Nature Conservation, Political Events, and Diplomatic Activity. George Perkins Marsh in Italy, 1861-1882

by

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George Perkins Marsh in a portrait from circa 1845 by George Peter Alexander Healy. This renowned portraitist painted this oil on canvas while he was in Washington, D.C., where George Perkins Marsh was a Congressman elected as a Whig to the Twenty-eighth and to the three succeeding Congresses, serving from 1843 until 1849.
In an unconstrained and forthright manner the Artist represents George Perkins Marsh, who became a lifelong friend, as an intellectual rather than a congressman, wearing a black cravat fashionable at the time, and a little ruffled, and highlights his intelligent and insightful gaze.
(*Credit Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, Bequest of Mrs. George Perkins Marsh; P.901.4*)

Part One

Foreword

23rd July 2012 was the hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the death of George Perkins Marsh, citizen of the United States, well-known in the world today as one of the pioneers, better yet, for many scholars the founder of the Conservationist conception of environmentalism, and thus an essential catalyst for the Conservation Movement, but not always sufficiently renowned as an excellent scholar in a long line of disciplines, most notably linguistic and philological, as well as a statesman and an adroit and influential diplomat (this was, in fact, a significant aspect of his career).

Italian readers in particular would find it relevant to also deepen their knowledge about George Perkins Marsh's political and diplomatic career especially because he lived in Italy from June 1861, in the role of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Kingdom of Italy, until his death in July 1882. It is true that in 2011 he was sometimes remembered on the occasion of the Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Italian Unification, but actually the memory of him has considerably diminished in Italy in the course of the 20th century.[1] On the contrary, during his Office in Italy and at the time of his decease he was of great political and cultural importance and had a following in the newborn unified Italian State.

In order to realise to what extent he was appreciated in Italy, on the one hand, and to understand the feelings he nourished for Italy, on the other hand, it is most revealing to read his obituary published by 'Il Diritto', the political daily newspaper linked to the national democratic currents: "*La Stampa della Capitale* [Rome] *è stata unanime nel tributare alla memoria del signor Marsh, ministro degli Stati Uniti del Nord, le più solenni onoranze. Giorgio Perkins Marsh, nei ventidue anni che passò in Italia, divenendo quasi italiano per affetto al nostro paese, seguì passo passo la nostra rivoluzione e, ora possiamo dirlo, fu della patria italiana benemerito per i suoi eccellenti consigli e per l'utilità della sua azione diplomatica.* […] *Il nome di Giorgio Marsh sarà scolpito in modo duraturo con sommo onore e con riconoscenza fra quelli degli amici d'Italia.*".[2]

The historic Italian daily newspaper 'L'Opinione' that, as we shall see on the pages to come, crossed several times the life-path of George Perkins Marsh as an unfaltering supporter of republican ideas -thus he defined himself-, published an article in a similar vein: "*La morte del signor Marsh toglie all'Italia un amico provato e fedele. Egli era fra noi, come rappresentante degli Stati Uniti, fin dal 1861* […] *e godeva in altissimo grado la stima e la benevolenza del popolo italiano.* […] *Ben si può dire che la sua mancanza sarà vivamente sentita nel nostro paese da tutti i partiti politici.* ".[3]

George Perkins Marsh's predisposition to commitment to politics and to a career in diplomacy stemmed not only from the influence of his father, Charles Marsh, a prominent

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The Author would like to inform the Reader that in this paper, following George Perkins Marsh's writings, *nature* and *Earth* will be referred to in the personified feminine form, "she", and not as objects in the "it" neuter form.

lawyer, but probably also from his family origins which for him were a source of pride as his ancestors had arrived to America as early as 1633 and were later the first family to move from Connecticut to Vermont. His ancestors on both sides of the family were part of the Puritan tradition and the intellectual aristocracy of New England. George Perkins Marsh's direct ancestor, John Marsh, had immigrated from England in 1633 to the colony of Massachusetts and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1636.[4] George Perkins Marsh's mother, Susan Perkins, had an impressive lineage too.

George Perkin Marsh's family, that included personalities of the cultural élite of New England, carefully preserved Protestant heritage and cultural traditions which explain George Perkins Marsh's criticism and intense dislike of Catholicism[5], convictions that would only strengthen in Italy especially after seeing first hand the condition of the population in the Papal States and most importantly that of women, oppressed by religion and kept in a state of ignorance, as it will be said further on in this paper.

The fact that the memory of George Perkins Marsh has faded in the decades after his death is certainly not true only in the case of Italy. After his passing, and especially that of his second wife Caroline Crane Marsh -in 1901- who had done the important work of collecting and annotating the letters sent by her husband to friends and important figures of his time for publishing them in order to give a precise personal portrait and representation of his life, the fame of this great innovator gradually subsided in the United States too for reasons that will be mentioned later.[6] The loss of memory of the exceptional contribution to culture, science and diplomacy by George Perkins Marsh was in fact reversed, in 1931, by the great representative of the American Studies, Civilisation and Architectural History, Lewis Mumford, who dedicated an important place to George Perkins Marsh in his famous book *The Brown Decades*. His pages on George Perkins Marsh's work and thought were able to bring him back to the attention of scholars and the public.[7] When commenting the chapter of *Man and Nature*[8] headed *Importance of Physical Conservation and Restoration*, Lewis Mumford recognised in George Perkins Marsh "*the fountainhead of the Conservation Movement*",[9] and this was not only for his description of human reckless overuse of nature, especially of forests, but for his purpose of encouraging the restoration of the degraded, exhausted natural environments.

The first revival of George Perkins Marsh in the scientific milieu after a long period of silence around his name and after a long period of a lack of profound interest for his masterpiece *Man and Nature*, happened therefore thanks to Lewis Mumford. He was the ideal figure to fathom the message of George Perkins Marsh and his *Man and Nature*, since many of his works dealt with the relationship between human beings and their environment especially in developed agricultural societies, in highly developed technological economies, and in the urban contexts of the Western world, that he considered an arena increasingly dominated by aggressive and dehumanising technology forged by the dream to control nature and modify every feature of the physical landscape. In Lewis Mumford's view, George Perkins Marsh was the man who had explored all the changes on the Earth's surface generated by man and had been able to highlight -using Lewis Mumford's words- human "*assault on the landscape*". George Perkins Marsh had made clear, through a world-wide systematic overview, the role played by man in the ancient urban societies and in modern industrial societies, as well as in the regions of the world colonized by Western nations. As Lewis Mumford underlined, in the culture of the United States George Perkins Marsh had been one of the progressive figures -chiefly represented by naturalists, geographers, landscape planners- who propagated a "*new sense of the land* [...] *scientific and realistic*".[10]

George Perkins Marsh's approach was inspired by the need to demonstrate the failure of the human-centred ideology that each man has the right to act freely on nature conceived as a

sort of personal property and to point out human destructiveness, but at the same time by the moral duty of indicating concrete examples convincing enough to make man stop environmental degradation and to restore natural systems perturbed by human action. In fact, George Perkins Marsh, through his treatise *Man and Nature*, revealed by scientific procedure, to a humanity that always tends to operate on nature and exploit her with thoughtlessness and heedlessness, the highest moral principle that the Earth is the home of man[11] and, as such, it has to be treated accordingly with utmost care.

As Lewis Mumford wrote, the important service done by his *The Brown Decades* (with its two editions of 1931 and 1959) has been to redirect attention to George Perkins Marsh, a "*long-neglected scholar*", and to reignite interest in his most renowned work *Man and Nature*, which had been forgotten even by American geographers, although in Mumford's time they were vigorously dealing with the issues of man's relationship with nature and human impact on nature.[12]

Following Lewis Mumford, in the 1940s American Human Geography rediscovered some of the central ideas of George Perkins Marsh, and especially Cultural Geography led by Carl O. Sauer and by his conceptions of the destructive exploitation of nature and devastation of the environment induced by modern economical processes and occidental commercial culture.

The echo of this revival of interest, some years later, was recognizable in the works of the important International Symposium held in Princeton in June 1955, that brought together seventy scholars from North America, Europe, the Middle East and Asia, and ranged across more than twenty conventionally defined disciplines.[13] It was inspired by George Perkins Marsh, who was recognized by the organizers for his exceptional capacity to demonstrate the environmental change determined by human activities, and to alert the public to the consequences of destructive human actions on Earth and careless use of nature, through a diachronic and worldwide combined perspective.[14] Carl O. Sauer and Lewis Mumford were joined together in this cultural event, in which they were co-Chairmen of the Symposium with Marston Bates.

Inspired by George Perkins Marsh, this important Symposium was not surprisingly titled *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, echoing his masterpiece *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action,* published in 1864, and especially the title of the second edition, of 1874, that had been changed by the Author to *The Earth as Modified by Human Action. A New Edition of Man and Nature*.[15]

The speakers were selected for their interest in the interrelation between man -living in different geographic regions of the Globe- and his habitat. Their approach, as well as the discussions during the Symposium, was directed towards answering the big questions arising from George Perkins Marsh's treatise: how much has man changed the Earth's surface? how fast is he changing it? how deep and extensive are the quantitative effects of man on the landscape? and finally, how can man restore the habitats he has drastically changed or damaged? All these issues constituted an intellectual link to George Perkins Marsh, and hence the volume produced as a direct result of the Symposium was dedicated to him.[16]

George Perkins Marsh's reasoning was always pragmatic but also motivated by an ever-present moral concern, even if his pages were certainly not a plea for the defence of nature and the Earth in the sense of today's Environmental Ethics. They were, in any case, an accurate, coherent account conceived to convince his audience of the pressing necessity to restrain the irrational exploitation of nature in all her manifestations on planet Earth and avoid her destruction, to stimulate the diffusion of a new morality capable of respecting her equilibrium (in Marsh's words: her *harmonies*), and to promote the idea of restoring the territories spoiled

by human action, all with a view to maintaining a suitable environment for the life of humankind.[17]

His call for nature restoration, as well as for the control and careful management of natural resources through national administration, was not only a constant aspect of his thinking but also an extremely modern one: it constituted an intellectual belief and a moral task, that he also strongly recommended to the new Italian state, where much land was extensively degraded due to long centuries of uninterrupted human presence and its impact, as it will be mentioned later on in this paper.

All these concepts make George Perkins Marsh -it should be underlined once more- one of the great founders or, for many scholars, *the* founder of the Conservationist thinking. His concepts appear to be even more progressive when one considers that the collection of data for his treatise went on in the United States during decades predominantly marked by a boundless belief in human power over nature and in technical progress, on the one hand, and on the other in the unlimited confidence in the utter inexhaustibility of natural resources.

In his way of thinking about and interpreting the natural world -a holistic sense of nature- he was certainly inspired by the thought of the German scientist and geographer Alexander von Humboldt, who had been very famous in the United States, where he was welcomed with great honour, in 1804, when he returned from his epic travels in the equinoctial regions of the New Continent, even by President Jefferson who admired him for the inestimable treasures of information he had collected in his four year long journey in America.[18] The anti-mechanistic and holistic conception of nature is one of the characteristics giving Alexander von Humboldt a prominent place among the pioneers of the ecological thinking, as well as, two generations later, George Perkins Marsh: it has to be noted that Marsh has never used the term *ecology*, that had already been coined in his time, and that he preferred the Humboldtian term *Physical Geography* for representing his theoretical approach.[19]

George Perkins Marsh was convinced that nothing is small, trifling or insignificant in nature. But humankind acts without taking this basic principle into account and so justifies its own actions, ignoring their consequences, without weighing up their immediate destructive effects, and still less the long term effects. On the last page of *Man and Nature*, concerning the human impact on nature, he wrote: "*But our inability to assign definite values to these causes of the disturbance of natural arrangements is not a reason for ignoring the existence of such causes* [...] *and we are never justified in assuming a force to be insignificant because its measure is unknown, or even because no physical effect can now be traced to it as its origin.*".[20] Given his manner of always thinking in a positive and constructive way, his book had, therefore, an ethical role, that is of informing people about the consequences of the "*human operations*" on nature and on the Earth's surface, in order to encourage their awareness and a change in the relations between man and nature. He strongly believed in the positive role of information and education as motors of improvement of human society. For George Perkins Marsh, in fact, familiarizing people with the laws of nature, with the chain of actions and reactions between the elements and components of the natural world, and illustrating the alterations and interferences caused by human beings, meant providing people themselves with the means to change their mentality and to modify their behaviour. This is the essence of the ethical spirit that guided him in the writing of *Man and Nature*.

In his treatise, and in relation to his personal experience especially in native Vermont, George Perkins Marsh had focused the attention chiefly on the destruction of the forests and its consequences on soil and watercourses and on climate, as well as on the extirpation of vegetation in general, and at every latitude, on soil degradation and aridization, on overuse of

water resources, on changes and alteration of rivers and coastal lines. However, he had not explored factors of foremost importance already debated at the time, first of all human overpopulation, and had not investigated serious environmental problems such as air, water and soil pollution as well as chemical waste caused by industries, urban pollution and related human diseases, the geomorphologic and pedologic impact of excessive mining and the effects of such activities on human health.[21] Nevertheless, *Man and Nature* has to be considered as the first great synthesis examining in detail man's alteration of the face of the Globe[22], able to demonstrate through an international perspective the destructiveness of man[23], offering cases above all from America, Europe and the Middle East. Therefore, following Marsh's approach, the participants of the Symposium of 1955 widened the scientific investigation also to the effects of human impact typical of the 20th century, such as uncontrolled urbanization and industrialization, groundwater depletion, water and soil pollution, growing volume of solid, hazardous, and industrial waste, and their impact on the atmosphere.

This Symposium was attended by a large group of geographers and ecologists, and it demonstrated that one of the results of the legacy left in America by George Perkins Marsh's work had been the fact that after him the study of the relation between man and his environment became a central topic of Geography and the kernel of Human Ecology, two neighbouring disciplines that interweave continually.[24]

Yet although American and Anglo-Saxon Geography of the second half of the 20th century started to renew its own interest in the teachings of George Perkins Marsh and to delve into his cultural legacy, in Italy he remained in the shadows and was hardly noticed in Europe.

Despite this American revival of George Perkins Marsh, it has to be rememebered that no specific studies have appeared on this outstanding figure, characterized by a multi-faceted cultural, scientific, professional personality, except for Sister Mary Philip Trauth's thorough dissertation on Italo-American diplomatic relations and George Perkins Marsh's mission as first American Plenipotentiary Minister to the Kingdom of Italy, submitted in 1958 to the Catholic University of American Press: an accurate monograph that continues to be the only one to concentrate on the long chapter of his life in Italy.[25] On the other hand, that same year, the extensive portrayal of George Perkins Marsh's entire life by David Lowenthal appeared, reconstructing in a panoramic perspective his multifarious activities, and the impressive series of research and writings[26]: following Lewis Mumford, and above all the geographical thought headed by Carl O. Sauer, in effect David Lowentahl privileged the geographical trait of George Perkins Marsh and defined his *Man and Nature* as "*the most important and original American geographical work of the nineteenth century*".[27] But George Perkins Marsh was a scholar always profoundly engaged with a myriad of fields, fields that emerge from the manuscripts and documents stratified in the personal Archives he left: to see what it can reveal, it merits a complete, exhaustive exploration, which apparently has never been done.[28]

Actually, it is difficult to confine George Perkins Marsh to a strictly defined field of knowledge, as he excelled in a series of domains and in integrating the data deriving from them: following a typical term of our times, he had an interdisciplinary mind, interested in enlightening and proving how natural and human worlds are inextricably intertwined. Only if we delve deeper in interpreting the work of George Perkins Marsh by connecting it to the most advanced manifestations of the geographical thought of the first half of the 19th century, can his work be classified as geographical. This can be affirmed if we consider, for example, the fact that he used, for the title of his *Man and Nature* first Edition, published in 1864, the typical term of the language of Alexander von Humboldt, the innovative figure in the history of Geography, already mentioned in this paper, that had conceived *physical geography* as the study of nature and her components -abiotic and biological including man-, as the domain of

interrelations, as the science of interrelations: in other words, a scientific point of view based on an interdisciplinary perspective.[29] This considered, we can rightly analyse and interpret 'as geographical' the approach and content of George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature*; *or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*.

To help us get to the heart of this subject, on George Perkins Marsh's conception of *physical geography* there is an interesting piece of theoretical information, that mentions Alexander von Humboldt, a manuscript conserved by the University of Vermont Libraries Special Collections: this manuscript, entitled by the Author *Preliminary Notice*, in hardly legible writing, is rarely quoted by today's scholars, and even if not dated it was certainly written as an initial draft in preparation for a preface to *Man and Nature.* The Author wrote: "*Physical Geography may be defined as the science of the absolute and the relative conditions of the earth's surface and of the ambient atmosphere, as they manifest themselves to ordinary sensuous perfection*. *Of all the branches of natural knowledge, no other has so many visible points of contact with the material interests of human life, no other deals with subjects whose practical importance is so constantly forced upon our notice, no other so essentially consists in the investigation of the relations of action and reaction between man and the medium he inhabits. Hence Physical Geography ought, logically, to be the oldest of the sciences; but from man's propensity to overlook the palpable and the near, and to grasp at the obscure and the remote, this study, as a distinct body of principles and facts, has been longer neglected than almost any other of the sister disciplines.*".[30]

In any case, going back to David Lowenthal's monograph, it is clear that it has had the great value of shedding light upon the cultural revolution in the geographical thinking ushered in by *Man and Nature*, that would drive Geography into the cognizance of the human impact on nature and into the idea of Conservation.[31]

As it has been said and will be reiterated in the coming pages, Alexander von Humboldt was certainly a source of knowledge and inspiration for George Perkins Marsh, but the latter, being thirty years younger, was shaped by and had experience in a completely different world much more degraded by human action: thus, he became the protagonist of a great and undeniable change in the way of considering and interpreting the agency of man on planet Earth.

It was clear to both of these great thinkers that essentially all life on Earth (therefore human life) depends upon water, soil, plants, and animals, on the one hand, and on the other that the health and vitality of land, conceived as the environment of man, depends upon the good or degraded state of all these biotic and abiotic components. But George Perkins Marsh had been a direct witness of the massive and extensive modification of his native Vermont, ruined chiefly through the overexploitation of forests and depletion of soil and water, at a rate unknown to Europeans especially to those of the preceding generations. Moreover, his travels in the Old Continent and the Middle East enabled him to make a direct parallel between Vermont and the lands deteriorated by century-long human impact he was encountering. All these experiences impelled him to carry out a systematic research to point out man's misuse of land and mismanagement of natural resources, into man as an agent of change within the natural environment, and even more as a disturbing agent, a destructive power over the Earth's surface, as he wrote in *Man and Nature*: "*man is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies of nature are turned to discords.*[...] *of all organic beings, man alone is to be regarded as essentially a destructive power*".[32]

Hence, George Perkins Marsh explored the effects of human action on each part of the natural system and interpreted them through the lens of the history of human culture, economy,

political organization, giving therefore the first systematic discussion of environmental questions and thus assuming the role of one of the pioneers of the future Human Ecology.

George Perkins Marsh devised a global conception of the disturbed balance of nature through the agency of man.[33] But his approach, despite his love for nature, remained nevertheless anthropocentric: his warning against human imprudence and the dangers it entails, his call for restoration of the exhausted environments were essentially for man's wellbeing, aimed at safeguarding human life on Earth. And this makes George Perkins Marsh, without doubt, a representative of the mentality of conservation and a turning point for the rise of the Conservation Movement in America.

As for the Conservation Movement, a few significant pages by Donald Worster, published in 1973, clarify that it was an ideology, a political stance and a national programme, changing the way of thinking about nature and acting towards her, that began to take form not earlier than 1870s. Based on scientific knowledge, rationality and technical expertise interwined with the patriotic duty of maintaining natural resources to insure prosperity and continuance of the nation, its higher purpose became that of making the managment of nature more efficient, avoiding waste, controlling her overconsumption and preventing her destruction, saving or better economising limited resources.[34] It was a purely anthropocentric theory -based on the 'commodity view of nature'-, assuming a moral responsibility towards American people, being aimed at the promotion of national welfare conceived as the benefit of the many as possible for the longest possible time.[35]

If considering this theorethical approach, the difference with the intellectual posture of George Perkins Marsh is immediately evident: his perspective is international, the ethical drive sustaining his *Man and Nature* -beyond the narrow national viewpoint and bearing no hint of a nationalistic tone- is directed at a global vision of the Earth as the universal home of man, to be treated with prudence and care in all her regions.

Finally, in the 1960s, it was a new chapter for the revival of George Perkins Marsh. It was the age of the vast international movement against nuclear weapons testing, charcterized in North America by a growing attention of civil society to the environmental issues especially pollution of air and water, the protest against the use of pesticides in agriculture and chemical contamination of soil, the campaign against chemical warfare and ecocides destroying ecosystems for military purposes, together with the decline of the unreserved myth of technology created in the United States a cultural and moral climate in which George Perkins Marsh's message gained a broad interest also from the general public. In the context of these years, that coincide with the beginning of the "*modern environmental era*"[36], an important incentive for the popularization of George Perkins Marsh's work was provided by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, a passionate environmentalist who -from his elevated political position- supported the environmental question as a national cause. Indeed, in 1963 he published a book with a foreward by President John F. Kennedy, destined for a widespread diffusion and containing a chapter on George Perkins Marsh, where he was represented as the symbol of a science guided by a new land consience, and his *Man and Nature* defined as an "*introduction to the inchoate science of ecology, a veritable encyclopedia of land facts*". After this influential recognition, the work of George Perkins Marsh became a "*conservation classic*" in the United States.[37]

From then onwards there were innumerable works and citations regarding George Perkins Marsh, and some Authors are particularly relevant as they have rightly dealt with his personality within the context of the culture of the United States of his time, the evolution of ideas about nature and the emergence of an ecological sensitivity[38], thus highlighting social, intellectual and scientific framework in which he found important stimuli for his thought and

even precurosors in different fields of natural sciences who were less known than him.[39] He undoubtedly had a tremendous ability to organise and synthesise immense amounts of information and knew how to divulge it: today's Authors are unanimous in underlining that the virtue of *Man and Nature* has been in giving an all embracing description of the destructive impact of man on nature, and that it has been significant also because it led the discussion into an ethical dimension.

Since today the interest for George Perkins Marsh in North America is unrelenting, since his contribution to the idea of nature conservation is widely studied, and consequently access to bibliography is straightforward even for those living in Italy, the pages that follow will not dwell particularly on this specific issue, but will try to give information that is more difficult to obtain, for example on the Italian environmental condition at the time of his diplomatic service, or about cultural and scientific figures in Italy who explored themes also significant for his thought and for some of the subjects treated in *Man and Nature.*

An artistic half-plate daguerreotype of George Perkins Marsh, gold toned, half-length portrait, head three-quarters to right, with spectacles, circa 1850, by Mathew Brady.
George Perkins Marsh was elected as a Whig to the Twenty-eighth and to the three succeeding Congresses and served from March 1843 until his resignation in 1849, having been appointed by President Taylor as Minister Resident to Turkey. The picture presents him as United States Diplomat, the office he held from May 1849 to December 1853.
(*From the Archives of United States Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division, Washington D.C., Brady-Handy Collection*)

Part Two

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Italy

Coming from the Mont Cenis pass, a carriage enters Turin on Friday 7 June 1861 and travels through a city shrouded in the deepest mourning and striking in its silence. [1] Artisans and other shops are closed, the Fine Arts Exhibition is closed and so is the Stock Exchange. The Theatres are closed. Parliamentary sessions are suspended for three days; the flag of the Chamber of Deputies will remain black for twenty days. A tall man with a solemn demeanour alights from the carriage, followed by a younger man who rushes to help a fragile looking lady and a young woman. It is the day of the imposing funeral ceremonies for Camillo Benso Count of Cavour, the eminent politician, patriot, and the first president of the Council of Ministers of the newly unified Italian State, who had died prematurely and unexpectedly on 6 June.[2] And it is the day of the arrival of George Perkins Marsh as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in the newborn Kingdom of Italy with Turin as its capital: the Kingdom had been in fact proclaimed a few weeks before, on 17 March 1861, and the Sabaudian monarch Victor Emmanuel II King of Sardinia (which also included Piedmont, Savoy and Ligury) had become its king.

Minister Plenipotentiary Marsh was accompanied by his wife Caroline and his very young niece Carrie, as well as the Secretary of the United States legation. "*Monsieur le Ministre! Vous êtes arrivé dans un triste moment*" were the few words to welcome them.[3] The position of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Italy was to be held by George Perkins Marsh in Turin, Florence, and finally Rome (the capital city of Italy was moved between 1861 and 1871) for twenty-one years of continuous diplomatic service.[4] His presence in Italy coincided, therefore, with crucial years for local history: the annexation of Venice (1866) and Rome (1870), the crowning moments of national unification.

The arrival of George Perkins Marsh in Italy was preceded by an undeniable consesus for his remarkable talent and rare insight as diplomat already evident in Turkey as Minister Resident in the years between 1849-1850 and 1853, for his well-known solidarity with the Italian Risorgimento and thanks to his old friendships with important representatives of this wide movement for independence and national unity. He had a reputation of a pragmatic and at the same time of a very cultured and well-educated man, a competent jurist, a politician of undoubted moral integrity and a par excellence champion of freedom for the peoples, a great expert in languages and cultures of the Old Continent, a great bibliophile and collector of engravings, a scholar in an extraordinary range of fields that extended from philology and the knowledge of about twenty languages to dialectology, from art and archaeology to history, from history of agriculture to natural sciences.

He was universally respected for his character traits in life and diplomacy: his sincerity, profound love of the truth and loyalty to it, together with grand simplicity and directness.[5] His inflexible honesty, in public and private life, his adamantine recognition of duty, were very appreciated as precious qualities essential in the diplomatic activity. And he was deeply respected for his modesty united with profound humanity, for his capacity to nurture warm friendships.[6]

In Italy, his political ideals were known. For instance, in 1859, in his essay *The War and the Peace*, he had clearly and firmly expressed his opinions on the ambiguous positions -or better treachery- of the powerful European nations with respect to the Italians' struggle for freedom and unity, especially of Napoleon III but also of England. On the question of independence from the Austrian yoke, he said "*England has always ranged herself on the side of the oppressor*". On the Roman Republic of 1849, an heroic page of the Italian Risorgimento, his point of view was extremely severe towards Napoleon III, and even more towards the Pope and his secular power: "*Pius IX, -not one more aggressive in his inspirations, more relentless in his vengeances, or more obstinately wedded to all the traditional abuses of the Vatican*". Declared in February 1849, when the government of the Papal States was replaced by a republican government, the Repubblica Romana had a life of only five months due to the military intervention of Napoleon III, and -as George Perkins Marsh underlined -: "*Napoleon* [III] *saw at once the necessity of fortifying himself in his insecure position by making terms with 'Catholicity'. Hence his flagitious crusade against the Roman Republic, the restoration of the perjured* [pope] *Pius IX* […] *and the severities against Protestantism in France. But this was but a temporary policy, to obtain the sanction of the Papacy* […] *the Papacy, and its present imbecile, obstinate, and vindictive incumbent*".

The Roman Republic of 1849, led by the notorious figures of Carlo Armellini, Giuseppe Mazzini and Aurelio Saffi, was a political experience that strongly convinced George Perkins Marsh, especially considering that it guaranteed the freedom to practice any religion and was the first in the world to abolish capital punishment: "*the history of Roman Republic of 1849* - Marsh observed- *for the moderation, wisdom, liberality, efficiency, and integrity of its administration, stands entirely alone in the annals of political revolution*". George Perkins Marsh came to the conclusion that this was an international moral question which had been scarcely recognized especially in Protestant Europe and America where the reprobation of human and political rights violations in Italy had been too weak.[7]

In a country such as Italy, so rich in culture and historical landscapes and at the same time in the initial stage of the new political phase of a newly formed State through the unification of seven previous States, Minister Plenipotentiary Marsh was the right man in the right moment. On the other hand, Italy would have provided George Perkins Marsh the scholar with many fundamental experiences and evidence to enrich his wealth of knowledge and to confirm his major theories in the social, religious, economic spheres and, of course, of the environment.

In the autumn of 2011, during extremely rainy days, northern Italy was affected by terrible floods that devastated the historical territory of Lunigiana (which falls within the provinces of La Spezia and Massa Carrara), beautiful ancient villages, artistic towns and natural sites, including the five villages and hills of the Cinque Terre on the sea coast that are UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and then the city of Genoa and its surroundings where George Perkins Marsh spent a wonderful time during his diplomatic experience in Italy. Dramatic events and immense damage to human life, the environment, infrastructures and economic activities. Everything was covered with mud; the mountainsides and hillsides rushed down to the valley sweeping away everything along their precipitous path. In an Italy dominated by economism and still lacking an environmental ethics-based policy, the local population had to face the disastrous effects of irresponsible land management, such as uncontrolled clearings (or fires) of mountains and hills, rampant overbuilding, injudicious deviation and cementation of watercourses, extirpation of riparian vegetation. Never as in that period, therefore, was the message of George Perkins Marsh so topical, his call for a wise and prudent use of natural resources and nature conservation so relevant.

As it was said in the Foreword, in this paper -although there is extensive information provided by David Lowenthal- attention will be concentrated particularly on George Perkins Marsh and Italy, where *Man and Nature* was written and then also translated into Italian from the English of the first American edition. To express his feeling, in 1861 he wrote: "*I have always been pazzo per gli Italiani*". A sentiment reciprocated by many people he met and knew in Italy.

It has already been underlined that, after he was gone, in 1882, his memory faded until it almost disappeared during the decades of seeming wealth of the carefree Belle Époque, and then in the years between the two World Wars probably because his thought clashed with a world in the process of industrialisation, living off the myth of progress and technology without concern for the consequences on nature and on the wonderful cultural landscapes -representing the combined work of nature and man- that history had bestowed upon Italy. The message of *Man and Nature* stood at an even greater contrast with Italy of the decades after the Second World War, invaded by cement, depleting her natural environments, abandoning her historical agricultural lands.

Therefore, on the occasion of the European Year of the Environment, March 1987 - March 1988, I wished to offer to the Italian public an unabridged edition, by anastatic printing, of the 19th century Italian version of *Man and Nature*, preceding it with a presentation of the Author, aimed at highlighting the exceptional intertwining of his life and his thought, his knowledge, his unflagging activities until his death. George Perkins Marsh became once again an important figure in Italian culture, highly appreciated not only by scholars and academics, especially geographers and ecologists, but also by supporters of nature conservation and environmentalism in general.[8]

They spent their life almost literally in the Woods: Americans in Sicily [9]

Before taking up the diplomatic post in Constantinople, George Perkins Marsh and his family party first travelled to Italy in the months between 1849 and 1850, and stopped in historical towns of the classical European Grand Tour, that were privileged also by the artists and intellectuals from the United States, from the second half of 18th century and especially from the beginning of 19th: Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples.[10] It was during the period just after the European revolutionary uprisings of 1848, followed by repression and a harsh restoration: George Perkins Marsh was particularly struck by the gloomy aspect of Rome, in the aftermath of the fall of the Roman Republic, where French soldiers swarmed the city and common people were not seen in the streets, as well as by Naples, by the misery observable among the lower classes of people and social degradation. A stark contrast emerged between the cultural wonders of these Italian regions, the picturesque countryside, the distinctiveness of the natural landscape and processes -the Vesuvius was just then erupting- and the hardship endured by the inhabitants. The generous spirit of George Perkins Marsh was continuously stimulated by Italians of all classes, work and activities, political commitments; Italians "*excited his liveliest interest*", wrote George Perkins Marsh's wife in the memories of her husband, for "*their almost incredible quickness of comprehension* […] *their patient endurance of physical privations* […] *the strength of their patriotism, which still believed that their Italy, though so cruelly betrayed by the Pope, and trampled upon by France, would one day live again and be free–a nation among the nations.*".[11]

Subsequently, he also witnessed the conditions of North Italy under the rule of the Austrians when he travelled to Italy between December 1852 and April 1853. On that occasion he reached Venice and afterwards continued to Padua, Verona, Milan.

From there he went to Genoa. During the journey from Milan to the coast-line of Ligury he made many observations that he would have introduced in his *Man and Nature*. He passed a week in Genoa and its surroundings and then travelled to Florence by *vetturino*, a horse-drawn vehicle; he journeyed along the Riviera, with its furious winter torrents, but beautiful natural scenery: the very same localities devastated by the floods of autumn 2011. He spent a few weeks in Florence and the Florentine countryside in the winter of 1853. Toward the end of March, due to a complex diplomatic negotiation, he went to Naples and then sailed for Athens about the middle of April. Finally, at the end of June 1853, he returned to Constantinople.[12]

After the end of his diplomatic service to the Ottoman Empire, in December 1853 Minister Marsh departed for Malta and then for Sicily where he stayed several weeks in the winter of 1854, travelling through nearly the whole of the Island. He visited Catania and the Aetnean area, and the principal archaeological sites and historic cities of the Sicilian coasts such as Taormina, Syracuse, Trapani, and probably Agrigento and Palermo. The unhappy political condition, on the one hand, and on the other hand the great variety of physical sceneries were profoundly interesting to him.[13] In the formation of his theories on the effect of human action on nature Sicily was an essential intermediate region between the Middle East territories -with a distinct tendency to aridity, populated as early as several millennia before Christ, and characterised by ancient and extensive clearing of vegetation and overgrazing- and the territories of the temperate zone -densely populated but in more recent times-.

Sicily was not yet trodden systematically or entirely by the classical European Grand Tour. In fact, only from about 1770 the Tour was starting to go to the Island, reaching some coastal localities without spreading inland.[14] Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Sicily was already known for some years in the United States: the first to arrive on the Island, in 1804 or 1805, was Washington Irving,[15] but an artist of the subsequent generation would have been of special importance. He journeyed also to internal Sicily, along impervious routes and paths, observing its cultural landscapes shaped by human hands and dotted with extraordinary archaeological remains dating back to the Greek colonisation of centuries before Christ, monuments and historic sites, its imposing natural features symbolised by the giant form of Etna, its exuberant fertility of the soil but in some places already treeless and desolate, and also the critical conditions of the majority of its population. These news of the Sicilian reality reached the United States through the paintings and drawings of the mentioned artist, Thomas Cole (1801-1848), and thanks to his essay *Sicilian Scenery and Antiquities* published in 1844 by the prestigious magazine 'The Knickerbocker'.[16]

Thomas Cole's thought and artistic work on nature gave rise, in the United States, to the movement exalting the moral value of the wilderness, the 'untamed Nature', as the symbolic and distinctive character of the New Continent, and that could distinguish it from the artistic and monumental patrimony of the Old Continent.[17] The wilderness was perceived as the very monument of the New Continent. On the other hand, Thomas Cole considered human creations ephemeral -as it will be noted on the pages to come- whereas nature resists the passage of time and does not decline: only human action can despoil her, making her lose her primeval force and powerful wonder. Guided by these theoretical principles Cole went to Sicily in 1842 and, unlike the Grand Tour élite of tourists, he ventured into the internal part of the land (on foot, on horseback and muleback): without listing them all, the principal destinations were places like Partinico, Alcamo, Segesta, Salemi, Castelvetrano, to then reach the wild southern coast of the Island by passing through Sciacca, Agrigento, Gela and then go up from inner parts towards the mountainous bastions of Etna. His experience can be reconstructed in detail not so much through his Essay of 1844 but above all and essentially by analysing the documents from the Archives he left, many parts of which were unpublished manuscripts and have to be read in

their original handwritten form, and by examining his letters, his poems and his innumerable sketches. Sicily, in Thomas Cole's theories, had an exceptional value. Sicily had a primal wilderness -still existing in some parts of the Island- that was unique in terms of landscape characteristics, diversity and specificity of nature, and natural manifestations, on the one hand, and on the other hand was densely populated by human communities with complex economic systems from the end of the 8th century B.C.: Sicily could therefore demonstrate how the ancientness and continuity of human impact leads to radical transformation of the original natural features and also to the degradation of the pristine natural patrimony.[18]

George Perkins Marsh certainly knew the theories and artistic works -paintings and drawings- of this distinguished artist especially well-known in New England and in the State of New York, as well as very probably his poetry and writings, even if not always published: it is undoubtedly documented, in fact, that George Perkins Marsh knew very well (and was highly esteemed and supported by) the illustrious poet, classicist, journalist and editor of the 'New York Evening Post', William Cullen Bryant, who was in turn so closely linked to Thomas Cole that the two men were called *Kindred Spirits*.[19] Furthermore, William Cullen Bryant was one of the most cherished American guests of the Marshes when they were living in Florence.[20]

Yet there was another aspect that made a strong impression on Master Cole: the economic and cultural misery of the inhabitants of the lower classes and peasantry, and above all of women, left in a state of complete ignorance.

On the condition of lower classes women (that were essentially agricultural workers) in his Essay of 1844 he wrote: "*The peasant-women through a great part of Sicily wear a semi-circular piece of woollen cloth over their heads* […] *There is but little beauty among them; and alas! how should there be? They are in general filthy; the hair of both old and young is allowed to fall in uncombed elf-locks about their heads; and the old women are often hideous and disgustful in the extreme. The heart bleeds for the women: they have more than their share of the labors of the field; they have all the toils of the men, added to the pains and cares of womanhood. They dig, they reap, they carry heavy burthens – burthens almost incredible. In the vicinity of Ætna I met a woman walking down the road knitting: on her head was a large mass of lava weighing at least thirty pounds, and on the top of this lay a small hammer.* […] *they are an oppressed and degraded peasantry; ignorant, superstitious, filthy, and condemned to live on the coarsest food.*".[21]

The narratives of Master Cole (who died young, in 1848) must have struck George Perkins Marsh's sensibility: as already mentioned, George Perkins Marsh was involved with the cause for the professional and political emancipation of woman lead by his wife, a refined notable intellectual and a dedicated companion even during the most difficult chapters of his life. Marsh's engagement can be seen since the address he delivered in 1844 before the New England Society, in New York, where he wrote a significant passage on the worth of woman, the reverence due to her, and the reciprocal moral influence between man and woman.[22] He became a convinced believer in woman's moral qualities and her fundamental role in society, and a promoter of education for women: with his modern mind, this is what he would have fought for, in Italy during his long diplomatic career, considering education as the first essential step towards the conquest of civil and political rights. Just as it was for Master Cole, several letters sent by George Perkins Marsh from his Italian tour refer to the terrible condition of the Sicilian inhabitants. Despite these experiences in Sicily, George Perkins Marsh considered that Italian people have "*original endowments, a facility and flexibility of nature, and habits of associate life*", that "*The Italians are inherently and collectively a civilized people*".[23]

Leaving Sicily, George Perkins Marsh arrived in Rome in February 1854 where he spent the two months that followed: a stop on his way to Paris and London before the homeward voyage. In August 1854, after five years of travelling in the Old Continent and the Mediterranean region, he was once again in Vermont.

The Fight for freedom: General Garibaldi, patriots, volunteers

In the revolutionary uprisings of 1848, many men were forced to seek refuge in the United States, in Washington (from Prussia, Hungary, Bohemia and Italy). They were educated intellectuals and politically progressive: they were welcomed in George Perkins Marsh's house and these contacts reinforced in the Marsh family the repudiation of political despotism and tyranny, and of religious authoritarianism in all forms. Even during his diplomatic mission in Constantinople he defended the exiles from all parts of Europe, especially Hungarians and Polish, who escaped to Turkey, whose extradition was demanded by their countries, and helped them to go to England or the United States. The one to stand out from amongst these patriots was the Lombard noblewoman Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso, a notorious protagonist of the Italian Risorgimento, who had fought in the uprising of Milan, in 1848, against the Austrians for Italian independence and, in 1849, supported the Roman Republic: she was an extraordinary personality, of a superior culture and exceptional intellectual power, who was trying to create in Asia Minor a sort of colony for Italian political exiles, and she received the profound sympathy and admiration of Minister Marsh.[24]

Moreover, George Perkins Marsh in the years between 1858 and 1859, during which he held a course on English language at Columbia College, and in the period of preparation of his *Lectures on the English Language*, published in 1860, got acquainted with the philosopher of Piedmontese origin, but a naturalised American, Vincenzo Botta. He was a special figure. In Italy, he had dedicated himself to the study of scholastic and pedagogic systems in the German-speaking area (Prussia, Saxony, Austria) and, in order to continue his investigation, he went to the United States, where he became chair of Italian language and literature at the University of the City of New York. He was fascinated by the complete religious freedom existing there (in his youth he had embraced the ecclesiastical career, but quickly abandoned it), and also thanks to his marriage with the poet and writer Charlotte Lynch, who presided the most refined literary salon of the city, he became a very important intermediary between the American and the Italian cultures. He has been an excellent populariser of American civilisation in Italy, especially through his ample series of journalistic correspondences with the historic Italian newspaper 'L'Opinione' (a collaboration that already began in 1853, with the offices in Turin, then in Rome) and, in the United States, not only a great populariser of the Italian culture but also a fervent sustainer of the Italian movement for political independence and of the new political course that had been established in the country.[25]

Vincenzo Botta had certainly supported the diplomatic appointment of George Perkins Marsh in Italy: Washington could not find a more appropriate person to send to Italy, given the new and complex Italian political reality, than a diplomat and an intellectual with the expertise and culture of George Perkins Marsh. He undoubtedly knew that for George Perkins Marsh the national independence and unity of Italy was an issue of utmost importance. An excerpt from a letter of George Perkins Marsh, of 1860, reveals his feelings: "*of late years I have almost forgotten the art and the antiquities of Italy in the profound interest with which I regard the great struggle between obscurantist despotism and civil and religious liberty, now, and for more than ten years past, agitating the peninsula. The question of the national unity and national independence of Italy appears to me the most important one which has arisen in my time* […] *and I believe the emancipation of Italy would do more for the political regeneration*

of the Continent than any other revolution that seems possible.".[26]

It must also be remembered that the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Kingdom of Sardinia were established in 1838 and continued without difficulty after 1861, the birth of the Italian State under the Sabaudian monarchy. George Perkins Marsh, in his new diplomatic position of Minister Plenipotentiary, embarked from New York for Europe in April 1861, during the crucial period when the American Civil War broke out.[27] He was well prepared to encounter the complexity of the Italian political and social situation. In fact, between Italy and the states supporting the Federal government, dedicated to abolitionism and ending slavery, freedom and human rights, and committed to fight against the secession movement, a kind of process of identification was born: in the United States people were feeling an affinity with the Italian Risorgimento and the struggle for Italian unification and independence of Italy, a social and political process where the Italians had combatted and still had to combat political tyranny and political and religious obscurantism. All this had brought about a significant circulation of ideas and men with shared ideals. Especially after the fall of the Roman Republic (1849) and his arrival in New York as an exile in 1850, General Giuseppe Garibaldi was the most famous figure of the Italian Risorgimento. His military actions were regarded in a sort of heroic atmosphere, that was further enhanced by the publication of his autobiography in New York, in 1859, translated into English by Theodore Dwight, Jr., one of his enthusiastic supporters.[28] General Garibaldi was considered the champion of the cause of freedom and humanity, and by 1860 he was called 'the George Washington of Italy'; numerous articles on his life, his military actions and his volunteer soldiers -the Garibaldini- were published by the leading journals and magazines and amplified his fame.[29]

General Garibaldi's name was going to be part of Minister Marsh's life in Italy for several years.

Of significance is the fact that already before the arrival of Minister Marsh in Turin, a long series of applications for enlistment in the Union army had poured into the Legation of the United States, sent by patriots, soldiers, and also Garibaldini who had fought for the liberation of Italy and its unification. This can be very well deduced from the note, written to discourage their hopes to serve the Union, published by Chargé d'Affaires ad interim Romaine Dillon in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Italy, on 20 May 1861: "*Invitati dalla Legazione degli Stati Uniti d'America in Italia, inseriamo la dichiarazione seguente: Legazione degli Stati Uniti. Torino, 17 maggio 1861. Per tutta risposta alle numerose e continue domande fatte e per lettera e in persona a questa Legazione di volontarii esteri per essere arruolati nell'esercito degli Stati Uniti d'America, il sottoscritto ricorre al mezzo della pubblica stampa per dichiarare ch'egli non ha cognizione alcuna sia officiale sia non officiale di qualche istruzione del suo governo che autorizzi a procedere ad arruolamento qualsiasi di tal genere fuori degli Stati Uniti.* Romain[30] Dillon*, incaricato d'affari.*".

After the arrival of Minister Marsh -officially settled in his post on 23 June-, due to his reputation of a Risorgimento sympathiser, the applications for enlistment of not only Italian but also Polish and Hungarian patriots, finding refuge in Piedmont from their countries, increased every day. The same situation had occurred in the Consular Offices of various Italian cities such as Genoa, Spezia, Leghorn (Livorno), Rome, where the number of applications of persons desirous to enter the Union army had been impressive, and would also be continued during 1862 although American officials discouraged applicants pointing out to have no authority and means for sending them in America. In the meantime, in August 1861, the United States Secretary of State William H. Seward informed Giuseppe Bertinatti, Italian Minister Resident to the United States, in Washington, to have received letters from Europe giving the impression that General Garibaldi himself intended to join the Union army; Minister Bertinatti, in turn,

would have informed the Italian government and added also the news that a group of officers from Garibaldi's troops, having reached the United States by their own means, had been immediately enrolled.[31] The fact remains that, by implication, consent had been given to receive into the ranks of the Union army volunteers coming from Italy. A new page was turned in diplomacy which became very delicate, concerning the enlistment of Italian soldiers and officers, especially to not give the Italian government grounds of suspicion that these applicants were encouraged by some American diplomatic representatives. Dispatches between Minister Marsh and Secretary of State William H. Seward demonstrate that already in June and July 1861, due to Civil War and the internal political condition, it was essential to carefully maintain the existing warm sympathy of the Italian government with the Federal government of the United States in order to prevent movements hostile, as fit out vessels or purchase armaments for the service of the 'rebels', in the territories of the King of Italy. The apprehension was also about the fitting out of privateers in remote and unfrequented Italian ports and islands under the confederate flag.[32] Despite such a delicate situation, in November 1861, the Secretary of State Seward wrote to Minister Marsh an interesting instruction where he indicated, together with the regret of the impossibility to "*consistently offer special inducements to military gentlemen in Italy* [...] *unable to defray their own expenses*" for coming to America to join Union army, that the previous position was not revoked and those who might arrive from Europe would be received.[33] This diplomatic note helps to understand the information given by Minister Bertinatti to his Government mentioned above.

Subsequently, Minister Marsh received, in October 1862, a proposal made by a garibaldian colonel, Giovanni Battista Cattabeni, according to whom there was a veritable force of volunteers that could be ready to set off immediately for service in the army of the Union, and was made up of four battalions, 500 tried in battle and strong veterans each, with officers and sub-officers assessed by a board of five officers nominated by General Garibaldi himself, instructed and organized on military principles, with their own equipment, for which the United States were only to provide transport by ship and pay equal to that of Federal army troops. General Garibaldi would take the command as soon as he reached the American soil.[34] This offer was transmitted to Washington by Minister Marsh and repeated in a more definite shape: submitted to the decision of the Secretary of War, the "*generous proposal*" of colonel Cattabeni was "*properly appreciated*" but not accepted, for the policy adopted by the Secretary of War himself that was not contemplating "*the acceptance of bodies of troops organized in foreign countries, even with the consent of their sovereigns*", as the instructions of Secretary of State Seward to Minister Marsh of November and December 1862 inform.[35] The plan was not realised but it demonstrates the fervour in Italy towards the events in the United States. A further proposal was addressed directly to the Secretary of State William H. Seward, in February 1863, by the garibaldian captain De Steffani, describing a plan to form a "Washington-Garibaldi Legion", composed of 4.000 Venetian and Roman volunteers (from the two cities that were not yet annexed to Italy, and from which many citizens had become exiles), each of whom had been on campaign with Garibaldi. The proposal, probably supported by General Garibaldi, had already been submitted to Minister Marsh in Turin. Transmitted by Secretary of State Seward to the Secretary of War, and submitted to the General-in-chief, it was rejected. The available archival documentation does not allow to determine precisely the role of Garibaldi in the proposal, and the final development of the situation, which has been a matter of much discussion by scholars.[36]

Coming back to 1861, the case that involved General Garibaldi personally and his possible participation in the command of the Union army was also very significant. In fact, in the summer of 1861 President Lincoln offered General Garibaldi a command in the Northern

army.[37] The affair had already started in June 1861, after the publication of an article in the January number of 'The North American Review', through the initiative of the Consul of the United States to Antwerp, and became crucial after the disaster at Bull Run, on July 1861: the Government decided to ask the aid of Garibaldi; Secretary of State Seward charged the American Minister to Belgium, Henry F. Sanford, with a special mission to enter into communication with the General.[38] Minister Marsh got involved in this question only a few months after his arrival in Turin: in that period, in fact, negotiations had stopped, probably influenced by the press both in America and Europe giving the most distorted accounts of the affair: English papers in particular harshly criticized the idea of a command to General Garibaldi. Following Secretary of State Seward's instructions, in the late August and beginning of September Minister Marsh and the American Minister Resident in Brussels organized contacts with Garibaldi who declared to agree in principle with the proposition but also of not being completely free given his duties toward Italy. The affair would be blocked essentially on the question of which role to assign to Garibaldi: despite the fact that he had been offered a prestigious rank (of Major-General), he was expecting the rank of Commander-in-chief of the army of the United States and he could not accept a subordinate one;[39] furthermore, he insisted on demanding to receive from Washington the discretionary power of declaring the abolition of slavery.[40] A detailed dispatch from Minister Marsh to Secretary of State Seward, of September 1861, reconstructs these difficulties, that in fact would have brought negotiations to a negative conclusion. The Italian liberal press was alarmed by that event, on the one hand, and on the other series of petitions were addressed to General Garibaldi asking him to not leave for America and complete the national unity.[41] Minister Marsh faced such a complex diplomatic situation, that the mentioned scholars have examined in depth.[42]

In the meantime, in the wake of the news that put further light on the Union war, the diplomatic Legation of the United States in Italy was once more subject to another wave of applications from military men -Italian, and also Polish and Hungarian exiled patriots- that were offering their services to the Union forces. It was very hard work, and responding to them all was impossible, because most of these men had no financial means to reach the United States, many were of lesser distinction, and only in very few cases Minister Marsh decided to give encouragement to particular individuals and support their application.[43]

In the late summer and autumn of 1862 the affair concerning the command to Garibaldi arose again through a personal initiative of the Consul of the United States in Vienna, who had been not authorised by the Government to contact the General to reopen negotiations with him: this was an extremely delicate situation due to the fact that Garibaldi (severely wounded) had been arrested after the battle of Aspromonte. A new exchange of correspondence between Minister Marsh and General Garibaldi, forwarded to Secretary of State Seward, helps to understand this affair which in any case ended without results.[44]

A dispatch of Secretary of State Seward to Minister Marsh, of December 1862, not only shows respect for Garibaldi and interest in his recovery, but also informs that the Secretary of War, in Washington, was still retaining "*under consideration the offer of General Garibaldi*"[45], even if the General had stressed from the beginning that given his arrest and his physical condition it was impossible for him to dispose of himself. [46]

Minister Marsh demonstrated his personal esteem for General Garibaldi in the already mentioned article published by 'The Nation' in 1866, for his ideas regarding women: the fight for political freedom being linked, according to General Garibaldi's ideals, with the quest for women's rights in society, he was certainly a figure of interest for Minister Marsh, who wrote: "*Garibaldi never uttered a more pregnant truth when he said that the instruction, elevation,*

and emancipation of woman was among the most powerful means and most indispensable conditions of the regeneration of Italy.".[47]

A little more than a year after the publication of Marsh's article (July 1866) the diplomatic activity in relation to General Garibaldi resumed, in the autumn of 1867, with a truly difficult situation which arose after his entry in the Papal States, his disastrous march on Rome, his defeat at Mentana, in the Papal territories, and his subsequent new arrest, and confinement at Varignano in a fortress on the Gulf of Spezia, Ligury. Having (probably) submitted a request to become a citizen of the United States in the 1850s, the General wrote to the American Consul at Spezia asking as a citizen of the United States to be protected by the United States diplomacy in order "*to return to Caprera under protection of the American flag*", this is to say on an American ship of war.[48] The Consul at Spezia turned repeatedly to the United States Legation in Florence and to Minister Marsh (who had moved to Florence in 1865). Technically, the case was groundless (even if in 1851 Garibaldi had obtained an American passport, issued under the seal of the city of New York, mentioning his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States of America) since the General's residence in the United States had not been for five years as required by naturalization laws, he had never renounced his original nationality, and had obtained in 1861 a deputy-seat in the first Italian Parliament (this meant to have tacitly renounced the process of naturalization): as Minister Marsh answered, the Legation could not therefore consider General Garibaldi as an American citizen. A long dispatch of Minister Marsh to Secretary of State Seward (December 20, 1867) described General Garibaldi's affair, his request "*of an American ship of war to take him on board and transport him to Caprera*", and the fact that Garibaldi -who had been elected to the Chamber of Deputies and had participated in the debates of the Chamber- had "*thereby implicitly declared himself a 'subject of the King', and of course not a citizen of the United States*".[49] After several discussions the affair subsided; Garibaldi returned to Caprera in an Italian warship.[50] The subsequent events of his life on the one hand, and of Italy, on the other, the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, brought about the resolution of the affair of General Garibaldi's claim to United States citizenship forever.

But the diplomatic incidents connected with the name of General Garibaldi had not yet finished for Minister Marsh. Indeed, in June 1868, the Italian Prime Minister count Luigi Federico Menabrea contacted him to explore an unpleasant insistent rumour that went around in Italy. In the spring, General Garibaldi (at the island of Caprera) had been allegedly visited by an important member of the United States Navy (Admiral Farragut, commanding a Navy squadron at that time in the Mediterranean) to organize a plan with General Garibaldi himself, who would have reached the island of Ischia and met his volunteers: while the United States fleet was in the bay of Naples, General Garibaldi would have proclaimed a Republic and the revolution would have been supported by the Admiral and his squadron under instructions from the American government.[51] For Minister Marsh this was a very embarrassing episode, given the excellent diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Italy, loyal friend of the United States, and he firmly rejected the story that had no truth in it whatsoever. The diplomatic correspondence between Minister Marsh and Secretary of State Seward, as well as Admiral Farragut's movements in Italy, confirmed the groundlessness of such suspicions. The incident was rapidly closed with the Italian diplomacy as unfounded.[52] The identity of who was responsible to have spread those rumour and suspicions (the Italian Prime Minister had spoken with Minister Marsh of a high-ranking person), and the reason why it had been done, are still open questions. The case therefore has not been solved at source, not even thanks to the thorough research carried out by the mentioned scholar. It demonstrates nevertheless that the Italians were aware of the close

relations between General Garibaldi and the United States, and of the sympathy of the United States for this Italian patriotic personage.

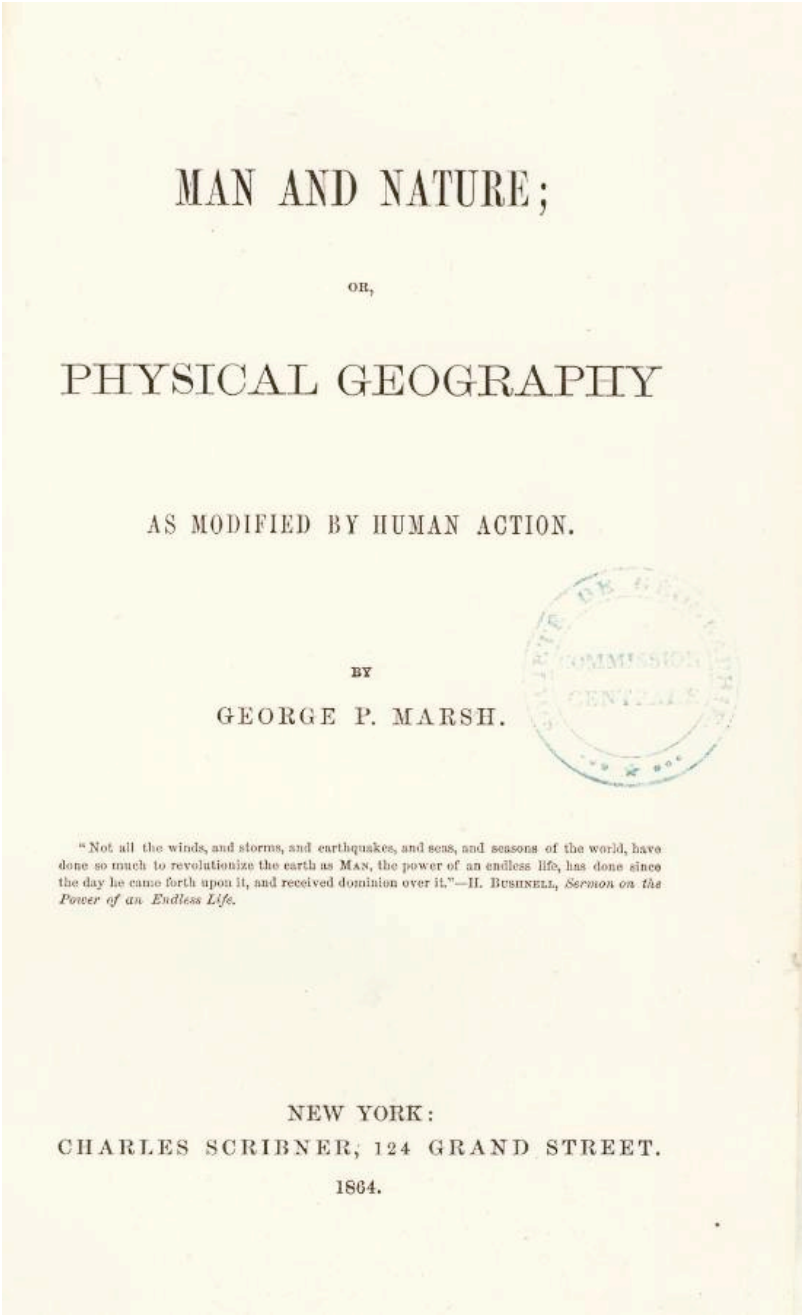
From Turin to Florence

In Turin, the first capital of a united Italy, Minister Marsh became acquainted with a new society that was being formed there, with some modern aspects, others outdated: in any case, he made important connections with leading figures in the higher political and cultural milieu and at the same time encountered (and did not hide his dislike towards) bigots in religion and reactionaries in politics. With his wife Caroline he ventured on frequent excursions in the Alps, Pre-Alps and in the adjacent valleys, and they then decided to transfer their residence to the seaside, in Pegli, into a hotel of a small fishing village close to Genoa with a mild Mediterranean climate in every season of the year and at the time surrounded by vast green areas. In the picturesque Riviera Ligure, commuting to Turin every week, he dedicated the days free of work to writing *Man and Nature*, in the months between 1862 and 1863.[53] From the memories of his wife Caroline it is clear that it was Caroline herself who, many years before, urged him to write this book. In a letter of George Perkins Marsh to the botanist Asa Gray, written in Washington on May 9, 1849, we discover some interesting details and more information on this issue; he wrote: "*a large portion of the territory of Vermont was, within my recollection, covered with the natural forest; and having been personally engaged to a considerable extent in clearing land, and manufacturing, and dealing in lumber, I have had occasion to observe and to feel the evil resulting from our injudicious system of managing woodland and the product of the forest. I conceived some years since the idea of writing an essay or a volume on the subject – not on arboretum – but simply on Economy of the forest.*".[54] Thus, we learn from this letter that the subject on which George Perkins Marsh had in mind to work, effectively many years before *Man and Nature*, was the natural forests, their spontaneous intrinsic organization (today's term is ecology of the forests) and above all their careful exploitation (confirmed by the term underscored by Marsh) as well as the prudent management of woods (the vegetation influenced by human action) to avoid the disastrous effects of uncontrolled clearings (the "*evil*" cited by Marsh), a topic destined to remain the pivotal centre not only of *Man and Nature* but also of researches that George Perkins Marsh would have performed in the Old Continent.

In fact, the preparation of *Man and Nature* began in 1860 but the writing process was intertwined with that of *Origin and History of the English Language, and of the Early Literature it Embodies,* that was completed in Turin in the spring of 1862. The first draft of *Man and Nature* would be completed in April 1863, then revised and completed during the summer and the autumn of the same year. The work was, therefore, at a very advanced stage when, still in the spring of 1863, the Marsh family transfers once again and this time to a small locality close to Turin, a city that had become very crowded in its role of the capital as well as very expensive for the moderate salary of a diplomat -as Minister Marsh- at the time.

In a letter of 17 October 1863 Minister Marsh described his work on his book, that was "*nearly ready for publication by Scribner of New York*", and with his usual modesty he pointed out that he had "*occupied many months preceding August with writing out, and preparing for the press, notes and observations I have been for years making on Physical Geography as affected by human action.* [The book] *makes no scientific pretentions, and will have no value for scientific men, who will of course condemn it as trash, which very likely it is, but it may interest some people who are willing to look upon nature with unlearned eyes.*".[55]

The Marshes lived in an antique building (still today called 'castle') and it was when they were there that, in May 1864, the first edition of *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* appeared, published by Charles Scribner in New York.[56]



MAN AND NATURE;

OR,

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION.

BY

GEORGE P. MARSH.

"Not all the winds, and storms, and earthquakes, and seas, and seasons of the world, have done so much to revolutionize the earth as MAN, the power of an endless life, has done since the day he came forth upon it, and received dominion over it."—H. BUSHNELL, *Sermon on the Power of an Endless Life.*

NEW YORK:
CHARLES SCRIBNER, 124 GRAND STREET.
1864.

The title page of the first edition of *Man and Nature.*

Drastic, reckless deforestation in Vermont -the State of George Perkins Marsh's origin- in the second half of the Nineteenth century. It is the dramatic image of the ecological – environmental devastation that he had before his eyes from his youth, and that later constituted the fundamental core of his *Man and Nature*.
This Illustration is from the Library of the Vermont Historical Society.
(*Courtesy of Vermont Historical Society*)

A view of Vermont in the Nineteenth century. Mountains and hills that were shrouded by dense forests now show a landscape extensively stripped of its original vegetal mantle, which remains only in spots that fail to resist the waters that rush down the slopes in the rainy seasons.
This Illustration is from the Library of the Vermont Historical Society.
(*Courtesy of Vermont Historical Society*)

Overflowing of rivers in Vermont at the time of George Perkins Marsh: one of the effects of radical and extensive deforestation of the mountains of the region. This became one of the important topics of his research and of *Man and Nature*.
This Illustration is from the Library of the Vermont Historical Society.
(*Courtesy of Vermont Historical Society*)

Catholic misogynism and obscurantism in Italy

In 1865, the seat of government of the Kingdom of Italy having been moved to Florence, the American Legation was transferred to this new capital city, where the family Marsh finally settled in September 1865 in a beautiful villa with one side facing a green area and with a library brimming with books collections: a house that quickly filled with friends, intellectuals and visitors from every cultural and scientific sphere. Minister Marsh always kept an alert and accurate eye on the Italian society, and the condition of woman continued to be of constant concern: in 1866 he sent to the American newspaper 'The Nation' a piece called *Female Education in Italy* which is a review of a book of great interest written by a female-leader of the Italian movement for the rights and empowerment of women, for the conquest of university education and professional doctorates, the Milanese Anna Maria Mozzoni, very well known also outside the borders of North Italy. Minister Marsh's review was an indisputable appreciation of the work of Anna Maria Mozzoni, and it also allowed him to illustrate his theories on women condition and the urgency of their rights to independence and emancipation. In fact, Anna Maria Mozzoni began her treatise with the argument, with which Minister Marsh and his wife Caroline completely agreed, that the uneducated woman halts the development of a country, despite the fact that everywhere in the world she is brought up to be and treated as inferior: therefore her liberation, which is education -public, and as thorough as for men-, must gain the backing of the society, which in itself needs to be educated in order to change its mentality. Minister Marsh's moral aim was to support this book and its Author (as he clearly declares in the conclusion of his Review) in order to sustain the cause of education and emancipation of women in Italy.

Anna Maria Mozzoni highlighted the richness of the contribution by women in the history of culture, art and science, on the one hand, and on the other stressed the fact that the religious ideas are a hindrance to the community and that girls, for centuries, have been entrusted to the shadows of convents and nuns, preventing their complete intellectual development. Therefore, the modern school must be secular and the Author even proposed a curriculum (a very precise programme of courses) for women's education that was extremely articulate and groundbreaking for its time (including, for example, even gymnastics).

Anna Maria Mozzoni's ideas (so far from the ignorance to which women were abandoned in the Papal States: a tremendous shock to Minister Marsh in Rome) gave force to George Perkins Marsh's convictions, based on the principle that liberty and culture are weaved together, that is why women -one half of the population- must be educated. Their emancipation can come about only through education, thanks to which a nation also matures: "*If we would make a people great and free* -wrote Minister Marsh- *we must, above all, promote the education of its women*". It is necessary to underline that the work of Anna Maria Mozzoni was appreciated -she was also a very competent teacher- in high quarters of the new Italian political course, but an enormous power was still dominating the social scene: the Church. Anna Maria Mozzoni's insistence on the Catholic misogynism in Italy and intolerable obscurantism of the teaching reserved for women by religious schools provided Minister Marsh with the opportunity to express his harsh condemnation in relation to this issue and his criticism of the European Christianity and institutional Catholicism in Italy even in the age of European revolutions for freedom -that were characterized in Italy by enlightened intellectuals and patriots, men as well as women- and thus he wrote: "*In Italy* […] *women are under substantially the same disabilities as elsewhere in Christendom, and they have for many centuries suffered under still more cruel oppressions - the despotism of the priesthood, embracing, of course, the confessional, and the deleterious influence of a conventual education, two of the most powerful instruments of moral degradation and intellectual debasement*".

George Perkins Marsh then continued with his analysis by examining the tragic state of ignorance in which women of the less privileged or unfortunate classes were left, not only in the Papal territories but in other areas of the country and even in the Italian cities that were historically more evolved: "*Not above one-fifth part of the total Italian population is able to read and write, and as girls are generally excluded from schools taught or controlled by priests, it is very questionable whether one Italian woman in ten, upon the average, knows her alphabet. The moral and intellectual degradation of the people and the influence of the priests* […] *are in all parts of Italy measured by the ignorance of the women. In large Italian towns, former capitals of the old duchies, I have known women, who* […] *could not even count ten.*". It was an attack not appropriate for the highest degree of the American diplomacy in Italy, hence this article was signed by Minister Marsh with the Latin pseudonym *Viator* (Traveler).[57]

If we consider the *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the United Nations, and the obstacles it encounters in a great number of countries, above all the unresolved question of women's education, we can fully appreciate the pioneering cultural position of Anna Maria Mozzoni and George Perkins Marsh.

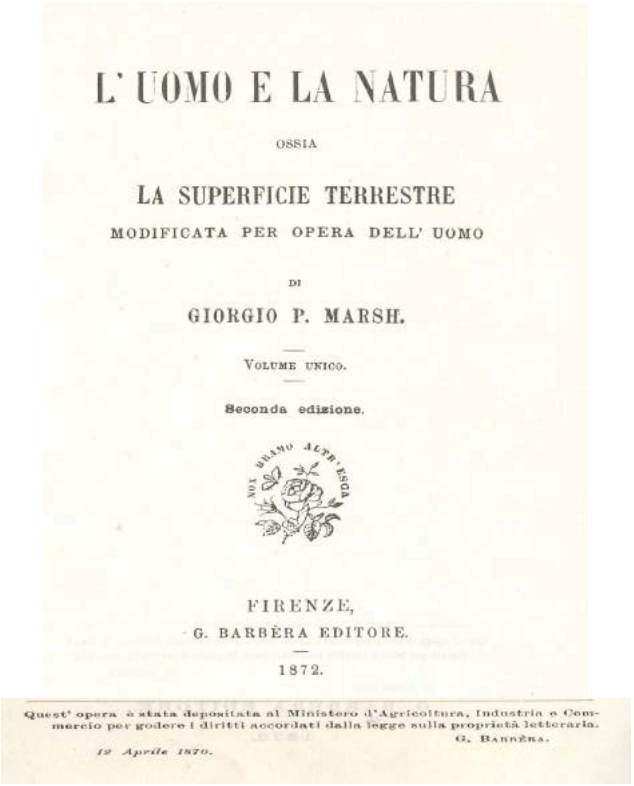
Florence: L'Uomo e la Natura

The period in Florence was filled with activity, not only in terms of diplomacy, but also culturally. It has to be noted that *Man and Nature* was highly regarded by the most refined society and by the scientific Italian milieu, as well as, understandably, even more by the many Americans and also by the British living in Italy, or staying in Italy for business or artistic interests. Among all the activities of the Florentine period, the most challenging was the preparation of the Italian edition of *Man and Nature*, that was not a simple translation but a revised text with the addition of data and notes of a specific interest for the Italian reality and requiring also a change in the order of some paragraphs. Minister Marsh was asked for an Italian edition to be circulated in the unified nation and the chosen publisher was a very notable and respected name, of an established cultural tradition and quality, G. Barbèra of Florence. It is very probable that this contact had been facilitated, or supported, by George Perkins Marsh's old acquaintance in New York, Vincenzo Botta (mentioned before), who led lively activity from America and was an excellent source of information for the firm Barbèra on the major editorial novelties published in the United States, and who had proposed in 1867-1868, among other suggestions, to translate into Italian the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin that, in fact, appeared in Italy in 1869.[58]

At that point, there was a veritable editorial mishap: the first printing of the version in Italian of *Man and Nature* was blocked by the Publisher, with Marsh's approval, because the translator, a woman whose identity remains uncertain, due to her lack of familiarity with the subjects discussed in the book and her inadequate knowledge of English (which could be thought of the Italian too) had made an incredible number of extremely serious mistakes -about 10,000 that is an average of about fifteen per page- and gross mistakes in citations made in other foreign languages that were interspersed in this erudite work. The result was, to say the least, disastrous and the edition was destroyed.[59] The work continued, therefore, with a new translation, this time revised systematically by the Author. Nevertheless, in this version quite a few inaccuracies of technical terms remain in comparison with the American original, and especially an imperfect comprehension of the Author's thought, so subtle, nuanced and rich with complexity; also, a certain cumbersomeness of expression and style is perceptible (of a laboured and pompous Italian, and often antiquated for the time) that removes the text noticeably from the Author's flowing style in the original English.[60]

In any case, *L'Uomo e la Natura; ossia La Superficie Terrestre Modificata per Opera dell'Uomo* -its printing finished in January 1870- appeared at the Publishing House G. Barbèra in the same year, in a slightly smaller format than the American original. In accordance with the custom at the time, disliked by today's readers, the name of the author was translated as *Giorgio* P. Marsh, as it was impossible to translate also *Perkins* into Italian.

A reprint followed in 1872, still by the G. Barbèra Publishing House.



L' UOMO E LA NATURA

OSSIA

LA SUPERFICIE TERRESTRE

MODIFICATA PER OPERA DELL' UOMO

DI

GIORGIO P. MARSH.

VOLUME UNICO.

Seconda edizione.

NON BRAMO ALTRI ESCA

FIRENZE,

G. BARBÈRA EDITORE.

1872.

Quest' opera è stata depositata al Ministero d'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio per godere i diritti accordati dalla legge sulla proprietà letteraria.

G. BARBÈRA.

19 Aprile 1870.

The title page of the Italian edition of *Man and Nature*. Its printing finished in January 1870. A reprint followed in 1872, still by the G. Barbèra Publishing House of Florence.

Then, in 1874, a new American edition appeared, based on the revision prepared by George Perkins Marsh for the Italian version of his book and with other minimal additional adjustments: *The Earth as Modified by Human Action. A new edition of Man and Nature* (Scribner, Armstrong & Company, New York). It also appeared in London, given the fame of George Perkins Marsh's work (Samson Low, Marston Low, and Searle). Both editions have a *Preface to the Present Edition*, that in the Italian edition was simply called *Avvertenza* (Foreword), in which the Author -as already mentioned above- indicates the changes he had made for the Italian version (on which the new English edition was based): his corrections concerning facts and theories, the vast series of new data, some different arrangements of the organisation (the order of paragraphs) of the original structure of *Man and Nature*. It has to be noted that in the Italian edition he had explained to his readers that he had suppressed some passages of interest only to the American public; in the New York edition of 1874 he informed that he had suppressed some passages he had considered '*superfluous*', evidently for the English speaking public (which he did not mention). Therefore, the two editions -the Florentine of 1870-1872 and the New Yorker of 1874- have to be carefully compared.

Human pressure on nature, deforestation, environmental problems in Italy

It should be noted that in Italy Marsh's book certainly had a less wide circulation and an audience less large than that in the United States (as well as in England and France), and especially after his death, even if his remarkable personality and his participation to the Italian scientific milieu continued to be remembered for a certain period of time.

During the 19th century Italy was in fact engaged in a crucial series of political and geopolitical events (Napoleon's military campaigns in Northern Italy and Napoleon's Cisalpine Republic; then, popular fight against the domination of Austria in Northern Italy; Risorgimento's movement for Italian unification, and military actions for the liberation of Italy and the establishment of an independent Italian State), that left little room for the concerns about the state of nature and the environment (except in small niches of scientists, who are in fact mentioned by Marsh in the Italian edition of *Man and Nature*). In other words, in Italy there was no such great wave of ideas that flourished in the United States -with different positions and currents of thought- and that led to enthusiasm for nature, and to the appreciation of wilderness, to the need to protect them as an essential moral value, and finally to the principles of conservation and to concrete actions for their preservation. In Italy there was also another factor that prevented the birth of a mentality of respect for nature (as the very base of conservation), of prudent use of natural resources, of careful land management: the enormous burden of the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, in the ideology of which nature had no moral value and played a role completely subordinated to man. Hence, it is enough to recall the seminal essay of Lynn White, Jr., *The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis*, which caused such a stir, but that certainly was useful for understanding the situation in Italy, and pointed out that our attitude toward nature has been deeply influenced by Christian theology.[61] He cited St. Francis of Assisi as a positive symbol, unique for his posture of respect for nature and man-nature equality. In fact, in the Italian theological tradition, he was an isolated voice and his conception of nature was inherited by his followers, the Franciscan monks. Franciscans, as well as the Benedictine and Camaldolese monks, devoted themselves for centuries to the conservation of nature[62]: at the time of Marsh (and also today) the hills and mountain slopes that were covered by beautiful and dense woods, in Tuscany and in the central regions of Italy, were the result of their love for nature and ceaseless activities -since the Middle Ages- to protect vegetation and its world of living creatures. In these woods, such as the Forest of Vallombrosa chosen by Benedictine monks in the 11th century as their spiritual refuge, Minister Marsh spent beautiful moments of his life in Italy. In 1977 the forest of Vallombrosa was declared a Biogenetic Natural Reserve.

The oppressive role of religion on Italian society was very clear to George Perkins Marsh, as mentioned before, but he probably failed to fully understand its influence on the prevailing anthropocentric way of thinking about nature in Italy as well as on careless treatment and exploitation of natural resources.

In any case, his anticlericalism, his disagreement with Catholicism in Italy were known, and demonstrated his strong personality always loyal to his ideas, sincere and honest: his religious beliefs were very probably at the origin of a certain boycott against his book, especially in the areas of Italy more closely linked and culturally subjected to the power of the Church, especially the territories of the former Papal States and Rome, and certainly influenced negatively the overall success of *L'Uomo e la Natura* in Italy.

In Italy, human pressure on nature and the environment, that lasted for almost three millennia in the central and Southern Mediterranean areas and for over two millennia in

Northern areas, has profoundly modified the natural features and in many vast places had degraded the original ecological conditions. From this point of view, a clear image is given by George Perkins Marsh when he describes the collapse of the vegetation mantle. Italy is fitted with climate, soil, geomorphology for the growth of a luxuriant arboreal vegetation -he underlined- but some of her regions are literally denudated due to human improvidence, thousands of acres of hillsides are parched and barren, and much of her territories destined for forests are covered only by a sparse shrub vegetation or groves in a state of progressive impoverishment -he pointed out-. Only about 17% of woodland remain in Italy; she needs the restoration of her natural vegetation and to be reclothed with extensive woods, George Perkins Marsh recommended.[63] Unfortunately, in the 20th century -two World Wars, with their destructions, and the decades of reconstruction after the Second World War- the message of George Perkins Marsh was completely forgotten. The vegetation mantle of Italy was even more severely attacked and depleted.

It should also be remembered that the political, economic and military events of the 19th century, cited above, had worsened the ecological and environmental situation of the country. This was evident also in some areas of the North, gifted with favourable temperate-cold climate and abundant precipitations, therefore less prone to phenomena typical of the ecological and environmental degradation such as drastic reduction of available water resources and soil dryness.

Even before those Italian political and geopolitical events, a deteriorated condition of the natural environment was clearly noted in Northern Italy, in 1805, by the already mentioned great German scientist and geographer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), a major scientific source for Marsh, several times quoted in *Man and Nature*, where he was declared one of the protagonists of the change in 19th century geographical thought. After his memorable voyage to the Equinoxial Regions of the New World, in 1805 Alexander von Humboldt had made a scientific journey to Italy in the company of the French scientist Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac (it was the period immediately subsequent to his experiments of ascensions in hydrogen balloons to verify the decrease of the magnetic intensity at the Earth's surface with the increase in altitude, experiments that had been compared with Humboldt's observations on the Andean Cordillera). In Lombardy's pre-Alpine region -constituted by a zone of gently undulating foothills and a zone of alluvial plains-, that was at that time characterized by a cold-temperate climate with long months of abundant rainfall, Alexander von Humboldt made observations and gave scientific description of processes of environmental crisis due to the depletion of natural resources such as vegetation, water and soil (with reference to the Americas and Italy) that were absolutely innovative, and that Marsh would later develop on a global geographical scale. Humboldt was a precursor of Marsh.

Alexander von Humboldt wrote in his fundamental work *Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent* that by cutting down trees that cover the mountains and hillsides, men in all the world's climatic zones prepare great calamities for future generations: soil degradation and water scarcity. Destroying forests and woods -he underlined- impoverishes or depletes springs and fresh water resurgences, makes the streams become dry for part of the year and assume a torrential character with water flowing tumultuously when violent storms are unleashed on the mountains. In deforested areas, where the arboreal and also herbaceous vegetation have been extirpated, precipitation water runs impetuously along the spoiled hillsides, eroding soils and generating sudden floods that ravage the countryside. The destruction of forests and woods and the disappearance (or decrease) of the springs and fresh water resurgences are therefore strictly connected, von Humboldt concluded, and Lombardy offers considerable evidence of the veracity of these observations.[64]

It has to be noted that, in *Man and Nature*, George Perkins Marsh does not report the above considerations on Lombardy, but only a passage, deriving from the same Alexander von Humboldt's chapter of the *Relation Historique*, that was describing the environmental conditions of the Aragua Valley and the Lake of Valencia -where he arrived in 1800-, a passage in which he had ascribed the drastic diminution of waters and soil aridization to extensive and intense deforestation and continuous clearings: this is because George Perkins Marsh did not work directly on this specific text of Alexander von Humboldt, but was referring to some reflections of the French agricultural chemist Jean-Baptiste Boussingault (of Marsh's same generation) who was commenting (in a too simplistic way) von Humboldt's thought and research in that Venezuelan area.[65]

Due to centuries and centuries of human pressure on nature and the environment and indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources, also the North of Italy, therefore, was showing signs of ecological deterioration.

Landscapes shaped by man: Thomas Cole, George Perkins Marsh

Concerning the Italian environmental conditions, it is useful to focus the attention once again on the American artist Thomas Cole, who has been mentioned above. He had become, working for long years in the wilderness of the North of the Unites States, an accurate naturalist 'amateur' (as he said of himself). He stayed in Italy in the years 1831-1832 and 1841-1842, travelling from the North to South, especially in Central Italy and also in the Mezzogiorno. His works and archival records, analyzed as a whole, demonstrate that he never encountered an untamed nature (in the American sense of wilderness, undisturbed and luxuriant, primeval nature): at that time, Italy was characterized by landscapes shaped by man or profoundly influenced by human activities in the course of history (constellated with archaeological remains, historical monuments and sites), by extensive agricultural landscapes largely dominated by the predominance of crops cultivations and grazing-lands (dotted with archaeological remains), woods created by man, while only some limited patches of original forests were surviving centuries of human assault. These landscapes were depicted by Thomas Cole in his major paintings representing the Campagna Romana, the countryside around Rome.[66]

The set of Italian landscapes -although Master Cole considered them fascinating- had certainly inspired his conception of nature, that he delineated in 1836, after his first European and Italian tour, in his famous *Essay on American Scenery*, where he makes the distinction between historic landscapes of the Old Continent and the wilderness of the New World: America has not the extraordinary European artistic treasures, monumental patrimony and very attractive anthropic landscapes -he underlined- but possesses an immense living monument, that is unique, its unspoiled nature, the wilderness, the contemplation of which is a source of delight and improvement for man, feeling of sublime, intuition of God and his undefiled works. American scenery, he wrote: "*it has features, and glorious ones, unknown to Europe.* [...] *It is the most distinctive, because in civilized Europe the primitive features of scenery have long since been destroyed or modified – the extensive forests that once overshadowed a great part of it have been felled – rugged mountains have been smoothed, and impetuous rivers turned from their courses to accommodate the tastes and necessities of a dense population – the once tangled wood is now a grassy lawn; the turbulent brook a navigable stream – crags that could not be removed have been crowned with towers, and rudest valleys tamed by the plough.*".

Thus, the "grassy lawn" can be visualized as the symbol of the European historic landscapes; the primeval dense forests and the American wilderness as the most distinctive and impressive emblem of the New World.[67]

A dominating peculiarity of Thomas Cole's thought was certainly the aesthetic dimension, the aesthetic perception of nature, and his continuing effort to highlight not only nature's moral value but also her aesthetic value: an intellectual trait that differentiates him from Marsh's thought. Despite this difference, Thomas Cole can be rightly considered a source of inspiration for George Perkins Marsh, not only in regards to the issue of the transformation-destruction of nature in Europe (in our specific case: Italy), but also because he had been a pioneering voice against the irresponsible human spoliation of nature. A series of Thomas Cole's paintings, as well as some of his writings, are meaningful and above all the conclusive words of his 1836 Essay where he deplores nature's devastation in America: "*Yet I cannot but express my sorrow that the beauty of such landscapes are quickly passing away – the ravages of the axe are daily increasing – the most noble scenes are made desolate, and oftentimes with a wantonness and barbarism scarcely credible in a civilized nation. The way-side is becoming shadeless, and another generation will behold spots, now rife with beauty, desecrated by what is called improvement; which, as yet, generally destroys Nature's beauty without substituting that of Art.*[…] *Nature has spread for us a rich and delightful banquet.* […] *the wall that shuts us out of the garden is our own ignorance and folly.*".[68]

This feeling of distress is manifested by the Artist also in a Lecture of 1841: "*year by year the groves that adorned the banks of the Catskill wasted away;*[…] *what remains? Steep arid banks, incapable of cultivation, and seamed by unsightly gullies, formed by the waters which find no resistance in the loamy soil. Where once was beauty, there is now barrenness.*".[69]

A last consideration is necessary in order to be fully aware of Thomas Cole's thinking, and of the significance of his vision of the Italian landscapes in relation to George Perkins Marsh's though. In fact, another common scientific interest can be noted between the two men: it concerns the geomorphological theories of the British geologist Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) and the important evidence he had found in Italy.

George Perkins Marsh's writings clearly demonstrate his profound knowledge of Charles Lyell's doctrines; furthermore, it is documented that George Perkins Marsh had been in contact with Charles Lyell, who had widely travelled in the United States, where he had delivered different series of lectures (in the 1840s and in 1852) in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, greatly successful with the public. Thomas Cole also knew Lyell's geomorphological theories and his observations made in Italy.

When Thomas Cole arrived in Europe for the first time in June 1829, he lived for a period in London -before his departure for Italy- just at the right time to have the opportunity to see the first edition of the first volume of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, which appeared in January 1830. The book of Charles Lyell enjoyed an immediate success, and produced an exceptional sensation for the revolutionary theories of uniformitarianism and nature's dynamisms, deriving from the discoveries of the Scottish scientists James Hutton and John Playfair and from the hydrological-geomorphological principles of the French scientist Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck[70], that Charles Lyell disseminated with great efficacy in a synthesis based also on his observations drawn from his travels: the idea of the unceasing, everlasting and uniform dynamism active on the Earth's surface, and the continuous, long-term change of its forms by forces still in operation. The frontispiece chosen by Charles Lyell for the first volume of his *Principles of Geology* was a view of the archaeological Campania, entitled *Present State of the Temple of Serapis at Puzzuoli*, engraved by T. Bradley. That whole archaeological area, with a special focus on the bay of Baia, was described by Charles Lyell in a very impressive chapter, with two illustrations by the Author, as an incontrovertible documentation of the "*elevation and subsidence of land on the coast*", providing proof for his theory of continuous

terrestrial superficial dynamism; the Temple of Jupiter Serapis was for Charles Lyell, "*in itself alone*", the "*unequivocal evidence, that the relative level of land and sea has changed twice at Puzzuoli, since the Christian era, and each movement both of elevation and subsidence has exceeded twenty feet.*".[71]

Both Thomas Cole and George Perkins Marsh absorbed Lyell's theories. He is quoted in George Perkins Marsh's book; and, with regard to Thomas Cole, we learn his awareness by examining some pieces from his Archives, and particularly a pencil sketch, made in 1832 in Pozzuoli, called *Ruins, or the Effects of Time*, with interesting written notes. In this sketch ruins show the transiency of man and his works, so quickly passing away, in contrast with the long-term dynamism of nature, her long and slow modification processes. This theoretical approach is acutely commented by Master Cole -after his return to New York- in a long letter of November 1833 to his artistic patron Luman Reed, in which he illustrates a project of a series of five paintings showing the transformation of a natural landscape during the march of man's civilization, until its decay, the fall of his power and destruction of his works: a series that the Artist would have later called *The Course of Empire* and completed three years later, in 1836.[72] In the final scene of this series, *Desolation*, he dramatically emphasized the transience of human life and monuments, on the one hand, and on the other hand a quiet but powerful nature that is reconstructing herself, and the vitality of which is symbolized by an exuberant vegetation that is covering columns, bridges, and the ruins of prostrate buildings corroded by time.[73]

The setting of *Desolation* seems to be a representation of the ancient Roman site of Baia, close to Naples, visited by the Artist in 1832 when he also went to Pozzuoli: it was an impressive complex, built between the First and the Fourth century, boldly modelled by following the sea-shore line and the steep coastal topography with a series of architectonic terraces. Even more than Pozzuoli, this archaeological site was to be considered as an impressive illustration of Charles Lyell's theories, for the progressive bradyseism process of that area, having seen alternate periods of submerging and emerging of the coast, which was finally 'swallowed up' by the sea and with it some splendid parts of the Claudian archaeological levels. Starting from *Effects of Times*, the long list of Cole's Italian artistic works documents the philosophy that the Artist was developing: the theme of the different dimension of nature's and man's history, that is represented through the visible degradation of human creations, ancient buildings and sites turning into ruins, located in natural environments which, on the contrary, remain apparently unchanged.

Thomas Cole's paintings received a great public echo, and George Perkins Marsh was certainly aware of his work. When in Italy, George Perkins Marsh visited Naples and he went to Pozzuoli and Baia, which are just a few miles west of Naples. Although linked by the common concern for the deterioration of nature by man, the interest in Charles Lyell's theories, and the knowledge of Italian landscapes, the two men differed in considering the man-nature relationship. In Thomas Cole's vision nature was depleted by man but resisting the passing of time. In George Perkins Marsh's thought man was playing the role of incessant agent of transformation, and destruction, of nature and the Earth's surface: this conception differentiates George Perkins Marsh also from Charles Lyell. In fact, Charles Lyell did devote a section of his treatise to the influence of man in modifying the physical geography of the Globe; however, he had not emphasized the role played by man as a factor of destruction of natural environments. From his perspective man was a "*levelling agent*", an element that enhances, through his actions, the natural process of slow and uninterrupted transformation changing the shape of the Earth's surface -as for example, smoothing irregularities on the land surface, widening plains, reducing roughness of the ground, diverting the course of streams and rivers, draining marshes and lakes- to create most favourable and exploitable conditions for human life and

development.[74] Charles Lyell himself, having read *Man and Nature*, a copy of which George Perkins Marsh gifted him, admitted that it was useful, on the basis of Marsh's work, to reconsider his approach to this issue.[75]

Rome: prestigious diplomatic affairs

The last shift in the long diplomatic life of Minister Marsh was in 1871, due to the transferral of the Italian governmental bureaus and offices from Florence to Rome. He was seventy years old when he settled in Rome, which became at that point the permanent capital of Italy after the conquest of the Papal territories and the crowning achievement of the Italian movement for liberation and unification of the country. The government of the United States had in fact decided to immediately recognize the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy and had given indication to its diplomatic body to transfer as early as feasible the Legation in the new capital.[76]

The city, though so rich in archaeological and historical vestiges, was culturally backward, socially depressed, dirty and poorly kept. It had not changed for the better compared to his first visit twenty years earlier. With its superstitious and culturally retrograde population -leading intellectuals and enlightened spirits had lived for years in the rest of Italy or in Europe for political reasons-, Rome seemed to Minister Marsh a place at the end of the world. Rome was showing the evident traces of centuries of political oppression under the rule of the 'Pope-King': Minister Marsh, an unshakably convinced republican, was feeling a deep sense of moral revolt, also because of the fact that thousands of people poured into the city from other depressed regions of Italy in search of fortune, as well as businessmen and speculators. For Minister Marsh's ethical views, the social, cultural, economic habitat of Rome was bad.[77]

The residence of the Marshes was at first in a quarter on a small hill (today it is in the famous via Veneto's area) and later on, in 1879, in the historic palace of the noble Rospigliosi family with a splendid view of Rome and a beautiful garden, located on the Quirinal Hill, the tallest of the city's hills, at few meters from the Quirinal Palace.[78]

The historic palace of the noble Rospigliosi family located on the Quirinal Hill. (*Fratelli Alinari Archives, Anderson Fund*)

Minister Marsh's moral reputation and scientific renown made him the principal protagonist of complex and prestigious diplomatic affairs, as for example the Italo-American Treaty for mutual freedom of commerce and navigation, the principal provisions of which were that the citizens of both countries received the right to travel and trade in the concerned States, with the same rights as natives, and each country was to have most-favoured-nation status in regard to the other. Minister Marsh negotiated and signed this important Treaty, ratified in 1871 and destined to remain operative until Second World War.[79]

The most important diplomatic question treated by Minister Marsh, when in Rome, was the arbitration between the Kingdom of Italy and the Swiss Confederation on an alpine boundary claimed by these two Governments at the mountainous frontier of the Alp of Cravairola: a territory of mountain-pasture, accessible only by mule-path, lying on the eastern slope of the mountain chain which forms the watershed between the valley of Tosa (Italian) and the valley of the Maggia (Swiss Confederation, Canton of Tessin). The Alp was more accessible from the Swiss side, blocked by snow and ice for months in the year ascending from the Italian one.[80] The Italian communes had been in possession of the area for centuries and rented parcels of land to villagers for pasturing animals and cutting timber; Switzerland was recognizing their right to the soil but claiming the area by right of conquest and by Treaty of the 16th century. The controversy was jurisdictional, in the sense that it was not clear and accepted whether the prevailing local authority had to be Italian or Swiss. The controversy was not particularly delicate or critical for the Italian Government, chiefly interested in protecting the rights to property of the local Italians; the Swiss local policies, on the contrary, were addressed at controlling the hydro-geomorphological alpine system, to prevent soil erosion, and also at properly managing the local forest.[81]

The respective Governments, through the Compromise of Arbitration signed in Bern on 31 December 1873, decided to nominate two arbitrators in order to definitively determine this section of the Italian-Swiss frontier: the question submitted to arbitration by the Contracting Parties was limited to the fixing of the boundary at the Alp of Cravairola, without prejudice to third party rights in that territory, by deciding on the frontier line indicated by Switzerland or the one indicated by Italy. These frontier lines were absolutely different: to include Cravairola, Switzerland had proposed a continuous boundary along the summit of the principal mountainous chain, while Italy a boundary not uniform and continuous, leaving the principal chain at a specific summit, following a secondary ridge, then rejoining the principal chain at another specific peak.

The arbitrators had to nominate a 'super-arbitrator', who could neither be an Italian nor Swiss citizen: he would have to pronounce sentence in case they could not agree on the said question.[82] Since the national arbitrators could not reach a solution, by means of the agreement dated 13 July 1874 Minister Marsh was selected as umpire. He was certainly chosen for the combination of his talents, as a competent jurist, able geographer, sagacious diplomat, and a polyglot knowing perfectly not only the languages of the involved countries but also Latin.[83] After an intensive study of the long series of archival documents, from 1367 to 1650, submitted by the respective Parties, and then an inspection of that mountainous area, his decision was officially given at Milan on 23 September 1874.

Being not clear to umpire Marsh whether the Contracting Parties had intended to authorize the arbitrators to determine the frontier line upon consideration of pure expediency, or according to the principles of strict right, and since they had considered both aspects, he examined the arguments adduced by them with regard to expediency as well as with respect to strict right.[84]

From the point of view of convenience (*expediency* in the manuscript of Marsh cited in note 84), Marsh's knowledge of environmental issues which he had highlighted in *Man and Nature* assumed a crucial role and he used them in his interpretation of the situation. Environmental issues -concerning forests, soil, superficial water- were therefore emerging as an important part of the diplomatic discussion, and it was a new approach in the 19th century diplomatic tradition. The same has to be noted for the question of watershed boundaries, which Minister Marsh considered of importance in his Decision, as it will be seen further on in these pages.[85] In fact, in the contested area the physical conditions of the territory were rapidly deteriorating, as he wrote in his Decision, as a consequence of irresponsible human actions: the continuous erosion of soil due to an uncontrolled and irrational cutting down of forests; the carelessness of the owners transporting the eroded soil around the springs and the edges of the local torrents as well as constructing barriers in their beds; the excessive floating of the felled alpine timber down in the torrents, blocking the natural water flow down through the valley and causing excessive and dangerous accumulation of water, often inundating the land with grave injuries. These devastations, wrote Minister Marsh, were constantly increasing and were producing negative effects also upon the bed of Lake Maggiore, and hence upon the navigation of a part of the same.[86]

On the other hand, the contested territory was much more accessible from the Swiss side than from the Italian one, and according to Minister Marsh's conceptions it would have been more convenient, in view of a positive environmental management of the area, that it had stayed under the Swiss administration because -due to the uneven topographical features of these alpine slopes- for the Italians it was possible to approach it only during three months per year. Minister Marsh's text has to be read for its interesting economic and environmental considerations, which also contain a reference to the lack of interest in Italy for the safeguard of nature, as it has been discussed earlier in these pages:

"*these damages, already so prejudicial to the interests of the Swiss population and its territory, can be prevented only by the application to the Alp of Cravairola of modern methods concerning forestal economy and the regulating of the waters.*

Now this, it is said, can hardly be done by the Italian Government, on account of the inaccessibility of the territory from the Italian side of the mountains, and because Italy has no sufficient interest in the protection of the forests and soil of these Alps[87] *to make it an adequate subject for her intervention in such an undertaking; and lastly because the cost of the application of such measures if taken by Italy would be far beyond their cost to Switzerland as a part of her regular forestal system.*

Perhaps it is not out of place to observe here that though Switzerland, in case the contested territory should be assigned to Italy, could not adopt any measure of safety or of improvement within the limits of those same Alps, yet, in case of such an assignment […] *Switzerland would be free to prohibit the floating of timber from those Alps across Swiss territory, and to enforce such prohibition by the confiscation of the timber itself or by any other legal means* […]

Finally, it is suggested that, according to the general principles of political economy, it is most expedient that the contested territory should be assigned to those who can derive the most profit from it, and that the Alp of Cravairola would be of greater value to the inhabitants of adjacent Swiss communes […] *And this argument acquires greater force from the observation already made, viz, that it is in the power of Switzerland to adopt severe legal measures for the protection of her territory and by such means to deprive Alpine timber of any mercantile value in the hands of Italian residents*.".[88]

Following Marsh's reasoning it is possible to understand that he would have preferred a solution in favour of Switzerland, the ownership of the Alp to Switzerland – with the equivalent

granted to the residents for the transfer of the property –, but his great prudence as a diplomat was perfectly expressed when he underlines the limit of the power of the arbitrators, on the one hand, and on the other the risk of social consequences that the arbitration would entail:
"*If therefore it were clear that the arbitrators had the power to follow considerations of mere convenience, and if they or other arbitrators were authorized to fix a compensation for the present owners of the soil, the undersigned* [Marsh] *would not hesitate to say that the sovereignty and the ownership of the Alp ought to be ceded to Switzerland and a just equivalent granted to the actual residents for the transfer of the property.*
But the terms of the 'agreement' do not in any way imply that such a power is conferred on the arbitrators; and the absence of any provision for the indemnity of the present owners of the soil induces the undersigned [Marsh] *to believe that the high contracting parties did not intend to confer upon their arbitrators such authority. Furthermore, it is the opinion of the undersigned* [Marsh]*, that the extension of Swiss institutions, laws and administration to the territory while the owners of the same continued to be subjects of the Kingdom of Italy and to reside for the most part of the year in that country, would give rise to jealousies, dissensions and endless disputes, and would prove more hurtful to the peace and harmony of the two countries than the present unsatisfactory condition of the territory; and according to all probabilities would give rise to more international questions than any decision of this tribunal could settle within the limits of its competency.*".[89]

As a consequence, the question of convenience could not be considered, as Marsh said, "*as a fundamental basis for the decision*", but could "*only serve as a subsidiary criterion in case of failure of the means to reach a well-grounded conclusion*". The question of "*mere right*" was therefore to be examined. From this point of view the cited archival documents submitted to Marsh's examination by Italy, all prior to the conquest by Switzerland and to the Treaty of 1516, were substantial as proofs of the exercise of sovereignty over the area on the part of Italy, by demonstrating the possession and use of certain parts of the Alp for centuries up to that time, or the ownership over land acquired by money by Italians.[90] On the other hand, some of these documents sustained the Switzerland claim over the territory in question, by conquest and by treaty in the 16th century, as well as the determination of the eastern limits of the Alp, and constituted in themselves "*a binding acknowledgement of the sovereignty and of the high dominion of Switzerland over the territory in question.*". In addition, Switzerland reinforced her claim over the Alp by pointing out the local physical features, in any case considered by Marsh an important argument: "*the principle of political geography that, at least in the absence of proof to the contrary, the watershed must be taken as the limit of jurisdiction between adjoining states*". The right of Switzerland was therefore founded, chiefly on considerations of convenience, on the principle of political geography, and on the conquest and Treaty of the 16th century.[91] Considering all the points submitted to his judgment, Marsh adopted the historical argument together with the view of the principles of right: his opinion (as he was mentioning, his "Decision" as umpire) was in favour of the frontier line proposed by Italy.[92] In spite of his knowledge of geographical issues, and his research on nature and conservation, that were most probably drawing him towards the Swiss thesis, his intellectual probity led him to pronounce sentence strictly within the terms of the Compromise of Arbitration of 1873.[93]

The Decree for the execution of the Award was adopted by the Swiss Federal Council, on 4 January 1875, and it was followed by the Protocol signed on 17 May 1875 by the President of the Swiss Confederation and the Italian Minister at Berne; in Italy, the Royal Decree of 25 May 1875 for the full execution of that Protocol was published in the Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno n. 135, 11 June 1875.[94]

In conclusion, Italy gave George Perkins Marsh a number of possibilities to exercise his talents and intellectual capability and, as already said, offered to his scientific observation a multifaceted mosaic of examples of the effect of man on nature and physical habitats.

Ecco veramente la morte del Giusto!

In the summer of 1882, the Marshes returned to Tuscany to spend the hottest time in Vallombrosa, the charming site nestled in those woods, protected from the Middle Ages by Benedictine monks, that Minister Marsh had so loved. In Vallombrosa, the first Forestry School of the new-formed Italy had been opened, of whose innovative studies and pioneering research (for Italy of that time) Minister Marsh felt to be the ideal teacher. It should be remembered that even today his memory is present in this environmentally preserved site of central Italy.

In 1882 Minister Marsh was still an energetic walker and spent much time in the woods. When suddenly, on 23 July, his eyes closed forever, his body was removed from the hotel, under the direction of a high-ranking Officer of the Italian King's household, as the Italian Government indicated, to the silent hall of the monastery serving as seat of the School of Forestry, for a final farewell between garlands of branches and flowers of the local woods. It was certainly the serene farewell that he would have wanted. Minister Marsh's death has left a touching memory, that is important to be mentioned as it summarizes in a few words the feelings that he inspired in those who knew him: when the Italian physician "*saw the venerable head sink back so peacefully upon the pillow, he exclaimed with deep emotion,* Ecco veramente la morte del Giusto!".[95]

After a few days, his body was transported to Rome on the train which he had taken for so many years. He was expected by the diplomatic representatives of many friend nations, the American community, the royal, parliamentary and city delegations before an honour guard of Lancers in full uniform. The Italian press published his eulogy, as well as the scientific world, with words of respect and affection.[96]

To fully comprehend the respect and affection with which he was surrounded in Italy and the appreciation he had evoked for his skills and honesty as a diplomat, it is most illuminating to read the Obituary Note published by the prestigious Accademia dei Lincei, founded in Rome in 1603, hence the oldest honorific scientific academy in the world and considered the highest cultural Italian institution which included, during the centuries, among many other illustrious names, the great Galileo Galilei. Its mission, 'to promote, coordinate, integrate and spread scientific knowledge in its highest expressions in the frame of cultural unity and universality'[97], and its intellectual habitat were ideal for Minister Marsh, who was elected as one of the ten Ordinary Foreign Fellows of the Class of Moral, Historical, and Philological Sciences on 19 March 1876. The central passage of this Obituary Note deserves to be presented wholly: "*Giorgio Perkins Marsh* […] *Amò l'Italia, seguì con verace affetto gli sforzi della patria nostra nel conquisto della sua indipendenza ed unità; ne sapeva la storia, le antichità, le arti. Ogni americano che visitava l'Italia, sentivasi altero del suo rappresentante; amavalo ogni italiano che il conoscesse di persona; onoravanlo tutti. Intendeva l'ufficio diplomatico nel suo più nobile significato, e ciò è nel crescere e cementare le buone relazioni fra i governi e i popoli, mediante la reciprocità della giustizia e del rispetto.*".[98]

The Obituary Note also reports a precious indication given by the widow Mrs Caroline Crane Marsh to the Accademia itself, on the last two works to which Minister Marsh had applied himself in the period preceding his death, that concerned Italy and that were nearing completion, one on the Italian Language and the other on the Campagna Romana -the countryside of Rome that had been one of the parts of Italy most visited, celebrated, and

represented by American intellectuals and artists from the end of the 18th century onward[99]-. These writings did not reach us, the widow Mrs Marsh having found only some fragments, perhaps because Marsh himself had destroyed them thinking they did not correspond to the concepts he had envisaged in his mind.

George Perkins Marsh was buried in the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome - the Poets and Artists Cemetery as it was called -, where the first burials took place around 1730. A romantic spot, where under the shadow of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, in the green of Maritime Pines, Myrtles, Laurels, Wild Roses, were the burials (just to mention the best-known names) of Ambassador Wilhelm von Humboldt's children, Poets' John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley, Painters' Johann Christian Reinhart and Heinrich Reinhold, Historian Peter Andreas Munch, as well as a number of followers of Garibaldi.[100] George Perkins Marsh rests not far from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's son, August. He is commemorated by a very linear monument, so desired by his wife Caroline, with the simple inscription remembering him as *Minister of The United States of America To the King of Italy 1861 - 1882*.

In this beautiful garden, near the Testaccio -the artificial mound composed almost entirely of fragments of broken Roman amphorae of the Roman Empire period, mentioned in *Man and Nature* and depicted by Thomas Cole- Romans often go to spend time in a peaceful place especially during late spring and summer.

The Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome: George Perkins Marsh's monument.
(*Photograph by the Author*)

NOTES

Part One

Foreword *

* This *Foreword* is dated 23rd July 2012, the anniversary of the death of George Perkins Marsh in Vallombrosa, Italy. It is a written piece intended for European readers, chiefly Italian, and conceived for the completion of the essay prepared by the author in April 2012 for the Conference at Stevens Institute of Technology (USA) titled *George Perkins Marsh: An American for all Seasons* (see the book by Lisa M. Dolling, Editor, published by the College of Arts and Letters, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken N. J., 2013).
Also *Part Two* of this paper has been changed and enlarged.

[1] A meeting was held, for example, in Rome the 5 and 6 December 2011 in a hall of the Senate of the Italian Republic, titled *La tendenza dell'uomo a distruggere la Natura. Convegno in onore di George Perkins Marsh* (speeches: *Man the disturber* by Vittorio Sartogo; *Usi di natura ed energia: effetti sulla natura* by Giorgio Nebbia; *Paesaggio e dissesto - Opera imperfetta dell'uomo secondo George Perkins Marsh* by Bernardo Rossi Doria; *Il Ritorno dei beni comuni* by Giovanna Ricoveri).

[2] George Perkins Marsh died on 23 July 1882.
See: 'Il Diritto', 26 July 1882, page 2. Founded in Turin, in 1854, its political viewpoint was revealed by the subtitle 'political-daily of the Italian democracy'. It was the first journal nurturing a truly 'Italian' perspective, organ of the Left (in 1865 and 1871, following the capital seat, it was transferred to Florence and then to Rome; it concluded its publication in 1895): *http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/il-diritto/*.
It is useful to offer the translation of the quotation: "*All the press of the Capital* [Rome] *was unanimous in paying a tribute to the memory of Mister Marsh, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of the North, by rendering him the most solemn honours. George Perkins Marsh, in the twenty-two years that he spent in Italy, becoming almost Italian through his love of our country, followed step by step our revolution and, now we can say it, was worthy of the Italian homeland for his excellent counsel and for the usefulness of his diplomacy.* [...] *The name of George Marsh will be engraved for a long time with highest of honours and gratitude among friends of Italy."*.

[3] See: 'L'Opinione', 26 July 1882, page 3. Political daily founded in Turin, in 1848, by a group of Piedmontese and Lombard Liberals; it was the 'voice' of a strong anticlerical viewpoint. Moderate in the political vision, when the capital was transferred to Rome, in 1871, for many years it became very influential (its publication ended in 1900): *http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/L'Opinione*/.
It is useful to offer the translation of the quotation: "*The death of Mister Marsh deprived Italy of a reliable and loyal friend. He was amongst us, from 1861, as the representative of the United States, and was held in the highest regard, benevolence and kindliness by the Italian people*. [...] *It can certainly be said that he will be missed greatly in our country by all the political parties*.".

[4] See the handwritten family tree, conserved by the University of Vermont Libraries Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, George Perkins Marsh Collection. It starts in 1633 and ends in 1901, the year of the death of George Perkins Marsh's second wife, Caroline Crane Marsh: not only the calligraphy but also the last date noted in this tree, 1901, allow us to presume it was written by her.

See also Sister Mary Philip Trauth (1958), *Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882. The Mission of George Perkins Marsh, First American Minister to the Kingdom of Italy*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., p. XIV.

[5] Sister M. Ph. Trauth, p. XIV. The Author underlines also that reports and writings by G. P. Marsh when in charge as United States minister are an exceptional reflection of his diplomatic intelligence and the intensity of his diplomatic career in Italy.

[6] Unfortunately, Caroline Crane Marsh compiled, and published in 1888, only the first volume of her *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*, which covers the years until 1861 and concludes the narration just before George Perkins Marsh's departure for Italy as diplomat. Due to a severe illness paralyzing her, she could only prepare the very first draft of the second volume (which today remains as a manuscript), that would cover the years until the death of her husband, 1882, but that practically stops at about 1866, giving in some cases only an incomplete sketch of the latter years.

[7] Lewis Mumford (1895-1990), *The Brown Decades. A Study of the Arts in America 1865-1895*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931, pp. 66, 72-79.

[8] *Man and Nature*, abbreviated title for the full title *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, 1864. See also, in this paper (Part One), note 15.

[9] L. Mumford, 1931, p. 78.

[10] L. Mumford, 1931: quotations are respectively from p. 64 and p. 65.

[11] L. Mumford, 1931, p. 74.

[12] L. Mumford, *Preface to the 1971 Reprint Edition* to *The Brown Decades. A Study of the Arts in America 1865-1895,* Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1971, pp. VII-VIII. The Author declares also that he made "*the restoration of the forgotten Marsh*".

[13] See the Web Site: *http://www.wennergren.org/history/conferences-seminars-symposia/wenner-gren-symposia/cumulative-list-wenner-gren-symposia/we-80/.*

[14] See 'Environmental History', Vol. 10, n. 3 (July 2005), pp. 564-566, *Retrospective Review* by Robert M. Wilson, on *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr.).

[15] *Man and Nature*; *or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, Charles Scribner, New York, 1864.
The Earth Modified by Human Action. A new edition of Man and Nature, Scribner, Armstrong & Company, New York, 1874.

[16] The volume stemming from the Symposium, that lasted from 16 to 22 June with seventy Participants, brought together the works by fifty-three contributing Authors, thirteen Scholars, besides the three cited co-Chairmen: *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1956, pp. XXI-XXXVIII (published for the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the National Science Foundation). The volume consists of 1193 pages.
Among the seventy participants, fourteen came from Canada, United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, Egypt, Israel, India: also in this case, by being absent, Italy showed detachment and lack of concern and its state of oblivion to George Perkins Marsh's intellectual heritage. See: *Introductory*, to *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, pp. XXI-XXXVIII.

[17] On the need for Restoration, see George Perkins Marsh, Edition of 1864, especially Chapter I, paragraphs *Importance and Possibility of Physical Restoration* and *Restoration of Disturbed Harmonies* (p. 26 ff.; p. 35 ff.); Edition of 1874, Chapter I, paragraph *Importance of Physical Conservation and Restoration* (pp. 48-55).

[18] On 4 June 1804, President Jefferson hosted a dinner at the President's House, for Alexander von Humboldt: see the essay of Gerhard Casper, *A Young Man from "ultima Thule" Visits Jefferson: Alexander von Humboldt in Philadelphia and Washington* (Lecture. Read 14 November 2009) see:

http://www.amphilsoc.org/sites/default/files/1553Casper1550301.pdf, p. 248. Published by 'Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society', Vol. 155, No. 3, September 2011, pp. 247-262.
See also the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson to Caspar Wistar, June 7, 1804: *http://www2.ku.edu/~maxkade/humboldt/subwashington.htm*.

[19] See Fabienne O. Vallino (1986), Editor and Author, *Alexander von Humboldt. Viaggio alle Regioni Equinoziali del Nuovo Continente, 1799-1804. Relazione Storica*, Prefazione, pp. XV-LXXXIX; Fabienne O. Vallino (1988), Editor and Author, *George Perkins Marsh. L'Uomo e la Natura, ossia La Superficie Terrestre modificata per opera dell'uomo*, Franco Angeli, Milano, pp. LXIX-XCII. See also, in this paper (Part One), note 29.
The term Ecology was coined in 1866 by the German zoologist, scientist and philosopher of science Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), who within the framework of an anti-mechanistic and holistic vision of life sustained the theory that all the living organisms are connected by an unbreakable bond with the surrounding natural conditions, with all the abiotic and biotic factors including the organisms themselves and their food. Consequently, the living creatures have to be observed and studied in relation to their total environment, and this was the task for *Ecology* (from the Greek term οἶκος, oikos, meaning "household").
See also Daniel W. Gade (1983), *The Growing Recognition of George Perkins Marsh*, in 'Geographical Review', Vol. 73, No. 3, pp. 341-344.

[20] See George Perkins Marsh, *Nothing Small in Nature*, Charles Scribner, 1864, pp. 548-549, quotation from p. 549; Scribner, Armstrong & Company, 1874, pp. 643-644, quotation from p. 644.

[21] About combating urban pollution and human diseases, from the 1860s onwards, a topic not sufficiently deepened for the 19th century, see Donald Worster (1973), Editor, *American Environmentalism. The Formative Period, 1860-1915*, John Wiley& Sons, New York, p. 133 ff.. Interesting information is provided by Richard W. Judd (May 2004), *George Perkins Marsh: The Times and their Man*, 'Environment and History', Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 169-190.

[22] *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, '*Introductory*', p. XXIX.

[23] R. W. Wilson (2005), p. 564.

[24] See R. W. Wilson (2005), p. 564; D. W. Gade (1983), p. 341. See also L. Mumford, 1931, p. 78.

[25] Sister Mary Philip Trauth (1958), *Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882. The Mission of George Perkins Marsh, First American Minister to the Kingdom of Italy*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C..

[26] David Lowenthal (1958), *George Perkins Marsh, Versatile Vermonter*, Columbia University Press, New York.

[27] D. Lowenthal (1958), p. 246. Concerning L. Mumford's statements on G. P. Marsh and Human Geography, see *The Brown Decades*,1931, pp. 76-77.

[28] Thomas D. Seymour Bassett (1969), *The George Perkins Marsh Papers*, in 'Dartmouth College Library Bull.', Vol. 10 (N.S.), n.1, pp. 9-14: see pp. 11-12.

[29] The core of these theories -in which the linkage with the Immanuel Kant's Lectures on Physical Geography is perceptible- had been already set forth by A. von Humboldt in his early work *Florae Fribergensis Specimen, Plantas Cryptogamicas Praesertim Subterraneas Exhibens*, written in 1782 and published in 1793 by Rottman, Berlin; it was more thoroughly developed in his *Essai sur la Géographie des Plantes, accompagné d'un Tableau Physique des Régions Équinoxiales*, Schoell, Paris, 1805, and then -with a profusion of examples- in his *Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804, par Alexandre de Humboldt et Aimé Bonpland*, III Tomes, Schoell, Maze, Smith et Gide fils, Paris, 1814-1825. For more on this topic see Fabienne O. Vallino (1986), pp. LVII-LXIII.

[30] This is a careful transcript of G. P. Marsh's manuscript; therefore, any discrepancies are due to the differences between modern English and that of the 19th century. See: The University of Vermont Libraries, Bailey/Howe Library, George Perkins Marsh Collection (Addresses, Published Works, Notes, and Miscellaneous Pieces, 1856-1899), Carton 10, Folder 65, Not Dated.

[31] On this topic, see D. Lowenthal (1958), p. 246, and also D. Lowenthal (1960), *The Vermont Heritage of George Perkins Marsh, an Address before the Woodstock Historical Society by David Lowenthal*, Woodstock (Vermont).

[32] See *Man and Nature*, 1864, p. 36.

[33] R. W. Judd (2004), p. 169.

[34] D. Worster (1973), Editor, pp. 6-7: it is a commented anthology of American pioneers of conservationism and environmentalism, from 1860 to 1915. On G. P. Marsh, see pp. 13-21.

[35] See the fundamental treatise of Gifford Pinchot (1910), *The Fight for Conservation,* Doubleday, Page *& Company, New York.*

[36] J. Edward de Steiguer (2006), *The Origins of Modern Environmental Thought*, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, p. 3.

[37] Stewart L. Udall (1963), *The Quiet Crisis*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston New York, first edition January 1963, pp. 69-82. It was followed by *The Quiet Crisis and the Next Generation* (1988), Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City: see in particular p. XVII, pp. 71-77, and p. 81. Quotations are, respectively, from p. 76 and p. 71.

[38] Due to the obvious impossibility of enumerating all these Authors, for the benefit of the Italian public are mentioned a few Scholars distinguished in America and in the Anglo-Saxon world, presented in chronological order, as for example: Roderick Nash (1967), *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Yale University Press, New Haven; Roderick Nash (1968), *The American Environment: Readings in the History of Conservation*, Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., Reading (Mass.); Donald Worster (1977), *Nature's Economy: the Roots of Ecology*, Sierra Club Books, San Francisco; Donald Worster (1985) *Nature's Economy. A History of Ecological Ideas*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York; Roderick Frazier Nash (1989), *The Rights of Nature. A History of Environmental Ethics*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

[39] On this specific subject, the essay by R. W. Judd (2004), already cited, is very pertinent as it explores the numerous thinkers of the United States that developed crucial ideas on human impact on nature and land degradation, that were sources of inspiration for G. P. Marsh and that he could skillfully merge into a systematic global perspective.

NOTES

Part Two

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Italy

[1] *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh, compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh*, 1888, Vol. I, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), kept at The University of Vermont Libraries Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, George Perkins Marsh Collection, Burlington: see Vol. II, p. 4.

[2] Regarding the funeral of the Count of Cavour, after the display of his body in Palazzo Cavour (the Palace of this noble family), the funeral procession that was transporting it, pulled by 6 black horses in mourning trappings, started at 6 in the evening on 7 June and, after having crossed the whole centre of the city, stopped at Chiesa della Beata Vergine degli Angeli where the Mass for his soul was held: an illustration can be found in the 'Giornale Ufficiale Illustrato dell'Esposizione Internazionale delle Industrie e del Lavoro', n. 6, June 1910.
Amidst the crowd that took part in the funeral of 7 June were the citizens of Turin, military men, workers from the land that belonged to Count Cavour, supporters of the cause of the Italian Unification who lamented him as the great liberator, as well as important politicians, ministers and members of Parliament representing the Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The subdued and strictly private burial of Count Cavour's body took place on 8 June 1861: please, note that many sources confuse the dates of 7 and 8 June and attribute the mentioned imposing funerals and official ceremonies to 8 June.
The information on the atmosphere of consternation, which befell the city of Turin due to the death of count Camillo Cavour, who was not only the first President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian State but also the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Naval Minister, as well as on the procedure of the funeral was covered by contemporary press and widely by the newspapers 'Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia', published in Turin, 8 June, pages 1-3 (the most detailed and precise); 'Il Diritto', published in Turin, 7 June, page 1 and page 3, and 8 June, page 2; 'La Nuova Europa', published in Florence, 9 June, page 3.
Some information of count Cavour's funeral is given also by the web Site *http://www.agoraliberale.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47:il-cavour-di-bortolo-belotti&catid=3:attualita&Itemid=17*.

[3] *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*, compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh, (1888), Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed): quotation from p. 4.

[4] MARSH, George Perkins (son of Charles Marsh), a Representative from Vermont; born in Woodstock, Windsor County, VT, March 15, 1801; graduated from Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, in 1820; studied law; admitted to the bar in 1825 and commenced practice in Burlington, VT; member of the Governor's Council in 1835; elected as a Whig to the Twenty-eighth and to the three succeeding Congresses and served from March 4, 1843, until his resignation in 1849, having been appointed by President Taylor as *Minister Resident to Turkey*, Office in which he served from May 29, 1849, to December 19, 1853; *charged with a special mission to Greece* in 1852; fish commissioner of Vermont in 1857 and railroad commissioner 1857-1859; appointed by President Lincoln as *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy* on March 20, 1861, and served until his death in Vallombrosa, Italy, July 23, 1882; interment in the English Cemetery (or: *Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome*), Rome, Italy. See the web Site *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*: *http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000147*.

[5] See the interesting description of G. P. Marsh's character and personality by Samuel Gilman Brown: *A Discourse Commemorative of the Hon. George Perkins Marsh, LL.D., Delivered Before the Faculty and Students of Dartmouth College, June 5, 1883, And Repeated Before the Trustees, Faculty and Students of the University of Vermont, June 25, 1883,* Free Press Association, Burlington, 1883, in particular pp. 23-34.

[6] See the sketch of G. P. Marsh by John Cotton Dana, *George P. Marsh, 1820*, in 'The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine', XII, 1920, pp. 875-881: see pp. 880-881. See also William M. Davis, *Biographical Memoir of George Perkins Marsh, 1801-1882; Read before the National Academy of Sciences, April 18, 1906*, Published by The National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs, Vol. VI, 1909, pp. 73-80.

[7] See 'The Christian Examiner', Vol. LXVII, Sept. 1859, pp. 260-282. Quotations respectively from: pp. 263, 282, 276-277, 280. On Protestant Europe or America, see p. 282.
Another piece of information is given by George P. Marsh's wife who wrote on her husband political feelings, when in France before setting off for Italy, in the autumn of 1849: "*the recent French*

operations in Italy had created in his mind a profound distrust and dislike of Louis Napoleon". See Caroline Crane Marsh, 1888, Vol. I, p. 146.
Concerning the opinion of G. P. Marsh on Pius IX, the secular power of the Papacy and Papal government, the apostolic Roman Catholic religion, as well as on Marsh's disapproval towards the politics of Napoleon III and that of the Italian government in relation to it, see the interesting work of Daniele Fiorentino (2008), *La politica estera americana e la questione romana*, in *Le relazioni tra Stati Uniti e l'Italia nel periodo di Roma Capitale*, D. Fiorentino, M. Sanfilippo Editors, Gangemi Editore, Rome, pp. 19-42.

[8] Fabienne O. Vallino (1988), Editor and Author, *George Perkins Marsh. L'Uomo e la Natura, ossia La superficie terrestre modificata per opera dell'uomo*, Franco Angeli, Milano.
Concerning George Perkins Marsh's exclamation "*I have always been pazzo per gli Italiani*" ("I have always been crazy about the Italians") see *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh* (1888), Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), p. 12.
On Minister Marsh in Italy, see the interesting book of Lucia Ducci, *George P. Marsh Correspondence: Images of Italy, 1861-1881*, The Fairleigh Dickinson University Press Series in Italian Studies, Madison, N.J., Dec. 2011.

[9] The title of this paragraph is inspired by G. P. Marsh's letter to Asa Gray, Washington May 9, 1849. The original manuscript is kept at The University of Vermont Libraries, Bailey/Howe Library, in the George Perkins Marsh Collection.

[10] Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr. (1992), *The Lure of Italy. American Artists and the Italian Experience 1760-1914*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, New York, in particular pp. 20-23, 29-41, 42-51, 149 ff., 171 ff., 189 ff.; Irma B. Jaffe, Editor (1989), *The Italian Presence in American Art, 1760-1860*, Fordham University Press, New York, in particular pp. VII-XI, 1-13; James Thomas Flexner (1970: first published in 1962), *History of American Painting*, vol. II, *The Light of Distant Skies, 1760-1835*, Dover, New York, vol. II, pp. 3-31. Of utmost importance is *The Arcadian Landscape: Nineteenth-century American Painters in Italy*, University of Kansas Museum of Art, Editor (1972), Lawrence: Introduction by Ch. C. Eldredge Director of the University of Kansas Museum of Art, and an essay by B. Novak, *Arcady Revisited*. See also Barbara Novak (1995), *Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875*, *Revised Edition with a New Preface*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 203-225.

[11] *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh, compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh*, Vol. I, pp. 146-152, and also pp. 174-175; the quotation is from p. 148. On pope Pius IX, the "*Priestly tyranny*", and the power of the Jesuits in Italy, see p. 200.
Minister Marsh's first Italian tour ended in Naples on 15 February 1850 when he embarked for Constantinople: see p. 152.

[12] *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh* (1988), Vol. I, pp. 317-328.

[13] *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh* (1988), Vol. I, pp. 350-355.

[14] Attilio Brilli (1995), *Quando viaggiare era un'arte. Il romanzo del Grand Tour*, Il Mulino, Bologna, pp. 19, 55, 72-77.

[15] Concerning Washington Irving in Sicily, see Th. E. Stebbins, Jr., p. 40.

[16] 'The Knickerbocker', Volume XXIII, 1844, February, pp. 105-113, and March, pp. 236-244. Thomas Cole is generally regarded as the founder, and the symbol, of the artistic group of the Hudson River School.

[17] See, e.g.: Barbara Novak (1980), *Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875*, Oxford University Press, New York; John K. Howat and VV. AA. (1987 and 1988), *American Paradise, The World of the Hudson River School,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York. See also James Thomas Flexner, (1970), *History of American*

Painting, vol. III, *That Wilder Image. The Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer*, Dover Publications, Inc., New York.

[18] F. Charlotte O. Vallino (2006), *Non ci può essere salvaguardia ambientale senza amore. È il messaggio del pittore Thomas Cole, in Sicilia nel 1842*, in 'Scritti per Alberto Di Blasi', Pàtron Editore, Bologna, pp. 1745-1769. This paper was written on the basis of Master Cole's *Diary* on his voyage from Rome to Sicily and on his Sicilian tour: manuscript kept at The New York State Library, Albany, Thomas Cole Papers.

[19] *Kindred Spirits* is the name given to the Oil on Canvas by Asher Brown Durand, 1849 (painted after the premature death of Master Cole), representing the two men immersed in a forest scenery in the Catskill Mountains: it embodies this intimate friendship and intellectual connection.

[20] It has to be noted that William Cullen Bryant promoted the appointment of G. P. Marsh as Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy: see Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. I, p. 428. See also David Lowenthal (1958), *George Perkins Marsh. Versatile Vermonter*, Columbia University Press, New York, p. 294.

[21] Thomas Cole, *Sicilian Scenery and Antiquities*, 'The Knickerbocker', Volume XXIII, February, 1844, pp. 108-109.

[22] *Address delivered before the New England Society of the City of New-York, December 24, 1844*, published in 1845, p.19.

[23] 'The Christian Examiner', 1859, p. 274; see also p. 273.

[24] See Caroline Crane Marsh's words on that extraordinary cultural and political milieu in *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 156, 178, 265-268.

[25] See *Treccani, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* Vol. 13 (1971), pp. 379-380. Concerning Vincenzo Botta, this book underlines the fact that the bibliographical tradition that considers Vincenzo as the son of the historian and patriot Carlo Botta has no foundation, is not justified (also because the family name Botta was common in Piedmont): this is an error that has been extended by many subsequent scholars who have also studied G. P. Marsh.

[26] About Vincenzo Botta, see D. Lowenthal (1958), p. 207.
In 1860, the question of Italian unity and national independence appears to G. P. Marsh the most important of his time: the quotation is from the letter of G. P. Marsh to Dr. Lieber (most probably written in the spring of 1860), transcribed by his wife and inserted in the Chapter XIV (years 1858-1861) of her *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh, compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh*, Vol. I, pp. 419-420.

[27] G. P. Marsh, with his family, embarked from New York on 27 April 1861, on the same steamer with the Ministers accredited to France, Austria and the Hague; after a stop in Paris, he set off for Italy, crossed Mount Cenis and arrived in Turin: *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh, compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh*, Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), pp. 1 and 4.

[28] *The Life of General Garibaldi. Written by Himself. With Sketches of His Companions in Arms*, New York, A. S. Barnes and Burr, 1859.
For the arrival of Garibaldi in New York see, e.g., H. Nelson Gay (1932), *Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship*, 'The American Historical Review', Vol. XXXVIII, October 1932, N. 1, pp. 1-19: in particular, see on pp. 5-6.

[29] H. Nelson Gay (1907), *Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi. Light on a Disputed Point of History*, 'The Century Magazine', Vol. LXXV, n. 6, November, pp. 63-74 : see on p. 63; and (with almost the same title) Howard R. Marraro (1943), *Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Further Light on a Disputed Point of History*, in 'Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society', Vol. 36, pp. 237-270: see on pp. 237-238.

[30] Chargé d'Affaires Dillon's first name was Romaine and not Romain: see, for example, his dispatches where he described the facts to United States Secretary of State W. H. Seward, in *Foreign Relations of*

the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, *Instructions and Despatches: Italy*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1861, pp. 319-320 (reprinted in anastatic, 1965, New York).
Chargé d'Affaires Dillon's note was dated 17 May, but was published on 20 May 1861, on page 3, col. 4. of the 'Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia' (Turin); available on line at *http://augusto.digitpa.gov.it/#giorno=20&mese=05&anno=1861.*
The translation of Dillon's note may be of interest: "*The Legation of the United States in Italy has asked us to insert the following statement: Legation of the United States, Turin, 17 May 1861. To respond to the numerous and persistent applications, written and in person, put forward to the Legation by foreign volunteers wishing to be enrolled into the army of the United States, I, the undersigned, turn to the press in order to make clear that I have no awareness, whether official or otherwise, of instructions by my government that would authorise the undertaking of enrollment of any kind outside the United States.* Romain Dillon*, Chargé d'Affaires.*".
Concerning Dillon's note, an interesting article appeared on 22 May in the newspaper 'Il Diritto' (on page 1), published in Turin and indicating its political viewpoint by the subtitle 'political-daily of the Italian democracy': as the organ of the opposition to the government of the Kingdom of Italy in this article, commenting "*the effervescence*" of the generous men anxious "*to offer their helping hand and Italian valour* […] *in a war which has a humanitarian purpose*", it wanted to suggest a reconsideration of the unjust position attributed to those brave men who fought for the creation of the Italian nation and who then could not find a place in the regular Italian army.

[31] Facts described by Howard R. Marraro (1945): see his article *Volunteers from Italy for Lincoln's Army*, in 'The South Atlantic Quarterly', XLIV, pp. 384-396, respectively on pp. 385-391 and on p. 388.

[32] *Foreign Relations of the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs*, *Instructions and Despatches: Italy*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, year 1861, pp. 317-327 (reprinted in anastatic, 1965, New York); on line at *http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu*: see on pp. 320-323.

[33] *Foreign Relations of the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs*, *Instructions and Despatches: Italy*, 1861, p. 327.

[34] H. R. Marraro (1945), pp. 391-393.
Concerning the name of colonel Cattabeni it has to be noted that sister Mary Philip Trauth (1958)), *Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882. The Mission of George Perkins Marsh, First American Minister to the Kingdom of Italy*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., on p. 28, writes the name as Cattabene, as it is in *Foreign Relations of the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs: Italy*, year 1863, p. 1155. D. Fiorentino (2008), p. 31, writes Cattabeni.

[35] *Foreign Relations of the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs: Italy*, 1863, pp. 1155-1156.

[36] Sister M. Ph. Trauth (1958), pp. 29-30. It has to be noted that the Author indicates, on p. 29, the surname De Steffani, but it could be De Stefani.
Concerning the participation of groups of Italians in the Confederate troops, see the Author on p. 34.

[37] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 63.

[38] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 67. H. R. Marraro (1943), pp. 240-241.
With regard to the Civil War, an interesting piece of information is given by D. Fiorentino (2008), p. 20, which highlights as the Kingdom of Italy sided undoubtedly on the side of the Union cause, since the early events of the Civil War itself, and as the diplomatic activities of Minister Marsh played an important role in consolidating the Italian solidarity towards the Union Government as the legitimate government of the United States.

[39] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 69; Sexson E. Humphreys (1955), *Two Garibaldian Incidents in American History*, in 'Vermont History', The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, XXIII, N. 2, pp. 135-143: see on pp. 138-139.

[40] H. R. Marraro (1943), p. 247; Sister M. Ph. Trauth (1958), p. 14.

[41] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 71.

[42] General Garibaldi affair is reported by Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), pp. 15-18. G. P. Marsh and his wife Caroline knew General Garibaldi and were personally in touch with him until at least 1868 as it is demonstrated by documents kept in their archives: see D. Fiorentino (2008), pp. 26 and 39. The affair is described in detail by H. N. Gay (1907), who based his study on unpublished correspondence, and on documents preserved in the historical archives of the American Legation in Brussels and of the American Embassy in Rome, and then by H. R. Marraro (1943), p. 239 ff., that also reproduces integrally Minister Marsh's dispatch on pp. 248-250, and gives the list of the American and English press on this affair, on pp. 241-244. See also Joseph A. Fry (1982), *Henry S. Sanford: Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth-Century America*, University of Nevada Press, Reno.

[43] Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. II, p. 18: in her manuscript (not completed) she quotes a letter of Minister Marsh where he specified that he had received more than 500 applications, and she describes the tiring situation he was dealing with. See also H. R. Marraro (1945), p. 385.

[44] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 71 ff., and also H. R. Marraro (1943), p. 253 ff..

[45] *Foreign Relations of the United States, Papers relating to Foreign Affairs: Italy*, 1863, p. 1156.

[46] H. N. Gay (1907), p. 72.

[47] 'The Nation', 3, 1866, pp. 5-7: the quotation is from pp. 6-7. See also note 57, below.

[48] H. Nelson Gay (1932), *Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship*, 'The American Historical Review', Vol. XXXVIII, October 1932, N. 1, pp. 1-19: see on p. 16.

[49] Howard R. Marraro (1944), *Unpublished American Documents on Garibaldi's March on Rome in 1867,* 'The Journal of Modern History', Vol. 16, N. 2, June 1944, pp. 116-123: see on p. 122. The Author reproduces, on pp. 121-123, large parts from the long dispatch of Minister Marsh to Secretary of State Seward of 20 December 1867: in that dispatch Minister Marsh discussed also the policy of the former Italian Prime Minister Rattazzi towards Garibaldi, as well as the question of Rome and the Church.

[50] H. N. Gay (1932), p. 7 and pp. 16-19. The study of GAY, 1932, was based especially on the documents preserved in the historical archives of the American Embassy in Rome, as well as at the Museo del Risorgimento of Milan. The Author gives other interesting pieces of information on: Garibaldi's demand to hoist the flag of the United States on a merchant vessel under his command, in 1850; vessels transferred to the American register and commanded by Americans for the 1860 campaign; Garibaldi's first request, as an American citizen, for the protection of the United States, in September 1867.

[51] S. E. Humphreys (1955), p. 140.

[52] S. E. Humphreys (1955), pp. 141-143.

[53] On Minister Marsh in Turin and on his excursions, on Pegli, as well as on his work on physical geography, his future book *Man and Nature*, see: Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), pp. 6-8, 14, 47, 65; D. Lowenthal (1958), pp. 231-233, 245, 249.

[54] G. P. Marsh's letter to Asa Gray, Washington May 9, 1849. The original manuscript is kept at The University of Vermont Libraries, Bailey/Howe Library, George Perkins Marsh Collection.

[55] From a letter to Charles Eliot Norton (American renowned scholar in art history and archaeology as well as literature, who from 1863 to 1868 was joint editor with James Russell Lowell of the 'North American Review': see *Charles Eliot Norton papers*, at the Houghton Library, Harvard College Library). The letter is transcribed by Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. II, a holograph manuscript (not completed), on pp. 63-65; quotation from p. 65.

[56] D. Lowenthal (1958), pp. 239-240**,** 248-249, 263-267.
The inadequate salaries of the United States Ministers at foreign courts are mentioned by Caroline Crane Marsh (1888), Vol. I, p. 427.

[57] This article was written on June 10, 1866, from Rome (the very heart of the church's power, and at the time cut off from the rest of Italy), where the population condition was very critical especially for women: this explains the severity of Minister Marsh's words. See *Female Education in Italy* (on Anna Maria Mozzoni's book, *Un Passo avanti nella Cultura Femminile. Tesi e Progetto*, Tipografia Internazionale, Milano, 1866), in 'The Nation', 3, 1866, pp. 5-7: quotations are respectively from pp. 5, 6, 7.
Of Anna Maria Mozzoni see also the text *Dei Diritti della Donna. Lettura fatta nell'Istituto di Pietrasanta di Milano*.
Concerning the pseudonym *Viator*, it has to be underlined that it appears related not only to Minister Marsh's passion for travels on the Old Continent, but certainly also to a specific medieval and post-medieval Christian tradition that was still well known in Italy and surrounded by an aura of cultural fascination. In fact, the term *Viatores* was used to refer to the devout Christians who, for centuries, embarked upon pilgrimages across Europe, as for example along Via Franchigena, the famous pilgrimage itinerary to Rome, passing through England, France, Switzerland, and Italy.

[58] *Vita di Beniamino Franklin scritta da se medesimo. Nuovamente tradotta dall'edizione di Filadelfia del 1868, ricavata per la prima volta dal manoscritto dell'Autore, da Pietro Rotondi*, Firenze, G. Barbèra Editore, 1869.

[59] George Perkins Marsh himself described this bad experience, to which he refers to, with his typical kindness and politeness, as a 'literary curiosity': see Harry Lyman Koopman, *Bibliography of George Perkins Marsh*, Free Press Association, Burlington, March 1892, p.10 (he publishes a note by G. P. Marsh, from which the above quotation). A copy of this version of *L'Uomo e la Natura* is kept at The University of Vermont Libraries. In the *Bibliography of George Perkins Marsh*, compiled by H. L. Koopman, p. 10, this edition of *L'Uomo e la Natura*, then destroyed, is dated, probably correctly, to 1869.

[60] A simple example, giving an idea of all the others, is the translation in the summary of the book, Chapter I, Introduction, of the paragraph *Arrest of Physical Decay of New Countries*, that in Italian became 'Impedito decadimento fisico delle nuove contrade', where *Impedito* sounds like *having been (already) forbidden,* and has not the sense of *to be stopped/avoided* as the Author clearly explains in the text; also the term *contrade* has a different meaning to that of Marsh's, for it indicates in Tuscany a quarter of a city or a traverse of a street in a city, and in the literary Italian language a territory or a small region, which does not correspond to Marsh's discourse on the new States deriving from colonization processes and populated by the European settlers. Another example is on paragraph *Restoration of Disturbed Harmonies* that became in Italian 'Ristaurazione delle armonie perturbate', where 'Ristaurazione' sounds like an antiquated word for indicating (also) the action or restore a degraded object/body while in Italian the term *ristauro* or *restauro* was in use long before Marsh's period in Italy; furthermore, 'Ristaurazione' is not appropriate for Marsh's text because, since about the mid 19th century, this term was used (in the less archaic form 'Restaurazione') in an historical-geopolitical sense for indicating the return of a regime to power: see, for example, the term in the translation into Italian of G. G. Gervinus's book *La Restaurazione e il Congresso di Vienna*, Milano 1864.

[61] 'Science' (1967), Vol. 155, n. 3767, pp. 1203-1207.

[62] Camaldolese monks, deriving from the Benedictine family of monastic communities, had their fundamental religious wooded site in the homonymous site in Tuscany. The Camaldolese monks made the care for the forest one of their main activities, since the 11th century, and codified their forest-management in the *Codice Forestale Camaldolese*, the camaldolese Forestry Code, which consists of a set of rules and regulations by which, for centuries, they kept the woods alive, conserved, and protected. See also: René J. Dubos (1974), "Franciscan Conservation versus Benedictine Stewardship", in *Ecology and Religion in History*, D. and E. Spring, Editors, Harper & Row, New York, pp. 114-135.

[63] *The Earth as Modified by Human Action. A new edition of Man and Nature*, 1874, Chapter III, *The Woods*, pp. 318-323. On p. 318, paragraph *Forests of Italy* (pp. 318-323), G. P. Marsh wrote with a critical

eye on Italy: "*Italy has 17.64 per cent. of woodland, a proportion which, considering the character of climate and surface, the great amount of soil which is fit for no other purpose than the growth of trees, and the fact that much of the land classed as forest is either very imperfectly wooded, or covered with groves badly administrated, and not in a state of progressive improvement, might advantageously be doubled.*".

[64] See Alexander von Humbold's *Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804, par Alexandre de Humboldt et Aimé Bonpland*, III tomes, 1814-1825, Paris, Shoell, Maze, Smith et Gide fils (original written in French): tome II, Book V – Chapter XVI.
Concerning the presence of A. von Humboldt in G. P. Marsh's *Man and Nature* it is maybe useful to note that he has been quoted seven times, while C. Ritter, the other prominent figure of the German school of Geography of the same generation, only three times: both are cited by the Author, on page 8, as founders of the "*New School of Geography*".

[65] *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*, 1874, pp. 220-221.
Alexander von Humboldt, and his scientific followers are often mentioned by Caroline Crane Marsh, in her memories on George Perkins Marsh's life published in 1888. George Perkins Marsh wrote, in 1860, *The Study of Nature*, an article inspired by the British edition of 1850 of the von Humboldt's famous book *Ansichten der Natur*, and from a discourse commemorating A. von Humboldt delivered by W. R. Alger, June 3, 1859, Cambridge, Welch, Bigelow & Co. (A. von Humboldt had died on 6 May 1859): see 'The Christian Examiner', LXVIII, January 1860, pp. 32-62. It has to be underlined that of the extremely vast collection of works by A. von Humboldt the only title listed in the Bibliography of both *Man and Nature* and *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* was *Ansichten der Natur* (first published in 1808, by J. G. Cotta, Tübingen); its title in full was *Ansichten der Natur, mit wissenschaftlichen Erläuterungen*; G. P. Marsh consulted the third German edition of 1849 (J. G. Cotta, Stuttgart und Tübingen).
Concerning the connection between the term *Physical Geography* used by George Perkins Marsh (in the title of his book, edition of 1864) and the concept of *Physical Geography* in Alexander von Humboldt's thought and writings, see Fabienne O. Vallino (1988), pp. LXXII-LXXVI.

[66] On Master Thomas Cole, see for example: F. Charlotte O. Vallino (1993), *Alle radici dell'etica ambientale: pensiero sulla natura, wilderness e creatività artistica negli Stati Uniti del Diciannovesimo secolo*, 'Storia dell'Arte', n. 78, pp. 183-257, on pp.189-216; on Thomas Cole in Italy, see F. Charlotte O. Vallino, Barbara Assanti (2006), *Unrespected Historic Lanscapes: the case of today's Latium reconstructed through the Diaries, Drawings and Paintings by Master Thomas Cole between 1831 and 1842*, pp. 1-28, dspace.unitus.it/.../74/1/unrespected_history_landscape.pdf.

[67] The *Essay* was published in 'The American Monthly Magazine', January 1836, pp. 1-12; the quotations are from pp. 4 and 5.

[68] *Essay on American Scenery*, p. 12.

[69] From Thomas Cole's *Lecture on American Scenery Delivered before the Catskill Lyceum*, *April 1st, 1841*, in 'The Northern Light', I, May 1841, pp. 25-26.

[70] Jean-Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck. He was a great source for Lyell's thought, even if it is not always known: see J.-B. de Lamarck's *Hydrogéologie, ou Recherches sur l'influence qu'ont les eaux sur la surface du globe terrestre*, Chez l'Auteur, Agasse et Maillard, Paris, 1802 (Year X of the French Republic).

[71] Sir Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology, Being an Attempt to Explain the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by Reference to Causes Now in Operation*, John Murray, London, III Volumes, 1830, 1832 and 1833. It has to be underlined that the chapter where the Author deals with the site of Pozzuoli (written as in ancient times *Puzzuoli*), regarded as a natural archive, is in Volume I, which appeared in 1830: see chapter XXV, paragraphs *Proofs of elevation and subsidence of land on the coast of the Bay of Baiæ – Evidence of the same afforded by the present state of the Temple of Serapis*, pp. 449-459 (quotations are from the title and page 449).

The Volume II appeared in 1832, while Thomas Cole was in Italy. The Volume III appeared in 1833. Considering the success of Lyell's book, we have to remark that, by 1835, four more editions had already been published; G. P. Marsh indicates in his bibliography the New York edition of 1862.

[72] On *The Course of Empire*, see also the Pamphlet written by Thomas Cole in 1836, published in the same year by the 'The American Monthly Magazine' and 'The Knickerbocker' to present those paintings to the public.

[73] Master Thomas Cole, *Desolation*, 1836, Oil on Canvas (39 ½ x 63 ½ in.), Collection of The New-York Historical Society, number 1858.5. See also his Study for *Desolation*, Oil on Panel, 1836, that accentuates the ruins corroded by time and covered by vegetation: it is reproduced, for example, by E. A. Powell, *Thomas Cole*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1990, p. 69.
Thomas Cole's travels in Sicily, with its exceptional profusion of archaeological remains corroded by time, would have strengthened his conception of the life of nations that had risen to glory and decayed: see his essay (mentioned before) *Sicilian Scenery and Antiquities*, Vol. XXIII, n. 2 (March 1844), p. 239 and p. 244.

[74] See *Principles of Geology*, Vol. III, chapter XII, paragraph *Influence of Man in modifying the Physical Geography of the Globe*, pp. 165-175 of the Fifth Edition, John Murray, London, 1837, in particular pp. 173-174. The title of that edition was: *Principles of Geology: Being an Inquiry How Far the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface are Referable to Causes Now in Operation.*
Concerning Marsh's conception of man as a "*disturbing agent*" and "*destructive power*" over the Earth's surface, see in this paper (Part One), page 8 and note 32.

[75] See Lyell's letter to G. P. Marsh, London September 22, 1865 (The University of Vermont Libraries Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, George Perkins Marsh Collection).

[76] About the immediate recognition of the annexation of Rome by the government of the United States, cited above in the text, see D. Fiorentino (2008), p. 41, who also informs that already on July 1, 1871 Minister Marsh had notified the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the American Legation was already settled in Rome.

[77] About Minister Marsh's opinion on the city of Rome, especially as Italy's capital, see D. Lowenthal (2000), p. 334 and also pp. 356-357.

[78] On the first apartment of the Marshes in via di San Basilio, and then Palazzo Rospigliosi where they moved in 1879, see D. Lowenthal (2000), p. 335 and p. 359.
The Quirinal hill is one of the most beautiful spots of Rome, with the Quirinal Palace -and its gardens- that represents an artistic patrimony of exceptional value: it was the summer Papal residence until 1870; from 1870-1871 (the period when Minister Marsh moved to Rome) it became the Italian royal residence. After the Second World War, from 1946 (onwards), with the proclamation of the Italian Republic, the Quirinal Palace became the official seat of the Italian Head of State.

[79] The Treaty, as well as other Marsh's diplomatic missions in Italy, are discussed by M. P. Trauth (1958); for the Treaty of 1871, see in particular pp. 102-103.

[80] M. P. Trauth (1958), p. 127; David Lowenthal (2004), *Marsh at Cravairola: Boundary-Making in the Italo-Swiss Alps*, in 'Environment and History', Vol. 10, N. 2 (May 2004), pp. 205-235.
Minister Marsh, in his Dispatch of 15 September 1874, described thoroughly the geography of the contested alpine area to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish: Marsh's description, which has been used for this article, is reported in its original version by D. Lowenthal (2004), pp. 209-211.

[81] M. P. Trauth (1958), p. 128.

[82] The Compromise of Arbitration was published in Italy (text in French) in *Trattati e Convenzioni fra il Regno d'Italia ed i Governi Esteri. Raccolta compilata per cura del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, vol. V, *Contenente i Trattati e le Convenzioni conchiuse dal 1° Gennaio 1873 al 1° Gennaio 1876*, Tipografia Bencini, Roma - Firenze, 1876, pp. 126-129 (see, in particular, articles 1, 2, 4).

[83] In order to determine the sovereignty over the Alp of Cravairola and its eastern boundary, numerous documents had been submitted by the respective Parties, and all weighed by umpire Marsh, but the series he considered substantial in relation to the question was: Judgement of 1 July 1367 of the Vicar of Matterello, Deed of Sale of 24 February 1406, Conveyance on 10 June 1454, Deed of 20 April 1497, and the fascicle *Jura Crodensium et Pontemaliensium contra Campenses Vallis Madiae* containing a record of proceedings during 1544 to define the limits of the Alp of Cravairola (submitted by Italy); Deed of 17 March 1420, Deed of 8 December 1490, *Copia Positionis Terminorum anni 1554* contained in the fascicle *Jura*, and also the Treaty of 1516 between Francis I and the Helvetian Confederation (submitted by Switzerland). See Lowenthal (2004), pp. 219-220, and the UN website *http://legal.un.org/riaa/cases/vol_XXVIII/141-156.pdf*, pp. 148-149.

[84] See, on p. 145, the *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*, published by the 'United Nations Reports of International Arbitral Awards', volume XXVIII, pp. 141-156 (it was reprinted from John Basset Moore, Ed., *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States has been a Party*, vol. II, Washington, D.C., 1898, Government Printing Office, p. 2028). See also D. Lowenthal (2004), p. 216.
The quotations, in this paper, are from that document since it is online at the UN website *http://legal.un.org/riaa/cases/vol_XXVIII/141-156.pdf* and therefore further consultable by Readers.
D. Lowenthal (2004), p. 207 and p. 209, informs that the printed versions of Umpire Marsh's Decision - in Italian, French, and English- are defective in numerous respects and different from his manuscript draft (kept at University of Vermont Libraries Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library): he therefore reproduces Marsh's authentic manuscript, which was written in English. D. Lowenthal, 2004, p. 207, informs also that the text of Marsh's Decision was translated into Italian and that Marsh carefully reviewed it (the Decision was pronounced in Italian).
Consequently, for this paper, the Italian version of Marsh's Decision has been consulted: a handwritten document, of 18 large pages and a map, preserved in the historical Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ASMAECI, Serie P, b. n. 772 - f. 2), dated 23 September 1874, signed George P. Marsh with holographic signature. This Italian document, in its whole, is conceptually respectful of the mentioned Marsh's original text published by Lowenthal, even if some terms are different. A long series of differences with the on line text in English, mentioned above, have been noted; sometimes they are significant with regard to words used to define important concepts, as for example: mere convenience, also in the document in Italian (*pure expediency* in Marsh's manuscript); principles of right (*principles of strict right* in Marsh's manuscript - *principî dello stretto diritto* in the document in Italian); question of mere right, also in the document in Italian (*question of strict right* in Marsh's manuscript); waters (*water courses* in Marsh's manuscript).
Antonio Malintoppi (1975), *Diritto ed Equità nell'Arbitrato per l'Alpe Cravairola*, in 'Comunicazioni e Studi', XIV, Milano, Giuffré, pp. 501-524, informs, on pp. 501-502, that the text of the arbitral Decision of G. P. Marsh, in Italian, was published by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in *Trattati e Convenzioni fra l'Italia ed altri Stati*, Ministero Affari Esteri, vol. 5, p. 638 ff..

[85] See also D. Lowenthal (2004), p. 232.

[86] See *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*: p. 145 - online at the cited UN website -.

[87] Alps, here and in the following lines, is *Alp* in the original manuscript of Marsh as well as in the Italian document (see note 84, above).

[88] See *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*: p. 146 - online at the cited UN website -.

[89] See *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*: p. 147 - online at the cited UN website -.

[90] See *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*: p. 147 and p. 153 - online at the cited UN website -.

[91] See *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*: respectively p. 148, p. 147, p. 153 - online at the cited UN website -.

[92] For an interesting discussion on Minister Marsh's Decision from the point of view of International Law, see A. Malintoppi (1975); in particular, on Marsh's Decision according to the principles of Right, see on p. 520.

[93] A. Malintoppi (1975), p. 521; see also D. Lowenthal (2004), p. 232.

[94] See also *Decision of arbitration concerning the definite fixing of the Italian-Swiss frontier at the place called Alpe de Cravairola. Decision of 23 September 1874*, on p. 155 - online at the cited UN website -: p. 155 reports the information that Minister Marsh's Decision (signed: George P. Marsh) was "*Given at Milan in duplicate on September 23, 1874*."
It also reports other interesting information: *"The present copy conforms with the original*, *preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Italy. Rome, December 6, 1894. The Director of the archives. [Seal Min. of For. Af.] G. Gorrini.*"

[95] Concerning G. P. Marsh's death and the following ceremonies in Vallombrosa and Rome, see the beautiful description by Samuel Gilman Brown (1883), in *A Discourse Commemorative of the Hon. George Perkins Marsh* (already mentioned: note 5, Part Two, of this article), pp. 35-36.
The ending of the quotation, "*Ecco veramente la morte del Giusto!*" (from S. G. Brown, p. 36), has to be translated as: *This is really the death of the Righteous!*.

[96] The reported information derives from Samuel Gilman Brown (1883), pp. 36-37, and from the journals: 'Gazzetta Piemontese', of Turin, 25 Luglio 1882, page 1, *Morte del Ministro Plenipotenziario Marsh*; 'L'Opinione', of Rome, 25 and 26 Luglio 1882, page 3; 'Il Diritto', of Rome, 26 Luglio 1882, page 2; 'Corriere del Mattino', of Naples, 25 Luglio 1882, page 1.

[97] With regard to the Accademia dei Lincei, it is useful to remember that it changed its name, after the unification of Italy, and became Reale Accademia dei Lincei; then, in 1926, there was a brief period when it was denominated Reale Accademia d'Italia; finally, after the Second World War and the birth of the Italian Republic, it was refounded as the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
For more information see the web Sites: *http://www.lincei-celebrazioni.it/istoria_lince.html*; *http://www.lincei.it/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=60*.

[98] The mentioned Obituary Note was read by the Secretary of the Academy, Domenico Carutti di Cantogno: see *Cenno Necrologico del Socio straniero* [George] *Perkins Marsh*, in 'Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei', IIIa serie, Anno 280, Transunti 7, 1881-1883, pp. 172-173 (18 Marzo 1883).
Perhaps it is appropriate to give the translation of this Obituary Note, and it has to be noted that the original Italian of the late 19th century is difficult to render into English because of its emphatic and refined style: "*George Perkins Marsh* […] *Loved Italy, with true and genuine affection he followed the efforts of our homeland in the conquest of its independence and unity; he knew its history, its antiquities, its arts. Every American visiting Italy was proud of his representative; he was loved by every Italian who knew him personally, everybody honoured him. He regarded the diplomatic office in the noblest sense of the role, that is in nurturing and strengthening good relations between the governments and the peoples, by means of reciprocal fairness and respect.*".

[99] See, for example, the series of pictures published by Th. E. Stebbins, Jr., (1992), from p. 159 to p. 311, as well as the map showing the itineraries and walks of Americans in the Campagna Romana and the surrounding Hills and Lakes, on p. 189; see also University of Kansas Museum of Art, Editor (1972), and B. Novak (1995).

[100] The official name of this beautiful cemetery is Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome, because there we find the graves of people who did not necessarily belong to the Protestant or any Christian religion, and could have been buried there also in a secular capacity. Some further interesting information is in the official Website of the Cemetery: "*The Non-Catholic Cemetery is private. Its management is the responsibility of an association formed by 14 Embassies in Rome which have nationals buried in the Cemetery. The Embassies are: Australia - Canada - Denmark - Germany - Finland - Greece - Netherlands - Norway - Russian Federation - South Africa - Sweden - Switzerland - United Kingdom - United States of America.*". See the official Website: *http://cemeteryrome.it*.
Fore more information see the publication *Il Cimitero Acattolico di Roma. Il Cimitero degli Artisti e dei Poeti*, edited by Cimitero Acattolico per gli Stranieri al Testaccio, Roma, 1986.

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