus, in the pantheon of British national heroes, and elevated to universal symbols of freedom, truth and justice. Indeed, while Dreyfus, like poor Britannia, remained impotent outside of the action field, the Dreyfusards, like the British agent, "suffered in the name of universal values like truth, justice, and humanity" (Forth 2004, p. 91). In particular, Zola, the accidental hero of the Affair, described by the British press as a man of "unconditional bravery"; Zola, sometimes pictured on a cross in the place of Christ, an association that "even resonated in the international press" (Forth 2004, p. 93). Émile Duclaux, active Dreyfusard, even suggested that, faced with an anti-semitic crowd, "Zola could perhaps respond, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'"[95].

And yet, there seems to be quite a difference between Zola and the British agent: the very public life of Zola is opposed to the secretive, private, life of the secret agent, always undercover. While Zola speaks to the adoring masses, the secret agent hides and disguises his identity. And yet, the opposition is a fallacious one: in fact, Drew, Hannay, Jardine all the way to Bond have indeed a public. And, looking closely, it is much larger and much more adoring than Zola's. But it is to be found outside of the narration: if, in Buchan's and LeQueux's fictional Great Britain, the secret agent is unknown, to real-life spy fiction readers the agent becomes a celebrity, much more than Zola. And, like Zola, he tells his story. It is not a chance if, in the opening pages of *The Secrets of the Foreign Office*, the State Secretary tells Drew, "Ah! what a book you could write, if you only dared!" (LeQueux 2010). And indeed, early spy stories are often told in first person, an assertive first person, important, strong, individual, incisive, symbolic like the *Je* of Zola's *J'accuse…!*. The only

[94] *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 Jan 1898

[95] Ch. [Émile] Duclaux, in *Livre d'hommage des lettres françaises à Émile Zola*, 8, quoted in C. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

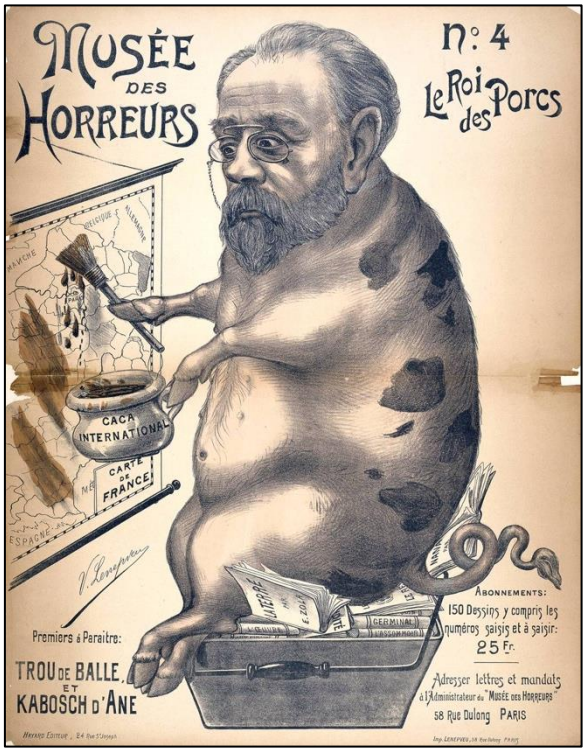
thing is that, with the benefit of hindsight, the agent stands guard at the British border, geographical and ideological, so that the Affaire would remain beyond the Channel… far away, but well in sight.

Part 2 -
From pop to posh: dissemination in high culture

I eat and drink, I sleep and dream Dreyfus. The papers are too shockingly interesting.
- HENRY JAMES to Elizabeth Cameron, 15 October 1898

In *Finnegans Wake* (1939), James Joyce includes the portrait of an artist, Jerry or Shem the Penman (I.7), which, often overshadowed by Joyce's Portrait of the Artist, tends to pass unnoticed. Through an alchemical procedure, Shem the "alshemist" (Joyce 2017, p. 185) turns his own excrements into indelible ink. Shem, Joyce writes, "shall produce nichthemerically from his unheavenly body a no uncertain quantity of obscene matter not protected by copyright in the United Stars of Ourania" (185); then, using his body as a sheet of paper, he "wrote over every square inch of the only foolscap available" (185).

Joyce's portrait of Shem calls to mind a similar picture, quite recurrent within the corpus of illustrations and caricatures generated in France by the Affaire Dreyfus: Emile Zola intent on writing with plume and chamber pot. The caricatures of Zola[96], an open and irreverent critique



[96] Some examples: Victor Lenepveu, "Le Roi des Porcs", *Musée des Horreurs*, no. 4, 1900, Jewish Museum, New York; Caran d'Ache, "Coucou, le voilà!", *Psst…!,* 1899, Jewish Museum, New York; André Gill, "Loisirs Naturalistes", *La petite Lune*, n. 44, April 1879; Moloch, "Emile Zola", *Le Trombinoscope*, n. 6, July 1881; Coll-Toc, "Pot-Bouille", *L'Esprit gaulois*, January 1882; Cohl, "Emile Zola, ou l'art de mettre les virgules", *La Presse Parisienne*, February 1882; Lemot, "La dernière de Zola", *Le Pèlerin*, January 1898.

against Naturalism and, more specifically, against Zola's engagement in the Affaire Dreyfus, probably triggered Joyce's fascination and his taste for scatology. Inspired by the Zola controversy, the portrait of Shem the Penman represents, in a nutshell, the transformation from pop to posh the Affaire Dreyfus undergoes when the focus shifts to the intellectual milieu.

In fact, amongst the many other actors involved in the case, Zola came to be known as the intellectual symbol of the Affaire Dreyfus precisely because, combining in *J'accuse* mediatic resonance with a punctual socio-political analysis of the case, he was the glue between the two faces of the Dreyfus phenomenon, a duplicity common to both France and Great Britain. On the one hand, the Affaire of the people: flashy, sensational, overrepresented; it occupied the gutter press, popular entertainment and interacted with fin-de-siècle fears and prejudices, resulting in representations that were flat, almost caricatural, and thus deeply entertaining and reassuring. On the other hand, the Affaire of the intellectuals: unlike French intellectuals who, *engagé* for the first time in a public affair, discussed the case publicly and carried out journalistic campaigns, British intellectuals remained utterly silent. It almost seemed as if the exceptional popularity of the Affaire and its global overrepresentation, had exhausted, for British writers, its potential as a subject of literary representation. So much so that the presence of the Affaire in highbrow literature seems ultimately to be defined by absence and results in a legacy which is, while very much present, also discreet, tacit, subterranean. We are dealing, as in Joyce, with an Affaire in disguise.

I. Outrage on the sly: British intellectuals and the Affaire Dreyfus

Ford Madox Ford's *A History of Our Own Times* (1988) was written in the wake of the death of Marcel Proust, the sole writer, according to Ford, who was also a "historian of his own time" (Ford 1934, p. 180). Feeling, in a sense, an heir to Proust, Ford intended to write a three-volume chronicle of his day, the years 1880-1929[97]. Conceived in the 1920s, at the height of the English Modernist period, the book testifies to the inward path of time and memory: in Ford, time becomes "our own times and our own property […] made up of the most intimate and most inviolate portion of a man – of his memories" (15). The "immense movements" of history exist only through our "minute contacts" with them – "mention the earliest public phenomenon of your time and your early, tiny memory will at once spring into your mind – and that will be the beginning of your own time, and your own time will continue with you from that point until the end" (15). In the introductory pages of the book, Ford illustrates such position with an example:

> And I know a charming and intelligent lady in the French provinces who still shudders when she really thinks of Paris. Being in that city as a young girl on a visit during the *Affaire* she had once seen the face of Dreyfus, in a carriage that was stopped by a traffic clock on the way to one or other of the trials. The ghastly appearance of the face, in the terrible atmosphere of hate that vibrated from the boulevards to the quietest and remotest of Parisian homes, had so affected this little girl that all that Paris, with its secular architecture, its intense intellectual life, its gaiety, its music and its immense glare of light showered up against the dark skies – all that Paris stood for her was pain and horror and exclamations of hatred and a single pallid face. She had never again visited Paris without the greatest reluctance and even on her honeymoon had found it insupportable" (16).

A glimpse of Alfred Dreyfus' face from a carriage on the way to Rennes is what remains of the *immense movement* of history that, to Ford, was the Affaire Dreyfus, the public phenomenon selected to open the chronicle of his time: perhaps a homage to Proust, but also a sign of the central position of the Affaire in the imagination of the British intellectual of the early century. Years later, Leonard Woolf seems to agree with Ford when, writing about his own times in *Sowing, an autobiography of the years 1880-1904* (1960), he singles out the Affaire Dreyfus as *the* phenomenon of his youth - in his words, the Affaire was "a struggle of European and later almost cosmic importance" (Woolf 1960, p. 168) and a pivotal moment to him and the Apostles, who were then young students at Cambridge - "Younger generations have no notion of what the long-drawn-out tragedy of the Dreyfus case meant to us" (1960, p. 167), writes Woolf. There is, nevertheless, a certain degree of ambiguity in Ford's and Woolf's treatment of the case: while they both testify to

[97] Ford completed only the first volume, which he never published, covering the years 1970-1895.

its global resonance and large presence in the public sphere, at the same time their words betray the sense that the Affaire Dreyfus was, first and foremost, a private experience, an event of their own times and theirs alone.

"English people used to stream through Paris all the year round. One was constantly asked out to dinner, both by them and by the French" (Baring 1922, p. 195). Maurice Baring, writer and member of the fashionable group of intellectuals known as the Coterie, remembers, in his autobiography, his Parisian sojourns during the years of the Affaire Dreyfus. "I never heard any topic except *L'Affaire* mentioned" (1922, p. 184), he writes; people were interested in little else: "fanatical partisans of Dreyfus" (184) on one side, "equally fanatical believers in Dreyfus' guilt" (185) on the other. Baring recalls Anatole France's Sunday morning receptions at the Villa Said: "I only attended very few, as in those days a foreigner felt uncomfortable in circles where the Dreyfus case was being discussed – it was too much of a family affair" (195).

There was, borrowing Ford's words, "something singularly proprietorial" (1988, p. 15) in the Affaire Dreyfus. Henry James perceived it too, as he wrote to his brother, William James, "I treat the 'Affaire' as none of my business (as it isn't), but *its* power to make one homesick in France and the French air, every hour and everywhere today, is not small"[98] (1984, p. 101). Nevertheless, as the focus shifts to Great Britain, one detects something likewise proprietorial in the way British intellectuals lived and received the Affaire Dreyfus. In effect, in spite of the considerable presence of the Affaire on the British press, none of the most influential voices of the time ever spoke out publicly of the Dreyfus case. Likewise, the Affaire is hardly mentioned in the public texts of British intellectuals, in their works of fiction and non-fiction, leaving a considerable and thus suspicious void. Virginia Woolf, for one, never mentions the Affaire and, like her, many other notoriously well-read authors, like Joseph Conrad, H.G. Wells, James Joyce, Rudyard Kipling, Sidney Webb, E. M. Foster, to name but a few.

Other intellectuals did mention the Dreyfus case, but they invariably relegated it to their private sphere[99]. At the time of the Affaire, they wrote about it only in personal correspondence,

[98] 2 April 1899, Costebelle.

[99] A significant exception is the response to the case by the writers G.K. Chesterton and H. Belloc, whose response though is antecedent to the end of the case. Amongst the few British anti-Dreyfusards, they used the Dreyfus case as evidence of the tendency of the British press to manipulate public opinion. Chesterton wrote about the Affaire in the poem "To a Certain Nation" (*The Wild Knight and Other Poems*, 1899); in two letters to *The Nation* (18 March 1911, 1004; 8 April 1911, 58); in the articles "In Defence of a Jew" (Straws in the Wind, in *G.K.'s Weekly*, 27 August 1927, 575), "Dreyfus and Dead Illusions" (Straws in the Wind, in *G.K.'s Weekly*, 25 February 1928, 993) and "The Horse and the Hedge" (Straws in the Wind, in *G.K.'s Weekly*, 30 March 1922, 55); finally, he includes a reference to the case in his novel *The Ballad and the Cross* (1905-6) and in the short story "The Duel of Doctor Hirsch" (*The Wisdom of Father Brown*, 1914). Hilaire Belloc wrote about the case in *The Jews* (1922), *The Cruise of the Nona* (1925), *An Essay on the Nature of Contemporary England* (1927), and in many articles for *The New Witness*, such as "Comments of the Week" (13 May 1915, 51), "Facts and the Intellectuals" (1 June 1916, 146). For a study on G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and the Affaire Dreyfus, see: Bryan Cheyette, "The limits of liberalism: Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton" in *Constructions of "the Jew" in English Literature and society. Racial Representations, 1875-1945*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

private letters and diaries. A case in point is Henry James, who read and wrote copiously about the Affaire to his brother and friends: "I eat and drink, I sleep and dream Dreyfus. The papers are too shockingly interesting,"[100] reads one of his letters to Elizabeth Cameron. The intimate quality of the Dreyfus presence is evidenced also by George Gissing. In his diary, he writes: "All fever gone. Able to get up. A day of wind and driving rain (from time to time). I read the newspaper – about Dreyfus, and the brutalities of the Parl[iamen]t in Vienna" (Gissing 1978, p. 465). Later, in the entry dated 24th February 1898, Gissing records: "News that Zola – whose trial for libelling the generals in the Dreyfus affair ended yesterday – has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment and 3000 francs fine. So far as I understand the matter, France seems sunk in infamy" (Gissing 1978, p. 484). Years after the end of the Affaire, its presence naturally tends to shift from letters and diaries to autobiographical works of various kinds: for example, Maurice Baring with *The Puppet Show of Memory* (1922); Leonard Woolf with *Sowing, an autobiography of the years 1880-1904* (1960); Ford Madox Ford with *A History of Our Own Times* (1988) and *A Mirror to France* (1926).

The silence of many British intellectuals when it came to the Affaire Dreyfus can be partly explained through Baring's and James' words: the Dreyfus case was, first and foremost, a family affair and the opinion of some British intellectual would have been most certainly unwelcome and unnecessary[101]. At the same time, the Affaire also seems to have awakened a dark suspicion. In her diary, Beatrice Webb recalls how affected by the case she and, to some extent, her husband Sidney were during the summer 1899, at the time of the Rennes trial: "[the summer] has been marred by the nightmare of the Dreyfus case and the Transvaal crisis. I took a feverish interest in the Dreyfus trial, Sidney grew impatient and would not read it, but to me it had a horrible fascination, became a morbid background to my conscious activities"[102] (Webb 1986, p. 164). James was similarly disturbed by the Affaire: "Concentration is doubtless not of this horrid époque," he wrote to Mary Humphry Ward in 1898 from Lamb House, "If nothing else prevented it, the newspapers would. Instead of shutting myself up in a little temple of the Muses that I have here, detached from my

[100] Lamb House, 15 October 1898.

[101] The silence of British intellectuals allowed, perhaps, for the preservation the exchange with many of the French intellectuals notoriously *engagé* in the Affaire, such as Emile Zola, Roman Rolland, André Gide, Marcel Proust etc. In a very militant move that owes a great deal to the idea of the intellectual engage born with the Affaire, E.M. Forster and George Bernard Shaw funded with Rolland and Gide an international association of writers for the defence of culture, calling the International Congress of Writers in 1935 (David Drake, *French Intellectuals and Politics from the Dreyfus Affair to the Occupation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Moreover, writers defined in terms of literary impressionism owes very much to Marcel Proust; amongst them, E.M. Foster, who recognises his legacy and, in Aspects of the Novel, writes that "no novelist anywhere has analysed the modern consciousness as successfully as Marcel Proust" (Rex Ferguson, *Criminal Law and the Modernist Novel. Experience on Trial*. Cambridge University Press, 2013).
G.B. Shaw comments the Affaire in the review "One of the Worst" (1895) in relation to its adaptation in the play *One of the Best*, highlighting, with surprising clairvoyance, almost all the salient points of the reception of the Dreyfus Affaire in Great Briatin, and highlighting its complexity and socio-political implications. On 1st May 1899, G.B. Shaw wrote a letter to A.J. Marriott in which he uses the anti-Dreyfusards as an example of the intolerance of secular and supernaturalist sects: "Take the case of the anti-Dreyfus people. What is it they do? Why, pick out all the general vices of humanity – all its greed and ambition and sensuality – and denounce the Jews for them, as if Christians were any less greedy, ambitious and sensual" (Dan H. Laurence (ed.), Bernard Shaw. Collected Letters, 1898-1910, London, Max Reinhardt, 1972, pp. 88-9).

[102] Entry dated 10 October 1899.

house, I sit in the garden & read l'Affaire Dreyfus. What a bottomless & sinister affaire & in what a strange mill it is grinding the poor dear French" (22 May 1898).

A few months later, in September 1898, James wrote to Paul Bourget, a fellow author and fervent anti-Dreyfusard:

> [The news] ont dû, du reste, porter presqu'uniquement sur ces malheureuses choses de France, dont vous me parlez si sombrement et au sujet desquelles je ne sais trouver, hélas, aucune parole le moins du monde comforting. Je ne les *comprends* pas, j'en suis trop éloigné par l'expérience et par la façon de sentir; rien ici n'y correspond, ni le bon ménage que nous faisons avec les juifs, et, en somme, les uns avec les autres, ni l'importance suprême que nous attachons à la justice civile, ni le "short work," que nous ferions de la militaire se elle prétendrait s'y substituer[103]. (1984, p. 78)

Despite his words, the friendship between James and Bourget cooled down in the months ahead, when, in response to the publication of Zola's *J'accuse*, James started to consider himself a Dreyfusard[104] (Edel 1985). In his letters, James wrote that he pictured himself "every a.m. in Paris by the side of the big brave Zola, whom I find really a hero", and defined *J'accuse* "one of the most courageous things ever done" [105]. Just after Zola's condemnation, James wrote him a letter of support, which nevertheless was not found amongst Zola's possessions; presumably, he had already fled to Surrey when James' letter reached Paris[106]. However, because he had committed to the visit before the Zola controversy, in March 1899 James joined the Bourgets on the French Riviera. And, he writes to Mrs Gardner, "The odious affair is rather in the air between me and the [Riviera]

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[103] [The news] had, after all, to concern almost exclusively those bad happenings of France, of which you talked to me so sombrely and about which I cannot, alas, find any word of comfort. I do not understand them, I am too far from them for my experience and my way of feeling; nothing here corresponds to that, not the good relations we have with the Jews and, in general, the ones with the others, not the supreme importance we attribute to civil justice, not even the short work we would do of the army did it dare substitute to it.

[104] Many claim that, as opposed to his Dreyfusism, James included in his works quite a few anti-Semitic portrayals; other argue in favour of James' irony, writing that James' apparent anti-Semitism is but a satirical portrayal of British anti-Semitism. Either way, the coexistence of Dreyfusardism and mild anti-Semitism is not incompatible, but in line with the general British reaction to the Affaire and the double attitude of the British towards the British Jewry, which manifested itself in the coexistence of philosemitic and sti-Semitic attitides, the coexistence of Dreyfusardism and anti-Semitic portrayals such as Svengali by George Du Maurier; James himself was a friend of Du Maurier and complimented him for his ability to depict the grotesque.

[105] Quoted in Peter Brooks, *Henry James Goes to Paris*, Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 157.

[106] Behind James' compassion and support there is more than just sympathy. In fact, Leon Edel (1969) has argued in favour of the identification between James and Dreyfus. He writes that the *New York Time* issue of 7 January 1895 featured a large article on the public degradation of Dreyfus; under it, was a "small headline. It described the jeering of Henry James in London on the first night of *Guy Domville*" (1969, p. 273). He observes: "the two episodes are related only in time, and in emotional content: they speak of humiliation, outrage, hurt – and a howling mob" (273). Despite the difference in gravity between the two episodes, Edel claims that "Henry James' response to the Dreyfus 'affair', in the ensuing years, may have had in it, in part, an unconscious element of recognition" (274). After being himself howled down at several theatrical production, an unconscious recognition with the sacrificial victim of the Affaire might indeed be at the bottom of his Dreyfusardism. And yet, the victim James had on the back of his mind might not be Alfred Dreyfus. On the contrary, Eran Ben-Joseph might be right in arguing that "if James identifies with anyone against a riotous crowd, that person was, in his own writing, not Dreyfus, but Zola" (1996, p. 130). And indeed, his words following Zola's trial are quite telling: "He will appeal, and there will be delays and things will happen – elections and revulsions and convulsions and other things – but it was, I think – I fully believe – his sentence, on Wednesday, [that] saved his life. If he had got life or acquittal, or attenuation, he would have been *torn limb from limb* by the howling mob in the streets. That's why I wrote to him".

retreat. I don't feel about it as I gather our friends there do. One must duck one's head and pass quickly" (1984, p. 276).

The entire British intellectual milieu followed James' example: they all ducked their heads and passed quickly through the Dreyfus storm. And yet, Beatrice Webb's morbid, if silent, obsession, Sidney's refusal to read or discuss the case, James' feigned ignorance, as well as the general bustle are clearly signs that British intellectuals were deeply unsettled by the Affaire despite their public silence. If anything, James' words to Bourget suggest that many saw at home a mirror of the socio-political climate that had produced the Affaire in France: the sense of an impending war, the rising concerns about military espionage, several miscarriages of justice, public manifestations of intolerance, the politicization of anti-Semitism. Thus, behind the dark feeling of unease generated by the Affaire may have been the fear of a British Dreyfus case, which would have sunk Great Britain into infamy along with France; or, the sense that the Affaire was just a foreboding of the horrors that would define the century ahead.

II. Affair(e)s and scandals in Ford Madox Ford and Joseph Conrad

In a lecture delivered before the Women's Institute on 26 May 1899 and published in *The Contemporary Review* with the title "The Social Novel in France", Mary Robinson assesses the state of the French novel in the wake of the Affaire. She writes,

> People in England are constantly complaining that French novels are not what they were. And that is true: the crop is slighter, and the quality has abruptly varied. "Ye cannot gather grapes of thistles". A few months ago one of the first of French novelists told me how impossible he found it to lose himself in an imaginary world while such ominous rumours fill the streets of Paris. The intricate Chinese puzzle of fashionable psychology seems, after all, a trivial thing compared to the tremendous issues of reality. And if the author feels this, judge the sentiments of the reader! The effect of the *Affaire Dreyfus* on literature has been the sudden disappearance of the *roman-à-trois*, the old Provençal theme of the married lady, her husband, and her lover. After a brilliant renaissance, after occupying almost the whole area of fiction, this theme has subsided; and if people read and write novels still, to a certain extent, these novels, or at any rate the best of them, have a wholly different motive, interest, and intent. (Robinson 1899, p. 800)

Robinson's impression was, after all, widely shared on both sides of the Channel. "Literature was rarely discussed anywhere in those days, as *L'Affaire* dominated everything and excluded all other topics" (1922, p. 196), wrote Maurice Baring in his autobiographical book *The Puppet Show of Memory* (1922). Similar words may be read in Ford Madox Ford's *A Mirror to France* (1926): "innumerable scandals as to every sort of prominent man filled the public ears and Literature itself seemed to fall with the general ruin of the State" (1926, p. 28).

However, the Affaire Dreyfus was hardly the sole scandal of the turn of the century. If anything, public scandals became a recurrent aspect of modern life both in France and Great Britain. In *Disorder in the Court* (1999), George Robb and Nancy Erber report that "among the more notorious cases from England and France were the 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' scandal, the Cleveland Street Affair, the trials of Oscar Wilde, and divorce cases involving society figures or politicians like Lady Colin Campbell, Lord Russell, Charles Dilke, and Charles Stewart Parnell. There was also the murder trial of Henriette Caillaux, prosecutions of aristocrats like the Count of Germiny and the Baron d'Adelsward-Fersen for homosexual acts, and the trials of Naturalist and Decadent writers for publishing obscene literature" (1999, p. 2). The experience of the public scandal was closely related to the idea of the trial, which became a "defining moment in modern culture" (Robb, Erber 1999, p. 4). The widespread fascination for scandals, fed by newspaper accounts and coupled with the element of spectacle inherent to trials, meant that a common affair could bewitch or even polarise the public opinion for a considerable time, to the point that,

according to Robb and Erber, the *fin de siècle* might go by the name of "Age of the Trial" (1999, p. 4).

Even so, the Affaire Dreyfus maintained a prominent position in the British imagination. In fact, British scandals were described with the Affaire well in mind - Oscar Slater became the Scottish Dreyfus and the Florence Maybrick case[107] came to be known as the "English Dreyfus case" (Robb 1999). The press too showed awareness of the pervasive and weighty presence of the Affaire in the British imagination. *The Times*, for instance, considered: "The country is still absorbed, submerged, as it were by the Dreyfus case, and the *affaire* has so excited the interest of the entire world that really without exaggeration 1898 might be called the 'Dreyfus year'" (4 January 1899). And this, despite the fact that the Affaire was a foreign scandal, or perhaps for that very reason.

The Rennes trial, in particular, elicited a truly passionate interest in the Dreyfus scandal amongst the British. Here are the opening lines of a long reportage published on *The Observer* in the wake of the trial: "RECEIPT OF THE NEWS IN LONDON. DISGUST AND INDIGNATION. It will be no exaggeration of the facts to say that the result of the court-martial upon Captain Dreyfus at Rennes was awaited yesterday in London with a degree of excitement and interest that has rarely been surpassed in the case of any trial in the United Kingdom, and has most certainly never been equaled in the case of a foreign trial" (10 September 1899).

The fanatical interest elicited by the Rennes proceedings and the global indignation in the face of the second conviction of Dreyfus are, by now, quite well known. Yet, the Rennes trial had much deeper consequences than a passing popular mania. 1898-1899 saw the overlap of two events, concurrent yet seemingly unrelated: in France, the beginning of the most intense and absorbing period of the Affaire, marked by the publication of Zola's *J'accuse*, which jumpstarted the legal case; in Great Britain, the beginning of the collaboration between Joseph Conrad and a young Ford Madox Ford. There, the two novelists started a collaboration which resulted in several joint works and the development of the theory of English literary impressionism[108].

As he set out to write *The Good Soldier* (1915), Ford also described its genesis and his debt to Conrad in the essay "On Impressionism" (1914). A sort of manifesto of literary Impressionism, the essay gathers "a certain number of maxims, gained mostly in conversation with Mr. Conrad, which," Ford admits, "form my working stock-in-trade" (2012, p. 201). "The story of a novel," Ford wrote in *The English Novel: from the Earliest Days to the Death of Joseph Conrad* (1929), "should be

[107] The Florence Maybrick case was one of the most sensational and popular scandals of fin-de-siècle Great Britain, eliciting widespread popular interest, on top of a series of public demonstrations mostly at the hands of groups of feminists. In short, in 1899, Florence Maybrick was wrongly condemned for having supposedly poisoned and killed her husband. See: George Robb, "The English Dreyfus Case: Florence Maybrick and the Sexual Double-Standard" in G. Robb et al. (eds) *Disorder at Court*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, pp. 57-77.

[108] Although Conrad is not commonly regarded as an exponent of literary impressionism, Bender has shown that, in fact, in his time Conrad was an "avowed impressionist" (Bender 1997, p. 18).

the history of an Affair" (1929, p. 131). An Affair: could Ford's word choice be a matter of mere chance? For one thing, the coincidence in time between the climax of the Affaire Dreyfus and the development of the theory of literary Impressionism suggests otherwise. In addition, according to Ford, the English reading public came to welcome the Impressionist novel precisely at the turn of the century; he considers,

> It was not until the middle nineteenth century in France and the very later nineteenth or early twentieth century in England that the mind of the public could be expected to take in the rendering – not the narrating – of a work whose central character was not an individual of slightly superhuman proportions. Still less could it take in an Affair who participants, as befits a democratic age, if not all exactly equal in the parts they play in the Affair's development, are at least nearly all as normally similar in aspirations, virtues and vices as is usual in one's surrounding humanity. (Ford 1929, p. 37)

Moreover, throughout his production, Ford makes conspicuous use of the word Affair, often capitalized, as a synonym for the subject of the novel: the novelist should render "the world as he sees it, uttering no comments, falsifying no issues and carrying the subject – the Affair – he has selected for rendering, remorselessly out to its logical conclusion" (Ford 1929, p. 129). In *The Good Soldier* – in a sense, as a story on storytelling – Ford connects the story the narrator, John Dowell, is about to tell with the idea of an affair[109]. The novel notoriously begins: "This is the saddest story I have ever heard" (2012, p. 11); a few lines later, Ford reiterates them as he reflects on what he calls "this sad affair" (11). The same words, "this sad affair" (186), return at the end of the novel, as the story finally comes full circle.

Yet, in *The Good Soldier*, the meaning of the word 'affair' seems, in a sense, to become polysemous. In fact, Ford hardly ever talks of an affair, period. Instead, he talks of "a scratch sort of affair" (29); "a full dress affair" (37); a "miserable affair" (40); "a queer sort of affair" (46); "a perfectly commonplace affair" (48); "a quite passionate affair" (49); "a love affair" (92); an "abortive love affair" (158); "a dim and misty affair" (111); "a long, sad affair" (143). The rich, if ambiguous, use of the word 'affair' in *The Good Soldier* did not pass unnoticed to neither Max Saunders (2015), nor Todd K. Bender (1997). In his study on the meanings of the word 'case' and the imagery of cases in *The Good Soldier*, Saunders observes how the word 'case' is sometimes used interchangeably with the word 'affair'. "The term 'affair'", he writes, "puns between the sense of story, scandal, and liaison" (2015, p. 137). Similarly, in *Literary Impressionism in Jean Rhys, Ford Madox Ford, Joseph Conrad and Charlotte Brontë* (1997), Bender explains: "Ford uses the words to signify three meanings: First, and by far the most frequent, affair refers to an illicit sexual adventure […]. A

[109] The *Concordance to Ford Madox Ford's* The Good Soldier reports 43 occurrences of the word Affair in total, with 32 occurrences for the word 'affair' and 11 for the word 'affairs'.

second meaning of the word is simply business or state of things, but this bland meaning frequently becomes freighted with sexual innuendo […]. Finally, the word *affair* is used in a technical sense to designate a particular kind of story […]" (1997, p. 24-5).

Instead, what seems to have gone undetected is that, with its 38 occurrences[110], the word 'affair' is employed just as frequently by Conrad in *Lord Jim* (1900), composed during his sojourn in Kent, presumably in the wake of the inception of the idea of the Impressionist novel: "a common affair" (2002, p. 23); "the famous affair" (37); "an extraordinary affair" (86); "a hole-and-corner affair" (113). Yet, for the most part, Conrad talks of *the* affair, or *this* affair. That is because *Lord Jim* deals with one Affair only, "Jim's affair" (105). In this case, the meaning of the word vascillates between the legal and the narrative, excluding completely the sense of illicit sexual affair. On the other hand, *The Good Soldier* is, in a way, an all-round investigation on the Affair as the subject of the novel; as such, through his narrator, Ford concentrates and explores its various facets: Edward Ashburnham's "affairs of the heart" (2012, p. 49), his legal affairs, his business affairs, as well as the interconnection(s) between them. Either way, Bender is probably right in concluding that the frequency of the word 'affair' in both *The Good Soldier* and *Lord Jim* "indicated that the words designate a conscious or subconscious thematic concern" (1997, p. 24).

At any rate, their common denominator is scandal: sexual scandal, legal scandal, scandal as the subject of the Impressionist novel. "An 'affair'," writes Bender, "is the unacknowledged, potential scandal when a mask of superficial respectability gives a stable, decent appearance to what is, in fact, a disgraceful situation. When the mask crumbles, it reveals beneath the respectable, calm surface of things the hidden, desperate inner turmoil of the players" (1997, p. 24). Bender's definition reflects, with great accuracy, the condition of Dreyfus' France, the France of the Belle Époque, whose mask of peace and prosperity crumbled all of a sudden, revealing, in Henry James' words, "a country *en décadence*"[111], where optimism quivered under the weight of fear, anti-Semitism and militarism. In truth, fin-de-siècle Britain was hardly immune to scandals threatening the mask of Victorian respectability. Yet, the distance between the Kentish coast and Rennes gifted Ford and Conrad with the possibility of watching the legal play from afar, not from above the stage, but from the audience. Would it be possible, then, to suggest that the Affaire stands, undetected, as the prototype of the scandal at the heart of the impressionist novel?[112]

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[110] The *Concordance to Joseph Conrad's* Lord Jim reports 29 occurrences for the word 'affair' and 9 for the word 'affairs'.

[111] A letter to his brother William James, 2 April 1899, Costebelle, p. 101.

[112] That the Affaire Dreyfus might somehow have had a part in Ford's elaboration of the idea of literary impressionism has been suggested by both Saunders and Bender. The latter identifies a possible connection between the subject of the impressionist novel and the Affaire Dreyfus: "Ford claimed that he and Conrad developed the notion that the novel must be a rendering of impressions, not a narration, and that the subject matter for the novel should be an affair, a network of human relationships shifting under the stress of an unusual pressure. Perhaps he was thinking of a sexual 'affair' or perhaps of the Dreyfus affair in France" (Bender 1997, p. 24). Moreover, in "The Case of The Good Soldier" (2015), Saunders writes, "Ford uses the word 'affair' to denote a specific entanglement of characters offering a suitable subject for a novel, defining it as 'one embroilment, one set of embarrassments, one human coil, one psychological progression'. In part, then, what Ford

Before anything else, it is necessary to take a step back and consider Conrad's and Ford's reception of the Affaire. In fact, it is not possible to ascertain for sure whether Conrad refused, like Sidney Webb, to read or discuss the Affaire; what is certain though, is that in his letters, essays and novels he remained utterly silent. Yet, looking closely at his correspondence, it is possible to identify a trace, feeble but present, of Conrad's acquaintance with the case. In a letter to William Blackwood dated 27 October 1899, Conrad discusses in passing an article he read on the *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* entitled "France To-day"[113]. Following Dreyfus' second conviction at Rennes, the article deploys a heavily anti-Gallic rhetoric, common to most English newspapers: "The tone of France," reads the article, "as indicated by the French Press, Clerical, Imperialist, Royalist, and Nationalist, from the ultra-mundane, whether political or religious, down to the infidel and revolutionary extremists, since the time when *l'Affaire Dreyfus* began to agitate society, and till now, is such as to cause men of all nationalities and of all creeds to look on with amazement and shame" (544); they reproach "the evil which must ensue from the terrible departure from principle which marks the action of prominent men in France, military, literary, and political" (544), as opposed to the "men of light and leading" (544), the "right-thinking men" (555) on the other side of the Channel. They describe the conduct of French editors as the most "unscrupulous, base, and abominable," "a disgrace to civilization," "abhorrent to all decency" (545); this "can have no other effect than to lower moral tone, to rouse the meanest and the basest of passions, and to prepare the way for moral, political, and national disaster to a race that once was great" (545-6). Conrad, in turn, reproaches the tone and bitter superficiality of the article; he writes,

> The French article in the last number I dislike frankly as to *tone*. It is not Maga's tone either; it is not quite candid. Why this superficial acrimony while much more severe things – much more! – could have been said? (Karl, Davies 1986, p. 213)

Unfortunately, Conrad never clarifies which severe things could have been said of the Affaire. Yet, not only do his words betray an interest in the case, but they also imply that Conrad had a very precise opinion on it.

In any event, it would have been quite impossible for Conrad not to be acquainted with the Affaire, if only through Ford, whose concern for the Dreyfus case was deep and explicit. In fact, the Affaire constitutes quite a recurrent presence in the Fordian corpus. In Ford's biography, Saunders explained that the Dreyfus case was an event "to which Ford returned as a touchstone

is doing by playing on the associations of the word, through Dowell's exploration of the aspects of the Ashburnham 'case', is to elaborate his impressionist theory of the form of a novel" (Saunders 2015, p. 137).

[113] Vol. 166, pp. 543-55.

of true conspiracy and persecution" (1996, p. 237); along the same lines, Hermione Lee adds that Ford "often used the Dreyfus case as a symbol for individual resistance to oppression" (2011, p. 50). And indeed, in his novels, Ford juxtaposes the figure of Dreyfus as a victim to his protagonists, in turn, to a certain extent, victims of convention and tradition: Edward Ashburnham in *The Good Soldier* (1915) and Christopher Tietjens in *Parade's End* (1924-28). Moreover, part of the storyline of *The Marsden Case: a Romance* (1923) seems to be heavily inspired by Dreyfus' story: in it, the protagonist, George Heimann, is wrongly denounced by the press as a German agent.

As in *A History of Our Own Times*, in the essay "Literary Portraits: XIV. Anatole France and 'L'Affaire Dreyfus'" (*The Outlook,* 13 December 1913), Ford underlines the importance of the Dreyfus case as a defining moment of modernity: "The Dreyfus case was perhaps the most important affair of the modern world; possibly it was the most beneficent, since it shook up the moral values of the whole of thinking human society. It caused a really significant cleavage, and a very amazing one" (1913, p. 827). At times, Ford's considerations on the Affaire, especially those concerning his participation in the case, need to be taken with a pinch of salt. For some reason, he lets his readers believe that, contrary to the majority of his peers, he stood by the side of the anti-Dreyfusards at least until 1898, when he met Zola in Hyde Park during his exile from Paris: "I suppose I was the only Englishman who differed from him as to the Dreyfus case" (1931, p. 283), he writes in *Return to Yesterday* (1931); "I have always taken a passionate interest in politics everywhere and have never missed a chance to witness political activities. I have been to councils of the Primrose League and of the Anarchist Party, to Democratic Congress and the meetings of Anti-Dreyfusards" (87). In the introduction to *A Mirror to France* (1926) - a re-writing of his earlier essay "Between St. Dennis and St. George" (1915) - Ford pictures himself at the courtroom in Rennes. He writes:

> The Dreyfus case, however, worked a profound change on the face of French life, and it was at the trial at Rennes that I began to have a sense of the profound cleavage that was to come between opposing schools of French thought. […] It was at that moment, in the changing lights and shadows of that court-house, that I, an Englishman with very few traditions to revere and next to no sacred things with which to come in contact, had a glimpse suddenly of the extraordinary possibilities of psychology. (1926, pp. 26-7)

Julian Barnes (2011) excludes Ford's attendance at the Rennes trial: "in fact, all that time he was busy on the Kentish coast collaborating with Conrad (nor is it remotely plausible that a French military court would have allowed him to be present)" (2011, p. 154). Whether true or not[114], Ford's

[114] In "Between St. Denis and St George", Ford wrote: "It was at the Dreyfus trial at Rennes that I first had a glimpse of the fact that the Army might still be a sacred thing to France. […] Nevertheless, in the changing lights and shadows, and amongst the perpetually swaying emotions in the court-room in the Palace of Justice at Rennes one had suddenly the glimpse of the extraordinary possibilities of psychology" (Ford 1915, p. 77). The mention of the Palace of Justice, deleted by Ford in his

account – rewritten twice, in 1915 and 1926 - can be read as a clear indicator of where his interest lied in 1899 while in Kent with Conrad. Then, it is maybe not a case if it is in strikingly similar terms that Charlie Marlow – who, like Ford, attends an inquiry against an officer - describes the courtroom in *Lord Jim*: "The light of a broad window under the ceiling fell from above on the heads and shoulders of the three men, and they were fiercely distinct in the half-light of the big court room where the audience seemed composed of staring shadows" (2002, p. 21).

ENTANGLEMENTS

In light of Ford's words, the Rennes trial is to be regarded not only as a public sensation, but also as a pivotal moment in Ford's (and, perhaps, Conrad's) understanding of the possibilities of psychology. In effect, on 1st July 1899, the very day of Dreyfus' arrival in Rennes, Ford's short story "L'Affaire Ingram" was published on *The Outlook*. The title leaves few doubts as to an affinity between the two Affaires. And yet, to all appearances, the two stories bear no similarity: l'Affaire Ingram is no more than the illicit affair between a married lady, her lover and her husband. Out of revenge, a charming American actress, Mrs. Clavell Ingram, seduces an officer of the British army, Rayner. She tells him that her husband has discovered their illicit affair, and, for a moment, the officer believes that the two will have to elope to Paris, causing a marital scandal and the end of his military career. However, the title creates a certain degree of ambiguity: "L'Affaire Ingram" might refer to the anecdote Mrs Ingram tells the narrator who, in his words, "gathered the story episode by episode" (Ford 1899, p. 709); it might also refer to the illicit affair between Mrs Ingram and Rayner, to the potential marital scandal or to the legal case that would ensue. This suggests that, back in 1899 and much before *The Good Soldier*, Ford started to explore the Affair as the subject of the Impressionist novel, bringing together for the first time the ideas of the legal affair, the love affair and the affair as a story. In other words, "L'Affaire Ingram" contains the germ of the shift, central to *The Good Soldier*, from the Affair as a legal case, to the Affair as a scandal in all its socio-political implications. And the French spelling is but a nod to the legacy of the Affaire Dreyfus.

In September 1899, a few months after the publication of "L'Affaire Ingram" and the end of the Rennes trial, Conrad started the composition of *Lord Jim*. Here too, the subject of the novel is an Affair, or "Jim's affair" (2002, p. 105). Yet, the setting is quite different: in conversation with the former *Heart of Darkness* (1899), the scandal involves the class of the officers employed in the

account of the same event for *A Mirror to France*, betrays his possible lie: in fact, he is referring to the Palace of Justice in Paris which hosted the trail against Emile Zola; Dreyfus, on the other hand, was tried at the lycée de Rennes.
On this topic, Saunders writes: "What is innovative about Ford's use of the unreliable narrator, then. Is the way he keeps making us wonder whether Dowell is not actually lying to us, or trying to conceal things. People often used to wonder that about Ford himself […]. It was a tightrope he seems to enjoy walking in his own life, often exaggerating his stories to see how far he would go and still be believed" (Saunders 2012, p. xviii).

colonial affairs of the British Empire. Jim is a young and promising naval officer whose dreams of glory are, like Dreyfus', suddenly interrupted by an act of treason, his desertion of the pilgrim ship *Patna*. The incident is followed by an official inquiry. Jim is found guilty, undergoes a ceremony of execution in which he is stripped of his officer's licence; as a result, he becomes, in Marlow's words, "a seaman in exile from the sea" (4). Although nothing remains of the anti-Semitic matrix of the case and the context of military espionage, Jim's case, unlike "L'Affaire Ingram", shares with the Dreyfus case a marked thematic affinity: the act of treason of a single officer endangers the reputation of the whole class – the naval officers or the *Armée*; then, the legal case, the trial, the conviction, the execution, the undeserved estrangement from the "waterside business" (41) and, eventually, the exile. Moreover, along the lines of the Affaire, Jim's case produces a public scandal of unprecedented proportions: "everybody connected in any way with the sea was there, because the affair had been notorious for days […] The whole waterside talked of nothing else" (27); "complete strangers would accost each other familiarly, just for the sake of easing their minds on the subject: every confounded loafer in the town came in for a harvest of drinks over this affair: you heard of it in the harbour office, at every ship-broker's, at your agent's, from whites, from natives, from half-castes, from the very boatmen squatting half-naked on the stone steps as you went up" (27)[115].

Thirteen years later, in 1913, Ford started *The Good Soldier* (1915)[116]. If in France, going back to Mary Robinson's words, "the tragic, the fantastic, the scandalous, the impenetrable mysteries of *l'Affaire*" (1899, p. 801) had convinced novelists that truth could be stranger than fiction, dispersing the appeal of the imagination and the diversions of the ménage à trois, in Ford it had quite the opposite effect. In fact, the protagonist of the novel is an army officer, Captain Edward Ashburnham with "his affairs of the heart" (2012, p. 49). First amongst them, the "Kilsyte affair" (78) - riding on a railway train with his wife, Leonora, Ashburnham comforts a crying servant girl and kisses her; his actions are misunderstood as improper advances and he is arrested for sexual misbehaviours. But, as opposed to Jim and Dreyfus, Justice was quite forgiving to him – "Edward came fairly well out of the affair in the public estimation; but it did him, mentally a good deal of harm" (118). Even his wife accepted his version of the story: "She accepted without question his statement that, in kissing the girl, he wasn't trying to do more than administer fatherly comfort to a weeping child. And, indeed, his own world – including the magistrates – took that view of the case" (122). Thanks to Leonora, who "had a dread of scandals" (138), the Kilsyte case never blew

[115] Moreover, Jim's case proved to be quite lasting in the memory of people: "Indeed this affair, I may notice in passing, had an extraordinary power of defying the shortness of memories and the length of time: it seemed to live, with a sort of uncanny vitality, in the minds of men, in the tips of their tongues" (100).

[116] In the "Dedicatory Letter to Stella Ford" (1927), Ford writes: "I have always regarded this as my best book – at any rate as the best book of mine of a pre-war period. […] Until I sat down to write this book – on the 17th December, 1913 – I had never attempted to extend myself" (Ford 2012, p. 3).

out of proportions. She worked to maintain a mask of respectability and avoid "the horrors and pains of public scandals" (137).

And yet, the case, in Dowell's words, "did Edward a great deal of harm" (122), in that it "put ideas into his head" (123). Thus, Ashburnham, the "kind, attentive, superior officer of the regiment" (145) turned into a "monster of libertinage" (137). Governed by unbridled desire, Ashburnham is unable to prevent himself from forming liaisons with women. The Kilsyte affair is followed by an "affair with La Dolciquita" (157), "a perfectly commonplace affair at Monte Carlo – an affair with a cosmopolitan harpy" (48), the affair with the Grand Duke's mistress, an "affair with Mrs Basil" (148). Then, the "Maidan affair" (52): Edward follows the young Maisie Maidan from Burma to Nauheim, where he meets the narrator and his wife, Florence, with whom, needless to say, he starts a liaison; Florence's suicide is followed by one final affair with Nancy Rufford, the reason of Edward's suicide.

Dowell considers,

> Occasionally he thought of other women in terms of wary courtship – or, perhaps, it would be more exact to say that he thought of them in terms of tactful comforting, ending in absorption. That was his own view of the case. He saw himself as the victim of the law. I don't mean to say that he saw himself as a kind of Dreyfus. The law, practically, was quite kind to him. (123)

The quick dismissal of any affinity between Captain Alfred Dreyfus and Captain Edward Ashburnham does not, however, dispel any doubt that, behind the creation of Ford's Good Soldier, might in fact be the good soldier of the Affaire[117]. First of all, because Dowell describes the Kilsyte affair in terms that echo (quite patently, to the extent of sounding ironic) the vocabulary used by the British press to discuss the Affaire Dreyfus: "the whole of the world that knew Edward and Leonora believed that his conviction in the Kilsyte affair had been a miscarriage of justice – a conspiracy of false evidence, got together by nonconformist adversaries" (78).

Moreover, Dowell's sentence – "I don't mean to say that he saw himself as a kind of Dreyfus" (123) – could perhaps be read as an instance of Ford's use of negative metaphors. Saunders: "Ford ingeniously lights on a stylistic device to express these processes of repression and unwitting expression. In *The Good Soldier* he develops an extraordinary use of negative metaphors";

[117] Ford also plays, if briefly, with the motif of intelligence and handwriting: Leonora intercepts a letter addressed to Edward supposing, from the handwriting, that it came from Colonel Hervey – supposedly, a disguised reference to Colonel Henry of the Dreyfus case: "The address on this letter was, in handwriting, as like Colonel Hervey's as one blade of corn is like another" (47). Instead, the letter contained a message from the husband of yet another of Ashburnham's mistresses blackmailing him for what Ford described as "a quite passionate affair" (49). Moreover, with the benefit of insight, Ford seems to be aware, unlike Conrad, that such scandals as the Dreyfus case tend in time to disappear; thus, the Ashburnham-Florence's affair disappears as Florence commits suicide – "You have no idea how quite extraordinary for me that was the end of Florence. From that day to this I have never given her another thought; […] She just went completely out of existence, like yesterday's paper" (96).

the narrator, Saunders continues, "can't find a simile for it, but he can find a simile for what it is not. […] as Freud argued in his masterly paper on 'Negation', such denials are often the sign of the repression of underlying desires" (2012, p. xxxvi). That Ashburnham might wish to be the innocent victim of justice is a possibility, but, here, the repressed desire belongs distinctively to Dowell; throughout the story, he clearly wishes Edward to be a Dreyfus, a victim of the machinations of society: "Convention and traditions I suppose work blindly but surely for the preservation of the normal type; for the extinction of proud, resolute and unusual individuals" (181); and again, a few pages later, "Society must go on, I suppose, and society can only exist if the normal, if the virtuous, and the slightly-deceitful flourish, and if the passionate, the headstrong, and the too-truthful and condemned to suicide and to madness" (191)[118]. Indeed, to Dowell, Ashburnham remains, until the very end, an unflinching hero, a "wretched fellow" (184), a "poor devil" (193), a Dreyfus, his Good Soldier.

ON TRIAL

The Good Soldier as *Lord Jim* imply the transition from Dreyfus as a *case* to Dreyfus as an *affair* in its wider socio-political implications; in other words, from *L'Affaire* to an Affair. Conrad, it is true, maintains the coincidence between legal case and affair, but explores the scandal, its development, its social and political consequences within the imperial and naval context. On the other hand, in Ford the legal case plays a very minor part, while the affair becomes a marital scandal, allowing for an investigation on marriage, sexuality, polygamous desire, passion.

This transition, crucial to the understanding of the contribution of the Affaire Dreyfus to literary Impressionism, is common to the works of Marcel Proust, Dreyfusard *engagé*, so to speak, in the Affaire. In *Jean Santeuil* (published posthumously in 1952, but written between 1895 and 1899), some of the events of the Affaire Dreyfus form the historical background of the novel. Jean, the protagonist, takes a fervent interest in the Affaire and attends both the Court of Cassation inquiry and the trial against Zola. On the other hand, in *A la recherche du temps perdu* (1913-1927),

[118] Ford's characters often describe Dreyfus as a social nuisance, a threat to tradition and convention. Another example can be found in *Some Do Not…,* when General Lord Edward Campion, a conventional British officer, talks to Christopher.
"The General exclaimed with enthusiasm:
'That's my good lad! Open confession is next to reform. … And… and try to be more respectful to your superiors. … Damn it; they say you're brilliant. But I thank heaven I haven't got you in my command. … though I believe you're a good lad. But you're the sort of fellow to set a whole division by the ears. … A regular … what's 'is name? A regular Dreyfus!'
'Did you think Dreyfus was guilty?' Tietjens asked.
'Hang it,' the General said, 'he was worse than guilty – the sort of fellow you couldn't believe in and yet couldn't prove anything against. The curse of the world. …'
'Ah'
'Well, they are,' the General said: 'fellows like that *unsettle* society. You don't know where you are. You can't judge. They make you uncomfortable. … A brilliant fellow too! I believe he's a brigadier-general by now. …'"
(Ford 2002, p. 75)

the Affaire constitutes a subterranean, almost obscure presence underlying the social dynamics that regulate the complex network of socio-political relations entertained by the characters. Rex Ferguson (2009) suggests that, in time, Proust's interest must have shifted from the Affaire as a public legal event to the Affair as a public scandal. The shift is envisaged by Ferguson in the context of Proust's (but also Jean's and the Narrator's) investigation on physical reality, experience and truth.

Jean's engagement in the Affaire allows him to experience first-hand two defining events of the public culture of modernity, the scandal and the trial. At the trial, Jean confronts a new aspect of justice, forensic science: he is presented with facts, evidence bearing the stamp of approval of scientific experts. In particular, the analysis carried out by the graphologist Paul Mayer: "'I am willing to state on oath that this cannot possibly be Dreyfus' handwriting'" (1989, p. 351), he says. And Jean considers,

> it was thrilling to hear such things said because one felt that they were simply the outcome of a train of reasoning conducted on scientific lines […] that truth was really something which existed in itself and had nothing to do with opinion, that the truth to which a man of science owes his loyalty is determined by a series of conditions which are brought about, not by social prejudices […] but by the very nature of things. (1989, p. 351)

Moreover, the public dimension of the inquiry gives Jean a sense of a shared experience that he interprets as a guarantee of the authenticity of reality. Thus, with its struggle between forged evidence produced by social prejudice and real evidence produced by science, the Affaire Dreyfus is an arena in which Jean investigates and confirms the existence and cognoscibility of the phenomenal world.

In *A la recherche du temps perdu*, on the other hand, the Affaire is indeed present, but the legal case is not. "Proust," Ferguson notes, "by this stage, appears to be far more concerned with the wider social issues – in a particularly obvious departure from the earlier novel, it is the way in which truth […] is not obscured by prejudices such as anti-Semitism but formed precisely from them that now attracts Proust's attention" (2009, p. 150). With the Narrator, Proust abandons the idea of physical reality as permanent and immutable: the universe of *A la Recherche* is a world in transition, with its tricks of the light, its shadows and its delusions. Proust's society is governed by relativity and behaves like a kaleidoscope: "Mais pareille aux kaléidoscopes qui tournent de temps en temps, la société place successivement de façon différente des éléments qu'on avait cru immuables et compose une autre figure" (Proust 2015, p. 87)[119].

[119] But just like kaleidoscopes which turn from time to time, society arranges successively in different orders elements which one would have supposed immutable, and composes a new pattern.

The Affaire Dreyfus becomes, then, a lens which allows for an investigation of the ambiguities and the relativity of the world. The scientific truth of the Affaire of *Jean Santeuil* makes way, in *A la Recherche*, for impermanence and transiency – Dreyfus was a traitor in 1894, a traitor with extenuating circumstance in 1899 and a hero worthy of the Legion of Honour in 1906. Here, the Affair(e), as a scandal, makes society quiver and change: "ces dispositions nouvelles du kaléidoscope sont produites par ce qu'un philosophe appellerait un changement de critère. L'affaire Dreyfus en amena un nouveau, […] et le kaléidoscope renversa une fois de plus ses petit losanges colorés" (Proust 2015, p. 88)[120]. With its innumerable entanglements, the Affaire became, in the eyes of the novelist, a true kaleidoscope, providing clues for new narrative strategies: the linearity of the nineteenth-century novel gives way to a trajectory of endless returns, in which the world is discovered anew every time. The tricks of lights and shadows of *A la Recherche* recall the *changing lights and shadows*, and the *perpetually swaying emotions* described by Ford, the *half-light of the big court room*, the *staring shadows* of *Lord Jim*. The Rennes trial, then, seems to have instilled the same idea in Proust, Ford and Conrad: the idea of a world in flux, marked, like the Impressionist universe, by transience and relativity, the appearance of reality changing like lights and shadows.

This is because the Rennes trial was interesting to the Impressionist writer not merely as a trial, but first and foremost as a *re*-trial[121]. In fact, if the objective of a trial is the revelation of the truth, a re-trial demonstrates its relativity: the possibility for appeal represented "a response to the apparent failure of original trials to come to the right conclusions. Court verdicts were, thus, failing to correspond to truth: what were being proven as 'facts' were no such things" (Ferguson 2009, p. 173). After a century marked by blind faith in justice, in which, returning to Arendt, "men followed legal proceedings so keenly because each instance afforded a test of the century's great achievement, the complete impartiality of the law" (2017, p. 117), the Affaire and the Rennes re-trial represented not only the failure of the judicial system, but the failure of a nation. In 1898, Henry James expressed his concern to Bourget:

> Je peux bien pourtant y prendre assez de part pour plaindre, jusqu'aux larmes presque, l'affolement du pays. Espérons que le pays en sortira par la porte toute ouverte (ou qui le sera demain) de la révision. Je vous avoue que si la France se refus à cela je la trouverai *moins*

[120] These new dispositions of the kaleidoscope are produced by what a philosopher would call a shift in criteria. The Affaire Dreyfus brought a new one […] and the kaleidoscope turned once more its little coloured lozenges.

[121] Despite the differences between the French and the British legal procedures, the possibility for appeal through the presentation of new evidence, or 'new facts', was common to both the French and the British judicial systems. The failure of the judicial system was not, in spite of what the majority of the British press wrote with regards to Dreyfus and the French judicial system, exclusive to France. In fact, cases of miscarriage of justice followed by an appeal were fairly common to Great Britain as well, not least the Edalji case mentioned in the former section, or the very popular Florence Maybrick case.

> à plaindre – a less interesting sufferer. Mais elle ne s'y refusera pas.[122] (James 1984, p. 78-79)

However, for the Impressionist writer the Rennes trial also represented the confirmation of a doubt: if, as John Peters argues, "impressionism is at its core a response of scientific positivism" (2001, p. 13), then the Rennes re-trial was, ironically, conclusive proof within a discourse that challenged the notion of a common and quantifiable phenomenal reality knowable though science.

As opposed to the close court and the secrecy surrounding the details of Dreyfus' 1894 trial, during the months leading to the Rennes trial, proofs for and against Dreyfus were gradually made public. The rhetoric employed by the press revolved around the imagery of new evidence, new facts that would finally prove the culpability or the innocence of Dreyfus. The daily reports on the Dreyfus case of *The Times* came under the heading "Latest Intelligence", or "Dreyfus Revelations"; the reportages invariably contained "enigmatical new facts" (*The Times*, 17 August 1899). The reading public gradually acquired a comprehensive picture of the Affaire, enriched daily by new information. Each evidence proving Dreyfus' guilt in 1894 was submitted to reassessment: "The judgment set forth that the proof that documents now shown to have no relation to Dreyfus had been submitted to the Court-martial which convicted him, and the evidence as to the real authorship of the bordereau, constituted new facts tending to establish the innocence of the condemned" (*The Times,* 5 June 1899).

In particular, the graphological analysis of the *bordereau* carried out by Alphonse Bertillon occupied centre stage. In fact, where the law had failed, science might still succeed: "GRAPHOLOGISTS TO THE RESCUE," reads the title of a reportage on the *Daily Mail* (16 November 1897). Bertillon, celebrated pioneer of the anthropometric system of identification and the main authority on scientific tools used as a method of detection, was the physical embodiment of scientific positivism. By linking the written word and the writing subject, that is by interpreting handwriting as a transparent reflection of Dreyfus' personality, Bertillon represented the possibility of reason and science to successfully analyse human experience.

In the same way, Conrad's court is interested in facts: "They wanted facts. Facts! They demanded facts from him, as if facts could explain anything!" (2002, p. 21); "There was no incertitude as to facts" (41), he insists, as their objective "was not the fundamental why, but the superficial how, of this affair" (41), at the expense of what, according to Marlow, is "the only truth worth knowing," that is "the state of a man's soul" (41). The inquiry against Jim allows, though

[122] I can, nevertheless, be involved enough to suffer, almost to tears, for the ruin of the country. Let us hope that the country will come out through the open doors (or that it will tomorrow) of revision. I confess you that if France refuses, I will find it a less interesting sufferer. But it will not refuse.

Marlow's voice, for an investigation on truth akin to Proust's, which needs to be read as an open critique against Justice and a challenge to scientific positivism and the notion of quantifiable phenomenal reality. With *Lord Jim*, Conrad anticipates what Jerome Frank will theorize almost fifty years later in *Courts on Trial* (1949):

> Considering how a trial court reaches its determination as to the facts, it is most misleading to talk, as we lawyers do, of a trial court "finding" the facts. The trial court's facts are not "data," not something that is "given"; they are not waiting somewhere, ready made, for the court to discover, to "find". More accurately, they are processed by the trial court – are, so to speak, "made" by it, on the basis of its subjective reaction to the witnesses' stories. (Frank 1973, pp. 23-4).

It is not without a hint of irony that Marlow considers: "the examination of the well-known fact, and the play of questions upon it was as instructive as the tapping with a hammer on an iron box, were the object to find out what's inside. However, an official inquiry could not be any other thing" (41). In a way, by disproving the truthfulness of Bertillon's analysis, the Rennes trial proved Conrad right. In fact, in both *Lord Jim* and at the Rennes trial, the accused is not one, but two: Jim or Dreyfus, and, in the eyes of the world, the judicial system itself; with it, the limitations of the law, of science and objectivity.

RE-VISIONS: THE IMPRESSIONIST NOVEL AS A RETRIAL

The idea of revision entails the act of re-vising, or (Lat.) *re-visere*, that is looking at again, seeing again. The empirical act of seeing was a crucial element in the experience of the Rennes trial: first of all, because the element of spectacle inherent to the trial invited the spectators to watch the performance; secondly, because, after five years of exile on Devil's Island, the crowd would finally be able to see Dreyfus and, fuelled by Bertillon's studies on anthropometry, to see what a traitor looked like. The press was the world's eyes and ears, describing and interpreting Dreyfus' performance: "Dreyfus stood there, his face aflame with passion. His voice, trembling with wrath and pain, rang through the Court, the echo of the feelings and impressions of us all" (*The Times*, 17 August 1899). They offered, in other words, a study on character and provided readers, or better, spectators with photographic material. For the very first time, the press employed cameras to film the accused and images of Dreyfus and the Dreyfusards at Rennes were shown daily at theatres.

Dreyfus thus became the protagonist of a legal show to be consumed with the eye. C. Forth:

> This penetrating journalistic gaze was frequently described in terms of *dévisagement*, variously meaning 'scrutinizing,' 'staring down,' 'disfiguring,' or 'scratching' a face. *Dévisagement* meant paying close attention to the most minute bodily signs […] Yet it also implied an aggressive

> gaze that analytically broke the face down into sections, whose meaning the journalists deciphered for the public. (2004, p. 27)

Therefore, Rennes aroused an interest that was primarily human and psychological. The public expected from Dreyfus a performance that would reveal his true character; and indeed, the main complaint of the crowd was against Dreyfus' emotional composure. He revealed too little. Amongst the spectators was Ford, who, in that courtroom precisely, had a sudden realisation of the *extraordinary possibilities of psychology*. The same is true of the spectators of Jim's inquiry: "whether they knew it or not, the interest that drew them there was purely psychological, - the expectation of some essential disclosure as to strength, the power, the horror, of human emotions" (2002, p. 41). At Rennes, the interest of the public had moved from naked facts to *the state of a man's soul,* borrowing Marlow's words, from objective reality to subjective experience, from the outer world to the inner world. Likewise, the novel.

The primacy of the visual register is also one of the defining characteristics of the Impressionist novel, a symptom of the interest of the impressionist writer in the process and capability of perception. Bender: "the reader of Conrad, Ford, and Rhys will sense that something is 'going on' in many of their texts with the group of words related to *eyes, seeing, sight; mirror, reflection, impression*. Such words signify a turbulent arena, an area of conflict in the text" (1997, p. 132). In both *Lord Jim* and *The Good Soldier*, the visual register intensifies in correspondence of the scenes in which Jim and Ashburnham are object of judgement. At the inquiry, Jim is consumed by the eyes of the crowd with their "fascinated stare" (21) directed at him - "many eyes were looking at him out of dark faces, out of white faces, out of red faces, out of faces attentive" (21). Moreover, the first contact between Jim and Marlow consists in a glance: "Jim's eyes […] rested upon a white man who sat apart from the others, with his face worn and clouded, but with quiet eyes that glance straight, interested and clear" (24). While the crowd stares down at Jim, who is subjected to their aggressive gaze ("eyes whose glance stabbed" (21)), the glance between Jim and Marlow is mutual, foreshadowing their eventual friendship: "He met the eyes of the white man. The glance directed at him was not the fascinated stare of the others. It was an act of intelligent volition" (24).

In Ford, the visual imagery is employed not so much in describing the empirical act of seeing, but as part of his investigation on the subjective component of impression. In "On Impressionism", he writes:

> Indeed, I suppose that Impressionism exists to render the queer effects of real life that are like so many views seen through bright glass – through glass so bright that whilst you perceive through it a landscape or a backyard, you are aware that, on its surface, it reflects a face of a person behind you. (Ford 2012, p. 203)

Dowell echoes Ford's words in the closing section of *The Good Soldier*: "I have explained everything that went before it from the several points of view that were necessary – from Leonora's, from Edward's and to some extent, from my own. You have the facts for the trouble of finding them; you have the points of view as far as I could ascertain or put them" (2012, p. 144). The visual register in Ford consists of views, points of view, angles, perspectives; it indicates that the world (and the fictional world alike) is shaped by the perceiver. There is, then, a discrepancy between reality and appearance, between the world and a person's 'view' or 'views' of the world. Ashburnham has his own view of the Kilsyte affair: his peers and the magistrates "took that view of the case"; "that, at least, was his view of it"; "That was his own view of the case" (122-3). At the risk of sounding repetitive, Ford repeats the word *view* three times in the space of thirty lines, a sequence that ends with the sentence, "I don't mean to say he *saw* himself as a kind of Dreyfus" (123). Both Ashburnham and Dreyfus faced the "august ceremonies of the law" (122): but, returning to Proust, if social prejudice produced a traitor out of Dreyfus, in the world's eyes Ashburnham remained an innocent victim.

On both counts, the visual register contributes to instil doubt in the reader. In Conrad, the virulence of the gaze of the crowd gives rise to the suspicion that the extent of Jim's affair might be, for some reason, out of proportion; in other words, it inspires in the reader the same question Brierly asks Marlow: "Why are we tormenting that young chap?" (48)[123]. Similarly, through the imagery of views and points of view, Ford, in Saunders' words, "accords doubt its prominent place in our dealing with the world" (2012, p. xii). Might Ashburnham be guilty after all? In both cases, the reader is asked to *re-visere*, to look again. Like Zola, Conrad and Ford, Marlow and Dowell ask the judge (their readers) for the possibility of appeal.

In effect, the impressionist novel could perhaps be envisaged as a revision, a re-trial of sorts. Along the lines of the Rennes trial, the novel tends to follow a pace that is first accumulative and then revisionist. Because the Affairs of *Lord Jim* and *The Good Soldier* have already taken place as the novel begins, the interest of the reader shifts from the event itself, "the one material fact" (41), to its development. Bender:

> In rendering an affair, the interest lies not so much in the events which have already happened, the mere facts of the case, but in the process by which we come to see the facts in growing concentric circles of understanding, like rings surrounding a pebble thrown in a calm pool (Bender 1997, p. 6).

[123] Berthoud explains that "that Jim's case should command such a scale of attention is of course not unconnected with the satisfaction of seeing a Victorian naval officer bite the dust; but it also suggests that an act of specifically British cowardice brings to the surface a widespread anxiety about the fragility of courage under any flag" (2002, p. xviii).

Dowell pictures himself at Ashburnham's "country cottage with a silent listener" (143); Marlow, from a verandah, talks to a small gathering of men – "Talk! So be it. And it's easy enough to talk of Master Jim, after a good spread, two hundred feet above the sea-level, with a box of decent cigars handy, on a blessed evening of freshness and starlight" (26). Through the voice the narrator[124], the reader is provided with a growingly complex picture through the gradual acquisition of 'new facts' à la Dreyfus[125]. Yet, only in the end of the novel does the reader have the whole stories of Ford's Good Soldier and Conrad's Tuan Jim.

However, one might argue that, before *Lord Jim*, the same formal strategy was employed in *Heart of Darkness* (1899), which finds its roots not in the Dreyfus Affair, but in British colonial history and Conrad's experience in Africa. Bender: "The success of 'Heart of Darkness' in the classroom is that it *represents* a classroom. It invites a variety of interpretations, a clash of opinions, a web of incompatible impressions, and prevents the reader finally from closing debate on the meaning of the bare facts reported by Marlow" (1997, p. 12). But, in *Lord Jim* the classroom becomes a real courtroom: not only, and unlike "Heart of Darkness", does the first half of the novel deal with a proper legal case, but the novel itself is a fictional court of appeal in which the judge is the audience, be it dramatic or real.

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[124] Both novels are narrated from an eccentric point of view, told indirectly by an unreliable story telling persona, Marlow and Dowell, who gradually provide their dramatic audience with new information, acquired, at the same time, by the real audience, Conrad's and Ford's readers. Bender specifies that "The story is told in a dramatized setting with at least four 'levels': real author (like Conrad), story telling persona (like Marlow), dramatic audience (the director of companies, lawyer, accountant, and 'I' on the deck of the Nellie in 'Heart of Darkness'), and real audience (the reader whose eyes actually encounter the text)" (Bender 1997, p. 23). A comparable situation was created during the Rennes trial, which appeared, transcribed, on the British daily newspapers: the real author (the reporter) was hidden behind a story telling persona (the string of witnesses) talking to a dramatic audience (the judges, lawyers, reporters etc.); this was read by the real audience (the actual readers; amongst them, Ford and possibly Conrad).

[125] The connection between the development of the Affaire and the form of the novel is better explored in light of another work, Henry James' "Mora Montrovers" (1909). The story contains the sole explicit reference to the Affaire Dreyfus in James' fiction - Mora's uncle, Sydney Traffle, says of Mora: "I've only to go, and then come back with some 'new fact,' *à la Dreyfus* in order to make her sit up in a false flare that will break our insufferable spell" (97). Seemingly inconsequential, James' hint bears much more meaning than it might seem. First of all, in the use of the expression 'new fact' in connection with Dreyfus. In her essay "The Metamorphoses of Edith Wharton in Henry James's *The Finer Grain*", Adeline R. Tintner suggests that in the story the presence of the Affaire "derive[s] from the use of the term 'new fact' or 'new facts' that had been widely used in association with the drive for reopening the Dreyfus case" (Tintner 1975, p. 364). Such new facts were much anticipated by the waiting public, including James himself who, in a letter to his brother William, complained about "this almost intolerable suspense of Dreyfus!"[125] (James 1984, p. 116).

This sense of suspense created by the gradual acquisition of 'new facts' informs, in a sense, James' view of the case of Mora Montrovers and her marital scandal. Tintner suggests the identification of James's friend Edith Wharton with Mora, claiming that the controversial relationship between Edith and Edward Wharton might have inspired that between Mora, a reckless new woman, and the painter Walter Puddick. According to Tintner, both cases were read by Henry James against the backdrop of the Dreyfus case. Firstly, because the Affaire had caused disagreements between James, Edith and Bourget: "At Ragatz," Edith told James, "they had argued back and forth about the Dreyfus case and the trial at Rennes, Bourget insisting bitterly that the guilt of Dreyfus was of no importance whatsoever, only the dignity of the army" (Bell 1966, p. 72). Secondly, because a sketch of the scandal at the heart of the plot of "Mora Montrovers" can be found in James' notebooks nine years before it was written[125], in 1901, when the Affaire and the accumulation of 'new facts' reached an unprecedented pick in intensity, and much before finding in Edith and her marital vicissitudes a model for his heroine (Tintner 1975). Finally, Tintner adds: "That James' view of the Dreyfus case was bound up with the Teddy-Edith relationship, as well as the Mora-Puddick relationship, is further implied in a letter James wrote to Gaillard Lapsley about it in 1911, asking 'whether there is any definite 'new fact' … any new proposal …' in regard to Edith's and Teddy's marital difficulties" (Tintner 1975, p. 364). Therefore, not only did James, like Ford, proceed from legal case to affair in a wider sense, but he lets somehow the reader glimpse at a possible connection between the acquisition of 'new facts' *à la Dreyfus* and the form of the impressionist novel.

Neither *Lord Jim* nor *The Good Soldier* follow a linear accumulation of facts, but both novels proceed through a series of revisions. In neither case is the story presented through linear space and time: Ford's narration is characterised by continuous chronological disruptions:

> I have, I am aware, told this story in a very rambling way so that it may be difficult for anyone to find their path through what may be a sort of maze. […] when one discusses an affair – a long, sad affair – one goes back, one goes forward. One remembers points that one has forgotten and one explains them all the more minutely since one recognises that one has forgotten to mention them in their proper places and that one may have given, by omitting them, a false impression. (143)

Conrad too challenges sequential cognition, in particular in *Lord Jim*, in which he makes use of chronology dislocations. The Affaire, then, with its re-visions, seems to have distanced the novel from the logical linearity typical of the nineteenth century literary tradition. Here, both stories come to the readers in fragments, resulting in what Bender calls a verbal collage created through "fragmentation, defamiliarization, juxtaposition" (1997, p. 8). On the one hand, this gives back the sense of perpetual motion typical of the Impressionist universe. On the other hand, the reader is forced on a path of constant revisions: old impressions are replaced by new impressions, old conclusions are challenged by 'new facts' and replaced by new conclusions. The text asks the reader to revise, to look back, to reconsider, to reach a new verdict. And so does Dowell: "but just think of that poor wretch… I, who have surely the right, beg you to think of that poor wretch" (44).

A NEW VERDICT?

So, lastly, it is for the reader to pronounce a new verdict. Or not. Because the Impressionist novel is at its core a challenge to the possibility of reaching conclusive judgment, "it is," borrowing Saunders' words, "a question of the impossibility of ever arriving at a last impression" (2012, p. xv). Once more, it is opportune to return to the Rennes trail, focusing now on its conclusion. As with all trials, after a month a verdict was pronounced: Alfred Dreyfus was, yet again, sentenced to ten-year imprisonment. But this time, he obtained attenuating circumstances. Concerning a case of treason, the verdict made little sense: Dreyfus was either a traitor to his country thus deserving maximum penalty, or he was innocent. Indignation for the verdict was global. But that is not all: ten days later, Matthieu Dreyfus brought his brother a letter from the President of the Republic granting his pardon. Thus, at the end of the Rennes trial, Dreyfus was at once guilty and innocent.

In this context, the motif of the doppelganger, common to both *Lord Jim* and *The Good Soldier*, might be re-read. Critics agree in affirming that Jim and Ashburnham are split characters and that their struggle ultimately consists in reconciling their outer and inner selves. On the one

hand, their public role: Ashburnham is "the model of humanity, the hero, the athlete, the father of his country, the law-giver" (2012, p. 90-1); Jim is the Imperial gentleman, "always an example of devotion to duty, and as unflinching as a hero in a book" (2002, p. 5). Both titles point, more or less ironically, at the nobility and the social role demanded of a good soldier and a good naval officer. On the other hand, there is their true self: an uncontrolled libertine and a fearful traitor. But, in the context of the Impressionist novel as a re-trial unable to reach a verdict, both Jim and Ashburnham are double characters in another way: they are at once guilty and innocent, criminals and martyrs.

The possibility of the coexistence of two opposing views of the same event was suggested to Ford by the Rennes trial; he writes that, in Rennes, "one had suddenly revealed to one the fact that if one were a native of this country that was within sight of one's own shores one might take up a position which to an Englishman with his fabled love of justice as such, with his real satisfaction in a decorously slow-moving legal system, would seem monstrous and horrible" (1926, p. 27). Then, if a person might be regarded as a criminal by some and as a martyr by others, their execution may be, at the same time, a crucifixion[126].

Ceremonies of execution are present in both *Lord Jim* and *The Good Soldier*: by employing Christological references, they both suggest an affinity between Jim's and Ashburnham's punishments and the deaths of famous martyrs of history, first among them Socrates. The evening before the final day of the proceedings – an evening that Marlow describes as "a last vigil with a condemned man" (110) – Marlow offers Jim Brierly's plan to escape, wishing to spare him "a formal execution" (110). And yet, Jim – like Socrates - declines the offer and Marlow realises that, in fact, he was "eager to go through the ceremony of execution" (111). The composition of the trial scene – with Jim at the centre of the courtroom, standing "elevated in the witness-box" (21) surrounded by a crowd of trial attendees "as noiseless as ghosts, and on the alert like so many retrievers" (22), their "attentive eyes whose glance stabbed" (21) – is highly theatrical; as such, it recalls the composition of the trial scenes of Svengali, Dracula and Dreyfus. On the third day of the proceedings, the judge pronounces his sentence and Jim, as expected, is found guilty and stripped, like Dreyfus, of his officer's licence – "'The Court … Gustav So-and-so master … native of Germany, … James So-and-so … mate … certificates cancelled.' Silence fell." (116). To Marlow, the sentence felt "infinitely worse than a beheading" (114) – "The proceedings had all the cold vengefulness of a death-sentence, and the cruelty of a sentence of exile" (114-5).

While formal justice had failed to punish Ashburnham, he too undergoes a ceremony of execution. The executioner is Leonora, "the perfectly normal woman" (182), who acts here in the name of convention and tradition: "she desired children, decorum, an establishment; she desired

[126] Both Conrad and Ford seem to be aware of such duality and of its emergence in Gothic fiction.

to avoid waste, she desired to keep up appearances" (182). Having Nancy under her hypnotic control, Leonora acts for the preservation of respectability: "It was as if Leonora and Nancy banded themselves together to do execution, for the sake of humanity, upon the body of a man who was at their disposal" (182). Dowell describes how the two women formed a coalition against Ashburnham and his uncontrolled passions: "Those two women pursued that poor devil and flayed the skin off him as if they had done it with whips. I tell you his mind bled almost visibly. I seem to see his stand, naked to the waist, his forearms shielding his eyes, and flesh hanging from him in rags" (182). The Christological imagery is quite apparent, and so is the legal register. In fact, although the court had acquitted Ashburnham, the tribunal of women, the tribunal of decorum, had not yet reached its verdict. The two women laid together awake at night, talking about Edward, their voices a constant whisper from Ashburnham's room. "And day after day Leonora would come to him and would announce the results of their deliberations. They were like judges debating over the sentence upon a criminal; they were like ghouls with an immobile corpse in a tomb beside them" (182).

A similar imagery of martyrdom had been previously used by Ford to describe Dreyfus at the Rennes trial: "One felt that the prisoner on trial had a certain radiance of tears and suffering. That not very prepossessing figure had, nevertheless, endured, with the extreme toughness of a low vitality, tortures that would have crushed out of the existence the lives of every one of us, his auditors" (Ford 1915, p. 78). And yet, Ford feels that his value would have been greater had he taken his "crown of martyrdom" (78), in other words, if he had endured the trial without insisting on his innocence and sacrificed himself fully to preserve the sacredness of the French institutions, of the army and the church – "I began to see a frame of mind in which it was possible to imagine that, from that figure, a radiance greater, softer, and more nearly divine might have processed had he endured those tortures in silence and had he taken, from the Heavenly Powers alone, his crown of martyrdom" (78).

However, both Jim and Ashburnham take, to say it with Ford, their crown of martyrdom. Jim refuses Marlow's plan of escape and faces his destiny: "But after all," he tells Marlow, "it is *my* trouble. […] I've got to get over this thing, and I mustn't shrink any of it or … I won't shrink any of it. […] I may have jumped, but I don't run away" (111). Similarly, Ashburnham "was ready to take his personal chance of the Divorce Court if the blackmailer turned nasty. He would face it out – the publicity, the papers, the whole bally show" (54). Eventually, "he carried out the programme to the last breath" (189) and committed suicide.

Ultimately, both Jim and Ashburnham are, unlike Dreyfus, to all intents and purposes guilty of treason and infidelity. They are both traitors to the moral standards of society and their crime "a breach of faith with the community of mankind" (Berthoud 2002, p. 113). And yet, in taking

their crown of martyrdom, they restore, to some extent, the faith of society in their goodness, thus preventing the reader from pronouncing a conclusive judgement. "For who," Dowell asks, "in this world can give anyone a character? Who in this world knows anything of any other heart – or of his own?" (122). Just like the Rennes trial, the Impressionist tribunal does not reach a new verdict, and doubt is not dispelled.

III. In Joyce's mirror

The Affaire Dreyfus opened a gloomy parenthesis in the flourishing belle époque. In spite of such turbulence, France remained, for the modern man of letters, an alluring destination and a very lively crucible welcoming intellectuals from across the world. In 1902, a young James Joyce left Dublin and arrived in Paris to study medicine. Not much has been written about Joyce's Parisian sojourn, yet both *Ulysses* (1922) and *Finnegans Wake* (1939) bear clear traces of the scandal that turned Paris, according to Henry James, into "un lieu de tourment digne de l'imagination du Dante"[127]. This was, all things considered, an impression shared by many: with the Affaire, Paris had become, borrowing Joseph Reinach's words, a "Wagnerian world"[128]; Edouard Drumont: "it seems we are in the middle of a sort of masquerade, where bizarre characters, covered in grotesque rags, muter and fidget, the dead who have absolutely no sense"[129].

TRACES

The *nighttown* of *Ulysses*, with its "red and green will-o'-the wisps", the "deafmute idiot with goggle eyes, his shapeless mouth dribbling […] shaken in Saint Vitus' dance" (Joyce 1993, p. 408), looks like a picture of Dreyfus' Paris painted in Joyce's playful manner; there, children are transmuted into grotesque figures: one is a "pigmy woman" (409), another one "a gnome" (409). The dreamlike atmosphere of "Circe", limited in *Ulysses* to only one episode, spreads like wildfire in *Finnegans Wake*: the narration coincides almost completely with the oneiric experience of the protagonist; "its mechanics," Joseph Campbell explains, "resemble those of a dream, a dream which has freed the author from the necessities of common logic" (2005, p. 4). Such hallucinatory, profoundly irrational spaces host, like Paris, two trials – Leopold Bloom's trial and Earwicker's trial. Both of them are clearly reminiscent of many notable trials, some contemporary to Joyce, some not - the Oscar Wilde scandal, the Florence Maybrick affair and Joyce's own legal cases (Ellmann 1982); the trials against Christ, Socrates, Giordano Bruno and many others.

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127 A place of torment worthy of Dande's imagination. "Restent, sans doute, toutes les laideurs et les noireceurs de la situation," James wrote to his friend, Bourget, in 1898, "– et tout ce qui doit en effet faire de Paris de ce moment un lieu de tourment digne de l'imagination du Dante" (26 Sept. 1898) (79).

128 Quoted in David C. Jones, "'A Beastly Affair': visual Representations of Animality and the Politics of the Dreyfus Affair", *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* XLVI, spring-summer/printemps-été 2011, p. 62; in turn, he quotes John J. Cerullo, "Religion and the Psychology of Dreyfusard Intellectualism," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 24, no.1 (1998), p. 93.

129 Quoted in David C. Jones, "'A Beastly Affair': visual Representations of Animality and the Politics of the Dreyfus Affair", *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* XLVI, spring-summer/printemps-été 2011, p. 62; in turn, he quotes Jean Nelson Jensen, "Editorials of Edouard Drumont in 'La Libre Parole,' 1892-1906: a reflection of the times" (PhD diss. Brigham Young University, 1980), p. 68. Translated by the author.

Amongst them, two are, partly because of the accidents of biography, of particular importance to Joyce: the trials against Charles Parnell and Alfred Dreyfus. The Parnell trial may be considered as the case of Joyce's childhood. Richard Ellmann:

> When James came home during these Clongowes years, from 1888 to 1891, his father and John Kelly had no subject for talk but Parnell. […] Joyce was dazzled by the coldness of Parnell even to his friends. In a famous incident, which Joyce liked to describe, they gave Parnell a check for £38,000, and he said not a word in thanks. Most young men fancy themselves as Hamlets; Joyce, as later hints make clear, fancied himself as a Parnell. (Ellmann 1982, p. 32).

Preceding the Affaire by ten years, Parnell's trial bears a striking similarity to the Dreyfus case: in 1887, *The Times* published a series of facsimile letters supposedly written and signed by Parnell, in which the author condoned the murder of two members of the British Government that had taken place in Phoenix Park, Dublin, five years earlier. Parnell described such insinuations as a "villainous and barefaced forgery"[130] and the Commission started an investigation. Eventually, they discovered that Richard Piggott, one of the witnesses, was in fact the author of the forged letters. Later, like Colonel Henry, he committed suicide. The legacy of the Parnell case is clearly present in both Joyce's trials: for one thing, Earwicker's campaign as a candidate in a local election is interrupted by the rumours of a mysterious crime committed in Phoenix Park. Moreover, the sexual nature of the scandal is connected to another theme, the temptress who ruins the hero (Benstock 1965), reminiscent of the adulterous affair between Parnell and Captain William Henry O'Shea's wife, Kitty. Before *Finnegans Wake*, the theme of the sexual scandal had already been explored in *Ulysses* through Bloom's sexual escapades. In "Circe", the mob compares Bloom to Parnell – "He's as bad as Parnell was. Mr Fox!" (Joyce 1993, p. 464). The Fox, one of Parnell's aliases, returns in the fox hunt of the *Wake,* that is the pursuit of Earwicker.

If the Parnell trial was the case of Joyce's childhood, the Affaire Dreyfus was the case of his early adulthood. In his biography of Joyce, Ellmann recognises the Affaire Dreyfus as an influential event in Joyce's formative years: "it had reached one of its crises in September 1902, just before Joyce's arrival in Paris, when Anatole France, a writer he respected, delivered his eloquent oration at the funeral of Zola, whose *J'accuse* was still stirring up in France" (Ellmann 1982, p. 373). Like the young Apostles in Cambridge, Joyce was well aware of the Affaire well before his sojourn in Paris, as he had been reading about the case since at least 1898 on several sources of various political orientations. According to Neil Davison (1998), *The London Times*, which published the translation of Zola's "J'accuse", was Joyce's primary source of information. Davison suggests that, probably influenced by *The Time*'s series of articles "The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus

[130] Parnell pronounced these words during one of his speeches, later reported on *The Times* (19 April 1877).

Case"[131], Joyce came to envision the Affaire as corroborating evidence supporting his own ill feeling towards the Church, feeding his rebellion against Irish Catholicism: "Joyce," he writes, "viewed the Church's anti-Dreyfusard position as another abuse of its institutional power – an abuse that perpetuates stereotypes of 'the Jew' as conspirator against the Christian state" (1998, p. 62).

Moreover, between 1898 and 1899, Joyce read about the Affaire Dreyfus on several Dublin journals. Amongst them was the nationalist *Freeman's Journal*, which, as opposed to the entire, or almost entire British press, shifted from moderate Dreyfusardism to anti-Dreyfusardism in January 1898 (Barrett 2007). Indeed, a British (and Catholic) colony struggling for independence, Ireland took quite a different stance than Great Britain towards the Affaire: not only did they see the very Catholic France as a potential ally, but they also resented the British and their supposed liberalism. In his study, Richard Barrett concludes that, faced with the Affaire, "the main nationalist dailies took an anti-Dreyfusard line, but one based more of anti-British than anti-Semitic considerations" (Barrett 2007, p. 79). As a consequence, far from having a homogeneous and lasting position on the matter, the Irish press tended to articulate their opinion mainly in terms of critique against British hypocrisy – from their point of view, the British, fuelled by anti-gallic feelings, were asking for justice for Dreyfus while denying it to their own Irish political prisoners. These are the words of the *Irish Daily Independent*:

> by this course of action – which pleasantly assumed that England is free from reproach in the treatment of accused persons, and has, therefore, a right to lecture other nations on the subject – they possibly intended to help Dreyfus; but, if French feeling and opinion in the matter have been affected by their publications at all, it is absolutely certain that they have only contributed to and made certain his condemnation (11 Sept. 1899)[132].

In addition, Joyce also read the main organ of Irish nationalism, the *United Irishman* edited by Arthur Griffith. Griffith, a fierce nationalist, was both anti-Catholic and anti-Socialist. Nevertheless, in his "Foreign Notes" column, he employed a strongly anti-Semitic rhetoric in expressing his anti-Dreyfusard stance – from his point of view, the Affaire Dreyfus was a prime example of the parasitism and lack of loyalty of Jews in general and Irish Jews in particular. Griffith's anti-Semitic and anti-Dreyfusard remarks, Davison adds, "provided [Joyce] with an example of anti-Semitism at the heart of the Sin Féin nationalism" (Davison 1998, p.68). As the case progressed and more evidence in favour of Dreyfus emerged, Griffith erased certain details in favour of the accused. Griffith's omissions did not go unnoticed: "such a tendentious refusal to acknowledge the continuity of prejudice against Jews in Europe indeed became a focus for Joyce

[131] The series of articles appeared on *The Times* between 1 September and 22 November 1899.
[132] Quoted in R. Barrett, "The Dreyfus Affair in the Irish Nationalist Press, 1898-1899", *Etudes Irlandaises*, année 2007, 32-2, pp. 80-1. Moreover, Barrett also recognises "a sort of Catholic Dreyfusardism", unique to Ireland, that supported Dreyfus and criticised the "secularised nature of French politics and society. […] France, by its secularism, and by its worship of the Army and State, had lost its way" (Barrett 2007, p. 89).

when he began to compose *Ulysses*" (Davison 1998, p.69). In effect, Griffith became a notable model for Joyce's Citizen[133], read by Gerald Goldberg as a "composite re-construction by Joyce, of thoughts and sentiments expressed from time to time by Griffith and Gogarty" (1982, p. 7).

It would thus appear that, rather than informing Joyce's vision of France and French anti-Semitism, the Affaire Dreyfus was read by Joyce primarily in relation to Ireland and to the Irish response to the case. The connection between the Affaire and British domination, Irish nationalism, and Catholicism, established by the press and reinforced by its attitude towards the case, allowed Joyce to better define his viewpoint on social exclusion, later articulated in the three episodes of the "Telemachia": in "Telemachus", the Englishman Haines is the embodiment of British anti-Irishness and anti-Semitism[134]; in "Nestor", the nationalist Deasy offers an example of Irish anti-Semitism[135]; finally, the shadow of Catholic anti-Semitism accompanies the four anti-Dreyfusards mentioned by Stephen Dedalus in "Proteus": Edouard Drumont, major representative of the anti-Dreyfusard press and funder in 1889 of *La ligue antisémite de France* and the equally anti-Semitic *La Libre Parole* in 1892; Félix Faure, the French President who encountered the criticism of the Dreyfusards for quickly dismissing the Affaire as case closed; Maud Gonne, an influential Irish intellectual living in Paris during the Affaire together with her husband, Lucien Millevoye, owner of *La Patrie*, another anti-Semitic newspaper campaigning against Dreyfus – "M. Drumont, famous journalist, Drumont, know what he called queen Victoria? Old hag with the yellow teeth. *Vieille ogresse* with the *dents jaunes*. Maud Gonne, beautiful woman, *La Patrie*, M. Millevoye, Félix Faure, know how he died?" (Joyce 1993, p. 43).

The three episodes of the "Telemachia", each bearing the traces of different types of social marginalization, set the stage for the entrance of the outcast of *Ulysses*, Bloom. Ellmann suggests a possible relation between Joyce, Bloom and Dreyfus: "In making his hero Leopold Bloom, Joyce recognized implicitly what he often spoke of directly, his affinity for the Jews as a wandering, persecuted people. […] But he must have been affected also by the Dreyfus uproar in Paris" (Ellmann 1982, p. 373). Thus, it could perhaps be assumed that, feeding the composite Jewish-Irish analogy at the heart of *Ulysses,* the Affaire played a role in the construction of the Joycean

133 On Griffith's presence in *Ulysses*, see N.R. Davison, "'Cyclops,' Sinn Féin, and 'The Jew': An Historical Reconsideration", *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol. 19 no. 2 (Autumn 1995), pp. 245-257.

134 It is not a chance if the first anti-Semitic remark in *Ulysses* is not uttered by an Irishman, but by an Englishman, Haines – in "Telemachus", Stephen points at Ireland's subordinate position as a British colony, Haines answers, "Of course I'm a Britisher, […] and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now" (21).

135 Griffith's rhetoric is also mirrored by Deasy's words in "Nestor" – "Mark my words, Mr Dedalus, he said. England is in the hands of the jews. In all the highest places: her finance, her press. And they are the signs of a nation's decay. Wherever they gather they eat up the nation's vital strength. I have seen it coming these years. As sure as we are standing here the jew merchants are already at their work of destruction. Old England is dying" (33). At the end of the episode, as Stephen starts to leave, Deasy runs after him: "I just wanted to say, he said. Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why? He frowned sternly on the bright air. – Why, sir, Stephen asked, beginning to smile. – Because she never let them in, Mr Deasy said solemnly" (36).

figure of the persecuted hero and its story of fall and rise. In Joyce's words, "Phall if you but will, rise you must: and none so soon either shall the pharce for the nunce come to a setdown secular phoenish" (Joyce 2017, p. 4).

PATTERNS

Much more than any other trials, the Affaire Dreyfus was so congenial to Joyce because it exemplified the unfolding of one of the cycles that articulates history according to Joyce, the "riverrun" (Joyce 2017, p. 3), the "vicus of recirculation" (3). "Vicus" as in Giambattista Vico, the author of *Scienza Nuova* (1725), a text that had quite an important place in Joyce's mind, at least as an intellectual stimulus (Eco 2002). Joyce was particularly fascinated by Vico's vision of history, made of courses and recourses; following the circular motion of history, nations rise and fall and so do Joyce's heroes. It is possible that, a product of such a cyclical phenomenon as antisemitism, the Affaire appeared, in Joyce's mind, as a manifestation of a Viconian course leading Alfred Dreyfus, its victim and hero, from degradation to rehabilitation[136].

In fact, the story of Dreyfus, Bloom and Earwicker is, to say it with Joyce, a "humphriad of that fall and rise" (Joyce 2017, p. 53); in other words, a saga or a story of the fall and the resurrection of a hero. In contrast to the falling patterns, from the fall to the demise of the hero, typical of other scandals contemporary to Joyce such as Parnell's and Wilde's, the story of the Affaire seems to be built on a circular structure – the very same circular structure, from tragedy to happy ending, which ensured its high narrative potential and popular success – (a) arrest; (b) first trial; (c) condemnation; (d) fracture between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards; (e) second trial; (f) second condemnation; (g) rehabilitation[137]. In short, fall (a; b; c), wake (d; e; f), resurrection (g). In view of this, an inference could perhaps be made: that the circular structure of the Affaire Dreyfus was used by Joyce as a substructure to the scandals in "Circe" first and *Finnegans Wake* later.

First, let us concentrate on the evolution of the Affaire Bloom. In "Circe", the crescendo of accusations against Bloom, often false or unspecified, culminates in Bloom's arrest (a) and trial. The trial (b) begins as the watch inflects, as if a Latin noun, Bloom's name: "Bloom. Of Bloom. For Bloom. Bloom." (Joyce 1993, p. 430). On the accusative case, the watch stops. The first trial ends with Bloom's death sentence and his temporary detention in Mountjoy prison (c). The clamor

[136] Where Lytton Strachey and Leonard Woolf read Dreyfus' story, with its path from arrest to rehabilitation, as a manifestation of the Liberal movement, Joyce's reading is in line with the Viconian vision of history, a mirror of the "eternal dynamic implicit in birth, conflict, death, and resurrection" (Campbell 2005, p. 13).

[137] In fact, while Dreyfus' pardon is frequently read today as a safe compromise that did not bring any justice to the wrongly convicted officer, at the time his rehabilitation was seen as a resurrection of sorts. Leonard Woolf, for instance, writes, "no one who was not one of the watchers can understand the extraordinary sense of relief and release when at last the innocence of Dreyfus was vindicated and justice was done" (Woolf 1960, p. 175).

dies down momentarily - "*All recedes.*" (Joyce 1993, p. 449). The crowd divides into two factions, the Bloomites and the antiBloomites (d) - "THE VEILED SIBYL (*Enthusiastically.*) I'm a Bloomite and I glory in it. I believe in him in spite of all. I'd give my life for him, the funniest man on earth. […] THE VEILED SIBYL (*Stabs herself.*) My hero god! (*She dies.)* (*Many most attractive and enthusiastic women also commit suicide* […]" (Joyce 1993, p. 464); "ALEXANDER J. DOWIE (*Violently.*) Fellowchristians and antiBloomites, the man called Bloom is from the roots of hell, a disgrace to christian men." (Joyce 1993, p. 464). Grammatically speaking, the names of Joyce's two factions are constructed on the model of the French ones, building on the name of the hero, Bloom and Dreyfus; the addition of the suffix "-ite", like the French "-ard", indicates the association, or adherence to a person, an idea etc. adding, in the case of the opposing party, the prefix "anti-". Moreover, the attitude of the two parties recalls on the one hand the violent character and adherence to Christianity of the antiBloomites and antiDreyfusards; on the other hand, Joyce registers an attitude of idealistic enthusiasm amongst the Bloomites and Dreyfusards, also noted by Leonard Woolf - "we had some ground for excitement and exhilaration" (Woolf 1960, p. 176). Which leads to the second trial (e), ending with the public execution of Bloom (f) and, later, his resurrection (g).

Secondly, the evolution of the Affaire Earwicker. Due to the very elusive quality of *Finnegans Wake*, it is much more difficult to define the pattern, if there is one, of Earwicker's fall and resurrection. There is no doubt that the structure of Earwicker's saga is based on the story of Tim Finnegan: like many before him, like Lord Jim and Dreyfus, Tim ambitiously climbed a ladder, fell off of it, died, and eventually resurrected. On the other hand, John Gordon suggests that the substructure of *Finnegans Wake* may be also based on some Jewish rituals of the High Holy Days. Gordon summarizes Earwicker's story as follows:

> In the wake of his gigantic predecessor's fall, a new man arrives on the scene. He achieves eminence but soon becomes weighted down, both in his conscience and in the eyes of others, by the memory and rumors of some great, protean sin. In fact before long he is completely incapacitated – closed in a dark room, assailed by a rising chorus of reproach and self-reproach. There follows a prolonged exposure and scrutiny of the sin, carried out as trial and as exegesis of a document (which at one point is reviewed one letter at a time, eventually covering the whole alphabet), then as a systematic examination (in two senses), from which emerged one figure on whom the whole rigmarole is blamed. This figure is driven out, after which a cleansing river carries away affliction and washed away stains. (Gordon 2016, pp. 88-9)

Although aimed at proving a radically different point, Gordon's summary clearly brings out an undeniable affinity between the Earwicker case and the Dreyfus case. Like Dreyfus, his ascent to public regard is interrupted by the discovery of an incriminating document, after which he is

arrested (a), tried before four judges (b), and buried (c); he then "remained in a heavy coma while a noisy quarrel raged among the survivors" (Campbell 2005, p. 81) (d); a second trial follows in which the four judges reconsider the case (e); eventually, Earwicker resurrects (g).

Along the lines of the Affaire Dreyfus, the Bloom case and the Earwicker case appear to be literary expressions of the "eternal dynamic implicit in birth, conflict, death, and resurrection" (Campbell 2005, p. 13) that governs the cyclical motion of history, with its courses and recourses. In this light, the continuity between the three affairs suggests a plausible identification between their protagonists. It is possible, in other words, that Dreyfus, Bloom and Earwicker might be nothing but the three latest incarnations of the same character, an old character, a character that, in life and fiction, forever falls and forever rises, the eternal scapegoat[138]. And, from time to time, the legacy of Bloom's and Earwicker's predecessors - in this specific instance, of Alfred Dreyfus – emerge quite clearly from Joyce's *meandertales,* as Umberto Eco liked to call them.

Firstly, traces of Dreyfus surface from the semantic magma that is the language of *Finnegans Wake*. Playing on the homophony between Drey- and the German *drei*, meaning three, Joyce transforms Dreyfus' name in two occasions – in I.4, as we assist to Earwicker's burial in Lough Neagh, Joyce writes, "when portrifaction, dreyfussed as ever, began to ramp, ramp, ramp" (Joyce 2017, p. 78); referring to *portrifaction* (putrefaction or party factions), the word 'dreyfussed' echoes the word 'diffused', yet it also merges the German *drei*, three, and *Fuss*, foot, thus recalling the three-footed symbol used to indicate Earwicker. Another instance may be found in I.6, during a radio programme in which Shem asks Shaun a series of questions; question number 3 deals with the motto for Earwicker's tavern; "which is not Whichcroft Whorort not Ousterholm Dreyschluss" (139); in this instance, Joyce still plays with the German *drei*, three, to which he adds *Schluss*, German for conclusion or ending, or maybe *Schloss*, German for castle, alluding to the three castles of Dublin.

Secondly, traces of Bloom's earlier incarnation may be glimpsed amongst his many transformations in "Circe". Bloom too is the innocent victim of a society ready to blame him: "A pure mare's nest. I am a man misunderstood. I am being made a scapegoat of I am a respectable married man, without stain on my character" (Joyce 1993, p. 433)[139]. As the trial begins, Bloom

[138] Bloom's and Earwicker's fall, trial and accusations bear the traces of all previous falls, trials and accusations in history. Similarly, Joyce's character, who tend to be highly protean and androgynous in nature, bear the traces of the history of the human race. Inevitably, such legacy tends to manifest itself and results, for instance, in Bloom and his endless metamorphoses in "Circe", a theme elaborated further in *Finnegans Wake*. Earwicker, or H.C.E., is Here Comes Everybody – "Ognuno, l'uomo attraverso i tempi, da Adamo a Noè, a Cromwell, a Cesare, a Napoleone, a Wellington, a Parnell, ad altri infiniti personaggi della storia e della leggenda, fino al muratore Tim Finnegan"[138] (Melchiori 1982, p. x). Eco adds, "man mano che la redazione del libro procede ci si avvede tuttavia che – come avviene per Finnegan – nessuno dei personaggi menzionati rimane sé stesso ma diviene continuamente qualcos'altro, come fosse l'archetipo di una serie di avatar successivi" (2002, 116).
[139] This might also be read in connection to the Parnell trial, and yet, Bloom seems to be much closer to the figure of Dreyfus than to that of Parnell; in fact, Parnell is a very virile, masculine kind of character much closer, in his prowess, to that of

turns into some sort of British Dreyfus: "In red fez cadi's dress coat with broad green sash, wearing a false badge of the Legion of Honour" (432). The Dark Mercury reveals that "He was drummed out of the army" (432). Bloom hands a card to one of the watches and claims that his "club is the Junior Army and Navy" (432), notably reserved to middle-ranking officers of the British army. Both his Legion of Honour and the Club membership are fake and reveal him to be a fraud, a soldier in disguise, like Dreyfus, the Alsatian Jew disguised as a French soldier.

As it has been in the Affaire, the narrative arc of the protagonists of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* is set into motion by a common event, the trial, or the fall of the Joycean hero. Falls, literal and metaphorical, precede every trial in Joyce: in "Circe", prefiguring Bloom's metaphorical fall, Bob Doran falls "from a high barstool" (Joyce 1993, p. 430), almost over a dog; "The bulldog growls, his scruff standing, a gobbet of pig's knuckle between his molars through which rabid scumspittle dribbles. Bob Doran falls silently into an area" (431). Within the *Odyssey* framework, Gifford observes that Doran's fall stands for the fall of a drunken Elpenor: as Odysseus and the others are leaving Circe, he falls to death from the roof of her palace.

The incident reverberates in the two main falls of *Finnegans Wake*. The first fall notably opens the novel – "The fall (bababadalgharaghtakamminarronnkonnbronntonnerronntuonnthunntrovarrhounawnskawnt oohoohoordenenthurnuk!) of a once wallstrait oldparr is retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy" (Joyce 2017, p. 3). It is, according to Enrico Terrinoni and Fabio Pedone, "una sorta di *ouverture* in cui la caduta di Adamo (con il peccato originale) si fonde con quella, scandita dalla prima parola-tuono, del gigante Finnegan"[140] (2017, p. vii). Adam's fall from the Garden of Eden and Tim Finnegan's fall from the ladder anticipate Earwicker's *pftjschute* in Phoenix Park – "The great fall of the offwall entailed at such short notice the pftjschute of Finnegan, erse solid man, that the humptyhillhead of humself prumptly sends an unquiring one well to the west in quest of his tumptytumtoes" (Joyce 2017, p. 3). Joyce's language magnifies the imagery of the fall and becomes here replete with falls; such proliferation is, according to Campbell, "hugely symbolic: it is Lucifer's fall, Adam's fall, the setting sun that will rise again, the fall of Rome,

Boylan. Bloom is not meant to be a charismatic, virile character – he is actually quite androgynous, and works in relation to the very virile and charming antagonist, Boylan. The latter fits much better in the very androcentric society of Dublin and incarnates a very classical ideal of masculinity. The pair Bloom-Boylan mirrors, to a certain extent, the pair Dreyfus-Esterhazy; while being the true villain of the Affaire, Esterhazy fit much better than Dreyfus into the French Establishment - he was charming and embodied a very strong ideal of virile masculinity – so much that Oscar Wilde, who met Esterhazy in Paris through Rowland Strong, was endlessly charmed by him. As Ellmann reports in Wilde's biography, "Esterhazy was one of those dubious criminal figures who continued to fascinate Wilde" (Ellmann 1987 p. 529); he would refer to him as the *Commandant* in his letters to Robert Ross (16 August 1898) and Carlos Blacker (28 March 1898) – "[Henry D.] Davray reports Wilde as saying of Esterhazy: 'C'est lui qui est l'auteur du bordereau, il me l'a avoué… Esterhazy est bien plus intéressant que Dreyfus qui est innocent. On a toujours tort d'être innocent. Pour être criminel, il faut de l'imagination et du courage… Mais c'est fâcheux qu'Esterhazy ne soit jamais allé en prison" (Holland, Davis 2000, p. 1015n).

[140] It is a sort of *ouverture* in which Adam's fall (with the original sin) merges with the fall, articulated through the first thunder-word, of the giant Finnegan.

a Wall Street crash. It is Humpty Dumpty's fall, and the fall of Newton's apple" (2015, p. 5). It is, as is typical of *Finnegans Wake*, a fall that contains all the falls, physical and metaphorical, in the history of falls.

But, what caused the fall of Bloom and Earwicker in the first place? In effect, the reader, or, for that matter, the participants of the Joycean trials can hardly pinpoint the precise charge against the accused. In "Circe", Bloom's fault(s) is the object of a hyperbolic crescendo: the majority of the accusations concern Bloom's sexual habits[141]; according to Mr Philip Beaufoy, he is also a plagiarist (434-5); he is "caught in the act" (430) by two British guards, who make a series of accusations against him: "cruelty on animals" (431); "No fixed abode. Unlawfully watching and besetting" (432); "A Mormon. Anarchist" (445); "a wellknown dynamitard, forger, bigamist, bawd and cuckold and a public nuisance to the citizens of Dublin" (445).

The charge against Earwicker is equally undefined: it revolves around a "fishabed ghoatstory of the haardly creditable edventyres of the Haberdasher, the two Curchies and the three Enkelchums in their Bearskin ghoats!" (Joyce 2017, p. 51). The motif of accusation merges here with the motif of gossip, culminating in Hosty's ballad about Earwicker's supposed crime, "The Ballad of Persse O'Reilly's". Releasing "a poisoning volume of cloud" (48), the ballad brings Earwicker's incident to the dimension of a true public scandal and opens the way to his trial. "At the bar of a rota of tribunals" (57), the main accusation against him seems to be an act of impropriety committed in Phoenix park – Earwicker was caught by three soldiers, possibly drunk, while exposing himself to or peeking at two girls (Campbell 2005). Several witnesses from the streets of Dublin testify against him: amongst them, are three soldiers, "three tommix, soldiers free" (58), "one of our coming Vauxhall ontheboards" (58), an "entychologist" (59), a dustman, a "more nor usually sober cardriver" (59), a chef, "a perspire (over sixty) who was keeping up his tennises" (59), a barmaid and a Cad. None of the witnesses can verify their accusation, yet everybody is convinced of Earwicker's guilt[142].

As improbable as the court scenes painted by Joyce may be, they had a real-life counterpart in the first trial against Dreyfus. In the hope that he would confess, Dreyfus was not told what the crime that motivated his arrest and imprisonment was. During the trial, none of the witnesses were able to prove their accusations against Dreyfus, so much so that, fearing that he might be exculpated, Colonel Henry made an official vow based on a series of incriminating documents that could not be disclosed, swearing that Dreyfus was the traitor. Even then, nobody could prove that

[141] Gerty Mac Dowell (420); Mrs Breen (421; 425); Martha Clifford (434); Mary Driscoll (436); Mrs Yelverton Barry (441); Mrs Bellingham (441); Mrs Mervyn Talboys (442).

[142] The main reason why the accusations against Earwicker cannot be substantiated seems to be that the events in question took place too long before. Campbell explains that "those who heard and sang the ballad are gone. The personalities of that distant day tend to coalesce; they seem to reappear through the features of men who must have flourished centuries later than themselves" (Campbell 2005, p. 71).

Dreyfus was the real culprit of the Affaire and he was condemned with no evidence. Dreyfus was condemned, history revealed, on the basis of the oldest of accusations, an accusation that seeps in through the centuries – he was an outsider, a Jew and therefore a traitor. Likewise, the accusations against Earwicker and Bloom seem to date back, like their fall and trial, to a time much older than the protagonists[143]; their accusers too seem to come from a time past and to "re-embody the old archetypes anew" (Campbell 2005, p. 67).

LETTERS AND CYPHERS

This, however, comes as no surprise. In fact, the accumulation of historical material, which finds new expression in Joyce's *Opere mondo*[144] (Moretti 1994) with their ambition to encapsulate the history of humankind, is a notorious and distinctive trait of Joyce. The past is lost and then found -"they're lost we've found rerembrandtsers, their hours to date link these heirs to here" (Joyce 2017, p. 54). Nothing blooms and dies merely within the confines of the Joycean novel; instead, the cyclical motion that governs *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* implies an archaeological process of retrieval and reuse of fragments from the trash can of history. Thus, in Earwicker, Joyce's Finn-again (Benstock 1965), converge Bloom, Dreyfus, and also Joyce himself, Wilde, Parnell, all the way to Christ, Socrates, and Adam. Not for nothing, in *Finnegans Wake,* Joyce insists on the wordplay "letter/litter": from *litter*, the past becomes *letter*, in its broader meaning of literature.

What is indeed surprising is that the wordplay "letter/litter" finds its roots in the opening episode of the Affaire Dreyfus, the retrieval of the *bordereau*. In fact, the Affaire originated from a 'resurrection' of sorts – an unsigned letter was retrieved by Madame Bastian and returned to history from the basket of rubbish of the Germans, opening the Dreyfus case. Similarly, in the opening pages of *Finnegans Wake*, an unsigned letter is retrieved - "here, and it goes to appear now" (Joyce 2017, p. 11) - from a pile of rubbish, "that fatal midden or chip factory or comicalbottomed

[143] Another important point of contact between Joyce's trials is that they are in effect oneiric experiences. The dreamlike technique used in "Circe" (described as 'hallucination' in the Gilbert schema) evokes an oneiric context in which Joyce is able experiment with Bloom's unconscious and to bring to the surface psychic material, such as anxieties, fears, desires, that cannot be processed in a conscious state. It is almost an anticipation of the oneiric world that will be *Finnegans Wake*. Such context may be linked to the Jungian work on the collective unconscious which, read in light of Joyce's vision of history, recalls the idea of the return of the archetypes. So, not only can the trial be seen as a fundamental part of the circular structure of history, but also as a fundamental part, an archetype of the collective unconscious. In fact, as suggested by several Joycean critics before, what dogs Joyce's protagonists is the Original Sin: "Unquestionably his predicament is of the nature of Original Sin," writes Campbell of Earwicker, "he shares the shadowy guilt that Adam experienced after eating the apple" (Campbell 2005, p. 7). Eco agrees with Campbell and he too suggests a continuity between Earwicker's and Bloom's crime: "H.C.E. è il protagonista di una caduta, un peccato originale, che nella vicenda letterale del libro (se pure ve ne è una) diventa un oscuro peccato di voyeurismo consumato in Phoenix Park (ma è di questo che si tratta, o di esibizionismo, come già era accaduto a Bloom, o di qualche altra infrazione sessuale?)" (Eco 2002, pp. 116-7). Whatever the sin, it invariably leads to a fall, or the Fall.

[144] World epics

copsjute (dump for short)" (110). The letter[145], known as *mamafesta*, is found by a "gnarlybird" (10) and starts the rumours of Earwicker's crime. "The bird in case," the trial reveals in I.5, "was Belinda of the Dorans, […] and what she was scratching at the hour of klokking twelve looked for all this zogzag world like a goodish-sized sheet of letterpaper" (111). Biddy, the "original hen" (110), is also one of the incarnations of Kate, the tavern's scrubwoman. Here, Joyce seems to be playfully alluding to Madame Bastian, the cleaning lady and spy of the Affaire; closing the passage on the retrieval of the letter in I.1, he writes: "So true is it that therewhere's a turnover the tay is wet too and when you think you ketch sight of a hind make sure but you're cocked by a hin" (12); make sure, in other words, not to be followed by a hen, or a French spy, because they are in the habit of gathering relics. Like its French counterpart, the *mamafesta* will become the principal piece of evidence in the Earwicker affair. And not just that. The letter – the *mamafesta* and the *bordereau* alike – is a site of reconciliation of opposite forces, a process which results in a sense of completion analogous to that of a closing cycle: along the lines of the *bordereau*, the *mamafesta* at once accuses and exculpates; it was the reason of both Earwicker's fall and rise, just like the *bordereau* had been the reason of Dreyfus' arrest and rehabilitation. Moreover, both the *mamafesta* and the *bordereau* belong, at once, to the first and last phases of the Viconian course: their resurrection from the cemetery of history coincides with, and even, triggers the fall of the hero. The letter works, in other words, as the closing link between resurrection and fall: it symbolises the closure of a historical cycle, while, at the same time, ensuring the start of the following one.

In *Ulysses*, letters and documents occupied a prominent position. Although their content is seldom disclosed to the reader, it is clear that letters tend to be linked to Bloom's sexual affairs. In fact, a letter accompanies almost every accusation moved against Bloom by the ladies of Dublin: the bawd accuses Gerty of "writing the gentleman false letters" (Joyce 1993, p. 420); Bloom sends Mrs Breen "that valentine of the dear gazelle" (422). Gradually, the theme of the letter acquires intensity with the three depositions of Mrs Barry, Mrs Bellingham and Mrs Talboys. Mrs Barry says: "Arrest him, constable. He wrote me an anonymous letter in prentice backhand" (441); "Also to me." (441), says Mrs Bellingham; Mrs Mervyn Talboys received letters from Bloom too: he "sent

[145] While the connection between the idea of the mamafesta and the first part of the wordplay, "litter", is quite evident, the link with the second part, "letter", might not be fully transparent. In effect, the *mamafesta* is read by many critics as a representation of the Joyce's book within the book. Published in 1925, the episode of the retrieval of the *mamafesta* is, according to Melchiori, an ironic representation of Joyce's future work, which anticipated and alluded to the nature of *Finnegans Wake* in its entirety (Melchiori 1982). Eco reads the *mamafesta* as the best image of *Finnegans Wake* – "la definizione più complete di quest'opera […] la troviamo proprio nella serie di definizioni date della famosa lettera illeggibile. Illeggibile appunto perché può essere letta in tanti sensi, così come in tanti sensi può essere letto il libro e così come in tanti sensi può essere definito l'universo di cui il libro – e la lettera – sono immagine"[145] (Eco 2002, p. 128). Similarly, Campbell defined *Finnegans Wake* as "a dreamlike emanation" (Campbell 2005, p. 9) of the letter. Terrinoni and Pedone agree, in that "la lettera (*mamafesta*, in cui si condensano i significati di 'madre-festa-manifesto') è al centro dell'attenzione, e a ben vedere, vista la sua 'illeggibilità', il suo presunto testo non è altro che una metafora del libro nella sua interezza"[145] (Terrinoni, Pedone 2017, p. x). Retrospectively, Joyce's "untitled *mamafesta"* (104) can be read as a true manifesto of both of Joyce's *opere mondo,* precisely because of its encyclopedic ambition/nature – it "has gone by many names at disjointed times" (105) and collects within itself all texts that preceded it, including the *bordereau.*

me in double envelope an obscene photograph" (442), and "he implored me to soil his letter in an unspeakable manner" (442). Eventually, "several highly respectable Dublin ladies hold up improper letters received from Bloom" (442). Fuelled by the myriad of letters that pervade *Ulysses*, such crescendo points at the importance of the motif of the letter as a site of accusation, an echo not only of the *bordereau*, but also of Zola's letter and its anaphoric *j'accuse*.

Moreover, the motif of the letter intertwines with the issue of handwriting and graphological analysis, a very popular motif of the Affaire. Bloom has, apparently, addressed Mrs Bellingham "in several handwritings" (Joyce 1993, p. 441) and written to Mrs Barry "in prentice backhand" (441). While the motif of the forged letter shares an affinity with the Parnell case, the close connection between handwriting and personality, explored at length by Joyce in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, resonates with the analysis of the *bordereau* carried out by Alphonse Bertillon – Bertillon is subtly mocked by Joyce, as Mrs Talboy claims that she had the bloom of edelweiss enclosed by Bloom in one of his letters examined by a botanist; "I had it examined by a botanical expert and elicited the information that it was a blossom of the homegrown potato plant purloined from a forcingcase of the model farm" (441). Upon discovering the *bordereau*, Dreyfus was asked to write excerpts of the incriminating letter in several different positions, so as to have samples of his handwriting to compare to that found on the document; as it didn't seem fully compatible, he was accused of involving several members of his family, in particular his wife and son, to write the letter and make his handwriting unrecognizable. Joyce's *mamafesta* is likewise subject to a meticulous analysis at the hands of a nameless scholar, yet all the attempts to understand it are, as Terrinoni and Pedone remark, *exterior*, in that they never truly delve into its content (Terrinoni, Pedone 2017). Firstly, the scholar collects all the titles that, in time, have been attributed to the letter; then, he puts forward some facts, or "artifacts" (Joyce 2017, p. 110); he tries to determine under what circumstances the letter was written, "for utterly impossible as are all these events they are probably as like those which may have taken place as any others which never too person at all are ever likely to be" (110).

Eventually, in order to determine "who in hallhagal wrote the durn thing" (107), the "radiooscillating epiepiste" (108) is submitted to graphological analysis. First of all, the letter is, like the *bordereau*, unsigned; and yet, Joyce writes, "why, pray, sign anything as long as every word, letter, penstroke, paperpiece is a perfect signature of its own?" (115). According to the scholar, then, any text is a mirror of the identity of its author and "the proteiform graph itself is a polyhedron of scripture" (107). Thus, he is able to infer solely "from the nonpresence of inverted commas (sometimes called quotation marks) on any page that its author was always constitutionally incapable of misappropriating the spoken words of others" (108). Like Bertillon's analysis, the graphological analysis of the *mamafesta* reveals that the author was not one, but a "writer

complexus" (114), made of A.L.P., Earwicker's wife, and his son, Shem the Penman. The words used by Joyce are quite telling:

> Closer inspection of the *bordereau* would reveal a multiplicity of personalities inflicted on the documents or document and some prevision of virtual crime or crimes might be made by anyone unwary enough before any suitable occasion for it or them had so far managed to happen along. In fact, under the closed eyes of the inspectors the traits featuring the *chiaroscuro* coalesce, their contrarieties eliminated, in one stable somebody (107).

For once, employing the word *bordereau*, Joyce establishes an overt connection between the *mamafesta* and the letter of the Affaire. Moreover, Joyce underlines how the *proteiform* handwriting of the *mamafesta*, sign of a *multiplicity of personalities,* is artificially resolved, as Bertillon did, into *one stable somebody*.[146]

The connection between written word and writing subject or subjects is also explored, partially outside of the court setting, through the character of Martha Clifford. At the beginning of the trial, faced with the accusations of the British guards, Bloom "Produces from his heartpocket a crumpled yellow flower"; he says, "This is the flower in question. It was given me by a man I don't know his name (*Plausibly*)" (Joyce 1992, p. 432). It is, in fact, Martha's yellow flower of "Lotus Eaters", the "yellow flower with flattened petals" (74) enclosed in the main letter of *Ulysses*, collected by Bloom at the beginning of his day in Dublin. The idea or, at least, the suspicion that a protean or multiple identity might be hiding behind the words in the letter arises as Bloom wanders, "Changed since the first letter. Wonder did she wrote it herself" (75).

In fact, the identity of Martha Clifford has given way to a lot of critical speculation. But, reconsidering the character in light of "Circe" and the Affaire Dreyfus might help clarifying what or who hides behind the mask of Bloom's lover. In "Lotus Eaters" and later in "Ithaca", the affair between Bloom and Martha intertwines with the motif of cyphers. Bloom encodes Martha's letter in the language of flowers, or florigraphy – "Language of flowers. They like it because no-one can hear. Or a poison bouquet to strike him down. Then, walking slowly forward, he read the letter again, murmuring here and there a word. Angry tulips with you darling manflower punish your cactus if you don't please poor forgetmenot how I log violets to dear roses when we soon anemone meet all naughty nightstalk wife Martha's perfume" (75). Later on, in "Ithaca" Bloom conceals

[146] The modern habit of simplifying reality by arbitrarily eliminating the *contrarieties*, is amply mocked by Joyce in *Ulysses*. Bloom's lawyer, J.J. O'Molloy, defends Bloom on the basis of his ethnic inferiority. Mrs Bellingham asks a botanist to carry out an analysis of Bloom's flower to have scientific proof of his deviousness; similarly, Dr Malachi Mulligan appears as a "sex specialist, to give medical testimony" (465); in a parody of Bertillon, Mulligan attributes to Bloom the most absurd of conditions: "Dr Bloom is bisexually abnormal. He has recently escaped from Dr Eustace's private asylum for demented gentlemen. Born out of bedlock hereditary epilepsy is present, the consequence of unbridled lust. Traces of elephantiasis have been discovered among his ascendants. There are marked symptoms of chronic exhibitionism. Ambidexterity is also latent. He is prematurely bald from selfabuse, perversely idealistic in consequence, a reformed rake, and has metal teeth." (465). This attempt to scientifically and medically support the accusations against him is magnified by the subsequent appearance of Dr Madden, Dr Crotthers, Dr Punch Costello, Dr Dixon.

Martha's name and address, turning them into a riddle – "3 typewritten letters, addressee, Henry Flower, c/o P.O. Westland Row, addresser, Martha Clifford, c/o P.O. Dolphin's Barn: the transliterated name and address of the addresser of the 3 letters in reversed alphabetic boustrephodontic punctuated quadrilinear cryptogram (vowels suppressed) N. IGS./WI. UU. OX/W. OKS. MH./ Y. IM […] A 4th typewritten letter received by Henry Flower (let H. F. be L. B.) from Martha Clifford (find M. C.)" (673-4). In telling the story of the affair between Bloom and Martha, Joyce seems to be drawing, as is customary to him, on popular fiction, in this case the new-born spy story: Martha is a lady typist, a stock character of spy fiction, and the connection with letters, codes, cyphers and riddles points at one of its main topoi, encrypted intelligence. However, Joyce seems to be also drawing from of the event that triggered the birth of spy fiction, the Affaire Dreyfus.

In his study "The Unveiling of Martha Clifford", Michael H. Begnal speculates that, behind the name Martha Clifford, could be in fact another name, Ignatius Gallaher[147], a character in *Ulysses* and, before that, in *Dubliners* (1914). Begnal's hypothesis might be corroborated in light of a possible connection with the Affaire. Amongst the accusers attending Bloom's trial in "Circe" is a dark face and a veiled figure: "A dark mercurilised face appears, leading a veiled figure" (432); the Dark Mercury announces: "The Castle is looking for him. He was drummed out of the army" (432). Behind the veil, is one Martha, who, according to Gifford, might be the protagonist of Friedrich von Flotow's opera, *Martha* (1847); while in Flotow's story Martha is a disguise of Lady Harriet Durham, in *Ulysses*, she is said to be hiding yet another woman, Peggy Griffin. Nevertheless, this complex of identities in disguise only diverts the reader's attention from the true model behind the veiled lady of *Ulysses*, the *dame voilée* of the Affaire. Martha accuses Bloom: "(*Thickveiled, a crimson halter round her neck, a copy of the* Irish Times *in her hand, in tone of reproach, pointing.*) Henry! Leopold! Lionel, thou lost one! Clear my name." (432). Readily welcomed by Begnal, Martha's invitation to clear her name, or crack the code, points at Joyce's riddle in "Ithaca", which reveals that behind the veil of Martha Clifford is a man, Ignatius Gallaher, just as behind the veil of the *dame voilée* was a man, Armand du Paty de Clam.

According to Esterhazy's deposition, Espérance, or *la dame voilée*, provided Esterhazy with the *document libérateur*. The document supposedly contained compromising information about public figures and Esterhazy threatened to publish it unless he got support from the government. At the time, the episode excited much public interest and it was popular belief that behind the veil

[147] In his essay "The Unveiling of Martha Clifford" (*James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 4 8Summer 1976), pp. 400-406), Michael H. Begnal speculates that Martha Clifford might in truth be Ignatius Gallaher; "So it would seem that we are forced to return to our starting point – the algebraic equation, if HF equals LB, MC equals X. Now, knowing that both Joyce and Bloom (and the unseen Gallaher) are fond of codes and ciphers, an answer begins to appear. The interval from H to L, and from F to B, is four; applying this to MC, we get QG (impossible), or IZ (impossible), or perhaps, working first backward and then forward, IG (eureka!). As bizarre as it seems on first examination, Martha Clifford's true identity is Ignatius Gallaher" (404).

of the lady who kept informing Esterhazy was in fact du Paty. In truth, as it was later revealed, the author of the *document libérateur* was Colonel Henry. Henry as Henry Flower, the pseudonym notoriously used by Bloom in order to conceal his true identity. The surname Flower is, of course, in direct connection to Bloom, but some speculate that Joyce might be also referring to Constable Henry Flower, a policeman accused of a sexual crime like Bloom in "Circe" and, later, Earwicker in the *Wake*. Seen in this light, however, the name Henry might also be reminiscent of the French Colonel Henry, the man behind the *bordereau* and forger of the *faux Henry*.

The theme of letters and cyphers, central to the Affaire, interacts with Joyce's own obsession for secrets, cyphers, riddles and wordplays. The cypher dimension of the Affaire seems, then, to circulate under the surface of the Joycean text in different ways: it is in conversation with popular culture, as a game and a wordplay; it also nurtures the sense, typical of the Joycean novel, that there is a secret, behind or beyond the words, to be discovered; finally, it is also a playful clue to the complexity of deciphering a novel, pointing at the idea of an artistic practice funded on a literary text that is not provided directly to the reader, whose meaning is meant to be unveiled through a process of decoding.

EXPULSIONS OF EVILS

The veil and the mask, or the motif of the disguise point at the theatricality common to Bloom's and Dreyfus' trials. At the turn of the century, scandals like the Dreyfus case were, according to Christopher Forth, "spectacles orchestrated by their legal system" (2004, p. 25). Performed at court, such spectacles worked as an attempt to depict and resolve a conflict existing between the cultural center and the outcast, "symptomatic," according to George Robb and Nancy Erber, "of changing definitions of gender roles, sexual propriety and deviance" (1999, p. 1). In a manner akin to that used previously by Du Maurier, Stoker and Conrad, Joyce constructs in "Circe" a legal theatre in which he dramatizes the relationship between the dominant culture and the scapegoat. As usual, form is quite revealing: the "standard 'script' of the legal theatre" (Forth 2004, p. 28), to which the spectators of the Affaire were quite accustomed, was translated by Joyce as an actual script, so that "Circe" appears as a performed interior monologue. Thus, Bloom's trial becomes, borrowing the words of his lawyer, a "travesty of justice" (Joyce 1993, p. 439), in which Joyce articulates the fears of national, sexual and racial degeneration responsible for the collective need of identification and expurgation of an Other that animated the turn of the century.

It is no coincidence that Dreyfus, Bloom and Earwicker are, like Joyce himself was, social pariahs, exiles in their own society. If Dreyfus was resented by the French for being an Alsatian and a Jew, Bloom was equally an outcast as an Irishman and as a Jew; Earwicker too was persecuted

as an Irishman and a Protestant: "HCE stesso è un protestante, e dunque (come Bloom) una sorta di esule religioso a Dublino; il fatto che proprio lui sia oggetto di una caccia alle streghe al contrario pare rimandare, in maniera eroi-comica, anche alla legge del contrappasso" (Terrinoni, Pedone 2017, p. x). Earwicker is, adds Campbell, "resented by the populace as an intruder, even a usurper. Why? Because, springing from Germanic rather than Celtic stock, he typifies all the invaders who have overrun Ireland" (Campbell 2013, p. 7). And yet, both Bloom and Earwicker are, like Dreyfus, in all respects members of the society, the hegemonic culture, which is persecuting them. Dreyfus was a respected member of the French bourgeoisie, and joined the French *Armée* for patriotism, so much so that, after the Affaire, he fought for his country during the War, earning the *Légion d'honneur*; he was, in other words, the embodiment of the French dedication to the nation and love for the Republic. Similarly, H.C.E. is campaigning as a candidate in a local election when the rumours about the scandal start circulating, spread by a native Dubliner, the Cad. Bloom too attempts to gain a place in the Irish community: as Gibson notes, "in their own mild, distinctive, and sometimes ambivalent way, Bloom's politics are readily identifiable as the politics most prominent in the community in question, post-Parnellite, anti-British, sympathetic to Sinn Féin" (Gibson 2002, p. 55). Accused, Bloom gives the Freemason's sign of distress - "plucking at his heart and lifting his right forearm on the square, he gives the sign and dueguard of fellowcraft" (433) - interpreted by Gifford as an attempt to assert influence or membership in the Anglo-Irish establishment. In a similar fashion, after his degradation, Dreyfus famously proclaimed, 'Vive la France! Vive l'Armée!'.

But France and its *Armée* answered Dreyfus' praise with a condemnation, 'A mort!'. This thirst for expurgation, manifested in the proliferation of scandals and popular attendance to trials as dramatic events, results from an unspoken will of the cultural centre to eliminate threats to social and political order[148] - the colonized (Parnel's trial), the homosexual (Wilde's trial), the Jew (Dreyfus' trial). Therefore, in Dreyfus' France as in Joyce's Dublin, the cultural center operates, unseen, to eliminate the other[149] – in *Ulysses*, Bloom is the victim of the "hidden hand […] again at its old game" (439); in *Finnegans Wake*, Earwicker is a victim of "the horrors of the premier terror of Errorland" (62). If the process of identification of the ideal Other is carried out on the sly, the

[148] The scapegoat enters forcefully in popular imagination at the end of the 1800 with the rise of Anthropology, mainly thanks to the contributions of James G. Frazer and the publication of *The Golden Bough* (1890). One of the chapters, entitled "The Public Expulsion of Evils" deals precisely with the theme of the scapegoat and its expurgation and resonates with the political issues that will be raised by the Affaire Dreyfus a few years later.

[149] Lenn Platt reads the theatricality of the episodes and Joyce's constant resort to theatre and, in particular, to musical comedy, in relation to race: "back and oriental identities, in both *Ulysses* (1922) and the *Wake,* are specifically and emphatically removed from any pretense of the authentic or 'organic' by being placed almost without exception in the world of play-acting and make-believe. […] allusions to the peoples and cultures of these exoticized placed are contextualized in the world of theatre and performance" (Platt 2007, 121). Which is undoubtedly true, not only because as Platt concludes, "the racial Other becomes a product of popular culture, where race was, as it was largely in the academy, a matter of fabrication and appropriation" (Platt 2007, p. 121-22), but also because Joyce identifies, like G.B. Shaw, the presence of a cultural centre who follows a script and survives at the expense of an Other, the scapegoat.

trial and condemnation are very much public events. Thus, in Joyce, the courtroom becomes a stage, the setting of the legal play. In "Circe", Joyce plays with the semantic ambiguity of the English word 'gallery', meaning both a section of the courtroom, an upper section of the theatre and part of the public. In fact, the gallery appears from behind a "panel of fog," which "rolls back rapidly" (444), as if it were a theatre curtain. Bloom often "turns to the gallery" (433) in order to defend himself and assert his belonging to the cultural centre; "I think I see some old comrades in arm up there among you" (433-4). Bloom looks *up* at the gallery which, in turn, howls him *down* – "he is howled down" (439). Moreover, all the anti-Semitic voices that populate *Ulysses*, particularly in "Hades" and "Cyclops", the two episodes most concerned with Bloom's exclusion, seem to converge here in a chorus of disembodied voiced, representing the hegemonic culture– "A crowd of sluts and ragamuffins" (441); "the jurors" (444); "the watch" (430); "the Irish evicted tenants", "the Artane orphans", "the Prison Gate girls" (468); "the mob" (464). This collation of voices speaking as one recalls a Greek chorus, a single character acting, like *Dracula*'s narrator, as a collective prosecutor and executor – "THE SLUTS AND RAGAMUFFINS (*Screaming.*) Stop thief! Hurrah there, Bluebeard! Three cheers for Ikey Mo!" (441); "THE MOB Lynch him! Roast him!" (464). This choral, almost atavistic, chant descends from the cry of the crowd condemning Christ – "'What shall I do, then, with Jesus who is called Christ?' Pilate asked. They all answered, 'Crucify him!'" (Matthew 27:22); but also from the cry of the anti-Dreyfusard, "A mort! A mort!" to Dreyfus. It is, as Joyce's watch announced, "The King versus Bloom" (436), the centre versus the margins.

In *Finnegans Wake*, the courtroom as setting has hardly any relevance, yet the idea of the chorus gains consistency, as the universe of the *Wake* is populated by choral characters. Earwicker's court hosts several of them: the "twofromthirty advocatesses" (93) and the twelve citizens of the jury – linked to number twelve, a refrain in the *Wake*, they symbolise the apostles and the zodiac signs; but they are also the twelve customers of Earwicker's tavern, the twelve pilfering birds (10), the mourners at Finnegan's wake – "all the hoolivans of the nation, prostrated in their consternation and their duodismally profuse plethora of ululation" (6). Mamalujo is perhaps the most notable choral character of the *Wake*[150] - composed of four people acting as one, it appears for the first time in I.3 as the judges at Earwicker's trial: "Here the four of them! Hark torroar of them! I, say Armagh, and a'm proud o'it. I, says Clonakilty, God help us! I, says Deansgrange, and

[150] Many of the characters that appeared in the first version were either deleted by Joyce, or included as manifestations of A.L.P. and H.C.E. According to Melchiori, "Joyce non poteva rinunziare a Mamalujo in quanto non si tratta di un personaggio vero e proprio ma del testimone, del garante del libro che Joyce scrive e della sua verità" (Melchiori 1982, p. xxxv).

say nothing. I, says Barna, and whatabout it?" (57)[151]. Mamalujo examines the *mamafesta* and some "unfacts" (57) against Earwicker provided by the citizens of Dublin, "an eye, ear, nose and throat witness" (86). Mamalujo acts chorally, as one character: "whereas distracted […] the four justicers laid their wigs together, […] but could do no worse than promulgate their standing verdict of Nolans Brumans" (93). They are the "quad gospellers" (112), the "fourbottle men, the analists" (95). According to Campbell (2005), the four judges are, during the trial, only crystalized versions of their younger selves, and stand as conservative forces, the grantor of Irish and Catholic tradition, they embody the desire for order - "there they were […] the four with them. Setting around upin their judges' chambers, in the muniment room, of their marshalsea, under the suspices of Lally, around their old traditional tables of the law" (94). However, the four judges do not condemn Earwicker, as the "unfacts" are "too imprecisely few to warrant our certitude, the evidencegivers by legpoll too untrustworthily irreperible where his adjugers are semmingly freak threes but his judicandees plainly minus two" (57). Instead, Earwicker is condemned by the "chithouse chat" (57), the "gossip of the commoners" (Campbell 2005, p. 69). Eventually, like Dreyfus, he is "here sentenced pro tried with Jedburgh justice" (57).

If the Joycean trial is a legal spectacle, the execution becomes a public ceremony, a "ceremonial performance" in which, Lenn Platt observes, "the community asserts itself against a perceived outsider" (Platt 2007, p. 138). Like Svengali, Dracula and Dreyfus before him, Bloom is executed by a crowd, or a chorus, in the middle of a theatre or courtroom. The Gothic nuance of Bloom's execution is strengthened by the appearance of Svengali in the form of one of Bloom's many transformations[152] - Bloom appears "In Svengali's fur overcoat, with folded arms and Napoleonic forelock, frowns in ventriloquial exorcism with piercing eagle glance towards the door […]" (494). The Svengali cameo, together with the reuse of Gothic tropes in the context of Bloom's trial – the grotesque, decaying atmosphere, the gloomy brothel, Bello's madness, the supernatural and beastly transformations, not to mention Bloom's execution - indicate an awareness, on Joyce's part, of Gothic fiction as one of the main sites of expurgation of the Other of fin-de-siècle literature, on top of the affinity between British Gothic characters, such as Svengali and Dracula, and the figure of Dreyfus.

The execution, which becomes, in *Ulysses,* a proper degradation, is developed in "Circe" in the form of a crescendo in three steps. Bloom tries to defend himself, if unsuccessfully, with a "bogus statement" (437); then, he undergoes his first execution, which recalls the degradation

[151] They also appear as four elderly men with traditionally Irish names – Matt Gregory, Mark Lyons, Luke Tarpey and Johnny MacDougal. They or it stand(s) for the four Evangelists, the four Franciscan monks from Donegal who compiled the Irish annals, the four Irish provinces, Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Conacht (Melchiori 1982).

[152] Actually, Joyce – and Bloom – had *Trilby* well in mind as it is also mentioned in the stream of consciousness of "Penelope". Molly thinks about "that fellow in the pit at the pit at the Gaiety for Beerbohm Tree in Trilby the last time Ill ever go there to be squashed like that for any Trilby or her barebum" (717).

endured by Dreyfus. The press was present for Dreyfus, and it is present for Bloom as well: "Reporters complain that they cannot hear" (438). Then, LONGHAND AND SHORTHAND command, "Loosen his boots" (438). Bloom's clothes are, like Dreyfus' uniform, torn apart: "Uproar and cat calls. Bloom in a torn frockcoat stained with whitewash, dinged silk hat sideways on his head, a strip of stickingplaster across his nose, talk inaudibly" (438).

Then, the second watch handcuffs him and the *highly respectable women* of Dublin start discussing his degradation, with sexual undertones that anticipate the sexual degradation at the hands of Bella/o. "I'll scourge the pigeonlivered cur as long as I can stand over him. I'll flay him alive" (443), says Mrs Talkboys; "Tan his breech well", adds Mrs Bellingham, "Give him ginger. Thrash the mongrel within an inch of his life. […] Geld him. Vivisect him" (443). The degradation gradually takes on the form of a public ceremony - Mrs Talboy: "I'll flog him black and blue in the public streets. I'll dig my spurs in him up to the rowel. He is a wellknown cuckold. […] Take down his trousers without loss of time." (444). The press, once again, is there to witness: "(*Davy Stephens, ringleted, passes with a bevy of barefoot newsboys.*) DAVY STEPHENS *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and *Evening Telegraph* with Saint Patrick's Day Supplement." (444)[153]; both newspapers are Catholic and, as if to strengthen the involvement of the Church, Father Conroy and reverend John Hughes S.J. appear and "bend low" (444).

Finally, after Bloom's second trial, a veritable public execution takes place - "Bloom with asses' ears seats himself in the pillory with crossed arms, his feet protruding. He whistles *Don Giovanni, a cenar teco*." (468). Following the collective chase of Don Giovanni, "A cenar teco" accompanies the execution of the rake at the hand of a wronged collectivity. The statue of the dead Commendatore asks him to repent, but Don Giovanni refuses; then, a chorus starts singing from below: "Tutto a tue colpe è poco! Vieni, c'é un mal peggior!"[154], before Don Giovanni is engulphed by flames. Like Don Giovanni, Dreyfus refused to repent and the main complaint of the crowd attending the ceremony of degradation, a complaint shared by Ford as well as we have seen, was the lack of tears of repentance. The same happens to Bloom: the intensification of the presence of the chorus is accompanied by a loss of rationality: "Artane orphans, joining hands, caper round him. Girls of the Prison Gate Mission, joining hands, caper around in the opposite direction" (468). Spurred by the hornblower, "all the people cast soft pantomime stones at Bloom. Many bonafide travelers and ownerless dogs come near him and defile him." (469). Eventually, "(*Lieutenant Myers of the Dublin Fire Brigade by general request sets fire to Bloom. Lamentations.)* THE CITIZEN Thank heaven!" (469). The Citizen(s)'s relief calls to mind the word that appeared on the pages of *Le Petit*

[153] Davy Stephens, known in Dublin as the prince of the news vendors, had the monopoly of the sale of newspapers.
[154] Torments eternal wait thee! Burning in endless night!

Journal after Dreyfus' condemnation: "The disappearance of the traitor was greeted by an immense relief. The air seemed purer, we breathed easier"[155].

The Earwicker affair too finishes with the dramatization of a fantasy of communal expurgation. The twelve citizens return, if subtly, for Earwicker's public execution. According to Campbell, in the *Wake* "their presence betrays itself with sonorous sequences of words terminating in '-ation"' (Campbell 2005, p. 8). As a matter of fact, a string of words in -ation signals Earwicker's ceremony of degradation and execution: "They have waved his green boughs o'er him as they have torn him limb from lamb. For his muertification and uxpiration and dumnation and annuhulation. With schreis and grida, deprofound souspirs" (58). Like Bloom, Earwicker is surrounded by a singing circle of citizens: "O! Have a ring and sing wohl! Chin, chin! Chin, chin!" (58). Later, as he stands imprisoned in "the Mountain of Joy" (76) – or, like Bloom before him, in Mountjoy prison - an American visitor insults him from the other side of the bars; he "opened the wrathfloods of his atillarery and went on at a wicked rate, weathering against him mooxed metaphors" (70). A "longsuffering" Earwicker compiles a list of all the insults; the second of them is, "Informer" (71). "You jew-beggar," the American tells him, "to be Executed Amen" (70).

Incarcerated, Earwicker "prayed, as he sat on anxious seat" (75). The "teak coffin" (76), stolen in I.3[156], returns at the beginning of I.4 for Earwicker's execution: "Any number of conservative bodies […] made him, while his body still persisted, their present of a protem grave in Moyelta of the best Lough Neagh pattern" (76). Earwicker is buried alive in the lake of Lough Neagh - a "wastohavebeen underground heaven, or mole's paradise" (76) – equipped with "any kind of inhumationary bric au brac for the adornment of his glasstone honophreum" (77). After three months spent in his "watery grave", "portrifaction, dreyfussed as ever, began to ramp, ramp, ramp" (78), leaving him no choice but to revive, to "rise afterfall" (78), to come back from the "Unterwealth, seam by seam, sheol om sheol, and revisit our Uppercrust Sideria of Utilitarios" (78).

Soon word gets out that the body of the "unrescued expatriate" (100) has disappeared from his grave. Similarly, Bloom resurrects from his ashes, gives birth to eight children and performs a series of miracles. This time, the chorus is a proper choir, accompanying his Christ-like return to the world: "A choir of six hundred voices, conducted by Mr Vincent O'Brian, sings the Alleluia chorus, accompanied on the organ by Joseph Glynn." (470). The prayer, the burial, the missing body and the eventual resurrection of Bloom and Earwicker strengthen the connection between the Joycean scapegoat and the figure of Christ – "one gets the impression that HCE's trial and incarceration are intended to symbolize the crucifixion and entombment of Christ" (Campbell

[155] Thomas Grimm, "L'Expiation," *Le Petit Journal*, 6 January 1985, I. Quoted in C. E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2004.
[156] It is stolen after the appearance of the letter, thus foreshadowing the link between Earwicker's death and the *mamafesta*.

2005, p. 79n). And also with the Christ figure of the turn of the century, Alfred Dreyfus, rehabilitated at last.

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