

C. BARGELLI, *Pauperismo, Economia e Società a Modena nei secoli XVII-XVIII*, Betinelli Stampa, Verona, 1998, pp.238.

The aim of this study is to give an outline of Modena's economy and society in the first few decades preceding the period of reform, with a special focus on a problem which was a burning issue at that time: the impoverishment of increasing segments of the population. Up until now, the period in question had never been examined very closely by historians, who were perhaps more interested in the subsequent period of reformism which was to flourish and find a very fertile ground in the Este Duchy.

Having dug very deeply into archival sources and on the basis of an extensive bibliography, Bargelli attempts to get beyond the more superficial aspects of the problem on which contemporary literary sources themselves dwelled with a rich store of detail. Here it should be stressed that in the course of centuries there was a drastic change in the general attitude towards paupers which from "medicine for the soul" gradually became identified as disgusting parasites on society. Bargelli, on the other hand, manages to identify at least some of the structural causes of such a widespread and seemingly irreversible condition of social morbidity whose more visible symptoms included infant mortality, the abandonment of new-born babies, the spread of "need-motivated crime" and the repeated and unsuccessful attempts to curb it.

In this respect, the study of rural property estimates is very useful, in particular the analysis of changes in the distribution of landed property which show an increasing concentration of land in the hands of aristocrats and nobles, and a consequent widespread impoverishment of vast segments of rural society (dispossessed of their small holdings) which inevitably swelled the ranks of the *intra muros* beggars.

Thus, the grave crisis in the city's manufacturing industry - which was being stifled by the controls exercised by the old craft guilds - and the resulting drastic fall in demand (emblematic was the decline in the once-flourishing textile industry) gave rise to a high rate of unemployment which indirectly led to the spread of mendicancy.

The last part of the work centres on Ludovico Antonio Muratori and especially on his strenuous efforts to combat pauperism, tackling it at its roots by supporting the Duchy's economy and employing paupers in workhouses.

One of the lesser-known aspects of the work of the native of Vignola was the founding of a lay charity - *Compagnia della Carità* - which from the early 1720s sought to bring widespread material and spiritual relief to the needy and, at the same time, offered its support to the city's languishing industries.

Among the most important actions of the Charity was the founding of a new pawnbroking firm which aimed to alleviate the scourge of usury. Muratori also drew up plans for a new hospital as part of a wider programme of alms distribution according to the different categories of people receiving assistance

(the different way of treating the so-called "shameful poor" is very revealing)

Bargelli traces the evolution in thinking about social welfare in the Este Duchy from Muratori to the *philosophe* Ludovico Ricci, stressing the increasing use of statistical and quantitative instruments to assess the multifaceted world of indigence, in full agreement with the rationalist spirit of the Century of Enlightenment.

In conclusion we can say that a complex but compact picture emerges which fits well into the troubled and at times contradictory events that marked the transition from the end of the Counter Reformation to the first reforms of the late eighteenth century.

The book is enriched by around forty tables which have been drawn up on the basis of a thorough analysis of the numerous and diverse sources consulted by Bargelli, including parish records, property estimates and guild registrations. Wishing to give an overall view of the heuristic material he has consulted, much of which is completely new, Bargelli neglects to give a critical presentation of such sources, which is a shame. Perhaps his style, too, is at times a little too insistent, as in the excessive use of inverted commas, but generally speaking this is a very readable text with useful results that are built on very sound foundations.

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L. J. CORONA VIDA, *La economía agraria de las tierras de Jaén (1500-1650)*, Universidad de Granada, 1994, pp. 423.

The book under review is dedicated entirely to the agrarian economy in the Jaén region, an area in South Spain. It is subdivided into nine chapters which provide a complete picture of the geographical and agricultural/stock-raising situation in the province, as well as focusing on the conditions of landowners.

The first three chapters deal with the distribution of landed property, that is: land belonging to municipal authorities, land belonging to the Church and land belonging to private citizens - nobles, middle class or ordinary peasants. In particular, Corona Vida points out that public land was divided into *baldíos* (uncultivated land belonging to the Crown but of communal use), *comunes* and *proprios*. The latter two belonged to the municipal authorities: *comunes* were used by the whole community while *proprios* (which might include dues) were administered directly by the municipal authorities, often with the intention to speculate and always with the aim to raise enough funds to sustain local expenses.

Alongside municipal property was ecclesiastical land which included a vast quantity of dues, real estate and movables. Church land had grown over time largely as a result of donations which tended to soar in times of crisis, such as during the plague in the fourteenth century. Sometimes, however, church

property increased as a result of purchases and other financial operations carried out by religious bodies. The most wealthy institutions in the area were the *Sede episcopal* and the *Mesa Capitolar* of the Cathedral of Jaén but, according to Coronas Vida, among the old and new regular orders which had sprung up in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, several had their share of ecclesiastical property as a result of donations, alms and the dowries brought by newly ordained members when they entered the order. Finally we should also mention the founding of confraternities, charitable institutions, hospitals, hospices and other institutions with religious and social aims. These were very important in a country like Spain in which people relied on the services of such bodies in order to ensure that they would have a "place in paradise". As Coronas Vida writes, Spain "superò a cualquier país europeo en el número de misas que se encargaban en los testamentos" (p.88).

Lastly Coronas Vida looks at "propiedades particulares", first and foremost feudal property which was often the precondition for the creation of feudal power since the possession of a territory was at times sufficient for the creation of a fief when there were very few vassals. The nobles sought to extend their own privileges when they could, often entering into conflict with neighbouring communities; according to Coronas Vida, the growth of the Andalusian *latifundium* owed less to reconquest and more to developments in the later middle ages when the nobility took advantage of the central government's moments of weakness to buy land and usurp crown property. The nobility was usually very jealous of its privileges and aimed to perpetuate them, seeking to hand them down to their heirs using such institutions as birthright which is dealt with in detail in the book. However, despite such efforts to maintain their predominant position, over the years the nobility became caught up in a continuous and almost relentless process of indebtedness.

The chapter on *propiedades particulares* ends with a brief mention of some cases of wealth belonging not only to nobles but also to commoners and to affluent middle-class families, who saw in the purchase of land not only a means of investment but also what might be the only opportunity to rise in social status. However, this was only a very small part of the population engaged in agricultural activities and animal husbandry, most of whom consisted of peasants who owned a small piece of land and farmed the land of others, and daily labourers who sold their labour to others. In the seventeenth century the process of proletarianisation intensified with the impoverishment of small-holders and an increase in the number of daily labourers and beggars.

As far as the extension of cultivated land is concerned, Coronas Vida considers *roturaciones controladas* and the fact that during the sixteenth and seventeenth century new lands were continuously put under the plough. This was largely a spontaneous and illegal process in the sixteenth century, although at the end of the century and throughout the subsequent century it was often authorised by the Crown which saw it as a way of relieving the population from

increasing taxation. In reality such royal authorisations were mostly temporary but as time went on the population were reluctant to abandon land they had begun to farm and gradually took over possession. There were many reasons for ploughing up new land: apart from the traditional need for land, *roturaciones* might be introduced to increase or provide new grain supplies, to use in times of scarcity, for social purposes, to pay religious bodies for alms and so on. In addition *roturaciones* were used by the Crown as a means to lighten a community's fiscal burden, a burden which became increasingly heavy after 1590 for military reasons, with the rebuilding of the fleet which had been destroyed during the expedition of the Armada, the outbreak of the Thirty Years War and the revolts in Catalonia and Portugal.

Cultivated land was also extended through the usurping of uncultivated crown lands. However when open fields were usurped and put under the plough by one or more persons who denied all other persons access to the usurped land, there were general protests, not only by the owners of large herds but also by the whole community. Nonetheless in most cases experience taught that the practice of usurping land received a legitimation from the Crown due to its sales of usurped land. In practice, Crown policy oscillated between protecting the interests of the owners of large herds, on the one hand, which implied promoting wool exports, and on the other hand protecting the interests of farmers and a growing population which could only feed itself by ploughing up new land. Lastly the area of cultivated land could be enlarged through the sale of common lands, an expedient to which the Crown resorted in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in its attempt to grapple with the problems arising from a disastrous financial situation.

Apart from his analysis of land ownership and use, Coronas Vida also makes a thorough enquiry into agriculture, that is, the various kinds of crop farmed. These included corn - the population's staple food - vines which were very important in a wine-exporting country like Spain, a wide range of vegetables and finally olives, the typical product of the Mediterranean.

As regards livestock raising, Coronas Vida stresses the distinction between animals which were *estante*, *riberiego* and *trashumante*. The first group of animals usually grazed in a well-defined area and stayed there; the second group was often ready to move to pastures in neighbouring areas; the last group made much longer journeys to even more remote areas. Transhumance was widely practised in Spain, although in the Jaén region livestock raising was largely of the stable type. Despite this, transhumant animals arrived in the region from other areas of the Iberian peninsula. There were numerous cases of conflict between stable and transhumant animal husbandry during the early-modern period, although eventually the former prevailed, largely through the support of Charles III in the eighteenth century.

Part of the book deals with common grazing land, the use of which was subject to various rules. The municipal authorities were often concerned with regulating the use of such land, generally forbidding the herds of neighbouring

communities access to its own land, although sometimes allowing access if they wished to raise revenue by selling grazing land. Nonetheless, the common use of grazing land came under attack on various fronts: by communities which often sought to enclose and farm out their lands to meet increasing tax demands; by landowners who sought increasingly to enclose their own land, often with the aim to protect crops. Once the crops had been harvested, the land was usually left free for grazing. This was not so much an obligation as a right based on co-ownership which was justified by the necessity for all animals to take advantage of the grass left over after the harvest. The importance of this practice is underlined: during the sixteenth century when it led to the enclosure of open fields - as Bernal points out in his *Economía e historia de los latifundios* - which was part of a phase of transition from feudal to capitalist agriculture with the full affirmation of private ownership rights. If, on the one hand, the Catholic Kings pursued a policy which was contrary to the closure of open fields, thereby hoping to encourage a form of agricultural development that was congenial to more stable systems of livestock raising, in the eighteenth century there was a tendency to encourage enclosure, for by then the time was ripe for such radical change.

The last chapter deals with the exploitation of mountainous areas which were economically significant as far as the procurement of timber was concerned, a material which had a plethora of uses in an Old-Regime society, such as for building and as fuel. The chapter also briefly considers hunting, fishing and bee-keeping. In conclusion we can say that *Coronas Vida* provides us with a very complete picture of the agrarian economy in the Jaén region and a very thorough synthesis which highlights, on the one hand, the very great influence exercised by the nobility and, more generally, the oligarchy on the land, and on the other, the increasing impoverishment of communities whose populations, under demographic pressure, sought to extend the amount of cultivated land but who were eventually overwhelmed by an unendurable regime of taxation as a result of the Crown's military policy.

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Naples

R. N. Juliani, *Building Little Italy: Philadelphia's Italians before Mass Migration*. Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1998, pp. XXIII-398.

In previous writings, Richard N. Juliani has addressed a number of issues concerning the religious and social life as well as the ethnic identity of Italian Americans in Philadelphia in the past one hundred years. In the ambitious work under review, he broadens the time perspective and explores the dynamics of the establishment of Philadelphia's Little Italy from the arrival of the first Italian immigrant to this city (John Palma, a musician who was active in town circa

1757) to the 1870s. The outcome is an important and remarkable volume that carries forward the agenda of Italian-American social history. Juliani focuses on a rather neglected aspect of the Italian experience in North America and introduces a significant quantitative dimension into the study of Italian immigration in the colonial antebellum and early postbellum period.

Although community studies have been the most appealing mode of inquiry into the Italian presence in North America since the emergence of the so-called ethnic revival in the late 1960s and 1970s, few works have covered the early stages of the formation of Little Italies in the decades that preceded mass immigration [see, e.g. Deanna Paoli Gumina, *The Italians of San Francisco*, 1978; George Pozzetta, "The Mulberry District of New York City," in Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci (eds), *Little Italies in North America*, 1981]. In addition, earlier works have usually failed to provide quantitative information on Italian pioneers to urban America beyond the material easily inferred from the published reports of the federal censuses. At the same time, the study of Italian immigration before the 1880s has long been dominated by a filopietistic approach that has almost exclusively confined its interest to the Italian cultural contributions to American civilization. The absence of theory and quantitative analysis has limited these latter works to impressionistic assertions about the achievements of a few outstanding personalities of Italian origin.

Contrary to such trends, Juliani provides a detailed socio-economic and demographic profile of the Italian community in Philadelphia prior to late nineteenth-century mass immigration. He draws mainly on the manuscript population schedules for the censuses of 1850, 1860 and 1870, and supplements these data with information from a wide array of local archival sources that include will books, court records and baptismal registers. From this and other primary material, Juliani reconstructs the geographical origins of Italian immigrants to Philadelphia, the family structure of the community and the distribution of the Italian population by age, sex and parental nativity. He also offers figures on the real estate and personal wealth of Italian-born individuals. By the mid-1860s, the great bulk of the city's Italian residents had roots in Liguria, specifically in the areas around Genoa, Chiavari, Bobbio and Tortona. Furthermore, the average household had both spouses born in Italy and American-born children – evidence that the Italian settlement had achieved some stability.

Juliani also outlines the emergence of a sizeable middle class within the local Little Italy and the occupational change that affected the community in the years that followed the end of the Civil War. Most of the early Italian settlers in the second half of the eighteenth century were either artists or musicians, the latter both performers and teachers. As late as 1860, musicians still made up 35 per cent of the city's 189 Italian immigrants who had an occupation and exerted an almost unchallenged monopoly on jobs as organ-grinders in the town. In the years after the end of the Civil War, however, disabled veterans became street musicians and pushed Italian organ-grinders out of the market. As a result, in

1870, musicians accounted for only 7 per cent of Philadelphia's workers of Italian birth and were replaced by agents – a broad category including owners and managers of manufacturing firms as well as clerks employed in retail shops and fruit vendors – as the major occupational group. Agents made up 12 per cent of the Italian workforce in 1860 but 46 per cent ten years later. This change in the pattern of employment also resulted from the economic changes that transformed Philadelphia into a major manufacturing city after the Civil War. In the early postbellum years, Italian immigrants included successful entrepreneurs like Lorenzo L. Nardi, a former *figurinaio* from Lucca who introduced plaster hat blocks, and Frank Cuneo, whose Macaroni and Vermicelli Works became one of the first major business establishments in the community catering to both the population of Italian descent and Philadelphians of Anglo-Saxon ancestry.

Juliani has undertaken extensive archival research in the United States but he has made little use of the large quantity of primary sources available in Italy. Although they have focused on mass migration after the late 1870s, studies by Dino Cinel (*From Italy to San Francisco*, 1982), Donna Gabaccia (*From Sicily to Elizabeth Street*, 1984) and Italian scholars (see, e.g., Riccardo Scartezzini, Roberto Guidi and Anna Maria Zaccaria, *Tra due mondi*, 1994) have revealed the importance of these records for a better understanding of the Italian immigration experience in North America. The push factors that forced Italians to leave their native country, beginning in the late 1870s, had very strong economic origins but we need further research into the causes of emigration in the previous decade. Juliani points out that hardly any of the Italians who settled in Philadelphia before the 1880s left the motherland for political reasons. After reading *Building Little Italy*, however, we still do not know what specific motives led Italians to Philadelphia, how they learned about the opportunities available overseas, and why they came mainly from Liguria and not from other northern regions. While the volume would have gained additional strength from a deeper investigation into migration patterns, it is nonetheless enhanced by an extensive review essay that covers studies on the whole course of the history of Italians in Philadelphia from colonial times to the 1990s.

In 1870, 2,793 Italians lived in New York City, 1,621 in San Francisco, 552 in Chicago, and 516 in Philadelphia. They were only 263 in Boston – the other main Little Italy on the East Coast. Philadelphia, therefore, was home to the fourth largest Italian settlement in the United States. The history of the formative years of this Italian community deserved full treatment. Richard N. Juliani has not only written such a study but has also provided a work whose methodological approach will also offer insights and guidelines for further research into the early stages of the Italian experience in North America. One hopes that another volume will cover the period of mass immigration from Italy to Philadelphia.

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D. F. Lindenfeld, *The Practical Imagination. The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1997, pp.X-382.

It has to be admitted that to review a book like David Lindenfeld's we must revise what we have learned over the years, first at school about the philosophy of Kant and Marx, about positivism in general, and about modern and contemporary European history, and then what we learned in more specialised studies about economics and economic sociology. There is no doubt that we are dealing with a very learned book, which makes an extremely valuable contribution to intellectual history. Both the subject matter and the different aspects Lindenfeld has researched are extremely original and of great use. Lindenfeld is an expert on the changes brought about by positivism. Using a mine of information found in state and university archives and in private correspondence, and analysing lectures given in German universities, Lindenfeld has reconstructed the origins of the specialisations that appeared in Germany towards the end of the eighteenth century and became part of the professional training of public officials and government administrators. These disciplines - economics, statistics, politics, public administration, finance and laws - as well as agriculture, forestry and mining engineering - played a fundamental role in changing society at the time. Lindenfeld studies their origins and how these systems of knowledge disappeared and gave way to new forms, and how some of them were transformed into new disciplines.

This book is therefore a study of applied rationalism in Germany. It goes over the stages of the development of German political, economic and social philosophy, known as *staatswissenschaften*, the Sciences of State. The state had to have administration with civil servants who were able to do their work well, and the professional training of staff guaranteed this. The type of applied rationalism described here differs from the rationalism of modern western societies associated with the Machiavellian approach: this considers politics an art based on both personal interrelationships and on intuition. In this way the rules of government were the result of studying concrete cases of interaction and fighting among princes or between princes and their subjects. Interaction of this kind was based fundamentally on personal vices or virtues, whereas studies in applied rationality consider the art of governing more impersonal, a sort of administration of a company consisting of both people and things.

In Germany the attempt to systematise applied learning for bureaucratic training in universities was very necessary. The growth of Prussian bureaucracy, its social composition and its political role have been widely studied. The predominance of the aristocracy in its higher ranks, especially during the reign of Wilhelm, is very important, and the subsequent support given to the Nazi regime's civil service cannot be denied. The history of *staatswissenschaften* has encouraged the study of many connections between knowledge and power.

Lindenfeld sets them out before the reader again, beginning with the spread of the doctrines of cameralism, which he puts forward as the German version of mercantilism. The latter originated as a set of practical solutions in response to specific situations rather than as an unambiguous trend of thought.

Lindenfeld's study covers a number of areas that range from revolutionary political writings to journalism, from university lectures to political trends, and from political philosophy to economics and statistics. The importance of taking into account the general conditions of civilisation in the country emerges, along with the view that the central power should recover its coercive authority and power to rule on very specific issues (but issues that regard the welfare of the greatest number), to attack hierarchical particularism and legal practices and claims. This was the central core of the science of state, where the impulse to reform the economy and government finances, education and even religion depended on the public power's desire to rationalise and provide equilibrium and on a group of officials who were highly motivated ethically and politically, and competent in economics and social science. However, alongside the state's modernising initiative, *staatswissenschaften* did not overlook the importance of the consensus of public opinion: the delicate path of mediating between the two extremes of abstract theory and the everyday routine of governing lay both in recognising society's demands and appreciating the significance of events and developments that were taking place at that time in England, the United States and Russia.

The reference to the value of administrative procedure, and the need to anchor the reform project to it can be seen, according to Lindenfeld, in the philosophy of Foucault and Bourdieu. The wish to concentrate every effort in the administrative sector, with the risk of losing sight of a coherent modernising plan, was the consequence of being aware of how backward the country was, how little those social forces interested in change counted and how insecure the monarchies were.

In particular, Northern German society as a whole was so entrenched that it was almost impossible to modernise it without having to use disruptive means that would have caused unforeseeable consequences. It was the external pressure of the French Revolution, with its army and its ideology, that modified, at least partially, the terms of the question. The Napoleonic period was the German answer to the French Revolution, and the tenets of Kant's philosophy and Smith's economy were assimilated. Commercial sciences were specialised disciplines, such as agriculture, forestry, technology and trade. They were supplemented by political sciences, statistics and German economic theory. State sciences reached their peak between 1815 and 1840, and Lindenfeld analyses their institutional background in Southern Germany and Saxony, and notes how fragmented state science was in Northern Germany.

Of all the countries involved in the first wave of industrialisation, Germany was the last to be involved. Poor and backward in the first half of the nineteenth

century, the politically divided state was also mainly rural and agricultural. The small industries in Saxony, Silesia and the Rhineland were mainly artisan or proto-industrial. Moreover, the precarious nature of transport and communications hindered economic development, and the existence of many different political entities, each with its own monetary system, trade policy and other impediments to commerce was the cause of future delays.

However, before the outbreak of the First World War, the German Empire, by then unified, was the most powerful industrial nation in Europe. It had the biggest and most modern industries in the iron and steel sector, the machine sector and the chemical sector, and the biggest and most modern electricity plants. Germany's coal production was second only to that of Britain, and Germany led the field in the production of glass, optical instruments, non-ferrous metals, textiles and other manufactured products. The German railway network was one of the most extensive in Europe, and Germany had a high degree of urbanisation.

For a country in such rapid expansion, with an increasing demand for raw materials and market outlets, the role that the balance of power in Europe conceded to Germany risked becoming smaller and smaller, and the temptation to shatter it ever more pressing.

Germany was, moreover, the country where - during the last decades of the nineteenth century - the state assumed the greatest economic, political and social responsibilities. In 1878 the period of state intervention in the economy began with Bismark and his protectionist measures which marked the end of the free trade period. The "defence of national labour" became the government's essential task, and the idea of a national economy became a unifying password to which individual - and often contrasting - economic interests were subordinated. In the international field, the German state never made a secret of considering foreign trade as an extension of foreign policy, and *vice versa* foreign policy as an extension of foreign trade. The nation's power was used on several occasions to protect German foreign investments that were threatened by the economic or political situation of the countries involved; on the other hand, the presence of German enterprises abroad was used on several occasions to extend the Reich's political influence beyond the nation's borders. The German state took on new economic functions on the domestic front, especially with "social" expenditure for education and social security, both sectors in which Germany held advanced views. Moreover, the close integration between the Reichsbank, political power and private financial power ensured a form of permanent circulation of information and continuous consultation between political power and economic power that contrasted openly with the strict division of labour, one of the bases of liberal ideology.

One of the most important transformations that accompanied rationalisation in production was the new role attributed to science in industry. For the whole of the nineteenth century, despite undoubted progress, scientific research had

been considered a branch of learning of scant practical use, and was associated with philosophy. Technological innovations had been largely left to the invention of the individual, and to the changes that technologies underwent during the production process, as a result of experience and the creative contributions of the more qualified workers.

The development of scientific education was closely connected with science's new role in production. In 1883, Germany had about 100 polytechnic institutes (schools at university level for training technicians) with about 6,000 students (although the number of students increased enormously in subsequent years). University development was equally impressive: the universities produced thousands of graduates in scientific disciplines, indispensable, for example, for the development of the chemical and electrical industries. Another important feature of German science was the close collaboration between the universities and industry, especially in the field of chemistry: industry commissioned research from university laboratories and made its laboratories and libraries available for university research; reviews, seminars and scientific conferences were places where pure scientists and industrial scientists met and discussed together all the time.

Although industry was the main stimulus for scientific development in Germany, political power played a significant part too. Not only economic interests were at stake. It was soon understood that science could have a military use, and so the development of national science became one of the indispensable instruments for strengthening arms potential.

It should be remembered that the cultural climate of the era encouraged a form of scientific patriotism, especially in continental Europe: therefore the development of research in one's own country became an important aspect of national pride. All the practical ideologies which appeared in that period sought a so-called scientific basis for credibility - from the reactionary doctrines of the anti-Semites and the most chauvinist supporters of colonialism (that were based on a presumed "science of race") to the Marxism of the social democratic parties which often linked itself to evolutionism. And it is significant that, of the two definitions Marx gave his doctrine, "scientific socialism" has become used universally, whereas "critical socialism" was immediately forgotten. Even traditional liberalism wrapped itself in new scientific credibility: the evolutionist principle of the selection of the fittest was called upon to support the need for *laissez-faire*, that is to say, to re-express in scientific terms Adam Smith's old message.

It was not merely appealing or fashionable. The importance that science acquired in the culture of the time reflected both its importance in production and the development of new scientific research on society and the human world in general, research destined to modify profoundly the system of knowledge. On the other hand, there was the attempt, begun by Marx, to found an autonomous science dealing specifically with relationships among people, based

on the research of the early economists and the logic introduced by Hegel. On the other hand, and often in opposition to Marx's research, there were many attempts to apply to specific sectors of human activity ideas and theories originating in natural sciences. In particular, the application of medical theories about the human body to social organisation was essential for the development of sociology which held itself up as the main instrument for learning about society.

At the same time, scientific research on human language was developed, especially in France. The human world was broken down into separate fields and activities, each of which was the subject of a different kind of research. On the whole, all these sciences (except Marx's research) were connected with a dominant philosophic trend, positivism, which originated in the France of Louis-Philippe, but which spread throughout the world in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. Positivism was a doctrine which argued that man can learn about all aspects of the world and all aspects of life by using strictly scientific instruments, as in natural sciences. In many countries the new social sciences were considered the key to a rigorous knowledge of the human world. However, in Germany the attempt to systematise applied learning for bureaucratic training in the universities clashed with the social composition of German bureaucracy, which was not at all based on egalitarian principles.

The history of *staatswissenschaften* is associated with the many connections between knowledge and power, both in the strict sense of knowledge in the service of power (i.e. the training of administrators who carry out the head of state's orders) and in the sense developed by Michel Foucault who saw in systems of knowledge the instruments of specific forms of domination which spread throughout a society. Foucault does not refer to a unitary and all-absorbing power; he refers to a plurality of power strategies that dominate and condition the formation of learning about the "body". In society there are a series of micro-devices for checking and identifying learning, for producing knowledge and organising strategies for domination. So power for Foucault is to be understood not as a repressive judicial system but as the organisation of learning where the individual and his subjectivity are also the effects of power.

Given the importance of the economic factors in the crisis decades after 1914, Lindenfeld ends his book with a cursory examination of the role the academic sciences of state played in those events. As was to be expected, the patriotic euphoria of the early years of the war led to the wide application of *staatswissenschaften*. Many economists were actively involved in what could be called the visionary aspects of German politics in those years i.e. formulating policies for the expansion of Germany that would follow military victory. Many economists, especially the younger ones, were already thinking of the post-war period in capitalist terms. At the same time, war revealed all the deficiencies of bureaucracy when it came to applied rationality. One particular case was agricultural policy: like Great Britain and France, during the war Germany did

not manage to provide food for the civilian population and there was no doubt that bureaucratic inefficiency was partially responsible for this situation. The role of fertilisers in production was simply ignored, and the effects of price control on the general system of prices were underestimated. All this produced a need for a training school for German economists who were judged too "theoretical". The answer after the critical years from 1900 to 1920 was that theory was reconciled with practice, especially the theory of the balance of payments and so-called quantitative theory.

The book's conclusions stress the importance of a classification based on a distinct synthesis of systematisation and simplification. Writing this book, Lindenfeld has identified new strategies that emerged with a certain regularity every twenty-five years. These were determined, of course, partly by changes brought about in Germany and partly by generation trends that were prompted by the very structural methods being adopted.

ROSSELLA DEL PRETE

Benevento

L. A. Ribot Garcia - L. De Rosa (eds), *Ciudad y mundo urbano en la Época Moderna*, ACTAS Editorial, Madrid, 1997, pp 354.

The fruit of one of the seminars which since 1993 - with the exception of 1993 - have been held annually at the University of Valladolid (Spain) in the first week of July in collaboration with the *Istituto Italiano per Studi Filosofici di Napoli*, this book is a collection of essays by Italian and Spanish historians who in 1995 delivered papers on issues regarding urban history in the early modern era, with special emphasis on Castile and Italy.

In the opening essays Castile the main focus. The first work is by F.J. Vela Santamaria (*El sistema urban del norte de Castilla en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*). The author sets out to demonstrate the existence of a "hierarchical system" of settlements in the northern part of the Spanish region; these were urban centres surrounded by countryside forming a single system whose centre was Valladolid, the "regional capital". The towns grew up as centres in which the landed classes resided, consuming their revenues and promoting the growth of an urban market which satisfied their needs for goods and services as well as those of the peasants who found an excellent market for their agricultural products in the towns. After the sixteenth century, however, the system broke down, mainly because the countryside - on which an increasingly large urban population depended for its food supplies - failed to sustain the growth of urban centres. This explains the slow decline of towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth century after having flourished at least until the second half of the sixteenth century (D.S. Rcher, *Auge y declive del mundo urbano de la Corona de Castilla durante la Edad Moderna. Aspectos de un reajuste de largo alcance*).

Examining in more detail the conditions of urban Castile we cannot forget the confraternities, hospitals, charities and institutions which together formed the system of care and welfare provided for the indigent classes. The system was largely left to private initiative which had to provide for the material and spiritual relief of all the poor who flocked to towns in large numbers. E.A. B. Marcos Martín (*El sistema de caridad organizado en las ciudades castellanas del Antiguo Régimen*) stresses the attraction of towns among the less well-off classes as a result of the welfare facilities they offered, facilities which, moreover, also had the purpose of mitigating social tensions and class conflict. Such conflict was not easy to avoid and was fomented by various interests as well as by different cultures and religions in a country like Spain which had always been a border country. Forced together within the same walls, Christians, Jews and "conversos" often fought each other, at times manipulated by political and economic interests and giving rise to uprisings such as that which broke out in Cordoba in 1474 when the "conversos" problem exploded in all its force (J. Contreras, *Conversión, riqueza y poder político. Revueltas urbanas en Castilla.S. XV*).

Yet while religious differences sometimes gave rise to tensions, feudal power for its part sought to lessen conflict through various controls which were exercised over vassals. As A Carrasco Martínez shows us (*Poder señorial y poder municipal en la Corona de Castilla durante los Siglos XVII y XVIII*), a kind of unwritten covenant was stipulated between the feudal lord and local oligarchies which agreed to support feudal interests in the area, so much so that they became part of the baron's patronage network. F.J. Aranda Pérez examines more closely these oligarchies (*Poder y "poderes" en la Ciudad. Gobierno y sociedad en el mundo urbano castellano en la Edad Moderna*), often with reference to Toledo, on which the author has centred part of his studies. The characteristics and behaviour patterns of the oligarchy are investigated and emerge very clearly, especially in relation to the offices held.

Offices are the subject of J. E. Gelabert's contribution (*Tráfico de oficios y gobierno de los pueblos en Castilla. 1543-1643*) Gelabert shows that the sale of municipal offices was a phenomenon which from 1543 to 1643 also involved Castile. It was an issue which, not only in Spain but throughout Europe, aroused much sentiment. To sell an office which ought to have been bestowed upon persons possessing special *virtud* meant betraying the tacit agreement between the king and his subjects according to which the former administered a "gift" that had been entrusted to him by the population and which he was obliged to preserve and not dissipate. It is well known that, for the king, selling offices was tantamount to acknowledging that his estate was insufficient and that in one way or another he had used it badly. On the other hand the increasing needs of the Catholic Monarchy drove it to search for new tax instruments and to run various kinds of public debt. The financial consequences were borne by Castilian municipalities which, as A Gutiérrez Alonso points out in his conclusion (*Ciudades y Monarquía. Las finanzas de los municipios castellanos en los Siglos XVI y XVIII*) as time went

on "se convirtieron, pues, en un sólido soporte de la hacienda real durante la Epoca Moderna" (p.211). All this is borne out by the trends in municipal finances which depended increasingly on indirect taxes and which were often burdened by debts caused not so much to meet local financial commitments but rather in response to the taxation imposed by the central government.

Having provided a complete picture of the different aspects concerning urban life in Castile in the early modern era, a part of the book is dedicated to cultural history. Examining different contexts other than that of Iberia, J.S. Amelang raises the problem about the meagre interest shown by Spanish historians towards such a field of study, which is often submerged by economic, political and other aspects.

At this stage we move from Spain to Italy and several cities in the peninsula are examined. Bologna is the first of these and is the subject of A. Guenzi's work (*Reconstrucción histórica de un sistema industrial: la ciudad de Bolonia en la Edad Moderna*). Guenzi dwells on the city's predisposition for manufacturing, especially silk manufacture, showing that in many ways Bologna was a unique case among Italian cities; for while other towns in Italy lost their role as industrial centres, as time went on Bologna "experienced a period of development which has been unmatched until now" (p.229), owing to its ability to introduce new products, to its use of high technology, to cooperation between various productive systems within the same city walls and to an artificial hydraulic system of energy distribution.

Very different was the situation in Naples, which is examined by L. De Rosa (*Nápoles: una capital*). De Rosa considers various factors ranging from demography and urban history to economic and cultural aspects in his vivid portrayal of South Italy's capital city, which was also one of the most heavily populated in Europe. Naples was in continual expansion and was the favourite destination for many of the Kingdom's inhabitants. It had a large number of crafts and important banks but it lacked an active middle class which could have taken the place of the declining class of nobles. On the other hand Naples abounded in poor people who went around the city looking for the strangest means of subsistence. In Naples, as elsewhere, their existence led to a series of welfare actions which, given the scarce efficacy of the intervention "from above", were carried out by "private" charities and hospitals (R. Salvemini, *La asistencia en la ciudad de Nápoles en los siglos XVI-XVII*).

A city that differed from both Bologna and Naples was Milan, which G. Vigo (*Milan, corazón económico de la Lombardía española*) defines as the heart of the Lombardy economy, considering all its crafts and manufactures that ranged from textiles to armaments, the latter boosted by the continual European wars. While continuing to be a wealthy city, during the seventeenth century Milan lost some of its vitality, probably due to the competition of manufactures that were not only produced in distant places but also in areas within its own countryside. Such competition had a very damaging effect on Milan's economy

since the city's manufactures depended upon external demand.

While Naples and Milan fulfilled the role of regional capitals, other towns in central Italy such as Perugia, Arezzo, Assisi and Siena had a very different fate as A. Grohmann shows us (*Las realidades urbanas menores en la Italia central en los Siglos XVI al XVIII*). Leaving aside the many differences between them, they are all good examples of the transformation undergone by several towns which after being independent and flourishing trade centres in the middle ages were irreparably damaged by the loss of autonomy and economic vitality in the early modern period.

This was the multifaceted reality of some Italian cities, a reality which, as in the case of the Castilian centres, was often conditioned by the policy of larger and more powerful states with whom they came into contact.

IDAMARIA FUSCO

Naples

C. Vassallo, *Corsairing to Commerce. Maltese Merchants in XVIIIth Century Spain*, Malta University Publishers, Malta 1997, pp. XXVIII - 378

New documentation on the organisation of Malta's economy and trade in the eighteenth century have come to light thanks to the work of C. Vassallo, the tenacious explorer of Spanish and Maltese archives. His thorough examining of various sources regarding the seventeenth and eighteenth century and his perusal of consular correspondence and documents has enabled him to throw light on many aspects related to the bureaucratic and administrative framework that regulated the activities of Maltese merchants and productive enterprise in the island in the course of the eighteenth century. The material uncovered by Vassallo has enabled him to study the interrelations between politics, society and the economy and to identify a period of change in the technological and organisational structure of two leading trading bodies in Malta; an island which sought to assert its own supremacy on the Spanish coasts.

In the historical literature on trade in the Mediterranean studies on Maltese trade are not very numerous. This is mainly due to the quantitative and qualitative discrepancies in the information, the sources of documentation and specific studies. Neither does the abundance of material kept in the archives enable scholars to integrate the documentary sources in a satisfactory way. Nonetheless, in the book under review Vassallo has used the available material very carefully and in a balanced way; he has interpreted the quantitative data and statistics skilfully, taking note of everything useful they have to say and critically assessing what they do not say. In this way the study offers a number of highly plausible theories and stimulating suggestions for further research.

The approach adopted by Vassallo is based on the comparative method: Maltese corsairing and brig trading; Maltese trade and Spanish trade.

The characteristics, chronology and specificity of Maltese trading expeditions in Spain and Portugal before 1750 are dealt with in the first chapter of the book. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Malta was a densely-populated island and unable to produce enough food to satisfy the needs of its own inhabitants. In order to pay for grain imports it began to depend on piracy and on the export of cotton, the island's sole product. During the following century the Maltese population continued to grow and the island's dependency on non-agricultural activities became even more pronounced. From the end of the sixteenth century the Maltese economy was based on remittances, corsairing and agriculture which, apart from production for home consumption, was also geared to increasing the production of cotton for export.

In the subsequent chapters, Vassallo examines the economic and commercial development of Malta which, by the second half of the eighteenth century, had built up an impressive trade network. Vassallo describes the expeditions of brigs to the Spanish coastline which came to take the place of corsairing and led to the establishment of two different kinds of trading activity: the monopoly over supplying cotton yarns for Catalonia's cotton industry and the creation of a surprising network of retail outlets that covered vast areas of the Spanish coast for most of the eighteenth century. Brig trading, which already existed in 1697 when the *Consolato di Mare di Malta* was set up, seems to have grown out of the same socio-economic *milieu* which had given birth to and supported corsairing. It used the same means and the same men and became increasingly important, reaching its apogee in 1760. Brig trading was a variation on the old phenomenon of tramping which involved the purchase, sale and exchange of goods in ports along the Spanish and Portuguese coast where merchants were often detained for more than a year. Such a prolonged presence in these territories not only gave rise to rivalry in economic relations but also to difficulties in social relations.

Vassallo also considers institutional aspects which characterised the brig era: the setting up of several companies and the opposition that Spanish mercantile groups formed against Maltese traders who were able to carry on their activities undisturbed until the mid-eighteenth century. The advantage enjoyed by the Maltese merchants derived from their long stay in the places they traded with, as a result of which they succeeded in setting up and even extending credit facilities which enabled them to carry on trade even when local laws forbade it. However, the very success of such activity led to legal action being taken against them by Spanish merchants. The opposition to Maltese traders continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and their defence was entrusted to the Maltese consuls in Spain. The legal disputes involving the Maltese became so frequent and pressing as to make the life of those living in Spanish towns especially difficult after 1771 when the *Junta de comercio y Moneda* stipulated that only residents and subjects of the king could carry on retail trade. The new measures seriously jeopardised the whole Maltese trading

system, founded as it was largely on retail trade, but they did not hamper the development of trade specialised in supplying an increasing quantity of cotton yarns for the "Indian" industry of Barcelona and the Maltese monopoly in supplying yarns for Catalonia's cotton industry.

The book also pays considerable attention to the question of migration from the island in the eighteenth century and beyond, with reference to motivations, behaviour patterns and tendencies. Vassallo illustrates the extent of the movement, which was actually begun by the traders in cotton yarn, its causes and destinations, analysing the means of transport, shipping companies, organisational networks, financing and subsidies, trade incentives, the role of religion, migratory chains, family ties and so on.

Vassallo should be given credit for the way he tries to balance the highly disparate documentary and historical sources. Although he has not managed to produce a complete economic and commercial history of the Maltese archipelago in the early modern period, his work is of great interest. He sets out the main issues and themes in a very direct and clear manner, with the aid of diagrams and statistics. The two appendices, the glossary of special terms, the indices of names and detailed archival references all enrich the book, while the emphasis placed on Malta's geographical, economic and social specificity makes it an interesting contribution to the history of Mediterranean trade.

ROSSELLA DEL PRETE

Benevento

I. Zilli (ed.), *Fra spazio e tempo. Studi in onore di Luigi De Rosa*, preface by Ennio Di Nolfo, 3 vols., Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1995, pp.

The *Società degli Storici Italiani* together with the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* and the *Direzione Generale dei Beni Archivistici del Ministero dei Beni Culturali* wanted to celebrate Luigi De Rosa's seventieth birthday by publishing a collection of studies in his honour. This has resulted in a work of considerable dimensions: three volumes with a total of more than 2,500 pages, consisting of about one hundred papers, arranged in chronological order. The first volume deals with the period from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, the second with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the third with the twentieth century. The size of the work reflects the great number of contributors, both from Italy and abroad, for whom Luigi De Rosa has always been an outstanding authority as far as economic history in Italy is concerned.

It is impossible to list all the papers included in the book, especially those by Italians that provide a comprehensive picture of current Italian economic historiography. With regard to contributions from foreign specialists we should mention, to give an idea, the contributions from Spain (papers by Maximiliano

Barrio Gozalo, Antonio Miguel Bernal, Luis Miguel Enciso Recio and Luis Antonio Ribot Garcia), from the English-speaking countries (papers by Thomas W. Blomquist, Forrest Capie, John A. Davis, John Day, Frank Geary, Ira A. Glazier, P. R. Andrew Hinde and Nathan Sussman), from Switzerland (Paul Bairoch), from Germany (Felix Butschek and Rudolf Palme) and from Latin-America (Fernando J. Devoto and José Luis Moreno), etc.

*Tra spazio e tempo*, the overall title of the three volumes, reflects the tremendously wide range of the subjects dealt with, but at the same time refers to the vastness of Luigi De Rosa's publications, which the editor lists in the appendix. The author of almost three hundred publications (brief notes, articles, papers, volumes of studies and monographs) which in many cases have brought to light new archival sources both in Italy and abroad and have helped to throw light on little-known subjects, as well as the author of countless book reviews, Luigi De Rosa has written on vastly different aspects of economic analysis and history in different periods.

Limiting ourselves to the essential traits of such an enormous output, we can distinguish at least four main areas of research. Firstly, the history of the economy and public finances in Southern Italy; books such as *I cambi esteri del Regno di Napoli dal 1591 al 1707* (Naples, 1955), *Studi sugli arrendamenti del Regno di Napoli. Aspetti della distribuzione della ricchezza mobiliare nel Mezzogiorno continentale* (Naples, 1958), *Iniziativa e capitale straniero nell'industria metalmeccanica del Mezzogiorno, 1840-1904* (Naples, 1968) or *Il Mezzogiorno spagnolo tra crescita e decadenza* (Milan, 1987) have swept away all preconceived interpretations of southern development in favour of a richer, more complex view which, while not negating the region's economic backwardness, is careful to link its causes to the way market laws acted, to the behaviour of production variables and to the economic policy decisions made by the government of the time.

Secondly, and closely connected with his examination of the theoretical debate about the stages of development in Southern Italy and in other regions, Luigi De Rosa has made a significant contribution to the history of economic theory, beginning with his first monograph on *Simonde de' Sismondi* (Milan, 1947) and then later with studies on Serra, Turbolo, De Sanctis and so on, up to the nineteenth-century social reformers and Schumpeter.

Thirdly, banking systems occupy a central place in De Rosa's academic interests: his research on the history of the *Banco di Napoli* and the *Banco di Roma* deserves mention.

Lastly, we should not forget his work on social history, beginning with his monograph on *Cartismo* (History of Chartism, Milan, 1953), and then with the history of emigration, with special reference to emigration from Italy to North and South America and the banking aspects of emigration movements.

The common feature in all these works is without doubt the constant attention De Rosa pays to the methodological aspects of research, evidence of

which may be found in the three volumes of *La storiografia italiana negli ultimi vent'anni* (Laterza, Rome - Bari, 1989) and in the many papers De Rosa has written to divulge new methodologies in Italy, without losing sight of traditional Italian historiography. Continuity and innovation exist side by side in Luigi De Rosa's approach to economic history: continuity with the great tradition of the Neapolitan school of history, and innovation based on modern economic theory and on De Rosa's direct contacts with the best exponents of the Anglo-Saxon school.

This dual methodological basis is evidence of the enormous breadth and range of Luigi De Rosa's academic career, which it is not possible to summarise briefly. However, we should mention two experiences which were to have a fundamental influence on his work and which help us to explain his later interests. These were his connections with the *Istituto di Studi Storici* in Naples and contact with the works and philosophy of Benedetto Croce and the culture of idealism and the liberal school of thought; and the years between 1948 and 1951 spent at the London School of Economics, temple of the most lively post-Keynesian debate. Reference to these two experiences would be sufficient to describe a unique education and career, but there are also numerous others, such as the founding of the *Journal of European Economic History*, his part in the founding of the *Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini"* at Prato, his many years as Chairman of the *Società degli Storici Italiani*, the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*, the *Consiglio Universitario Nazionale* and the *Consiglio Nazionale per la Scienza e la Tecnologia*. De Rosa's tireless activity in all these fields shows that, just as history necessarily involves the search for economic laws based on facts, so history is a field where economic theories are verified. The extraordinary methodological qualities that permeate Luigi De Rosa's work stem from this dialectic view of the relationship between history and economics.

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