



Côte à Côte

Mers, Marins, Marchands

Mélanges offerts à
Pierrick Pourchasse

Between Coasts
Seas, Seafarers,
Merchants

Liber Amicorum
Pierrick Pourchasse

Sous la direction de
edited by

Philippe Jarnoux - Michael-W. Serruys - Toshiaki Tamaki

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Résumé en français

Giovanni FAVERO – Università Ca'Foscari Venezia (Venise, Italie)

Le port franc de Venise et son établissement sous l'empire des Habsbourg

Venise n'a obtenu les privilèges d'un port franc qu'en 1830, quelques décennies après la chute de la République de Venise, lorsque la ville faisait partie de l'empire des Habsbourg. Son importance commerciale avait déjà commencé à décliner. Le port franc a été conçu comme un moyen de favoriser la reprise économique de la ville dans le cadre d'une politique plus large visant à une meilleure intégration de la Lombardie et de la Vénétie ou des provinces italiennes de l'Empire autrichien. Cet article identifie – après une description des conditions historiques qui ont conduit à la création du port franc – les acteurs qui ont soutenu le projet et ceux qui s'y sont opposés. Leurs arguments et leurs stratagèmes sont également expliqués en utilisant des sources mémorielles et archivistiques. Les effets économiques de ce projet sont également évalués dans le contexte changeant de Venise et cela jusqu'à l'abolition du port franc en 1874.

Abstract in English

Giovanni FAVERO – Università Ca'Foscari Venezia (Venice, Italy)

The Free Port of Venice and its Establishment under the Habsburg Empire

Venice was only granted the privileges of a free port in 1830, some decades after the fall of the Republic of Venice, when the city was part of the Habsburg Empire. Its commercial importance had already started to decline. The free port was conceived as a means to foster the economic recovery of the city in the framework of a wider policy intended at a better integration of Lombardy and Venetia or the Italian dominions of the Austrian Empire. This article, following a description of the historical conditions leading to the establishment of the free port, identifies the actors supporting and opposing this project. Their arguments and their ploys are also explained using memorial and archival sources. The economic effects of these measures are also assessed in the context of the changes that occurred in Venice until the free port's abolition in 1874.

The Free Port of Venice and its Establishment under the Habsburg Empire

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Venice was only granted the privileges of a free port in 1830, some decades after the fall of the Republic of Venice. In 1830, the city belonged to the Habsburg Empire and its commercial importance was already declining. The free port was conceived as a means to foster the economic recovery of the city in the framework of a wider policy intended at a better integration of Lombardy and Venetia or the Austrian Empire's Italian provinces. This article, following a description of the historical conditions leading to the establishment of the free port, identifies the actors supporting and opposing this project. Their arguments and their ploys are also explained using memorial and archival sources. The economic effects of these measures are also assessed in the context of the changes that occurred in Venice until the free port's abolition in 1874.

Venice after the Fall of the Republic

Even before the fall of the Republic in 1797, the port of Venice was only the main trade gateway for a part of its territory, namely the Brenta and Piave river basins (including cities such as Padua, Treviso and Belluno). If on one side the eastern rural area of Friuli was excluded from direct trade with the Habsburg territories, Vicenza and Verona were able to manage their autonomous trade relationships towards the Adriatic and Alpine fairs on the other side. Whereas Brescia and Bergamo were well integrated into the Milanese economic space.¹ It was in order to attract a part of the Adriatic trade from the mainland to the Venetian port that a small transit customs area was established on the island of San Giorgio in front of the port of St. Mark in 1792.²

After a few years, the military and political events following the French Revolution brought an end to the Republic of Venice. It heavily impacted Venice, its former capital, as this city was now cut off from the mainland. After a short-lived democratic rule, Venice passed to the Habsburgs in 1798, losing all its maritime territories in the Ionian islands, Dalmatia, Istria and Albania and its mainland provinces beyond the river Adige. This river formed the border with the new Cisalpine Republic. In 1805, this republic became the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, with its capital city in Milan. The Venetian area was annexed and divided in *départements*, turning Venice into a mere province. One of the first measures taken under the Napoleonic rule was the extension of the transit customs zone into a proper free trade area, including some warehouses on Giudecca island. This transit customs zone was managed by the newly

¹ LANARO, Paola, 1999, *I mercati nella Repubblica Veneta: economie cittadine e stato territoriale (secoli XV-XVIII)*. Venice: Marsilio. A full opening of the city to imports was also experimented by the Republic of Venice from 1662 to 1684: COSTANTINI, Massimo, 1993, "La regolazione dei dazi marittimi e l'esperienza del 'porto franco' a Venezia tra il 1662 e il 1684", in: DI VITTORIO, Antonio ed., *La finanza pubblica in età di crisi*, Bari: Cacucci, 77-88.

² DAMERINI, Gino, 1969, *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore*. Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

established Chamber of Commerce.³ The explicit purpose was to foster transit trade and to revitalise the shipbuilding industry. As a matter of fact, the creation of free trade areas in ports of the Mediterranean was part of Napoleon’s strategy. With this strategy the French emperor aimed to control the continental (and global) trade routes.⁴ The Continental Blockade and the British countermeasures frustrated these ambitions and consequently, the trade through the port of Venice collapsed. Only after 1810, a slight recovery became possible when Trieste was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy and Venice became a complementary port for tramping trade to Ancona, the Istrian peninsula and Zara.

Table 1: The population of Venice in 1797 and in 1824

Source: Biblioteca del Museo Correr (Venice) (from here BMC), *Provenienze Diverse Codici*, cod. 2324/2, *Prospetto dimostrante la popolazione di Venezia e come era provveduta nell’anno 1797, col confronto della statistica e provvedimenti dell’anno 1824* by Antonio Quadri. Translation by the author.

Population divided by class

Class	1797	1824	Remarks on 1824
Nobles	3,477	2,164	
Citizens	5,090	3,339	
Religious men	1,341	1,109	Men and women
Nuns	1,706		
Jews	1,642	1,980	
Hospitalised	1,446	4,919	
People	122,530	84,827	
Pensioners		2,909	

Population divided by sources of subsistence

Source of subsistence	1797	1824	Remarks on 1824
Magistracies	3,497	2,397	
Arsenal	3,302	773	
Merchants	10,884	3,628	
Craftsmen	6,200	2,442	
Public gondoliers	1,088	607	
Private gondoliers	2,854	297	
Hospitalised	1,446	4,919	
Religious	3,047	3,318	Including a few friars in a convent

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, in 1814, the Venetian provinces – together with Lombardy – were annexed to the Habsburg empire. The Habsburgs restored the internal

³ QUADRI, Antonio, 1826, *Prospetto statistico delle provincie venete*. Venice: Andreola, 133-134.

⁴ COSTANTINI, Massimo, 2004, *Porto navi e traffici a Venezia 1700-2000*. Venice: Marsilio, 85; DELOGU, Giulia and FARELLA, Giulio, 2020, “Ridisegnare Venezia tra sviluppo portuale e protezione della laguna: una questione di lungo periodo”, *Mediterranea*, 18, 719. On the economic debate on free ports in the Napoleonic period, see also DELOGU, Giulia, 2020, “Il pensiero di Gioia, la politica di Napoleone: i porti franchi nel primo Ottocento”, *Studi Storici*, 61, 989-1007.

customs on the river Mincio and along the northern borders with Tyrol and Carinthia. They did so on request of the Venetian representatives who feared that the reopening of the commercial activities would endanger the local agriculture. Cheap wheat from Russia was pushing down prices, but the Venetian specialisation in agriculture, even though scarcely competitive, was strategic to Austrian and Bohemian industrial exports in the Italian territories. In this context, internal protectionism seemed a good solution, as well as maintaining the level of taxation on land, which was one of the highest in the Habsburg empire.⁵ The situation in Venice was bad: the city had lost one third of its inhabitants, which decreased from 136,000 in 1799 to 100,000 in 1823 and even reached 98,000 in 1830.⁶ Trade and manufacturing were in fact paralysed. The abolition of guilds and victualling laws had forced most craftsmen and workers to face the consequences of the collapse of the nobility's conspicuous consumption. The number of poor people asking for subsidies increased exponentially, with more than 38,000 requests in 1823.⁷ It was in this context that the idea of extending the free port condition to the whole city and part of the islands in the lagoon was put forward.

The City, the Patriarch and the Emperor

The imperial decree of 20 February 1829, extended the free port privilege from the island of San Giorgio to the whole city of Venice, including Giudecca, Murano, Lido and Malamocco (but not the other islands, like Burano, Sant'Erasmus and Mazzorbo). As the Chamber of Commerce highlighted, such a measure would attract the merchants' capital to Venice and decrease the cost of subsistence by allowing cheaper victuals to be imported.⁸ However, fiscal revenues would decrease, some manufactures would be made impossible by foreign competition and the consumption of imported luxuries would spread. Indeed, a large range of interests opposed the creation of a city-wide free port in Venice. The same municipal government was afraid of a decline of the excise duties. Industrialists in Bohemia and Austria and landowners on the Venetian mainland opposed the breach in the tariff protection on the Venetian market. Even the major Venetian trading houses did not believe that benefits would outweigh the costs of the free port.

Given such a large opposition, one may ask why the free port was granted to Venice, and for what purpose. The events leading to Emperor Franz I (1768-1835) signing the 1829 decree are dealt within the autobiography of the Patriarch of Venice⁹, Johann Ladislaus Pyrker von Oberwart (1772-1847). In fact, he claimed the merit of the whole project.¹⁰ Pyrker was appointed Patriarch of Venice in 1820, when his metropolitan authority was extended to all the Venetian provinces. On this occasion he also became the head of the Venetian Charitable Commission, which was in charge of subsidising the poor following the regulations for the

⁵ BERENGO, Marino, 1963, *L'agricoltura veneta dalla caduta della Repubblica all'Unità*, Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana, 76; see also ZALIN, Giovanni, 1969, *Aspetti e problemi dell'economia veneta dalla caduta della Repubblica all'annessione*, Vicenza: Comune di Vicenza.

⁶ DEROSAS, Renzo, 2004, "Venezia nell'ottocento", in: DALLA ZUANNA, Gianpiero, ROSINA, Alessandro and ROSSI, Fiorenzo, eds., *Il Veneto: storia della popolazione dalla caduta di Venezia a oggi*, Venice: Marsilio, 250.

⁷ QUADRI, Antonio, 1827, *Atlante di LXXXII tavole sinottiche relative al Prospetto statistico delle province venete*, Venice: Andreola, 166-167.

⁸ FORAMITI, Francesco, 1829, *I vantaggi del porto franco: discorso economico*, Venice: Tipografia di Alvisopoli.

⁹ Since 1451, the bishops of Venice are called 'Patriarchs', a denomination they share in the Catholic Church with the bishops of Lisbon, Jerusalem and the East Indies (Goa & Daman).

¹⁰ PYRKER, Johann Ladislaus, 1966, "Mein Leben", in: CZIGLER, Aladar Paul ed., *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abteilung I, Scriptores, Band 10*, Vienna: Oesterreiche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 100-150 (also 2013, *Mein Leben*, Berlin: Holzinger).

elimination of begging throughout the city.¹¹ In July 1825, he welcomed the Emperor during his visit to Milan and Venice. At a meeting at the Imperial villa in Stra, along the river Brenta, he used the occasion to bring a memo at the Emperor's attention concerning Venice's poor relief. It included a request to return to the Charitable Commission the property that Napoleon had confiscated.

In the memo was a table with comparative data on the situation of Venice in 1797 and in 1824. It not only showed the decrease of the population, but also the increase in the number of subsidised poor people from 14,599 to 38,201.¹² The table is identical to a handwritten note by Antonio Quadri (1776-1849), who since 1817 was the officer in charge of the statistics of the Venetian provinces. He was struggling to obtain the censor's visa to have his statistics published.¹³ Was Quadri reusing Pyrker's data, whose merit in reforming charity administration would be recognised?¹⁴ Or was it Pyrker who completed his memo with data that Quadri had collected? One way or the other, the Emperor was impressed with the degradation of Venice. He granted the return of the confiscated assets and asked Pyrker to provide him with a longer report including proposals to resurrect the fortunes of Venice, which the patriarch wrote in the following months while on holiday in Bad Gastein in the Tauern mountains.

While Pyrker wrote his report,¹⁵ an employee of the Charity Commission's archives made a copy of Pyrker's first memo and passed it to former Jacobins¹⁶ in exile in both London and Paris. They got it published in *The Times* on 14 November 1825 and in the *Journal des Débats* on the 19th of the same month.¹⁷ François-René de Chateaubriand made reference to this article and to Pyrker's memo in an address to the French Chamber of Peers. He virulently attacked the Habsburg empire and blamed it as the main culprit for the ruin of Venice. At the same time, Quadri was authorised to publish his statistical prospect on the Venetian provinces, apparently in an effort to show transparency and to argue for the merits of the Habsburg government. However, it is possible to imagine that the leak was instrumental to apply pressure in favour of the measures the Patriarch wished for. His narrative in fact leaves some doubt and is furthermore not supported by any additional archival evidence.

As a matter of fact, in his longer report written in Bad Gastein, Pyrker put forward much bolder proposals. He summarised them as follows.¹⁸

¹¹ For an historical appraisal of Pyrker's role in Venice see BERTOLI, Bruno and TRAMONTIN, Silvio, eds., 1971, *La visita pastorale di Giovanni Ladislao Pyrker nella diocesi di Venezia (1821)*, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

¹² BMC, *Codici Cicogna*, cod. 3535/3, *Rapporto e supplica fatto dal Patriarca di Venezia, [...] in Agosto 1825*; the document is published in BERTOLI, Bruno and TRAMONTIN, Silvio, eds., *Op. cit.*, p. LI-LIII.

¹³ BMC, *Provenienze Diverse Codici*, cod. 2324/2, *Prospetto dimostrante la popolazione di Venezia e come era provveduta nell'anno 1797, col confronto della statistica e provvedimenti dell'anno 1824* by Antonio Quadri.

¹⁴ Pyrker is indirectly mentioned as 'the pious and learned metropolitan prelate', presiding over the Charity Commission, in QUADRI, Antonio, *Op. cit.*, *Prospetto statistico ...*, p. 271.

¹⁵ PYRKER, Johann Ladislaus, *Art. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁶ These Jacobins were probably members of the Carbonari. The Carbonari was a secret society with a patriotic and liberal agenda that strived for the Italian unification.

¹⁷ "Venice under the House of Austria", *The Times*, 14 November 1825, 2, includes a translation of Pyrker's memo. This article was mentioned and resumed as a correspondence from London in *Le Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 19 November 1825, 1.

¹⁸ PYRKER, Johann Ladislaus, *Art. cit.*, p. 133.

1st: The free port – (it was approved).

1-stens: Den Freihafen – (er ward bewilligt).

2-tens: Die Herstellung des Hafens von Malamocco durch einen Riesendamm, da er der einzig brauchbare ist, durch welchen die größeren Schiffe in die Lagunen gelangen. (Ward im J. 1845 vollendet mit einem Aufwand von mehr als vierthalf Millionen Franken und zeugt rühmlich für Österreich).

3-tens: Verminderung der Zölle hinsichtlich der Viktualien aus ganz besonderen Lokalrücksichten. (Ward in Vollzug gesetzt).

4-tens: Den Betrieb des Schiffbaus im Arsenal. (Schon drei Wochen nach der Einreichung dieser Denkschrift gelangte eine allerhöchste Entscheidung herab, wodurch die Zahl der Arbeiter im Arsenal von drei- auf achthundert Personen erhöht wurde).

5-tens: Die Koordinierung der Stadt, usw. –

Pyrker carefully pondered the opportunity of the proposal about the free port, given the alleged rivalry between Venice and Trieste. In 1719, Trieste had been granted a charter as a free port, which was extended to its whole territory in 1740. Rijeka (Fiume) was also a Habsburg free port and from 1779 on, it was a free city pertaining to the Kingdom of Hungary. It was Hungary's only outlet to the sea. However, if Rijeka's hinterland was not overlapping with that of Venice, Trieste appeared instead to be in direct competition with Venice. It should indeed not be forgotten that this port was established to counter the Venetian dominance of the Adriatic in the eighteenth century. Yet the situation was much different in 1825, as Pyrker himself discovered during his secret travels to Trieste. Here he consulted Franz-Thaddeus Reyer (1760-1846), the head of Reyer & Schlick, the main trading house in that city.¹⁹ Trieste remained the main emporium for the Austrian area from Carniola to Bohemia. But following the annexation of Lombardy-Venetia to the Habsburg empire, the complementary development of Venice's commercial infrastructures became instrumental in attracting trade from Milan that would otherwise resort to the Savoyard port of Genoa. Venice could then serve Lombardy-Venetia as Fiume was serving the Hungarian territories. On the other hand, an unexpected opposition came from the Venetian trading houses, who were afraid of the possible competition of international operators.

The discussion on Pyrker's proposals involved the economic advisors of the Emperor. One of them expressed a principled position against the same city of Venice, arguing that 'Venedig sei nicht wichtig genug, um bedeutende Summen auf ihre Aufrechterhaltung zu verwenden, da sie nach dem Lose alles Vergänglichlichen in vierzig oder fünfzig Jahren zu einem Steinhaufen verfallen würde'.²⁰ Others were afraid of a possible conflict of interests. Franz Krieg von Hochfelden (1776-1856), as a member of the *Allgemeine Hofkammer* (the Imperial fiscal authority) in Vienna, was then entrusted to inspect and acquire more detailed information on the situation in both Venice and Trieste. In the end he confirmed that Pyrker's report was reliable.

2nd: The construction of the port of Malamocco by means of a giant dam, since it is the only useful passage through which the larger ships can get into the lagoons. (was completed in 1845 with an expense of more than four and a half million francs and is a glorious testimony of Austrian merits).

3rd: Reduction of the tariffs on the victuals for very specific local considerations. (was enacted).

4th: The operation of shipbuilding in the Arsenal. (just three weeks after the submission of this memorandum, a decision was made, increasing the number of workers in the Arsenal from three to eight hundred people).

5th: The governance of the city, etc. -

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 131. On Reyer, see RIEDER, Maximiliane, 2010, "Cosmopoliti sull'Adriatico: Mercanti e industriali tedeschi a Venezia e a Trieste", *Qualestoria: rivista di storia contemporanea*, 38.1, 99-134.

²⁰ 'Venice was not important enough to spend significant sums on its maintenance, as it would become a heap of stones in forty or fifty years as everything that is transient'. Anonymous adviser of the Emperor as cited in PYRKER, Johann Ladislaus, Art. cit., p. 131.

Figure 1: Map of the city and free port of Venice, 1847

Source: Nuova pianta della città e porto franco di Venezia (Vienna: Artaria & Co.), Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.



The Free Port of Venice, 1830-1874

In 1827, the free port area's establishment, which included the whole city of Venice and the western part of the Lagoon, was announced with a great celebration in the city. The imperial decree was issued in 1829 and was effective from 1830 on, when Pyrker had already moved to the archdiocese of Eger in Hungary.²¹ The decree exempted from tariff imposition most of the city's importations, but excluded goods under a state-granted monopoly, such as salt, tobacco, nitrates and gunpowder. To prevent any damage to Venetian manufactures, preferential tariffs were granted to limited quantities of raw material bought from the mainland, like wool, silk, yarn and cream of tartar²², as well as Venetian products sold on the mainland, such as glass, wax, theriac²³, straw hats, blankets, golden and silver jewellery.

The advantages of the measures were not immediately evident, as a commercial depression followed the Romantic Revolutions and uprisings in France, Belgium, the Papal State and in the Duchy of Parma in 1830. The last two uprisings were repressed by Habsburg intervention. At the same time, the main Venetian trading houses, like that of Baron Giacomo Treves de Bonfili, Angelo Papadopoli, the Zanona and the Revedin families, opposed the enforcement of the decree by exploiting their control of the Venetian marine insurance companies to refuse to take out the policy for incoming ships.²⁴ In the following years, Trieste based insurance companies established branches in Venice, while foreign investments stimulated the growth of new manufactures in the city.

²¹ The decree is published in PILLININI, Giorgio, 1987, "Venezia città franca: il 'Regolamento' del 1829", *Risorgimento Veneto*, 5, 13-61.

²² Cream of tartar (or potassium bitartrate) is a byproduct of winemaking and has many household uses. It can for instance be used in the kitchen (for baking) or as a cleaning solution (by adding an acid solution).

²³ Theriac is a concoction of fermented herbs and other ingredients for medicinal use.

²⁴ PYRKER, Johann Ladislaus, *Art. cit.*, p. 134.

The free port's establishment did not turn Venice into a centre of trade. The regional hinterland, in particular, did not find a market for its products in the Venetian port, because of the competition from French and Greek wines and Russian wheat. However, exports gradually increased from 1835 on. The effects on local manufactures were somewhat differentiated. Burano's lace industry, despite the island's exclusion from the free port, lost the Venetian market because of foreign competition. The same happened for the local golden plating and engraving industries, which were not able to keep up the pace with the technological innovations in electrochemistry and photography. Metalworks and the production of mirrors also declined for similar reasons. On the other hand, an easier access to imported raw materials favoured the industries in which Venice maintained specialised competences, such as soap making, leather goods, wax, cream of tartar and especially, glass works and beads. The free port fostered the specialisation of the urban economy into activities that were not integrated with the mainland economy, but which were rather connected to international trade.²⁵

Figure 2: The port of Venice in St. Mark in the late nineteenth century.
Source: Photochrom Print Collection – Library of Congress.



The increase in imports and exports justified the construction of a harbour dam between 1838 and 1845, this in order to preserve the access for large ships to the Lagoon through the Malamocco inlet. In 1844, an inland water route connecting the river Po to Milan was opened up for shipping. Two years later, in 1846, a railway bridge was constructed linking Venice to Mestre, Padua and Vicenza. The new connections justified in the same year an extension of

²⁵ BERNARDELLO, Adolfo, 2002, "Venezia 1830-1866: iniziative economiche, accumulazione e investimenti di capitale", *Il Risorgimento*, 1, 5-66.

the free port area to the eastern part of the Lagoon, including Burano, Sant’Erasmo and Mazzorbo. The port of Venice was now better connected to Milan by rail and by water, and started attracting export and import trade from Lombardy.²⁶

The reorganisation of the Venetian economy was however suspended by the war and revolution of 1848. After that, a fiscal and political stiffening of the Habsburg rule took place, bringing the regional economy to its knees due to worsening of conscription laws and new extraordinary taxes. Venice’s free port was reduced to the original transit area of the island of San Giorgio in 1849. It was then extended again to encompass the whole city, but only in 1851. In 1849 and in 1851, the railways respectively connecting Venice to Verona and Mantua were constructed. But these works were mainly built and financed for military purposes. It was not until 1857, that a direct connection to Milan was established, creating a larger hinterland for the Venetian port. The construction of a harbour station as an intermodal exchange was planned, but abandoned in 1859, when the second Italian War of Independence reduced the Habsburg dominions in Italy to the Venetian provinces, Mantua and Peschiera. Piedmont’s annexation of Lombardy definitely shifted the direction of trade from Milan to Genoa. The Venetian region was for some years in the uncomfortable and uncertain position of a southern appendix of the Empire. It was endowed with a strong military presence and consequently heavily taxed to support these fortifications.²⁷

In 1865, Venice joined the Kingdom of Italy and soon became the Adriatic port of supply for the North-Eastern region. In 1870, following the general abolition of the free ports’ privileges in the Kingdom of Italy, the Minister of Finance, Quintino Sella, decided the discontinuation of the free port of Venice from 1874 on. The free port of Venice was viewed as an institution that favoured transit trade and the local consumption of foreign goods, but hindered the integration of the city and its manufactures in the domestic market. The projects to excavate new and deeper canals in the Lagoon and to establish a harbour station connecting to the railway network were resumed as an instrument favouring the growth of maritime trade. The harbour station, finally completed in San Basilio, at the western end of the city, in 1880, hosted the warehouses. Here merchants could deposit their goods and use them as a collateral to issue credit warrants.²⁸ In the subsequent decades, Venice experienced industrialisation, with big plants settling in peripheral areas, from the Stucky mills on the island of Giudecca to the cotton mills next to the harbour station in Santa Marta and to the renewed Arsenal shipyards. The imprint of the free port on the specialisation of the urban economy persisted somehow until the establishment of Porto Marghera as an industrial port in the mainland after 1917.

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²⁶ FAVERO, Giovanni, 2012, “La metamorfosi di uno spazio regionale: il caso veneto, 1750-1950”, *Transportes, Servicio y Telecomunicaciones. Revista de Historia*, 11.22, 150-172.

²⁷ ZALIN, Giovanni, 1969, *Op. cit.*

²⁸ REBERSCHAK, Maurizio, 1986, “L’economia”, in: FRANZINA, Emilio ed., *Venezia*, Bari: Laterza, 234-236.