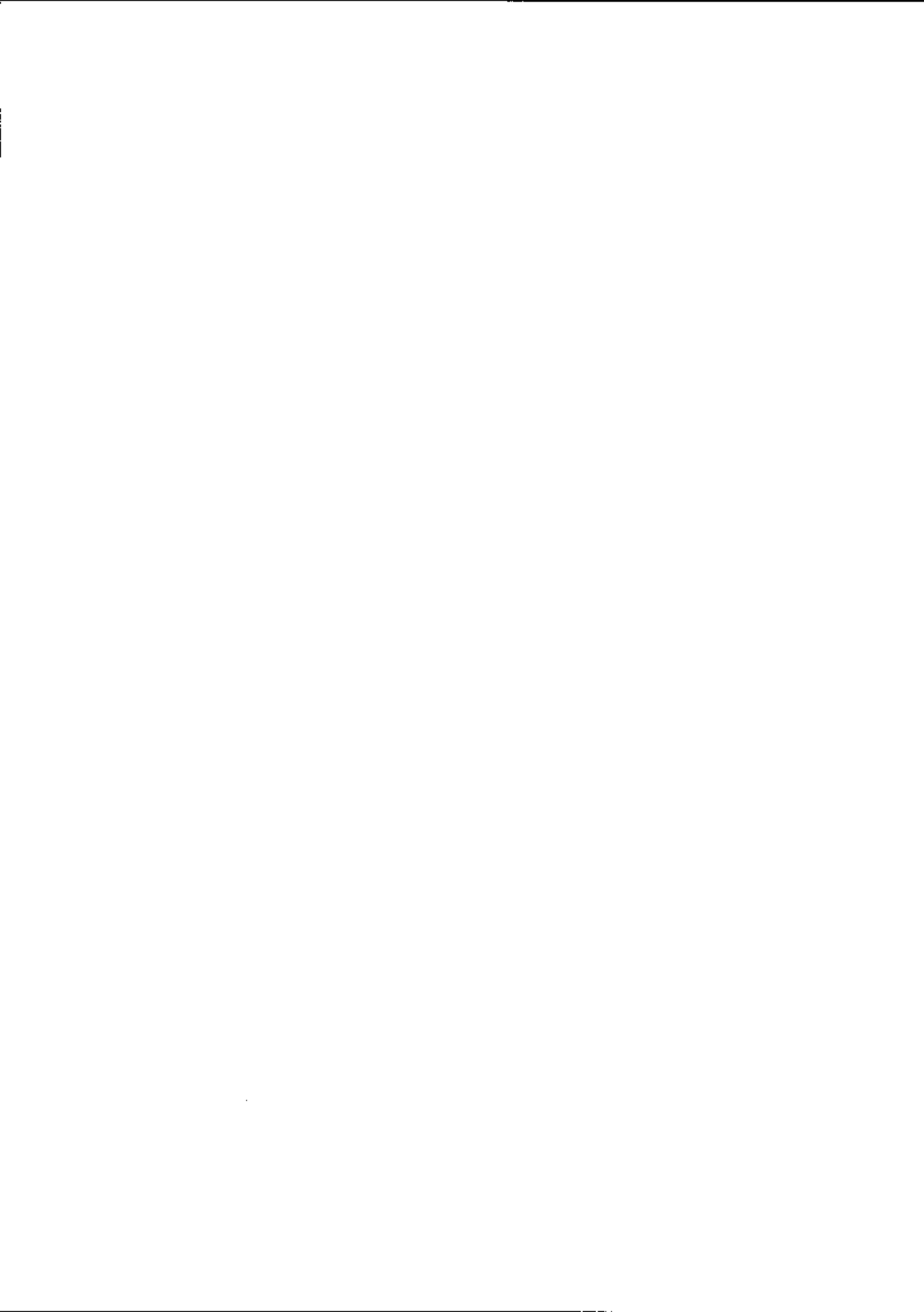


REVIEWS OF BOOKS



Y. Blasco, C. Sudrià, *El Banco de Barcelona (1844-1874). Historia de un banco emisor*, Madrid, Lid, 2010, pp.419.

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY European banking and financial scene appeared extremely dynamic and is probably an essential key to a deep understanding of the industrial change that affected most of Europe. Spain was fully part of this scene and, together with Italy and France (and also Turkey), represents the so-called "Mediterranean version" of the financial and banking system that had developed in Northern Europe. Generally speaking, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Spain's economy lagged well behind England and France, a fact that was all the more evident if we take into consideration Spain's position as a great political and economic power until the seventeenth century. Consequently, the Spanish banking system was also markedly behind because of the reduction in the volume of trade, the loss of productivity in agriculture and the absence of an efficient manufacturing system. However, although this analysis applies generally to Spain, it must be pointed out that some areas of the country, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, showed considerably greater economic vitality. Indeed, from the early eighteenth century, the north-western area of the Iberian Peninsula had to a great extent benefited from agricultural expansion which supported the growth in the export trade, especially to the American colonies. The trade mechanism based on the exportation of brandy and the importation of raw and spun cotton had enabled the commercial capital that had existed since the Middle Ages to increase (at least in Catalonia). This type of merchant capital had been responsible for the flourishing industry of printing and dyeing cotton fabric in Barcelona and its hinterland from the mid-eighteenth century.

The founding and the growth of Banco de Barcelona is clearly an indication of the stage of development the Catalan manufacturing system had reached. At the beginning, credit for industry was assured by unofficial means and by self-financing; however, with the expansion of the secondary sector (and in particular the textile sector), the demand for structured and specialized credit became pressing. Yoland Blasco and Carlos Sudrià carefully reconstruct the conditions in which Banco de Barcelona was founded in 1844: they vividly portray the feeble state in which the Spanish financial and banking system languished after the period of domestic upheaval following the first Carlist war and the loss of the American colonies, which had dramatically damaged

Spanish exports. Banco de Barcelona came into being in the final stages of a financial crisis that had caused *Banco di San Carlo* to crash and had led to the considerable difficulties faced by the two banks set up after the Banco di San Carlo: Banco de San Fernando and Banco de Isabel II.

Banco de Barcelona was still greatly influenced by the concept of free banking. The bank was founded under the auspices and with the major participation of the Catalan bourgeoisie, who were active in trade and manufacturing. It was founded as an issuing bank, a type of bank that reflected the business culture and the social origins of the bank's sponsors. The lists of the first underwriters of the bank's stock and of the directors make it very clear how the bank was managed. However, the origins of Banco de Barcelona's stock also reveals its entrepreneurial strategy was: to grant credit to industry and large-scale trade. Yolanda Blasco and Carlos Sudrià's research confirms this line which the Banco pursued by means of a detailed analysis of the credit operations undertaken, from which its support for Catalan industry and the tertiary sector strongly emerges. Industry's credit demands – to sustain its development – and the importance of the cotton industry, in particular, in funding operations are shown by the huge number of credit operations involving cotton industrialists; these transactions were backed by deposits of raw cotton which, given their size, by the end of the 1840s forced Banco de Barcelona to rent numerous warehouses to store the cotton. Credit secured through cotton was one of the Bank's most widespread forms of financing and coincided with the Catalan cotton industry's rapid development in the mid-nineteenth century; even though it must be added that, already in the early 1850s, the need for such funding operations was becoming quite evident, with repercussions on the Bank's assets. If there were still any doubts, these examples show the close connection between credit availability, industrial development and economic growth.

For Blasco and Sudrià, Banco de Barcelona becomes the key to nineteenth-century Catalan industry's rise and fall. Through the Bank, they reconstruct thirty years of Spanish and Catalan economic history in a period of profound change and with two big economic crises, one in 1848 and the other in 1873. The value of the book, however, does not merely lie in the analysis of the Bank's economic performance or of its governance, but in its usefulness for interpreting the sudden, and at times, violent changes Spain underwent in the nineteenth century. The political and economic upheavals which, from the

Carlist War until the end of the century, marked the final decline of what had been the great Spanish power, were fundamental issues that Banco de Barcelona had to face, ending with the loss of the monopoly to issue banknotes in 1874. That year marks the turning point for the entire Spanish banking system, with the adoption of a centralized monetary policy, according to the principle of central banking which was becoming increasingly widespread in Europe.

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F. Chiapparino (ed.), *The Alien Entrepreneur. Migrant Entrepreneurship in Italian Emigration (Late 19th-20th Centuries) and in the Immigration in Italy at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Angeli, Milan, 2011, p. 187.

MIGRATION IS, WITHOUT DOUBT, one of the many, multi-dimensional aspects of the so-called “first globalization” which took place between the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Those were the years when Italy was a country subject to considerable emigration: between 1890 and 1910 more than 8.8 million people left Italy, which, at the time, had a total population of between 30 and 35 million, and almost 2.5 million of these emigrants never returned (Ercole Sori, *L'emigrazione italiana dall'Unità alla seconda guerra mondiale*, 1979). A similar situation was seen at the end of World War II.

In considering the present day and the current stage of market integration, an analysis of migration can be very interesting, with, however, a significant difference as far as Italy is concerned. Present-day Italy, which “from the economic point of view appears perhaps minor, but not negligible” (Pierluigi Ciocca, *Ricchi per sempre*, 2007) has, in fact, become an arrival point for substantial flows of immigrants and the symbol of a radical change, which shares similarities with the emigration at the time of the first globalization.

Despite the methodological and epistemological difficulties in comparing two different periods and two different historical contexts, it is fascinating and seems useful to analyze them in parallel, in order to discover whether there are elements of continuity or discontinuity.

Obviously, because of the breadth and complexity of the subject, explana-

tions that consider only one aspect are not exhaustive; however, migration has the advantage of allowing the historian to approach its reconstruction from various angles, using different methods of research. An economic history perspective has been chosen to throw light on migration in this book – a collection of papers by scholars of the Università Politecnica delle Marche in Ancona edited by Francesco Chiapparino, Professor of economic history there – and the focus is on the migrants' entrepreneurship.

The book is in two sections. The first part deals with entrepreneurship in Italian emigration between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The paper by Ercole Sori and Andrea Alessandrelli ("Entrepreneurship Abroad in the History of Italian Emigration, 1861-1961") outlines and analyzes the different types of Italian emigrant entrepreneur in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the "merchant prince", the adventurer, the self-made man and the "neo-artisan". Using statistical data for Brazil and Argentina, this paper reveals clearly to what extent the various entrepreneurial categories examined are traceable to the society whence they came, and whose dynamics they reflect.

In his paper "Musical Instruments, Emigrants and Entrepreneurs between Italy and the United States: late 1800s and 1900s", Marco Moroni focuses more specifically on small and medium-sized enterprises, with reference to the relations between accordion manufacturers in provincial areas of Italy and the United States in the twentieth century, revealing the existence of an important transnational entrepreneurial network linked to migration.

The last paper in the first section of the book is by Edith Pichler ("Ethnic Economics: the Italian Entrepreneurs in Germany") and examines the business activities of the Italian immigrants in Germany up to the last two decades of the twentieth century, outlining the kinds of activity and their development.

The second part of the book deals with socio-economic considerations, and is connected with the study of immigration in Italy in recent years and with the entrepreneurial models that characterize it. A surprisingly varied picture emerges, as seen in Gabriele Morettini's paper ("Entrepreneurship and Immigration: Italian Case and Regional Models, 1990s-2000s") which, using empirical analysis, reveals how entrepreneurial initiatives and self-employment differ with respect to both the emigrants' country of origin and the territory in which they settle.

The last paper in the book is by Francesco Orazi and Marco Socci ("Immigrant Entrepreneurship and Local Development: an Original Integration

Model for the Foreign Population in Italy”) and deals with a specific geographical area, the Adriatic region, which because of its industry based on small and medium-sized enterprises, might be regarded as a sort of Third Italy, if the North and the South are considered as examples of different models of development (which have been carried out and sometimes have failed).

On the whole, the book is a useful tool that opens up interesting research perspectives, both for economic historians interested in studying Italian emigration and for those concerned with present-day immigration. The originality of Italian emigration and of its entrepreneurial talents emerge from this volume. The words of Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950) and the entrepreneur guided by “the dream and the will to create a private empire, the will to win, the joy of creating” come to mind.

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Yann Decorzant, *La Société des Nations et la naissance d'une conception de la régulation économique internationale*, P.I. E. Peter Lang, Brussels, 2011, pp. 467.

«THE TRUTH IS THE CONSTRAINT, not the sovereignty of states.» So remarked Luigi Einaudi (1874-1961), the Italian statesman and economist, following the founding of the League of Nations in 1919 and no one was better placed than the economists of the time to see the results of global economic integration: the trade quota on global production in the period before World War I was not matched until the 1970s. This fine book on the birth of international economic regulation is dedicated to the League of Nations and to that “constraint”.

What do we understand by international regulation? Decorzant clarifies the issue in the first pages of the book: the collective analysis or control of economics and international finance, as far as possible in a multilateral context. When and where did the theory and practice of this regulation originate? In the 1920s, at the League of Nations, an organization founded in 1919 and, within it, in the Economic and Financial Organization. Decorzant’s book, which is accompanied by an interesting bibliography on the subject, is the product of the consultation of major archives including the Archives of the

League of Nations and the Historical Archives of the International Labour Office (both in Geneva), the Archives of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe (in Lausanne), the Archives of the Bank of France (in Paris) and the Archives of the Bank of England (in London). The book follows Michel Fior's volume published in 2008 by the same publisher (*La Société des Nations face à la reconstruction de l'Europe, 1918-1931*).

Decorzant's wide-ranging and well documented book has five chapters. The first chapter outlines the historiography on the League of Nations and economics and deals with the historiography on the subject in the 1930s and the preparation of studies on international economic cooperation. The second chapter examines the origins of international organizations at the end of World War I, going back to the planning of economies during the war and the efforts of the bodies of economic cooperation among the Allies. Chapter Three illustrates the preparation of the 1920 Brussels International Finance Conference, and Chapter Four deals with the Conference's prospects and legacy. Chapter Five closely observes the functioning of the first economic body within the League of Nations, the Economic and Financial Organization, and its development from 1922 until 1927. These were crucial years for reparations and inter-allied debt. The book ends just before the great crash of 1929 and the founding of the Bank of International Settlements in Basle in 1930, a crucial stage in the history of international economic cooperation. For the history of the Bank of International Settlements, Gianni Toniolo's book (*Central Bank Cooperation at the Bank for International Settlements*, Cambridge 2005) is very useful and follows on from the pioneering studies by Paolo Baffi (1911-1989), the economist and central banker, which have been praised by Charles Poor Kindleberger. It is not surprising that Italians dedicate a lot of attention to this subject, in that two Italians played an important role in the founding of the Bank of International Settlements: Bonaldo Stringher (1854-1930), the Governor of the Bank of Italy, and Alberto Beneduce (1877-1944), a banker, businessman, highly esteemed government adviser and later founder of IRI.

After the bibliography and the list of primary sources, there is a valuable index of names. The book has the merit of assembling facts, institutions, doctrines and, especially, people, naming the officials and the experts involved in the operations. In particular it is on the names that international and national research can provide further studies. As this book shows, history, and often the continuity of institutions are built around names. One example of

many such is the Swede, Per Jacobsson (1894-1963): he was a member of the Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations from 1920 until 1928; in 1931 he became Head of the Economic and Monetary Department of the Bank of International Settlements, becoming responsible for the Bank's greatly valued Annual Report; after the war he was Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund for seven years, from 1956 until 1963. Jacobsson's is only one of the names that tell the story of the birth and the development of international economic cooperation, and there is no doubt that national historiographies can contribute further studies on the names and the connections between people and economies. Other names include: the Frenchmen Albert Thomas (1878-1932), the President of the International Labour Office, and Jean Monnet (1888-1979), the Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations who went on to become the father of European integration after the war; the Italians Alberto Pirelli (1882-1971), an entrepreneur on loan to Italy's economic and financial diplomacy, and Bernardo Attolico (1880-1942), a diplomat, at first Director of the Communications Sector and then Deputy Secretary of the League of Nations; the Englishmen Basil Blackett (1882-1935), a civil servant and a city businessman (1871-1950) and Henry Strakosch (1871-1943), a banker, a businessman and a government adviser, who was born in Austria but chose England as his adopted country; both were close friends of Montagu Norman (1871-1950), the Governor of the Bank of England. These are names of people whose biographies open up horizons on the study of economic history

The book under review is a contribution that opens or rather reopens issues that have been closed for a long time but which deserved to be re-examined in the light of current events. It depicts a world that shows the continuity of international economic institutions up to Bretton Woods and beyond i.e. up to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Both on a national and international level, the economic, political and moral disasters of World War II have for many years led us to view the breakdown of the politico-institutional system as coincidental to that of the socio-economic system, although this should by no means be taken for granted.

In this respect, the 1920s and the 1930s proved to be crucial for transport economics, monetary economics, the dawning of macroeconomics and statistic but also for the birth (and the limitations) of international economic cooperation. Today's notions of external and internal restraint can be seen to date back

to that time: external restraint in terms of the need to contain trends deeply rooted in national states (expansionism and protectionism) by means of agreements and treaties; internal restraint in terms of the general impossibility to do without others from the economic point of view, setting particular store by the necessity to control current-account balances budgets. This is today's world.

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Matteo Di Tullio, *La ricchezza delle comunità. Guerra, risorse, cooperazione nella Geradadda del Cinquecento*, Venice, Marsilio, 2011.

IN HIS FIRST BOOK, Matteo Di Tullio deals with the wars and upheavals in an area of Northern Italy, the Geradadda, in the first part of the sixteenth century, a period that was plagued by the so-called Italian Wars. The Geradadda was situated at the intersection of different states and jurisdictions, on the border between the state of Milan and the Venetian Republic. This made it a disputed territory of strategic importance, and so it was used continuously to house troops and for military manoeuvres, and was a constant object of attention by armies. The book aims to show how the region responded to this constant state of war by activating resources at a local level, making a detailed analysis of the various strategies pursued by some of the richest rural communities in the area.

The book is divided into two parts. The first, entitled "Fare politica", deals with how the Geradadda's rural communities were governed in the early sixteenth century. In particular, the author examines "the forming of a territory", in other words how the local elites built an area known as "the Geradadda". As Di Tullio points out: "The different layers of power in the area and the presence of the frontier make it difficult to understand what the term "the Geradadda" really meant for the people of the time" (p.30). Such an area was essentially ambiguous and subjected to the influence of very different forces, each of which provided a different interpretation of what the Geradadda was or what it should be. Of course, in this context local authorities were of great importance. Within this analytical framework, the author also proposes an interesting study of local officials, in particular the consuls.

It is especially interesting that the consuls were able to create new members

of the rural community by means of *vicinitas*. As Di Tullio points out: “By these means, the consuls of the community had the opportunity to create a new neighbour, and thus enable him to enjoy all the same rights as the “natives”” (p. 56), the right of owning goods being among the most important. And it is precisely at this point in the book that institutional history interlocks with economic history. The second part of the book is, in fact, an economic history of rural communities. It focuses mainly on the economic activities undertaken by the communities, divided into three areas: the collecting of taxes, spending and the redistribution of revenue.

Recent historiography has pointed out that such a specific focus on forms of institutional action leads to further insights into the life of early-modern communities. Contrary to what was thought until recently, the everyday life of rural communities was not rigidly regimented by statutes or constraints, but it enjoyed a decentralized freedom of action. In this context, the main concern of the communities described by Di Tullio was to reconcile the increase in taxation with the development of agriculture in a quasi-capitalist sense. In particular, the housing of troops was one of the biggest items of expenditure, and was funded mainly by loans from confraternities and other institutions.

Methodologically, the book is rather muddled, with Di Tullio mixing contributions from different historiographical traditions. In particular, he is fascinated by the microhistorical approach, but he also attempts to use less identifiable methods, more related to a quantitative economic history, such as the use of the Gini index to determine the distribution of wealth within some rural communities of the area. The use of this index in a study on the sixteenth century is somewhat surprising, but it proves to be effective, enabling us to have a better understanding of the dynamics of wealth in this period. The author himself qualifies his method as “glocal”, in other words, local and global. As some historians have recently pointed out (cf. Francesca Trivellato¹), the micro-scale can be a suitable alternative or, at least, a helpful complement to global history. The idea is to combine the observation of phenomena at the micro level with some themes and interests arising from global history (although no one knows precisely what global history is). Indeed, the Italian Wars are interpreted as being of European interest, since they had the effect of attracting the major international powers to a small, circumscribed territory

1. F. Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?' in *California Italian Studies Journal*, 2(1), 2011.

At least two other theoretical issues have influenced this research, re-working themes typical of neo-institutionalism and environmental history. The first of these is related to the idea of public-decision theorists about the great economic and social importance of public goods. Di Tullio considers these to be the true wealth of the Geradadda's rural communities, which were able, not only to maintain their commons but also to develop them.

The second is the idea of maximizing communal resources by resorting to loans from other institutions, such as the confraternities. The widespread availability of credit through confraternities allowed rural communities to keep ownership of communal property, despite the tax burden and the difficulties of the war period. In addition, they also ensured social cohesion and the sense of belonging which seem so necessary to preserve the very idea of "community". In the worst of the crisis, some of the most important municipal properties were, in fact, purchased by these specially-founded confraternities, which continued to take care of them and prevented the communal lands from being devastated by troops.

This is an interesting aspect of this book, which enables us to shed new light on the history of confraternities, for too long studied only from a religious point of view, without considering their great economic potential, especially in times of crisis and wars.

Overall, the themes touched on in this book are very well summarized by the subtitle: "*Guerra, risorse, cooperazione*" (Wars, Resources, Co-operation). The word "co-operation" may seem inappropriate in the context of early-modern Italy. In fact, it is a term commonly used by another field of historical enquiry which is focused on the analysis of co-operative organizations in the twentieth century. Di Tullio takes up recent theories in analyses of the early-modern period, in particular in the books by Ninness on Germany and by Carlsmith on schooling in Bergamo, which pay great attention to the idea of "co-operation" among communities under the Old Regime². In this context, the word "co-operation" means the ability to create institutions to maximize profits or, as in this case, to minimize both losses to society and the effects of economic crises (the reference to neo-institutionalist theory, which includes

2. C. Carlsmith, *A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic, 1500-1650* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 2010); R. Ninness, *Between Opposition and Collaboration. Nobles, Bishops, and the German Reformations in the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, 1555-1619* (Leiden-Boston, Brill 2011).

a number of attempts to show that institutions matter, is clear).

In this respect, the book makes an important contribution to rural history, which in recent years has experienced a great revival of interest in Italy. In particular, valuable contributions have been made by young researchers who have proposed a new kind of rural history, combining institutional history, economics, and micro-analytical observation³.

From this point of view, the most exciting aspect of the book is the analysis of a period which until now has been generally neglected by historians, the period of the Italian Wars; hitherto, with very few exceptions, only cultural historians have studied the period⁴. On the contrary, the author examines in detail this subject, using a fascinating but difficult source: the notarial deeds. This choice was obligatory because the municipal archives of the Geradadda do not have documentation on this period, but it also explains the difficulty of research, which required careful reconstruction, using sources scattered throughout a number of archives and notary practices.

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Renata Sabene, *La fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. Dinamiche internazionali e dimensione locale*, Rome, Gangemi Editore, 2012, pp. 240.

ST. PETER'S BASILICA IS PART and parcel of the history of Rome and its people. The centuries-long evolution of the original basilica built by the Emperor Constantine, its transformation and rebuilding in the modern age, the construction of the exterior, the decoration of the interior, and the restoration and maintenance carried out more recently not only characterize the image Rome has always projected towards the world, but are also salient features of everyone's perception of the city and its inhabitants. Although St. Peter's has

3. Cf. for example A. Stopani, *La production des frontières. État et communautés en Toscane (XVI-XVIII siècles)* (Rome, École française de Rome 2008); L. Giana, *Topografie dei diritti. Istituzioni e territorio nella Repubblica di Genova* (Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso 2011).
4. Cf. in particular *Città in guerra. Bologna nelle guerre d'Italia. Esperienze e riflessione del primo Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Bologna (10-11 novembre 2006)*, a cura di A. De Benedictis e G.M. Anselmi (Bologna, Minerva editrice 2006).

been widely studied from the historical and artistic point of view, until this book was published, insufficient attention had been paid to the complex administrative and organizational machinery, known as the Fabric of St. Peter's in the Vatican, which for five centuries has been in charge of its construction, rebuilding and maintenance and has been instrumental in tying the Basilica's history to that of the Eternal City and its territory.

Founded by Pope Julius II, the Fabric of St. Peter's in the Vatican was a highly-organized body. For the first time, Renata Sabene's research attempts a complete historical reconstruction of the Fabric from a local and international perspective, based on a vast and practically hitherto unpublished documentation. Analyzed as they developed over the centuries, the forms of managing the Fabric gradually delineate an efficient administrative and economic structure, capable of capitalizing building know-how in Rome at the time, and of generating new knowledge in the sector, as well as of drawing up a labour policy which was totally innovative compared to the practices of the time.

This is why this book overturns the conventional portrayal of the Fabric of St. Peter's (whose history is examined from its foundation until the end of the eighteenth century) as a static body because of the slowness of the construction work. Here we see a pre-modern enterprise, with an efficient organization, its own financing system, an independent labour policy and well-defined aims intent on stimulating technical innovation. Financially perspicacious, it was capable of handling complex diplomatic relations, such as those with the nations that made an economic contribution to the building of St. Peter's, and of integrating these relations, as the title of the book points out, with the local realities of the building-site.

The book distinguishes between structural and circumstantial aspects: the structural aspects refer to the continuity of the mandate of the Fabric of St. Peter's and to the juridical form chosen for the mandate; the circumstantial aspects involve the examination of the stages that have characterized its evolution throughout the modern age, and of how it adapted to the financial and organizational needs that arose over time. Until now, literature on the subject for the most part has presented sectoral research aimed mainly at a detailed study of individual aspects, but this book carries out a reconstruction that takes into account the complexity of the the Fabric of St. Peter's in its planning and logistical aspects, as well as in its spiritual aims.

The book is based both on the records of papal provisions, especially those

bulls dealing with the organization's legal regulation, the Fabric's purpose and its relations with the outside world, and on detailed, and for the most part hitherto unpublished, documentary sources, found in the Historical Archive of the Fabric of St. Peter's and consisting of account books, correspondence, memoirs, reports and administrative and technical documents. A careful analysis has enabled Sabene to correlate the facts that emerges from these documents, both with one another and with the provisions made, in order to present an overall picture that explains the various sectors of the Fabric and their development, taking into account both internal aspects (organizational and technical) regarding the life of the building site and external factors related to funding the enterprise.

In this respect, the analysis of fund-raising for St. Peter's is one of the main subjects of the book, with special reference to the Fabric of St. Peter's central role in the sale of indulgences for its economic requirements, although Sabene's reconstruction only partially confirms this role for the first decades of the sixteenth century. The research involving the correlation of data from unpublished sources and the events of sixteenth-century European history enables Sabene to document the hypothesis that the system of funding St. Peter's through the sale of indulgences – based on the juridical principle according to which the Fabrics was to help the poor and the infirm and to carry out architectural work on religious buildings through the collection of tithes and donations from the faithful – aroused the interest of Charles V. The Emperor negotiated first with Clement VII and then with Paul III, in order to obtain, in 1537, the exclusive right to collect donations for St. Peter's, with the Papal Bull of the Spanish Crusade, in exchange for a fixed annual contribution, which immediately proved to be considerably less than the monies raised from the sale of indulgences.

The reconstruction of the relations between the Fabric and the Spanish Crown has also highlighted the fierce disputes over the Spanish Crown's abuses regarding the sale of indulgences which, began as a fund-raising instrument to finance the war against the Turks but turned into a form of tax collection and became one of the most important sources of income of the *Real Hacienda*. Thus the vicissitudes of the Catholic Monarchy's contribution to the funding of the Fabric of St. Peter's throughout the second half of the sixteenth century were intertwined with the diplomatic confrontation between Philip II and the Holy See over the lawfulness of the crusades against

the infidels, until in 1571 Pius V issued the Bull of the Crusade to Spain and in 1591 Gregory XIV issued a similar Bull to Portugal. However the monies the Iberian monarchies allocated to the Fabric of St. Peter's soon proved to be insufficient when, in the reign of Paul V, Carlo Maderno's plans were approved and began to be carried out. The Fabric of St. Peter's set about finding new resources by means of a public-debt issue: in this way, through a careful management of financial instruments throughout the seventeenth century, the Fabric of St. Peter's guaranteed total sustainability of the budget for all the works undertaken, including Bernini's expensive works.

A second theme of the book is the analysis of the Fabric's legal structure, with the description of the governing bodies designed to provide an independent and functional management of the system. This aim was pursued through a series of events that took place over the years and which, on the one hand, maintained the independence of the Fabric of St. Peter's which was subject only to papal authority and, on the other hand, met the many, subsequent short-term building requirements. Sabene's reconstruction confirms the validity of Pope Julius II's ingenious intuition which proposed to reconcile the Church of Rome's spiritual and organizational requirements with the creation of bodies that were parallel to the central administration, such as the Fabric of St. Peter's and the Roman Food Board, clearly aimed at preserving the Pope's popularity.

This points to the existence of a political continuity in Papal administration, a much-debated subject in studies on Rome in the early-modern age: contrary to what has been stated regarding other aspects of the city's economic life, here Sabene identifies the existence of a plan steadily pursued by the Papacy, based on promoting building works at St. Peter's, and the steadfast reaffirmation of Rome as the cultural and artistic capital of modern Europe and as the centre of Christianity. This is very carefully reconstructed in the book with an analysis of the reforms which Clement VII and Sixtus V introduced to preserve the autonomy and the centrality of the Fabric of St. Peter's within the overall structure of the Papal state, albeit with apparently contrasting methods: Clement VII by means of a collective body, the Collegium, and Sixtus V with the creation of a Congregazione specially for this purpose.

Subsequent measures introduced by the Popes aimed at preserving the Fabric's mandate until the great eighteenth-century reforms of Benedict XIV and Pius VI who, in a more general European context of profound change, set

about rationalizing government machinery and the technical and logistical apparatus, handing down to future centuries an organization which was able to manage the complex administration of St. Peter's. Although the Church of Rome was not on the same wave-length as the ideologists of the Enlightenment, it did, however, interpret the new trend and the subsequent demand for reforms by modernizing the entire machinery of the Papal state's economic administration, which was mirrored in the drafting of new methods of government for the Fabric of St. Peter's.

A third theme, which emerges in the second part of the book, is the reconstruction of the Fabric's employment structure, based on two groups the *provisionati* and the manual workers, whose distinct roles, responsibilities and tasks are described. An examination of the account books reveals the methods of recruitment and of payment, wage levels and bonus system. Thus the author highlights the Fabric's new requirements that emerged in the eighteenth century and the policies introduced to meet those requirements. The promotion of continual training schemes is stressed, with all the technical expertise, which over the course of time proved necessary due to changes in taste and to technological progress. Specific attention is paid to analyzing the welfare policies implemented by the Fabric, especially to sustain salaries in periods of particular need, and the different forms of welfare for families and for the sick and the aged. The examination of training techniques, wage policies and welfare support fully confirm the features of a pre-modern enterprise.

In conclusion, Renata Sabene identifies a direct link between the reforms implemented in the Fabric of St. Peter's and the more general measures introduced in the administrative structure of the Papal state and points out the continuity in the pursuit of goals that mirrored the Papacy's political, diplomatic and spiritual interests. In this study there is very little room for the concept of inconsistency which has sometimes been associated with the policy practised by the Papacy in economic and administrative sectors. In this respect, the research offers an original and multi-disciplinary approach which is one of its most interesting aspects and paves the way for more research which will be able to take advantage of the valuable documentation housed in the Archive of the Fabric of St. Peter's.

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Eric Jabbari, *Pierre Laroque and the Welfare State in Postwar France*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, pp. 208.

PIERRE LAROQUE IS THE FATHER of French social security. Virtually single-handed, he drew up his plan meticulously, with full authorization from all the Ministers of Labour in office from 1944 to 1951, starting with Alexandre Parodi, and then implemented it, while chairing the French social security body for the period necessary to get the complex mechanisms under way. The Laroque Plan shows its author's vision of society and the basic principle – solidarity – which he constantly sought to apply. Pierre Laroque was an eminent administrative magistrate, and a member of the Council of State. A lecturer in administrative law in several universities, he chose to focus his teaching activity on training future social-security officials and administrative magistrates, continuing to lecture until he was advanced in years. Laroque died in 1997, aged ninety.

Laroque was a jurist who grasped the specific nature and the complexity of public economy, or rather, of that very important part of public economy relating to welfare and social justice, and sensed that the modern means to achieve this was through insurance, extended to all citizens. The major events of human life (death, disability, sickness, maternity, and industrial injury, to which should be added old age) were to be treated as risks, and the responsibility for their costs were to be borne *pro quota* by the whole of society, by labour itself and by capital, which had a personal interest in reducing the negative impact of such risks on continuity, availability, efficiency and labour flexibility. This industrially mature concept had been at the basis of Otto von Bismarck's invention of state welfare in Germany in the 1880s, which began the cycle that came to an end half a century later with the Beveridge Plan in 1942. After having spent three years in the Resistance movement in Lyons, in 1943 Pierre Laroque went to London, at that time the provisional capital of General Charles De Gaulle's Free France. There Laroque studied Beveridge's work. The exiled French government's Minister of Labour, Alexandre Parodi, and General De Gaulle himself instructed Laroque to devise and set up the new general social-security system. The political motivation came from the desire to compete against the social legislation of Marshal Pétain's regime and to undermine any supremacy held by that regime. The provisional government had to express great ideals in its options in order to give rise to the Fourth Republic. The political situation saw to it that Laroque had full planning

powers. Within a few weeks Laroque completed the draft of a very complete plan with an unprecedented broadness of horizons and solutions.

In his book *Pierre Laroque and the Welfare State in Postwar France*, Eric Jabbari examines the antecedents, the basic principles and the various aspects of a comprehensive plan where no stone was left unturned. He sees Laroque's concept as the result of a combination of factors: his experience as a distinguished member of the French administrative law machinery, which was the leader of civil law in Europe; his experience as a specialist in social policies, participating in the drafting of the social security plan in the 1930s that he himself was ready to criticize after having anticipated its shortcomings; his belief in corporatism and in the crucial relationship between capital and labour that was to be completely rebuilt; the role of state intervention from an "interventionist" point of view; the need for long-term considerations and a long-term vision; the quest for the best way to achieve administrative decentralization; the direct involvement of citizens as the beneficiaries of welfare.

In order to understand the French social-security system of the Laroque Plan, we must begin with the 1928-1930 legislation on national insurance, the last measures to reflect both the ideas of Catholic and Socialist solidarity and the influence of so many lobbies, starting with the health-insurance associations and the doctors' lobby. These lobbies had been decisive in shaping social security legislation, leading to an excessively complex administrative system based on health-insurance associations. Pierre Laroque had tackled these issues when, as a young public official, he had contributed to the final draft of the legislation in the early 1930s: it was this experience which convinced him that such a system was inevitably destined to be radically reformed within a few years.

Pierre Laroque had studied at the Law Faculty of the Sorbonne and at the Free School of Political Sciences during the 1920s. It was in that period that he became fascinated by administrative law, a discipline which at that time was involved more than any other in modernizing and profoundly changing the role of the state in European countries, and in particular in France. Famous jurists, such as Léon Duguit and above all Maurice Hariou, influenced the French vision of administrative law, supported the institutionalist school (whose internationally-recognized leader was the Italian, Santi Romano), and were not afraid to tackle the big issues raised by public economy and social economy.

In the 1930s, many of Laroque's contemporaries become convinced that the Third Republic had failed comprehensively to solve the many social, polit-

ical and economic problems that France had to face in the period between the two World Wars. And so the corporatism proposal found fertile ground. It was in this context that Laroque took part in the debates organized by associations and centres of influence that put him in contact with the technocratic and neo-socialist movements of the time. At the end of the 1930s, Laroque was considered the greatest expert in the field of industrial relations and his vast activity in cultural promotion culminated in the publication of his book, *Les rapports entre patrons et ouvriers*, in 1938.

Marshal Pétain's regime immediately sought Laroque's collaboration on social-policy issues, on which it wagered a lot politically (rather like the future Italian Social Republic's sensitivity to social or quasi-social matters) and he received it. During the first months of the Vichy government, Laroque helped with drafting the legislation that introduced the *comités d'organisation*, and contributed to the failed attempts to carry out corporative policies and policies to reform the social-security system. Expelled from the public administration because of his Jewish origins, he moved to Lyons where he joined the Resistance movement. In the spring of 1943, he joined De Gaulle in London at the headquarters of the Free France movement, and was immediately given the task of training the administrative personnel that were to take over managing state machinery in the areas which were to be liberated after the Allied landings. In the autumn of 1944, Laroque's return to civilian life was arranged, and the Minister for Labour immediately informed him that he had been appointed Director General of Social Insurance.

The following months saw the development of the Laroque Plan. He intended, on the one hand, to rationalize the system of social insurance, and, on the other, to make the social security system universal. His proposals gave rise to hostile reactions among the mutual aid societies and the Christian trade unionists, because they aimed to create a *caisse unique*, destined to put an end to the managerial and administrative pluralism that had begun with the 1928-30 legislation. This opposition was not successful and failed to change the essence of the measures: the Plan was launched with the decrees of October 1945.

At the end of 1946, the reformist drive that had caught on at the dawn of the Liberation suddenly slowed and the attempt to extend old-age insurance to the entire population clashed with the outbreak of generalized protests from various socio-economic groups. They challenged French-social security's principles of solidarity and its redistributionist aims. Their worries were overcome

by the creation of a social-security system that was organized according to employment. Failure was due to the revival of considerable social tension in the climate of persistent economic difficulties. However, it also showed that the social security plan was marked by utopian ambitions that were destined to lead to disappointments and frustration in the face of post-war France's harsh social and economic situation.

The 1945 Laroque plan arose from the interaction between institutional considerations and ideological influences, albeit outside any logic of political militancy, and it confirmed the fact that Pierre Laroque always remained faithful to the principles he had been the first to embrace during the early part of his career. Moreover, the unsuccessful realization of the universal system of old-age insurance made it clear that a hugely important plan must not be subject to the *sine qua non* condition of full consent.

Jabbari's worthy publication neglects to examine one essential aspect: Laroque's vast understanding of the economy and his knowledge of the mechanisms of public economy and the state budgets which few others had. Moreover, the confirmation, albeit partial, that he was a man capable of taking top-level economic decisions is to be found in the fact that, between 1953 and 1967, Laroque was twice president of the National Social Security Fund. Laroque's training was not only based on his insurance and actuarial background, but also practical commitment to guaranteeing economic equilibrium. In this economic interpretation of Laroque's work, Jabbari's merit is his insistence on the underlying corporative idea, the dynamics of capital and of labour, and their interrelationship.

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