
REVIEW ARTICLES

Riches and Charity: the Duke and Duchess of Galliera

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1. Genoa's main square is named after Raffaele De Ferrari, Duke of Galliera, in acknowledgement of the stunning donation of 20 million lire he made in 1875 to finance the enlargement of the port of Genoa so that it could meet the requirements of both international competition and the traffic of the time. An important hospital in the city (at the time it was built it was foremost for the modernity of its planning and for its efficiency) is named after the Duchess of Galliera, Maria Brignole Sale. Much other spectacular evidence of the Duke and Duchess's beneficence is to be found in Italy and France. For example, the two principal civic art museums in Genoa are housed in and take the names of the Palazzo Bianco and the Palazzo Rosso in Via Garibaldi which the widowed Duchess bequeathed to the municipality of Genoa, together with her very valuable collection of pictures.

However, the grandeur and the diversity of the philanthropic works connected with the name of the Duke and Duchess of Galliera have complex origins. The Duke, like other rich businessmen of his era, wanted to benefit his home town, but exceptional circumstances also played their part. When the Duke died in November 1876 with no heir to take over his financial interests (his son Filippo, who had quarrelled with this parents, gave up his inheritance except for a princely annuity which permitted him to spend time and money to earn a place in the history of stamp-collecting), most of the Galliera estate, together with what the Duchess had inherited from her father (not much in comparison with the Galliera estate, although in absolute terms a sizeable inheritance) was given over to charity. We may wonder whether the donation for the construction work in the port, which the Duke had made during his lifetime when he was planning to make Genoa once again the centre of his activities as a financier, should be included. But if it was a means to propitiate De Ferraris's imminent rise to the top of the biggest Italian enterprise in the railway sector, it was certainly a lavish one: the donation amounted to about 15% of an estate which, with its 140 million lire, was among the biggest private

fortunes in Italy and Europe. In the twelve years between the death of the Duke and that of the Duchess in 1888, the Galliera estate was converted into geriatric hospices and orphanages in France (at Clamart and Meudon) and similar institutions in Italy: a kindergarten at Volti (a municipality which was part of Greater Genoa in 1927) and one at Voltaggio, a geriatric hospice at Coronata (Genoa), two hospitals in the centre of Genoa and working-class dwellings in what at the time were the city outskirts. This is without taking into account the museum bequests in Paris (the building which today houses the Musée Galliera, dedicated to fashion and costume) and in Genoa, consisting not only of the aforementioned palazzi and their art collections, but also of the library collected over a period of 250 years by the Brignole Sales with its rich manuscript collection of fundamental interest for scholars of modern Genoese history. Last but not least, there are the family archives: some parts are missing and the rest was in disarray but Liana Saginati and her assistants have worked hard and competently to put the papers in order and today they are among the most important Genoese archives housed in Genoa and accessible to scholars.

2. This introduction was necessary to explain the importance of the conference which, sponsored by the University and the civic administration, was held in Genoa from 30 November to 2 December 1988, on the centenary of the Duchess's death. Updated and augmented, complete with notes, the conference proceedings have been published. The twenty-four papers do not omit any aspect of the Duke and Duchess's lives and activities worthy of mention.¹

The first contribution is a long essay by Liana Saginati, based on her study of the private correspondence between the Duke and the Duchess and between them and some of their relatives, business partners and employees. Here, backed up by many quotations, we have a picture of the Duke and Duchess's personalities and leanings. Contributions on the Duchess's attitude towards the fashion of the day, on the collections belonging to the couple's eccentric son, Filippo De Ferrari and on the events in his life, and studies on the history and the substance of both the Brignole Sale and the De Ferrari archives complete the first section of the volume, which deals with the protagonists themselves and with the documentation.²

The second section deals with the estates and the financial activities of the Gallieras and their families, with articles on the role of Raffaele De Ferrari in the world of Parisian high finance and banking in the nineteenth century, on the

¹ *I Duchi di Galliera. Alta finanza, arte e filantropia tra Genova e l'Europa nell'Ottocento*, a cura di G. Assereto, G. Doria, P. Massa Piergiovanni, L. Saginati, L. Tagliaferro, Genova, Marietti, 1991, 2 vols., pp. 989.

² L. SAGINATI, *I Duchi di Galliera tra Genova e Parigi: vita di due nobili cosmopoliti da un epistolario inedito*, pp. 11-280; M. D. LUNGHU, *La Duchessa di Galliera: una signora alla moda*, pp. 281-296; A. GIUGGIOLI, *Filippo De Ferrari: un patrimonio per il collezionismo*, pp. 297-316; R. PONTE, *Il recupero di due archivi familiari di interesse europeo*, pp. 317-326.

Brignole Sale and the De Ferrari estates between the eighteenth century and the Restoration, on the management of the ducal estate, on De Ferrari's financial investment strategy and on his interest in the company for promoting the building of a railway between Genoa and Piedmont in the early 1840s.³

The third part consists of detailed analyses of the management of the agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises which De Ferrari either started or inherited: the agricultural enterprise at Galliera in the Bologna region, the «Lomellina» near Novi Ligure, the silk mill at Voltaggio and the Rocca-De Ferrari iron foundry, also at Voltaggio.⁴

The two papers which make up the fourth section deal appropriately with the enlargement of the port of Genoa. The first study puts the project in the general context of the problems relating to Genoa's port traffic before the donation, and emphasises the consequences of the donation. The second study deals with the cost, organisation and technical problems of the port extension works.⁵

The fifth and final sector is about the Duke and Duchess's philanthropic actions and cultural initiatives. After a review of the problems of the health service in Italy between Unification and Crispi's measures, there are four articles on the philanthropic activities: firstly, the significance of the planning of the Galliera hospitals and their architectural importance, then the working-class housing of the *Opera Pia De Ferrari Galliera*, followed by the charitable institutions founded at Voltri and Voltaggio and the Duchess's philanthropic work in France.⁶ The volume ends with four papers on the cultural initiatives

³ L. BERGERON, *Le premier duc de Galliera dans la Haute Banque parisienne du XIXe siècle*, pp. 329-340; G. ASSERETO, *I patrimoni delle famiglie Brignole Sale e De Ferrari tra la fine del Settecento e la Restaurazione*, pp. 341-390; P. MASSA PIERGIOVANNI, *Eredità, acquisti e rendite: genesi e gestione del patrimonio dei Duchi di Galliera*, pp. 391-448; G. DORIA, *La strategia degli investimenti finanziari di Raffaele De Ferrari dal 1828 al 1876*, pp. 449-510; L. MORABITO, *Raffaele De Ferrari e la società promotrice di una ferrovia da Genova al Piemonte (1840-1845)*, pp. 511-533.

⁴ S. RETALI, *Un esempio di conduzione di una azienda agraria della pianura bolognese; Galliera tra il 1837 e il 1851*, pp. 537-550; G. SIVORI PORRO, *Un'azienda collinare: la «Lomellina» dal 1796 al 1877*, pp. 551-616; M. S. ROLLANDI, *La filanda di Voltaggio e i Duchi di Galliera: dislocazione industriale e intervento padronale*, pp. 617-646; S. PAOLETTI, *Aspetti economici e tecnici della gestione di una ferriera: l'impianto Rocca-De Ferrari (1740-1820)*, pp. 647-718.

⁵ M. E. BIANCHI TONIZZI, *Il porto di Genova e la donazione del Duca di Galliera*, pp. 721-762; D. CABONA, *Aspetti economici, tecnici ed organizzativi dei lavori di ampliamento del porto di Genova tra il 1877 e il 1888*, pp. 763-779.

⁶ F. DELLA PERUTA, *Assistenza e sanità in Italia dall'Unità a Crispi*, pp. 783-802; E. POLEGGI, *Gli Ospedali Galliera: prime architetture della modernizzazione sanitaria in Italia*, pp. 803-818; C. BERTELLI, *Le case dell'Opera Pia De Ferrari Galliera*, pp. 819-856; G. BENVENUTO, *Le Opere Pie in Voltri e Voltaggio*, pp. 857-868; A. LANCE, *L'oeuvre philanthropique de la Duchesse de Galliera en France*, pp. 869-878.

connected with the Gallieras: the Museums which the Duchess bequeathed to the Genoa City Council, the ducal palazzo in Bologna and the fate of the collections it housed, the city of Paris museum devoted to fashion and costume and housed in Palazzo Galliera, and the history of the Brignole Sale-De Ferrari library.⁷

It would not be exact to state that the Duke and Duchess of Galliera have been ignored in studies on nineteenth-century Genoa, although general praise for their civic merits and inquisitive curiosity in the eccentric and obscure aspects of their lives (in the year of his marriage, Raffaele De Ferrari accidentally killed a servant; their son Filippo De Ferrari had, to put it mildly, a tormented personality, so much so that for a certain period he even denied his surname and had himself adopted by a former officer of the Austrian army) have detracted from scientific interest in two exceptional personalities. The Duke and Duchess of Galliera already figured in the principal Italian biographical dictionary; a participant at the conference wrote the contribution on De Ferrari.⁸ Furthermore, the Galliera's greatest accomplishment in the philanthropic field in Genoa, the Sant'Andrea hospital, has been the subject of a recent exhaustive study.⁹ But only after this systematic analysis, for which archival documentation that is excellent both in quantity and in quality was available, can it be said that the ducal couple have received the attention they deserve.

3. From the gathering of new information — or information which has been renewed through the widening of sources and perspectives — various research topics have arisen, which we will attempt to indicate in an inevitably brief summary of the papers in the two volumes under scrutiny.

First of all, the title chosen for the conference reminds us that there are two people: the Duke, first and foremost a financier but also an agricultural and industrial entrepreneur, and the Duchess's, for many years brilliant hostess of a salon which is mentioned in Proust's *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* before she became exclusively a benefactress. The private correspondence harbours a few surprises on this score. Initially it was Maria Brignole Sale who fell in love with society life in Paris; she it was who so considered herself a Parisian by adoption that she set aside as many monies for charitable works in Paris as she did in Italy. When all is said and done, the Galliera art collections became Genoese

⁷ L. TAGLIAFERRO, *I musei della Duchessa*, pp. 879-904; G. FRABETTI, *Il Palazzo di Bologna e i destini delle collezioni*, pp. 905-922; M. DELPIERRE, *Le Musée de la Mode et du Costume de la Ville de Paris au Palais Galliera*, pp. 923-934; L. MALFATTO, *La Biblioteca Brignole Sale-De Ferrari: note per una storia*, pp. 935-989.

⁸ Cfr. A. MONTICONE, *Brignole Sale, Maria*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XIV, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972, pp. 297-299; G. ASSERETO, *De Ferrari, Raffaele Luigi*, *Ibidem*, XXXIII, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987, pp. 729-736.

⁹ Cfr. E. POLEGGI, a c., *L'ospedale della Duchessa, 1988-1988*, Genova, Sagep, 1988.

only through the Duchess' pique at the Third Republic, in her eyes guilty of having banished from French territory in 1886 the descendants of the former French royal families, including the Orleans, who were great friends of the Duke and Duchess and frequent guests at Palazzo Galliera before becoming heirs to the Galliera estate. Moreover the Duke and Duchess's surviving son was called after the "bourgeois king" Louis-Philippe, who was his godfather. But in the early 1830s Raffaele De Ferrari had appeared to want to shift the focus of his business interests from France, where his father Andrea had greatly multiplied his own initial fortune, to Italy. The then Marquis De Ferrari showed "gentleman farmer" tendencies and his ambition was to devote himself to managing a large estate, like that of Galliera, near Bologna, purchased from the Swedish royal family in 1837 and bringing with it the title of Duke by which the Genoese gentleman was henceforth known.¹⁰ It is surprising to discover that De Ferrari, in the early years in Paris, smarting from some financial disasters, believed himself "incapable of setting his affairs to right". It was Maria who desperately wanted to make France their base, being very soon convinced that "Paris is the foremost spot on earth and....more pleasant to live in, even during a revolution, than anywhere else at its most peaceful".¹¹ However, the political events of their adopted country did give cause for concern: the couple arrived in Paris shortly before the July Revolution and later the 1848 revolution damaged the Duke's quotations on the Stock Exchange, where he lost a fair share of the profits he had made in the preceding years.

It seems that Maria Brignole Sale's love for France did not stem from idealistic or political sources. Furthermore her affection was for the Orleanist regime to which the Duchess remained as attached sentimentally as she was scornful of the parvenue vulgarity and arrogance of the key figures in the Second Empire. It should be said that the Duchess was influenced by her father, Antonio Brignole Sale who, as a young man, was a civil servant of the Napoleonic Empire and then became a diplomat in the service of his new sovereign, the King of Sardinia. He was described as a "great ambassador of a little king", but indirectly he showed how sumptuous embassies bled a once enormous personal fortune. As a senator of the Kingdom of Sardinia, Antonio moved towards distinctly pro-clerical ideas, arguing at length against the legal measures of the Piedmontese government and in the end resigning from the Senate in protest against the Unification of Italy, brought about to the Pope's detriment. The Duchess too showed precious little interest for the patriotic aspirations to Unification of her time. She judged the annexation of the Po duchies illegitimate and subsequently decided to favour explicitly the inhabitants of the old Republic of Genoa in her provisions for charity

¹⁰ Less known is the fact-recorded both in the entry of the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* and in these volumes — that just before his death he also bought the title of Prince of Lucedio.

¹¹ L. SAGINATI, *I Duchi di Galliera tra Genova e Parigi...*, pp. 40, 45.

— a distinctive sign of the stubborn reappearance of a parochial streak beneath her cosmopolitan tastes.

Raffaele De Ferrari, on the contrary, was seen to be much more conciliatory towards the political innovations, although he always avoided letting his business be conditioned by politics and managed to operate without difficulty in France, Spain, the Austrian Empire and the Papal States. Notwithstanding the Galliera's affection for the Orléans, the Duke's stunning fortune was amassed mainly during the Second Empire, by taking full advantage of the opportunities offered to financiers by the railway development policy promoted by the Emperor and his ministers. Moreover, Morny, Napoleon III's step-brother, was on several occasions Galliera's valid ally in the struggles amongst the railway barons which shook the French financial scene in the 1850s and 1860s. In the new unified state, shortly before his death De Ferrari could even count on the sympathy of the Parliamentary extreme left which saw in him a supporter of state enterprise in the railway sector. This was a surprising view which the Duke's death prevented being verified since Piedmont was the very region where De Ferrari, until that time, had not managed to make any railway investment, despite some favourable options. In Genoese economic circles in fact, the first proposal for a railway between the city and the Po valley had been put forward, with remarkable intuitive timeliness, in 1826. However it was not until 1840 that a "Royal Society for the Railway from Genoa to Piedmont and the Lombardy Border" was founded; De Ferrari figured as a guarantor of the enterprise which was started by some of the city's most eminent businessmen. Contacts between the Genoese consortium and the Duke date from 1836, that is a year before the Piedmont government commission on railway issues set to work. But the controversies over the route which the railway proposed by the Genoese consortium should follow and over the possible effects of the railway on Piedmont's economy led to the formation of another commission which in 1845 opted once and for all for a state monopoly solution to the railways in the Kingdom of Sardinia. Consequently in Piedmont the Duke had to endure Cavour's opposition. Cavour supported a policy of state intervention in the railways and was personally opposed to Galliera, to whose salon he had been a frequent visitor in Paris in the 1840s.¹² But, in essence, the failure of the Genoese enterprise had been due to the Turin government's preference for an "English" approach to the railway issue.

4. Where did the Duke and Duchess come from? Originally, the marriage between the twenty-four year-old Raffaele De Ferrari and the seventeen year-old Maria Brignole Sale had been a traditional one arranged between the scions of the two upper-class Genoese families, both important for different reasons. The blue blood was more on the side of the Brignole Sales who had accumulated their wealth between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

¹² Cfr. R. ROMEO, *Cavour e il suo tempo (1810-1842)*, I, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1977, p. 746.

boasted among their ancestors three doges and a famous man of letters, Anton Giulio, and lived in a splendid palazzo in Genoa's most opulent street, Strada Nuova. But the collapse of the sinking funds in the old regime states had diminished their immense fortune, which was further sapped by the expenses incurred by Antonio's mother and by Antonio himself for lavish entertaining. And so they were nobles in relative faded splendour, and the figures speak for themselves. In 1787 Antonio Brignole Sale's father owned a fortune of about six million lire and had an annual income of 176,000 lire; but in 1815 Antonio could count on an annual income reduced to 82,000 lire. It was an all-time low; from then on things began to improve slightly. Although with ups and downs his income increased again until it amounted to 150,000 lire in 1828, when his daughter Maria married De Ferrari, but even then half her dowry was obtained on loan from her future father-in-law. And so the marriage alliance with the De Ferraris was very welcome.

The De Ferraris were by no means as illustrious or wealthy as the Brignoles in the Republic of Genoa: they could boast of only one doge, elected in the 1780s, the Duke of Galliera's grandfather who bore the same name and was a man of literally legendary miserliness. A fortune which initially was not enormous had been shrewdly defended and wisely invested by Raffaele's father, Andrea, who, after having got rich, unlike many of his fellows, during the Napoleonic regime had amassed even greater wealth under Louis XVIII. Once again it is best to let the figures speak for themselves. The De Ferrari fortune, modest in comparison with that of the Brignole Sale's in the 1780s but less tied up with foreign investments in government stock and private loans and so less vulnerable, already amounted to perhaps two million lire in 1811. Starting with this considerable sum, Andrea, who was involved in his own affairs and averse to playing an active role in politics, set out to multiply it during the year of the Restoration, through speculating in real estate, on the stock exchange and in banks in France, his investments ranging from government stock to canal building. And so, France was the source of Andrea De Ferrari's wealth, although the sphere of his interests did extend to other countries. Andrea De Ferrari's annual income exceeded 300,000 lire in the 1820s and shortly before he died he could boast a fortune of about 10 million lire. The position he had acquired in the city's money hierarchy was magnificently consecrated only a short while before his death and before his son's marriage, with the purchase of a large palazzo in Piazza San Domenico, the present-day Piazza De Ferrari. In short, Andrea De Ferrari's all powerful rise can be seen as an example of how the decline of the fortunes of the Genoese nobility, caused by the disasters of the Revolution and the Napoleonic regime could be countered and turned to advantage by enterprises true to the spirit and tradition of the city's businessmen.

His inheritance from his father already made him a very rich man and a desirable business partner for anyone. But in forty-seven years' activity, from 1828 to 1875, when he made the donation for the port of Genoa, the Duke of Galliera's estate reached the astonishing sum of 140 million lire.

How did Raffaele amass this fortune? When he inherited it from his father in 1828, it was made up of 20 per cent real estate and 80 per cent financial investments: a somewhat unbalanced start as regards financial investments compared to a contemporary French specimen regarding the same social grouping. And in fact until 1847 De Ferrari tried to correct this imbalance increasing his investments in Italy but continuing his financial speculating in France, where the majority of his initial fortune was held, as has been noted: 8,334,764 lire (of which 7,814,075 lire in financial investments) as against 2,397,035 lire in Italy. After a shaky and, in some ways, discouraging start, during the period of the July monarchy the De Ferrari fortune more than doubled, and on 31 December 1848 amounted to 24,030,265 lire, 60 per cent of which was in financial investments. Compared to the original inheritance, not only had the proportion of real estate investment increased but also the size of investments in Italy, which now represented 42.5 per cent of the total estate. In the following twenty years, until 1867, the fortune increased to 84,421,824 lire, 80 per cent of which was held in France (81 per cent to be exact) while financial investments accounted for 82 per cent. In the last years of the Second Empire, De Ferrari transferred vast sums of capital to Italy: from 1867 to 1871 his financial investments in France dropped from 64.7 to 39.7 million lire, while those in Italy increased tenfold from 4.5 to 46.8 million lire. However it was not to be a dismantling of De Ferrari's French interests: after peace was re-established in France, De Ferrari's financial investments gradually increased again to 61.2 million lire in 1875 as opposed to 49.7 million lire invested in Italy. Therefore on 31 December 1875, the Duke's estate amounted to 131,039,929 lire: almost 111 million (equal to 84.7 per cent) was made up of financial investments and 66.5 million lire (almost half) was still in France. The lion's share of the real estate investments in Italy was made up not of the property in Genoa and in the area around Genoa, nor of the property purchased at Parma and La Spezia, but of the Galliera estate and all that pertained to it.

5. The importance of the French operations for the Duke of Galliera's fortune necessitates further detail. In Paris, De Ferrari, who could call upon a very considerable capital, even compared with those of the principal local banks, enjoyed good relations with principal figures connected to the Genevan protestant bank, the De La Rües (who had a house in Genoa too), the Paccards and, until 1844, Laffitte. De Ferrari appeared a pioneer in his attention to railway enterprises and even sooner in Italy than in France. In France he operated in the Paris-Orléans group, alongside the Bartholonys, but in the *Ferrovía del Nord* he joined partnership with the Rothschilds, who were in conflict with his allies at the Paris-Orléans. In the 1830s and the 1840s, the flow of his investments in Italy was tied to the economic situation in France: at every moment of crisis in France, De Ferrari correspondingly increased his investments in Italy. In Genoa he was among the promoters and was chairman of the Bank of Genoa, but in Piedmont he met with Cavour's opposition.

Moreover in France, too, his financial ascent was not free from disaster: during 1848 the Duke lost everything he had earned in the previous four years. Only after Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* did De Ferrari's affairs pick again at a giddy pace and with enormous success. De Ferrari chose a back-up role or a partnership in the big French companies; he did not want to be a lone runner. He worked mainly with the Rothschilds, but also with the Pereires, alongside whom he sat on the board of directors of the *Crédit Mobilier* before leaving them in 1856; but then he renewed his contacts with them in 1862-63. In other words, De Ferrari was careful not to indentify himself with any single group or single partner, strong in the knowledge that his ample liquidity made him a sought-after partner. The number of shares he held in the railway companies varied a great deal over the years; percentage-wise, from 30.7 per cent of the Duke's Paris funds in 1851 to more than 50 per cent in 1860: an increase, followed by a reduction, followed by a further increase. Moreover his interest in railways, first of all in France, and after 1856 extended to the railways of Austria, some Italian states (excluding Piedmont), Russia, Spain and even the Dutch colony of Java, without forgetting lastly the railways of the unified Italian state where the Duke operated in the sector in contact with Domenico Balduino and Pietro Bastogi.

As far as real estate investments were concerned, in the 1850s in France De Ferrari concentrated mainly on rural areas, and took precious little part in the property speculations of the time in Paris under the aegis of Hausmann; he bought property in Paris in the 1860s after he had reduced his investments in French railways, but he withdrew from the Paris property market within a few years, perhaps dissatisfied with the not very high yield from the investment.

A man of finance, De Ferrari did not get very involved in industrial, commercial and service enterprise investments. Moreover, those enterprises in which he did buy shares, did not generally have a successful outcome, undermined as they were by negative economic situations. With shares in sixty companies, between 1828 and 1867, De Ferrari made a profit only in seventeen companies; in another seven he broke even; in eighteen companies he lost all the capital he had invested and in the rest he made losses to a greater or lesser extent.

His return to Italy after 1867 coincided with the advent of favourable opportunities for his enterprises in the newly unified country, just when in France the situation's worsening coincided with the collapse of the Pereires' *Crédit Mobilier* and with the death of James de Rothschild: in short with the removal from the economic scene of De Ferrari's traditional allies in France, although even in his railway enterprises in Italy De Ferrari had been indirectly connected with the Rothschilds and the Pereires through their local partners Bastogi and Balduino. However, his field of action in Italy was not just confined to the railway sector, where only his death prevented him from bringing off yet another spectacular feat. He was also active in the banking sector, where his decisive intervention rescued the *Credito Mobiliare Italiano* and the *Regia*

Tabacchi (a tobacco company) through investments just as big as those he had made in the railways.

6. Compared with the financial investments, the other items in the Galliera budget carried proportionately limited weight and yielded modest success, proportionate moreover to the time and the attention which De Ferrari dedicated to them. For example the Duke was an agricultural entrepreneur in the fifteen years from 1837 to 1851, from the time he purchased the Galliera estate (1931 hectares cultivated by share-croppers) from the Swedish royal family to when he leased the management of it to the Rossi and Grisanti company. The original owner (Antonio Aldini, the Cisalpine Republic politician) had for the most part cultivated rice, but the Duke gradually turned the estate over to cereal crops and hemp, though without appreciable financial results in the short term.

In 1844 the Duke had purchased from the Genoese patrician Giambattista Lomellini his estate *La Lomellina* near Novi Ligure, an agricultural enterprise of 239 hectares divided into 211 lots, together with a foundry, a squire's *palazzo* and a house at Novi. The estate was for the most part leased out and scarcely yielded an economic return. The De Ferrari management led first of all to an increase in the land cultivated with share-cropping contracts and to the gradual abolition of long-lease contracts. Later, in the 1860s, the share-cropping contracts were replaced by mixed rents and money rents. At the *Lomellina* too the Duke in the long run gave up direct management, leasing the whole estate in 1869 to an agent and his partner. The estate's economic performance under the De Ferrari management was always positive, improving from the 1840s to the 1850s and becoming stable — with ups and downs — in the 1860s. The overall profit rate rose from 3.04 per cent in the first years of management to 4.90 per cent in the period when management was leased to the agents. However, the land investments, including the Lucedio estate, show the Duke's preoccupation with differentiating and balancing his capital investments and with acquiring the status of a country gentleman which he believed necessary to fulfil his ambition to enter the ranks of the great European aristocracy, rather than his preoccupation with profit assessments. Moreover De Ferrari's agricultural commitment in the 1850s gave way to much more remunerative investments.

As has been noted, the Duke was even less fortunate in his industrial and commercial enterprises, starting with the one he set up in the 1830s with some Genoese businessmen. From 1835 De Ferrari was a partner in the limited company *Morro, Alberti e C.* in which 300,000 lire out of a total of 800,000 lire capital was his. It was through this very company that the Duke had an interest in the aforementioned project for a railway from Genoa to Piedmont. But the company also became co-owners of a silk-mill built by De Ferrari at Voltaggio. The investment was in a sector which was expanding in the 1830s; the building of the mill was completed in the first half of 1837 and silk manufacture began in July of the same year. It was a fair-sized plant, although not the largest in the

sector. Machinery was supplied by firms from Como and a workforce from Lombardy worked alongside factory-hands recruited locally or from the vicinity (in Valpolcevera but mainly at Rossiglione). Links with the Milanese silk industrialists were strengthened as the Morro and Alberti company and De Ferrari bought shares in the limited company *Gio. Battista Delachi e C.* in which Lombard landowners were also share-holders. Production continued from 1837 to 1844. But first the Delachi firm and then the Morro Alberti company went into liquidation. Although the enterprise was innovatory and in line with similar developments elsewhere in Italy, the economic results were basically poor. The mill, which was left in disuse for decades, was reopened by the Duchess after her husband's death, solely to provide work for the population of Voltaggio. The Duke also had a foundry at Voltaggio which his family had taken over from the Roccas in the eighteenth century. It was a medium-small plant producing under 1000 *cantari* of iron per year, but the production level was qualitatively excellent. Rods, bars and nails (the latter an increasingly remunerative product) manufactured in the foundry were sold mainly on the lower Piedmont market. The economic results of the foundry had been particularly favourable in the early eighteenth century, mainly because of low production costs. But in the long run the plant closed down, sharing the fate of the iron industry in Liguria which had remained anchored to traditional production systems.

7. De Ferrari used his own fortune for charitable works before the Duchess did. In particular, the donation for the enlargement of the port of Genoa stands out for the size of the sum involved and even more for the purpose chosen for it, which made it a unique example of benevolence in not only the history of Genoa but in the history of post-unification Italy. It was a timely and necessary intervention for the city's development. In 1876 the harbour at Genoa operated in fact at 20 per cent of its potential capacity and was, according to Depretis, in «medieval» conditions. In the first fifteen years after Unification, there had been a substantial increase in traffic through Genoa's port but proportionately less than the development in Italian port traffic taken as a whole, largely on account of the deficiency of port facilities and the communication networks linked to them. At the time of Unification, Genoa's port was in fact a small one: its 2700 linear metres of wharfs had to cope daily with 700 tons of traffic per linear metre, two and a half times the optimum ratio. The low water-level rendered necessary the use of barges to load and unload goods, thereby slowing down operations. To make the picture even more depressing, there were only eighteen cranes and a single dry dock (a moderate one at that). There were very few areas for warehousing which therefore had to be split up among various buildings in the city. The comparison with Marseilles was humiliating.

There had been interventions in the sector before this time. But overall, from 1861 to 1875, the state had sanctioned under nine million lire for ordinary and special work in the port of Genoa and under forty-three million lire for ports in the whole of Italy. Against this background, the twenty million lire of

the Galliera donation take on an even greater significance. Grasping the importance of the development of ports and transport systems for the early stages of industrialisation in Italy, and the particular significance of the port of Genoa, De Ferrari intervened rapidly with modern ideas. In fact he personally favoured the project of the Frenchman Amilhou which, although the most expensive, was also the most advanced and took into account a railway link with the port. At last a government project was approved with the harbour entrance facing east, but rectified so as to make possible, as did in fact take place in the first twenty years of this century, the construction of a double entrance. When the work was completed in 1888, the port of Genoa had changed appearance: the harbour basin had been enlarged, the length of the wharfs tripled, the number of cranes (of English manufacture) increased, the railway link built and the dry docks augmented. To achieve this five hundred labourers were employed in works lasting for years in which technical and chemical experiments were carried out on the mortars to be used in the construction of the artefacts. The construction work sponsored by the Duke marked the beginning of the golden age of the port of Genoa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Modern planning concepts and speed in the execution of the plans characterised the main charitable works (leaving aside the grandiose charitable institutions which the architect Gianin built in France for the Duchess after her husband's death) to which the Gallieras' memory is linked. It should be remembered that charity towards the poor and the infirm was traditional among old-regime upper class Genoese (and obviously not only Genoese) and that the Duchess's ancestors had repeatedly gained renown in this field. But the commitment involved in the Sant'Andrea hospital found analogy only in the grandiose *Albergo dei Poveri* built in the seventeenth century, which at its time was also an innovation in Europe. The Duchess's hospitals were in effect three: the Sant'Andrea, a general hospital and the most important, the San Filippo, a children's hospital and the San Raffaele, a hospital for incurable patients. Pammatone, the city's old hospital, had a volume of 260,000 cubic metres: the Sant'Andrea hospital consisted of 225,000 cubic metres, but the fundamental difference lay in the traditional cross-shaped outlay being abandoned in favour of the block. The Sant'Andrea, built by the engineer Cesare Parodi, who had already worked for the Duke in planning three areas of housing for workers, was sponsored in 1873 and built between 1873 and 1879, and became Italy's most modern hospital. Genoa boasted the prototype for hospitals with detached blocks which were to spring up all over Europe.

8. In conclusion, it can be asked to what extent and for what reasons did the Duke of Galliera stand out in the world of businessmen of his time? The terms of comparison, for the size of the capital involved, are obviously people like the Rothschilds. By the end of his life De Ferrari had increased his fortune thirteen times over whilst the Rothschilds, taken as a whole (the four branches in Paris,

London, Vienna and Frankfurt), had increased their fortune seven and a half times over. Like the Rothschilds, De Ferrari did not invest in industry. And like others, he made his money, with better overall results in France than in Italy, by operating in government-owned monopoly enterprises like railways and the tobacco trade.

Perhaps the Duke's most untypical trait was his being an Italian in the forefront on the continental scene. But in this he proved to be the last — and perhaps the only — descendant of the great Genoese businessmen who three centuries previously had made their city a capital of European finance.

