

accountability. See executives, responsibility to	natural aristocracy vs. hereditary aristocracy in
the legislature; political responsibility	France, 92
Act of Settlement (1701), 49–50	Necker and, 97
Adams, John, 35, 89	and patronage, 71
After Virtue (MacIntyre), 1	representation of, 85, 111–112, 121. See also
Albert, Prince, 167	Chamber of Peers; House of Lords
The American Commonwealth (Bryce), 195	Austria-Hungary, 4–5
American Revolution, 73, 109	D 1 7771
appointment of ministers, 122, 126	Bagehot, Walter, 4, 10–11, 105, 164–165, 175–181
appointment of the chief executive, 183–185	account of English parliamentarism, 175–181
Burke and, 78, 80	career, 175
Constant and, 122, 125, 127	criticisms of American constitutional model,
de Staël and, 97, 102	177–181
and Grand Elector, 90	and culture of political deliberation, 177,
Greg and, 187	179–181
Jeffrey and, 109–110	The English Constitution, 175
legislature's approval of monarch's	and harmony between legislature and
appointments, 68–69	executive, 177–178
Louis XVI and, 88	and liberty, 176–177, 181
Mill and, 182–185, 188–189	and ministers' lack of accountability, 176, 181
ministers appointed by the legislature (not the	and monarch as barrier to usurpation by
monarch) in practice, 181, 183-185, 187	faction or ambitious individual, 168
Montesquieu and, 68–69	and patronage, 104, 190–192
Mounier and, 91	and political parties, 174
Necker and, 94–95	and selection of executives, 180, 187
and parliamentary republicanism, 97, 125,	and supremacy of the House of Commons,
194	167, 175
Sieyès and, 90	Victoria and, 166
Arendt, Hannah, 204–205	Vile and, 175
aristocracy	Baranger, Denis, 38
appointment of peers in France, 130, 133-134	Barante, Prosper de, 99
Burke and, 71	Barrot, Odillon, 134, 156
Constant and, 121, 125-127, 133	Belgium, 4-5, 135
de Lolme and, 41–42	Bentham, Jeremy, 109
de Staël and, 92	Blackstone, William, 32, 35, 54
and Edinburgh Whigs, 111–112	Bolingbroke, Lord, 36–39, 48, 57–58, 67
and the English monarchy, 41–42	Bourbon Restoration (1814–1830), 116–117,
and the French Revolution, 118	136, 138–139
Jeffrey and, 108	Bourke, Richard, 26, 31-32
Mill and, 190	Britain
Montesquieu and, 18–20, 34–35	Act of Settlement (1701), 49-50
*	



Britain (cont.)	and ministers in the legislature, 8–9, 64–65, 6
Civil List, 35, 62, 72–74	and ministers' responsibility to the legislature
civil service, 189, 196	38, 62–63, 88, 127
de Lolme's historical account, 41–42	Montesquieu and, 18, 68–69
democracy and plebiscitary executive,	Necker and, 105
195–197	North and, 73–74
electoral system, 49, 101–102, 112–114,	and patronage, 64–65, 68–75, 102
165–166, 181, 185–186, 195–196	political career, 4, 66-67
English Civil War, 24, 32	and political parties, 61, 71-72, 74-75, 142
Great Reform Act (1832), 114, 165-166,	and popular elections, 63
190-191	and power of the House of Commons, 23, 60
Norman Conquest, 41–42	62–64
power struggles in the 17th century, 20-21	Reflections on the Revolution in France, 75–79
and proposals for American colonial	and role of the public, 72–74
assemblies, 35–36	Schmitt and, 59–60
public's engagement with political affairs,	theory of parliamentary politics, 59-68
29–30, 40–47, 72–74, 179–180	Thoughts on the Cause of the Present
Revolution of 1688, 20–21, 49–50, 60,	Discontents, 38, 60–62, 67, 69–70, 88
63–65, 78, 156, 168–169	and veto power of the monarch, 63-64
suffrage in, 6–7, 28–29, 173, 185–186	Walpole and, 71–72
See also English constitution; House of	Bute, Earl of, 67
Commons; House of Lords; monarch,	Dute, Zur or, o/
British; parliamentary government	cabinet instability, 4
(Britain); specific monarchs and prime	in Britain, 66–67, 69, 191
ministers	and dissolution of the legislature, 134
Brougham, Henry, 4, 84, 105, 112–113, 172	in France, 117, 134, 140–141, 149–150
	and patronage, 12, 52–53, 55–56, 69,
Bryce, James, 4, 17, 194–195 budgets. <i>See</i> revenue, control over	140–141, 160, 191–192
Burdett, Francis, 109	and political parties, 12–13
Burgh, James, 25–26, 46	and public opinion, 104
	Caesarism, 14, 176–177, 194–195, 199,
Burke, Edmund, 3–4, 9–11, 59–82 and active constitutional monarch, 65–66,	202–203
•	
123–124	Cato's Letters (Gordon and Trenchard), 44–45,
and checks and balances, 8–9, 60–61, 64–65,	123-124
68–69	censorship, 138–139, 176
and the Civil List, 72–74	parallels with patronage as means of limiting
and control over revenue, 62–64	dissent, 140
and corruption, 65, 72–73	Chamber of Deputies, 121
criticisms of French Constitution of 1791 and	Charles X and, 143
the National Assembly, 60–61, 75–82	Constant's career in, 117, 138
and Crown's veto power, 64	Constant's proposals for prohibiting
de Lolme and, 65–66	functionaries from serving in, 141, 158–159
de Staël and, 102–103, 105	and control over revenue, 156
and Doctrinaires, 136	and corruption and patronage, 139–141,
and East India Reform Bill, 70–71	156–157
and the French Revolution, 60-61, 75-79	Tocqueville's career in, 145, 154–155
and George III, 66–67, 69, 77–78, 98, 134	Tocqueville's proposals for prohibiting
and harmony between legislature and	functionaries from serving in, 158–159
executive, 54	Chamber of Peers, 121, 127, 133
and House of Commons as representative	Chambord, Comte de, 163
body, 62	Charles I, 20
and House of Commons' right to veto	Charles II, 20
ministers selected by the monarch, 62-63	Charles X, 127–128, 143
and instability of the 1760s, 66-67, 69	Charter of 1814 (France), 116
and legislative deliberation, 61, 63-64	Chateaubriand, François-René de, 84, 134



> Index 229

checks and balances	Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la
in American constitutional model, 146–147,	Révolution (de Staël), 98–99, 105
182-183	Civil List, 35, 62, 72-74
Bolingbroke and, 36–39	civil service
Burke and, 8-9, 60-61, 64-65, 68-69	in Britain, 189, 196
Constant and, 116, 127–134	bureaucracy and patronage in France,
and control over revenue, 8, 18, 31-34.	139-141
See also revenue, control over	modernization in France, 158–159
de Lolme and, 8–9, 42–44, 110	prohibition of government functionaries in the
de Staël and, 99, 103–104	Chamber of Deputies, 141, 158–159
and dissolution of the legislature/dismissal of	Clark, J. C. D., 66
ministers. See dismissal of ministers;	Clermont-Tonnerre, Stanislas de, 85
dissolution of the legislature	Cobbett, William, 109
and House of Commons, 8–9, 18–19, 25–26,	Condorcet, Marquis de, 89
30–39, 47–58, 72–73, 107, 110–111, 167.	Congress, U.S.
See also House of Commons	and checks and balances, 146–147
and House of Lords, 8, 18, 167	executive's lack of entry into, 145
impeachment power, 18, 31, 36–37	Grey and, 174
and independent source of revenue for the	and legislative deliberation, 174, 178–179
monarch (Civil List), 35	and stalemates between the executive and the
and ministers in the legislature, 8–9, 19,	legislature, 177–178, 183
47–58, 132, 148–149. <i>See also</i> executives in	Tocqueville and, 145–146
the legislature	and tyranny of the majority, 146
monarch as barrier to usurpation by faction or	Considerations on Representative Government
ambitious individual, 8–9, 13, 42–43, 111,	(Mill), 164, 184–185, 189, 193
132–134, 167–169, 202	Constant, Benjamin, 3–4, 9–11, 84, 89–90,
Montesquieu and, 8, 18, 30–32, 34–35, 39,	115-143
68–69, 91, 128	and appointment of ministers, 122, 127, 130
Mounier and, 90–91	background, 118
and National Assembly, 86–91	and cabinet instability, 140–141
Necker and, 95–96	and checks and balances, 116, 128–134
and patronage. See patronage	Constant and, 125
and political parties, 61, 71–72	contrast to Doctrinaires, 135–143
popular support for the monarch, 35–36	and control over revenue, 127–128, 156
and proposals for neutral constitutional power,	and corruption, 117, 134
124-125	criticisms of Constitutions of 1791 and 1795,
and risks of legislative usurpation/tyranny,	130-133
8–9, 19, 39, 42–43, 58, 85–86, 92, 111,	De la liberté des brochures, des pamphlets et des
128–131, 133–134, 145–146, 151	journaux, 131
Russell and, 113–114	De la possibilité d'une constitution républicaine
Stewart and, 107, 110	dans un grand pays, 126–127
Tocqueville and, 146–149, 151	de Lolme and, 129, 131
and veto power of the monarch, 8, 32–34,	de Staël and, 118
68–69, 86. See also veto power of the monarch	death of, 143
Walpole and, 36–38	and debate over who may introduce
chief executives	legislation, 186–187
governance by independent chief executives, 2,	and dilemmas of French parliamentarism,
126, 178, 182	133-143
independent monarchs, 35–36, 39–40, 67–69,	and dismissal of ministers, 13, 125–127, 130,
91, 110	133-134
selection by the legislature, 181, 183–185	and dissolution of the legislature, 13,
selection by the people, 180, 183–184	125–128, 130–131
See also presidency, American; presidency,	at Edinburgh University, 106
French; presidency, German; prime	and electoral systems, 119
ministers	and freedom of the press, 138–139



Constant, Benjamin (cont.)	responses to collapse, 88–104
and the French Revolution, 118	Sieyès and, 86–88
Guizot and, 137	Constitution of 1795 (France), 89, 95–96, 98,
influence of, 133, 155-156	118, 130–133, 150
and legislative deliberation, 116, 119–120,	Constitution of 1848 (France), 150–151,
133, 141	184–185
and liberal opposition party, 141–142	constitution of England. See English constitution
Mackintosh and, 106	The Constitution of England (de Lolme), 40,
Mill and, 185–186	45
and ministers in the legislature, 132–133	Constitution, U.S.
and ministers' responsibility to the legislature,	Bagehot's criticisms, 177–181
39, 116, 120–124, 126	Bryce's observations, 194–195
Montesquieu and, 18, 124–128	and checks and balances, 146-147,
and neutral constitutional power, 11-13,	182-183
115–116, 122–126, 131, 133–135,	contrast between parliamentarism and
137–139, 182	American constitutional model, 144–163,
and parallels between censorship and	172, 174, 177–181
patronage as means of limiting dissent,	and failure to secure the supremacy of the
140	legislature over the executive, 144, 172,
and patronage, 13, 104, 115-116, 139-143,	177-178, 182-183
160, 192	Grey and, 172
political career, 4, 116–117, 138	Laboulaye's preference for American-style
and political parties, 13, 162	system, 151–152
Principes de politique applicables à tous les	and legislative deliberation, 174, 178–179
gouvernements représentatifs, 125	Mill's criticisms, 182–183
promotion of constitutional monarchy,	Necker and, 96
120-128, 132-135	Tocqueville's analysis, 144-147, 151
promotion of parliamentarism, 9, 116,	Victorian theorists' critiques, 165, 172,
118-120, 125-126, 132-133	177–183 see also specific theorists
promotion of republicanism, 118, 124-127,	See also Congress, U.S.; presidency, American
132	constitutional monarchy, 1-3
proposed French constitution of 1815, 116,	active monarchs, 11, 44, 65-66, 123-124,
125-126	135-137, 143, 148, 157-158, 185
and public opinion, 126–128, 134	advantages over American political system,
Réflexions sur les constitutions, la distribution des	172, 177–183. See also parliamentary
pouvoirs, et les garanties, dans une monarchie	government: contrast to American
constitutionnelle, 125	constitutional model
and social equality, 118	advantages over republics, 131, 148, 151, 182
and suffrage, 117, 129, 185–186	and appointment or dismissal of ministers.
Tocqueville and, 162–163	See appointment of ministers; dismissal of
and veto power of the executive, 126, 127	ministers
and Victorian parliamentarism, 165, 167–168	as barrier to demagoguery, 201–202
Weber and, 115	as barrier to usurpation by faction or
Constitution of 1791 (France), 60, 76–82	ambitious individual, 8–9, 13, 42–43, 111,
Burke and, 60–61, 75–82	132–134, 167–169, 182, 202
collapse of, 9, 81–82, 88, 95–96, 109,	Bolingbroke and, 36–39
130–131, 147	Burke and, 60–68, 80
Constant and, 130–133	Constant and, 11–13, 115–116, 120–128,
de Staël and, 98	132–135, 138–139
Duguit and, 100	de Lolme and, 40–47
Jeffrey and, 109	de Staël and, 101–104
and Louix XVI's use of veto, 81–82, 88, 147	dignity of hereditary monarch, 96–97,
Mounier and, 86, 88	100–101, 111–112
Necker and, 105	and dilemmas of parliamentarism, 11–13,
provisions of, 76–80, 88, 130–131	133–143
r	-JJ +TJ



Index

and dissolution of the legislature/dismissal of ministers. See dismissal of ministers; dissolution of the legislature and Doctrinaires, 135-143, 162 and elections, 49, 101 Gordon and Trenchard and, 44-45 Guizot and, 137 and harmony between legislature and executive, 51, 53-55, 65, 149-150 independence of executive officials from the monarch, 122-124, 155 and "inviolability" vs. "infallibility" of the monarch, 137, 139 "the king reigns but does not govern," 12, 115, 135, 155, 182 Laboulaye and, 151-152 and logic of parliamentary systems, 3, 8-9, 11, 13, 18-20, 64-65, 83, 111-112, 122-126, 133-134, 150-151 Mill and, 12, 181-189 Millar and, 111 Montesquieu and, 54 Necker and, 96-97, 100-101 neutral monarchs, 11-12, 44-45, 122-127, 131, 133-135, 137-139, 143, 155, 166, 168, 181-182, 185, 202-203 and patronage. See patronage Prévost-Paradol and, 194 and public opinion. See public opinion Royer-Collard and, 136-137 Stewart and, 110-111 and subordination of the monarch to the legislature, 148, 151. See also House of Commons: supremacy of; legislative assemblies: supremacy of Thiers and, 155–157 Tocqueville and, 12, 147-154, 158, 162-163 and veto power of the monarch. See veto power of the monarch Weber and, 12, 201–203 See also checks and balances; monarch, British; monarch, French; parliamentary government; parliamentary government (Britain); parliamentary government (France) Conti, Gregory, 173 Coppet Circle, 84, 91, 100, 104-105 and Edinburgh Whigs, 105–106, 111–112 See also Constant, Benjamin; de Staël, Germaine; Necker, Jacques Corn Laws, 173 corruption, 3-4, 12-13, 19-20, 50 Bolingbroke and, 57-58

23I Burke and, 64, 65, 68-75 and Chamber of Deputies, 156–157 Constant and, 117, 134 de Staël and, 100–104 and Edinburgh Whigs, 112-113 and elections, 101–102, 112–114 George III and, 67-68, 73 and Great Reform Act of 1832, 114, 165-166 Guizot and, 157–158, 162–163 and House of Commons, 49-50, 52, 57-58, 64 and July Monarchy, 116-117, 192-193 Mill and, 189-190, 192-193 Montesquieu and, 34, 52 and National Assembly, 79-80, 99-100 Necker and, 100–101 and patronage, 49-50, 57-58, 68-75, 102-103, 139-140, 156-157, 191-193 and political parties, 12-13, 61, 71, 102-103, 112-113 and public opinion, 72-73 and public spirit, 192-193 Tocqueville and, 158–162 and Victorian parliamentarism, 189-193 Walpole and, 50, 57–58, 71–72, 134 See also checks and balances; patronage Cortes (Spanish constitution of 1812), 16-17 Craiutu, Aurelian, 104–105 Croly, Herbert, 197 Crown, the. See monarch, British de Hauranne, Duvergier, 4, 99, 134, 156-157 De la liberté des brochures, des pamphlets et des journaux (Constant), 131 De la possibilité d'une constitution républicaine dans un grand pays (Constant), 126-127 de Lolme, Jean Louis, 11, 20, 31-32, 39-47 and active constitutional monarch, 44, 65-66, and advantages of representative assemblies over popular assemblies, 46-47 background, 40 Burke and, 65-66 and checks and balances, 8-9, 42-43, 110 Constant and, 129, 131 The Constitution of England, 40, 45 de Staël and, 105 historical account of England, 41–42 and House of Lords, 43-44 and the legislature as a threat to liberty, 42-44, and liberty and the theory of constitutional monarchy, 40-47 and the "magic of dignity," 43-44, 96-97

Brougham and, 112-113



de Lolme, Jean Louis (cont.)	and education of public opinion, 29–30,
and ministers in the legislature, 8-9, 48	46–47, 179–180
and monarch as barrier to usurpation by	Ellys and, 26-27
individual or faction, 42-43	and French National Assembly, 76
Montesquieu and, 45–46	and the House of Commons in the 18th
Necker and, 105	century, 23-30
and power of the House of Commons, 23,	Jeffrey and, 108
40–46	Manin and, 24
Stewart and, 110	Mill and, 188–189
and veto power of the monarch, 33	Milton and, 24
de Mille, James, 172–173	and ministers in the legislature, 8-9, 48-58,
de Ruggiero, Guido, 14–15	94–95, 133, 169–170
de Serre, Hercule, 136	Necker and, 94–95
de Staël, Auguste, 112	Parker and, 24
de Staël, Germaine, 3–4, 11, 84, 89–104	and parliamentary procedure, 27, 47, 120,
Burke and, 102–103, 105	173
and checks and balances, 99, 103–104	and parliamentary systems in France, 117, 17
Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer	and patronage, 49–50, 56–57, 141, 159
la Révolution, 98–99, 105	and representatives' loss of independence
Constant and, 118, 126	following rise of party machines, 196
and corruption, 100–104	role of the press, 46–47, 120
Craiutu and, 104	and sharing information, 26
de Lolme and, 105	Sidney and, 24
Jeffrey and, 106	Spelman and, 29–30
and legislative deliberation, 98–99	Tocqueville and, 159
and ministers' responsibility to the legislature,	and value of multiple viewpoints, 26–29,
39, 97	173–174
Montesquieu and, 18, 104	and Victorian parliamentarism, 172–174
and patronage, 102–103	Weber and, 201
Pitt and, 103–104	democracy
and political parties, 102–104, 142	and American constitutional model, 144–147
promotion of parliamentarism, 9, 91–97,	194–195, 197
101–104	Bryce and, 194–195
promotion of parliamentary republicanism,	Croly and, 197
	mass democracy and the rise of executive
92–93, 97–99	
and relation between parliament and public	power, 17, 189, 194–203
opinion, 84, 92–93, 97–98, 103–104, 128	Mill and, 185–186, 188–189
shift in views on republicanism, 101–102	and parliamentarism, 5–7, 17, 199–206
de Tracy, Destutt, 84	parliamentarism not equivalent to
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen	constitutional democracy, 5–7
(1789), 76	and political parties, 196
Defoe, Daniel, 25	Schumpeter and, 205–206
deliberation, 4, 28–29	and tyranny of the legislature, 151
and American constitutional model, 174,	Weber and, 199–203
178–179	Democracy in America (Tocqueville), 144–147,
Bagehot and, 177, 181	149–151, 160
Burke and, 61, 76	Dernières vues de politique et de finance (Necker)
Constant and, 116, 119–120, 133, 141	101
de Lolme and, 47	Derby, Lord, 167
de Staël and, 98–99	despotism, 58, 60, 93, 137, 145–146, 160–161
and debate over electoral mandates, 26–27, 61	See also legislative assemblies: risks of
deliberation without direct control by the	legislative usurpation or tyranny; tyranny
electorate, 61, 63–64	A Dialogue on the Actual State of Parliament
and diverse social and geographic makeup of	(anonymous pamphlet), 54–57
elected assembly, 27–29	Dicey, A. V., 7, 99–100, 167, 171, 198



Index 233

dignity dignity of the British monarch, 65-66, 96-97, dignity of the House of Lords, 175 French monarch's loss of dignity, 60, 80 importance of dignity of the monarch, 96-97, 100-101, 111-112 and relationship between House of Commons and House of Lords, 43-44, 96-97 Directory, the (France), 89, 96, 98-99, 124 dismissal of ministers Constant and, 13, 125–127, 130, 133–134 dismissal of ministers by the legislature, 122, 171-172, 180-181, 187 dismissal of ministers by the monarch, 13, 126, 130, 133-134 dismissal of ministers by a neutral power, 125-127 Greg and, 187 dissolution of the legislature Bagehot and, 181 Constant and, 13, 125–128, 130–131 in constitutional monarchies, 13, 97-98, 103, 126–128, 130, 133–134 de Staël and, 97 and disarming ambitious individuals, 132, 194 George III and, 98, 103 Mill and, 183, 188 in parliamentary republics, 97 and preventing stalemates, 126-127, 177-178, 194 and preventing tyranny of the minority, 128-131 Prévost-Paradol and, 194 and public opinion, 13, 126-128, 131, 134, 181 Doctrinaires, 135-143, 155, 162. See also de Serre, Hercule; Guizot, François; Lainé, Joseph; Rémusat, Charles de; Royer-Collard, Pierredouble cabinet, 67-69, 73, 77-78 Dufaure, Jules Armand, 161 Duguit, Léon, 100 East India Reform Bill, 70-71, 126 Edinburgh Review, 105, 107, 109, 112 Edinburgh University, 105-106 Edinburgh Whigs, 84, 104-114 and Coppet Circle, 106, 111-112 See also Brougham, Henry; Jeffrey, Francis; Mackintosh, James; Millar, John; Stewart, Dugald electoral mandates, 24-26, 28, 61, 72 electoral systems in Britain, 49, 101-102, 112-114, 165-166, 173, 181, 185–186, 195–196

Brougham and, 113 Burke and, 63, 72, 79 Constant and, 119, 134 and corruption, 113, 139–140 and de Staël's proposals for parliamentary republicanism, 97-99 and dissolution of the legislature, 127-128, 134, 183. See also dissolution of the legislature Edinburgh Whigs' defense of traditional English system, 111–112 in France, 79, 139-140, 152-153 and Great Reform Act of 1832, 165-166 Mackintosh and, 113 Mill and, 183 Tocqueville and, 152-154 in the U.S., 152-153, 195 Ellys, Anthony, 26-27, 47 English Civil War, 15-16, 24, 32, 42 English constitution Bagehot's account, 175-189 Burke's account, 61-68 and corruption, 61 de Staël's account, 103-104 France's rejection of English constitutional model during early years of French Revolution, 9–10, 60–61, 85–91, 99–100 and independent judiciary, 31-32 Jeffrey's account, 109-110 Montesquieu's account, 8, 18–19, 54, 99-100, 106-107, 128 Stewart's account, 106-107 and supremacy of the House of Commons, 18-19, 56-57 The English Constitution (Bagehot), 175 An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution (Russell), 113-114 Essays Moral and Political (Hume), 33-34 Estates General (France), 75, 85 Eulau, Heinz, 10 executive officials, 64-65 and American constitutional model, 144-147, 172, 183 appointment and dismissal of. See appointment of ministers; dismissal of autonomy of, 12, 63, 122–124, 155 and cabinet unity, 187 and checks and balances, 8-9, 19, 146-147, debate over patronage, 58. See also patronage Directory (France), 89, 96, 98-99, 124 and dissolution of the legislature. See dissolution of the legislature and Doctrinaires, 137-138



234 Index

executive officials (cont.) Russell and, 168 harmony between legislature and executive, Tocqueville and, 147-151 51, 53–55, 65, 94–95, 99, 113, 137–138, and Victorian parliamentarism, 168-170, 149-150, 158, 177-178 175-176 high quality of selected executives, 180 See also appointment of ministers; corruption; House of Commons' right to veto ministers dismissal of ministers; executives, selected by the monarch, 62-63, 65 responsibility to the legislature; patronage and legislative deliberation, 48-58, 94-95, executives, responsibility to the legislature, 2-3, 98-99, 133. See also deliberation 58, 83 in the legislature. See executives in the Bagehot and, 175-176, 181 legislature Bolingbroke and, 36-38 and parliamentary republicanism, 97-99 in Britain, 19-20, 30-31, 36-39, 63, 83, and political responsibility. See executives, 112–113, 122, 176 responsibility to the legislature Brougham and, 112-113 rise in executive power in the early 20th Burke and, 39, 62-63, 88 century, 2, 195-203 Constant and, 116, 120-124, 126-127, and risks of legislative usurpation or tyranny, 8-9, 42-44, 58, 110-111, 152, 183. *See* de Staël and, 39, 97 also tyranny and Doctrinaires, 137-138 shadow cabinet, 67-68, 73, 77-78 in France, 88, 126-127, 137-138, 148-149, subordination to the legislature, 9, 24, 30-39, 60, 78, 113-114, 144, 148, 150-151. See Guizot and, 137 also House of Commons: supremacy of Mill and, 39, 183, 188-189 ministers' lack of accountability, 176, 181 weakness of the executive under French Constitution of 1791, 76-78 Palonen and, 2 See also chief executives; presidency, American; responsibility for mal-administration, 123-124 presidency, French; presidency, German; Thiers and, 155 prime ministers executives in the legislature, 2-3, 8-9, 19, 47-58 Tocqueville and, 39, 148-149 Bagehot and, 175-176 and Victorian parliamentarism, 171-172, as barrier to usurpation, 132, 168-169, 182, 175-176 Weber and, 200 202 Burke and, 8-9 Constant and, 127, 132-133 Ferguson, Adam, 57 de Lolme and, 8-9 Fox, Charles James, 67, 123, 126 Grey and, 169 France Hearn and, 168-169 Bourbon Restoration (1814–1830), 116–117, independence of executive officials from the 136, 138-139 "Caesarist" regimes, 14, 176–177 monarch, 12, 122-124, 155 censorship of the press, 117, 138-139, 176 Jeffrey's warnings about consequences of lack of ministers in Parliament, 110 Charter of 1814, 116 and legislative deliberation, 8-9, 48-58, Constitution of 1791. See Constitution of 94-95, 133, 169-170 Macaulay and, 169 Constitution of 1795, 89, 95-96, 98, 118, and ministers' lack of accountability 130-133, 150 (Bagehot's views), 176 Constitution of 1848, 150-151, 184-185 and need for supervising and controlling Declaration of the Rights of Man, 76 the executive, 24, 30-39, 78, 113-114, Doctrinaires, 135-143, 155, 162 electoral system, 139-140, 152-153 150-151, 170-171, 175-176 French Revolution. See French Revolution and organization and leadership, 169-170 prohibition of ministers in the legislature in Girondin Constitution, 89 Grand Elector, 90 France, 60, 76-78, 83, 86-88, 90, 93-96, July Monarchy. See July Monarchy and rejection of patronage in Victorian and lack of culture of political deliberation in parliamentarism, 170 Second Empire, 177



and local self-government, 148, 154	Garsten, Bryan, 119, 129
Mill's recommendations for, 184–185	Gauchet, Marcel, 101
political parties not considered legitimate in,	George I, 66, 94
83	George II, 66, 79, 94
popular referenda in, 89	George III, 66–67
public's engagement with political affairs,	Burke and, 60, 66–67, 69, 72–73, 77–78, 98
153-154, 160-161, 192-193	134
Revolution of 1830, 117, 156	and dissolution of Parliament in 1783,
Revolution of 1848, 99, 117, 150–151,	98, 103
162–163, 184, 193	and East India Reform Bill, 126
Second Empire, 176–177, 194–195	and independence of executive officials from
Second Republic, 117, 145, 150–154, 163,	the monarch, 123
184–185	madness and regency, 77
and social equality, 136	and double cabinet, 67–69, 73, 77–78
and strict separation of powers, 90, 95–96	and veto power, 94
suffrage in, 117, 129, 139, 151, 156, 158	George IV, 143
the Terror, 82, 88–89	Germany, 4–5, 14, 199, 202–203
Third Republic, 117, 194	Girondin Constitution, 89
turn towards liberal parliamentarism following	Gladstone, William, 195–196
French Revolution, 83–104. See also	Gordon, Thomas, 44–45
Constant, Benjamin; de Staël, Germaine;	The Governance of England (Low), 196–197
Necker, Jacques	The Government of England (Lowell), 197
unsuitability of American presidentialism for	Grand Elector (France), 90
France, 150–151, 155	Grange, Henri, 100, 104–105
See also Chamber of Deputies; Chamber of	Great Reform Act (1832), 114, 165–166, 190–19
Peers; Directory, the; Legislative Assembly;	Greg, William Rathbone, 187
monarch, French; National Assembly;	Grey, Third Earl, 164, 169, 171–172, 174,
parliamentary government (France)	191–192
La France nouvelle (Prévost-Paradol), 194	gridlock, 3, 177–178, 183, 194, 202. See also
Francis, Phillip, 81	dissolution of the legislature
Franklin, Benjamin, 35	Guizot, François, 84
Frederick, Prince of Wales, 36	and active constitutional monarch, 12, 137, 18
free state	Burke and, 59–60
Burke and, 78	Constant and, 137
de Lolme and, 40	and corruption, 157-158, 160, 162-163
defining features of, 1, 4, 8-9, 17, 83	and Doctrinaires, 136, 155
Montesquieu and, 30–31	and freedom of the press, 139
and Skinner's "neo-Roman" or "republican"	and harmony between legislature and
theory of liberty, 15–16	executive, 137–138, 158
freedom of the press, 138-139, 161, 163	and ministers' responsibility to the legislature
French Revolution, 109	137
Burke and, 60–61, 75–79	opposition to, 155-156, 161-162
Constant and, 118	and patronage, 158, 160
and Doctrinaires, 136	political career, 4, 136
Jeffrey and, 108	promotion of parliamentarism, 9
and the legislature as a threat to liberty,	and Revolution of 1848, 162–163
128-129	Tocqueville and, 158, 160
Necker and de Staël and, 92	
parliamentarism as dominant constitutional	Habermas, Jürgen, 205
paradigm following end of, 9–10,	Hamilton, Alexander, 35
83-114	Hawkins, Angus, 167, 195–196
rejection of English constitutional model	Hearn, William, 166, 168–170, 191–192
in the early years, 9–10, 60–61, 85–91,	Hegel, G. W. F., 135
99–100	Historical View of the English Government
and social equality, 136	(Millar), 111, 123–124



```
History of England (Macaulay), 190
                                                     right to veto ministers selected by the
Holmes, Geoffrey, 21
                                                       monarch, 62-63, 65, 88
Hont, Istvan, 31-32
                                                     and selection of executives, 187
                                                     Sidney and, 24
Hoppit, Julian, 21
Horner, Francis, 105
                                                     Spelman and, 29-30
                                                     Stewart and, 107
House of Commons, 18-58
  administrative officers in, 49-58
                                                     and suffrage, 28-29
  and appointment of ministers, 181, 187
                                                     and supervision and control of executive
  Bagehot and, 175-176, 179-180, 187
                                                       officials, 24, 30-39, 60, 78, 113-114,
  Brougham and, 112-113
                                                       170-171, 188-189
                                                     supremacy of, 8, 18-19, 22-23, 30-39,
  Burke and, 23, 60-66
  characteristics of electorate, 28-29, 173
                                                       45-46, 54-55, 60, 62-64, 93, 109, 167,
  characteristics of members, 27-29, 173
                                                       170-171, 175, 181
  and checks and balances, 7-9, 18-19, 25-26,
                                                     See also legislative assemblies; parliamentary
    30-39, 47-58, 107, 110-111, 167
                                                       government (Britain)
  contrast to French National Assembly, 85
                                                  House of Lords
  and control over revenue, 8, 18, 22-23,
                                                     and checks and balances, 8, 18, 167
                                                     de Lolme and, 43-44
    30-34, 40-41, 56-57, 93, 170-171, 187
  and corruption, 49-50, 52, 57-58, 64. See also
                                                     and deliberation, 27-28
    corruption
                                                     and dignity, 96-97
                                                     and impeachment power, 36-37
  Crown's influence over, 47–58, 64–66, 113,
                                                     loss of influence, 34-35, 167
  de Lolme and, 23, 42–46, 110
                                                     Montesquieu and, 18-20, 34-35
  and debate over electoral mandates, 24-26, 28
                                                     power in the 18th century, 22-23
                                                     and power of the monarch, 125-126
  and debate over patronage, 49-58. See also
                                                  Hume, David, 23, 33–34, 51–52, 110
    patronage
  and deliberation, 23-30, 47, 61. See also
    deliberation
                                                  Idea of a Patriot King (Bolingbroke), 36
  and dismissal of ministers, 122, 171-172,
                                                  impeachment power, 31, 36-37, 73
                                                  Indépendants (French liberal opposition party),
    180-181, 187
  dissolution of, 126-128, 181. See also
                                                       141-142, 161
    dissolution of the legislature
                                                  India, 70-71, 165
                                                  individualism, 160-161
  Greg and, 187
  and harmony between legislature and
                                                  Italy, 4-5, 135
    executive, 53-54, 65, 113
  Hume and, 23, 33-34, 51-52, 110
                                                  Jaume, Lucien, 150-151
  impeachment power, 18, 31
                                                  Jefferson, Thomas, 146
  Jeffrey and, 109
                                                  Jeffrey, Francis, 84, 105, 107–112
  Mill and, 181, 187-189
                                                  Jenyns, Soame, 55-56
  Milton and, 24
                                                  Johnson, Andrew, 177–178
  ministers in, 47-58. See also executives in the
                                                  Jones, Emily, 61
    legislature
                                                  judiciary, 31–32
  Montesquieu and, 8, 18-20, 34-35, 39
                                                  July Monarchy (1830–1848), 116–117, 134,
  Mounier and, 88, 91
  Necker and, 92
                                                     and Doctrinaires, 136
  Parker and, 24
                                                     and patronage and corruption, 192-193
                                                     and potential for despotism, 160-161
  and persistence of classical parliamentarism, 198
  as potential threat to liberty, 18-19, 39
                                                     and Tocqueville's political career, 145, 160
  powerful position in the 18th century, 19-30
  and proposals for American colonial
                                                  Kelsen, Hans, 17, 204-205
    assemblies, 35-36
                                                  "the king reigns but does not govern," 12, 115,
  and public opinion, 29-30, 57-58, 92,
                                                       135, 155, 182
    103-104, 126-127, 179-180
                                                  Laboulaye, Édouard, 151–152
  as representative body, 27-28, 61-64,
     111-112, 120, 171-173
                                                  Lafayette, Marquis de, 75
```



Index 237

Lainé, Joseph, 136 patronage; representation; representative Langford, Paul, 50 assemblies Legislative Assembly (France), 86-88, 129-130 Lanjuinais, Jean-Denis, 87-88, 134 Laquièze, Alain, 104, 156 legislative deliberation. See deliberation Laski, Harold, 14–15 Lessart, Claude de, 82 Laveleye, Émile de, 198 Lewis, George Cornewall, 164, 169-170, 192 Lebovitz, Adam, 88-89 Liberal Party (Britain), 167, 195-196 Lecky, William, 196, 198 Liberales (Spain), 16-17 legislative assemblies liberalism and American constitutional model, 144-146, connection between liberalism and 177-178 parliamentarism downplayed in post-WWII and checks and balances. See checks and scholarship, 15-16 and focus of scholarship on democracy, 5-7 balances and control over revenue. See revenue, control and legacy of classical parliamentarism, over 203-206 and debate over who may introduce and Montesquieu's account of the English legislation, 186-187 constitution, 18 and deliberation. See deliberation and spread of parliamentarism, 3, 14-15 disadvantages of popular assemblies in ancient term origin, 16 republics, 46-47 See also specific theorists liberty and electoral mandates, 24-26, 28, 61 executives (ministers) in the legislature. See Bagehot and, 176-177, 181 executives in the legislature and control over revenue, 32, 40–41 gridlock, 3, 177–178, 183, 194, 202 and de Lolme's theory of constitutional harmony between legislature and executive, monarchy, 40-47 executive as chief source of danger to liberty, 51, 53–55, 65, 77, 94–95, 99, 113, 110-111, 152, 183 137-138, 149-150, 158, 177-178 and ministers' responsibility to the legislature, and parallels between censorship and 63, 188–189 patronage as means of limiting dissent, 140 and negative effects of patronage, 74 and parliamentary republicanism, 97-99. See also republics, republicanism and parliamentary control over the executive, proposals for American colonial assemblies, 8, 30-32, 40-41, 183, 188-189 35-36, 42 Skinner's "neo-Roman" or "republican" theory and public opinion. See public opinion of, 15-16 and representatives' loss of independence and structure of parliamentary governments, following rise of party machines, 196 7-8, 11 risks of legislative usurpation or tyranny, 8-9, See also free state; tyranny 19, 39, 42-43, 58, 85-86, 92, 111, Lippmann, Walter, 204-205 128-131, 133-134, 145-146, 151 Louis-Philippe, 157, 160, 192 selection of the prime minister by the Louis XVI, 81-82, 88, 93, 147 legislature, 183-185 Louis XVIII, 116, 149 and Skinner's "neo-Roman" or "republican" Low, Sidney, 196-197 theory of liberty, 15-16 Lowell, Abbot Lawrence, 197 in Spain, 16–17 supremacy over the executive, 2, 7-9, 24, Macaulay, Thomas, 105, 164 30-39, 60, 78, 113-114, 118-119, 144, History of England, 190 148, 150–151. See also House of Commons: and leadership by ministers in Parliament, 169 supremacy of and ministers in Parliament, 169 tyranny of the majority in American political and neutrality of the monarch, 135 system, 145-146 and patronage, 190, 192 See also Congress, U.S.; corruption; House of political career, 4 Commons; Legislative Assembly; National and public opinion, 173 Assembly; parliamentary government; and supervision and control of executive officials, 170-171, 176 parliamentary government (Britain); parliamentary government (France); MacIntyre, Alasdair, 1



238 Index

Mackintosh, James, 81, 84, 106, 113 Madison, James, 146 Manin, Bernard, 24 Massey, William, 168 May, Thomas Erskine, 32, 170-171 Meinecke, Friedrich, 15 Mill, John Stuart, 3-4, 10-11, 181-190 and appointment of ministers and chief executives, 181, 183-185, 188-189 Burke and, 59-60 and civil service, 189 Considerations on Representative Government, 164, 184-185, 189, 193 Constant and, 185-186 and control over revenue, 187 and corruption, 189-190 criticisms of American constitutional model, 182-183 defense of parliamentarism and constitutional monarchy, 164, 181-189 and democracy, 189 and dissolution of the legislature, 183, 188 and July Monarchy, 192-193 and legislation written by expert committee, 186-187, 189 and legislative deliberation, 188-189 and ministers' responsibility to the legislature, 39, 183, 188-189 and neutral constitutional monarch, 12, 181-182, 185 and patronage, 190, 192-193 and plural voting and proportional representation, 186, 188-189 political career, 4, 189-190 recommendations for France, 184-185 and republicanism, 182-185 and role of the legislature, 186-189 and selection of the chief executive, 183-185 and suffrage, 7, 185-186, 189 and supremacy of the House of Commons, 167, 181 Tocqueville and, 184-185 Millar, John, 84, 111, 123-124 Milton, John, 24 Miliukov, Paul, 5 ministers. See executive officials; executives in the legislature; executives, responsibility to the legislature Mirabeau, Comte de, 75, 90 mirror theory of representation. See representation: legislature as image of the nation monarch, British and appointment of ministers, 122, 126, 181

Bolingbroke and, 36-39, 48 Burke and, 61-62, 65-66 and checks and balances, 8, 18, 33-34, 68-69. See also checks and balances and the Civil List, 35, 62, 72-74 Constant and, 115, 125-126 de Lolme and, 33, 40-41 delegation of powers by the Crown, 44-45, 64 dependence on Parliament for revenue, 22-23, 30-34, 40-41, 62. See also revenue, control over and dismissal of ministers, 126-128 and dissolution of the legislature. See dissolution of the legislature and the English Civil War, 24, 32 Gordon and Trenchard and, 44-45 House of Commons' control over, 30-39, 110. See also House of Commons: supremacy of Hume and, 33-34 influence over elections, 49, 101-102, 113, 166-167 influence over the House of Commons, 47-58, 64-66, 113, 166. See also executive officials; executives in the legislature; patronage Jeffrey and, 109 Mill and, 181 and monarch as barrier to usurpation by individual or faction, 42-44, 111, 167-169 Montesquieu and, 18-20 neutral monarchs, 115, 125-126, 135, 143 and the Norman Conquest, 41-42 Patriot King idea, 36-39, 48, 67 popular support for the monarch, 35-36 veto power, 8, 18, 32-34, 63-64, 86, 109 veto power not used in practice, 33-34, 54-55, 58, 63-64, 93, 107, 109, 181 See also constitutional monarchy; specific monarchs monarch, French absolute monarchy, 40 and abuses of power, 78-79 active monarchs, 44, 65-66, 123-124, 136-137, 148, 157-158, 162-163, 185 and appointment of ministers, 82 and Grand Elector, 90 Mounier and, 86, 90-91, 93 Necker and, 93-94, 96-97 overthrow of, 82, 94 and rejection of Constant's constitutional model, 135 Sieyès and, 90 veto power, 81-82, 86, 88, 90-91,



weakness of the French monarch under	and patronage, 79–80
Constitution of 1791, 76–78, 80, 83	and prohibition of ministers in the assembly,
See also constitutional monarchy; specific	60, 76–78, 83, 86–88, 93–96
monarchs	as representative body, 85
Monarchien party, 86	Sieyès and, 86
monarchy. See constitutional monarchy	social composition of, 79-80
Montesquieu, 31–32	and strict separation of powers, 86-88
account of the English constitution, 8, 18–19,	and unicameral system, 79
54, 99–100, 106–107, 128	See also Constitution of 1791
Bolingbroke and, 39	Necker, Jacques, 9, 11, 84, 89-97
Burke and, 68–69	and American constitutional model, 96
and checks and balances, 8, 18, 30-32, 34-35,	background and career, 91–92
39, 68–69, 91, 128	Burke and, 105
compared to Constant, 124–128	and checks and balances, 95-96
and control over revenue, 31-32	and collapse of Constitutions of 1791 and
and corruption, 34, 52	1795, 95–96, 105
de Lolme and, 45–46	and corruption, 100–101
de Staël and, 104	Craiutu and, 104–105
Dicey and, 99–100	de Lolme and, 105
and French National Assembly, 86	Dernières vues de politique et de finance, 101
insufficiency of account of English	and Doctrinaires, 136
constitution, 8, 18–19, 99–100, 106–107	Grange and, 104–105
Mounier and, 86, 91	and harmony between legislature and
Necker and, 104	executive, 54, 94–95
and parliamentary control over the executive,	Laquièze and, 104
30–32	and legislative deliberation, 94–95
and patronage, 51–52	and ministers in the legislature, 93–96, 101
and role of the Crown's offices, 51–52	Montesquieu and, 104
The Spirit of the Laws, 8, 18–19, 30–31, 52,	Mounier and, 93–94
86, 91, 107	and need for hereditary monarchy, 96–97
Stewart and, 106–107	and patronage, 100–101
and veto power of the monarch, 8, 68–69	promotion of parliamentarism, 9, 91–97
warnings about political imbalance in	and public opinion, 92
England, 34–35, 39	shift in views on monarchy, corruption, and
Mounier, Jean Joseph, 86, 88–91, 93–94, 104	parliamentarism, 100–101
Wouther, Jean Joseph, 80, 88–91, 93–94, 104	
Nanalaan I aa 116 128	and veto power of the monarch, 93–94
Napoleon II, 90, 116, 138	Nelson, Eric, 35–36, 62
Napoleon III, 14	Newcastle, Duke of, 66
Narbonne, Comte de, 82	Norman Conquest, 41–42
National Assembly (France)	North, Lord, 38, 66–67, 73–74
Burke's criticisms, 60–61, 75–82	Paine Thomas 91 100
and checks and balances, 86–91	Paine, Thomas, 81, 109
contrast to House of Commons, 85	Paley, William, 56–57
and corruption, 79–80, 99–100	Palonen, Kari, 2, 5, 27, 172–173
defenders of, 80–81	Parker, Henry, 24, 119
and despotism, 60	parliamentarism. See chief executives;
and elections and term limits, 79	constitutional monarchy; executive officials;
formation of, 75, 85	legislative assemblies; monarch, British;
initial rejection of parliamentary model,	monarch, French; parliamentary
9-10	government; parliamentary government
lack of deliberative capacity, 76	(Britain); parliamentary government
and lack of harmony between legislature and	(France); parliamentary republicanism;
executive, 77	representative assemblies
Lanjuinais and, 87–88	parliamentary government
Necker's criticisms, 93–96	adoption in many nations, 4–5, 198



240 Index

parliamentary government (cont.) classical theory of, 19, 58, 62-64, 83, 144, 198, 203-206. See also specific theorists contrast to American constitutional model, 144-163, 172, 174, 177-183 and democracy, 5-7, 17, 194-198 dilemmas and pathologies of, 4, 11-13, 19-20, 102. See also cabinet instability; corruption; gridlock; patronage; lack of focus on, in contemporary scholarship, 5-7, 17 parliamentarism as dominant constitutional paradigm following end of the French Revolution, 9-10, 83-114 rise in executive power in the 20th century, 2, 17, 195-198 summary of characteristics and logic of, 1-3, 11, 19, 83, 111-112. See also constitutional monarchy; executive officials; legislative assemblies See also appointment of ministers; checks and balances: constitutional monarchy: corruption; deliberation; dismissal of ministers; dissolution of the legislature; executive officials; executives in the legislature; executives, responsibility to the legislature; legislative assemblies; monarch, British; monarch, French; patronage; political parties; public opinion; representation; veto power of the monarch; and following headings parliamentary government (Britain), 47-75, 85-91, 104-114, 175-189 advantages over American political system, 172, 177-181 and appointment of ministers, 68-69, 94-95, 110, 122, 181, 183-185, 187 Arendt and, 205 Bagehot's account, 175-181 British parliamentarism adopted in postcolonial states, 165 Burke's theory, 59-68 and cabinet instability, 66-67, 69, 191 contrast to French system during early years of the French Revolution, 85-91 and control over revenue, 8, 18, 22-23, 30-34, 40-41, 56-57, 93, 170-171, 187 and corruption. See corruption debate over electoral mandates, 24-26 debate over parliamentary reform in the 1780s, and deliberation, 23-30, 172-174, 179-180. See also deliberation and democracy, 199-206

and dismissal of ministers, 122, 126-128, 171-172, 180-181, 187 dissolution of the legislature, 97, 126-127, 181. See also dissolution of the legislature and Edinburgh Whigs, 104-114 emergence of parliamentarism in the 18th century, 3-5, 7-8 and Great Reform Act of 1832, 114, 165-166, 190-191 Habermas and, 205 and harmony between legislature and executive, 53-54, 65, 94-95, 113, 178 and high quality of selected executive officials, 180 increase in parliamentary activity in the 18th century, 20-22 and leadership and organization, 169-170 Mill's defense of, 164, 181-189 and ministers in the legislature, 47-58, 83, 168-170. See also executives in the legislature and ministers' responsibility to the legislature, 19-20, 30-31, 36-39, 63, 83, 120-124, neutral monarchs, 135, 143, 164, 166, 168, 181-182 parliamentary procedures, 27, 47, 120, 173, and patronage. See patronage persistence of classical parliamentarism, 198 power struggles in the 17th century, 20-21 and public opinion, 103-104, 173-174, 179-180, 190-191 rise of the House of Commons after 1688, 20-30 Stewart's account, 106-107 and strengthened plebiscitary executive, and suffrage, 185-186, 189 supremacy of the House of Commons. See House of Commons: supremacy of Victorian parliamentarism, 164-193. See also specific theorists Weber and, 201–202 See also English constitution; House of Commons; House of Lords; monarch, British; prime ministers; specific monarchs and prime ministers parliamentary government (France), 88-104, 116-118, 133-143, 147-154 active monarchs, 44, 65-66, 123-124, 136-137, 148, 157-158, 162-163, 185 and appointment of ministers, 78, 80, 82, 88, 90–91, 122, 125, 130, 184, 194 Burke's criticisms, 60-61, 75-82



Index 241

and cabinet instability, 117, 134, 140-141, 149-150 Constant and the dilemmas of French parliamentarism, 133-143 and corruption. See corruption and de Staël's proposals for parliamentary republicanism, 97-99 different conceptions of parliamentarism, 135-143, 154-156 and dismissal of ministers, 125-127, 130, 133-134 dominance into the 20th century, 198 and harmony (or not) between legislature and executive, 77, 99, 137-138, 149-150, 158 introduction of parliamentarism in 1814, 4-5, 12, 83-84, 116 Mill's observations of corruption and patronage in the July Monarchy, 192-193 and ministers' responsibility to the legislature, 88, 126-127, 137-138, 148-149, 155 parliamentary systems of the 19th century, 116-118, 184-185 and patronage. See patronage Prévost-Paradol's promotion of, 194 prohibition of government functionaries in the legislature, 141, 158-159 prohibition of ministers in the legislature, 60, 76-78, 83, 86-88, 90, 93-96, 98 and public opinion. See public opinion rejection of English constitutional model during early years of French Revolution, 9-10, 60-61, 85-91, 99-100 responses to collapse of Constitution of 1791, 88-104 and Second Republic, 150-154 and Tocqueville's promotion of constitutional monarchy, 147-154 turn towards liberal parliamentarism following French Revolution, 83-104. See also Constant, Benjamin; de Staël, Germaine; Edinburgh Whigs; Necker, Jacques See also Chamber of Deputies; Chamber of Peers; Director, the; Legislative Assembly; monarch, French; National Assembly; presidency, French; specific monarchs and constitutions parliamentary republicanism and appointment of ministers, 97, 125, 194 de Staël and, 97–99 and functional substitutes for monarchy, 2 Mill and, 185 See also republics, republicanism Pasquino, Pasquale, 88 Patriot King, 36-39, 48, 67

patronage, 58 administrative officers in the House of Commons, 49-58 Bagehot and, 104, 190-192 Brougham and, 112-113 Burke and, 64-65, 68-75, 102 and cabinet instability, 12, 52-53, 55-56, 69, 140-141, 160, 191-192 and Chamber of Deputies, 156–157 Constant and, 13, 104, 115-116, 139-143, 160, 192 and corruption, 12-13, 49-50, 57-58, 68-75, 102-103, 139-140, 156-157, 191-193 de Staël and, 102–103 debate over, 12-13, 49-58, 189-193 see also specific theorists and Doctrinaires, 136, 139-143 Ferguson and, 57 and French bureaucracy in 1814, 139-140 and French National Assembly, 79-80 and Great Reform Act of 1832, 166 Grey and, 191-192 Guizot and, 158, 160 and harmony between legislature and executive, 53-55, 65, 158 Hearn and, 191-192 Hume and, 51–52 Jeffrey and, 112 Jenyns and, 55-56 and July Monarchy, 192–193 and legislative deliberation, 49-50, 56-57, 141, 159 Lewis and, 192 Macaulay and, 190, 192 Mill and, 190, 192–193 Montesquieu and, 51-52 Necker and, 100–101 parallels with censorship as means of limiting dissent, 140 and political parties, 12-13, 53, 61, 71-72, 74-75, 102-103, 142-143, 158, 162 and public opinion, 162 and public spirit, 73-74, 160-161, 192-193 and restraints on the House of Commons, Russell and, 113-114 Stewart and, 112 Tocqueville and, 104, 158-162 and Victorian parliamentarism, 164, 170, 189-193 Walpole and, 50-58, 140-141 Peel, Robert, 167 Pelham, Henry, 66 Pétion, Jérôme, 82 Pitt, William, 66-67, 79



242 Index

disadvantages of system, 147, 151, 177-178, Pitt, William, Jr., 67, 77, 103-104 Pitts, Jennifer, 16, 154 180, 182-183 Laboulaye's preference for American-style plebiscitary executive, 195-203 Poland, 26 system, 151-152 Political Disquisitions (Burgh), 25-26 Mill and, 182-183 political parties, 3, 11, 61, 83, 173-174 and power of the executive, 197 Bagehot and, 174 president's lack of entry into Congress, 145 Bolingbroke and, 37 and public opinion, 194-195 Brougham and, 112-113 and stalemates between the executive and the Burke and, 61, 71-72, 74-75, 142 legislature, 177-178 Tocqueville and, 145, 147, 150–151 and cabinet instability, 12 and choice of presidential candidates, unsuitability of American presidentialism for France, 150-151, 155 195 Constant and, 13, 141-143, 162 veto power, 147 and corruption, 12-13, 61, 71, 102-103, Weber and, 197 112-113 presidency, French, 150-152, 184, 194 de Staël and, 102–104, 142 presidency, German, 202-203 and democracy, 196 press, the formation of organized parliamentary censorship in France, 117, 138-139, 176 opposition, 37 Constant and, 138-139 de Lolme and, 46-47 not considered legitimate in France, 83 and public opinion, 46-47, 120 and patronage, 12-13, 61, 71-72, 74-75, 102-103, 142-143, 158, 162 Tocqueville and, 161, 163 and public opinion, 13, 142-143, 162 Prévost-Paradol, Lucien Anatole, 135, 194 and public political engagement, 153–154 prime ministers and representatives' loss of independence, 196 and growing power of the executive, 195-198, Tocqueville and, 153-154, 157-159, 161-162 high turnover of, under George III, 66-67 Walpole and, 37, 53 and popular referenda, 199 political responsibility selection by the legislature rather than the Bagehot and, 176 people, 183-185 Burke and, 38, 62-63, 88 See also cabinet instability; specific prime Constant and, 120-124, 126-127 ministers and current conditions, 206 Principes de politique applicables à tous les de Staël and, 39, 97 gouvernements représentatifs (Constant), Mill and, 39, 183, 188-189 and ministers' lack of accountability, 176 The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy ministers' responsibility to the legislature. (Paley), 56-57 proportional representation, 7, 186, 188-189, See executives, responsibility to the legislature 194, 198 and neutral constitutional power, 126 Prussia, 135, 159 and separation of the executive power from the public opinion, 185 monarch, 122-124 and American constitutional model, 174, Tocqueville and, 39, 148-149 194-195 Bagehot and, 190-191 Weber and, 200 Politics as a Vocation (Weber), 196 and Chamber of Deputies, 121 popular referenda, 89, 198–201 Constant and, 126-128, 134 populism, 17, 206. See also plebiscitary executive and corruption in the legislature, 36, 72-73, Portugal, 135 142, 161-162, 190-191 power of the purse. See revenue, control over de Staël and, 84, 92-93, 103-104, 128 presidency, American and de Staël's proposals for parliamentary Bagehot and, 177-178, 180 republicanism, 97-99 Bryce and, 194-195 and debate over electoral mandates, 24-26, 28 and checks and balances, 146-147, 182-183 and dissolution of the legislature, 13, competence (or not) of the president, 180, 183 126-128, 131, 134, 181



Index 243

and growing power of the plebiscitary executive, 195-198 and House of Commons, 29-30, 57-58, 92, and legislative deliberation, 29-30, 47, 179-180 and the monarch, 35-36, 150 Necker and, 92 and North ministry, 73-74 and patronage, 162 and political parties, 13, 142-143, 153-154, 161-162 popular referenda, 89, 198-199 and the press, 46-47, 120 public's preference for active monarch in France, 185 Tocqueville and, 150 and Victorian parliamentarism, 173-174 public, the apathy of, 73-74, 160-161, 179-180, 192-193 Burke and, 72-74 disadvantages of popular assemblies in ancient republics, 46-47 lack of public opposition to North ministry, 73-74 and parallels between censorship and patronage as means of limiting dissent, 140 and patronage and corruption, 57-58, 73-74, 160-161, 192-193 political engagement in Britain, 29-30, 40, 46–47, 72–74, 179–180 political engagement in France, 153-154, 160-161, 192-193 political engagement in the U.S., 174, 179-180 See also electoral systems; representation; representative assemblies; republics, republicanism; suffrage Reflections on the Revolution in France (Burke), 75-79 Réflexions sur les constitutions, la distribution des pouvoirs, et les garanties, dans une monarchie constitutionnelle (Constant), 125 Rémusat, Charles de, 4, 136 representation and the aristocracy, 85, 111-112, 121. See also Chamber of Peers; House of Lords Burke and, 62-64 and classical theory of parliamentarism, 58, 62-64 and debate over electoral mandates, 24-26, diverse viewpoints and legislative deliberation,

and Edinburgh Whigs, 111-112 legislature as image of the nation, 7, 27-28, 61–62, 119, 173, 194 Mill and, 185–186, 188–189 populism and the current "crisis of representation," 17. See also plebiscitary executive proportional representation, 7, 186, 188-189, 194, 198 and Victorian parliamentarism, 171 See also suffrage representative assemblies Constant and, 118-120 de Staël and, 92–93 French National Assembly as representative body, 75-76, 85 House of Commons as representative body, 27-28, 61-64, 111-112, 120, 171-173 Necker and, 92 representation of the people and the aristocracy separated in the English parliamentary system, 85, 111-112 See also Chamber of Deputies; Congress, U.S.; House of Commons; legislative assemblies; Legislative Assembly; National Assembly republics, republicanism and accountability of executive officials, 31 and advantages of constitutional monarchies, 131, 148, 151, 182 ancient republics, 31, 42-43, 46-47, 110-111, 187 Constant and, 118, 124–127, 131 de Lolme and, 42–43 de Staël and, 92–93, 97–99 and electoral mandates, 26-27 French Second Republic, 145, 150-154, 163, 184-185 French Third Republic, 194 Laboulaye and, 151-152 Mill and, 182–185, 187 Montesquieu and, 31 Necker and, 101 and need for neutral constitutional power, 124-125 proposed constitutional frameworks for France, 92-93, 97-99, 124-127, 151 and risks of usurpation/tyranny by ambitious individual, 42-43, 46-47, 110-111, 131 and selection of the chief executive, 183-185 and Skinner's "neo-Roman" or "republican" theory of liberty, 15-16 Tocqueville and, 148, 162-163 See also parliamentary republics Restoration. See Bourbon Restoration

26-29, 119-120



1	C
revenue, control over	Struve, Peter, 5
Burke and, 62–64	suffrage
and Chamber of Deputies, 127–128, 156	in Britain, 6–7, 28–29, 112, 173, 185–186
and checks and balances, 8, 18, 31-34	Burke and, 72
Civil List, 35, 62, 72–73	Constant and, 117, 129, 185–186
Constant and, 127–128, 156	and Coppet Circle, 112
de Lolme and, 40–41	Dicey and, 7
Mill and, 187	in France, 117, 129, 139, 151, 156, 158
Montesquieu and, 31–32	Mill and, 7, 185–186, 189
Mounier and, 91	Tocqueville and, 7, 158
Paley and, 56–57	Weber and, 7
and supremacy of the House of Commons, 8,	See also electoral systems
	Switzerland, 198–199
22–23, 31–34, 40–41, 56–57, 62, 93,	Switzeriand, 190–199
170–171, 187	Towns the 92 99 92
Thiers and, 156	Terror, the, 82, 88–89
Weber and, 201	Thiers, Adolphe, 134, 155–157, 194
Revolution of 1688 (England), 20–21, 49–50,	"the king reigns but does not govern" phrase,
60, 63–65, 78, 156, 168–169	115, 155, 182
Revolution of 1830 (France), 117, 156	Third Estate, 79–80
Revolution of 1848 (France), 99, 117, 150–151,	Third Republic, 117, 194
162–163, 184, 193	Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents
Robespierre, Maximilien, 87	(Burke), 38, 60–62, 67, 69–70, 88
Rockingham, Lord, 67	Tocqueville, Alexis de, 3–4, 10–11, 144–165
Rosanvallon, Pierre, 205	and active constitutional monarch, 12, 148,
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 26	157–158, 162–163, 185
Royer-Collard, Pierre-Paul, 136–137	analysis of American political system,
Russell, John, 113–114, 168	144-147, 151-152
Russia, 4–5	and cabinet instability, 149–150
reason, 4	and checks and balances in American system,
Sandys, Samuel, 38	146–147
Savile, George (Marquess of Halifax), 21–22	and checks and balances in proposed
Schmitt, Carl, 15, 59–60, 199, 203–204	constitutional monarchy, 148–149, 151
Schumpeter, Joseph, 17, 204–206	and Comte de Chambord, 163
Second Empire, 176–177, 194–195	Constant and, 162–163
Second Republic, 117, 145, 150–154, 163,	and corruption, 158–162
184–185	criticisms of Constitution of 1795, 150
Senate, U.S., 152–153	criticisms of the National Assembly after 1848,
Sidney, Algernon, 24	151
Sieyès, Emmanuel, 75, 85–87, 90, 123	and dangers of elected head of state for
Sismondi, Simonde de, 9, 84, 106, 112,	European countries, 148
134	Democracy in America, 144–147, 149–151,
Skinner, Quentin, 15–17	160
Smith, Adam, 8, 31-34	Guizot and, 158, 160
Smith, Sydney, 105	and indirect electoral systems, 152-154
Somers, John, 25	Laboulaye and, 151–152
South America, 135	and legislative deliberation, 159
Spain, 4-5, 16-17, 135	and liberal opposition party, 157–159,
Spelman, Edward, 29–30	161–162
Spencer, Herbert, 13–14	and local self-government in France, 148, 154
The Spirit of Patriotism (Bolingbroke), 37–38 The Spirit of the Laws (Montesquieu), 8, 18,	Mill and, 184–185
* *	and ministers in the legislature, 147–149
30–31, 52, 86, 91, 107	and ministers' responsibility to the legislature,
Stewart, Dugald, 84, 105–107, 110–112	39, 148–149
The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere	and modernization of the French
(Habermas), 205	administrative state, 158–159



Index

245

Montesquieu and, 18 Senate, 152-153 and opposition parties, 153-154 and stalemates between the executive and the and patronage, 104, 158-162 legislature, 177-178, 183 political career, 4, 145, 154–162 Thiers and, 155 and prohibition of government functionaries Tocqueville's analysis, 144-147, 152 in the legislature, 158-159 and tyranny of the majority, 145-146 unique conditions of, 148, 152 promotion of constitutional monarchy and liberal parliamentarism in France, 147-154, See also Congress, U.S.; Constitution, U.S.; 157-158, 163 presidency, American promotion of parliamentary republicanism, Urbinati, Nadia, 187 and public's political engagement in France, veto power of the monarch, 32-34 153-154, 159-160 Burke and, 63-64 recommendations for European political and checks and balances, 8, 68-69, 86 systems, 147-154 Constant and, 126, 127 and subordination of the monarch to the decline of British monarch's use of veto power, legislature, 148, 151 33-34, 54-55, 58, 63-64, 93-94, 107, and suffrage, 7, 158 109, 167, 181 Thiers and, 157 and French monarchy, 81-82, 86, 88, 90-91, and veto power of the executive, 147 93-94, 147 Todd, Alpheus, 166, 168 Jeffrey and, 109 last use of, in Britain, 34 Tories, 66 Trenchard, John, 44-45 Louis XVI's use of, 81-82, 88, 93, 147 Tuck, Richard, 198 Mill and, 181 tvranny Montesquieu and, 8, 68-69 and checks and balances in American system, Mounier and, 90-91, 93-94 146-147 Necker and, 93-94 Stewart and, 107 and democracy, 151 risks of legislative usurpation or tyranny, 8-9, veto power of the U.S. president, 147 19, 39, 42–44, 58, 85–86, 92, 128–131, Victoria, queen 133–134, 145–146, 151 Bagehot and, 166 tyranny of the majority in American political involvement in political affairs, 166 system, 145-146 popularity of, 168 See also despotism reputation as neutral monarch, 135, 143, 164, 166, 168 United States Victorian liberalism and parliamentary theory, American Revolution, 73, 109 164-193. See also Bagehot, Walter; Grey, Bagehot's criticisms of American system, Third Earl; Lewis, George Cornewall; Macaulay, Thomas; Mill, John Stuart 177-181 Vile, M. J. C., 107, 175 Bryce's observations on American democracy, 194-195 Vindiciae Gallicaei (Mackintosh), 81 Vitrolles, Baron de, 134 contrast between parliamentarism and American constitutional model, 144-163, von Mises, Ludwig, 15 172, 174, 177-181 voting. See electoral systems; representation; Grey and, 172 suffrage and legislative deliberation, 174, 178-179 local self-government, 154 Waldron, Jeremy, 204 Mill's criticisms of American system, Walpole, Robert, 20, 36-38, 50, 206 Bolingbroke and, 36-38 182-183 Necker's views of American constitution, 96 Burke and, 71-72 power of state legislatures, 145-146 and corruption, 37, 50, 57-58, 71-72, proposals for American colonial assemblies, and Doctrinaires, 136 35-36, 42 and harmony between legislature and public's engagement with political affairs, 174, 179-180 executive, 53-54



246

Walpole, Robert (cont.)

Hume and, 51–52

Langford and, 50

and patronage, 50–58, 140–141

and political parties, 37, 53

Weber, Max, 7, 11–12, 17, 115, 196, 199–203 Whig History, 16, 205

## *Index*

Whigs, 66–67, 74–75, 105. *See also* Edinburgh Whigs William III, 64–65 William the Conqueror, 41 Wilson, James, 35 Wilson, Woodrow, 204–205 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 81