

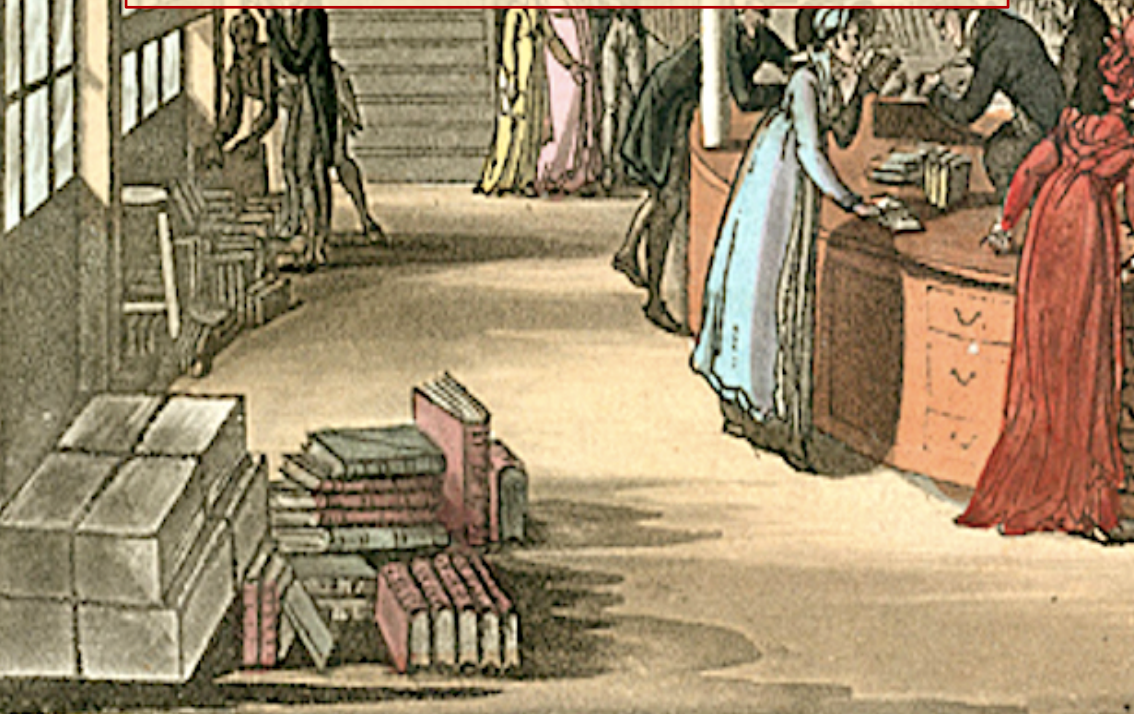


Mario A. Iannaccone

The Stamperia del Fibreno

**Men, industry, culture
in 19th-century Naples
(1808-1903)**

The Stamperia del Fibreno was located in Naples, in Calata Trinità Maggiore, with offices in Palazzo Caracciolo di Torella. This book traces its entire history, from its birth as Stamperia francese at the behest of Murat to its development thanks to the entrepreneur Charles Lefèbvre who acquired it having realised its potential and follows its history up to its closure. It was the largest bookstore-printing house in Naples for many years, linked to the Manifattura del Fibreno, the parent company producing paper of all qualities, in Isola di Sora, belonging to the Lefèbvre family itself. It was for a long time the most active in the city and served the Court and Magistracies for the printing of laws and manuals, as well as the University. It also served many other prestigious cultural institutions, such as the Accademia Pontaniana, the San Carlo theatre and the Istituti provinciali di Incoraggiamento delle Arti e della Tecnica. In addition to printing textbooks for every order of study, the Stamperia also operated as a pure publisher, publishing international books for its customers, often in translation, such as texts by Manzoni, Massimo d'Azeglio, Dickens, Walter Scott, Stendhal, Guy de Maupassant and many others. It also published illustrated books of the highest value, coloured with new techniques or hand-painted. Even today, in antiquarian bookshops, the books of the Stamperia del Fibreno are renowned for their print and paper quality and for the variety of its catalogues.



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Chapter 1

Origin

The origin of one of the most important printers and publishing houses in the Bourbon kingdom in the 19th century, if not the most important in terms of number of books published, continuity, cultural weight, dates back to 1808 and is due to the initiative of two Frenchmen. On 14 August 1808, Joseph-Isidore Lefèbvre (1759-1833), from Paris, who had just arrived in Naples, and Antoine Béranger (c. 1760-1823), set up a type foundry workshop with a small printing house on the Riviera di Chiaia.¹

Béranger devoted himself completely to the printing business and especially to type founding. Lefèbvre, on the other hand, also collaborated with his cousin Charles Lefèbvre (1775-1858) from Pontarlier, who had arrived in Naples in 1808 and had started a lucrative business as a supplier to the French occupying army.

The story of this workshop, which in just a few years grew in size and became linked to a papermaking empire that sprang up in the Terra di Lavoro, making up a group of factories and workshops collectively known as the *Manifatture del Fibreno*, is atypical, if we want to compare it to the average Neapolitan publishing business, precisely because it was linked to a paper mill; and it is atypical because the activity of running a

¹ BNF, AB XIX 4480, vol. I, pp. 23-24.

bookshop, although there was one, seems secondary to the printing and distribution of books. In other words, the experience of the Stamperia del Fibreno cannot be compared to that of other bookseller-printers or only bookseller-shopkeepers active among the many who had shops in the square in Naples during the 19th century. For example, Angelo Mirelli, Giuseppe Marghieri (who opened his business in 1838), Luigi Chiurazzi (printer and bookseller) and others. Many of these publishers and booksellers have an easier profile to describe: they were mostly booksellers who took care of the books they printed or had printed and the bookshops they opened in the central squares of Naples. They often also had cultural missions to fulfil, such as the dissemination of liberal culture learned, perhaps, in Tuscany or Piedmont.

They had to fight in a sector, the publishing and trade sector, which was rather cramped both because of protectionism, reintroduced in 1822, which did not make the book trade any easier, but also because of the tight credit and lack of financial initiative. Last but not least, one must consider the regime change, which was very marked, with a first watershed in 1848 reinforced then in 1861. At that point, some publishers and printers were rewarded to the detriment of others, because they were less tied to Bourbon nostalgia or at least perceived to be less tied. In general – and it does not seem cynical to observe this – those who had problems under the Bourbon regime (such as Chiurazzi) were rewarded in the following period, in various ways, with a seat in the Senate of the new Kingdom.

This study, in addition to dealing with the history of the Stamperia del Fibreno, also fighting against the stubborn avarice of the archives, will consider the environment in which it operated, which was a rather quarrelsome, competitive

environment, where opposing ideologies, perceived or real, still clashed.

The Stamperia del Fibreno was perceived as 'Bourbon' even after its owner in 1861, Ernesto Lefèvre, swore allegiance to the new king. We do not know how much this perception counted. We do know, however, that far more influential in determining its fate and end were the financial disruptions caused by the end of protectionism in the paper production sector, in which the Lefèvre empire (which owned 3 paper mills and 1 chemical plant, as well as many other interests) had or had had some notable records.

Thus, without pretending to draw a history of Neapolitan publishing in the 19th century, supposedly from 1810 to 1890, this volume intends to make a contribution to knowledge on a subject, that of Neapolitan typography-publishing, between the French Decade and the end of the century, focusing on the vicissitudes of one company in particular. Various contributions have recently enriched this important historical topic, in particular Vincenzo Trombetta's books on Neapolitan publishing in the French Decade and on Neapolitan publishing between the Bourbon period and Unification. The greatest interest for historians will probably derive precisely from the inclusion of the Stamperia del Fibreno in a broader context: that of the Manifatture del Fibreno and their importance for the paper production sector in Italy, to which the writer is currently devoting a volume entitled *Storia dell'industria della carta in Italia*.

Finally, another thought must be added: it should not be considered a coincidence that almost all the important Neapolitan publishers (a separate discourse could be opened on the small ones) who managed to pass unscathed the Unity, without downsizing or being forced to change their company

name or to associate with others, were liberals. The political aspect, the ideological brand, is considered important in the historiography dedicated to the events of pre-unification publishing. It is no coincidence that a new generation of booksellers-publishers, who had already been present for some years but in a defiladed role, emerged mainly after 1860. A case in point, then, is the Neapolitan publishing industry of the French Decade, but it is only marginally included in this study, since, when he was involved in the founding of the *Stamperia francese* (later to become the *Stamperia del Fibreno*), Béranger devoted himself more to the business of casting typefaces for printing and then to the production of paper than to publishing proper. Indeed, before 1826 there are no traces of books printed by the workshop founded by Béranger and later taken over by Charles Lefèbvre.

Chapter 2

Stamperia francese and paper production

When he began his work as a printer, Joseph-Isidore Lefèbvre was just under 50 years old and had a brilliant career as an accountant and clerk in the central finance administration in Paris, which was, however, cut short by political events and the reversals of fortunes of bankers close to him. He has two daughters, Ernestine and Azélie, and a devoted wife, Annette Lefèbvre. However, he lost the affluence in which he had grown up and lived for most of his adult life in Paris.

Antoine Béranger, on the other hand, is about 60 years old.² Coming from the small Norman town of Elbeuf, he belonged to a family known for its weaving activities.³ He had moved to the Neapolitan capital soon after the entry of Napoleon's armies at the beginning of the century. He became involved in the printing and paper industry because he foresaw excellent development prospects there. He had probably initially only planned to start up the printing works in Naples, but the Ministry had presented him with the possibilities of funding and facilities in the hinterland and this had convinced him to

² Béranger was born in Elbeuf, where there was a paper and textile district. Alain Becchia, *La draperie d'Elbeuf, des origines à 1870*, Publications de l'Université de Rouen 2000, p. 150. The Béranger family had several active members for several generations. One Charles Béranger and one Amable Béranger are known from Elbeuf.

³ Alain Becchia, *cit*, p. 151. Amable Béranger, who was still working just before the Revolution, was probably Antoine's father. *Ibid*, p. 355.

set up a factory in the town of Sora.

Having gathered information, he then learned that the Amalfi Coast area had an ancient tradition of paper mills, mostly small, but aged due to modern needs. The only forms of mechanisation used in that activity were water mills and paper mills, which were used to grind the raw material consisting of rags. Some small mills even dated back to the Middle Ages; but if the quality of the paper produced was good, the quantity was too low, not enough for the abundant publishing production in Naples but also in Palermo and the Kingdom. Amalfitan producers did not know or could not use mechanised production processes and would be supplanted in the course of the 19th century by competition from industries in the Kingdom, such as those in the Sora district, which produced large quantities of good quality paper for publishing and administration. It has to be said that Béranger had fled France to leave behind an ugly affair of debts and lawsuits that oppressed him at home. Subsequently, one of his creditors had caught up with him as far as Naples and had filed a lawsuit there as well in which he threatened to have all his possessions requisitioned, including his new business.

On 3 June 1812, Antoine Béranger asked for and obtained a new concession, with which he immediately associated Joseph-Isidore Lefèbvre. He was in fact granted the right to build a printing works with type foundry in Chiaia, on the premises of the Carminiello al Mercato. Basically, it was an extension of the previous business, but not only. Carminiello al Mercato was a former Carmelite monastery with an adjoining school, with a long and prestigious history, founded in 1741.⁴ The relocation of the Stamperia to the Carminiello's

⁴ Maria De Luzemberger, *S. Giuseppe a Chiaia e Carminiello al*

spacious premises was a considerable step forward, because it allowed for production developments, but there was more: in fact, in addition to the Carminiello, Antoine Béranger obtained free use for ten years of the suppressed 'monatto' (convent) of the Carmelites of S. Maria delle Forme in Isola di Sora, the use of an old gualchiera in Carnello, the same municipality, beside the Fibreno river. Sora was a pleasant town in the district of Terra di Lavoro, very rich in water. Béranger also obtained the possibility of purchasing all these buildings at the end of the loan period at an advantageous price. In the same year, 1812, he obtained a loan of 3,000 ducats from the Ministry of the Interior. The money was granted in view of the adaptation work and the purchase from abroad of the machines necessary for the start of a much larger business than before, both the printing works in Naples and the paper factory in Sora.⁵

The Carmelite nuns of Sora had been dislodged not many years earlier and the solid, well-built 16th century building was in good condition even if it needed some adaptation. In addition to abundant water intakes, it was equipped with building land free of other buildings that promised future development. Even today, upon entering the main doorway, one can easily glimpse the articulation of the spaces into aisles reminiscent of the original conventual destination. The people called it, simply, the Forme or Forme building.

In addition to the rights to use the three buildings (Gualchiera di Carnello, Monastero delle Forme, Carminiello

Mercato. Storia di due collegi popolari napoletani, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples 2001.

⁵ Anna dell'Orefice, *L'industria della carta nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia. 1800-1870. Economia e tecnologia*, in "Cahiers Internationaux d'Histoire Economique et Social", Librairie Droz, Geneva 1979, pp. 251-473. Ibid, p. 330.

al Mercato in Naples), Béranger was also granted valuable water intakes in a location close to a medieval ruin often referred to as Torre di Napoleone. After the first works, Béranger began his first productions at the end of 1812 and among the specialised products that immediately made his factory famous was tissue paper, which no one was yet producing in southern Italy, certainly not of that quality. At that point, the Stamperia francese in Naples could offer a high-quality contract service with cheap paper, even of the 'tissue' kind, and excellent printing.

Although it was out of the way compared to Naples, the prospects for growth were interesting. Between 1813 and 1814, little more than a year after the start of the factory at the Forme monastery and the old Carnello paper mill, productivity was high. The water, whose flow was regulated by cataracts, came to the mill from the Formette canal and the Magnene stream, setting a light but powerful wheel in motion. Béranger equipped the mill with the most modern cylinder machines available at the time, in order to macerate and grind the rags and obtain a semi-finished product superior to that produced by the hammers in use in other paper mills of the time. When it opened, it had state-of-the-art equipment: 4 shredding cylinders, 2 defilers, 2 refiners, a wheel mill, and other facilities that allowed continuous production. The Carnello gulleys were modernised and the mill equipped with two Dutch tanks, plants that frayed and frayed ten times faster than traditional processing. Many paper mills in the lower Latium area and even in the Papal States still did not have this type of equipment at the beginning of the 19th century.

The tools were of the highest quality and the maintenance workshop was equipped with the latest tools, greases, oils and fuels. We know from documents preserved in the Naples State

Archives, which describe almost every step of these activities, that Antoine Béranger invested 50,000 ducats of his own, a considerable sum for the time, divided between the Carminiello printing works and the factories in Sora. The technicians working in the latter factories had been called in from abroad – from France, Holland and England – and had, in turn, trained the local workers, enabling continuous maintenance.

There was no shortage of excellent paper manufacturers in Italy – for example, the Fabriano district had distinguished itself, first in Europe, since the 12th century: modern paper had been invented there, later reproduced by the French – but automatic machines that exploited the driving force imparted by falling water with modern ergonomics were still lacking. Béranger, and then even more so his associates, would import from France and England all the knowledge necessary to set up a truly efficient factory.

The rooms, used for the various processes, were arranged in a very rational manner, so as to reduce production times; in addition, the factory had a carpentry and turning workshop to support the frequent repairs and maintenance of the machines. The canal, known as the Forme canal, about 2 km long and built in 1808, utilised the upper part of its course the bed of an already existing irrigation canal, in the middle part, and for a short stretch, that of the Lake Tremoletto emissary, while the remaining part was the result of excavations and elevations on the steeply sloping ground level. Housing for the director, employees and workers was also built inside the complex.⁶

⁶ Vincenzo Vincitore, *La riconversione dei siti industriali della zona del Liri*, Theses ad Lauream, University of Cassino, Academic Year 2001-2002, pp. 104-195.

As for the Stamperia francese in Carminiello al Mercato, Béranger bought at least two printing presses and as many stations for the composition of sheets as well as equipment for type founding, which was supervised by Pietro Viollier. The technology required for the printing works was simpler and less expensive than that of the guillotines and defibrators in Sora. Setting up a printing works required above all a good type foundry technician. These could also be bought, but it was necessary to have different types (large, small, bold, italic) to start a business, and they were rather expensive. Hence the idea of producing them oneself.

For his economic merits, Charles-Antoine Béranger had been among the few, along with his cousins Joseph-Isidore and Charles Lefèbvre, to have enjoyed naturalisation as a subject of the Bourbon Kingdom after the fall of Murat in 1815, when hundreds of their countrymen had fled Naples.

Almost all Frenchmen were expelled at the change of the Kingdom. Antoine Béranger, Joseph-Isidore and Charles Lefèbvre in 1815 applied for and were granted citizenship by naturalisation decree on 30 July 1815.⁷ The naturalisation decree of the Lefèbvre cousins is a very rare case, as there were very few French collaborators of Murat who obtained

⁷ It sometimes reads '1814' but this is a mistake: Murat still reigned in Naples until May 1815. It cannot be assumed, on the other hand, that the Lefèbvre had requested a naturalisation decree from the exiled Bourbon court before their actual return. After a pause lasting a few years, Naples once again became a favourite destination for the approximately 4,000 French expatriates between 1800 and 1860, followed by Cadiz, Smyrne, the Maghreb and Livorno (Decree of 29 November 1815. ASN, Naples State Archives, MGG, f. 1160). Eighteen months later it was the turn of a certain Carlo Mariano Lefèbvre (Carlo Mariano Lefèbvre) who does not appear to be related to the Lefèbvre family that this book deals with.

naturalisation without going through marriage. Among the very few, as far as is known, in addition to Charles and Joseph-Isidore Lefèbvre, were Carlo Mariano Lefèbvre (whose relationship with the former is uncertain) and the paper industrialists Béranger and Courrier.⁸ Other Frenchmen had been naturalised before the occupation, such as the vast Degas family. Overall, however, hundreds of Frenchmen still lived permanently in Naples: all those who had been naturalised before 1799. New French colonies were formed in those years in other locations, as happened in Paraguay, Santo Domingo and Louisiana.⁹

The increasing bureaucratisation of the Kingdom of Naples, the process of innovation and aid to modernisation introduced by Ferdinand of Bourbon in the mid-18th century and accelerated by Murat, had, however, continued with the Restoration following Murat's defeat in 1815. During this new phase, for the most part, the same economists and experts who had served in the French Decade were to be found, who also

⁸ Roberto Zaugg, *Guerra, rivoluzione, xenofobia. L'espulsione dei francesi dal Regno di Napoli (1793)*, in Franco Salvatori (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo delle città. Scambi, confronti, culture, rappresentazioni*, Viella, Rome 2008, pp. 299-321.

⁹ J. Baillou - C. Lucet and J. Vimont, *Les affaires étrangères et le corps diplomatique français*, Editions du CNRS, Paris 1984; Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds des Affaires Etrangères. Correspondance consulaire, Naples*, vols. 867-903. Ruggiero Romano, *Il commercio franco-napoletano nel secolo XVIII*, in Ruggiero Romano (ed.), *Napoli dal Vicereame al Regno*, Turin, Einaudi, 1976, pp. 67-122; G. Rodríguez Alcalá and L. Capdevila, *Une colonie française au Paraguay: la Nouvelle-Bordeaux*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2005; A. E. Lemmon, *La Louisiane: de la colonie française à l'état américain*, Somogy, Paris 2003; F. Blancpain, *La colonie française de Saint-Domingue: de l'esclavage à l'indépendance*, Karthala, Paris 2004.

ensured good continuity in the area of paper and printing. That is why those who were committed to it, such as Béranger, found an excellent basis on which to work, without setbacks. Within a few years, a robust demand for good archival paper would be created, which could be avoided by importing from France and northern Italy due to the high costs.

Yet a few months later, Joseph-Isidore made a decision that was considered incomprehensible at the time: he left his shares in the Stamperia francese and the factories in Sora and left for France with the intention of never returning. The decision to leave Naples for good was hastened by the fate of his personal protector, the powerful André-Jean Vauchelle, who was returning to his homeland: Joseph-Isidore had obtained a naturalisation that gave him two homelands – Naples and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies – but, despite his Neapolitan business (he had been working with *Monsieur* Antoine Béranger in the Chiaia printing works for eight years), his economic situation remained uncertain, which suggests that the printing and paper business was still not producing attractive dividends.

Joseph-Isidore had not managed to establish as solid a network of relationships as his more flamboyant cousin Charles: he had not introduced himself into Neapolitan society as he had done. Instead, he maintained good relations in Paris and decided to return there to receive a commission. According to his son, since 14 August 1808 he had made the Stamperia di Chiaia (as it is called by the memoirist in some passages) his main activity, leaving other businesses behind, and this was probably a mistake.

After some eight years in Naples, at the age of 57, he boarded a carriage on 31 March 1816 with suitcases, trunks, his wife Annette and daughters Ernestine and Azélie, leaving

the city for good. He would never return, not even for a pleasure trip.

A year after Joseph-Isidore's departure, in 1817, the Sora factory employed 150 workers and manufactured 14 different types of paper, while the French Printworks of Carminiello had a business in type founding, type composition and probably provided a support service for printers. If it printed, as is likely, it did so for other brands. The two activities then began to work in synergy: the French printing works of Béranger and associates used paper from Sora industries.

In 1817, the industrialist asked that his factory, like the French factory of Egg, could bear the title of 'royal manufactory'. Unfortunately, this privilege was not granted to him for reasons that we do not know but can guess at: to have that title, one had to demonstrate continuity of production and excellence, and Béranger's company was still too young.

By 1818, Béranger's health had deteriorated, making it difficult for him to be present at the factory consistently since he lived in Naples. He therefore decided to propose to a group of friends the establishment of a joint-stock company comprising the two paper mills and the printing works. He chose members of the wealthy French community, not all of whom lived in Naples. Into the company came 'Pietro Coste', actually Pierre Coste, *papetier*, from Lyons, who became the director of the factory in Sora, Auguste Viollier, also a naturalised French citizen of Naples, and Charles Lefèbvre 'from Pontarlier'. The company, called Pietro Coste & Compagni, had a total investment of 25,000 ducats, about 8,300 for each partner. A substantial sum for the time. The fact that Coste appeared in the name of the company was probably due to the fact that he committed his entire time to the business.

The men's wives had also joined the company: Béranger's wife, Charles Lefèbvre's wife, Joseph-Isidore's wife (who was liquidated when she left with her husband) and Viollier's wife.

With regard to the printing works, taking advantage of the favourable economic and fiscal conditions granted to the French, conditions that guaranteed exemption from paying taxes, granting loans and full use of premises owned by the State, Béranger had strengthened it. The lead type foundry and printing works were set up on the premises of the Carminiello, a deconsecrated church formerly belonging to the Jesuits but confiscated from them by the minister Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783) at the time of the Order's first suppression. The premises were located, and still are (the building is now very run-down) in the Chiaia area.



The now dilapidated Carminiello al Mercato, a church that had been deconsecrated for centuries and where in 1808 the second headquarters of the future Stamperia del Fibreno, at the time called the Stamperia francese, was housed for a few years.

Antoine Béranger was adept at taking advantage of the French during the French Decade, particularly from 1805-1815, but his adventure was coming to an end. Carminiello's printing-shop probably printed for third parties without its own mark. We must assume this from the fact that although it was known as a *printing works*, it did not produce any known books.

The prevailing activity in the early years continued to be the casting of typefaces which, being made of lead, wore out quickly and were always in great need. This is why, as soon as possible, he dissolved Pierre Coste & Co. and favoured the establishment of the Stamperia del Fibreno.

It was precisely in 1821 that Béranger began to leave the scene. By now ill and tormented by lawsuits and foreclosures, which had gone so far as to place the printing works and equipment in the Sora and Naples workshops under temporary sequestration, he was tired and discouraged. It is certain that, probably due to the intertwining of various debt situations, Béranger was unable to repay the loans he had received from the Ministry of Finance, in the annual instalments of 1817, 1818, 1819. In 1820, a file was set up, later forwarded in 1821, in which the Director of the Accounting Agency of the Reserved Assets, Sora's District Accountant Giuseppe Tuzzi, held Béranger's partners also jointly responsible for the non-payment. In fact, Tuzzi succeeds in seizing valuable assets from Forme and has paper materials seized from Carnello.¹⁰

He had by then been joined by lawyers who had sued him in France. More than once, bailiffs attempted to seize

¹⁰ ASN, Ammortizzazione generale e della cassa di Ammortizzazione e del demanio pubblico b.22, f. 5973.

equipment in Sora and Naples that also belonged to the other partners, creating unfortunate situations. While at Carnello, as seen, they had managed to seize cartons and cards.

In December 1821, Charles Lefèbvre bought the machinery of the *Forme* and *Carnello*¹¹ and all the shares of the company *Pierre Coste & Co.* at a discount of 30 per cent. The other partners preferred to exit and so the new owner changed the company name to *Stamperia del Fibreno*, for a long time a simple branch of the company *Manifatture del Fibreno*. He also moved the headquarters from the *Carminiello* to the spacious premises in *San Domenico Maggiore*. It was, and still is, a large building that was part of the ancient, prestigious Dominican convent. He shifted the centre of gravity of his interests from printing, type foundry and typography to paper production but, at the same time, he boosted the printing business.

The *Stamperia del Fibreno* in *San Domenico Maggiore* worked from around 1823 onwards as a type foundry. It remained there until the end of 1839. It was not yet a structured publishing house as no books are known to have been branded with its name. It became a publishing house a few years later. The five-year lease and concession of the *Carminiello*, meanwhile, had been succeeded in 1823 by the decision to buy the premises in *Carnello* and *Santa Maria delle Forme*. The purchase allowed Lefèbvre to make structural changes that he had not yet been able to do at that time: add buildings, dig more canals, enlarge the premises.¹²

¹¹ The actual deed of sale is: *Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli*, bill of sale dated 23 December 1822, d. 30. Carlo Lefèbvre buys hydraulic materials at auction for 6,415.60 ducats.

¹² On the figure of Charles Lefèbvre and his son Ernesto and their multiple activities I have written in other texts, soon to be published,

Meanwhile, in 1822, the returned king imposed very heavy duties on the importation of foreign books into the kingdom with the declared aim of helping local printers and printers, along with the associated effort to make the paper industry flourish, which was still not producing the volumes of paper needed for modern States, due to their organisation following the massive bureaucratisation introduced first in France and then elsewhere in the mid 18th century. When Lefèbvre acquired the concession, he certainly knew that the paper industry was on the rise throughout Europe and that there was an increasing need for paper. He was a shrewd man, accustomed to informing himself, and had maintained important contacts with Paris, Lyon, Grenoble, building an important network of relations in Naples and Foggia as well. Being able to combine two paper mills with a real printer-publisher, printing his own titles and those for others, located in the middle of one of Europe's most populous metropolises, seemed a good recipe for success. Moreover, if the Carnello paper mill was located near the river, the one in Isola di Sora was already supplied with water by a canal dug during the Béranger administration, which Lefèbvre would reinforce with water intakes and an even larger canal: the water was necessary for the movement of the machines and the

for now in private edition, see Mario A. Iannaccone, *The Lefèbvre D'Ovidio Family A Dynasty between the Ages* (4 books); *If you don't risk you don't get - History of the Amministrazione della Navigazione a Vapore*, 2019; ID, *The Lefèbvre chemical industry in Bagnoli. The forgotten factory (1853-1887)*, 2019; ID, *The Società Industriale Partenopea from finance to industry (1833-1879)*, 2018; ID, *The pioneers of light. The beginnings of gas and lighting companies in Naples (1817-1862)*, 2018. Taken as a whole, the volumes contribute to recounting an important part of Neapolitan economic-industrial history and society that has hitherto been left in the shadows.

production of the paper itself, which was made from a raw material of rags that had been defibrated and beaten until a homogeneous pulp was obtained.

The bulk of Charles Lefèvre's efforts went to the Manifattura del Fibreno, which is the most well-documented part, although we know a lot about the Stamperia del Fibreno, after the change of ownership, from the books it published. The regular publication of its own volumes, offered for sale in its own shop and by other booksellers, began in 1830, and not before.

By 1826, now master of the walls and land surrounding the factories in Sora, he began to carry out large-scale works. He also decided on a major investment: he bought and installed a paper machine, the first real paper machine installed in Italy, which would go into operation in 1828. We know that other former partners, such as Augusto Viollier, would remain in the printing business after the sale of their shares but also in many other activities such as sea transport and trade, often in association with Charles Lefèvre.

After leaving his tax receipt office in Lecce under his management, he devoted himself entirely to the Manifattura del Fibreno and the Stamperia (then still known as the Stamperia francese). In this regard, it is significant that, in order to acquire technical and commercial knowledge that the Lefèvre family did not have, he associated himself for at least two years with Firmin Didot's French publishing house, starting in 1828, by buying shares in it. Probably, in the early years, the direction of the Stamperia del Fibreno was entrusted to a Didot because it is the only name associated with publishing and book production that we find working and

collaborating with Lefèbvre between 1822 and 1830.¹³ Two famous families collaborated with Lefèbvre for a long time: the Montgolfiers and the Didots. The Montgolfiers were part of the same family of *papetiers* whose members Joseph-Michel (1740-1819) and Jacques-Étienne (1745-1899), two generations earlier, had made the first balloon flight in Annonay in 1783. Also, part of the extended family was Amédée-Louis Montgolfier (1816-1884), who linked his life to the Manifatture del Fibreno. Lefèbvre convinced him to move to Naples where he would work for decades. His son Fernand Montgolfier (1842-1911), after prestigious technical studies in France, also worked for the Lefèbvre family for many years, eventually ending his career in France. So, for a few years, starting in 1828, the Lefèbvre family was in business with Firmin Didot (1764-1838) and his sons, owners of one of the most prestigious printing-publishing houses in Paris. At least three generations of Didots – among them Frédéric Didot (1798-1836) – continued to associate with the Lefèbvre family in Paris and Naples even after the sale of the Manifatture del Fibreno and the printing-publishing business. The business connection between the two families did not go beyond 1834, but frequentation continued and a nephew of Firmin Didot was still employed by the Lefèbvre after 1860. The arrival of a Didot coincided with the actual start of publishing activities, and this cannot be a coincidence. As well as an association, Didot's must have been a real consultancy paid for by Charles Lefèbvre to his compatriot.

¹³ Amélie Lenormant (1803-1893), editor of Madame Récamier's letters, recalls that in 1859, a Mr Didot, a member of the large Parisian printing family, was employed in one of the Lefèbvre's factories.

Until 1824, the Stamperia dei Fibreno also had a rented room in Via San Sebastiano, a room overlooking the street that still exists today near the church of San Sebastiano, on the eastern flank of the monumental complex of Santa Chiara.

Apparently, the Stamperia del Fibreno never had a book catalogue or a bulletin of new books even when it became, to all intents and purposes, a publishing house. In this it behaved like most publishing houses of the time. Novelties were, however, communicated in newspapers, in special sections or in literary magazines.

The Stamperia had an editorial director – not defined as such, but with this function – and a commercial and technical director. As for the general ideological tendency, this came from the interests, status and cultural background of the owners, who were royalists and Catholics. The Stamperia specialised in a number of fields: there was first and foremost an institutional clientele mostly related to the works of bureaucrats and high bureaucrats of the Kingdom (economists, jurists, lawyers, experts in various fields); there was a dense production of texts related to the university academy or not, and especially to the local university (and in this they ranged from archaeology to antiquarianism to physics, geology, mathematics, geometry etc.); there was a production of works published by lawyers and legislators, with commentaries on codes, treaties and also many texts testifying to legal acts (criminal and civil trials); there was also an abundant production of texts by priests, theologians, seminary teachers, religious orators who collected homilies; Printed works by doctors and researchers, including those from outside the Academy, were not uncommon, proposing theories and remedies for serious and less serious illnesses (cholera, tuberculosis, syphilis were very common); from the 1930s

onwards, a true literary production of poems and poemlets, tragedies, verses, novels, also in translation by well-known and lesser-known authors, began.

Many local authors were then used to print at their own expense their own works, speeches, eulogies, short hagiographic speeches, settlement speeches, travel reports, philosophical treatises.

A calculation possible through the national cataloguing services of historical works shows that the works printed by the Fibreno, over the course of about 50 years of its history (the most important activity took place between 1830 and 1880), numbered many hundreds, thousands counting minor works. Particularly after 1830, there are bibliographical reports, reviews, discussions that can be found in dozens and dozens of journals bearing the titles of the Printworks, which carried out a major work of popularisation and discussion in Italy. Obviously, later culture branded this production as predominantly 'reactionary', decontextualising it and demonstrating an anti-historical and anti-scientific conception of publishing production. This is the opinion of Flavia Luise, who dealt with the history of the Stamperia del Fibreno:

The bibliographical reports of the most accredited periodical press, – both the local and liberal ones such as *Il progresso delle scienze e delle arti*, and the more conservative ones such as the *Biblioteca italiana* or the *Giornale di letteratura, scienze ed arti* printed in Milan, – confirm the preference for the printing workshop of the world of science, universities, public administration, dioceses and the most significant cultural figures of the time. The production, rarely involved in European historical events, is moderate Catholic: the sympathies of pre-unification Italy towards the uprisings of 1848 are translated into a few writings, inversely proportional to the

Risorgimento ferments of civil society.¹⁴

It would be hard to imagine that the Stamperia del Fibreno could print works that showed 'sympathy' for the process that led to a pre-unitary Italy and the destruction of the Bourbon kingdom, and that uncritically supported 'the uprisings of 1848'. Lefèbvre was firmly entrenched in the new aristocracy of money, power and then also of the propertied nobility of the Bourbon kingdom, and therefore it is hard to see how he or the directors of his publishing house could have favoured sympathies towards liberal movements that wanted the destruction of the Kingdom. But these are historical considerations made with the benefit of hindsight.

¹⁴ Flavia Luise, *La Stamperia del Fibreno*, in *Storia di editori e tipografi nella Napoli dell'Ottocento*, Pendragon, Bologna 2018, p. 72.

Chapter 3

A varied production

Let us rather look at the catalogue, the catalogue reconstructed, painstakingly, by examining the printed books, at least the main ones, year by year, before making other considerations regarding the structure of the Stamperia.¹⁵ Usually, the work of publishing houses of this type is examined by sector, as Flavia Luise did for this and other

¹⁵ With regard to the presence and absence of catalogues, such a precious tool for reconstructing the activity of publishers, Elisa Marazzi's remarks are valid: "Anyone who has undertaken research on publishers in the contemporary age, particularly in the 19th century, has noted – and often lamented – the frequent unavailability of archival documents, on which it is a good rule to base any historiographical work. The reasons for the losses are various; an unfortunate contingency has meant that in Milan, home to a not inconsiderable part, in terms of number and importance, of the publishing companies of the contemporary age, wartime events have caused the destruction or mutilation of archives, both private and public – think of the air raids in the summer of 1943 that hit, among the historical buildings in the centre, the State Archives. More generally, the lack of sensitivity on the part of the producers or their heirs, who rarely considered it appropriate to keep track of their business activities other than by conserving small collections of volumes, often the result of surrenders and not of a desire to create a historical library, has weighed heavily", Elisa Marazzi, *Mestieri dei libri e mercato editoriale nei cataloghi dell'Ottocento. L'informazione bibliografica come fonte per la storia dell'editoria*, "Rara volumina. Rivista di studi sull'editoria di pregio e il libro illustrato", Maria Pacini Fazzi Editori, Lucca 1-2 (2015), pp. 75-109. Ibid, p. 75.

scholars for other printer-publishers of the time. It is unclear who was the director of the publishing house for many years, who affixed his initials L. P. and whose contracts have not been found, and who remained director from at least 1828 to 1848 or shortly afterwards, when the management passed to Raffaele Caccavo, who remained director until the end of the publishing house's history in 1885.



The decoration distinguishes many volumes of the Stamperia del Fibreno.

For example, the publications of the archaeologist F. A. Pellicano were considered valuable, so in 1826 the Fibreno, under the old name of Stamperia francese, printed *Intorno a un antico monumento di marmo* (Stamperia francese, 1826), and then the *Catalogo delle antiche monete locresi* (Stamperia del Fibreno, 1834), a type of production, that of antiquaria, then archaeology, which remained lively considering the growth of excavations in historical sites such as Pompeii and Herculaneum. Carlo Bonucci, an important architect and archaeologist, published two books in 1830 and 1832, one

dedicated to Pompeii, *Gran mosaico di Pompei*, and one dedicated to Herculaneum in general.¹⁶ His was also *Pompeii ou Precis historique des excavations depuis l'annee 1748*, which was printed by the Stamperia francese (Imprimerie française) of Fibreno that had not yet established its name.¹⁷



Engraving (plate no. IV) from *La mimica degli antichi investigata* (1832). The author explains the survival in the Neapolitan people of the gestures described in Petronius' comedies.

He had also printed a curious book by Andrea de Jorio, *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano* (1832), accompanied by valuable engravings that were intended to show the continuity between classical mimicry, especially in comedy, and contemporary Neapolitan mimicry. But the production of farces, comic and tragic plays, continued

¹⁶ Carlo Bonucci, *Gran mosaico di Pompei*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1832; ID, *Ercolano*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1835.

¹⁷ Carlo, Bonucci *Pompeii ou Precis historique des excavations depuis l'annee 1748*, Imprimerie française, Naples 1828.

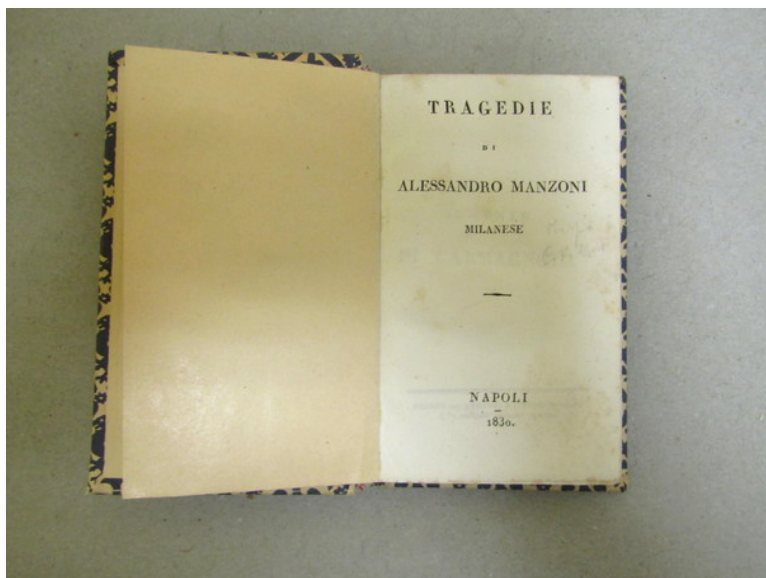
throughout the history of the Stamperia and some authors would be particularly active, such as Giulio Genoino who, in addition to the 15 volumes of the *Etica drammatica*, mentioned below, would write plays in the late 1830s and 1840s, such as *Maddalena Scudery in Provence* (1839), *Cuor di una figlia* (1839), *L'istinto del cuore* (1839). He would continue in the following decade with various collections, including *Rrobbe vecchie, novegne e nnove de trinca nferta per lo capodanno 1847* in dialecto (2 volumes, 1847).¹⁸ It was, in this case, a minor theatrical production, of local circulation and composed on occasion (for the farces that were performed after Easter and on Christmas holidays), but nevertheless appreciated, at the time, by the public.

However, to show how up-to-date and in line with other Italian publishers and printers of the time the Stamperia del Fibreno was, it seems quite significant to consider how already in 1830 it prepared an edition of Alessandro Manzoni's *Tragedies*. He was then the most 'advanced' (in the sense the Romantics gave to the word) and discussed author of the time, even before he published *I Promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*). The edition, in elegant hardback, contained *The Count of Carmagnola*, *Adelchi* and *Cinque Maggio*.¹⁹ They were works that were already discussed, criticised and praised, not only in Milan but also in Florence for the novelties they brought and for the way they betrayed the principles of Aristotelian unity with a language that was no longer classicist but referred back

¹⁸ When several works appear in the same year, they are usually reproductions of prints made, almost always, in small printing works that did not guarantee circulation.

¹⁹ *Alessandro Manzoni, Tragedies by Alessandro Manzoni of Milan. Il conte di carmagnola - Adelchi - Cinque maggio*, from the Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1830.

to Madame de Staël and the French Romantics that, moreover, the owners of Fibreno knew personally (Lamartine, Chateaubriand and others). Among the most popular authors of the time was Vincenzo Monti, published in his opera omnia in 6 large volumes.²⁰



Several volumes published in these years, for example in 1830, simply state 'Napoli' without indicating the printer or the words 'Dalla Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno' on a page following the one containing the titles. As I will later explain, the Stamperia had no corporate autonomy from the paper mills, it was a specialised branch.

After its temporary location at the Carminiello, the Stamperia del Fibreno remained for a few years in Piazza

²⁰ Vincenzo Monti, *Opere*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1833.

Domenico Maggiore at No. 3. Today, No. 3 is located at the far left of the old Palazzo Petrucci. But it is possible that at the beginning of the 19th century an alternative numbering existed and that No. 3 was located precisely in San Domenico Maggiore, a convent in use but very large and rented out for commercial and craft use. In any case, the square where the printing house was housed is the same one that bears the name San Domenico today. With the many subsequent alterations, it is difficult to distinguish the precise location, but certainly the Stamperia del Fibreno was situated in the noblest centre of Naples, opposite the obelisk of San Domenico Maggiore, one of the most important centres of the Dominicans, at the beginning of the Trinità Maggiore descent that grazed the Degas Palace.



The first headquarters of the Stamperia del Fibreno was located in one of the halls that can be seen in Piazza Domenico Maggiore, it is not clear whether on the left or the right of today's Palazzo Petrucci.

At the end of the 1830s, a competitor of Fibreno's, the Florentine Giuseppe Marghieri (1806-1896) began his activity and settled in the city in 1838. Over the next few years – it is not clear exactly when – he associated with small printer-publishers already present in the Neapolitan marketplace: D'Andrea, Tramater and Festa, and with them he owned five presses in 1852.²¹ The first known location is Strada Nardones, 55. Above all, as Antonella Venezia notes, 'his shop was soon to become a point of reference for many Neapolitan liberals, as is recalled in his obituary: "He is perhaps the last to disappear of those Neapolitan booksellers who, watched by the Bourbon police, tried to make intellectual education in southern Italy less difficult by printing and selling works published in other parts of Italy. The shops of these booksellers, such as Vincenzo Puzziello's, A. Mirelli's, etc., were a meeting place for all those who united liberal and anti-Bourbon political aspirations with the cult of literature and science".²²

Considering the lively political movements and manoeuvres that were tending to pincer the Kingdom of the

²¹ Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, *Una famiglia di editori, I Morano e la cultura napoletana tra otto e Novecento*, Franco Angeli, Milan 1999, p. 27. Much information on Marghieri can be found in Antonio Marghieri, *Tra biblioteche libri e librai a Napoli. Reminescenze e divagazioni*, in *Luigi Chiurazzi nel suo 90° anno*, Stabilimento tipografico Morano, Naples 1921, p. 12.

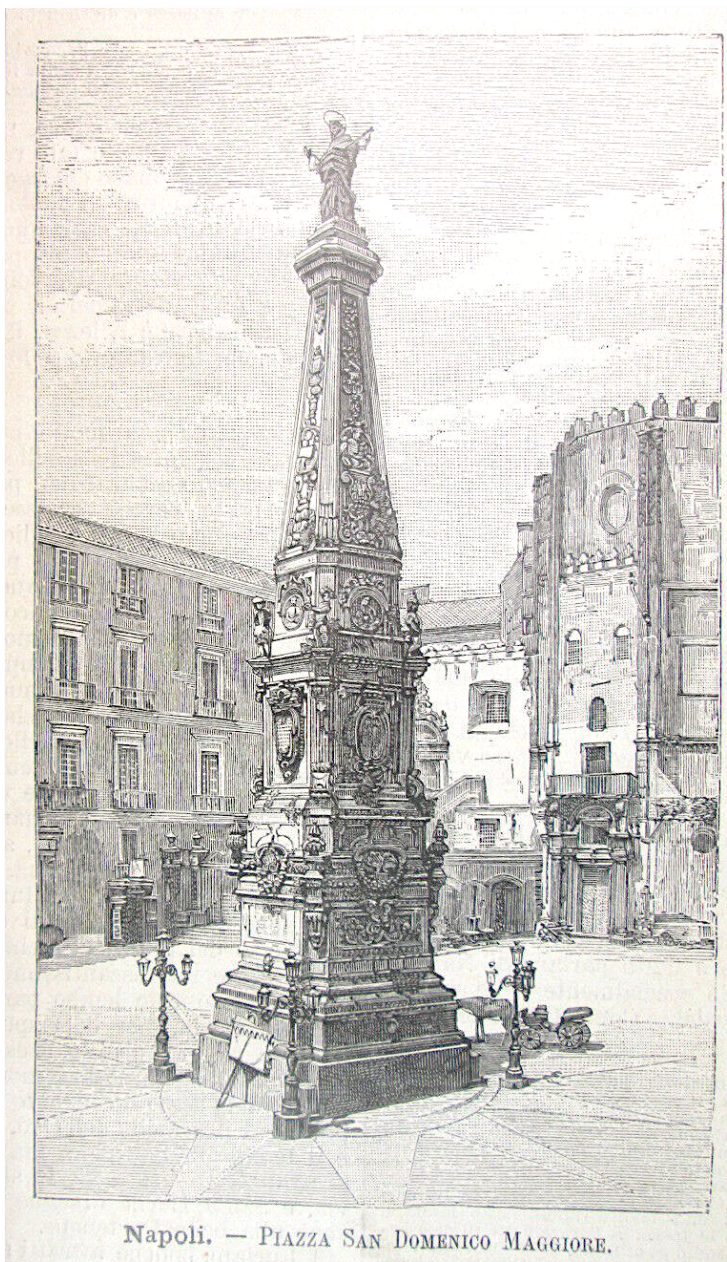
²² Antonella Venezia, *Da Firenze a Napoli: cenni sull'attività editoriale della famiglia Marghieri*, pp. 169-196, in ed., Gianfranco Tortorelli, *Storie di editori e tipografi nella Napoli dell'Ottocento*, Pendragon, pp. 169-170. In this regard, La Venezia gives examples of liberal intellectuals (such as Giuseppe de Blasiis, pp. 170-171) who complained about the illiberal policies of the Bourbon South, not to mention that united Italy had an equally effective (but differently oriented) censorship system.

Two Sicilies, it is not even impossible that Giuseppe Marghieri, who was in any case over thirty years old and had an established position in Florence, would also settle in Naples as an agitator. These were certainly not uncommon situations at that time, as in all times. In any case, people with liberal and anti-Bourbon political aspirations 'gathered' around his shop. It is no coincidence that Settembrini's Protest, which had so much space especially in England as well as in liberal Italy that sought further moral justifications to steer public opinion, seems to have been printed by Marghieri himself. Which – without proof of course – nevertheless reinforces the suspicion just expressed. Marghieri had no problem associating himself with other publishers to publish works by authors considered 'reactionary' according to the yardstick of the time, such as Cesare Cantù (who was also published by the Stamperia del Fibreno: *Storia universale: volume I*). And he did the same with other authors, such as Giacinto Carena (another author published by the Fibreno) with his *Prontuario di vocaboli attenenti a cose domestiche e altre di uso comune*, published in 1858 in 2 volumes. This was a classic pirate copy: the volume had already been published in 1854 by the Stamperia del Fibreno.

But Marghieri's loyalty to the new regime did not bring him any advantages in commercial terms simply because the marketplace was small and the public divided. Despite his liberal merits, Marghieri had problems when the Neapolitan book market contracted and he had to borrow from the Dictatorship as early as 11 September 1860, in an affair that has been reconstructed by Luigi de Matteo in *Noi della*

Meridionale Italia.²³ Marghieri went into a serious crisis that lasted almost a decade and then recovered and lasted for part of the 20th century. The location in which the publisher settled for the longest time was Strada Monteoliveto 37, plus a warehouse at 346 Via Toledo.

²³ Luigi De Matteo, *Noi della meridionale Italia. Imprese e imprenditori del Mezzogiorno nella crisi dell'unificazione*, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, Naples 2002, pp. 7-71; Vincenzo Trombetta in *L'editoria italiana dell'Ottocento. Produzione, circolazione, consumo*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2008, p. 178, and of course the aforementioned Antonella Venezia, cit., pp. 171-173 who dedicates a few pages with new details to the case.



Napoli. — PIAZZA SAN DOMENICO MAGGIORE.

In the black and white engraving reproduced here, one can see on the right, behind the carriage, more or less two-thirds of the way into the frame, the premises in which the Stamperia del Fibreno was probably housed in its second location. In any case, that is the building. House numbers were also indicated as 1-3 in the 19th century. As can be seen by comparing this engraving from 1891 with the photograph taken recently, the buildings have not changed and looked the same in the late 17th and early 19th centuries.

In the early 1830s, the Stamperia still had little focus on narrative works and in particular novels, a genre that was still very new. We will return to this genre in a few chapters.

Chapter 4

Books on politics and the State

Looking through the list of books published (the Stamperia, it must be remembered, never had a catalogue raisonné), we can mention the main works and authors. We can start, for example, with those on politics and the State. The first important publications date back to 1830 under the name Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, sometimes and more frequently Stamperia del Fibreno.

In 1831, an important text for both the economy of the kingdom and Lefèbvre's activities concerning the institution of private property was published. It is *Delle privative. Treatise* by Giammaria Puoti, magistrate, published by the Stamperia del Fibreno. The author defended the institute and advocated its extension to other fields such as those that would be properly covered by copyright. This was a long-standing problem, and not only in Italy. In the following decades, Alessandro Manzoni in Italy and Charles Dickens in London would fight for the enactment of proper legislation in the field, something that would not happen in Italy until 1865. The States with the most advanced legislation were, at that time, the Papal States and France. Rightly, Puoti noted, this right would benefit publishers, printers and dealers.²⁴

²⁴ Giammaria Puoti, *Delle privative. Trattato*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1831, p. 74. For the debate on protectionism in Neapolitan publishing policy, see, among others, Marino Berengo,

At a time when there was still no legislation regulating copyright, and therefore publishing houses did not pay an agreed figure on sales, they regulated themselves in various ways: in many cases it was probably the author who paid the costs of publication, in others the publisher paid a lump sum but if he considered the work interesting he could invoke the institution of copyright. This was theorised by Puoti, published by the Stamperia del Fibreno at the beginning of its actual publishing activity, with *Delle privative. Treaty*. It is worth quoting a significant part of it that has been noted by Vincenzo Trombetta:

[...] 39. That every author of literary and scientific works shall have the *right* to print his works for the whole of his natural life, and for twelve years afterwards; and that he may cede, donate, sell, leave in his will, and may also inherit them by right of blood. That this *privilege* may by special order of the Sovereign be extended up to twenty-five years after his life for particular cases of non-ordinary merit of the work, or of extravagant cost of publishing. 40. That it be noted on every book that the work is printed by the author, or by the person who has had the *right* ceded by him. 41. That every book, which does not have this notice, and an imprint chosen to this object, or has falsified it, shall be deemed to be contraband. 42. That the *patent* given to the authors of scientific and literary works shall not prevent anyone else from turning their works into other languages, and so printing them on their own account. 43. That the translators

Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione, Franco Angeli, Milan 2010 pp. 266-276 (first ed. 1980 Einaudi); Maria Iolanda Palazzolo, *Intellettuali e mercato librari a Napoli, il dibattito sul dazio d'importazione dei libri stranieri* (1834-18399, in "Sociologia della letteratura", a. II (1979), 3, pp. 61-63. In particular, up-to-date is Vincenzo Trombetta, *L'editoria napoletana dell'Ottocento*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2008 pp. 20-33.

of the works of others are also entitled to the *right* to print the translations of which they are authors. But that this does not prevent anyone else from equally translating the same works, and printing their own translations with equal benefit.²⁵

Thus, by using the institute of privative rights, the purpose of which was to introduce from outside technologies or processes exclusively or to use technologies or processes or workmanship invented in the Kingdom, an attempt was made to protect intellectual property not yet conceived as such but as industrial property. This system of protecting works published by authors did not, however, cover translations of foreign books, which were probably not paid for unless there were agreements between the parties. The system proposed by Puoti, and evidently advocated by the Stamperia del Fibreno, considered the author as a producer who first had to pay the printer and then make commercial arrangements with him for the sale of copies through shops. Luigi Bianchini would enter the debate more than 20 years later, declaring himself generally opposed to the institution of private rights, even though he spoke of an exclusive right of enjoyment with regard to intellectual works.²⁶ The issue would be debated for decades and in the meantime printers-publishers enjoyed a kind of total freedom to print and translate foreign authors (unless they also came into contact with them) and also Italian authors living elsewhere. Manzoni's struggle to avoid pirate editions of *I Promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*) in northern Italy and especially in Naples in the following years is well known.

²⁵ Giammaria Puoti, *Delle privative. Trattato*. Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1831, pp. 168-169.

²⁶ Luigi Bianchini, *Principi della scienza del ben vivere sociale e della economia pubblica e degli stati*, s.e. Naples 1855, p. 147.

A detail snatched from oblivion thanks to a diary written by Charles Lefèvre's cousin reminds us of the name of the chief printer at the Stamperia del Fibreno in those years, Giovanni Martin. It was he who, on 17 February 1831, presented himself to the President of the Council of Public Education with a request to have Puoti's work printed, permission which was granted. The chief printer was evidently responsible for the printing of the books and, at least in part, also for their contents (incidentally, Puoti's views probably reflected those of the Printing House management).²⁷

Little is known about this Martin, but it is likely that he was a Frenchman, not an Italian, hence a Jean Martin. In fact, we know of a Martin who was a manager of the Manifatture del Fibreno in Sora as well as in Naples. After the brief directorship of Giacomo Filippo Testa (1803-1894), a chemist, who worked in Sora, a prominent role was played by Giovanni (or Jean) Martin between 1825 and 1833. The latter became director of one of the Fibreno plants (probably the *Forme*) until 1833, when he was replaced by Émile Grévenich (director from 1833 to 1844). The replacement was not taken well by Martin. This was probably the same person who in 1841 committed suicide by throwing himself into the 15-metre-high waterfall next to one of the factory buildings of the Fibreno. But this tragedy, at the time, was yet to come.²⁸

In 1832, the University of Naples proposed a privatisation for the printing of its works that meant the exclusion of other printing houses. This was certainly an honour for the Fibreno,

²⁷ Giammaria Puoti, *Delle privative. Treatise*, cit., p. 175.

²⁸ BNF, AB XIX 4481, vol. VI, p. 1. Martin continued to collaborate for another eight years, but probably saw the replacement as a personal failure, so much so that he committed suicide in 1841.

but it risked committing itself greatly to works that would have had minimal circulation. The agreement that seems to have been made is not known, but the Fibreno printed many of the university's works to the exclusion of other printers. It therefore had a privileged but not exclusive relationship. A text entitled *A pro de'tipografi e librai napoletani* written by Michele Cicala sets out a number of reasons why exclusive rights, authorised only to the university, would have a positive effect on the university itself but a negative effect on the circulation of culture in general in the Kingdom.²⁹

Particularly important for the history of publishing in the Kingdom of Naples is a text published two years later entitled: *Degli odierni uffici della tipografia e de' libri. Discorso pratico ed economico*, signed by Carlo Mele (1792-1841). The book started a lively debate that would last for several years.³⁰ It first of all demonstrates the close relationship that existed at the time between paper manufacturers and publishing and the progress that was being made in that field by showing, right from the first chapter, the great difference that exists between the trade in books and that in other 'products' (*ibid.*, pp. 7-17), with arguments that cannot be rejected even today.

In addition, Mele criticised the government's excessive protectionism that prevented the free circulation of foreign books and their translations in particular, due to a measure of 1822. This led to a situation of a shortage of publications, empty warehouses, poor catalogues and poor circulation. Authors, in short, felt no incentive to publish unless they were university professors or professors from lower schools who

²⁹ Michele Cicala, *A pro dei tipografi de' librai napoletani*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1832.

³⁰ Carlo Mele, *Degli odierni uffici della tipografia e de' libri. Discorso pratico ed economico*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1834.

printed their textbooks on economics, mathematics, biological sciences and even theology and history to be purchased as study texts by their pupils. In this regard, the critic of the time, Riccardo Petroni, wrote: "But more than their number, the quality of their workshops has deteriorated, and they are generally so poor and shabby that they no longer resemble at all the rich warehouses and splendid warehouses kept twenty or thirty years ago by Terres de' Merand or Porcelli, Stasi, Liteto and others".³¹ Those mentioned are the booksellers of the late 18th century period and the French Decade.³²

Petroni was referring to the French period when, it is clear, the invaders had an interest in circulating the new ideas and debate had been free for a certain period, although not so free, since censorship was very strict: texts were accepted that first defended French Jacobinism, the progress brought by the French, then Napoleon's Caesarism and the Enlightenment. The rest did not pass censorship and therefore to speak of freer or less free periods, at any time, has a relative value, often influenced by the system in which one lives or which one shares: the historian must take this into account. Nevertheless,

³¹ Riccardo Petroni, 'Il topo letterario', 11, Naples 1833, pp. 22-23.

³² Anna Maria Rao, *La stampa francese a Napoli negli anni della Rivoluzione*, "Mélanges de l'école française de Rome" Rome 1990, pp. 469-520. Ibid, pp. 102-103; Maria Jolanda Palazzolo, *I tre occhi dell'editore. Cultura meridionale e mercato librario tra Otto e Novecento*, in "Meridiana. Rivista di storia e scienze sociali", no. 5, January 1989, pp. 169-198; Gaetano Cingari, *Note sulla censura e sul dazio d'importazione dei libri stranieri del Mezzogiorno (1822-1847)*, in *Cultura, società e potere. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Giarizzo*, cur. Fabrizio Lomonaco, "Archivio di Storia della Cultura", Quaderni, 2, (1990), Morano, Naples, pp. 279-308. The most recent contribution is by Vincenzo Trombetta, *Editoria a Napoli nel decennio francese. Produzione libraria e stampa periodica tra Stato e imprenditoria privata (1806-1815)*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2011.

evident progress in the manufacture of paper seemed not to be matched, after the Restoration, by progress or improvement in book production. But is this really the case?

Protectionism was not only good for the circulation of foreign (particularly English) ideas and books, but also for what was known as the subversive press, books that infused ideas contrary to the (absolute) monarchy and the (Catholic) religion and that could have penetrated much more easily by undermining power, as would happen a few decades later. And this was a problem of the Kingdom but also of the English monarchy or the French monarchy or the various Italian principalities however 'enlightened' they were. In short, it was a common problem linked to the spirit of the times (and perhaps of many other times) and no State could set itself up as a champion. In any case, if books with some political significance circulated less easily, this could not be said, as we shall see, for other kinds of books.

In general, the activities of the modern paper factory of the Lefèbvre and the Naples Stamperia were praised by Raffaele Liberatore (1787-1843), one of the best known intellectuals and publicists of the time who, after the uprisings of 1820, and after losing important civil offices such as that of magistrate, had devoted himself completely to publishing. For him, the Stamperia del Fibreno was the jewel in the crown of publishing in the region, also due to the close integration of paper production, type foundry and typography. It had made it possible to have more paper, of different qualities and also larger sheets that could benefit publishing. The Manifattura del Fibreno had by then risen to national and international fame after the factory's extensions begun in 1812-1813 by Béranger, continued by Charles Lefèbvre in 1820-1821 and again in 1828 with the purchase of the ultra-modern English-style

Fourdrinier paper machine.

He writes about this in the long *De' saggi delle manifatture napoletane esposti nella solenne mostra di Napoli del 1834*, of which I quote here only a passage.³³

There are certainly a great many paper mills in the Terra di Lavoro, in the Principato Citeriore, and in the Abruzzi, and they grow in number and importance every year; but the best are those of the Bartolomucci brothers in Picinisco, of Messrs. Lucibello on the Amalfi coast, Mr. Del Vecchio in Loreto, and Mr. Lefèbvre on the delightful banks of the Liri and Fibreno rivers; indeed, if the grandiosity of the manufacture, the copy and the novelty of the machines are sufficient to give it primacy, only the latter can be rightly assigned to it. In fact, it seemed that this production of our industry should be singularly perfected in Carnello after the erection of the marvellous English machine with continuous motion, which produces endless paper of every quality by itself, and gives it to you in a minute, beautiful and dry, a machine which until now was unique in Italy; and all the more justified seemed the expectation after the improvements added to it, both to destroy the slight furrows that the contact of the wire cloth on which the soaked paper passes made in one of the surfaces of the sheet, and to prevent those tiny drops of water that thinned it out and then left the impression of greater transparency in it. We are not therefore obliged, despite ourselves, to confess that in the essays sent to us this time from the Fibreno paper mill we could not recognise, not the mark of perfection, such conditions at least as to cease the complaints that are made against the mill's productions on account of quality and cost. Perhaps those that come from the Aprutino Loreto area have more solidity, more frankness in the use of printing and writing. But in general, it does not seem that for the past two years there has been

³³ Raffaele Liberatore, *De' saggi delle manifatture napoletane esposti nella solenne mostra di Napoli del 1834*, in 'Il progresso delle scienze, delle lettere e delle arti', volume IX, Naples 1834, pp. 186-187.

any real and appreciable progress in our ordinary paper or printing paper, while a few miles from the border, in Fabriano, there is some very beautiful paper being made: this is probably due to the high tariff that almost excludes foreign papers, in the shadow of which our papermakers rest, almost unconcerned, as they are always sure to have their goods to dispose of. We will agree, however, that only the great manufacture of Fibreno supplies paper of every weight and size, and can receive any commission, even the largest; nor would we find it anywhere else but there, and of every price, for drawings, for limestone and for the uses of lithography of copper engravings.

In 1834, Mele reflected on the debate that his 1832 book had provoked. Mele had triggered a long-distance discussion between various authors, including Jules Millenet, a very active author at the time, an expert on economics and the problem of duties and the protectionist system. In 1832, Millenet had written a booklet of about 80 pages entitled *Coup d'oeil sur l'industrie agricole et manufacturière du royaume de Naples*.³⁴ This pamphlet basically suggested fiscal correctives to the Kingdom's policy by making some examples with other continental economies. But in 1835 he printed *Alcune riflessioni sull'opera intitolata. Degli odierni uffici della tipografia e de' libri del signor Mele*, which intended to reflect especially on the subjects of paper, typography and books.³⁵

The education of the world of nations is something that cannot with impunity be subjected to monopoly, nor to the ferula of school

³⁴ Jules Millenet, *Coup d'oeil sur l'industrie agricole et manufacturière du royaume de Naples* de l'imprimerie et papeterie du Fibrène, Naples 1832.

³⁵ Jules Millenet, *Some reflections on the work entitled. Degli odierni uffici della tipografia e de' libri del signor Mele*, Stamperia e Cartiera del Fibreno, Naples 1835.

desks. Has any thought ever been given to the character and scope of this kind of education? To value it as a commodity is the lowest and most material relation of it. To ascend to a more eminent view, and to regard it as a sublime and divine magisterium, in which the supreme providence takes the initiative and direction of the prime mover of civilisation among its favoured peoples. Removed from local superiorities, it tends of itself to spread, and demands nothing but to be directed by wise administrations. In this way it presides over the progress of those immortal people who call themselves civilised consortia. They, without even warning, and often recalcitrant, are drawn to exchange, and thus to unite the treasure of their respective knowledge. For which, if they remain communicative, they do not entirely fall victim either to the evil arts of obscurantism or to the neglect of their directors. [...] In view of these considerations, rising above the local circumstances of the Kingdom of Naples, which unfortunately should have interested the author, and therefore leaving aside the unpleasant statistical information, we have paid attention to the third and last chapter of the *Discorso*. Full of truth, of mature wisdom, of good views of the state, and laid out in a flat, lucid, exact style, as Cicero wanted it, is the third chapter, entitled: *Conseguenze dell'innovazione sulla civiltà del paese*. The conclusion of this chapter is as follows: he who wants agriculture wants books, he who wants to drain ponds and marshes wants books, he who wants traffic and navigation wants books, he who wants soldiers wants books, he who wants wealth wants books, he who wants justice wants books, he who wants religion wants books, he who wants morality wants books. Only those who want barbarism, wickedness and ignorance do not want to hear about books.³⁶

³⁶ Untitled and editorial text contained in the review by Jules Millenet, *Alcune riflessioni sull'opera intitolato: degli odierni uffici della tipografia e de' libri del signor Carlo Mele*, "Il progresso delle scienze, delle lettere e delle arti". n XIV, a. IV Tipografia Flautina, Naples 1835, pp. 225-230. Ibid pp. 227-228.

In fact, Mele had sharply criticised a decree of November 1822 in which the free circulation of books was abolished. The writer of this review, while considering Mele's objections against the king to be 'too trivial and contemptible' to be taken into consideration, considered the general thrust to be good: the Kingdom needed good books, greater circulation, translations. In this way, Mele as well as Millenet also served the interests of the Stamperia del Fibreno. And the owner of the Fibreno, on excellent terms with the King and his ministers, with this free and high-level debate indirectly made his opinion known to the King without having to express it *de visu*.

Moreover, although the identity of the editorial director is unknown (the appointed Martin was an editor with a technical function), which was strangely hidden under an initials, it is reasonable to think that it was Charles Lefèbvre himself who influenced many of the editorial choices; He was an educated person who was also known for his willingness to remain well-informed about the facts and culture of the Kingdom he lived in and the one he came from, so it is not difficult to assume that it was he who gave the final approval for the printing of sensitive works, the most important ones, such as those that touched on the problem of freedom of the press or economic and free trade issues. The subject of the abolition of the heavy duties of 1822, which did not completely eliminate the circulation of foreign books but made them much more expensive, was one of them. Thus he also made known or approved certain proposals relating to politics and especially economics.

In 1837, Giuseppe Ceva Grimaldi (1777-1862) also entered into this long and fruitful debate with his *Considerazioni sul dazio d'introduzione dei libri stranieri* published in December

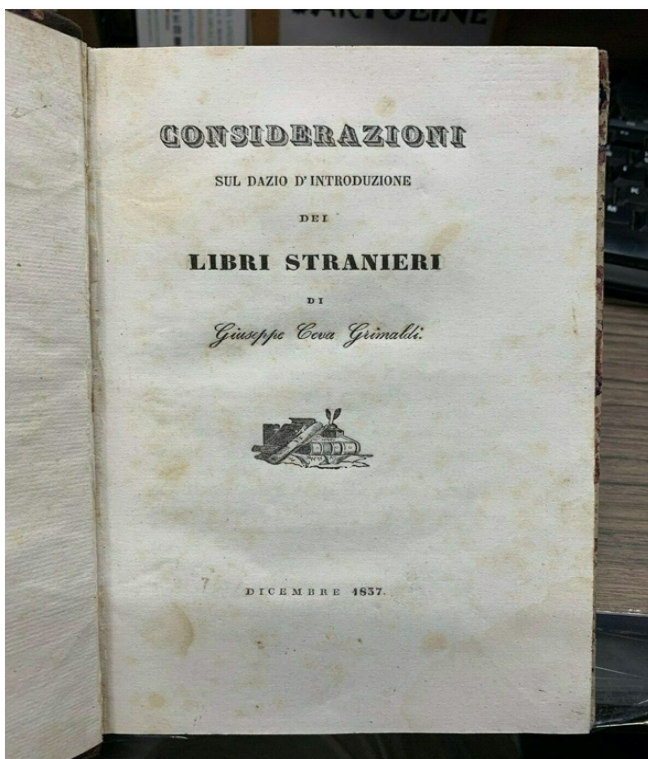
1837 and reviewed by Carlo Mele in the Flautina journal 'Il progresso delle scienze, delle lettere e delle arti'.³⁷ Ceva Grimaldi, marquis of Pietro Catella and duke of Pesche, was a man most loyal to the King who had held posts as Intendant General of the Terra d'Otranto at the same time that Lefèbvre also held posts in the intendance of finance in that area. The two, the Neapolitan nobleman and the wealthy French businessman, were friends, as the invitations to Lefèbvre's house also prove. The nobleman, in the wake of Millenet, expressed cautious opinions, advocating the circulation of books on progress, science, mathematics while keeping a check on others, those that could sow the seeds of sedition. It was the line of the Neapolitan Bourbons but it was, after all, the line of almost all monarchies of the time. Only, the ones who suffered most, in a market as small as the Neapolitan one, were the printers and perhaps the booksellers, the paper merchants, more than anyone else (and more than the paper manufacturers, although sometimes these figures coincided).

Carlo Mele admitted that he had started a fire with his work, many had praised him but others had opposed him with various arguments. He complained that no one had considered that the national printing industry would benefit from printing translated foreign works. In short, Mele defended himself with intelligent arguments and protested that he also wanted to defend the paper manufacturers, the printers, the type founders. Ultimately, Mele notes that Ceva Grimaldi, with intelligent arguments, accepts his own reasons defending them and also agrees on the need to change the 1822 duty.³⁸

³⁷ Giovanni Ceva Grimaldi, *Considerazioni sul dazio d'introduzione de' libri stranieri*, Naples, without indication but Stamperia del Fibreno 1837.

³⁸ Carlo Mele on, *Considerazioni sul dazio d'introduzione de' libri*

Ceva Grimaldi was convinced that the spiritualist and religious strand had definitively won, with the Restoration, over the materialist and anti-religious strand, and on this point he was serene: bad books would not drive out good books.



In any case, the debate that had developed around the Stamperia del Fibreno, the largest in the Kingdom at that time and for many years to come, reflected the publishing policy of its management which, as Roberto Sani has pointed out in a

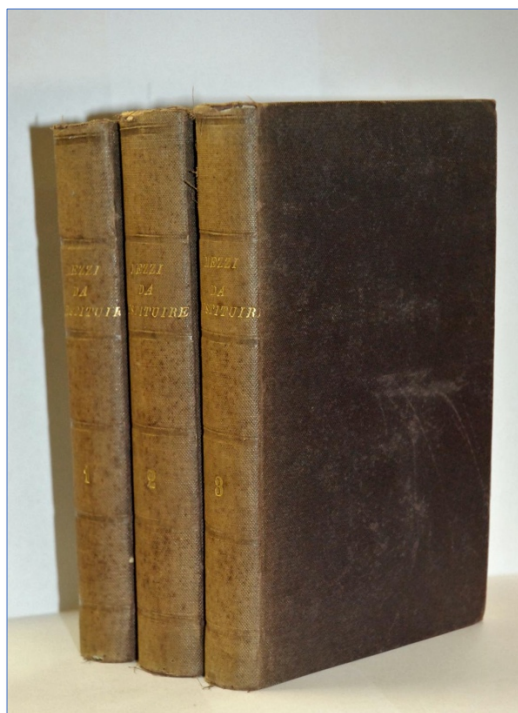
stranieri di Giovanni Ceva Grimaldi in "Il progresso delle scienze, delle lettere e delle arti". n XVIII, a. VI, Tipografia Flautina pp. 202-209.

well-known book in *L'editoria scolastica nell'Italia meridionale dell'Ottocento* (2000), printed both commissioned texts, which had low risks and marginal sales, and texts with higher sales but still low margins, which was school publishing and then pamphlets that came from the legal environment (legal cases were often printed) or university texts.³⁹

Following the indications that came from the Institutes of Encouragement of Science, Arts and Education, the Stamperia del Fibreno produced over the years hundreds of manuals and school textbooks of all levels, manuals to spread modern educational methods, re-editions of texts that were published in Milan, Turin, Florence and Rome. Many were the texts commissioned by professors of religious institutes, public schools, seminaries, but also the University of Naples, as well as prestigious institutions such as the Accademia Pontaniana and the Institutes of Encouragement.

Flavia Luise notes that one can see Lefèvre's curious and tireless nature in the commissioning of so many texts on science and technology; texts that called for the development of sectors such as gas, mining, finance, textiles, agriculture, chemistry, navigation, all sectors in which, moreover, the family that owned the printing house was active in various capacities, usually as partners.

³⁹ Roberto Sani, *L'editoria scolastica nell'Italia meridionale dell'Ottocento*, in *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, ed. Giorgio Chiosso, La Scuola, Brescia 2000.



The valuable edition of Afan de Rivera's work, *Considerazioni sui mezzi da restituire il valore proprio a' doni che ha la natura largamente concesso al Regno delle Due Sicilie*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1832-1842, 3 vols. With 4 engraved maps.

Between 1832 and 1847, it was the Stamperia del Fibreno that printed and edited the editions of all the important books of a personage of such high calibre as Carlo Afan de Rivera (1779-1852). In particular, 12 volumes were printed containing all the projects, often of great and very great scope, in some cases realised, in other cases planned without having reached completion and in other cases remaining at the proposal level, but which demonstrated Afan de Rivera's great intellectual curiosity and practical activity, director general of

the Kingdom's Corps of Bridges, Roads, Water, Forests and Hunting, a specialisation school for engineers that until the 1840s tackled large-scale land redevelopment and reclamation projects in the area north of Naples and Bagnoli, near Lake Fucino and the Sipontine marshes. Afan de Rivera was also the author of the plans for the real Abruzzi Road to Pescara, the spectacular bridge over the Garigliano and the bridge over the Calore river.⁴⁰

The engineer and manager of civil and military engineering had about two-thirds of his works printed by the Stamperia del Fibreno, the rest by minor printers or by the Reale Tipografia della Guerra, which depended on the Bourbon Ministry of War. From an editorial point of view, the *Considerazioni sui mezzi da restituire il valore proprio a' doni...* (see image) is considered a very valuable printed work, as well as a volume full of insights, ideas and plans. The first two volumes were published in 1832 and the third in 1842.

It is a work of around 1,300 pages in total, with four large maps engraved especially for the volume. The third also contains a *Carta idrografica ed itineraria della Sicilia Citeriore*. He also wrote works on land reclamation, the reorganisation of the systems of weights and measures of Sicily, first of the region called Sicilia Citeriore and then of

⁴⁰ Elio Manzi, "I problemi del Mezzogiorno nel pensiero di Carlo Afan de Rivera", in *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, no. 84, Florence 1977, pp. 27-72; Antonio Motta, *Carlo Afan de Rivera, burocrate intellettuale borbonico: il sistema viario lucano preunitario*. Lavello, Finiguerra, 1989; Aldo Di Biasio, *Ingegneri e territorio nel Regno di Napoli. Carlo Afan de Rivera e il Corpo dei Ponti e Strade*, Latina, Amministrazione Provinciale per Istituto Italiano per la storia del Risorgimento, 1993. For an initial overview also: Mario Barsali, *Afan de Rivera, Carlo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1961, vol. I, p. 448.

Sicilia Ulteriore; plans for Capitanata and the Tavoliere delle Puglie, and finally the reclamation project of the Volturno basin.⁴¹ The printing of all these works, which were extremely detailed and provided with statistics and calculations, data and technical, economic, engineering reasoning, followed and were followed by meetings, conferences, declarations. Afan de Rivera entrusted his projects to the Stamperia del Fibreno and to his friend Charles Lefèbvre, who, moreover, was very close to court circles. These books should therefore not be seen as a mere reliance on a printing service. Moreover, the volumes were very carefully composed, cleanly printed and proofread, with rare misprints.

Carlo Afan de Rivera, with his designs, was part of a highly advanced scientific environment that developed in late 18th and early 19th century Naples, along with authors and scholars such as Carmine Lippi and Matteo Tondi, authors of studies in

⁴¹ ID, *Considerazioni sulle circostanze fisiche ed economiche del Tavoliere di Puglie e sugli spedienti atti a migliorare l'industria campestre e promuovere la prosperità per mezzo di istituzione di una banca rurale e commerciale*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1834; ID, *Progetto della restaurazione dello emissario di Claudio e dello scola del Fucino*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1836; ID, *Delle restituzione del nostro sistema di misure, pesi e monete alla sua antica perfezione*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples, 1838; ID, *Memoria su i mezzi di ritrarre il massimo profitto dal lago Salpi coordinando questa impresa a quella più vasta di bonificamento e migliorare la pianura della Capitanata*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1839; ID, *Tavole di riduzione de' pesi e delle misure della Sicilia Citeriore in quegli statuiti dalla legge de' 6 aprile 1840*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1840; ID, *Del bonificamento del lago Salpi: coordinato a quello della pianura della Capitanata: delle opere eseguite e dei vantaggi ottenuti, dell'applicazione del metodo stesso al bonificamento del bacino inferiore del Volturno*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1845; ID, *Memoria intorno al bonificamento del bacino inferiore del Volturno*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1847.

mineralogy and geology ('geognosy') published by small publishers. The most active publisher-typographers in this field were Domenico Sangiacomo, Angelo Trani and Carlo Cataneo. The scientists who flourished between the end of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th century left an important number of notable students who published highly influential works that were sometimes also translated into foreign languages.⁴² In Naples, many works on engineering and the study of materials by French authors such as Claude-Louis Navier (1785-1836), Augustin-Louis Cauchy (1789-1857), Émile Clapeyron (1799-1864) and Jean-Baptiste Rondelet (1743-1829) whose *Trattato teorico e pratico dell'arte di edificare*, published in translation in 7 volumes by Editions Del Vecchio, was very important in organising a school of engineering based on rigorous calculations, knowledge of materials and analysis of the terrain on which to build.⁴³ The Fibreno published the works of the students of this important school, which largely merged into the School of Bridges and Roads, and Afan de Rivera can be considered the greatest exponent, within the Restoration, of this school that had important publishing repercussions.⁴⁴

⁴² Matteo Tondi, *Elementi di orittognosia*, Angelo Trani, Naples 1817; ID, *Elementi di orittognosia*, Carlo Cataneo, Naples 1827.

⁴³ Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, *Trattato teorico e pratico dell'arte di edificare*, translated by Edizioni del Vecchio, Naples 1833. After a first edition with Edizioni del Gallo, Del Vecchio edited a more complete edition of the treatise that was also being published in Milan and other cities in Italy at the time because it was the best text on the art of civil and military building.

⁴⁴ Fabio D'Angelo, *Scienza e tecnica attraverso le dinamiche editoriali e la produzione scientifica a Napoli nel primo ventennio dell'Ottocento*, in Gianfranco Tortorelli *Storie di editori e tipografi nella Napoli dell'Ottocento*, in Gianfranco Tortorelli *Storie di editori e tipografi nella Napoli dell'Ottocento*, Pendragon, Bologna 2018, pp. 199-242.

As a correspondent member of the Terra di Lavoro Economic Society, Charles Lefèbvre writes texts for the periodical the 'Campagna Industriale' and some of the contributors to this periodical are also authors for its publishing house. There are also works in translation: in 1840, he printed Jacques Minard's work on the railways, a central topic in the political-economic discussions of that historical moment (*Sulle strade di ferro*).⁴⁵ Charles-Joseph Minard (1781-1870) had been a great railway designer and had written treatises on railway engineering. Charles Lefèbvre was an advocate of the modernisation brought about by the railway. After the construction of the Naples-Portici section, he had hoped for a rapid development of the railways, especially as carriages and then traction engines began to be built in Naples. Later, Lefèbvre himself (and later his son Ernesto) would contribute, along with other industrialists, to improving rail transport in the Terra di Lavoro and connecting the main factories in the Sora area to railways that had already been built.

Many were the essays or articles published in popular periodicals such as the 'Omnibus', the 'Lucifero', the 'Poliorama pittoresco'. Then, edited by the authors, they were brought together and republished in volumes by the Stamperia del Fibreno', or by others, for the readers' convenience. This is the case, purely by way of example, of Gussone and Tenore's book, *Tre articoli inseriti nell'Omnibus e nel Lucifero riguardanti le peregrinazioni fatte in alcuni luoghi del Regno di Napoli dai signori Gussone e Tenore nella 'state del 1838*.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Charles-Joseph Minard, *Sulle strade di ferro*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1840.

⁴⁶ Giovanni Gussone - Michele Tenore, *Tre articoli inseriti nell'Omnibus e nel Lucifero riguardanti le peregrinazioni fatte in*

This was a very popular kind of publication in the 19th century. A third botanist, very important for his scientific studies in Naples and for having been director of the local Botanical Garden from 1861 to 1866, was Guglielmo Gasparri (1803-1866), author in 1863 of a treatise on plant cells: *Osservazioni sopra talune modificazioni organiche....*⁴⁷

As Flavia Luise notes, the Stamperia del Fibreno opened up sharply to economic (actually macroeconomic) discussions on freedom of trade and liberalism, a topic obviously much debated at the time, publishing texts by the Frenchman Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850), a philosopher and economist of the liberal school, and an advocate of free trade of the English school. It must be made clear, however, that the intellectuals and technicians who printed with the Stamperia del Fibreno were accepted because of some of their theses (for example, they were for freedom of trade in paper, textiles and other products) certainly not because they advocated the need for a complete opening of the economy of the Kingdom. As, at that time, would not have been possible even in the Duchy of Tuscany.

Certainly, a complete opening of customs and tariffs might have suited a naval empire like the British, not a medium-sized power like the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. There, as elsewhere on the Italian peninsula and in many other parts of

alcuni luoghi del Regno di Napoli dai signori Gussone e Tenore nella 'state del 1838, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1838.

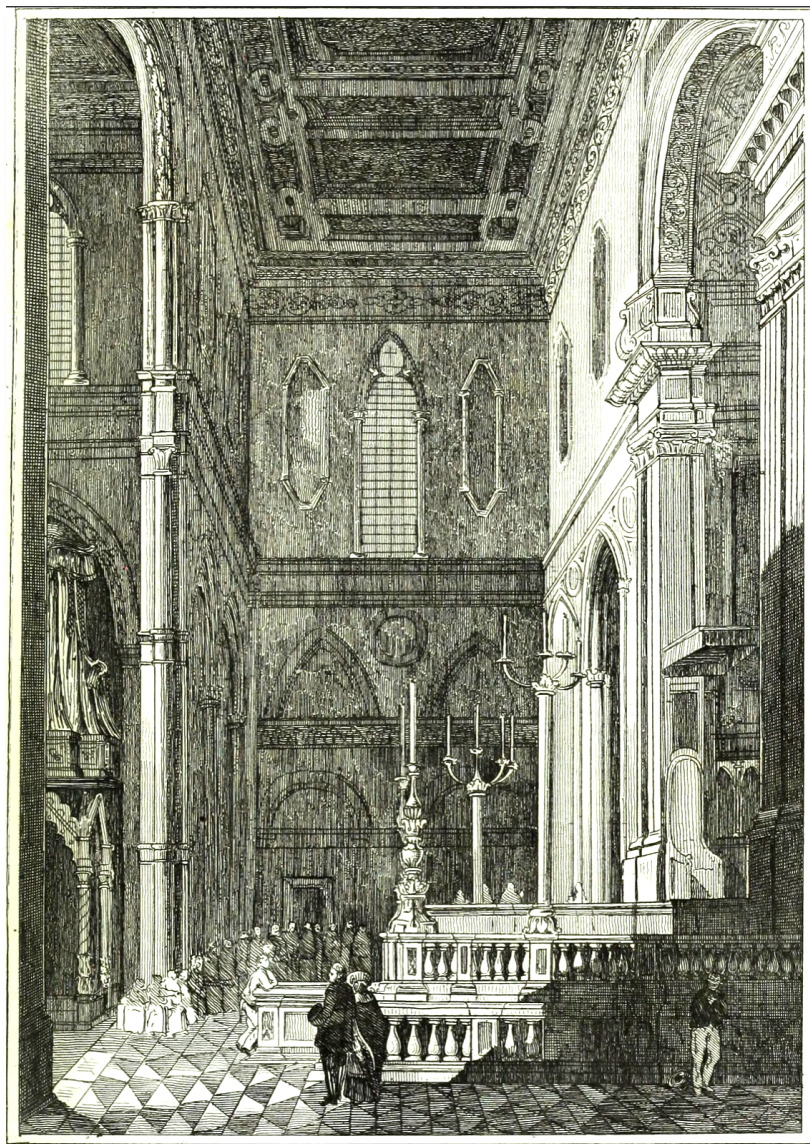
Giovanni Gussone (1787-1866), a famous botanist and director of the Botanical Garden of Naples, was a colleague and friend of Michele Tenore, also a botanist.

⁴⁷ Guglielmo Gasparri, *Osservazioni sopra talune modificazioni organiche in alcune cellule vegetali*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples, 1863.

Europe, indiscriminate opening would have led, especially at that time, to economic ruin. It was therefore a question of advising cautious openings appropriate to the moment. It is not only ideology that acts, as a function of freedom, but also the convenience of states. The moderately liberalist works of Achille Jacobelli (1812-1872) were also published in those years.

After 1848, when Charles Lefèbvre became a Peer of the Kingdom, admitted to the King's Privy Council, and was co-opted into the Kingdom's small constitutional parliament, the Stamperia dealt less with free trade texts and more with texts on banking technology or books on literary, historical and antiquarian culture.⁴⁸ It continued to publish treatises on new technologies, such as those on new ship propellants: a subject, moreover, that was of great interest to the family, which had invested in the *nell'Amministrazione della Navigazione a Vapore*, the first shipping company in the Mediterranean consisting entirely of steam-powered vessels. Of particular value, for the engravings they contained, were the works on antiquarianism and art history or the history of cities (volumes on Trani, Amalfi, Sorrento, Barletta, Palermo etc. came out), such as the *Storia dei monumenti del reame delle Due Sicilie* (1846) by Antonio Cavagna di Sangiuliani. One of the engravings is shown on the following page.

⁴⁸ Ludovico Diaz, *Invenzione di un nuovo propellente pe' bastimenti a vapore ovvero il propellente timone*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1853.



Chapter 5

Medicine and natural sciences

In the case of medicine and the biological sciences, which I group here for the sake of convenience, the volumes published by the Stamperia del Fibreno were many and, as can be understood, of varying importance and weight: they ranged from important university and scientific treatises that were studied for many years, to not very influential or even bizarre communications, as was typical in many fields of 19th century science. In any case, although not specialising in medicine, the Stamperia printed many books on hygiene, disease prevention and treatment, allopathic and even homeopathic medicine (the Lefèbvre sometimes cured themselves with homeopathic preparations), and thermal cures. She also dealt with one of the scourges of the century: cholera, which, along with tuberculosis, claimed millions of lives a year and periodically returned to Naples.

An 1832 text written by Pietro de Filippis, *Memoria sul cholera*, is a description of the disease, from its first symptoms to its final outcome, and indicates possible cures (unfortunately, at the time, totally ineffective). In 1835, Abbot Pasquale Panvini, a doctor at the Spedale della Pace, describes the disease, its history, its symptoms, with the intention of preparing his readers for the arrival, at that time inevitable, of the disease and immediately recognising its symptoms: in *Istruzioni al popolo sulla condotta da tenere in caso di*

cholera-morbus, while Jules Millenet publishes a text advocating the construction of a quarantine establishment (lazaret) and a place where infected goods could be stored for some time.⁴⁹ Another author, well known in France, published a manual on hygiene and prophylaxis, a science or rather a practice known since the Renaissance but which was beginning to have a more solid basis in those years: it was Leopold Deslandes' *Manuale di igiene pubblica e privata*, published by the Stamperia Fibreno in 1835, and republished in Naples in 1837 by the Tipografia Cataneo, to the obvious detriment of the first publisher. Moreover, there was no clear copyright law.⁵⁰

In 1835 the expected epidemic had arrived, as usual, by trade, from the sea. The health instruction on *cholera-morbo* by M. Christian Roth (*Instructions sanitaire contro le choléra-morbo*, Firmin Didot, Paris 1832) had already been published in translation from the French. A well-known physician, Benedetto Vulpes, a member of many of the city's scientific institutions, published a small commendatory volume to praise the authorities who had acted wisely to try to ward off the circulation of the disease.⁵¹

As it was to be discovered years later, it spread mainly

⁴⁹ Jules Millenet, *Réflexions sur un project concernant la fondation d'un lazaret brut à Mysene et d'une douane de scala franca à Naples*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1835. A translation of the book was also later edited.

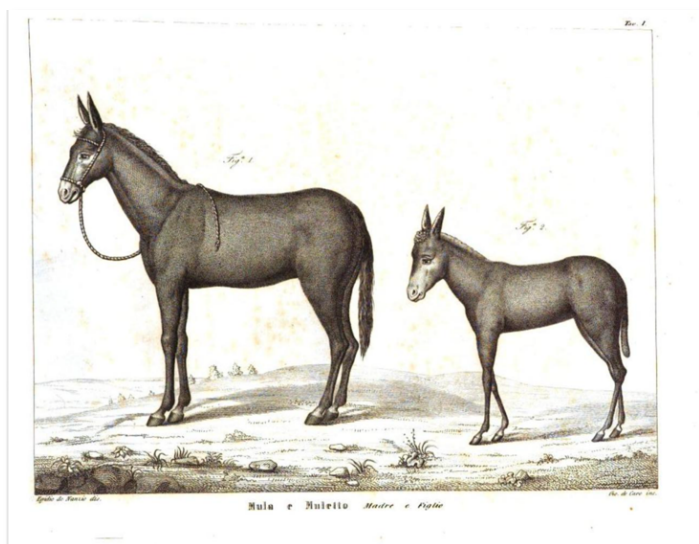
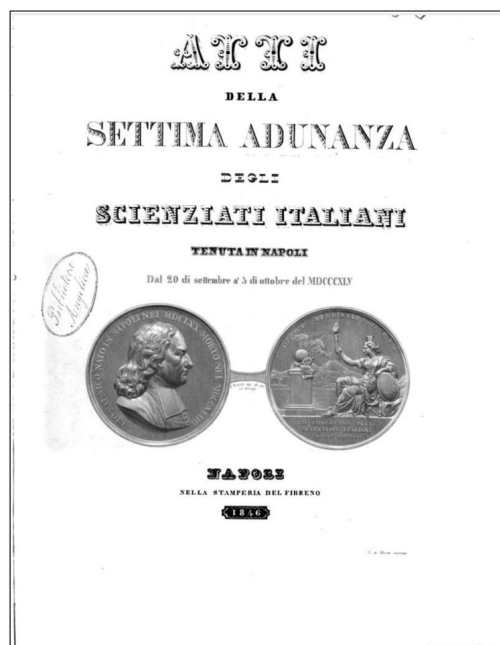
⁵⁰ Leopold Deslandes, *Manuale di igiene pubblica e privata ovvero Compendio elementare delle cognizioni relative alla conservazione della sanità e al perfezionamento fisico e morale dell'uomo*. Version from the French accompanied by various notes and an explanation of all vocabulary relating to the medicine of care, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1835.

⁵¹ Benedetto Vulpes, *Cenno del metodo per la cura del cholera asiatico osservato in Napoli*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1836.

through water and sewage. Many professors, especially from the local university, published their works on syphilis, measles, exanthematous diseases, smallpox, cholera, tuberculosis and various other afflictions at the Stamperia. The treatment of cholera was also dealt with on several occasions, and with various publications, by the director of the Lefèbvre Chemical factory at the Bagnoli, where they produced powders that were thought to be effective, according to the director Charles Dépérais' idea, for the treatment of cholera, which had the effect of reducing the dangers of pollution of the sewers, from where the contagion actually arrived.

In 1845, the Stamperia del Fibreno was granted the honour of publishing the voluminous Proceedings of the 7th congress of Italian scientists: *Agli scienziati d'Italia del VII congresso: dono dell'Accademia pontaniana che riassume i lavori tenuti all'Accademia locale dal 1833 al 1844*. The conference was held from 20 September to 5 October 1845 and the Proceedings were published in two volumes the following year with colour plates and engravings.⁵²

⁵² *Atti della settima adunanza degli scienziati italiani tenuta a Napoli dal 20 settembre al 5 di ottobre 1845*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1846, 2 vols.



Colour illustration from the *Atti della settima adunanza degli scienziati italiani tenuta a Napoli dal 20 settembre al 5 di ottobre 1845*.

Literally hundreds of works were printed by university professors in the fifty years from 1830 to 1880 in the various scientific disciplines: manuals, treatises, collections of essays and articles, and study texts. In the field of the sciences, the Stamperia del Fibreno competed with the Stamperia Tramater to publish the most illustrious scientists, and among them succeeded in printing the works of Stefano delle Chiaie, with whom it published two books that were much appreciated for the discoveries they contained and the clarity of their exposition: the *Institutions of Anatomy and Comparative Physiology* and the *Compendium of Human Helmintography*.⁵³

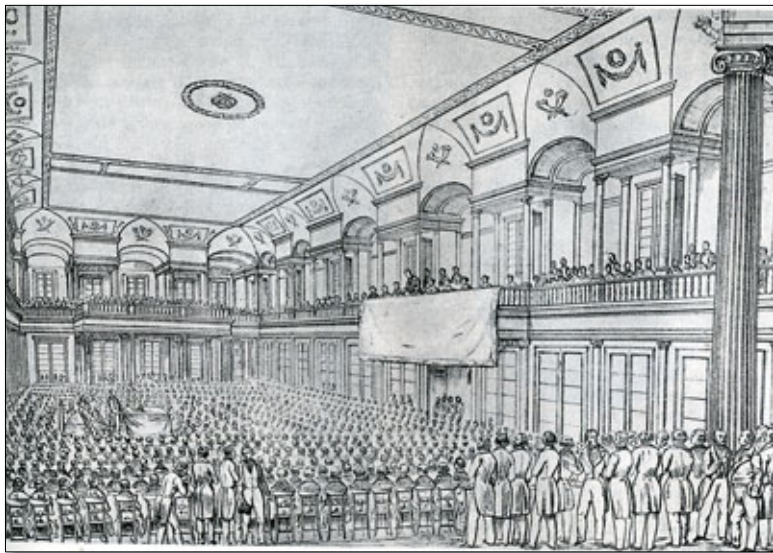
The volumes satisfied the local demand of doctors, professors, students and were written by local luminaries (mainly from the University of Naples, Palermo having its own printers) and foreign scholars, almost all French. Thus we find a text on smallpox by Jacques Etienne Chevalley de Rivaz, considered very important at the time.⁵⁴ Another often cited text, on venereal diseases, was signed by Luigi Riccardi, the same doctor who had written on cholera and 'pernicious' diseases such as malaria still endemic in many parts of Italy that was just then beginning to become controllable, but not always effectively, with the administration of quinine.⁵⁵ On venereal diseases that were widespread at the time, but above

⁵³ Stefano delle Chiaie, *Istituzioni di anatomia e fisiologia comparata*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1832; and ID, *Compendio di elmintografia umana*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1833.

⁵⁴ Jacques Etienne Chavelley de Rivaz, *Riflessioni medico-pratiche sul vaiolo naturale e sulla vaccina*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1834.

⁵⁵ Luigi Riccardi, *Annotazioni pratiche sulle principali malattie [...]* seguite da considerazioni su la condizione patologica del tetano, Stamperia del Fibreno, Napoli 1836; ID, *Del cholera asiatico, rapporto di Luigi Riccardi indirizzato al signor Francesco Guarini*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1837.

all difficult to treat except with toxic remedies, a text translated from English by Eduardo Smith was published, *Osservazioni pratiche su le malattie veneree*.⁵⁶



Gathering of the VII congress of Italian scientists, whose communications (speeches and articles) were published by the Stamperia del Fibreno, 1845.

Venereology was a widely followed medical specialisation even though the treatments of the time were more successful in alleviating the symptoms but not in treating the causes and eradicating the pathogens. Syphilis, a disease with a slow course but terrible for its effects, was a serious problem not only for single men and fathers of families who frequented

⁵⁶ Eduardo Smith, *Osservazioni pratiche su le malattie veneree ove si propone un metodo facile e sicuro senza l'assoluto bisogno del mercurio...*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1838.

prostitutes (often afflicted by these ills), who easily infected their wives, but also for the garrisons of soldiers who were often so severely affected by this infectious disease that they recommended, as the appointed doctor did, drastic prophylaxis solutions, the only effective remedy.⁵⁷

Again, the Stamperia del Fibreno published texts on smallpox, measles, and even torticollis, a frequent occupational disease of professionals, doctors, notaries, lawyers and scribes, aggravated by cold houses in inclement winters.⁵⁸ In the field of applied sciences, texts by important authors were published, such as Paolo Anania de Luca, a luminary in Physics and Acoustics, inventor of the tonometer, an instrument capable of detecting the distance and pitch of sounds.⁵⁹

Camillo Rosaspina, professor of Mineralogy at the University of Naples and also a professor in Bologna, rector and member of many scientific institutions, also chose the Stamperia del Fibreno, among others, to print his *Stabilimento igienico terapeutico*, the basis for the modern therapeutics of thermal baths for the treatment of affections of the bones,

⁵⁷ Epaminonda Abate, *Proposta di un regolamento sanitario per menomare la syphilide, specialmente applicabile alla guernigione di Napoli*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1849.

⁵⁸ Giuseppe Riccardi, *Dialoghi di un vaccinatore con un padre di famiglia sul vaiuolo...*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1838; Francesco P. De Chiara, *Il morbillo e suo trattamento per l'Aconito Napello*, Fibreno, Naples 1844; L. Bruni, *Sulle duplici funzioni anatomiche fisiologico-patologiche del muscolo sterno-cleido mastoideo e su di un nuovo metodo di curare il torcicollo antico prodotto di questo muscolo*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1840.

⁵⁹ Paolo Anania de Luca, *Esame e proposta di ciò che manca per la compilazione di un trattato di acustica compiuto e applicabile alle arti*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1841.

lungs and skin.⁶⁰ The Stamperia was also attentive to homeopathy and alternative cures such as hydropathy as the family sometimes treated themselves with homeopathic methods. The daughter of the owner of the Stamperia, Flavia Lefèbvre (1810-1843), wife of the Marquis Raoul de Raigecourt-Gournay (1804.1889) and sick with tuberculosis, was treated, to no avail, with homeopathy and hydropathy by Dr. Luigi Severino of Naples.⁶¹

Thus, in 1854, Baron de Ponte Nero's *Manuale di idropatia* was printed.⁶² These were topics in vogue, as it was discussed how useful or, on the contrary, harmful, sea baths were, while it was certain that sufferers of certain afflictions benefited from thermal baths. The Stamperia contributed various titles to this discussion, and members of the Lefèbvre family were known to set an example in Naples. When they spent the summer in the villas of Posillipo they ventured into the sea to swim or bathe, a practice that was still rare among Neapolitans and in any case only spreading among the upper classes.

Apart from study manuals, notes, exercise books and popularisation, the Stamperia del Fibreno appears, in the current state of research, to have been less active than other publishing houses in the field of physics (manuals, treatises, exposition of theories). This is what emerges from Antonio Borelli and Edvige Schettino's study of authors who wrote physics manuals or translated them for Neapolitan publishers

⁶⁰ Camillo Rosaspina, *Stabilimento igienico terapeutico di bagni artificiali a vapore: suffimigi, docciature ecc. diretto da Camillo Rosaspina, medico chirurgo della facoltà di Bologna*, Stamperia del Fibreno 1847.

⁶¹ Archive Lefèbvre, BNF, AB XIX 4480, III, pp. 60-70.

⁶² Barone di Ponte nero, *Manuale di idropatia con appendice sui bagni di mare, minerali e a vapore*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1854.

between the 18th century and the whole of the 19th.⁶³

If it appears to be less active in the field of physics, despite having printed many works in that discipline as well, the Stamperia del Fibreno was certainly more active in the field of chemistry from the 1830s onwards and this discipline was to increase when the Lefèbvre family built a chemical factory in Bagnoli, directed by a famous French chemist of the time who would multiply publications and communications in the field of organic chemistry. Meanwhile, between 1830 and 1835 Filippo Cassola's ponderous treatise, *Trattato di chimica elementare*, was published.⁶⁴ Filippo Ricca also published his *Trattato di chimica applicato alla mineralogia* with the Stamperia.⁶⁵ The text was praised by 'Il progresso'.⁶⁶

Other subjects taken up over the years include agronomy, botany, geology and mineralogy, as well as volcanology. In the field of botany, the Stamperia del Fibreno produced important works such as Stefano delle Chiaje's *Flora medica* and Michele Tenore's *Compendio di Botanica e Flora Napolitana*.⁶⁷

⁶³ Borelli Antonio - Schettino Edvige, *Manuali di fisica dell'Ottocento. Il caso napoletano*, cur. Tortorelli Gianfranco, *Storie di editori a tipografi nella Napoli dell'Ottocento*, Pendragon, Bologna 2013, pp. 143-184.

⁶⁴ Filippo Cassola, *Trattato di Chimica elementare teorico pratica applicata alla medicina, alla farmacia, all'agricoltura, all'orittognosia, ed alle arti...*, 5 vols. Stamperia francese and Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1830-1835.

⁶⁵ Filippo Ricca, *Trattato di chimica applicato alla mineralogia*, Stamperia del Fibreno 1832.

⁶⁶ There is a rich review of this work in 'Il progresso', probably in the person of Matteo de' Augustinis, vol. XIX, a.VII, 1838, pp. 297-298.

⁶⁷ Stefano delle Chiaje, *Flora Medica, ossia Descrizione e figure colorite delle piante più usate nella farmacopea napoletana*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1835-1836 and *Flora Napolitana* di Michele Tenore, Stamperia del Fibreno, 5 volumes, Naples 1838-1841. There was an

Many other names are published, including Vincenzo Antonio Rossi, the mathematician Carlo D'Andrea with his *Trattato elementare di aritmetica e algebra*, Francesco de Luca,⁶⁸ the physicist Giuseppe Maria Paladino.⁶⁹

Michele Tenore's work on Neapolitan flora, today considered a masterpiece by bibliophiles, became famous at the time for the care with which it was composed but also for its considerable cost of 500 ducats. It consists of 4 large folio volumes of about 400 pages each with 5 atlases and 250 full-colour, well-defined plates.

enthusiastic review of this work in *ibid.*, pp. 298-303 as a work that had been awaited for as long as six lustra, to which the author had dedicated himself since 1808 and which he had had illustrated by the painter Francesco Morelli. It had been published in fascicles from 1810 to 1838 and then brought together in a volume. It was, therefore, a work of great value and printed in very few copies considering its price.

⁶⁸ Carlo D'Andrea, *Trattato elementare di aritmetica e d'algebra*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 2 vols. Naples 1840; Francesco de Luca, *Nuovo sistema di studi geometrici analiticamente dedotti dallo svolgimento di una sola equazione*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1857.

⁶⁹ Giuseppe Maria Paladino, *Teoria matematica della pila di Volta e teoria elettro-dinamica d'Ampère*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1842.

Chapter 6

Letters and literature

It is usually noted that after 1848 the Stamperia del Fibreno devoted itself more to scholastic popularisation and that the process became more pronounced after 1860. But this is an entirely superficial assessment, in reality scholastic works were never lacking from the very beginning of the publishing activity proper, just as there was never a shortage of university editions. On the previous pages, works published in the 1830s and also in the 1840s have been pointed out. Undoubtedly after 1848, with the stranglehold that followed due to the uprisings organised in all parts of Europe and also in Naples, printers such as the Fibreno avoided publishing books that could give rise to controversy or censorship. But this was logical and happened not only in Naples, but also in France. Classics and ideologically safe works such as those of Cesare Cantù (who published *Fior di memoria*) were certainly favoured in that period. Challenging works were published, however, such as the *Grammatica latina* by Emmanuel Alvares, on which generations of students studied, and an *Vocabolario italiano-latino* edited by Carlo Mandosio, which before similar early 20th-century works was considered the best commercially available.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Cesare Cantù, *Fior di memoria*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1849. *Grammatica latina* di Emmanuel Alvares, Stamperia del Fibreno 1849; Carlo Mandosio, *Vocabolario italiano-latino* con note di Girolamo

Many popular works were published, such as those by Ferdinando de Luca, Vito Buonasanto, Enrico de Angelis for arithmetic, Vincent Le Blanc for geometry, Giuseppe Palermo for calligraphy, Filippo Cassola and Raffaele Piria for chemistry, and Giuseppe Rosati, reprinted several times, for surveying, with unfolding pages.⁷¹ Also well-known was Guglielmo Guiscardi for mineralogy and physics. There were many texts in the 1850s on cholera and syphilis, among others Giuseppe Capone, Epaminonda Abate. And then Raffale Folinea writing on pharmacology and Liborio Marrone on thermal waters.

Returning to strictly school publications (first elementary and high school education), Giuseppe Taverna's *Prime lettura dei fanciulli*, which became a continuously reprinted text like Franz Fischer's writings on classical literature for beginners or Lelio Maria Fanelli's scientific popularisation texts from 1841 onwards, was highly appreciated. The latter, with the appointment of investigator and censor of all schools in the Kingdom, took over the Neapolitan periodical *L'epoca* from a company in 1859.

During the period immediately preceding the uprisings of 1848, which were also violent in Naples and involved several members of the liberal nobility, Fibreno printed texts by the priest Matteo Liberatore, a theologian and founder of *La scienza e la fede*, as well as texts by conspirators (albeit Catholics) such as Silvio Pellico, whose *Tragedie* were published in 1842,⁷² and Tullio Dandolo, a neo-Guelfian, who

Tiraboschi, Stamperia del Fibreno 1850.

⁷¹ Giuseppe Rosati, *Elementi di agrimensura*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1846.

⁷² Silvio Pellico, *Tragedie di Silvio Pellico da Saluzzo*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1842.

dreamed of a federal Italy united by the authority of the pope and who wrote various works.⁷³

The family that owned the Stamperia del Fibreno was monarchist and Catholic, and no less than legitimist acquaintances are known, except in acquired exponents such as the Marquis Gioacchino di Saluzzo, a senator after the Unification, who for years took refuge in Florence. The diaries of Charles Lefèbvre's wife, Rosanne, and the writings of a cousin, André-Isidore Lefèbvre (1899-1887), a Frenchman very close to Ernesto Lefèbvre, also reveal his opposition to the Unitarian movements, especially the Republican ones, of Garibaldi and his companions. But after 1848, also for commercial reasons, texts on current political issues were printed, although the publishing house was never politically committed to those pushing for the destruction of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Old texts by conspirators who had acted 50 years earlier were republished and could now be considered historical texts, almost purged of the old polemical vis, which had been superseded by history. Thus Vincenzo Cuoco with his *Memorie sulla rivoluzione di Napoli* of 1799, a text that had been read again and again during the last decades.⁷⁴ Less dangerous appeared the work of Francesco Lattari, who had planned a constitution for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁷⁵

The latter was a friend of Luigi Settembrini and Francesco Imbriani (later a well-known novelist) whose texts were also

⁷³ Tullio Dandolo, *Reminescenze e fantasie*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1843,

⁷⁴ Vincenzo Cuoco, *Memorie sulla rivoluzione di Napoli del 1799*, Stamperia del Fibreno 1848.

⁷⁵ Francesco Lattari, *Progetto per una costituzione del Regno delle Due Sicilie compilato da Francesco Lattari da Fuscaldo*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1848.

printed.⁷⁶ The latter had a brief political season when, having become Minister of Education in Troya's government, he tried to take the burden of education away from the clergy. A project that was unfeasible at the time, given that the Kingdom lacked a class of trained teachers and facilities that could rival, even faintly, those of the clergy.

In any case, a production of didactic books continued until the end of the Stamperia del Fibreno's history, and amounted to many hundreds of educational volumes, from calligraphy to natural sciences, from the education of girls to initiation into literature, mathematics, geometry, geography, drawing and much more.

The strictly literary production of the Stamperia del Fibreno was important, probably underestimated, because it was foreign to the Risorgimento-Unitarian canon that was becoming established, at least before 1860. Its importance seems to be concentrated above all in the publication of novels, a new literary genre that was beginning to establish itself in Europe in the 1830s and 1840s. Many publishers on the peninsula had begun to publish novels, especially in Milan and Florence, but there was no lack of Neapolitan editions.

The Stamperia del Fibreno published many novels, both original and also in translation; some had no readers, others that are now forgotten were successful in their time. There are also classics and some of the most important names in 19th century Italian and international literature. Unlike other areas, where there are many works that are not included in series,

⁷⁶ Paolo Emilio Imbriani, *Del coraggio civile*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1848 (the text had appeared in 1844 under the title: *Temì Napolitana*, in the *Giornale di scienze e lettere* of Naples).

literature is organised in two series: *Nuova biblioteca scelta italiana*, for texts of greater weight and critical dignity, and *Nuova collana dei romanzi ameni e istruttivi*, which especially included novels of escapism and adventure, with a pedagogical intent. The existence of real 'series' so called suggests that a real editorial direction existed from the very beginning.

Even more developed was the production of short fiction, such as short stories, novellas, sketches. At the beginning of its publishing history, in 1830, the Stamperia del Fibreno published *Quattro novelle narrate da un maestro di scuola*, a reprint of a work by Cesare Balbo, which met with approval in Neapolitan literary and scholastic circles.

But the history of the Stamperia's publications in this regard begins with the translation of *Il Robinson svizzero ovvero giornale di famiglia di un padre naufragato co' suoi figli*.⁷⁷ The work was a great success throughout the century and was reprinted several times. The aim was to educate young readers by telling an adventurous story: a shipwrecked family that has to try to survive on a deserted island. Consider that it was printed in no less than 9 volumes: it was therefore a work of a certain cost but this did not prevent its circulation and success.

The Stamperia also began a fruitful collaboration with Basilio Puoti (1782-1847), the owner of his own public school, who had a great influence on many writers and literati in Naples at the time and who was the teacher of, among others, Francesco de Sanctis (1817-1883) and Luigi Settembrini (1813-1876). His first printed work of great impact and success, is entitled *Regole elementari della grammatica*

⁷⁷ Johann Wyss, *Il Robinson svizzero, ovvero giornale di un padre di famiglia naufrago co' suoi figli*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1830. Edition in 9 volumes.

italiana.⁷⁸ About 10 years later, Manuel Alvares' famous Latin grammar was published, which was already three centuries old but was still used in various local translations.⁷⁹ For the study of Greek, the Stamperia del Fibreno offered the popular *Vocabolario* by Francesco Fontanella, while for Greek grammar, Bonaventure Giraudeau (1697-1774) was printed.⁸⁰

During the 1830s and 1840s, a series of works were printed to supplement what was needed for lower and middle education, a series of reading works and anthologies that could be used by both popular and prestigious teachers. Certainly, these volumes had high quantities of copies sold, but the lack of sales and circulation records do not allow us to understand the real numbers of circulation of these texts. This can be deduced from the number of pupils in the pre-unification Neapolitan schools. It was certainly a lively market. For example, *Prime letture de' fanciulli per le scuole primarie* (*First Readings of Children for Primary Schools*) by the priest Giuseppe Taverna (1764-1850) is often cited in texts of the time. It was a small volume (128 pages) but cleverly constructed and used by the author who taught in the very large Real Albergo de' poveri, a State-run charitable institution, how to read, write and count to the crowds of underprivileged children in Naples at the time. Taverna's work was reprinted several times (1835-1848). Attilio Cumano taught at the Real Convitto di Santa Maria Immacolata in Sant'Eframo Nuovo and used his *A' rudimenti di lettura per' fanciulli con aritmetica* (1843, with a second edition in 1857) for his

⁷⁸ Puoti Basilio, *Regole elementari della grammatica italiana compilate*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1834.

⁷⁹ Manuel Alvares, *Grammatica*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1842.

⁸⁰ Francesco Fontanella, *Vocabolario italiano-greco e greco-italiano*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1843.

lessons.⁸¹ These were short, unpretentious books with a practical purpose: to teach the rudiments to children by trying to interest them without burdening the lessons with useless notions. The practical and fast method of these teachers, such as Taverna and Cusumano, won praise for its effectiveness. The Stamperia del Fibreno, no doubt, sold thousands of copies of these books that were purchased as textbooks by the Royal Institute at state expense.⁸²

Also important for the Reggio Emilia market was the updated re-edition (after the Turin edition of 1835) of Niccolò Tommaseo's *Nuovo dizionario dei sinonimi* (*New Dictionary of Synonyms*), which was published in a single volume of 819 pages in 1845 (as opposed to the previous editions that were in 2 volumes).⁸³ This allowed students, scholars and teachers to consult an innovative and indispensable book at an affordable price.

⁸¹ Attilio Cumano, *Rudimenti de' lettura pe' fanciulli con aritmetica*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1843 (a second edition with corrections of this work will be made in 1856).

⁸² A truly comprehensive work on this institution does not yet exist. However, to learn about its physical structure and functioning, we recommend reading Maurizio Montone's book, *Pauperismo e Stato. Il Real Albergo dei poveri. Vita dell'opera (Napoli, 1751-1951)*, La scuola di Pitagora Editrice, Napoli, 2010; and then Annamaria G. De Pinto's book *Il Real Albergo dei poveri di Napoli. Dall'emarginazione all'assistenza (secc. XVIII-XIX)*, Cacucci, Naples 2013. This second work describes the workings of the Real Albergo.

⁸³ Niccolò Tommaseo, *Nuovo dizionario de' sinonimi della lingua italiana*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1845.



On the far right of this photograph, taken around 1880, at number 26 was the warehouse-bookshop of the Stamperia del Fibreno, after its move from Piazza San Domenico Maggiore 3.

In the picture above, the obelisk in Piazza del Gesù Nuovo can be seen at the top of the street, not far from the entrance to the Santa Chiara complex. At this address, the Stamperia del Fibreno has been located since around 1840, after the transfer of most of its activities.

Books after 1840-1841 indicate a new location: Calata Trinità No. 26. The previous premises in Piazza Domenico Maggiore were probably kept for a few more years as a warehouse. The street was then elegant and central, home to many prestigious businesses, shops and studios. And it was of course also closer to the sea, since walking along Via Medina one could easily reach the port, where the ships of the *Amministrazione della Navigazione a Vapore* co-owned by the Lefèbvre family, were moored.

By then, at the beginning of the 1840s, the Stamperia del Fibreno could claim to be a complete and modern publishing

house, which could satisfy academics, doctors and jurists; but also educators in schools and institutes of all levels. Vocabularies of Italian, Greek, Latin, grammars of various languages were published, as well as anthologies and texts on education and introduction to mathematics, algebra, geometry and composition, versification and calligraphy.⁸⁴

Alongside these scholastic works, works of considerable care and value were produced. Since they did not have to pay import duty, they were also relatively inexpensive and, in some cases, very cheap. We do not know anything about how the authors were rewarded: there were no common regulations to comply with, but the good name enjoyed by the Stamperia del Fibreno could be a sign of the seriousness of its management.

The printing of collections of poems or prose novels was a constant throughout the almost 60 years of the Stamperia's activity, from Manzoni's poems to those of Vincenzo Monti, Francesco Antonio Paolella, Andrea Mazzarella up to Cecilia Folliero de Luna, Giuseppe Regaldi, Emanuele Giaracà or up to the many authors of the 1870s and 1880s, together with syllogies and collections of classical poets.⁸⁵ Along with collections of French poets, there were also those of English authors such as the one edited by Thomas James Mathias in 1830.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Pasquale Martuscelli, *Trattato di calligrafia*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1840.

⁸⁵ Andrea Mazzarella, *Poesie*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1833; Giuseppe Regaldi, *Canti*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1847; Emanuele Giaracà, *Poesie*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1862; Felice Bisazza, *Fede e dolore. Nuovi versi*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1864; Mariolina Rascaglia, *Da madre a figlia: percorsi ottocenteschi*, in *Scritture femminili e Storia*, cur. Laura Guidi, Naples, Clío Press 2004.

⁸⁶ Thomas James Mathias, *Poesie di scrittori illustri inglesi recate in verso italiano da Tommaso Jacopo Mathias*, Stamperia del Fibreno,



As fiction became more and more important, novels by Italian and foreign authors were published.

Opening the series is a translation by Aleksandr Pushkin (1799-1837), *Il prigioniero del Caucaso* from 1834,⁸⁷ a narrative poem in Byronic style, but approaching the genre of the novel.

It follows the leader of the authors of the 19th century modern novel, Walter Scott, who was translated into Italian by Professor Gaetano Barbieri. The series begins in 1844 with *Ivanohe*, and is followed by *I puritani*, *Il nano misterioso*, *Il castello di Kenilworth*. The sheer size of these volumes, all published from 1843 to 1844, suggests that the operation was planned a few years earlier. However, the novels are

Naples 1830.

⁸⁷ Aleksandr S. Pushkin, *Il prigioniero del Caucaso poemetto russo* by Alessandro Pushkine translated into Italian by Antonio Rocchigliani, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1834.

successful and give rise to a long series of Stamperia del Fibreno fiction.⁸⁸

In 1850 saw the end of the long work of Giulio Genoino, a man of letters, poet and playwright, who in the 15 volumes of his *Etica drammatica per la educazione della gioventù*, all printed by Fibreno, had provided a remarkable anthology containing hundreds of examples and passages taken from the most diverse works with literal but above all moral and pedagogical intentions.⁸⁹ The texts reproduced were to be the basis for teaching civil and moral, as well as religious, virtues in young people. The work had begun to be published in 1831 by Edizioni Filomatica, but frequent corrections, criticism, and the request to insert Tuscan phrases where it was not necessary had delayed the work, which was finally published in its entirety in its definitive edition by the Stamperia del Fibreno 19 years later. Curiously enough, in his works in dialect, such as *'Nferta n'commedia* published by the Stamperia del Fibreno in 1824 at the beginning of the Lefèbvre administration, the author had obtained the publisher's wording to be written in dialect, and so it appeared:

⁸⁸ Walter Scott, *Ivanohe, ossia il ritorno del soldato, romanzo storico volgarizzato con le note del prof. Gaetano Barbieri*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1843, vol. 4; ID, *I puritani di Scozia tradotto da Gaetano Barbieri*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1844, 3 vols.; ID, *Il nano misterioso translated by Gaetano Barbieri*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples, 1844; ID, *Il castello di Kenilworth, romanzo storico volgarizzato tradotto dal prof. Gaetano Barbieri*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1844, 4 vols. Barbieri had in previous years translated other books by Scott, e.g. *Redgauntlet*, 4 vols., for the publisher Marotta of Naples.

⁸⁹ Giulio Genoino, *Etica drammatica per la educazione della gioventù*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1841-1850, vol. 15.

*"Da li trocchie e della stampraria e cartaria de lo
Firbeno"*

when it was not yet at Calata di Trinità maggiore but 'A lo Ilario de San Domminec granne, n. 3' (1838). This was the first version of the highly successful *I veri misteri di Parigi* by Eugène François Vidocq (1775-1857), which was a great success and was also sold outside the Kingdom before further editions were made between 1847 and 1848.⁹⁰

Vidocq was also a famous character in the Neapolitan chronicles of the time and talked about by the many Frenchmen living in Naples: first a criminal, then a clerk in the Parisian police, then a novelist and founder of one of the first private detective agencies. One could therefore say that in these years Naples was not 'lagging behind' the dominant taste in the rest of Italy regarding the novel. Certainly, the Neapolitan publishing industry benefited from the possibility of being able to translate and market foreign books with fewer constraints and taxes than before when, in 1847, the import duty that had been in force since 1822 was eliminated.⁹¹

In fact, apart from a few important Italian authors, the Stamperia del Fibreno's translations show that the publishing house's management was well aware of the tastes of the international, as well as Neapolitan, public. Publishing American authors, who presented the problem of slavery from different points of view, French authors, Russian authors,

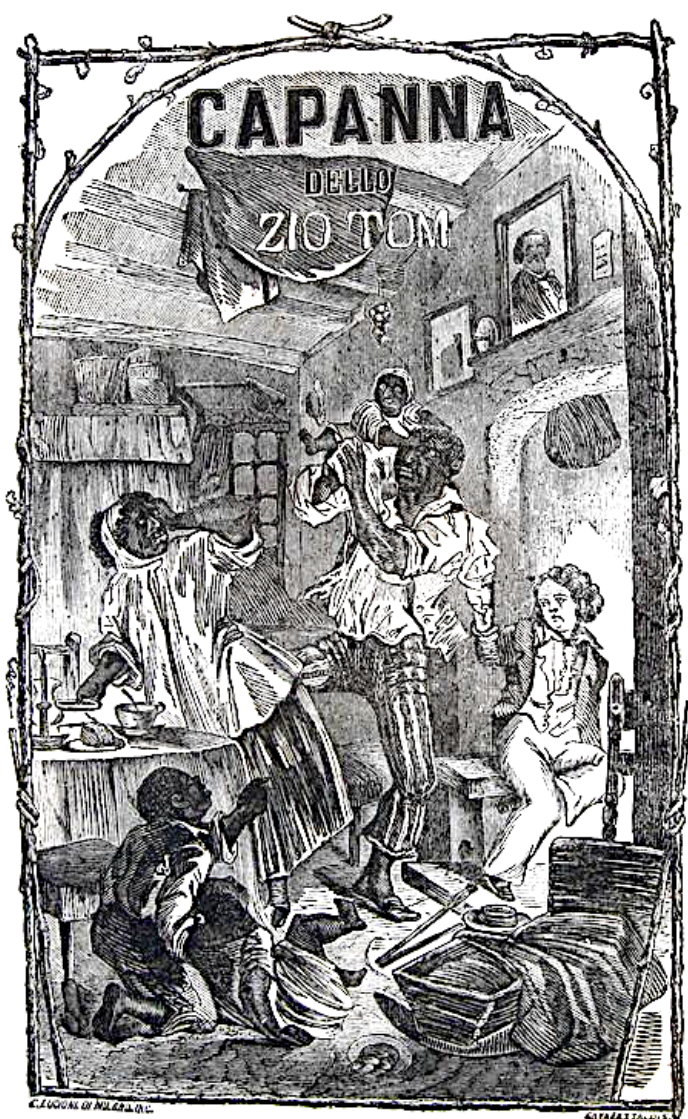
⁹⁰ François Vidocq, *I veri misteri di Parigi; prima versione italiana di Angelo Orvieto*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1847-1848.

⁹¹ G. Cingari, *Note sulla censura e sul dazio d'importazione dei libri stranieri nel Mezzogiorno (1822-1847)*, in F. Lomonaco (ed.), *Cultura, società, potere. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Giarrizzo*, Morano, Naples, 1990, pp. 279-308.

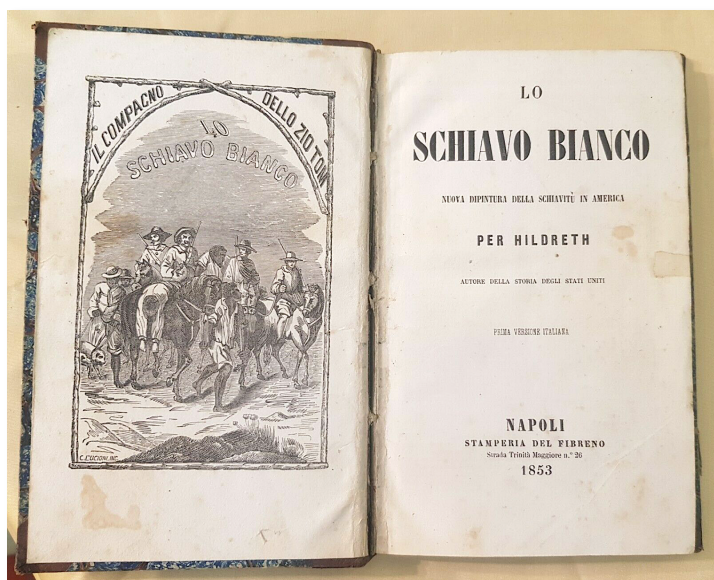
English authors meant paying attention to that international taste that was also present in Naples for the many foreigners and children of foreigners. Hence the publication of Vidocq, Bulwer-Lytton, Dumas, Pushkin, Moquest, Hatchett, Scott and Féval.⁹² Paul Féval (1816-1887), for example, to say nothing of the other authors mentioned above and very well known, is almost forgotten today, but in the 19th century he was a prolific author of historical and adventure novels in the genre of Alexandre Dumas, much loved in France and also in Italy.

This shows that the Stamperia del Fibreno had a commercial publishing line entirely in line with that of other Italian publishers of the time.

⁹² Paul Féval was translated into 2 volumes, *Gli affiliati al silenzio*, translation by Giuseppe Lubrano, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1858.



In 1854, a novel by Auguste J. Moquet, a collaborator of Alexandre Dumas (notorious for claiming authorship of the plots of some of Dumas' works), *Il conte di Lavernie* (1854), was published in the same months that Paul Fèval's *Il lupo bianco* was released.⁹³ In 1853, another classic, *La capanna dello zio Tom* by Harriet Beecher Stowe was released, which also contained some plates illustrated by Cavazza, making it an illustrated book of a quality in the line of good editions of the time.⁹⁴



This was followed by another illustrated text in translation and set in the United States, *Lo schiavo bianco* by Per Hildreth.⁹⁵

⁹³ Auguste J. Moquet, *Il conte di Lavernie*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1854; Paul Fèval, *Il lupo bianco*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1854.

⁹⁴ Enrichetta (Harriet) Beecher Stowe, *La capanna dello zio Tom*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1853.

⁹⁵ Per Hildreth, *Lo schiavo bianco*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1853.

In the period before the fall of the Bourbon kingdom, the Stamperia translated and printed the books of an author who had enjoyed international success, Edward Bulwer Lytton (1803-1873), with *L'ultimo dei baroni* (1853), published in a fine, well-bound edition in 2 volumes, followed by *I figli della notte (Lucrezia)* in 1858.⁹⁶ By that time, his most famous novel had already been published, translated into Italian by the Milanese publisher Stella: *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei (The Last Days of Pompeii)*, 1832).

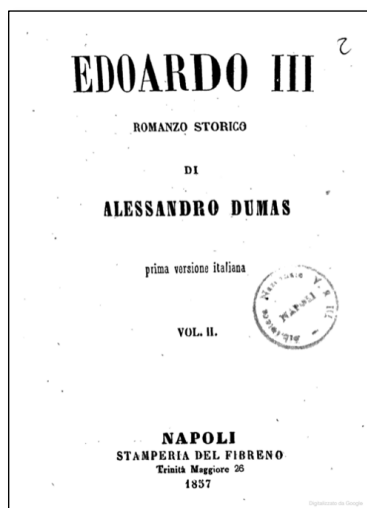
The fact that the works of one of the most successful novelists of those years on the international scene, i.e. Charles Dickens, are missing, apparently and as far as is known at the moment, from the catalogue of the Stamperia del Fibreno, may be caused by the fact that Dickens was considered, improperly, to be a socialist. This is a question that would be interesting to answer. In any case, the very popular Jules Verne is also missing from the second half of the century. The catalogue of the Stamperia is being reconstructed little by little as volumes emerge from old newspapers or warehouses, and we do not really know what the consistency and number of authors published was, especially those in translation. Future studies may be more precise in this regard.

Alexandre Dumas was not absent, however, and the Stamperia del Fibreno's editions were the first, anticipating those in Florence, Rome and Milan. This was the case, in 1850, for the anonymous translation (like many of Dumas' translations) of *Il visconte di Bragelonne* in 13 volumes.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Gli ultimi baroni*, 2 vols., Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1853; ID, *I figli della notte (Lucrezia)-Versione dall'Inglese di Nicodemo Palermo* - Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1858.

⁹⁷ Alessandro Dumas, *The Vicomte de Bragelonne*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1850, 13 volumes.

Such a large number of small volumes (usually just over a hundred pages) allowed the publisher to have the text translated a little at a time and to publish it almost in instalments (the novel had come out at the end of 1847) and also to maximise profits.



Dumas' *I ladri mascherati di Parigi* was published in 1856 and in 1857 the first translation of *Edoardo III* was published in 3 volumes.⁹⁸ Also in 1857, *Almagnacchi e Borgognoni* came out,⁹⁹ in 1858 *Le lupe del Machecoul*, in 7 volumes and the following year, 1859, the first translation of *La nuova fronda*, in 2 volumes.¹⁰⁰ The Stamperia also published another

⁹⁸ Alessandro Dumas, *I ladri mascherati di Parigi*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1856. ID, *Edoardo III*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1857.

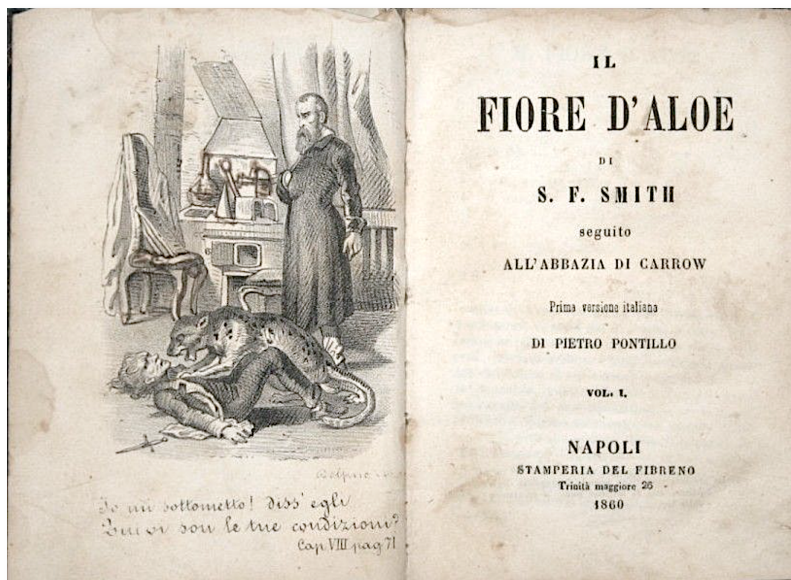
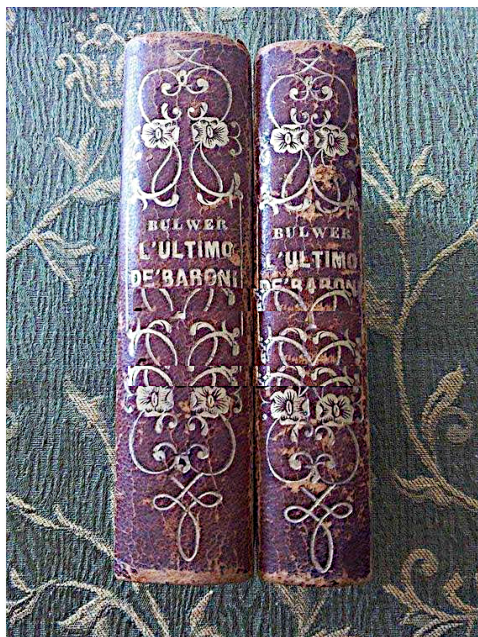
⁹⁹ Alessandro Dumas, *Almagnacchi e Borgognoni*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1857.

¹⁰⁰ Alessandro Dumas, *Le lupe del Machecoul*, 7 volumes, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1858; Alessandro Dumas, *la nuova fronda*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1859.

volume of the Three Musketeers cycle, *Vent'anni dopo*, a cycle that ended with *Il visconte di Bragelonne*.¹⁰¹ At the moment, from the documents found, it is not yet possible to prove that he published *I tre moschettieri*. It does however appear that the first Italian edition of *I tre moschettieri* was printed and distributed by the Tipografia della Gazzetta dei Tribunali in 1846. At the time, Dumas' success was not yet overwhelming, it became so precisely after the publication of that novel. It may therefore be that the Stamperia del Fibreno began publishing the dozen or more novels by the French writer after the success the writer enjoyed in Naples, and that the director, Lefèbvre or whoever, did not intend to undermine the supremacy of a printing house that enjoyed prestige and protection. Let us remember, moreover, that from 1861 to 1864 the French writer, who made long stays in Naples, was appointed Director of the Excavations and Museums by Garibaldi. Beyond the obvious ideological and religious distances between him and the Lefèbvre, they were the main publishers in Naples of his works in those years. It is therefore possible that they knew each other. Meanwhile, the volumes of S. F. Smith's *Il fiore d'aloe*, translated by Pietro Pontillo, were also successful.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Alessandro Dumas *Vent'anni dopo*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 3 vols., Naples 1860-1861.

¹⁰² S. F. Smith, *Il Fiore d'aloe*, tradotto da Pietro Pontillo, Stamperia del Fibreno, 2 vols. Naples 1860.



The importance of religious service publishing before Unity

In the pre-unification period, occasion and service publishing related to the religious institutes in Naples had also played an important role. In this sector, the Stamperia del Fibreno offered a qualified service to print, every year, the internal regulations of the numerous religious educational institutes, to print essays on grammar, physics, but also Italian composition, rhetoric, Latin and Greek compositions, the essays and theses of the students who completed their courses. The Lefèbvre family, devout Catholics, were on excellent terms with the religious world of the capital of the Kingdom and the presidency of the Stamperia del Fibreno was entrusted to the erudite priest Don Raffaele Caccavo.

This production was linked in particular to two religious congregations that played an important role in private education in Naples, the Congregation of St Paul, or Barnabites, and the Society of Jesus.

The Jesuits in particular, in their colleges, had plays and compositions in the language that they printed and disseminated. It was a minor, service-oriented form of publishing, but one that contributed to the prosperity of the Syamperia's coffers. Added to this were the often printed eulogies, the compositions written on the occasion of religious or episcopal ordinations, the foundations of charitable institutions, and end-of-year essays. It should be noted that much of this production decayed after the Unification of Italy.

There was never a shortage of voluminous treatises on systematic, moral and spiritual theology and texts dedicated to local and national popular devotions.

Chapter 7

The direction

The Lefèbvre's interest in the publishing industry proper (not just printing) had started in 1828, when Charles had signed an agreement with the renowned publishing house and printing house Didot in Paris, which helped Lefèbvre to enter the publishing business and organise a publishing house. Thereafter, even when relations between the two business families broke down, a certain form of collaboration or friendship continued over the decades. The editor of Madame Récamier's letters recalls that a Monsieur Didot worked in the 1830s as a director of one of the Lefèbvre establishments, most probably the Manifattura del Fibreno.¹⁰³

The interest was due to the obvious advantage Lefèbvre had over paper costs. It must be said that Neapolitan publishing grew in a rather haphazard manner. There were no registers to keep track of what was printed and what the print runs of books were, not least because copyright law was still underdeveloped and this was not just a Neapolitan problem but a European one. It was not until the end of the century that copyright became a certain and sufficiently regulated institution in many countries (Berne Convention, 1886). The existence of a certain book was often known from publishers' catalogues (but not all printed books were included) or from censorship visa records.

¹⁰³ *Souvenirs et correspondance tirés des papiers de Madame Récamier*, Levy, Paris 1860, p. 138.

The first document analysing the state of the book industry in the South is the *Relazione della Giunta Provvisoria di Commercio in Napoli sulle forze produttive delle Province Napoletane*, drawn up in June 1861. This is, according to Luigi de Matteo, 'the first organic document analysing the economic conditions of Southern Italy in the aftermath of Unification'.¹⁰⁴ It is a document that deserves particular attention because it was 'produced by prominent representatives of the business world appointed by the lieutenant-government and therefore not suspected of Bourbon loyalism'.¹⁰⁵

On 9 January 1861, the King's Lieutenant General dissolved the Naples Chamber of Commerce, which was later reconstituted in December 1862. Many of the signatories of the report were elected to the new Chamber of Commerce when it was first established. In 1862, the Ministry published the report in its *Annali*, cutting out the most strongly critical expressions against the Piedmontese parliament that had been received from the southern delegates to the chamber. The text presented a broader picture of the economy of the Mezzogiorno, 'of its shortcomings and needs, in which it transpired that the unification and, first and foremost, the extension to the southern provinces of the Piedmontese customs tariff, while appearing to offer new and more advantageous opportunities to southern agriculture, had heavily affected the industrial sector'.¹⁰⁶ And in addition to

¹⁰⁴ *Relazione della Giunta Provvisoria di Commercio in Napoli sulle forze produttive delle Province Napoletane* (June 1861) in 'Annali di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio', published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, vol. I-1862, Turin 1862, pp. 9-12.

¹⁰⁵ Luigi de Matteo, *Noi della meridionale Italia*, Edizioni Scientifiche italiane, Naples 2008, cit. p.7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

textiles and mechanics, the various industries included paper, printing and publishing.

The rapporteurs were critical of the lack of consideration that the unitary government had shown towards industry in the "Mezzogiorno". In the previous months, decrees had been validated that entailed a drastic reduction in import duties on certain types of fabrics and yarns. The *Relazione* also gave a picture of the main industries (cotton, wool and paper) and the minor ones (silk, leather, glass, plates and bottles), dwelling on the difficulties produced by the complete and sudden cancellation of the duty system that had opened up southern industry to foreign competition from one day to the next and without gradualness, an opening for which the entire production chain linked to paper had also suffered a strong backlash. Some sectors found themselves with warehouses full of expensive goods produced with raw materials bought at high prices during the duty system. Their resale at lower prices risked – and in fact this is what happened after 1861 – putting many companies out of business. There were other, very serious problems. For example, the price of coal, which Italy had to import, was higher for Italian industrialists than for French or German or British ones. There was also less easy access to credit due to the backwardness of the Neapolitan and Sicilian banking system compared to that of Milan. In fact, the biggest banks were being formed in the North and even more so after the bankruptcy of the Banca Romana and the chain crashes that would engulf so many businesses in the South.

Generally speaking, Charles Lefèbvre's flair, his imprint, also cultural, seems quite evident in the first part of the running of the Stamperia del Fibreno. After him, the first president was Don Raffaele Caccavo, a priest and friend of Charles Lefèbvre,

who remained in office at least until 1878, more probably until 1885. The office of president, however, seems more honorary, controlling (probably to avoid censure, both civil and ecclesiastical), than a real editorial direction. In 1868, Caccavo had published a *Discorso sulle litanie lauretane della Beata Sempre Vergine Maria* (Fibreno, 1868) and in the newspaper *Amico del Popolo* of 1837, he was listed as a secular priest of the diocese of Naples at Carminiello al Mercato, precisely where the first printing works had been set up.¹⁰⁷ One of the directors of the printing works after the Unification, after the aforementioned Testa and Martin, was Alfonso Pouchain (circa 1800-1875) who in 1841 had founded a company for gas lighting in Naples, replacing a company that had previously attempted the gas lighting venture without succeeding, also composed of Frenchmen, *De Frigière*. The company, which had only attracted funding from the wealthiest members of Neapolitan society, built a network of pipes that illuminated the central parts of Naples. Alfonso Pouchain was a member of the board of directors and director of various companies, and in 1871 he had liquidated the *Compagnia Pouchain* of which he had been a director and in any case a majority shareholder since 1841 and which had been ousted by the *Società Basilio Parent* from the lighting service since 1862, after the arrival of the Savoy family. At this point, we can certainly state that the Stamperia del Fibreno, whose statutes and regulations have yet to be found, had several managers: a director for the retail sale of writing paper and other articles; a chief printer-manager; a general manager of the Stamperia and

¹⁰⁷ *Il vero amico del popolo*, Rome 1857, p. 57. Considering that he was an ordained priest, he must have been at least 29-30 years old. One can therefore deduce from this his birth around 1829 at least.

a publishing director. In the last period of activity, the two most prominent figures were Alfonso Pouchain and Raffaele Caccavo, who seem to have overlapped after 1875.

In 1869, Pouchain, nearing 70, was a partner of the Lefèbvre family in the so-called *Società Lionese del Gas*, which, in addition to running the lighting installations, also had a processing plant behind Villa Acton.¹⁰⁸ When the *Società Lionese* ceased its activities after 15 years, Pouchain, who had remained on good terms with the Lefèbvre family, took over the technical management of the large printing-publishing company that employed at least 30 people.

After the unification of Italy, the relatively quiet Neapolitan world was opened up to competition also in the field of publishing. Conflicting relations were thus created between publishers and booksellers, especially from different parts of Italy. Books by emblazoned publishers are often overtaken by counterfeit copies, which are poorer but cheaper. The chronicles of the printing-publishing periodicals of the time are full of these accusations. Some publishers accuse booksellers of not promoting their production if it is considered far removed from the Risorgimento ideology. To stay on the market and adapt to the new climate the Stamperia del Fibreno had printed texts of the Risorgimento faith, a Masonic catechism, liberal texts, but it was still seen as a Bourbon publishing house, due to its past, like many other Neapolitan publishing houses that were having considerable difficulties in those years.

In order to survive, southern publishers, particularly from Palermo and Naples, were forced to reduce the salaries of their employees. Gradually, the positive conditions of customs isolation, which on the one hand had depressed demand, and on the other had

¹⁰⁸ In 1869, his son Carlo Pouchain became the president of the *Società Anglo-Romana per l'Illuminazione a gas della città di Roma*.

made it possible to maintain good levels of remuneration, at least in prestigious sectors, were disappearing. Thus, wage claims such as those that were soon to occur in other parts of Italy, such as in the former Papal States, began to emerge.¹⁰⁹

The aforementioned report admitted that the Bourbon government had restricted the book trade but that, despite this, books produced in Naples before Unification were highly prized and cost less, due to both the lower cost of raw materials and labour. After 1860, the crisis in the sector had generalised and then worsened, and many works - entire catalogues and volumes printed in high print runs - were unsaleable. These were volumes of jurisprudence, commentaries on Bourbon codes, collections of laws, dissertations on pre-unification agrarian measures, but also ecclesiastical works, historical works, political treatises that referred to the Kingdom as still existing. These were, at times, entire libraries concerning the monarchy's form of government by divine right that had suddenly become scraps of history.

Then there were schoolbooks, auxiliaries, and textbooks in general for all grades, which began to be imported from the North, while those from Naples were completely neglected. It was for this reason, as we have seen, that the Stamperia del Fibreno had Fanelli and other authors write many texts that could be adopted in schools. But not all of them succeeded: around 1870, the crisis made itself felt. It is no coincidence that in this period, texts on economics multiplied, such as those by Marino Massari, the *Piano finanziario per la perequazione degl'introiti*, which contained practical proposals to make the system of tax revenues in the Kingdom of Italy homogeneous

¹⁰⁹ "Bibliografia italiana", a.V, no. 15, pp. 78-79; *ibid.*, no. 16, pp. 81-84, *ibid.* no. 17, pp. 85-86.

between the various areas so different in terms of economy, culture and previous tax regimes;¹¹⁰ or the texts by engineer Alfredo Cottrau who, with his *Le ferrovie economiche italiane*, attempted to propose a mixed public-private model of the Italian railway system being built.¹¹¹ And then texts by Professor Arcangelo Scacchi, *Impresa nazionale e produzioni metalliche Galletti Greco e Co.* The latter was a mineralogist and a volcanologist with many publications to his credit for the University and the Institute of Encouragement, he made concrete proposals for the development of metallurgical production and mining in the South.¹¹² It is no coincidence that all these contributions appeared that year, when the great meeting of scientists (but also of many technicians and engineers) in Milan was announced, a meeting from which much was hoped.

Many operators in the sector – printers, printers and booksellers – found themselves on the verge of closure. There was also a lack of printers with capital, so much so that the Neapolitan press was filled, according to the Chamber of Commerce report, with 'needy publishers'. This was not the case for Lefèbvre, but while Montgolfier, general director of the Manifatture del Fibreno for a certain period, complained that his warehouses were full of unsold rolls of paper, the president of the Stamperia del Fibreno, the printing branch in Naples, Raffaele Caccavo, reported the accumulation of stacks

¹¹⁰ Marino Massari, *Piano finanziario per la perequazione degli introiti con gli esiti del Regno Italico*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1870.

¹¹¹ Alfredo Cottrau, *Le ferrovie economiche italiane ed il sistema privilegiato di locomozione mista*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1870.

¹¹² Arcangelo Scacchi, *Impresa nazionale di produzione metalliche Galletti Greco e Co.*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1870. Arcangelo Scacchi had published over twenty essays from the Fibreno presses in the 1860s, which cannot all be cited here.

and stacks of books printed and never paid for in the Calata Trinità warehouses. We know that he was director of the Printworks until 1885, when he applied for a pension.

Several well-known Neapolitan booksellers, such as Mirelli, Marghieri and Alberto Detken (later Detken & Rocholl), who were in serious difficulty in the 1870s, could not easily access credit.¹¹³

After the Unification, the central State became the largest purchaser of printed works. It was necessary to print the new laws and then the parliamentary acts, reports and the huge quantity of documents that were to guide the legislative, economic and administrative unification of the country. Not to mention the hundreds and hundreds of types of forms, model contracts, printed statements, certifications, bulletins of various types. These were huge orders that, however, almost

¹¹³ The story of the Detken bookshop is told by Placido Mario Tropeano: "The Detken & Rocholl bookshop was opened in October 1836 in Naples in the central Piazza del Plebiscito, under the porticoes of the church of San Francesco di Paola, by the young Alberto Detken, an employee of a well-known Hamburg bookshop, who, while travelling in Italy, came into contact in Naples with the literary circle to which Giacomo Leopardi and Antonio Ranieri belonged; In 1862, Detken, after marrying Elisabeth Rocholl, hired his brother-in-law, a former professor at the University of Göttingen, and associated him with the bookshop, which took on the name Detken & Rocholl from then on. After Rocholl's death in 1876 and the death of the founder Alberto Detken in 1881, the bookshop passed to Enrico Detken, who took on first as a collaborator (1903) and then as a partner (1908) Bernardo Johannowskj, a journalist from the Vienna 'Zeit' who had come to Naples after a long tour of the eastern and European capitals. Johannowskj finally bought the bookshop in 1912 and immediately worked to animate it by encouraging the constant presence of intellectuals such as D'Annunzio, Matilde Serao and Salvatore Di Giacomo. [...]". Placido Mario Tropeano, *La Biblioteca di Montevergine nella cultura del Mezzogiorno*, Berisio, Naples 1970, p. 101-103.

exclusively benefited the printing works in Turin and Florence, which were guaranteed work and the possibility of making investments. Little else went to Milan and Modena and very little to other cities.¹¹⁴ Contrary to popular belief, therefore, it was not Milan that benefited from the collapse of Neapolitan publishing. The capital of Lombardy already possessed a lively publishing industry of its own that had given it *de facto* supremacy in the Kingdom in that field since the end of the century.

The Stamperia del Fibreno had to publish thousands of volumes during its most active 50 years, including pamphlets. If there was no catalogue circulated to the public, there certainly existed an internal one, which has remained untraceable to this day. Remember that many works were divided into tomes and volumes, up to 13, 15 or 20, which multiplied the number of prints.

The stationery shop-shop of the Stamperia del Fibreno also sold writing paper, cards, tissue paper, cards of many different kinds and colour maps produced in its own factories. In fact, at Calata Trinità 26, it had a shop with several shop windows on the street. The street was at the centre of the elegant Naples of the time and certainly, since there is evidence of the presence of warehousemen, sales were made both retail and in quantity, to supply other stationers in the city.

The traveller Francesco Saverio Bruno, in his 1855 guidebook *L'osservatore di Napoli*, mentioned it as a retailer of maps.¹¹⁵ It is interesting to note that this guidebook

¹¹⁴ Luigi De Matteo, *op. cit.*, p. 34 *passim*. An important French bookseller-publisher Felice (Félix) Le Monnier (1806-1884) had been active in Florence since 1837.

¹¹⁵ Francesco Saverio Bruno, *L'osservatore di Napoli*, Stamperia del Vaglio, Naples, p. 619.

mentions other dealers who had become paper manufacturers precisely in Isola di Sora, where the Lefèvre mills were located. This makes it even clearer how, in addition to the value of the paper sold in the distant and perhaps international trade, the square in Naples was also important for the retail sale of writing paper, since at that time a lot of letters and cards were written there, and valuable paper was expensive.

For example, in the list published by Bruno, one notices the name of Francesco Roessinger, who in 1844 had entered the papermaking business but not the wallpaper business, which at that time was reserved for Emilio Charavel, who resold imported paper.

Carte francesi e napolitane per parati di stanze.

Alla buona scelta — Str. Chiaja 37.
 Hebert e Soleil — St. S. Brigida 27.
 Marescotti Leopoldo — Toledo 270.
 Roessinger Francesco — ivi 392.
 Vitale fratelli — ivi 398.
 Trani fratelli — ivi 50.

**Cartolai con generi di scrittojo, figure,
 carte geografiche ec.**

Ayraldi e Pellerano. Con Libreria — Str. Chiaja 60.
 Barba Saverio — Toledo 311.
 Fabbricatore Nicola — ivi.
 Fibreno — St. Trinità maggiore. Con sole carte di regno della sua fabbr.
 Girard Giuseppe — Toledo 184.
 Licastro Luigi — Toledo 311.
 Glass I. C. — Largo S. Ferdinando 31.
 Migliorati fratelli — ivi.
 Mosino Vincenzo — Toledo 236.
Papeterie étrangère — Largo S. M. a Cappella 6.
 Settembre Gennaro — ivi 290.
 Tipaldi Giuseppe — Str. Monteliveto 31.
 Trani Raffaele — Porticato di S. Francesco di Paola, con deposito di stampe della Tipografia Reale.
 Deposito generale di carte e stampe del Reale Ufficio Topografico — Largo del Castello 11.

Carrozzai.

Zuvar — Largo S. Caterina a Chiaja.
 Fova — Str. Monteliveto rispetto al palazzo Gravina.
 Colella — Largo Monteliveto.
 Coletti — Vico 2. Gravina.
 Martino — Calata Trinità maggiore 38, 40, 41.
 Polito Raffaele — St. Bisignano 30.
 Zampa Antonio — St. S. Anna de' Lombardi 11.

Cavamacchie e tintori.

Cardon Luisa — St. Chiaja.
 Bernard Giacomo — Largo Sptrito Santo.

Chinaglieri.

Senes, Bellet e C. successori di Arena — Toledo.
 Bellet Filippo — Toledo 190.
 Caputo Fratelli — St. Chiaja 183, 186, 187.

An interesting note, which concerns the entire history of the Stamperia del Fibreno, is its substantial absence from the field of the numerous periodical publications that worked the presses of many Neapolitan printing houses. This was undoubtedly due to the Lefèbvre's lack of interest in managing a periodical editorial office, with all the problems this entailed, but, more than anything else, to a commercial need: the

Lefèbvre, pure entrepreneurs with a very 'modern' mentality, were not interested in entering into the political or economic debates of the time; if they did, it was through the books printed and approved by their publishing house which, except in special cases, could reflect the ideas of the owners, as was the case with the debates of Puoti and Mele or the proposals of Afan de Rivera. They were interested in books on economics, those that participated in the debate on the institution of privatisation and more. However, the Stamperia del Fibreno, as far as is now known – further research may unearth news that is unknown today – did not print periodicals but simply supplied the printing paper.

Chapter 8

Crises and adaptations

Some of the post-Unification production, the crisis, and the change in the market have already been mentioned. The main economic setback for the group, which consisted of the Manifatture del Fibreno (2 factories in operation plus a third under construction, San Carlo) and the Stamperia del Fibreno, with two warehouses (in Naples and Rome), was mainly due to the entry of much tougher competition in the paper mill sector.

It was now necessary to reckon with the large paper mills in the North (especially in Piedmont, Lombardy and Veneto) and then with the loss of bureaucratic print orders following the reorganisation of the public administration, the judiciary and police apparatus and above all public education.

In all these sectors, parallel to those of book production proper, which in any case guaranteed constant revenue, the Stamperia del Fibreno lost orders like almost all Neapolitan printers to printers in the North, especially those in Piedmont and Tuscany. Although the ideology of the men who ran it – Ernesto Lefèbvre, the president Raffaele Caccavo – remained Bourbonist, they swore an oath to the new King of Italy, adapting themselves to supply books useful to the new time and the new State.

A text inspired by the historical moment and probably difficult to withhold from print was Lelio Maria Fanelli's brief

but pompous encomium to Garibaldi, *Pel 7 settembre nel Consiglio della Provincia di Napoli: Omaggio a Giuseppe Garibaldi*.¹¹⁶ It is hard to believe that the publishing house, 'relying on the support of liberal men', had intended to provide 'information on the rapid and profound transformations taking place'.¹¹⁷ It could not have been easy to publish that text: years earlier, Charles Lefèbvre had been forced to flee during the first advance of the Garibaldini when he had learned that they were looking for him. As for Ernesto, after the death of his father in early 1858, shortly before the fall of the Kingdom, he had seen fit to leave his homeland for a few years, settling in an elegant house on the Boulevard des Capucines in Paris, with his whole family and some twenty people in tow. He returned to Naples at least twice a year on business. Garibaldi had declared himself (and then ratified the decision) dictator for the territories of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on 14 May, and on 7 September 1861 had entered Naples and occupied it. He had set up his headquarters in the house where Teresa Doria D'Angri Lefèbvre was born, as immortalised by Franz Wenzel Schwarz's painting: *Ingresso di Garibaldi a Napoli il 7 settembre 1860*, kept in the Civic Museum of Castel Dell'Ovo.

It can therefore be assumed that the quoted text was imposed by Garibaldi, as it was decidedly far removed from anything that the Stamperia had published up to that time, without giving such an encomiastic and occasional text the importance that it does not have, except as a political testimony to the state of a defeated, humiliated and occupied city. Many eulogistic and encomiastic texts of people connected to the Risorgimento are

¹¹⁶ Lelio Maria Fanelli, *Pel 7 settembre nel Consiglio della Provincia di Napoli: Omaggio a Giuseppe Garibaldi*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1860.

¹¹⁷ Flavia Luise, *La stamperia del Fibreno*, op. cit., p. 106.

therefore published in this period.¹¹⁸ For example, a eulogy to Vittorio Emanuele II, the new King of Italy, is published.¹¹⁹ On the death of Camillo Benso, by this time raised to national hero status in the new civil religion of the Risorgimento, the Stamperia printed a resounding *Elogio funebre* compiled by Sigismondo Magnani.¹²⁰ To this was added a *Funebre orazione*.¹²¹

For the first time in its history, it also printed books on Freemasonry: especially on English obedience, and the Scottish Rite, whose members were always present in Naples and could now make a more open display. Thus for example Domenico Angherà with *Memoria storico-critica della Società dei FF Libero Muratori*. Between 1864 and 1865 the Masonic works of the Sebezia Lodge, *Guida pei fratelli libero muratori per la madre loggia Sebezia con descrizione dei primi 15 gradi*, came out in 15 fascicles. It is not surprising that the wording 'Stamperia del Fibreno' in these cases is printed very small, a unique case in the company's entire production, and that under the title sometimes only the place appears: Naples. Culturally, the Bourbon Lefèbvre and of course the people around them, including relatives with the exception of Gioacchino di Saluzzo (1811-1874) harboured anti-Masonic sentiments.

¹¹⁸ Luigi Cancrini, *Per l'Italia: canti 4*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1861.

¹¹⁹ Francesco de Luca, *A sua maestà Vittorio Emanuele II Re d'Italia*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1860.

¹²⁰ Sigismondo Magnani, *Elogio funebre di Camillo Benso Conte di Cavour dotto nel suolo di Sansevero dal prof. Sigismondo Magnani, ed un epigramma iscritto sull'alto del Tumulo temporaneo*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1861.

¹²¹ *Onori Funebri per la morte di Camillo Benso Conte di Cavour, Fibreno 1861, resi il 19 giugno 1861*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1861. With writings by P. E. Imbriani, *Discorso* di Francesco Pepere and Stanze di Laura Oliva Beatrice Mancini.

Production of literature books

In the post-unification period, a historicist critical-literary school emerged, interested above all in considering the literature of Italy as a single history, and the management of the Stamperia, also to follow up on the new ministerial programmes that were imposing a new literary canon, printed a Collection of Writers in the History of Italy that began with the publication of the works of Francesco Guicciardini and Pietro Colletta.¹²² There was no shortage of studies on Dante, such as Luigi Marii's *Dante e la libertà moderna*, which dealt with Dante as a poet and as an Italian who yearned for freedom: a very appropriate theme for the post-Risorgimento period.¹²³

But there are many topics in all fields. The Fibreno is a publishing house that publishes many series and many different types of books. For example, it republishes all the decrees of the French Decade, which were re-examined after the Bourbon interlude (which had not forgotten them),¹²⁴ and many other acts and laws concerning the new Kingdom of Italy

¹²² Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 4 vols. Naples 1861-1862; Pietro Colletta, *Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1734 al 1825*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 4 vols. 1861. This text, due to its anti-Catholic positions, had long been considered difficult to print in Naples. In 1835, it had also been included in the Index of Forbidden Books, a fact that never actually hindered its circulation.

¹²³ Luigi Marii, *Dante e la libertà moderna*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1865.

¹²⁴ *Collezione delle leggi de' decreti e altri atti riguardanti la pubblica istruzione promulgati nel già reame di Napoli dall'anno 1806 in poi*, Stamperia del Fibreno, 3 vols. Naples 1861-1863; *Appendice al 2 volume della Collezione delle leggi de' decreti e altri atti riguardanti la pubblica istruzioni promulgati già nel reame di Napoli nell'anno 1806 in poi*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1863.

and the constitutions of other European kingdoms, particularly France and Great Britain, as well as reform projects concerning Naples.

Great emotion was aroused in André-Isidore, cousin of Ernesto Lefèbvre and nephew of Charles (who has the great merit of having written interesting *Mémoires* of considerable historical-diaristic value about the family), when, during a visit to Naples, he wished to visit the Stamperia del Fibreno in the heart of old Naples. After the one in Carminiello and the one in San Domenico Maggiore, that had been the third workshop opened not by his father Joseph-Isidore, who had left in 1816, but by the company he had helped to found in 1808 together with Antoine Béranger, the latter's wife, Charles Lefèbvre and his wife Rosanne.

Visiting the office where registers and documents were kept, on the second floor of Calata di Trinità Maggiore 26, in 1865, during a trip lasting a few weeks, he wanted to explore the premises with his cousin and here he found an old worker, very old, whose name was Fulvio and who still remembered his father, Joseph-Isidore, who had left 49 years earlier. The man started rummaging through piles of old registers in what we must imagine was a dark and dusty environment. Eventually he managed to find a 50-year-old one in which the son recognised his father's handwriting. For André-Isidore, the emotion was overwhelming.¹²⁵ As far as we can tell, the register was given to him as a gift, but unfortunately that is all he says about it.

As far as is known to this day, the Stamperia del Fibreno remained a hand-operated printing works for many years as far

¹²⁵ AB XIX 4482, vol. VIII, p. 31.

as the actual printing was concerned, but in 1871 it was reported to have an automatic printing press. Electricity with the necessary power to run the machinery only began to be distributed to businesses in Naples after 1899, when the company was already closed. At the date of its actual closure (1885-86), only electric lighting was available.¹²⁶ The Fibreno presses were therefore real, manual presses, albeit perfected. Machines that had been in use throughout the 19th century.

For the 17 presses attested just after mid-century (their number after 1840 had changed little) we must imagine at least 6 or 7 typesetting stations, where typesetters worked using movable lead type. Since the Stamperia had been opened in 1808, it must presumably have had presses of different models and from different periods, also because the presses in use, for example in 1811, were very well suited for typesetting pamphlets, tickets, speeches. The Rossi cash register system was in use in Naples.

¹²⁶ The first experiments in public lighting with electricity were carried out in 1875 by the Mende & C. company (*Società Generale per l'Illuminazione*), based in Piazza Cavour. In 1885, the municipality of Naples asked the Gas Company to start extending electricity installations in other areas of Naples, on pain of immediate termination of the contract. The company refused and so the *Società Generale Elettrica*, sistema Edison, was appointed instead. Other lanterns were installed in the following years by small lighting companies. In 1892, the Gas Company incorporated the small General Company, sistema Edison, of Naples, studying the means of equipping itself with electricity, and two years later it partnered for private electric lighting with the small *Società per l'Illuminazione di Piazza Cavour*. In 1899, the Naples Gas Company formed a consortium with the *Società Franco-Suisse* and the *Banca Commerciale Italiana* and founded the S.M.E. (*Società Meridionale di Elettricità*), based in Naples. It was at this point that the large plants for the production and distribution of electricity began to be built and became available within the first decade of the 20th century.



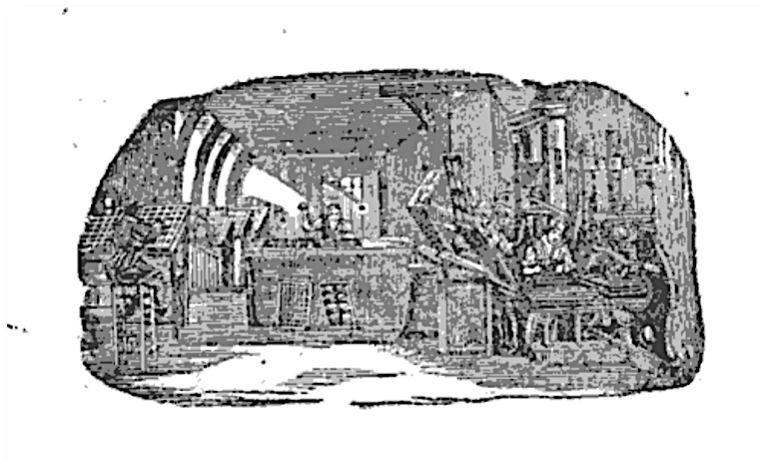
A press produced in 1811.

The actual printing was done manually sheet by sheet or two sheets by two sheets, in pairs. This was the stage of the process that could not be changed until the production of rotary presses and automatic printing machines, which in any case required electricity that was not available in Naples until the first decade of the 20th century. Each press required two operators. Between the press operators and the typesetters explains the fixed number of employees of 30-35 that remained constant for some 50 years, not counting the accountants who worked on the second floor.



A press in use around 1850. As can be seen, the equipment had changed little in 40 years.

We do, however, have an engraving published in 1854 that most likely shows us a sketch of the interior of the Stamperia del Fibreno. It is contained in a children's book published by a very prolific author of the publishing house, and shows a large typography that corresponds to the descriptions and equipment we have of the Stamperia del Fibreno. After all, it would have been foolish to include the image of a competitor, as the Fibreno had engravers and everything needed to depict such an image.



A probable image of the premises of the Stamperia del Fibreno in the book *Secondo fior di memoria, ovvero Antologia di prose italiane per la puerizia* di Lelio Maria Fanelli (Stamperia del Fibreno, 1854, p. 258).

In the image, which is not very clear but is also not defined in the printed book, one can glimpse a vast room lit by large windows that let in bright beams of sunlight from the left. Also on the left are various handwriting stations. In the middle, a probably bookbinding station, or more likely the table on which the composed texts were arranged and put in order before the actual printing. The printing presses can be glimpsed on the right. In the picture, six presses can be distinguished, with some difficulty, but the room is large and there are certainly more.

Starting in the 1840s, probably from 1848, the Stamperia del Fibreno appears to have had a large warehouse in Via Nazionale in Rome, which served to distribute not only paper but also books. This prestigious location was maintained until 1885 when a fire, probably of arson origin, destroyed the

warehouse and part of the structures. After that date, the warehouse is no longer mentioned in the company's papers and documents.

Chapter 9

A trust that never failed

Flavia Luise observes that the ties that the Stamperia del Fibreno had developed over the decades under the reigning house of Bourbon with members of the most prestigious Neapolitan academies had remained firmly established and that this was why, starting in 1864, it was chosen, by annual resolution, to print the dell'*Annuario della Regia Università degli studi di Napoli*. Certainly, in Naples in 1864, the Stamperia del Fibreno was the largest, with its 17 presses (or slightly less, the figures are from 1851), and the most solid Neapolitan printing house, and Ernesto Lefèbvre, who was related to Teresa Doria D'Angri, the Duke of Bagnara and Casalapro, and Senator Gioacchino di Saluzzo (1811-1874), was well established in Neapolitan society.

It is, moreover, significant that an educator who was considered to be an expert and who had many assignments in the reorganisation of primary and also high school education in the South of the new Kingdom of Italy, the already met Lelio Maria Fanelli, published most of his books and communications precisely with the Stamperia del Fibreno. These were texts that had a normative value. Thus, for example, the *Secondo fior di memoria, ovvero Antologia di prose italiane per la puerizia* (1854); il *Nuovo corso d'insegnamento* (1857); i *Precetti d'igiene popolare raccolti dai migliori trattati della scienza in servizio dell'umanità e*

particolarmente ad uso delle scuole elementari e tecniche dell'Italia meridionale (1861); *i Primi rudimenti dell'umano sapere*, (1861); *i Primi rudimenti di grammatica italiana, per uso degli alunni del Reale Albergo de' poveri* (1850); *il Progetto di regolamento per le scuole maschili del Reale Albergo de' Poveri* (1860); he also published a text apparently unrelated to his specialisation, *Sulle casse di risparmio* (1860), but equally aimed at composing a pedagogy of savings and of the studious and industrious family. He also composed *Supplementi alla grammatica italiana* (1855) and *La scienza dei maestri elementari raccomandata ai consigli provinciali* (1862) for the provincial councils he dealt with, which were certainly bought and read by many thousands of teachers who were beginning their careers after attending the new Scuole magistrali or after receiving their teaching qualification according to the new Risorgimento pedagogy.¹²⁷ Fanelli was a powerful and influential figure, and it was not easy to disregard his advice.

The volume of the *Annuario* was published annually by resolution of the Academic Council. It is divided into various

¹²⁷ Works by Lelio Maria Fanelli published by the Stamperia del Fibreno from 1850 to 1862:

Primi rudimenti di grammatica italiana, per uso degli alunni del Reale Albergo de' poveri (1850); *Secondo fior di memoria, ovvero Antologia di prose italiane per la puerizia* (1854); *Supplementi alla grammatica italiana* (1855); *Nuovo corso d'insegnamento* (1857); *Sulle casse di risparmio* (1860), *Pel 7 settembre 1861 nel Consiglio della Provincia di Napoli. Omaggio a Giuseppe Garibaldi* (1857); *Progetto di regolamento per le scuole maschili del Reale Albergo de' Poveri* (1860); *Precetti d'igiene popolare raccolti dai migliori trattati della scienza in servizio dell'umanità e particolarmente ad uso delle scuole elementari e tecniche dell'Italia meridionale* (1861); *Primi rudimenti dell'umano sapere* (1861); *La scienza dei maestri elementari raccomandata ai consigli Provinciali* (1862).

sections. The initial ones list the rector, the faculties, the body of ordinary, extraordinary and appointed professors, the medical clinics, the experimental institutes, the scientific cabinets, the museums, the Vesuvian observatory and the botanical garden. This is followed by information on the secretariat, the library and the calendar of classrooms and lectures. The publication of the inaugural address read on 1 January each year by the dean of the faculty, chosen from time to time by the rector, occupies a central place.¹²⁸

Certainly, Ernesto Lefèvre had good relations with many professors such as, for example, Francesco Brioschi and the many scientists and professors mentioned on pages 112-115 of Luise's text. However, Ernesto did not frequent these academic circles, as we know from his wife's Journal and his cousin's *Mémoires*, so it is not due to any particular personal ties that he had access to the coveted printing of the *Annuario* (which probably brought prestige but certainly not great earnings), but simply because the Stamperia del Fibreno was still the largest in Naples at the time, and would remain so until at least the mid-1880s, when its rapid decline due to the vicissitudes of the paper factories began.

In general, the whole world of the press, of Neapolitan publishing, fell into a deep state of crisis after the 1870s, which followed the crisis of the shipbuilding, industrial and trade sectors, despite the incentives, initiatives, and animation put in place by the city's intellectuals and institutions in those years.¹²⁹ Declines in workers' salaries caused discontent and many began to emigrate. The number of people employed in

¹²⁸ Flavia Luise, *La stamperia del Fibreno*, cit. p. 111.

¹²⁹ Vincenzo Trombetta, *L'editoria napoletana dell'Ottocento*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2013, pp. 177-179.

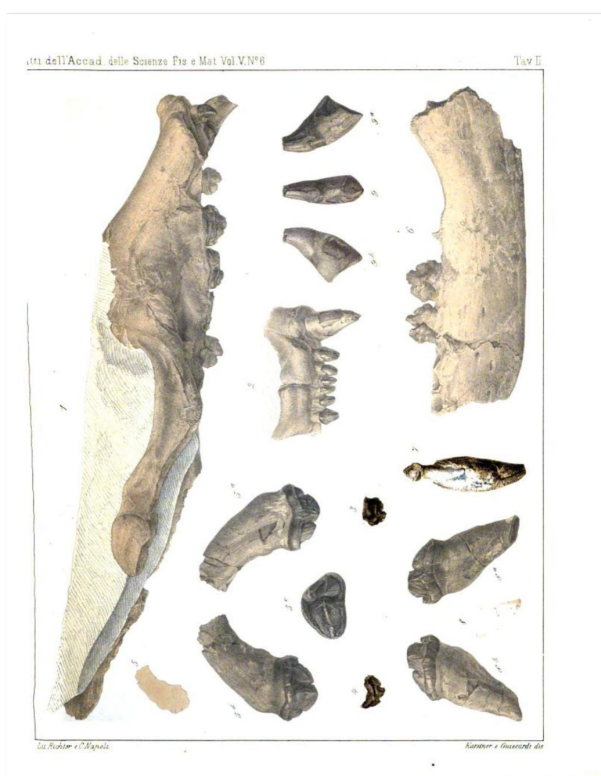
the book industry in the South (but almost all concentrated in Naples and the surrounding area as well as Palermo) was around 2,200 and the continuous closure of bookshops, printing works and allied industries (founders, typesetters) produced unemployment that was difficult to absorb.¹³⁰

The Stamperia also fell victim to this spiral, aggravated by the state of disarray of the paper mills' finances. The third generation of the Neapolitan Lefèvre family, after Charles's brilliant initiative and Ernesto's shrewd management, found in Francesco (1856-1911) and above all in Carlo (1852-1920) two people who were ill-prepared to deal with a difficult situation, not so much from an industrial point of view (difficult) but a financial one. The second son, Francesco, after a dissipated youth, had tried to save the company by often staying in Isola del Liri to look after the paper mills. He had also mastered the management of the company but nothing had saved it. It should be added that the profit margins for printers and above all booksellers narrowed when the raw material of rags was replaced by pulp and cellulose. Books began to cost less and so did paper.

Notwithstanding the above, it must be added that the technical capabilities of the Stamperia remained excellent. The printers were able to print both large and small volumes or scientific communications with remarkable print quality even in colour plates, as is demonstrated by a small publication, an academic communication by Guglielmo Guiscardi, entitled *Sopra un teschio fossile di foca*, an excerpt from a publication of the Academy of Sciences printed by the Stamperia del

¹³⁰ 'Bibliografia italiana. Giornale dell'Associazione libraria italiana', XX, no. 6 (1886), p. 15.

Fibreno itself in which two colour plates appear reproduced with excellent print and colour rendering.¹³¹ This small but significant publication comes at the very beginning of the difficult 1870s, which marked a very hard period for all Neapolitan publishing, printing and printing activities, in which bankruptcies and closures multiplied, especially in the city.



¹³¹ Guglielmo Guiscardi, *Sopra un teschio fossile di foca*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1871.

On 25 June 1865, the National Law against Book Counterfeiting was enacted, a serious problem not only for publishers and authors in the South but throughout Italy (the problems with Alessandro Manzoni's copyright are well known). Often several publishers had the same authors and titles in their catalogue at the same time, and the regulation of rights was neither certain nor regulated (probably private agreements based on trust). The Neapolitan publishers tried to obviate their obligations under the law by backdating their works (which is why the date of publication is not always certain) since until 1861 the literary ownership of texts published outside the Kingdom was not protected. In any case, during the course of the turn of the century, many irregularities were resolved.¹³²

An exhaustive analysis of the situation of the Neapolitan printing and publishing industry can be found in the *Relazione sul movimento commerciale e industriale della provincia nell'anno 1863*, approved on 12 January 1864 and then published and sent to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in Rome.¹³³ It stated the importance of the printing and publishing industry in the city of Naples and its problems, which were well known. It was claimed that during the Bourbon period, due to government pressure, there had been few books dealing with politics and moral sciences, but that books had nevertheless been produced, and they were good

¹³² In this regard, the text by Francesco Sanvito-Giovanni Ponzoni, *Memoria sulla contraffazione libraria nelle provincie meridionali*, senza luogo ma Milano, Tipografia Fratelli Borroni 1870, is a classic in the debate of the time. The dialogue is also reported in 'Bibliografia italiana' IV, 1870, 4, pp. 14-15; pp. 17-19; pp. 41-48.

¹³³ *Relazione sul movimento commerciale e industriale della provincia nell'anno 1863*, Nobile, Napoli 1864.

and cheap. Changing school methods and other causes, some of which have already been mentioned (changing laws, centres of power, etc.) had put many publishers and printers into crisis. Despite the 'pressures' of the Bourbon government, foreign books were being translated and published in Naples and had benefited publishers and printers although certain censorship requirements had discredited many works.¹³⁴ Various booksellers and publishers had to take out loans immediately after the Unification in order not to close, such as Giuseppe Marghieri, Angelo Mirelli and Alberto Detken.¹³⁵ Mirelli was not saved and his bookshop was sold with the entire contents of thousands of books (1861-1863). And his previously flourishing magazines were sold or ceased: the *Monitore italiano* ceased, and the *Arlecchino* was sold.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Ibid, pp. 155-157; but also Luigi de Matteo, *Noi della meridionale Italia. Imprese e imprenditori nel mezzogiorno nella crisi dell'unificazione*, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, Naples 2008, p. 17.

¹³⁵ Luigi de Matteo, *Noi della meridionale Italia*, op. cit., pp. 17-23.

¹³⁶ Luigi de Matteo, *Noi della meridionale Italia*. Cit., pp. 23-28.

Chapter 10

The 1870s

In the ten years from the establishment of the post-unification dictatorial government in Naples until 1870, when unification was completed, very few works were commissioned from the former capital's printers. At the beginning of the decade, however, this was still to come. Still in 1861, the Stamperia del Fibreno was printing the *Atti governativi delle province napoletane*, in several volumes, with a print run of thousands of copies because they had to be present in every department, province, city and institution of the Kingdom.¹³⁷ These were publications that, if they did not give cultural prestige, did however guarantee fixed income.

During the 1860s, Garibaldi's dictatorial government and then the Kingdom of Italy had continued to have the Stamperia del Fibreno publish official acts concerning the southern provinces, but by the end of the decade these commissions had all but disappeared. They became subject to calls for tenders that were won, using various systems, mainly by printers from Tuscany and Piedmont. The Stamperia managed, for some time, to win at least the publications of scientific and university institutes and some museums. At least, Naples remained a very important city for culture even after the Unification until the First World War.

¹³⁷ *Atti governativi delle province napoletane*, 25 June-31 December 1861, v.1 Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1861.

In 1870, the Stamperia had no members on the board of the Italian Booksellers' Association where the Neapolitans included Giuseppe Marghieri, Riccardo Marghieri, Giovanni Parravicino, Alfonso Detken, Romano Rossi, Antonio Morano and Alessandro Nobile.¹³⁸ The first meeting was held in Milan, while the following year, the Association, renamed the Associazione Tipografico-Libraria Italiana, held its congress in Naples, where it set up its headquarters, in September 1871, and the following year the Neapolitan members of this association numbered 17, thus increasing, including the director of the Stamperia del Fibreno, Raffaele Caccavo.¹³⁹

During the work of the congress, the representatives of the southern companies (almost all Neapolitan) pointed out, among other things, that at the time of the annexation of Rome, the practice had begun of distributing tenders a few days before the deadline, making it impossible for printers based in other cities of the Kingdom, already disadvantaged by transport costs, to participate. As work decreased, the technical equipment and even the professional skills of Neapolitan printers deteriorated. Also because the more experienced ones emigrated to the United States or Canada while the young ones had no one to teach them the trade.

At the aforementioned second congress, the Stamperia was awarded a silver medal for the 'goodness of the composition and circulation' and for the 'clearness found in the printing of scholastic works and especially Greek and Latin classics'.¹⁴⁰ In any case, the congress marked the defeat of the southern publishing industry as it obtained little representation.

¹³⁸ List of Members of the Italian Book Association, 'Bibliografia italiana', IV, 1870, p. 4.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, n. 18, p. 96; n. 20, p. 107.

Florentine publisher Gaspero Barbèra was elected president with 37 votes, followed by Milanese Emilio Treves (36) and Gaetano Brignola (35). The arbitrators of the Neapolitan and Sicilian sections of the Association were Detken, Nobile and Giuseppe Marghieri.¹⁴¹

In 1872, at the third congress in Venice, the Marghieri proposed the establishment of a book centre in Florence. The project was drafted by Vincenzo Pasquale, Nicola Jovene, Raffaele Caccavo and Antonio Morano, representing their respective printer-publishers, with the title 'Progetto intorno all'istituzione di un centro librario'. The project was not implemented for various reasons explained by Antonella Venezia.¹⁴²

In the year 1872, something happened that entered the chronicles of the time and gives us a picture of how this company was organised:

Yesterday, Saturday, shortly before 4 p.m., an unexpected, formidable burst, as if from a cannon, shook the foundations of the vast block of flats overlooking internal gardens, between the streets of Trinità Maggiore, Pignatelli a San Giovanni and Santa Chiara. The tremor shattered all the glass on the lower floors, while the rumbling and shouting spread fear in the neighbourhood.

Fire! Fire! - This announcement, voiced from the earthly halls and from the great hall of the palace, echoed from mouth to mouth in the crossroads, and moved people gathered there, who, having quickly become dense crowds, hastened the arrival of the fire pumps and the force of public safety.

¹⁴¹ Statuto dell'Associazione Libreria Italiana preceduto da alcuni cenni intorno alla sua fondazione, Treves, Milano 1869, p. 7. Quoted by Antonella Venezia, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹⁴² Antonella Venezia, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Unfortunately, the stench of burnt paper and the haze of smoke billowing from the window confirmed the news. In less than 20 minutes, the fire brigade came to the rescue, who, above all praise, and comforted by the presence of the deputy mayor and the police officers, not only isolated but also averted the danger, and secured every factory and household item, except for very minor losses or deterioration.

The fire that broke out and was able to form so happily, had started in the paper storerooms of the tipografia Fibreno, and is believed to have been criminally procured. Mr. Alfonso Pouchain, director of the plant, was intent on the business of the studio he occupies on the upper floor, and the deputy director was absent while on the ground floor, the cashier Mr. Preite, discharging his Saturday duties, paid the numerous workers and employees their weekly wages. The roll-call of names was proceeding and a man called De Angelis was approaching, when the bang intruded on his ears and scattered minute wreckage of all kinds around, which providentially did not cause any serious damage to the persons of the bystanders. Only a young orderly suffered a very slight bruise on his knee, and the Preite felt his eyes hurt and as if dazzled by a violently projected splinter. Transported and dressed in the Director's house, the Preite will retain only the memory of the case, and in a few days he will be fully recovered.

In the meantime, the magistrate's court, having ascertained the evidence of a vile crime of vengeance that makes plausible the suspicion to which we have just alluded, instantaneously began an interrogation and investigation. In January, one of the main custodians of the Fibreno, a foreign national, was summarily dismissed. And it already appears from the shatter that the firing was procured by means of compressed powder in a tin box furtively placed near the ground-floor chest.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ "Cronaca della bibliografia italiana", *Atti dell'Associazione Tipografico-libreria Italiana*, Year VI, Barbèra, Florence No. 3, 28 February 1872, p. 12.

In the meantime, the news gives us an interesting piece of information: the Stamperia del Fibreno had its offices on the second floor of the palace, which, now dilapidated and lacking in maintenance, must have been elegant at the time, also because it was located in an elegant area. A little further up the Calata is, moreover, the Palazzo Degas, home of another French family that had played an important role in the economy of Naples from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 19th. Alfonso Pouchain thus had his offices on the second floor and the workers are described as numerous: clerks, warehouse workers, accountants, printers, composers.

A few months later, in June, the same magazine that collected news from all Italian publishers added other interesting details:

In these days a case occurred that was certainly not new, but which had a previously unheard of dissolution and was perhaps a harbinger of an important reform in typography. Shortly before, the proto of the Stamperia del Fibreno in Naples was missing from the living, and the director of it, the Reverend Don Raffaele Caccavo, was to propose his successor.¹⁴⁴ However, as often happens in such cases, and particularly in large establishments, there were several candidates: one boasted seniority in the printing works, a second that he had sometimes replaced the former proto during some of his absences, a third his technical knowledge, and so on, so that the director was at a crossroads, and he presented this state of affairs to the Management of the Società del Fibreno, which voted that the proto would be put out to tender among the workers of the printing works and that Mr. Cav. Pietro Marietti, who happened to be in Naples, was asked to draw up the examination programme. Mr. Cav.

¹⁴⁴ Proto' in 19th and early Italian meant the head of the workshop, the production manager of the printing house, who had to be an experienced person.

Marietti, although taken at a moment's notice and in the haste of those travelling on business, nevertheless prepared a series of questions from which the theoretical and practical knowledge of those taking the exam was to emerge. We know in fact that the competition took place and as we were promised both the questions and the answers, so we will return to this fact, first, we believe, in the *Art of Typography in Italy* and which may perhaps later be applied in a normal way.¹⁴⁵

Interestingly, cavalier Pietro Marietti was asked to speak. The latter was the son of Giacinto Marietti, the founder in 1820 of the Catholic publishing house *Marietti* in Casale Monferrato, who had inherited the publishing house in 1861 and had later been called to Rome to head the *Tipografia di Propaganda Fide*, which later became the *Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana*. Marietti was then elderly, a widower, had embraced the ecclesiastical state for years and would die in 1875. He was in Naples on a business trip but was involved in the choice of the new plant manager. He evidently set a series of questions to give rise to a technical and practical examination that was then carried out, perhaps with him present, in the following days. However, it is interesting to note the closeness between Ernesto Lefèvre, then owner of the *Manifatture del Fibreno* and the *Stamperia*, and the director of the *Propaganda Fide* Printing House. There must therefore have been a certain friendship between the two.

¹⁴⁵ "Cronaca della bibliografia italiana", *Atti dell'Associazione Tipografico-libreria Italiana*, Year VI, No. 11, 15 June 1872, Barbèra, Florence 1872 pp. 42-43.



Vienna World's Fair, 1873.

In 1873, the Marinoni hydraulic system was presented at the Universal Exhibition in Vienna, which, by replacing the steam engine in paper machines, guaranteed greater uniformity of copies and time savings. The danger of obsolescence, for an industry that had invested heavily in its various production units over the last fifteen years, and which at the time owned no less than four paper machines, maintaining its supremacy in southern Italy, was beginning to loom. But, for the time being, this did not yet touch the Stamperia, which was also closely linked to the paper factory, if only for financial reasons. It was precisely in 1873 that the Stamperia received the honour of printing the *Breve notizia della Regia Università di Napoli per l'esposizione universale di Vienna* (*Brief News of the Royal University of Naples for the Vienna World Exhibition*), which presented the situation of the University of

Naples, its departments and faculties, professors, scientific and library equipment, and the environment for professors from all over the world, in 160 pages.¹⁴⁶ The presentation is printed in clear, crisp type on excellent paper and is itself a testament to the quality of the company.

That same year, Raffaele Caccavo applied to the Naples City Hall to open a school of typographic art in the premises of the former monastery of San Domenico Maggiore. The request was at first accepted by the municipality but then, due to the protest of the Italian Typographical Association, rejected. The reasons are explained by one of the authors of the protest, Giannini, who defines Caccavo as an outsider, an 'intruder' to the art of printing. This may seem strange considering that he was the (editorial) director of the Stamperia del Fibreno, less so if one considers that he was the editorial director and not the head of the printers, a very closed and technical category. The controversy does not seem to be directed against the Stamperia del Fibreno but only against Caccavo, who was a powerful man at the time, director of the largest printer-publisher in Naples. At a time when work was scarce, he wanted to create new typographers and printers with his school. It did not seem appropriate since those active at the time had to go on strike to raise wages or even lose their jobs.

It would seem to me a grave wrong to inaugurate these correspondences without briefly mentioning a fact that has concerned, on both sides, those who, either out of interest or love, are concerned with typographers and typography. I mean the concession made by the City Council to Mr Raffaele Caccavo of free premises to establish a *technical printing school* in the former

¹⁴⁶ *Breve notizia della Regia Università di Napoli per l'esposizione universale di Vienna*, Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1873.

monastery of San Domenico Maggiore. I refrain from going into the merits of the concession, because I would have many things to say, and perhaps not to everyone's liking; I only mention that the *Società Tipografica di Napoli*, frowning upon the concession, elected a Commission to present itself to the city's first civil Magistrate, to avert it, with a petition on the subject. It was published in our political diaries with comments to various effect. For the reasons I have stated above, I refrain from analysing this application; I only note, and you will readily understand the importance of this reservation of mine, that one of the main reasons put forward by the Society against the concession was: "that it was made by an intruder (sic) in the art of printing, and not, when the need was recognised, to a printer or to the Society itself". Things, for now, are at this point; however, I can add that from information gathered from a good source, the Town Hall revoked the concession to Caccavo, accepting the remarks of the Società tipografica.¹⁴⁷

Moreover, in 1874 the Stamperia del Fibreno was still among the four 'first-class' printing works in the city of Naples, with its 30 workers and 15 presses (down by two from 17 in 1855). Almost all the paper of the Neapolitan book industry came from the Liri Valley (and thus basically from the Boimond paper mills, the Cartiera del Liri and above all the Manifattura del Fibreno) and only 1% of luxury paper was purchased from outside, mainly from Lombardy.

An important book publisher, Morano, who had entered the Naples market in those years, placed the Fibreno among the main publishing houses that 'had garnered laurels' for the quality of their works, along with Batelli, Tramater and Nobile.¹⁴⁸ Despite this, the crisis in the Neapolitan publishing

¹⁴⁷ G. Giannini, *Nostro carteggio*, in *L'arte della stampa Rivista tecnica mensile*, February 1873, Naples, Year V, December 1873, Florence p. 52.

¹⁴⁸ Luigi De Matteo, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

industry did not diminish the Lefèbvre family's interest in the book sector: the losses were never such as to recommend a complete withdrawal before the mid-1880s, and in any case an involvement in that world gave prestige to the family whose financial-economic centre of gravity was in any case placed elsewhere.

In 1875, Italy saw the promulgation of the first law on literary property that required the author's consent for the duration of 80 years. This restricted the production of the texts of certain authors in the catalogue of publishing houses or the re-negotiation of rights while the heirs were still alive. At the time, this did not entail major aggravations, but in perspective it did. Meanwhile, Treves in Milan and Morano had opened offices in Naples.¹⁴⁹ Marghieri had also resumed business. Giuseppe's son also opened a bookshop in 1881 in Piazza San Ferdinando 48, an area that until then had been without any major bookshops, just opposite the Palazzo Balsorano of the Lefèbvre family.

In 1877, the Associazione Nazionale delle Cartiere Italiane (National Association of Italian Paper Mills), which also

¹⁴⁹ He began his activity as a book dealer in about 1850 and as a printer-publisher certainly in 1858. The first of the brothers to settle in Naples was, in 1847, Vincenzo Morano (1822-1890), a professor at the Real Liceo di Cosenza, the eldest son of Vito and Antonia Servello. Later, Vincenzo Morano was joined in the city by his other brothers, whom he recalled. The date of foundation of the publishing house is not certain: it certainly existed as early as 1850, when a bookshop in the name of the Morano brothers was opened in Naples at 14 vico Quercia. After the initial years of activity, in which Vincenzo Morano, in close association with the intellectual Bruto Fabricatore, published through other established printers, the publishing house took over the management and printing of books on its own from at least 1858. See Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, *Una famiglia di editori. I Morano e la cultura napoletana tra Otto e Novecento*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 1999.

represented the interests of printers and the paper industry, denounced the serious situation of the Italian publishing industry due to inefficient transport, which made it difficult to sell books in other towns and cities, as well as the cost of rail fares. Thus, the long-standing call for legislative intervention continued.

In 1879, the first workers' strike took place due to the refusal of the bosses to accept the new minimum wage rate set by the Società Italiana dei Tipografi, which entailed different pay increases for the most skilled and least skilled workers.¹⁵⁰ But the strikes of the typographers' workers' movement spread throughout Italy, even in Milan, paralysing activity and even causing the start of trials against the strikers.¹⁵¹

The Lefèbvre family have managers for their three paper mills and the Stamperia, but they manage the main decisions themselves. At this time, however, the only decision-maker is Ernesto, given the relative absconding of his youngest son Francesco, in his thirties but still inexperienced. In those years, a situation occurs whereby some of the books published by the printing works are marked as Stamperia già del Fibreno and others as Stabilimenti or Stamperia del Fibreno. This situation suggests that management was divided into two departments, one that published books on its own and one that published books for others. This situation, which is anomalous and difficult to fully decipher, lasted from 1877 to 1886, when the printing works published books bearing the words 'già Stamperia del Fibreno', such as the books by Salazaro Demetrio, *Sulla cultura antica dell'Italia meridionale dal IV*

¹⁵⁰ "Cronaca della bibliografia italiana", Year XII, No. 23, p. 99.

¹⁵¹ "Cronaca della bibliografia italiana", Year IIV, No. 4, pp. 1-4; XVI, No. 8, pp. 30-31; No. 10, p. 39.

al XIII secolo and L'arte della miniatura del secolo XIV.¹⁵²

In 1879, Alberto Errera's *Inchiesta sulle condizioni degli operatori nelle fabbriche* had caused problems. It was an issue that had been dealt with for years without solution and finally, following the example of other countries, it was decided to solve the problem of child labour and to provide adequate legislation soon. Minors were heavily employed in the paper mills, and were roughly a quarter of the total at any given time. They had exhausting working hours and low wages. After attempting a feeble defence by arguing the educational value of the work, they asked for a suspension of a few years so they could reorganise the mills. But the crisis in the paper mills, which was now well established, was also beginning to affect the publishing house.

¹⁵² Salazaro Demetrio, *Sulla cultura antica dell'Italia meridionale dal IV al XIII secolo*, Tipografia editrice già del Fibreno, Naples 1877; ID, *L'arte della miniatura del secolo XIV*, Tipografia editrice già del Fibreno, Naples 1877.

Chapter 11

Size of neapolitan printing presses

Returning to the question of the size of the printing presses, their number, their equipment, an issue that has been mentioned here and there in this paper, the figures provided by Luigi de Matteo in 2008 in his book *Noi della meridionale Italia* and later confirmed by other historians who have studied the same sources or other contemporary sources, still remain valid upon further examination.

In 1807, there were 17 printers; in 1829, 51; in 1849, 62 and in 1859, 89. It was a slow and steady progression that only sputtered at the end of the 1850s when the market for some time became more dynamic.¹⁵³

The censorship law of 13 August 1850, which obliged printers to pay a deposit commensurate with the number of presses they owned and operated, produced another probably close statistic and so, excluding the 56 printers that owned 5 presses (6), 4 presses (11), 3 presses (14), 2 presses (20) and only 1 press (5), and considering only those that owned 8 or more, i.e. the largest, the following remained in the year 1851

¹⁵³ The data are taken from Luigi Galanti, *Guida storico monumentale della città di Napoli e contorni*, Luigi Chiurazzi, Naples 1881, p. 144. This was an updated edition by Lorenzo Polizzi. The same publication reported that there were 172 printing works in Naples in 1881. The data for 1849, 1851 and 1853 are taken from Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, *La memoria meridionale*, pp. 673-674. Quoted from Luigi de Matteo, op. cit., p. 50 and 86n.

in descending order of size:¹⁵⁴

Fourteen presses: Marotta Raffaele, Stamperia del Fibreno.

Ten presses: Tipografia del Vaglio.

Nine presses: Fabricatore Nicola, Silvestri Roberto.

Otto Torchi: Tipografia dell'Albergo de' Poveri di Cioffi
Vincenzo.

In all, there were seven printing-shops that could be described as large.¹⁵⁵

In the middle of the century, therefore, confirming the findings of this study, the Stamperia del Fibreno was the largest along with the Tipografia di Marotta. A few large printers, and a rather large number of medium-sized printers, were flanked by numerous small or very small printers with 1 or 2 presses. At this height of the century, Naples was second only to Milan for the number of titles printed in Italy.

Twenty years later, the situation had changed: new printers had entered the market, pushing the Fibreno's supremacy to sixth place. There is a wealth of documentation, especially concerning the first half of the 1870s. It can be found in the periodical *Bibliografica italiana* (1872), the official organ of the Associazione Tipografico-Libraria Italiana, according to which 75 printers, 9 printer-publishers and 20 booksellers worked in Naples. In all, there were 979 workers. The typologies, therefore, and specialisations, became more precise. Publishers-booksellers did not have to own presses and pure printers did not own printing presses.

¹⁵⁴ State Archives of Naples, Ministry of Police, Prefecture, fascio 765.

¹⁵⁵ P. Maestro, *Dell'arte tipografica*, p. 350. cit. L. di Matteo, op. cit.

The most complete type was that of printer-publishers, such as the Stamperia del Fibreno, which numbered nine in all. Also in 1871, the Naples Questura recorded 87 printers in the city. Alessandro Betocchi, director of the Statistics Institute of the Naples Chamber of Commerce, considered the figure provided by the *Italian Library* in *Le Forze produttive della provincia di Napoli* more reliable.¹⁵⁶

In any case, the largest printers active, according to these documents, in the first half of the 1870s were:

Stamperia Governativa, with 10 printing presses, 12 presses, 5 ancillary machines, 120 workers.

Gennaro de Angelis, with 5 machines, 3 presses, 5 auxiliary machines, 80 workers.

Eugenio Chiaradia, with 4 machines, 2 presses, 2 auxiliary machines, 50 workers.

Francesco Giannini, with 4 machines, 1 press, 2 auxiliary machines, 40 workers.

Gaetano Nobile, with 3 machines, 2 presses, 3 auxiliary machines, 24 workers.

The Stamperia del Fibreno, with 1 machine, 8 presses, 1 accessory machine, 30 workers.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Alessandro Betocchi, *Forze produttive della Provincia di Napoli*, II, Stabilimento tipografico De Angelis, Naples 1874, pp. 293-297. See Luigi de Matteo, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ "Bulletin No. 12 of the Italian Bibliography, year 1872, contains a list of booksellers, publishers and typographers in the Province of Naples. It shows that here there are 21 booksellers, 20 booksellers-publishers, 9 typographers-publishers and 75 typographers alone. The number of the latter, which, for the same year, the Naples Police Headquarters declared as existing in the capital, was 87. I prefer to stick to the first source; adding that five individuals must be subtracted due to death or cessation of industry. And to finish off with the number of people employed in this special industry, I will point out that, in the census tables, the number of printers is put at 1076, 97 of whom are

It may be useful, however, to quote Betocchi's text in full:

[There is little or no production of frontispizio typefaces: it is useless to speak of friezes; and the same current typefaces are made with so little precision that the Neapolitan printers prefer to pay more and obtain them from abroad, rather than order them there, where they would undoubtedly have price reductions and prompt deliveries. However, there is still some doubt as to whether the progress of foundry is delayed among us because our printers demand the typefaces of the Neapolitan foundries at too low a price, or whether the work of the latter does not deserve a higher price. Recently, Messrs. Salvati and Francesco De Angelis, who run the government printing works, bought a large foundry in Genoa and transported both the machines as well as the matrices and ponzoni here. With more resources at their disposal, they will be in a better position to run the industry; and if they succeed in making favourable conditions for our printers, they will be able to free themselves from the obligation to demand typefaces from France or Germany. For ink, too, the leading printers in the country bring it from France or Germany: the small ones, those who are unable to buy large lots and have reserves, buy Neapolitan, which is not very good. So far, there have been no attempts to fill this gap in the Neapolitan printing industry. For felts alone, we have no need to resort to foreigners: ours, proper to the country, very convenient in price, are also good in quality because they perfectly satisfy the need. As for paper, almost all of it comes from our Liri mills: if paper from Lombardy is used for rare luxury jobs, it is only 1 % of the total consumption. What is a very good deal in Naples is the price of labour; for a book, with the same quality of paper, fonts and number of copies, could, strictly speaking, cost much less here than

owners and 979 workers, almost all of them in the District, or rather in the City of Naples, because in the smaller municipalities of the Province there are no printers of even the slightest importance". Betocchi, *Forze produttive*, cit., p. 291.

abroad, and even in the cities of Upper Italy.¹⁵⁸

At this point, Betocchi gives an interesting indicator of Neapolitan publishing, namely the average print run. If in France it is around 2,000 copies per volume, as in Germany, in Naples the average print run is 500 copies, a number that makes it difficult to make money on quantity. Betocchi speaks of *us*, here it is not easy to understand whether he means the whole of Italy or the South or more likely the Neapolitan area: this is probably the case considering that his survey is for the Province of Naples.

It is easy to understand how the undeniable saving in labour is cancelled out by having to divide the overall cost of the book into such a small number of copies. Moreover, in recent times even publishing industriousness has been greatly reduced from what it was in the past, and in times when education was less widespread and the right to print was hampered by so many constraints. The rarity of wrist publications can be explained either by the lack of writers, or because the times are so great due to other concerns, that they are not conducive to the printing of serious and thoughtful books. But how do we explain the rarity of schoolbooks, which are needed in a province of approximately one million inhabitants, 302,107 of whom belong to the age group that attends or should attend schools of various grades? How do you explain the rarity in the amount of printed matter for use by the public administrations of the Province of Naples and all those within a given radius? For schoolbooks, likewise, which, to the little benefit of young intelligences, we have been enfeebled with books sent to us by authors from Upper Italy, not otherwise, to the immense detriment of Neapolitan publishers, the latter have been deprived of the important sum of work that the supply of schools represented.

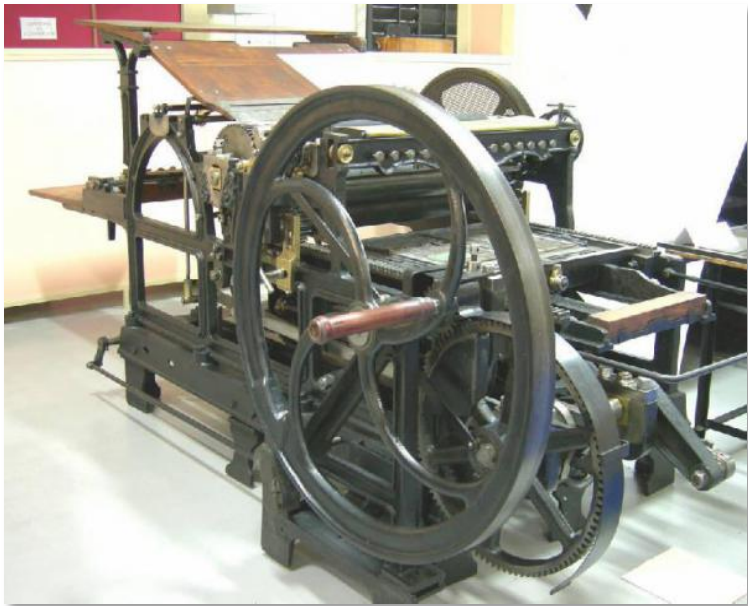
¹⁵⁸ Betocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[...With regard to printed matter, the Neapolitan printers also complain with great insistence to the Government that, being able to contribute greatly to the progress of industry, not in some provinces of the Kingdom but throughout the entire State, only if it distributed in equal measure the huge amount of work for the Public Administrations, it favours certain printers only, with an undeniable partiality, which in vain one would try to justify, claiming that certain printers in Florence, Turin, Milan and Rome can do better and at a better market than us and elsewhere. It cannot be overlooked that they have been placed in such a favourable position precisely because of the encouragement they have received from the government, so that ours, too, vow that the large supplies of printed matter are not the privilege of the few; This will inevitably be the case as long as very high deposits are demanded, as long as suppliers of great moment are mixed up in a single tender, as long as tenders for paper are not distinguished from those for printing, as long as specifications are not unreasonably rigid, and finally as long as the work of local administrations is not given to printers in the various countries and, for example, the printing presses are not obliged to take over the work of the local administrations. e.g., a printer in Palermo or Naples to transport his products to Rome or Florence at the cost of freight. Above all, it will be necessary to persuade ourselves that, in issuing tenders for the supplies of public administrations, we must abolish that system which, by making artificial collusion possible between suppliers and the minor employees of public corporations due to the elasticity of terms and conditions, does not serve the interests of the latter and harms honest industrialists; because they cannot rely on equivocal artifices and cannot push themselves along the path of incomprehensible reductions. Assuming - and ouch! how gratuitously assumed! - that the administration will be inspired in the future by these benevolent and impartial intentions, and that the chancellors of public and private education among us will succeed in emancipating themselves from the usurped primacy of educational literature, is there nothing left for our printers to do to improve this industry?

Yes, it remains to perfect the printing presses themselves, and to improve the condition of the workers. [...] But the main defects are in the printing personnel and especially in the lack of good printers. These printer's assistants, who from an administrative point of view are the owner's first assistant, who from a technical point of view should be equipped with literary knowledge to replace the proofreader when the latter is lacking, and with artistic knowledge to guide them in the choice of typefaces, in the way of using them and in frontispieces, these proofs, he says, leave much to be desired. What is also lacking in most Neapolitan printers is a proofreader, especially what could be called a *literary* proofreader, who takes care of the exact and error-free reproduction of grammatical and orthographic errors in the prints. [...]¹⁵⁹

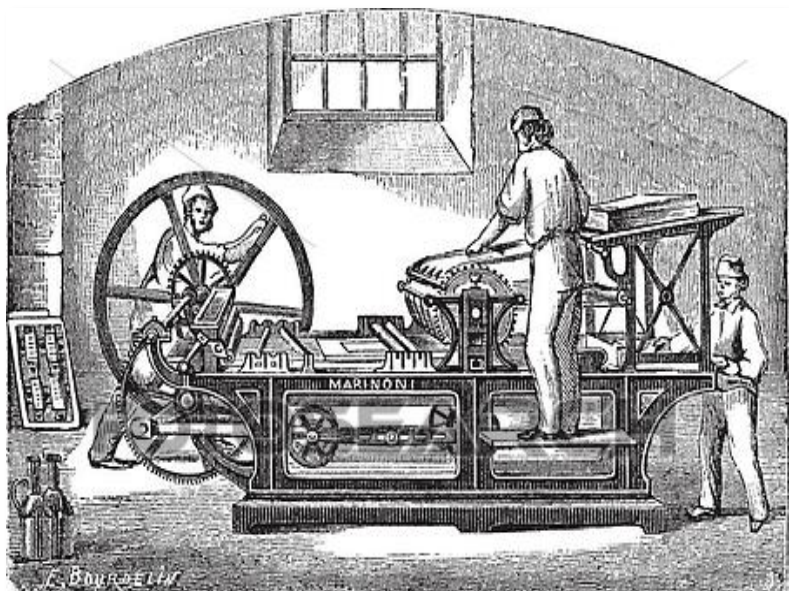
In this clear and informed piece, Betocchi talks about the inks, the typefaces, at this time mostly bought abroad the problems of tenders that favoured companies outside Naples, the narrowness of the local market and other problems such as the decreasing need for school books (the production of which decreased in the 1870s even for the Stamperia del Fibreno). First and foremost, however, is the lack of technological updating. The Stamperia del Fibreno, which was in the terminal phase of its history, just before the severe crisis at the end of the 1870s, had eight presses (as opposed to 17 20 years earlier, which were evidently old) and one printing press. In this it was surpassed by the other five main companies in Naples out of a total of six. The machines in use at this time (Betocchi names three makers, Marinoni, Alauzet and Dell'Orto) looked similar to this Pianocilindrica (although the one illustrated here corresponds to the turn of the century). Very expensive, they greatly facilitated the printing stages because they completely abolished many manual steps.

¹⁵⁹ Betocchi, *Forze produttive*, cit., pp. 293-296.



After 1884, another important variable in assessing the efficiency and modernity of a printing works was the presence or absence of a Linotype machine. Linotype machines (Lynotype) had been invented by the German watchmaker Ottmar Mergenthaler (1854-1899) in 1888, causing a real revolution in the long composition stage. Fibreno did not survive long enough to introduce these machines, which constituted the first real revolution in printing since the invention of movable type, and although there were examples already marketed before 1888, they did not work properly. The first truly useful specimen was marketed that very year.

This machine, combined with the presses, made it possible to speed up the work of typesetting. In fact, the Linotype automated the work of typesetting: a keyboard allowed the operator to take the right characters from a deposit divided by letters and compose the page 7/10 times faster than before. The work of typesetters thus became faster and cheaper, and it was possible to compose books with more pages.



This image shows a Marinoni printing press, one of those in use around 1860 in Italy.

Chapter 12

The 1880s

Unfortunately, due to a closure that followed a collapse, the sale of equipment and the probable immediate reuse of the ground and first floor rooms, an exact list of the Stamperia equipment has not been preserved to the best of our knowledge. This aspect is therefore postponed to future research. However, this shortcoming can be remedied quite easily for the time being because the equipment in use in 19th century printing works was rather standard and there was no possibility of varying the machinery. The most important variable was the number of presses, which, although more or less obsolete, all operated on the same principle.

In 1884, the Manifatture del Fibreno, the parent company of the Stamperia, took the last of the many industrial honours and awards that they had earned in the 60 years or so of Lefèbvre management, visited by two kings, a Bourbon and a Savoy, and known the world over.¹⁶⁰ In the previous years, Ernesto, after the unsuccessful attempt to entrust the rehabilitation to Carlo, which had begun in 1876 and had proved totally inadequate, entrusted the management for some time to his son-in-law Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, husband of his sister Flavia Lefèbvre, Marquise de Casafuerte.¹⁶¹ Pedro

¹⁶⁰ "Cronaca della bibliografia italiana", Year XII, No. 3, p. 9.

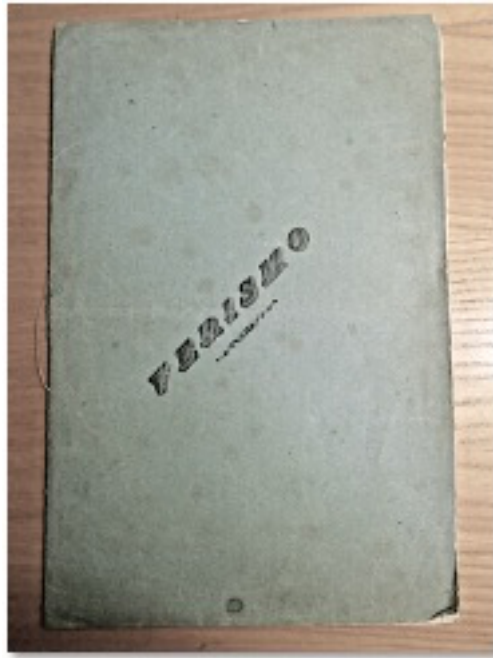
¹⁶¹ He was not Giulia's husband as stated in Flavia Luise, *La Stamperia del Fibreno*, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Álvarez de Toledo, however, had diplomatic experience (he would shortly leave as Spanish ambassador to Russia) but not financial and administrative experience. He was probably hoping for some loans.

But Cartiere Meridionali, the company that had acquired the Cartiere del Liri (founded in 1844 by a group of local and Neapolitan entrepreneurs such as Sorvillo), at that time, although solicited, was not interested in buying. After decades of use and some 20 years in which most of the machines were not renewed and the premises themselves were in need of repair and adaptation, the company was not willing to invest but declared itself interested in renting. This happened from 1893, under the management of Francesco Lefèbvre, who succeeded his father, Pedro, and older brother who had taken refuge first in France and then in Rome.

As for the Stamperia publications have become rarer in recent years. There are more and more plaquettes requested by poets, such as Cesare Micheletti's *Verismo*, a seven-page plaquette that shows novelty in typography.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Cesare Micheletti, *Verismo*, Tipografia editrice già del Fibreno, Naples 1884.



Cesare Micheletti, *Verismo*.
Tipografia editrice già del Fibreno, Naples 1884.

During the 1880s, book production slowed down, especially with regard to fiction, large scientific treatises, vocabularies, grammars or other systematic works. Religious production, of the theological and devotional kind, resists. In fact, there is a Neo-Thomist school in Naples that will soon take root in France as well, and its exponents publish books, as is the case with Carlo Garofalo with his *Scienza di San Tommaso*, and Marino Campagna with the *Divino magistero*

di Cristo.¹⁶³ Works on moral theology, such as *Matrimonio e divorzio*, entered into the debate to introduce divorce in Italy, as in France.¹⁶⁴ All these works bear the mark of an unnamed printing house, the 'già Stamperia del Fibreno', evidently for legal reasons.

But they are meagre, often small-page, noncommittal works. They are basically dissertations or lectures read at the Academy of Archaeology, the University, the Pontanian Academy or other institutions. In 1885 the wording Stamperia del Fibreno was replaced by *già Stamperia del Fibreno*, but this does not mean that anything had changed in ownership. It is true that the financial management of the Manifatture del Fibreno and the Stamperia had been entrusted first to Carlo Lefèbvre and then to Pedro Álvarez of Toledo and then, when the latter threw in the towel after a few months, to Francesco Lefèbvre and his lawyers. The elder brother was in fact abroad at the time, had been disinherited and deprived of his title, and would only return in 1899 to recognise his only son, Carlo Ernesto.

The process of renting and selling the large estate continued for about 20 years with various stages of selling off parts of the property: the vast estates that stretched between Sora and Arpino and Naples, the palaces in Naples, flats, land and more. But this oddity can be explained by the fact that between 1876 and 1886, a lawsuit had been filed by Ernesto Lefèbvre, with

¹⁶³ Carlo Garofalo, *La scienza di San Tommaso nella cultura contemporanea, dissertazione letta all'Accademia teologico-filosofica di San Tommaso d'Aquino*, già Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1886; Mariano Campagna, *Divino magistero di Cristo nella cattolica Chiesa e del dottor d'Aquino*, già Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1885.

¹⁶⁴ Luigi de Matteis, *Matrimonio e divorzio secondo natura e religione, tradizione, storia, diritto e civiltà*, già Stamperia del Fibreno, Naples 1885.

the approval of the other family members, against his son, who had issued uncovered cheques that were then presented for discount at Calata di Trinità Maggiore Pignatelli.

Probably from 1877, although documents are sketchy, the Stamperia's destiny became detached from that of the Manifatture del Fibreno and it became a joint-stock company with capital of 200,000 lire that was not fully paid up (probably loaned in a long-term loan). It then became Managing Director of this company, called Stabilimento del Fibreno, già Stamperia, Francesco Carignani. The operation was done to avoid the legal problems (protested bills of exchange, threats of foreclosure) caused by Carlo Lefèbvre from 1877 together with his accomplice Enrico Catalano. In 1885, it appears that the warehouse-shop of the già Stamperia del Fibreno, now Stabilimenti del Fibreno located in Via Nazionale in Rome, suffered a fire, probably arson and linked to events involving Ernesto's rebellious son, Carlo. A dispute with the Compagnia La Fondiaria ensued and all of this ended up in the events that were recounted in his *Memoir* by the lawyer Vastarini Cresi, prince of the Foro di Napoli.¹⁶⁵

In 1886, the lawyer Alfonso Vastarini Cresi, MP, who was defending Ernesto Lefèbvre in the painful lawsuit against his son, had his memoir printed by the 'già Stamperia del Fibreno', which since 1885 had taken on a slightly different name, Stabilimenti del Fibreno: *Osservazioni in difesa del signor Ernesto Lefèbvre*; the change that seems small is actually significant.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ "Bollettino delle Assicurazioni", organ of the insurers, Rome 1885, p. 332. We have not dwelled on these events in the present publication.

¹⁶⁶ Alfonso Vastarini Cresi, *Osservazioni in difesa del signor Ernesto Lefèbvre, conte di Balsorano, parte civile nel giudizio a carico di Enrico Catalano e altri per falsità di scritture di commercio*, Roma,

The progression is therefore as follows:

French Printing House (1812-1822).

Fibreno printing works (1822-1876). Department of the Fibreno Manufactures.

Formerly Stamperia del Fibreno (1876-1885).

Department of the Fibreno Manufactures.

Stabilimenti del Fibreno (1885-1904). Independent company with fully paid-up capital of 200,000 lire.

Caccavo was present until 1885-1886. In 1885 he was still head of the Association of Italian printers and publishers and president of the Stamperia del Fibreno now Stabilimenti del Fibreno.¹⁶⁷ In that same year, due to the company's by then obvious problems that no longer guaranteed its future, Caccavo applied to the State for a subsidy, which was at first refused and then granted.¹⁶⁸ Evidently by that year, given the Fibreno's failing situation, he was no longer receiving a regular

Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati - Stabilimenti del Fibreno, Roma 1886. Vastarini Cresi was a Member of Parliament and therefore had the words 'Camera dei Deputati' put before Stabilimenti del Fibreno because he had the authority to do so. Everything printed by a deputy, if it had any bearing on his political mission, could have such double wording.

¹⁶⁷ He participated in the drafting of the Regulations of the Neapolitan Typographic Society for Mutual Aid, as he was still part of the management group, in *Il tipografo pubblica gli atti ufficiali del Comitato centrale e dell'Associazione fra gli operai tipografi italiani*, Tipografia Polizzi 1885, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ ASN, *Affari Civili, Affari Generali, Corrispondenza per affari diversi in materia civile 1885, Ricorso del sacerdote Caccavo Raffaele per sussidio*, 1885 (b. 1703, fasc. 393). Remember that, in the absence of Concordat (the first would be signed in 1929), secular priests could also find employment, salaries or subsidies from the State.

salary. In 1888, we find him in a religious role outside of Naples, as a visitor to various religious institutes.

In 1888, one of the last known works of the glorious printing *house* was the *Regolamento della camera dei deputati* printed by the Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati – Stabilimenti del Fibreno. The wording 'Stabilimenti del Fibreno' was adopted and no longer 'Stamperia del Fibreno', a wording that we will also find in the deed of sale in 1904 and was therefore used from 1885 to 1904.¹⁶⁹ Probably at that time, the under-utilised establishments were being used as a service by the Chamber of Deputies. This would happen again between 1892 and 1895, when Francesco Lefèbvre was elected deputy in the 18th legislature in Crispi's party.

In any case, the slowdown is noticeable and the production of fiction ceases for good. But the main reason lies in the jamming of the factory, which loses orders and is paralysed by the lack of liquidity, the scandal caused by Carlo Lefèbvre, and who knows, the bitterness of Ernesto Lefèbvre himself, who had tried to give his children the best education but who had grown up spoilt and with little responsibility. Only the youngest, then in his thirties, tried to lift the company's fortunes, but with little success.

Even before Ernesto Lefèbvre's death, publishing production slowed down: dry administrative reports, scarce scientific essays, poems, sacred edicts. A few Latin classics, old reprints, collections of poetry.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ *Regolamento della camera dei deputati*, Camera dei Deputati - Stabilimenti del Fibreno, Naples 1888.

¹⁷⁰ Flavia Luise, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Above all, the weight and importance of publications decreased. Texts decreased in number, due to the numerous closures of religious institutes and the movement of priests and communities of entire convents to other places in Italy. Nor should the phenomenon of emigration be underestimated, which brought millions of Italians and also thousands of priests, especially from the South, out of Italy and especially to the United States.

On the death of Ernesto Lefèbvre in November 1891, ownership of the entire Fibreno complex, paper mills and printing works, passed to his son Francesco who, after a foolish early youth, spent in amusements following the example of his older brother, and also in a marriage that was considered rash, had put his head on straight. From that year onwards, it was he who tried to save the company, or companies if we consider that at this time the printing-publishing house was legally separated from the large factories in Isola. On 21 December 1892, the witnesses Giuseppe Levi, Giuseppe Olivetti, and Giuseppe Calabritto, all from Naples, met in front of the notary Giovanni Bonucci at 6 Via Maddalena in Naples. With them appeared Francesco Lefèbvre 'domiciled in Isola del Liri' and Giulio Emery of Naples domiciled for office reasons in the old premises of the Lefèbvre Stamperia, in Strada San Giovanni Maggiore Pignatelli at No. 26. Giorgio Emery was, at that time, the Managing Director of the Società Anonima delle Cartiere Meridionali, a company based in Turin that boasted a fully paid-up capital of 1,500,000 lire and was not interested in the Stamperia del Fibreno, which was closed and liquidated and not included in this contract since it is not named.

Francesco Lefèbvre declared that he was the owner of the paper mill, which at the time was equipped with "4 paper

machines" and "all the equipment of other machines for the preparation of pulp, for the embellishment of the paper" and then "buildings, engines, yards, canals, the dwelling house already occupied by the technical directors as well as the special room for administration use". The house to which the Bonucci deed refers is the Villa Louise, for many years inhabited by the Montgolfier family. With that deed, the establishment indicated in its parts by a map attached to the deed along with a 'descriptive record' was granted for rent. The lease was set at 15 years, starting on 1 January 1893. The price was agreed at 20,000 lire per year, of which the first 5 annuities were paid with 19 bills of exchange of 5,000 lire each in advance and due every 3 months.¹⁷¹

The paper mill's downtime had thus lasted about four years, from November 1888 to January 1893. Very detailed are the articles specifying the use of the water that provided the motive power for the entire factory. It is understood here that Charles Lefèbvre built his water intake from the Fibreno without asking for concessions because nobody asked him for anything. Over time, this had become a right that had constituted a competitive advantage over other companies.

The Carnello factory, which was in better condition than the one in Via Taverna Nuova (Le Forme), was sold to the industrialist Gabriele de Caria, while the San Carlo factory, the most recent (in operation since 1865) and modern in terms of machinery still in its late eighties, was rented out several times. Wallpaper production had been interrupted shortly after Count Ernesto's death because the Italian market had proved to be stifling, despite the fact that the quality of Lefèbvre's wallpaper

¹⁷¹ Executive copy of the Deed of 21 December 1892, notary Giovanni Bonucci, p. 4.

was considered excellent. After a standstill of a few years, the building with part of the machinery began to be rented out.

As for the former Stamperia del Fibreno, now called Stabilimenti del Fibreno, at the beginning of 1889 it was no longer selling or was selling leftover stock. After 1890 there are no more books published in the name of this company, which was probably rented out several times together with machines and know-how. The last book of which the writer has found a trace is a new and annotated edition of the *Nuovo codice penale italiano*, printed by the Tipografia Camera dei Deputati-Stabilimenti del Fibreno (this is the exact wording as per the company formed in 1885). The place of printing is indicated as Rome, the year is 1890 and the editor Mel Isidoro.¹⁷²

After his release in 1885, Raffaele Caccavo became a priest in the diocese of Giovinazzo (Apulia) as a 'cursor' (i.e. itinerant inspector) of the Episcopal Curia.¹⁷³ The same year, Caccavo took part in the Committee of the Association of Italian Printing Workers, but was no longer qualified as director of the Stabilimento del Fibreno.¹⁷⁴

The printing works continued to operate until 1903, probably for minor work, and went into liquidation in March 1904, three years before the sale of the paper mills. However, it was in 1903 that a deed for the sale of the paper mills was signed, which would not be finalised until 1907, after the settlement of debts and liabilities. This transfer took place on 25 January 1903, signed by Francesco Lefèbvre in front of

¹⁷² Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia, Tipografia Camera dei Deputati, 25 February 1890, Rome 1890, p. 680.

¹⁷³ Giuseppe Bertolotti, *Statistica ecclesiastica italiana*, Tipografia di Andrea Riocci, Savona 1885, p. 683

¹⁷⁴ "Il tipografo", Polizzi, Naples 1885.

notary Vallauri of Turin. This agreement, which was preceded by dramatic developments and episodes testifying to the growing tension between Francesco and the Turin company Cartiere Meridionali, differed from another signed in Naples in March 1904, as we shall see.¹⁷⁵

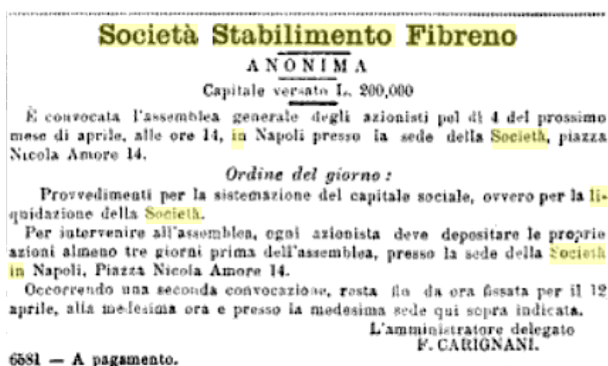
The new ownership of the Cartiere Meridionali, which had its centre of gravity in the North, between Turin and Milan, had no interest in continuing the publishing experience in Naples, which, moreover, with the opening of new bookshops and above all new publishers, had become much more difficult: the market was no longer protected and links with the academic world, formed by a new generation of professors, had loosened. The ecclesiastical world, which had always been an important customer for the Stamperia del Fibreno, was having difficulties, as were lawyers and other categories. In particular, acts and laws or provisions that the Bourbon government had previously had printed at the Stamperia were printed elsewhere.

Apart from the complex vicissitudes of the sale of the Lefèbvre plants, buildings and assets, the glorious old Stamperia del Fibreno was, in fact, already closed. But the definitive and legal act of closure did not take place until March 1904, when the Società Stabilimento del Fibreno, transformed into a joint-stock company, summoned its shareholders (basically the Lefèbvre and in particular Francesco) to liquidate. The convocation took place in Piazza Nicolò Amore 14 (along Corso Umberto), in Naples, where the head office of the Stamperia del Fibreno was located. We do

¹⁷⁵ *Copia Conforme di inventario dei locali e macchinari della Cartiera del Fibreno*, p. 102. Fratelli Iafrate Archive, Isola del Liri Superiore (f. 597).

not know whether it was a domicile or whether there were actually offices there, but the low level of publishing and typographic activity during this period suggests as much. The Stamperia was finally sold at that time, while the sale of the Manifatture del Fibreno, paper production, machinery and buildings was postponed until three years later, in 1907, after the Turin deed of 1904. These were therefore two different events.

F. Carignani was probably Francesco Carignani (1852-post-1904), a Neapolitan nobleman of the Carignani family, who was the managing director of the Stabilimenti del Fibreno at the time.



After the sale of the Carnello factory to the industrialist De Caria, the Stabilimento delle Forme to the Società delle Cartiere Meridionali and the liquidation of the Stamperia, the San Carlo factory, considered a real gem, remained. It was first leased to the industrialist Ostrogovich, who was in the business of selling a particular type of smoking papers invented by him but had an

unhappy fate when it was badly damaged in the earthquake of January 1915. The factory could not be saved and was therefore demolished before the end of the First World War.

Later, after the sale of Villa Lefèbvre to De Caria, the manor house attached to the mills, Palazzo Lefèbvre di Isola in Via Taverna Nova, was also sold, along with the vast ploughed land, orchards, vines and olive groves, and the adjoining farmhouses with the precious water intakes that brought the pure water of the Fibreno to the mill. Within a few years, the Società delle Cartiere Meridionali came to buy some of the largest and most glorious paper mills in the Fibreno district, a district that continued to exist until the 1970s.

As far as the industrial and cultural affair narrated in this book is concerned, the not short-lived story of the printing presses of the Stamperia del Fibreno, was already over, and in any case officially ended completely, with no possibility of resumption, in those very days and agreements. Passing by that street today, looking from that side of Calata Trinità, no one would think that there, once upon a time, one could hear the presses of the largest printing and publishing house in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and that one or two shop windows, or perhaps more, offered the elegant Neapolitans strolling by, papers, envelopes and cards of every colour, every price, every quality. The penultimate owner of the Fibreno, Francesco Lefèbvre, died while still young, in October 1911, struck down by tuberculosis, a disease from which his sister Flavia had died in 1905. Shortly afterwards, his mother, Teresa Doria D'Angri Lefèbvre, also died in 1911. After regaining the title of Count of Balsorano, and recognising his son Carlo Ernesto, who grew up in the castle of Balsorano in Abruzzo, Carlo Lefèbvre returned to Naples where he died in 1920.

Hundreds of books remained of the great story of the Stamperia del Fibreno and an oblivion fell too soon. Perhaps the hybrid nature of the Calata Trinità department store: paper warehouse, stationery store, seller of maps and other stationery items, bookshop and book warehouse, publisher, printer, had given it a less recognisable profile than the pure bookseller-publishers.

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ASCN, Archivio Storico del Comune di Napoli. (*Historical Archives of the City of Naples*).

ASN, Ammortizzazione generale e della cassa di Ammortizzazione e del demanio pubblico General (*General Amortisation and State Property general amortisation*).

ASN, Archivio di Stato di Napoli. (*State Archives of Naples*).

BNP, Bibliothèque National de Paris.

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