This learning packet is divided into two parts with eleven chapters. Part 1 provides background information retracing Alexis de Tocqueville's 1831-32 tour of North America which led to the publication of "Democracy in America." Part 2 contains a short description of the seven primary themes emphasized by de Tocqueville with issues more fully explored in the teaching modules at the end of each chapter. Chapter titles include: (1) "Studying America: The Itinerary for Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont"; (2) "Alexis de Tocqueville: A Timeline Biography (1805-1859)"; (3) "Gustave de Beaumont: A Timeline Biography (1802-1866)"; (4) "Brief Biographies of Some Tocqueville Interviewees"; (5) "The Journey and North American Geography"; (6) "Social and Cultural Issues in American Democracy"; (7) "Political Issues in American Democracy"; (8) "Media and the Press in American Democracy"; (9) "Associations in American Democracy"; (10) "Race and Gender in American Democracy"; and (11) "Research Methodology/Teaching Methodology." An accompanying booklet contains the "1996-97 Equipment-For-Education Grant Winning Entries." The teacher-authors' winning lesson plans were chosen based on the ease in translating the substantive ideas of the lessons to text. The lessons include: (1) "To Be A President: The Children's View"; (2) "Election Day"; (3) "The Balancing Act"; (4) "Think Tank C-SPAN"; (5) "Body Language in Politics"; (6) "Presidential Inaugural Addresses: Sounding the Alarm and Leading the Charge"; and (7) "Immigrants: Do They Really Hurt The United States?" The lessons feature goals, objectives, classroom activities, classroom discussion questions, results, background, and out of class assignments. (EH)
THE
ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE TOUR

EXPLORING DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

DR. STEPHEN FRANTZICH, EDITOR

DR. JOHN SPLAINE, HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
HOW TO USE THE
TOCQUEVILLE IN THE CLASSROOM:
EDUCATORS’ RESOURCE

CHAPTERS 1-4
- provide background information helpful for teaching Tocqueville in the classroom
- contain timelines and brief biographies of Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont
- can be photocopied for distribution to students and are copyright-cleared for classroom use

CHAPTERS 5-11
- provide a synopses of the seven primary themes emphasized in Tocqueville’s Democracy in America
- contain a short description of the highlighted theme and issues that can be more fully explored using the teaching modules listed at the end of each chapter

www.c-span.org

THE TOCQUEVILLE TEACHING MODULES ARE:
- created by teachers and professors
- listed thematically at the end of each corresponding chapter
- located on the C-SPAN in the Classroom page and the Alexis de Tocqueville page of the C-SPAN web site at www.c-span.org

These modules include lesson plan ideas and suggested classroom activities. The more than two dozen modules offer detailed suggestions on how to incorporate C-SPAN’s Tocqueville programming into classroom instruction.

In addition to the modules, the Tocqueville page on the C-SPAN web site at www.c-span.org/alexis/ contains a variety of background information on Tocqueville including:
- selected passages and quotes from Democracy in America
- photos, and links to sites containing other relevant Tocqueville information
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From May 1997 through February 1998, C-SPAN will follow Alexis de Tocqueville's 1831-32 tour of North America which led to the publication of his classic work, *Democracy in America*. The C-SPAN School Bus will retrace Tocqueville's route as C-SPAN's cameras chronicle the young Frenchman's stops. Video vignettes will acquaint viewers with early 19th century American history; longer programs will explore historical ties between the U.S. and France. And at key points during this nine-month venture, C-SPAN will delve into some of the larger issues Tocqueville raised about American society — religious freedom, the role of the press, racial equality, the foundations of democracy, and more.

Tocqueville's keen observations of a young American society transcended his time. For more than 160 years, politicians, journalists, historians, and sociologists have turned to the pages of *Democracy in America* for a bedrock understanding of the unique nature of the American democratic experiment. As we move toward the new millennium, Tocqueville's work provides an important reference for a discussion of the issues facing America in the 21st century.

**DEVELOPING OUR TEACHING MATERIALS**

During the development of the Tocqueville project, the possibilities for classroom applications seemed limitless. To provide high school, college, and university educators with support materials to accompany C-SPAN programming, the network invited twenty-five professors interested in Tocqueville to participate in a workshop for developing our teaching modules. Over two days in August 1996, these professors received extensive background information on Tocqueville, discussed potential uses for C-SPAN's Tocqueville programming, and in the ensuing weeks, designed creative applications for college classroom integration.

In addition to these professors, the 1996 C-SPAN High School Teacher Fellow, Kevin Sacerdote of Jacksonville, Florida, worked on various C-SPAN educator support materials over the summer, devoting a large portion of his time to the Tocqueville project. He embraced the possibilities of the programming for use in the high school classroom and provided numerous suggestions which were added to the professors' teaching modules.

The resulting *Tocqueville in the Classroom: An Educators' Resource* is divided into two parts. The first part provides background information helpful for teaching Tocqueville. For this segment, Dr. John Splaine, an education professor from the University of Maryland and former history teacher, compiled biographical timetables of Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, an itinerary of their tour in America, and short biographical sketches of numerous U.S. citizens who talked with the two Frenchmen. The lives they led, the places they saw, and the people they met in America serve as useful information for understanding the origin of Tocqueville's perceptions of the country.

The second part of this guide lists the teaching modules created by the Advanced Workshop participants and a synopsis of each. Listings are organized according to the seven themes emphasized by Tocqueville in his work *Democracy in America*. Each theme is elaborated upon by Dr. Stephen Frantzich, chair of the Political Science Department at the U.S. Naval Academy and the moderator of the Advanced Workshop, and Kevin Sacerdote. They raise issues regarding each theme which can be pursued more fully within the modules. The modules are available online at www.c-span.org/alexis/ and www.c-span.org/cinc.html

C-SPAN would like to thank all the people who made important contributions to this publication. Dr. Splaine, as with most of his C-SPAN undertakings, provided enthusiasm for the project and contributed critical background information for the Advanced Workshop, the programming department, and this publication. Dr. Frantzich effectively led the Advanced Workshop and spent a significant amount of time editing and organizing the teaching modules. As our 1996 High School Fellow, Mr. Sacerdote contributed substantial portions to this publication. Dr. Edna Medford and Dr. Jack Pitney, as presenters at the Advanced Workshop, were outstanding in imparting information and setting the tone for the creation of these teaching modules.
The following background information provides useful insight that will help educators fully benefit from *Tocqueville in the Classroom: An Educators’ Resource*.

- The itinerary for Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont’s journey across America from May 9, 1831 to February 20, 1832
- A biographical timeline of Alexis de Tocqueville’s life (1805 - 1859)
- A biographical timeline of Gustave de Beaumont’s life (1802 - 1866)
- Brief biographies of some of Tocqueville’s interviewees


Andre Jardin’s *Tocqueville: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988) was crucial in developing the chapter “Alexis de Tocqueville: A Timeline Biography (1805-1859).” Consequently, the resulting timeline is based largely on Jardin’s study as well as supplementary sources. Most editions of *Democracy in America* also include biographical information about the author.

The chapter “Gustave de Beaumont: A Timeline Biography (1802-1866)” is based on the existing biographical sketches and the American edition of Gustave de Beaumont’s novel, *Marie*, also entitled *Slavery in the United States*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1958) which contains introductory biographical material on the author. Also useful in understanding Tocqueville’s friend, colleague, and traveling companion is Beaumont and Tocqueville’s *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and its Application to France* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), which was their report to the French government validating the official purpose for the trip.

The final chapter in this section identifies the backgrounds of some of the individuals Tocqueville interviewed while in the United States and Canada. The range of interviews illustrates how Tocqueville’s purpose expanded in theoretical concept and intellectual breadth as the trip grew in geographical distance and personal adventure.
A drawing of Newport, Rhode Island by Beaumont.
The "Havre" was forced to land in Newport on May 9, 1831.
Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont traveled to America in 1831 to study the penitentiary system in the United States. They discovered much more. In addition to their study of America, they embarked on an adventure testing them mentally and physically against the vagaries of a new nation. They encountered heat, cold, humidity, mosquitoes, and black bears acting as “watch dogs” as they crisscrossed state and national borders.

They almost drowned when their steamboat hit a reef on the Ohio River. Tocqueville was so ill that their travels were delayed as Beaumont nursed him back to health in a Tennessee log cabin converted into an inn. They covered 7,384 miles of North American territory, not counting their many side trips. Their American travels came after their 3,356-mile trip across the Atlantic to reach America, and in 1832, they set sail again retracing those miles in order to return to their beloved France.

After returning to France, Tocqueville wrote Democracy in America and Beaumont the novel Marie. Knowing where the two Frenchmen traveled will help readers understand their writings. The itinerary of their “American Odyssey” and some themes discussed at selected sites follow.

April 2, 1831 — Tocqueville and Beaumont left Le Havre, France, on board the American-built ship the “Havre.” The 126-foot sailing ship equipped with three masts was two years old and could hold provisions for up to 190 people including the crew. During the trip, the “Havre” sailed against the wind delaying its scheduled arrival and forcing it to make a brief stop in Newport, Rhode Island.

May 9 — In Newport, the travelers walked on American shores for the first time as they headed for an 8:30 dinner at a local inn. After spending 37 days sailing across the Atlantic Ocean, they spent one additional night aboard the “Havre.”

May 10 — Tocqueville and Beaumont explored Newport in the morning and then boarded their first steamboat from Providence, Rhode Island, heading for New York City. The “President” navigated the Long Island Sound down to Manhattan Island. By 1831, many were using steam to travel. One traveler recorded in his journal that steamboats “so greatly increased as of late years ... [that they] may almost now be considered a mode of life.”

May 11 — After an 18-hour journey, the passengers stepped onto a wharf at Courtland Street on the south side of Manhattan. Tocqueville and Beaumont then moved into a boardinghouse at 66 Broadway, just down from Trinity Church.

May 12 — New York’s Mercantile Advertiser announced their arrival: “We understand
that two magistrates, Messrs. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville {sic}, have arrived in the ship 'Havre,' sent here by order of the Minister of the Interior, to examine the various prisons in our country, and make a report on their return to France ... In our country, we have no doubt that every facility will be extended to the gentlemen who have arrived."

In New York, Tocqueville and Beaumont discussed the nature of Americans, and the new nation’s characteristics and demographic composition.

**MAY 29** — After resting, visiting, and socializing in New York City for over two weeks, the French prison commissioners were ready to study Sing Sing prison. While in the city, they had also conducted interviews, collected materials, and organized their notes in preparation for their work. Aboard a steamboat heading up the Hudson River, they disembarked at the prison located in Ossining just north of Tarrytown on the Hudson River.

**JUNE 7** — They spent the previous seven days studying the prison built in 1828 and examining the “Auburn” system where thirty guards watched over the 900 inmates as they worked in silence. The guards used physical punishment to enforce the rules.

They returned to New York City via a steamboat traveling down the Hudson River.

**JUNE 30** — After more interviews and socializing in New York, Tocqueville and Beaumont took a sloop 15 miles up the Hudson River to Yonkers arriving in about two and a half hours.

**JULY 1** — They took a steamboat to Peekskill, New York, where they disembarked waiting for a boat to take them to Albany. They then boarded the steamboat “North America” headed for Albany arriving on July 2. They had wanted to see West Point but their boat was in a race with another craft for bragging rights on the New York to Albany line. The “North America” won the race as crowds along the Hudson cheered the victor. Travelers wanting the fastest passage boarded crafts that won the races, so in addition to the crowd’s resounding approval, the winning steamer gained more than its share of $2 fares.

**JULY 3** — Tocqueville and Beaumont attended a Shaker religious meeting in Niskayuna, New York, about 12 miles north of Albany.

**JULY 4** — The French aristocrats were invited to participate in an Independence Day parade. As honored guests, they marched toward the front of the parade.

Beaumont, in a letter to his brother, Jules, described Albany’s transportation links: “The Hudson gives it the easiest means of communication with New York, which is the intermediary between it and Europe; and there is a canal which joins the waters of the Hudson with those of Lake Erie and which by this means makes Albany the market of all the peoples of that part of the west. These communications are soon to be rendered even
more easy by a road in iron which is being built at this moment and which will go from Albany to Schenectady.”

The themes they talked about in Albany included the federal system of the U.S., state government (or lack thereof), and how the national state, and local governments interacted.

**JULY 4-5** — Instead of using the Erie Canal, which had been completed in 1825, Tocqueville and Beaumont took stagecoaches heading west along the Mohawk Trail in order to easily stop and explore along the way. After traveling overnight, they stopped in Utica.

**JULY 6** — They took a stagecoach to Syracuse, and on their way, encountered Indians for the first time at Oneida Castle.

In Syracuse, they met with a retired prison administrator, Elam Lynds.

**JULY 7** — They left Syracuse in a carriage later riding on horseback to Oneida Lake where they stayed at Stevens Blockhouse near Fort Brewerton.

**JULY 8** — They explored Frenchman’s Island near Dunham’s Isle in Oneida Lake.

**JULY 9** — The Frenchmen then rode horses to Auburn to study the 16-year-old prison there.

While staying in Auburn, they rode horseback for about two miles to meet Enos T. Throop, the governor of New York, at his modest wooden farmhouse. Because his public service salary was so low, Throop had to work six months a year to support his home and family.

Thirty-year-old New York senator William H. Seward also lived in Auburn at the time, and Harriet Tubman’s “underground railroad” eventually operated through the town.

**JULY 16** — Tocqueville and Beaumont rode horses to Canandaigua where they stayed at John Canfield Spencer’s home, the first private home they lodged at on their journey. On July 17, Tocqueville and Beaumont visited the Ontario County’s almshouse.

**JULY 18** — They left Canandaigua using steamboats whenever they could, and boarding stages for the rest of the trip to Buffalo where they arrived July 19. A large number of Indians were gathered there to “receive payments for land which they had ceded to the U.S.,” as George W. Pierson described.

**JULY 19** — They boarded a small steamer, the “Ohio,” for the 300-mile trip across Lake Erie to Detroit. Due to frequent heavy rain, the trip took three days.

**JULY 21** — The “Ohio” stopped briefly at Cleveland before turning northwest for Detroit. While ashore, Tocqueville and Beaumont walked the streets of this new community.

**JULY 22** — They landed in Detroit and soon mounted horses heading for Pontiac, the Flint River, and other sites along the Michigan frontier; a frontier that was moving westward at about 17 miles per year.

**JULY 23** — Arrival in Pontiac.

**JULY 24** — After spending the evening, they left Pontiac for Saginaw.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Government: Federal Republic
strong democratic tradition

Executive Branch: President
Serves as both Chief of State and
Head of Government. Elected for
four-year term; maximum two-term
limit.

Current president: William Jefferson
Clinton; elected first term, Nov. 3,
1992; elected second term, Nov. 5,
1996.

Cabinet: appointed by President with
Senate approval.

Legislative Branch: Bicameral Congress
Senate:
2 per state (100 total), elected for
6-year term.

House of Representatives:
(435 total) based on population of
State. Elected for 2 year term.

Judicial Branch: Supreme Court

JULY 25 — Tocqueville and Beaumont proceeded toward Saginaw where they would find wilderness and the frontier’s edge. They crossed the Flint River in an Indian pirogue and, after a long journey that exhausted them and their guides, they arrived at the village of about 30 people consisting of English, French, Indian, and individuals of mixed backgrounds.

JULY 28 — After leaving Saginaw and returning across the Flint River, Tocqueville and Beaumont rode horseback on their way back to Pontiac, occasionally dismounting on rough trails and walking through the thicket. They arrived in Detroit on July 30-31.

AUGUST 1 — While in Detroit, they visited the nearby Michigan territory’s prison. Changing their plans, Tocqueville and Beaumont turned around heading once again for the northwest as they boarded the ten-year-old touring steamboat, the “Superior.” The vessel was taking one of the first sight-seeing cruises to Sault Sainte Marie so passengers could view Lake Superior. The planned tour then took the passengers to the frontier village of Green Bay in the Wisconsin territory.

AUGUST 2 — They sailed on Lake Saint Clair and up the Saint Clair River to Lake Huron and on to Fort Gratiot located near Sault Sainte Marie, which opened the way to Lake Superior. The weather was poor and they remained anchored at Fort Gratiot for two days, leaving on August 4th.

AUGUST 5 — They arrived at Sault Sainte Marie late at night and spent the evening on the boat.

AUGUST 6 — After staying in Sault Sainte Marie and riding the St. Mary’s River rapids in a birchbark canoe, they left for Lake Superior in an Indian canoe. They traveled to the southeast corner of Lake Superior.

AUGUST 7 — They landed in Michilimackinac, leaving that night for Green Bay.

AUGUST 9 — Via Lake Michigan, Tocqueville and Beaumont landed in Green Bay in the morning.

AUGUST 10-17 — They left Green Bay on the “Superior” passing through Michilimackinac, Mackinac, Detroit, and crossing Lake Erie to Buffalo.

AUGUST 17-19 — Once in Buffalo, they leased a carriage to visit Niagara Falls, where they explored for a couple of days.

AUGUST 20 — Tocqueville and Beaumont boarded a steamboat, the recently built “Great Britain,” for the trip over Lake Ontario and up the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, Canada.

AUGUST 23 — They arrived in Montreal. Although there is no record of the landmarks they visited in the island city, Tocqueville and Beaumont must have spent time in the markets at Place Jacques-Cartier and visited the recently built Notre-Dame Basilica, the largest church in North America.

AUGUST 24 — They left Montreal embarking on a 20-hour trip aboard the steamboat “John Molson,” cruising along the St. Lawrence River to Quebec City.
AUGUST 25 — Tocqueville and Beaumont disembarked on Quebec City's busy wharves in its commerce-filled lower town. They spent the next couple of days sightseeing, visiting the Huron village of Lorette and the falls where the Montmorency River and the St. Lawrence meet.

AUGUST 29 — In order to talk with French-speaking villagers, Tocqueville and Beaumont went to Beauport, a small village about five miles outside of Quebec City.

AUGUST 31 — From Quebec City, they took the steamboat “Richelieu” down the St. Lawrence River back to Montreal.

SEPTEMBER 2 — On the same day they arrived in Montreal, they boarded the steamer “Voyageur” for La Prairie where they took a carriage to Saint Jean. They then sailed along Lake Champlain aboard the steamer “Phoenix.”

SEPTEMBER 4-5 — They returned to the United States for one night in Whitehall, New York, before traveling by carriage to Albany.

SEPTEMBER 7 — They left Albany and stopped in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where Tocqueville met 20-year-old Theodore Sedgwick III, who would help him when the latter was stationed in France. They missed meeting Catherine Maria Sedgwick, a well-known American novelist. They left Stockbridge heading to Boston.

SEPTEMBER 9 — They arrived in Boston staying at the Marlboro Hotel on Washington Street before moving to the more comfortable and fully serviced Tremont House hotel, the first luxury accommodations in the United States (with eight waterclosets and eight bathtubs). The hotel was built in 1829. At the opening dinner Congressman Edward Everett described “this noble house ... for the accommodation of travellers, a class of men, who, I think, fill an important place in society.”

In Boston they met with former President John Quincy Adams, Historian Jared Sparks, Harvard University President Josiah Quincy, Jr., and the already famed orator, Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who in 1830 had debated South Carolina Senator Robert Y. Hayne.

While in Boston, Tocqueville and Beaumont studied nearby Charlestown's prison during several visits. And once again, the Frenchmen marched in a patriotic parade on September 12. The parade ended at Faneuil Hall with speeches advocating Polish independence.

Among the themes discussed during their long stay in Boston were the “Union,” past and present; the state of American education; and the many traditions upon which New England's self-government was based.

OCTOBER 3 — The Frenchmen left Boston for Hartford by stagecoach. In Hartford, they discussed American justice with officials and spent much of their time studying the prison at Wethersfield and the Connecticut system of justice.

**France**

**Government:** Republic

**fifth republic**

**Executive Branch:**

President: Chief of State, promulgates laws, head of armed forces, right to pardon. Elected for seven-year term.

Current president: Jacques Chirac; elected May 7, 1995.

Prime Minister: Chief of Government, appointed by president, determines policy, submits government bills and executes them. Current Prime Minister: Alain Juppe

Cabinet: Council of Ministers, appointed by President on suggestion of Prime Minister.

**Legislative Branch:** Bicameral Parliament

Senate: (321 members), elected for 9-year term, by indirect suffrage.

National Assembly: (577 members), elected for 5-year term, by direct suffrage.

**Judicial Branch:** Constitutional Court
In the 1830s, about 500 stagecoaches left Boston each week. They traveled eight to ten miles an hour and could reach New York City in a day and a half at a cost of about $10. A shorter trip to Providence was $2.50 and to Hartford, Connecticut, about $6 to $7.

**October 8** — Aboard a steamboat traveling from Hartford down the Connecticut River through Long Island Sound to the East River, they reached their New York boardinghouse late that night.

**October 11-12** — They took another steamship down the Atlantic coast before taking a stagecoach overnight to Philadelphia.


While in Pennsylvania, the prison commissioners studied the prison system which emphasized solitary confinement and Bible study. Tocqueville made eight visits to the Eastern State Penitentiary in nearby Cherry Hill.

In addition to studying prison reform, as they had when they toured Sing Sing, Auburn, Charlestown, and Hartford, the Frenchmen continued their observations of associations in the U.S. as well as gaining insight on the potential “tyranny of the majority.”

**October 28-November 6** — Tocqueville and Beaumont most likely used a combination of steamship and stagecoach to reach Baltimore. They interviewed individuals for over a week including 94-year-old Charles Carroll, the oldest living signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In Maryland, they again discussed American education, both public and private, race and slavery, and freedom of the press and the power of public opinion. They also furthered their understanding of the “tyranny of the majority.”

**November 7** — They returned to Philadelphia to prepare for their trip to the southwest. Among their interviews, Tocqueville and Beaumont talked with Nicholas Biddle, the president of the Bank of the United States, and Joel R. Poinsett, former United States Ambassador to Mexico.

**November 22** — Tocqueville and Beaumont took a stagecoach for the 72-hour journey over the Allegheny Mountains to Pittsburgh on their way to the Ohio Valley and the American southwest.

**November 25** — They left Pittsburgh for the trip down the Ohio River to Cincinnati aboard the steamboat “Fourth of July.”

**November 26** — Just up river from Wheeling, the “Fourth of July” hit the Burlington Reef stranding Tocqueville, Beaumont, and the other passengers. In the 1830s, about one-third of the steamboats had accidents.

**November 27** — After spending the night on the snowy banks of the Ohio River, the steamship “William Parsons” picked them up.

**December 1** — The travelers arrived in Cincinnati where they conferred with 23-year-old Salmon P. Chase, United States Supreme Court Justice John McLean, and the 28-year-old Harvard-educated lawyer Timothy Walker.
Chapter 1  Studying America: The Itinerary for Tocqueville and Beaumont

Primarily, Tocqueville and Beaumont discussed the American judicial system, possible democratic excesses, and the differences between northern and southern states.

**December 4-11** — After their stay in Cincinnati, they boarded a steamboat for New Orleans and stopped at Westport, Kentucky, due to ice on the Ohio River. The wayfarers walked 25 miles to Louisville, Kentucky, and took a stagecoach traveling two days to Nashville, Tennessee. As the unusually cold weather continued, Tocqueville and Beaumont then boarded a one-horse, open coach heading southwest to Memphis to take a steamship to New Orleans.

**December 12** — Their carriage broke down and the Frenchmen stayed at the Sandy Bridge Inn in Carroll County between Nashville and Memphis. At the inn, Tocqueville became very ill and stayed until he recovered. The inn, a converted log house, was owned by a slave-holding couple, Mr. and Mrs. Harris.

**December 15** — Although not fully recovered, Tocqueville was well enough to travel. He and his friend took an evening stagecoach to Memphis arriving the morning of the seventeenth.

**December 17-December 25** — Tocqueville and Beaumont stayed in Memphis for a week because they could not secure passage down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. For the first time in anyone's memory, the Mississippi River was blocked by ice in both directions.

Among the themes discussed in this small frontier town and in Tennessee were slavery, Indians and their treatment, the effects of a vast frontier on the political system, and the differences between free and slave states.

**December 25** — The ice on the Mississippi had melted enough for steamboats to move in both directions. Tocqueville, Beaumont, and other passengers eager to go south convinced the captain of the steamboat "Louisville" to change his planned northern route and take them to New Orleans. In Memphis, 50 to 60 Choctaw Indians and their United States military guards boarded the "Louisville" headed for the Arkansas territory. This made a turn south profitable for the captain because of the federally financed removal of Indians from Mississippi to a reservation across the river. Traveling for different reasons, the motley entourage left Memphis early on Christmas Day.

**December 26** — The captain dropped the Choctaws off at the mouth of the White River. During this stop, former Tennessee Governor Sam Houston, headed toward Washington, DC, boarded the steamer. Before becoming governor, Houston had been a congressman representing Tennessee. Since 1829, Houston had lived among the Cherokee Indians.

The steamboat then hit a sandbar in the middle of the river and the passengers had to stay on board until the boat floated off the sandbar.

### United States and France

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DECEMBER 29 — Finally released from the sandbar, the steamer transported its passengers down the Mississippi River to New Orleans.

JANUARY 1, 1832 — Tocqueville and Beaumont landed in New Orleans New Year's Day. Because they were running behind schedule, they planned to stay for only 24 hours. However, there was so much to see and do, they remained in New Orleans for almost three days.

They discussed the French and American connections, race and slavery in the U.S., the American jury system, and the kinds of people elected in democratic societies.

JANUARY 3 — Departing for Mobile, Alabama, Tocqueville and Beaumont boarded a steamboat. Because of various mishaps including broken coaches and washed-out bridges, they then took a series of stagecoaches to travel more than 1,000 miles from New Orleans to Norfolk, Virginia. Nevertheless, they still managed over 80 miles a day.

JANUARY 15 — After traveling through parts of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, they finally reached Norfolk. Tocqueville and Beaumont had hoped to stop in Charleston, South Carolina, to further study southern traditions and mores, but because their approved leave from the French government was about to lapse, they were running out of time.

JANUARY 16 — Tocqueville and Beaumont boarded a steamboat carrying them up the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River to Washington, DC, arriving on the seventeenth.

JANUARY 17-FEBRUARY 3 — The French aristocrats met with President Andrew Jackson on January 19. While in Washington, they again talked with Massachusetts Congressman Edward Everett with whom they had dined in Boston. And, for the second time, they met with John Quincy Adams, who had just been elected congressman following his presidency prior to Jackson.

In Washington, DC, the Frenchmen talked about the U.S. presidency, the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the interrelationships of the various branches of the national government.

FEBRUARY 3 — From Washington, DC, Tocqueville and Beaumont took a stagecoach up through Maryland to Philadelphia.

FEBRUARY 5 — After saying their goodbyes in Philadelphia, they took a stagecoach through New Jersey to New York City arriving the next day.

FEBRUARY 20 — Tocqueville and Beaumont left New York for France aboard the same ship that brought them across the Atlantic to America, the “Havre.” After finally sailing ten days later than expected, the favorable west winds helped them make the return trip without further delay. They landed in France at the end of March 1832.
Chapter 1  Studying America: The Itinerary for Tocqueville and Beaumont

Tune in to C-SPAN's daily morning call-in program *The Washington Journal* as we take a current look at the communities Tocqueville visited.

The C-SPAN School Bus, our mobile production vehicle and classroom, will visit these towns on the following dates:

**1997**

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During his trip in 1831-32, the 25-year-old Alexis de Tocqueville visited 17 out of the 24 states including more than 50 cities and towns. In just over nine months in America, he tested his small, frail frame against the continent's rivers, mountains, and wilderness. Tocqueville's personal intensity matched his desire to hold nothing back in spite of the many dangers exploring the American frontier presented.

Tocqueville acquired his dedication to public service and his love of his French homeland from his father, who had remained physically strong although imprisoned at age 22 during the French Revolution. However, the Revolution's "Reign of Terror" had weakened his mother's health both physically and emotionally at the young age of 20. Her youngest son, Alexis, also lived his life in fragile health and his mother's frequent mood swings affected him in his youth.

Before meeting his future wife, Englishwoman Mary Mottley, Tocqueville maintained a five-year relationship with Rosalie Malye of Metz, France. But in 1835, the year before his mother died, it was Mary Mottley whom Tocqueville married. The marriage grew closer as it progressed, and the two overcame some turbulence when their French and English cultures and respective personalities clashed. As they matured together, their relationship strengthened through friendship and mutual understanding, although their marriage yielded no children.

Tocqueville's impatience with ignorance and incompetence rivaled his cordiality and sensitivity. He expressed the latter qualities with his friend, colleague, and traveling companion, Gustave de Beaumont. While together in America, the two colleagues tried to live the spartan lives of "good monks." Their relationship grew closer as the companions traversed the young nation. Together they faced death, bone-numbing cold, sickness, and the dangers of the untamed wilderness. As a testament to the strength of their friendship, Tocqueville asked his friend to come to his bedside one month before Tocqueville's death, in 1859, and Beaumont once again joined Tocqueville.

Based on their experiences and observations of America, Tocqueville wrote Democracy in America and Beaumont the novel Marie.

The following is a biographical timeline of Tocqueville's life.

1805 — Alexis de Tocqueville was born in Paris at 987 rue de la Ville- l' Eveque on July
The Tocqueville Chateau in Tocqueville, France
29, 1805 to Hervé Louis François Jean Bonaventure Clerel de Tocqueville (1772-1856) and Louise Marie Le Peletier Rosambo (1772-1836). The couple had three children: Hippolyte, Edouard, and Alexis, the youngest.

Tocqueville’s father descended from a Norman noble family. He served from 1814 to 1828 as a prefect throughout France in Amiens, Angers, Beauvais, Dijon, Metz, and Versailles. Tocqueville’s mother was the granddaughter of Lamoignon de Malessert, and the sister-in-law of François René Chateaubriand. Chateaubriand (1768-1848) was an author, diplomat, and soldier who opposed the French Revolution and its aftermath.

The parents of Tocqueville’s mother were guillotined during the French Revolution’s “Reign of Terror.” Tocqueville’s parents themselves just missed being guillotined in 1794 after having spent 10 months in prison. While in prison, his mother’s emotional and physical health deteriorated from which she never fully recovered. His father’s hair turned prematurely white as a result of the imprisonment.

1812 — Abbé Lesueur, a Catholic priest, tutored Tocqueville until he was ready for formal schooling. After leaving his home and parish in Picardy, the tutor taught Tocqueville’s father before teaching the sons.

1820-1821 — Beginning in April 1820, Tocqueville attended secondary classes at the royal college in Metz. He specialized in rhetoric, winning the Metz Lycee’s highest prize in the subject. He then specialized in philosophy in 1822. Tocqueville attended classes in Metz while his father served there as the prefect for the French government.

1823-1826 — Tocqueville studied law in Paris ending his formal studies in August 1826.

1826 — At 21 years of age, Tocqueville obtained his license to practice law.

During a December break from studying law, Tocqueville traveled to Naples, Rome, and Sicily with his brother Edouard. There, Tocqueville continued to develop his research methods and wrote Voyage en Sicile. The brothers returned to France in April of 1827. On June 14, his father was appointed prefect over the 30,000 inhabitants of Versailles.

1827 — After completing his legal studies, Tocqueville served in the court of law in Versailles as a judge auditeur. Tocqueville soon met another young aristocrat, Gustave de Beaumont.

1828 — In Versailles, Tocqueville also met the woman he would eventually marry, an Englishwoman named Mary Mottley, who was temporarily living in the town with her aunt, Mrs. Belam.

In January, Tocqueville and Beaumont moved into an apartment at 66 rue d’Anjou in Versailles. Beaumont was the deputy public prosecutor at the court of Versailles. The two friends lived there together until September 1829 when Beaumont was transferred to Paris.

1828-1830 — Tocqueville and Beaumont attended François Pierre Guillaume Guizot’s lectures on the history of civilization.

1830 — After the July Revolution, Tocqueville reluctantly pledged allegiance on August 16 to the “July Monarchy” and the constitutional monarch King Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans and the son of Philippe Egalite. Louis Philippe was interested in prison reform, making Tocqueville and Beaumont’s proposal welcome to the French government.

Because Tocqueville’s father had remained loyal to the Bourbon kings, he lost his peerage.
He retired, dividing his time between the countryside and Paris. Tocqueville’s mother died in 1836. Toward the end of his life, Tocqueville’s father secretly married Madame Guermarquer who had watched over one of his residences after his wife’s death.

In October, Tocqueville was nominated a judge suppliant (surrogate judge), but his appointment was never confirmed nor was he ever given a salary for the position. During this time Tocqueville began to think seriously about visiting the United States.

1831 — On February 6, after some persuasion, the French government granted Tocqueville and Beaumont an eighteen-month leave to study the prison system in the United States. The travelers had to pay their way in order to take advantage of the leave of absence. Before their leave expired, however, the Ministry of Justice reduced their total travel time to the United States to 12 months.

1831-1832 — Tocqueville traveled to the United States with Beaumont with the intent to study prison systems in the new country. They sailed on the ship “Havre” on April 2, 1831 from Le Havre, France, to Newport, Rhode Island on May 9, 1831, proceeding to New York for a May 11th arrival.

Abbé Lesueur, Tocqueville’s childhood tutor, died in 1831. When the news reached Tocqueville in Boston in September, he was distraught for several days illustrating the depth of his relationship with his teacher.

Tocqueville and Beaumont left New York on February 20, 1832 to return to France and arrived home in late March 1832.

1832 — On May 17, Tocqueville resigned as a judge suppliant upon learning that Beaumont had been dismissed the day before from his position as deputy public prosecutor.

1833 — In August, Tocqueville traveled to England for the first time.

In September, Tocqueville started writing Democracy in America on a full-time basis at his family’s Paris home.

1834 — On August 14, Tocqueville finished writing the first two volumes which constituted part one of Democracy in America.
1835 — On January 23, Gosselin published 500 copies of Tocqueville's first part of *Democracy in America*. Due to high demand, a second printing made more books available in June. And in October, John Stuart Mill wrote a highly favorable critique in the *London Review*, leading to a friendship between Mill and Tocqueville.

Tocqueville traveled again to England and to Ireland for the first time.

After a seven-year relationship, Tocqueville married Mary Mottley on October 26. Louis de Kergorlay, Tocqueville's cousin, and Beaumont were witnesses at the Church of Saint Thomas d'Aquin in Paris.

1836 — Tocqueville's mother died. After her property was divided, Tocqueville received "the lands of Tocqueville" and the family chateau.

The French Academy awarded Tocqueville the Montyon Prize for *Democracy in America*.

1837 — In November, Tocqueville lost his first attempt to be elected to France's Chamber of Deputies representing Valognes to Comte Polydor Le Marois in a close runoff. He might have won had he accepted the support of Count Mole, but he wanted to be elected on his own merit or not at all. The victor's supporters chanted, "No more noblemen," while partaking in libations provided by Le Marois in local Valognes taverns.

1838 — Tocqueville completed his first draft of *Democracy in America*’s second part.
1839 — On March 2, Tocqueville won his election against Le Marois, 318 to 240 votes, to represent Valognes in the Chamber of Deputies. His expertise in the Chamber emanated from his knowledge of penitentiaries and the institution of slavery. He gained some of this knowledge in the United States and through additional study. He remained in the French Assembly in a succession of offices until 1851.

Tocqueville wrote a report for the Chamber of Deputies in which he advocated the immediate elimination of slavery in the French colonies and other possessions. The Society for the Abolition of Slavery published his report in a circulating pamphlet.

1840 — On April 20, Tocqueville's second part (volumes three and four) of *Democracy in America* was published in both London and Paris.

In October, John Stuart Mill reviewed the second part of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* in the Edinburgh Review, again praising its prescient political philosophy.

1841 — The French Academy elected Tocqueville to membership on December 23.

1842 — Tocqueville was elected to the General Council of the Manche, and later elected president. On July 9, Tocqueville again defeated Le Marois; this time by a larger margin, 465 to 177 votes.

Tocqueville spoke to the Chamber of Deputies and criticized the French for their lack of participation in civic affairs. He also continued to speak out on the slave trade issue.

1843 — Tocqueville made a report to the Chamber of Deputies advocating prison reform in France.

1846 — On August 1, Tocqueville easily defeated Le Marois for re-election to the Chamber of Deputies.

1847 — Tocqueville urged the Chamber of Deputies to support the colonizing of Algeria.

1848 — In a speech on January 27, Tocqueville warned the Chamber of Deputies of an encroaching rebellion in France and criticized the restricted nature of the French political system. A depressed economy accompanied by increased unemployment during the previous year added to the political unrest. Many of the French working class participated in an unsuccessful three-day uprising in February that Tocqueville had predicted the month before.

On February 24, Louis Philippe abdicated, making way for France's Second Republic.

On May 15, Tocqueville helped to quell another working class uprising in Paris.

On December 10, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president, and he chose Odilon Barrot to lead his new cabinet.

1849 — On May 13, Tocqueville was elected to the newly created Legislative Assembly.

On June 2, Louis-Napoleon appointed Tocqueville as France's Minister of Foreign Affairs. While foreign minister, he managed revolutionary crises in the Rome, Russia, and Austria-Hungarian rebellions. Tocqueville served until October 30 before resigning along with other ministers.

1850 — While recovering from a serious pulmonary attack and tuberculosis, Tocqueville began writing his *Recollections* at the chateau de Tocqueville.

In July, Tocqueville was re-elected president of the departmental council of the Manche.
On November 1, Tocqueville and his wife left for Sorrento, Italy, in an attempt to further his recovery from illness.

1851 — On April 14, Tocqueville returned to Paris from Sorrento, and in July, Tocqueville finished his *Recollections*.

On December 2, Louis-Napoleon took control of the French government in a coup d’etat and ordered the arrest of several deputies, declared the assembly dissolved, and locked the assembly’s doors. Tocqueville opposed the coup and called for Napoleon’s impeachment for having violated the French Constitution. As a result, Tocqueville, Beaumont, and over 50 other representatives were arrested on December 3 and jailed in Vincennes for the night. Most were soon released.

On December 11, a critical article Tocqueville wrote about recent events in France appeared in the *London Times* and was signed “anonymous.”

1852 — In July, Tocqueville resigned from the Departmental Council of the Manche because of the required oath of allegiance to the Second Empire and its emperor, Louis-Napoleon.

1853 — In June, Tocqueville started to delve seriously into archival documents related to the old regime and the French Revolution in preparation for writing a book on the subject.

1855 — After spending some time with his father in Compiegne, Tocqueville returned to the chateau de Tocqueville to continue his research and writing.

1856 — On June 9, Tocqueville’s father died.


On June 25, Alexis and Madame de Tocqueville began spending most of their time at the chateau de Tocqueville.

1857 — On June 19, Tocqueville went to England during June and July to study documents at the British Museum in order to further his work on the second volume of *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, and, in October, Tocqueville began writing his sequel but was unable to make significant progress.

1858 — After traveling to Paris in April to study at the archives, Tocqueville returned in May to the chateau de Tocqueville as tuberculosis caused his health to deteriorate once again.

In October, Tocqueville’s physicians recommended that he go to Cannes to recuperate, and in November, Tocqueville hired someone to read to him so his intellect could continue to be exercised. His brother, Hippolyte, arrived the next month to be with him for three months.

1859 — Beaumont joined Tocqueville at his bedside in Cannes, staying with him for about three weeks before leaving on April 6. Tocqueville died in Cannes, France, on April 16, 1859. After a religious ceremony in Cannes, Tocqueville’s body was transported to Paris where it was placed in a crypt at the Eglise de la Madeleine. His body was buried on May 10 in a cemetery in the village of Tocqueville, just east of Cherbourg, in his beloved Normandy. Five years later, Madame de Tocqueville joined her husband of 24 years in the modest cemetery abutting the quiet village’s Roman Catholic church.
Gustave de Beaumont was 29 years old when he first set foot on American soil. He landed in the United States on May 9, 1831 with his colleague, Alexis de Tocqueville. He was taller and more solidly built than his 25-year-old traveling companion and friend who also descended from an aristocratic family.

Like his public-spirited father, Beaumont was affable and mild-tempered; and like his energetic mother, he was compassionate and sensitive. His family lived in the Sarthe District of France where his father served as mayor in a nearby town and his mother managed their chateau and estate.

Before the end of their trip to America, the friendship between the two Frenchmen strengthened as Beaumont watched over his traveling companion and nursed him back to health in a log cabin in Tennessee. Tocqueville returned the fraternal commitment by teaching his companion how to swim in order to survive any accidents while navigating America's rivers.

Early in their adventure, Beaumont certified that “Alexis is the best friend one could find on earth, and this friend being mine, I am happy to have him.” Shortly before Tocqueville died in April 1859, Beaumont rushed to his friend's bedside.

Four years after returning to France from the United States, Beaumont married a distant cousin, Clementine de Lafayette, the granddaughter of Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette who had helped the United States win its independence and had promoted republican reform efforts in France. Even before Beaumont came to the United States, he and the Marquis de Lafayette had differed on political matters in France. While in America, this resulted in Beaumont reluctantly raising his glass to the innumerable toasts Americans mustered for his revered countryman. Political disagreements aside, Beaumont married into the Lafayette family shortly after returning home.

Beaumont's trip to America resulted in the novel Marie, also entitled Slavery in the United States.

1802 — Gustave de Beaumont was born on February 6, 1802 to the Count Jules de Beaumont (1777-1851) and Rose Preau de La Baraudiere (1778-1848). The youngest son of the French aristocratic family residing in the Sarthe district, Beaumont grew up at the Beaumont La-Chartre. His father served as a mayor and his mother concentrated on managing their estate and teaching Latin to her children as well as Christian charity and a sense of duty to others.
Beaumont's Drawing of Eastern State Penitentiary, in Cherry Hill, Pennsylvania
1826 — On February 22, Beaumont was appointed deputy public prosecutor for Versailles.

1827 — Beaumont met Tocqueville in Versailles where both served as magistrates for the French government—Beaumont as a deputy public prosecutor and Tocqueville as a judge auditeur.

1828 — In January, Beaumont and Tocqueville moved into an apartment at 66 rue d’Anjou in Versailles.

Beaumont and Tocqueville attended Francois Pierre-Guillaume Guizot’s lectures on the history of civilization, modern history, and politics at the Sorbonne until 1830.

1829 — In September, Beaumont was sent to Paris to serve as a substitute prosecutor for the King’s bench.

1830 — Beaumont signed the oath of allegiance to the July Monarchy under the new king, Louis-Philippe. Beaumont’s older brothers refused to do so causing family tensions.

By October, Beaumont had decided to go to the United States with Tocqueville. King Louis Philippe’s interest in prison reform, also shared by others in the political class, made it a propitious time to ask for leave to study the issue. Interior Minister Montalivet granted the request requiring that Beaumont and Tocqueville pay their own way to America, just as the 19-year-old Lafayette (1757-1834) had before them in 1777.

1831 — Although the leave of absence was eventually granted, both Beaumont and Tocqueville had some difficulty gaining leave from their positions in order to travel to the United States. Furthermore, Beaumont’s brothers had strongly protested against the new government which made Beaumont’s leave more difficult to secure than Tocqueville’s.

1831-32 — Beaumont traveled with Tocqueville to the United States to study the American prison system. Their personal missions expanded as Beaumont studied racial issues and Tocqueville democratic institutions.

1832 — Upon returning to his position in Versailles, Beaumont was assigned a controversial case to prosecute by the French government. Baroness de Feucheres, who had connections to King Louis Philippe, had sued Louis de Rohan for slander. Beaumont refused the assignment and on May 16 the government dismissed him from his position. Tocqueville resigned from his government position shortly thereafter.


1835 — In the same year that Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* was published, Beaumont’s novel *Marie or Slavery in the United States* came out. The first fiction novel on the subject of slavery, it examined the depth of racism in the United States. In a sense, it was the quintessential case study of the “tyranny of the majority.” Beaumont, while attending a theatre in Philadelphia, saw how deeply rooted racism was in American society. The novel traced the relationship of a Frenchman and his American wife, who had a trace of “Negro blood.” The story contained descriptions of race riots in northern cities and how whites kept even free blacks from exercising their limited franchise, attending school, and going to church, or even walking the same side of the street as whites. Beaumont also detailed, primarily in the appendices, the treatment of Indians in America.
The cemetery in Tocqueville, France where Alexis de Tocqueville is buried.
The French Academy awarded the Prix Monty to Beaumont for *Marie*. The novel was republished five times in new editions between 1836 and 1843.

1836 — Beaumont married Clementine de Lafayette, the daughter of George Washington Lafayette, the granddaughter of the Marquis de Lafayette, who had helped the United States gain its independence, and the niece of the French intellectual and abolitionist, Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy. Madame de Beaumont ended up having a liberal influence on Beaumont.

1839 — In a second attempt, Beaumont was chosen to represent his district in France’s Chamber of Deputies. Tocqueville was also elected in the same year, and the two friends were working together again.

1847 — Beaumont participated with others in arranging banquets during the “Campaign of Banquets.” The government had outlawed such political associations, so organizers arranged meetings around dinners to circumvent the directive. Tocqueville did not participate in these efforts and warned Beaumont that “you will become still more odious” to the government if it finds out who participated in attempts at “rousing the people.” Tocqueville also cautioned his friend that he might be unleashing another full-scale revolution with unforeseen consequences.

1848 — Beaumont joined with other aristocrats to move a planned “banquet” from Sunday to Tuesday, February 22, when it was believed fewer revolutionary working people would attend. The workers took to the street instead of the dining table and the uprising lasted three days. Beaumont helped carry the news of reforms to those behind the barricades, but by the time Beaumont arrived the revolutionaries wanted the king to abdicate and France to become a republic. Behind the barriers, the rebels were ready to die for their long-sought freedoms.

In April, Beaumont was elected to the Constituent Assembly and became vice president. He then helped draft the judicial section for the Constitution of 1848. Beaumont became the ambassador to England.

1849 — Beaumont became the ambassador to Austria but returned to the assembly in October 1849 because of another government crisis.

1851 — On December 2, Louis-Napoleon took over the government and arrested Beaumont, Tocqueville, and other deputies. After a brief period in jail, Beaumont and Tocqueville were released. This event ended Beaumont’s political career and he returned to his chateau to manage his estate. He continued to read, write, and converse with his friends and political associates.

1856 — Beaumont critiqued the final galley proofs for Tocqueville’s *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*.

1859 — In early April, Beaumont joined the ailing Tocqueville at his bedside. Shortly after Beaumont left, Tocqueville died on April 16, 1859.

1860 — At the request of Madame de Tocqueville, Beaumont began editing the first of nine volumes of Tocqueville’s writings. Beaumont completed the task in 1866.

1866 — Beaumont died at age 64.
According to George W. Pierson's *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, the Frenchmen interviewed well over 200 people while traveling through America, also conducting many informal conversations.

There is little existing biographical information on some of the people they interviewed. Therefore, the brief biographies presented here were developed from available sources. Some well-known Americans are also included, and students can easily find more information on their backgrounds.

The following selected biographies are of the individuals Tocqueville interviewed in developing his notes for his book, *Democracy in America*. The listing provides basic information and gives a sense of the times. The young Frenchmen met with many Americans who, like themselves, had accomplished much at a young age.

**JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767-1848)** Tocqueville interviewed Adams in Boston and in Washington, DC. From age 14 to 16, Adams was secretary to Francis Dana, the United States Minister to Russia, and then secretary to his father, John Adams, during the peace negotiations with Great Britain that led to the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

Adams graduated from Harvard in 1787. He became the minister to Great Britain from 1794 to 1796, when he was appointed ambassador to Portugal but did not serve. Instead he became ambassador to Berlin from 1796 to 1804, and a U.S. senator for Massachusetts from 1803 to 1809. He was the U.S. minister to Russia in 1809 serving until 1814, when he took the same post in Great Britain from 1815 to 1817.

President James Monroe named Adams secretary of state in which he served from 1817 to 1825. Lacking a majority in the election of 1824, he won the presidency after it was voted on in the U.S. House of Representatives. Adams served as president from 1825 to 1829, but was defeated for a second term. Massachusetts elected him to the U.S. House of Representatives in which Adams served from 1831 until his death in 1848.

His son, Charles Francis Adams, edited his memoirs, and his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., edited his grandfather's *Life in a New England Town*.

**NICHOLAS BIDDLE (1786-1844)** Tocqueville talked with Biddle in Philadelphia. Biddle was only 10 years old when he entered the University of Pennsylvania. He graduated
from Princeton in 1801 and, at age 18, served as the secretary to John Armstrong, the minister to France. In 1822, Biddle became the president of the Bank of the United States where he stayed until 1836 when the power to charter reverted to the states. After President Andrew Jackson vetoed the rechartering of the national bank, Biddle continued as president of the bank for three more years under the aegis of state charters. He edited the *Port Folio* and started, but did not finish, *A History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark*.

**Charles Carroll (1737-1832)** Tocqueville met the 94-year-old Carroll in Baltimore. Educated at Jesuit schools in Flanders, Paris, and Rheims, Carroll was elected to the Second Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. From 1789 to 1793, he served as one of the first U.S. senators from Maryland. He was one of the directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad when the cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1828. Carroll retained over 300 slaves to develop his more than 10,000-acre estate in Carrollton, and at the time of his death in 1832, at age 95, he was considered to be among the wealthiest men in the United States.

**William Ellery Channing (1780-1842)** Tocqueville met with Channing in Boston. After graduating from Harvard, Channing became a Congregational minister, and subsequently became a leader in the development of Unitarian theology. He was a social reformer and an abolitionist who actively promoted pacifism, public education, labor reforms, and temperance. His views on transcendentalism affected Ralph Waldo Emerson. Channing wrote *Essays on National Literature and Discourses, Reviews and Miscellaneous* (1830), *Slavery* (1835), *The Abolitionist* (1836), and *Duty of the Free States* (1842).

**Salmon P. Chase (1808-1873)** Tocqueville interviewed the 23-year-old Chase in Cincinnati. Chase graduated from Dartmouth at age 18, and during his public career, he was an anti-slavery activist. Chase edited the three-volume *Statutes of Ohio* (1833-35), and from 1849-55, he served as a U.S. senator from Ohio. The Ohio state legislature again elected him to the U.S. Senate in 1860, but he resigned to serve as President Lincoln’s secretary of the treasury from 1861 to 1864. Lincoln then appointed Chase Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court where he served until his death in 1873.

**Edward Cornelius Delavan (1793-1871)** Tocqueville spoke with Delavan in the Albany area. Delavan had made his fortune in the wine business and helped found the New York Temperance Society in 1829.

**Edward Everett (1794-1865)** Tocqueville dined with Everett in Boston and interviewed him in Washington, DC. Everett was valedictorian of his Harvard class at the age of 17. He then taught Greek literature at Harvard from 1819 to 1825 while also editing the *North American Review* from 1820 to 1823.

Everett represented Massachusetts in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1825 to 1835 and then served as governor of Massachusetts from 1836 to 1839. He became the U.S. minister to Great Britain from 1841 to 1845 before becoming the president of Harvard from 1846 to 1849.
DR. SPLAINE GATHERS RESEARCH INFORMATION
Beaumont's Illustration of Lake Oneida from Frenchmen's Island
He returned to public life as President Millard Fillmore's secretary of state from 1852 to 1853, and became a U.S. senator from Massachusetts from 1852-1853. The Constitutional Union party chose Everett as its vice presidential nominee in the election of 1860.

**Albert Gallatin (1761-1849)** Tocqueville interviewed Gallatin in New York City. Gallatin immigrated to the United States from Switzerland at the age of 19 and tutored French at Harvard.

Gallatin was elected U.S. senator from Pennsylvania in 1793, but only served briefly before being ousted for not meeting a residency requirement. He did serve full terms, however, in the U.S. House of Representatives; from Pennsylvania from 1795 to 1801.

President Thomas Jefferson appointed Gallatin secretary of the treasury which he held from 1801 to 1814. Gallatin worked on peace with Britain at the end of the War of 1812 and signed the Treaty of Ghent. He then served as the U.S. minister to France from 1816 to 1823 and minister to Great Britain from 1826 to 1827.

Gallatin left public service to become the president of the National Bank of New York and a co-founder of New York University.

**Sam Houston (1793-1863)** Tocqueville talked with Sam Houston aboard a steamboat to New Orleans. Houston had little formal schooling. He lived among the Cherokee Indians from the age of 15 to 18 and studied law on his own before entering the U.S. House of Representatives as a Tennessee congressman from 1823 to 1827. He was the governor of Tennessee from 1827 to 1829, cutting his term short to live again with the Cherokees.

In April 1836, he led Texans to victory against the Mexican army at San Jacinto. He became the first president of the Republic of Texas, serving from 1836 to 1838 and again from 1841 to 1844. After Texas was admitted to the union as a state, Houston served as a U.S. senator for Texas from 1846 to 1859. He was elected governor in 1859, but was deposed because he opposed secession from the United States and would not swear allegiance to the Confederacy.

**Charles Jared Ingersoll (1782-1862)** Tocqueville interviewed Ingersoll in Philadelphia. Ingersoll wrote *View of Rights and Wrongs, Power and Policy of the United States* (1808), and *Inchquin: the Jesuit’s Letters* (1810).

**Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)** Tocqueville met with President Jackson in Washington, DC. Jackson was mostly self-educated before joining the Tennessee bar. From 1796 to 1797, Jackson served as Tennessee’s first representative to the United States. He then became a U.S. senator from 1797 to 1798 and served on the Tennessee Supreme Court from 1798 to 1804.

He led American forces against the British in the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815. He again served in the U.S. Senate from 1823 to 1824 and was elected president of the United States from 1829 to 1837.
John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe (1803-1891) Tocqueville talked with the 28-year-old, J.H.B. Latrobe in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1827, Latrobe, a 24-year-old lawyer, helped draft the charter for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. He continued as the legal advisor to the Baltimore & Ohio after its chartering in 1828.

Francis Lieber (1800-1872) Tocqueville talked with Lieber in Boston. Lieber was born in Berlin, Germany, before immigrating to the United States in 1827. While in Germany, he served in the military campaign against Napoleon’s French forces at Waterloo.

Lieber edited the 13-volume Encyclopedia America, published from 1829 to 1833, and also helped Beaumont and Tocqueville with the translation of their prison report into English. From 1835 to 1857, Lieber was a professor at South Carolina College. He wrote Manual of Political Ethics (1839), On Civil Liberty and Self Government (1853), and Code for the Government of the Armies of the United States (1863).

Edward Livingston (1764-1836) Tocqueville interviewed Livingston in Washington, DC. Livingston graduated from Princeton University and, in the early 1780s, he apprenticed and studied law in a New York law office with Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton, and James Kent. From 1795 to 1801, Livingston represented New York in the U.S. House of Representatives.

After Livingston moved from New York to New Orleans, he aided in the defense of New Orleans against the British in 1814-15 and befriended the American commander, Andrew Jackson. He then represented his New Orleans district in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1823 to 1829. Livingston spent two years as Louisiana’s U.S. senator before President Andrew Jackson appointed him secretary of state, serving from 1831 to 1833, and helping to settle American spoilage claims against France that resulted from the Napoleonic Wars. France eventually agreed to pay for damages to American ships and goods. He went to France in 1833 to serve as the U.S. minister to France until 1835. He wrote System of Penal Law for the United States.

Elam Lynds (1803-1891) Tocqueville met Elam Lynds in Syracuse. Lynds was a prison administrator who developed the “Auburn” system of enforced silence and required prison labor.

Joseph McIlvaine. Tocqueville talked with McIlvaine in Philadelphia. McIlvaine was Philadelphia’s recorder for the city court and possessed detailed information on the jury system. He provided Tocqueville with three long essays on the jury system as it related to the judicial system in the United States.

John McLean (1785-1861) Tocqueville met McLean in Cincinnati. McLean was a congressman from Ohio from 1813 to 1817. He served as the U.S. Postmaster General from 1823 to 1829. President Andrew Jackson nominated him to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1829, and McLean was confirmed in 1830 serving until his death in 1861. McLean was one of the two justices to dissent in the 1857 “Scott v. Sandford” decision.

Tocqueville also talked with John Neilson in Quebec City. Neilson was the editor of the Quebec Gazette and represented the French-Canadians in Lower Canada’s assembly.
JOEL R. PIONSETT (1779-1851) Tocqueville interviewed Poinsett once in Philadelphia and once during a trip from South Carolina to Washington, DC. Poinsett represented South Carolina as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1821 to 1825. Then he was the first U.S. minister appointed to Mexico, serving from 1825 to 1829. From 1830 to 1832, Poinsett traveled around to various states supporting President Jackson’s fight against South Carolina’s nullification efforts. He later served from 1837 to 1841 as the secretary of war under President Martin Van Buren.

JOSIAH QUINCY, JR. (1772-1864) Tocqueville talked with Quincy in Boston. Quincy graduated from Harvard at age 18 and represented Massachusetts in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1805-13. He was mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1829 having been elected six times before he was finally defeated.
Quincy became president of Harvard in 1829 and served until 1845. While at Harvard, he recruited Jared Sparks and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as faculty members. Quincy wrote the two-volume *The History of Harvard University* (1840), *The History of the Boston Athenaeum* (1851), *A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston* (1852), and *Memoir on the Life of John Quincy Adams* (1858).

**Peter Schermerhorn.** Tocqueville talked with Schermerhorn while crossing the Atlantic on the "Havre." They also met in New York. Schermerhorn was well connected with New York City's elite society. His family had been in New York for generations where he earned his substantial wealth as a merchant.

**Jared Sparks (1789-1866)** Tocqueville interviewed Sparks in Boston. Sparks graduated from Harvard and became a Unitarian pastor serving as chaplain for the U.S. House of Representatives from 1821-23. From 1824-1830, Sparks edited the *North American Review*. Harvard University appointed Sparks as the first secular professor of history in 1839, and a decade later Sparks served the university as its president for four years until 1853. He edited the 12-volume *Writings of George Washington*, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, *The Library of American Biography*, and *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*.

**John Canfield Spencer (1788-1855)** Tocqueville stayed at Spencer's home while in Canandaigua, New York. Spencer graduated from Union College at 18 years old, and then served as private secretary to New York Governor Daniel B. Thompkins. As a lawyer in 1827, Spencer helped to revise New York's statutes and was elected to the New York state assembly in 1831.

Spencer helped to get Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* published in the U.S. and wrote an "Original Preface and Notes" for the 1838-publication of the first part of the book, and an "Original Preface" for the 1840-American edition of the second part.

New York governor William H. Seward appointed Spencer as the New York state superintendent of schools in 1839. Spencer then served as the U.S. secretary of war under President John Tyler from 1841-43, who then appointed Spencer as the secretary of the treasury in 1844. Because Spencer opposed the proposed annexation of Texas, he resigned the post shortly after taking it.

**Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840)** Tocqueville talked with Tuckerman in Boston. Tuckerman was a Unitarian pastor in Chelsea, Massachusetts, from 1801 to 1826. As a social reformer, he advocated public education and actively helped the indigent. He was one of the founders of the Anthology Society.

As we look forward to the next century of our democracy, it may seem strange to look back to a young Frenchman who has not set foot on American soil for over 160 years. It may seem even stranger for a public affairs television network to commit to a year of programming focusing on Tocqueville's trip to America in 1831-32 which resulted in the publication of his two-volume Democracy in America. There is little evidence that Tocqueville's visit or book had much contemporary effect on America or his native France although it was widely reviewed and discussed.

Over the years, Tocqueville's perceptive observations have been discovered and rediscovered by successive generations of scholars, journalists, and politicians. He is regularly quoted (and misquoted) in public dialogue by advocates of almost every political persuasion. House Speaker Newt Gingrich put Tocqueville on his “must” reading list after the Republican “revolution” following the 1994 congressional elections. President Bill Clinton inserts Tocqueville quotes throughout his speeches. Academics in many disciplines and on many levels sprinkle their lectures with comments prefaced by, “Over 100 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville said ...” His method is an example of using social science to predict trends and the potential fallibility inherent in that effort.

Both C-SPAN and social commentators view Tocqueville as a vehicle for helping us interpret the challenges and opportunities of democratic principles and procedures in the 21st-century. The C-SPAN School Bus will retrace Tocqueville’s nine-month journey through America beginning in May 1997. Along the way, they will visit the places and interview the kinds of people Tocqueville did. Tocqueville’s key themes of liberty, equality, potential tyranny of the majority, social mores and the like are just as relevant concerns today as they were in the 1830s.

As academics, we met to explore ways in which Tocqueville might be used to enhance our classes. Some of us were already “teaching Tocqueville,” others only made passing references, while still others came with an open mind that Tocqueville’s work might be a means for more effectively imparting concepts and analytical skills relevant to courses where Tocqueville would not normally be studied.

We developed this book as a guide to teaching Tocqueville in the classroom. More than thirty teaching modules are available on C-SPAN Online at www.c-span.org/cinc.html. They are designed less as a step-by-step teaching package than as examples to get our
creative juices flowing. You are welcome, and in fact encouraged, to adapt them to your own teaching goals and approaches. Teaching modules based on key themes are listed by title in each chapter. Module titles can be used to identify and access the full text online. Modules are grouped in the text by general themes, but it is important to note that most modules involve a number of different categories. Since we view teaching and learning as active tasks, required actions on the part of the student are identified in the modules. Primary responsibility for various modules is indicated, but the ideas of each set of authors were enhanced by discussions of the entire group and contributions by C-SPAN staff.
“In that land the great experiment was to be made ... for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past.”


“The American Union has no enemies to contend with; it stands like an island in the ocean.”


In addition to their study of America, Tocqueville and Beaumont undertook an arduous journey testing their stamina. The travelers endured extreme heat and cold, accidents and illness, rough roads and turbulent waters. They covered more than 7,000 miles in North American territory, mostly by steamboat and stagecoach, in less than a year. In order to see more of the country, Tocqueville and Beaumont visited many sites off their route. When they were not travelling, they enjoyed extended stays in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC, some of the largest and most fashionable cities of the day. The side trips and urban respites make the ground covered by the young Frenchmen even more remarkable and worthy of study.

**Relevant Modules**

The Route and its Geographic Concerns
The Geography of Alexis de Tocqueville’s Journey
Tocqueville and the Wilderness Experience
DRAWING OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER BY BEAUMONT
“I confess that in America I saw more than America; I sought there the image of democracy itself. With its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions, in order to learn what we have to fear or to hope from its progress.”

— Democracy in America, Vol. I, Author’s Introduction

Tocqueville cast a broad net in his analysis of America seeking to assess the impact of non-political institutions on the political process and institutions, and the impact of the political process and institutions on non-political institutions. He dealt with law, politics, religion, art, science, and geography. The definition of culture was as broad as his analysis was deep. In studying America, he often found it useful to enlighten his readers through comparisons with cultures with which they were familiar.

In analyzing the American political scene, Tocqueville set the stage for the analysis of broader issues of democracy. He used the American experience as a test case to predict the applicability of American patterns to other settings.

The modules available online deal with various aspects of the American culture Tocqueville discovered and some of the broader applications of his findings.

Do the minority groups of America have a just cause to be fearful of a “tyranny of the majority?” How do these minority groups articulate their concerns to the government? Does money limit the amount of influence minority groups have with our elected officials?

According to Historian Henry Steele Commager, “Tocqueville himself coined and used (the word individualism) for the first time in Democracy in America,” (p. 96). Tocqueville stated, “Individualism is a word recently coined to express a new idea. Our fathers only knew about egoism. Egoism is a passionate and exaggerated love of self which leads man to think of all things in terms of himself and to prefer himself to all ... Egoism springs from a blind instinct; individualism is based on misguided judgment rather than depraved feeling. It is due more to inadequate understanding than perversity of heart.” (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Second Book, chap. III) Trace the progression of the idea that an individual should attempt to become as well rounded and successful as possible. Combine the power of rationalization, responsibility, and posterity for your classroom discussions.
Some of Tocqueville's interpreters believed “manners,” as he put it, dealt with: “the moral and intellectual characteristics of social man taken collectively.” In this regard Tocqueville described America as a land where “[a]lmost all the inhabitants of the territory of the Union are the descendants of a common stock; they speak the same language, they worship God in the same manner ...” (Democracy in America, Vol. I, chap. XVII). This would be a good time to introduce an updated primary source which describes America's ethnic make up today. Since Tocqueville's visit, the United States may not have turned into a melting pot of immigrants, but we have surely become a more heterogeneous society. Discuss the major waves of immigration in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as well as the impact immigration has had on American culture. What are the current issues in regard to immigration today? Is there now a new ethnic minority group forming? Should a free public education in America include instruction in a “native” language for a non-English speaking student? Or should non-English speaking groups be forced to learn English if they wish to take advantage of certain benefits in the U.S.? Where would you draw the line? What will happen when the collective minorities make up more than 50% of the nation's population?

RELEVANT MODULES

Tocqueville's America
Tocqueville and Multicultural Dimensions of Modern Democracy
Tensions Between Liberty and Equality
Principles of Materialism and Restlessness in the American Character
Education in a Democratic State
The Role of Religion in a Democracy
Religion and National Unity
The “Wall of Separation:” Friend or Foe of Religious Influence
CHAPTER 7: POLITICAL ISSUES

by Kevin Sacerdote, Paxon College Preparatory School, Jacksonville, FL

International Relations

Since Tocqueville’s trip, over one hundred and fifty years have passed. In that time many feel that the U.S. is now just one of the larger nations in a global community. If this is correct, can the U.S. treat our nation’s concerns simply as domestic matters? Even in 1831 Tocqueville stated, “It is easy to foresee that a time is drawing near when man will be less and less able to produce, by himself alone.” (Democracy in America, Vol.II, Second Book, ch. V) If Tocqueville were looking a decade ahead, would he advocate that the nations of the world think about global prosperity?

India as a Political Laboratory

Could we not use Tocqueville’s yardstick for democracy and apply it to “modern” India? Is India not an example today of a nation in which democracy is truly on trial? Just as Tocqueville gave us some valuable suggestions, could we not do the same for India today?

Equality of Condition vs. Political Equality

Tocqueville states, “The great advantage of the Americas is that they have arrived at a state of democracy without having to endure a democratic revolution; and that they are born equal, instead of becoming so.” Europeans may have arrived here with political equality, but they also had to cope with economic inequality. Did people feel that they could achieve equality in the new world if they just put forth a strong individual effort? Does the word equality even show up in the original Constitution? Is the uneven income distribution of America today the result of our nation’s natural economic progression, and therefore just? If the captains of industry accumulated their wealth via honest means, would Tocqueville have a problem with this?

Practicing Democracy

Tocqueville was impressed with our local governmental institutions including town meetings. “Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science.” See Democracy in America, Vol. I, chap. V, for his in-depth look at the New England town meetings. Why was he so impressed with these town governments? What was the key to their success? What could we take away from his thoughts in order to help our local governments run more democratically today?

Why did Tocqueville believe that the “rule of law” was an important ingredient in our governmental system? In his view, why do people living in a democratic state tend to obey many of their laws, even though they do not agree with them? What makes a government legitimate? Is governmental legitimacy the same in every country? Why or why not?
Relevant Modules

Tocqueville and the Transition to Democracy
Law, Justice, and the American Dream
The American Jury
Tocqueville's Political Philosophy
Tocqueville and Andrew Jackson
Colonialism/Nationalism
The Germ of Aristocracy

What Qualifications and Characteristics of the American Individual Should Our Congressional Leaders Model?
CHAPTER 8:
MEDIA AND THE PRESS

by Steve Frantzich, U.S. Naval Academy

“I confess that I do not entertain that firm and complete attachment to the liberty of the press which is wont to be excited by the things that are supremely good in their very nature. I approve of it from a consideration more of the evil it prevents than of the advantages it ensures.”

“In countries where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people ostensibly prevails, the censorship of the press is not only dangerous, but absurd ... the censorship of the press and universal suffrage are two things which are irreconcilably opposed ...”


Tocqueville admittedly had mixed emotions about the nature and extent of freedom of the press. He recognized its importance in a democratic United States. Students often take the rules and operation of the media for granted, failing to recognize the potential biases emanating from both patterns of news production and news reception. Tocqueville’s optimism about the contribution of the media depends on a vigilant audience. A healthy media environment designed to create an informed citizenry involves conscious effort by both the media and those who attempt to learn from it.

The online modules are designed to force students to face crucial questions about the adequacy and implications of historical and contemporary media, while also requiring serious introspection about their own capabilities for serving as critical thinkers about the raw material the media provides.

by Kevin Sacerdote

“In countries where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people ostensibly prevails, the censorship of the press is not only dangerous, but absurd ... The sovereignty of the people and the liberty of the press may therefore be regarded as correlative ... Courts of justice are powerless to check the abuses of the press.”


When compared to other democracies of the world, how does the court restrain America’s press as a whole? Give the court’s reaction to specific events in our history such as the Pentagon Papers or Progressive magazine publishing the steps on how to make a bomb.
What seems to be the court’s stance in this area as we speak? What is prior restraint?

“
The influences of the press upon America is immense. It is the power which impels the circulation of political life through all the districts of that vast territory ... In the United States each separate journal exercises little authority: but the power of the periodical press is only second to that of the people.”


According to Reeves' American Journey (p.76), if Tocqueville and Beaumont took their tour in 1981 (and purchased a paper in each of the cities) they would have read 28 Gannett papers along the route. How does that fact fit into Tocqueville's statement from 1831: “In the United States each separate journal exercises but little authority?” How would Tocqueville feel about the power that today's large media conglomerates wield? Do they package their version of the news and then send the message out via their media chains around the country?

“The first newspaper I saw on the arrival in America contained the following article ... In this whole affair the language used by Jackson [the President] was that of a heartless despot exclusively concerned with preserving his own power. Ambition is his crime, and that will be his punishment ... At this moment perhaps there is no country in the world harboring fewer germs of revolution than America. But in America the press has the same destructive tastes as in France.”


Is it inevitable that Americans will believe that the media is biased towards one party or the other depending upon the issue? Or can it truly be said that the media favor one political side over the other? Has the spirit/substance of the 19th century partisan press resurfaced today under the guise of “talk radio?” Does talk radio serve a worthwhile purpose? Is it another release valve for Americans? Or is it simply in the business of selling advertising spots? Trace the emergence of the “selling press” emphasizing personalities, muckraking, and yellow journalists, and compare each to the partisan newspapers of the 19th century.

Relevant Modules

Tocqueville and the Press
Tocqueville and American Communications - Then and Now
Tocqueville and Public Rhetoric
CHAPTER 9: ASSOCIATIONS

by Steve Frantzich, U.S. Naval Academy

"In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater number of objects than in America."

— Democracy in America, Vol. I, chap. XII

Perhaps no insight of Tocqueville has been more discussed than his description of Americans as a nation of joiners. His observation raises two questions: (1) was it an accurate description of Americans in the 1830s; and (2) how relevant is it to contemporary U.S. debates on the decline of citizen participation in associations to use Tocqueville as a benchmark against which to measure the purported decline.

The online modules take a number of paths to highlight the utility of Tocqueville's writings as a way of understanding historical traditions and contemporary reality of associational life in America.

by Kevin Sacerdote, Paxon College Preparatory School, Jacksonville, FL

Beyond the first amendment claims for the legitimacy of associations, teachers might examine the following: Tocqueville was in favor of these groups because they led to the strengthening of America's theory of federalism. By bringing the "grass roots" into the small communities (decentralization of power), they provide a pressure release valve which enables citizens to articulate their interests as well as vent their frustration, and they encourage active participation in our governmental system (participation and education of our citizens being two of Tocqueville's elements for the success of democracy).

Tocqueville's warnings regarding the dangers of governmental centralization encompassed three principles:

1. Centralization is inevitable

2. The danger is NOT so much the centralization of authority as in the centralization of administration

3. This centralization of administration can lead to tyranny
RELEVANT MODULES

A Variety of Associations
Associations and Interest Groups and their Influence on American Public Policy
"Habits of the Heart" and Civic Associations
Diversity of Voluntary Associations and Interest Group Behavior
Civic Virtue and Civil Religion: The Necessary Political Cultural Habits to Sustain a Democracy

ORIGINAL SIGNATURE OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S FATHER,
HERVÉ CLEREL DE TOCQUEVILLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
CHAPTER 10: RACE AND GENDER

by Steve Frantzich, U.S. Naval Academy

“The slave among the ancients belonged to the same race as his master, and was often the superior of the two in education and intelligence ... The ancients, then, had a very simple means of ridding themselves of slavery and its consequences: That of enfranchisement ... The greatest difficulty of antiquity was that of altering the law; among the moderns is that of altering customs ... the negro transmits the eternal mark of his ignominy to all his descendants; and although the law may abolish slavery, God alone can obliterate the traces of its existence ... Slavery recedes, but the prejudice to which it has given birth is immovable.”

“To give a man his freedom and leave him in wretchedness and ignominy is nothing less than to prepare a future chief for a revolt of the slaves.”

“If liberty be refused to the negroes of the South, they will in the end forcibly seize it for themselves; if it be given, they will before long abuse it.”

— Democracy in America, Vol. 1, chap. XXVIII

Tocqueville arrived in America just as the great debate on slavery was growing. He clearly viewed the potential conflict between whites, slaves, and Indians as one of the most important challenges facing the new republic. He used his time in America not only to comment on the potential for equality, but also to explain the relationship between social policies such as slavery and treatment of the Indians, and the American political structure of federalism.

Tocqueville also took a great deal of interest in the role of women in the American political and social process. The discussion of these issues heightened his concerns over the issue of equality and inequality.

The on-line modules take students back to the 1830s to see the consequences of racial and gender policies through the eyes of Tocqueville.
Chapter 10  Race and Gender in American Democracy

by Kevin Sacerdote, Paxon College Preparatory School, Jacksonville, FL

The gap in the distribution of our nation's wealth seems to be getting larger. Distribute a chart showing the amount of wealth that the top five percent of our citizens own. Follow this up with the estimates of this gap widening over the next twenty-five years. Tocqueville identified the dangers of prolonged inequality in a democratic state. Discuss the inequality of conditions which existed for years for America's slaves, freed blacks, native Americans, and women.

In regard to slavery, what did Tocqueville say about black and white relations if and when slavery was abolished? "I do not regard the abolition of slavery as a means of warding off the struggle of the two races in the U.S. ... But if they are raised to the level of free men, they soon will revolt at being deprived of all their civil rights." (Democracy in America, Vol. I, Chap. XVIII) Tocqueville was concerned about the abuses of slavery. Although he predicted that a violent confrontation was likely, he believed that it would probably be between the white southern population and the slaves. "The fate of the white population of the southern states will perhaps, be similar to that of the Moors in Spain. After having occupied the land for centuries, it will perhaps be forced to retire to the country whence its ancestors came ... a danger of a conflict between the white and black inhabitants of the southern states of the union — a danger which however remote it may be, is inevitable — perpetually haunts the imagination of Americans." (Democracy in America, Vol. I, chap. XVIII) In how many of the southern states did the black slave population outnumber the white population? What effect would disparate populations have?

Tocqueville observed that "The negroes and whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle ... I do not imagine that the white and black races will ever live in any country upon equal footing." (Democracy in America, Vol. 1, chap. XVIII). What has happened with race relations in the U.S. since the late 19th century?

What about the treatment of the native Americans? Tocqueville noticed in 1831 that years earlier George Washington said, "We are more enlightened and more powerful than the Indian nations, we are therefore bound in honour to treat them with kindness and even generosity." Why didn't Congress follow the wishes of the President for "kindness and generosity?" In regard to being more enlightened, why did Tocqueville state, "The Europeans introduced amongst the savages of North America fire-arms, hard liquor, and iron?" What did he mean by "savages?" (Vol. I, chap. XVIII)

"A democratic education is necessary to protect women against the dangers with which the institutions and mores of democracy surround them ... democracy destroys or modifies the different inequalities which originate in society ... (it) will raise woman and make her more and more the equal of man." (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Third Book, chap. IX) Being a product of his time, Tocqueville also writes of the accepted "roles" of both sexes in 1831. However, the reader should beware not to make up his/her mind about his writings on this subject until fully comprehended. "[Americans] admit that as nature has established such wide differences between the physical and moral constitution of man and woman, its manifest intention was to make different use of their differing abilities ... by carefully dividing the duties of man from those of woman, in order that the great work of society may be better carried on." (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Third Book, chap. XII) How does Tocqueville go on to tell the reader that American women were beginning to think in
another manner? “I have been frequently surprised and frightened at the singular skill and happy boldness with which young women in America continue to manage their thoughts and language amidst all the difficulties of stimulating conversation.” (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Third Book, chap. IX) “They have decided that her mind is just as fitted as that of man to discover the plain truth ... [compared to European women who were] considered as seductive but imperfect beings. And [European] women ultimately look upon themselves in the same light and almost consider it a privilege that they are entitled to show themselves futile, feeble, and timid. The women of America claim no such privileges.” (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Third Book, chap. XII) It is obvious that Tocqueville was aware of the cultural differences between the American and European women, and it had a major impact on him. Tocqueville concludes with the following passage: “I have recorded so many considerable achievements of the Americans, if anyone asks me what I think the chief cause of the extraordinary prosperity and growing power of this nation, I should answer that it is due to the superiority of their women.” (Democracy in America, Vol. II, Third Book, chap. XII) In what ways have gender relations changed in the last 10 years? Compare European and American attitudes with those of Asian and African. Which did Tocqueville describe? Which would he have approved of? How much progress do you believe has been made?

Relevant Modules

Race in America
Slavery: The Life Blood of Southern Life
Tocqueville, Gender, and Racial Inequality
Tocqueville and American Women
BUST OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE IN TOCQUEVILLE, FRANCE
CHAPTER 11: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

by Steve Frantzich, U.S. Naval Academy

“They were a courageous pair. They would gather materials for their book. They would read, ask questions, and, above all, observe. Every experience, every conversation, every new bit of information encountered from then on was to be seized on and carefully analyzed for its contribution to their knowledge and understanding.”

— George Wilson Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont in America

“I have never, knowingly, molded facts to ideas, instead of ideas to facts ... I was not satisfied with one witness, but I formed my opinions on the evidence of several witnesses ... I have formed my own judgments not on any single consideration, but upon the mass of evidence.”

— Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol. I, Author’s Introduction

Tocqueville, although not educated specifically as a social scientist, showed considerable insight and skill in using a variety of methods for gaining information. If the test of a methodology is the quality of the insights it uncovers, Tocqueville’s methods are worthy of careful attention.

Tocqueville and Beaumont might have used one of those early examples of studied deception. The two magistrates sold the idea of their trip as a way of studying the American prison system. Relatively early in the process Tocqueville clearly came to the conclusion that he had a larger goal and left the initial writing of a treatise on prisons to Beaumont. Tocqueville’s behavior is not atypical or unexpected. At the beginning of a research project, it is not always clear what the viable parameters will be. Sticking with an outmoded and unnaturally narrow plan can stifle the kind of creativity we would like in a social analyst.

The relevant modules listed below use Tocqueville as a method of introducing students to the advantages and pitfalls of various research techniques.

**RELEVANT MODULES**

Tocqueville the Methodologist
Communication and Perception:
A Travel Course — Reliving the Tocqueville Experience
Secondary School Social Studies Teaching Methodology
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1996-97

Equipment-for-Education Grant
Winning Entries

Lesson Plans
Using C-SPAN Programming

Use C-SPAN's Tocqueville Programming
for Your 1997-98 Entry.
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Through March of 1997, C-SPAN received submissions from teachers across the country for the 1996-97 Equipment-for-Education Grant Program. The network, in partnership with local cable systems, recognized the efforts of these teachers by donating a television and VCR to the schools of the top 25 winners. C-SPAN would like to thank everyone who submitted an entry.

This publication is a collection of selected lessons from the 25 winning entries in the grant program. Due to space and editorial constraints, not every lesson could be included in its entirety. Entries included videos, illustrations and other material that did not lend itself to inclusion in this publication. The lesson plans published here reflect the written portion of entries only and were selected based upon the ease in translating the substantive ideas of the lesson to text. For the sake of consistency in language, C-SPAN performed some editing of each entry.
Objectives

Students will:

1. become more aware of the main jobs of the President (careers and current events);
2. be able to locate the places on the map where the President lives and visits (geography);
3. be more aware of current events;
4. become familiar with the White House, Capital and other government places (history);
5. be exposed to technology as we take them to a website called “Welcome to the White House for Kids” and we tour it as a class from our library at school;
6. express what they learned about the Presidency through drawings and pictures (Language Arts and Art).

Pre-class Preparation: Videotape some different episodes of the C-SPAN program “Prime Time Public Affairs,” Monday through Friday at 8:00 pm ET. Select sections that show the President doing different duties and travelling different places along with segments showing the White House. [C-SPAN Note: Ms. Stofcheck and Ms. Curtis used clips of President Clinton making speeches at the White House and elsewhere, traveling on Airforce 1, and viewing tornado damage in Arkansas by helicopter. Teachers may also find clips of the President signing legislation, hosting state dinners, and meeting with members of Congress, Cabinet members or foreign dignitaries.] Make enough copies of the handout provided here for each student to have two.

Classroom Activity:

1. Distribute two handouts to each student. As a class, ask students to list jobs of the President of the United States. In the left box of one handout, have students draw a picture of what they think the President of the United States does. In the left box of the other handout, have students draw a picture of the White House.
2. Play the segments showing the President. After each segment, discuss what they just watched. List the various jobs of the President. Locate the places he visited on a map.
3. Ask students to draw two new pictures in the right boxes of the handouts.
4. Visit the White House for Kids website at www.whitehouse.gov/WH/kids/html/home.html. It gives kids a tour of the White House guided by Socks the cat. It has sections on the history of the White House, Our President, Pets in the White House and a picture tour of the rooms. As a class, compose an e-mail message to send the President.

Results:
The following are examples of actual student responses to the question, “What Does the President Do?”

Prior to Viewing C-SPAN Programming:
Makes speeches
Feeds the cat
Carves out presidents from wood
Makes dollhouses for his daughter
Makes business trips, talks to customers

After Viewing C-SPAN:
Makes speeches
Goes to many meetings to speak and learn
Tries to make peace
Goes to different places when they have a flood or disaster
Helps to write and pass rules

They concluded: “He must not have much spare time because he has so many jobs.”
Goals:
To research national and state candidates and learn about our election process.

Objectives
Students will:
1. watch C-SPAN in the classroom to model expectations;
2. visit internet sites of each of the political parties;
3. participate in a school-wide mock election and an electronic field trip with a participating cable company.

Out-of-Class Student Assignments
Required Activities: Students are required to gather information and political materials and create a booklet of campaign materials. All resources used in research should be entered in the attached bibliography sheet.

1. Students will maintain a video journal. There are 25 required entries. Attached please find a copy of the video journal format. All journal entries should be done in this format.
2. Students will maintain a newspaper journal. There are 25 required entries. Attached please find a copy of the newspaper journal format. All journal entries should be done in this format.
3. Students are to select one of the Presidential nominees (in a Presidential election year), a United States Senate nominee, a Gubernatorial nominee, and/or a United States House nominee, and write a two page research paper on those/that individual. Students are required to use three different sources of information.
4. Students are to research the political stance of each of the candidates on one of the following issues: Health Care, Welfare, Child Care, Education, Foreign Policy, Crime, Drug Abuse, Other ________.

Optional Activities
1. Interview 10 individuals about who they are voting for in the election and why. Students need to create a list of questions that will be asked and these questions must be approved by the teacher prior to the conducting of the interviews. The results of the interviews should be logged in a journal. The journal should be designed by the student.
2. Create a mock election for the school. Students should create a plan to have a mock election for the school. Details should be worked out with the teacher. Students must have teacher approval of their plan before conducting the mock election.
3. Research a spouse of one of the candidates. The research paper should be two pages in length and use a minimum of two resources. Students will present the report to the class.
4. Collect political cartoons (minimum 5) illustrating the issues or candidates in the upcoming election. Create a political cartoon of your own.
5. A person’s character is an issue that is debated among political candidates. Write a one page paper on the character of each of the candidates. This paper should be objective and based on their political and national careers.
6. Videotape a five-minute speech by each of the candidates for an office. Prepare a presentation for the class on the information covered in the videos. For further assistance and instruction, see the teacher.
7. Create your own election related activity, with teacher approval.

Evaluation of Project
Required Activities: 80%; 10 points each for Video Journal, Newspaper Journal, Issue Paper, Political/Campaign materials, Documented Sources; 30 points for research on candidates.

Optional Activities: 10%; 10 points for Optional Activity.

Presentation of Project: 10%
Directions

1. You may make photocopies of this handout, or you may use it as an example and create your own. However, you must include the information below.

2. You are to watch a minimum of five minutes of news broadcasts or programs related to the upcoming elections.

3. All journal entries should be neatly written (blue or black ink) and accurate.

4. Some suggested channels to watch for your video journal include: C-SPAN, C-SPAN2, CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, Headline News, and PBS. Most news programs come on in the morning, noon, and between 5:00 and 7:30 p.m. See the attached document on television programs related to this assignment.

Journal Entry

Student’s Name: ___________________________ Date: ________________

Television Channel/Network: ____________________ Time: ________________

Who/What is the program about? ___________________________

What branch of government, agency, policy, or issue is involved? ___________________________

Words/Phrases that you could not understand: ___________________________

What was the main idea of the program? ___________________________

Did this program change your ideas or beliefs about this topic? ___________________________

Why or why not? ___________________________

What did you think about what you heard/saw? ___________________________

List two to five things that you learned while watching the broadcast. Include people's names, facts, laws, etc. If you choose to observe a call-in program, state the opinions of some of the callers as well as your own opinion.

1. ___________________________

2. ___________________________

3. ___________________________

4. ___________________________

5. ___________________________
HANDOUT - NEWSPAPER JOURNAL

continued from page 5

Directions
1. You may make photocopies of this handout, or you may use it as an example and create your own. However, you must include the information below.
2. You are to read one newspaper article related to the upcoming elections.
3. All journal entries should be neatly written (blue or black ink) and accurate.
4. You must attach either the actual article or a photocopy of the article.
5. Students should read from a variety of newspapers to gain a diverse background.
6. Students should plan to spend one afternoon a week at the public library for this project.

Journal Entry

Student's Name: __________________________________________

Newspaper/Magazine: __________________________ Date of Article: ________

Who/What is the article about? __________________________________________

What branch of government, agency, policy, or issue is involved? __________

Words/Phrases that you could not understand: __________________________

What was the main idea of the article? __________________________________

Did this article change your ideas or beliefs about this topic? ______________

Why or why not? ______________________________________________________

What did you think about what you read? __________________________________

List two to five things that you learned while reading the article. Include people's names, facts, laws, etc.

1. _________________________________________________________________

2. _________________________________________________________________

3. _________________________________________________________________

4. _________________________________________________________________

5. _________________________________________________________________

Sherry B. Elvington
North Rowan Middle School - Spencer, North Carolina - Cable Provided by: Time Warner Cable of Salisbury
Objectives

Students will:

1. have a greater understanding of the role of Congress in creating a national budget;
2. have a greater understanding of the sources of funds of the national budget;
3. view various legislators making speeches on the national budget dilemma;
4. create their own national budget;
5. develop awareness of the emotional and financial concerns of citizens directly affected by the changes in the national budget prepared by the student.

Background to Lesson

This lesson brings to life the perplexing problem of solving the national budget. Students will understand that there is not a simple solution to the challenges Congress faces when preparing the national budget. This lesson will demonstrate the federal government's responsibilities and limitations. This lesson asks students to prepare their own budget, and through this exercise students will make the difficult selection of allocating the government's limited resources. The activities in this lesson bridge both the cognitive and affective domains.

Pre-class Preparation: Videotape speeches made from C-SPAN's live coverage of the budget debate. Lead a teacher directed lesson on the basic elements of the national budget.

Student Assignment: Assign students to research vocabulary words and information on issues related to the national budget.

Class time

1. Play the videotaped speeches from the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.
2. Lead a short class discussion on the elements discussed in each of the speeches.
3. Assign students the role of legislators. With the interest of their constituents in mind, they should prepare a federal budget using the pie chart format. Allow students the flexibility and creativity to individualize their budget. Encourage students to empathize with their constituents and show the expressed feelings toward budget changes through cartoon drawings with balloon captions.
4. Have students present their budgets to other class members.

Follow-up Exercise: Assign students to continue to watch C-SPAN and C-SPAN2 at home and record the names of the individuals and their budget positions on a chart. The students will be able to form and write opinions about each of the speeches based on their budget experience.
**Goals:**

1. To create a format which is short and easy to use, and can be run immediately with a minimum amount of prep time for teachers and students.
2. To create a format which can be used in any problem solving situation in the classroom. This would include historic problems, current (C-SPAN) problems, class, school and community problems.
3. To create a format which will become a part of our school safety program, aimed at teaching students problem solving techniques which will be used in conflict resolution, thus helping us create a safer campus.

**Objectives**

**Students will:**

1. understand the importance of watching live, primary source material (C-SPAN), through analyzing the material and finding solutions to national problems which were presented;
2. “think tank,” or critically think, multiple solutions to a problem after viewing the clips from C-SPAN;
3. evaluate their “think tank” solutions and synthesize policies for change;
4. demonstrate how they, as students, can affect change in our culture by responding to their Congressional representatives with creative solutions to problems;
5. use the critical thinking skills they have learned in this curriculum in daily problem solving, and demonstrate that they have learned a life skill.

**Pre-class Preparation:** Record an appropriate selection from C-SPAN. Select a brief segment which presents a problem, and run the “think tank.” (The educational background for the “think tank” is well defined in Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, especially in the upper levels of thought.)

**Classtime:**

1. Play the selected C-SPAN clip. After viewing the clip, a specific problem must be identified (agreed on by the students) for solution. This keeps all of the students on the “same page.” Write the problem defined by the students on the board.
2. “Think tank” the problem using the following rules:
   a. List solutions on the board without allowing discussion (eliminating criticism of a “stupid” idea which might actually work, or which stimulates a realistic proposal).
   b. Once the ideas are exhausted, briefly discuss and vote as a class on each solution. The students should label the solutions on the board in the following manner: an over reaction, an under reaction, a workable solution.
   c. Using only workable solutions, discuss each of the solutions in the following manner: “best” possible outcomes and “worst” possible outcomes from each solution. If the worst outcome outweighs the best, the students should then determine that the workable solution was flawed and needs to be eliminated.
   d. The remaining solutions are the workable solutions. If time permits, the class can discuss how they could attempt to implement their solutions to the original problem, or this becomes good material for an essay for homework.

**Follow-up Exercise:** Students could write letters to their Congressional representatives suggesting the solutions which they discussed in class.

**Suggested format for Congressional letter:**

1. Review all possible solutions from the “think tank.”
2. Start your letter with a statement which defines the problem which the class agreed needs a solution.
3. Choose one, two or three solutions which the class agreed on as being workable.
4. Explain the meaning of your selected solutions.
5. Explain why you feel the solutions are workable.
6. Define how and why your solution will improve the problem stated at the start of your letter.
7. Ask for a response from your representative.
8. Sign, your name, names or class name.
Body Language in Politics

Objectives

Students will:

1. understand what is meant by "critical thinking skills;"
2. view campaign speeches, political debates, and press conferences more critically;
3. practice critical thinking skills in analysis of campaign speeches, political debates, and press conferences;
4. practice cooperative work skills;
5. practice oral communication skills as they describe their own analysis to team members, the class and the teacher.

Pre-class Preparation: Make copies of the charts attached to this lesson. Record a political speech from C-SPAN programming: (Road to the White House 2000 which airs the first Sunday of every month, 7 pm, 10 pm and 1 am ET, U.S. House or Senate floor coverage; or any press conference.)

Student Assignment: Assign students to read over the attached handouts: Types of Propaganda, Errors in Political Thinking.

Class Time:

1. Discuss the assigned charts. Students should try to think of other examples of each type of propaganda and errors in political thinking.
2. Divide the class into five teams, each team receiving one of the attached group handouts (Group #1: Types of Propaganda, Group #2: Types of Propaganda, Group One: Analysis List, Group Two: Analysis List, Group Three: Analysis List).
3. Instruct students that as they watch a speech, they must scan for types of propaganda or critical thinking errors in political reasoning.
4. Play C-SPAN videotape. Students should identify and record the errors they hear.
5. Each team shares its discoveries with the rest of the class.
6. To help analytical skills go into long-term memory, teachers may repeat this exercise several times over the course of the school year.

continued on page 10
Bandwagon: A speaker or advertiser encourages individuals to support a candidate or proposal because others are doing it. ("Everyone supports Hector Johnson. You should, too.")

Repetition: A speaker or advertiser says the same thing over and over. (Not only will a cut in taxes be good for Montana, it will be good for every person in Montana. A tax cut will be good for the young! A tax cut will be good for the old!"

Transfer: A speaker or advertiser hopes the positive feelings about one thing will "rub off" or transfer to a candidate or idea. (A politician stands in front of a flag or a politician claims, "My military service proves that I will be a good Senator.")

Testimonial: Someone who knows a candidate speaks in person or in an advertisement on behalf of the candidate. ("I have worked with Al Gore for five years. No one could work harder than he!")

Free or Bargain: A speaker or advertiser suggests that the public can get something for nothing or almost nothing. ("We can cut taxes, increase military spending, and still balance the budget. There is no need to tighten our belts!")

Glittering Generalities: In glowing terms and offering no evidence, the speaker or advertiser supports a candidate or a solution to social problems. ("There is no better person for the job than that brilliant patriot, that man of the people, Joe Smith!")

Over-simplifying: The speaker or advertiser offers simple solutions to complex problems. ("We can preserve resources for future generations by voting for that great conservationist Helen Jones!")

Name-calling: The speaker or advertiser uses negative words in reference to opponents or opposing ideas. ("Are you going to vote for the tax-and-spend liberals?")

Card-stacking: The speaker or advertiser lists only the positive traits of the candidate or issue. ("There are seven major reasons why the federal government must take a leadership role in education.")

Snobbery: The speaker or advertiser tries to convince the audience that they are superior to others. ("You and I can't be fooled. You and I can't be led by the nose. We are not sheep!")

Plain folks: The speaker or advertiser tries to convince an audience that the candidate is just like them, just like ordinary folks. ("I know what it is to be hungry. My mother was a widow and she washed clothes to support me and my six brothers. I understand your concerns!")

Flag-waving: The speaker or advertiser suggests that those who love the country will vote for a certain candidate or support a certain idea. ("No man or woman who loves this state can vote against this initiative. Will you turn your back on this beautiful state?")
Appeal to Emotions: The speaker urges the audience to react emotionally rather than to think things through rationally. ("In your heart you know he's right.")

Bogeyman Technique: Noting some troubling person or circumstance, the speaker tries to frighten the audience into supporting his/her point of view. ("If we don't act, the communists will rise from the dust of Europe to plague the world again!")

Over-simplifying: The speaker offers simplistic solutions to complex problems. ("We can balance the budget by merely cutting 20% from the military budget.")

Use of Authority: The speaker tries to impress the audience by quoting or referring to some important person or source. ("George Washington said...")

Obfuscation: By mixing ideas or using many words and topics, the speaker avoids dealing directly with an uncomfortable subject. ("The problem is very complex and there are many intricacies we must consider. Many people have to be consulted, including Congress. Congress cannot always be trusted to act rationally, but we cannot give up hope that we will convince the Supreme Court to support us.")

Polarizing: The speaker suggests to the audience that there are only two possible solutions. ("Either we must do what I request, or we will have no nation left.")

Scapegoating: The speaker blames a person or group for problems facing the speaker or the audience. ("For twenty years Democrats controlled the Congress, and they alone drove this nation deep into debt.")

Red Herring Error: A speaker distracts the audience from real issues by bringing up sensational or controversial topics. ("Instead of dealing with the budget, we must talk about the horrible murder that occurred last night in our state capitol!")

Use of Clichés: The speaker substitutes a cliché for good reasoning. ("We need to act today! As my mama used to say, "A stitch in time saves nine.")

Non Sequiturs: The speaker reaches a conclusion that does not follow from the evidence offered. (I promised to focus on education, and during my administration student scores around the nation have risen on all major college entrance tests. I am proud that my administration kept its promises.)

Part-to-whole Reasoning: The speaker suggests that because something is true for one or two, it is true for all. ("If I could work my way out of poverty, anyone can.")

Whole-to-part Reasoning: The speaker claims that because something is true for most, it is true for all. ("John Smith is just like the rest of the lazy people on welfare.")

Inconsistent or Conflicting Statements: The speaker makes statements which cannot both be true. ("The gravest problem facing this nation is the Social Security System," and in the same speech, "There is no greater problem for this nation than the preservation of our military strength.")

Faulty Analogy: To make a point with the audience, the speaker uses an analogy improperly. ("Like a wolf lusting for fresh meat, the Republicans want to pass this new law.")

Innuendo: Without making a direct accusation, the speaker suggests ill of another person or group. ("How could any true patriot have voted for this law? Demand of Senator Smith an explanation for her vote!")

Ad Hominem Error: A speaker attacks a person rather than discussing an issue. ("The Speaker of the House has time and again broken the same laws he accused me of breaking.")

"Other People Have it Worse" Error: The speaker does not offer solutions to problems, but distracts the audience by noting examples of how others are worse off. ("True, we have our poor, but think about the suffering people in Somalia and Ethiopia.")
Find examples of each type of propaganda as you study the campaign speeches.

**Bandwagon:** A speaker or advertiser encourages individuals to support a candidate or proposal because others are doing it.

**Repetition:** A speaker or advertiser says the same thing over and over.

**Transfer:** A speaker or advertiser hopes the positive feelings about one thing will "rub off" or transfer to a candidate or idea.

**Testimonial:** Someone who knows a candidate speaks in person or in an advertisement on behalf of the candidate.

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**Glittering Generalities:** In glowing terms and offering no evidence, the speaker or advertiser supports a candidate or a solution to social problems.
Find examples of each type of propaganda as you study the campaign speeches.

**Over-simplifying:** The speaker or advertiser offers simple solutions to complex problems.

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**Card-stacking:** The speaker or advertiser uses negative words in reference to opponents or opposing ideas.

**Snobbery:** The speaker or advertiser tries to convince the audience that they are superior to others.

**Plain Folks:** The speaker or advertiser tries to convince an audience that the candidate is just like ordinary folks.

**Flag-waving:** The speaker or advertiser suggests that true patriots will support a certain candidate or idea.
Listen to the speeches to find examples.

Scapegoating: The speaker blames a person or group for problems facing the speaker or the audience.

Use of Clichés: The speaker substitutes a cliche for good reasoning.

Non Sequiturs: The speaker reaches a conclusion that does not follow from the evidence offered.

Part-to-whole Reasoning: The speaker suggests that because something is true for one or two, it is true for all.

Whole-to-part Reasoning: The speaker claims that because something is true for most, it is true for all.

Inconsistent or Conflicting Statements: The speaker makes statements which cannot both be true. ("The gravest problem facing this nation is the Social Security System," and in the same speech, "There is no greater problem for this nation than preservation of our military strength.")

Names:

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Listen to the speeches to find examples.

**Appeal to Emotions:** The speaker urges the audience to react emotionally rather than to think things through rationally.

**Bogeyman Technique:** Noting some troubling person or circumstance, the speaker tries to frighten the audience into supporting his/her point of view.

**Over-simplifying:** The speaker offers simplistic solutions to complex problems.

**Use of Authority:** The speaker tries to impress the audience by quoting or referring to some important person or source.

**Obfuscation:** By mixing ideas or using many words and topics, the speaker avoids dealing directly with an uncomfortable subject.

**Polarizing:** The speaker suggests to the audience that there are only two possible solutions.

Names: [continued on page 16]
Listen to the speeches to find examples.

**Faulty Analogy:** To make a point with the audience, the speaker uses an analogy improperly.

**Innuendo:** Without making a direct accusation, the speaker suggests ill of another person or group.

**Red Herring Error:** A speaker distracts the audience from real issues by bringing up sensational or controversial topics.

**Ad Hominem Error:** A speaker attacks a person rather than discussing an issue.

**“Other People Have It Worse” Error:** The speaker does not offer solutions to problems, but distracts the audience by noting examples of how others are worse off.

**Names:**

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Jennifer R. Copley
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**Presidential Inaugural Addresses:**

**Sounding the Alarm and Leading the Charge**

**Goal:**
To teach seventh grade Language Arts students to be critical viewers. After this unit of study, they will be better able to analyze and synthesize a speech and be able to recognize the rhetorical devices that are used to effectively communicate a message.

**Objectives**
**Students will:**
1. be aware of the various traditions associated with the Presidential Inauguration;
2. understand the purposes of an Inaugural Address;
3. recognize how the President's Inaugural Address is influenced by the problems facing the country;
4. analyze how the new president proposes to solve these conflicts;
5. recognize and understand symbolism that is used in campaigns and presidential speeches;
6. be able to explain why various literary allusions are used to explain the themes of the Inaugural Address;
7. be able to compare and contrast the purposes of an Inaugural Address and a State of the Union message.

Pre-class Preparation: Record previous inaugural addresses aired by C-SPAN during the week preceding the inauguration. Record C-SPAN's coverage of Inauguration Day. Record the President's "State of the Union" address each year.

**Classroom Discussion Questions**
1. Have students read Article II, Clause 8. Ask students, "What are some of the traditional aspects of a presidential inauguration?" Play videotaped segments of C-SPAN's coverage of the Inauguration.
2. Ask students, "What is the purpose of an inaugural address?" Play videotape of segments from some of the more recent inaugural addresses that inform ("These are the goals for my new administration") and persuade.
3. Ask students, "What were the prevailing problems facing the country at the time these presidents took the oath of office?" Play videotape of segments from past presidents' inaugural addresses.
4. Ask students, "What challenge(s) does the president issue to the American people in the following clips?" Play videotape of segments from the presidents' inaugural addresses where the speakers issue challenges.
5. Ask students, "How does the president use symbols in a re-election campaign and an inaugural address? How do these symbols help to explain themes?" Play videotape of the president using symbols in his speech.
6. Ask students, "How does the new president propose to solve the daunting problems facing the country in the following clips?" Play videotape of the president introducing approaches to solve major national problems.
7. Ask students, "What specific programs does the President introduce in a State of the Union message to promote the themes addressed in an Inaugural address?" Play videotape of a president's inaugural address and the "State of the Union" address.
8. Ask students, "What is the new president suggesting by emphasizing this quotation?" Play videotape of segments when the president makes literary allusions.
Immigrants: Do They Really Hurt the United States?

NOTE: Ms. Jones used this lesson for the issue of immigration.
Teachers can use the structure for a lesson on the numerous issues covered on Washington Journal.

Goal:
Using C-SPAN and other information sources, students will gain insight into two issues associated with the immigration reform movement.

Issue 1:
Do immigrants take jobs away from Citizens of the United States?

Objectives:
Students will be able to identify information that supports, as well as information that opposes, the use of legal or illegal immigrant labor in the U.S. workforce.

Classroom Activity: Day 1
1. Have students read and highlight the article Illegal Labor: Boon or Bust? in the May 6, 1988 Scholastic Update. Encourage students to pay particular attention to statements and statistics that support or oppose the issue in question.
2. Through class discussion, students will share the findings and record the information on a pro/con issue chart.
3. Play a pre-recorded segment of C-SPAN's Washington Journal on illegal labor. Students will record the following information on a Washington Journal viewing log.
   a. What is the subject of this segment of the program?
   b. Who are the guests?
   c. Why are they qualified to address this issue?
   d. What is each guest's position (thesis) on the issue?
   e. In your opinion, what are the key points (details) they used to support their thesis?

Student Assignment
Students will use the internet, newspapers and news magazines to gather articles/editorials that support and articles/editorials that oppose points raised on the above program. Using the information gathered in activities A and B, ask the students to think about their position on the following question: Do immigrants take jobs away from American citizens? Have them fill out an editorial tracking handout.

Classroom Activity: Day 2
1. Divide the class into two groups, those who support the idea that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens and those who oppose the idea.
2. On a large piece of newsprint, have each group list those points that best support the group's position.
3. Using the points listed above, each group will create a presentation package designed to reflect their position on immigrants and their impact on the U.S. job market. A presentation may include:
   a. a computer slide show;
   b. a time line;
   c. a vocabulary list;
   d. a story board;
   e. a poster.
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