Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* has been recognized as an indispensable starting point for understanding American politics. From the publication of the second volume in 1840 until his death in 1859, Tocqueville continued to monitor political developments in America and committed many of his thoughts to paper in letters to his friends in America. He also made frequent references to America in many articles and speeches. Did Tocqueville change his views on America outlined in the two volumes of *Democracy in America* published in 1835 and 1840? If so, which of his views changed and why? The texts translated in *Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings* answer these questions and offer English-speaking readers the possibility of familiarizing themselves with this unduly neglected part of Tocqueville’s work. The book points out a clear shift in emphasis especially after 1852 and documents Tocqueville’s growing disenchantment with America, triggered by such issues as political corruption, slavery, expansionism, and the encroachment of the economic sphere upon the political.

Aurelian Craiutu is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington. He received his Ph.D. in political theory from Princeton University in 1999 and was the 2000 winner of the American Political Science Association’s Leo Strauss Award for the best dissertation in the field of political philosophy. Craiutu’s *Liberalism under Siege: The Political Thought of the French Doctrinaires* won a 2004 CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title Award; a revised and enlarged version of the book was published in French as *Le Centre introuvable* (2006). Professor Craiutu has also edited several volumes, including *Guizot’s History of the Origins of Representative Government in Europe, Madame de Staël’s Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution, Conversations with Tocqueville: The Global Democratic Revolution in the Twenty-First Century* (with Sheldon Gellar), and *America through European Eyes* (with Jeffrey C. Isaac).

Jeremy Jennings is Professor of Political Theory at Queen Mary, University of London, having previously held posts at the universities of Swansea and Birmingham (UK). He received his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford. In 2007, he was made a Chevalier in the Ordre des Palmes Académiques for services rendered to French culture. Professor Jennings has published extensively on the history of political thought in France, the role of intellectuals in politics, and the history of socialism. In 2002, he published a new edition of Georges Sorel’s *Reflections on Violence* and, in 2005, co-edited a volume entitled *Republicanism in Theory and Practice*. He has recently published articles in the *American Political Science Review, Review of Politico, Journal of Political Ideologies*, and *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 
TOCQUEVILLE on AMERICA after 1840

Letters and Other Writings

Edited and translated, with an interpretative essay and notes, by

Aurelian Craiutu

Indiana University, Bloomington

Jeremy Jennings

Queen Mary University of London
Contents

Editors’ Note and Acknowledgments                  page xiii

Interpretative Essay: The Third Democracy: Tocqueville’s Views of America after 1840 ........................................ 1

PART I: LETTERS

Introduction .................................................. 41

A. Letters: 1840–1847 ........................................ 52

1. Jared Sparks to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 5, 1840 52
2. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jared Sparks, October 13, 1840 53
3. John C. Spencer to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 21, 1840 53
4. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jared Sparks, December 16, 1840 54
5. S. C. Goodrich to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 16, 1841 55
6. A. W. Paull to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 30, 1841 55
7. Isaiah Townsend to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 2, 1841 57
8. Alexis de Tocqueville to John C. Spencer, November 10, 1841 58
9. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 30, 1842 60
10. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, August 14, 1842 61
11. Alexis de Tocqueville to Nathaniel Niles, June 15, 1843 62
12. Robert Walsh to Alexis de Tocqueville, December 9, 1843 63
13. Robert Walsh to Alexis de Tocqueville, December 13, 1843 64
14. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, April 22, 1844 65
15. Alexis de Tocqueville to Robert Walsh, July 27, 1844 65
16. Alexis de Tocqueville to H. Wheaton, 1844–1845 66
17. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, September 18, 1844 67
18. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 7, 1844 68
19. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, November 13, 1844 70
20. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 26, 1844 72
21. Alexis and Marie de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, December 2, 1844 75
22. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, December 14, 1844  
23. Marie de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, January 8, 1845  
24. Alexis and Marie de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, May 18, 1845  
25. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, July 1, 1845  
26. Robert Walsh to Alexis de Tocqueville, February 6, 1846  
27. Alexis de Tocqueville to B. P. Poore, April 6, 1846  
28. Isaiah Townsend to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 13, 1846  
29. Alexis and Marie de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, July 22, 1846  
30. Alexis de Tocqueville to Robert Walsh, August 20, 1846  
31. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 25, 1846  
32. Alexis de Tocqueville to Charles Sumner, August 6, 1847  
33. Charles Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 15, 1847

B. Letters: 1848–1852 ........................................ 93
34. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 27, 1848  
35. John C. Spencer to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 10, 1848  
36. W. A. Duer to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 1, 1848  
37. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Sumner, October 14, 1848  
38. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Sumner, January 16, 1849  
39. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, March 6, 1849  
40. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, March 7, 1849  
41. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Sumner, March 9, 1849  
42. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Sumner, March 12, 1849  
43. Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 12, 1849  
44. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 7, 1849  
45. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Bancroft, June 15, 1849  
46. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, June 27, 1849  
47. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 8, 1849  
48. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 31, 1849  
49. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, August 4, 1849  
50. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, (August) 1849  
51. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, August 8, 1849  
52. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, Monday morning (August), 1849  
53. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 10, 1849  
54. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 14, 1849  
55. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, October 3, 1849  
56. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, October 5, 1849  
57. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville, October 6, 1849  
58. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, October 10, 1849  
59. W. W. Mann to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 23, 1849 (followed by a note of Mann to A. de Tocqueville, November 27, 1849)  
60. George Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville, Sunday, 4 (December 1849)  
61. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, December 12, 1849  
62. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Bancroft, December 12, 1849  
63. Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville, January 8, 1850
Contents

64. Alexis de Tocqueville to George Bancroft, February 15, 1850 114
65. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, February 15, 1850 115
66. Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 29, 1850 116
67. John C. Spencer to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 3, 1850 118
68. George Bancroft to Alexis de Tocqueville, October 14, 1850 118
69. George Bancroft to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 13, 1851 119
70. W. W. Mann to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 28, 1851 119
71. Alexis de Tocqueville to W. W. Mann, July 2, 1851 120
72. W. W. Mann to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 12, 1851 120
73. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, August 5, 1851 121
74. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush, August 6, 1851 122
75. Maurice Wakerman to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 29, 1851 123
76. Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 15, 1852 125
77. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, April 16, 1852 127
78. Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 11, 1852 129
79. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 20, 1852 130
80. Edward Vernon Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 9, 1852 151
81. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, August 4, 1852 132
82. George Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville, August 10, 1852 134
83. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, December 4, 1852 156
84. George Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville, December 8, 1852 137
85. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jared Sparks, December 11, 1852 139
86. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jared Sparks, December 11, 1852 140

C. Letters: 1853–1856

87. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, January 31, 1853 142
88. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, [May 2?], 1853 143
89. Jared Sparks to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 13, 1853 144
90. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 29, 1853 145
91. Francis Kidder to Alexis de Tocqueville, October, 1853 146
92. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, November 7, 1853 147
93. Alex Vance to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 10, 1853 148
94. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, December 1, 1853 149
95. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, January 4, 1854 152
96. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, January 15, 1854 153
97. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 12, 1854 154
98. Henry D. Gilpin to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 30, 1854 157
99. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, July 17, 1854 157
100. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 20, 1854 159
101. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, August 14, 1854 160
102. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 4, 1854 161
103. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, September 4, 1855 162
104. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, September 11, 1855 163
105. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, September 19, 1855 164
106. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, February 15, 1856 166
107. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 5, 1856 167
Contents

108. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 23, 1856 168
109. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 29, 1856 168
110. Alexis de Tocqueville to The Liberty Bell, April 1856 169
111. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, May 18, 1856 169
112. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 21, 1856 171
113. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, May 23, 1856 172
114. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 28, 1856 172
115. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, June 6, 1856 173
116. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, June 16, 1856 174
117. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, (end of) June 1856 176
118. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe, (end of) June 1856 176
119. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, July 1856 177
120. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe, July 17, 1856 179
121. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 29, 1856 180
122. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, August 29, 1856 181
123. Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber, September 1, 1856 183
124. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, September 19, 1856 185
125. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, September 24, 1856 186
126. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, October 14, 1856 187
127. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, December 12, 1856 189

D. Letters: 1857–1859 ........................................ 192
128. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe, January 4, 1857 192
129. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, January 10, 1857 195
130. Edward Vernon Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, January 13, 1857 196
131. Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, February 5, 1857 199
132. N. W. Beckwith to Alexis de Tocqueville, February 20, 1857 201
133. Edward Vernon Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, February 22, 1857 214
134. George Summer to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 4, 1857 219
135. Edward Lee Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 27, 1857 219
136. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, April 2, 1857 222
137. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, April 13, 1857 225
138. Alexis de Tocqueville to Charles Sumner, May 1, 1857 228
139. Edward Vernon Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 2, 1857 228
140. Francis Lieber to Alexis de Tocqueville, May 30, 1857 231
141. Alexis de Tocqueville to William H. Prescott, June 6, 1857 233
142. George Ticknor to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 10, 1857 233
143. Alexis de Tocqueville to Massachusetts Historical Society, [June] 1857 234
144. Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick, June 13, 1857 234
145. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Everett, June 17, 1857 236
146. Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, July 7, 1857 237
147. Susan Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 11, 1857 239
148. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jared Sparks, July 15, 1857 240
149. Edward Vernon Childe to Alexis de Tocqueville, July 16, 1857 241
150. Alexis de Tocqueville to Charles Sumner, July 1857 245
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Charles Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>August 4, 1857</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Maria Weston Chapman to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>August 7, 1857</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe</td>
<td>September 2, 1857</td>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>September 12, 1857</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>N. W. Beckwith to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>September 20, 1857</td>
<td>251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Charles J. Ingersoll to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>September 22, 1857</td>
<td>258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>William H. Prescott to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>September 29, 1857</td>
<td>258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>October 8, 1857</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Francis Lieber</td>
<td>October 9, 1857</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>October 13, 1857</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Susan Sedgwick, October 30, 1857</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Charles Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>November 3, 1857</td>
<td>263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Charles Sumner, November 14, 1857</td>
<td>264</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Henry P. Tappan to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>November 14, 1857</td>
<td>265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>December 6, 1857</td>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Edward Everett to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>December 8, 1857</td>
<td>269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>N. W. Beckwith to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>December 18, 1857</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick</td>
<td>December 24, 1857</td>
<td>278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, January 23, 1858</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to N. W. Beckwith, February 6, 1858</td>
<td>282</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Theodore Sedgwick to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>February 15, 1858</td>
<td>284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Charles Sumner</td>
<td>March 28, 1858</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>April 10, 1858</td>
<td>287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>April 30, 1858</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Charles Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>May 7, 1858</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick</td>
<td>May 28, 1858</td>
<td>290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>July 6, 1858</td>
<td>291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>July 19, 1858</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to N. W. Beckwith, September 7, 1858</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to John Young Mason</td>
<td>September 21, 1858</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>October 11, 1858</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>October 15, 1858</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>October 19, 1858</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>December 4, 1858</td>
<td>299</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>December 11, 1858</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>December 22, 1858</td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>December 26, 1858</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Jared Sparks to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>December 28, 1858</td>
<td>303</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Richard Walsh to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>January 11, 1859</td>
<td>304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>February 4, 1859</td>
<td>305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Lee Childe</td>
<td>February 8, 1859</td>
<td>306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Alexis de Tocqueville to Edward Vernon Childe, February 19, 1859</td>
<td>306</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undated and Partially Dated Letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>George Sumner to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>Friday, June 20, 1849?</td>
<td>308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>N. W. Beckwith to Alexis de Tocqueville</td>
<td>undated, 1857?</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E. Letters between Tocqueville and His French and Other Correspondents ................................ 318

Introduction 318
195. Alexis de Tocqueville to Louis de Kergorlay, October 18, 1847 321
196. Alexis de Tocqueville to Jean-Jacques Ampère, October 6, 1851 324
197. Jean-Jacques Ampère to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 7, 1851 324
198. Jean-Jacques Ampère to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 12, 1851 325
199. Jean-Jacques Ampère to Alexis de Tocqueville, January 23, 1852 326
200. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, August 25, 1853 327
201. Alexis de Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont, November 3, 1853 328
202. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 9, 1853 329
203. Alexis de Tocqueville to Madame de Circourt, November 26, 1853 330
204. Alexis de Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont, August 6, 1854 330
205. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 26, 1854 332
206. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 1, 1855 332
207. Arthur de Gobineau to Alexis de Tocqueville, March 20, 1856 333
208. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 7, 1856 334
209. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, June 15, 1856 334
210. Alexis de Tocqueville to Madame de Circourt, July 5, 1856 335
211. Alexis de Tocqueville to Arthur de Gobineau, July 30, 1856 335
212. Alexis de Tocqueville to Nassau Senior, September 4, 1856 336
213. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, November 4, 1856 336
214. Alexis de Tocqueville to Arthur de Gobineau, January 24, 1857 337
215. Adolphe de Circourt to Alexis de Tocqueville, October 14, 1857 337
216. Alexis de Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont, November 16, 1857 338
217. Alexis de Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont, December 6, 1857 339

PART II: SPEECHES, ARTICLES, AND DIPLOMATIC PAPERS

A. America in the 1840s ........................................ 343

General Introduction 343
Outline of a speech on the Oregon Affair (1846) 350
“Report on Democracy in Switzerland” (1848) 354

B. America and the Revolution of 1848 ..................... 370

Introduction 370
Speech at the popular banquet of Cherbourg (March 1848) 372
Preface to the twelfth edition of Democracy in America (1848) 374

C. Tocqueville’s Contributions to the Debates on the Constitution of the Second Republic ................... 377

Introduction 377
Drafting of the new Constitution (sessions of May 25 and May 27, 1848) 381
### Contents

Speech made before the Constituent Assembly during the discussion of the new Constitution on the right to work (September 12, 1848) ........................................... 394

Extracts from a speech on the election of the President (October 5, 1848) ........................................... 404

Report presented by M. de Tocqueville in the name of the Commission charged with examining the proposals for the revision of the constitution (session of July 8, 1851) ........................................... 406

**D. The Poussin Affair** ........................................... 409

Introduction ........................................... 409

I. Richard Rush to Alexis de Tocqueville (July 7, 1849) ........................................... 412

II. Richard Rush to John M. Clayton (July 11, 1849) ........................................... 417

III. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (July 16, 1849) ........................................... 418

IV. Alexis de Tocqueville to Richard Rush (August 9, 1849) ........................................... 419

V. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (August 16, 1849) ........................................... 420

VI. John M. Clayton to Alexis de Tocqueville (September 8, 1849) ........................................... 422

VII. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (September 22, 1849) ........................................... 424

VIII. Extracts from two letters written by Alexis de Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont (October 5 and 12, 1849) ........................................... 428

IX. John M. Clayton to Alexis de Tocqueville (November 10, 1849) ........................................... 429

X. John M. Clayton to William C. Rives (September 14, 1849) ........................................... 451

XI. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (October 9, 1849) ........................................... 442

XII. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (October 17, 1849) ........................................... 444

XIII. Guillaume-Tell Poussin to Alexis de Tocqueville (October 23, 1849) ........................................... 446

XIV. Charles de Montholon to Alexis de Tocqueville (November 4, 1849) ........................................... 447

XV. Charles de Montholon to Alexis de Tocqueville (November 11, 1849) ........................................... 451

**E. Final Thoughts on the American Constitution** ........................................... 455

Introduction ........................................... 456

Report on a work by Mr. Th. Sedgwick entitled *A Treatise on the Rules which Govern the Interpretation and the Application of Statutory and Constitutional Law* (1858) ........................................... 456

**Appendix 1: Tocqueville’s American Correspondents** ........................................... 461

**Appendix 2: Chronology** ........................................... 469

**Appendix 3: Sources for the Texts and Selected Bibliography** ........................................... 476

*Notes* ........................................... 489

*Index* ........................................... 553
Editors’ Note and Acknowledgments

This book has been a long time in the making. While working on it, most often on two continents, we have had the good fortune to accumulate many debts to a great number of persons and institutions, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge them here.

The inspiration for this project came from two essays by Françoise Mélionio and Hugh Brogan, who convinced us of the importance of studying the evolution of Tocqueville’s views on America after 1840. We initially set out to write a paper on this topic which we presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31–September 3, 2003. A substantially revised version of our essay was published as “The Third Democracy: Tocqueville’s View of America after 1840” in American Political Science Review, 98: 3 (2004): 391–404. Subsequently, Ed Parsons of Cambridge University Press encouraged us to develop our article into a larger project and patiently worked with us over the past years to improve the contents of this volume.

The book project that evolved out of our original article underwent significant transformations over time and greatly benefited from the advice we received from many distinguished Tocqueville scholars in the United States and Europe. We began working on our project with the idea of including only translations of Tocqueville’s letters to his American correspondents after 1840 (originally published in OC, VII) along with translations of other documents written after 1840 in which he made substantial references to America. Since the texts included in OC, VII represent only half of the story, we attempted to retrieve the letters that Tocqueville received from his American friends after 1840. This evolved into a full-fledged subsection of our volume whose completion required substantial archival research in various libraries.
Editors’ Note and Acknowledgments

in the United States and Europe. Some of these letters are available only as copies, the originals having been lost. Matthew Holbreich and David Belanich played an important role in transcribing most of the Bonnel copies from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and we would like to thank them again for their research assistance.

The editing of the letters received by Tocqueville from America posed significant challenges. Apart from minor exceptions, we decided to leave intact the grammar, punctuation, and the spelling of the original letters (written in English). Where appropriate, for the sake of clarity, we silently corrected a few obvious errors and standardized the use of quotations. Occasionally, we added square brackets indicating the editors’ best guess for the missing words or illegible passages in the original texts.

We would like to thank the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University for the opportunity to work in the Tocqueville archives and the Quai d’Orsay, Paris for the permission to consult Tocqueville’s diplomatic correspondence during his short tenure as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1849. Françoise Mélonio encouraged us to examine this neglected part of Tocqueville’s archives, and we would like to express again our gratitude for her suggestions.

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the generous financial help provided by many institutions, to which we would like to express our special thanks here. In particular, our gratitude goes to Indiana University’s Institute for Advanced Study; the College of Arts and Sciences Arts and Humanities Institute, the Vice-President Office for Research, the Office of International Scholars, the West European Studies, the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington; and the Social Philosophy and Policy Center at Bowling Green State University. In 2006, Aurelian Craiutu received a Rose and John Jackson research fellowship from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. Jeremy Jennings received research grants from the Indiana University’s Institute for Advanced Study (2005, 2006) and the British Academy (2006, 2007) to finance research in Bloomington, New Haven, Boston, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. Several colloquia organized by Liberty Fund gave us the opportunity to work together in Bloomington and Indianapolis at key stages of this project.

We would also like to thank the libraries and the librarians who provided invaluable assistance during various stages of our project.
in locating original sources and documents: the University of South Carolina Library; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the Massachusetts Historical Society Library (Boston); the Virginia Historical Society Library, Richmond; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Wells Library and the Lilly Library at Indiana University; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and the Quai d’Orsay, Paris.

Numerous colleagues and friends have read and made valuable suggestions on various parts of this manuscript. Special thanks are due to Barbara Allen, Richard Boyd, Seymour Drescher, Sheldon Gellar, Christine D. Henderson, James Farr, Robert T. Gannett, Russell L. Hanson, Ivona Hedin, Jeffrey C. Isaac, Lucien Jaume, Daniel J. Mahoney, Matthew Mancini, Françoise Mélonio, Joshua Mitchell, Eduardo Nolla, Elinor and Vincent Ostrom, Jennifer Pitts, Jean-Bertrand Ribat, Filippo Sabetti, James T. Schleifer, Barry Shain, Richard Shannon, Lee Siegelman, and Cheryl Welch.

We also thank Joohyung Kim, who provided the index of this volume. Our current and previous home institutions – Indiana University, Queen Mary University of London, and the University of Birmingham – have provided congenial places for completing this book. We would like to thank our colleagues for their intellectual companionship which has supported us over the past years. Portions of this book have been presented at various colloquia and conferences, and we would like to thank all those who commented on them.

Finally, we would like to express our deepest gratitude to Ed Parsons of Cambridge University Press who endorsed our project from the very beginning and deftly stewarded it through a long editorial process. Thanks are also due to four anonymous referees who provided extremely useful suggestions for revising the manuscript, as well as to Peter Katsirubas and his colleagues at Aptara who turned the manuscript into a book.

Finally, we would like to dedicate this volume to Sophia Alexandra Craiutu, whose first steps into the world were accompanied by the completion of this project.

A.C. & J. J.