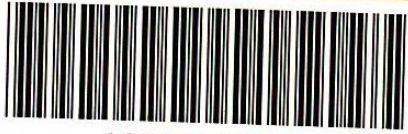


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THE
AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

BY
JAMES BRYCE, Viscount, 1838-1922
AUTHOR OF "THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE"
M.P. FOR ABERDEEN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I
THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT — THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

THIRD EDITION
COMPLETELY REVISED THROUGHOUT
WITH ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
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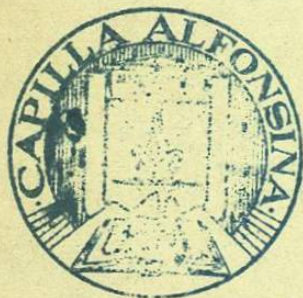
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Set up and electrotyped March, 1893. Reprinted April,
June, 1893; February, April, September, 1895; March, November,
1896; March, October, 1897; June, 1898; January, July,
1899.



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Norwood Press:
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

To my Friends and Colleagues

ALBERT VENN DICEY
THOMAS ERSKINE HOLLAND



PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

As the introductory chapter of this work contains such explanations as seem needed of its scope and plan, the Author has little to do in this place except express his thanks to the numerous friends who have helped him with facts, opinions, and criticisms, or by the gift of books or pamphlets. Among these he is especially indebted to the Hon. Thomas M. Cooley, now Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington; Mr. James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.; Hon. Seth Low, formerly Mayor of Brooklyn; Mr. E. L. Godkin of New York; Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York; Mr. G. Bradford of Cambridge, Mass.; and Mr. Theodore Bacon of Rochester, N.Y.; by one or other of whom the greater part of the proofs of these volumes have been read. He has also received valuable aid from Mr. Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; Mr. Theodore Dwight, late Librarian of the State Department at Washington; Mr. H. Villard of New York; Dr. Albert Shaw of Minneapolis; Mr. Jesse Macy of Grinnell, Ia.; Mr. Simeon Baldwin and Dr. George P. Fisher of New Haven, Conn.; Mr. Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia; Col. T. W. Higginson of Cambridge, Mass.; Mr. Bernard Moses of Berkeley, Cal.; Mr. A. B. Houghton of Corning, N.Y.; Mr. John Hay of Washington; Mr. Henry Hitchcock of

St. Louis, Mo.; President James B. Angell of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Hon. Andrew D. White of Syracuse, N.Y.; Mr. Frank J. Goodnow and Mr. Edward P. Clark of New York; Dr. Atherton of the State College, Pennsylvania; and the authorities of the U.S. Bureau of Education. No one of these gentlemen is, however, responsible for any of the facts stated or views expressed in the book.

The Author is further indebted to Mr. Low for a chapter written by him, which contains matter of much interest relating to municipal government and politics.

He gladly takes this opportunity of thanking for their aid and counsel four English friends: Mr. Henry Sidgwick, who has read most of the proofs with great care and made valuable suggestions upon them; the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, whose literary criticisms have been very helpful; Mr. Albert V. Dicey, and Mr. W. Robertson Smith.

He is aware that, notwithstanding the assistance rendered by friends in America, he must have fallen into not a few errors, and without asking to be excused for these, he desires to plead in extenuation that the book has been written under the constant pressure of public duties as well as of other private work, and that the difficulty of obtaining in Europe correct information regarding the constitutions and laws of American States and the rules of party organizations is very great.

When the book was begun, it was intended to contain a study of the more salient social and intellectual phenomena of contemporary America, together with descriptions of the scenery and aspects of nature and human nature in the West, all of whose States and Territories the Author has visited. But as the work advanced, he found that to

carry out this plan it would be necessary either unduly to curtail the account of the government and politics of the United States, or else to extend the book to a still greater length than that which, much to his regret, it has now reached. He therefore reluctantly abandoned the hope of describing in these volumes the scenery and life of the West. As regards the non-political topics which were to have been dealt with, he has selected for discussion in the concluding chapters those of them which either were comparatively unfamiliar to European readers, or seemed specially calculated to throw light on the political life of the country, and to complete the picture which he has sought to draw of the American Commonwealth as a whole.

October 22, 1888.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THIS edition has been carefully revised throughout: all difficult and controverted points have been reconsidered, the Constitutional changes in the States since 1889 have been (so far as possible) noted, and the figures of population have been corrected by the census returns of 1890, those relating to education by the latest available Report of the Bureau of Education.

While some few chapters have been slightly abridged, large additions have been made to others, especially in Parts III. and V. In particular, four new chapters have been written and inserted in Part V., chapters which belonged to the original plan of the book, but which it was found impossible to insert in the first edition. Considerations of space have compelled the omission of other chapters which the author has at various times sketched out.

While endeavouring to watch the course of current history in the United States, and to profit by the light which it throws on the institutions and political habits of the country, the author has thought it undesirable to make frequent references thereto, not merely because he might thus be led into the field of party controversy, but still more because the relative magnitude and true import of events is seldom discoverable until there has been time for them to fall, so to speak, into their due perspective. He may perhaps be permitted to add that

though many things have happened since October, 1888, none of them has seemed to him to require an alteration in the substance, though he has occasionally modified the form and expression, of the views stated in the first edition of the book.

The author gladly takes this opportunity of thanking those in America, many of them previously unknown to him, who have sent him letters calling attention to statements which they consider questionable. He has also to acknowledge help received not only from some of those mentioned in the former preface, but from many others also, especially from President Eliot of Harvard University, Senator H. C. Lodge, Representatives W. L. Wilson and W. C. Breckinridge, Professors Anson D. Morse, J. B. McMaster, A. B. Hart, E. R. A. Seligman, J. W. Jenks, and E. J. James, Messrs. Alfred Russell, Charles F. Adams, Amasa M. Eaton, T. N. Brown, J. B. Bishop, F. J. Stimson, L. N. Dembitz, R. H. Dana, W. P. Garrison, R. P. Porter, E. J. McDermott, V. M. Francis, Judge Elliot, Professor Dunbar and Mr. Closson of Harvard University, Messrs. Hilary A. Herbert, Charles Reemelin, and Herbert Welsh, Dr. Washington Gladden, and the Secretaries of State of the six new States, as well as from Mr. J. G. Bourinot of Ottawa, Canada.

Nor can he let pass this opportunity of expressing his hearty gratitude for the kindness with which his efforts to set forth the political and social phenomena of the United States have been received in that country. The expressions of approval he has received from a great number of persons in various parts of the United States have far more than repaid him for the labour of preparing the book, and for the scarcely less severe labour of revising it under the increased pressure of public duties in his own country.

October 22nd, 1894.

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LIST OF PRESIDENTS

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1789-1793 | GEORGE WASHINGTON. |
| 1793-1797 | Re-elected. |
| 1797-1801 | JOHN ADAMS. |
| 1801-1805 | THOMAS JEFFERSON. |
| 1805-1809 | Re-elected. |
| 1809-1813 | JAMES MADISON. |
| 1813-1817 | Re-elected. |
| 1817-1821 | JAMES MONROE. |
| 1821-1825 | Re-elected. |
| 1825-1829 | JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. |
| 1829-1833 | ANDREW JACKSON. |
| 1833-1837 | Re-elected. |
| 1837-1841 | MARTIN VAN BUREN. |
| 1841-1845 | WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (died 1841). JOHN TYLER. |
| 1845-1849 | JAMES KNOX POLK. |
| 1849-1853 | ZACHARY TAYLOR (died 1850). MILLARD FILLMORE. |
| 1853-1857 | FRANKLIN PIERCE. |
| 1857-1861 | JAMES BUCHANAN. |
| 1861-1865 | ABRAHAM LINCOLN. |
| 1865-1869 | Re-elected (died 1865). ANDREW JOHNSON. |
| 1869-1873 | ULYSSES S. GRANT. |
| 1873-1877 | Re-elected. |
| 1877-1881 | RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES. |
| 1881-1885 | JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD (died 1881). CHESTER A. ARTHUR. |
| 1885-1889 | (STEPHEN) GROVER CLEVELAND. |
| 1889-1893 | BENJAMIN HARRISON. |
| 1893- | GROVER CLEVELAND. |

AREA, POPULATION, AND DATE OF ADMISSION OF THE STATES

THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES, IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY
RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION.

| | Ratified the Constitution. | Area in square miles. ¹ | Population (1890). |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Delaware | 1787 | 2,050 | 168,493 |
| Pennsylvania | 1787 | 45,215 | 5,258,014 |
| New Jersey | 1787 | 7,815 | 1,444,933 |
| Georgia | 1788 | 59,475 | 1,837,353 |
| Connecticut | 1788 | 4,990 | 746,258 |
| Massachusetts | 1788 | 8,315 | 2,238,943 |
| Maryland | 1788 | 12,210 | 1,042,390 |
| South Carolina | 1788 | 30,570 | 1,151,149 |
| New Hampshire | 1788 | 9,305 | 376,530 |
| Virginia | 1788 | 42,450 | 1,655,980 |
| New York | 1788 | 49,170 | 5,997,853 |
| North Carolina | 1789 | 52,250 | 1,617,947 |
| Rhode Island | 1790 | 1,250 | 345,506 |

STATES SUBSEQUENTLY ADMITTED, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ADMISSION.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--------|-----------|
| Vermont | 1791 | 9,565 | 332,422 |
| Kentucky | 1792 | 40,400 | 1,858,635 |
| Tennessee | 1796 | 42,050 | 1,767,518 |
| Ohio | 1802 | 41,060 | 3,672,316 |
| Louisiana | 1812 | 48,720 | 1,118,587 |
| Indiana | 1816 | 36,350 | 2,192,404 |
| Mississippi | 1817 | 46,810 | 1,289,600 |
| Illinois | 1818 | 56,650 | 3,826,351 |
| Alabama | 1819 | 52,250 | 1,513,017 |

¹ According to census returns of 1890.

| | Admitted. | Area in square miles. | Population (1890). |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Maine | 1820 | 33,040 | 661,086 |
| Missouri | 1821 | 69,415 | 2,679,184 |
| Arkansas | 1836 | 53,850 | 1,128,179 |
| Michigan | 1837 | 58,915 | 2,093,889 |
| Florida | 1845 | 58,680 | 391,422 |
| Texas | 1845 | 265,780 | 2,235,523 |
| Iowa | 1846 | 56,025 | 1,911,896 |
| Wisconsin | 1848 | 56,040 | 1,686,880 |
| California | 1850 | 158,360 | 1,208,130 |
| Minnesota | 1858 | 83,365 | 1,301,826 |
| Oregon | 1859 | 96,030 | 313,767 |
| Kansas | 1861 | 82,080 | 1,427,096 |
| W. Virginia | 1863 | 24,780 | 762,794 |
| Nevada | 1864 | 110,700 | 45,761 |
| Nebraska | 1867 | 77,510 | 1,058,910 |
| Colorado | 1876 | 103,925 | 412,198 |
| N. Dakota | 1889 | 70,795 | 182,719 |
| S. Dakota | 1889 | 77,650 | 328,808 |
| Montana | 1889 | 146,080 | 132,159 |
| Washington | 1889 | 69,180 | 349,390 |
| Wyoming | 1890 | 97,890 | 60,705 |
| Idaho | 1890 | 84,800 | 84,385 |
| Utah ¹ | 1895-6 | 84,970 | 207,905 |

THE TERRITORIES.

| | Area. | Population in 1890. |
|--------------------|---------|---------------------|
| New Mexico | 122,580 | 153,593 |
| Arizona | 113,020 | 59,620 |
| Oklahoma | 39,030 | 61,834 |

UNORGANIZED TERRITORIES.

| | Area. | Population in 1890. |
|--------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| Indian Territory | 31,400 | 179,321 |
| Alaska | 531,409 | 31,795 |

¹ An act was passed in Congress, in the summer of 1894, entitling Utah to enter, at a future specified date, the States of the Union.

DATES OF SOME REMARKABLE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF
THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES AND UNITED STATES

| | |
|---------|--|
| 1606 | First Charter of Virginia. |
| 1607 | First Settlement in Virginia. |
| 1620 | First Settlement in Massachusetts. |
| 1664 | Taking of New Amsterdam (New York). |
| 1759 | Battle of Heights of Abraham and taking of Quebec. |
| 1775 | Beginning of the Revolutionary War. |
| 1776 | Declaration of Independence. |
| 1781 | Formation of the Confederation. |
| 1783 | Independence of United States recognized. |
| 1787 | Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. |
| 1788 | The Constitution ratified by Nine States. |
| 1789 | Beginning of the Federal Government. |
| 1793 | Invention of the Cotton Gin. |
| 1803 | Purchase of Louisiana from France. |
| 1812-14 | War with England. |
| 1812-15 | Disappearance of the Federalist Party. |
| 1819 | Purchase of Florida from Spain. |
| 1819 | Steamers begin to cross the Atlantic. |
| 1820 | The Missouri Compromise. |
| 1828-32 | Formation of the Whig Party. |
| 1830 | First Passenger Railway opened. |
| 1840 | National Nominating Conventions regularly established. |
| 1844 | First Electric Telegraph in operation. |
| 1845 | Admission of Texas to the Union. |
| 1846-48 | Mexican War and Cession of California. |
| 1852-56 | Fall of the Whig Party |
| 1854-56 | Formation of the Republican Party. |
| 1857 | Dred Scott decision delivered. |
| 1861-65 | War of Secession. |
| 1869 | First Trans-Continental Railway completed. |
| 1877 | Final withdrawal of Federal troops from the South. |
| 1879 | Specie Payments resumed. |