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▶ **To cite this version:**

Ludovic Frobert. Between progress and decline : crises in early French dictionaries and encyclopaedias (1830-1840). Besomi, Daniele. Crises and business cycles in economic dictionaries and encyclopaedias, Routledge, pp.167-176, 2012. halshs-00714949

HAL Id: halshs-00714949
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00714949

Submitted on 23 Jun 2017

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XI.

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Encyclopédie du dix-neuvième siècle, répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts, avec la biographie de tous les hommes célèbres, Paris : au bureau de "l'Encyclopédie du XIXe siècle" (1836-1853).
Encyclopédie des gens du monde, répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts [Texte imprimé] : avec des notices sur les principales familles historiques et sur les personnages célèbres, morts et vivans, par une société de savans, de littérateurs et d'artistes, français et étrangers, Paris : Treuttel et Würtz, 1833-1844.
Dictionnaire du commerce et des marchandises contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce de terre et de mer, Paris, Guillaumin, 1839.
Dictionnaire universel du commerce, de la banque et des manufactures, Paris, Pillet ainé, 1838.
Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture, Paris, Belin-Mandar, 1835.
Encyclopédie nouvelle, ou dictionnaire philosophique, scientifique, littéraire et industriel, Paris, C. Gosselin, 1836-1842.
Dictionnaire politique, Encyclopédie du langage et de la science politique rédigé par une réunion de députés, de publicistes et de journalistes. Avec une introduction par Garnier-Pagès, publié par E. Duclerc et Pagnerre, Paris, Pagnerre Editeur, 1842.

11.1 FRENCH DICTIONARIES CIRCA 1830

If we envisage the 19th century in France, from the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782-1832) by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke to the *Grande Encyclopédie* (1885-1902) by Marcelin Berthelot, as the century of dictionaries and encyclopaedias, then the 1830s constitute a crucial moment. The decisive technological and commercial innovations of the 1800-1830 period enabled the blossoming of the book and printing industry and the real birth of modern press. In 1832, William Duckett's *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture* capitalized on these various innovations revitalizing the dictionary and encyclopaedia sector. In the following years, Duckett's initiative was rapidly imitated giving rise to a multiplication of publication of this sort. The years following the 1830 Revolution were both a period of technological upheaval in printing and a period of radical political, moral and religious change, while, at the same time, the first effects of the industrial revolution were being felt in France. During the 1830s appeared several dictionaries specialised on commercial, industrial and financial subjects. In 1837-1839 the publishing house Guillaumin published the *Encyclopédie du Commerçant. Dictionnaire du commerce et des marchandises*, an adaptation (and not simply the French translation) of John Ramsey McCulloch's *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (1832). A little later, Guillaumin bring out, under the direction of Adolphe Blanqui and Joseph Garnier the *Dictionnaire du commerce et des marchandises* (1841). In the same period, and for his own part, Joseph Montbrion published his *Dictionnaire universel du commerce, de la banque et des manufactures* (1838-1841). In the 1830s appeared also general dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The dictionaries published at the time were of two sorts: on the one hand, there were the general, neutral dictionaries, which, for economic and strategic reasons, each publishing house had to have in its catalogue: it was the case for *L'Encyclopédie moderne* (1824-1832) or for *L'Encyclopédie des gens du monde* (1833-1844) ; on the other hand, there were the more

militant dictionaries or encyclopaedias which were "more directly concerned with the propagation of knowledge considered as the privileged means to [effect] political, social or moral change" (Mollier 2000, p. 95). The period, which was characterized by the assertion of positivism, witnessed the reaction expressed in the rise of Catholic encyclopaedias, the *Encyclopédie catholique* (1839-1849) or the *Encyclopédie du 19e siècle* (1836-1853) published shortly before Abbé Migne's *Encyclopédie théologique*. Yet these very same 1830s were marked by the rebirth of the republican movement and the first steps of socialism. They thus witnessed the first appearance of "democratic" encyclopaedias; at the end of 1833, Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud published the first instalments of the *Encyclopédie pittoresque à deux sous* which fast became the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, quickly considered as the general survey of the new socialists doctrines . And several years later, the French Republican editor Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre (1805-1854) published is *Dictionnaire politique, Encyclopédie du langage et de la science politique* (1842).

These 1830s new dictionaries and encyclopaedias could not avoid the theme of economic crisis. Indeed, shortly after 1815, there was a series of economic crises in France. The crises of 1825-1826, 1828-1832 and 1836-1839 drew attention to the regular repetition of these phenomena within nascent industrial societies: contemporaries talked of "commercial crises" or "industrial crises". Two famous texts, both published in 1840, bear witness to the acclimatization to this notion of crisis. In his pamphlet *Qu'est ce que la propriété?* Pierre-Joseph Proudhon noted the "frequency and intensity of commercial crises" in industry and linked the phenomenon to competition and the property regime (Proudhon 1840). On the other hand, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote of the American situation that "I believe that the return of industrial crises is an endemic illness in the democratic nations of our time" (Tocqueville 1840). We thus find ourselves at the dawning of precise analysis and observation of the phenomenon and, as R. Koselleck (1997) so brilliantly demonstrated, a period in which political and social concepts incessantly changed meaning and acquired a normative dimension, relinquishing claims to merely describe social phenomena and assuming the vocation of influencing them. This structuring power enabled them to not only look towards the past, but also towards the future. In this context, four different conceptions of the crises and their links with progress emerged.

11.2 FRENCH LIBERALS BEFORE 1848: PROGRESS PUNCTUATED BY CRISES

Before its definite conservative turn following the events of 1848 (Le Van-Lemesle 2004), the French Liberal School put forward an original neo-Smithian economic analysis, which was embedded in a doctrinal programme which, in more or less radical versions, dominated liberal industrialism (Béraud, Gislain and Steiner 2004). Although a part of the Liberal School with Charles Dunoyer had already developed an intransigent economic liberalism, other movements within the School had more balanced views. One such case is represented by Adolphe Blanqui, who succeeded Jean-Baptiste Say at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*, while remaining both an attentive and critical reader of the Saint-Simonians, Fourierists and their related dissident movements (Arena 1991). In 1848, his report on the working classes banished him from the Liberal School (*Des classes ouvrières en France pendant l'année 1848*, 1849). Towards 1840, a moderate liberal such as Blanqui opposed, first and foremost, the rebirth of an economic nationalism supported by the Orleanist power and perfectly expressed in the speeches of Baron Charles Dupin (Todd 2008). In 1839, the Baron observed "the alternatives to convulsive progress and sudden regression" suffered "by national industry" (Dupin 1839, p 5), linked the phenomenon to the excess of individualism and competition and took up the defence of a capitalism of large units in constant relationship to the State, the only system capable of ensuring the coordinated development of national industry (Charles Dupin, "Crise commerciale", *Encyclopédie du dix-neuvième siècle*, 1846, t. 9, pp. 308-311). Thus, in reaction, Blanqui developed a conception which relativized the gravity and periodicity of the crises, a conception in which the linearity of progress depends upon the healthy cohabitation of industry and liberty, a liberty controlled by the Saint-Simonian imperative of attending to the improvement "of the most numerous and poorest class". Progress globally represents a growing *trend*; industrial growth, however, constitutes a complex process and it is thus not surprising that it can be troubled *from time to time* by accidents and crises[1]. Confronted with this dynamic, complex process, the error lies in the constant temptation of an "excess of protection"; the control of industry by the State is possible, the regulation or organization of competition in certain areas such as credit is necessary, but these interventions must not become excessive. In this context, crises are thus "disruptions which commerce or industry undergo from time to time under the influence of often very diverse causes, internal or external… they are temporary accidents, storms which

[1] In the specialized dictionaries of the time, one also finds a general interpretation underlining the view that the period is one of political, economic and technological transition and that the institutions responsible for credit, especially financial and banking institutions, are not adapted to the ongoing evolutions and cannot take these impacts and changes. This interpretation, nevertheless, leads to the diagnosis of the subsiding of the crises based on, firstly, a more peaceful economic development and, secondly, a maturing of financial regulation (Monbrion, "Crise commerciale et industrielle", *Dictionnaire universel du commerce de la banque et des manufactures* (1838), t. 1, pp. 636-637; Michel, "Crise commerciale", *Dictionnaire du commerce et des marchandises* (1839), t.1, pp. 757-758.

momentarily trouble the serenity of the industrial horizon and after which, apart from a little damage, business returns to its usual course" (A. Blanqui, "Crise commerciale", *Encyclopédie des gens du monde*, 1836, t. 7, pp. 257-259). With a few variations, the "commercial crisis" entries of the later liberal dictionaries used this general outline (Charles Coquelin, "Crises commerciales", *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1852-1853), Joseph Garnier, "Crises commerciales", *Dictionnaire universel théorique et pratique du commerce et de la navigation*, 1859).

During the years 1830-1848, the French Liberal view on crises and progress consisted in three propositions: regular growth is a dominant property of industrial society; this growth may be temporarily and irregularly disturbed by crises of mainly exogenous origins; social progress is the natural destination of industry.

11. 3 THE FRENCH REPUBLICANS: THE POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS WITHOUT CRISIS

Under the July Monarchy the Republican party remained mainly prohibited and clandestine. However during the 1830s, clubs and associations broadly developed and diffused the republican ideas and doctrines (Tchernoff 1901, Weill 1928, Gilmore 1997). In the autumn of 1833, Jean Reynaud and Pierre Leroux were entrusted with the publication of a manifesto, a synthetic text for the republicans gathered together in the *Société des Droits de l'Homme* of which they were to write : « this party unanimously conceives liberty to be its goal, the assistance of the proletariat to be its first duty, the republican for to be its agent and the sovereignty of the people to be its principle ; finally it considers the right to [free] association to be the consequence of this principle and the means to bring about its execution" (Leroux and Reynaud 1833, p. 6). After several defeats (most notably in June 1832 and April 1834), the republican movement recomposed its moderate branch under the direction of mans such as Armand Marrast, Etienne Garnier-Pagès and younger zealots who wrote in their paper *Le National*. One of the main problems confronting these authors was to study the parallel and paradoxical growth of industry and exchange, on the one hand, and of pauperism, on the other, and to show how the Republic could solve this problem which appeared even more complex since the recent investigations carried out by Louis-René Villermé (*Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers des manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie*, 1840) and Etienne Buret (*De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France*, 1840). In his study, Buret explained that "destitution *is morally felt poverty*" (Buret 1840), an expression which bears witness to the fact that the evils of the nascent industrial system were not only material, but also moral and political, since the workers were constantly threatened by domination. In 1842 this republican movement published its own sum, the *Dictionnaire politique*. Within the group writing the *Dictionnaire* tensions already existed between, on the one hand, those who believed that suffrage reform and the advent of republican power would suffice to resolve the social issue through strictly political means and, on the other hand, those who already thought that, as well as the political dimension, reform should also lead to the profound modification of the workings of the economy. The main contributor for the economic entries of the *Dictionnaire politique* was Jean-Gustave Courcelle Seneuil. Courcelle-Seneuil explained that the crisis manifests itself in industry and commerce as a suspension of business. Thus, "the principal character of these crises is the weakening of credit" ("Crises", *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 298-299). The origins of such a phenomenon are numerous, "disturbances", "surplus of commerce or unfortunate speculations", "sudden variations in the prices of merchandise"; in his 1840 work, *Le crédit et la banque*, Courcelle-Seneuil noted, "these alternatives of rise or fall are generally caused by the vicissitudes of war, the alternatives of war or peace, and, above all, production surpluses" (Courcelle-Seneuil 1840, p 17). What must be seen in this list of disparate causes, is, above all, the extreme vulnerability of the present economic system which spontaneously and without doubt produces wealth, but which also creates cumulated disorder and disturbances (here Courcelle-Seneuil is insisting on the propagation of crises) and thus requires regulation. So the author does not condemn the economic or financial system but, rather, the absence of an adequate political regulation of this system. Thus, in 1840-1842, these reasons led him to ultimately place at the origin of crises a sum of individual errors, erroneous economic choices made without any element of collective guidance: "commercial crises are but the multiplication of particular disasters that the lack of foresight or unexpected accidents inflict daily on commerce" (*Crises*, p. 299). Significantly, the heading "Crises" ends in an examination into the possibility of preventing crises by balancing production and consumption and curbing the excessive anticipations of agents. However Courcelle-Seneuil notes that, at present, this prevention is as yet impossible given the "powerlessness" of "the political economy". But at this time, Courcelle-Seneuil and the others authors (like for example Louis Blanc who wrote the entry "Banque" in the *Dictionnaire politique*) were confident concerning the progress of a republican political economy. They thought that a democratic regulation of market economy was possible and they favoured a state intervention and the development of a property-owning democracy (Frobert 2010).

In consequences, around 1840, the Republicans presented their own vision on crisis and progress. They favoured the development of commercial societies but they were also aware of their new pathologies and notably the crisis. The commercial crisis were not of exogenous causes but a consequence of growth and thus they must be regulated, even if this regulation seemed complex. And finally, this regulation could only be conducted by a future democratic regime which has the power and the will to conduct welfare politics.

11.4 THE SAINT-SIMONIANS AND THEIR DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS: PROGRESS THROUGH THE ALTERNATION OF PERIODS

Shortly after the publication of the *Nouveau christianisme* and the death of the Comte de Saint-Simon (1825), the Saint-Simonian School was founded around such figures as Barthélémy-Prosper Enfantin, Saint-Amand Bazard, the Péreire brothers, Philippe-Joseph Buchez and Pierre Leroux. The school was soon shaken by schisms with, amongst others, Buchez and Leroux becoming dissidents and each creating their own School around 1830. Although they differed on numerous points of the doctrine which should prevail for the new world of industry, orthodox Saint-Simonians and the dissident Saint-Simonians who followed Buchez or Leroux had a relatively similar common vision of the relationships between crisis and progress.

The notion of progress through alternating critical and organic periods is central to the original vision of the Saint-Simonians (see *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition*, 1829, vol. 1), whose intention was to construct a mathematical science of history (Picon 2002). The critical periods constitute the phases of dissolution and dispersion whereas the organic periods are dominated by unity and a single direction in industry, science and religion. In this alternation which punctuates the evolution of humanity, good dominates over evil and leads to progress. The 1830s should therefore close the critical period dominated by the Enlightenment, 1789 and the French Revolution and inaugurate a new organic period dominated by industrialism. Moreover, this industrial society, in which the major obstacle that individual property constitutes would have been removed, undoubtedly represents for the Saint-Simonians a sort of end to history: once industry and association have established themselves and the "administration of things" has replaced the "government of men", there will be progress but "without interruption, without crises, continuously, regularly and at every instant" (*Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition*, 1829). The Saint-Simonian point of view on the articulation of crisis and progress is perfectly expressed by Charles Lemonnier in the entry on commercial crisis the *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture* (1835, t. 18, pp. 216-218). The crisis is an alteration of the commercial movement leading to a "momentary" paralysis of the economy. Wars and revolutions and the bellicose past of Europe, constitute one of the principal causes of economic disruptions. Innovation or technological change which produces creative imbalance constitutes the other cause since it is organically linked to the future blossoming of the world of industry. Given this, if "a commercial crisis is nothing more than a pause in the industrial development of a people", it is often the condition of "future progress" (Lemonnier 1835, p 216). Lemonnier continued to affirm that in a state in which all the industrialists are associated, it would be necessary to attenuate the crises, to control their impact on the most vulnerable working populations and to equitably distribute their transitory negative consequences while still preserving the role they play as a stimulus to industrial progress.

The link between alternation and progress can be found in the principal dissident Saint-Simonian movements. Pierre Leroux, however, is more inclined to insist on the notion of "continuous progress" and to relativize the theme of alternation. Significantly, in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (the work by Jean Reynaud and Pierre Leroux, the first fascicules of which were published in 1833-1834), no "commercial crisis" entry is to be found, even if Jules Leroux (Pierre's younger brother and author of the principal economic articles of the *Encyclopédie*) evoked the "alternation of progress and collapse" experienced by commerce (Jules Leroux, "Commerce", *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, vol. 2, p 708). In this Saint-Simonian dissident movement, the alternation of periods of rise and fall is not truly a condition of progress. From this perspective, Pierre Leroux would later write, "A crisis which bears all its fruit is not followed by other crises" (*Lettre au docteur Deville*, 1859).

Pierre-Joseph Buchez represents another major Saint-Simonian dissident movement which is interesting in that it extends the Saint-Simonian philosophy of history accentuating the link between progress and alternation: "Until now, the development of humanity has occurred through a succession of alternating movements which sometimes presents an organic character and sometimes a critical character" (*Introduction aux questions sur les sciences et les savants*, 1828). In the work of Buchez, even more than in that of the orthodox Saint-Simonians, one finds a complex cyclical theory of social evolution in which progress is again the consequence of alternation. It is thus no surprise to see the Buchez School taking an interest in commercial crises and their periodicity: the example provided by Auguste Ott is undoubtedly revealing (A. Ott, "Crise", *Dictionnaire des sciences politiques et sociales*, 1854).

When all is said and done, despite obvious differences, the vision of the Saint-Simonians, be they orthodox or dissident, presents three characteristics: the modern history of humanity, that of the new world of industry, achieves progress and this progress operates in the present through the alternation of critical and organic phases; the alternation of major phases has, in part, an equivalence at the level of crises and economic fluctuations (these fluctuations constitute an important element of the explanation of general alternations); in a future state, to be achieved by humanity, that is, the global association of all the industrialists, alternation will disappear and progress, driven by technological innovation, will be linear

11.5 THE FOURIERISTS: CRISES AS INDICATORS OF THE CORRUPTION AND DECOMPOSITION OF "CIVILIZATION"

Charles Fourier and his school provided a radical demystification of the idea of progress. Fourier ceaselessly denounced the "vices of civilized industry" ("industrialism is the collection of all the vices, falsification, monopoly, bankruptcy, speculation, cornering [of markets] and usury" (Fourier, 1829). Moreover, he found it frankly obscene to talk of progress when one observed the misery and precariousness that affected nine out of ten people at the time. Thus, he put forward the idea that, in its contemporary form, industrial civilization was heading straight for disaster. In this conception we cannot find the idea of a naturally ascending series whether it be with or without rhythm. Capitalism and the continuation of its destructive logic lead not to progress but to catastrophe.

This vision integrates a reflection on crises and even if the Fourierists did not publish any dictionaries, their singular view on crisis/progress must be mentioned here. For Fourier and his disciples the crisis and its repetitions are vectors of decline. This reflection can be found in Fourier's work which uses the 1826 crisis as an example. Here as elsewhere, he creates his own vocabulary coining the expressions of "plethoric reversal" (*refoulement pléthorique*) and "repercussions of abortive failure" (*contre-coup d'avortement*) to designate two harmful commercial phenomena: poor anticipations of outcomes and attempted monopolization, the only aim of which is to cause a rise in prices. He wrote, "reversal is a periodic effect of the blind cupidity of merchants" while ceaselessly denouncing the "anarchic commerce called free-competition" (Fourier 1829). In 1833-1834, in *La réforme industrielle ou Le Phalanstère*, the first journal of the Fourierist School led by Victor Considérant, Jules Lechevalier and Abel Transon, this articulation between crisis/decline or progress was taken up: Leroux's idea of "continuous progress" is rejected and the writers consider that social movement, in whichever direction, occurs through what Lechevalier calls "alternation" of contrary movements ("this alternation (…) constitutes the movement and life" (*Le Phalanstère*, 30 août 1832, p. 131). Yet, in "civilization" (French society of the 1830s in Fourierist vocabulary), these alternations work for the decline and fall of this social system, with Abel Transon observing "descending vibrations" in contemporary economic crises (ibid., 11 janvier 1833, p 16).

Finally, when Fourier analysed the entire "social movement" and drew a ladder of the ages of humanity, he took great care to distinguish between the "false state" and the "true state". After a veritable overthrow or reversal, the three stages of the false state – patriarchy, barbarism and civilization (civilization being the contemporary period of liberal industrialism) – are followed by the stages of the true state – guarantism, socialism and harmonism. Thus, there is revolution and a change of system between the false and true states of humanity.

The Fourierist vision is therefore structured by three themes: industrial civilization is fundamentally rotten and the idea of progress associated with this economic system is a fraud; in the present system, crises and their recurrence constitute an indicator of decomposition; the appearance and repetition of these crises will constitute vectors for a change of system and for the transition towards an economic and social regime which is radically different to liberal industrialism ("guarantism").

11.6 CONCLUSION

In this short survey, we have tried to make a rough sketch of the main different visions of the relationship between crisis and progress presented in dictionaries and encyclopaedias in France in the 1830s. A map can summarize this intellectual hilly landscape:

	Libérals	**Saint-Simonians**	**Republicans**	**Fouriérists**
Progress/decay	Progress	Progress	Progress	Decay
Crisis/Cycles	Crisis (exogenous)	Cycles	Crisis (endogenous)	Crisis/cycles
Capitalism/Socialisme	Market Capitalism	Big corporation capitalism	Welfare-State Capitalism	Socialism

In this essay we have had to radicalize the interpretation of these different movements of thought, saint-simonians, republicans, fourierists, liberals, and to stress their differences. A more complete study would have now to balance these rough interpretations, but also to study in detail and to understand how these different positions communicated or not during this period (approximatively the times of the Constitutional Monarchies in France 1815-1848) in order to have a better understanding of the complex past of the theory of economic crisis and business cycles in France in the first half of the 19th century.

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