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Notes

1 Introduction

- 1 According to the 2018 *Freedom in the World* report by Freedom House, global freedom has seen no less than 12 consecutive years of decline. See Freedom House 2018. For the complete analysis see <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2018>.
- 2 In this vein, see, e.g., the article *Orbán's Handschrift* in the [FAZ] on April 19, 2011.
- 3 See Zick/Küpper/Hövermann 2011, especially p. 115f. Eight countries were taken into closer consideration: Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and Hungary. Besides Portugal, the support for a one-man rule was strongest in Poland (60.8 percent) and Hungary (56.6 percent).
- 4 Schmitt 1996 [1923], p. 42. In English, the title is usually—though not quite accurately—referred to as *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*.
- 5 Cf., e.g., the entry “Cäsarismus” in the German *Lexikon der Politik* (Nohlen/Schultze/Schüttemeyer 1998) or the entry “Bonapartism” in the *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (Calhoun 2002).
- 6 “Bonapartism”, “democratic dictatorship”, “democratic monarchy” or “electoral autocracy” might have been terminological alternatives, yet some arguments can be made in favor of Caesarism: on the one hand, the term has not only been used by contemporaries in the nineteenth and twentieth century and hence avoids being a purely artificial *ex post* construction (such as “democratic monarchy” or the like would be), but is still familiar enough in the present; on the other, the term signals sufficient “neutrality” to be used as a heuristic device, at least compared to highly charged terms such as “dictatorship”. Compared to “Bonapartism” as the most obvious alternative to be chosen, “Caesarism” disposes of greater universality by not suggesting an immediate entrenchment with France and one family.
- 7 On the problems of applying a rigid concept of Caesarism or Bonapartism for assessing individual statesmen see, e.g., Pflanze 1982, p. 598f.
- 8 A lexical conceptual history of Caesarism and related political and social concepts is only available in German. See the entries “Cäsarismus, Napoleonismus, Bonapartismus, Führer, Chef, Imperialismus” by Dieter Groh and “Diktatur” by Ernst Nolte in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Brunner/Conze/Koselleck 1972–1997 Vol. 1, pp. 726–771 and pp. 900–924). For the reception history of the (ancient) term “Caesarism” in particular see the entry “Cäsarismus” in *Der Neue Pauly* (Kloft/Köhler 1999; for the English translation in *Brill's New Pauly* see Kloft/Köhler 2006).
- 9 In this study, monocratic and monarchy, respectively, are understood in their literal Greek sense of the word (*mónos* = “alone”, “single”; *krateîn* = “to rule”) to designate any “rule by one”, whether that rule may be considered legitimate or illegitimate.
- 10 See Weber 1980 [1922], pp. 122–176.
- 11 Rotteck 1829–1835 Vol. 2 (1830), p. 172.

- 12 According to Weber, “charisma” can be defined as a certain quality of an individual, by virtue of which one is set apart from ordinary people and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. See Weber 1980 [1922], pp. 140–142, especially p. 140. On charisma as a “master concept” of Weber’s sociology and its relation to “Caesarism” cf. Chapter 6.2.
- 13 See, e.g., Gacon 1958, Chatelain 1970, Lacour 1971, Mangoni 1976, Mitchell 1977a, Chandler 1989, Thody 1989, Magraw 1997, Gluck 2001.
- 14 See, among others, such influential works as Voegelin 1996 [1938] or Arendt 2004 [1951].
- 15 See, e.g., the scholarly work of Peter Baehr and Melvin Richter (Baehr 1998, Baehr/Richter 2004, Richter 2005, Baehr 2008).
- 16 This goes in particular for the nineteenth century. See Osterhammel 2009, p. 1281.
- 17 On the concept of “futures past” see Koselleck 2004.
- 18 See, e.g., Fehrenbach 1977, p. 39f.
- 19 One of the terminological attempts to capture that period is “saddle period” (see Koselleck 1972), set between 1750 and 1850.
- 20 For the term see especially Voegelin 1952.

2 Revolution and Crisis

- 1 For details on the Federal Constitution see Kurland/Lerner 1996 [1987].
- 2 See Sieyès 1789.
- 3 Ibid., p. 1.
- 4 *Constitution française* (3 September 1791). In: Berlia 1952 [1898], pp. 1–33.
- 5 Cf. the speech of Chrétien-François de Lamoignon (1735–1789) on the principles of the French monarchy, delivered at a royal sitting of the *Parlement* of Paris on November 19, 1787. In: [AP] 1862ff. [1787–1799] Vol. I, pp. 265–269, quote p. 265.
- 6 On the distant relation of the American political class towards popular sovereignty see Benjamin Rush’s *On the Defects of the Confederation* (1787): “It is often said that ‘the sovereign and all other powers is seated in the people’. This idea is unhappily expressed. It should be—‘all power is derived from the people’. They possess it only on the days of their elections. After this, it is the property of their rulers.” In: Rush 1947, pp. 26–31, quote p. 28.
- 7 On differences between American and French revolutionary constitutionalism see Dippel 1989.
- 8 Cf. Furet/Halévi 1996, title.
- 9 See, e.g., Krause 2008.
- 10 [AP] 1862ff. [1787–1799] Vol. XLVII, p. 645. On the deposition of Louis XVI as an act proving “the limits of constitutionalism” see Sellin 2004, pp. 268–277, quote p. 268.
- 11 On the idea of a “second Revolution” see already François Mignet: Mignet 1856 [1824], p. 153f.
- 12 *Acte constitutionnel et Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen*. In: Berlia 1952 [1898], pp. 62–73.
- 13 *Constitution de la République française*, 5 fructidor an III (August 22, 1795). In: ibid., pp. 73–109.
- 14 A contemporary evaluation of the Directory including relevant sources is, e.g., Henry 1801.

- 15 On the dynamic of what he calls the “Great Revolutions” and their early roots in the cultures of “axial age” (Karl Jaspers) see especially Eisenstadt 1992, Eisenstadt 2006.
- 16 What had been shattered in Weberian terms was the characteristic traditional legitimization source of monarchical rule, based on the “established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them” (Weber 1978 Vol. 1, p. 215).
- 17 See Thamer 2000, p. 122.
- 18 Concerning the development of the “Caesar question” see Baehr 1998, especially pp. 29–88. On the (after-)life of Caesar in Western imagination during the last two millennia see Wyke 2007.
- 19 Guicciardini 1965, p. 77.
- 20 Montesquieu 1788 [1748], Book X 14, p. 251f.
- 21 Ibid., Book VIII *De la corruption des principes des trois gouvernements*, pp. 188–216, quote VIII 2, p. 190.
- 22 See, e.g., Hooke 1738–1771.
- 23 See Stürmer 1977b, pp. 104–106.
- 24 See Koselleck 2006 [1959], pp. 115–120.
- 25 See Thamer 1973, especially pp. 37–130. Envisaging a new Caesar went usually hand in hand with a positive evaluation of ancient Caesarism as a whole. See, e.g., Linguet 1777 [1766], bluntly praising Roman-style tyrannical rule under the Caesars.
- 26 Eighteenth century proponents of this “negative parallel” were, e.g., Diderot (1713–1784), Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786) and Friedrich Karl von Moser (1723–1798). Moser concluded in 1787 from the decline of absolute monarchy: “Es geht auf eine Römisch-militärische Verfassung los, wie unter den Cäsarn [*sic!*] [...]” Moser 1787, p. 166.
- 27 See Burke 2001 [1790].
- 28 Among the authors influenced by Burke is Chateaubriand. See, e.g., Chateaubriand 1797. Among the rejoinders to Burke, the most prominent are Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* (Paine 1925 [1791–1792]) and Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790; In: Wollstonecraft 1995, pp. 1–64).
- 29 Burke 2001 [1790], p. 388.
- 30 In: Maistre 1821, p. 161.
- 31 See especially Schmitt 2006 [1921]. For Schmitt’s theory of dictatorship cf. Chapter 7.1.
- 32 Cf. Bernier 1983, title. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882) was later praised in the same terms (*eroe dei due mondi*).
- 33 See Charavay 1898, pp. 236–238.
- 34 See Unger 2002, p. 268. Yet when La Fayette ceded military control of the nation to civil governance, even contemporary observers were assuming that “the time will come perhaps when he will repent having not seized that opportunity [...]” William Short (1759–1847) to Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), July 27, 1790. In: Morris 1939 Vol. 1, pp. 565–567, quote p. 565f.
- 35 See Gilcher-Holtey 1995, p. 257f.
- 36 On the enduring “myth of Napoleon” see Hazareesingh 2005 [2004].
- 37 The number of biographies of Napoleon alone has become immense. More recent works in English include Ellis 1997, Schom 1997, McLynn 1997, Asprey 2000–2001, Alexander 2001, Johnson 2002, Englund 2005. Nineteenth-century biographies (e.g., Abbott 1855) and histories of the Consulate and Empire in general keep their value, too, particularly due to their often detailed account of events and as sources for material. See, e.g., Thiers 1845–1862.

- 38 Bonaparte 1908, p. 567.
- 39 Cf. his corresponding remarks to Count Las Cases in September 1815 on St. Helena (Las Cases 1823 Vol. 1, p. 150f.).
- 40 See Thody 1989, p. 20.
- 41 Cf. Napoleon's account of the events in a letter to his brother Joseph, dated October 6, 1795. In: Bonaparte 1858–1869 Vol. 1 Doc. 72, p. 91. A new comprehensive (critical) edition of Napoleon's correspondence, edited by the *Fondation Napoléon*, is under way (see Bonaparte 2004ff.).
- 42 On the genesis of Napoleonic propaganda between 1796 and 1799 see Hanley 2005.
- 43 Wieland 1777, p. 132.
- 44 Wieland 1800 [1798], p. 91f.
- 45 Ibid., p. 94.
- 46 Napoleon to Talleyrand, September 19, 1797. In: Bonaparte 1858–1869 Vol. 3 Doc. 2223, pp. 417–420.
- 47 Ibid., p. 418f.
- 48 Hunt/Lansky/Hanson 1979, title.
- 49 Tulard 1999, title.
- 50 See Thody 1989, p. 24.
- 51 Woloch 2001, p. 3. On the preparation of the coup see *ibid.*, pp. 3–18.
- 52 On the decisive role of Lucien Bonaparte see Boudon 2009. A personal account of the events is provided in Bonaparte 1845.
- 53 See *Proclamation*, Paris, 19 Brumaire an VIII (November 10, 1799). In: Bonaparte 1858–1869 Vol. 6 Doc. 4389, p. 5f.
- 54 See Woloch 2001, p. 30.
- 55 On the reactions to the Brumaire events in the provinces see Woloch 1997. However, not even among Jacobins opposition against the *coup d'état* was unanimous. See, e.g., Thuillier 2005.
- 56 *Constitution de la République française*, 22 frimaire an VIII (December 13, 1799). In: Berlia 1952 [1898], pp. 109–118.
- 57 Address of Garat in the sitting of the Legislative Commissions on 23 Frimaire (December 14). In: Lombard de Langres 1799, pp. 425–431, quote p. 426.
- 58 For details see Lentz 1997.
- 59 See Sellin 2018, pp. 167–171, especially p. 168.
- 60 For a theoretical discussion of referendum and plebiscite as two forms of “popular democracy” see Denquin 1976.
- 61 The official results showed 3,011,007 *oui* and 1,562 *non* votes. For details see Langlois 1972.
- 62 Tellingly, the “Constitution of the Year VIII” was not only the shortest since the outbreak of the Revolution with only 95 articles (compared to, e.g., 207 in the Constitution of 1791 and 377 in the Constitution of 1795), but also the first without a formal Declaration of Rights.
- 63 To cover the origin of the work, the subtitle reads *fragment traduit de l'anglais*. The pamphlet is reprinted in Bourrienne 1829 Vol. 6, pp. 73–85. A detailed analysis of the pamphlet in Thiers 1845–1862 Vol. 2, pp. 210–215. See also *ibid.*, p. 250f.
- 64 In: Bourrienne 1829 Vol. 6, p. 80.
- 65 In: *ibid.* Vol. 6, p. 81f.
- 66 In: *ibid.* Vol. 6, p. 82.
- 67 In: *ibid.* Vol. 6, p. 83.
- 68 In: *ibid.* Vol. 6, p. 83.

- 69 See, e.g., Thiers 1845–1862 Vol. 2, p. 214.
- 70 See Bonaparte 1911–1913 Vol. 1, pp. 96–98.
- 71 See Bourrienne 1829 Vol. 3, p. 74. Even before his stormy confrontation with the Council of Five Hundred, Napoleon had already attempted to discount similar historical analogies in the Council of Ancients: “I know that Caesar and Cromwell are talked of—as if this day could be compared with past times. No, I desire nothing but the safety of the Republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come.” Bonaparte 1823–1824 Vol. 1, p. 92.
- 72 Lenormand 1848 Vol. 1, p. 240.
- 73 Goethe’s conversation with Napoleon was recorded by Friedrich von Müller (1779–1849). In: Goethe 1966, p. 72. Also in Bonaparte 1911–1913 Vol. 2, p. 30. While Napoleon’s admiration for Caesar continued to reveal itself rather blatantly in less guarded instants, he always emphasized that “never had he the thought of becoming a Cromwell” (Lenormand 1848, p. 264).
- 74 *Sénatus-consulte qui proclame Napoléon Bonaparte Premier Consul à vie*, 14 thermidor an X (August 2, 1802). In: Berlia 1952 [1898], p. 120.
- 75 *Sénatus-consulte organique*, 28 floréal an XII (May 18, 1804). In: *ibid.*, pp. 131–151.
- 76 On the role of Napoleon’s servitors in the erection of the Empire see Woloch 2004. See also Woloch 2001, pp. 90–119.
- 77 His main argument was that the public will had to be heard. In a private conversation with Antoine Claire Thibaudeau (1765–1854) Napoleon remarked that “the plebiscite has the advantage of legalizing my extension of office and to purify the origin of my power” (Thibaudeau 1827, p. 264).
- 78 See Woloch 2004, p. 33.
- 79 See, e.g., Willms 2009 [2005], p. 360.
- 80 This was in July 1800. In: Roederer 1942, p. 126f., p. 129. On the question of a hereditary monarchy see also pp. 203–211 (November 1804).
- 81 *Projet de déclaration pour l’établissement de l’Empire, proposé au Conseil d’état par les présidents des sections en 1804*. In: Capefigue 1840 Vol. 8, pp. 278–281, quote p. 281.
- 82 Berlier 1838, p. 94.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 84 Reinhard 1952, p. 271f.
- 85 On the debates in the *Tribunat* see Woloch 2001, pp. 104–110, Woloch 2004, pp. 40–44. All the speeches are reproduced in [Gazette nationale] 1789–1810 Nr. 221–225, 11–15 floréal an XII (1 to May 5, 1804), pp. 1003–1028.
- 86 See, e.g., *Discours du C. Carret*. In: *ibid.* Nr. 225, 15 floréal an XII, p. 1025f.
- 87 The draft was first presented in the *Tribunat* by Louis Alexandre Jard-Panvillier (1757–1822) on 13 floréal. In: *ibid.* Nr. 224, 14 floréal an XII, p. 1020. Napoleon used a similar argument in a conversation with Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1756–1832), successor of Lucien Bonaparte as Minister of the Interior (see Chaptal 1893, p. 308f.).
- 88 *Discours du C. Albisson*. In: [Gazette nationale] 1789–1810 Nr. 225, 15 floréal an XII, p. 1023.
- 89 [Gazette nationale] 1789–1810 Nr. 226, 16 floréal XII (May 6, 1804).
- 90 The term goes back to Max Weber (*Veralltäglicung*) and describes the process by which charismatic rule is turned into a “daily practice”, thus losing its “elevatedness”. See Weber 1980 [1922], pp. 142–148 and pp. 661–681.
- 91 On Napoleon’s coronation see Cabanis 2007 [1970].
- 92 Thibaudeau 1827, p. 252.
- 93 See Englund 2005, p. 245.

- 94 On Napoleon's strategy to legitimise his own rule by instrumentalizing the coronation of Charlemagne in 800 see Kraus 2000. In his correspondence and writings, Napoleon frequently refers to his famous imperial precursor. See, e.g., Napoleon to Cardinal Fesch, Munich, January 7, 1806. In: Bonaparte 1858–1869 Vol. 11 Doc. 9656, p. 528f.
- 95 *Sénatus-consulte organique de la Constitution*, 16 thermidor an X (August 4, 1802). In: Berlia 1952 [1898], pp. 120–128.
- 96 See Campbell 1958, pp. 54–56.
- 97 On Napoleon's shift "from saviour to despot" see Tulard 1987 [1977], pp. 307–324.
- 98 Napoleon to Joseph-Napoléon Bonaparte, Reims, March 14, 1814. In: Bonaparte 1854 Vol. 10, p. 198f., quote p. 199.
- 99 See Broers 2008.
- 100 On the Napoleonic state cult see Sellin 2013.
- 101 See also Erbe 1995, especially pp. 135–139.
- 102 Notes on the Proposed Inscriptions for the Arc de Triomphe, Schönbrunn, October 3, 1809. In: Bonaparte 1858–1869 Vol. 19 Doc. 15894, p. 545.
- 103 See Bonaparte 1911–1913 Vol. 2, p. 227.
- 104 See *ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 204.
- 105 See *Déclaration des Puissances Alliées* (March 25, 1814). In: Chod'zko 1863 Vol. 1, pp. 143–146.
- 106 On the regime change in 1814 and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty see Sellin 2001, Prutsch 2006, pp. 13–55.
- 107 *Sénatus-consulte portant que Napoléon Bonaparte est déchu du trône, et que le droit d'hérédité établi dans sa famille est aboli* (April 3, 1814). In: [BL] 1814 Vol. 1 No.°8, pp. 7–9.
- 108 *Ibid.* Vol. 1 No.°8, p. 7.
- 109 For details on Napoleon's abdication see Sellin 2001, pp. 173–194.
- 110 2 November 1816. In: Bonaparte 1955, p. 273f.
- 111 Memoirs dictated to Count Las Cases, 9/10 April 1816. In: Las Cases 1823 Vol. 2, p. 29. On Napoleon's (self-)depiction as "Prince of Liberal Ideas" see Hazareesingh 2005 [2004], pp. 151–183.
- 112 See, e.g., Napoleon to Count Las Cases, November 11, 1816. In: Las Cases 1823 Vol. 4, p. 134.
- 113 August 24, 1816. In: *ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 267.
- 114 See Bonaparte 1823–1824 Vol. 1, pp. 53–100. According to Napoleon, the French nation looked for a saviour, its own "tutelary genius" (*Ibid.*, p. 54) to deliver it from its misery: "It was not like the return of a citizen to his country, or a general at the head of a victorious army, but like the triumph of a sovereign restored to his people." *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 115 November 11, 1816. In: Las Cases 1823 Vol. 4, p. 139.
- 116 Bonaparte 1836b, p. 219.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 118 Extract of a speech at Lyon, September 20, 1852. In: Girard 1977, p. 23.
- 119 See Harvey 1998, p. 27.
- 120 [Parliamentary Debates] 1803–1820 Vol. 17 (1810), p. 223.
- 121 On Napoleon as a successor of Alexander—and Caesar—see Stendhal [= Marie-Henri Beyle] 1876 [1817–1818], p. 1. On the contrast between Alexander and Napoleon see [European Magazine] 1782–1825 Vol. 65 (January to June 1814), p. 396.

- 122 On Charlemagne and Napoleon see, e.g., Woltmann 1804b, Guizot 1828–1832 Vol. 2, p. 267.
- 123 On Cromwell and Napoleon see, e.g., Macaulay 1828.
- 124 See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 734.
- 125 The Caesar-Napoleon parallelism has continued to be applied up to the present day. Two examples from the twentieth century are Ferrero 1933 and Ford 1970.
- 126 Cited in: Harvey 1998, p. 28.
- 127 *Character of Buonaparte*. In: [European Magazine] 1782–1825 Vol. 65 (January to June 1814), p. 395.
- 128 Chateaubriand 1849–1850 Vol. 6, p. 240. To take another example, the poet Robert Southey (1774–1843), even though a declared enemy of Napoleon, willingly acknowledged that at least until his takeover of power he had been “a soldier of fortune, who had faithfully served the cause in which he engaged, and whose career had been distinguished by a series of successes unexampled in modern times” (Southey 1861 [1813], p. 165).
- 129 Görres 1854 [1800], p. 42f.
- 130 Woltmann 1804a, p. 245f.
- 131 On Hegel’s concept of *weltgeschichtliche Individuen* and their role see especially his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (Hegel 1999 [1837], explicitly pp. 45–51).
- 132 See Hegel 1999 [1800–1802], p. 580.
- 133 Buchholz 1805, p. 152f. On his distinction between “sovereignty” and “despotism” with respect to Napoleon see also Buchholz 1804.
- 134 See Seume 1962, p. 1287, 1309, 1387.
- 135 See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 736.
- 136 Among the most passionate anti-Napoleonic German writers was Gustav von Schlabrendorf (1750–1824), sometimes also ironically referred to as the “Diogenes of Paris”, who lived in the French capital. See especially Schlabrendorf 1804, Schlabrendorf/Bergk 1806, Schlabrendorf/Bergk 1814.
- 137 Luden 1814, p. 76.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 See Constant 1814. A recent English translation in Constant 2002 [1988], pp. 43–167.
- 140 For a comparison of the two see Baehr 1998, pp. 97–100.
- 141 Constant 2002 [1988], p. 88.
- 142 Ibid., p. 88f.
- 143 Ibid., p. 89.
- 144 Ibid., p. 90f.
- 145 “The governments, be they republican, be they monarchical, which it [the Napoleonic regime; MJP] had destroyed, were without apparent hope or visible resources: yet they survived in the hearts of their peoples. Twenty lost battles could not dislodge them from there: one single battle was won and usurpation was seen to be put to flight on all sides.” Ibid., p. 100f.
- 146 Ibid., p. 95.
- 147 Ibid., pp. 95–97.
- 148 Ibid., p. 97.
- 149 Ibid., p. 115.
- 150 See *ibid.*, pp. 142–146, explicitly p. 142.
- 151 On the causes which would make despotism impossible see *ibid.*, pp. 140–142.
- 152 See *ibid.*, p. 140.
- 153 Ibid., p. 99.

- 154 Ibid., p. 158.
- 155 Ibid., p. 159.
- 156 Ibid., pp. 161–164.
- 157 See *ibid.*, p. 165.
- 158 Quote from the draft of a never published pamphlet by the English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), most likely written in 1812. In: Calleo 1960, pp. 88–90, here p. 89.
- 159 This is the main message throughout Constant's political writing, particularly in his *Principes de politique, applicables à tous les gouvernements représentatifs et particulièrement à la constitution actuelle de la France* (Constant 1815). A recent English translation in Constant 2002 [1988], pp. 169–305, quote p. 180.
- 160 Constant was charged with the drafting of the *Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire* (April 22, 1815). In: [BL] 1815 Vol. 1 No. 19 (No. 112), pp. 131–140.
- 161 According to Immanuel Kant's famous quotation in his treatise *Zur Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?* (Kant 1999 [1784], p. 20).
- 162 Woloch 2004, p. 30.
- 163 See Metternich 1880–1884 Part 1 Vol. 1, p. 151.
- 164 There are good reasons to doubt whether Napoleon actually made these utterances (see Sellin 2001, pp. 62–64). It also strikes one's eye that Metternich's claim of Napoleon saying that while traditional monarchs could suffer twenty defeats, he could not dare to lose a single battle, appears similarly in Constant's characterization of Napoleon's rule (cf. note 145 above).
- 165 *Caracter of Buonaparte*. In: [European Magazine] 1782–1825 Vol. 65 (January to June 1814), p. 395.
- 166 Koppe 1815, p. 45.
- 167 Napoleon thereby emphasized having neither the red heel which distinguished the aristocrats at Versailles, nor the red bonnet of liberty worn by the extreme *sans-culottes* during the Revolution.
- 168 Ferrero 1903 [1899], p. 207. Cf. also Chapter 6.1.1.
- 169 The term "usurpation" had been used before, but in a much narrower and slightly different way than by Constant, e.g. by John Locke in his *Second Treatise of Government* (see Locke 2004 [1689], p. 397f.).
- 170 In: Constant 2002 [1988], p. 147.
- 171 Staël-Holstein 1964, p. 129.

3 "Bonapartism" as Hazard and Promise

- 1 On the Restoration as a "European project" see Sellin 2001, Sellin 2017.
- 2 Anderson/Anderson 1967, p. 39f., p. 78f.
- 3 *Charte constitutionnelle* (June 4, 1814). In: [BL] 1814 Vol. 1 No. 133, pp. 197–207.
- 4 On the *Charte constitutionnelle* and "constitutional monarchism" as a model in the post-Napoleonic age see Prutsch 2009a, Prutsch 2013, Grotke/Prutsch 2014.
- 5 See Sellin 1996, pp. 348–350.
- 6 See *Saint-Petersbourg, 6/18 juillet 1814*. In: Maistre 1860 Vol. 1, p. 379.
- 7 See Maistre 1980 [1797], p. 184.
- 8 See, e.g., Kirsch 2007.
- 9 *Political State of Prussia*. In: [Edinburgh Review] 1802–1929 Vol. 83 No. 167 (January 1846), pp. 224–239, quote p. 229.

- 10 *Rapport fait au Roi pendant son voyage de Gand à Paris* (June 1815). In: Pallain 1881, pp. 436–484.
- 11 In: *ibid.*, p. 464.
- 12 In: *ibid.*, p. 467.
- 13 In: *ibid.*, p. 469.
- 14 See Constant 1814.
- 15 See Richter 2005, p. 235, talking about a “family of political concepts”.
- 16 See Guizot 1828, Guizot 1829–1832 [1828–1830]. A contemporary English translation is Guizot 1846 [1828–1830].
- 17 Guizot 1828, 9th lecture (June 13, 1828), p. 13. Translation follows Guizot 1846 [1828–1830] Vol. 1, p. 166.
- 18 Guizot 1828, 4th lecture (May 9, 1828), p. 20. Translation follows Guizot 1846 [1828–1830] Vol. 1, p. 73f.
- 19 Cf. Guizot 1828, 9th lecture (June 13, 1828), p. 21f.
- 20 Guizot 1851 [1820–1822] Vol. 2, p. 139f. Translation follows Guizot 1852 [1820–1822], p. 341.
- 21 Guizot 1829–1832 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, 20th lecture, p. 263f. Translation follows Guizot 1846 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, p. 183f.
- 22 Guizot 1829–1832 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, 20th lecture, p. 264f. Translation follows Guizot 1846 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, p. 184.
- 23 Guizot 1829–1832 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, 20th lecture, p. 266f. Translation follows Guizot 1846 [1828–1830] Vol. 2, p. 185.
- 24 Cf. Guizot’s review of *De la monarchie française depuis la seconde restauration jusqu’à la fin de la session de 1816* by Francois Dominique de Reynaud, Comte de Montlosier (1755–1838), appearing in the third volume of the *Archives Philosophiques, Politiques et Littéraires* (Guizot 1818, p. 396).
- 25 On the July Revolution of 1830 and the revision of the *Charte constitutionnelle* in 1830 see Rosanvallon 1994, Prutsch 2006, Prutsch 2008, Prutsch 2009b. The revised *Charte constitutionnelle* (June 4, 1814) in: [BL] 1830–1848 Vol. 1 No. 133, pp. 197–207.
- 26 Both works were only published posthumously: *Mémoires sur Napoléon* as part of Stendhal’s *Œuvres complètes* in 1876 (misleadingly titled *Vie de Napoléon*; see Stendhal [= Marie-Henri Beyle] 1876 [1817–1818]), *Vie de Napoléon* as late as 1929 (Stendhal [= Marie-Henri Beyle] 1930 [1836–1837]).
- 27 Stendhal [= Marie-Henri Beyle] 1930 [1817–1818] Chapter XIX, p. 61.
- 28 *Ibid.* Chapter LXXXVII, p. 335.
- 29 Stendhal [= Marie-Henri Beyle] 1930 [1836–1837] Chapter I, p. 29.
- 30 On the “Napoleonic myth” in Germany see Beßlich 2007.
- 31 The Federal Act of 1815 (*Deutsche Bundesakte vom 8. Juni 1815*. In: Huber 1978 [1961], pp. 84–90) had been a disappointment for both the national and constitutional movement in Germany.
- 32 The Karlsbad Decrees were enacted on 20 September 1819. The text of the decrees in *ibid.*, pp. 101–105.
- 33 *Schlußakte der Wiener Ministerkonferenzen* (May 15, 1820). In: *ibid.*, pp. 91–100.
- 34 In: Perthes 1861 Vol. 3, p. 307.
- 35 In: *ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 311.
- 36 In: *ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 311f.
- 37 *Zweiter Bundesbeschluß über Maßregeln zur Aufrechterhaltung der gesetzlichen Ordnung und Ruhe in Deutschland* (July 5, 1832). In: Huber 1978 [1961], p. 134f.

- 38 *Bundesbeschluß über Maßregeln zur Aufrechterhaltung der gesetzlichen Ordnung und Ruhe in Deutschland* (28 May 1832). In: *ibid.*, p. 132f.
- 39 *Schlußprotokoll der Wiener Ministerkonferenzen* (June 12, 1834). In: *ibid.*, p. 137–149.
- 40 In: Perthes 1861 Vol. 3, p. 346.
- 41 See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 740f.
- 42 Heine 1861–1866 Vol. 3 (*Englische Fragmente. Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen*), p. 139f.
- 43 *Ibid.* Vol. 8 (*Französische Zustände. Erster Theil*), p. 359f. (Dieppe, August 20, 1832). Heine had also used the term earlier, however less consciously. See, e.g., his description of popular Bonapartist poets under the July Monarchy as “Tyrtäen des Bonapartismus”. *Ibid.* Vol. 8 (*Französische Zustände. Erster Theil*), p. 154 (Paris, March 25, 1832).
- 44 Mackintosh 1835 Vol. 2, p. 314f. (November 25, 1814).
- 45 Thomas Jefferson to Marquis de La Fayette (Monticello, February 14, 1815). In: Jefferson 1830 Vol. 4, Letter CXXI, pp. 246–252, quote p. 247.
- 46 The transformation into a political concept can also be seen in an 1831 letter of the British educator and historian Thomas Arnold (1795–1842) to the Prussian diplomat Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860). He argued that “Nothing can be more opposite than Liberalism and Bonapartism”, while expressing confidence that “the whole power of the [English] nation would be heartily put forth to strangle in the birth the first symptoms of Napoleonism”. Thomas Arnold to Chevalier Bunsen (Rugby, March 20, 1831). In: Arnold 1844 Vol. 1, pp. 288–291, quote p. 290.
- 47 Given the “success story” to come of “Bonapartism” and slightly after also “Casearism”, later authors have mistakenly re-projected these terminologies to authors of the early nineteenth century. See, for example, Johnson 1963, p. 56, putting “Bonapartism” into Guizot’s mouth notwithstanding that Guizot had not yet applied the term, but rather the notion “system of Bonaparte” (*système de Buonaparte*). See Guizot 1818, p. 396.
- 48 Heine 1861–1866 Vol. 3 (*Englische Fragmente. Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen*), p. 212.
- 49 *Ibid.* Vol. 8 (*Französische Zustände. Erster Theil*), p. 360. (Dieppe, August 20, 1832).
- 50 *Ibid.* Vol. 10 (*Französische Zustände. Dritter Theil*), p. 55f. (June 20, 1842).
- 51 *Ibid.* Vol. 10 (*Französische Zustände. Dritter Theil*), p. 57 and 59f. (July 12, 1842).
- 52 The “defending” and “preserving” role of Bonapartism shines through also in Heine’s later appreciation of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. See, e.g., Heine to Gustav Kolb (Paris, April 21, 1851). In: Holzhausen 1903, p. 216.
- 53 Heine’s attitude towards the idea of radical change of state and society was not without inconsistencies, as was his personality in general: Ideologically close to the young Hegelian movement, Heine acknowledged the need for a destruction of the existing order for political renewal. At the same time, however, he dreaded the equalizing tendencies of a new social order and never actually subscribed to it. See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 742f.
- 54 Quote in: *ibid.*, p. 743.
- 55 Böhmer 1868 Vol. 1, p. 279.
- 56 The other uses of “Caesarism” in the work are most likely *ex post* applications by the editor, Johannes Janssen, who published Böhmer’s *Leben, Briefe und kleinere Schriften* in 1868, when the term had become widely used.
- 57 Perthes 1861 Vol. 3, p. 449.
- 58 *Dictator, Dictatur*. In: Rotteck/Welcker 1834–1843 Vol. 4, pp. 392–396.
- 59 Schulz-Bodner 1837, p. 395f.

- 60 The *Historismus* school of writing about the past, too, which was about to unfold under the influence of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), reflected this interest in great men and their deeds.
- 61 Carlyle 1840, p. 233.
- 62 On Tocqueville's politico-theoretical contribution to the concepts of political legitimacy and the regimes of Napoleon I and Napoleon III in particular see, e.g., the works of Melvin Richter: Richter 1988, Richter 2004.
- 63 *Quelle espèce de despotisme les nations démocratiques ont à craindre* (Vol. IV Chapter 6). In: Tocqueville 2010 [1835–1840] Vol. 4, pp. 1245–1261. The discussion of this issue was continued in *Suite des chapitres précédents* (Ibid., pp. 1262–1277), preparing for the final chapter of *De la démocratie en Amérique* (Vol. IV Chapter 8: *Vue générale du sujet*; ibid., pp. 1278–1285).
- 64 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1245f.
- 65 See ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1280.
- 66 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1248f. An alternative he was thinking of “for lack of anything better” was “administrative despotism”. Ibid., p. 1249, notes.
- 67 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1247f.
- 68 It is worth noting that the conclusions drawn by Tocqueville in 1840 regarding the greatest danger to modern democracies were considerably different from those in the earlier 1835 volume of *Democracy in America*. In 1835 he had depicted modern liberty threatened by a return to the oppressive regime exercised by the Caesars. In the following years, however, Tocqueville changed his mind and came to acknowledge that historical analogies were not quite helpful, as a manuscript note of 7 March 1838 reveals (Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1247, notes).
- 69 See Constant 1814 and the previous chapter.
- 70 Tocqueville 2010 [1835–1840] Vol. 4, p. 1249f.
- 71 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1252.
- 72 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1255f.
- 73 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1262.
- 74 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1265.
- 75 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1275.
- 76 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1276.
- 77 Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 1280.
- 78 In January 1831, Louis-Philippe summarized the program of the July Monarchy in the famous statement that he would attempt to remain in a *juste milieu* with equal distance from the excesses of popular power and the abuses of royal power.
- 79 See Weber 1980 [1922], pp. 122–124.
- 80 Therein, one can see a clear echo of the classical discourse on “mixed government”, keeping its charm throughout time. In his memoirs, even Lucien Bonaparte fancied a “throne surrounded [...] with democratic and aristocratic institutions, wisely balanced”, and considered “mixed governments” as “the only ones where the constitutional liberties, precious fruits of our civilization, can live and prosper in the midst of the inequalities and passions inseparable from humanity” (Bonaparte 1836a, p. 302f.).
- 81 See Hegel 1999 [1837].
- 82 On Bonapartism emancipating itself from Napoleon Bonaparte and its becoming part of a “national patrimony” in France, and the transformation of Napoleon's political legacy into a wider concept of Caesarism, see Alexander 2000 and Bruyère-Ostells 2013.

4 From Bonapartism to Caesarism: The Mid-Century and Louis-Napoléon

- 1 Price 2001, p. 10.
- 2 See *ibid.*, p. 10.
- 3 Due to the lack of exact statistical material, the numbers vary in the literature. Most works, however, indicate a number between 9 and 10 million.
- 4 See Tocqueville 1896 [1893], p. 98.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 6 6.9 of 8.2 million registered voters cast their votes. See Rosanvallon 2008 [1992], p. 381.
- 7 *Constitution de la République française* (November 4, 1848). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 2 No. 87, pp. 575–605.
- 8 See Discourse of Grévy in the National Constituent Assembly (October 6, 1848). In: Grévy 1888 Vol. 1, pp. 38–61.
- 9 On the role of the “Napoleonic legend” in 1848 see Tudesq 1957.
- 10 See *ibid.*, p. 71f.
- 11 The writings of Louis-Napoléon are collected in the *Œuvres de Napoléon III* (Bonaparte 1856). For his political works see the first two volumes. An early English translation is Bonaparte 1852.
- 12 See Price 2001, p. 16.
- 13 *Des Idées Napoléoniennes* (1839). In: Bonaparte 1856 Vol. 1, pp. 15–233, quote p. 172. In a short pamphlet one year later, he summarized the cornerstones of his political vision in similar terms. See *L’Idée Napoléonienne* (1840). In: *ibid.* Vol. 1, pp. 1–13.
- 14 *Extinction du paupérisme* (1844). In: *ibid.* Vol. 2, pp. 107–151.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 16 All in all, around 7.5 million French made use of their right to vote, that is around 76 percent of the registered voters. See Anceau 2008, p. 142f.
- 17 Proudhon 1850, p. 248.
- 18 Even in Paris, Louis-Napoléon gained a comfortable majority of 58 percent of the votes. See Price 2001, p. 19.
- 19 See Stein 1842.
- 20 See Stein 1850.
- 21 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. IVf.
- 22 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. V and VII.
- 23 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. Vf.
- 24 *Ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 76.
- 25 *Ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 47f.
- 26 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 241.
- 27 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 243f.
- 28 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 245.
- 29 *Ibid.* Vol. 3, pp. 417–420.
- 30 See *ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 420f.
- 31 *Ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 422f.
- 32 A short English biography of Donoso Cortés is Herrera 1995.
- 33 His writings and programmatic speeches are collected in Donoso Cortés 1854–1855, a selection in English in Donoso Cortés 2007. On his political thought see Galindo Herrero 1957, on his theory of dictatorship in particular Beneyto Pérez 1988.

- 34 In: Donoso Cortés 1854–1855 Vol. 3, pp. 253–274. The general debate was on the emergency law (*Ley de poderes extraordinarios*) passed by parliament in March 1848.
- 35 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 259 and 261.
- 36 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 266 and 270.
- 37 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 268.
- 38 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 271.
- 39 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 273.
- 40 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 274.
- 41 In: ibid. Vol. 3, pp. 303–325.
- 42 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 316.
- 43 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 317.
- 44 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 317.
- 45 See Beyme 2002, p. 559f. For Donoso Cortés' assessment of the political situation in France 1851/1852 cf. his reports from Paris. In: Donoso Cortés 1854–1855 Vol. 5, pp. 235–370. The comparison between Napoleon III and Augustus can be found in a letter dated December 10, 1851. In: ibid., pp. 320–326, especially p. 321.
- 46 In: ibid. Vol. 4, pp. 13–297, appendix pp. 299–406. A translated English edition is Donoso Cortés 1879 [1851].
- 47 Romieu is regularly described as the “father” of “Caesarism”. See, e.g., Groh 2004 [1972], p. 751f., Baehr 1998, pp. 106–112. On Romieu and his concept of Caesarism see Janssen Perio 1972.
- 48 See Romieu 1850.
- 49 Ibid., p. 200.
- 50 See ibid., p. 102.
- 51 Ibid., p. 6.
- 52 See ibid., p. 8f.
- 53 Ibid., p. 19f.
- 54 Ibid., p. 13. Further portrayals of Napoleon as Caesar on p. 34, p. 44 and p. 130. The successors of Caesar and Napoleon alike, Romieu underlined, would profit from the “magic of the [predecessors'] names” (ibid., p. 34).
- 55 See ibid., pp. 109–116, especially p. 115.
- 56 Ibid., p. 116.
- 57 See ibid., p. 118f.
- 58 Ibid., p. 122.
- 59 See ibid., p. 29f.
- 60 Ibid., p. 193f.
- 61 Ibid., p. 196f.
- 62 Ibid., p. 200.
- 63 Ibid., p. 206f.
- 64 See, e.g., ibid., p. 156f.
- 65 Romieu 1851c, p. 2.
- 66 Ibid., p. 3f.
- 67 Ibid., p. 17f. and p. 46f.
- 68 Ibid., p. 10.
- 69 Ibid., p. 25.
- 70 Ibid., p. 65f.
- 71 Ibid., p. 68 and p. 70.
- 72 Ibid., p. 91.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 95–97.

- 74 Ibid., p. 100.
- 75 Romieu was acquainted with the writings of the Spaniard not least through his close friendship with Louis Veuillot (1813–1883), editor of Juan Donoso Cortés' writings in France.
- 76 Of the later Emperor's entourage, Persigny is often described as the most passionate ideologue of Bonapartism. On Persigny's role as a political mastermind of the Second Empire see Clément 2006.
- 77 See, e.g., Romieu 1851c, p. 99.
- 78 The right-left division corresponded with strong regional discrepancies of the election results. See Salmon 2001, p. 6f.
- 79 *Loi qui modifie la loi électorale du 15 mars 1849* (May 31, 1850). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 5 No. 266, pp. 605–609.
- 80 *Inauguration de la section du chemin de fer de Lyon entre Tonnerre et Dijon* (June 1, 1851). In: Bonaparte 1856 Vol. 3, pp. 210–212, quote p. 210.
- 81 See *ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 211.
- 82 On the preparation and execution of the coup see, e.g., Anceau 2009.
- 83 See *Proclamation du Président de la République. Appel au Peuple* (December 2, 1851). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 8 No. 465, p. 988f.
- 84 See Bonaparte 1856 Vol. 3, p. 273.
- 85 Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 272 and p. 274.
- 86 On the role of the "Imperial Legend" for Louis-Napoléon see Hazareesingh 2005 [2004], pp. 184–208.
- 87 Unlike for the plebiscites of Napoleon Bonaparte, which had been exclusively termed *appels au peuple*, for those of Louis-Napoléon *plébiscite* was (re-)used as a technical term after having been applied earlier for the referenda of 1793 and 1795. See *Décret sur la présentation d'un Plébiscite à l'acceptation du Peuple français* (December 2, 1851). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 8 No. 465, p. 991f. The use, however, was not entirely consistent, as the President's call for an *appel au peuple* in his personal address to the nation that very same day proves: *Proclamation du Président de la République. Appel au Peuple* (December 2, 1851). In: *ibid.* Vol. 8 No. 465, p. 988f.
- 88 *Extrait du registre des Délibérations de la Commission consultative. Recensement général des votes émis sur le plébiscite présenté à l'acceptation du Peuple français* (December 31, 1851). In: *ibid.* Vol. 8 No. 474, pp. 1229–1232. Even if 1.5 million abstentions are considered as expressions of passive resistance and therefore added to the "No" votes, still a majority of around 78 percent of all registered voters had cast their ballot in favor of Louis-Napoléon.
- 89 See Ménager 1988, pp. 112–114.
- 90 *Constitution faite en vertu des pouvoirs délégués par le Peuple français à Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, par le vote des 20 et 21 Décembre 1851* (January 14, 1852). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 9 No. 479, pp. 49–72.
- 91 See *ibid.*, p. 50.
- 92 Ibid., p. 51f.
- 93 Ibid., p. 53.
- 94 One of the most striking similarities is between Article 6 of the 1852 Constitution and Article 14 of the former *Charte*.
- 95 See *Discours de Bordeaux* (October 9, 1852). In: Bonaparte 1856 Vol. 3, pp. 341–344.
- 96 See *ibid.* Vol. 3, pp. 342–344.
- 97 *Sénatus-consulte portant modification à la Constitution* (November 7, 1852). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 10 No. 587, pp. 677–680.

- 98 *Recensement général des Votes émis sur le projet de Plébiscite présenté les 21 et 22 novembre 1852 à l'acceptation du Peuple français* (December 1, 1852). In: [BL] 1852–1870 Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 1–5.
- 99 *Sénatus-consulte portant interprétation et modification de la Constitution du 14 janvier 1852* (December 25, 1852). In: *ibid.* Vol. 1 No. 5, pp. 57–59.
- 100 A detailed analysis of the Second Empire, focusing on its “anatomy of power”, is Price 2001.
- 101 *Caractère de Bonaparte*. In: Chateaubriand 1849–1850 Vol. 3, pp. 415–419, quote p. 418.
- 102 “Quoi ! après Auguste, Augustule ! . . . Quoi ! Parce-ce que nous avons eu Napoléon-le-Grand, il faut que nous ayons Napoléon-le-petit !” (July 17, 1851). In: [Moniteur universel] 1811–1868 No. 199 (July 18, 1851), pp. 2041–2052, quote p. 2050.
- 103 See Hugo 1852a. Hugo’s pamphlet found immediately translation into English under the title *Napoleon the Little* (Hugo 1852b). The following quotations are largely based on the English edition.
- 104 Hugo 1852a, p. 351; Hugo 1852b, p. 228.
- 105 Hugo 1852a, p. 343; Hugo 1852b, p. 222f.
- 106 Hugo 1852a, p. 253f; Hugo 1852b, p. 171.
- 107 Hugo 1852a, p. 275; Hugo 1852b, p. 185.
- 108 [Westminster Review] 1824–1914 No. CXIV (October 1852), p. 336.
- 109 Marx’s remarks are from the introduction to the second edition of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*: Marx 1869 [1852], p. IV.
- 110 See Schoelcher 1852.
- 111 [Westminster Review] 1824–1914 No. CXIV (October 1852), p. 336. In the 1870s, Hugo eventually published a more “factual” two-volumes account of the coup (Hugo 1877–1878).
- 112 See Proudhon 1852.
- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 88f.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- 115 *Ibid.*, p. 265f.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- 117 See Tocqueville 1856. A commented and annotated edition in, e.g., Tocqueville 1986, pp. 893–1105, notes pp. 1154–1160.
- 118 For the *Recollections* see Tocqueville 1896 [1893]. Much of Tocqueville’s correspondence was printed already in Tocqueville 1864–1866, namely in the volumes 5 to 7. A viable collection in English translation is Tocqueville 1985.
- 119 Tocqueville to the editor of the London *Times* (December 11, 1851). In: Tocqueville 1985, pp. 266–278, quotes p. 276.
- 120 Senior 1871 Vol. 2, pp. 226–228.
- 121 See Tocqueville to Henry Reeve (January 9, 1852). In: Tocqueville 1985, pp. 283–285.
- 122 Tocqueville to Gustave de Beaumont (November 28, 1849). In: *ibid.*, pp. 239–245, quote p. 242.
- 123 Tocqueville to Sophie Swetchine (January 7, 1856). In: *ibid.*, pp. 325–327, quote p. 326.
- 124 Tocqueville to Arthur de Gobineau (September 16, 1858). In: *ibid.*, pp. 374–377, quote p. 376.
- 125 Tocqueville to Arthur de Gobineau (January 24, 1857). In: *ibid.*, pp. 342–348, quotes p. 347.
- 126 See Romieu 1851b and Romieu 1851a.

- 127 In an article published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1866, Ludwig Bamberger (1823–1899) stressed that “the concept of Caesarism, as it passes from hand to hand today, first came into the world with the dawn of the second French Empire. Romieu [. . .] gave the first impetus”. *Der Cäsarismus* (1866). In: Bamberger 1894–1898 Vol. 3, pp. 328–336, quote p. 333.
- 128 On the perception of the Caesarism of Napoleon III in Germany see Gollwitzer 1952. An English translation appeared 35 years later (Gollwitzer 1987), then commented and located in more recent scholarly discussions.
- 129 See Frantz 1852. A more recent and commented edition is Frantz 1990.
- 130 See Frantz 1852, p. 3.
- 131 The term and concept of “Napoleonism” appears throughout the book, but is explicitly dealt with in Chapters VII (*Der Napoleonismus*) and VIII (*Der Napoleonismus und Europa*). See *ibid.*, pp. 74–95.
- 132 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 133 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 135 *Ibid.*, p. 76f.
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 137 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 138 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 139 See *ibid.*, p. 80.
- 140 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 141 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 142 See *ibid.*, p. 98.
- 143 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 144 See *ibid.*, p. 104f.
- 145 *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- 146 See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 752.
- 147 *Provincial und Gesamt-Vertretung* (1851). In: Radowitz 1852–1853 Vol. 4, pp. 259–261, quote p. 259.
- 148 See *Die Strömungen* (1852). In: *ibid.* Vol. 4, p. 312f.
- 149 *Louis Napoleon und die Partheien* (1851). In: *ibid.* Vol. 4, p. 257f.
- 150 *Deutschland und der Napoleonismus* (1860). In: Planck 1922, pp. 3–65. Though written in 1860, the piece was only published in 1922.
- 151 Especially in jurisprudence that distinction had been used for some time, namely in the German “Historical School of Law” (*Historische Rechtsschule*) in the tradition of Friedrich Carl von Savigny.
- 152 See Diezel 1852, Diezel 1853.
- 153 Explicitly, e.g., Diezel 1852, p. 75f.
- 154 Diezel 1853, p. 215.
- 155 *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- 156 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
- 157 See Diezel 1852, p. 208.
- 158 Diezel 1853, p. 267f.
- 159 Diezel 1852, p. 391.
- 160 See Lieber 1853, especially pp. 335–351.
- 161 *Ibid.*, p. 343.
- 162 See Mommsen 1853, p. 431.
- 163 *Ibid.*, p. 432.

- 164 Mommsen 1857 [1853], p. 458.
- 165 Ibid., p. 459.
- 166 Mommsen 1858, p. 240.
- 167 Ibid., p. 241.
- 168 See Gollwitzer 1952, p. 60.
- 169 See Bonaparte 1865–1866.
- 170 See *ibid.* Vol. 1, p. VI. Tellingly, Caesar's bloody end was omitted in the work.
- 171 Quoted in: Wickert 1959–1980 Vol. 4, p. 153f.
- 172 *Das Vorwort Napoleon's III.* In: [Zeitung des Judenthums] No. 11 (March 14, 1865), pp. 162–164, continued in No. 12 (March 21, 1865), pp. 175–178. Quote p. 163f.
- 173 Ibid., p. 164.
- 174 “[...] die Verwandlung des Bonapartismus in den Cäsarismus gehört erst Napoleon III. an.” Ibid., p. 175.
- 175 Ibid., p. 163.
- 176 See Gollwitzer 1952, pp. 40–44.
- 177 Segesser 1877, p. 339.
- 178 Ibid., p. 23.
- 179 Ibid., p. 138.
- 180 See Mundt 1857 Vol. 2, pp. 147–191, quote p. 148.
- 181 Ibid. Vol. 1, introduction.
- 182 Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 34.
- 183 Mundt 1858 Vol. 2, p. 176.
- 184 *Extinction du paupérisme* (1844). In: Bonaparte 1856 Vol. 2, pp. 107–151.
- 185 Mundt 1857 Vol. 1, p. 132.
- 186 See Mundt 1858 Vol. 2, p. 241.
- 187 Diezel 1852, p. 110f.
- 188 See Marx 1985 [1852], for an English translation Marx 1979 [1852]. On Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire* see, e.g., Carver 2004.
- 189 Marx 1979 [1852], p. 103.
- 190 Marx 1869 [1852], p. IV.
- 191 Ibid., p. VI.
- 192 Marx 1979 [1852], p. 187.
- 193 Ibid., p. 107f.
- 194 Ibid., p. 184f.
- 195 Ibid., p. 197.
- 196 *Discours sur les principes politiques de l'Empire* (August 26, 1863). In: Persigny 1865, pp. 157–167.
- 197 Ibid., p. 160.
- 198 See *ibid.*, p. 164f.
- 199 Ibid., p. 166.
- 200 Ibid., p. 167.
- 201 See Price 2001, pp. 214–220.
- 202 See *ibid.*, pp. 227–230.
- 203 See McMillan 1991, p. 138f.
- 204 Sellin 2018, p. 239.
- 205 Boon 1936, p. 91.
- 206 Ibid., p. 69.
- 207 Ibid., p. 73.
- 208 *Lettre au ministre d'État* (January 5, 1860). In: Bonaparte 1869 Vol. 5, pp. 107–112.

- 209 See Price 2001, p. 236f.
- 210 On the “management” of elections during the Second Empire see *ibid.*, pp. 95–133.
- 211 Cf. Art. 5 of the 1852 Constitution.
- 212 Barni 1868, p. 113.
- 213 See, e.g., Rosanvallon 2008 [1992] and Rémond 1982 [1954], especially 106f.
- 214 See Hazareesingh 2004, especially pp. 140–145.
- 215 See Plessis 1979 [1973], p. 209.
- 216 Quoted in: Price 2001, p. 395f.
- 217 *Sénatus-consulte du 8 septembre 1869, qui modifie divers articles de la Constitution, les articles 3 et 5 du sénatus-consulte du 22 décembre 1852 et l'article 1er du sénatus-consulte du 31 décembre 1861* (September 8, 1869). In: [Staatsarchiv] 1861–1916 Vol. 18 (January to June 1870) No. 3946, pp. 17–19.
- 218 See Proclamation of Napoleon III to the French Nation (April 23, 1870). In: *ibid.* Vol. 18 (January to June 1870) No. 3956, p. 54.
- 219 *Sénatus-consulte fixant la Constitution de l'Empire* (May 21, 1870). In: [BL] 1852–1870 Vol. 35 No. 1802, pp. 519–530.
- 220 Imperial Sitting on the occasion of the proclamation of the official results of the plebiscite (May 21, 1870). In: [Staatsarchiv] 1861–1916 Vol. 18 (January to June 1870) No. 3965, pp. 68–71, quote p. 70f.
- 221 Price 2001, p. 400.
- 222 See Constant 1814.
- 223 See Sellin 2001, pp. 143–171.
- 224 See *Eigenhändiges Mémoire, betr. die Beziehungen Preußens zu Frankreich* (June 2, 1857). In: Poschinger 1882–1884 Vol. 4, pp. 274–280. Also in Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 2 No. 253, pp. 227–232 (headed *Denkschrift für Minister v. Manteuffel*).
- 225 Barni 1868, p. 246.
- 226 *Discours prononcé à l'ouverture du Congrès international de la paix* (September 9, 1867). In: *ibid.*, pp. 259–263, quote p. 260.
- 227 On the “European Concert” after 1815 see Schulz 2009. The “Vienna System” can also be interpreted as the first in a series of European post-war peace utopias in the nineteenth and twentieth century (see Sträth 2016).
- 228 On the origins of the Franco-Prussian War see Wetzel 2001.
- 229 Price 2001, p. 406.
- 230 Quoted in: *ibid.*, p. 409.
- 231 Quoted in: Fimiani 1995, p. 284.

5 “Germanic Caesarism” and the *Bismarckreich*

- 1 Diezel 1852, p. 133f.
- 2 Blankenburg 1870, p. 730.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 724.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 722.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 725.
- 6 See Gollwitzer 1952, p. 58.
- 7 *Die Revolution und die Reaktion* (*Hartung'sche Zeitung* Nr. 118, May 22, 1848). In: Rosenkranz 1919, pp. 105–110, quote p. 109.
- 8 See Rohmer 1848.
- 9 See *ibid.*, p. 20.

- 10 Ibid., p. 23f.
- 11 Rochau 1853–1869 Vol. 1, p. 2.
- 12 Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 208.
- 13 Bollmann uses both the expressions “napoleonischer” and “französischer Cäsarismus”. E.g., Bollmann 1858, p. 36, p. 47, p. 90.
- 14 Ibid., p. 47f.
- 15 See *ibid.*, p. 58.
- 16 Ibid., p. 101.
- 17 Ibid., p. 102.
- 18 See Duncker, Max. In: [Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie] 1875–1912 Vol. 48, pp. 171–199, especially p. 184.
- 19 Duncker to Graf Maximilian von Schwerin-Putzar (Berlin, February 18, 1862). In: Duncker 1923, pp. 315–317, quotes p. 315 and 317.
- 20 In: Baumgarten 1894, p. XLVIII.
- 21 *Der deutsche Liberalismus. Eine Selbstkritik.* In: *ibid.*, pp. 76–216.
- 22 See Gollwitzer 1952, p. 64f. The term *Cavourismus* is actually one of the nineteenth century and was actively used in Germany as early as in the 1860s. Cf., e.g., the article *Zur Erwiderung.* In: [Neue Preußische Zeitung] 1848–1939 No. 303 (December 30, 1863), Beilage. For a comparison of “Cavourism” with “Bismarckism” see Rusconi 2013, especially pp. 129–155.
- 23 Baumgarten 1894, p. 181.
- 24 On the attitudes of Prussian conservatives towards Bonapartism particularly in the 1850s see Barclay 2004, which has inspired the following section.
- 25 See Haller 1816–1825.
- 26 See Stahl 1845.
- 27 Ibid., p. 34.
- 28 Schlegelmilch 2009, p. 67.
- 29 Friedrich Wilhelm to Prince Johann von Sachsen (May 31, 1832). Quoted in: Barclay 2004, p. 68.
- 30 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (December 20, 1851). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 4–6, quotes p. 5f.
- 31 Gerlach 1891–1892 Vol. 1 (December 26, 1851), pp. 710–713, quote p. 710f.
- 32 Ibid. Vol. 1 (January 2, 1852), p. 716f., quote p. 716.
- 33 Ibid. Vol. 2 (June 21, 1855), pp. 322–325, quote p. 323.
- 34 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (June 5, 1857). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 216–221, quote p. 218.
- 35 Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach to Leopold von Gerlach (February 3, 1853). Quoted in: Barclay 2004, p. 67.
- 36 Ibid., p. 76.
- 37 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (January 23, 1855). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 131–133, quote p. 132.
- 38 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (May 21, 1857). In: *ibid.*, pp. 213–216, quote p. 213.
- 39 See, for example, the letters of Leopold von Gerlach to Bismarck on January 4 and 23, 1855, in which Gerlach characterized Manteuffels literally as “principaliter Bonapartist” and “völlig Bonapartist”. In: *ibid.*, pp. 126–129 and 131–133, quotes p. 127 and p. 133.
- 40 See Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (February 25, 1853). In: *ibid.*, pp. 38–41, especially p. 39.

- 41 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (November 13, 1852). In: *ibid.*, pp. 27–30, quote p. 29.
- 42 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (February 1854). In: *ibid.*, pp. 79–83, quote p. 82.
- 43 See Riehl 1851, quotes p. 198.
- 44 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (June 5, 1857). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 216–221, quote p. 219. In English translation also in Bismarck 1898 [1890] Vol. 1, pp. 203–208, quote p. 206.
- 45 It remains unclear how, in the light of such criteria, Gerlach could disqualify Manteuffel as a Bonapartist (cf. note 39 above).
- 46 Barclay 2004, p. 79.
- 47 On this issue see, e.g., Stürmer 1974, Gall 1976 (re-edition: Gall 1996), Fehrenbach 1977, Mitchell 1977a (in German: Mitchell 1977b), Wolter 1977, Kuhn 1978, Pflanze 1982.
- 48 The argument of the non-comparability of Bismarck and the Bonapartes can be found, e.g., in Gall 1976 (explicitly p. 207) or Blanning 2004 (especially p. 65).
- 49 See, e.g., Gall 2008 [1980], p. 75.
- 50 Privatschreiben an Minister v. Manteuffel (April 26, 1856). In: Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 2, pp. 138–145.
- 51 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (April 29, 1857). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 205–208, quote p. 206.
- 52 See Otto von Bismarck to Leopold von Gerlach (May 2, 1857). In: Bismarck 2007 [1890], pp. 130–137, quote p. 131. English translation in Bismarck 1898 [1890] Vol. 1, pp. 170–180.
- 53 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (May 6, 1857). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 208–213, quote p. 211.
- 54 See Otto von Bismarck to Leopold von Gerlach (May 11, 1857). In: Gerlach/Bismarck 1893, p. 335f.
- 55 Leopold von Gerlach to Otto von Bismarck (May 21, 1857). In: Gerlach 1912, pp. 213–216, quote p. 213f.
- 56 *Eigenhändiges Mémoire, betr. die Beziehungen Preußens zu Frankreich* (2 June 1857). In: Poschinger 1882–1884 Vol. 4, pp. 274–280.
- 57 See Otto von Bismarck to Leopold von Gerlach (May 30, 1857). In: Gerlach/Bismarck 1893, pp. 337–345, especially p. 337 and p. 339.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 340f.
- 59 Otto von Bismarck to Leopold von Gerlach (May 2, 1860). In: *ibid.*, pp. 352–355, quote p. 354.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 353.
- 61 See, e.g., Pflanze 1982.
- 62 See especially Wehler 1969.
- 63 Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx (April 13, 1866). In: Marx/Engels 1956–1990 Vol. 31 No. 104, p. 208f., quote p. 208.
- 64 See Lazzaro 1862, quote p. 17.
- 65 See, e.g., Fehrenbach 1977, p. 39.
- 66 See, e.g., Gall 1976, Mitchell 1977a.
- 67 See, e.g., Blanning 2004, Althammer 2009, p. 59f., Leonhard 2010, p. 312f.
- 68 See *Monsieur de Bismarck*. In: Bamberger 1894–1898 Vol. 3, pp. 337–443. See also Bamberger's article *Der Cäsarismus*, published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in August 1866 (In: *ibid.* Vol. 3, pp. 328–336).
- 69 Cf. also Chapter 3.1.

- 70 For this view see already, e.g., Horn 1672 [1664] Book 1 Ch. 10 Para. 7.
- 71 Cf. Art. 57 of the *Schlußakte der Wiener Ministerkonferenzen* (May 15, 1820). In: Huber 1978 [1961], pp. 91–100.
- 72 See Kirsch 2007, p. 85. See also Kirsch 1999, pp. 210–218.
- 73 *Constitution faite en vertu des pouvoirs délégués par le Peuple français à Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, par le vote des 20 et 21 Décembre 1851* (January 14, 1852). In: [BL] 1848–1852 Vol. 9 No. 479, pp. 49–72.
- 74 *Verfassungs-Urkunde für den Preußischen Staat* (January 31, 1850). In: [Preußische Gesetzessammlung] 1810–1906 1850 No. 3 (3212), pp. 17–35.
- 75 *Gesetz, betreffend die Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs* (April 16, 1871). In: [Bundesgesetzblatt des Deutschen Bundes] 1871 No. 16 (628), pp. 63–85.
- 76 *Sénatus-consulte fixant la Constitution de l'Empire* (May 21, 1870). In: [BL] 1852–1870 Vol. 35 No. 1802, pp. 519–530.
- 77 See Morsey 1957, p. 321.
- 78 See Fehrenbach 1977, p. 49.
- 79 Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 15, p. 179.
- 80 See Stürmer 1969.
- 81 See, e.g., Oeschey 1944, p. 388.
- 82 Stahl 1845, p. 18.
- 83 Ibid., p. 21. See also *ibid.*, p. 30.
- 84 See Kuhn 1978, p. 290.
- 85 *Gesetz betreffend die Ertheilung der Indemnität in Bezug auf die Führung des Staatshaushalts vom Jahre 1862 ab und die Ermächtigung zu den Staatsausgaben für das Jahr 1866* (September 14, 1866). In: Huber 1978 [1961] Vol. 2, p. 102f.
- 86 On the exchanges between Bismarck and Lasalle see Mayer 1928.
- 87 See Robert von der Goltz (1817–1869) to Bismarck (Paris, January 29, 1863). In: Stolberg-Wernigerode 1941, p. 310f., here p. 311. More generally on the relations between Napoleon III and Bismarck: Geuss 1959.
- 88 Bismarck to Heinrich Alexander von Redern (1804–1888) (Berlin, April 17, 1866). In: Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 5, pp. 455–458, quote p. 457.
- 89 Quoted in: Fehrenbach 1977, p. 50.
- 90 In: [SBVRND] 1867–1870 Vol. 1, pp. 477–480, quote p. 479.
- 91 See Rein 1957, p. 106. In a conversation with the Austrian ambassador in Paris, Richard Klemens von Metternich (1829–1895), Napoleon III described universal suffrage as the single most important of the “principes sur lesquels repose mon pouvoir”. Metternich to Alexander Graf von Mensdorff-Pouilly (Paris, April 14, 1866). In: Oncken 1967 [1926], pp. 133–135, quote p. 134.
- 92 See Althammer 2009, p. 45.
- 93 On Bismarck’s stance towards suffrage see Augst 1917.
- 94 See Fehrenbach 1969, pp. 65–67.
- 95 See *Tischgespräch am 30. Januar 1871 in Versailles*. In: Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 7 (*Gespräche. Erster Band: Bis zur Aufrichtung des Deutschen Reiches*), pp. 491–494, especially p. 493f.
- 96 In: *ibid.* Vol. 15 (*Erinnerung und Gedanke*), p. 324.
- 97 In: *ibid.* Vol. 6b (*Politische Schriften: 1869 bis 1871*), p. 578 (introduction to *Schreiben an den bayrischen Ministerpräsidenten Grafen von Bray-Steinburg*, *ibid.* pp. 577–580).
- 98 See *Sitzung der Budgetkommission des Hauses der Abgeordneten* (September 30, 1862). In: Bismarck 1969–1970 [1892–1905] Vol. 2, pp. 20–38.

- 99 On the relation between foreign policies and Bismarckian “Bonapartism” see Wolter 1977.
- 100 Cf. Chapter 4.4.3.
- 101 In: [RGBl.] 1871–1945 1878 No. 34, pp. 351–358.
- 102 Bismarck, December 1880. In: Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 6c (*Politische Schriften: 1871 bis 1890*), p. 230.
- 103 Conversation of Bismarck with the English Writer William Harbutt Dawson (Friedrichsruh, April 18, 1892). In: *ibid.* Vol. 9 (*Gespräche. Dritter Band der Abteilung Gespräche: Von der Entlassung bis zum Tode Bismarcks*), pp. 194–197, quote p. 195f.
- 104 See Lassalle to Bismarck (Berlin, June 3, 1863). In: Mayer 1928, pp. 59–62, quote p. 60.
- 105 *Einleitung (1895) zu Karl Marx’ „Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850“*. In: Marx/Engels 2010, pp. 330–351, quotes p. 338f.
- 106 Eyck 1968, p. 116f.
- 107 Fehrenbach 1977, p. 49.
- 108 See Jansen 2004, title.
- 109 Speech in the German *Reichstag* (February 24, 1881). In: Bismarck 1924–1935 Vol. 12 (*Reden 1878 bis 1885*), pp. 188–195, quote p. 195.
- 110 See Naumann 1905 [1900].

6 Mass Democracy and “Scientification”: Caesarism at the Turn of the Century

- 1 Hillebrand 1873, p. 195. Hillebrand considered (democratic) *Tyrannis* and *Cäsarismus* to have essentially been France’s form of government since the French Revolution, at times hidden, openly in the last 25 years (*Ibid.*, p. 194 and p. 196).
- 2 This distinction had already been made earlier, among others by Karl von Rotteck in 1826 (see Rotteck 1826 Vol. 9, p. 83).
- 3 Mosse 1971, p. 167.
- 4 See also Baehr 2008, p. 51.
- 5 *Der Cäsarismus* (1866). In: Bamberger 1894–1898 Vol. 3, pp. 328–336, quote p. 328.
- 6 *France under Louis Napoleon*. In: [Westminster Review] 1824–1914 No. CXXXVIII (October 1858), pp. 167–194, quote p. 174.
- 7 See Russell 1865 [1821].
- 8 *The Coming Session*. In: [London Quarterly Review] 1809–1883 No. CXIX (January 1866), pp. 131–148, quote p. 147. Quoted in Murkens 2014, p. 369f.
- 9 *On Liberty* (1859). In: Mill 1989, pp. 1–115, quote p. 66.
- 10 *Caesarism as it now exists* (1865). In: Bagehot 1965–1986 Vol. 4, pp. 111–116.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 115f.
- 16 *The Collapse of Caesarism* (1870). In: Bagehot 1965–1986 Vol. 4, pp. 155–159; quote p. 155f.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 158f. Unlike many other contemporaries, who draw a comparison between Napoleon III and Bismarck, Bagehot considered the French Second Empire very

distinct from the Prussian system of “personal government”. The latter had “not in any sense been Caesarism, but indeed a system as strongly contrasted with Caesarism as our own system of parliamentary omnipotence”, for “an hereditary king, strong in the affection of an aristocracy near his throne, and of a middle class that shows an educated preference for the old dynasty, has no need to fear the displeasure of the lowest among the population” (Ibid., p. 157 and p. 159).

- 19 Maine 1886 [1885], p. vii.
- 20 Ibid., p. x.
- 21 Ibid., p. 88f.
- 22 Ibid., p. 30.
- 23 See Hobson 1909.
- 24 Ibid., p. 12 and p. 14.
- 25 Brownson 1857, p. 434: “[...] monarchical absolutism, or what I choose to call modern Caesarism.”
- 26 See [Abraham Africanus I] 1864.
- 27 The fact of John Wilkes Booth (1838–1865), Lincoln’s assassinator, noting in his diary that he had shouted *Sic semper tyrannis*—attributed to Marcus Iunius Brutus during the murder of Caesar—proves evidence of the parallelization of Lincoln and Caesar being prominent especially among opponents of the President.
- 28 *What We May Learn from the Old World—The War against Caesarism in France and Spain—Have We a Republican Form of Government?* In: [New York Herald] 1835–1924 (July 7, 1873), p. 4.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 See, e.g., Smith 1873.
- 31 See, e.g., *Grantism versus Caesarism*. In: [National Quarterly Review] 1860–1880 Vol. XXIX (June and September 1874), pp. 256–267.
- 32 See Lazzaro 1862, explicitly p. 5.
- 33 Ibid., p. 7.
- 34 Ibid., p. 16.
- 35 Ibid., p. 23f.
- 36 See Baehr 2008, p. 34f.
- 37 *Il Cesarismo* (1865). In: Mazzini 1938–1939 Vol. 2, pp. 791–807.
- 38 See Ferrero 1903 [1899], especially Chapter VII on *Militarism and Caesarism in France*, pp. 199–237.
- 39 Ibid., p. 201.
- 40 Ibid., p. 202.
- 41 Ibid., p. 203f.
- 42 *Césarisme*. In: Littré 1873–1877 [1863–1872] Vol. 1, p. 534.
- 43 *Césarisme*. In: Larousse 1866–1876 Vol. 3 (1867), p. 812.
- 44 It is worth mentioning that while Caesarism became an established term in French lexicography and dictionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, this was not consistently the case. *La grande encyclopédie: inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, for example, lacked an entry *Césarisme*, and also *Bonapartisme* was exclusively defined as “tendance politique qui s’efforce de rétablir ou de maintenir à la tête de la France la dynastie des Bonaparte”. *Bonapartisme*. In: Dreyfus/Berthelot 1886–1902 Vol. 7 (1889), pp. 263–266, quote p. 263.
- 45 See Jourdeuil 1871.
- 46 Ibid., p. 5.
- 47 Ibid., p. 32.

- 48 The previous stages are termed "Le césarisme nobiliaire et clérical ; Le césarisme militaire et administratif ; Le césarisme bourgeois et parlementaire" (Ibid., p. 30).
- 49 Ibid., p. 20.
- 50 Ibid., p. 31, cf. also p. 27.
- 51 See Villedieu 1880.
- 52 Baehr 2008, p. 48.
- 53 Cf. the previous section.
- 54 See Ferrand 1904, quote p. 5.
- 55 See ibid., especially pp. 8–15.
- 56 See Pagès du Port 1888.
- 57 Ibid., p. 14f.
- 58 Ibid., p. 17.
- 59 Ibid., p. 18.
- 60 See ibid., p. 22. The author of the pamphlet is referring to the much noticed 1887 manifesto of the Comte de Paris, in which he had formally embraced universal manhood suffrage while simultaneously rejecting the principle of parliamentary government. Cf. note 63 below.
- 61 Pagès du Port 1888, p. 23.
- 62 Ibid., p. 24.
- 63 The programmatic guidelines of the monarchist movement in France were outlined by the Comte de Paris in 1887 as *Instructions de Mgr le Comte de Paris aux représentants du parti monarchiste en France* (see Orléans 1887).
- 64 See, e.g., Garrigues 1991.
- 65 See, e.g., Lafargue 1887, Pagès du Port 1888.
- 66 See, e.g., Pelletier 1986, Garrigues 1992.
- 67 See Hutton 1976, p. 93f.
- 68 [Programme du Général Boulanger] 1888.
- 69 On Boulangist propaganda see, e.g., Spoiden 2012.
- 70 See Garrigues 2009.
- 71 Quote in: ibid., p. 46.
- 72 See, e.g., [Le Temps] 1861–1942 No. 10131 (January 29, 1889), p. 1.
- 73 See Seager 1969, title.
- 74 *Le Boulangisme*. In: [Gaulois] 1868–1929 No. 2600 (October 11, 1889), p. 1.
- 75 See Hutton 1976, p. 90.
- 76 On the role of anti-parliamentarism for the Boulangist movement see Garrigues 2013.
- 77 See Doty 1970, p. 250.
- 78 See Hutton 1976, p. 86.
- 79 See, e.g., Morphy 1891.
- 80 See Barrès 1900.
- 81 For such an interpretation see, e.g., Adam 1895.
- 82 See Hutton 1976, p. 97f.
- 83 See Le Bon 1896 [1895].
- 84 Ibid., p. 117.
- 85 Ibid., p. 118.
- 86 Ibid., p. 118f., quote p. 119.
- 87 Ibid., p. 120.
- 88 Ibid., p. xxi.
- 89 Ibid., p. 122.

- 90 The importance of imitation had already been stressed by Le Bon in his earlier work *L'homme et les Sociétés* (see Le Bon 1881 Vol. 2, p. 116).
- 91 Le Bon 1896 [1895], p. 136.
- 92 Ibid., p. 145.
- 93 Ibid., p. 146.
- 94 Ibid., p. 158.
- 95 Ibid., p. 159.
- 96 Ibid., p. 162f.
- 97 Ibid., p. 190.
- 98 Ibid., p. 199.
- 99 Ibid., p. 200f.
- 100 Ibid., p. 221.
- 101 This is despite the fact that socialism—which Le Bon describes as “the last illusion that is still vital [to-day]” (Ibid., p. 109)—is considered a particularly threatening development.
- 102 Ibid., p. 33.
- 103 Even in the 1891 pamphlet *Le Boulangerisme du peuple* (Copin-Albancelli 1891), the potential of Boulangerism serving as a bridge between conservatism and republicanism was recognized.
- 104 *Cäsarismus*. In: [Brockhaus] 1882–1887 Vol. 4, p. 37f., quote p. 38. A literally identical characterization of “modern Caesarism” appeared in the *Cäsarismus* entry of the *Brockhaus*’ fourteenth edition (1894), which otherwise was just slightly shorter than the one from the thirteenth, since the passages on ancient Roman Caesarism had been pruned. This might be taken as an argument for Caesarism becoming even more seen as a mainly modern phenomenon. See *Cäsarismus*. In: [Brockhaus] 1893–1897 Vol. 3, p. 978.
- 105 Bonapartism and Napoleonism remained missing also in the following decades, such e.g. in the fourteenth edition (1894–1896) of the *Brockhaus* and its condensed edition of 1911. Therein, *Cäsarismus* was briefly characterized as follows: “Cäsarismus, das von Caesar eingeführte demokrat.-autokratische Staatssystem; absolute Militärherrschaft mit parlamentarischen Formen (2. Franz. Kaiserreich).” *Cäsarismus*. In: [Brockhaus] 1911 Vol. 1, p. 313.
- 106 *Cäsarismus*. In: [Meyers] 1885–1890 Vol. 3, p. 842. This fairly unique approach of claiming Roman and Napoleonic Caesarism to be merely different forms of “presidency” was not kept in later editions of *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. See, e.g., the corresponding entry in the sixth edition of 1905 (*Cäsarismus*. In: [Meyers] 1902–1908 Vol. 3, p. 792). Alike in the *Brockhaus*, specific entries for Bonapartism and/or Napoleonism remained absent in *Meyers*, too. In *Meyers Kleines Lexikon* of 1933, Caesarism and Bonapartism were explicitly equated, with only a cross-reference to *Cäsarismus* under the entry *Bonapartismus*. See *Cäsarismus*. In: [Meyers] 1933 Vol. 1, p. 800.
- 107 See Roscher 1874, p. 380f.
- 108 See Roscher 1888.
- 109 See *ibid.*, p. 642.
- 110 See *ibid.*, p. 646f., quote p. 646.
- 111 *Ibid.*, p. 647f.
- 112 See *ibid.*, p. 737.
- 113 E.g., Roscher’s study was quoted as a reference work for the entry *Cäsarismus* in the fourteenth edition of the *Brockhaus* ([Brockhaus] 1893–1897 Vol. 3, p. 978), and

- influences can be traced both to Max Weber and Georg Jellinek. See, e.g., Weber 1980 [1922], p. 156; Jellinek 1914 [1900], p. 525. At the same time, harsh criticism towards Roscher's approach was uttered from other sides, e.g. by Otto Hintze (1861–1940). See, e.g., Hintze 1982 [1897].
- 114 See Schäffle 1896 [1875–1878]. The parts dealing with Caesarism remained unchanged in the second edition.
- 115 Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 486f.
- 116 Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 484.
- 117 Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 485.
- 118 See Groh 2004 [1972], p. 766.
- 119 In the same vein, e.g., Pöhlmann 1895, especially p. 266 and p. 284. Even radical socialists who did not tire warning of Caesarism as the fate of the working classes shared the view of Caesarism being an essentially ancient phenomenon (see, for example, Most 1878).
- 120 On Wilhelm II and his epoch see, e.g., Röhl 1993–2008.
- 121 On the Bismarck cult and myth starting to grow shortly after the Chancellor's dismissal and his legacy more generally see, e.g., Frankel 2003, Hardtwig 2005, Müller 2008.
- 122 See, e.g., Kessler 1962 [1935], pp. 251–266.
- 123 See, e.g., Gall 2001 [2000], p. 7.
- 124 This wording itself goes back to a speech of the later Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow (1849–1929), by then Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry, in the *Reichstag* on December 6, 1897, in which he defended the Empire's colonial policy. In: [SBVR] 1871–1918 IX. Legislaturperiode V. Session Vol. 1, p. 60.
- 125 In: [RANZ] 1871–1918 1890 No. 34 (February 5, 1890), p. 1.
- 126 See Naumann 1905 [1900], especially pp. 221–229.
- 127 See, e.g., Hull 1991.
- 128 “If Mr. Punch's awakening was gradual he at least recognised the dangerous elements in the Kaiser's character as far back as October, 1888, when he underlined Bismarck's warning against Caesarism.” Graves 1919, p. x.
- 129 See Quidde 1894. In a satirical manner, Quidde—who later received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927 for his achievements in the German peace movement—branded the self-complacency and hubris of the “Emperor” (purportedly the Roman emperor Caligula, but essentially Wilhelm II), while ridiculing his personality. On Quidde's pamphlet see, e.g., Holl/Kloft/Fesser 2001.
- 130 See Kroll 2013, title (*Aufbruch in die Moderne*).
- 131 See Plessner 1982 [1959], p. 48.
- 132 On the question how far Wilhelm II was a *Medienkaiser* see, e.g., Glaab 2008. On the “charisma” of Wilhelm see, e.g., Sieg 2004.
- 133 Stürmer 1977a, p. 206.
- 134 On the “failure of leadership” see Dietrich 1981.
- 135 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 541. In what follows, Johannes Winckelmann's edition of Weber's (scattered) political writings (Weber 1988) and *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Weber 1980 [1922]) are the standard reference works for quotes. The English translations are largely based on Weber 1946, Weber 1978 and Weber 1996.
- 136 See Schmidt 2000 [1995], pp. 181–185.
- 137 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 541.
- 138 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 351.
- 139 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 542.

- 140 Ibid., p. 542. Translation follows Weber 1996, p. 349.
- 141 On Weber's criticism in this regard, see, e.g., Schluchter 1980.
- 142 See, e.g., Weber 1988 [1918]-a, p. 445.
- 143 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 544. Translation follows Weber 1996, p. 351.
- 144 Extensive work in disclosing Caesarism as a central element of Weber's political sociology has been done by Peter Baehr (see especially Baehr 2004 and Baehr 2008).
- 145 See Weber to Hermann Baumgarten, November 8, 1884. In: Weber 1936, pp. 139–148, especially p. 143.
- 146 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 314 (translation follows Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1387).
- 147 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 319 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1392). Weber never publicly branded Wilhelm II as Caesarist. This is most likely because Weber simply did not see much of a Caesaristic leader in the Emperor, but at best a pale administrator of the Bismarckian system. In private correspondence Weber did refer to Wilhelm as "Caesar", though. See, e.g., Weber to Hermann Baumgarten (January 3, 1891). In: Weber 1936, pp. 324–330, especially p. 328. In another letter a few days earlier, Weber had also identified "Boulangist-Bonapartist" elements in Wilhelm's understanding and practice of politics. Weber to Hermann Baumgarten (December 31, 1889). In: *ibid.*, pp. 322–324, quote p. 323.
- 148 See, e.g., Weber's inaugural lecture at the University of Freiburg in May 1895 (*The Nation State and Economic Policy*. In: Weber 1996, pp. 1–28, especially p. 16).
- 149 On the *Hindenburgmythos*, which sprang in particular from Hindenburg's nimbus as the glorious victor of the Battle of Tannenberg in 1914 and was decisive for his winning the German presidential elections in 1925, see, e.g., Hoegen 2007.
- 150 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 393f. (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1451f).
- 151 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 532 (translation: Weber 1946, p. 102f.).
- 152 The German term *Auslese*, resonating also a moment of "elitism", better reflects Weber's ideas than the English "selection" (*Auswahl*) or "election" (*Wahl*).
- 153 Weber 1988 [1917], p. 291 (translation: Weber 1996, p. 128).
- 154 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 394 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1452).
- 155 Weber 1988 [1895], p. 23 (translation: Weber 1996, p. 26).
- 156 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 395 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1452).
- 157 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 401 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1457).
- 158 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 395 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1452).
- 159 See Le Bon 1896 [1895], discussed in the previous chapter. On Weber's idea of the "irrationality of masses", following Le Bon's traits and a common *topos* of nineteenth-century debate on Caesarism, see Baehr 1998, pp. 236–242.
- 160 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 401 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 2, p. 1457).
- 161 For more details see Baehr 2008, pp. 89–104.
- 162 See, e.g., Weber 1980 [1922], p. 156f. This "transformation" can be best exemplified in the drafting of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*: while Caesarism still emerges twice in the 1913 draft of the typology of legitimate domination, it has vanished entirely from its 1918 and 1919 counterparts. For a critical edition of the early version of Weber's sociology of domination see Vol. I/22,4 of the *Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe* currently being finalized (Weber 1984ff.). On the genesis of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* see Vol. I/24 thereof.
- 163 See, for instance, Weber 1980 [1922], p. 156 (translation: Weber 1978 Vol. 1, p. 268): "Plebiscitary democracy—the most important type of leader democracy—is a variant of charismatic authority, which hides behind a legitimacy that is formally derived from the will of the governed."

- 164 Baehr 2008, p. 168.
- 165 See Weber 1980 [1922], pp. 122–176.
- 166 On his concept of *Legitimitätsglaube* see *ibid.*, pp. 122–124.
- 167 The usefulness of applying a less biased terminology than Caesarism becomes particularly evident in Weber's 1919 essay *Politik als Beruf* (Weber 1988 [1919]-b): there, by using the language of charisma, Weber could convey his conviction that Caesaristic traits were *the* quality attribute of modern politicians without provoking immediate opposition for using "Caesarism".
- 168 On this note see, e.g., Eliaeson 1991, p. 318.
- 169 Weber 1988 [1919]-a, p. 501 (translation: Weber 1996, p. 308). See also his remarks in *Politik als Beruf* that only a president elected "in a plebiscitarian way and not by parliament" could become "the safety-valve of the demand for leadership" (Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 544).
- 170 For a detailed account of the Weimar Constitution see Gusy 1997.
- 171 See Borch 2012.
- 172 Hutton 1976, p. 86.
- 173 Among the few ascribing Wilhelm II the qualities of a "citizen emperor" is Pintschovius 2008.
- 174 See, e.g., Wienfort 1993, p. 210.
- 175 Baehr 2008, p. 59.
- 176 See Schmidt 2000 [1995], pp. 194–197.
- 177 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, p. 329, Weber's footnote ("Politik ist: Kampf"). Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 392: "all politics is essentially struggle" ("alle Politik [ist] dem Wesen nach Kampf").
- 178 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 512 (translation: Weber 1996, p. 316).
- 179 Weber 1988 [1918]-b, pp. 393–395, quote p. 394 (translation: Weber 1996, p. 221). See also Weber 1988 [1919]-b, pp. 532–540.
- 180 On the idea of constitutional(ized) Caesarism see, e.g., Eliaeson 2000.
- 181 Baehr 2004, p. 173.
- 182 Baehr 2008, p. 104.
- 183 The fifteenth edition of the *Brockhaus* appearing between 1929 and 1935 is a case in point. While *Cäsarismus* had been integral part both of the thirteenth and fourteenth edition, it no longer featured in the fifteenth edition. Neither can a specific entry on *Napoleonismus* be found (only such on *Napoleon* and *Bonaparte*). In turn, *Charisma* had now become a specific entry (as had *Chef* and *Demagog*). See [Brockhaus] 1928–1935. This shift of attention in reference works was not specific to Germany, but actually a more universal phenomenon. The first edition of the *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, for example, contained an entry *Carisma* (as well as such on *Bonaparte* and *Cesaropapismo*), while both *Cesarismo* and *Bonapartismo* were missing. See [Enciclopedia Italiana] 1929–1937.

7 Outlook: Legacies of Caesarism

- 1 See Spengler 1922.
- 2 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 505.
- 3 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 521.
- 4 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 523.
- 5 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 541f.
- 6 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 572.

- 7 Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 583. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 634. In an article for the *Preußische Jahrbücher* in 1921 Spengler expressed his conviction that “We Germans will never again produce a Goethe, but a Caesar” (Spengler 1967 [1921], p. 154).
- 8 See, e.g., Sontheimer 1957, p. 42f.
- 9 Mann 1920 [1918], p. 265f. Mann soon distanced himself from the views expressed in *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*, becoming a fierce defender of the Weimar Republic. See, e.g., his speech *Von deutscher Republik* on October 13, 1922 in Berlin.
- 10 See especially Sontheimer 1962.
- 11 Moeller van den Bruck 1926 [1923], p. 291.
- 12 See Sontheimer 1957, p. 44.
- 13 Jünger 1926, p. 223.
- 14 See Michels 1989 [1911].
- 15 Schmitt 1996 [1923], p. 63.
- 16 See, e.g., Spengler 1924, especially pp. 3–27.
- 17 Günther 1932, p. 177.
- 18 Moeller van den Bruck 1926 [1923], p. 154, p. 171 and p. 183.
- 19 *Führertum* (1930). In: Rohan 1930, pp. 56–63, quote p. 62.
- 20 Jung 1930 [1927], p. 333.
- 21 On Schmitt’s concept of dictatorship see, e.g., Kelly 2016. Tellingly, when calling for a “democratic dictatorship”, Jung himself references Carl Schmitt’s characterization of “Caesarism” (Schmitt 1996 [1923], p. 42; see also footnote 4), though without using the term “Caesarism”: Jung 1930 [1927], p. 333.
- 22 See Schmitt 2006 [1921].
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. XIIIff.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. XIVf.
- 26 Schmitt is using Caesarism only randomly in *Die Diktatur*, and also not very consistently throughout, since the term is occasionally also referring to the Roman imperial period.
- 27 On Schmitt’s intellectual relationship with Weber see, e.g., Engelbrekt 2009.
- 28 Schmitt 2006 [1921], p. XVI.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
- 30 See McCormick 2004.
- 31 Schmitt 2006 [1921], p. XVI.
- 32 Schmitt 2004 [1922], p. 13.
- 33 See Schmitt 1924, Schmitt 1929, Schmitt 1969 [1931], Schmitt 2005 [1932].
- 34 Schmitt 1969 [1931], p. 158.
- 35 Especially Art. 48 Par. 2 of the Constitution was pertinent: *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches* (1919). In: [RGL.] 1871–1945 1919 No. 152, pp. 1383–1418.
- 36 See especially Schmitt 1969 [1931]. In direct response to Schmitt’s *Der Hüter der Verfassung*, Hans Kelsen (1881–1973) felt encouraged to draft his *Wer soll der Hüter der Verfassung sein?* (Kelsen 1931), in which he made a plea for constitutional courts as defenders of the constitutional order.
- 37 Schmitt 2004 [1922], p. 67.
- 38 For the friend-enemy distinction as the key characteristic of politics see Schmitt 2002 [1932], p. 26.
- 39 Schmitt 2004 [1922], p. 64.
- 40 Günther 1932, p. 177f.
- 41 See Schmitt 1933, especially p. 8.

- 42 Ibid., p. 33.
- 43 Schmitt 1934, column 946.
- 44 *Totaler Feind, totaler Krieg, totaler Staat* (1937) In: Schmitt 1940, pp. 235–239.
- 45 See Spengler 1933, Jung 1933. Spengler characterized the Nazis' *Machtergreifung*—using analogies to the situation in France 1793—in less than flattering terms (see Spengler 1933, p. IX).
- 46 Ibid., p. 140.
- 47 On the relation between Weber and Michels see, e.g., Wang 1997, pp. 56–61. Michels paid tribute to Weber's achievements throughout his life. See, e.g., Michels 1927, pp. 109–118.
- 48 Michels 1989 [1911], p. 210.
- 49 Ibid., p. 210.
- 50 Ibid., p. 211f.
- 51 Ibid., p. 213.
- 52 *Der Aufstieg des Fascismus in Italien* (1924). In: Michels 1987, pp. 265–295, quote p. 293.
- 53 *Über die Kriterien der Bildung und Entwicklung politischer Parteien* (1927). In: ibid., pp. 298–304, quote p. 299.
- 54 See especially Michels 1930. For an analysis of Mussolini's personal charisma and his personality cult see, e.g., Melograni 1976, Gentile 1998. On the applicability of Weber's charisma concept to interwar Fascism more generally see, e.g., Kallis 2006, Pinto/Eatwell/Larsen 2007.
- 55 See, e.g., Nelis 2007.
- 56 See, e.g., Seldes 1935, p. 371f. Mussolini is claimed to have said: "Julius Caesar. The greatest man that ever lived. [...] Yes, I have a tremendous admiration for Caesar. Still [...] I myself belong rather to the class of the Bismarcks." Ibid., p. 371.
- 57 Bremer 1938, p. 163.
- 58 On Hitler's personal charisma and the role of charisma for National Socialism in general see, e.g., Kershaw 2002, Nolzen 2005, Lepsius 2006, Wehler 2007, Herbst 2010, Pyta 2010.
- 59 Windelband 1936, p. 103.
- 60 See Boughler 1942, quotes p. 9 and p. 403. Hitler actually commented favorably on Boughler's book (cf. Hitler's corresponding comments on March 23, 1942. In: Picker 1965 [1963], p. 199f.) and compared himself with Napoleon at times, especially with respect to their plans for global domination. See, e.g., Speer 2002 [1975], p. 86. In retrospect, Speer admitted that he, too, had seen Hitler as a "great man" and heroic personality in the tradition of Napoleon (Ibid., 501f.).
- 61 *Hitler-Boulanger?* In: [Angriff] 1927–1945 (November 23, 1931) (1. Beilage).
- 62 See Weil 1931. Weil was not the only one discerning parallels between Boulanger and Hitler. See, e.g., *Boulanger, der vor Hitler war*. . . In: [Abendblatt Berlin] 1848–1938 (February 11, 1932).
- 63 Mosley 1968, pp. 320–326, quote p. 323f. The speech is reproduced in Mosley's autobiography *My Life*, namely as a centerpiece of Chapter 17 "The Ideology of Fascism—Science and Caesarism" (Ibid., pp. 316–335).
- 64 Ibid., p. 324f. In his autobiography, Mosley fully reaffirmed his views uttered in the 1930s: "After this lapse of time it still seems to me a very considerable thesis—now reinforced by the subsequent development of science—that for the first time executive men could find the means to do something truly great and enduring. The union of a revolutionary movement, which is a modern Caesarism, with the force of modern science could be nothing less than this." Ibid., p. 326f., quote p. 326.

- 65 See, e.g., Kershaw 2000 [1985], p. 45f.
- 66 See Arendt 1951. Cf. also Arendt's comment that "everything we know of totalitarianism demonstrates a horrible originality which no farfetched historical parallels can alleviate". *Understanding and Politics* (1954). In: Arendt 1994, pp. 307–327, quote p. 309.
- 67 See Friedrich/Brzeziński 1956.
- 68 See, e.g., Dülffer 1976.
- 69 Fascism is not mentioned in that part of the *Prison Notebooks* in which Gramsci mainly developed his thoughts on Caesarism (Gramsci 1971, pp. 219–223). The term "Caesarism" seems to have been suggested to Gramsci by the analogies drawn in Italy at the time to ancient Rome (see Gramsci 1974 [1951], p. 189f.).
- 70 Gramsci 1971, p. 219.
- 71 Ibid., p. 219.
- 72 See ibid., p. 222.
- 73 Ibid., p. 220.
- 74 Ibid., p. 220.
- 75 Ibid., p. 222.
- 76 See Neumann 1957 [1954].
- 77 Ibid., p. 233.
- 78 See ibid., p. 235f., quote p. 235.
- 79 See ibid., pp. 243–247.
- 80 See ibid., pp. 236–243, quote p. 236.
- 81 Ibid., p. 253 and p. 243f.
- 82 See ibid., p. 250f.
- 83 Baehr 1998, p. 284.
- 84 Compared to the predominant distinction between democracy and dictatorship (sometimes also autocracy or monocracy), the practical importance of suggested alternative typologies (see, e.g., Finer 1997 Vol. 1, p. 37, Brinkmann 1994 [1991]) is negligible.
- 85 Loewenstein 1965 [1957], p. 29.
- 86 See ibid., pp. 61–69.
- 87 Ibid., p. 63.
- 88 An English translation appeared in the same year: de Riencourt 1957.
- 89 Ibid., p. 5. Cf. also ibid., p. 8.
- 90 Ibid., p. 11.
- 91 Ibid., p. 328.
- 92 Ibid., p. 329.
- 93 Ibid., p. 329.
- 94 Ibid., p. 330f.
- 95 Ibid., p. 12.
- 96 See, e.g., Zeldin 1979, Rémond 1982 [1954], Thody 1989.
- 97 Pétain's charisma mainly resulted from his military achievements, notably during the First World War, which gained him the status of a national hero (*le héros de Verdun*). In this regard, Pétain had much in common with Hindenburg. See Goltz/Robert 2009.
- 98 On Bonapartist and Gaullist "heroic leadership" as a variant of Weber's charismatic leadership see Hayward 2004.
- 99 *Constitution [du 4 octobre 1958]*. In: [JO] 1870ff. October 5, 1958, pp. 9151–9172.
- 100 It was as early as 1945 that Michel Debré (1912–1996)—a close aide of de Gaulle—had used the term *monarque républicain* (cf. Debré 1945, p. 122). On Debré's constitutional ideas see Wahl 1959.

- 101 See Mitterrand 1964.
- 102 Ibid., p. 79.
- 103 Ibid., p. 167f.
- 104 Hayward 2004, p. 230.
- 105 Flohic 1979, p. 58.
- 106 Cf., e.g., the online articles *Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump Are Symptoms of Creeping Caesarism* (Hui 2016) and *Forget Fascism: In the U.S. and Israel, Caesarism Is on the Rise* (Ilany 2016).
- 107 Out of the rich literature on contemporary populism see, e.g., Wodak/KhosraviNik/Mral 2013, Moffitt 2016, Rovira Kaltwasser/Taggart/Ochoa Espejo/Ostiguy 2017.
- 108 Panizza 2005, title.
- 109 Rosanvallon 2008, title.
- 110 Among the features that seem to be genuine to modern populism is, e.g., the conscious playing with and deviating from “political correctness”, which is a fairly recent concept largely unknown before the 1980s, or the active use of social media to repeatedly convey the same plain political messages.
- 111 In contemporary scholarship, especially social scientists tend to move away from making “charisma” central to the phenomenon of populism.
- 112 Dooren 1995, title.

8 Concluding Remarks

- 1 See, for example, Moore 1993 [1966], p. 413f.
- 2 See Huntington 1991.
- 3 “Transformation” competes and is often synonymously used with alternative terms such as “system change”, “regime change”, and “transition”.
- 4 See Przeworski 2000, explicitly, e.g., p. 18.
- 5 See Fukuyama 1989, Fukuyama 1992.
- 6 Campbell 1958, p. 57.
- 7 Bonapartism continued to be prominent on the political left until the second half of the twentieth century, especially in Marxist historiography. See, e.g., Giertz 1970, Seeber/Dewitz 1977.
- 8 Bismarck 1898 [1890] Vol. 2, p. 66 (Original: Bismarck 2007 [1890], p. 321).
- 9 See Kissinger 1968, title.
- 10 For that term see, e.g., Zweig 1909, p. 481f. (*demokratische Tyrannis*).
- 11 Jellinek 1906, p. 80.
- 12 Weber 1988 [1919]-b, p. 536.
- 13 More than in other national contexts, it is in France that the concept of Caesarism in its articulations of Bonapartism and also Boulangism continues to be used explicitly to make sense of contemporary political life and figures. See, e.g., Hewlett 2007, Goodliffe 2012.
- 14 Leonhard 2010, p. 315.
- 15 Michels 1989 [1911], p. 210.
- 16 Wirth 2007, title. See also, e.g., Tänzler 2007.
- 17 Boesche 1996, p. 201.