

G. AMBROSIUS: *Staat und Wirtschaftsordnung: eine Einführung in Theorie und Geschichte*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001. (Grundzüge der modernen Wirtschaftsgeschichte; Vol. 3).

The significance of the state and economic systems for economic development has increasingly become a focus of attention during the last decade. This interest has to do with the failure of planned economies in the former communist states in Eastern Europe, but is also the result of observations in Western Europe, particularly true in today's unified Germany, that the current government expenditures will not be sustained in the future. It is against this background that the volume under consideration has appeared.

The aim of the book is to present first the economic theories, models and methods appropriate for analysing questions of economic history pertaining to the role of the state and of economic systems. These theories are based on institutional economics that attempt to explain changes in economic systems. Besides offering a basic description, Ambrosius in this section also discusses to what extent these theories are useful and to what extent they are too limited to explain problems of economic history, mainly due to unrealistic assumptions.

The author uses the second part of the book to present important considerations of the development of state, economic systems and economic constitution, i.e. the norms relevant for an economic order, as determined by the constitution and law. Major emphasis is on German developments since the XVIIIth century. For example, this part compares the economic constitutions of the German State Kurhessen in 1831 with the German Reich in 1919 and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. Ambrosius further tracks the development of some aspects of the economic constitution. For instance, in the case of norms relevant for craftsmen, Ambrosius illustrates how the liberal character of the XIXth century's norms became increasingly restricted in the following decades.

The third part features at least six case studies from German economic history which connect theory and history. These case studies are designed principally to discuss the limits and advantages of the use of economic theories to explain economic history. The selection of these cases was mainly determined by the author's opinion of how relevant the methods and theories used are for economic history in general. For example, the theory of property rights is used to explain the transition from mercantilism to a liberal economic order in Germany at the beginning of the XIXth century. Oliver Williamson's theory of transaction costs is used to answer the question of why modern industrial production organisation theory replaced cottage industry. While these case studies mainly illustrate how limited theories can be to help examine and explain historical phenomena, Ambrosius uses the case of the implementation of tariffs on iron in the Zollverein (German Customs Union)

in 1844 to demonstrate the advantages of the use of theories to analyse questions of economic history.

In sum, this clearly and systematically written book will be useful especially to students of economic history. Because of the selection of theories and case studies and their consequent discussions, its arguments are convincing with their justification based on the presentation of important aspects of the development of the German state and its economic system since the XVIIIth century. The book also shows that although economic theories may not always be helpful for economic historians they often can be.

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CH. BARTELS, M.A. DENZEL (eds.), *Konjunktoren im europäischen Bergbau in vorindustrieller Zeit*. Festschrift für Ekkehard Westermann zum 60. Geburtstag. Stuttgart 2000. Franz Steiner Verlag, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Beiheft Nr. 155.

Although the history of the pre-industrial mining industry has been a frequent topic of research, information on production, labour force and prices has been relatively scarce. Therefore, the present Festschrift in honour of Ekkehard Westermann, dedicated to the analysis of long-term cycles in the European mining industry from the Middle Ages to early-modern times, is a welcome addition to the literature. This volume makes a significant contribution to the quantitative analysis of the history of mining during the period under consideration, an issue on which Westermann himself has made significant contributions.

This becomes particularly clear in Michael Fessners's (Bochum) contribution on hard coal mining in the Ruhr district (county Mark) and its development in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. On the basis of quantitative evidence, supplemented by investigations of the demand side of market conditions as well of the effect of government policy on production, Fessner argues convincingly that the Ruhr coal industry possessed considerable economic importance much earlier than has been assumed thus far. He also shows that this industry experienced a long upswing beginning at the end of the XVIIth century, independently of government economic policy. Björn Ivar Berg's (Kongsberg) contribution, also based on production data, examines the Scandinavian mining industry from 1546 to 1800, and Markus A. Denzel, Hans-Jürgen Gerhard and Alexander Engel (Göttingen), analyse the integration of several northern European copper markets on the basis of price series. Their result identifies the structure of the copper markets which was not yet fully integrated in the early XVIIIth century, but became more so thereafter, extending as far as South America. Lothar Suhling (Mannheim) shows the usefulness of quantitative

investigations on the micro level on the basis of evidence from the Fugger copper works in Tyrol around 1540.

A second set of contributions is less quantitatively oriented, but uses other methods to examine the development of markets. Christoph Bartels (Bochum) analyzes the beginning of a general crisis in European mining in the late Middle Ages, based on the non-ferrous metal mining industry. Nonetheless, there was significant technical progress and even substantial growth took place in such important mining sectors as hard coal mining and iron production as well as in tin and calamine mining. These were actually quite important in some regions; future research should investigate these branches of the mining industry still further. Furthermore, Hans Joachim Kraschewski (Marburg) looks for the effects of the changes in economic conditions on work conditions in the Central European mining industry in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. He interprets the rise of new management principles as a response to the structural crisis of the Central European mining industry, particularly to the problem of capital shortage. Karl Heinrich Kaufhold (Göttingen) presents the results of a research project on the economic history of mining in the western Harz Mountains (Northern Germany) before 1860.

In addition, the volume contains contributions on the development of European weights and measures (Harald Withhöft, Siegen), on the invention and diffusion of the Newcomen steam engine (Graham Hollister-Shorts, London), on the solution of various problems associated with medieval mining technology (Wolfgang von Stromert), on the causes and consequences of the crises in the Bohemian silver mining industry (Jiri Majer, Příbam), on mining in the Tyrol in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries (Rudolf Palmes, Innsbruck), and on the emergence of copper production in the XVth century (Marián Skladaný, Bratislava).

On the whole, the quantitatively oriented contributions confirm the significance of Westermann's pleas for the need for more quantitative research on the pre-industrial mining sector. Only on the basis of long data series can we begin to understand the basic changes experienced by the mining industry from the Middle Ages to the early modern period. It also becomes clear that the focus of pre-industrial mining history on precious metal and on non-ferrous metal production can be fruitfully expanded to the investigation of the mining and commercial history of other raw materials and the products manufactured from it.

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M.-C. BLANC-CHALÉARD, *Les Italiens dans l'Est parisien. Une histoire d'intégration (1880-1960)*, Ecole française de Rome 2000, pp. XV, 804.

Almost twenty years before this book was published, in his study which has become a classic, *Français et Italiens à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Ecole Française

de Rome 1981), Pierre Milza, the French historian of Italian descent, emphasised the distinctive character of the Italian colony in Paris and its environs (the *région parisienne*): "une diversité, une originalité et un degré d'organisation, dû en partie (...) à la présence de l'ambassade, que n'ont pas les autres colonies italiennes" such as those in Marseilles, Nice or Lyons. The Italian colony in Paris congregated round two great poles, the Embassy and the Italian Chamber of Trade, as well as in the large and small mutual aid societies and in associations founded on regional or provincial origins. Between 1876 and 1901 the Italian population in Paris grew from over 11,000 to almost 22,000. Milza added: "A Paris même, la présence des Italiens est un phénomène ancien, lié à la fois à raisons économiques (traditions commerciales et artisanales) et politiques (refuge pour les vaincus des batailles du Risorgimento)".

Blanc-Chaléard follows this basic definition (the book's preface is by Milza) in her work which examines the Italian presence in Paris from the 1880s onwards. The book begins with the many anarchical and socialist elements joining the politicised immigrant working-class, and goes on to examine those who opposed the Fascist régime in Italy and fled to Paris and then the second and third-generation Italians of the 1960s. Blanc-Chaléard is also a member of the CEDEI (Centre d'études et de documentation de l'émigration italienne). For some years now she has carried out research on Italian immigration in France and even on the biographical data of some town councillors of Italian origin in the Paris *banlieu* after 1945. Blanc-Chaléard has set herself a specific area and a specific period ("Pourquoi l'Est parisien?(...) L'évidence nous commandait d'opter pour une partie de l'agglomération où les transalpins avaient vécu en nombre") and has chosen the most "Italian" places of the period: the Sainte-Marguerite and Charonne *quartiers* and the towns of Montreuil and Nogent-sur-Marne.

Blanc-Chaléard's research is based on a huge quantity of both French and Italian archive sources (police papers, registry certificates, school records, population censuses, taxation records and documents of the archbishopric of Paris). The originality of the research lies mainly in the author's basic theoretical approach. Going beyond the idea of recurrences and migratory chains, Blanc-Chaléard aims to focus "sur l'historicité de l'intégration", which hitherto has been rather neglected, and to make an in-depth study of the difference between integration and assimilation. Her conclusions on the long period analysed are simple but significant: "cette évolution invite à écarter l'idée d'un 'modèle italien d'assimilation'; elle montre en même temps toute l'importance qu'il convient d'accorder à l'époque qui sert de cadre à l'intégration".

Blanc-Chaléard deliberately emphasises the new aspects of the recent immigration flows and the attitudes, analysed by means of oral testimonies, of the *Francitaliens* who make a clear distinction between those who are immigrating nowadays and those who immigrated some time ago: "Le reproche qui est fait le plus souvent à ces nouveaux 'autres' est de ne pas se soumettre au même nivellement que celui subi volontairement par les Italiens, conscients

qu'ils n'étaient pas chez eux". The French have therefore been forgiven and all has been forgotten, mainly because of the regard and the social position achieved, but the other foreigners have not been forgiven. Furthermore, Blanc-Chaléard points out that new attitudes emerge alongside apparent assimilation, referring in particular now to European citizenship which goes beyond the forced assimilation that the egalitarian laws of the French Republic and its invasive nationalism had determined.

The book shows the very ingenious course of the Italian presence in France with the intermingling of both economic and political "currents". Assimilation was threatened at times of crisis (which, on the whole, coincided in France and Italy), re-emerging nationalism, especially at the time of Vichy when grave suspicions about the Italians circulated. The book goes on to deal with the post-World War II years and the beginning of the *trente glorieuses*, i.e. the years following the reconstruction.

Blanc-Chaléard is at present concentrating on the post-World War II period. She has recently edited the proceedings of a conference on the Italians in France from 1945, held in May 2001 in Paris. Throughout the 1950s migration took place again, though short-term, and answered the French need for post-war reconstruction (in mining and the iron and steel industry).

As at the time of the pioneer emigrants, this migration attracted flows from the South of Italy, too, which were often clandestine, a consequence of the still imperfect functioning of the international labour organisations. But in the 1960s the situation changed: Northern Italy took off economically, new, more profitable destinations, such as Germany, were chosen, and more Spaniards, Portuguese and Algerians emigrated to France: "Mais le refroidissement est définitif pour l'immigration italienne et les immigrants d'outre-monts ne prennent qu'une part mineure à ce nouveau mouvement historique". Meanwhile, mainly because of the new building policy, the Italian colony who were naturalised and had settled permanently in France, especially those second-generation immigrants, began to rise socially: the old industrial and artisan activities were no longer productive and so ceased to exist, leading to the "rise of the white-collar workers" and real assimilation. The early 1960s also saw a shift from the old left-wing creed to Gaullist support.

However, in actual fact, the *Francitaliens* have still kept their political roots and their Italian roots: "L'idée d'une dilution totale dans la société française n'est plus de mise, mais, quel que soit le mode d'adaptation qu'aient connu les migrants et leurs enfants, l'intégration a été également réussie. (...) Les cartes d'Ile-de-France font toujours apparaître en 1990 une moitié orientale de l'agglomération plus 'italienne', à Paris et en proche-banlieu, signe d'une certaine fidélité aux implantations d'origine. Malgré tout, il y a bien eu fusion, au niveau du territoire comme au sein de la société métropolitaine".

The book, however, does not aim to draw definite conclusions: it leaves plenty of opportunity to investigate the many aspects of that "diversity" which

Balnc-Chaléard considers the most fundamental structural factor concerning Italian integration in the eastern area of Paris. Blanc-Chaléard concludes that, despite the predominant role played by economic factors in the dialectics of integration, integration itself appears on the whole as a positive consequence of moments of crisis. In the case of the Italians in France, integration was an "intégration bousculée par les événements d'entre-deux-guerres: installation du fascisme en Italie, crise économique, crise des relations franco-italiennes, Deuxième Guerre mondiale".

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L. DE ROSA (ed.), *International Banking and Financial Systems. Evolution and Stability*, Ashgate (published in association with Capitalia), Aldershot, 2003, pp.XIV-267.

The path that has led to the founding of the European Central Bank and the birth of the Euro has been undertaken to guarantee a higher standard of economic well-being in the conditions of monetary stability among European countries. Viewed in a historical perspective the creation of European monetary institutions seems to be the result of a longer process stemming from the principle upheld since the end of the seventeenth century that healthy economic growth can only derive from and be sustained by a stable currency while inflation is a fever that indicates the pathological state of the economy and, if not treated properly, will eventually lead to the destruction of the social status quo. The principle of monetary stability was first applied at the end of the nineteenth century in an international context with the Gold Standard and in a national context with the functions given to the central banks (an issuing monopoly, use of interest rates to maintain stability, regulation and overseeing private banks, national debt management). In the course of the twentieth century this principle has been questioned several times only to reassert itself as a universally accepted value at the end of the millennium.

The essays brought together in this book which are the works of eminent scholars like P.L Cottrell, O. Feiertag, C.L. Holtfrerich, G. Kurgan-van Entenryk, M. Onado, P Martín-Aceña, H.M. Prast, N. Valerio, describe the activities of central banks in eight European countries (The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, the Low Countries, Portugal and Italy) and the characteristics of their financial systems in the twentieth century. The research that forms the first part of the book was promoted by the conference on International Banking and Financial Systems: Trends and Stability, held in Rome in March 2001 and organised by the Bank of Italy's Centre for Historical Research and by the "Journal of European Economic History". The second part deals with the prospects of

the international banking and financial system in the new century. Overlapping the historical analysis is the economic analysis with the contribution of the leading names in international monetary policy.

The two introductory essays by P. Mathias and L. De Rosa provide a general overview. For Mathias the financial system set up in the era of the Gold Standard is the "historical rule", a kind of "parameter" for judging the imbalances that characterised financial systems in the aftermath of the first world war. Seen from this perspective, the development of the present financial systems through the wars and cyclical trends of depression and growth appears to stem from the wish to regain the lost "golden era", that is, those conditions of systematic stability which only the Gold Standard regime has been able to guarantee.

In Mathias's analysis, the Gold Standard was imposed on all European countries and then on the world economy, since currency exchange stability was the necessary pre-requisite for participating in the great game of international trade. The need for currency exchange stability led to controls over the domestic circulation of money, a task taken on by the central banks with varying degrees of independence. For Mathias, independence was a key factor in the system's overall stability; the financial disasters ensuing from the first world war can, in fact, be explained by the central banks' loss of autonomy in relation to political power and by their total bowing to the needs of the national debt. After the second world war these errors were not repeated: in a climate of free trade and international cooperation, western countries managed to restore their economies and set in train a phase of unprecedented growth, all thanks to the leadership of the American currency around which a new systemic stability was built. The crisis that broke out at the beginning of the 1970s put an end to the golden era and gave rise to a troubled period that has led to widespread instability which has only partly been rectified by the presence of stable currency areas such as that of the Euro.

De Rosa's essay centres on the vital role played by the central European banks which up until the 1930s had not yet taken on the tasks that the Bank of England had already been performing for some time. However, stability was never guaranteed until the setting up of the Bretton Woods system which became the fulcrum of a new and efficient monetary system. In this system the central banks took on a decisive role in the shaping of economic policy as controllers of monetary policy and increasingly performed the role of policy makers. In the 1960s and especially after the 1971 crisis the central banks were faced with the dilemma of choosing between stability which was increasingly seen as a value, and economic growth which was measured in terms of rising employment rates.

The essays which reconstruct in a very precise and effective way the history of the various European financial systems in the twentieth century show how this stability was achieved within each country. Although only some countries are mentioned here, other cases which are not examined would certainly deserve attention.

O. Feiertag's contribution on the Banque de France is particularly interesting

since stability is conceived in dynamic terms, namely as an instrument for defending the value of currency which evolved in the course of the century. In this period there was a shift from the more restricted view of the stability of the monetary base to a more global and complex view of the stability of the financial system.

C.L. Holtfrerich's essay on the German financial system also offers an original interpretation. The historian raises the question as to whether monetary policy can favour economic growth when a central bank enjoys only a limited freedom of action and sets out to verify empirically (or rather in a historical perspective) the theory that argues that an interest rate lower than the growth rate can bring about a rise in employment. Holtfrerich's answer to this question is clear: when the central bank was under the control of the government (during the period of hyperinflation and the Nazi regime) growth and employment were stimulated through the policy of easy money. The needs of stability were sacrificed to growth so that in the short term immediate results were obtained at the long term cost of currency debasement. In the aftermath of the second world war the trade-off between stability and growth was mitigated by the large flow of money into western Germany which derived from its role as a major world exporter. In this situation the central bank was able to avoid restrictive monetary policies, stimulating growth and employment. Only at the end of the 1970s, and even more so following unification, has Germany adopted a restrictive monetary policy to the detriment of economic growth not only in the German area but in Europe as a whole. A historical analysis confirms that when the German central bank kept interest rates lower than growth rates, employment was boosted (during the hyperinflation after the first world war, during the Nazi regime and during the economic miracle of the 1950s and 1960s). Conversely, when the bank inverted the trend (after stabilisation of the German currency in the 1920s and 1930s, after the Bretton Woods crisis, and after the country's unification), the immediate result was an increase in the unemployment rate. According to Holtfrerich, in the 1990s the Federal Reserve, under Alan Greenspan's direction, has pursued a policy to keep interest rates below the real growth rate, tying the discount rate not to price stability but to growth and employment. This policy has produced the longest economic boom in the history of the United States and according to Holtfrerich the new European Central Bank should take its example from this experience.

M. Onado's essay analyses the regulation of Italy's financial system in the perspective of European integration.

The essays in the second part of the book, drawing on the great experience in banking and monetary policy of Antonio Fazio, Jean-Claude Trichet, David Clementi, Roger Ferguson, Cesare Geronzi and Vincenzo Desario, examine future prospects in a context characterised by a high level of international competitiveness with the growing tendency to mergers. These render local crises dangerous since they can rapidly turn into systemic crises. In this situation, monetary policy has an even more delicate role: the goal of price stability lessens uncertainty among operators and reduces the volatility of interest rates, but it is

achieved only by relinquishing the possibility of using monetary policy as a lever for growth. Monetary policies which favour economic growth reduce their effectiveness for maintaining systemic stability. In a climate of internationalisation, unless there is very close cooperation, there is no way of preventing or remedying the possible crises. This is the warning note on which this dense, original and -in today's context - extremely relevant book ends.

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L. C. DUBIN, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste. Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture*. Stanford University Press, Stanford (California), 1999, pp. XVI, 336.

In the historiography of Jewish culture, or at least in that which deals with modern-age Jewish history, studies on communities which settled or worked in port towns have gained prominence. This aspect had not been studied very much in the past, both because of the not entirely groundless stereotype which assumed that the Jews were more involved in business in town-centres, and because of the predominance until now of a more Germanic-centred trend. This new and different interpretation is evidently connected with the marked cosmopolitanism of the large ports and their towns, a cosmopolitanism which enabled the Jewish communities present to benefit from particular opportunities of economic development and civil, intellectual and political emancipation (cf. for example Carlo Gatti's paper: "A Demographic Régime in the Making. The Jews in Trieste in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *Fonti archivistiche e ricerca demografica. Atti del convegno internazionale*, Trieste, 23-26 aprile 1990, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, Rome, 1996, pp.1340-1352).

L. C. Dubin is a lecturer in Religion and Biblical Studies at Smith College, Northampton (Massachusetts). In her book she aims to reconstruct a favourable moment when different cultures met together and to present a new insight into the process of Jewish integration in modern Europe, and so she deliberately chooses Trieste. The year 2003 is the deadline for the submission of rebuilding and reutilization plans concerning the old port in Trieste which, until the end of the nineteenth century, marked the perimeter of the city's urban lay-out, as well as its natural boundary, its outlet to the sea.

"Trieste's roots" are to be sought far away "in the markets of the Middle East, in the ghettos of Central Europe, in the islands of Dalmatia" (F. Anzellotti, *Il segreto di Svevo*, Pordenone, 1985).

It was Joseph II's edicts of 1781 which opened the ghetto's gates. Closing the convents in Trieste, he decided to make the city a place of asylum in the shadow of the free port. Trieste society's self-controlledness, encouraged by

Austria's deliberately compliant attitude towards the *fedelissima* Adriatic city, led to Trieste's earning the recognition "home of political and religious tolerance", thereby continuing a tradition of freedom of spirit for which eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism had provided a good breeding ground.

In this frontier town, where different peoples, cultures and outlooks came into contact, especially in the "enlightened" eighteenth century of the Habsburg reign, Dubin sees a happy period and an ideal paradigm of blending. She points out, however, that this is the exception compared with the experience "of the populous, more traditional Ashkenazim Jewries of Central and Eastern Europe, in which forced transformation and assimilation dominated".

Dubin's interpretation is not totally idyllic. To implement its reform programmes and to realise "the full productive potential of the various sectors of society" the Habsburg monarchy "meant necessarily to rationalize and transform traditional social structures and mentalities". There is an apparent dualism and without doubt a shrewd and "political" combination in Joseph II's system of government which the historian Heinrich Graetz defined a "sincere but forceful love of humanity". Dubin explains that "notions of humanity and utility to the State were closely linked in Joseph's regularizing the civil status of the Jews and mobilizing their productive potential". Dubin thus pinpoints a fundamental issue i.e. the distinction between "court Jews" and "port Jews" which she goes on to describe keenly. "Court Jews" are those "Jewish merchant-financiers who prominently served Central European courts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries", whose privileges were gradually extended to those other Jews that came to Trieste from the various provinces of the Empire and elsewhere (on 5 May 2003, in Trieste a conference was held on "Ventura Parente. The Last Jewish Banker in Seventeenth-century Trieste as Seen in Documents Discovered in the Archives of Trieste"). "Port Jews" are all those Jews who were admitted into the free port of Trieste as a vital element of the cosmopolitan city's commercial and economic development and were accepted not as single individuals who had recognised individual particular rights, but as a community. Empress Maria Theresa's Charter of 1771 "functioned as a collective charter of protection (*Schutzbrief*), outlining conditions of residence, protection, work and worship, and as an open invitation to attract wealthy Jews to the free port"; the Statute of the same year, 1771, "contained the kinds of administrative regulation formulated in the ordinances (*takkanot*) of most autonomous Jewish communities".

Dubin detects the rich nuances and the precise political implications of this novel Habsburg enlightenment, especially, but not only, in the case of Joseph II: "from a combination of practical and idealistic motives, domestic and foreign considerations, Joseph elevated toleration to a general principle of utility and rationality". Dubin points out that the Austrian monarchy's approach was based on "a wide-ranging program of ecclesiastical reform that fundamentally asserted state control over the Church, and over religion in general". All things considered, tolerance could mean simultaneously absorption and control.

Dubin writes at length on the idea of "utility": the Jews who arrived in the free port were "by definition useful to society". A sort of "mercantilistic confessionism" came into being. Therefore the free existence of the Jews in a port city like Trieste, as in Leghorn, Bordeaux, London, Amsterdam and Odessa, was linked to the feeling that the Jewish propensity for trade must necessarily be a stimulus for trade and would bring prosperity to the city: "civil integration rested on the linchpin of the utility or productive service".

It is likely that the free climate of Trieste helped the Jews in those very years when the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) was maturing. As in her previous research, in this book Dubin emphasises the positive contact between Jews of German stock and the Jews of Trieste who spoke Italian and had really absorbed the "secular" tradition of Italian culture ("The boundaries of tradition had always been more elastic for Italian Jews"). However, in actual fact, the state intervention (*Rechtsstaat*) (e.g. in marriage) continued as before.

After a bold comparison with the rights sanctioned by the French Revolution, Dubin concludes: "Not privileges, not rights, but rather (...) sovereign dispensations (...) offered at the discretion of the sovereign and were usually conditional upon some action or quality of the subject; after all, Joseph expected his subjects to be useful to the State".

This book gives food for thought and presents a newer and more "open" vision of the reconstruction of the presence and the integration of Jewish communities in different geographical situations. In keeping with this interpretation, research has been undertaken using sources which differ in language and geographical location and include Jewish, Italian, French and Austrian documents found in Israel, Trieste, Vienna, Paris and in the archives and libraries in the USA.

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N. FERNANDEZ DE PINEDO, *Comercio exterior y fiscalidad: Cuba, 1764-1860*, Universidad del País Vasco, Bilbao, 2002, pp 357.

It is well known that the second and third decades of the nineteenth century saw the end of the old Spanish colonial empire and the birth of the new Latin-American states, but it should be remembered, especially by non-Spanish readers, that Spain continued to rule in the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico until 1898. Although the economic and political importance of these two islands cannot be compared to that of the lost colonies, Cuba and Puerto Rico were still important to Spain: in spite of their small size, both islands played an important strategic role in the region. At the same time, Cuba (and to a lesser extent Puerto

Rico) was a basic element in the troubled political life of nineteenth-century Spain, but Spain enjoyed significant fiscal and economic benefits from both islands. All in all, these reasons justify the interest in N. Fernández de Pinedo's book, *Comercio exterior y fiscalidad. Cuba, 1764-1860*, which presents a clear and convincing view of the Cuban economy during the XIXth century.

As N. Fernández de Pinedo observes (see chapters two and three), every interpretation of the Cuban economic experience must begin by taking into account the obvious fact that the growth of the island rested on its ability to export tropical products to the international markets, a complicated affair as a result of the protectionist measures adopted by France and in some cases by the USA during that period. In order to make exportation possible, the island pursued a trade policy which could best be described as the result of the need to combine many different interests. In 1820, Spain had adopted a strong protectionist trade policy, and the idea of extending it to the two Caribbean islands was ever present. Of course, it is not difficult to see in this project the desire to follow the same pattern that had helped the growth of the British economy in the eighteenth century, but the problem was that, although some sectors (such as the Catalonian cotton textile industry and the Castilian flour exporters) obtained big benefits from Cuba, in general terms the Spanish economy was not ready to exploit fully the opportunities opened up by the colonial markets. It was difficult to envisage that Spain was going to provide the vast amount of manufactures and foodstuffs demanded by the island, simultaneously absorbing Cuban tropical exports, and this explains the Cuban planters' interest in free trade. As for the Spanish government, its main objective lay in the possibility of extracting fiscal income from Cuban trade, something that could be obtained through different policies depending on circumstances, such as increasing tariffs or reducing export duties in order to promote Cuban sales abroad.

In general terms, it can be said that the island's foreign trade experienced a sustained expansion (chapter three), especially after the end of the cycle of the Wars of Independence. During the years between 1826 and 1865, Cuba played the role of a typical exporter of primary products, selling on the international markets coffee, tobacco and, above all, sugar, the island's main export. In the early nineteenth century, sugar accounted for 50% of all Cuban exports (in terms of value), but by 1850-60 this percentage had risen to 75%. In turn, the island imported manufactures and foodstuffs. Given the export orientation of the island economy, the study of Cuban foreign trade carried out by the author in chapter three is fundamental, because it throws light on many relevant aspects of Cuban economy and society. One of these should be noted: the expansion of tropical crops required the massive use of a slave workforce (chapter five) and this created the basis for the great inequalities which mark the social structure of the island still today. Good proof of them can be found in the structure of Cuban imports, which reflects the existence of two different and socially-induced models of demand. While the slave workforce consumed

big quantities of fish and dried beef (*tasajo*) brought from abroad, the white population demanded the wine and grain which were imported.

In view of all this, it is not surprising that exports were the real growth engine of the Cuban economy, and in chapters five and six N. Fernández de Pinedo analyses the sources of their expansion. Firstly, the island population experienced an important demographic growth during the period as a result of the natural increase in and the continuous arrival of immigrants and slaves. In this respect, Cuba was an exception in a world which was evolving towards the use of a paid workforce and the disappearance of all forms of compulsory or forced labour. Of course, this does not mean that slavery was completely without problems. Throughout this period, the colonial authorities feared a revolt among the slaves, as had happened in the nearby island of Santo Domingo in 1802, and this prompted them to promote the arrival of a white population. However, when we remember the profitable fiscal income the colonial government obtained from Cuban trade, it is easy to understand why, in the end, the authorities did not have the slightest intention of abolishing slavery. This leads us to the question of the relationship between slavery and technological advance which the author examines in chapter six. According to a theory originating from an analysis of the Ancient World, the massive use of a cheap slave workforce prevented the introduction of labour-saving methods. Fernández de Pinedo provides evidence to question this theory, offering a more balanced perspective of this complex issue. It is undeniable that some stages of plantation work, such as the cutting of sugar cane where mechanization was difficult, needed vast reserves of manpower. Seen from this perspective then, it would seem that the expansion of tropical crops depended on the introduction of new units of work (and land) into the production process, but, in fact, the example of Cuba shows that slavery was compatible with substantial technological advances in other fields. The island planters soon promoted the use of the steam engine in land and maritime transport to facilitate the exports of sugar, cotton and coffee, and it is interesting to remember, by way of comparison, that the first Cuban railway line was inaugurated in 1838, nearly a decade before the first Spanish one. The interest of the local planters and businessmen was not limited to the modernization of the transport infrastructure because, as N. Fernández de Pinedo points out, they were also interested in the introduction of steam power into sugar mills (*trapiches*). These considerations, then, suggest that Cuban growth would be better explained as the result of several factors, combining the use of a slave workforce with the introduction of the most advanced technologies.

Fernández de Pinedo sets the powerful Cuban oligarchy and the Spanish government among the beneficiaries of this growth. The role of the Cuban oligarchy deserves some comment because, as the history of the adoption of the new techniques and methods outlined above would suggest, a substantial part of the benefits reaped from the sugar and coffee exports was invested in productive activities, and not in the consumption of luxury items. As for the Spanish government, the author explains in chapter four the fiscal reforms it carried out

during the first decades of the nineteenth century. These reforms consisted of the introduction of new taxes and duties. The most notable among them were the duties levied on foreign trade, the cornerstone of the new fiscal system, whose yields showed a continuous growth during the period. The success of the new system can be judged by the fact that Cuba transferred an important part of its fiscal incomes to the Spanish government, to help it finance the expensive Carlist Wars and the efforts of reconquering Mexico and Santo Domingo. But this undeniable success had a cost: since the duties on Cuban exports were always low, the island authorities raised the duties on imports, and, especially, on foodstuffs. This was one of the main causes of Cuba's high level of prices, and, from this point of view, it can be said that Cuban taxation was an important factor in the inequalities which marked the social structure of the island.

In *Comercio exterior y fiscalidad: Cuba, 1764-1860*, Nadia Fernández de Pinedo has presented a clear and convincing view of the Cuban economy that will be welcomed by all those interested in the modern and contemporary history of Cuba and of Spain. Her conclusions are solid and well-founded, largely because of her use of a set of rich documentary sources (see Appendix), undoubtedly one of the great merits of the book. Regarding Cuba, N. Fernández de Pinedo has written the history of an open economy which, in spite of the rather protectionist policies adopted by France and the USA, sold its tropical products on the international markets and experienced marked economic growth. This might be considered the bright side of the Cuban experience, but there was also a darker side, because it is impossible to forget that this expansion was based on a fiscal model which raised the cost of living and, above all, on slavery.

As far as Spain is concerned, it would be difficult to overestimate the role played by Cuba in the history of the country during the nineteenth century. Many Spanish political and military figures of the period were connected with the island in one way or another, and there were also strong economic ties between both countries. Fernández de Pinedo's close study of these links improves our knowledge of some aspects of Spanish economic history and must be considered among the most outstanding merits of the book. After reading this study, it seems clear that Cuba was never a fiscal burden for the Spanish government: quite the opposite. Equally important is the fact that, although Spain could not provide the whole range of products demanded by the island, Cuban markets stimulated the growth and development of key sectors of the Spanish economy. Some of them, such as the Castilian flour industry, will sound familiar to all those interested in Spanish economic history, but, as N. Fernández de Pinedo shows, other activities, such as the export of wine and vegetable oil or the development of the Spanish merchant fleet, also depended on their easy access to the island markets. All these factors should be considered as new and significant factors in the debate on the costs and benefits of European colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to the evidence outlined by the author, there is little doubt that, in spite of its shortcomings, Spanish rule

in Cuba was a rather profitable business, and this explains the strong interest the Spanish government always had in preserving its control over the island and the shock it experienced after the traumatic defeat in 1898.

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M.C. GERBET, *La ganadería medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Crítica, Barcelona, 2003, pp. 287.

As in many other Mediterranean regions, sheep farming was one of the most remarkable economic activities of Iberia during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. To give the reader some idea, until the first half of the nineteenth century wool was one of the main Spanish exports, providing profitable fiscal incomes and a way of living for many Castilian and Aragonese regions, traces of which may be found still today in some areas of the country. In view of this, the keen interest in this sector always shown by many scholars and even politicians is not surprising: there are, for example, the classic and influential works of M. Caxa de Leruela and Campomanes and the more recent articles and books of Ch. Bishko, R. Carande, F. R. Martín, J. P. le Flem and A. García Sanz. The recent publication of the book *La ganadería medieval en la Península Ibérica* by M. C. Gerbet is clear proof that this interest has not diminished in the last decades.

The thesis of *La ganadería* may be summarized as follows: according to the author, the development of Spanish cattle-raising during the Middle Ages was dictated by two main factors. Firstly, from the very start, this activity had a strong speculative character. Secondly, together with the famous migrant sheep-farming (*trashumancia*), there was always a kind of local stockbreeding, in which the livestock grazed in the pastures of the villages and towns: this was more important than has been traditionally considered.

To prove this, M.C. Gerbet has made extensive use of the empirical research carried out by other scholars in recent decades and of the research in her own previous works. The book is divided into three parts. In line with the classic Annales school, the first part analyses the way the natural environment in the Iberian Peninsula influenced the development of cattle raising. At the same time, she emphasizes the early presence in ancient times of some elements which would be fully developed later, such as, for example, the existence of primitive forms of *trashumancia*.

In spite of the undeniable interest of these elements, it seems beyond doubt that, as Spanish historiography has traditionally noted, the advances of the Reconquista during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries should be considered the main cause of the growth and development of *trashumancia* (part two). The conquest of vast and sparsely populated territories in the central

and southern lands of the Iberian Peninsula meant that the flocks could spend the winter in the rich grazing lands of the Tagus Valley and Extremadura, while in summer they travelled to the pastures of the northern regions. In the four Peninsular kingdoms, and especially in Aragon and Castile, the development of *trashumancia* followed the same lines. The long-range movements typical of this kind of sheep farming involved the need to control the flocks, guaranteeing the enforcement of their pasture rights, and this was the main factor in the birth of cattle-owner corporations, such as the famous and powerful Castilian Mesta and the Aragonese *ligallos*.

It should not be forgotten either that *trashumancia* was by its own nature well adapted to the circumstances of a war zone, being the best way of ensuring the economic use of the lands recently conquered from the Moors, so its development was strongly promoted by many social and political forces. Among them we should mention the urban knights (*caballeros villanos*), the religious orders and, of course, the Monarchy. The role played by the *caballeros villanos*, a specifically Iberian form of knighthood whose members controlled the Castilian frontier towns such as Salamanca, Avila or Segovia, and by the religious orders is well known. As for the Monarchy, from early times the Castilian and Aragonese kings discovered that they could extract handsome fiscal incomes from *trashumancia*, so they granted all kinds of privileges in order to facilitate the expansion of the sector.

As has been remarked above, during the middle centuries of the Middle Ages the Iberian lands had been sparsely populated and this, together with favourable natural conditions, had paved the way for the growth of *trashumancia*, a trend reinforced especially after the great demographic slump of the fourteenth century. The demographic recovery which began in the first half of the fifteenth century changed this, and there ensued an intense fight over the uses of land between cattle-raisers and farmers, especially in Castile and Aragon (part three).

It is not difficult to see in such fights, carefully studied by scholars such as J. Valdeón, J.A. García de Cortázar, M.A. Ladero, R. Díaz de Durana and many others, an expression of the serious political and social disorders which are one of the main characteristics of the Iberian kingdoms during the great crisis of the latter centuries of Middle Ages. In the new context, the traditional interest shown by the Castilian and Aragonese kings in the sector increased. In the case of Castile, the reorganization of the sector, keeping a delicate balance between local stockbreeding and *trashumancia* was one of the main concerns of the famous Reyes Católicos. Paramount in their view was the need to promote Castilian agriculture in order to feed a growing population. As livestock was the main source of manure, providing at the same time good quality wool, leather and milk, they also fostered the development of local stock-breeding, while *trashumancia*, a good solution for the empty world of previous centuries but not for the new demographic context, had only a somewhat secondary place. A similar evolution can be seen in Aragon, where, as in Castile, strong conflicts

over the uses of land are one of the main hallmarks of the kingdom's history during the period. Although the scarcity of documentary sources poses a problem for the study of this sector, it seems that livestock husbandry experienced an important growth, while the history of Aragonese *trashumancia* was marked by the fight between the Casa de Ganaderos of Saragossa, the most powerful cattle-owners' corporation of the kingdom, against the *ligallos*. However, it should be emphasized that these tensions did not stop the expansion of Aragonese wool exports to the Italian industrial centers which, as may be expected, provided profitable fiscal incomes for the king's Treasury.

After reading *La ganadería medieval en la Península Iberica*, it may well be said that the growth and expansion of cattle-raising followed a similar pattern in the four Peninsular kingdoms, although there were some regional contrasts. To quote a few, *trashumancia* was always more developed in Aragón and Castile than in Navarra and Portugal. At the same time, the Castilian Mesta had a clear national character, which was not to be seen in the Aragonese *ligallos*, whose scope was always more local and limited; lastly, the presence of more advanced forms of livestock husbandry in Portugal than in the other kingdoms is noteworthy. The author has analysed all these aspects in detail and this should be considered one of the most relevant factors in a book in which the reader will not find new discoveries or perspectives regarding Spanish medieval stockbreeding, but a complete and updated view of the history of this activity during the Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, the author's style is sometimes confused and very often this hampers the proper understanding of the subject matter expounded. Although this could be a problem in the Spanish version, we would dare to suggest that a clearer style would probably have greatly improved the overall quality of the work.

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P.L. HAHN – M.A. HEISS, *Empire and Revolution. The United States and the Third World since 1945*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2001, pp. VII-295.

In the context of international relations, links between the United States and the Third World represent a subject of particular importance, for both political and economic reasons.

From the 1950s to the end of the 1980s, the USA adopted a political strategy towards South America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa which was parallel to a non-political trend. This behaviour had repercussions at an international level, influencing especially the development of the cold war. The hallmark of the cold war was not only the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union alongside the "Iron Curtain" in Europe, but also the competition in the Third World between the two superpowers.

An extensive and detailed analysis of the relations between the United States and the Third World during the cold war period is to be seen in *Empire and Revolution. The United States and the Third World since 1945*, where the economic relations between the two areas is one of the principal subjects examined.

One question emerges forcefully from the handling of this issue: has the US presence in the Third World influenced the formation and the consolidation of the different kinds of market in these countries, blocking their independent development so as to promote inevitably the interests of the US administration or not?

From the analysis of the cases examined, in some chapters in the book (Iran between 1951 and 1953, Venezuela between 1945 and 1948, Taiwan between 1950 and 1960, Vietnam between 1950 and 1968, and Israel between 1945 and 1967), the reader can see how the United States has interacted differently with these economic systems, according to their initial macro-economic conditions, their importance on the international market and the political strategy Washington adopted in the general context of the cold war.

In the opinion of Peter Hahn and Mary Ann Heiss, there is no doubt the US presence has been decisive for the development of the domestic economy in three countries: Venezuela, Iran and Taiwan.

South America has always been an area of solely US influence, and, from the end of the Second World War onwards, the discovery of oilfields in Venezuela increased US interest in this area. According to the paper on Nelson Rockefeller's experience in Venezuela between 1945 and 1948, Latin America's sovereignty and economic independence were jeopardized once and for all by the issue of Venezuelan oil. Despite the fact that the South American governments favoured adopting a line of economic development based on the US model (i.e. capitalist, with the private sector predominating over the state sector and with free access for foreign capital), the Americans believed that the creation of a free market in Latin America would have prevented the US from having total control of the area's natural resources. Thus the consolidation of a free-market economy in South America was thwarted to the advantage of US exploitation of Latin-American resources.

The nationalisation of oil promoted by the Iranian government of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq between 1951 and 1953 is the second case in which, in order to guarantee an equilibrium in the Middle East, the US administration prevented Iran from making an independent economic policy decision i.e. the nationalisation of the Iranian oil industry, monopolised by the British-owned Anglo Iranian Oil Company (AIOC).

Lastly, according to Hahn and Heiss, the creation and the consolidation of a capitalist system in Taiwan in the 1950s and the 1960s, due to US contributions, is the third US "forcing" in a Third World economic system. Taiwan's dynamic and efficient economy was shaped not because of the interaction of the market's free forces but because of the guidance and constant monitoring of the Taiwan economic system (state-driven market).

In Vietnam and in Israel, on the contrary, American influence did not jeopardize the independence of the domestic economic structure.

In Vietnam, the military defeat suffered by the USA prevented the principles of capitalist economy taking root. A similar situation was to be found in the whole of ex-French Indo-China, too, where the pro-Communist governments embarked on their own trend of political economy, inspired by the Soviet model and based on market planning.

As far as Israel is concerned, American non-interference was due to the fact that the US had nothing to gain from modifying or directly influencing the flourishing economy of the only democratic state in the Middle East. This is to be seen in *Empire and Revolution* in the chapter on the relationships between the American and the Israeli trade union organisations. The chapter states that over the years a principle of "mutual aid" was established. The Americans defended and helped the Histadrut (the general federation of Israeli workers) to build a capitalist-type economic system based on labour in a free, democratic state, whilst the powerful lobbies of Jews resident in the USA supported the US administration's decisions regarding the delicate Middle East issue.

There is no doubt that this book presents some interesting ideas and some topical considerations, especially in the field of economic history. However, Venezuela, Iran and Taiwan cannot be considered examples of the triumph of American "imperialism", nor can Vietnam and Israel be considered examples of its defeat. The experiences examined in these papers must be set in the context of the international situation in order to understand fully the US political and economic strategy in the Third World where the determined, constant US presence responded to the restraint and competitive confrontation with the Soviet bloc. There is no doubt that this has influenced the development of the economic systems of the countries examined, although the US has never threatened these governments' autonomous decision-making capacity in the economic sector.

On the contrary, the two-pole system which emerged during the cold war rendered the defence of civil, individual and institutional freedom a priority for Washington, not only in the countries of the Western bloc, but also in the Third World.

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J. KOMLOS, T. CUFF (eds.) *Classics of Anthropometric History: A Selected Anthology*. St. Katharinen, Germany: Scripta Mercaturae, 1998.

The study of the history of human stature as an indicator of nutritional status, christened anthropometric history by J. Komlos in 1989, has been a flourishing field for more than a generation. It was, therefore, an excellent idea by the editors

to provide an overview of the important contributions of this literature. The articles in this volume discuss the most important methods and results of the field. The papers also address the wider concept of the "biological standard of living" (that includes longevity and morbidity), and its interdependence with environmental, political, economic and social developments during the XVIIIth to XXth centuries. The regional scope of the contributions is very broad (Europe, North America and Asia), but we concentrate in this review on the 'European' section of the anthology.

The introductory essays start with discussing the history of the development of the discipline (Richard Steckel: *The Formative Period of the New Anthropometric History*). The "methodology of social accounting" and important new ideas of adjusting GNP figures began in the early 1970s, building upon the concepts associated with basic human needs and growth-with-equity. The proposal of the "Physical Quality of Life Index" by M. Morris (1979) and the "human development index" by the United Nations Development Program in the early 1990s were important steps in this direction. Steckel also elucidates four issues that were important in the formative period of the new anthropometric history: (1) exploring the living standards of slaves; (2) the effect of nutrition on mortality - McKeown's (1976) suggestion that nutrition was an important determinant for mortality trends was an important inspiration in this respect; (3) standard of living during industrialization, and (4) the effect of inequality on living standards. The earliest efforts already resulted in the important insight that physical stature is a very useful complement to traditional measures of living standards (such as per capita income) enabling us to gain new perspectives into secular changes in well-being of several populations during the early stages of the beginning of modern economic growth.

"Economic Growth, Population Theory, and Physiology: The Bearing of Long-Term Processes on the Making of Economic Policy" is the subject of Robert Fogel's contribution. His remarkable results are that improved nutrition explains about 40% of the mortality decline in XIXth- and XXth-century England. He also emphasizes that the caloric energy available for work is an important determinant of economic growth. The Nobel Prize-winning economic historian stresses the relevance of combining biomedical and economic analyses, which makes it possible to consider the impact of improved nutrition on the secular trend in health and life expectation, on labour productivity, and on economic growth. He asserts that chronic malnutrition, a result of inadequate diet, and not famines, were responsible for the high morbidity and mortality rates in the past. For England and France he concludes that the nutritional intake of a very large segment of the labour force was thoroughly inadequate. In the case of the lower labouring classes the deprivation was so extreme that many simply lacked sufficient energy for regular work. Even the better-off were so stunted and wasted that they had a high risk of becoming chronically ill or dying prematurely.

Steckel discusses in two additional introductory essays the relationship of

"Stature and the Standard of Living" and "Height and Per Capita Income". He stresses, in particular, the relationship between stature and income distribution and underlines that income was the most important determinant of the diet in the XXth century. Income also had an important effect on health (as the quantity and quality of purchased food as well as medical care expenditures rose with increasing income). However, above a certain threshold, additional income will not make a noticeable contribution to nutritional improvements and will not be translated into a taller population. The quality of medical care, in contrast, has a positive impact on height at a higher level of income (later in the XXth century) - as long as the individual genetic potential is not fully reached.

After the introductory essays that provide a good overall picture of the different aspects of research on the biological standard of living, the second part of the book is dedicated to more specialized studies on European populations. Most of the contributions (7 of 11 articles) pertain to the United Kingdom. There are also two essays on France, one each on Austria-Hungary, and on Sweden. It is clear that during this first phase of anthropometric history, there was a clear west-east gradient of research in the field.

In the first essay Komlos re-estimated trends of British height data ("The Secular Trend in the Biological Standard of Living in the United Kingdom, 1730-1860") in order to study the trend of the average physical stature of the 'lower' segments of British society. The data on the height of soldiers were collected by R. Floud et al.. The records begin with the initial phase of the industrial revolution. Because of the minimum height requirement, the sample is biased, and it becomes important to use a method to calculate the trends that takes account of this problem. Komlos argues that both the Quartile Bend Estimator and the Reduced Sample Maximum Likelihood Estimator are problematic (especially if the sample height distribution deviates from a truncated normal distribution). He suggests using instead the so-called "Komlos & Kim" method. In contrast to the optimistic conclusion of Floud, Wachter and Gregory, who found a positive effect of the industrial revolution on the standard of living for the XVIIIth century, Komlos' estimates imply that - despite the growth in GDP - there were nearly no signs of an improving biological standard of living among the 'lower' segment of society during the first century of the industrial revolution. Furthermore nutritional status became even worse for those born in the industrializing areas. It is worth noting that Komlos found similar secular trends in the nutritional status of contemporary Swedes and Austro-Hungarians.

A. Theodore Steegmann, Jr. ("18th Century British Military Stature: Growth Cessation, Selective Recruiting, Secular trends, Nutrition at Birth, Cold and Occupation") discusses height records of British infantrymen for the period 1760- 1799. He also notes that military data display a truncation bias. Because of rapidly changing nutritional status (at times of birth and infancy) the average height of mature men of the birth years around the middle of the XVIIIth century decreased first and increased subsequently. His striking conclusion is that undernourished children between 0 and 4 years remained permanently stunted.

Stephen Nicholas and Richard Steckel ("Heights and Living Standards of English Workers during the Early Years of Industrialization, 1770-1815") study Irish and English male height trends, and Nicholas analyses, together with Deborah Oxley ("The Living Standards of Women during the Industrial Revolution, 1795-1820") female heights of the same period. Both studies are based on convict records (transportees to Australia of the first half of the XIXth century), which are a fascinating alternative to military records, because a truncation bias does not affect them, and, moreover, convict records are a rare source of information on the height of women. They find that members from all groups of the working class committed crimes. Both boys and girls showed a delayed growth spurt and decreased final average height which was mainly the result of insufficient consumption of nutrients (higher prices of food) as a result of worse food supply because of poor harvests and the Napoleonic Wars. The Irish of both genders were taller than the English, even though Ireland was less industrialized and less wealthy. Later research argued that the Irish might have had more access to high-quality protein (such as milk). In general women did even worse than men during the early stages of the industrial revolution. Discrimination seems to have emerged because of the influence of industrialization on the roles of females. Women became disadvantaged as they were typically hired for low-paid, unskilled work, and intra-household resources were distributed in favour of males

Interesting for comparison is Paul Johnson's and Stephen Nicholas' work on convicts of both genders ("Male and Female Living Standards in England and Wales, 1812-1857: Evidence from Criminal Height Records"). They investigated habitual criminals compiled by Scotland Yard. According to the authors these data are not representative of the whole population, but of the manual working class. They verify that industrialization resulted in worsening living conditions for this segment of society. Manufacturing employees born between the beginning the early 1820s and the mid-1850s experienced a declining quality of nutrition. For urban males the decline in nutritional status was particularly marked.

Joel Mokyr and Cormac O'Grada used data on the East India Company army ("Height and Health in the United Kingdom, 1815-1860: Evidence from the East India Company"), which suffer from selection biases due to the minimum height requirement. Hence, the authors employ maximum likelihood estimates in order to overcome these biases. Unfortunately, the minimum height requirement was often close to the mean - which reduces the efficiency of the estimates significantly (see also [http://www.vwl.uni-muenchen.de/ls\\_komlos/jfwtext.pdf](http://www.vwl.uni-muenchen.de/ls_komlos/jfwtext.pdf)).

T. Christopher Smout ("A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950") adds an analysis on Scotland. He finds an upward trend of height, i.e., the standard of living of the population from 1830 to 1940, although the positive development influenced mainly the middle class, adult male workers, because of their position as the main breadwinners. The author comes to the conclusion that during the whole period working-class life was difficult. Nevertheless, during the 1900s

and 1920s social improvements were made with the help of state intervention and change in consumption habits took place as the male breadwinners' income was spent to the wider benefit of their families.

The contribution by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and N. Bernageau pertains to France ("The Conscripts of 1868: A Study of the Correlation Between Geographical Mobility, Delinquency and Physical Stature, and other Aspects of the Situation"). They study the physical stature of 11,819 recruits. They find that illiteracy and short stature were linked. The authors conclude that variation in stature was caused by variations in the standard of living (privileged versus under-privileged) rather than by merely the way of life (rural versus non-rural).

L. Berlanstein's contribution ("The Health of Recruits from Paris at the End of the Nineteenth Century") finds that the standard of living did increase for the 'poor' manual workers. Parisian youth experienced a better and faster amelioration than those in suburban towns and provincial regions.

John Komlos moves farther east ("Stature and Nutrition in the Habsburg Monarchy: The standard of Living and Economic Development in the Eighteenth Century") and comes to the important result that, before industrialization market integration meant declining nutritional status for large parts of the population. He also argues that a Malthusian crisis was threatening the European Continent at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Industrialization in the Habsburg lands was a response to population pressure, and ultimately enabled the society to escape from the Malthusian trap. The Swedish case was examined by Lars G. Sandberg and Richard H. Steckel ("Heights and Economic History: The Swedish Case").

It would certainly be interesting to obtain results even further back in time, but it is clear that the "classics" started with the period of the industrial revolution (that can be approached using archival data, whereas earlier epochs require height data from skeletons). It is also clear that Europe consists of many more interesting cases, and while the profession has proceeded in the meanwhile to other geographic areas of Europe *inter alia* to Italy (A'Hearn), Germany (Baten, Twarog), The Netherlands (Drukker/Tassenaar), Spain (Coll/Quiroga, Martinez Carrion), Portugal (Reis, Leite), Belgium (Alter), Russia (Mironov), we are still lacking modern studies on the Balkans, the Baltic countries, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, many of the German and Italian states, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, Greece, and Turkey.

The reader of this volume can obtain a broad overview of the contributions of the first-generation experts of anthropometric history. The large number of figures and tables help the reader to digest the multitude of data. This volume is excellent for demonstrating the importance of anthropometric history and convincing future researches of the value of this approach to the subject.

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C. MALANDRINO (ed.), *Una rivista all'avanguardia. "La riforma sociale" 1894-1935. Politica, società, istituzioni, economia e statistica*. Presentation by G. M. Bravo, Leo S. Olschki, Florence, 2000, pp. XXXVI-427.

*Riforma Sociale* played a very important role in the Italian political-economic debate between 1894 and 1935 until Fascism halted its publishing. It is well known that during that period of over forty years it benefited from having two authoritative scholars as editor. The first was F. S. Nitti, an economist and a future minister and premier after the first world war, who was the magazine's editor from its founding in 1894 until 1908 when he resigned because he had been elected to Parliament and was increasingly involved in politics. The second editor was the economist Luigi Einaudi, who became President of the Italian Republic after the second world war.

Even though Nitti's original idea for the *Riforma* – that it should be a modern instrument of analysis and in-depth study of social problems along the lines of many English journals, especially *The Economist* – was maintained by his successor, the fact remains that, at least as far as political economy is concerned, the two editorships show different characteristics.

For Nitti's editorship, we have the excellent paper by M. de Luzemberger<sup>1</sup> which illustrates effectively Nitti's contribution and that of the authors who wrote for the publication he founded. With its detailed, in-depth debates and analyses, this paper focuses on the problems connected with the rise of socialism, together with the political issues regarding emigration, agricultural contracts, protectionism and free trade, the changes in the social structure, the population increase, the consequences of incipient industrialization in Italy, and inquiries into private, public and parliamentary activities, and family budgets, all of which featured prominently in the early years of *Riforma Sociale*. Issues closely connected with social matters were dealt with in detail and stimulatingly, such as the distribution of wealth and the equalization and progressiveness of taxes, the economy of labour, the stock exchanges and the trade-union headquarters, high salaries and the municipalization of public services<sup>2</sup>.

However, there is no analysis of the articles published during Einaudi's editorship. The book under review does not fill this gap. Instead of merely reconstructing chronologically the magazine's history, Malandrino has chosen some particularly significant subjects in the overall history of *Riforma Sociale*; some of the issues are to be found during both editorships, whereas others belong specifically to one or the other.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section identifies the main characteristics of the intellectual and political identity which Nitti gave the

<sup>1</sup> In *Prospettive Settanta*, 1982, n. 2, pp. 236-289.

<sup>2</sup> D. Giva, "I primi passi della Riforma Sociale (1894-1900)" in M. Augello – M. Bianchini – M.F.L. Guidi (ed.), *Le riviste di economia in Italia (1700-1900)*, (Franco Angeli, Milan 1996), pp.515-540.

*Riforma*: the principles of socialism and democracy which were so dear to Nitti at the turn of the century, and the fundamental importance he attributed to English economic, social and political philosophy, which made and makes the *Riforma Sociale* an anglophile publication.

A lengthy paper in the second section refers to Vailati, who collaborated on the *Riforma* during Nitti's editorship and to some social science and sociology problems which were the subject of debate both during the editorship of Nitti and during that of Einaudi. The use of statistics and the interest in numbers in a dynamic society are also to be found both in Nitti's time – given his declared positivism – and in Einaudi's time. However, it is in the pages regarding statistics that we can see the different approach the publication underwent with the change of editor. This different approach is to be seen in Einaudi's interpretation of society with an economic-institutional slant, whereas Nitti adopted an economic-social slant. But it is in the third section, in the last three papers on the state drillers, the railway state and the criticism of Keynes, that the economic and political philosophy of Einaudi's *laissez-faire* and the critical rigour of his theoretical analysis stand out even better. Nevertheless, in this section, too, in confirmation of the journal's fundamental cultural continuity, a detailed paper reconstructs the debate on Book Three of Marx's *Capital*, a debate which featured in *Riforma Sociale* between 1895 and 1897 during Nitti's editorship.

In conclusion, the thirteen papers in the book, together with the wide-ranging and interesting preface confirm the importance and the *avant-garde* role that *Riforma Sociale* played in accompanying and stimulating the economic, political, social and cultural growth of the young Italian nation.

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G.V. PARIGINO, *Il tesoro del principe. Funzione pubblica e privata del patrimonio della famiglia Medici nel Cinquecento*, Olschki, Florence, 1999, pp.242.

The catalogue of the first two hundred folders (two further volumes are envisaged) containing the so-called Miscellanea Medicea kept at the Archivio di Stato in Florence has recently been published (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Miscellanea medicea*, I, 1-200. Catalogue edited by S. Baggio and P. Marchi, Direzione generale per gli Archivi, Rome, 2002).

It is the result of earlier "perusals" dating from different periods in the Medicean Archive in Florence for both practical reasons of business dealings and for academic reasons, as was the case the research undertaken in 1781 by the Abbot Riguccio Galluzzi for the work (*Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici*) commissioned by Pietro Leopoldo who had

also ordered Galluzzi, together with other scholars such as Ferdinando Fossi and Girolamo Cavalcanti, to reorganise the old Medicean Secretariat.

The *Miscellanea* consists of papers covering the entire period of the rule of the Medici Grand Dukes, from the 1530s until 1737 i.e. from Cosimo I's rise to power in 1537 until the year of the death of the last Medici Grand Duke, Gian Gastone, and the changeover to the Lorraine dynasty. In the words of the Tuscan historian Filippo Moisè, whose job it was in 1846 to attempt to reorganise the archive, the papers dealt with "entire volumes of legations (...), Secretariat correspondence, Venetian ambassadors' reports (...), Medici autograph letters (...), written by Duke Cosimo and all his successors, acts (...), copies and extracts of Statutes of various Communes, instructions to ambassadors (...), lawsuits (...), lampoons and poems".

It is on this archive source, which he himself describes as "difficult", that Parigino bases his research, in particular on the three volumes concerning the *Stato patrimoniale della Serenissima Casa di Toscana* which Cosimo III in 1671 ordered Matteo Mercati to produce. Mercati was a lawyer and a minister of the Ufficio delle Riformagioni i.e. the office of the Prince's Supreme Chancellor.

Parigino writes: "The climate of general administrative reorganisation and Cosimo III's need for an instrument which made it easier to administer the family estate and was at the same time a useful catalogue of the acts agreed to by various members of the Medici family prompted the Grand Duke (...) to order a sort of super-inventory. At first it may seem curious that the re-ordering of the State machinery should have involved the ruling family's personal estate as well. However, we have to bear in mind that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was a typical example of a patrimonial state where (...) aspects which would today be considered relating to private law were closely connected to public office".

There is nothing particularly original in this comment which, however, rightly remains the work's *leitmotiv* in that, with the examination and the use of authentic sources (contracts, loans, debts, purchases), it can now be backed up by concrete examples.

The book is in three sections (*Cosimo I e Eleanora di Toledo: la ricostituzione del patrimonio; Francesco I: l'accumulo di capitali; Ferdinando I: un accorto amministratore*), each section dealing with the three Medici princes who in the sixteenth century refounded the dynasty's political fortunes and, above all, its estate.

Cosimo I's initial concern was to stabilise the Medicean state's power and dominions (for example, with the reconquest of Siena) and to seek political consensus since there was huge expenditure for military purposes and consequently huge debts. However, by these means he managed to build up a prestigious role for his principality among Italy's regional states.

Parigino clarifies that, once the state's domestic situation was strengthened, "the grand dukes could pay more attention to increasing their own wealth by introducing a vast series of economic initiatives".

Although the Medici continued to draw on the old legacy of medieval privileges (for example by imposing *corvées* on the peasants) to build both public works and private residences, they no longer appeared as feudal lords but as shrewd administrators of revenues and estates, just as, three hundred years later, many Tuscan nobles were to become involved in finance and enterprise to defend their ailing estates.

Taking up again Giorgio Spini's thesis in his studies on Cosimo I and the Medicean principality, Parigino deliberately maintains that "being at the top of the pyramid of power and, therefore, of wealth", the grand dukes "were also the biggest landowners and the greatest capitalists of their own state".

In the context of this "bourgeois" administration of wealth, Parigino rightly deals in detail with the importance of land purchase, especially during the reigns of Francesco I and Ferdinando I. Land that was already cultivated, marshes, woods and pastures were all purchased, which led to intense reclamation of malarial areas, for example near Bientina, Fucecchio and the Chiane d'Arezzo.

The Medici had opted for this kind of real estate investment, again mixing public and private business: in acting this way, they did not interfere in the family business of the old ruling class who for many years had owned the best land (which would have been too expensive for the grand dukes anyway) and at the same time they confirmed the centralisation of power by buying or renting at ridiculously low prices the untilled common grazing lands to the detriment of the local communities which already appeared increasingly weak: "Often communities were so crippled by debt that to pay their creditors (including the taxation authorities) the only possible way was to surrender their land".

Moreover, it should be remembered that the spirit of the earlier bankers lived on in the Medici princes: when their finances recovered, they put into effect a shrewd policy of loans to the great reigning houses of Europe, a policy based on a careful combination of motives concerning foreign policy and marriage strategies, in the wake of the patrimonial conception of the state which, as Guido Astuti wrote many years ago, caused "confusion between public business and the princes' private business".

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A. TREVES, *Le nascite e la politica nell'Italia del Novecento*, LED Edizioni universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, Milan, 2001, pp.530.

Anna Treves, daughter of the law sociologist Renato Treves, is a lecturer in historical geography at the University of Milan. For some time she has

specialised in birth rates and government policy, particularly in the years between the two world wars and with regard to the new waves of migration during that period (*Le migrazioni interne nell'Italia fascista*, Turin, 1976).

In her book *Le nascite e la politica nell'Italia del Novecento*, Anna Treves deals with the relationship between politics and Italy's demographic science, reconstructing, as a backdrop, the socio-economic trends which had shaped theoretical studies and policy decisions.

During the last fifty years, very little research on demographic policies has been published, especially with the wide-angled view that covers the entire twentieth century as in this book (an international conference on "Fonti archivistiche e ricerca demografica - Archive Sources and Demographic Research" was held in Trieste in 1990, organised by the Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici and by the Società italiana di demografia storica: the proceedings were published in 1996 in the *Saggi* series of the State Archives Publications).

Anna Treves explains why there has been scant research on these subjects: "The very idea of demographic policy and even the word "demography" in the minds and reflexes of Italians are associated with Fascism and with its very aspects which were destined to remain in people's memory as the most repugnant. The term "demography" (...) was unutterable for very many postwar years, the profession of demographer was difficult, and people were almost ashamed to admit to being a member of this profession."

Anna Treves' prime aim is to make it clear that "the rapid increase in policies encouraging childbirth in Europe" from the 1920s, or even only just before the second world war, were not the prerogative of Fascist-type totalitarianisms, but were to be found in countries such as Belgium, France during the government of Daladier and Blum, the Germany of the Weimar Republic and the Scandinavian social democracies. These are the bases of Anna Treves' interpretation of demographic policies and policies encouraging childbirth: "in the much narrower sense of policies which have the direct or explicit aim of influencing population growth" (more people means more power).

Anna Treves states that, "with today's knowledge", the issue about the fall in the birth rate, which was of great concern to politicians and demographers between the two world wars, seems in actual fact to be "to a great extent the result of a misinterpretation, partially due to, and in any case magnified by, the use of gross statistical instruments".

The problems which had brought huge demographic changes between the two world wars, giving rise to new circumstances, were, in fact, quite different: deaths, the stop to emigration to the Americas, and its replacement by internal migration movements both from one European country to another and from villages to large towns within the same country.

Anna Treves' book is based on the analysis of the relationship between

science and politics, between culture and the régime, and reconstructs the route by which, under Mussolini, demography finally gained recognition as an independent science. However, demography became an independent discipline only "after" political decisions had been taken and as a harbinger of the subsequent degeneration, ending in the racial laws when, in 1938, the Ufficio centrale demografico of the Ministry of Internal Affairs became the Direzione generale demografia e razza.

Anna Treves writes: "There is no doubt that the episode of confrontation between the "demographic school" and racialism is a bitter one. The fact is that the Italian demographers "went along with" the racist policy, because, with their great scientific authority (...), with their different attitudes – some were eager, but many others were not very convinced, or evasive or reticent or reluctant – they just ended up by vouching for (...) the connection between demographic policy and racial policy." This was the case of some of the great names among the founding fathers of statistical and demographic studies, such as Corrado Gini and Livio Livi.

In an interesting interview given to Simonetta Fiori for the Rome daily *La Repubblica* ("Parla la demografa Anna Treves. Ma gli italiani non si estinguono -The demographer Anna Treves speaks. But Italians are not becoming extinct", 7 March, 2002), Treves summarised the key points of her book.

Based on wide reading and well-selected archive sources, the work deals with the subject of policies encouraging childbirth and Fascism's demographic policy, considering also the internal discrepancies within the different factions which supported or, in any case, did not challenge the régime's decisions. Among the demographers who acquiesced or were in some way involved with the régime there were many Jews (Gino Arias, Giorgio Mortara, Roberto Buchi and Stefano Somogy) who then later, for the most part, had to go abroad, and Gini himself was accused by Giovanni Preziosi's racist magazine *La vita italiana* of filling the institutes he directed with Jews. However, there were flaws within the official doctrine, too. For example, the corporatist faction in *Critica fascista* maintained polemically, in opposition to Mussolini's policy of demographic expansion, that (in Bottai's words): "There are two opposite ways of understanding demographic policy: one, idealistically, in that it aims to revive the institution of the family with all its traditional moral and economic values, and the other in a material and quantitative sense, in that it is concerned only with numbers."

The most significant aspect of Anna Treves' work lies in its clarifying the connection between the population issue and the potential and inevitable consequence of racialism and compares Italy with the rest of Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s. All of this is seen as a consequence of the theorizations of a science and of a dangerous intellectual class that supported a "new" state.

However, Anna Treves takes her analysis up to the present: after so many years' silence on an issue which seemed to be synonymous with Fascism,

Treves sees a worrying continuity in the new alarm about the fall in the birth-rate raised by opposing political fronts in Italy: these decry the new waves of immigration but do not see them as a solution to the fall in the birth-rate, emphasising anxiously the need to defend the national identity and Western civilisation.

Anna Treves concludes significantly: "One of the fundamental characteristics of the present period of history (...) is this rapid increase in ethnic groups that clandestinely and, sometimes, tragically in broad daylight, move across Europe where a crisis in ideologies, ideas and values ensure that people find no other identity (...) but that of the ethnic "we"."

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