

**Conference « Between Theory and Practice:  
The 19th Century French Socialist Press at the Stanford University  
Libraries »**

**Stanford University  
November 1-2, 2013**

**The Constitution of an Economic  
Doctrine:  
An Overview of the Saint-  
Simonian Newspapers (1825-1832)**

**Michel BELLET, University of Saint-Etienne, GATE L-SE CNRS  
(France)**

## Main purposes of the paper:

1. To place The Gimon Collection in its historical, intellectual and editorial context, during the 1825-1832 period (period of constitution of the Saint-Simonian doctrine) ;
2. To show how the Saint-Simonian economic doctrine gradually emerges and attempts to find its own identity through these newspapers.

# 1. Five important newspapers after St-Simon's death

- The *Producteur* (October 1825-October 1826)
- The *Organisateur* (July 1829-August 1831)
- The *Globe* (November 1830-April 1832)
- The *Organisateur belge* (May 1831-November 1831)
- The *Feuilles Populaires* (March-June 1832).

# Le *Producteur*: main characteristics

- **After St-Simon death (1825 May 18), funded by a limited partnership society (June) with many industrial and banking leaders of the Restoration period**
- **Starts the 1825 October 1st, with 2 directors : Enfantin and Rodrigues. 5 vol. during one year (weekly then monthly). Stops with financial issues**
- **Context : Charles X restoration, the Charter, strong royalist Villèle as President of Council, « chambre retrouvée »**
- **Started by the first circle of St-simonian disciples: Léon Halévy, Olinde Rodrigues, Jean Baptiste Duvergier et le docteur Bailly, after *Opinions* book.**

# *Le Producteur*: main characteristics

- **The authors belong to an expanding circle: Bazard, Buchez, Enfantin, Laurent, Rodrigues, Rouen...**
- **But others important authors, not strictly st-simonian based : the most important is Adolphe Blanqui (24 papers, the 2st editor after Enfantin). Total = 27 authors wrote papers.**
- **And indirect participations : Say and Dunoyer (extracts of their books or conferences).**
- **It is the « Journal philosophique de l'Industrie, des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts » (subtitle): development of the St-Simon's industrialism**
- **Open-minded moment, when the St-Simonian doctrine is not strictly elaborated**

# *Le Producteur*: content

- **Important economic papers :**
  - P. Enfantin about association (limited partnership society) : firm and society organized as a firm...
  - Many papers on bank, money and interest, on property, on competition, on the definition of political economy and considerations on Quesnay, Turgot, Malthus, Godwin, Bentham, Smith, Say, Storch, Stewart, Dunoyer et Ch. Comte ; O. Rodrigues (on accumulation, industry, Law's system, on Bentham, on slave trade) ;
  - S.-A. Bazard (about Constant and first elements on doctrine)

# *Le Producteur*: content

- **J. Rouen (working class, relationship between individuals and society, on Malthus and Dunoyer)**
- **P.-M. Laurent (on inequality and evolution of social systems)**
- **A. Decaen (land ownership, networks) ; Buchez (on Malthus...), J. Rey (on Owen), J.J. Dubochet (speculation, networks, craft production) ; Th. Regnault (invention patents) ; A. Carrel (reply to Stendhal, foreign exchange) ; F. Bodin (industrial philanthropy), J. Allier (organization, Owen, Fourier, industry and credit), J.-B. Duvergier (slave trade.)**

# Le *Producteur*: content

- **Young A. Comte's famous papers: 3 papers on sciences and scientists, which will become the *Système de politique positive*, and 3 articles on the spiritual power.**

**These articles coincide with the break between former St-Simon's secretary and St-Simonian disciples**

- **Debates with Stendhal after his pamphlet *Complot contre les Industriels*, but also with Constant, or about Owen's and Fourier's projects...**



# *Le Producteur*: content

- **Some reports on works from : J.-B. Say, J.R. M'Culloch, F. Quesnay, Ch. Dunoyer, Ch. Comte, S. de Sismondi, T.A.H. Schmalz, H. Passy...**
- **Elements of economic history:**
  - **Technology (new machines, gaz, invention patents, new machines, role of Ecoles and new lessons in applied science, technology in area of industry trade...)** ;
  - **Institutions (formation of new companies, crisis of public funding, learning and encouraging societies, courses in industrial economy...)**

# *Le Producteur*: content

- **Many articles on the relationships between political economy and other sciences: mainly about physiology (on Cabanis, with specific developments written by Peisse, Bailly and essentially by Buchez). But we also find papers on psychology, geology, chemistry, biology (about Cuvier, Gall, Broussais...), and political science (Enfantin, Constant, Dunoyer et Ch. Comte...).**
- **The *Producteur* is therefore a critical basis to study the constitution of the St-simonian doctrine and especially the economic aspect of this doctrine.**

# *L'Organisateur*: main characteristics

- St-Simonians disciples believe that *Le Producteur* could start again, and also a *Dictionnaire...* but...
- ... Paul-Mathieu Laurent (so called « Laurent de l'Ardèche »), who has been a contributor in the *Producteur*, creates with V. Augier in 1829 July a new weekly journal: *L'Organisateur, journal des Progrès de la Science Générale, avec un appendice sur les méthodes et les découvertes relatives à l'enseignement*. It stops in 1831 August (financial issues with 2 newspapers).
- It uses a former title for a St-Simon's booklet (1819 November-1820 February, with the famous parabol).

# *L'Organisateur*: main characteristics

- It's initially a private initiative and not a St-Simonian journal, but in 1829 September, it becomes the official channel for the St-Simonian School (and « Journal de la doctrine st-simonienne »: new subtitle in 1830, August 27; then « gazette des st-simoniens » when the *Globe* will become the main St-Simonian journal).
- Very important because it is the only St-Simonian regular journal during the 1830 Revolution (« Les 3 Glorieuses ») : period since the end of the *Producteur*/the beginning of the *Globe*.

# *L'Organisateur*: main characteristics

- **The content of the articles published in *The Organisateur* shows that the doctrine is now better defined : in particular « Exposition de la Doctrine » (published in August for the first year, and then in December 1830) and the working sessions (17 sessions 1828-1829, then 13 additional sessions 1829-1830).**

# *L'Organisateur*: main characteristics

- **The first journal to establish the famous formules of distributive justice (epigraph):**
  - « **The aim of all the social institutions must be improvement of the moral, intellectual and physical lot for the largest and the poorest class** »
  - « **All the privileges based upon birth will be abolished without exception** » ; « **Each according to his own capacities ; each capacity according to its own works** »

# *L'Organisateur*: content

- **Equivocal position concerning the July Revolution: between bringing order in society, with graduations/the realizations of our predictions...**
- **Development of the religious reference: feelings and sympathy, political economy embedded in a positive religion**
- **Still several papers on industry, machines, economic crisis**
- **More and more critical views on Say (inheritance, poverty...)**

# *L'Organisateur*: content

- **More and more attention on misery, on working class, on the necessity to overcome the laissez-faire, but also a condemnation of workers coalitions.**
- **A comparison with the Owen's doctrine.**
- **Polemical with the great authors: Chateaubriand, Constant, eclectic philosophy (Cousin)...**



# Le *Globe*: main characteristics

- Unlike the 3 others journals, *Le Globe* was not created by the Saint-Simonians. It exists since 1824 (*Le Globe, journal Littéraire*, founded by Pierre Leroux and Paul-Francis Dubois).
- July Revolution changes the whole context: the editors are divided and P. Leroux, manager since 1830 April became the political editor. With his assistance, Michel Chevalier becomes the editor, and the *Globe* becomes a Saint-Simonian journal, until its end.
- Therefore, in its Saint-Simonian period, it is published from 1830 November 11, to 1832 April 20 (schism and financial problems).

# *Le Globe*: main characteristics

- **A daily journal and the longest period for a Saint-Simonian journal (therefore many papers and a large field of issues) ; journal sent by subscription, then distributed free on charge ( from August 1831, August).**
- **The journal represents a maximum level in the Saint-Simonian audience, just before the 1830 Revolution...**
- **But, in the same time, the journal of schism in the Saint-Simonian doctrine (from 1831 December), and the symbol of its decline and its death as a School.**

# Le *Globe*: main characteristics

- **New important editors: Chevalier, Pereire, Decourdemanche, Flachet, Clapeyron, Duveyrier, Gueroult...**

# Le *Globe*: content

## A) A development of the Saint-Simonian political economy

- **Enfantin's decisive papers on banks, borrowing, taxes, incomes... and finally the so-called industrial policy (articles grouped in 1832 « Economie politique et politique »)**
- **I. and A. Pereire: a series of articles, which are the main essay to elaborate a complete political economy (from value theory to its political and institutional consequences, (especially on bank system): *Leçons sur l'Industrie et les Finances, prononcées à l'Athénée par J. Pereire, suivies d'un projet de banque, 1831*) ; and some texts written by Rodrigues, Chevalier, Gueroult (on the Bank of France).**

# Le *Globe*: content

- **Public finance with the analysis of fiscal balance (E. Pereire) and mainly some texts on public works and the role of the state (S. Flachet on competition and concessions with the state, expansion of work), and Delaporte's articles (especially on the relationships between army and public works).**
- **some articles on links between industrial policy and regional and international economics: Orient-Occident, and more specifically, association in the Mediterranean, and triangle France/England/Germany in favor of an European scientific community (Chevalier). See also several papers on colonization, slavery, Algeria...**

# Le *Globe*: content

- **Economics and Law texts with Alphonse Decourdemanche, et his 16 letters on the legislation in its connection with industry and property (1830-1831, with some others papers (Decourdemanche, baron Massias).**
- **Four important critical views on economists: on Galiani, on Say, on consumption role in economy, and on an extension of the famous corn debate.**

# Le *Globe*: content

**B) Some specific elements often connected with the actuality in 1830-1832 period**

**- views concerning the riots against machine or wages conditions (riots in 1830, in mid-February 1831, in Vendée in May 1831, in Tarascon, Marseille, Paris... but also in Bristol, and mainly the Canut revolt in Lyon in November 1831)**

**- Papers on administrative centralization (face to municipalities acts), on defense of a hierarchy and order face to anarchy, but also on the role of associations in the St-Simonian political organization.**

# Le *Globe*: content

- **Very numerous articles on the peerage, which are on the role of heredity face to the role of capacities defended by the St-Simonians.**
  - **Other international questions: Belgium (Netherlands), Ireland (England), Portugal (France), pontifical states and Italy (Austria) with military actions, threats of war, opinions concerning the foreign policy after the July Revolution. But also some questions on the Saint-Simonian coherence of expression (international conflicts and policy vs belief in a principle of the trend towards the universal association; armed conflicts vs a principle of trend towards the non violence, connected with a transition from feudal period to industrial period).**



## Le *Globe*: content

**- some significant polemics: Auguste Comte against Enfantin-D'Eichthal, and Adolphe Guérault against Fourier's system ; or the three papers on Owen ; see also the texts on Bentham and the « Benthamites ».**

## Le *Globe*: content

**C) Important papers on diverse social and natural sciences, on history (Michelet, Lacretelle, von Herder), on philosophy (Lerminer, Damiron, Jouffroy, Cousin), on politics (Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Lagarmite, Lessing, Quinet, Stuart Mill, Heine), on natural science (Cuvier).**

**Therefore, a very large panorama that still leaves much latitude for a specific research.**

# *L'Organisateur belge*: main characteristics

- **Creation: 1831 May 29 by Charles Duveyrier, chief of the Belgian mission. It is a result of the policy of international missions to spreading the St-Simonism (England, German regions, Belgium).**
- **Its title is: *L'Organisateur Belge, journal de la Doctrine de SAINT-SIMON*, with the *Organisateur's* epitaph, but formulas added :« Religion, Science, Industry », and « Progressive universal association ». A weekly press (on Sunday).**
- **Published from 1831 (May 29 to November 2), with 24 issues (1 volume).**

# *L'Organisateur belge*: main characteristics

- **Specific context: restoration (Guillaume the 1<sup>st</sup> after 1815, Netherland Kingdom), but Belgian Revolution of 1830, detaching Belgium (and the Province of Luxembourg) from the Netherlands. Then invasion of Belgium by Holland and intervention of the French troops (1831 August and 1832).**

# *L'Organisateur belge*: content

- **The journal is not a pure transcription of the French version : many papers are specific to the Belgian context : public credit, interest rate, army and demobilization of the military, coalitions, taxes...**
- **.... and Toussaint, a St-Simonian Belgian, who had argued a Republican option during 1830 Revolution, is an important local editor.**
- **Tonality less religious than the French version, and more social (working class, welfare systems, wages, public education, a Lafayette's paper on inheritance...).**

# Les *Feuilles Populaires*: main characteristics

- The *Feuilles Populaires* can be assimilated to a journal, even if their publication is not regular : it is a publication by separate pages, with free distribution, every Sunday, in various places in Paris (in popular neighborhoods, theatres, public gardens, in wine traders...).
- *The Feuilles* are published from March to June 1832.
- The newspaper circulation varied from 1500 to 2500 copies.
- Les *Feuilles* include a total of 58 issues (some of them are reprinted papers : from Predications, or the *Globe*)

# *Les Feuilles Populaires*: characteristics

- The context is mainly the period of the Menilmontant retreat (that begins in 1832 April). Therefore important problems occurred: Bazard's schism, clash with Rodrigues, financial issues, and three trials (from the government, from Bazard, from Rodrigues).
- Former famous authors : Michel Chevalier, Stéphane Flachet, Charles Duveyrier, Henri Fournel ; but also various less known authors : a worker watchmaker Charles Béranger (main editor), a tapestry-maker Sébastien Botiau, an engineer from Polytechnique Léon Camayou, a teacher in philosophy Charles Lemonnier, an artist Joseph Machereau, an annuitant's son Alexis Petit and a teacher Alexandre Surbled...

# *Les Feuilles Populaires*: content

- Various papers on works and workers in different sectors, employment, competition, riot, army, government, bankers, education, but also on Napoleon (how to create popular enthusiasm)...
- The style is often sharp, sometimes with significant parables (see *Feuille 7<sup>th</sup>* on railways). No large demonstration as in the *Producteur's* articles or series on several issues in *The Globe*. Concrete considerations are more important to affect a more popular people (degree of workers in the St-Simonian organization, popular learning). The religious intention is notably weaker here.



## 2. Some remarks on Saint-Simonian economic doctrine

- In St-Simon's works very few developments on political economy except on industrialism ; economic references are rare, with essentially references to Smith and Say. The only critique of political economy focuses on the link between politics and economics (autonomy of political economy is rejected).
- The Saint Simonian economic doctrine is noticeably elaborated in the press by Saint-Simon's disciples, gradually from the *Producteur* to the *Globe*. The doctrine includes a critical view on Smith, Say... and economists in general.
- The word « socialist » remains ambiguous (Leroux in the end of 1830, Malon, Jaurès... in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century). Indeed, the doctrine is more fundamentally a “pre-1848” political economy, which associates the following features:
  - « How to get over the French Revolution » ? (late 18<sup>th</sup> century)
  - The context of the first industrial revolution : conflicts on poverty, wages, « question sociale », proletariat (early 19<sup>th</sup> century)

## **A) Opposition between the idle class and the working class (St-Simon):**

**- those who produce and consume versus those who consume without producing. But it is not an exploitation theory.**

**- Fundamentally it is a theory to bring “working tools” and producers together: fluidity, transition from the “immovable property” (land, housing...) to the “movable property” (machines, tools...), role of flows and networks (railways, canals, credit, knowledge.**

**=> The Saint-Simonians are closer to Say than to Sismondi on that point.**

A) Opposition between the idle class and the working class (St-Simon):

- **Therefore a criticism of idle capitalists and property, but profits are viewed as wages as opposed to rents (land rent, interest rate).**
- **An evolutionist view regarding the convergence between working means (“capital” ?) and labor (law on the progressive decrease of land rent, tendency of the interest rate to decrease, law of increasing association, etc...)**

## B) A theory of social workshop

- **On an industrialist perspective, workers produce, communicate and trade within a workshop's framework, on a firm level ("société commanditaire") and on a global (world) level (all producers are "sociétaires"): there is no real need for a theory of market, no real need for a theory of value and price.**
- **A system of hierarchical positions according to each producer's capacities (associated with promissory notes trade) is enough. Pereire (1832) clearly distinguishes between "market value" (trade competition) and "workshop value" (association)**
- **In the social workshop, workers' consumption needs (material and immaterial) must be met.**

## C) A political economy embedded in politics

- **Disciples follow and push Saint-Simon's doctrine further on that point.**
- **They approve Quesnay and Physiocrats (against Smith, Say and the general view of political economy since these authors): political economy must be part of a "system", i.e. a general philosophy of human relationships, a conception of the social order (a "political theory", or even a "utopian political theory", in the positive sense of the notion), where the question of property rights is critical.**
- **Trade competition, based on egoistic behaviors and relationships, has to do with struggle and must be replaced by "association".**

## D) Physiology and economics

- **The metaphor of social body is very common, but in the Saint-Simonian doctrine it is delimited by Saint-Simonian disciples Peiss and Buchez' understanding of Cabanis' works.**
- **A global vision: what matters is the functioning of the whole system.**
- **3 functions in this sytem:**
  - **sentiments (artists-priests: morals)**
  - **ideas (scientists: science)**
  - **action (producers: industry), with the main question of organization : from a physiology of senses to a physiology of organization.**

## D) Physiology and economics

- **For instance, in Chevalier 1832: specializations within the global workshop: France = sympathetic nation (sentiments) / England = industrial nation (action) / Germany = spiritual nation (ideas)**
- **Some laws of evolution: enlargement (the entire globe, interdependence under the pressure of association) but convergence-solidarity (increasing role of sentiments, of moral, then of religion, in the 3-functions system presented before).**

## E) An evolutionnism applied to economics

- **Starts with Saint-Simon's notion of « perfectibility » (borrowed from Condorcet or Turgot)**
- **This notion is considerably refined by the disciples, under the influence of A.Thierry, A. Comte and the introduction of a philosophy of history (distinction between “critique” and “organic”).**
- **From a “*théologico-militaire* period” to an “industrial period”.**



# Conclusion (1/2)

- **A real attempt to constitute a new field in economics (“political economy”) that would not be independent of other fields of economics**
- **An attempt to refuse specialization, Saint Simonianism is the starting point of a long history of “heterodox” political economy.**

# Conclusion (2/2)

- Two main difficulties:
  1. **A limited specific theorization in economics: no theory for value and price, no theory of capital, of surplus, of reproduction, no market theory (though not as developed as in Quesnay or Ricardo on this theoretical ground)**
  2. **A class division very problematic, with proletariat, management, active capitalists in a same class. Important difficulties when the “social question” and first workers’ riots emerge.**

**From this point of view, closer to 18<sup>th</sup> century thought than 19<sup>th</sup> century... Which explains strong ambiguities about the significance of such a political economy (first socialism or first corporatism of the modern firm : Leroux, Mars-Engels, Jaurès... versus Mason, Perroux...).**

# Reference

- BELLET M. et alii, Website “Textes économiques saint-simoniens”, to be opened in January 2014, and references included.