

**FAMILY STRATEGY AND ENTREPREUNARIAL POLICIES:
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEY
ON THE BUSINESSMEN DURING THE SECOND EMPIRE**

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Led by Dominique Barjot, in cooperation with Nicolas Stoskopf, the collective survey on the French entrepreneurs of the Second Empire aims at covering the whole French territory¹. It intends to collect and study statistically a sample of about 1500 individuals. Well advanced during the years, it has permitted to publish ten books, soon twelve, a number of articles published in scientific journals and different papers presented to seminars and congress. These works cover 861 individuals belonging to twelve different French regions:

Table 1.
Result of the survey

	French regions	Workforce	% of the total
1	Nord-Pas-de-Calais	100	11,6
2	Normandie-Maine-Anjou	100	11,6
3	Bourgogne	48	5,6
4	Franche-Comté	22	2,6
5	Alsace	73	8,4
6	Marseille	100	11,6
7	Bodeaux-Gironde	60	7,0
8	Lyon-Rhône	69	8,0
9	Loire	5	6,4
10	Champagne-ardenne	57	6,6
11	Paris :		
	-department stores	30	3,5
	-bankers et financiers	90	10,5
12	Picardie	57	6,6
	Total	861	100

Based on collected biographical data.

¹ Dominique Barjot, Eric Anceau, Isabelle Lescent-Giles et Bruno Marnot (eds.), *Les Entrepreneurs du Second Empire*, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne (PUPS), 2003, 226 p. Voir en particulier l'introduction de Dominique Barjot, pp. 9-24.

This survey allows to analyze the French entrepreneurs during the Second Empire². This kind of analysis raises a great interest. At the same time, it brings to a certain modesty. In fact, the more information collected is numerous, the more it can be contradictory. Nevertheless, led on regional bases, the investigation permits to settle a typology and understand the behavior of the entrepreneurs about some essential elements such as: family and demography, family and different business organizations, family and education, family and mobility.

It is important to consider a first aspect. The historiography presents a pessimistic vision of the French entrepreneurs of the Second Empire. After WWII, the historian David S. Landes considers them as deeply conservative, strictly attached to their family heritage, opposed to innovation, scared about export and future³. Firstly adopted by the French historians, this point of view was gradually changed by some French works, the first ones written on this subject, such as those made by Claude Fohlen⁴, Jean Bouvier⁵ and François Caron⁶ for example, as well as by others written by some Anglo-Saxon historians, particularly Rondo Cameron⁷. This new approach continues to obtain new consents thanks to the impressive series of works realized by the French historians during the years.

However, the entrepreneurs of the period of the Second Empire remain little known. They are victims of a double concentration of the researches. Different works cover the beginning of the XIXth century, focusing on the first steps of the industrial revolution. Others deal with the period of the end of the XIXth century, marked by the big depression and the growth of the *Belle Epoque*. For that reason, the entrepreneurs of the Second Empire are often neglected. That is why it is imperative to appeal to the prosopography, (the study of collective biographies that permits to analyze how a social group develops). After having reminded the principles of a prosopographic study, it is better to present the first results and, finally the first elements of the synthesis which come out.

² Dominique Barjot, « Les entrepreneurs du Second Empire. Un premier bilan », in Rainer Hudemann et Georges-Henri Soutou (eds.), *Eliten in Deutschland und Frankreich im 19. und 20., Jahrhundert-Strukturen und Beziehungen*, Band 1, Munich, Oldenburg, 1994, pp. 137-152.

³ David S. Landes, « French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century », *Journal of Economic History*, t. IX/1, mai 1949, pp. 45-61 ; « Social Attitudes Entrepreneurship and Economic Development », *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, vol. VI/4, pp. 245-272.

⁴ Claude Fohlen, *L'Industrie textile au temps du Second Empire*, Paris, Plon, 1956.

⁵ Jean Bouvier, *Naissance d'une banque : le Crédit Lyonnais*, Paris, Flammarion, 1968

⁶ François Caron, *Histoire de l'exploitation d'un grand réseau. La Compagnie des chemins de Fer du Nord (1846-1937)*, Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1973.

⁷ Rondo Cameron, *La France et le développement économique de l'Europe (1800-1914)*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1971.

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1/ THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC APPROACH

A prosopographic approach supposes specific choices. It exists a French way of considering the history of the entrepreneurs. It was defined considering the *Dictionary of Business Biography* realized by London School of Economics and organized according to an alphabetical order with a main arrangement by business. The French Dictionary of the entrepreneurs was conceived in a more modest way. Referring to the entrepreneurs of the Second Empire, it selected a group of individuals, by defining a type of questionnaire and by adopting a regional approach rather than sector-based one. The challenge was considerable, because it was necessary, using a wide sample, to conclude the discussion between partisans and opponents of a Malthusian vision of the French entrepreneurs.

Concerning the method, two instruments can be used: a corpus and a set of questions. The first one is based on the list of the depositors heard during the survey of 1860 concerning the commercial treaty with England. Nevertheless, its unsatisfactory character obliges to complete this list using other sources: World Fairs, lists of the judges of the commercial courts and members of chambers of commerce, professional directories. We have to consider criteria in order to make a definitive list: the importance of the entrepreneur, his role as an effective leader, the maximum of economical activity reached around 1860 and the quality of the available information. On the other hand, the questionnaire deals with four big sections: the civil status, the education, the type of recruitment, information on the personality of the entrepreneurs (social and cultural activities, religions, career in politics).

This approach seems fruitful. The prosopography offers a compromise between the bibliography, which privileges the individual, and the statistical analysis, that aims at simplifying the description. It proceeds in three phases:

1/The first one collects a number of biographies. That permits to consider the private and public life of the entrepreneurs and the history of the company;

2/The second one aims at reconstituting the life of the actors thanks to an analysis grid;

3/The third phase allows to elaborate a type of common behavior for a specific group. That permits to explain the reasons of the success or the failure of a company.

This approach has two consequences. First of all, the investigation tries hard to reconcile some contradictory objectives: do not forget well known personalities; consider other individuals, forgotten by the heirs; focus on the most comprehensive notes; make the sample reflect the economic structure of the region. Secondly, the work develops in three times: write from 1000 to 1500 biographies published in different regional dictionaries; realize a database that permits a statistical analysis; elaborate a typology of the entrepreneurs' behavior, going beyond the traditional analyses of Marx, Weber or Schumpeter, in order to estimate the regional disparities of growth and the variety of the French capitalism.

It is possible to broach some fundamental questions:

1/Concerning family and demography, we can raise some questions about life expectations (do the entrepreneurs live on average longer than the rest of the population?), average age of marriage of the entrepreneurs and their wives, number of children, practice or not of the birth control, fertility, eventual change of the behavior from a generation to another one (evident in Normandy).

2/Dealing with family and form of business organizations, what are the origin of the entrepreneurs? What is the proportion of heirs, founders and purchasers in the companies? Do exist dynasties? How long do they last (the dynasties of Alsace and the Door of Burgundy)? What kind of organization do the entrepreneurs prefer: individual firm? Partnership (general partnership, limited partnership)? Company (public or private companies, limited company)? Are the family interests predominant or not?

3/Referring to family and education, religion seems to play an important role (the role of the Protestant and Jew employers is well known, but what is the impact of Catholicism, especially considering the influence of the social Catholicism)? Do the studies (especially the most comprehensive ones), play a determining role (Alsace is very different from Marseille for example)? Does the education (including abroad) constitute a dominating element? Does the son of entrepreneur obtain easily the managerial functions? Or must he climb the different levels of the hierarchy in the company? Does the education predispose the employers to the self-financing or they are opened to foreign investments?

4/Concerning family and mobility, do entrepreneurs prefer geographical stability or mobility? What is the role of the immigrant minorities? What is the importance of the professional mobility (or intergenerational) and social mobility (or intergenerational)? Do we observe or not a significant rise (or a decrease) in the levels of fortune from a generation to the other one? The proposed study tries to answer to all these questions. Here we present the first results.

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2/ FIRST RESULTS

Today, the survey permits to establish 861 examples, approximately 57 % of the planned work. This sample, statistically credible, allows to create two types of geographical sets. First of all, it focuses on a certain number of big industrial regions.

2-1/Firstly the most important industrial areas

The North has been the object of the first book of the collection, published in 1989⁸. Led by Frédéric Barbier, it deals with a group of 100 individuals, mainly selected on their fortunes. It underlines the characteristics of their environment such as the longevity, the number of children, the predominance of the textile industry, the relative importance of the founders of companies relating to the new heirs. The access to this environment results easy to get. The entrepreneurs are open-minded permit the ascensions of the employees to the most important positions. This attitude is characterized by a double originality: the role of the extended family, the importance of the interfamily alliances, and the existence of an ultramountain Catholicism.

The second geographical set includes Normandy, Maine and Anjou. It is the object of a volume under the direction of Dominique Barjot⁹. This work is fundamental to entire collection because it explains the method of research. It collects a sample of 100 entrepreneurs mainly selected on their fortunes. Around 1860, these entrepreneurs show a cautious attitude, generally little attracted by risk and innovation. Focused on increasing their heritage and social prestige, the

⁸ Frédéric Barbier (ed.), *Le Patronat du Nord sous le Second Empire : une approche prosopographique*, Genève, Droz, 1989, 412 p.

⁹ Dominique Barjot (ed.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Anjou, Normandie, Maine*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1991, 256 p.

possession or the acquisition of a castle acquires a symbolic value. They remain attached to the religious and family values. Many founders of the companies do not begin dynasties. Here we find a first difficulty. Indeed, in a changeable world, it exists, for a long time, a certain number of dynasties, especially in the sector of the importation of printed calicoes. The majority of these founders come from Alsace and Germany.

The third group concerns Burgundy¹⁰. The work directed by Philippe Jobert has been published in 1991. Among 48 leading personalities of the investigation, one observes a domination of the big industrial entrepreneurs, with the exception of some important farmers and agricultural owners. These employers present some original aspects. The most important companies come from the metallurgical sector like Schneider for example and from the coal sector such as Chagot. We can find few self-made men. On the other hand, the influence of the social Christianity is dominating. In Burgundy many entrepreneurs are attracted by politics, almost 50 % of the entrepreneurs go into politics.

Franche-Comté has been studied by Jean-Luc Mayaud in a work published in 1991¹¹. 22 entrepreneurs had been selected. We identify two principal zones. The area of Montbéliar represents the most dynamic zone: it is dominated by some big families, some big Protestant dynasties, acting like the Alsatian employers. On the other hand, Besançon is an important center where do business the entrepreneurs of the region of Jura, generally catholic liberal and sometimes attracted by a diffuse Fourierism. It is important to remember that Jura is the area where anarchism developed. We can observe some influences in the behavior of some entrepreneurs.

Alsace is analyzed by Nicolas Stoskopf in a work published in 1994¹². It deals with 73 cases. In the XIXth century, the Alsatian industrial activity is not restricted to the city of Mulhouse. It grows and develops thanks to numerous foreign contributions. Catholics become frequently entrepreneurs. In Alsace, a social melting pot permits to give birth to the values that create the roots of the industrialization of Alsace. The entrepreneurs support the progress: they understand that industry can be a powerful instrument of social progress. It is not surprising to find among them number of patrons and politicians (around a quarter of the total).

¹⁰ Philippe Jobert (ed.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Bourgogne*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1991, 260 p.

¹¹ Jean-Luc Mayaud (ed.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Franche-Comté*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1994, 288 p.

¹² Nicolas Stoskopf, *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Alsace*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1994, 288 p.

The survey on Champagne-Ardennes presents a group of 57 entrepreneurs¹³. Haute Marne is steel-making region, while Marne is the most active area with an important textile industry and the newborn trade of the champagne. The hosiery sector develops in Troyes during the Second Empire. At that time, the entrepreneurs of Champagne profit of the dynamism of the wine of Champagne. This young industry then concludes its technical development thanks to the appearance of some big families, such as the Moët and the Chandon. Other branches of the industry of the region have a different future. The textile industry begins to meet some difficulties, in particular from 1860. The entrepreneurship presents a complicated structure: more than 25 % of the entrepreneurs are foreign. Companies are generally small-sized and managed by the heirs. Champagne becomes a world of family businesses in which develops an original paternalism.

Finally Picardy is studied by Jean-Marie Wiscart¹⁴. It is a fragmented geographical area, where the employers present strong characteristics. More than 50 % of the entrepreneurs were born in the region. However, there is a significant percentage of foreign mainly British. 20 % of them are landowners who invest into the industry. Picardy is crossed by a strong social permeability. In this region we find the most important number of self-made men. But, even these self-made men succeed in running their company only if they take part in the creation of family dynasties that we find years later as explained by the example of the brothers Saint, then the Saint Brothers Company.

2-2/Large Markets of Commerce and Industry

A second group of regions corresponds to the important markets of commerce and industry. Not considering Paris, the most important and the most prosperous one, is without a doubt Marseille. Studied by Roland Caty, Eliane Richard and Pierre Echinard, it is an important financial and industrial market. The Second Empire endows it with modern equipments. Marseille is the archetype of the haussmanisation such as the city of Paris. The study focuses on a sample of 100 people¹⁵. It is characterized by its variety. It presents three generations: the pioneers, the entrepreneurs who achieve the success and some men who take advantage of the situation to stand out, or sometimes, go bankrupt (as Mirès). A big geographical variety makes that 50 % of the

¹³ Gracia Dorel-Ferré et Denis Mc Kee (eds.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Champagne-Ardenne*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 2006, 252 p.

¹⁴ Jean-Marie Wiscart (ed.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Picardie*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 2007, 184 p. (sous presse).

¹⁵ Roland Caty, Eliane Richard, Pierre Echinard (eds.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Marseille*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1999, 336 p.

entrepreneurs were not born in Marseille. The employers are dynamic and competent, focused on different sectors. They are versatile and present a strong adaptability. We can make a comparison with the Alsatian entrepreneurs. The employers from Marseille are more successful than those living in the North. Nevertheless, beginning a dynasty is more difficult in Marseille because of the very speculative character of the activities of companies: the main exception concerns the Protestant ship-owners.

Bordeaux and the region of Gironde are the objects of a work directed by Hubert Bonin. It offers the image of a region in decline, presenting a low level of industrialization and where the main part of the employers (60 persons) deals with the commerce. We observe the presence of foreign investors, in particular German and Irish¹⁶. The cause of the low level of industrialization stands in the attitude of the wine grocers, foresters, traders (in spite of the progress of the trade of alcoholics) and in the almost total absence of mechanized heavy industry. The businessmen invested little, they privilege the purchases of lands instead of engaging themselves in entrepreneurial initiatives.

The third metropolis analyzed in the investigation is Lyon¹⁷. The collection accounts 69 individuals, mainly newcomers. Many of them come from Savoy, Switzerland, Italy, but also from closer regions. Their characteristics are evident. The banking sector enriched more than the silk manufacturing. And the silk manufacturing enriched more than any other industrial activity. As explained by the work of Serge Chassagne and Pierre Cayez, the entrepreneurs get married late, practice a long apprenticeship, instead of getting involved in a long education, they are not interested in politics. Moreover, they give importance to family and dynasties are frequent. Dynasties survive for years.

The region of Loire is studied by Serge Chassagne, Robert Estier and Gérard-Michel Therneau. It is a big industrial department dominated by the city of Saint-Etienne. It presents different activities divided in the following way: 40 % silk manufacturers, 15 % cotton manufactures and 33 % steel manufacturers¹⁸. The employers have some characteristics in common.

¹⁶ Hubert Bonin (ed.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Bordeaux et la Gironde*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 1999, 224 p.

¹⁷ Pierre Cayez et Serge Chassagne (eds.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Lyon et le Lyonnais*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 2006, 288 p.

¹⁸ Serge Chassagne, Robert Estier et Gérard-Michel Therneau (eds.), *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Loire*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 2007, 224 p. (à paraître)

They make money very fast. Loire is probably the region where the entrepreneurs accumulate their fortunes in the quickest way during the Second Empire. The behavior of these entrepreneurs is closer to those working in Lyon than to the other coming from Alsace. This is not surprising. Salaries of the workforce are generally low. Social policies are different. The mining industry is more profit-making than the textile one. They show a relatively high degree of interest to politics and to professional associations. We can find two types of employers: the republican ones, belonging to the metal industry and the orleanist or legitimist ones coming from the textile industry. Dynasties are not rare (29 % of heirs), but they are not the majority.

Finally, we analyze the situation of Paris. The capital plays the most important role compared to the other cities. The investigation is not completed, but it already presents two social groups. First of all, led Véronique Bourienne, the work studies the entrepreneurs of department stores. This group knows a formidable success during the Second Empire¹⁹. It is principally composed self-made men. But, in reality, their success is strictly connected to the presence of well-off families behind their activities. They have strong connections with the most important banks. They present strong characteristics. They practice an active paternalism, but few dynasties survive.

The Parisian banking and financial sector of the Second Empire is analyzed by Nicolas Stoskopf. This constitutes another important group. 90 personalities are studied (bankers, insurers, stockbrokers and businessmen)²⁰. Here, the prosopography reveals its importance in questioning a concept given for granted such as the high bank. In reality, the high bank is a group created under the rules sociability of the social clubs where the all members are recruited. That makes that the entire structure withdraw into itself. The work presents an original and convincing reading of the support that brings to the banking revolution of the Second Empire (this concept was almost unknown for the group Donon-Morny so far). We foresee the wealth of this survey, visible through the example of the entrepreneurs of Normandy, Maine and Anjou.

¹⁹ Véronique Bourienne, « Boucicaud, Chauchard et les Autres. Fondateurs et fondation des premiers grands magasins parisiens », *Paris et Ile-de-France. Mémoires publiés par la Fédération des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, tome 40, 1989, pp. 257-335.

²⁰ Nicolas Stoskopf, *Les Patrons du Second Empire. Banquiers et financiers parisiens*, Paris, Picard/Cénomane, 2002, 384 p.

3/ PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

A crossed analysis allows to present some preliminary conclusions²¹. The first one concerns the fact that the Second Empire raises an strong interest. In fact, this period corresponds to the peak of a first phase of industrialization of France. It is possible to observe some important French entrepreneurs that make France as an industrial power. But it is necessary to go farther.

The survey focuses on three aspects: the background of the entrepreneurs, their careers and their way of life. What are their origins? Generally, the French entrepreneur is autochthonus, that means that he is recruited from the region where he runs his company. That is the case of Normandy where three quarters of the fathers of analyzed entrepreneurs were born in the same province concerned by the study. Moreover, 83 % of the employer were born in the department where they make their fortune²².

A second aspect concerns the importance of the career path of the entrepreneurs²³. First of all the access to the responsibilities doesn't depend on their education but on their apprenticeship. However, Michel Hau presents an exception analyzing the Alsatian case²⁴. The Alsatian entrepreneur invests in human resources and training of his workforce. This is probably one essential element of the Alsatian success²⁵. The Alsatian model is opposed to the model of Marseille where, generally, the entrepreneurs are made by their own experiences, often through numerous failures which a new positive situation allows them to overcome.

Considering the third aspect, families play an important role in the training of the entrepreneurs²⁶. Marriage is a strategic event of their career. It is attentively organized. It coincides with the entry into the company. Those marriages happen at an advanced age. Alsace, Champagne

²¹ Dominique Barjot, Eric Anceau, Isabelle Lescent-Gils, Bruno Marnot (eds.), *Les Entrepreneurs du Second Empire*, *op.cit.*, Voir l'introduction de Dominique Barjot, pp. 9-24 et les conclusions de François Cruzet, pp. 177-190.

²² Dominique Barjot (ed.), « Les Entrepreneurs de Normandie du Maine et de l'Anjou à l'époque du Second Empire », *Annales de Normandie*, 38^e année, n° 2-3, mai-juillet 1988, 264 p.

²³ Dominique Barjot, « Déclin industriel. Mutation des marchés et esprit d'entreprise. Le cas de la Normandie au milieu du XIXe siècle », in Michel Hau (ed.), *De-industrialisation in Europe, 19th-20th centuries*, B11, Proceedings Twelfth International Economic History Congress, Madrid, Fondation Fomento de la Historia Economica, août 1998, pp. 83-97.

²⁴ Michel Hau, *L'industrialisation de l'Alsace (1803-1939)*, Strasbourg, Association des Publications près les Universités de Strasbourg, 1987, 550 p.

²⁵ Michel Hau, Nicolas Stoskopf, *Les dynasties alsaciennes du XVIIe siècle à nos jours*, Paris, Perrin, 2005, 612 p..

²⁶ Dominique Barjot, « Un patronat sans dynasties ? Le patronat normand vers 1860 », in Jean-Michel Boehler, Christine Lebeau et Bernard Vogler (eds.), *Les Elites régionales (XVIIe-XXe siècle). Construction de soi-même et service de l'autre Strasbourg*, Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2002, pp. 101-119.

and the Door of Burgundy are the exceptions. They concern the same milieu. Endogamy is frequently adopted. Nevertheless, this practice changes according to the regions. It is less frequent in Marseille and in Alsace than in the other regions. Through the importance of the family, it is possible to explain the longevity of the dynasties, which depends on the fertility of the families. About this, Burgundy, Alsace and North are the regions where dynasties tend to exist for longer periods compared to the other regions of France.

What is their way of life? Considering the fourth point, the religion plays an important role in the life of the entrepreneurs. In the West, it is possible to count 50 % of Catholic practicings. We have already presented the militant Catholicism of the North. In other regions, we can underline the impact of the contrast between different religions. This aspect is evident in Alsace, but also in Marseille where the Protestant-Catholic cleavage, Jewish and Orthodox one is very important. There is a competition among these various religious groups.

From a social point of view, it is possible to find strong differences (fifth point). Concerning this aspect, Alsace represents an exception together with a part of the entrepreneurs of Champagne and Burgundy. They are influenced by pietism and masonry. That brings to an effective and constant intervention in order to fight against poverty and advocate the social progress. We observe a second group present in Burgundy and Franche-Comté. The entrepreneurs are influenced by Catholicism. It is necessary to distinguish between the social Catholicism, present in the big firms and strong in Burgundy, and liberal Catholicism, typical of Franche-Comté. Finally, the third group follows the attitude of the first one. It is characterized by a rare presence of paternalism, the involvement of many entrepreneurs in the religious life and a relative weakness of the social institutions.

Finally, analyzing the last point, we can observe a cultural variety. In this respect, Alsace marks a clear advance compared to the other regions. In fact, we note that 22 % of the entrepreneurs have documented scientific and cultural activities. Generally, they adopt a very austere style of life. They invest a small amount of money in second homes or castles. They prefer to reinvest in their company. It is probably one of the reasons of the longevity of many dynasties.

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The investigation permits to raise two important conclusions. First of all, there are different types of capitalism, marked distinct regional characteristics. We can observe the energy of the entrepreneurs focused on the textile sector located in the regions of the North, the common difficulties of adaptation of the western entrepreneurs and the fundamental dualism of the entrepreneurs coming from Burgundy, Champagne, Franche-Comté and Loire regions. Secondly, the French employer is partially rehabilitated if we observe some following facts: a dynamism of industrialists, bankers and Protestant traders; the unexpected existence of a paternalistic Catholic entrepreneurship focused on innovation, particularly livened up by a social Catholicism; the spirit of innovation of certain small and medium-sized enterprises; the role of the decisions taken in the town councils; the considerable impact of the Parisian market; the dominating importance of the mechanisms of renewal of men, capitals and technologies, determinant elements for the perpetuity of dynasties.

In a more general way, the survey underlines the problem of the family capitalism²⁷, revealed by the Thomas Mann's famous novel, the *Buddenbrooks*²⁸. According to Nietzsche, he analyzes the reasons of the decline of an old bourgeois family through the four successive generations. He demonstrates how the descendents of active and strong traders, because of some personal, political and economic accidents, weaken and separate. Finally, they give birth to a generation of artists and cultivated people but fragile and sick. If the theme of the decline is the first object of its book, it presents a dynasty of entrepreneurs with a truthfulness that is at the origin of what the historians called "the law of three generations"²⁹.

If the controversy between individual or family entrepreneurial capitalism and managerial capitalism remains open, it must be combined with other two factors, the macro scale and microeconomic one. Studying the family capitalism supposes to adopt a monographic approach. This analysis must be completed with others elements such as the demography of companies, regional or branch studies and macroeconomic analysis. Considering these factors, it is possible to develop four important problems, the constitution of the family capitalism; the preservation of the

²⁷ Jean-Claude Daumas (ed.), *Le capitalisme familial : logiques et trajectoires*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires franco-comtoises, 2003, 256 p. Voir en particulier Dominique Barjot, « Conclusions », p. 207-216.

²⁸ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, S. Fischer-Verlag, Berlin, 1901.

²⁹ Maurice Lévy-Leboyer (ed.), « Dynasties patronales françaises », in *Le Mouvement social*, juillet-septembre 1985, n° 132, pp. 3-57.

family control; the origins of its development; the end of the family capitalism. Considering all these points, the investigation on the entrepreneurs of the Second Empire can bring new important elements.