

sentence. The sentence read: "Act as men of thought, think as men of action." This is imperative still for all of us; to make our decisions, whatever they may be, within the context of reflective thinking; but to do our thinking with a knowledge of the consequences of our ideas. It is from this double perspective that I want to talk to you on the theme you have suggested.

I have recently been rereading the great classic on the American Civilization, written a long time ago by a young Frenchman called Alex de Toqueville. In 1831 two young Frenchmen, De Tocqueville and Gustave Beaumont, came to the United States for a visit. They felt that America represented a great hope for the future. But they also felt it was a great laboratory from which the Europeans could derive enlightenment about their own problems, and they came here to study in this laboratory. They stayed for 8 months, and then De Tocqueville spent the next 9 years of his life mulling over what he had seen here. Out of it came democracy in America.

You will find in it a classic chapter on "The Three Races in America," the European, the Indians, and the African slaves. He felt that we had done a cruel thing to the Indians: in other parts of the new world they had been destroyed with the sword; we had done it in a subtler way--by "civilizing" them and by process of law, nevertheless we pretty much destroyed them. About the African slaves he had some other things to say that I shall come to soon. I have said that De Tocqueville came to America with a feeling of great hope, but he did not integrate it with his discussion of the three races, which seems to stand out from the rest.

His hopefulness came from his belief that we in America represented the great democratic revolution of the future, which the Europeans were bound to follow. He felt a degree of inevitability about it. But he also felt that we had found a way of carrying through the democratic revolution without destructiveness, without violence, without religious wars, without racial wars, without class wars, and he wondered whether it would be possible for Europe to learn from the American experience. As a young aristocrat, he rather dreaded the revolution he saw coming in Europe, a revolution which he felt had to come. But as a sensitive person who cared about the life of the mind, he also hoped the Europeans would be able to carry it through without destructiveness. He felt that religion in America had played a very crucial role because it was a force which kept the revolutionary