

The Vice Presidents Who Have Become Presidents

INASMUCH as the presidential campaign of 1904 is drawing near, with President Roosevelt mentioned as the probable candidate of the Republican party, it is of interest to note that his nomination would mark the exercising of the power which has been in the past allotted against those of our chief executives who became president by the death of the elected head of the nation. Prior to President Roosevelt there have been four vice presidents elevated to the presidential chair by the demise of its incumbents, the four being John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson and Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. Tyler was elected vice president in 1840 on the celebrated "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" ticket and became president within little more than a month after the inauguration of General William Henry Harrison, who died in April, 1841. With Mr. Tyler's accession to the presidency the whole political situation changed. His nomination to the vice presidential place on the Whig ticket had been governed largely by motives of expediency, for, although a Whig in most of his political views, it was known that he was strongly opposed to a portion of the party's program, notably the rechartering of the Bank of the United States, whose charter had expired five years previously. As senator from Virginia he had been steadfast in his opposition to the national bank, and many of the Whig leaders in congress foresaw that with him president they would have difficulty in carrying out their pet project. Their hopes were raised by his inaugural address and by his removal from office of the Democrats who had been appointed by previous administrations, and they rejoiced when in his message to the special session of congress, May 21, 1841, Mr. Tyler discussed the bank question at great length.

From the Whig standpoint things looked even more roseate when he intimated to several members that he would be pleased to have congress request the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Ewing, to submit a plan for a national bank. Both houses adopted resolutions to this effect, and Secretary Ewing framed a measure in accordance with the president's ideas, but not altogether to the liking of congress, which amended it by a clause concerning branch banks differing from Mr. Ewing's proposals. The president promptly vetoed the measure, intimating that it was unconstitutional in several respects. This veto angered the Whigs throughout the country, permanently estranging many of them from the president. Their leaders in congress, however, sought to conciliate him and prepared a bill embracing several features supposed to be acceptable to him. This measure was privately submitted to him and to his cabinet and was received with approval, passing both senate and house without alteration. Meantime President Tyler had conceived the idea that it had been framed in such a way that if he signed it he would be betrayed into an act of inconsistency, and when it was presented for his signature he refused to sign it, thus exercising his power of veto.

Unable to command the necessary

two-thirds majority to carry it over his veto, the Whigs turned with increasing bitterness against the president, the cabinet resigning with the exception of Daniel Webster, secretary of state, who remained in office because of the negotiations he was then conducting with the British ministry on the question of the disputed northeastern boundary of the United States. Before congress adjourned in September, 1841, the Whigs

with the elections of 1848, General Zachary Taylor of Indian and Mexican war fame being elected president and Millard Fillmore vice president. In July, 1850, President Taylor died, and Vice President Fillmore was at once sworn into office, forming a new cabinet, with Daniel Webster as secretary of state. The period during which President Fillmore entered upon his high duties was one of great moment to

a more stringent fugitive slave law. This scheme was attacked by both advocates and extreme opponents of slavery, but eventually was adopted in practically its entirety in the form of several statutes. President Fillmore signing the various bills before the end of September, 1850.

In affixing his signature to the fugitive slave law President Fillmore alienated many of the leading Whigs, who

Four years later Mr. Fillmore was put forward as a presidential candidate by the Know Nothing party, whose chief platform plank was opposition to foreign influence in the United States. He received the electoral vote of only one state—Maryland.

The third accidental president was Andrew Johnson, who attained the presidency in 1865 when the assassin's bullet killed Abraham Lincoln. Presi-

while the ordinances of secession were unconstitutional the southern states had by adopting them actually been out of the Union and could not be restored to their former status save by legislation.

On the 9th of May, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation for the restoration of Virginia to her place in the Union and followed this up with proclamations restoring all the other

General Grant, Admiral Farragut and other celebrities. The result of the tour was not favorable to him, but he refused to yield his position, and with the adoption by congress of a definite reconstruction policy the crisis became acute. Bill after bill was vetoed by him and as regularly passed over his veto.

Ultimately the troubles between congress and Mr. Johnson reached a climax with his dismissal of Secretary Stanton. Congress viewed this action both as a usurpation of power and as a violation of the tenure of office law, and proceedings were set on foot in the house to bring about the president's impeachment. The trial that followed was the most remarkable in the history of the country. It was presided over by Chief Justice Chase and took place in the senate chamber, the senators acting as judges and Benjamin F. Butler conducting the proceedings in behalf of the house. The trial began March 25, 1868, but the decisive vote was not taken until May 26, when the president was acquitted. His escape from an adverse verdict was very narrow, but one vote being lacking to the two-thirds majority necessary to convict.

Although Mr. Johnson had been elected vice president on a Republican ticket, that party had no thought of naming him to succeed himself as president. The Republican nominating convention of 1868 was held a few days before the decisive impeachment vote was taken and on the first ballot unanimously named General U. S. Grant for president. At the Democratic convention, held in July, President Johnson's name was presented, and on the first ballot he received sixty-five votes, but his vote decreased rapidly until he received only one vote on the nineteenth ballot, when his name did not appear. The ultimate choice of the Democrats was Horatio Seymour, who was defeated by Grant. President Johnson's last important official act was to proclaim, on Christmas day, 1868, "complete amnesty to all concerned in any way in secession."

Chester A. Arthur, who in 1880 was elected vice president on the Republican ticket headed by James A. Garfield, took the oath of office as president of the United States Sept. 20, 1881, the day after Mr. Garfield died at Elberon, N. J., victim of Guitau's pistol. Mr. Arthur's administration was not marked by any event of momentous importance, but was characterized by his opposition to extravagance in appropriations, his views on this matter leading him to veto the river and harbor bill of 1882. Although he had come from an opposite wing of the Republican party to that which Mr. Garfield had represented, he showed no marked tendency to revolutionize the latter's policy, and his administration was in accordance with its own views and during the session of 1885-86 appointed a committee to consider the various problems entailed in reconstruction legislation. The first alarm in the struggle between the executive and the legislature was sounded when President Johnson vetoed the civil rights bill, passed to secure the full rights of citizenship to the freedmen of the south. The bill was at once passed over his veto by the requisite two-thirds majority. In the summer of 1866, hoping to rally public opinion to his support, President Johnson set out on a "swing around the circle," accompanied by



published a manifesto declaring that all political relations between them and the president were at an end, and toward the close of his administration it became apparent that, while he had lost the confidence of the Democrats, he had not gained that of the Whigs. In May, 1844, a convention composed largely of officeholders met at Baltimore and nominated Mr. Tyler for president, but in August he withdrew from the contest. Meantime the Whigs had nominated their favorite leader, Henry Clay, while the choice of the Democrats was James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was elected.

The Whigs again came into power

the American people. President Taylor had died at the height of the acrimonious discussion in congress concerning what were later known as the compromise measures of 1850, designed to provide a form of government for the territory included in the Mexican cession. Henry Clay had offered a general scheme of adjustment which provided for the admission of California as a state without any restriction concerning slavery, for the creation of territorial governments in the other portions of the Mexican cession without reference to slavery, for the prohibition of slave trading in the District of Columbia and for the enactment of

frowned upon what they regarded as his "dalliance with slavery," and albeit the Whig nominating convention of 1852 endorsed his policy by a vote of 227 to 80, it was not found possible to secure his nomination for president, as he could not command more than twenty votes from the northern states. The choice of the convention fell upon General Winfield Scott, while the Democrats put forward as their candidate Franklin Pierce, who was elected over General Scott and John P. Hale, the nominee of a third party which, denying the wisdom of the compromise measures, declared that all the territories of the United States should be free

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JOHN L. SEMPLE.

The Men Who Fought For the Vindication of Dreyfus

WHEN the final chapter in the history of the Dreyfus case shall have been written the three names which will stand foremost on the roll of honor of those who championed an unpopular cause are Picquart, Zola and Labori. To this trio more even than to the so-called Dreyfus syndicate headed by M. Reinach must be attributed the final victory of right over wrong. In season and out of season they fought for a revision of the case of the persecuted officer railroaded to a living death by the secret court martial of 1894 at the Cherche Midi prison, martyr of the persecutions of the military clique of Mercler, De Boisdeffre, Gonse, Sandherr, Henry and Du Paty de Clam.

Picquart it was who first sounded a clarion note of protest other than that based on sentiment alone. This was in 1896, nearly two years after the infamous court martial. In the interim there had been a change of ministry. Biliot succeeding Mercler at the office and Picquart holding the post of head of the intelligence department of that bureau, the position occupied by Sandherr at the time of the discovery of the celebrated bordereau in the wastebasket of the German military attaché. On a March day of 1896 there was brought to Picquart, as there had been brought to Sandherr, the produce of a spy's rummaging at the German embassy, a torn post card bearing the name of a M. le Commandant Esterhazy tending to place that worthy in the category to which the court martial had relegated Dreyfus. Picquart, alert and indefatigable, pressed an inquiry personally and having obtained specimens of Esterhazy's writing, discovered that they bore a remarkable resemblance to the writing of the fateful document that had convicted Dreyfus.

At once he called upon the handwriting expert who had "identified" the writing of the bordereau as that of Dreyfus and showed him a specimen of Esterhazy's chirography. When the expert pronounced this to be identical with the writing of the bordereau Picquart lost no time in laying the matter before De Boisdeffre and Gonse, respectively chief and assistant chief of the headquarters staff. Had these men been men the scandal that shook France from top to bottom might have been averted, for they could have taken the necessary steps to set Dreyfus right before the world. But both counseled silence. Picquart, not heeding their advice and mindful only of the possibility that an innocent man might be exonerated by another's crime, appealed to Biliot.

Then Colonel Henry and Colonel du Paty de Clam, the latter the most ignominious figure of the whole ignominious conspiracy, bestirred themselves. They, above all others, had been instrumental in weaving the fatal web about Dreyfus, and they were determined that the case should not be reopened. Esterhazy, moreover, was their particular enemy and must be protected. Accordingly it was resolved to prejudice Biliot against Picquart and to discredit Dreyfus further. It was announced—and this was the first time the public had been made acquainted with the fact—that Dreyfus had really been convicted on documents secretly communicated to the judges and definitely naming the Alsatian officer as a traitor. Strange as the conspirators must have deemed it, the news that there had been a secret "dossier" operated in the public mind in favor of the prisoner. There were a few army men, too, who voiced their belief in his innocence, among these being some of his old classmates at the military academy at St. Cyr, notably Philippe Banaue-Varilla, now Panama's minister to Washington. And the pro-Dreyfus agitation grew apace with the publication in the Paris *Matin* of a facsimile of the fatal bordereau itself.

Then it was that Bernard Lazare, who must not be omitted from the roll of honor, published his first pamphlet demanding revision. Dreyfus' friends compared the bordereau writing with the writing of Esterhazy. The scandal rebounded its force. M. Casteln, deputy for the Alsine, gave notice in the French chamber that on Nov. 18 (1896) he would interpellate the government on the Dreyfus affair. Faint stricken, the conspirators resorted to forgery and concocted a note from Banaue, the Italian, to Schwarzkoppen, the German attaché, confirming Dreyfus' guilt. This they presented to Biliot, who was completely deceived and stated solemnly in the chamber of deputies that Dreyfus had been justly condemned. He added that the reasons of state that had in 1894 justified the secret trial had lost none of their weight. His statement was greeted with cheers, and the anti-Semites who had been prominent among the denouncers of Dreyfus rejoiced mightily. So bitter had been the anti-Semitic agitation that Dreyfus himself once wrote in despair, "My only crime seems to be that I was born a Jew."

But the anti-Semites and the military conspirators could not silence Picquart, who persisted in his inquiries. To get rid of him he was dispatched on "missions" to Nancy, Besancon and Algiers and was finally relegated to the command of an Algerian regiment on the southern frontier of that southerly



CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS.

French possession. His friends were kept in ignorance of his whereabouts, and the contemplated proceedings against Esterhazy were dropped.

Now appeared a new champion, Scheurer-Kestner, vice president of the French senate, an Alsatian compatriot of Dreyfus. In common with the great majority of Frenchmen, he had taken

Dreyfus' guilt for granted, but facts came to his knowledge that shook his confidence in the integrity of the French war office. He consulted with Picquart's friend and lawyer, Leblois, who showed him significant letters that had passed between Picquart and Gonse. Then he called upon Biliot, whom he urged to reopen the inquiry

into the authenticity of the bordereau. Nothing coming of his efforts, he took an unyielding position in the front ranks of those who clamored for revision. This was in July, 1897. At the same time the *Figaro*, under the editorship of Fernand de Rodays, added the weight of its influence to the pro-revision movement. Slowly the campaign

gained ground, but the conspirators were not to be crushed easily. Forzetti, the commandant of the Cherche Midi prison, who had become convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus from his personal observation of the unhappy officer while in his keeping, was cashiered for daring to give voice to his views. Picquart's lodgings in Paris were searched. Picquart himself was recalled from Tunis to explain why he had given Gonse's letter to Leblois. Esterhazy in a spirit of bravado demanded a court martial. His desire was granted, and—he was acquitted. *Vive Esterhazy! Vive Esterhazy! A bas Dreyfus!*

Enter Zola. The great novelist, long a "looker on in Vienna" so far as the Dreyfus affair was concerned, had become satisfied of Esterhazy's guilt and of Dreyfus' innocence. In a forceful letter to the *Aurore* he entered a formal series of charges against the court martials that had considered the two cases. All France was in an uproar. The minister of war resolved to prosecute Zola, but to do so in such a way that the Dreyfus case would not necessarily be reopened. Skillfully the military authorities used their influence with the court of assize before which Zola would be tried. Now Maître Labori, famed later as the unflinching and faithful counsel at the Rennes trial of 1899, exerted all his eloquence, both in pleading Zola's cause and in trying to bring to light the conspiracy against Dreyfus. All his efforts were in vain, although his vigorous onslaught on the etat-major of the corrupt militarism created an intense sensation. Zola was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine and undergo a year's imprisonment. An appeal was successful, and a second trial took place at which Zola refused to appear. He was again convicted and in anger and disgust went into self exile. Later he returned to France, but did not live to see the final vindication of the man for whom he had so bravely fought.

Again there was a change of ministry, and now Cavaigne held the reins of the war office. He was determined to put an end to the Dreyfus agitation and made a careful study of the case. Like Biliot, he was hoodwinked into reaffirming the guilt of the convict on faraway Devil's Island.

Cavaigne's disclaimer could not silence the roar of an outraged public conscience. Esterhazy was offered up as a scapegoat and brought before a military court of inquiry, not to answer any specific charge, but apparently to justify his military career. It was no longer "Vive Esterhazy!" He was convicted of habitual misconduct and cashiered. Soon thereafter he withdrew to England, a ruined man.

He escaped lightly, however, compared to heretic Picquart, who, innocent of anything save the championing of innocence, had been persecuted without cessation since the day he was recalled from Tunis. Shortly after the first Esterhazy court martial he was brought to trial on a charge of divulging military documents. Of the various counts he was convicted only on that of giving his correspondence with General Gonse to his counsel. Back he went to prison and was later dismissed from the army. Following the second trial of Esterhazy he was again brought to book by the authorities, for he had been rash enough to assert that he could prove that Cavaigne had based his confidence in Dreyfus' guilt on a forgery. Then (August, 1898) came a thunderbolt in the suicide of Colonel Henry, following his confession of having forged the very documents quoted by the war minister.

Revision could not be delayed much longer. Sarrien, the able minister of justice, began to exert himself. Meanwhile Picquart was placed on trial before the correctional tribunal, Sept. 21, 1898. The military authorities demanded that he be surrendered to them for a court martial, and the judge granted their demand. But before he was removed from the court room Picquart served notice on the world that if he was found dead in his cell he would be not a suicide, but the victim of an assassin; that he should feel obliged to hint that he feared for his life was indeed significant. Eventually an appeal resulted in an order for his being released to prison until he could be tried by a civil court, and he was thus taken out of the hands of the military party. Some time later he was released after having spent 230 days in prison.

As the weeks passed, the movement for revision spread until finally the court of appeal took evidence and decided upon giving Dreyfus a new trial, ordering a ship to be sent to Devil's Island to bring him back to the France that had treated him so unkindly. Now followed the trial at Rennes, marked by sensational efforts to discredit Dreyfus utterly. Maître Labori was to the fore in his behalf, and so bitter was his arraignment of the military party that few were surprised when an attempt was made to assassinate him. He was shot in the back, but recovered from the wound. The court found Dreyfus "guilty, with extenuating circumstances." Shortly afterward he was pardoned by President Loubet and has since lived quietly in Paris, never ceasing to struggle for the legal removal from his name of the stain which the world believes it never destined.

H. ADDINGTON PRICE.

AT HOME AND ABROAD.

The most expensive railway to travel on is the Congo, where the fare is \$100 for 250 miles.

As a result of the frequency of street robberies one of the largest banks in London has decided to arm all its messengers with revolvers.

In Dutch Ostania the women carry upon their persons all the family savings in the shape of heavy bracelets,

anklets, necklaces and even crowns of gold and silver.

There is an increasing tendency among the wealthy Berliners to dwell outside the city limits to escape the taxes.

Statistics of the London county council show that there are in that city 219,331 women wage earners. Ganan, a Baluchee convict, was ask-

ed in a Delhi court recently how prisoners concealed money. He replied by opening his mouth and pouring into his hand a number of coins.

In the past forty years 4,000,000 persons have left Ireland.

The Russian state scepter is of solid gold, three feet long, and contains among its ornaments 268 diamonds, 360 rubies and 15 emeralds.

Belgium and Holland use Greenwich time. In Germany, Austria, Denmark

Italy, Scandinavia and Switzerland one hour before Greenwich time rules.

In France there are 15,319 women employed as gatekeepers at the railway crossings. They get very small pay, but are provided with free houses.

Of all the money transactions in England 97 per cent are carried through by check, only 3 per cent by notes or gold.

Every fire station in Berlin has been equipped with an oxygen appa-

atus to revive firemen overcome by smoke or heat. Ordinary citizens may also have the loan of the apparatus in cases of urgent need.

Probably the youngest general in the world is a nephew of the late shah of Persia, a boy not yet fourteen years old. He holds the rank of full general in the Persian army.

A young Hungarian yokel named Gagne recently made a bet at Temevar to eat two and one-quarter pounds

of bacon, twenty sausages and five and one-half pounds of bread at one sitting. He won his bet, but fell down dead the next moment.

A good authority on horses says that the gray will live the longest and that the roans come next in order. Blacks seldom live to be over twenty, and creams rarely exceed ten or fifteen.

The empress of China declines to recognize the fact that she will soon reach the threescore years and ten limit.

Great preparations had been made for celebrating her seventieth birthday this year, but she has countermanded them.

Deaths from starvation in Great Britain have fallen from eighteen to twelve per million in the last thirty years.

Each year about \$50,000 is expended in sprinkling the streets of London with sand to prevent horses from slipping.