

TOCQUEVILLE

Democracy in America

VOLUME I: Intro

- Striking fact: equality of conditions in America
 - Direction to public spirit, turn to laws, new maxims to governing, new turn to governed
 - Creates opinions, gives birth to sentiments, suggests usages, modifies everything it doesn't produce
- Advancing democratic revolution behind it
 - Expansion of power from nobles to clergy, etc.
 - Democracy arises, put in relief by "natural greatness of man"
 - Events of last 700 years have profited democracy
- "blind development of equality of conditions ... a providential fact" (6)¹
 - Produced a "sort of religious terror" in the author
 - "To wish to stop democracy ... would be to struggle with God himself" (7)
- "A new political science is needed for a world altogether new"
 - T's objective: didactic, instructing democracy and improving it
 - Democratic revolution has taken place in material of society without the necessary changes in laws, ideas, habits, and mores
 - Ranks now confused, but it's possible to have a good democracy – less brilliance and strength, but more prosperity
 - Now: disorder – destroyed aristocracy, opinions free from taste, action from beliefs – "laws of moral analogy" abolished
 - Yet – T trusts in God's justice
 - Question of how it will peacefully develop
 - "In America I saw more than America..." – saw character of democracy itself
- Organization of the work:
 - Part I – direction of democracy – course on government, power over affairs, goods and ills produced
 - Part II – influence that equality of conditions and government by democracy in A exert on civil society, habits, ideas, mores

VOLUME I: Part I

1. External configuration of NA

- a. Balanced, magnificent dwelling of MI valley
- b. Idiom a product of new configurations
- c. Indians – ignorant and poor yet equal and free

¹ All footnotes refer to: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. Mansfield, trans. Chicago, 1998.

2. **On the Point of Departure and its Importance for the Future of the Anglos**
 - a. “Man a whole in his swaddling clothes” – importance of moeurs
 - b. See development in America – point of departure explains everything [*seed*] – language, struggles and faction, townships, purity of mores
 - i. No idea of superiority
 - ii. Territory cut up into small estates
 - c. All from beginning seemed destined for bourgeois and democratic freedom
 - i. some division remains
 1. VA – influenced most by slavery
 2. NE – idealistic and enlightened; “air of antiquity and biblical perfume”
 - d. Puritanism – almost as much a political theory as a doctrine, yet retains principle of freedom
 - e. “Password” to great social enigma of US – in *early laws* (moral)
 - i. “township organized before the county, the county before the state, the state before the union” (40)
 - ii. Prescriptions relative to public education from the beginning
 - iii. Two things combine: *spirit of religion* and *spirit of freedom* – each advanced in accord and lent support to each other
 - f. Singularities of Laws and Customs of Anglo-Americans
 - i. Differences in Puritans – poor make law, reserve privileges of society for selves
 - ii. some old colors of aristocracy show through
3. **Social State of the Anglo-Americans**
 - a. Cause of most of the laws, customs, and ideas that regulate the conduct of nations
 - b. *Salient point* – essentially democratic; little aristocratic vestiges in great men of AR
 - c. *Estate law* – made equality take the final step, law of equal partition
 - i. Goods change masters, but also nature with constant subdivision
 - ii. Not only fortunes but intelligences equalize – “so few ignorant and so few learned”
 - d. Political consequences of social state
 - i. No middle between sovereignty of all and absolute power of one alone
 - ii. “manly and legitimate passion of equality” (52)
4. **On the principle of the sovereignty of the people***
 - a. “Foundation of almost all human institutions” (53)
 - i. Recognized by mores, proclaimed by laws, spreads with freedom
 - ii. AR – dogma of sovereignty of people came out of townships and took hold of government, becoming the “law of laws”
 - b. Contagion effect
 - i. “The people reign over the American political world as does God over the universe. They are the cause and the end of all things;

everything comes out of them and everything is absorbed into them” (55).

- 5. Necessity of Studying what takes place in the particular states before speaking of the government of the union**
- a. Two governments separated and almost independence
 - i. Habitual and undefined – responds to daily needs
 - ii. Exception and circumscribed – applies only to general interest
 - b. Great political principles born in the states, especially the *township*
 - i. “In nature”
 - 1. everywhere men are gathered, a township forms
 - 2. composed of coarser elements that often resist legislation
 - 3. primary schools of freedom: “make them taste its peaceful employ and habituate them to making use of it”
 - ii. Township in NE
 - 1. 2000-3000 inhabitants; people source of power and master
 - 2. each individual forms equal portion of sovereign
 - 3. *spirit* -- independence and power
 - a. sustains them and brings them to life
 - b. people drawn to it because it has force
 - 4. “home of lively affections” but also “strongly attracts the ambitious passions”
 - 5. township scatters power in order to interest more people
 - a. love of one’s country becomes a kind of worship in public things
 - b. becomes a political education
 - c. County (*arrodissement*)
 - i. Created for administrative interest
 - ii. “no political existence”
 - d. Administration in NE
 - i. Partitioning of authority – less irresistible and dangerous, but not destroyed either
 - ii. AR – began with “mature and reflective taste of freedom”; advanced with “love of order and legality” (67)
 - iii. Dispersal
 - 1. “power exists, but one does not know where to find its representative” (68)
 - 2. “Thus nowhere does there exist a center at which the spokes of administrative power converge” (69)
 - iv. Justice of peace part of this
 - v. All returns to *popular sovereignty* – elections (73)
 - 1. appeals to practical interest above all
 - 2. rely on personal interests for execution
 - e. General ideas about administration in the US
 - i. Townships – “the hearth around which the interests and affections of men come to gather” (76)

- ii. All rests on same idea: “each is best judge of whatever relates only to himself, and is in the best position to provide for his particular needs” (77)
- iii. Salient characteristic: “to be enormously decentralized”
- f. On the state
 - i. Legislative
 - 1. division of legislature a truth today
 - 2. senators establish core of political skill, exercising “useful influence”
 - ii. executive
 - 1. enforced by popular sovereignty
 - 2. importance of power of opinion
 - iii. Political effects of Administrative decentralization (82)
 - 1. Central government – good
 - a. Some weakness of action, but good for US
 - 2. Central administration – bad
 - a. Perhaps too much
 - b. Yet in America: “the collective force of citizens will always be more powerful to produce social well being than the authority of government” (86)
 - c. In contrast, centralization “excels in preventing, not doing”
 - 3. In A., little details may be neglected, but there is no country in the world where “men make as many efforts to create social well-being” (87)
 - 4. Political advantages men derive make it preferable – great good of provincial freedom

6. On Judicial Power

7. On Political Judgment

8. On the Federal Constitution

- a. Advantages of federal system (149)
- b. “Political passions, instead of spreading in an instant over the whole area of the country like a sheet of flames, break against the individual interest and passions of the state” (154)

VOLUME I: PART II

- 1. **How one can say strictly that in the US the people govern***
 - a. Not only are institutions democratic in principle, but also in all their development
 - b. US – majority governs in name of the people
- 2. **On Parties in the US**
 - a. “An evil inherent in free governments”
 - b. Great and small
 - i. great ones are those attached to principles (167)
 - ii. small parties generally without political faith
 - iii. (A. has had great parties, but no longer

- c. Federalists and republicans
 - i. Restricting power v. lovers of freedom
 - ii. Both parties rest on material interests
 - iii. Aristocratic and democratic passions found at foundations
- d. Remains of the aristocrat party
 - i. Secret opposition of rich to democracy
 - ii. Weapons of parties: newspapers and associations
- 3. **On Freedom of the Press in the US***
 - a. Power over political opinions and opinions of men, modifies not only men but mores
 - b. T. loves freedom of press not for goods but evils it prevents
 - c. *Sovereignty of the people and freedom of press* must go together (174)
 - i. Axiom of political science: sole means of neutralizing the effects of newspapers to multiply their number (176)
 - ii. Maintains public tranquility – flocculation of opinions
 - d. (Inequality at some level remains only indisputable opinion)
- 4. **On Political Association in the US***
 - a. Take advantage most of *association* – powerful modes of action and applied to diverse objects
 - i. Purposeful
 - ii. Various masters of action
 - iii. Electoral colleges
 - b. Weakens “moral empire” of majority (185)
- 5. **On the government of democracy in America**
 - a. “Ground that is afire” – democracy given over to own inclinations (187)
 - b. Universal suffrage
 - c. Causes to correct institutive of democracy – mores (191)
 - d. Influence on electoral laws – inconstant and mobile
 - e. Public officials – government as necessary evil; no place for ambition in politics
 - f. Arbitrariness of magistrates
 - g. Administrative instability – requires civilized and learned societies
 - h. Public costs – inclined toward economy
 - i. Corruption of governors – can spread immortality easily
 - j. Capabilities of democracy
 - i. Better at peace
 - ii. Calculating, but lacks enlightenment and experience
 - k. Power over self – difficult to defeat and silence of needs of democracy; see in external conduct as well
- 6. **Real Advantages that American society derives from the government of democracy***
 - a. Have repairable mistakes
 - b. Serves well-being of greatest number
 - c. *Public spiritedness*
 - i. Love of native country without reason
 - ii. “irritable patriotism” (227)

- d. Rights
 - i. Idea of virtue introduced into the political world
 - ii. No great men without virtue; no great people without rights
 - iii. “art of being free” (229)
- e. Respect for love
- f. Activity
 - i. Not loftiness of the human spirit, generous view of the world (234)
 - ii. Rather – procuring the most well-being
- 7. **On the Omnipotence of the Majority***
 - a. Moral empire – immense power in fact and opinion (237)
 - i. Can be unstable, inconstant
 - b. Tyranny of the Majority (239)
 - i. Freedom in peril when there’s no restraint
 - ii. Separation of powers vital
 - iii. Power of majority in thought
 - 1. material and moral force (243)
 - 2. distressing effects on national character
 - c. *Greatest danger when there is omnipotence of the majority (248)
- 8. **On What Tempers the Tyranny of the Majority in the US***
 - a. Spirit of the *lawyer* – counterweight in democracy
 - i. Habits of order, taste for forms, opposed to revolutionary spirit
 - ii. Privileged class among persons of intelligence
 - iii. “tastes and habits of aristocracy” at bottom of souls (252)
 - iv. *Stare decicisis*
 - v. Political questions become judicial question
 - b. Jury (258)
 - i. Judicial and political institutions
 - 1. preserves republican character
 - 2. man who judges criminal made master of society
 - ii. Teaches respect for justice, idea of equity, responsibility, ... (262)
 - iii. “One ought to consider it a school.”
- 9. **Principal Causes Tending to Maintain a Democratic Republic in the US***
 - a. Accidental and providential causes: point of departure, lack of neighbors, geography
 - b. Laws: federal form, moderating despotism with townships, judiciary’s correction of democracy’s excess (274)
 - c. Mores – religion as political institution (275)
 - i. Indirect influence – more powerful still (278)
 - ii. Religion’s power – natural sentiment finds fertile ground (284-5)
 - iii. Enlightenment, habits, experience (288)
 - 1. Americans as anti-theoretical, neither learned nor ignorant
 - 2. emerges principally how experience, especially of own country
 - 3. sum is A. education directed to politics
 - d. Laws serve to maintain the most (292)
 - i. “democratic institutions prosper only in the US” (293)

- ii. Could subsist elsewhere when mixed with habits and opinions (297)
- iii. Re: Europe (299)

10. Considerations on the Present State and Probable Future of the Three Races* (302)

- a. Indian tribes (307)
- b. Positions of black race (326)
 - i. Slavery penetrates to the soul of the master (333)
 - ii. In abolishing principle of servitude, A's don't set slaves free (335)
- c. What are the chances the union will last? (348)
 - i. National causes
 - 1. interests, habits, and sentiments tend to concentrate in states, not unions
 - 2. yet union remains useful
 - a. strength for external affairs
 - b. benefits to internal commerce
 - 3. general accord in principles point to continued unity
 - a. but climate and slavery have separated North and South (359)
 - b. In South – domestic dictatorship, “loves greatness, luxury, glory, noise, pleasure, idleness...”
 - c. Slavery attacks A. in its mores (361)
 - ii. Greatest peril: becoming more numerous and the concomitant displacement
 - 1. all states can't grow and prosper to same degree (364)
 - 2. could separate N and S further (367-7)
 - 3. prosperity thus a danger
 - a. weakens federal bond
 - b. bond already been weakening (e.g. Bank crisis, doctrine of nullification)
- d. Changes of Republican Institutions' Longevity
 - i. Republic – “the natural state of the Americans” while union remains an accident
 - ii. “republic”
 - 1. “regular state founded on enlightened will of people”
 - 2. people profess morality, religion, moderation
 - iii. nature of country founded on communal and provincial freedom
 - 1. “the sum of the institutions is therefore essentially republican” (381)
 - 2. sovereignty of the people – “the last link in a chain of opinions”
 - iv. Progress of democracy remains a threat
 - 1. but T doubts that sphere of rights will be restricted
 - 2. contrary to the nature and secret instincts of the human heart
- e. Causes of commercial greatness

- i. Heroism in manner of doing commerce (387)
- ii. Innovation
 - 1. intellectual advantages and practical superiority
 - 2. enlightenment beings with Americans
- f. Conclusion
 - i. “Entire future of the English race in the NW” (391)
 - ii. Not possibly to stop the surge
 - iii. Future: Russians v. Anglo-Americans (395)

VOLUME II: PART I – Influence of Democracy on Intellectual Movement in the US

- 1. On the Philosophic Method of the Americans*** (403)
 - a. No country in the world where they are less occupied with philosophy than the US
 - b. “principals of Descartes least studied and best followed”
 - i. Supreme belief in reason
 - ii. No superstition
 - iii. All unveiled
 - c. Developed in Europe, beginning with Bacon (404) (Luther, Descartes, Voltaire...)
 - i. “Men no longer bound except by interest, not by ideas; and one could say that human opinion form no more than a sort of intellectual dust that is blown around on all sides and cannot gather or settle” (406)
- 2. On the Principal Source of Beliefs Among Democratic Peoples***
 - a. Always more or less dogmatic – society also requires some “principle ideas”
 - i. Opinion a “salutary servitude”
 - ii. Permits good use of freedom
 - b. Different for those who live in times of equality – diminished penchant to believe others
 - i. Public has singular power – imposes beliefs
 - ii. Majority furnishes opinions, esp. religious
- 3. Why Americans are more apt for general ideas than the English**
 - a. General ideas attends to insufficient of human mind – incompleteness
 - b. Increased penchant for general ideas comes with Enlightenment
 - c. Men have much curiosity and little leisure
 - d. Full of ambition and at once lively and soft
- 4. What Americans are not so passionate for general ideas of government**
- 5. How in the US religion knows to make use of democratic institutions**
 - a. Men can’t do without dogmatic beliefs – especially in religion
 - b. “inspires instincts contrary to purely materially produced one (419)
 - i. Lack of politics in Gospels recommends them
 - ii. Gives necessary forms
- 6. Catholicism**
- 7. Pantheism**

8. **How Equality Suggests to the Americans the Idea of the Indefinite Perfectibility of Man*** (426)
 - a. Images of ideal and always fugitive perfection omnipresent
9. **How the example of America does not prove that a democratic people are inept at the arts, literature, and sciences**
 - a. America has special circumstances
 - i. Puritanism
 - ii. Cupidity creates by vast resources
 - b. Taste for pleasure of the mind natural, and will come (429)
 - c. A. is uniquely commercial – unlikely to show aptness
10. **Why the Americans Apply Themselves to the Practice of the Sciences Rather than to the Theory** (433)
 - a. Freer and surer but less lofty style – equality develops in man desire to judge everything by himself
 - b. A. lacks meditation to develop – timeliness of an idea is most important (relation to material pursuits)
 - c. Something *dangerous* with loss of theory (e.g. China)
11. **In What Spirit the Americans Cultivate the Arts**
 - a. Cultivate arts in a different way
 - i. Artisan class born – to produce art
 - ii. Quantity and cheapness valued most – make imperfect hinges very rapidly (441)
 - iii. “No longer able to aim at the great, they seek the elegant and pretty; they strive less for reality than appearance” (442)
12. **Why the Americans at the same time raise such little and such great monuments**
 - a. Aim at gigantic to contrast with cramped lives
 - b. Prodigious undertakings characteristic of Americans
13. **The Literary Face of Democratic Centuries**
 - a. Great quantity of those interest in things of the mind, but little greatness
 - b. Democracies don’t have a literature, properly speaking
 - i. Prefer amusement to being carried away
 - ii. Want to be interested, not moved
 - iii. (“natural shoals for literature in aristocracies”)
 - c. Democracy: “Habituated to an existence that is practical, contested, and monotonous, they need lively and rapid emotions, sudden clarity, brilliant truth or errors that instantly pull them from themselves and introduce them suddenly, almost violently, into the midst of the subject”
 - d. Literature is always subordinate to its social state and its political constitution
14. **On the Literary Industry**
15. **Why the study of Greek and Latin Literature is Practical and Useful**
16. **How American Democracy has modified the English language** (452)
 - a. Spoken language – many create
 - b. Dangerous –
 - i. all words mix together

- ii. rules of style destroyed
- iii. love of general ideas results in abstraction (e.g. “equality” in Tocqueville)

17. Sources of Poetry

- a. Never as lively and widespread in democracy as in aristocracy
 - i. In democracy, imagination aims at useful and real
 - ii. Equality diminishes objects to depict
- b. Poets will tend to depict passions and ideas rather than people (462)

18. Why American Writers and Orators are often Bombastic

- a. “Relentlessly pompous from one end of the speech to the other (463)
- b. General and vague ideas – intervening space empty

19. Theater of Democratic Peoples

- a. Way to judge in advance the life of a people
- b. Marked by “devotion to spectacle”

20. Tendencies particular to historians in democratic cultures

- a. Attribute almost no influence to individuals over destiny of species or to citizens over fate of people
- b. General facts do explain more in democratic centuries
- c. But dangerous: decreases importance of human will and action (471)

21. On Parliamentary Eloquence

- a. Democratic citizens tolerate direction with impatience
- b. Deputies nothing but positions

VOLUME II: PART II – Influence of Democracy on the Sentiments of the Americans

1. Why Democratic Peoples Show more ardent and More Lasting Love for Equality than Freedom*

- a. First and foremost – *love of equality*
 - i. Most complete
 - ii. Established in civil society through continual reign in political world
- b. “Particular and dominating fact that makes those centuries unique is equality of conditions the principal passions that agitates men in those times is love of this equality” (480) – *the “mother idea”*
- c. Men attracted because they believe it will last forever
- d. Advantages of equality felt immediately
- e. Equality furnishes “a multitude of little enjoyments to men”

2. On Individualism in Democratic Countries*

- a. “A recent expression from a few idea” (482)
- b. “a reflective and peaceable sentiment” disposes men to isolate selves
 - i. Creates a little society for himself
 - ii. Of *democratic* origin where bond of affection extended and loosened – can devolve into selfishness

3. How Individualism is Greater at the end of the democratic period than at any other time*

- a. Democratic revolution disposes men to flee from each other – perpetuate on the heart of equality the hatreds to which inequality gave birth
 - b. But A hasn't suffered a democratic revolution – born free
- 4. How the Americans combat Individualism with free institutions***
- a. Vice of selfishness agrees most with despotism – dangerous
 - b. But *free institutions* have solved this
 - i. Charging citizens with small affairs interest them in the public good, but leaving great affairs to government prevents despotism (482)
 - ii. Rights and institution recall each citizen constantly that he lives in society
 - iii. *to combat evils that equality produces: political freedom
- 5. On the Use that the Americans Make of Association in Civic Life***
- a. “Americans of all ages, all conditions, all ends constantly unite” (489)
 - i. Necessary relation between associations and equality
 - ii. Peoples independent and weak – must unite in order to act
 - b. good for people: “sentiments and ideas renew themselves, the heart is enlarged, and the human mind is developed” (491)
 - c. associations take place of power particular persons
 - d. *must develop and be perfected in proportion to equality of conditions for man to remain civilized (492)
- 6. On the Relation Between Associations and Newspapers**
- a. Newspapers more necessary as men are more equal and individualism more feared
 - b. Way of making sense of the crowd
 - c. *necessary relation between newspapers and associations – make each other (494)
 - d. Empire of newspapers should grow as men become equal
- 7. Relations between civil associations and political associations***
- a. Natural and necessary relation between types
 - b. In civil life man can imagine he's self-sufficient; in politics he cannot imagine it
 - c. Politics generalizes taste for and habits of association
 - d. Political associations act as “great schools, free of charge, where all citizens come to learn the general theory of associations” (497)
 - e. (freedom of association not as dangerous to public tranquility as supposed)
- 8. How the Americans Combat Individualism by the Doctrine of Self Interest Well Understood***
- a. Virtue no longer called beautiful, but Americans prove its *usefulness*
 - i. Men follow their interest, but prove it's honest
 - ii. “enlightened love of themselves brings them to aid one another”
 - b. “not very lofty, but clear and sure” (502)
 - i. Makes citizens not virtuous but moderate
 - ii. “Enlighten them, at any price”
- 9. How the Americans Apply the Doctrine of Self Interest Well Understood in Religion**

- a. Zealous Christians constantly forget themselves
- b. SIWU actually makes men *more* religious
- 10. On the Taste for Material Well-being in America***
- 11. On the Particular Effects that the Love of Material Enjoyments Produces in Democratic Centuries* (508)**
- 12. Why Certain Americans Display Such an Exalted Spiritualism**
 - a. Concentration on material goods alone drives men to madness
 - b. Hence turn to spiritual
- 13. Why the Americans Show Themselves so Restive in the Midst of their well-being***
 - a. In the happiest condition in the world, yet a cloud covers their features
 - i. Constantly dream of goods they don't have
 - ii. Taste for material enjoyments thus first cause of restlessness
 - b. Equality leads men there
 - i. "When everything is nearly on a level, the least of them wound [the eye]."
 - ii. Thus: "singular melancholy" and "disgust for life"
- 14. How the Taste for Material Enjoyments Among Americans is united with Love of Freedom and with Care for Public affairs***
 - a. Bond and relation between *freedom* and *industry*
 - i. Freedom useful for wealth's production
 - ii. Despotism wealth's enemy
- 15. How religious beliefs at times turn the souls of Americans toward immaterial enjoyments**
 - a. At times, Americans "steal away from selves" – enter ideal world
 - b. Need to spread this in democracy, lest the democratic citizen lose the instinct toward the *sublime* (519)
 - c. Governments should act as if they believe
- 16. How excessive love of well-being can harm well-being**
- 17. How in times of equality and doubt it is important to move back the object of human actions**
 - a. can't renounce everything that might take long effort
 - b. make democracy *patient*
- 18. Why among the Americans all honest crafts are reputed honorable***
 - a. Work glorious when ambition or virtue makes one undertake it
 - b. Professions never too high nor too low
- 19. Why almost all the Americans incline toward industrial professions**
 - a. Taste for material enjoyments brings men to work
 - b. Very temperament of peoples leads to industry
- 20. How aristocracy could issue from industry***
 - a. worker becomes weaker, more limited and dependent as division of labor proceeds -- lowers works, elevates masters
 - b. different kind of aristocracy – without common spirit or objectives

VOLUME II: PART III – Influence of Democracy on Mores Properly So-Called

- 1. How mores become milder as conditions are equalized***

- a. With ranks almost equal, easy for men to judge sensations of the other in the moment – imagination facilitated
 - b. Thus Americans not less accessible to pity
 - i. Except with slaves – proves the rule
- 2. How democracy renders the habitual relations of the Americans simpler and easier**
- a. Ex. of England – classes still introduce conflict
 - b. America – privileges of birth have never existed
- 3. Why the Americans have so little oversensitivity in their country and show themselves to be oversensitive in ours**
- a. With ranks effaced, almost impossible to agree on manners
 - b. Americans thus don't see selves as bound
 - c. Also leave country with pride – “vast idea of their native country” (543)
- 4. Consequences of 1-3 (544)**
- a. Americans moved by natural pity
 - b. Equality of Conditions makes men feel independent but also shows their weakens
 - c. Free but exposed to a thousand accidents
 - d. “rare that a man shows himself devoted, but all are serviceable (545)
- 5. How democracy modifies the relations of servant and master* (changes spirit)**
- a. No more perpetuity in command than obedience
 - b. Obedience and right of command hinge only on temporary and free accord of two wills
 - c. (N/A in South)
- 6. How democratic institutions and mores tend to raise the price and shorten the duration of leases**
- 7. Influence of democracy on wages**
- 8. Influence of democracy on the family***
- a. distance between parents and children abolished
 - b. “the family ... does not exist” (558)
 - i. Equality established around domestic hearth
 - ii. No need for intermediaries of power in democracy
 - c. “Democracy loosens social bonds, but it tightens natural bonds”
- 9. Education of girls in the US (religion armed with reason)**
- 10. How the girl is found beneath the features of the wife**
- 11. How the equality of conditions contributes to maintaining good mores in America***
- a. without barriers between men and women, you cannot hide – you must act well
 - b. “what renders fidelity more obligatory renders it easier” (569)
 - c. “tumultuous and constantly vexed life” – takes away leisure for love
 - i. Social travail if equality thus bad for morality
- 12. How the Americans Understand the Equality of Man and Woman***
- a. Women – “greatness in submitting” (575)
 - b. Yet also full confidence in the mate's reason – not seen as seductive and incomplete

- c. Americans show esteem for role of each
- 13. How equality naturally divides the Americans into a multitude of particular little societies***
 - a. Americans establish, along political society, “small private societies in which the conditions, habits, and mores will be the same”
 - b. Seems natural, but also reason to fear fragmentation – arbitrary and artificial classifications
- 14. Some reflections on American Manners (578)**
 - a. **Manners result from “arbitrary convention” – little grandeur in petty private lives of democracy**
 - b. **Adornment of virtue lost (581)**
- 15. On the gravity of the Americans and why it doesn’t prevent them from doing ill-considered things**
- 16. why the national vanity of the Americans is more restive and more quarrelsome than that of the English**
- 17. How the aspect of society in the US is at once agitate and monotonous**
 - a. Men have many passions, but most end in love of wealth or issue from it (587)
 - b. Only money creates visible differences in democracy
 - c. Love of wealth creates “a tiresome picture”
 - i. Variety disappears
 - ii. Same manner of acting, thinking, feeling everywhere
- 18. On honor in the US and in democratic societies***
 - a. Origins of honor – class-based
 - b. Honor different for Americans, beginning with commerce
 - i. Condemns most morale that either distract from pursuit of well being or trouble family order
 - ii. Courage of merchant praised
 - c. One can never agree in advance about what makes honor (597)
 - i. Where public opinion has no hold – honor matters much less
 - ii. Equality of conditions makes honor much less important
- 19. Why one finds so many ambitious men in the US and so few great ambitions***
 - a. Cause: social state and democratic mores
 - i. Ambitious enlarged by revolution, then diminished
 - ii. Once conditions equal, loses greatness – leveling (600)
 - b. Man who raises himself by degrees contracts himself – small soul becomes incapable of great ambition
 - c. Great ambitious breath uneasily in atmosphere of ambition
 - i. In democracy, success loved more than glory
 - ii. Audacity of desires dangerous
- 20. On the industry in place-hunting in certain democratic nations**
 - a. Universal and immoderate desire for public office a very bad thing
 - b. Not the case in US ?
- 21. Why great revolutions will become rarer***
 - a. Inequality always the cause – now becoming extinct
 - b. Attachment to property makes men fear war

- c. Commercial mores opposed to revolutionary ones
 - d. Democrats “love change, but dread revolutions” (610)
 - i. If A. ever experiences a revolution, it will be brought about by the presence of the blacks (611)
 - e. Stationary society
 - i. Mobility of human actions combines with fixity of human principles
 - ii. Movement further engrains the way of doing things
 - f. Less susceptible to “great and powerful public emotions that trouble peoples, but develop and renew them”
 - i. Human race will stop and limit self...
- 22. Why democratic peoples naturally desire peace and democratic armies war**
- a. Increased civilization – fewer warlike tendencies
 - b. But ambitious men in democratic army desire chance for distinction
 - i. Dangers – military revolutions always to be dreaded
 - ii. “a great army in the heart of a democratic people [is] always a great peril” (620)
- 23. Which is the most warlike and the most revolutionary class in democratic armies**
- a. Non-commissioned officers dangerous
 - b. “desperate ambitious cannot fail to ignite”
- 24. What makes democratic armies weaker than other armies**
- 25. On discipline in democratic armies**
- 26. Considerations on war in democratic societies**

VOLUME II: PART IV – On the Influence that Democratic Ideas and Sentiments Exert on Political Society

- 1. Equality naturally gives men the taste for free institutions***
 - a. Idea and love of political freedom born of equality
 - b. Equality produces:
 - i. Tendency to independence
 - ii. Tendency to servitude
- 2. That the Ideas of democratic peoples in the matter of government are naturally favorable to the concentration of power***
 - a. Idea of uniform legislation appeals to them
 - b. Responsible for bizarre ideas of utopia
- 3. That the sentiments of democratic peoples are in accord with their ideas in bringing them to concentrate power**
 - a. Predisposition to recognize power and help it
 - b. Private life leaves little time for public life – love of material tranquility pushes them farther
 - c. Hatred of privilege further fuels concentration of power
 - d. Thus: centralization the natural progression; individual independence and local liberties products only of art
- 4. On some particular and accidental causes that serve to bring a democratic people to centralize power or turn away from it**

- a. Centralization develops depending on way equality was founded (647)
- b. Destiny of Americans singular (648)
- c. Most likely accident – ascendancy of sovereign
- 5. That among European nations of our day sovereign power increases although sovereign are less stable**
 - a. In Europe, everything seems to increase prerogative of central power
- 6. What kind of despotism democratic nations have to fear***
 - a. If it came, despotism would be more extensive and milder, degrading without torture
 - b. Produces life and equal men, trouble of thinking and pain of living taken away from them
 - c. Nation reduced to herd of timid animals (663)
 - d. Begun by slow and incremental subjection
- 7. Continuation***
 - a. Despotism particularly to be dreaded in democratic age
 - b. Possible countering forces:
 - i. Associations
 - ii. Freedom of press
 - c. Democracies unfortunately tend to forget
 - i. Forms
 - ii. Rights
 - d. “Political world is changing, hence one must find new remedies for new ills” (672)
 - e. “Let us therefore have that salutary fear of the future” (673)
- 8. General View***
 - a. New society is only being born – world arising still half-entangled in debris of the old one
 - b. Spectacle on universal uniformity saddens and chills...