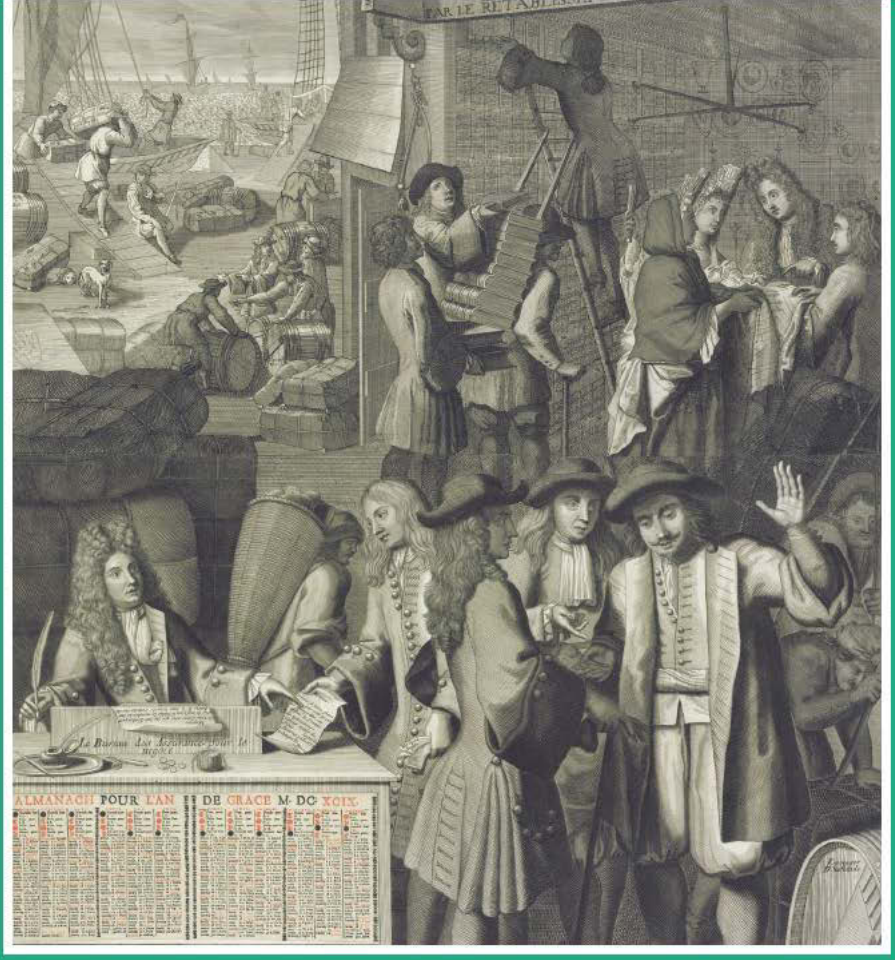

Edited by
Antonella Alimento

WAR, TRADE AND NEUTRALITY

Europe and the Mediterranean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

FrancoAngeli *Storia*

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FrancoAngeli *Storia*

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Front cover image: Detail from *Les heureux fruits de la paix par le rétablissement du com(m)erce universel*, 1699 (engraving), by Henri Watelle, courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

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Abbreviations

AAE = Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris
AGI = Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGRB = Archives Générales du Royaume, Bruxelles
AGS = Archivo General de Simancas
AHN = Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AN = Archives Nationales, Paris
ARH = Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag
ASFi = Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASGe = Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASLi = Archivio di Stato di Livorno
ASMi = Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASMo = Archivio di Stato di Modena
ASTo = Archivio di Stato di Torino
ASTs = Archivio di Stato di Trieste
AVMi = Archivio Verri, Milano
BNE = Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BLLi = Biblioteca Labronica, Livorno
HHStA = Haus- Hof- Und Staatsarchiv, Wien
RA = Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen

AE = Affaires Étrangères, see AN
Alm. Del = Almindelig Del, see RA
AS = Archivio Segreto, see ASGe
ASR = Auditore poi Segretario delle Riformagioni, see ASFi
C = Consejos, see AHN
CC = Carteggi consolari, see ASMi
CR = Consiglio di reggenza, see ASFi
E = Estado, see AHN

GCM = Governo civile e militare, see ASLi
GM = Giunta di Marina, see ASGe
IC = Intendenza commerciale per il litorale in Trieste 1748-1776, see ASTs
L = Litterarum, see ASGe
MD = Mémoires et Documents, see AAE
ME = Materie politiche per rapporto all'Estero, Consolati nazionali, Livorno, see ASTo
MM = Miscellanea Medicea, see ASFi
MP = Mediceo del Principato, see ASFi
SEG = Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, see AGRB
SG = Staten Generaal, see ARH
SME = Segreteria e Ministero degli Esteri, see ASFi
SS = Segreteria di stato 1765-1808, see ASFi
TKUA = Tyske Kancelli Undenrigske Afdeling, see RA

art. = article
c. = carta (sheet)
cc. = carte (sheets)
c.c. n.n. = carte non numerate = (sheets not numbered)
ch. = chapter
f. = folio
ff. = folios
ins. = inserto = (insert)
inss. = inserti = (inserts)
no. = number
nos. = numbers
prot. = protocollo = (protocol)
r = recto
s.l. = sans lieu d'édition (no place of publication)
tit. = title
ul. = unlabelled
v = verso
vol. = volume
vols. = volumes

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1960-2010), vols. I-LXXV also available online: *http://www.treccani.it/biografie*

IBI = Indice Biografico Italiano / Italian Biographical Index / Italienischer Biographischer Index, ed. Tommaso Nappo and Paolo Noto (Munich: K. G Saur, 1997-2010), 7 vols.

Introduction

Antonella Alimento

This book, *War, Trade and Neutrality: Europe and the Mediterranean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* comes at the end of a research project involving scholars from the University of Pisa, the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, the École Pratiques des Hautes Études in Paris, the Erasmus University of Rotterdam, the Pablo de Olavide University of Seville, and the Ca' Foscari University in Venice. Launched within the Department of History of the University of Pisa under the title *Empires and small states: War and neutrality between the Peace of Westphalia and the Continental Blockade*, the project was then opened to teams of collaborators coordinated respectively by Wolfgang Kaiser, Françoise Janin, Koen Stapelbroek, Manuel Herrero and Antonio Trampus, thanks to the internationalisation support programme that the University of Pisa had funded for the academic years 2008-2010.

By being part of a well-established institution, this collaboration enabled two workshops to be organised. The first was held in Pisa on 5-6 November 2009 on the theme *The free ports in* ancien régime *Europe: Livorno, Trieste, the United Provinces, Marstrand*, while the second, held in Seville on 17-18 June 2010, was entitled *Commercial networks, national interests and trade treaties in* ancien régime *Europe.* The support programme also made it possible to stage an international study conference in Pisa on 16-18 December 2010, the theme of which was *Trade relations, political agreements and neutrality in* ancien régime *Europe*.[1] Additionally, it provided the means to publish this volume, which brings together the most significant results of the project participants' work and also essays by specialists who, as guest speakers at the Pisa conference, gave insight into aspects of the project that had not been explored in sufficient depth (Eric Schnakenbourg and Enrico Spagnesi) or reflected on the methodological structuring and outcome of the research (Niccolò Guasti, Mario Montorzi and Biagio Salvemini).

1. For more information about the activities of the research group and details of its members visit the website *http://www.storia.unipi.it/cooperazioneinternazionale/portifranchi/index.htm.*

The underlying idea of the original project, which was the basis of the dialogue with the teams from abroad, is that the Mediterranean, despite no longer being central to the global economy from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, still remained throughout the *ancien régime* a decisive region, and thus one which invites investigation into the configuration of political and commercial relations between states of different sizes and "constitutional" structures. The major powers that strived for hegemony in the area had in fact to deal with states which, though of lower rank, were trying hard to carve out or hold on to positions that kept them within the mainstream of profitable trade. One can see quite clearly the strategies implemented in the Mediterranean by the great powers – namely Britain, France and the Habsburg Empire – by which each sought to gain commercial and political supremacy. Yet one can also identify the policies adopted in the same area by other states, such as Holland and Spain, which were losing their economic and political dominance. And again, one can discern the efforts made by such states as Sweden and the Barbary states, which, irrespective of their size or religion, still tried to enter or remain part of the political scene, keeping a weather eye on ongoing political developments.

The case of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which made the free port of Livorno and neutrality the keystone of its foreign policy, lent itself well to the investigation of an issue – that of the "small state" – which is now the object of renewed interest in Italy and elsewhere.[2] As Maurizio Bazzoli has underlined so effectively, the theme of the small state has at various times been studied "as a naturalistic element and as a historiographic principle, as a structural condition of a particular political order, internal but also international [...] as a condition of the debate on the nature of the internal political order or on the type of socio-economic organisation, an aspect of the more general philosophical and political reflection on the "ideal state" and "good governance" (a model, a "small republic" with the republican form of government, a myth, a utopian project with strong links to antiquity)".[3]

The Pisan team has anatomised the theme of the small state by studying over a long period the reception in Tuscany of modern natural law thought and the

2. Richard Whatmore, "'Neither masters nor slaves'. Small states and Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, "Lineages of Empire. The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought", ed. Dunkan J. Kelly (2009), 53-81; Maurizio Bazzoli, *Il piccolo Stato nell'età moderna. Studi su un concetto della politica internazionale tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1990); *Small states in International Relations*, ed. Christine Ingerbritsen (Reykjavik: University of Iceland Press, 2006); *Kleinstaaten in Europa: Symposium am Liechtenstein-Institut zum Jubiläum 200 Jahre Souveränität Fürstentum Liechtenstein 1806-2006*, ed. Dieter Langewiesche (Vaduz: Verlag der Liechtensteinischen Akademischen Gesellschaft, 2007); Alice Blyte Raviola, *L'Europa dei piccoli stati. Dalla prima età moderna al declino dell'antico regime* (Rome: Carocci, 2008).

3. Maurizio Bazzoli, "Piccolo stato e teoria dell'ordine internazionale nell'età moderna", in: *Polis e piccolo stato tra riflessione antica e pensiero moderno. Proceedings from the study days of 21-22 February 1997 held in Florence*, eds. Emilio Gabba and Aldo Schiavone (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1999), 76-93.

debate on trade neutrality, together with the political practices and legislative and diplomatic initiatives put in place in order to compete in the international arena. The significance of this chosen approach is deepened if one thinks that for Guicciardini, when he wrote the *Dialogo del reggimento di Firenze*, the combination of "small" and "free" did not represent, as noted by Galasso, "an ideal but the observation of a fact".[4]

The ruling class of the Grand Duchy, like those of other small states in the Italian peninsula, lived in a situation that has rightly been called bipolar: whatever their size and status were, these states, although sovereign, were dependent on international power relations.[5] There is surely no need to labour the point that after the War of the Spanish Succession the political equilibrium had a profound impact on their dynastic destinies: it is enough to mention the events in the Duchy of Milan, which passed under Habsburg rule; or those of the House of Savoy, whose ruler obtained the title of King of Sicily, later changed to that of Sardinia; or those of the Kingdom of Naples, where, after the Treaty of Seville, the right of Charles of Bourbon to establish an independent dynasty was acknowledged (1734); or, finally, those of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, where the House of Lorraine came to power following the death of the last Medici (1737).[6]

Being aware that they could not directly influence the politico-economic balances of Europe did not, however, deter the ruling classes of these small states from making plans for their countries' future. They did so by bearing in mind the political, economic and, more generally, cultural choices that were being made not only by the great nation states (Britain, France and the Habsburg Empire), but also by other small states, such as the United Provinces and Sweden, which were using active trade neutrality as their workhorse to preserve and increase national wealth and so safeguard their independence.

Based on the knowledge that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany had, in its own distinctive way, participated culturally and politically in the profound changes introduced by commercial society, the project welcomed the collaboration of scholars of different specialisations and historical periods who are actively investigating the relationship between Empires and small states, as well as the relationship between neutrality, commercial society and interstate relations, and also that between practice and doctrinal elaboration in the sphere of the law of nations. The organisation of the two workshops, despite having placed under stress their respective administrations, allowed the scholars to interact with

4. Giuseppe Galasso, "'Piccolo stato' e storiografia italiana dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento", in: *Il piccolo stato. Politica storia diplomazia. Proceedings from the study conference, the Old Monastery of Santa Chiara, San Marino on 11-13 October 2001*, eds. Laura Barletta, Franco Cardini and Giuseppe Galasso (San Marino: AIEP, 2003), 127-144.

5. Aurelio Musi, "L'Italia dal Sacro Romano Impero allo stato nazionale", in: *Piccolo stato. Politica storia diplomazia*, 171-195: 177.

6. On these points Paolo Alatri, *Le relazioni internazionali in Europa nella prima metà del XVIII secolo* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 1990) is still unparalleled.

one another in a concrete and profitable way. The strong integration between the groups led to the identification of the themes of free ports, trade networks and the commercial treaties of the *ancien régime* as areas where the different definitions of problems to be analysed and the methodologies employed by historians of politics and ideas, historians of institutions and law, and historians of economic thought and political doctrines converged. The group as a whole drew new lines of inquiry from this open forum, having found ways forward that would be difficult to discover on a personal level. During the conference in Pisa, the final stage of the collaboration process, the hallmark of the research group was clearly displayed. This had already emerged in the study meeting organised in Pisa on 28 May 2010 with Christian Windler, editor of the volume *Les ressources des faibles*[7] in which, in a highly innovative way, the practices of neutralisation of whole regions or small states in times of war were analysed.

The characteristic that perhaps best distinguishes this hallmark, and which I hope also shines through in this book, is surely the transnational line of approach by which the practices, institutions and cultural tendencies of the ruling classes of the small states in Italy and elsewhere have been investigated.[8] As the essays by Marcella Aglietti, Francisco Zamora and Manuel Herrero attest, the institutions derive great advantage from not having been studied as a fact, established and indigenous, to be examined in order to research their similarities or differences. The attentive study of how the consular institution and diplomacy actually worked during the *ancien régime* uncovered ramified personal networks and also financial and commercial complexes composed of merchants and businessmen as well as important aristocrats and politicians, each of whom had his own wealth of knowledge.[9] The cases studied by Zamora, Herrero and Aglietti demonstrate that diplomats of the republics and consuls of the "small states" guaranteed the survival of the Spanish monarchy and its colonial empire

7. *Les ressources des faibles. Neutralités, sauvegardes, accommodements en temps de guerre (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)*, eds. Jean-François Chanet and Christian Windler (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

8. See Jürgen Kocka, "Comparaison and Beyond", *History and Theory*, 42 (2003): 39-44; Michel Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30-50. For the repercussions on the study of international relations see: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History. From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); AHR Conversation: "On Transnational History", *American Historical Review*, 111-5 (2006): 1441-1462; the special edition "Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 54-4bis (2007); Pierre Grosser, "Comment écrire l'histoire des relations internationales aujourd'hui? Quelques réflexions à partir de l'Empire britannique", *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, 10, January-April 2010, *www.histoire-politique.fr*; *Les Circulations internationales en Europe. Années 1680-années 1780*, eds. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, Pierrick Pourchasse (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

9. Jan Glete, *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1550-1860* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1993) has called attention to the growing integration between merchants, governors and interest groups during the seventeenth century.

and, simultaneously, that of the respective states, thus contributing to the European balance of power. The fact, highlighted by Marcella Aglietti, that until 1757 the consuls of foreign nations reached agreements with the governor of Livorno over measures relating to the free port's neutrality, thereby ensuring the autonomy of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, further strengthens this hypothesis. In this sense the three essays represent a contribution not only to the study of the role played by the republics' diplomacy in the stabilisation of Europe,[10] but also to the more general question of the use of force and the weight of war in international relations.

Certainly war "became a state industry", so much so that seventy-five to eighty per cent of state budgets in the *ancien régime* was ring-fenced for military expenditure.[11] However, as Hendrik Spruyt has pointed out, if "war-making is the crucial selecting mechanism, then it is difficult to explain why so many small states survived. It is the empowerment by other states of such entities that allows them to continue to operate in world affairs rather than their ability to wield force. This is even more obvious in cases where smaller states replaced larger ones as when the Dutch Republic, with roughly the same population as Venice (1.5 million) and only one tenth that of France, become a near hegemonic power in that seventeenth century".[12]

In effect, war features in the essays not as a determining factor of interstate relations, nor as a narrative of battles, but rather as a catalyst for the internal reorganisation of states (not necessarily of the same territorial size) in economic competition with one another. As shown by the essays by Koen Stapelbroek and this writer, the service provided by small states specialising in maritime transport, such as the United Provinces, was essential to France, which never managed to build itself a merchant navy that was equal to its designs on commercial hegemony – designs which led to repeated clashes with Britain. From this point of view, it is worth noting that some conflicts more than others affected the political geography of Europe in so far as they activated, within single states, the dynamics of emulation that gave rise to many clashes but also significant streams of economic information. Contrary to what was planned for the original project, the chronology adopted in this book does not assign a central role to the treaties of Westphalia since it is thought, in accord with Andreas Osiander's

10. *The republican alternative: the Netherlands and Switzerland compared*, eds. André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen and Maarten Prak (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), to be read alongside the work by Lucien Bély, in particular with *Les relations internationales en Europe (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: PUF, 2007).

11. Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990) which mentions that in the eighteenth century the European states were at war for seventy-eight per cent of the time compared to forty per cent in the nineteenth century, 72. See also *The Fiscal Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe. Essays in honour of P.G.M. Dickinson*, ed. Christopher Storrs, (London: Ashgate, 2009).

12. Hendrik Spruyt*, The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 32 and 207.

innovative research and Marc Belissa's studies,[13] that the true watershed in international relations was the War of the Spanish Succession. Bringing to an end the wars of Louis XIV, the Peace of Utrecht involved the formal adoption of the principles of sovereignty, of equality between states and of security, which reached a crisis only after 1789 with the revolutionary wars, despite having been put to the test during the Seven Years' War and the Franco-British one that followed the revolt of the North American colonies.

Moreover, it was from the War of the Spanish Succession onwards that trade muscled into relations between states. As Istvan Hont has underlined, the complementarity of trade was being increasingly challenged by the "jealousy of trade".[14] Even though it represented no more than one to two per cent of global GDP,[15] international trade became a major source of conflict and competition. Kalevi J. Holsti has calculated that of the fifty wars fought between 1648 and the Napoleonic era, forty-six per cent had their origins in one or more issues "relating to trade and competitive colonialism. Trade as war and war as another form of trade competition continued to be the predominant characteristic of commercial relations between the European powers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[16] This percentage increases if we take into consideration the post-Utrecht period.[17]

By analysing the correlation of war, trade and neutrality in terms of emulation processes triggered by international competition, the group in a sense took up the challenge issued in 1956 by Lucien Febvre when he stated that "history is peace".[18] In essence, the study by Guillaume Calafat, devoted to the debate about the nature of trade treaties concluded between the European powers and the Barbary regencies, confirms the fact that *inter gentes* ties that provided safety for people and goods under a neutral flag were being made in the Medi-

13. Andreas Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Mith", *International Organization,* 55 (2001): 251-87 and Marc Belissa, *Repenser l'ordre européen (1795-1802). De la société des rois aux droits des nations* (Paris: Editions Kimé, 2006). Also by Andreas Osiander, it is important to remember *The States System of Europe 1640-1990. Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

14. Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of trade. International competition and the Nation-State in Historical perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

15. David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Gordblatt, and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 154.

16. Kalevi J. Holsti, *Taming the Sovereigns. Institutional Change in International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

17. Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and war: armed conflicts and international order 1648-1989* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), 47.

18. Lucien Febvre, "L'histoire, c'est la paix", *Annales, ESC* (1956): 51-63 who wrote; "History is war? Yes. The history of States. But history contains more than States. There are also nations. And the history of nations. If one prefers, the history of civilizations [...] The olive tree and its journey trough the Mediterranean, reconcile [...] the history of philosophies, of arts, of sciences, of techniques and of literatures [...] the history of civilisation, of a word reconcile, this type of history does not engender hate or spite", 53.

terranean.[19] Calafat's essay has demonstrated that trade treaties were instrumental in giving sovereignty *a priori* to states that, having engaged in corsair activities, were deemed not to be *personae morales*. Thus the essay responds to Febvre's invitation to study those moments of European civilisation that united the people, rather than divided them.

The challenge launched by Febvre was taken up also by Antonio Trampus who has reconstructed the various phases of the reception given in the Italian states and in the Habsburg Empire to the work of Vattel, the great theorist of the *ius gentium* and of neutrality. Eric Schnakenbourg has moved in the same direction by analysing the contribution made by the principle that peace, not war, was the natural relationship between states: a principle that the Dane Martin Hübner elaborated with his own diplomatic activities aimed at defending the right of neutrals to trade with the enemy in time of war. If the conclusions that Trampus and Schnakenbourg reached reinforce the thesis that the Seven Years' War was a moment in which the rights of neutrals were championed vigorously,[20] Enrico Spagnesi's essay on the thought of Giovanni Maria Lampredi, professor of law at the University of Pisa, illustrates the late Enlightenment in Italy. As Trampus has stated so effectively, the Vattel who was embraced by Habsburg Lombardy is the one who postulated the sovereignty of the state. This author, for whom the "fictional theory about *l'Etat* as a distinct *persona morale*" was fundamental,[21] was seen by the Italian Enlightenment figures of the 1770s to be a powerful instrument supporting the reforms implemented by the state authority to ensure public happiness. This confidence in the role of the state, about which Mario Montorzi has reflected in his contribution, made possible the transformation of Verri and Beccaria into intellectual-officials.[22] With the case of Lampredi we enter a different cultural climate, that of the 1780s when the Italian translation of Vattel appeared in Venice almost as an endorsement of the decision by the Republic to adopt active neutrality. In defending the neutrality of Tuscany, which had made perfect impartiality and free trade – including the right to sell 'contraband', or arms – its guiding principle, Lampredi disseminated another aspect of Vattel's teaching; this happened when he took

19. On this aspect see Christian Windler, "Diplomatic History as a Field for Cultural Analysis," *The Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 79-106: 80. For relations between France and the Sublime Porte, see Géraud Poumarède, "Jalons pour une nouvelle histoire des capitulations franco-ottomanes," in: *L'invention de la diplomatie: Moyen Âge- Temps modernes*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998): 71-85 which has underlined the importance of the "commandements" or the specific arrangements that pragmatically resolved the previously insoluble problems of the capitulations, agreements that belonged to the symbolic and normative spheres.

20. Richard Pares, *Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights, 1739-1763* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938).

21. Quentin Skinner, "A Genealogy of the Modern State", in: *Proceedings of the British Academy* (2008) Lectures, 162 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 325-370: 350.

22. See Antonella Alimento, "Introduzione", in: *Modelli d'oltre Confine. Prospettive economiche e sociali negli antichi Stati italiani*, ed. Antonella Alimento (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2009), ix-xliv.

issue with Ferdinando Galiani who, in his *De' doveri dei principi neutrali verso i principi guerreggianti*, had accused him of effectively justifying the prolongation of wars by adopting the principle of perfect impartiality. In defending himself from this accusation, Lampredi entitled his work *Dei doveri dei popoli neutrali* thus demonstrating that he had understood Vattel's most revolutionary message: that is, the subordination of the legitimacy of the *persona ficta* of the state to the will of the people, the only true repository of sovereignty.

Francisco Zamora's essay represents a contribution to help understand how the favourable conditions for an active reception of English and French economic thought and, more generally, of a distinctive participation in the Enlightenment movement, were created in the Grand Duchy: the analysis of the case study of the Ginori brothers allows us to understand why Florence in the late seventeenth century was at the centre not only of important economic initiatives but also of a great many diplomatic and intellectual exchanges. Moreover, thanks to the three Ginori brothers – one a consul in Lisbon, another in Cadiz and the third in Seville, in close contact with the fourth brother who later substituted the first one – Livorno expanded its role as the world's "great Warehouse" that aroused much admiration in Joshua Gee, the theorist of the British colonial empire.[23] If, as Stéphane Béguard, Marc Belissa and Joseph Visser have stated, "the eighteenth century seemed to be the 'era of consuls', since they played a role in an explosion of networks, expression of the rise of commercial imperatives in the diplomacy of the Enlightenment",[24] the case of the Ginori family is testimony to the precocity with which the Grand Ducal ruling classes seized every new opportunity in order to ensure the prosperity and autonomy of their state.

The great insight that comes from analysing the work of the three consuls of the Ginori family, confirms the need to study the cultural horizons of these emblematic figures not as something home-grown, but as a process in which they selectively accepted and adapted ideas that had emerged far from their native land to local needs. The study of the external and theoretical dimension in early eighteenth century Tuscan debate is at the centre of the essay by Emanuele Salerno. In his *Stare pactis*, he argues that the Tus-

23. On the circulation and reception of English and French economic thought in Livorno in the 1750s, which occurred thanks to governor Carlo Ginori, a descendent of one of the consuls analysed by Zamora, see Antonella Alimento, "Tra Bristol ed Amsterdam: discussioni livornesi su commercio, marina ed impero negli anni Cinquanta del Settecento" in: *Dall'origine dei Lumi alla Rivoluzione. Scritti in onore di Luciano Guerci e Giuseppe Ricuperati*, eds. Donatella Balani, Dino Carpanetto and Marina Roggero (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008), 25-45; Antonella Alimento, "Tra 'gelosie' personali e 'gelosie' tra gli stati: i progetti del governatore Carlo Ginori e la circolazione della cultura economica e politica a Livorno (1747-1757)", *Nuovi studi livornesi* 16 (2009): 63-95.

24. Stéphane Béguard, Marc Belissa and Joseph Visser, "Introduction", in: *Aux Origines d'une alliance improbable. Le réseau consulaire français aux Etats-Unis (1776-1815)* ed. Stéphane Béguard, Marc Belissa and Joseph Visser (Brusselles: Peter Lang, 2005), v.

can ruling class's preference for Grotius's doctrine over that of Pufendorf, should be read in strict relation to the problems posed by the Medici succession: faced with the possible loss of autonomy, politicians and intellectuals who lived through the dynastic transition, such as Antinori and Buondelmonti, extolled the ability shown by the Medici to ensure the welfare and peace of the nation through their faithful adherence to a policy of neutrality.

The issue of sovereignty analysed in connection with the acceptance of legal and regulatory models developed in different political and cultural contexts is further elaborated through the study of two fundamental laws enacted in the Grand Duchy during the eighteenth century. The first is the maritime edict of 1748, the limits of which, compared to the *Ordonnance de la marine* of 1681, and also its strong potential, linked to the privileges that Livorno enjoyed as a free port, are described by Daniele Edigati. The second comprises the laws that, by sovereign act, decreed the perpetual neutrality of the state of Tuscany and not only of the port of Livorno. Thanks to his retrieval of unpublished material, Franco Angiolini has reconstructed the debate that accompanied the passing of the 1778 law of neutrality that strengthened that of 1757. Combining the teaching of Vattel on state sovereignty with that of Hübner on free trade, the main author of the bill, the civil chancellor Pierallini, clashed with Pompeo Neri, the noted jurist and architect of cadastral reform in Milan,[25] who would have preferred a proposal more in harmony with the legal tradition that existed before the enactment of the 1757 one. Despite the internal conflicts, the coherence and organic unity of the law on neutrality, promulgated by Peter Leopold on 1 August 1778, served as the model for those ratified by Ferdinand I, King of Two Sicilies on 19 September 1778, by Pope Pius VI on 4 March 1779, by the Republic of Genoa on 1 July 1779, and by the Republic of Venice on 9 September 1779. Addobbati's essay focuses on the practical consequences that this law had on Tuscan trade during the American War of Independence: by reconstructing the *cause célèbre* of the *Thetis*, which made case law of an insurance matter, Addobbati has raised the issue of the procedures by which justice was dispensed. In his contribution, Biagio Salvemini has placed this issue in the wider discussion of the relationship between the representation of power and the practices of intervention, highlighting the need to conduct the study of institutions alongside that of deeper economic dynamics.

Koen Stapelbroek's essay concerns the United Provinces, the small state accused, as was the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, of opportunism and self-interest. Although the concept of neutrality, as referred to in the article dedicated to it in the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, did not undergo significant semantic shifts between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries, many scholars have nevertheless stressed the need of differentiation since no case of neutrality was

25. Antonella Alimento, *Finanze e amministrazione. Un'inchiesta francese sui catasti nell'Italia del Settecento. I. Il viaggio di François-Joseph Harvoin con uno scritto inedito di Pompeo Neri* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2008).

identical to another.[26] In his essay, Stapelbroek outlines the stages that led the Republic to claim the right to trade with the enemy under any circumstance and notes how, by practising neutrality, the United Provinces created, as Alice Carter pointed out, the conditions that prompted the whole of Europe to reflect on "what the neutral role should be".[27] The Dutch debate on neutrality ran alongside a more comprehensive effort to rethink the foundations of the country's economic system: in this regard Stapelbroek links the choice of active neutrality with the failure to renew the favourable commercial treaty that the United Provinces had wrested from France at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession.

The essay by this writer revolves around the role played by bilateral commercial treaties in the creation of equal interstate relations. By means of a strong contextualisation of the agreements that France and England tried repeatedly to reach between 1666 and 1713, the essay sheds light on the disparate objectives that France and Great Britain set out to achieve by obtaining the lowering of customs tariffs. Even though they represented different aspirations and interests, both the French and British negotiators in fact conceived the liberalisation of trade as a means of ridding themselves of the intermediary role played by the United Provinces, which, with Utrecht, became aware of the political significance of their neutral position.

The development of this research and the organisation of the meetings imposed the making of certain choices, which are also evident in this volume: while the theme of trade neutrality and the associated topic of competitive emulation between the major states has received, as Niccolò Guasti has noted in his contribution, substantial attention, the issue of the "jealousy" between the neutral states has not been given the space it deserves. As Mikael af Malmborg emphasised in his study of the relations between Denmark, Sweden and the United Provinces,[28] competition between neutral nations was fierce; even when, with the League of Armed Neutrality, the neutrals set out to be a third force in Europe, their interests were still divergent and conflicting.[29] The study of this

26. See the interesting observations by Bernard Bacot, *Des neutralités durables. Origine, domaine et efficacité* (Paris: Libraire du Recueil Sirey, 1945); Jean Baptiste Duroselle, "Discours d'ouverture" in: *Neutrality in History. La neutralité dans l'histoire*, ed. Jukka Nevakivi (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1993).

27. Alice Clare Carter, "The Dutch as neutrals in the Seven Years' War", *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 12 (1963): 818-834: 819.

28. Mikael af Malmborg, *Neutrality and State-Building in Sweden* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

29. On this point see Isabel de Madariaga, *Britain, Russia, and the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Sir James Harri's Mission to St. Petersburg during the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). After having emphasised that "the Neutral League played a bigger part in the diplomacy of the period than has usually been admitted. It provided a system into which the neutral nations could fit, a kind of third force in Europe," she acknowledged that, "Neutrality became an active policy, linking together powers which had nothing in common but their neutrality", 446.

competitive rivalry would certainly have allowed us to give greater profundity to the study of economic and political dynamics undertaken in this volume.

I hope that this lack, as well as the missing in-depth examination of other related subjects of research, can be redressed by other research groups stimulated by the same pleasure that the participants in this initiative have found in sharing discoveries from the archives and in openly discussing methodological issues.

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