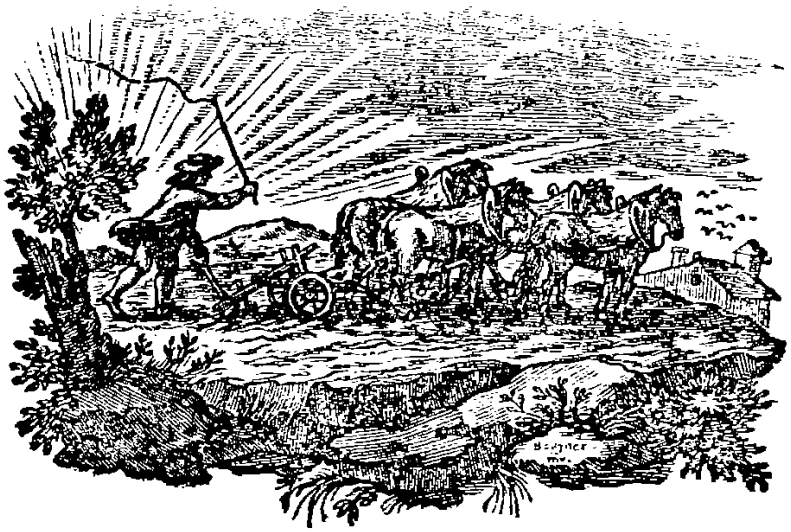
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ABOUT A NEW TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *ÉPHEMERIDES DU CITOYEN* AND THE *NOUVELLES ÉPHEMERIDES ECONOMIQUES*. ECONOMIC REVIEW (1765-1788)



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This paper proposes a methodological status of our research into the establishment and publication of the complete table for all issues of the Physiocrats' review entitled *Éphémérides du citoyen* and *Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques* directed by Nicolas Baudeau and Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours between 1765 and 1788[1].

[1] I thank Helena SIGLER for proofreading and valuable advice.

The *Éphémérides* is, at first sight, the official newspaper of the Physiocrats – which is the first true school of economic thought which is structured around François Quesnay inventor of the famous "Tableau économique", first representation of the economic circuit. The basic principles of this school are private property, economic freedom and equal rights of economic agents. This publication contains major writings (at least their presentation) of the principal authors of the school or their sympathizers like the *abbé* Baudeau, the marquis de Mirabeau, Du Pont de Nemours, Lemercier de la Rivière, Turgot, Benjamin Franklin, the margrave of Baden, *etc*. At that time authors usually publish anonymous (or resort to pseudonyms or simple initials) and it is important for the history of economic thought and a better understanding of the contributions of each other to identify the authors of the articles. But this identification was still very fragmentary. Our recent studies allow to significantly move forward on this matter. It also informs us about the intellectual networks of that era to the Physiocrats and more generally of the Enlightenment.

However, the history of this *official* newspaper presents phases which show some distance from the school of Quesnay. The published editions provide an extremely large corpus of texts produced by the Physiocrats. Between 1765 and 1788, the newspaper had two directors (Nicolas Baudeau and Pierre Samuel Du Pont). Publication was interrupted firstly between 1772 and 1774 and secondly between 1776 and 1788. With nearly 22,000 pages produced and publication, albeit intermittent, over two decades, this journal has been a major source for the understanding of the Physiocrat intellectual movement during the second half of the eighteenth century. It served for the history of economic thought as a science at the moment of its emergence as a science, not only a specific field of reflection but also a contribution to political debate at the eve of the revolutionary period.

To date, three attempts have been made to establish a state of the published articles. Kiyoji Kisaki (1975)[1] provides a first summary table (for the numbers from November 1765 to March 1788) showing the main headlines of articles with their prefaces and postfaces. Shortly after, François Pellissier (1978)[2] provides a second summary table (for the same period) apparently without having read Kisaki's work. Both these authors used the corpora of *Ephémérides* and classical studies of the nineteenth century[3], along with those of the early twentieth century[4] without neglecting more recent

[1] Kiyoji KISAKI, "Table générale des matières continues à tous les volumes des Éphémérides du citoyens (1765-72) et des Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques" (1774-76, 1788). *Kanda, offprint of the Economic bulletin of the Senshu university* (1975): 1-95.

[2] François PELLISSIER, *Recherches sur les Éphémérides du citoyens (1765-1772) et les Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques (1774-1776 / 1788)* (Paris: Master thesis, Université Paris, 1978).

[3] Antoine Alexandre BARBIER, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 4 vols. (Paris: Barrois, 1822); Charles COQUELIN, and Gilbert-Urbain GUILLAUMIN, *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1853-1854); Eugène DAIRE, *Physiocrates* (Osnabrück : Zeller, 1966); Eugène Louis HATIN, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859-1861); Carl KNIES, *Carl Friedrichs Von Baden Brieflicher Verkher mit Mirabeau und Du Pont*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1892); Louis DE LOMÉNIE, *Les Mirabeau*, 2 vols. (Paris: Dentu, 1879); Auguste ONCKEN *in* François QUESNAY, *Œuvres économiques et philosophiques*, published by Auguste ONCKEN. (Paris: Peelman et cie, 1888); Gustave SCHELLE, *Du Pont de Nemours et l'Ecole physiocratique* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1888).

[4] Edgar DEPITRE in Paul Pierre LEMERCIER DE LA RIVIERE, *L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*, (Paris: Geuthner, 1910); Auguste DUBOIS in Nicolas BAUDEAU, *Première introduction à la philosophie économique*, published by Auguste DUBOIS (Paris: Geuthner, 1910); Gustave SCHELLE in Anne Robert Jacques TURGOT DE L'AULNE, *Œuvres et documents le concernant*, published by Gustave SCHELLE, 5 vols. (Paris : Alcan, 1913-1923); Georges WEULERSSE, *Le Mouvement physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770*, 2 vols. (Genève: Slatkine, 2003); WEULERSSE, *La Physiocratie sous les ministères de Turgot et de Necker* (Paris: PUF, 1950); WEULERSSE, *La Physiocratie à la fin du règne de Louis XV (1770-1774)* (Paris: PUF, 1959).

studies[1]. Their work is mainly dedicated to the identification of the *Ephémérides* authors and they have proposed a number of names, although many contributors to the newspaper have remained anonymous. Concetta Spoto (2012)[2] establishes the third table for a shorter period (1765-1772). Her list is the shortest of the three: only titles are given without specifying the names of authors

Recognizing that an exhaustive list of authors is likely to remain out of reach for a long time we have attempted to enrich the existing databases by using two sources that have remained in the shadows: one in the United States and one in France. The first is comprised of the Du Pont papers held in the Manuscripts and Archives Department at the Hagley Museum and Library. The second is the *Éphémérides* collection that is a part of the Fonds Ancien collection at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon. A comparison of the sources available in these collections allowed us the opportunity to identify new names of contributors to the magazine from Du Pont's handwritten notes.

This paper proposes, firstly, to re-examine the history of the *Éphémérides* in order to present trends and breaks in its editorial line. Secondly, we will develop our work on American and French sources to emphasize their fruitful confrontation. Finally, we propose a new list of the signatures of the authors who published in the *Éphémérides*.

Production of the corpus

From November 1765 to October 1766 Nicolas Baudeau founded and directed the *Éphémérides du citoyen*, or *Chronique de l'esprit national*. The newspaper - 16 pages – appeared on Tuesdays and Fridays. Between November 4, 1765 and October 31, 1766, 104 issues were published. Baudeau stated that he was inspired by *The Spectator*, the daily publication that Joseph Addison and Richard Steele had founded in 1711. In terms of form,Baudeau retained the layout of the British journal: short articles are preceded by an epigraph, and readers' letters are published. He covered a diverse range of subjects and, after seven months, sought additional articles from new contributors: the Rennes Parliamentary lawyer Girard, the Latinist La Place, the architect Julien David Le Roy, the physiocrat Le Trosne. However, like Addison and Steele, Baudeau wrote almost all of the articles himself. He developed themes that were common to the Physiocrats (these are expressed in the *Journal de l'agriculture, du commerce et des finances* headed by Du Pont): education, population, historical issues, morality and politics, slavery, agrarian reform, maritime or trade topics. Concerning this last point, Baudeau favored a mercantilist position and emphasized the liberalism of the Physiocrats. From March 1766, a correspondence was established with the *Journal de l'agriculture, du commerce et des finances*: Le Trosne, who was aware of the points of convergence between the authors of the *Éphémérides* and the Physiocrats, rejected Baudeau's economic arguments. The latter was rapidly converted and rallied the Physiocrat school of thought. At the end of 1766 he put his newspaper at the service of the Physiocrats and became one of the most prolific proponents of the school. He brought his talent as a teacher to the table and enriched the Physiocrats' corpus and their arguments, in particular on the issue of education and the fight against slavery.

[1] Claude BELLANGER, *Histoire générale de la presse française*, vol. 1. (Paris: PUF, 1969); Earle Edson COLEMAN, "Ephémérides du Citoyen, 1767-1772", *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers* (1962): 17-45; Alfred Sauvy, "Les doctrines françaises avant 1800", *Economie et population* (1956); Ambrose SARICKS, *Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1965).

[2] Concetta SPOTO, "The Éphémérides du Citoyen", in Jean CARTELIER and Gino LONGHITANO, *Quesnay and Physiocracy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).

From the first issue of the year 1767 the publication appeared on a monthly basis and contained over 200 pages. This new format brought it closer to the *Journal d'agriculture, du commerce et des finances* in both form and content and enabled the publication of more extensive commentaries to promote the dissemination of extensive texts. The publication title was changed to: *Éphémérides du citoyen*, or *Bibliothèque raisonnée des sciences morales et politiques*. The layout of the newspaper consisted of three parts as presented in the "avis du libraire" (published in the first issue)[1]: "Pièces détachées / Pièces fugitives" (subsequently, "Pièces détachées") dedicated to publishing extensive articles on moral and political questions; "Critiques raisonnées" (subsequently "Analyses et Critiques raisonnées") for the analysis of "livres nouveaux, étrangers ou nationaux"; "Evénements publics" (subsequently "Evénements publics et traits de bienfaisance") reserved for "réflexions patriotiques sur les grands événements". From the same Volume III in 1770 onwards, a fourth part was introduced– "Notices" subsequently "Notices et Annonces" or "Économie pratique. Notices et Annonce" – so as to isolate the short notices and the complete analysis, which were reserved for the second part. This redesigning of the newspaper provided an opportunity for the Physiocrats to work on three axes to spread and to promote their ideas: facilitating the promulgation of the school's doctrine, feeding controversy with their opponents encouraging the promotion of both domestic and foreign experiments in accordance with the physiocratic spirit. This second phase of publication was still characterized by the diversification and multiplication of contributors from within the leaders and supporters of the school: Butré, Du Pont, Lemercier de la Rivière, Le Trosne, Mirabeau, Quesnay, Saint Megrin, Turgot. Baudeau was offered a canonry by the prince Ignace Massalski of Poland, which he accepted. From May 1768 to March 1772 Du Pont took over the management of the newspaper. Despite increasing its readership (up to 500 numbers published) the publication had financial difficulties on account of its lack of management control. Du Pont was overworked and the publication dates were not respected: the last issue of this period (March 1772) came out 21 weeks late. This editorial period is marked by the rise of the militant spirit: the theme of slavery is developed from that time going beyond the work of Montesquieu or Jaucourt in the *Encyclopédie*. Baudeau had treated this subject in the first period of the *Éphémérides* to show that no economic considerations could justify slavery. Du Pont took this theme and further developed it from the moral standpoint from the text of Ziméo edited by Saint-Lambert (1769)[2]. The subject also became more present through the writings of Roubaud, who at that time was in charge of the *Gazette du commerce*, and the *Lettres africaines* of Butini (1771)[3]. Furthermore, Du Pont argued for the freedom of the press and the abolition of the *corvée*. Finally, the debate about the freedom of the grain trade grew and while the physiocrat André Morellet was relatively moderate in his writings in the *Journal d'agriculture, du commerce et des finances*, Du Pont argued more forcefully for abolitionist and liberal theses. The new government (with the ministers Terray and Maupéou) intervened to end what was perceived as an arrogant display: in November 1772 the order to cease publication of the newspaper reached Du Pont. It was at this time that the Physiocrats were denounced as sectarian. They were abandoned by the powers-that-be while intellectuals and publicists who had formerly supported them increased their criticism.

The *Éphémérides* reappeared from 1774 onwards at the initiative of Baudeau. DuPont was no longer a contributor to the journal; he was appointed Inspector General of manufactures on September 20, 1774. On the occasion of the *Contrôle général* of Turgot, Baudeau managed to revive the *Éphémérides* with a new title: *Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques ou Bibliothèque raisonnée de l'Histoire de la morale et de la politiqu*e. The journal was published regularly and on schedule, from

[1] See Philippe STEINER, "Les Revues économiques de langue française au XVIIIème siècle (1751-1776)", in Luc MARCO, *Les Revues d'économie en France (1751-1994)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996) : 33-78.
[2] Jean-François DE SAINT-LAMBERT, *Les Saisons, poëme* (Amsterdam, 1769).
[3] Jean-François BUTINI, *Lettres africaines* (London and Paris: Fétil, 1771).

January of the following year. Baudeau returned to the initial layout of three parts. He managed to mobilize many contributors (or simply their writings), both new and current or former references (Fromenteau, Huet, Lemercier de la Rivière, Monstrelet, Quesnay), experts, practitioners, experimentalists (Béguillet, Belly, Beraud, Berniere de Saint Martin, Costa de Beauregard, Darigand, Fréville, Jacquet, Maupin, Pezay, Rozier, Rigoley, Rubigny de Bertheval, Saint-Maurice de Saint-Leu, Thélis, Young), monarchs, politicians, prominent personalities (Albon, Betzki, Bigot de Sainte-Croix, Catherine II, Coqueley de Chaussepierre, De Baer, De Chavannes, Eon de Beaumont, Grosier, Gustave III, L'Écuy, Magniere, Maurepas, Loménie de Brienne, Perriere de Roiffé, Potocki, Saint Germain, Scheffer, Tessein). The director of the *Éphémérides* was once again the main editor. Under Turgot's ministry, the newspaper had the blessing of the political powers but Baudeau's position was too extreme and he attracted many enemies. The *Éphémérides* was suspended in June 1776 and Baudeau was exiled to Sainte-Severe-en-Berry on August 6, 1776, by order of the king.

Later, in the context of the *Assemblées des notables*, at the time of the Ministry of Loménie de Brienne, and with the support of the minister, Baudeau re-published the *Éphémérides* for the second time, with a simplified title: *Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques.* This last series (between January and June 1788) appeared on the first and third Sundays of each month. However, Baudeau was isolated: he published his articles or excerpts from his books and some texts already published by other writers (Angot-Desrotours, Lubersac, Montvert, Morellet, Pezay, Quesnay) along with some rare texts (by Beaulieu or Saint-Pol de Reuilly for exemple). This last editorial experience was the last opportunity Baudeau had to publish his own writing. The end came when his mental health deteriorated, leading him to be interned in 1790 and to his ultimate demise in 1792 through defenestration.

The large corpus produced by this newspaper's editorial history is often hermetic for commentators because the majority of the authors of the articles or book reviews chose anonymity.

The identification of contributors

Author anonymity was an extremely common practice at that time and the *Éphémérides* follow this usage. Several techniques are used. The first is to use a single or double letter nomenclature: A to AP. The second is based on the use of pseudonyms: Alpha, Andrew, Arator, Belton, Mansword, Sidrac, Thibault, for example. Finally, and this is the most frequent case, contributors are identified by a nickname, a title, a state or an abbreviation: l'Ami des hommes, un citoyen, un Fermier de Pensylvanie, M. de Ch….., M. l'Intendant de ***, Mr. de G., Seigneur de la Terre de S….., etc. In total, we have identified more than 120 hidden signatures.

The summary tables with indications of authors' names established by Kisaki and Pellissier (without genuine interest in the internal structure of the texts or the whole of their paratexts) contributed enormously to the task of identifying the authors. When they succeed in identifying the authors these tables generally agree but many items remain anonymous. Our study has made it possible to lift the veil of anonymity in many new cases. We have relied on two hitherto neglected sources.

The first is the papers of the Du Pont archives stored in the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the Hagley Museum and Library. In the 1880s Henry Algernon du Pont – the grandson of the physiocrat - began to classify the Louviers archives he had inherited. His aunt Sophie Madeleine Du

Pont and Helen M. Austin (a graduate of the Sorbonne) assisted him[1]. They also assisted Gustave Schelle with the preparation of *Du Pont de Nemours et l'école physiocratique*, published in 1888. During this period, Henry Algernon du Pont acquired many transcriptions of foreign archives from abroad. It was in these years that Austin made a partial list[2] of articles and of their authors in the *Éphemerides* for the years 1767-1772, namely for the period during which Pierre Samuel Du Pont worked on the newspaper. Using this list raises several difficulties: its inaccuracy, the lack of differentiation between the authors of the extracts and those who wrote analyses and comments[3]. Author names entered in this list may be surprising: Faures, Madieu, Chevannes ou Beizat de la Jouanne (instead of, respectively Feres, Moydieu, Chavannes and Bigot de la Touanne). However, we will see later in this article that these shortcomings are not due to problems relating to the legibility of the Du Pont papers.

The incompleteness of most series of the *Éphémérides* included in major institutions of conservation led us to consult additional sources. Thus, after having studied copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France[4], we consulted the collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. The series 807 175 that is conserved in Lyon – the inventory records do not provide information on the origin of their arrival in this collection – has handwritten annotations. The volumes concerned are: 1767 (IV-VI and X-XII), 1768 (IV-XII), 1769 (IV-IX and XI), 1770 (I-XII), 1771 (I-XII) and 1772 (I-III). Again, this is the period during which Du Pont contributed to the *Éphémérides.* The notes are numerous for the volumes edited by Du Pont and they give the most detail when it comes to the texts by Du Pont himself: "article par", "extrait par", "critique par", "notice par" or "recueilli par". In the first analysis, the dating of these notes is difficult, but a time indication can be identified: the items that are now attributed to La Vauguyon are annotated "Duc de Saint Megrin", Indeed, Paul François Duc de Saint Quelen Megrin became Duke of Vauguyon only when his father died in 1772. On several occasions we have worked on manuscripts from the hand of Pierre Samuel Du Pont: and confrontation with the notes from Lyon is unambiguous. A comparison with parts of his correspondence[5] suggests that the volumes of the series 807175 of the collection in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon are annotated by Du Pont himself. Furthermore the only item corrected in this handwriting is a text written by Du Pont ("Idées sur la Poésie en général, et la Poésie dramatique en particulier, par l'Auteur des Éphémérides" (1771, XII)).

Austin quotes the annotations of the volumes of Lyon word for word; for example, in "Lettre d'un Voyageur à l'Auteur des Éphémérides" (1771, XII, p. 51) the title is followed by the inscription "je ne puis me rappeler le nom de l'auteur"[6] found in Austin's list. However, in addition to names whose spelling is distorted, the list includes some transcription errors that change the meaning of the notes, eg. in the article "Avis du Parlement de Dauphiné, sur la libre circulation des Grains et la réduction naturelle des prix dans les années de cherté" (1769, VII, p. 109), the title on the Lyon copy is followed

[1] See John Beverley RIGGS, *A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library* (Wilmington: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1970): XII.

[2] Wilmington, Hagley Museum and Library, Henry A. du Pont Papers, Winterthur Manuscripts, Group 8, Box 84, Item W8-31538.

[3] Coleman has consulted this list and considers it (depending on the sources on which he works) with caution. COLEMAN, *Éphémérides du Citoyen*, 29-30.

[4] Bibliothèque nationale de France : Z-219-21947, FB-29004-29009, 8-H-26241 et 13429.

[5] Wilmington, Hagley Museum and Library, Wmss, Group 2, Series A, W2-11 and DE 19807, 16 p.

[6] This statement indicates that Du Pont did not wrote his notes when the volumes appeared, but later, but it is not possible to identify when he does that. If we assume that he treats the whole series at the same time, this indicates an intervention after the end of 1772.

by “cet avis a passé pour avoir été rédigé par Mr. de Moydieu : Il y a quelques raisons de croire qu’il ait été envoyé a Mr de Moydieu par Mr Bigot de Ste croix”, while Austin’s list says: “par M. de Madieu (On croit qu’il lui avait envoyé par M. Bujot de Ste Croix.)”. Thus the conditions for the establishment of the list raise questions. It seems difficult to believe that Austin worked directly from the annotated copies because transcription errors may relate to words whose reading is not a problem (which are not difficult to decipher). We give more credit to the hypothesis that Austin worked on a copy (probably sometimes difficult to read) of these annotations. The question remains as to the identity of the copyist: one corresponding with Austin in Lyon? or one solicited by Henry Algernon du Pont? The work of the copyist was probably carried out with some simplifications and Austin was not necessarily able to distinguish between the author of the article and the book to which it referred . Finally, forty indications in the list do not correspond to the Lyon annotations: Austin worked on additional sources that have yet to be identified.

The American and French sources allowed us to provide a much more complete list of contributors to the *Éphémérides* than those provided by our predecessors. All the results are presented in *Les Éphémérides du citoyen et les Nouvelles Éphémérides économiques (1765-1788). Documents et table complète*, Ferney-Voltaire, Centre international d’étude du XVIIIe siècle, XXXII-416 p.

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Picture of the front cover:

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