



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

## Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Seminars and Institutes application guidelines at

<http://www.neh.gov/grants/education/summer-seminars-and-institutes>

for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Education Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials. The page limit for the narrative description is now **fifteen** double-spaced pages.

Project Title: Exploring American Democracy, with Alexis de Tocqueville as Guide

Institution: University of Virginia

Project Director: Olivier Zunz

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# Exploring American Democracy, with Alexis de Tocqueville as Guide

A Proposal for an NEH Summer Seminar for College and University Teachers

Olivier Zunz and Arthur Goldhammer

We are proposing to the NEH a *two-week* seminar for college and university teachers on Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840) to be held at the University of Virginia in summer 2016. The seminar is designed for colleagues looking for sustained intellectual engagement with this profound and still unsurpassed study of democracy as both political system and social form.

## Rationale

As affirmed in the NEH statement on **The Common Good: The Humanities in the Public Square**, the citizens of a democracy have “both the right and the obligation to debate and determine the general welfare.” But what is the general welfare? No political thinker has delved into this question more profoundly than Alexis de Tocqueville. He challenged both the Utilitarian notion that the general welfare is the greatest good of the greatest number and the Rousseauian notion that the general welfare is a concrete and therefore knowable social fact. For Tocqueville, the idea of the common good was the result of a society's reflection upon itself, a reflection guided by the light of the Tocquevillean concept of “self-interest properly understood.” Tocqueville's insights penetrate to the heart of the “liberal democratic values” frequently invoked in contemporary political debate but less frequently examined. This two-week seminar aims to unpack the meaning of those values and show how they bear on contemporary debates.

Tocqueville remains today a mentor not only for citizens of established democracies but also for those struggling to emerge on the world scene. A profound thinker, he developed ideas that illuminate both the promises and the potential pitfalls of democratic practice. *Democracy in America* therefore remains a critical reference for citizens committed to improving civil societies where they work, creating them where they do not exist, and protecting them where they are threatened. Readers, regardless of personal political commitments, confront vital issues of political moderation, social justice, progress, racial integration, and above all the meaning of liberty in democracy.

Our proposed in-depth reading of *Democracy in America* will be an interdisciplinary undertaking. As one of the founders of modern social science, Tocqueville worked at the intersection of political science, sociology, history, and economics. Literature also claims him as an elegant and powerful rhetorician. The seminar will consequently attract participants from different academic communities of inquiry and subfields within them. We will select participants who may be intellectual, political, legal, and social historians of the United States and Europe, political theorists or political philosophers, sociologists or economists, as well as literary scholars, with an eye towards generating a rich synergy among them.

The seminar will last two weeks with participants in residence on the historic grounds of the University of Virginia. There will be ten formal meetings in which we expect participants to engage in an animated conversation about the reading with the directors facilitating the exchange of ideas according to the plan outlined below.

We will of course be fully available to participants outside the seminar room for help with special projects they will bring to us, including the critique of manuscripts they

wish to revise and/or complete. When appropriate, such projects may also be discussed with the group as a whole or a subgroup of participants. While all texts we use in the seminar are updated and elegant English translations Arthur Goldhammer has produced in the last decade [see bibliography in appendices], we'll be happy to engage those participants familiar with the original French text with the techniques and challenges of translation of a literary classic.

Olivier Zunz has twice directed NEH seminars, in 1989 and 1992 (“American Urban History: Places and Process.”). These counted enormously in his life as a historian, hence his desire now to repeat the experience in a new context. Following each seminar, at least one participant turned a manuscript in progress into a book published by a major university press; many produced articles; all remained in touch with the director for years. [Please note that the participants’ evaluations from these NEH projects are no longer available and thus could not be included in the application packet.]

Arthur Goldhammer, new to the NEH program, has asked two respected scholars to write on his behalf. They are Cheryl B. Welch, Senior Lecturer and Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Government, Harvard University, and David Bell, Sidney and Ruth Lapidus Professor in the Era of North Atlantic Revolutions, Department of History, Princeton University.

### **Project and implementation**

The seminar will meet Monday-Friday 2-5pm with the rest of the day left open for reading, research, and meetings with participants individually.

## **Introduction**

The seminar directors will take the lead in the first meeting as participants will naturally be curious about how a twenty-five-year-old French traveler, after spending only nine months in the United States in 1831-32, was able to conceive the brilliant idea of framing modern history as a continuous, still ongoing, struggle between political liberty and social equality.

We as a group will consider why Tocqueville left a politically tormented France, a country that had just adopted a new constitutional monarchy, and traveled to America with his courthouse colleague and friend Gustave de Beaumont. Their idea was to observe as directly as possible the only democracy at work in the world and, from it, to draw lessons applicable to France's continuing struggle to embody the lofty ideals of its Revolution in a stable and moderate political regime.

There are some key points we want to emphasize on the very first day to give interpretive clues concerning both Tocqueville's initial American project and the outcome.

*Democracy in America* is both an intensely personal reflection on social change and the human condition and a treatise in comparative political science. Before undertaking the voyage, young Tocqueville made clear he was not at ease with what he saw as the unstoppable march towards equality, and he never fully overcame his doubts, for good reasons. Many members of his prestigious aristocratic family had been beheaded during the phase of the French revolution known as the Terror. Most eminent among the victims was the lawyer Malesherbes, Tocqueville's great-grandfather, who famously pleaded for Louis XVI's life in front of the Convention but then followed his

king to the scaffold. We want to stress at the outset that the young man was searching for his own place in a democratizing world when he undertook his famous voyage. He was looking for ways to help shape a viable French democracy. His emotional search for meaning and purpose still inspires the modern reader; it has kept the book alive.

The American journey was a bold wager, even for a young man as brilliant as Tocqueville. He knew next to nothing about America before leaving France. With few clues to what lay ahead, he had to work very hard during the trip to appreciate what he saw. Remarkably, he managed to overcome some deeply-ingrained family prejudices regarding equality and the pursuit of private interest. Tocqueville was not consistent in his use of the word equality but he often meant the breaking down of social hierarchies. He quickly recognized equality in the United States as a source of liberty rather than the result of levelling as in France; and he came to admit that the pursuit of private interest could serve the common good, not merely selfish goals. These conceptual breakthroughs became in time key points in his assessment of democracy. He was also surprised to discover that democracy was not only compatible with religion but remarkably respectful of the sacred—a reassuring discovery to a young thinker deeply disturbed by the materialism and anticlericalism that were so deeply intertwined with previous French democratic thinking.

We want to signal to participants on the first meeting some important reading clues. It has to be clear at the onset that *Democracy in America* is not systematically about democracy “in” America; it can be about democracy or about America or about France. Tocqueville wrote this book for a French readership. He was animated by an idea that soon became his mission in life: making democracy safe for liberty! He wanted

the French to pay attention to American democratic mores not for themselves but in order to reform their ways. Tocqueville's brilliant analysis of American society, politics, and culture rests on deep intuitions and careful observations and still inspires American readers, yet it was but a part of this larger project.

Moreover, Tocqueville took special care to hide many of his sources, whether European or American. This is a challenge to readers. European thinkers contribute prominently to *Democracy in America* but are rarely named. Pascal's reasoning on human nature and the divine, which Tocqueville valued highly, is acknowledged. Tocqueville also recognizes Montesquieu, the founder of modern political science, as an important model. But the historian Guizot, who gave Tocqueville the concept of the "social state," is never mentioned. Nor is Rousseau, for ideological reasons, despite many borrowings from him. Tocqueville calls on a host of authors without attribution save in preparatory notes. American readers do not easily recognize these many references, but we will point them out as we are reading, as they considerably enrich the text.

Tocqueville interviewed some two-hundred notable Americans during his nine-month trip, including such personalities as former president John Quincy Adams, Unitarian minister and soon-to-be Harvard history professor Jared Sparks, New York State legislator J.C. Spencer, Jacksonian Democrat Sam Houston, and many others, but he names only former American Minister in Paris Edward Livingston, and only once in a footnote. Yet he inserted numerous excerpts from conversations with informants in his analytical narrative. Miraculously these notes have survived and are a treasure trove of information on Jacksonian America. We have compiled Tocqueville's American notes

(many of them never previously available in English) in a new edition (see bibliography in appendix), which is a key companion to reading Tocqueville.

Finally, yet another reason it is hard to decipher Tocqueville's meaning is that he often equivocated about the value of democracy. Did he favor democracy or not? On balance, Tocqueville came out as a strong promoter of "democracy" and "equality," terms he was using interchangeably; he was also decidedly pro-American. But in the process of building his argument, he gave ample voice to both antidemocratic and anti-American opinions. French literary critic Sainte-Beuve—a prominent contemporary in the life of letters—noted that Tocqueville abused such qualifiers as "but" and "if"! One interesting outcome of this constant equivocation is that Tocqueville has acquired followers from both the political left and right who have always preferred to read his work selectively rather than follow the tormented "but" brilliant reasoning, as we will do in this seminar.

As is already clear, in the seminar we will go well beyond Tocqueville's obligatory passages on voluntary associations or oversimplifications—such as depicting Tocqueville as prophet of democracy or debunking him as theoretician of American exceptionalism—and discover a wealth of ideas lending themselves to reflection and interpretations.

**After this introduction, we will read and discuss the two volumes of *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840) in seven seminar meetings** (see appendix for a detailed schedule of readings).

In the following sections, we describe briefly the content of the core reading for each meeting. We will prepare specialized bibliographies for each of the seven topics

below as well as a list of accessible sources. In each session, we will ask two (in a couple of instances three) participants informally to report on a theme indicated below in *italics*. Thus each of our colleagues in the seminar will have an opportunity to guide the group while exploring a topic of interest and highlighting a disciplinary perspective.

### **1-Citizen Participation in Democracy**

With the first reading (*Democracy, I:1*), we will focus on the importance of the local community in Tocqueville's thought and the key role of active citizen participation in achieving compatibility of liberty with equality. Tocqueville underscores the liberty American citizens derive from an ingrained and resilient habit of local self-government, not threatened by a subsequently created federation of states.

*Participants will lead a discussion on Tocqueville's and Beaumont's American itinerary and their meeting with first major informant John Spencer, a lawyer active in New York politics. Tocqueville, Beaumont, and Spencer discussed the American judiciary, bicameralism, freedom of speech and of the press, and the relationship between religion and government.*

### **2- The New Political Science**

We focus here (*Democracy, I:1-cont. and I:2*), on key passages on the habit of liberty, the genius of the Founding Fathers in knowing when and how to restrict liberty in order to preserve it, and the mutual reinforcement of liberty and equality as an axiom of Tocqueville's new political science. Tocqueville analyzes how constitutional ingenuity can limit some of the dangers to liberty in a large republic.

*The remaining discussion will take Tocqueville's readings of American legal and constitutional texts, especially some of the Federalist papers and key writings of Judge Story and Chancellor Kent, as a starting point.*

### **3- The Tyranny of the Majority**

This discussion takes participants to the most contentious part of the first volume (*Democracy, I:2-cont.*), the theory that a tyranny of the majority—an alternative despotism if you will—muzzled dissent and killed freedom of opinion in America. How great is the danger of tyranny of the majority (then and now)? Did Tocqueville exaggerate it, and did he overlook the equal and opposite danger of a tyranny of the minority?

*Jared Sparks (Unitarian minister, former editor of the North American Review and soon to be first Harvard's history professor) gave Tocqueville the idea that in America the majority was always right.*

### **4- Race as a Crucial Problem that America Had Yet to Solve**

Tocqueville was wise in devoting a totally separate chapter to race and stating bluntly that the topic required a distinct treatment, for there was no way he could think of the lives of nonwhites on American soil as democratic. Treating race relations independently was thus an effective way of challenging Americans to extend democracy beyond the white race (we read *Democracy, I:2-end*).

*Tocqueville met John Quincy Adams in Boston, who instructed him on slavery and the American south, and he met Sam Houston on a steam boat down the Mississippi; Houston related his life among Native Americans.*

## **5- The Myriad Implications of “Equality of Conditions” for the Nature of the Social Bond**

We now turn to the “second *Democracy*” Tocqueville wrote as he was launching his political career by representing his Norman district in the French Chamber. By then Tocqueville had taken his distance from America and aimed at a more formal treatment of the differences between aristocratic and democratic societies. The second *Democracy* has since become the volume most often referred to in debates on democracy whether at home, in reinvented civil societies in the former Soviet Union, or wherever fissures in authoritarian regimes exist, in China and elsewhere.

Volume two opens with civil society and ponders the meaning of equality for such key topics as the place of religion in a democracy and the practice of science, literature, and the arts (we read *Democracy*, II:1).

*Francis Lieber, a German immigrant who became an important political philosopher, befriended Tocqueville and Beaumont in Boston. He translated their report on the American penitentiary system—an important statement on reform and rehabilitation in a democracy.*

## **6- Self-Interest Properly Understood**

This section (*Democracy*, II:2, & II:3) encapsulates the essence of Tocqueville’s understanding of democracy with passages on individualism, equality, associations, and self-interest properly understood. We review Tocqueville’s profound reflections on the influence of equality on the development of individual character. We will also consider Tocqueville’s analysis of the place of women in American society, at once admiring, critical, and bewildered.

*Beaumont's novel Marie; or, Slavery in the United States: A Novel of Jacksonian America (1835) captured the drama surrounding the forbidden love of a French traveler for an American woman who is marked forever by the stigma of her distant black ancestry.*

## **7- A Modern Society of Free Choice and Social Mobility**

This last part (*Democracy*, II:3-cont. & II:4) is a critical restatement of Tocqueville's essential idea that liberty requires constant effort on the part of citizens. Tocqueville ended his great work on a positive and hopeful note in favor of democracy against any of the alternatives observing that "equality is less lofty, perhaps," than inequality, "but more just, and its justice is the source of its grandeur and beauty."

*Participants take the lead in a discussion of Tocqueville and his British friends, John Stuart Mill and Nassau Senior. This is important because in volume two of Democracy in America, Tocqueville included England as the "tertium quid" in contrasting his ideal types of aristocratic and democratic societies. Tocqueville at his most theoretical in the 1840 volume did not attract a large readership at the time but John Stuart Mill loved every line and accurately predicted a bright future for the work in the annals of politics and letters.*

### **There remain two formal meeting times.**

Participants will decide how best to utilize these two meetings. We want to give them an opportunity to revisit some topics more thoroughly, to propose new ones, and to devote time to common critiques of research in progress, or a combination of the above. The two seminar directors will submit to the group the topics mentioned below, and we will reach a consensus on how best to utilize the last two meetings.

We offer two suggestions that will take the conversation beyond the frame of *Democracy in America* while being consistent with its main message. The first is to explore Tocqueville's belief that democracy is incompatible with socialism. Tocqueville reached this conviction as a politician through the events leading to the 1848 revolution in France and then serving on the constitutional committee of the French Second Republic. His *Recollections* of the period are in this respect a significant extension of his reflections on democracy in America. Indeed, Tocqueville's point has found a very large echo in the United States to this day but only in the United States. In all other advanced societies, socialism and democracy are understood to be at least in part overlapping projects.

The other suggestion is to compare Tocqueville's insistence that *equality* is the fundamental fact about American democracy, from which all other facts derive, with Thomas Piketty's recent book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, which argues that American society has become increasingly *unequal*. Since Goldhammer is the translator of Piketty's book as well as of *Democracy in America*, he is well-placed to consider the extent to which Piketty's findings might modify Tocqueville's anticipation of America's future. Such a discussion would also provide an opportunity to consider Tocqueville's theoretical judgments in relation to the subsequent evolution of American democracy, along with specific policy choices in regard to education, taxation, inheritance, and social security.

Additional topics for further inquiry we will suggest range from history to theory. They include *Tocqueville's formative influences; further investigations of Tocqueville's travels to America; a more in-depth discussion of Tocqueville's and Beaumont's survey*

*of American Penitentiaries; Tocqueville's comparative method; Tocqueville's ideas on social policy; Tocqueville's rejection of racism; Tocqueville compared to other giants of social thought.*

### **The Seminar Directors**

In addition to their main independent work respectively on American history and on translations, **Olivier Zunz** and **Arthur Goldhammer** have closely collaborated on Tocqueville projects for the last 14 years. Olivier Zunz has edited and Arthur Goldhammer has translated Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (Library of America, 2004, Library of America Paperback Classics, 2012), and *Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont in America: Their Friendship and Their Travels* (University of Virginia Press, 2010). They are currently preparing a new edition of Tocqueville's *Recollections* of the 1848 revolution augmented by related texts (University of Virginia Press, forthcoming). Each of us has authored a number of essays on Tocqueville's work. Moreover, Olivier Zunz has edited (with Alan Kahan) *The Tocqueville Reader* (Blackwell, 2002), and Arthur Goldhammer has translated Tocqueville's second masterpiece, *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

### **Selection of Participants**

The selection of a dynamic group of scholars across several fields of the humanities and social science and at different stages in their career is critical to insure the in-depth analysis we want to undertake. In addition to the impressive publicity effort the NEH conducts, we will advertise the seminar in several journals with a targeted audience such as *The Tocqueville Review*, *French Historical Studies*, *French Politics, Culture, and Society*, *Republics of Letters*, *American Political Thought* and also on such internet lists

as H-France, H-SHEAR, H-OIEAHC, H-Ideas, The Junto. We expect most applications perhaps to come from historians and political scientists but will probably be pleasantly surprised by the diversity of submissions. We hope to find in the mix some applications from scholars who teach techniques of translation and literature, as we are editor and translator of texts as well as historians. We also welcome the opportunity the NEH makes possible of attracting two advanced graduate students working on their dissertation.

We are planning on a three member selection committee. Professor Sophie Rosenfeld (Department of History, University of Virginia), a noted intellectual and cultural historian of the Enlightenment and revolutionary modes of thought, has agreed to join the two directors in choosing participants.

### **Institutional Context**

The seminar will take place in the last two weeks of July 2016 at the University of Virginia, where Olivier Zunz has been on the faculty since 1978. The University has hosted several such seminars and is totally committed to their success.

The directors and the administrative assistant will work closely with a web designer at the University to insure that we have a fully functioning and attractive website that can receive applications and then be used as the source of all sorts of linkages to bibliographies, texts available on line, as well as all relevant practical information for the seminar. The directors have much experience with web-based applications, Olivier Zunz with his regular teaching of large American history undergraduate courses as well as small graduate and undergraduate seminars, and Arthur Goldhammer with his widely read blog on French politics.

Seminar participants will have full access to all University facilities—the internet system, all libraries, athletic facilities (for a modest fee), and dining halls. University housing will offer centrally located, air conditioned suites for \$41 a night per person (\$31 a night per person if double occupancy). Participants in previous summer seminars and institutes have found these accommodations more than satisfactory. Moreover Olivier Zunz and his administrative assistant will locate alternative off-campus housing for participants who may have needs not covered by the University or prefer to live in town. We will maintain an active correspondence with the selected participants to facilitate their trip to Charlottesville and make their stay productive and pleasant at the same time, including of course opening and closing dinners at the director’s home and other social activities. Charlottesville and its environs offer many possibilities for leisure as well as enrichment, from the beautiful trails of the Blue Ridge to the presidential homes of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe, as well as an always active and occasionally succulent restaurant scene.

## Appendices: Bibliography, Curriculum Vitae

### Appendix A. Bibliography

The list below comprises books all seminar participants will have immediate access to.

-Each participant will receive six weeks prior to the beginning of the seminar a copy of Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), trans. Arthur Goldhammer, ed. Olivier Zunz (The Library of America Paperback Classics), 2 volumes: ISBN: 978-1-59853-151-0; ISBN: 978-1-59853-152-7. Olivier Zunz has introduced each volume and provided a substantial back-of-the-book chronology on the life and times of Alexis de Tocqueville (A Kindle edition of the hardcover edition, not including the editor's introductions is also available).

Our exact schedule of readings during the seminar is as follows:

- 1- Volume I, introduction and part 1, chapters 1-5, pp. 3-110.
- 2- Volume I, part 1 (cont.), chapters 6-8, and part 2, chapters 1-3, pp. 111-214.
- 3- Volume I, part 2, chapters 4-9, pp. 215-364.
- 4- Volume I, part 2, chapter 10, pp. 365-476.
- 5- Volume II, part 1, pp. 3-102
- 6- Volume II, part 2, & part 3, chapters 1-12, pp. 105-176, 179-232
- 7- Volume II, part 3, chapters 13-26, & part 4, chapters 1-8, pp. 233-358.

#### A brief note on translations of *Democracy in America*:

Henry Reeve, a British lawyer and Tocqueville friend, was the first translator. His text remained for decades the standard edition in the English language, revised twice, in the late nineteenth century by Francis Bowen and again in the early twentieth century by Phillips Bradley. George Lawrence eventually provided a translation in an English friendly to readers of the 1960s but alas missed many subtleties. Respected political philosophers Harvey Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, intent on restoring Tocqueville's formulations, voluntarily stuck more closely to Tocqueville's French grammatical constructions in a translation they published with the University of Chicago Press in 2000. The Goldhammer translation the Library of America issued in 2004, and we use in this seminar, is an attempt to combine accuracy with stylistic elegance in such a way as to allow the modern reader to achieve a close intimacy with the text.

-All participants will also receive a copy, upon arrival in Charlottesville, of Olivier Zunz, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans. *Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont in America: Their Friendship and Their Travels* (University of Virginia Press, 2010), 698p. ISBN-978-0-8139-3062-6. This book contains Tocqueville's detailed travel notebooks that have survived to this day, so that we can follow him and companion Beaumont step by step for the duration of the American journey. Included is a near complete record of the letters Tocqueville and Beaumont sent home from America, as well as some of the data they compiled for the investigation of American prisons the French government had officially charged the two travelers with. Arthur Goldhammer has translated all these

texts, and Olivier Zunz has assembled them in this volume. Also included are black and white and color high-quality reproductions of all of Beaumont's known American sketches and water colors. Consulting this volume regularly greatly enhances the reading of *Democracy in America*, hence our budgetary request to provide copies to seminar members.

We will put on reserve at the University library

Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America*, bilingual edition edited by Eduardo Nolla, translated by James T. Schleifer: this edition of Tocqueville's text augmented by the author's draft manuscripts and marginalia adds an important perspective on the making of the famous book; 4 volumes. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2010; English text searchable on line at <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2284>

Beaumont, Gustave de, and Alexis de Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and its Application in France*, trans. Francis Lieber. New York, 1833; reprint: Augustus M. Kelly Publishers, 1970.

Beaumont, Gustave de, *Marie; or, Slavery in the United States*, trans. Barbara Chapman, with a new introduction by Gerard Ferguson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Beaumont published *Marie* in 1835; this is an abridged translation.

Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Writings on Empire and Slavery*. Edited and translated by Jennifer Pitts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001

Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings*. Edited and translated by Aurelian Craiutu and Jeremy Jennings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

And the following secondary sources in English that readers of *Democracy in America* routinely consult:

Boesche, Roger. *The Strange Liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Brogan, Hugh. *Alexis de Tocqueville: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Damrosch, Leo. *Tocqueville's Discovery of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2010.

Drescher, Seymour. *Tocqueville and England*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Drescher, Seymour. *Tocqueville and Democracy*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1968.

- Eisenstadt, Abraham S., ed. *Reconsidering Tocqueville's Democracy in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
- Elster, Jon. *Alexis de Tocqueville: The First Social Scientist*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Goldstein, Doris S. *Trial of Faith: Religion and Politics in Tocqueville's Thought*. New York: Elsevier, 1975.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Kelly, George Armstrong. *The Humane Comedy: Constant, Tocqueville, and French Liberalism*. With a foreword by Stephen R. Graubard. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Jardin, André. *Tocqueville: A Biography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Jaume, Lucien. *Tocqueville: The Aristocratic Sources of Liberty*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Kahan, Alan S. *Aristocratic Liberalism: The Social and Political Thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville*, with a new afterword by the author. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2001.
- Lamberti, Jean-Claude. *Tocqueville and the Two Democracies*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
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- Locke, Jill and Eileen Hunt Botting, eds. *Feminist Interpretations of Alexis de Tocqueville*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.
- Manent, Pierre. *Tocqueville and the Nature of Democracy*. Trans. John Waggoner. With a foreword by Harvey C. Mansfield. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996.
- Mansfield, Harvey C. *Tocqueville: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Mélonio, Françoise. *Tocqueville and the French*, trans. Beth G. Raps. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
- Meyers, Marvin. *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief*. Stanford: Stanford

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- Mitchell, Joshua. *The Fragility of Freedom: Tocqueville on Religion, Democracy, and the American Future*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Pierson, George Wilson. *Tocqueville in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996 (first issued as *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, 1938).
- Ryan, Alan. *On Tocqueville: Democracy and America*. New York: Liveright, 2014.
- Schleifer, James T. *The Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America*. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2000.
- Siedentop, Larry. *Tocqueville*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Swedberg, Richard. *Tocqueville's Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Welch, Cheryl. *De Tocqueville*. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Welch, Cheryl, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Tocqueville*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [also on electronic library].
- Wolin, Sheldon. *Tocqueville between Two Worlds: The Making of a Political and Theoretical Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Participants may wish to consult a bilingual website on Tocqueville's life and times:  
<http://www.tocqueville.culture.fr/fr/>
- Available on the seminar website, participants will find a selection of important essays on Tocqueville such as other introductions to *Democracy in America*. Among them:
- Furet, François. "The conceptual System of *Democracy in America*," reprinted in *In the Workshop of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Mansfield, Harvey and Delba Winthrop, "Editors' Introduction." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

The directors will prepare specialized bibliographies of books and articles targeted to each topic listed in the proposal. They will also help participants identify primary and secondary sources for their own work.