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REPUBLICANISM AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN PAGNERRE'S *DICTIONNAIRE POLITIQUE* (1842)

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In his classic work *Le Parti Républicain sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (1901), Iouda Tchernoff underlined the importance of Pagnerre's *Dictionnaire politique* (1842) in the history of 19th century French republicanism. Within this mass of republican ideas, Tchernoff noted the presence of the expected references and developments concerning Jean-Jacques Rousseau as well as popular sovereignty. However, he also underlined that "within [its pages] one could above all see an effort to adapt the republican regime to the new conditions of economic and social life"¹. For Tchernoff, this was one of the great originalities of this particular dictionary.

The importance of the economic entries is clearly evident when you read this work. As Tchenoff stated, one of the most interesting aspects of the *Dictionnaire* was its attempt to link the doctrine of republicanism to political economy. At the turn of the 1840s, most French republicans still counted mainly on electoral reform and confined economic and social reforms to a secondary role. But the serious economic crisis of 1837 and the observations of hygienists and social surveyors concerning the terrible living conditions of the working classes made a heavier investment in the world of political economy essential. These republicans urgently needed to provide themselves with a genuine economic and social doctrine if they were to tackle competing schools of thought². Indeed, they needed to fight and take up positions on at least three fronts. First, they had to resist the less and less subtle economic liberalism of Jean-Baptiste Say's School. Second, they had to counter and filter the propositions of the Socialist Schools which, at the turn of the 1840s, were adopting a much more radical tone³, as they discovered Babouvism and communism and spread their messages to the popular classes⁴. Third, they had to reject the economic nationalism and protectionism of the economists who, like Charles Dupin, were the allies and experts of the Orleanist power.

The objective of this article will thus be to review and analyze in detail the republican political economy developed in Pagnerre's *Dictionnaire*. In the first

¹ I. Tchernoff, *Le Parti Républicain sous la monarchie de Juillet*, (Paris: A. Pedone, 1901).

² On the alternation between liberalism and protectionism in France during this period, see D. Todd, *L'Identité économique de la France: Libre-échange et protectionnisme 1814-1851*, (Paris: Grasset, 2008).

³ In 1840, for instance, Etienne Cadet published his *Voyage et aventures de Lord Carisdall en Icarie* (Paris: H. Souverain) and Pierre-Joseph Proudon wrote his famous pamphlet, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? ou Recherche sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement* (Paris: J.-F. Brocard).

⁴ F. Fourn, « Les brochures socialistes et communistes en France entre 1840 et 1844 », *Cahiers d'histoire*, 90-91, 2003, 69-83.

section, we shall examine the republican publisher Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre and the genesis of the *Dictionnaire* at the turn of the 1840s. In the second section, we shall present the authors of the economic entries. In the third and fourth sections devoted to the analysis of the economic entries, we shall attempt to define the outlines of this republican political economy. In the final section, we shall conclude by attempting, to summarize the main characters of this republican political economy.

THE PAGNERRE DICTIONARY

The 19th century in France, from the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782-1832) by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke to the *Grande Encyclopédie* (1885-1902) by Marcelin Berthelot, can be seen as the century of dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The 1830s constituted a crucial point in this century. 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 and revitalized the dictionary and encyclopaedia sector. In the following years, Duckett's initiative was rapidly imitated giving rise to a multiplication of similar publications. 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. At the same time, the first effects of the industrial revolution were being felt in France. 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; first, 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"⁵. The period was not only characterized by the assertion of positivism but also witnessed the reaction to it as expressed in the rise of Catholic encyclopaedias: the *Encyclopédie catholique* or the *Encyclopédie du 19^e siècle*, 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*; and several years later, Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre (1805-1854) published his *Dictionnaire politique, Encyclopédie du langage et de la science politique*.

The *Dictionnaire politique* was initially published in several monthly issues from September 1839 to November 1841; the entire collection was published in 1842, rapidly republished in 1843 and 1848 and was to reach its 6th edition by 1860 (without changes). The politically committed nature of the undertaking was clear from the publisher's foreword. In his presentation of the various compilers, Pagnerre explained that they all support "democracy", and that they "all recognize

⁵ J. Y. Mollier, "Diffuser les connaissances au 19^e siècle, un exercice délicat", *Romantisme*, 30 (108), 2000, 91-101; J. Y. Mollier, *La Lecture et ses publics à l'époque contemporaine* (Paris: Puf, 2001).

as a fundamental dogma the principle of national sovereignty; (...) in our opinion, this principle is the source of all moral and political certainty; outside democracy everything becomes obscure, incomprehensible, dubious"⁶. When Pagnerre wrote these lines, the republican movement was at a crucial moment in its history⁷. After *Les Trois Glorieuses*, the republican movement came to realize that the 1830 Revolution with its promises of civil, political and economic liberties had been diverted and blunted by their former liberal and doctrinaire comrades who were now allied to King Louis-Philippe and his desire to curb progressive demands. The various republican groups multiplied their associations, newspapers and demonstrations against the new key figures of the regime, Casimir Périer, Adolphe Thiers and François Guizot. 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*. This is how they described the aims of the *Société des droits de l'homme*: "this party unanimously conceives liberty to be its goal, the assistance of the proletariat to be its first duty, the republican form 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"⁸. After a first defeat in June 1832, the republicans and their allies were crushed by the King's troops during the April 1834 insurrection. They were tried in the mammoth trial of 1834-1835 and condemned, exiled or banished⁹.

By this time, Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre had already chosen his side¹⁰. He was of working-class origin and, at the age of nineteen, had come to Paris where he became an assistant at the booksellers, *Boulland et Carnevilliers*. Here, he mixed with the liberal rebellious youth which was in league against King Charles X and manned the July 1830 barricades in support of the Citizen-King, Louis-Philippe. As early as 1831-1832, however, like his republican friends, he rapidly understood that the Revolution had been confiscated by the conservative party of *Résistance* (Casimir Périer followed by François Guizot). Pagnerre founded his bookshop in 1831, joined republican associations and devoted himself to propaganda, publishing Etienne Cabet's paper, *Le Populaire*, and, a little later, works by Félicité de Lamennais and Louis Blanc¹¹. Like many republican activists, he was

⁶ L. A. Pagnerre, "Avertissement de l'éditeur", *Dictionnaire politique, encyclopédie du langage et de la science politique* (Paris: Pagnerre 1860), IX.

⁷ Tchernoff, *Le Parti républicain*; G. Weil, *Histoire du parti républicain en France 1814-1870*, (Paris: Alcan, 1928); J. Gilmore, *La République clandestine 1818-1848* (Paris: Aubier, 1997); P. M. Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France 1814-1871* (New York: Palgrave, 1995).

⁸ P. Leroux & J. Reynaud, *Exposé des principes républicains de la Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (Paris: Herhnan, 1833), 6.

⁹ While the trial was taking place, Pagnerre edited the speeches and defence of the principal republican defendants from Paris and Lyon – Lagrange, Lortet, Trélat. In 1835, he finally published *Procès des accusés d'avril devant la cour des pairs, publié de concert avec les accusés* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1835), 4 vol.

¹⁰ H. Landre, "Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre (1805-1854). Le combat pour la République d'un libraire-éditeur", *Trames*, 5 (2000), 319-351.

¹¹ Before 1842, Pagnerre published, for example, *Le livre du peuple* (1838) or *De l'esclavage moderne* (1839) by F. de La Mennais, the 4 volumes of the *Histoire populaire de la Révolution française de 1789*

condemned after April 1834 and imprisoned. Drawing on the lessons learnt in the failure of the insurrection, he joined the moderate branch of republicanism which used its paper *Le National* as its mouthpiece¹²; a paper Pagnerre was to help finance. *Le National* represented the moderate branch of the republican extreme-left as opposed to the Babouvism of Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès who was defeated in May 1839. The paper was initially directed by Armand Carrel, until his death in a duel in 1836. It was then taken over by Armand Marrast (1801-1852). During 1835-1836, Marrast, like many republican leaders, had been in exile in London where he had made friends among the English Radicals¹³ of the *Westminster Review* and had observed the progress of Chartism. On his return to France, he drew closer to Etienne Garnier-Pagès (1801-1841), who had been re-elected to the *Chambre des députés* in 1837. He criticized the decay of the Monarchy, systematically repulsed the communists and other denigrators of property and supported every possible progress in political citizenship which he saw as the sole means to social reform. He was to write in the 28th April 1837 edition of *Le National*: "Every real opposition should concentrate on the terrain to which the law grants us access and fight for the sovereignty of the people under the banner of ELECTORAL REFORM. *Hoc signo vinces*"¹⁴. When, around 1840, Pagnerre wished to fix the terms of a "well defined language" and present a "rational and positive theory of political science"¹⁵, he called upon the republican network centred on Garnier-Pagès – who wrote the general introduction to the *Dictionnaire*¹⁶, – and Marrast to edit a dictionary, which was to be the sum of republican ideas, and to which were assigned ambitious objectives: "To give everyone the means to instantly form an opinion on all the questions which arise, from day to day, in ordinary controversy or are brandished from the tribune; to shed light on those truths which for too long have been exclusively shared by a small number [of people]; to hasten [the arrival of] the moment when the national will can manifest itself with a perfect knowledge of the facts; to a certain extent, to stand in for the benefits of a public education, which is non-existent today; to increasingly develop that religion of duty and law which no one no longer dares to deny; finally, to specify the value of words, to constitute and popularize political sciences; this is the task we set ourselves"¹⁷.

à 1830 (1839-1840) by Etienne Cabet and started to publish the volumes of the *Histoire de dix ans 1830-1840* by Louis Blanc. His catalogue also included republican songs and almanacs and he published the pamphlets of Cormenin (Louis-Marie de Lahaye), Agenor Altaroche or Ulysse Trélat.

¹² I. Collins, "Le National", in: *Historical Dictionary of France from the 1815 Restoration to the Second Empire*, edited by E. L. Newman (London: Aldwych Press, 1987), ii, 738-740.

¹³ At the turn of the 1840s, Pagnerre published E. Regnault's translations of the works of J. Bentham, *Catéchisme de la réforme électorale* (1839) and *Sophismes parlementaires* (1840).

¹⁴ Weil, *Histoire du parti républicain*, 141.

¹⁵ Pagnerre, "Avertissement", VIII.

¹⁶ E. Garnier-Pagès, "De la science politique", *Dictionnaire politique*, XIII-XXIV.

¹⁷ Pagnerre, "Avertissement", IX.

A GROUP OF YOUNG RADICALS

Pagnerre's Dictionary represented not the work of a single individual but the work of a group. Its members were mostly born around 1810 and were part of the romantic generation¹⁸ which, at twenty, first tasted battle on the July barricades then asserted itself in increasing republican opposition to the hardening of the regime of Louis-Philippe. At the beginning of the 1840s, since the term republicanism was prohibited given the risks of prosecution by the July monarchy, the members of this network called themselves radicals or democrats. One of the main problems confronting these authors was to study the parallel and paradoxical growth of industry, exchange and pauperism, and to show how the Republic could solve this problem which appeared even more complex after the investigations of Louis-René Villermé and Etienne Buret¹⁹. In his study, Buret explained that "destitution is morally felt poverty", an expression which bore 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. During summer 1840, numerous strikes had broken out involving the workers and craftsmen of a wide range of industries – tailors, bootmakers, cobblers, masons, carpenters, locksmiths, weavers – and these strikes were severely repressed by the Orleanist authorities. Within the group writing the *Dictionnaire* tensions already existed between those who believed that suffrage reform, the gradual extension of the franchise and the advent of republican power would suffice to resolve the social issue through strictly political means and those who already thought that, as well as modifying the political dimension, reform should also lead to the profound modification of the workings of the economy. In 1843, numerous authors of *Le National* and thus of the *Dictionnaire* were to leave the Radicals to create their own mouthpiece, *Le Réformateur*, a paper which was attentive to the priority of structural economic reforms. However in 1842, all these authors collaborated in the *Dictionnaire* and the search for a consensual solution to the issue of the relationships between the Republic and the economy. This rationalism was federated by three key ideas: the idea that the republican form of the State was the normal consequence of the principle of the sovereignty of the people; the idea that the institution of universal suffrage combined with parliamentary reform was the best means for the people to ensure a regime of democracy and political equality; the idea that this political evolution was the necessary and probably sufficient means of peacefully obtaining social reforms.

¹⁸ J.-C. Caron, *Génération romantique. Les étudiants de Paris et le quartier Latin (1814-1851)*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1991.

¹⁹ L.-R. Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers des manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1840); E. Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (Paris: Paulin, 1840).

The main writers of the economic entries of the *Dictionnaire politique* were: Elias Regnault (1801-1868)²⁰, Charles Duclerc (1812-1888)²¹, Léopold Duras (1813-1863)²², Louis Blanc (1811-1882)²³ and Jean-Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil (1813-1892). A few years later, they would all become major players in the *campagne des banquets* and, afterwards, in the provisional government in the spring of 1848: Regnault would lead Alexandre Ledru-Rollin's staff at the Ministry of the Interior; Marrast and Louis Blanc became members of the provisional government and Pagnerre general secretary of that government. Charles Duclerc (who formally appeared with Pagnerre as one of the two editors of the *Dictionnaire* of 1842) followed a trajectory typical of this network of young republicans. He was a journalist at the *Bons sens* then the *Revue du progrès* (founded by Louis Blanc in 1839 and in which he published that same year *L'Organisation du travail*), he joined the team of the *National* in 1840 (where he remained until 1846). At these different papers, he was responsible for economic and financial columns. He was very close to Louis-Antoine Garnier-Pagès (1803-1878). Before the Revolution, he participated much in the republican agitation of the *campagne des banquets* and, after February 1848, followed Garnier-Pagès to the *Mairie de Paris* then to the Ministry of Finance. He finally became Minister for Finance in May 1848, a few days after he was elected *député* for the Landes to the *Assemblée Constituante* (April 1848). After the events of June 1848, he refused to participate in General Cavaignac's state of emergency government and maintained his position at the left of the *Assemblée Constituante* where he was a member of the finance committee defending a liberal and moderate republican position²⁴.

For his part, Jean-Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil was in his thirties when he became the principal writer of the entries dealing with economics for the *Dictionnaire politique*. He wrote numerous entries in the *Dictionnaire* including the major entries for ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE, INDUSTRIE, LIBERTÉ COMMERCIALE, OUVRIER, PAUPÉRISME, POPULATION, and PROPRIÉTÉ. From 1830 to 1848, Courcelle-Seneuil²⁵ followed a similar movement to Duclerc. As a student at the *Ecole de Droit*, he was close to Armand Carrel (the soul of the *National* in the early 1830s), his first work was a very emphatic *Lettres à Edouard sur les révolutions* (1833), a title which placed him in the republican movement of the

²⁰ Regnault wrote the economic entries: CRÉDIT, EMPRUNT PUBLIC, DETTE PUBLIQUE.

²¹ Author of the entries: PAYSAN, RENTE, REVENU, SUBVENTION, TARIF.

²² Duras wrote the economic entries: RICHESSE, SALAIRE, SUBSISTANCES, TRAVAIL, TRAVAUX PUBLICS.

²³ Blanc was the author of the important entry: BANQUE.

²⁴ Benoit Yvert, « Duclerc », in *Premiers ministres et Présidents du Conseil. Histoire et dictionnaire raisonné des chefs du gouvernement en France (1815-2007)*, Paris, Perrin, 2007. Distancing himself from politics from 1849, he left France under the Second Empire and only returned to politics at the very beginning of the Third Republic when he once more became one of the leaders of the republican left.

²⁵ "Courcelle-Seneuil", in *Dictionnaire des contemporains*, ed. G. Vapereau, 6^e. ed (Paris: Hachette, 1893); A. Liesse, "Courcelle-Seneuil", in *Nouveau dictionnaire d'économie politique*, ed. L. Say & J. Chailley (Paris: Guillaumin, 1900); Cl. Juglar, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1895); L. Marco, "Jean-Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil, l'orthodoxe intransigeant", in *L'Economie politique en France au 19^e siècle*, ed. Y. Breton & M. Lutfalla (Paris: Economica, 1991).

time which he frequented, he then went on to publish assiduously in *Le Bons sens*, *La Revue républicaine*, *La Revue du progrès*, *La Réforme* and *Le National*, of course. He tended to specialize in banking and finance issues, and published his first work *Le crédit et la banque* (1840) with the Pagnerre publishing house before participating in the *Dictionnaire politique*. In the early 1840s, he abandoned his project of becoming a lawyer in his native region and went into business, successfully creating a metallurgy company in the Dordogne²⁶. The 1848 revolution brought him back to politics²⁷: as early as 25th February in Limoges he was a member of the provisional administrative committee and one of the signatories of a leaflet which proclaimed: “For 18 years a disloyal power has been bearing down on the Nation. A traitor, on the outside, to the sympathies of France; an oppressor, on the inside, of its liberties it seemed to have shackled the conscience of the country. France has broken it. The Republic is proclaimed (...). Let our revolution be pure from all excess”²⁸. Within the provisional republican administration of Limoges, Courcelle-Seneuil was responsible for economic and social issues. In spring 1848, when the electoral rolls for the *Assemblée Constituante* were being prepared, he was one of the two candidates of the moderate fraction of the local republican party and he expressed the party opinions in the short-lived local paper he had founded - *Le Persévérant*. The other candidate was Léopold Duras (the new editor of the *National*). After his defeat at the elections, his friends from *Le National*, who then held the key positions in the provisional government, invited him to assume in Paris the post of *Directeur Général de l'Enregistrement* (government department for the registration of legal transactions). He was to quickly dissociate himself from his friends over an issue of indirect taxation, and, like them, was traumatized by the June 1848 worker insurrection, the final throes of the French Second Republic and the advent of the Empire²⁹.

²⁶ Georges Ribeill, « Courcelle-Seneuil fondateur du management moderne des entreprises au milieu du 19^e siècle », in J. P. Bouillaud, *L'Invention de la gestion*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1994.

²⁷ Alain Corbin, *Archaisme et modernité en Limousin au 19^e siècle 1845-1880*, Paris, Rivière, 2 vol., p. 716, 722, 763, 768-769.

²⁸ *Les murailles de la Révolution de 1848*, papers and documents collected and compiled by Ch. Broutin, Paris, Picard, 17^e édition, p. 123.

²⁹ We will not go into Courcelle-Seneuil's later trajectory which gradually led him towards orthodox economic liberalism. For these points, apart from the previously quoted references (particularly L. Marco) the reader could consult: for his critique of the monopoly and exorbitant political power of the Banque de France (Alain Plessis, *La Politique de la Banque de France de 1851 à 1870*, Genève, Droz, 1985, p. 52-55); for his critical analysis of the bureaucracy (Guy Thuillier, *Bureaucratie et bureaucrates*, Genève, Droz, 1980, p. 99-113); his role as the first money doctor and his Chilean experience are evoked in numerous volumes (for example, Juan Pablo Couyoumdjian, “Hiring a Foreign Expert: Chile in the Nineteenth Century”, in S. Peart & D. Levy (ed.), *The Street porter and the Philosopher*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2008); for his epistemological and theoretical closeness to the Austrian School (J. T. Salerno, “The Neglect of the French Liberal School in Anglo-American Economics: A Critique of Received Views”, *The Review of Austrian Economics*, 2 (1), 1988, 113-156; J. G. Hülsmann, “The A Priori Foundation of Law and Economics”, *The Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 7 (4), 2004, 3-21).

THE STATE AND THE POLITICAL REGULATION OF THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Confronted with the paradoxical growth of both industry and pauperism, the 1840s Republicans attempted to adopt an original point of view. They were to insist on the incapacity of a non democratic State to regulate the emerging economic phenomena. In response to the Liberals, they retorted that the liberty of transactions did not spontaneously produce an efficient and fair social order. In response to the new Communists zealots, they retorted that the issue at stake was not the overturning of the market economy but its regulation, and therefore the prerequisite was to live in a democracy. In the entries entitled POUVOIR, PEUPLE, AUTORITÉ, RÉPUBLIQUE, DÉMOCRATIE, SOUVERAINETÉ DU PEUPLE and LÉGITIMITÉ democracy and republic were considered to be synonymous although the term democracy was privileged. In the establishment of popular sovereignty by the privileged means of universal suffrage *"Democracy is the government of the people, the implementation of popular sovereignty"* wrote Duclerc³⁰, and the republic, added Regnault, *"expresses the elective government, the government of all"*³¹. In the entry "AUTORITÉ", Regnault noted that this notion constituted *"the foundation of the democratic doctrine"*. He continued, *"for us, it symbolizes the foremost duties and the foremost rights of the citizens. The first duty is obedience to the majority: the first right is the right to suffrage, from which the majority [is the] result. Consequently, Authority is the Sovereignty of the people. And the exercise of this Sovereignty is universal suffrage. Universal suffrage is equality. It is at the same time the liberty for each to express his opinion, and this liberty is a guarantee of order and a guarantee of progress"*³².

In numerous economics entries which they wrote for the *Dictionnaire*, these young republicans suggested that the regulation of the emerging economic system, the new industrial societies, could be undertaken as a priority by this democratic State. Such a State would, first, be endowed with financial resources, and, second, be entrusted with several major economic and social missions.

Directly boosting the economy, Courcelle-Seneuil came down in favour of the economic power of the State, of an extension to the State budget: *"Economizing does not consist in blindly reducing expenditure, but in only realizing useful expenditure. A State may consume huge sums to ensure its independence, develop its moral and material forces to wise proportions without its government ceasing to observe the strictest economy"*³³. In a democracy, the budget, both revenue and expenditure, should be controlled by elected assemblies rather than being at the discretion of the monarch and his henchmen³⁴. The

³⁰ E. Duclerc, « DÉMOCRATIE », *Dictionnaire politique*, op. cit., p. 310.

³¹ E. Regnault, « RÉPUBLIQUE », *Dictionnaire politique*, op. cit., p. 830.

³² E. Regnault, « AUTORITÉ », *Dictionnaire politique*, op. cit., p. 129.

³³ Courcelle-Seneuil, "ECONOMIE", *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 352.

³⁴ Courcelle-Seneuil, "BUDGET", *Dictionnaire politique*, 170.

resources of the State should be derived primarily from taxation. In several entries, Regnault or Duclerc insisted on the pitfalls of the borrowing system which monarchies had often used to excess, a system which should thus be strictly limited to extraordinary and productive expenditure within the Republic³⁵. Concerning the State resources, Courcelle-Seneuil defended fairer taxation, a direct and progressive taxation which would concern all the citizens. One should “*establish a proportional tax on the income of each citizen, on his net profits. This tax would be progressive, that is to say that the higher the revenue, the more the proportional part of this revenue dedicated to the public expenses could be considerable*”. Courcelle-Seneuil added concerning the crucial civic dimension, “*the income tax would concern the product of work as well as that of capital, because no property, not even the most sacred of all, that [arising] from the fruits of work, should be exempted from contributing to public expenses. In a well organized society, the exemption from taxes carries a sort of civic degradation with which a worker should not be branded*”³⁶. Priority in State expenditure should be given to education³⁷, and also to all the measures which enable the growth and protection of the economic power of the Nation. In a democratic system, Courcelle-Seneuil underlined, expenditure should be “*commanded by public usefulness... all the expenses should serve to maintain and increase the morality, the power and the wealth of nations*”. He mentioned as priorities the development of a “*system of public instruction*” and the organization of “*wisely distributed public works*”³⁸. For his part, in the entry TRAVAUX PUBLICS, Léopold Duras indicated that “*from the point of view of civilization, commerce and politics, the general interest requires that the government be charged with the execution of the major navigable ways and above all the major lines of the railways*”³⁹. The international dimension was crucial: on this point, Courcelle-Seneuil directly criticized the Classical theory of international exchange, and he advocated an active policy in maritime and colonial affairs⁴⁰ writing in the chapter devoted to Customs: “*We believe that, in the present state of industry and international relations, it is good that the government should exert, through customs, a direct and regulatory influence on production and general consumption*”⁴¹.

The State should also regulate the national economy. The democratic regulation of economy concerned, first and foremost, the monetary and financial phenomenon. In the entry BANQUE of the *Dictionnaire politique*, Louis Blanc stressed, in Saint-Simonian terms, the importance of credit (“*making the instruments of work pass from the hands of those who possess them without employing them, into the hands of those who know how to employ them yet do not*”).

³⁵ E. Regnault, “CRÉDIT”, “DETTE PUBLIQUE”, “EMPRUNT”, *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 295-297, 319-321 and 364-367; E. Duclerc, « RENTE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 823-826. See also H. Corne, « BANQUEROUTE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 116-117.

³⁶ Courcelle-Seneuil, « CONTRIBUTIONS », *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 281.

³⁷ Courcelle-Seneuil, “ÉCOLES PRIMAIRES”, « INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE », and B. Hauréau, « UNIVERSITÉ », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 755-757 and p. 939.

³⁸ Courcelle-Seneuil, “DÉPENSES”, *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 314.

³⁹ L. Duras, « TRAVAUX PUBLICS », *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 929-930.

⁴⁰ Courcelle-Seneuil, “COLONIES” and “MARINE”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 233-235 et 573-577.

⁴¹ Courcelle-Seneuil, “DOUANES”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 337-338.

own them, therein lies the action of TRUE CREDIT"). Blanc criticized the contemporary lack of organization of the French banking and financial system, a system which was both monopolistic and corrupt. He then observed the results (vitality and multiplication of banks) and the limits of the decentralized American system (with its absence of control and global regulation) before coming down in favour of a regime which would attempt to blend the advantages of centralization (which would remain the guardian) and financial and banking decentralization. "The State [would] become banker" through the establishment of a vast coordinated network of banks; "instead of eliminating them, let us multiply them. But let us remove them from the domain of individuals in order to bring them into the domain of the State"⁴². In other entries, Courcelle-Seneuil analyzed the industrial missions of the democratic State: it should attempt to balance the growth of different economic sectors, to avoid, for instance, industry growing too rapidly to the detriment of agriculture⁴³. In the entries AGRICULTURE and DOMAINE, Hippolyte Dussard (1798-1876) and Eugène Duclerc insisted on the fact that since "the soil of a country [was] common property" and the output of agricultural lands was at that time largely insufficient, for reasons of feeble economic and social organization and the monopoly of the idle and other owners over the land, the State should intervene either directly or indirectly (through the modification of property) in the exploitation of agricultural lands⁴⁴. The State also had to favour the development of institutions which help the regulation of industrial transaction, institutions such as savings banks (the "bank of small capitalists and workers"⁴⁵), the ambitions of which should be raised, or institutions such as the prud'hommes industrial tribunals⁴⁶. In every branch of production, the State had to control the structure and the functioning of markets and the size and the power of business⁴⁷. These republicans were especially concerned with the corruption of the regular economic life and the criticism of speculation was central to the *Dictionnaire*. In the entry AGIOTAGE, Alceste Chapuys-Montlaville (1800-1868) denounced the "commerce in a state of frenzy or debauchery"⁴⁸ and B. Pance favoured a close regulation of the stock market: "stock exchanges are useful establishments when a just supervision maintains them within their role; but it is only in the long term, and under good government that they may render the services that one has a right to expect of them"⁴⁹. The republicans stigmatized the old regime of corporations

⁴² L. Blanc, "BANQUES", *Dictionnaire politique*, 143-146.

⁴³ Courcelle-Seneuil, "COMMERCE" and "INDUSTRIE", *Dictionnaire politique*, 239-240, 462-464.

⁴⁴ H. Dussard, « AGRICULTURE » in E. Duclerc, « DOMAINE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 40-41 and 332-334.

⁴⁵ Courcelle-Seneuil, "CAISSE D'ÉPARGNE", *Dictionnaire politique*, 374.

⁴⁶ Courcelle-Seneuil, "PRUD'HOMMES", *Dictionnaire politique*, 786-787. He noted, "the Prud'hommes [work tribunals] are in our [country] the type of justice administered by elected arbiters, and it is towards this type that the progress of civilization should direct all the reforms in judicial organization", 787.

⁴⁷ Courcelle-Seneuil approached the issue in several entries ("ACCAPAREMENT, ACCAPAREURS", 18-19) but also dealt with the issue of the control of public procurements ("ADJUDICATION", 25-26).

⁴⁸ A. Chapuy-Montlaville, « AGIOTAGE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁹ B. Pance, « BOURSE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 167-169.

and rules⁵⁰ and they willingly conceded that commerce “has contributed more than a little to the advent of modern democracy”, although they added that the markets should be controlled and calibrated by the State according to the demands and urgencies of the Nation. More generally, for the authors of the *Dictionnaire*, the State had to seek a balance between the advantages of competition and those of monopoly: “*Competition is, of itself, and disregarding the perils it entails, an energetic principle of progress and improvement; it is the mainstay of industry. Yet it is certain that, if left to its own devices, this principle brings abuses which a government desirous of preserving public law cannot tolerate*⁵¹... *there are useful and very justified monopolies (...), and we believe that it would be very unwise to abandon ourselves unreservedly to the promises of competition: it also finds the means to create monopolies*”⁵².

THE SOCIAL QUESTION

The young Radicals of the *Dictionnaire politique* were sharply aware of the pathologies of the new industrial societies. These new industrial societies did not spontaneously establish order, harmony or equilibrium and, significantly, they regularly produced commercial crises⁵³. Above all, these crises revealed the extreme vulnerability of the current economic system which spontaneously and without doubt produced wealth and welfare, but which also created and accumulated disorder, disequilibrium and disturbances and thus required regulation. The authors did not condemn the economic or financial system but presented a balanced evaluation of this new industrial world and pointed out the absence of an adequate political regulation of this system. Henceforth, the State had to actively intervene in the social issues linked to the current dysfunctions of the economic system, notably these commercial and industrial crises and had to prevent its consequences or to put them right: “*the number of classified paupers follows the uncertain oscillations of a feverish industry which sometimes madly produces and sometimes stops, frightened by its own excesses*”⁵⁴. The problem was not merely the indisputably terrible destitution of a growing part of the working population⁵⁵; even more seriously, it was that this population was dominated,

⁵⁰ B. Pance, « CORPORATION », pp. 288-289 and Courcelle-Seneuil, « JURANDE », « MAÎTRISE », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 505-506 and 558.

⁵¹ Courcelle-Seneuil, “LIBERTÉ COMMERCIALE”, *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 538.

⁵² Courcelle-Seneuil, “MONOPOLE, MONOPOLEUR”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 612-613. In the entry TARIFS, Duclerc concluded, “*the liberty of commerce is not an absolute principle; although it theoretically offers very great advantages, in the field of practical application it has disastrous results; one must tend towards it, but with moderation and imperturbable prudence; in matters of tariff, one should never lose sight of the political interest; although it is perilous to subordinate too absolutely the political economy to politics, the peril is even greater when one loses sight of the political interest in the solution of economic problems*”, Duclerc, « TARIFS », *Dictionnaire politique*, 907-909.

⁵³ Courcelle-Seneuil, “CRISES”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 298-299.

⁵⁴ Courcelle-Seneuil, “PAUPÉRISME”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 695-697.

⁵⁵ Courcelle-Seneuil, “OUVRIERS”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 669-671.

constantly subjected to oppression, "*the political evil*"⁵⁶ by definition, in an inextricable situation of moral, political and economic incapacity. The Liberals, who believed in market-driven spontaneous growth, and the Communists, who counted on a general transformation and a centralized control of production, made the same fundamental mistake in thinking that it was merely an economic problem concerning the amount of total wealth. According to Courcelle-Seneuil, the economists of the Say school and the new Communist sects made the same mistake: that of wishing to subordinate politics and morals to the economy. He explained that the economists "*wished to subject governments to their precepts and to divert from political science that which is relative to the action of governments on the production, the distribution and consumption of wealth*"⁵⁷. He pursued, "*one has only, as it were, thought of reforming the material organization, as if society was raw, inert matter; as if the external organization was everything, and as if the souls to be raised and emancipated were nothing*"⁵⁸. Therefore the democratic State had to intervene materially in order to come to the aid of these populations, and *above all* to remove them from the new regime of domination giving them the capacity to defend themselves from this regime which had been inaugurated by industrial wage-earning: "*the insufficiency of the wages which industry grants to those who, deprived of capital and revenue, live by the work of their hands, is, today, the general cause of pauperism*"⁵⁹, noted Courcelle-Seneuil, and Léopold Duras developed the same reflections in the entries SALAIRE, RICHESSE or TRAVAIL⁶⁰.

The authors of the *Dictionnaire* suggest several directions in order to work towards a gradual reform of the social problems, the increasing precariousness, pauperization and vulnerability of the workers. According to them, the democratic State should intervene directly in the solving of social issues, while also intervening indirectly by shaping an institutional framework within which individuals and groups have the ability to defend themselves and avoid domination. Two measures were thus judged crucial: the promotion of associations and the generalized accession to property. These two directions clearly identified the intellectual sources drawn upon by these young 1840s republicans.

Firstly they put forward the moral/political and social/economic properties of the association. These republicans rejected the materialism and the utilitarianism which, according to them, were also borne by liberal and communist programmes. In writing the entry entitled AGIOTAGE, Chapuy-Montlaville, stigmatized what the France of the worthies had become: "*This is what we are in a period when gold is everything, when the efforts of intelligence tend solely to its procurement, when everything has become merchandise, when the sages of yesterday have been corrupted today by infamous examples and want to be millionaires in order to*

⁵⁶ Courcelle-Seneuil, "OPPRESSION", *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 655.

⁵⁷ Courcelle-Seneuil, "ECONOMIE POLITIQUE", *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 353.

⁵⁸ Courcelle-Seneuil, "OUVRIERS", *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 670.

⁵⁹ Courcelle-Seneuil, "PAUPÉRISME", *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 695.

⁶⁰ "At this time, he who has only his intelligence and his arms is necessarily the subject of the man who owns the land, for agriculture, and who has at his disposal the raw materials or rather the money or the credit necessary for their acquisition, for the manufacturing industry as such", L. Duras, "TRAVAIL", *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 927-929.

satisfy the artificial needs which our civilization has created for them; we live in a time when the detestable politics of material interests has prevailed over the healthy politics which only considers the material satisfaction of a country as the logical deduction of its laws and morality"⁶¹. Adopting as his moral master Lamennais⁶², who signed the entries RELIGION and SOUVERAINETÉ, Regnault noted that association was at one and the same time a new word and a new reality, a new hope for organization and a new moral compass. Association was neither the community, which organized *de facto* equality, nor society, which legitimized inequality. Regnault explained that association consecrated the equality of rights (which made a *de facto* inequality, consented to by all, possible) and of participation across all the fields in which cooperation between individuals might be practiced and thus constituted the basis of a new morality. He wrote: "Christianity is the religious dogma of equality, democracy is the political realization of the dogma and association is the practical means of the realization"⁶³. He then suggested that the programme of association "offers a solution to industrial issues" particularly in the matter of the association of masters and workers in which the principle of "the association of capital, work and intelligence" should be applied. Significantly, Regnault mentioned two recent sources for this new notion of industrial association – Saint-Simon and Fourier – while remarking that the second "had a much higher intelligence of association". The republicans only criticized Fourier for over-focusing on the social problem and ignoring the political context, that is, for not being a republican. However, they did give him credit for significant advances in the resolution of the problem of association in the social area. In the entry SOCIALISTES, Louis Reybaud (1799-1879), who was highly critical of Saint-Simon or Robert Owen, wrote, "Fourier's formula is indisputably superior, in that it proceeds neither from an exorbitant authority nor from an unlimited liberty. Fourier proposes [that one should] associate men of capital, work and talent in the midst of ingeniously combined passions and leave them great latitude of action and an entire independence of movement"⁶⁴. More generally, the republican authors of the *Dictionnaire* were not convinced by Saint-Simon or the orthodox Saint-Simonians (Enfantin, Chevalier or Péreire with their dreams of a technocratic capitalism of large financial and industrial corporations). They were frankly hostile to the communist and Babouvist wave of the 1840s. In contrast, they were directly inspired by the theoretical and doctrinal advances of the associationist socialists of 1830-1835. Ten years earlier,

⁶¹ Chapuy-Montlaville, « AGIOTAGE », *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 38 ?

⁶² After the publication of his *Paroles d'un croyant* (1834), his condemnation by Pope Gregory XVI and the numerous attacks and legal actions taken against him by the Orleanist power, Lamennais was considered to be one of the "Fathers of the Republican Church". His moral authority increased even further when he was condemned and imprisoned at Sainte-Pélagie for his pamphlet, *Le Pays et le gouvernement* (1840). In 1841, Pagnerre published the papers of the *Procès de M. F. Lamennais* with a biographical notice written by Elias Regnault.

⁶³ Regnault, « ASSOCIATION », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 113-118.

⁶⁴ Reybaud, "SOCIALISTES", *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 886-889.

most of them were young students who shared the “conceptual breakthrough”⁶⁵ concerning association, the reform of industrial societies and the necessity of inventing new morals and new politics adapted to the new industrial age which were proposed by Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud in the *Revue encyclopédique* (1832-1835), Philippe-Joseph Buchez in *L'Européen* (1831-1832), Charles de Coux and Lamennais in *L'Avenir* (1830-1832), François-Vincent Raspail in *Le Réformateur* (1834-1835) or the Fourierists in *La Réforme industrielle* (Victor Considérant, Jules Lechevalier, Constantin Pecqueur and Abel Transon, 1833-1834)⁶⁶. These authors, who were often at the crossroads of republicanism and socialism, participated in these first debates which presented – under the theoretical and doctrinal control of the polymorphic notion of association – propositions concerning fair taxation, the economic role of the State, the control of credit and banking, a redefinition of how property rights could be controlled and regulated or even the different measures to be conceived to protect the workers against the risks of economic domination. This latter point involved transfers and guarantees, education and the first insurances as well as the evolution of productive structures with the participation of the workers and the gestation of the first cooperatives.

Nevertheless, the doctrinal core of *Dictionnaire* was not solely inspired by the recent advances in associationism. Barthélémy Hauréau (1812-1896), who wrote the main entries dealing with the French Revolution, rehabilitated Robespierre and the 1793 Constitution, denigrated the *Constituante* (1789-1791) and the role played by the Girondists, and stigmatized the terrorist excesses of the Jacobins or the followers of Jacques Hébert⁶⁷. The republicans of 1840 had to “recapture the tradition of 1794”⁶⁸ in order to elaborate the tools for modern economic and social reforms. In this instance, the reference was that of the people's political economy and the model of the egalitarian liberalism of 1793-1794 which was to be institutionally implemented within a democracy of small owners⁶⁹. In the *Dictionnaire politique*, Courcelle-Seneuil defended the

⁶⁵ On this “conceptual breakthrough” and the evolution of the notion of association in the early 1830s, see: W. H. Sewell, « La confraternité des prolétaires : conscience de classe sous la Monarchie de Juillet », *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales*, 36 (4), 1981, p. 650-671.

⁶⁶ L. Frobert, “French Utopian Socialists as First Pioneers in Development”, *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2011.

⁶⁷ B. Hauréau, « CONSTITUANTE », « CONVENTION », « HÉBERTISTES », « GIRONDIN », « JACOBINS », « MONTAGNARDS », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 272-274, 282-285, 446-448, 489-490, 613-616.

⁶⁸ Courcelle-Seneuil, “MENDICITÉ”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 581. See also, H. Celliez, « LOI AGRAIRE », *Dictionnaire politique*, p.519.

⁶⁹ Outlining the Robespierre model as reflected in the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* of 1793, Jean-Pierre Gross, for example, noted, “[the] affirmation of the equal right to liberty and property: [the] central role attributed to the chain of solidarity of reciprocal needs and trade exchanges; [the] improved status of the class of small producers (peasant [farmers], craftsmen, workers and journeymen) and of their contribution to general prosperity; [the] significant role devolved upon the State ‘guardian of the great family’, which watches over the balance of the sharing out and social harmony. The ‘well-polished society’ required by these Liberals is at an equal distance from laissez-faire and interventionism”, J.-P. Gross, “Le libéralisme égalitaire des Jacobins”, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Sept. 1997; by the same author, *Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice*

voluntarism of the Montagnard Convention⁷⁰; he insisted above all on the economic missions devolved upon the State in the area of poverty: he mentioned the spring 1794 report on mendacity which purported to deal with the issue of the destitute – “those who, through insufficiency of wages or lack of employment, cannot earn their living and that of their families by working”⁷¹ – and quoted the rapporteur, Bertrand Barère: “In a democracy which is organizing itself, everything should tend towards the raising of every citizen above the prime need[s], through work if he be able-bodied, through education if he be a child and through aid if he be disabled or in old age”⁷². The growth of poverty in the first third of the 19th century called for yet more ambition, contrary to the claims of economists from the Physiocrats to Jean-Baptiste Say and his disciples: “Thus, for *laissez-faire* and non-interventionism, governments should abandon the role of educator of the people which has been entrusted to them; they should suffer the weak to become the prey of the strong, as long as the latter do not transgress the laws directed solely against material violence! They would respect the spontaneous movements of wealth, even when these movements would result in the overturning of all morality and order; they would let entire generations be corrupted, degraded, starved, annihilated, and they would not intervene! They would let foreign nations exert on the nation the same influence that certain privileged [individuals] exert within the nation itself, and they would not intervene! They would destroy all ties of solidarity which political and civil association established between men, or better, they would be the gaolers and executioners in the pay of the oppressors! ... One can uphold such a system at the tribune of the chamber of peers; but it could never prevail while a sentiment of dignity and human morality subsists”⁷³. In contrast, Courcelle-Seneuil presented a very different picture of the economic and social responsibilities of the State: “To improve the fate of the proletarians, the political power must, indeed, favour the progress of general wealth, and see to it that this progress, instead of being exclusively beneficial to a few men, should be equitably shared between all; by stimulating production through its whole influence it must guarantee workers against oppression and it must destroy the monopoly of available capital by allowing the founding and expansion of credit establishments; in all commercial transactions, it must seek out fraud with all severity and punish it with rigour, it must strike swindling, in all its forms, with inflexible sentences [involving the] loss of civil rights, it must bring probity into favour”⁷⁴. However, in this vision shaped by the memory of 1793, the role of the State was not limited to the civil, political and economic protection of the citizens. Above all the State had to organize the institutions in such a way as to enable individuals to live freely. To this end, the 1793 *Déclaration des droits* brought to the fore a body of natural rights, inspired by the theses of John Locke, in particular:

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). A survey of the recent historiography on the egalitarian liberalism is presented in C. Hess, “The New Jacobins”, *French Historical Studies* 32 (4), 2009, pp. 663-670.

⁷⁰ Courcelle-Seneuil, “ASSIGNATS”, « MAXIMUM », *Dictionnaire politique*, 11-113 and 577-578.

⁷¹ Courcelle-Seneuil, “MENDICITÉ”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 580.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 580.

⁷³ Courcelle-Seneuil, “ECONOMIE POLITIQUE”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 353-355.

⁷⁴ Courcelle-Seneuil, “PROLÉTAIRE, PROLETARIAT”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 772.

"equality, liberty, safety, property", in that order. Once again, this inspiration was faithfully reflected in the *Dictionnaire*. Property was defined as a fundamental right, a condition of liberty, but which could be adjusted, adapted to collective choices: "history in its entirety testifies to us that the constitution of property is a political deed and that this constitution has been modified every time that revolutions have seriously modified the state of people"⁷⁵. As Regnault remarked on this matter, the contemporary stakes were enormous, given the extent to which "the current organization of property presents immense abuses". He then suggested that "our efforts should be directed at combating and destroying these abuses by modifying this organization"⁷⁶. For his part, Courcelle-Seneuil explained that it was necessary to complexify this right (and not to destroy it) in order to adapt it to the new industrial regime: "One may usefully fortify it by softening in the mores what is hard in this right, by combating with laws, teaching and judicial prosecution, the fraudulent means which today serve all too often to usurp the title of owner; protecting the small owners or the proletarians against the oppression which possessors of considerable capital sometimes exert; finally, reducing the gap between the workers and the instruments of work"⁷⁷.

CONCLUSION

Pagnerre's *Dictionnaire* was written to federate republicans confronted with the double threat of orthodox economic liberalism and Babouvism and communism; as such, it manifested the faults related to its qualities. The attempted synthesis of socialist (associationist), liberal and republican ideas included a fair proportion of contrived conciliations, areas of vagueness, incantations and silences on contentious issues which divided the young radicals. Nevertheless, the *Dictionnaire* had the merit of developing a whole host of sometimes quite ill-assorted propositions which traced the outlines of a general vision of political economics adapted to a modern republic and based on three actors – the State, the association and the individual. The existence of this vision immediately leads us to reconsider two elements of received wisdom: the supposed absence of economic and social considerations in the doctrine of French republicans of the period; the supposed omnipresence of the centralization and state-control perspective.

There is no doubt that the republicans behind the *Dictionnaire* envisaged, in the first instance, a wide-ranging economic role for the democratic State. With a large budget mainly based on equitable taxation, the State should invest in education and public works. It should also have a controlling role in the financial and monetary areas as well as in industry where, in particular, it should oversee the size and the power of corporations as well as the structure of the market. As Regnault summarized, "social progress simply consists in giving simultaneous development to society and the individual"⁷⁸. Consequently, the State should also

⁷⁵ Courcelle-Seneuil, "PROPRIÉTÉ", *Dictionnaire politique*, 776.

⁷⁶ E. Regnault, « COMMUNAUTÉ », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 212-213.

⁷⁷ Courcelle-Seneuil, "PROPRIÉTÉ", *Dictionnaire politique*, 778.

⁷⁸ Regnault, « COMMUNAUTÉ », *Dictionnaire politique*, p. 212.

favour the growth of a population of autonomous citizens in the political, social and economic fields. Resources should be transferred in order to prevent the more vulnerable from experiencing dominations which would jeopardize their autonomy. In this vision, the State appeared to be the association of all the associations. However, it should remain under the control of counter-powers⁷⁹ while encouraging the development of intermediate levels of democracy. Auguste Billiard (1788-1858), who wrote the important entries CANTON and DEPARTMENT, saw democratic action at these administrative levels as the two essential levels for experimenting democracy that could complement that of the State⁸⁰. This conception of associations and intermediate spaces was also present in the economic vision of the *Dictionnaire*, even if this often remained imprecise and fragmentary – limited to mentioning the necessary association of work, capital and intelligence. Finally, the State should favour a diffusion and dispersion of property in order to cultivate individual autonomy. Although the *Dictionnaire* provided neither a detailed presentation of the mechanisms enabling this dispersion (after all, the 1842 *Dictionnaire* was a compromise between republicans who were more or less radical in social and economic issues) nor the precise modalities of its realization, the idea was most definitely present. So much so that in the entry PROPRIÉTÉ Courcelle-Seneuil could conclude, “*All the efforts of the statesman should tend towards increasing the number of owners, seeing to it that every citizen could become and, if possible, be born an owner*”⁸¹.

⁷⁹ For these counter-powers, see, for example: A. Marrast, « PRESSE » and H. Celliez, « JURY », *Dictionnaire politique*, pp. 747-751 and 507-510.

⁸⁰ In the entry for “ASSEMBLÉES PRIMAIRES” (pp. 109-110), Billiard concluded, “*France will reconquer its rights, would improve its institutions, comprehend and satisfy the needs of the people, only on the day when the Primary Assemblies, formed from the universality of citizens, are revealed in all points of the territory*”; see also Billiard, « CANTON », « DÉPARTEMENT », pp. 183-186 and 311-314.

⁸¹ Courcelle-Seneuil, “PROLÉTAIRES, PROLETARIAT”, *Dictionnaire politique*, 771.