

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

G. Alfani, R. Rao (eds.), *La gestione delle risorse collettive. Italia settentrionale, secoli XII-XVIII*, Angeli, Milan 2010, pp. 281

AS THE TITLE REVEALS, the book edited by Guido Alfani and Riccardo Rao focuses on the management of collective resources. This subject, which is analyzed here with reference to northern Italy in the period between the late middle ages and the end of the eighteenth century, is topical and is very interesting not only for historians, but also for economists, jurists and sociologists.

In fact, the book offers the reader a good deal of important data and information concerning the complex history of the management of collective resources, which include arable lands, meadows, woods and wastelands, as well as buildings used for production and processing (mills, presses and furnaces), housing, trading and billeting. Furthermore, it enables the reader to have an overall view and to observe the most important aspects of the history of common land because of the long period analyzed, which spans the medieval and early-modern period, although the long period obviously implies that each contribution refers to a different political, legal and environmental context. The causes of the sale of the commons are explored (sales aimed at either solving the indebtedness of the communities and the states that owned them or at making the commons more productive) – as well as the effects that resulted from a sale, such as a change in methods of cultivation and, in the most extreme cases, the worsening in the living conditions of the inhabitants, who were practically forced to migrate, either seasonally or permanently. Similarly, the reasons for the survival of certain commons – even if only in increasingly smaller areas – are analyzed in the long run: for example their continuing economic importance for a large number of inhabitants in a community who, taking advantage of a favourable political or economic situation, had invested their money and labour in common resources.

The book consists of fourteen chapters, each based on new archival research, and is divided into three parts. The first part includes contributions on the economic, social and relational aspects of the management of the commons, and the methods the communities used to distribute the products of the commons to the inhabitants. The second and the third parts include contributions in which the main factor is the geographical characteristics of the commons, in other words, whether the resources managed collectively were situated in the Alps or on the plains. A final chapter is dedicated to

southern Italy, an area very different from that which forms the book's main focus; here the aim is evidently to give the reader the possibility to compare different situations.

Throughout the book, the reader is given clear information about the influence of both the physical and institutional environment on the use of collective resources, such as the importance of the nature of the soil and location and the importance of the rules regulating relationships within the community and defining the fiscal and juridical boundaries between the community and the state. It also provides information on the value of the commons' product, in other words, its significance compared with the overall income of the users: the bigger it was, the larger the share of the product destined for self-consumption rather than for the market.

The book also shows that the existence of shared values concerning the ways the common resources were used and their products were divided led to the good management of the commons and their survival over the centuries. In fact, there is no reason for selling to private individuals if the resource managed communally has a yield (in terms of goods and services, as well as of labour opportunities) that perfectly matches the needs of the community which owns the resource. Obviously, in these cases, the effective solution to the problem of indebtedness is not the sale of the commons, but an attempt to maximize their yield, in order to convince the government authorities to retain public management of collective resources.

Furthermore, the book allows the reader to understand the importance of the rules established by the communities, in order to guarantee each user access to the commons and their products, both for the present and for the future. In this connection, the various situations under study – which differed both for the period and for the kind of commons being analyzed – suggest overall that the greater the attention to safeguarding the future yield, the greater the probability of ensuring durable benefits. This provided a justification for the continued existence of the commons in a context which, at the end of the early-modern period, favoured private management – because it was deemed more efficient. The importance of these rules also explains the great attention that the communities paid to defining clearly the rights of each household and, consequently, to the frequent protests and lawsuits by those who were excluded or received less than what they aspired to obtain; the ways in which the rights were transmitted – by inheritance, marriage or sale on the market; the methods for deciding the allot-

ment of the commons and for the calculation of rents; the methods for redistributing their products; and the ways of enforcing the observance of rules among inhabitants. In all these instances, ill judgement over allotment could determine a situation that did not correspond to the needs of the inhabitants, causing both resentment (weakening the social structure and favouring attempts to violate or get round the rules) and either excessive exploitation or the inadequate use of the commons, with negative consequences for their future yields.

Lastly, the large and detailed bibliography gives the reader a comprehensive account of studies published both in Italy and abroad on the subject. In fact, the book invites the reader to “read others”, in order to understand what was happening elsewhere and to reflect on the importance, even today, of the problems related to the management of the commons. This invitation is implicit in the interesting introduction to the book, an introduction that urges the reader to think comparatively, both in terms of time (i.e. to consider the crisis and decline of the commons in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after the period covered by this book) and in terms of space (i.e. to observe what happened in other areas of Europe, too). It is in connection with the intent of favouring international comparisons, however, that we find this book’s only shortcoming: it is published only in Italian, without a short English abstract for each chapter. The result is that it limits the international accessibility of the contents and their impact on the non-Italian-speaking scientific community.

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P. Carusi (ed.), *La Capitale della nazione. Roma e la sua provincia nella crisi del sistema liberale*, Viella, Rome, 2011.

ROME’S DESTINY IS CLOSELY INTERWOVEN with the development of the Italian state. So much so that it had already become a myth during the Risorgimento, capable of arousing energy and passion among Italy’s “founding fathers”. This myth, however, risked being shattered when the epic period came to an end with the breach of Porta Pia, and the city’s backwardness – the very opposite of the splendour of the imperial era – had to be reckoned with. There was no widespread national consciousness that could recognize Rome as the new kingdom’s

capital. This greatly limited the energy available for the *Urbe*. Consequently there was a period of uncertainty, which lasted some time, fostered by the politicians' failure to draw up a proper plan in building the secular capital. This phase continued for several decades, and is marked by the Liberals' supremacy.

The impact of World War I brought about a change: in his Preface to this book, Paolo Carusi points out that mass mobilization in the name of the country's symbols resulted in Rome no longer being on the margin, but becoming the real nerve centre of Italian life. The war gave the Eternal City a new, more striking dimension, which did not come to an end when the war was over, but which reached its peak during the Fascist era. As Adriano Roccucci wrote in a phrase, quoted by Carusi, the control of Rome "ensured the greatest influence over the key sectors of the state" (p.15). The protagonists of this new period were the Nationalists and the Fascists, who aimed to defend their homeland within which Rome was called to play a role that cannot be disregarded.

In the book those crucial years are the subject of systematic, multi-disciplinary research on *Roma e la sua provincia*, coordinated by Mario Belardinelli and based at Roma Tre University, a project that in the past has already given rise to two other volumes¹. And in fact the methodological approach is wide-ranging: the division into sections (*L'ambiente e il territorio, Il quadro amministrativo e le forze politiche, Le forze economiche e sociali*) shows clearly the authors' aim: they wanted to provide a complex, well-constructed overall picture of the processes that evolved between World War I and the rise of Fascism. In this review, we can mention but a few of the many issues dealt with in the book, which contains a wealth of research and represents an almost inevitable point of reference for later research on twentieth-century Rome.

In the first place, as is seen in Lidia Piccioni's paper, the province of Rome corresponded to the Latium region, a territory of some size whose already marked differences tended to become even more apparent between Unification and World War I. Rome, of course, was the hub, and, like other Italian cities, witnessed feverish activity in the building sector in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This was the period when the first signs of discontinuity with pre-Unification Rome were seen: in Roberto Cassetti's wide-ranging

1. P. Carusi, (ed.), *Roma in transizione. Ceti popolari, lavoro, territorio nella prima età giolittiana*, (Viella, Rome 2006); P. Carusi, M. Belardinelli (eds.), *Roma e la sua provincia (1904-1914). Poteri centrali, rappresentanze locali e problemi del territorio*, (Croma, Rome 2008).

paper, it was the time when “the city’s image changed completely” (p.64) with the construction of new roads and an urban structure which differentiated between workplaces and residential areas, culminating in the Monumentalism period of the 1920s, that aimed to display the grandiose remains of the ancient city and consequently demolished the medieval fabric. In contrast to this project of reviving the *Urbe’s* imperial image, the condition of the countryside around Rome is the subject of Lidia Moretti’s paper which shows how age-old inactivity came to an end with the advent of Fascism. The dynamism seen in that area, “at first slow and fragmented, and then increasingly rapid and widespread” (p.86-87), encouraged the process of dividing estates into small plots, and was rudimentary compared to much more wide-ranging projects, leading to the idea of land reclamation that appeared at a later stage. Carla Masetti’s paper is in line with this picture: she has made a careful study of the cartography between the end of the eighteenth century and the early 1920s, highlighting the changes to the land, which were accelerated when the operations of the Società Bonifiche Pontine were planned and began to be carried out.

The section entitled *Il quadro amministrativo e le forze politiche* is of particular interest. Mario Belardinelli’s wide-ranging and well argued paper shows how the new phase of economic planning that began during World War I and its aftermath was accompanied by the emergence of a political coalition of Liberals, Catholics and Nationalists that aimed to manage the city’s modernization. In March 1918, the *Commissione Reale per il Risorgimento economico di Roma* (Royal Commission for Rome’s Economic Recovery) was set up. This was followed by a series of measures to give the capital prestige. It was a busy period which, with the advent of Mussolini, led to the institution of the *Governatorato*, and the substantial reorganization of Rome’s project for production, which Mussolini resumed a few years later from the city-planning point of view.

Vincenzo Pacifici’s paper is on the gradual broadening of parliamentary representation and the various stands taken, whereas Paolo Carusi concentrates on the Radicals and the Roman Republicans during the decline of the “democratic political area” (1913-1921). In particular, Carusi shows that the 1913 election was a turning point, transforming Rome’s political geography and leading to the democratic parties taking on a subordinate role, both in the political arena and in electoral dynamics” (p. 175). The well-documented analysis retraces the course of the two parties in relation to general political alliances over a period of eight years, showing the links with Freemasonry,

which arose straight after the war in answer to the advance of the mass parties. Paolo Mattera shifts the focus to the proletarian and socialist world, which, following the economic difficulties caused by the war, gave vent to its malaise with unrest and strikes that culminated in the Socialist Party's success in the election of November 1919. However, as in other cities, "a common front of middle-class people was soon formed, people who, united by the fear of revolution and by anti-Socialist loathing, appeared ready to play a greater part in the press campaigns, which vociferously requested a more resolute repression" (p.211). And, in fact, this was the beginning of the decline of the Italian Socialist Party. At the same time – as emerges from Tommaso Baris' paper – the bourgeois' support of Fascism was not at all to be taken for granted, while "the working classes were openly hostile" (p. 225). The march on Rome gave rise to vastly different vicissitudes, which involved the asserting of the "Roman spirit" as Fascism's principal myth and the subsequent institution of the *Governatorato* in Rome, counterbalanced by the creation of the provinces of Frosinone, Rieti and Viterbo. These were operations that aimed to foster agreement among the different social classes, in that they reflected demands that had been expressed at a local level for some time. Antonio Scornajenghi's paper focuses on the *Partito Popolare* (Popular Party), which was destined to play an important part in Rome right from the start. In fact it became the party with the most votes at the 1919 election, although it went on to lose a great number of votes in the following local elections in 1921. All in all, it was a party that struggled to find its position, so much so that it was judged to be against the system and Scornajenghi wonders whether a more flexible attitude, aiming to encourage alliances, would have weakened the explosive force of the Fascists and the Nationalists. This is an interesting question, even though the attitude of the members of the Popular Party can be understood in the light of the party's very recent origins and of the fundamental inexperience of its leaders.

The last section, entitled *Le forze economiche e sociali*, begins with a paper by Giacomina Nenci on the situation of the peasants in the province of Rome. A composite world emerges, anchored to two basic issues: collective rights and the need for land reform. Various attempts at land reform had been made after World War I, including the Visocchi Decree, mostly in the province of Rome. Rita D'Er-rico's paper is closely connected with these matters: it examines the legislation of 1921-22 on the land reclamation projects for the countryside around Rome.

It is a sharp analysis, the result of in-depth research, which shows the function of rural centres, a type of settlement instituted in 1919 with the Riccio Decree. The situation was greatly changed with the law of 1921 when the government was made responsible for their creation. The rural centres epitomized the basic elements of total land reclamation, and the countryside around Rome was chosen as the testing ground before tackling the issue nationwide. Daniela Rossini's paper focuses on the conference of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, which was held in Rome in May 1923. Despite the repressive atmosphere of those years, for many Italian feminists the conference was an important occasion, where motions which had gradually taken shape in the previous years – and which were key issues for women's status – could converge. Lastly, Michele Manzo writes about the Catholic Rome of Benedict XV, whose reign was heavily marked by the events of the war. And, in fact, the message which emerges from his teaching is unambiguous: "In contrast to a Catholic world fascinated by Nationalist propaganda" – notes Manzi – "he persists in spreading pacifist ideas which are characteristic of the Gospel" (p. 325). This was the background to the letter *Al tremendo conflitto*, while Benedict XV intensified his strategy to win over the city of Rome, giving the imprint of a clearer Catholic vocation.

In conclusion, this book shows how useful a multidisciplinary route is for the understanding of a historical process which, in the case of Rome, is taken for granted. And in an era of forced simplifications and facile schematizations, which unfortunately are to be found even in historical research, the book edited by Carusi is excellent and contains a wealth of data, contributing to a better understanding of Rome's part in a key period of Italian twentieth-century history.

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L. Conte (ed.), *Le banche e l'Italia. Crescita economica e società civile. 1981-2011*, Bancaria Editrice, Rome 2011.

THE "ASSOCIAZIONE BANCARIA ITALIANA" has contributed to the celebrations for the 150th anniversary of Italian Unification by promoting the research project "The Banks and Italy", which deals with the role the banking system and the financial market played, both in the unification process and in the

subsequent economic and social integration. This research has led to the publication of the book *Le banche e l'Italia. Crescita economica e società civile. 1861-2011*, edited by Leandro Conte, with papers by eminent scholars, and the production of the DVD *Le banche in Luce*, edited by Rosanna Scatamacchia.

The DVD lasts about fifty minutes and is noteworthy for methodological reasons in that it is an attempt to base banking history on the audio-visual sources – both photographic and sound – found in the historical archive of the *Istituto Luce* in Rome.

The book, consisting of over 300 pages and an appendix of statistics, is divided into four macro-periods: the first period starts with Italian Unification and ends with Italy's entering the First World War (1861-1915); the second covers the two world wars (1915-1945); the third analyzes the period of the reconstruction, the economic miracle and the subsequent decline until the 1990s (1945-1990); and the fourth examines the role of Italian banks in the present-day European and international context (1990-2011). With an identical structure, every chapter consists of two papers: one on the relationship between the banks and economic growth, and the other on that between the banks and society, with the aim of underlining the interrelations between the Italian banking system and economic and social development.

After Italian Unification, two financial revolution processes may be identified: a monetary revolution and a banking revolution. Italy was born in a sea of debt, and so the state's credibility had to be regained by means of administrative and fiscal restructuring. The monetary unification of 1862 emerged in support of national finance. The Italian banking system appeared heterogeneous and fragmented, with agricultural banks in the centre and the south, and savings banks in the centre and the north. Right from the early days after Unification, different kinds of banks appeared, such as cooperative banks and joint-stock banks, to coincide with the launch of investment projects for infrastructures, especially railways, which were essential to build a country that was unified, and also to modernize Italy.

The costs of World War I were faced mainly through issuing banknotes; paper-currency inflation enlarged budgets, but the banks' apparent prosperity revealed their weakness straight after the war and later, in the 1920s. Following the collapse of *Banca Italiana di Sconto* in 1921 and the restructuring of *Banca di Roma*, with the constitution of the Fascist State, savings acquired a social value of general interest in that it was a tool for modernization. Looking at things

in the same manner, in 1926 the Bank of Italy was recognized as the sole bank of issue. With the Great Depression of 1929-1933, the entire national system of mixed banks (Comit, Credit and Banco di Roma) failed. Solutions were proposed by the close circle of technocrats led by Alberto Beneduce (1877-1944): Alfredo De Gregorio (1881-1979), Donato Menichella (1896-1994), Pasquale Saraceno (1903-1991), Sergio Paronetto (1911-1945). IMI and IRI were founded in 1931 and 1933 respectively, and in 1936 the banking law was enacted, which introduced the distinction between credit institutions and special banks, with a more clear-cut separation between banks and industry.

The decades from the end of World War II until the 1990s saw the Italian *per capita* income gradually catch up with that of the other European countries. The reconstruction years featured the revival of many solutions proposed in the 1930s, including economic planning, special state intervention in southern Italy, the dominance of financial intermediaries' public property, the use of administrative tools on the part of the Bank of Italy. In the second half of the 1970s, planning policy was gradually revised; membership of the European Monetary System (1979) and the divorce between the Bank of Italy and the Treasury (1981) mark the freeing of monetary and banking policy from the demands of the government deficit.

At the end of the 1980s, under the impetus of European integration, which was by then financial integration too, the Italian banking industry was affected by processes of privatization, merger and functional, managerial and territorial restructuring. A minimum level of standardization and mutual recognition mark the transition from an interventionist concept of banking organization to a culture which subjects bank enterprises to the dynamics of competition and the market. The Italian banking sector became more like European banking sectors, while still maintaining special features, such as its ties to a more traditional business model, which was heavily anchored to the real economy, and low financial incentive. Thus, the lesser systemic impact of the financial crisis on Italian banks should be ascribed, not to the backwardness of the Italian financial system, but to a more efficient control over banking and to the Italian banks being more rooted in the local reality.

The book provides a thorough historical and economic reconstruction, and is very readable, due to its manageable structure and straightforward language.

Rita Mascolo

Luigi De Rosa, *Il Banco di Napoli tra l'occupazione alleata e il secondo dopoguerra (1943-1949)*, Introduction by F. Dandolo, Istituto Banco di Napoli - Fondazione, Naples, 2011, pp. 365.

IN THE PREFACE TO THIS BOOK, Francesco Dandolo writes that the period from 1943 to 1949 was a particularly difficult one in the history of the Bank of Naples (Banco di Napoli); moreover the vicissitudes of this big southern Italian bank affected the whole of Italy and especially South Italy, which emerged from the war devastated, not only with regard to its infrastructures, but also with regard to its society. In this respect the history of the Bank of Naples fully reflects the history of that dramatic period from the moment of the armistice until the Allies' departure, which witnessed the collapse of the illusions of grandeur propagandized by Fascism, the very difficult period of aid to an exhausted population in an area that was still a battlefield, and, lastly, the efforts to attempt to reconstruct the country's industrial assets and get production started again.

These are the main subjects of Luigi De Rosa's unfinished book which Francesco Dandolo has completed, with dedication and particular attention to philology and analysis. De Rosa's interest in the Bank of Naples and its role in the economy of South Italy, which was reasserted amidst controversy when the Bank was taken over by the San Paolo-IMI group, goes back a long way. The task of writing the Bank's history, begun by Riccardo Filangieri and continued by Domenico Demarco and by De Rosa himself, was a particularly valuable one in his opinion. The role of capital in the production process, or rather, the relative scarcity of capital in southern Italian production processes, had always been a feature of manufacturing development in southern Italy, and in some ways had been detrimental to this development. That is why De Rosa considered the role of a big bank to finance industrial enterprises essential to overcome the structural limitations of southern Italian capitalism. In other words, the Bank of Naples was much more than a mere substitute development factor according to Gerschrenkron's theory. It was the essential element in coordinating the mobilisation and allocation of private capital, to enable the region to emerge from an age-old stalemate in which hoarding and real estate had been the main employment of capital.

In De Rosa's reconstruction, the Bank of Naples' business activities following the armistice aimed at overcoming this stalemate and – after the

hesitation due to the first phase of the Allied occupation and the dismissal of the President Giuseppe Frignani – at reconstructing its own internal structure, which had been shattered with the war and the occupation, in order to restore momentum to the bank's capacity to operate. It can without doubt be stated that the new period for the Bank began with the appointment of Cesare Ricciardi, a well-known industrialist, who was very active on the Naples scene, as Special Commissioner. Moreover, prime minister Bonomi and most of the political forces in liberated Italy wanted to try to stimulate recovery in production so that it would absorb the growing unemployment and create new purchasing power. It was certainly an ambitious project in a country still split in two by war hostilities, and the Bank of Naples had a unique role in this operation in southern Italy. In fact, the Bank was to act with the agility of a merchant bank, but with public incentives so as to direct, not only its own equity capital – which paradoxically proved to be in excess of possible investments – but also the funds from central government and from the Allies as compensation for the military occupation. Thus “the Bank became the privileged interlocutor, both for subsequent governments in order to manage and direct the incentives, and for southern Italian industries that were looking for funds to start up production again” (F. Dandolo, *Introduzione*, p. 27).

De Rosa pays particular attention to Ricciardi's restructuring of the Bank. The creation of two independent sectors within the Bank, one for funding industry and the other for distributing credit to cooperatives, is very interesting. In this restructuring there was an attempt to answer both the needs of southern Italy's economy and the social demands advanced by an influential political faction that was represented by the Communist Party. The Bank's restructuring operation was closely connected with the need to tackle the high cost of living which, in the years straddling the end of the war, was eroding not only savings, but also the current pay of wage-earning workers. Thus the Bank of Naples' management pursued two parallel paths: on the one hand the attempt to mitigate the difficulties of the population in a Naples shaken by bombing raids and still occupied by the Anglo-Americans, and on the other embarking on a policy of employee recruitment so as to increase staff, with the aim to renew and to expand its operations and influence over the region.

The Bank of Naples' support for industrial reconstruction was implemented in 1946 by the authorization of the Minister of the Treasury, Epicarmo Corbino, to create an independent industrial credit sector. The technical term

changed, but so did the idea behind this operation; the existing manufacturing plant had to be reconstructed, but the use of new capital was to be encouraged, so as to stimulate the industrialization process. With meticulous attention and analysis, De Rosa reconstructs all the funding the Bank paid out to revive production, albeit partially. This analysis runs alongside that regarding the investments the Bank made to support infrastructure, obviously the necessary basis for any attempt at industrial growth in southern Italy and in the city of Naples in particular. Investment in infrastructure included providing infrastructure to reach markets, to procure essential raw materials and, lastly, to bring to bear anticyclic measures to reduce unemployment.

However, the delicate issue of infrastructure reconstruction was one of the first alarm bells to sound in the latent *Questione Meridionale* (problem of the South of Italy), which exploded a short time later. The procrastination and the government difficulties in tackling infrastructure reconstruction in a resolute manner reveal an incipient difference in the way the various areas of Italy were treated, to the total disadvantage of the South. In some ways De Rosa's perplexities concerning the shifting of the country's political influence and power towards the northern regions – dramatically confirmed and denounced in his last publication before his death¹ – seem borne out by the decisions of the government that reflected this territorial imbalance. The confirmation that it was not merely an impression on the part of the Bank's management, as De Rosa points out, came from the visit of the newly-appointed prime minister Ferruccio Parri to Naples in the summer of 1945. On that occasion, Parri reaffirmed the government's desire to maintain Italy's economic cohesion, which was to have benefited from interventions to boost industry, in order to stimulate production again and to absorb the unemployed workforce. Parri's words reveal his awareness of the need for public intervention to revive southern Italian industry with a process that went beyond merely providing capital and was a step towards a broader process of southern Italian social growth. As Dandolo stresses in his *Introduction*, at this point industrialization became a political issue, since any state intervention could attract and promote intervention to sustain the South. And the way the state acted became even more of a political issue: the debate on how far and in what way the public administration should intervene in the economy was one of the main subjects of the scientific and political debate, with the clash of opposing points of view.

1. L. De Rosa, *La provincia subordinata. Saggio sulla questione meridionale*, Laterza, Rome-Bari, 2004.

In the last chapter, De Rosa shows clearly that this debate directly concerned the Bank of Naples, which not only acted as the main agency of state intervention, but found itself the majority shareholder in big southern Italian industrial groups, such as, for example, *Manifatture Cotoniere Meridionali*, which were supposedly the first beneficiaries of government support. In resolving this debate, the Bank did not lose sight of the primary sector which had always been the main source of southern Italy's wealth: in fact, investments in sectors that were complementary to agriculture were not put aside. In analyzing the intense activity of the land-credit sector, De Rosa describes what course the state's special intervention took and is critical of the way support for the small and medium-sized enterprises engaged in the processing and transportation of agricultural products actually concealed the lack of a real industrial policy. However, in this first phase, the Bank's activity was intense and targeted and the Bank was aware of the need to fund enterprises that were small and scattered over the region, which were probably the most suited to the economic fabric of southern Italy. It is clear that De Rosa's analysis reveals dramatically the shaky grounds on which the special intervention that began a few years later with the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* was based. The book ends with a detailed reconstruction of the measures which enabled the Bank of Naples (together with the Bank of Sicily and the Bank of Sardinia) to become the government's main agency in allocating funds to industry.

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K. and K. Glamann, *The Story of Emil Chr. Hansen*, Copenhagen 2009, pp. 182.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS, the former Chairman of the Carlsberg Foundation, the economic historian Kristof Glamann, has studied the history of the Carlsberg Breweries. In 1990 he published a biography of the founder, J.C. Jacobsen (*Bryggeren*, Copenhagen 1990; English edition, *The Brewer*, 1991), who, as the owner of the enterprise, set up the Carlsberg Foundation in 1876.

Five years later Glamann published the biography of Carl Jacobsen, son of J.C. Jacobsen (*Ølog marmor*, Copenhagen 1995; English edition, *Beer and Marble*,

1996). Disagreement with his father about business policy caused Carl to open his own brewery, Ny Carlsberg. Carl took a keen interest in art; his private collection formed the oldest part of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

Although J.C.Jacobsen began the production of beer on a scientific basis and established the connection between his enterprise and the world of learning, and although his son Carl began the production of Pilsen lager and created the link with the arts, the production of beer was nevertheless exposed to many risks, as the quality of yeast varied considerably. Only when Emil Chr. Hansen succeeded in cloning brewery yeast did the quality remain stable. With his wife Kirsten, a historian in her own right, Kristof Glamann published in Danish a biography of Hansen in 2004, which five years later appeared in English.

Hansen's father was a master painter, who married the daughter of an innkeeper; because the painter's income was insufficient to feed the family, she supplemented it by taking in washing. Hers was the merit of keeping the family out of the workhouse.

After his primary-school education, Emil would have liked to go on to a secondary school; instead, he was put out as a merchant apprentice. His apprenticeship was not a success and, before a year had elapsed, Emil's parents allowed him to give it up. Emil became an apprentice painter with his father; when he had qualified as a journeyman, he set out looking for work. After some months, during which he worked with different masters in Schleswig and Holstein, he realized that his future would be either in art or in science; the latter won in the end.

He began to prepare himself for the examination as a primary-school teacher, which he passed in 1864. Fortunately, he had been appointed house tutor to the children of the dairy farmer and of the land agent on the estate of Holsteinborg, which saved him economically. Furthermore, he was intellectually stimulated by a schoolteacher and amateur botanist of the region, and Count Holstein and his wife at Holsteinborg also helped him where they could.

The primary-school examination was only the first step on the ladder of learning: Hansen began to prepare himself for the *artium* (school leaving certificate), in other words for the examination giving access to the University. He passed the first part in 1865, after which he moved to Copenhagen. In order to acquire further teaching qualifications, he applied for and obtained a scholarship for three years at the polytechnic teacher training college. In 1871, he passed the second part of the *artium* and could finally enrol at the University

of Copenhagen. At this time the sciences were becoming established as university disciplines, which meant that their methods were still developing and that no consensus existed yet as to what constituted a sound method. Personal and methodological antagonisms between scholars were aggravated by their social background, as in the case of Japetus Steenstrup, the man with connections, and the self-made scholar, J.C.Schiødte.

Hansen contested the University's prize question in 1874, for which he was awarded its gold medal; the normal course would have been to finish his studies for a master's degree and then proceed to a doctorate. It was, however, possible to apply for permission to defend a doctoral thesis even without a master's degree. In spite of opposition by the University traditionalists, the Minister of Culture granted Hansen's application.

In France, Louis Pasteur had studied the causes of wine disease, and, after the French defeat in 1870-1871, he endeavoured to improve French beer in the face of German competition. Inspired by the French scientist, in 1876 J.C.Jacobsen founded the Carlsberg Laboratory, the purpose of which was to create "as complete a scientific background as possible for the malting, brewing and fermentation operations." In 1877, Hansen began to work in Carl Jacobsen's laboratory and, two years later, he defended his thesis on "Organisms in Beer and Wort"; in the same year he was appointed director of the Carlsberg Laboratory's Department of Physiology.

Despite Pasteur's research, the problems of fermenting beer had not been solved; the yeast used was not pure and "beer disease" could suddenly destroy a whole brew. In 1882, the Director of the Tuborg brewery asked J.C.Jacobsen's advice, as for some years Tuborg had had difficulties with the quality of its beer. Hansen began to investigate the yeast from Tuborg, and his research became unexpectedly topical when, in 1883, quality problems appeared at the Carlsberg brewery as well. Hansen discovered that the yeast had been contaminated with wild yeast, and some weeks later he had succeeded in isolating pure cultured yeast in sufficient quantities for brewing.

Hansen's studies had aroused interest abroad and J.C.Jacobsen wanted to publicize the outcome. However, as Pasteur was his idol, he would not suffer any criticism of the latter's results. In 1884, the dispute between Jacobsen and Hansen came to a head, and ended only when Hansen wrote a conciliatory letter requesting improved working conditions. Jacobsen was sufficiently fair to accept the offer of a truce and to agree to the desired improvements.

To attend a conference, Pasteur travelled to Copenhagen in 1884 and was venerated by J.C.Jacobsen. Pasteur visited the Carlsberg Laboratory, where he met Hansen. Scientifically, Pasteur did not convince Hansen, but he was kind enough to invite his Danish colleague to France, an invitation which he repeated at the time of his departure. In 1885, Hansen accepted the invitation, and Pasteur showed himself to be an attentive host, accompanying his guest to the laboratories of interest and inviting him to his home and to the inauguration ceremony at the *Académie Française*, when the engineer who built the Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, was admitted as a member. It was also Pasteur who saw to it that Hansen received the Gold Medal of the *Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale*, which signified international success for Hansen.

Before this, in 1882 Hansen had visited Berlin where he met Robert Koch, who respected his Danish colleague's critical judgement. Unfortunately, Hansen allowed himself to get involved in a technical discussion, which chilled the climate between the two scholars. Certainly, Hansen did not yet have the necessary international experience, a feature which became obvious in his relations with Pasteur. It was to Pasteur's merit that he recognized Hansen's worth despite this.

Within a few years Hansen's discovery had been adopted by breweries all over the world, and honours came from Germany, too: Hansen received the Gold Medal of the Berlin Research and Polytechnical Institute in 1889 and again in 1908. He died in 1909.

Hansen's biography is important because of his contribution to the development of brewing, but it is interesting from another point of view, too, as it demonstrates the difficulties faced by an intelligent person from a non-academic family to become accepted in the world of learning. On the occasion of Hansen's doctoral ceremony, the Professor of Astronomy, Schellerup, told Hansen that he himself had been a journeyman, too, and that the university teachers "do not like people of our sort and would like to crush us. Anyone who does not go the right way is brushed aside." He added, however, these encouraging words: "We shall win in the end ... they cannot hold us back if we ourselves do not desert our calling." Even today, when, for example, in Germany 71% of the children from academic families study at a university as against 24% from families with other occupations, Hansen's difficulties and victories are at the same time a warning and an encouragement.

Thomas Riis

D. Strangio, *La rinascita economica dell'Europa. Dall'European Recovery Program all'integrazione economica europea e alla Banca europea per gli investimenti*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2011, pp. 97.

IN HIS BOOK *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Douglass Cecil North states that “institutional change influences the evolution of a society in time and is the keystone for understanding its history”, and his lesson is seen in the stance Donatella Strangio takes in her book. She has produced a careful and interesting reconstruction of the European economic integration process from the point of view of economic history, referring specifically to the European Investment Bank's role in Italian economic development.

The book is in two parts. The first part illustrates the ideas and events that characterized the forming of the present-day European Union, of which one significant initial step was the Paris Conference for European Economic Cooperation in 1947. Convened for the distribution and the utilization of the funds of the European Recovery Programme (known as the Marshall Plan), in April 1948, it decreed the founding of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation – OEEC (which then became the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - OECD) – and was the first important attempt at renewed talks among the war-torn European states. The consequences of the settlement following World War I are unfortunately well-known: the Great Depression, the end of international economic cooperation, the rise of Nazism, and another world war. Cooperation was urgently required, above all economic and financial cooperation. And so, within a short period, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) came into being in 1951, and the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) in 1957. One fact claimed attention: the evident economic and structural differences among the member countries was an important obstacle to harmonious growth and to a balanced integration process. In fact, “a market characterized by strong competitiveness, requiring high levels of investment, ends up by penalizing the more underdeveloped areas” (p. 75). Ways to reduce the disparities and cause levels of development to converge had to be devised. However, as Pasquale Saraceno (1903-1991), President of Svimez (Association for the Development of Industry in Southern Italy) and a director of the European Investment Bank from 1958 to 1963, astutely observed, “the very reasons for European integration would have been exalted, had there been a real complicity on the part of the bodies of the European community to

solve national economic development issues" (p. 41). This is the context in which the European Investment Bank, which dates back directly to the 1957 Treaty of Rome, was founded.

The second – and most important – part of the book examines in detail the relationship between the European Investment Bank and Italy. Donatella Strangio's research is based, not only on publications on the subject but, on valuable archival sources, housed in the historical archives of the Bank of Italy and the Svimez. It transpires that, during the bank's first twenty years of activity (1958-78), Italy was the country where the European Investment Bank (EIB) intervened the most (320 investments for a total of 3,903 million accounting units), with particular regard for Southern Italy. This may be explained, both in the light of the Bank's statutory objectives, its principal aim being regional development, and in connection with the high number of requests on the part of the Italian operators, given the scarce availability of alternatives. As far as the distribution of funds is concerned, the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno (founded in 1950) was the organization that benefited most, and used the funding to carry out infrastructural and industrial projects. From this point of view, the EIB has thus been an important driving force for capital investment in Southern Italy.

As well as analyzing the EIB's role in economic development policies, the book shows that, from the beginning, Italy has played a leading role in relaunching the European economy and cooperation among the different countries. Key Italian figures include Alcide De Gasperi (1881-1954), Luigi Einaudi (1874-1961) and Donato Menichella (1896-1984), as well as the young Guido Carli (1914-1993), Giovanni Malagodi (1904-1991) and Pasquale Saraceno (1903-1991), intellectual minorities that played a crucial role, firstly in the decision to open up Italy to the international economy, and then in their ability to govern its transformation into an open economy.

In conclusion, Donatella Strangio's book is a clever and careful reconstruction of the history of European economic integration, something for which, in the light of the recent, heated discussions about monetary union, the need is greatly felt. It is important to look back, leaving to history the fine if difficult task of helping us to understand the complexity of the world in which we live. As economic historian Luigi De Rosa recalls, "there is no today until the previous days have run their full course from dawn to dusk".

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