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Edited by Aurelian Craiutu and Jeremy Jennings

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TOCQUEVILLE ON AMERICA AFTER 1840

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).

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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



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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 Mélonio 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

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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

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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.

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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.