

ISTITUTO PER LA STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO

BIBLIOTECA SCIENTIFICA

Serie II: Fonti

Vol. LXII

# L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA

VISTA DAI  
DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSIS

A CURA DI  
HOWARD R. MARRARO

Vol. IV  
(1861 - 1866)

ROMA  
ISTITUTO PER LA STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO  
1971

WILLIAM H. SEWARD  
Segretario di Stato degli  
Stati Uniti.

ISTITUTO PER LA STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO  
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SERIE II: FONTI

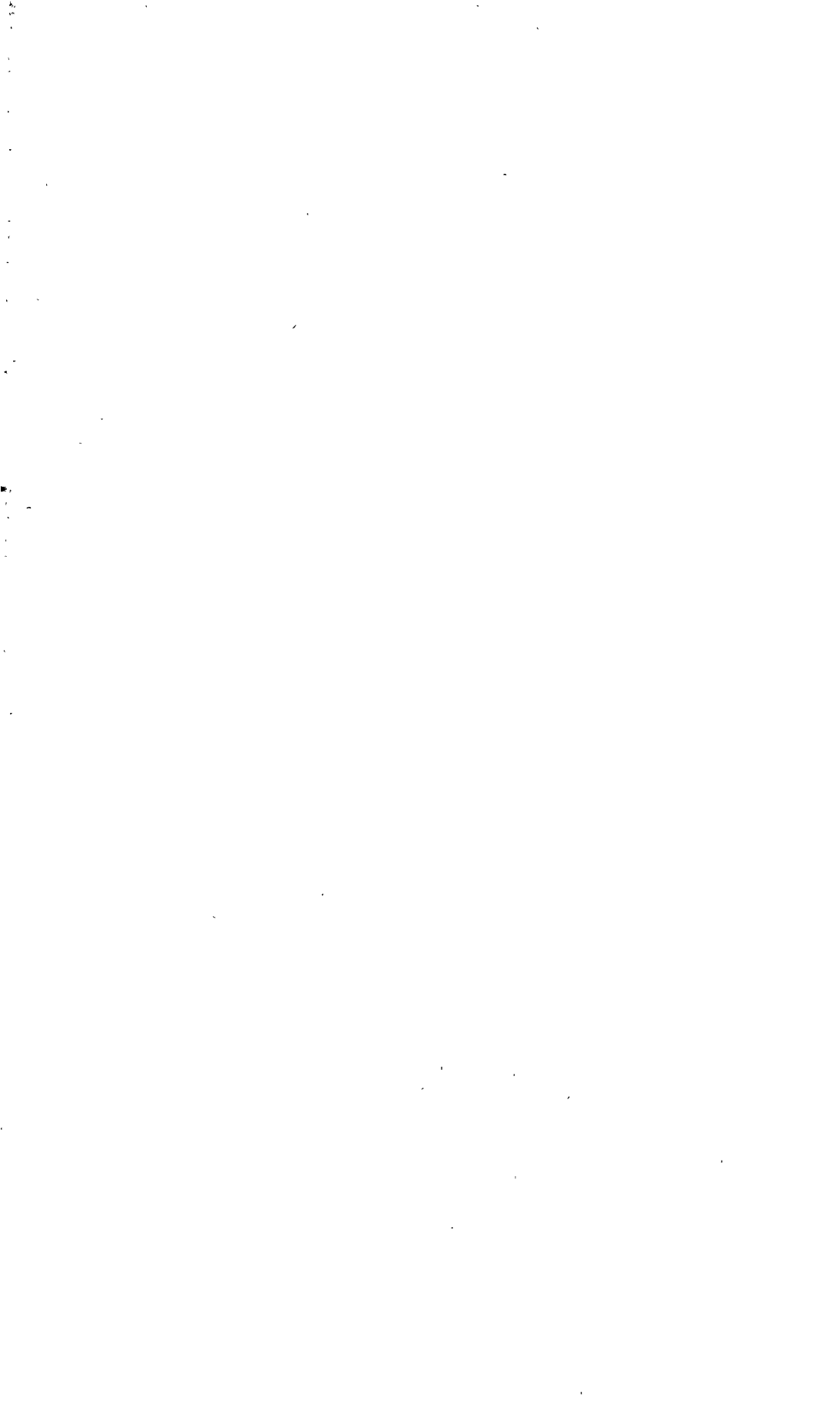
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R O M A

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*Alla sacra memoria  
della mia amata sorella Concettina  
la quale con dedizione e devozione  
sacrificò tutta la sua vita  
al benessere dei genitori, fratelli e sorelle.*

*29 gennaio 1890 - 18 agosto 1969*





## PREMESSA

*Desidero esprimere i miei più vivi ringraziamenti a tutti coloro che in un modo o nell'altro mi hanno dato il loro valido e prezioso aiuto nella preparazione di questo volume de L'Unificazione italiana vista dai diplomatici statunitensi che abbraccia il periodo dal 1861 al 1866. In modo particolare desidero ringraziare il Council for Research in the Social Sciences della Columbia University per aver messo a mia disposizione i fondi necessari per le ricerche di documenti a New York e a Washington, D. C., e per le copie fotostatiche. I miei più cordiali ringraziamenti vanno al signor Pino Cicala di Washington, D. C., il quale mi procurò copie fotostatiche dei documenti in deposito presso i National Archives di detta città; all'on. Edward D. Re, allora Assistant Secretary of State, a Washington, D. C., e al signor Albin V. Javarone, assistente dell'on. Re. Ringrazio anche il signor Mark G. Eckhoff, Assistant Director, Diplomatic, Legal, and Fiscal Records Division of the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. per avermi fornito gl'ingrandimenti fotografici di numerosi documenti.*

*Ai bibliotecari della Columbia University esprimo i miei ringraziamenti per aver fatto copie fotostatiche di documenti originali in francese e in italiano. Al dott. Joseph T. Vambery, bibliotecario della sezione International Law della Columbia University per copia fotostatica della Convenzione Postale fra gli Stati Uniti e l'Italia.*

*Alla Columbia University Press vanno anche i miei ringraziamenti per il permesso di riprodurre la fotografia di George Perkins Marsh del 1861, anno della sua nomina a ministro statunitense in*

*Italia, pubblicata nel volume di David Lowenthal, George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter.*

*Infine ringrazio la signorina Clare Fabvier per aver fornito copie dattilografate dei documenti in francese, e al signor Richard Cohon della Columbia University Library per aver reso più facile il lavoro della Sala fotostatica della Columbia University.*

HOWARD R. MARRARO

## RAPPORTI



GEORGE PERKINS MARSH

20 marzo 1861 - 23 luglio 1882





**George P. Marsh<sup>1</sup> a William H. Seward**

Burlington, April 13, 1861.

Sir: When I left Washington, I expected to be able to return to the city as early as the middle of the month, to receive my instructions, and accordingly fixed the 15 day of April with Mr. Hunter for that purpose.

I now find that my absence from Burlington at that moment will so far interfere with the preparation for my departure as to render it very difficult for me to be ready to sail by the steamer of April 27, a passage which I have written to secure.

<sup>1</sup> George Perkins Marsh (1801-1882). Nato a Woodstock, Vermont, si laureò nel 1820 al Dartmouth College. Nel 1835 fu eletto al Supremo Consiglio Esecutivo del Vermont, fu membro del Congresso dal 1843 al 1849, e fu ministro in Turchia dal 1849 al 1853. Il 20 marzo 1861 fu destinato dal Presidente Lincoln quale primo inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario presso il nuovo Regno d'Italia; il 23 giugno 1861 presentò le credenziali e durò in carica fino alla morte (1882). Sul Marsh, cfr. CAROLINE CRANE MARSH, *Life and letters of George Perkins Marsh*. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1882, 2 voll. Cfr. anche la inedita tesi di dottorato di ROBERT JAMES WHEEL, « The Forgotten Vermonter: George Perkins Marsh, His life and letters while first United States Ambassador to Italy », Graduate School, Saint Michael's College, 1955, 172 pp. Dopo una introduzione ed un capitolo in cui sono esaminate le reazioni alla nomina del Marsh per l'Italia, la tesi è divisa in tre parti: 1) L'Europa e la Guerra Civile americana (1861-1865); 2) L'Italia e la Ricostruzione Americana (1866-1877); 3) L'evoluzione della situazione italiana (1872-1882). Seguono quindi una biografia, una bibliografia e una appendice. La Wilbur Library di Burlington, Vermont, ha circa 7.000 lettere da e per il Marsh, di cui più della metà furono scritte durante gli anni del suo servizio in Italia. Il Marsh ammise che a causa delle restrizioni diplomatiche, i suoi dispacci ufficiali al Dipartimento di Stato non sempre mostravano le sue vere opinioni. Cfr. anche di DAVID LOWENTHAL, *George Perkins Marsh*, dissertazione dottorale del 1952, Università del Wisconsin, sotto la direzione del Prof. Merle Curti, pubblicata con titolo *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, 442 pp.

Il Marsh scrisse: *Remarks on an address delivered before the New England Society of the city of New York, Dec. 23, 1844; Man and Nature; or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, London, Showson and Marston, 1864; New York, Scribner, 1867, 1869; *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*, New York, 1874, 1877, 1885, 1898.

I should be glad, therefore, to have the instructions forwarded to me at New York, if practicable, without returning to Washington.

If, however, it is thought important that I should visit the capital before my departure, I will do so, and in that case, I beg to be informed of your wishes by letter addressed to me at the Everett House in the city of New York, where I expect to be from Saturday the 20 to Monday the 22 of April.

In pursuance of a suggestion by you at my interview with you, I beg leave to make the following observations in respect to my instructions.

I was not able to see Mr. Bertinatti after I was at the Department, and have not learned, with certainty, whether the passport system has been abolished in the Kingdom of Italy, but I believe such to be the fact. As however, there may be some uncertainty on this point, I desire instructions concerning it.

The incorporation of Naples and Sicily, as well as the minor states, into the Kingdom will render a revision of the postal arrangements between Italy and this country necessary, and if it is desired that the negotiations for that purpose should be conducted through the American Legation, I beg instructions accordingly.

Under the Neapolitan government, embarrassing restrictions were laid upon the production of sulphur in Sicily, and its deportation from the ports of that island. The importance of this mineral in various branches of chemical manufacture, as well as in war, is so great that all civilised nations are interested in increasing the quantity and reducing the cost of this product. I do not know that specific instructions are necessary, to enable me to make proper suggestions to the Italian Government on this subject, but I should be glad to know that you would approve of my devoting some attention to it.

There are, no doubt, now in Italy citizens of the seceding states of the Federal Union, with passports from the Secretary of State. In passing from Italian into Austrian territory the visa of the American minister will be required by the Austrian authorities. I request to be instructed whether I am to visé such passports, in cases where allegiance to the United States is disclaimed by the bearers, and whether I am in any case to recognize passports issued by any authority but that of the Secretary of State of the United States, or of some American diplomatic or consular agent abroad.

I suppose the assumption of the title of King of Italy by the King of Sardinia has been officially made known to the Government of the United States and I believe that England has recognised Victor Emanuel in that capacity. I take it to be a matter of some importance that my letters

of credence should be addressed to the King by that title. If however, there is any legal objection to this, arising out of the form in which the nomination was made and confirmed, which indeed I do not apprehend, I should consider it highly desirable that I be instructed to explain to the minister of Foreign Affairs the reasons for adopting a form of address, which might otherwise be construed to imply an unwillingness to recognise the new title and the new authority now borne and exercised by the King of Sardinia.

As the term of thirty days from the confirmation of my nomination will have elapsed before I shall sail, I beg to be authorised to draw for the compensation fixed by law for that period, or that the amount may be remitted to my address at the Everett House, New York, by draft on New York.

It is my purpose to proceed to Turin with as little delay as possible, but as there must unavoidably be some loss of time upon so long a journey, and as the railway connection between Paris and Turin is not completed, I suppose I can hardly reach the latter city in less than a month from the day of sailing from New York. I desire to be informed whether I shall be entitled to draw for the compensation for the time consumed in the journey, upon arriving at my post, or in what manner the amount is to be liquidated and drawn for.

Although I shall probably not be in the city of New York during the whole interval between the 20th instant and the day of sailing, yet letters or dispatches addressed to me at the Everett House will be at once forwarded to me, if I should happen to be out of town when they arrive.

***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***<sup>2</sup>

Burlington, April 13, 1861.

Sir: Finding it impossible to be at Washington upon the 15 instant, I this day addressed to the Secretary of State a letter of explanation, with a request that my instructions, and authority to draw for the thirty days compensation, or a draft for the amount may be forwarded to me at the Everett House, in the city of New York, where I expect to arrive on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April.

<sup>2</sup> William Hunter è interpellato in qualità di Capo Contabile del Dipartimento di Stato. In due precedenti occasioni (4-7 marzo 1853 e 15-16 dicembre 1860), era stato Segretario di Stato *ad interim*.

When I went abroad on a former occasion I was furnished by the department with a dispatch-trunk and a sufficient quantity of stationery to serve for any occasional correspondence with the government on my outward journey. These are matters of very trifling importance, but if these allowances are still usual, I should be glad to have the articles sent to the same address, because they save to me not money, but what is just now of more consequence to me, the time necessary to provide myself with them in New York.

P. S. Dr. Wood, of the U.S. Navy writes me that he forwarded a letter to me from Erie, Penn. to the Dept of State some weeks since. I beg that this, or any other letter to my address, may be sent with the instructions.

Please send a passport for myself family & servants with the other papers. I do not know whether for passing through France I should require the visé of the French minister at Washington, but if necessary please procure the proper certificate.

***Romaine Dillon a William H. Seward***

Turin, April 16, 1861.

Sir: I arrived here the 12th instant from my late post, Rio de Janeiro.

The despatches sent me by your predecessor, consisting of my commission, instructions, letters of credence and credit &c. were, as I was informed in Paris by Mr. Faulkner<sup>3</sup>, most probably lost at the railway depot in that City by our Consul Mr. Grund, Bearer of a U.S. Despatch Bag of the 2nd February from New York of which, on its reaching Havre, he became the Bearer to Paris.

The Department was duly informed by Mr. Faulkner of the loss and duplicates were asked for and I remained two weeks in Paris hoping every mail would bring them. But they were not then nor have they since been received.

Mr. John M. Daniel our late Minister to this Court, having resigned his mission and returned home, and my having been appointed by the late administration to fill the vacancy as Chargé d'Affaires, and Mr. Frederick

<sup>3</sup> Faulkner fu inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario in Francia dal 16 gennaio 1860 fino all'arrivo di W. L. Dayton, nominato il 18 marzo 1861.



Daniel, left temporarily in charge, having passed thru' Paris on his way home, thus leaving one of our most important diplomatic posts without a representative, determined me, tho' certainly a very humble one, to proceed without delay.

My having done so will, I hope, meet with the approbation of the Department.

Count de Cavour, His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, has this day received me by appointment, as will be seen by the notes of which I annex copies. Besides the expressions of good will and esteem for our people and of regard for yourself, Sir, whom he remembered as having honoured him with a visit during your European travels, the Count expressed his deep regret at our political troubles at home but could not see how a re-union was possible, and asked if our Consul at Genoa would attend to the papers of merchantmen clearing from a southern port, he named New Orleans? I replied that secession tho' a proclaimed was not yet an accepted fact by my Government and therefore I presumed no change had taken place in the practise of our consuls and asked if any such case had occurred, he said, he knew of none as yet. I shall visit Genoa to see our consul upon the subject.

Hoping soon to receive the duplicates of my papers and any other instructions the Department may honour me with, I am

***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour*<sup>4</sup>**

Turin, April 13, 1861 [Copy].

The undersigned, appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Secretary of Legation of the United States of America to Sardinia in the month of January last has the honour to inform His Excellency Count de Cavour, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs &c &c of his arrival the 12th instant at this Legation and of his having entered upon the duties of his office as Chargé d'Affaires.

The undersigned regrets that the loss of a Despatch bag at Paris in February last, will deprive him of the honour of presenting a letter accrediting him as such diplomatic agent from the Secretary of State at Washing-

<sup>4</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 16 aprile 1861.

ton to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which he has reason to believe was sent by said conveyance.

In communicating with his Government, the undersigned will ask to be favoured with a duplicate of such letter and on its receipt at this Legation, will hasten to deliver it in person.

The undersigned requests to be informed of the day, hour and place when he can have the honour to pay his respects to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in person and avails himself of this occasion to offer his Excellency the assurances of his high regard and most distinguished consideration.

***Camillo di Cavour a Romaine Dillon*** <sup>5</sup>

*Ministère des Affaires Etrangères Cabinet*

Turin, 15 Avril 1861.

Le Comte de Cavour, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de S. M. le Roi d'Italie a l'honneur de prévenir Monsieur Romaine Dillon, Chargé d'Affaires des Etats Unis d'Amérique qu'il le recevra demain, seize du courant, à midi et demi, au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour*** <sup>6</sup>

[Turin, April 16, 1861].

Mr. Dillon, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, has the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the Count de Cavour's note of yesterday and to add that he will have the honour to wait upon him at half past twelve this day at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 1*

Washington, April 17, 1861.

Sir: The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Turin, I have the honor to transmit, here-

<sup>5</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 16 aprile 1861.

<sup>6</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 16 aprile 1861.

with, your Commission, a copy of the printed Personal Instructions to Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries, and the Documents 1, 2 & 3 named at the commencement of those instructions <sup>7</sup>.

Your salary will be at the rate of twelve thousand dollars per annum. A letter of credit upon the Bankers of the United States at London, authorizing you to draw for the same as it becomes due from and after the 27th instant, the day upon which you inform the Department you will depart for your post, and also for the contingent expenses of the Legation, not to exceed the sum of five hundred dollars per annum, is herewith enclosed. For the amount of your salary for thirty days while awaiting instructions, you are hereby authorized to draw upon this Department.

Special instructions upon the several subjects referred to in your communication of the 13th instant will, if they shall be deemed necessary, be sent to you at your post.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 1*

New York, April 22, 1861.

Sir: Upon my arrival at this city, I received a packet from the Department of State, containing my general instructions, a letter of credence to the King of Italy with an office copy of the same, a special passport, a list of the diplomatic and consular agents of the United States abroad, the Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States and a letter of credit on Baring Brothers & Co., bankers of the United States at London with a duplicate thereof, and I return herewith the original letter of credit, with my signature attached.

In pursuance of the authority granted by your letter No. 1 of April 17, 1861, I have drawn upon the Department of State, in favor of John Paine Esq of this city for the amount of my salary for thirty days while awaiting instructions, being the sum of nine hundred and eighty one dollars and thirty cents.

I shall sail for Havre in the steamer Fulton, which leaves New York on Saturday the 27 instant <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Questa è l'unica lettera inviata dal Seward al Marsh che tratti ufficialmente della sua nomina. I documenti 1, 2 e 3, elencati nelle Istruzioni, sono: a) lettera sigillata di credenziali; b) copia aperta d'ufficio di detta lettera; c) passaporto speciale. (Sono menzionati nel dispaccio n. 1, 22 aprile 1861).

<sup>8</sup> Il 5 maggio George Marsh, figlio di George P. Marsh, notificò al Seward che

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

Istruzione n. 3<sup>9</sup>

Washington, May 9, 1861.

Sir: I know that you will be welcome at Turin. Count Cavour, a true exponent of the sentiments of a generous sovereign, will be rejoiced to receive from this country a Minister who will not manifest repugnance to the aspirations of the Italian people for liberty and unity. The Government of the United States practices non—intervention in all other countries and in the controversies between them. You are at liberty, however, and indeed are especially charged, to assure His Majesty that he is held in high consideration by the President and the people of the United States. You will further assure him that it is a source of sincere satisfaction to this Government that Italy seems to be even more prosperous and happy now under his government, although enjoying only short respites from revolutionary struggles for independence, than it has been at many periods long gone by, when despotism shielded that classic region from turbulence and civil commotion.

You will learn from observation that Government, even when its counsels are inspired by patriotism and humanity, has its trials and embarrassments as well in Italy as elsewhere. How to save the country from the ambitious designs of dangerous neighbors on either hand: — how to reconcile the national passion for freedom with the profound national veneration for ecclesiastical authority; — how to harmonize the lassitude of society in the Mediterranean provinces with the vigor that prevails along the Apennines, and how to conduct affairs with so much moderation as to win the confidence of the conservative interests and yet not to lose the

una cassa inviata dal Dipartimento di Stato contenente del materiale per suo padre era arrivata dopo la sua partenza per Torino. Il giovane Marsh chiedeva di sapere cosa avrebbe dovuto farne.

<sup>9</sup> L'Istruzione n. 2, Washington, 24 aprile 1861, è identica *mutatis mutandis* alla Istruzione n. 3 inviata a N. B. Judd, Esq., Berlino. L'Istruzione n. 2, inviata a Judd a Berlino e ad altri diplomatici, è un sommario di un precedente protocollo riguardante i diritti dei paesi neutrali nella guerra marittima, sottoposto dal Presidente degli S.U. nel 1854 all'esame di molti governi. Questo argomento fu trattato al Congresso di Parigi nel 1856, e si pervenne a una dichiarazione che risultava vincolante per le sole potenze partecipanti al Congresso; le altre nazioni avrebbero dovuto esserne informate e avrebbero potuto aderirvi. Segue un resoconto della posizione tenuta dagli S.U. I negoziati erano stati sospesi da Buchanan; ora il Presidente era deciso a riprenderli e a portarli a una rapida conclusione. Della convenzione o dichiarazione si parla nel dispaccio n. 3 del 27 giugno e se ne discute, citandola, nel dispaccio n. 14 del 2 settembre 1861 (allegato). Norman B. Judd, dell'Illinois, fu nominato inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario in Prussia l'8 marzo 1861. Il 25 luglio 1861 fu autorizzato a trattare con l'Hannover per l'abolizione delle *tasse di città* (diritti provinciali). Prese congedo il 3 settembre 1865.

necessary support of the propagandists of freedom, are tasks witnessed there which will convince the American statesman that even in that country the establishment and maintenance of free government are attended with difficulties as formidable as those which sometimes produce political despondency in our own.

In another paper your attention has been directed to the duty of entering into a convention with the Government of Italy for the purpose of amending the international law of maritime war in regard to neutrals. It is desirable that the convention be completed so that it may be submitted to the Senate in July next for its ratification.

The Italian sojourning here enjoys practically all the franchises of a citizen of the United States except suffrage. He lands upon our shores, goes and comes where and when he will, and departs when he pleases, without being required at any time or any place to exhibit a passport. Such is the confidence which this free and equal government is able to repose in strangers as well as in its own citizens. The Government of Italy is scarcely less free and equal than our own. It would be pleasant to the American Government and people if His Majesty should feel that he could allow Americans the license of travelling unquestioned in the country where most of all freedom and art have delighted to dwell together, without compromising its own safety. Should you find such a disposition on his part, ample powers will be sent to you to authorize your entering into a convention to that effect.

Since the inauguration of the President it has been my duty to prepare under his directions instructions to many of our ministers going abroad. The burthen of them all has been not the ordinary incidents of international hospitality and commerce, which reduce diplomacy to a monotonous routine, but the extraordinary and sometimes alarming condition of our own internal affairs threatened with the complication most of all to be deprecated of intervention in some form or other by European nations. This foreign danger arose chiefly out of the deplorable condition of affairs at home. The Administration found the Government disorganized by the presence of disunionists of high position and authority in all its departments. Some time was necessary to eliminate them before any decisive policy could be adopted. It was moreover necessary to forbear from demonstrations of federal authority that might be represented as aggressive to allow the revolution to reveal its alarming proportions and boldly proclaim its desperate and destructive designs.

It was seen all the time that these needful delays were liable to be misunderstood abroad, and that the malcontents would endeavor to take



advantage of them there. The Government has therefore not been surprised, although it has been deeply grieved, to see the agents of the revolutionary party, perhaps even with the concurrence of some of our own demoralized ministers in Europe, insidiously seeking to obtain from some of its sovereigns a recognition of the projected treasonable Confederacy.

It has been no easy task to study the sophisms, arts and appliances which they might be expected to use in the highly commercial circles of Belgium, Paris and London. It was nevertheless necessary to attempt it, for human nature is at least no more moral, just or virtuous in courts than it is in private life.

There is no such embarrassment, however, in the present case. It often happens that foreign observers, if candid, understand American questions quite as well as Americans themselves. Botta and De Tocqueville<sup>10</sup> were of this class.

So Count Cavour cannot be at any loss to understand the present political condition of the United States.

The American Revolution of 1776 with its benignant results was due to the happy combination of three effective political ideas. First, that of emancipation from the distant European control of Great Britain; second, popular desire for an enlargement of the political rights of the individual members of the state upon the acknowledged theory of the natural rights of man. Third, the want of union among the states to secure safety, tranquillity, aggrandizement and fame.

The revolution attempted in 1861 is a spasmodic reaction against the revolution of 1776. It combines the three ideas which were put down but not extinguished in that great war; namely: first, European authority to regulate political affairs on this continent; second, the aggrandizement and extension of human slavery; third, — disunion, dissolution, anarchy.

Any impartial thinker can see that an attempt at a revolution is unnatural and perverse as this could never have been embraced by any portion of the American people except in a moment of frenzied partisan disappointment, that it has no one element of success at home, and that it is even more portentous to all other governments than to our own. It is painful to see faction stalking abroad in one's native land. But faction is incident to every state, because it is inherent in human nature. We

<sup>10</sup> Carlo Botta (1766-1837), pubblicò nel 1809 la *Storia della guerra dell'indipendenza degli Stati d'America*. Alexis Charles Henri Clérel de Tocqueville (1805-1859), nel 1831, incaricato dal governo francese di studiare il sistema carcerario americano, si recò negli S.U. e pubblicò i risultati della sua inchiesta nel 1833. Nel 1835 egli completò *La Démocratie en Amérique*.

prefer, if it must come, that it come in just its present form and character. It will perish by simply coming to confront the American people for the first time brought to meet that enemy of national peace and safety in arms. The people are aroused, awakened, resolute and determined. The danger is therefore already passed. We no longer fear, indeed we hardly deprecate, the disaster of civil war brought upon us without fault. We now see that it may be regarded as a necessary trial to preserve the perfection of our Constitution and to remove all remaining distrust of its durability and its adaptation to the universal wants of mankind.

***William H. Seward a William H. Fry***<sup>11</sup>

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Washington, May 18, 1861.

Sir: The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Secretary of the Legation of the United States at Turin, I herewith transmit your Commission in that capacity, your printed personal instructions and the papers referred to therein.

In acknowledging the receipt of this communication, you are requested to acquaint the Department with the name of the state in which you were born.

***William H. Fry a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Jones' Hotel Broadway, New York, May 23, 1861.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of my Commission, etc, as Secretary of Legation to Turin.

Before sailing, I would like to know if I can obtain from you permission to have a furlough of six months in Europe—I ask this favor because I would prefer, if it meet your approbation and sympathy, to visit some European watering-places during the summer, for my health, which I have already stated to you, suffered so much from my over-

<sup>11</sup> Il 15 maggio il Fry aveva inviato da Jones' House, Broadway, New York, una nota a F. W. Seward, vice segretario di Stato, chiedendo che gli venissero spediti la sua nomina, le credenziali e gli altri documenti, dato che prevedeva di imbarcarsi « presto ».

exertions during the presidential canvass. I would not expect or ask, that the emoluments of my office should commence, until I shall actually undertake the performance of its duties, after the expiration of six months' leave of absence<sup>12</sup>.

I presume, and indeed have every reason to believe, that this will not be disagreeable to Mr. Marsh, and I *know* that Mr. Dillon the Secretary now in charge, will remain at his post until I shall arrive at Turin.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 2*

Paris, May 29, 1861.

I sailed from New York on the 27 of April and arrived at Paris on the 13 of May.

Two or three days after I reached this city, I was invited by a person connected with leading and influential English journals to furnish facts and arguments to be employed in disabusing the English public on the legal and moral aspects of the question of the right of the Southern States to secede from the Union.

A very little observation of the present tone of British journalism, and some correspondence and verbal communication with influential Englishmen, satisfied me that I might, for a short time, make myself more useful to the public interests of the United States in this than in any other way, and for the sake of ready communication with the London press, I determined to remain in Paris longer than I had originally designed.

I have, for the past two weeks, occupied myself chiefly in drawing up notes upon the origin and legal character of the American Union, and somewhat full discussions of the question of secession, in several different points of view. These are now appearing in England, either at length as written, or as material for editorial use, and may, I hope, be of some service in the way of bringing out facts and arguments not generally familiar in England. They are not published under my signature, nor shall I be publicly known as in any way connected with the authorship of them.

I have now gone over the main points I thought it important to

<sup>12</sup> Il 27 maggio il Seward fece sapere al Fry che la sua richiesta era stata debitamente soddisfatta, precisando che i suoi emolumenti sarebbero stati sospesi dal suo arrivo in Europa fino all'entrata in carica.

discuss, and having today finished the last article I proposed to prepare at present, I shall set out for Turin tomorrow or at the latest the day after.

During my stay in Paris I have had frequent intercourse with Englishmen and Frenchmen of some position in the political world, and have been gratified to perceive that they almost universally sympathise with the North upon the moral merits of the secession question.

It is not to be denied, however, that the secessionists, who have had the ground almost exclusively to themselves in Europe until very recently, have produced in certain circles, an impression strongly favorable to the legal right of secession, and this is a point which it seems to me important to have justly set before European statesmen and the public, both through the journals and by other proper means.

I hope I shall not be thought to have deviated from the path of duty in spending a few days in the endeavor to rectify, so far as I am able, erroneous opinions which have taken root on this subject.

### ***Romaine Dillon a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, June 10, 1861.

Sir: Since my communication of the 16th April last, to announce my arrival here the 12th of that month, from my late post Rio de Janeiro, and of my having entered upon the discharge of my duties as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, the event first in order of importance tho not of time, which it is my painful duty to communicate, is the sudden death on the sixth instant of his Excellency the Count Camillo Benso de Cavour, late President of H. Majesty's Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Count was taken ill on the evening of the 29th May last, at his residence, the hotel of his elder brother the Marquis de Cavour, of what proved to be typhus fever—Injudicious and repeated bleedings at the commencement of the fever tho' I am told, at his own insistance, hastened the sad event.

The Count was never married. Europe still echoes with eulogies to his memory. Among the most felicitous and important, as expressing at the same time a political program, is a leading article in the *Constitutionnel* of Paris, semi-official, and supposed to emanate from the Emperor of the French. I extract a single sentence — « S'il y a aujourd'hui dans la peninsule un grand homme de moins, il y a, grâce a Dieu, un

grand peuple de plus. *Et ce peuple affranchi ne saurait désormais retomber dans la servitude.* » In common with my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps I attended the funeral obsequies in the Parish Church of the Madonna degli Angeli, the evening of the 7th inst. and the following morning the remains were transferred to the burial vault of the Cavour family a Santena, some six miles distant from Turin, there to remain - thus contradicting the reports of the public prints that in compliance with the King's wish they were to be entombed in the Royal Basilica of the Superga. « Exegi monumentum aere perennius Regali que situ pyramidum altius. »

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the copy of my commission and accompanying papers, certified from the Records of the Department. In connection therewith I would call attention to a Memorandum of an interview had at the Foreign Office with the late Minister for Foreign Affairs the 27th ultimo, duly entered on the records of this Legation and of which I annex a copy. (Marked A.)

Shortly after my arrival, in consequence of the warlike disturbances at home, the applications written and verbal, by disbanded officers and men of the late Garibaldian army of southern Italy, for enlistment with the United States army, became so numerous, that I would call attention to a card, of which I annex a copy, published at my request by H. M's Government in the official paper. Since which publication, these applications have much diminished and latterly have entirely ceased. It is to be remarked that they were all based upon the modest expectation of travelling and other expenses being paid by the U. S. Government.

The President's proclamations of the 19th and 27th April last received at this Legation with the Circular from the Department, were by me duly communicated to H. M's Government and printed in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* the 29th May 1861.

The first celebration of the national independence of Italy, tho' the 13th of the « Statuto » or Constitution, commenced on the 2d instant, the first Monday of June, by a military review and terminated the 4th inst. by a ball at the Palace. On being presented to the King, by the Marquis de Brème, his Majesty's Grand Master of Ceremonies prior to the opening of the ball, I thought proper to make a few congratulatory remarks, of which I annex copies. His Majesty replied in the most friendly manner and at the close of the audience which lasted some twenty minutes, extended his hand, which I pressed most cordially and withdrew to the ballroom to take my stand with the ministers plen-

ipotentiary of the foreign diplomatists, to the left of H. M., a distinguished compliment to my Government.

His Majesty has summoned the Baron Ricasoli, a very prominent conservative member of the Chamber of Deputies from Florence, to form a new ministry, which tho' not yet announced will it is thought be soon completed in continuation of the Cavour policy.

Mr. Marsh has arrived at Turin.

### ***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour***<sup>13</sup>

Turin, 4 Juin 1861.

Monsieur le Ministre: J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser reception de la note que vous m'avez adressée le 2de de ce mois et de faire connaître à V. Excellence que suivant son invitation je me rendrai ce soir au Palais de S. M. un peu avant l'ouverture du bal. Je me propose de feliciter S. M. en cette occasion par quelques paroles, dont je vous transmet le texte ci-inclus.

Sire: Chargé d'Affaires des Etats-Unis d'Amérique par interim, jusqu'à l'arrivée du citoyen distingué récemment accredité Envoy Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire du Président auprès de V. M., je remplis mon devoir, qui me dispense de toute instruction ministérielle, en venant vous offrir, à cette occasion, la première des fêtes nationales de l'Unité Italienne, les expressions sympathiques et les felicitations du Gouvernement et du Peuple Américain pour le Roi, le Royaume et le Peuple d'Italie. C'est pour moi, Sire, un honneur dont je conserverai toujours le souvenir d'avoir été le premier des Agents diplomatiques de mon Pays à saluer en Victor Emmanuel II, le Roi Galanthomme qui est le drapeau de l'Unité et de la Liberté.

### ***Memorandum dell'incontro di Romaine Dillon con il Conte di Cavour del 27 maggio 1861***<sup>14</sup>

In connection with the communication I had the honor to make to H. E. the 13th April last on my arrival in Turin, I waited upon him

<sup>13</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno. 1861.

<sup>14</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno 1861.

with certified duplicates of the papers therein referred to as having been lost at Paris by the Bearer of U. S. Despatch Bag from Havre in February last and read so much of them as I deemed pertinent, and offered to leave copies or make any further communication he might desire. The Count de Cavour expressed himself perfectly satisfied and said no copies nor any further communication on the subject of my appointment were necessary. On my renewing my expressions of regret on the absence of any letter from the late Secretary of State at Washington announcing to H. E. my appointment, the Count said the explanation was very simple, as from the date of the papers themselves, the Department had evidently expected that I would have reached Turin in time to have been presented by the late Minister from the United States before his departure. He added — « You are and have been received as the Chargé d'Affaires from the United States to this Government and I will cause a notice of the presentation of your credentials to be made in the Government organ. » The official interview here terminated <sup>15</sup>.

***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour*** <sup>16</sup>

Turin, May 17, 1861.

M. Dillon, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, presents his compliments to his Excellency the Count de Cavour, Minister for Foreign Affairs of H. M. the King of Italy, and has the honour to request the favour of the publication of the enclosed « card » in the « *Gazzetta Ufficiale* » of H. M's Government, availing himself of the occasion to renew to his Excellency the assurances of his high regard und distinguished consideration.

<sup>15</sup> *La Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*, martedì, 28 maggio, pubblicò la comunicazione seguente: « Il signor R. Dillon presentò ieri a S. Ecc. il ministro degli affari esteri le lettere colle quali viene accreditato quale Segretario di Legazione incaricato d'affari interinale degli Stati Uniti d'America presso il governo del Regno d'Italia ».

<sup>16</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno 1861.

### ***Comunicato***<sup>17</sup>

Turin, May 17, 1861.

In reply to numerous and continued applications to this Legation, by letter and in person, of foreign volunteers for enlistment in the army of the United States of America, the undersigned takes this public means of declaring that he has no knowledge official or non-official of any instructions of his Government authorizing any such enlistments, out of the United States. Romaine Dillon, Chargé d'Affaires.

### ***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour***<sup>18</sup>

Turin, May 22, 1861.

I have the honour to transmit for the information of His Majesty's Government a copy of the Proclamation of the President of the United States of America, dated Washington 27th April, 1861, directing a blockade of the ports of Virginia and North Carolina in addition to that of the ports of the States mentioned in the President's prior Proclamation of the 19th of that month of which last Proclamation I have also the honour to transmit a printed copy, with the request that all due publicity may be given to both proclamations<sup>19</sup>.

### ***Romaine Dillon a Camillo di Cavour***<sup>20</sup>

Turin, May 28, 1861.

The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America presents his compliments to his Excellency the Count de Cavour, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs of H. M. the

<sup>17</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno 1861. Tradotto in italiano, questo dispaccio fu pubblicato sulla *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*, Torino, lunedì 20 maggio.

<sup>18</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno 1861.

<sup>19</sup> La replica di Carutti per Cavour, in data 27 maggio 1861, accusava ricevuta del Proclama e ne stabiliva la pubblicazione sul giornale ufficiale del Regno. Infatti il Proclama presidenziale fu pubblicato per intero sulla *Gazzetta Ufficiale* del 29 maggio.

<sup>20</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno 1861.



King of Italy, and has the honour to express his desire to be presented to H. M. the King, Victor Emmanuel II. at such time and place as his Excellency may be pleased to inform the undersigned will be most agreeable to his Majesty <sup>21</sup>.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 5* <sup>22</sup>

Washington, June 21, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch No. 2. written at Paris May 29th has been received.

The Government not only accepts your explanation of the delay you have made on your way to your post of duty, but also appreciates and thanks you for the faithful service you have rendered to this country in an important crisis by your labors to correct an erroneous public opinion in Europe through the use of the press in London.

We hear with sincere regret and sorrow of the death of Count Cavour, a statesman honored none the less by the people of this country because the theatre of his labors is remote from our own. If it shall seem proper to you, you may express these sentiments to His Majesty.

***Romaine Dillon a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero* <sup>23</sup>

Turin, June 22, 1861.

The reconstruction of the Ministry, rendered necessary, as mentioned in my communication of the tenth instant, by the death of the late President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by the

<sup>21</sup> La risposta confermava che Vittorio Emanuele II avrebbe ricevuto il Dillon martedì sera, 4 giugno, poco prima dell'inizio del ballo di Corte. L'allegato G conteneva l'invito al ballo e l'allegato H annunciava la morte di Cavour.

<sup>22</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 4, Washington, 10 giugno 1861, il Seward comunicava la nomina di T. Bigelow Lawrence, del Massachusetts, a console degli S.U. a Firenze.

<sup>23</sup> Nell'accusare al Marsh ricevuta di questa comunicazione il Seward, con l'Istruzione n. 9, Washington, 27 luglio 1861, faceva notare che « il resoconto del Dillon sulle condizioni degli affari pubblici in Italia e sui provvedimenti amministrativi ivi adottati è molto interessante ma non sembra richiedere nessuna risposta particolare ».

subsequent resignations of the ministers of War, Agriculture and Justice, was happily accomplished, with the approbation of the King, on the twelfth instant, by his Excellency the Baron Bettino Ricasoli. The new Ministers were received by H. M. the same day and took the oaths of office. The official announcements were immediately afterwards made in the sittings of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, by the President of the Council, Baron Ricasoli, who in his accompanying remarks, amid the unanimous approbation of both bodies, declared the policy of the new ministry to be a continuation of that inaugurated by his illustrious predecessor. I annex a list of the Ministry as copied from the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the Kingdom.

The Chambers will continue in session for the passage of laws of pressing importance; such as, the consolidation of the public debt, actually passed; the increase of the national armament as proposed by General Garibaldi, now under discussion; the new loan as presented by bill from the Minister of Finance; and a system of public works principally railroads throughout the peninsula, and will then adjourn.

The public papers report the exchange by the hands of the Count Vimercati<sup>24</sup>, of the official notes, recognising the Kingdom of Italy by the French Government, reserving the Roman question in *statu quo*; but no publication of them has yet been made, tho' I do not doubt the truth of the rumors.

His Holiness Pope Pius Ninth is said to be dangerously ill.

I had the honour the 14th instant to pay my respects in person to Baron Ricasoli at the Foreign Office and at the same time to announce to H. E. the arrival at this court of Mr. George P. Marsh, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America to the King of Italy. H. E. expressed his desire to receive our new Minister the following day when I had the pleasure to accompany Mr. Marsh in his first visit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Copies of the notes passed on the occasion between the Foreign Office and the Legation are annexed.

M. Marsh informs me that he is in receipt this day of a communication from the Prefect of the Royal Palace saying that the King will receive him tomorrow morning, Sunday, at eleven A. M. in private audience for the presentation of letters of credence<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Ottaviano Vimercati (1815-1879) era addetto militare presso l'Ambasciata d'Italia a Parigi, carica che conservò fino alla caduta dell'Impero.

<sup>25</sup> Una nota negli archivi dell'Ambasciata americana a Roma rende noto che il

My functions as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim will thereupon become merged in those of Secretary of this Legation, in which latter capacity I shall continue to serve until further advised.

During my short stay in Paris, I had a consultation with my medical adviser, who urged me to revisit the French Pyrenees for their mineral waters and I therefore ask that M. Marsh may be authorised by the Secretary of State to grant me leave of absence to do so at such time during the summer months as may be consistent with the duties of the Legation and the interests of the service. I should expect to return early in September.

The law of Congress of August 18, 1856, having provided for the pay of secretaries, acting as Chargé d'Affaires, I shall at an early day forward to the Treasury Department my account in conformity with Section ten of that Act and shall draw upon the Government Bankers for the contingencies during that period. My present letter of credit on the United States Bankers, London, being for fifteen hundred dollars the old rate, I would ask to be furnished with a new credit for eighteen hundred dollars per annum in conformity with the new bill raising the grade of this mission.

***Bettino Ricasoli a Romaine Dillon*** <sup>26</sup>

Turin, le 13 Juin 1861.

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires: Sa Majesté ayant daigné m'appeler à la Présidence du Conseil, et me confier en même temps le Portefeuille des Affaires Etrangères, j'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir que je viens d'entrer dans l'exercice de mes nouvelles fonctions et de prendre la direction de ce Département.

En commençant les relations officielles que j'aurai ainsi l'honneur d'entretenir avec vous, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, je me plais à

Marsh arrivò a Torino il 7 giugno 1861, un giorno dopo la morte di Cavour, ma che a causa del ritardo nella formazione del nuovo gabinetto e per l'assenza del Re, non fu ricevuto in udienza da Vittorio Emanuele II fino al 23 giugno. Quel giorno, nel corso di un'udienza privata, il Marsh presentò le sue credenziali ed entrò ufficialmente in carica.

<sup>26</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 22 giugno 1861.

vous témoigner tout le prix que j'y attache, et à vous exprimer la confiance que les dispositions si obligeantes, que mon prédécesseur, d'illustre mémoire, a constamment rencontrées de votre part, ne me feront pas défaut, et me faciliteront, comme à lui, la tâche de cultiver avec vous les relations amicales qui unissent nos deux pays.

Veuillez être persuadé, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, que j'y apporterai pour ma part le concours le plus sincère, et agréer les assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

Ricasoli

***Romaine Dillon a Bettino Ricasoli*** <sup>27</sup>

Turin, June 15, 1861.

Sir: I hasten to acknowledge the receipt yesterday of your note of the 13th instant, informing me that His Majesty had confided to your hands the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and that you had accepted the charge of that Department.

It will be the duty of M. George P. Marsh, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America, whom I shall have the honour personally to present to you this day, to make to your Excellency the official assurances of cordial sympathy which exist between our Government and that of H. M. the King of Italy. The arrival of this Minister puts an end to my quality of Chargé d'Affaires and my functions will be reduced, to those of Secretary of Legation, as soon as M. Marsh shall have presented his credentials.

I can therefore only renew the expressions of my sincere regret at the death of your illustrious predecessor, who left ineffaceable impressions of respect on the hearts of all who had the honour to know him, and to thank you, Sir, for the kind words with which you appeal to my cooperation on this trying occasion, and to offer you with my best wishes for the future prosperity of his Majesty's Government, the humble testimony of my conviction that in your firm and loyal hands, the destinies of Italy will grow and be consolidated.

<sup>27</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 22 giugno 1861.

### *Lista del nuovo Ministero* <sup>28</sup>

Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs	Baron Bettino Ricasoli
Interior	Comm. Marco Minghetti
Finance	Chev. Pietro Bastogi
Navy	Lieutenant General, Chev. Luigi Federico Menabrea
Grace and Justice	Comm. Vincenzo Miglietti
Public Works	Comm. Ubaldino Peruzzi
Public Instruction	Chev. Francesco De Sanctis
Agriculture and Commerce	Chev. Filippo Cordova
War	Baron Bettino Ricasoli, Acting.

### *George P. Marsh a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 3*

Turin, June 27, 1861.

Sir: The interruption of business in the Foreign Office of this Government occasioned by the illness and death of Count Cavour, and a week's absence of the King which immediately followed the formation of the new ministry, prevented me from obtaining an audience of His Majesty for the purpose of delivering my letters of credence, until Sunday the 23<sup>d</sup> day of this month.

On that day I was received by the King, and in accordance with my instructions, conveyed to him assurances of the high consideration in which he is held by the President and people of the United States and of their satisfaction in observing the apparent prosperity and happiness of Italy under His Majesty's government. I further expressed the personal gratification I had derived from being selected to represent the United States near the government of the Italian people — a people which I had long known and which had always inspired me with deep interest — and especially from the honor of being the first diplomat [sic] accredited to the first King of Italy.

His Majesty received these remarks very graciously, using some terms personally complimentary to me, testified much respect for the

<sup>28</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Dillon del 22 giugno 1861.

President and for yourself, and expressed a strong interest in the welfare and prosperity of the United States, as well as much solicitude for an honorable termination of the present contest between the Government and the seceding states.

The audience was strictly private, no person but His Majesty and myself being present, and the interview was therefore of a less formal character than is usual with royal receptions. It is perhaps proper to add that the communication was conducted in French, which is the usual language of oral intercourse between foreign ministers and the Sovereign, or the heads of department at this court.

With Baron Ricasoli, the new head of the Ministry and Minister of Foreign Affairs I have had several interviews, as well before as since my reception by the King, and I therefore am not aware that the public interests have sustained any detriment by the delay of my official reception. In all these interviews, American politics have formed a leading topic of conversation, and though Baron Ricasoli speaks with proper caution, the tone of his remarks leaves no room for doubt that his personal sympathies, as well as those of his Government, are entirely on the side of the President and the constituted authorities of the Union in this great struggle.

The first point which I brought to the notice of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was the prevention of movements hostile to the United States in the territories of the King of Italy. I stated that I had been led to fear that some attempts were making at Genoa to fit out vessels or purchase arms for the service of the rebels, and begged that the attention of the local authorities at Genoa might be drawn to the subject. Baron Ricasoli replied that the Government would not knowingly permit any such purchases to be made and that he would request the Minister of the Interior to direct that the police of Genoa should be watchful to detect and prevent any negotiations for that purpose.

The suggestions I made to Baron Ricasoli on this subject were founded partly on a letter from Mr. H. S. Sanford<sup>29</sup>, and partly on vague rumors circulating here, which I have been unable to trace to any certain foundation, though I have made inquiry in all quarters known to me, which seemed to be probable sources of information. In the course

<sup>29</sup> Henry Shelton Sanford, nominato Ambasciatore degli S.U. in Belgio il 20 marzo 1861, cessò dalle sue funzioni il 21 luglio 1869. In precedenza era stato Segretario d'Ambasciata in Francia.

of the last week, I employed an Italian gentleman, then about to proceed to Genoa, and whom I believe to be entirely trustworthy to investigate the subject on the spot. He is still absent, and as he has not written to me since arriving at Genoa, I infer that he has made no discoveries.

I have communicated to baron Ricasoli the substance of my instructions with regard to the proposed convention for the suppression of privateering and the exemption of private property from capture by national ships of war in certain cases. He replied that the Italian Government had not yet become a party to the convention of 1856, and added that the pressure of business in his department would prevent his giving immediate attention to the subject, but he expressed no objection to a negotiation on the basis proposed in your instructions of the 24th of April 1861, or even on the broader ground of the total exemption of all private property, not contraband of war, from capture at sea by ships of war in all cases.

The Italian Parliament is now in session, and will probably not adjourn before the 15th or 20th of July. The cabinet ministers are members as in England, and regularly attend the sessions, which occupy a large part of the day. Many important topics are under discussion in Parliament, and still more weighty questions of domestic and foreign policy are making large demands on the time and absorbing the thoughts of the administration. It is, therefore, not probable, as Baron Ricasoli intimated, that he will be able to consider the subject of the convention until the adjournment of the national legislature shall leave him more at leisure. In the meantime, the negotiation with the English and French governments on the same subject will probably be brought to a close, and the final decision of the Italian Government will be much influenced by that of England and of France.

The death of Count Cavour after an illness of a week's duration, and which, for the first few days, was not of a threatening character, was a great shock to the friends of constitutional liberty and progress, and an occasion of much ill-suppressed exultation among the advocates of temporal and spiritual despotism, throughout Europe, and especially in Italy. To me, personally, it is a source of profound regret, both for less selfish reasons and because I had special grounds for expecting, more from his often expressed high regard for the President and yourself than from any other cause, agreeable private and official relations with this great statesman.

The successor of Count Cavour, and I may apply the same remarks to most, if not all of the members of the Cabinet, is a man of a high

order of talent, of great devotion to the interests of his country, of the same general doctrines of national policy as his predecessor, and of sincere attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty. The remarkable unanimity with which the new Cabinet is sustained by the Parliament is a favorable omen so far as respects the domestic success of the Government, and there is some reason to think that the death of a prime minister, who was regarded with so much personal ill will by the re-actionary party in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, may tend to diminish the asperity with which his policy has been hitherto opposed by that party.

The Roman question is of course the great obstacle to the success of the national government. There is no doubt that a large majority of the leading minds of Italy regard the temporal power of the Pope as a source of enormous and uncompensated political and social evils, and I believe they are rapidly coming to the conclusion, that absolute religious liberty, and the absolute legal, civil and political equality of religious sects, are essential features of the constitution of a free state. The opinion of Baron Ricasoli on the temporal power of the Pope may be gathered from an extract from a speech of his, in the leading article of this morning's *Opinione*,<sup>30</sup> which I forward to Mr. Miller with this despatch.

There is, no doubt, some danger that the great political importance of securing Rome as the national capital may induce the Italian government to yield too much on the question of religious liberty, as the price of the Pope's renunciation of his temporal crown, but I see no reason to believe that the party now in power is prepared to make any such compromise — a compromise which would involve the virtual sacrifice of all that Italy has gained by the struggles of a generation.

The hope of the liberalists, and I suppose of this Government, is, that if Austria and Spain refuse to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, as they probably will, the Emperor of France will finally withdraw his troops from Rome and forbid the interference of other foreign powers. In that event, it is thought that the impossibility of maintaining his government against the will of his people, and the common sentiment of the age, would soon induce the Pope to resign his temporal authority, without the employment of force by the Italian Government.

<sup>30</sup> La copia che si accludeva è datata 27 giugno 1861. Washington, National Archives.



**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 4*<sup>31</sup>

Turin, June 27, 1861.

Sir: I learned last evening from a military gentlemen that a Genoese merchant now at Turin had a considerable number of muskets for sale, and I have this morning seen one of the guns and had an interview with the owner.

These arms are of British manufacture, with the tower stamp and date of 1851. They are not rifled but have been restocked and furnished with percussion locks, and, so far as I can judge from the inspection of a single piece, they are in good order. They are provided with bayonets, drawing-screws and ramrods, but no other accompaniments. The proprietor says they are boxed ready for shipping, and will be delivered at Genoa at twenty francs each. The number is twelve thousand, besides which he offers to sell twelve hundred Prussian muskets of different calibres, and a large number of English six-barrelled revolvers, and fifteen thousand muskets now at Palermo, in case this government, which has been in treaty for these last mentioned muskets, shall not comply with his terms. He has also a large stock of cavalry swords for sale. This person states further, that about six or eight weeks since, an English house at Genoa bought about two thousand French muskets, on American account, at thirty or thirty two francs. These were shipped to America, and I presume were bought for the use of the rebels.

Having no authority for the purchase of arms, and no instructions as to the wishes of the Government on this subject, I can only write to Mr. Dayton<sup>32</sup> and to Mr. Sanford, who may perhaps be in communication with public agents authorised to buy, but I think it important that the American Government should be made aware of the existence of considerable depots of sale arms [sic] in this Kingdom.

To a question whether he thought the Italian Government would interpose any obstacle to the shipment of arms to America, the merchant replied that he had means of managing that point and could easily elude the provisions of any prohibitory laws and the vigilance of the officers of the customs, at the ports of this Kingdom.

<sup>31</sup> In risposta a questo dispaccio il Seward, con l'Istruzione n. 10, Washington, 29 luglio 1861, ringraziava il Marsh per la sua « diligente vigilanza » ed aggiungeva che « un agente del Governo, dopo un incontro con Sanford, vi intratterrà probabilmente su questo affare ».

<sup>32</sup> William L. Dayton (1807-1864) fu nominato inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario in Francia il 18 marzo 1861. Morì il 1° dicembre 1864, essendo ancora in carica.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Privata e confidenziale*

Turin, June 28, 1861

Sir: I take the liberty of drawing your attention to the importance of making such changes in our consular establishment in the Mediterranean as will secure to the government faithful agents in that department of the public service in the present important crisis. Several of the American consuls at the Mediterranean ports, and elsewhere in Europe, are citizens of seceding states, and of very doubtful fidelity to the Union, even in cases where no positive evidence exists against them.

This latter observation applies generally to the appointees of the late and of Gen. Peirce's [sic]<sup>33</sup> administration throughout Europe. They came to this continent as enemies to the policy which the election of President Lincoln foreshadowed, they have not been exposed to the action of the healthy domestic influences which have rallied around the administration at home so many of those who had before sustained the views of the South; they have been, with few if any, exceptions, through the past winter, on terms of familiar if not confidential intercourse with the agents of the secessionists; the consular and diplomatic rooms have, in most of the European capitals, been the regular rendezvous of rebels and traitors, and though many of these officers now profess attachment to the Union and are appealing to home influences to sustain them, their *sympathies* are evidently just what they were before the rebellion was organized.

I have been at some pains to ascertain the opinions of loyal American travellers and residents in Europe, who have had occasion to observe these officers for some months past, and I have no hesitation in saying that I do not believe there is an American consular agent in Europe, appointed by President's Peirce [sic] and Buchanan, against whom there is not grave cause of suspicion. There is certainly not one concerning whom I have had an opportunity to inquire with whom I should consider it safe to hold confidential intercourse, and I do not know a single official agent of the American Government in Europe,

<sup>33</sup> Ebenezer Weaver Pierce, nato nel 1822 nel Massachusetts, dapprima generale di brigata della milizia nazionale, fu nel 1861 al seguito del generale B. F. Butler a Fort Monroe, in Virginia, e fu messo a capo di 3.500 uomini che guidò in un non riuscito attacco ai Confederati a Big and Little Bethel il 10 giugno 1861. Comandò poi la 29ª Divisione dei volontari del Massachusetts, e lasciò il servizio attivo nel novembre del 1864.

except those appointed by this administration, with whom I can freely correspond.

I am confident that I speak the nearly unanimous sentiments of patriotic Americans who have had opportunities for personal observation in Europe, when I say that I believe the public interest demands the immediate removal of every officer of this description, who was commissioned by the last two administrations, and who is still permitted to hold over.

I believe the number of consular agents in the Mediterranean ought to be largely increased. There is a considerable number of obscure posts in the Kingdom of Italy and in Greece, where vessels might be fitted out for piratical purpose under the confederate flag, with little danger of detection by the central governments or of obstruction by the local authorities. Take, for instance, the Greek islands, the island of Sardinia, the coasts of Calabria, all of which lie so near the route of ships passing between the Eastern and Western basins of the Mediterranean: small swift—sailing vessels, provided with letters of marque from the South, and armed with muskets and boarding pikes might slip out from these harbors, capture American ships, and take them into Tangier, Tripoli, or Tunis or, if that were not found practicable, plunder and sink them.

Vigilant consuls at Cagliari, at some of the ports of Calabria and of Greece could do much to prevent such dangers, which may become formidable if the war is protracted, and it seems to me that appropriations ought to be made for the compensation of consuls at those points.

I am aware that the American navy has abundant employment on our own coasts, but I think the presence of an armed steamer, in the Mediterranean a matter of much importance to the security of our commerce in that sea.

Italy is largely represented at New Orleans, and the emigrant Italians at that city probably share the political opinions and feelings of the majority<sup>34</sup>. That some of these persons may be sent over to these

<sup>34</sup> Un dispaccio inviato in data 24 gennaio 1852 da A. Michaud, vice console sardo a New Orleans, al Ministro degli Esteri del Regno di Sardegna, affermava che ammontavano a 800 i savoiard, i piemontesi e i genovesi residenti in New Orleans, e che altri 400 vivevano in altre zone della Louisiana (Archivio di Stato, Torino). Un altro dispaccio spedito il 19 aprile 1854 da G. Lanata, console sardo a New Orleans, precisava che il numero dei « sudditi di Sua Maestà » residenti a New York oscillava tra i 1.000 e i 1.200, in gran parte genovesi, piemontesi e savoiard. Non mancavano poi italiani originari di altre regioni della penisola, soprattutto siciliani. Gli italiani di New Orleans avevano da poco fondato una « Società di Mutua Beneficenza » (Archivio di Stato, Torino). Secondo il censimento federale del 1860, vivevano in Louisiana complessivamente 1.134 italiani; tale numero era salito con il censimento del 1870 a 1.889, compresi cinque negri.

coasts with letters of marque is highly probable, and I think that no time should be lost in so organizing our consulates as to furnish more efficient checks to their operations than at present exist.

I have no evidence of any complicity of Mr. Patterson in the purchase of the arms I mentioned in my last as having been bought at Genoa on probably rebel account, but in any case, I do not think the transaction likely to have taken place, if a competent and faithful officer had been in charge of the consulate at that city.

***Romaine Dillon a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, July 1, 1861.

Sir: In confirmation of my communication of the 22d ultimo, the recognition of this Kingdom by the French Government was announced in the Chamber of Deputies the 25th of the same month by Baron Ricasoli and the diplomatic notes exchanged between the two governments laid on the table of the House. I enclose the printed copies as also an interesting letter of Victor Hugo's, which will explain itself.

Mr. Marsh had his audience of the King at the Royal Palace for the presentation of his credentials the morning of the 23d ultimo.

In compliance with the printed Circular Instructions from the Department dated 6 May last, I have to report the granting of two passports, while acting as Chargé d'Affaires, as follows: —

No. 1. dated 23 May 1861, to Mrs. Catherine Jones, wife of Captain Llewellyn Jones, U. S. A. and daughter, on their way to Paris, on the evidence of her husband's passport, dated Washington 31 May 1860, No. 19.891 and returned to Captain Jones at Florence.

No. 2. Dated 27 May 1861, to Louis Lenairs, an American seaman upon the evidence of the enclosed Certificate, which though not signed is sealed and otherwise so regular as not authorising me, in my judgment, to refuse a passport for France.

I herewith enclose a letter to the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury Department, transmitting for settlement my accounts in duplicate for salary and contingencies to date. For the contingencies I have this day drawn on the Government Bankers, London, and for the salary I shall esteem it a personal favour to be informed by the Comptroller at an early day of the balance found due me, as I shall delay drawing for it on the Department until advised of such adjustment.

*Copies enclosed* <sup>35</sup>.

Notes exchanged between the Italian and French Governments on occasion of the recognition of the former by the latter, with Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy.

Letter of Victor Hugo to Italians &c at Palermo.

No. 43. Seamen's Protection. dated 2. March 1858. Augustus Schell. Collector of the District of New York — to Louis Lenairs — an American Seaman, born in San José, State of California.

P. S. The Bill for a Loan of 500. millions of francs passed the Chambers this morning.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 5*

Turin, July 6, 1861.

Sir: Having heard a report that Mr. Patterson, Consul of the United States at Genoa, expects a commission from the Southern Confederacy to act as consul of the rebel states at that port, I called on Baron Ricasoli yesterday morning, and protested against the recognition of Mr. Patterson, or of any other person, as a consular agent of the Confederacy.

Baron Ricasoli assured me that under present circumstances at least, no such agent would be recognized at any Italian post, and he took occasion to repeat, in strong language, the expression of his own warm personal sympathy with the federal government of the United States, and his earnest hope that the present contest between the Government and the seceding states would end in the reestablishment of the lawful authority of the Union, and be settled on terms which would secure the triumph of the principles of freedom, and the ultimate extinction of human slavery. He added that in these expressions he was speaking the sentiments of His Majesty and of the entire Government of which he was a member.

I then referred to apprehensions which had been expressed in America of the fitting out of privateers in remote Italian ports under the Confederate flag. He replied that the government officers would endeavor to

<sup>35</sup> Gli unici allegati ritrovati sono: 1) alcuni ritagli di giornale contenenti il testo del dispaccio di Thouvenel all'incaricato d'affari a Torino, in data 15 giugno 1861, sul riconoscimento ufficiale del Regno d'Italia; 2) un documento riguardante il Sig. Augustus Schell.

prevent such violations of the laws, but that it would be difficult to exercise a vigilant supervision over all the remote and unfrequented ports of the peninsula and islands, and he advised the appointment of American consuls at points favorable for observation along the coasts, as a good means of detecting and preventing such movements.

I had, on the same day, an audience of the Prince of Carignano, who expressed opinions and feelings similar to those of Baron Ricasoli with respect to our present national difficulties, and I may add that every member of the Government and almost every gentleman in public life, with whom I have conversed at Turin, coincides in these sentiments.

On the other hand I learn from a variety of sources that Count Cavour, though sympathizing entirely with the cause of the federal government, had been led to entertain very serious doubts whether a restoration of the authority of the Union over the seceding states and a reconciliation of the present divisions were practicable and to apprehend that the independence of the Southern Confederacy must in the end be recognized by the Northern States. These views, I have the best reason to believe, had been combatted by more than one European member of the diplomatic corps, and not without effect, and thus far I cannot learn that they are shared by any person of authority or influence at this court.

Baron Ricasoli has studied the question with more care than is usual with European statesmen, partly, no doubt, with reference to the supposed analogies between our form of government and the plans which have been suggested for the formation of an Italian confederation, and his well-founded opposition to these latter schemes has probably strengthened his feelings in regard to our own political position.

The favorable sentiments with which the present administration of the federal government is regarded by most continental statesmen, are founded (independently of the high personal regard felt for the President and his constitutional advisers), partly on the opinion that it is sustaining the cause of constitutional authority, of the entirety of nationalities, and of established order, against causeless rebellion, violent disruption of a commonwealth essentially a unit, and disorganizing and lawless misrule, but still more, I think on the belief that the struggle in which it is now involved is virtually a contest between the propagandists of domestic slavery and the advocates of emancipation and universal freedom. If the civil war be protracted, I am convinced that our hold upon the sympathy and good will of the governments, and still more of the people of Europe, will depend upon the distinctness with which this issue is kept before them, and if it were now proposed by the federal government to purchase

the submission of the South by any concession to their demands on this subject or by assuming any attitude but that of at least moral hostility to slavery, I have no doubt that the dissolution of the Union would be both desired and promoted by a vast majority of those who now hope for its perpetuation.

The Parliament will probably not adjourn before the 20th of this month perhaps not before first of August. The sessions of the Chambers commence at seven A. M. and, with an interval of two or three hours in the middle of the day, continue till evening.

It will therefore be impracticable to enter upon the negotiation of a treaty for the suppression of privateering, for some weeks, and I think that Italy will then follow the lead of France and England.

I received some days since the commission of Mr. J. Bigelow Lawrence as Consul General at Florence, and immediately asked an *exequatur*, but have as yet received no reply to my communication.

### **George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 6*

Turin, July 22, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 5. under date of June 21st. 1861, and am glad to learn that you approve of my delay at Paris. The articles I prepared had a wide circulation in England, and were I hope, not absolutely unproductive of good, though I am abundantly aware that their effect must have been insignificant in comparison with that produced by the able papers which have emanated from the State Department, by the skill with which Mr. Adams has conducted the delicate and difficult negotiations confided to him, and, I may add, by the tone of American journalism<sup>36</sup>.

I stated in my last dispatch that Count Cavour had imbibed the opin-

<sup>36</sup> Charles Francis Adams (1807-1886). Figlio di un ambasciatore, crebbe nelle legazioni di Pietroburgo e di Londra; studiò poi giurisprudenza nel Massachusetts, al cui parlamento fu eletto. Membro del Northern Whig Party, operò tra i « conscience whigs » in opposizione ai « cotton whigs » e nel 1846 diede vita al Free Soil Party, che pochi anni più tardi avrebbe costituito il nucleo del Partito repubblicano. Dal 1858 al 1860 fu deputato repubblicano al Congresso, e nel marzo 1861 fu da Lincoln inviato come ministro in Inghilterra, dove prestò servizio fino al 13 maggio 1868, contribuendo in larga parte al mantenimento dei buoni rapporti tra la Gran Bretagna e gli Stati Uniti durante la fase critica della Guerra Civile. La sua esperienza di costituzionalista gli giovò nella soluzione di varie questioni diplomatiche (l'affare *Trent*, ad esempio), così che nel 1871 fu delegato a rappresentare il suo paese nell'arbitrato di Ginevra tra Gran Bretagna e S.U. deciso dal Trattato di Washington.

ion that the present contest in America must end in the recognition of the independence of the seceding states. This opinion, I believe, he derived less from a study of the merits of the question, than from intercourse with Americans during the last few months, nearly all of those with whom he came in contact at that time being unfavorably disposed to the present administration, and inclined to sympathize with the seceders.

Baron Ricasoli, fortunately, seems to have been little exposed to these influences, and I have reason to think that his juster opinions with regard to the causes and the probable result of our present national difficulties have been in a considerable degree derived from the perusal of Count Gasparin's *Un grand peuple qui se relève*,<sup>37</sup> a work which, in spite of its mistakes in point of fact, and of certain uncharitable errors of judgment to which I need not allude, has been widely read in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, and, as I judge from the frequent reference I hear made to it, has produced a very considerable impression on the public opinion of the continent.

I have not enclosed to the Department the late remarkable speech of Baron Ricasoli, referring to the Roman and the Venetian questions, and to that of territorial cession, because, as both the speech and the comments upon it would reach you sooner through other channels, I should only encumber my dispatches with superfluous matter by sending them.

The speech was carefully considered and, I am confident, does no more than express the general feeling and the settled purposes of the Italian Government and people, nor do I think it is disapproved by any of the governments to which Italy has hitherto looked for countenance and encouragement. The acquisition of the island of Sardinia is indeed, undoubtedly a part of the fixed policy of France, but the present is not a favorable moment for pressing that point, or for avowing a strong desire to possess that island, and Baron Ricasoli thought it wise to seize an occasion of anticipating and avoiding a troublesome question by peremptorily refusing that which, as yet, had not been demanded if indeed distinctly asked, by the powerful ally of his government.

I think, for my part, that the Italians attach too much importance to this island, which cannot be made available, in a military or an economical point of view, without an expenditure which is beyond the resources

<sup>37</sup> Étienne Agénor, conte di Gasparin (1810-1871). Scrittore e uomo politico francese. Fece parte del consiglio dei ministri fino al 1847, dopo di che si dedicò con gli scritti a sostenere la causa del protestantesimo. Propugnò l'abolizione della schiavitù in *Esclavage et Traite*, Parigi, 1838; e di nuovo in *Un grand peuple qui se relève*, Parigi, 1861 e in *L'Amérique devant l'Europe, principe et intérêts*, Parigi, 1862.



of it to France, to which the possession of it is a matter of immediate practical importance, would be a far smaller evil to the Kingdom of Italy than the loss of eastern Savoy and of Nice. If a rectification of the present boundary line, which has put France in absolute possession of the key to northern Italy, could be purchased by the sacrifice of Sardinia, it would be very cheaply bought.

In private conversations I have had with Baron Ricasoli, he has expressed himself on the Roman question in more confident and decided terms than in the speech, and though I can allege, in support of the opinion, no specific facts, which would strike any but a near observer as entitled to much weight, I cannot but believe that this question is nearer a satisfactory solution than has been generally supposed.

The Italian Senate is still in session, though the Chamber of Deputies has adjourned, but will, I suppose, close its labors in a day or two.

Mr. Dillon, Secretary of this Legation, informed me some weeks since, that he had written to the Department asking leave of absence for the purpose of using the mineral waters of Vichy; and requested my consent to his departure. I have no doubt that his health requires this indulgence, and I therefore told him that though I had no authority in the premises, I should interpose no objection, and that if he chose to assume the responsibility of leaving without waiting for the leave requested, I should not ask him to remain at his post later than the middle of this month. Mr. Dillon informs me that the proper period for using these waters is the present, and he accordingly started for Vichy about a week since, intending to return by the first of September.

It is understood that the King and court propose to visit Florence during the great national exposition of industry, which is to take place at that city in September. I suppose that my presence at Florence at that time would not be an absence from my « post » within the meaning of the law, inasmuch as the government is taken to reside in the person of the King; but I desire to avoid any question on that subject, and therefore ask leave to attend the exposition for a reasonable time. I may add that I have no personal objects to gratify in making this request, and that I propose to incur the expense and inconvenience of this journey, in the belief that I can thereby be of some use to the industrial and economical, if not the political, interests of my country, by availing myself of further opportunities of observation on certain mechanical products and processes, to which on former occasions, I have already devoted a good deal of attention.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 7, confidenziale*

Turin, July 22, 1861.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Mr. F. W. Behn former consul and now acting consul of the United States at Messina, asking me to recommend him for re-appointment to that consulate.

I can testify with pleasure to the discretion, ability and fidelity with which Mr. Behn discharged the duties of that post under his original appointment, and I have no doubt that he is still abundantly competent to perform those duties in a manner entirely satisfactory to his own Government and to the local authorities. I have, however, in replying to Mr. Behn, thought it right to say that the recommendation I should give would be qualified by the expression of an opinion that he ought to give more than presumptive evidence of his loyalty to the Constitution and his readiness to sustain, to the utmost of his ability, the present administration in its endeavors to put down the rebellion in which the seceding states are now engaged. The importance of having the Mediterranean consulates filled at this moment, by men whose loyalty, activity, and fidelity are above all suspicion, can hardly be overrated, as our commerce in that sea will probably be exposed to great risk from piratical cruisers under the confederate flag, and I hope Mr. Behn will be able to show that he is free from all imputation of collusion with disunion agents.

Under date of July 16<sup>th</sup> Mr. R. M. Walsh<sup>38</sup>, Secretary of Legation at Paris, under the late administration informs me that he has been appointed United States Consul at Leghorn, but no commission for him has yet reached me.

I have no personal knowledge of Mr. Walsh, and certainly bear him no ill will; I have had friendly relations with some of his family, and should be loth to do him an injury; but it is my duty to state to you, that having been asked, while in Paris, to recommend him for the appointment of Secretary of this Legation, in case Mr. Fry should resign, I was led to make inquiries respecting his political character and sentiments, and learned from sources which could hardly be mistaken, and which I confidently trust would not misrepresent the facts, that his property, or rather that of his wife, was situated or invested in North Carolina, that he had been, through the last winter, in intimate

<sup>38</sup> Robert M. Walsh, della Pennsylvania, dopo aver prestato servizio come segretario delle legazioni degli S.U. in Brasile ed in Messico, fu destinato a Parigi quale segretario di legazione per il periodo 7 gennaio 1861-19 maggio 1861. Nominato console a Livorno, si vide revocare la nomina.

association with the secession agents, that he openly and warmly defended the moral and legal right of the seceding states to withdraw from the Union, justified the proceedings of those states, and unequivocally and severely condemned the policy of the present administration as indicated by President Lincoln's inaugural address, and the early measures of his government.

It was added that Mr. Walsh was not only decidedly, but clamorously, hostile to the policy of the Italian government, and to the political unity of the Italian people, and a partisan of the ex-King of Naples, the Austrian Government of the Italian provinces, and the abuses of papal misrule in the pontifical states.

I do not suppose that the mere opinions of Mr. Walsh on this latter subject would be made a test of his fitness for a consulate in Italy, by the American Government, but the undisguised expression of such sentiments would give just offence to the Italian Government and nation, and therefore be a valid objection to his appointment to such a post.

The information thus given me was confidentially communicated, and I cannot name the sources, or in any way compromise the persons from whom I derived it, but I have not the slightest doubt of its entire accuracy, and I should accordingly not venture to correspond with Mr. Walsh on any subject requiring confidence, or charge him with any inquiries into suspected hostile intrigues of the Confederates, unless in obedience to the express orders of the Government.

The consulate at Leghorn is, at present, more important than any other in the Mediterranean, Marseilles not excepted, because it is in free and frequent communication with all parts of the peninsular [sic]; the Sicilian and the Sardinian coasts, and is therefore, the best point of observation respecting any movements of the Confederates towards the fitting out of privateers or the purchase of arms of which great quantities are now for sale in Italy. It is therefore a matter of much moment that this consulate, which is among the most desirable in the gift of the Government, should be filled by a vigilant and faithful officer, whose loyalty and zeal in behalf of the honor and the interests of his country are beyond all question, and I hope the appointment of Mr. Walsh, if really made, may be reconsidered.

I have some reason to suppose that Mr. Franklin Nash<sup>39</sup> of Boston would accept this place, though I do not know that he desires it.

<sup>39</sup> Franklin P. Nash era un giovane studioso di Harvard che il Marsh aiutò con le sue ricerche d'archivio in Italia. Cfr. LOWENTHAL, *George P. Marsh* cit., p. 292.

He is thoroughly qualified for the post by a perfect knowledge of the language and people of Italy, and by general attainment, character and principle, and I think Mr. Sumner would warmly recommend his appointment if consulted.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 8* <sup>40</sup>

Washington, July 23, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of June 27th (No. 3) has been received.

The account it gives us of your reception and of the sentiments and feelings of the Italian Government in regard to the United States is very satisfactory to the President. We are pleased with your prompt and vigilant attention to the matter affecting the public interest, especially the supposed project of fitting out hostile armaments at Genoa.

Renewing my best wishes for the prosperity of Italy under the new Ministry so happily inaugurated, I am

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 11*

Washington, July 30, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of July 6th 1861, No. 5, has been received, and I learn with great pleasure of the diligence and vigor you have practiced in the case of Mr. Patterson, who has very fortunately been suspended.

You will express to Baron Ricasoli the high appreciation which this Government entertains of his decision in regard to our affairs.

You surprise me by your account of the despondence of the late Count Cavour concerning our Union.

You will be pained by the intelligence of a reverse of our arms near Manassas Junction <sup>41</sup>, and I fear it will for a time operate to excite

<sup>40</sup> L'Istruzione n. 6, Washington, 6 luglio 1861, comunicava la nomina di Charles E. Moss, dello Iowa, a Console degli S.U. a Genova. L'Istruzione n. 7, Washington, 12 luglio 1861, accusava ricevuta del dispaccio del Dillon del 10 giugno contenente interessanti particolari sulla morte di Cavour e su altri eventi di pubblica risonanza. L'Istruzione n. 9 accusava ricevuta del dispaccio del Dillon del 22 giugno. Per l'Istruzione n. 10, vedi la nota n. 31.

<sup>41</sup> Località ove fu combattuta una delle prime battaglie della Guerra Civile. Avendo come obiettivo Richmond in Virginia, il generale McDowell attraversò il

apprehensions and encourage the enemies of the Union in Europe. But the blow has already spent its force here without producing any other effect than renewed resolution and confidence in the success of the Government. The lesson that war cannot be waged successfully without prudence as well as patriotism has been received at a severe cost; but perhaps it was necessary. It is certain that we are improving upon it.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Privata e confidenziale*

Turin, August [no day], 1861.

Dear Sir: My diplomatic experience under former presidents has taught me that no official communication from an American minister abroad, however confidential in its nature or its form, is at all sure of being treated as such by a succeeding administration.

During my residence at Constantinople, the contents of an official, but expressly confidential communication of mine to the Secretary of State under Gen. Taylor,<sup>42</sup> remonstrating against the appointment of an unfit person to a foreign consulate, were immediately made known, totidem verbis, to the person himself, by Gen. Taylor's successor, as an apology for withdrawing his nomination, and a copy of my note was furnished him from the State Department.

In another case, a precisely similar course was taken, (by order of the President himself, as I have reason to believe), with a strictly confidential note from Aali Pacha<sup>43</sup>, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs. The person referred to in it addressed an insolent and threatening letter to the Pacha, and I was called upon for an explanation. This I was unable to give, and I was left and probably still remain in the mind of the Minister, under the suspicion of having betrayed his note myself.

These particular cases of abuse of confidence are certainly not very widely known, but the notorious publicity of our government operations

Potomac con un esercito di 35.000 uomini e ai primi di luglio avvistò le truppe sudiste di Beauregard nei pressi di Manassas Junction. Il 21 luglio McDowell attaccò i Confederati del Beauregard presso un fiumiciattolo, il Bull Run, ma fu messo in fuga. Ciò convinse gli Unionisti della necessità di una guerra su vasta scala.

<sup>42</sup> Il Segretario di Stato era John M. Clayton; il successore di Zachary Taylor alla presidenza fu Millard Fillmore (1850-1853).

<sup>43</sup> Mehemet Aali Pasha (1815-1871). Uomo politico e diplomatico turco. Fu ambasciatore a Londra (1842-1845) e quindi Ministro degli Esteri sotto Reshid Pasha. Partecipò ai Congressi di Vienna (1855) e di Parigi (1856), e fu cinque volte Gran Visir; si segnalò come uno dei più accesi fautori della occidentalizzazione della Turchia.

and our official correspondence is with European diplomatists, a very serious impediment in the way of that freedom of oral intercourse with American ministers, which is so important to our success in diplomatic negotiation. This freedom an American minister, not unacceptable to the diplomatic circle, might otherwise enjoy, to even a greater extent than is common between the representatives of European governments, because we are regarded as so little connected with the dynastic and political systems of the Old World, that a confidential knowledge by us of their common projects, their reciprocal jealousies and their conflicts of interest, would be attended with no danger to any of their governmental objects. But the indiscreet communication of dispatches, confidential in their nature to Congress, and the exposure, by one administration, of the secrets of another, have led European diplomates [sic] to look upon our ministers as persons towards whom a cautious reserve must be maintained.

At the same time, there is a certain freemasonry in all diplomatic, as in most other official circles, and an American minister who inspires personal confidence will often receive communications, which he knows, either from the express declaration of the informant, or from attendant circumstances, to have been intended not for the diplomat [sic] but for the man, and which, therefore, he cannot make a matter of public record, without a gross breach of private confidence.

Since my arrival at Turin, a large portion of the members of both the ministerial and the diplomatic corps have been much absent from the capital, as is usual in summer, and I have therefore had fewer opportunities of both official and social intercourse with public men, than occur at other seasons, but I have nevertheless had several conversations with distinguished persons, and learned, semi-confidentially, many facts, of a character which I do not think I am at liberty to spread upon the records of this Legation, or of the State Department at Washington, but which, to you, as one of the leading statesmen of the age, would, I think, be by no means without interest, and which I therefore desire to be permitted to communicate to you confidentially. Letters so written, I should hope, would remain in your personal possession, and not be lodged among the files of the State Department and accordingly exposed to untimely publicity.

Another reason has led me to defer, for the present, communicating certain matters in official letters, copies of which must remain with the Legation, and of course be subject to the inspection, not only of my successors, but of any subordinate whom my illness or absence

might place temporarily in charge of the office. This difficulty — namely my want of confidence in the political soundness of Mr. Dillon, at present secretary of this Legation — I had hoped would be removed by his speedy recall, because I supposed that strong representations on this subject had been made to you by Americans who had personally observed his course and language at Turin.

Your late dispatches do not indicate any intention of making a change, and I infer that the expected representations did not reach you, or were not thought of sufficient importance to call for any action, and I am therefore under the necessity of specifically applying to Mr. Dillon the opinions I confidentially expressed to you respecting the political character of Mr. Buchanan's appointees generally, in writing upon the consulates in the Mediterranean.

I think it my duty then to say that Mr. Dillon came to Europe thoroughly imbued with the southside views of the Democratic Party, and was decidedly opposed to the principles proclaimed by the Republican Party, and to the policy announced by the President and hitherto pursued by the present administration. These views I fully believe he still maintains, and he has never given me the slightest ground for supposing that his sentiments or his opinions have undergone any change whatever. I understand his sympathies and his political principles to be with the secessionists. I have never heard him condemn the action of the rebels, or express any desire for the triumph of the cause of the government, and I understand him to maintain the legal and moral right of secession, and to desire the recognition of the independence of the rebels by the government of the Union. Indeed, I have little doubt that the opinions of Count Cavour on the result of the present struggle, to which I have before alluded, were strengthened, and to some extent, suggested by his conversations with Mr. Dillon.

I must add that he is openly, and even violently, hostile to the success of the Italian Government in its present basis and to the settlement of the Roman question on the only terms deemed by the Italian Government and people consistent with their honor and their interests — the renunciation of temporal power by the Pope, whose restitution to his full territorial sovereignty he declares to be necessary, not only to the political system of Europe, but to the existence of Christianity itself. This general subject is one of those on which I specially desire to communicate with you, but I should consider it a betrayal of a trust to put upon the records of the Legation conversations and facts bearing upon it, which were certainly never intended to be exposed to unfriendly eyes,

and of which I much fear a bad use would be made if known to one so hostile to the principles of Italian liberty and nationality as Mr. Dillon.

In speaking of Mr. Dillon's visit to Vichy in a late dispatch, I said I thought his health required relaxation, and, as his constitution is apparently a feeble one, I have no doubt that he might have suffered seriously had he remained at Turin through the excessive and long continued heats of the present remarkable season. I should, therefore, from motives of personal kindness have refrained from objecting to his departure, even though I had thought him a useful assistant, but a still better reason was found in the fact that I consider him an incumbrance to the Legation, and prefer providing, at my own expense, the clerical aid I need to the perpetual embarrassment of the presence of a secretary in whom I cannot confide as a friend to his own country, and whom at the same time I know to be an undisguised enemy to the most cherished interests of a government and a people, whose good will it is so important for us, under present circumstances, to conciliate.

I beg it to be understood that I make not the slightest complaint with reference to the indulgence granted to Mr. Fry, and am content to provide my own secretary as long as the government thinks proper to extend that indulgence, but it is clearly my duty to inform you that while the government is paying two secretaries of this Legation, one of whom at least (Mr. Dillon) is in affluent circumstances, it is receiving no valuable services from either, and I should esteem it a personal favor to be relieved from all connection with a subordinate who aids me in nothing, and who only serves to obstruct the freedom of my official action, and to embarrass me in my communications both with my own government and with that to which I am accredited.

Having thus expressed myself with entire freedom and confidence, I now beg leave hereafter to address to you, personally, private notes of conversations with distinguished individuals which I know not to have been intended by them for exposure to the chances of publicity that attend our ordinary diplomatic correspondence, and yet not to have been meant merely for my private ear, and further to communicate facts and express opinions upon topics of interest not immediately connected with the discharge of my duties as a representative of the United States at this court.

I may thus, occasionally, make matter of private communication what European diplomats [sic], safe in the inviolability of official confidence, would incorporate into regular dispatches, but I will not shrink from the responsibility of *officially saying* everything necessary to be said on subjects naturally and properly connected with what I have *officially to do*. I hope



thus to satisfy the demands of strict duty, and at the same time to make myself further useful by communicating to you valuable information which I may not feel at liberty to put into the form of an official, and therefore necessarily public despatch. I wish, in short, to make my position available for the service of my government to the greatest extent possible on the one hand, and on the other to avoid the direct or indirect betrayal of confidence reposed in me.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 8*

Turin, August 2, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No 6, enclosing the commission of Mr. Moss as Consul at Genoa, and of No 7, acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Dillon's letter of June 10.

I made immediate application for an *exequatur* for Mr. Moss, but as the King is now absent, it will probably be some days before it will be issued.

I have no advices of Mr. Moss's arrival at Genoa, nor indeed have I yet heard from him, but I hope he will soon be at his post.

I have obtained an *exequatur* for Mr. Lawrence, and, in pursuance of his request communicated by letter some time since, I retain it until I shall hear of his arrival. In the meantime, the affairs of that consulate are conducted by Mr. J. B. Brown, as I know by a letter from that gentleman under date of July 29' —, Mr. Mallett being absent from his post.

***William H. Seward a Romaine Dillon***

*Istruzione senza numero*

Washington, August 10, 1861.

Sir: The receipt of your despatch date June 22nd, has already been acknowledged in a communication I addressed to Mr. Marsh on the 27th ultimo. I write now in answer to your request for a leave of absence, and for a new letter of credit. With regard to the former, I feel constrained to decline granting your application. Your successor, Mr. Fry, whose health was such as to prevent him from proceeding directly to his post on his arrival in Europe, has received permission to postpone the

assumption of its duties for the period of six months: so that he will probably not reach Turin until December next.

Touching your credit upon the Bankers of the United States at London, I would suggest that you continue to draw upon them under the letter you have already been furnished with, until you shall have been relieved by your successor. In the final settlement of your accounts, the amount due you, in consequence of the late increase in the salary of the Secretary of Legation at Turin, will be allowed.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 9*

Turin, August 12, 1861.

Sir: I have received an *exequatur* for Mr. Moss as consul at Genoa, but, having no advices of his arrival at that city, I shall retain it until I hear from him. The affairs of that consulate are now conducted by Mr. M. Guelfe [sic], Mr. Patterson being absent from Genoa.

In case the important consulate at Leghorn is not finally disposed of, or if any change be made at Palermo, I beg to mention the name of Mr. William Magoun, a native of Massachusetts, but for the last ten years a resident of Turin, as that of an entirely trustworthy and competent person to discharge the duties of either.

Mr. Magoun has, on several different occasions, been employed for considerable periods, by the American Legation at Turin, as an assistant secretary, and is consequently well acquainted with the forms of official business, and with the American interests hitherto committed to the charge of the legation.

He is a man of education and of much intelligence, at home in the language and habits of the people, of undoubted moral character, entirely sound on the great issues of American politics, and friendly to the progressive policy of the Italian Government.

To both of these points—a familiarity with the country and its language, and a sympathy with the policy of the present Italian Government—I think, that under existing circumstances, more than usual importance is to be attached. A consul, ignorant of Italian and a stranger to Italy, would be but poorly qualified to ferret out the schemes of enemies and detect hostile movements on the coast; and, as the necessary occupation of most of our navy at home must compel us to rely much on the Government of Italy to aid in the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean, we

should run some risk of losing that cooperation, in cases where it should be invoked by officers known or suspected to be hostile to the great interests of Italian liberty and nationality.

I consider Mr. Magoun, therefore, as I have before said of Mr. Nash, eminently qualified for the posts in question, and should feel much confidence that, if appointed to either, he would ably and faithfully discharge the duties belonging to the office.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 10*

Turin, August 19, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches Nos eight, nine, ten, and eleven, which all came by the same post.

The intelligence of the loss of the battle of Manassas has produced the effect rather of painful regret than of discouragement among the friends of the Union in Italy, and I do not know that it is at all regarded as an indication of the probable ultimate result of the present struggle.

I have not, in my former dispatches, mentioned the fact that I receive daily applications, both orally and by letter, for employment in the army of the United States.<sup>44</sup> The applicants are principally Italians, but many Poles and Hungarians have offered their services. Many of them are men of military education, as well as of experience, but they all ask positions of command, and they are, with very few exceptions, destitute of the means of meeting the expenses of the voyage.

Under these circumstances, I have in no instance, given any encouragement to the applicants, beyond, in two or three cases, letters of introduction, both because I had no reason to suppose that the American Government would undertake to furnish funds to pay the passage of foreign officers to America, and because the least ray of hope held out to a single individual would indefinitely augment the number of petitioners, whose appeals to my private charity are already much beyond my ability to meet.

A letter received this morning from Mr. Sanford informs me that he will reach Turin this evening on business committed to him by the Government of the United States.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Vedi H. R. MARRARO, *Volunteers from Italy for Lincoln's Army*, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, a. XLIV (1945), pp. 384-396.

<sup>45</sup> Sulla missione del Sanford presso Garibaldi vedi H. R. MARRARO, *Lincoln's offer of a command to Garibaldi: further light on a disputed point of history*, in

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 11

Turin, August 22, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 12,<sup>46</sup> dated August 2, with its enclosures. These I have transmitted to Mr. Cooley, and I have informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mr. Cooley's appointment.

I have received today from the Department of Foreign Affairs a document attesting the death of William Bredsten of « Linchshire in America », with a request that I would forward it to the « proper authorities ». <sup>47</sup>

I know not what disposition I can make of it, except to transmit it to the Department of State, and I enclose it herewith accordingly.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

Istruzione n. 14 <sup>48</sup>

Washington, August 24, 1861.

Sir: I transmit, herewith, the Commission of Luigi Monti, of Massachusetts, as Consul of the United States at Palermo, together with his consular bond, which yet needs his signature. This you will direct Mr. Monti, <sup>49</sup> who is now in Palermo, to affix to the bond, and when he shall have done so, you will apply to the Government of His Majesty, the King

*Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*, a. XXXVI (1943), pp. 237-270. In precedenza aveva scritto sullo stesso argomento H. Nelson Gay, pubblicando un saggio dal titolo *Lincoln's offer of a command to Garibaldi: light on a disputed point in history*, in *The Century Magazine*, a. LXXV (1907), pp. 63-74, ora in *Scritti sul Risorgimento*, a cura di T. Sillani, Roma, 1937, pp. 233-249.

<sup>46</sup> L'Istruzione n. 12, Washington, 2 agosto 1861, informava il Marsh che Lawrence non era stato in grado di raggiungere Firenze per prender cura di quel consolato e che per tale motivo il Presidente vi aveva destinato James Cooley quale vice console.

<sup>47</sup> Si tratta del certificato di morte di William Bredsten, marinaio, rilasciato dalla Provincia di Trapani. La morte era avvenuta il 16 giugno 1861.

<sup>48</sup> L'Istruzione n. 13, Washington, 14 agosto 1861, comunicava che Andrew J. Stevens avrebbe preso a Livorno il posto del Walsh, che si era compromesso per l'appoggio dato all'Unione.

<sup>49</sup> Luigi Monti era nato a Palermo nel 1830. Dopo la sfortunata parentesi del 1848-49 si era recato negli S.U. ove ottenne una cattedra ad Harvard. Nel 1861 fu nominato console degli S.U. a Palermo, città in cui rimase fino al 1873. Tornato in America, tenne corsi di storia e letteratura italiana in varie città. Scrisse molti articoli ed un romanzo intitolato *Leone*. Sul Monti pioniere dell'insegnamento dell'italiano negli S.U. vedi H. R. MARRARO, *Pioneer Italian Teachers of Italian in the United States*, in *The Modern Language Journal*, a. XXVIII (1944), pp. 555-582.

of Italy, for the usual *exequatur*, to be forwarded to him with the Commission. The bond you will return to this Department.

I have received and read with much interest your despatch of the 22nd ultimo, No. 6. Beyond the leave which you ask to attend the approaching national exposition of industry at Florence, which is hereby cheerfully accorded, it does not appear to require a special reply at this time.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Confidenziale*

*Dispaccio n. 12*

Turin, August 26, 1861.

Sir: Immediately after the adjournment of the Italian Parliament, I again introduced to Baron Ricasoli the subject of the proposed convention respecting the rights of neutrals and the employment of privateers in maritime warfare. The Baron, though favorable to the object, was disinclined to make the subject a matter of formal discussion, or to act upon it at present, and I think it very improbable that the Italian Government will enter into a convention with us until England and France shall, by joint or separate action, have set the example.

I said to Baron Ricasoli that I would now address him a note embracing the proposal in form, and would give him such information as I properly could respecting the progress of the negotiations with England and France, concerning which I was not then advised. Thinking it important to be informed on that subject before sending in the note, I wrote a letter of inquiry to Mr. Dayton, but his reply, though dated July 29, did not reach Turin until Friday August 23rd.

I then drew up a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in accordance with your instructions, Dispatch No. 2, but the absence of the person whom I have engaged as private secretary, and who has gone to Caprera at the request of Mr. Sanford, has put it out of my power to have a copy ready for transmission to you by this post.

In a former dispatch, I observed that Baron Ricasoli thought that the Italian Government had not yet become a party to the convention of 1856. Upon reflection, I am doubtful whether I may not have misunderstood him, as I take the fact to be otherwise, as stated in your instructions, but the confusion in which Mr. Daniel left the printed books

of the Legation, sets severed, and the volumes piled up in closets and elsewhere, has as yet baffled my search for any document containing the convention itself, if indeed any such exists in the archives of the Legation.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Confidenziale*

*Dispaccio n. 13* <sup>50</sup>

Turin, August 27, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a confidential letter from a well known, highly respectable, and thoroughly loyal American citizen, relating to the person referred to in my confidential dipatch No. 7, as having been recently appointed Consul at Leghorn.

In a letter to the writer of this note, I had stated what information I had received at Paris with respect to the political sentiments of the person in question, in nearly the words I used in the despatch just mentioned, and the expression « what you wrote » in the first paragraph of the enclosed letter, of course refers to the language I had employed on that subject.

Not having yet received a commission for that consulate, I hope the appointment has been revoked.

***Hiram Powers* <sup>51</sup> *a George P. Marsh* <sup>52</sup>**

Florence, August 12, 1861.

My Dear Friend, Since answering your letter I have made all the enquiries I could, touching your request but as there are hardly any of our countrymen here now who know any thing about the matter, I have obtained only some scanty materials. I wrote to a friend now at one of the watering places, who gave me precisely *what you wrote*—and his letter was « confidential » There is no reason for doubting—while there is so much for believing that this Government agent is on the « Sunny

<sup>50</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 20, Washington, 23 settembre 1861, il Seward accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e aggiungeva: « È stato applicato il rimedio giusto ».

<sup>51</sup> Vedi la nota a p. 199 del vol. I.

<sup>52</sup> Allegato al dispaccio del Marsh del 27 agosto 1861.

Side » of the great question which now distracts our country—and his office might become exceedingly useful to the South—they want *Sulphur* and he has friends in Naples—has lived there—and could give great assistance to vessels bound South—with that material—I think that the Govt ought to know these things at once—but without positive proofs—what can I do?—We should have non *doubtful men to represent us abroad*.

You may use this letter if you like under injunction of *privacy*—I write in some haste—and must take another opportunity to say a great deal about this matter—.

**George P. Marsh a Simon Cameron** <sup>53</sup> .

Turin, August 27, 1861.

Sir: Major Valentin Bausewein, the bearer of this letter, has exhibited to me satisfactory testimonials of highly creditable military service, capacity, and character, and seems to me to possess the disposition and the ability to be very useful in some appropriate post in our army.

As he proposes to go to America with a view of offering his services to the American Government, I take the liberty of giving him a letter of introduction.

**Thomas A. Scott** <sup>54</sup> a **William H. Seward**

War Dept., [Washington], September 20, 1861.

Respy. referred to the Secretary of State—we understand that Gov. Dennison <sup>55</sup> has placed or will place in your hands a number of commissions for officers from abroad—Major Bausewein is an intelligent gentleman and can render good service.

<sup>53</sup> Simon Cameron era Segretario alla Guerra.

<sup>54</sup> Lo Scott scriveva in veste di Assistente Segretario.

<sup>55</sup> Walter Dennison (1815-1882) fu Governatore dell'Ohio dal 1860 al 1862. Fu anche Direttore Generale delle Poste nelle amministrazioni di Lincoln e di Johnson (1864-66).

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 14*

Turin, September 2, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a note addressed by me to Baron Ricasoli on the 26<sup>th</sup> ult. in relation to the proposed convention for the accession of the United States to the declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856.

By my instructions under date of April 24<sup>th</sup> 1861, I am directed as follows: « to ascertain whether it [the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy] is disposed to enter into negotiations for the accession of the United States to the Declaration of the Paris Congress, with the conditions annexed by that body to the same; and if you shall find the Government so disposed you will then enter into a convention to that effect, substantially in the form of a project for that purpose herewith transmitted to you ».

The project transmitted with the instructions makes no mention of the important conditions referred to in the instructions, and therefore in drawing up the note, I thought it best not to notice the conditions specifically, but to make the proposal in general terms, leaving that point to be arranged, if suggested by the Italian Government, as I shall be instructed hereafter.

***George P. Marsh a Bettino Ricasoli*** <sup>56</sup>

Turin, August 26, 1861

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, as he had the honor to state in one of his first interviews with His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is instructed to propose the negotiation of a convention between the Government of the United States and the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy, for defining the rights of belligerents and neutrals in maritime warfare in accordance with the principles adopted by the Congress of Paris in the year 1856.

Similar instructions have been given by the President to the American Ministers at the courts of the other maritime powers, and negotiations to that effect are now in progress with all the governments represented at the Congress of Paris.

<sup>56</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 14 del Marsh.



It will be remembered by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs that in the year 1854, the President of the United States submitted to the several maritime nations two propositions, to which he solicited their assent as permanent principles of international law. These were:

1. Free ships make free goods; that is to say that the effects or goods belonging to subjects or citizens of a power or state at war are free from capture or confiscation when found on board of neutral vessels with the exception of articles contraband of war.

2. That the property of neutrals on board an enemy's vessel is not subject to confiscation, unless the same be contraband of war.

These propositions were favorably entertained by most of the governments to which they were submitted, but no formal convention for their recognition was negotiated between them and the United States.

The Congress of Paris, at which most of the European Powers were represented, adopted, upon the 16th of April 1856, an agreement embracing substantially these principles, with two additional propositions, all of which were embodied in a declaration composed of four articles, namely:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.

2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades in order to be binding must be effective, that is to say maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The Congress further agreed to invite the maritime states not represented in that body to accede to these propositions, and the assent of the Government of the United States was asked to them accordingly.

The then President of the United States, Franklin Pierce, did not accede to the stipulations of the convention, but proposed an amendment to the first article, which should exempt the private property of individuals, though belonging to belligerent states, from seizure or confiscation by national vessels in maritime war, and the ministers of the United States at Paris and London were instructed to inform the governments to which they were accredited, that the United States would accede to the four points above recited, provided the first of them should be amended to the effect proposed by the President.

Neither of these governments is understood to have objected to this amendment, but the negotiations were not prosecuted to a conclusion.

The President of the United States adheres to the opinion expressed by his predecessor, that it would be eminently desirable for the good of all nations that the property and effects of private individuals not contraband should be exempt from seizure and confiscation by national vessels in maritime war. But the proposal to that effect not having been accepted by the nations represented in the Congress of 1856, he now offers to accede to the invitation of the powers, and to accept the declaration promulgated by it, deferring to a future occasion the further prosecution of negotiations for the general adoption of the amendment above specified.

The undersigned is invested with full powers to conclude, on the part of the President, a convention between the Government of the United States and that of His Majesty the King of Italy, for the adoption of the declaration of the Congress of Paris, and begs leave to invite the attention of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the proposal.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 15*

Turin, September 3, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a letter from the Hon. James E. Cooley, lately appointed Consul-General at Florence, *ad interim*.

Having no information with respect to Mr. Lawrence's movements, I could give none to Mr. Cooley, but I have urged him to accept the appointment, because the concourse of Italians and foreigners at Florence during the Exposition will furnish good opportunities of inquiry on to possible hostile movements of the Confederates in remote parts of Italy.

Mr. Patterson, Consul at Genoa, writes me that he is informed by the Department that Mr. Wheeler is appointed to that consulate, but I have received no commission for him, or other notification of the fact.

***James E. Cooley a George P. Marsh*** <sup>57</sup>

Bella Vista, Borgo Buggiano, August 28, 1861.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your favor of the 22nd inst. informing me that the President had been pleased to appoint me Vice

<sup>57</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 15 del Marsh.

Consul General of the United States for Florence, and enclosing a communication from the Secretary of State authorizing the archives and other property belonging to that Consulate to be delivered to my care.

Grateful for the courtesy of this distinction on the part of the President, whom I have the best disposition to serve to the extent of my ability, I have nevertheless thought it advisable to defer any action on the authority placed in my hands, until it shall be ascertained more definitely as to the time when Mr. Lawrence, the appointed Consul General for that post, may, probably, be able to enter upon the discharge of its duties. It has been recently reported by the friends of Mr. Lawrence in Florence, that he had already shipped his horses and carriages for that city and that he was expected to arrive there with his family early in the autumn of the present year. Indeed, the late Consul General, Mr. Mallet informed me about the middle of last month that he was just then in receipt of letters from Mr. Lawrence, full of inquiries about the Consulate and various other matters relative to a residence in Florence, and intimating that he would soon be able to leave America for the station assigned to him in this country. Should such still be his intention, the change in the Consulate contemplated by my appointment, for so short a time as would probably elapse between this and his arrival, could hardly be desired, especially, since the affairs of that office have been confided to an American citizen who, I have reason to believe, is loyal to the Government of the United States. If however Mr. Lawrence is likely to be detained in America so as not to be able to attend to the duties of the office to which he has been appointed in Florence for any considerable time, I will with pleasure, accept the appointment of the President, and immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties appertaining to that office; hoping that in the event of Mr. Lawrence's permanent detention in America, the President would be willing to confer upon me the full title and honors of that office, until such time as he, himself, might deem it best for the public interest to indicate my removal.

P. S. My address is to the care of Naguay & Pakenham, Bankers, Florence.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Confidenziale*

*Dispaccio n. 16*

Turin, September 3, 1861.

Sir: In my despatch No. 10, dated August 19, 1861, I stated that the defeat at Manassas had not produced a feeling of discouragement among the Italian friends of the American Union.

This opinion I must somewhat modify. I am now convinced that the moral effect of this disaster has been in a considerable degree prejudicial to our cause throughout Europe, and that, less by direct influence than through public opinion which has now so great weight in controlling the the action of even the most despotic governments, the unfavorable impression it has created, in professional circles, as to the military efficiency of the North will tend to induce European cabinets to listen, with more favor, to the Southern demand for recognition.

It has led many persons hastily to conclude that coercion is impossible, and hence that the powers of Europe ought not to allow their commercial and industrial interests to suffer by a temporary refusal to acknowledge an independence which is sure to be achieved at last. Others, who still desire and expect the ultimate triumph of the North, believe that the war will be protracted beyond the period which we might reasonably ask Europe to wait for decisive action, and that the opening of the Southern ports to European commerce ought to be insisted on.

The embarrassment arising from the stagnation of trade and the suspension of manufacturing operations, which wears so threatening an aspect in England and France, is felt here in the diminished demand for cocoons (of which Piedmont annually produces to the value of \$ 14,000,000) and spun and woven silk fabrics, and growers and manufactures, in Italy as well as in France and England, are looking to their own government for an answer to the question: How long will Europe suffer this state of things to last?

These conclusions I derive in part from journals and in part from the tone of political and diplomatic, as well as private, circles.

Baron Ricasoli, with no abatement of interest in behalf of the maintenance of the Union, feels evidently less confidence in the ability of the constituted authorities to sustain their rights, and to bring about a re—union of members so violently severed, and I think most of the diplomates [sic] at Turin are much more doubtful of the early and triumphant suppression of the rebellion than they were six weeks ago.

I must add that I hear the inquiry: What *principle* is involved in the American civil war?, still more frequently asked, and in a more significant tone than in the earlier stages of the rebellion.

Mr. Benedetti, the able minister just appointed to represent the French empire at this court, believes that it is the determination of the English Government to open the Southern ports, for the deportation of cotton at least, at all hazards. He declares that France is, and feels herself interested in the restoration of peace and unity in America, and treats the supply of cotton to French factories as a matter by no means vitally important to the French people, but he evidently does not think that his government will allow French cotton mills to stand idle, for want of the raw material, if England takes effectual measures to compel us to supply the manufacturers of Great Britain.

The arguments of the secessionists on the *moral* impossibility of pacification have produced a considerable effect, and Mr. Benedetti spoke of the French consular reports as containing strong evidence to show that the Southern enmity to the North and its institutions is universal, irreconcilable, and unconquerable.

I am not advised whether the government has thought it expedient to make any systematic effort to instruct and direct public opinion in Europe through the European press. That French journalism is largely subsidized by the secessionists is, I suppose, quite certain, and I cannot but believe that a resort by the federal administration to the same method of influencing the mind and the action of continental Europe would be advantageous to our political interests.

Mr. Dillon, who left Turin for Vichy on the 12' or 13' of July, has not returned, nor have I heard from him since his departure.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Privata e confidenziale*

Turin, September 3, 1861.

Dear Sir: The following extracts are from a private letter which I received this morning from a French gentleman whose name I do not think myself authorized to communicate. The writer is now somewhat advanced in years, and is no longer in public life, but he is a man of high social position, and, in point of combined talent, attainment and experience, in actual knowledge, in short of men and things, as well as in devotion of moral character, he has, in the judgment of the ablest

statesmen and scholars of France, few if any living superiors. I know no source of information on the actual or probable relations between the United States and France which I deem worthy of higher confidence.

« Public opinion, is, among us, much less awake than in England with respect to the magnitude of the issues involved in the American war. Our sympathies run more naturally towards the free Northern States; yet our factories and almost every branch of our industry are beginning already to feel great inconvenience on account of the distracted state of their transatlantic commerce. But it were romantic to expect that in their judgment on American affairs, our old countries should show more foresight, more love of truth, more respect for humanity, than they do in their own concerns. »

« The tone of our press, and I blush to add the action of our diplomacy, about Syria, Italy, Denmark, and indeed every other question, too clearly show that self-interest—and that often ill understood—is the great regulator, if not of our feelings, at least of our doings. The zeal for the abstract idea and concrete cause of liberty has died out of the minds of the great body of our people; our navy has always been, and that almost openly, favorable to slavery and the slave trade. The sovereign has better propensities; yet he is seldom serious, always diverted by secondary purposes, and seeking to conciliate opposite interests at the expense of justice and sincerity. Nevertheless, his personal inclination is undoubtedly toward the North. »

« A general opinion prevails here, which, as I have heard it expressed by some statesmen of experience, seems worth communicating: that is, they suppose, if the separation of the United States into two great confederacies were to take place, the Northern one would soon become a warlike and a great naval power, invade the Canadas and keep Great Britain at bay. This expectation is the reason why the politicians I am alluding to wish for the dissolution of the Union. »

« It is true that they, at the same time, suppose that the South would do the same in an opposite direction, invade the West Indies, subjugate the Mexican provinces, and spread slavery over an immense addition of territory. But very few look on such a contingency as a great evil, and there are few Frenchmen who would not sacrifice every principle in order to help anybody to crush England. Fortunately, things do not happen according to man's passionate dreamings. »

« Neither of the conflicting parties in America has hitherto shown great efficiency in military matters, or brilliant generalship, and if your

Pompey <sup>58</sup> has lost much of his former strength of fortune, Davis <sup>59</sup> and Beauregard, <sup>60</sup> the Southern Caesars, have very feebly improved their unexpected success; else, we should have heard of them in Washington and perhaps in Baltimore. »

« I have read with great attention Mr. Motley's <sup>61</sup> discussion; and I am glad to add that a countryman of mine, M. de Gasparin, has written on the same subject with much zeal and eloquence. Another work has been more recently published on slavery in general. Mr. Augustin Cochin, <sup>62</sup> formerly one of the mayors of Paris, a man of much mind and knowledge who belongs to the most rigid class of catholicity, has written two large volumes upon that subject, and may be said to have exhausted it. Nothing can be more moderate than his tone, more forcible than his conclusions. »

« I still flatter myself that so much courage and energy will not end in vain protestations; but I cannot refrain from adding that if the *material* interests of the Old World are not, at least in appearance, in favor of the Northern States, these states ought, to re—establish the balance, to enlist unequivocally on their side the *moral* interests whose weight has so often been a preponderating element in the settlement of the greatest and most intricate matters. »

<sup>58</sup> La Guerra Civile è paragonata alla guerra tra Cesare e Pompeo.

<sup>59</sup> Jefferson C. Davis, nato nell'Indiana nel 1828, morì nel 1879. Ufficiale dell'esercito, dopo aver partecipato alla guerra col Messico, fu destinato nel 1858 a Charleston, nella Carolina del Sud; nel 1861 si batté per l'occupazione e la difesa di Fort Sumter. Promosso da capitano a generale di brigata, prese parte alla battaglia di Shiloh ed all'assedio di Corinth, e fu a più riprese destinato al servizio nei dipartimenti del Missouri, del Tennessee, del Kentucky. Al tempo della campagna del generale Sherman, Davis ebbe il comando in Georgia della 14<sup>a</sup> Armata; alla fine della guerra fu promosso per meriti Maggiore Generale dei Volontari.

<sup>60</sup> Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard (1818-1893). Diplomatosi a West Point nel 1838, si segnalò nella guerra col Messico e nel 1860 fu nominato sovrintendente di West Point. Si dimise subito dopo per entrare al servizio della Confederazione con il grado di generale di brigata. Nell'aprile del 1861, Beauregard apriva il fuoco su Fort Sumter che dopo tre giorni si arrese; nel luglio dello stesso anno sconfisse i Nordisti a Manassas, nel 1862 guidò un ordinato ripiegamento da Shiloh. Ebbe poi il comando della linea difensiva di Charleston, nella Carolina del Sud, con il grado di generale capo, e dal settembre del 1862 fino all'aprile del 1864 difese con successo più di trecento miglia di costa contro gli attacchi combinati per terra e per mare. Nel 1864 ricevette l'ordine di unirsi al generale Robert E. Lee: nell'aprile del 1865 si arrendeva a Sherman.

<sup>61</sup> John Lothrop Motley, del Massachusetts, prima segretario della legazione statunitense in Russia, fu il 10 agosto 1861 nominato inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario in Austria. Prese congedo il 14 giugno 1867.

<sup>62</sup> Pierre Suzanne Augustin Cochin (1823-1872). Scrittore, economista, filantropo e cattolico liberale francese. Fra le sue molte opere editate si ricordano: *La question italienne et l'opinion catholique en France* (1860); *Abolition de l'esclavage* (1861), e *Abraham Lincoln* (1869).

P. S. I ought to have said, above, that the expression of these sentiments is purely spontaneous on the part of their author, and neither called out nor suggested by anything said on my part in previous correspondence, at least so far as I believe or remember.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Privata*

Turin, September 4, 1861.

Dear Sir: I enclose herewith several sheets of notes of the character referred to in a late private letter, and shall be happy to continue to forward such, in the shape of private and confidential communications, if these meet your approbation.

Mr. Sanford, who is now here, of course, keeps you advised of his movements, and I need not refer to them further than to say that I think he is conducting the matter confided to him with much tact, good sense, and discretion.

In fact, continued intercourse with Mr. Sanford impresses me more and more favorable with respect to his character as a man and as diplomatic agent. His experience and his regular training in the different grades of diplomatic life have given him much readiness, and efficiency in negotiation, and his other fine natural and acquired qualities have fitted him to be eminently useful in his present, or in higher positions, of delicacy and confidence.

***Appunto per William H. Seward*** <sup>63</sup>

*Privato e confidenziale*

I have stated, in more than one of my despatches, that Count Cavour much doubted the possibility of the re—establishment of the federal authority over the seceding states. He had been led to believe that their institutions, social and governmental, were founded on principles irreconcilable [sic] with those of the free states, and that the difference of character, habits, and interests between the people of the North and the South was almost, if not altogether, equivalent to a dif-

<sup>63</sup> Allegato al dispaccio *Privato* del Marsh del 4 settembre 1861.



ference of nationality. Hence, he argued, that, even independently of the difficulties presented by the question of slavery, the populations of the free and slave states could not be considered as constituting an organic political unit. But in any event, he thought that, whatever might have been the former relations, moral, social or political, between the different sections of the Union, the local hostilities engendered or aggravated by the war would render the restoration of those relations and the future harmonious action of the confederacy impossible. The South honestly believed, and with some show of reason, in the right of secession, and if reduced by force of arms, would always remain in the condition of conquered provinces, ready to seize upon every favorable opportunity for faction, treasonable intrigues with foreign powers, and open rebellion, and that both necessity and expediency would concur to induce the Northern States sooner or later, to consent to a separation and recognize the independence of the Southern confederacy.

Besides all this, he dwelt on the often repeated common places about the difficulty of overrunning, and then holding in subjection, a large extent of thinly populated country, and, in short, adopted the precise line of argument which has been so constantly employed by Northern sympathisers with Southern feeling.

During the past winter, Count Cavour had several interviews with Northern gentlemen of this stamp, while I have been unable to learn that he saw a single American friend to the policy of the present administration, except Mr. W. H. Webb of New York, and I do not know that he had much conversation with that gentleman on these points.

The opinions I have above detailed he expressed to many of the diplomatic corps, by some of whom they were warmly combatted. Sir James Hudson,<sup>64</sup> the British minister, had come to different conclusions, and in one of my first interviews with him, told me he was convinced that we should come out of the contest a united people, and a stronger nation than we were before the war. I am not certain, that I learned from him that he had expressed these views to Count Cavour, but I have heard so from other sources.

I learn from Mr. Tourte,<sup>65</sup> minister from Switzerland, that he had

<sup>64</sup> Sir James Hudson (1810-1885). Diplomatico britannico, fu segretario d'Ambasciata a Washington, L'Aja e Rio de Janeiro. Nel 1851 fu nominato inviato presso il Granduca di Toscana, ma prima ancora di giungere a Firenze fu promosso al rango di ambasciatore a Torino, ove rimase fino al 1863.

<sup>65</sup> Abraham Tourte era inviato straordinario della Svizzera a Torino. Sulla sua azione a Torino vedi GIOVANNI FERRETTI, *Cavour e le annessioni nelle lettere di Abraham Tourte*, in *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, a. XL (1953), pp. 131-157.

on several occasions discussed the subject with Count Cavour, and had cited the Swiss war of the Sonderbund as a parallel case. He thought the difference of principle, and the irritation of feeling, as great in that case as in ours. The revolting cantons were put down by force of arms, and the rebellion effectually suppressed, with only a temporary interruption of the general harmony between the states, and with, as the result, a greater unity in public action, and finally, feeling, a strengthened sense of nationality, and an increased respect for the federal government as a real controlling organization, and not a mere political fiction.

Mr. Tourte believed that a vigorous prosecution of the war by the Government of the United States would be attended with similar benefits in our case, and as I find these to be the sentiments of Italian statesmen generally, I am inclined to suppose that Cavour, with his strong feelings on the subject of the entirety and independence of nationalities, would ultimately have adopted similar views.

The relations between the Italian Government and the Papal See, present and future, constitute the most important question both of speculation and of action which now engages the attention of Italian statesmen. The journalists, at least those of the liberalists, occupy themselves principally with the latter view of the subject—the means by which the result, the abdication of temporal power by the pope, is to be effected; but theologians and publicists are very freely and fully discussing the general question of the spiritual rights and powers of the Vatican, and inquiring how Christianity in general, and especially the Catholic Church, will be affected by the deposition of its head as a temporal prince. There are, both in Italy, and even in Germany (in which latter country I may name Söllinger of Munich not to speak of some of the German Swiss prelates) many ecclesiastics, who believe that the moral influence and spiritual power of Catholicism as an *authority* on questions of religious faith and practice would be increased and extended, by disconnecting it wholly from civil government and political action, but I think this is not the view taken of the subject by the more enlightened portion of the statesmen of Italy. They, I believe, are already prepared to denounce the doctrine of coercion and constraint in religious matters altogether, they expect under all circumstances a diminution of the spiritual power and influence of the papacy and the clergy, and are ready to accept a constitution, which should place every form of religious belief on a footing of absolute equality in the state.

The press is teeming with works of learning and ability on this subject, and these are producing a great effect on the mind of the *civic*

population of all classes and of all grades of intelligence, and gradually undermining the spirit of unquestioning submission to the Church which has always more strongly characterized the *rural districts*.

Although I am far from believing that either the spiritual or the temporal pretensions of Rome can stand long before the test of free inquiry, yet I think the tenacity with which Pius IX has adhered to the traditions of the Vatican has deprived the Catholic Church of the reverence which it might have long enjoyed in Italy, and that a formal schism is very likely to result from the obstinacy with which he clings to the usurpations of his predecessors.

It is very generally admitted that religious servitude and civil liberty cannot long co—exist, and that both social freedom and political equality of rights are necessary elements of moral progress and of material prosperity.

Upon the whole, then, Italy seems to me to be now eminently the country of progress, and I believe the establishment of its political unity, which will be consummated by the recovery of the Capital from the obscene birds of night that have so long hovered there, will be followed by an immense development of the physical resources of the peninsula, and by an intellectual activity and productivity which will leave even the mental achievements of modern Germany behind it.

I believe Baron Ricasoli is prepared to go in the right direction as far as the farthest, and I may mention as a proof of his religious liberality that three of the leading Vaudois clérgy have told me that his position and declared purposes on this subject were satisfactory to them, and they add, that though there is not a Protestant in the Parliament, they believe that body is prepared to advance as rapidly in the removal of religious disabilities and restraints as is at present expedient.

In a private interview with Baron Ricasoli, at my apartments, a short time after my arrival at Turin, the subject of religious liberty in Italy and elsewhere was introduced. Baron Ricasoli observed, as he has often publicly declared, that the papacy, considered as a temporal power, was the great enemy to the liberties of Italy, and to its political, moral and social prosperity. It was moreover mischievous, he said, not only in its character of a territorial sovereignty, but as a spiritual power relying upon coercion for its influence and support. The Church ought not to be identified with government, but divorced from it. Absolute religious liberty and religious equality, without regard to creeds, ought to exist in all free governments, and religion ought never to be clothed with any authority to *enforce* its dogmas or its precepts. The general purport of

his remarks was that the existence of the Church as a sectarian organization, ought to be ignored by the state, though particular churches, congregations or associations for religious purposes, might, without regard to creeds, be recognized as entitled to protection, like any other lawful corporation.

On the same occasion, he used much the same language which he afterwards employed in the chambers on the necessity of the possession of Rome by the Italian Government, as its capital, and expressed a strength of conviction that this question would be speedily settled, which led me to suppose that his expectations were founded on assurances of the French Emperor or other facts not known to the public.

I am at present inclined to suspect that this supposition was erroneous, and that he relied more on the clearness of the right and the necessity of the case than upon any substantive circumstances not already familiar to the world.

Just after the delivery of Baron Ricasoli's speech in the Chamber on the Roman question, I saw him at the Foreign Office. Not having been at the Parliament house that morning, I did not know that he had spoken on the subject. He introduced the topic himself, and, taking from a desk the slips I enclose herewith, which under the circumstances may have some interest for you as a quasi autograph, he said: « Here is a speech which the President of the Council delivered this morning. »<sup>66</sup> He then went on to discuss the question with much warmth, repeating, expanding and illustrating his arguments, and expressing the most confident expectation of an almost immediate favorable solution, and, finally, taking my hand, he said: « I invite you, Mr. Minister to Rome. I invite you there, *this year, this very year.* »

In subsequent conversations, he has not spoken so confidently as to *time*, but still has treated the occupation of Rome by the Italian Government, at no distant period, as a certainty.

I have seen Baron Ricasoli twice since his recent circular, once on the day it appeared in the Turin journals, and once some days after. In the first conversation, he confined himself principally to the actual condition of things in the Neapolitan territory, which I have no doubt is truly stated in the circular, and as little, that brigandage *as* brigandage is encouraged and stimulated by both the ex—king of Naples and the papal

<sup>66</sup> Il Marsh allegava il ritaglio di un giornale italiano, tre pagine in tutto, che riportava il discorso di Ricasoli. Una annotazione in margine dice: « Testo del discorso del Barone Ricasoli del 1° luglio 1861, consegnatomi dallo stesso il giorno in cui lo pronunciò ».

authorities. In the last interview, he expressed his gratification at the favor with which the circular had been received by the European press and the European public, and appealed to public opinion as the authority, which would control the action of the governments of Europe on this question. From this expression, and from his silence on all occasions as to any special act to be done by the Italian or the French government, I infer that neither a military entry into the papal territory, nor a withdrawal of the French garrison is at this moment in contemplation, but that moral influence is expected to produce the desired effect.

I should mention that in this last conversation, in referring to a question about exequaturs for newly appointed consuls, he expressed the hope that the United States, a country free *par excellence*, would not be represented in Italian posts by agents hostile to Italian liberty.

Public feeling is much excited at this moment with regard to the occupation of Rome by the Italian Government, and the popular belief throughout northern Italy is that a transfer of the seat of government to that city is very near at hand. For this opinion I see no adequate ground, and in fact the tone of Baron Ricasoli's comments in his own circular, in my last conversation with him, seems to me to negative it.

I, on this last mentioned occasion, went somewhat into detail in explaining the condition of things in the United States at the latest date (Aug. 20'), and, I think, succeeded in infusing into him more confidence in our ultimate success, than he had lately felt. But he observed that, for effect on European opinion, a victory, which should compensate the Bull Run defeat, was important, and added that the principle of « no compromise with the rebels » ought to be proclaimed and rigidly adhered to.<sup>67</sup>

I do not know how far the government is advised with regard to the early secret history of the secession movement, and it may therefore not be new to you, as it was to me, that formal overtures were made to the British Government by leading Southern men in 1841—1842. Sir James Hudson, who was Secretary of the British Legation at Washington at that time, told me lately that in one of those years, 1842, I think, prominent southern members of Congress stated to the British Minister, that public opinion, or at least the opinion of controlling politicians, in the cotton

<sup>67</sup> Quella di Bull Run fu, come Sherman ebbe a dire, « una delle battaglie meglio progettate della guerra ed una delle peggio combattute; entrambi gli eserciti uscirono sconfitti in pieno, ma se uno avesse tenuto duro, l'altro avrebbe dovuto darsi alla fuga ». La battaglia per il suo effetto morale consolidò immensamente la causa dei Confederati in patria ed all'estero, ma significò molto anche per gli Unionisti, dato che il 25 luglio 1861 il Congresso votò un Atto mirante a potenziare l'esercito.

states was rife for secession, and that they were prepared to secede at once, if the British Government would pledge itself to admit their products into British ports on the same terms as those of the British colonial possessions. No encouragement was given them by the Minister or the crown, and the negotiation was not prosecuted.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 17*

Turin, September 10, 1861.

Sir: The members of the diplomatic corps at Turin have been officially notified that « the King and Court » intend to be present at the inauguration of the National Exposition at Florence on the 15 of September, and it is understood that they will remain one or two weeks, and possibly longer, at that city. It is announced, also, that the Minister of Foreign Affairs will accompany His Majesty.

Under these circumstances, I suppose I am authorized, if not bound, to follow the Court, and I shall accordingly leave Turin for Florence, in time to be present at the inauguration; but, as I have received no reply to my request, in my despatch No. 6, dated July 22, for leave of absence for a reasonable time during the Exposition, I shall return within ten days, unless I find that official duty required a longer stay.<sup>68</sup>

The consulates at Florence and Leghorn being virtually vacant, there is no person, except myself, whose business it will be to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the concourse of Italians from every part of the Kingdom at the exposition for inquiry as to possible hostile movements of the confederates in remote Italian ports, and for establishing a confidential correspondence with proper persons in suspected localities. I shall seek the acquaintance of such residents of Sardinia, Calabria and southern and western Sicily as shall be recommended to me as trustworthy, and obtain from them such information as I can.

During the absence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, no business requiring negotiation will be transacted at the Foreign Office, and I am not aware that the Legation will be called upon to discharge any official duties here except in connection with passports. Mr. Dillon has not

<sup>68</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 27, Washington, 12 ottobre 1861, il Seward consentiva al Marsh di assentarsi da Torino per tutta la durata dell'Esposizione Nazionale di Firenze.

returned, nor have I heard any thing from him, or of him, since his departure, except a casual remark in a letter from a friend, that he was said to be at Paris about the 25 of August. Unless he arrives in time, I shall leave the office of the Legation in charge of Mr. William Magoun, who has often been employed by my predecessors, and is a thoroughly loyal, discreet and competent person.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 18*

Turin, September 11, 1861.

Sir: In my despatch of yesterday, No. 17, I stated that I proposed to go to Florence in time to be present at the inauguration of the Exposition. I then expected that Mr. Sanford would return from Caprera last evening, but as yet I have no advices of his arrival at Genoa. It will probably be necessary for me to confer with him on his return, and I must, of course, remain at Turin until I hear from him. I should, therefore, be too late for the inauguration, and I shall not go to Florence at present, if at all during the Exposition.

I enclose herewith a letter from Mons. Eugène Godard,<sup>69</sup> a distinguished aeronaut, to the President of the United States, which I have received this morning from the Consulate at Genoa.

***Eugène Godard a Abraham Lincoln***<sup>70</sup>

*Traduzione*

Boulogne, August 27, 1861.

You are not unaware of the services which aerostation has rendered to various armies which have made use of it, and recently still, during the campaign in Italy, the Emperor seeing fit to apply it, placed me at his orders, although with inadequate material and entirely unsuitable for that service. The results which I attained in the numerous ascensions which I made in presence of the enemy surpassed his expectation. His Majesty congratulated me on several occasions before his staff, and ordered me to construct, according to my plans, a peculiar balloon, to which he

<sup>69</sup> Eugène Godard (1827-1900), di Clichy, e suo fratello Louis (1829-1885) erano ingegneri aeronautici.

<sup>70</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 18 del Marsh.

attached great importance, not only in a strategic point of view, but also for transport of projectiles and combustible materials intended to be hurled against the fortresses and magazines of the enemy in besieged cities.

Since that time the numerous improvements which I have not ceased to add to my new system of aerostation, in order to make its application to armies in the field simple, easy, and economical above all, have led me to surprizing results. Finding myself at this moment, in consequence of the peace, disposable, and not having patience to await the opening of a new campaign, I come through this communication, to offer my services to you, in case it may be agreeable to you to organize military aerostation in your army.

In case of your acceptance, the results which I engage upon honor to attain, are as follows:

1st I can by the aid of an apparatus of my invention of the weight of 160 *Kes* inflate in less than ten minutes, from materials, found everywhere and which cost nothing, a balloon of the content of 4500 cubic metres, capable of carrying 800 to 1000 kilogrammes [sic] in excess of its own weight and that of its accessories.

2nd With this balloon to ascend and descend at will, with any degree of expedition; limiting the duration, and by consequence the range of the ascension.

3d This balloon can also be kept stationary at a certain height above ground by means of cords, and furnish an observatory elevated several hundred metres, from which the positions, the works and the movements of the enemy can be discovered.

4th Several bombs and balls might pass through it without hindering its course, without producing either combustion or explosion, and consequently without danger to those who would be ascending with & managing it.

5th As the weight of all the materials should not exceed 300 kilograms, it will always be easy of transport on a carriage wherever it be needed.

6' A company of 40 men should be especially set apart to the service for all the manœuvres [sic] of the balloon. The most capable of these men could be selected for the formation of new companies of aerostation which the government might think proper to organize afterwards.

7th I do not pretend to wrestle with the winds, but on the contrary, to make use of them to pass over besieged cities, which would



enable officers who would accompany me to take observations of every kind—Such ascensions could only take place when cities are completely invested, so as to make the descent among friendly forces. In cases of incomplete investments, I must limit myself to ascensions under control.

8th The peculiar projectiles and combustible matters dropped from the balloon at opportune moments would produce on fortifications and magazines considerable damage which would carry panic and demoralization into the midst of the enemy.

9th Balloons of greater dimensions could also be constructed capable of carrying without more difficulty projectiles weighing several millions of kilograms.

10th Generals and commanders of columns could by means of balloons under control, communicate with each other by aid of signals such as are used at sea.

11th Telegraphy and the electric fluid could also be connected with them.

12th Aerostatic photography might also render great services.

13th Small paper balloons carrying projectiles and combustible matters could be sent off in great numbers with a favorable wind in the direction of the enemy, where they would burst in the air at a distance calculated before hand—by such means the foe could be struck in his most retired places of encampment [sic].

My pretensions shall not be an obstacle to the acceptance of my offer, for I ask you to set me at work, to have trust in my well known experience, and if after the war, you are satisfied with me, you shall yourself fix the remuneration which you shall think it right to accord to me for my services rendered thru my system of aerostation, as well as personally. You will at present only have to bear the expences [sic] necessary to the construction of a substantial special balloon which will become the property of the Government.

These works will be pressed forward with the greatest possible celerity, under my direction, in such of the United States as it may please you to indicate to me, and to which I would repair immediately—The heaviest of the disbursements would be that for about 1600 superficial metres of taffetas which I would have made in Italy or at Lyons from my directions, the cost of which will be 12 francs per metre. Your consul at Geneva might be charged by you with this important commission, this would assure to you all desirable guaranties [sic]—as for other expenses of the construction of the balloon and rigging as well as the

apparatus needful for inflation, they will not exceed 1000 dollars, and would be contracted thru an agent of the Government.

During the Italian war I was in a position to judge of the excellent moral effect which the sight of the balloon produced upon our troops, and of the astonishment of the Austrians whose works and whose movements could not escape our notice.

Eight ascensions which I made in succession at the siege of Peschiera enabled me to give many observations to the General of Engineers Frossard,<sup>71</sup> and to present him with the plan of Fort No. 8.

I also remarked that the army was put in motion after these ascensions which enabled me to demonstrate that there was no enemy in front of us, and especially when in presence of the Emperor, before the passage of the Mincio.

Whatever may be your decision, I hope and believe you will have the goodness to honor me with an answer.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**<sup>72</sup>

*Dispaccio n. 19*

Turin, September 14, 1861.

Sir: Mr. Sanford arrived here from Caprera on the evening of Thursday the 12 instant, and left for Brussels the next morning. He will of course explain to you the causes of his failure to accomplish the object of his mission, and on that subject I need only say that his want of success is not to be ascribed to any error or indiscretion on his part. He has, in my judgment, conducted the whole affair with much prudence, tact and skill, and I am satisfied that the services of General Garibaldi cannot, under present circumstances, be secured, except by the offer of terms which Mr. Sanford was not authorized, and the American Government would not be inclined, to propose.

Although, after the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. Quiggle<sup>73</sup> and Garibaldi, the President could not well avoid making

<sup>71</sup> Charles Auguste Frossard (1807-1875). Generale francese nato a Versailles. Nella campagna italiana del 1859 comandò l'armata del Genio.

<sup>72</sup> Questo e gli altri documenti su i rapporti Garibaldi-Statì Uniti durante la guerra di secessione, sono stati pubblicati da H. N. GAY in *Scritti sul Risorgimento* cit.

<sup>73</sup> James W. Quiggle fu destinato come console degli S.U. ad Anversa il 18 aprile 1859. Durò in carica dal 16 luglio 1859 al 30 settembre 1861. Per il testo della lettera di Quiggle a Garibaldi in data 8 giugno 1861, vedi H. N. GAY, *Century* (novembre 1907), p. 66.

some advances to that distinguished soldier, I do not by any means look upon his assumption of a position which precluded all negotiation, and put it out of Mr. Sanford's power to make a proposal at all, as an evil. His constitutional independence of character and action, his long habit of exercising uncontrolled and irresponsible authority, the natural and honorable pride which he cannot but feel in reviewing his own splendid career and vast achievements, and the consciousness that though but a solitary and private individual, he is at this moment, in and of himself, one of the great powers of the world—all these combine to render it difficult, if not impossible for him, consistently with due self respect, to accept such military rank and powers, as the President can constitutionally and lawfully offer him. And if this difficulty were overcome, there is much reason to suppose that the natural jealousy of American officers and American soldiers would much embarrass the efficiency of a commander of Garibaldi's character, and who, though naturalized, has not identified himself with our national interests by long residence, or by active participation in American political or social life, especially if such commander were placed in the new and exceptional position which alone Garibaldi could accept.

But the opinions which this remarkable man entertains with regard to the character of the contest between the federal government and the insurgent states would constitute an equally insuperable objection, in his mind, to his acceptance of a commission in the American army, or to his usefulness in it, so long as those opinions remain unchanged.

I have been for some months aware that he considers this contest a struggle in which no important political or philanthropic principle is involved, thinks the parties are contending about purely material interests, and holds that neither of them has superior claims upon the sympathies of the European friends of liberty and of progress. Garibaldi has never been ambitious of wielding power or winning laurels in a cause which did not commend itself to him as something more than a question of legal right and governmental interests, and this the cause of the American Government and Union, as regarded from his point of view, has thus far failed to do. He, as his friends represent, does not think that the perpetuity and extension of domestic slavery constitute one of the issues of the war, and though I should not be surprised if, in spite of what has passed between him and Mr. Sanford, he should visit America, of his own motion, with a view of examining the position of affairs on the spot, yet I do not believe he will take any post in the struggle, unless he is

convinced that the government and the people of the North are united in the determination to pursue a policy which shall necessarily result in the abolition of slavery.

As I have intimated in former dispatches, opinions corresponding to those of Garibaldi on this subject are making rapid progress here, as well as in every part of Europe concerning which I have opportunities of inquiry, and the general sympathy with the federal government, as the champion, not of law and order only, but of the principles of universal liberty, which was so freely expressed at the outbreak of the rebellion, is now much less warmly felt, and the popular good will towards us is diminished in proportion.

This change in public opinion and feeling is to be ascribed in part to the alleged want of any tangible evidence that the government of the Union and the people of the North design to make the ultimate abolition, or even the territorial limitation of slavery a feature of the national policy, in part to the almost unanims [sic] passage of Crittenden's <sup>74</sup> resolution, which is construed as authoritatively negating any such purpose, and still more to the industrious efforts of the secessionists to create a belief that the antagonism between the principles of protection and of free trade is the real cause of our present dissensions.

The public opinion of continental Europe on all American questions is manufactured by a few leading journals in England and France, and by the Paris and London correspondents of what may almost be called the *provincial* European press. I have no doubt that, so far as that opinion is erroneous, it might be in a great degree corrected by the employment of proper means to influence European journalism. There can be no difficulty in finding, among the regular contributors to the periodical press of London, and Paris, able writers who may be induced, by a fair compensation, to sustain the national side of the question, and the metropolitan correspondents I have spoken of might generally be secured to us with even greater facility. In England at least, very good effects might be produced through popular lectures or addresses by eminent American speakers. This latter instrumentality powerfully influences the public

<sup>74</sup> John Jordan Crittenden (1787-1863). Nacque a Versailles nel Kentucky; ricoprì varie cariche e fu senatore dal 4 marzo 1855 al 3 marzo 1861, e poi di nuovo dal 1861 al 1863. Al suo nome è legata una risoluzione congiunta che proponeva alcuni emendamenti della Costituzione: i territori doversi ammettere come Stati con o senza schiavitù secondo la loro precedente costituzione, senza che il Congresso potesse interferire. Presentata il 19 dicembre 1860 e il 2 gennaio 1861, tale proposta passò il 7 gennaio 1861. Cfr. *Congressional Globe*, 36<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2nd session, 6 dicembre 1860-19 febbraio 1861, part I, pp. 114, 137, 264.

sentiment of the Northern states on all political questions, and the English people are not less accessible to such means of conviction and persuasion than our own.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 20*

Turin, September 16, 1861.

Sir: In spite of my continually repeated declarations, that I have no authority to accept, in behalf of my government, the services of European officers, and not the least reason to suppose that their aid is desired or would be accepted by the United States, I am besieged by applicants for employment in our army, to an extent that has become a very serious annoyance.

Many of these persons bring recommendations, or are possessed of character or positions, which will not allow me to dismiss them unheard, and I beg for formal instructions as to the reply I am to make to them.

Italy has been for some years a safe asylum for political refugees, and the war of 1859 and the movements of Garibaldi in 1860 brought to the peninsula great numbers of soldiers of fortune, as well as of officers who had retired from different European armies and desired again to enter the military service. Very many of these persons are now in Piedmont, some of them in the Italian army, others upon half pay, and others altogether un—provided for by this government, and destitute of private resources.

Among them is a very considerable numbers of officers professionally educated, and well qualified by experience, attainment, and character, to be of great use in any service, where there are not very strong objections to the employment of foreign officers. Including English and Irish, some of whom come with very good testimonials, I suppose half of those I have seen are acquainted with the English language, and most of the remainder with French and German.

Those who have held high social or military rank are frequently extravagant in their expectations, as you will see by a proposal I enclose from a Polish officer, but in general they would accept any position, even that of drill sergeant, which would furnish employment and a chance of promotion.

Although I have uniformly discouraged those applications, and pointed out the great difficulties in the way of the employment of foreign officers by the United States, I have been less abrupt in my rejection of their

offers than under other circumstances I might have been, because I have thought it probable that if peremptorily repulsed by the authorities of the Union, the necessities of these persons might drive them to enter the service of the rebels. Europe swarms with secession agents, official and unofficial, through whom their services might be tendered, and who may even be authorized to employ them.

I do not know that there are, in Northern Italy, any employes of the confederates, though it is believed there are such at Rome, and I learned a few days since, that a dealer in military clothing and equipments at Turin sold last week, seven thousand pairs of shoes to a person professing to be acting for the « American Government ». I have been unable to find the name of the purchaser, or to obtain further details, but I have reason to suspect that the purchase was really made on the joint account of the papal government and the ex—king of Naples.

***Ferdinand D. Chotomskj a George P. Marsh*** <sup>75</sup>

Borgo di Rubato del dott. Camisso (2° piano)

Torino, ce 14 septembre 1861.

Excellence, Le soussigné Colonel d'Etat major général de l'armée Polonaise; et sur sa propre demande, démissionné Colonel d'Etat major de la 16<sup>e</sup> Division de l'armée méridionale d'Italie, autorisé par les officiers Polonais d'offrir leurs services au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, a l'honneur de transmettre leurs vœux à Votre Excellence, avec les conditions suivantes:

1° Que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis me nommera Général Commandant de corps et me fera parvenir les nominations en blanc pour les officiers enrôlés.

2° Que l'entrée de campagne et de première mise, leur sera payée, selon leurs grades et qu'ils seront transportés à leur destination aux frais du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et seront reconnus Citoyens.

3° Qu'après la Campagne, ils recevront une récompense selon [sic] les services rendus à l'Etat pendant la guerre, et leurs grades, et en cas, si le Gouvernement voudra organiser une armée permanente, ceux des Officers qui voudront prendre service, seront placés dans cette armée dans leurs grades.

<sup>75</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 20 del Marsh.

4° Que les officiers blessés et estropiés pendant la guerre, touchent une pension viagère et leurs veuves et enfants. Les enfants jusqu'à leur majorité et s'ils désireront retourner dans leur patrie, le Gouvernement daignera leur accorder les frais du voyage.

5° Si la Pologne, notre patrie, aura besoin de nos services après la campagne finie le Gouvernement des Etats Unis leur accordera une gratification, et le transport à ses frais en Europe.

6° Le soussigné sera autorisé par le Gouvernement des Etats Unis de faire choix parmi [sic] les Officiers qui voudront s'enrôler pour qu'il puisse prendre ceux, qui se sont distingués par leur valeur et virtus militaires tant en Pologne que dans les campagnes en pays étrangères [sic] et sont aptes au service.

Le Gouvernement des Etats Unis puit compter sur le choix de bons officiers pour une Brigade (2 Regiments) de Lanciers, une d'infanterie de ligne, une Batterie d'Artillerie, et un nombre suffisant pour ce corps, des Officers de Génie et d'Etat major.

Veuillez soumettre cette demande à Votre Gouvernement et l'assurer qu'il sera de notre devoir de combattants dans les rangs de Votre armée pour une si juste et sainte cause, de repondre à la confiance que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis voudra bien nous honorer [sic], en marchant sur les traces des nos illustres compatriotes les Généraux Kosciuszko et Pulawski.

Agréé Monsieur l'Ambassadeur l'assurance de mon profond respect avec le quel, J'ai l'honneur d'être de Votre Excellence le très humble serviteur

le Comte Ferdinand Dienzerien Chotomskj  
Colonel et Chevalier de plusieurs ordres militaires.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Privata e confidenziale*

Turin, September 16, 1861.

Dear Sir: Having reason to believe that Mr. Walsh will renew his efforts to obtain a post under the United States Government, and knowing that he can command the influence of persons of position, who are now ostensibly friendly to the government of the Union, I think it my duty to furnish you with further testimony in regard to his political sentiments.

I received, some weeks since, a *confidential* letter from a gentleman at Florence, containing the following statement of conversations between Mr. A. J. Jones of Providence R. I., whom my highly respectable correspondent describes as « a gentleman of intelligence and veracity », and Mr. Walsh:

« Mr. Jones said that Mr. Walsh, immediately after his return from Paris, was very severe and unreserved in his criticisms on the policy and conduct of the present administration, frequently denouncing the President and his cabinet, and applying to them approbrious epithets; saying they were no more honest nor any better than Floyd, Cobb etc,<sup>76</sup> and their associates; insomuch that Mr. Jones, (who approves the course of the administration, and is in favor of the most energetic measures on the part of the government for suppressing the rebellion,) though a mild, unobtrusive gentlehearted man, on one occasion, became indignant at the unjust and unfair remarks of Mr. Walsh, and high words ensued between them.

« In a subsequent conversation with Mr. Walsh, he expressed to that gentleman a wish to know what steps he would take as consul, were any of the piratical vessels of the revolted states to make their appearance with prizes in the port of Leghorn. Mr. Walsh replied that such a thing was not all [sic] likely to occur, and seemed desirous to avoid saying anything further on the subject. But, on Mr. Jones' pressing him for a more direct answer, and saying that he thought it highly probable that cases of that kind might come before the consuls, and that it appeared to him to be of much importance, that they should be seasonably prepared to meet all such cases promptly, and in accordance with the best interests of the country, Mr. W. affected to have never thought of the subject before; but he finally said, that should a case of that kind occur at Leghorn, he supposed it would be his duty to report it to our Minister at Turin, and get instructions from him as to what ought to be done. »

I ought to say that those conversations, that in regard to piratical cruises included, took place before I had written to Florence for information concerning Walsh, and that therefore Mr. Jones's inquiries were not, directly or indirectly, prompted by me.

<sup>76</sup> John B. Floyd, della Virginia, era stato Segretario alla Guerra durante l'amministrazione di Buchanan, ma poi era passato ai Confederati. Howell Cobb (1815-1868), della Georgia, fu Segretario al Tesoro con Buchanan e si dimise il 10 dicembre 1860. Funse da presidente alla convenzione dei delegati degli Stati secessionisti. Nell'esercito dei Confederati ebbe il grado di generale di brigata e quindi di maggiore generale.



Upon receiving the letter from which I make these extracts, I wrote to its author, requesting him to ask Mr. Jones to communicate these facts to you confidentially, which I assured him he might do with perfect safety.

I have today received from him a reply, inclosing a letter from Mr. Jones, which he says « may be *confidentially* communicated to Mr. Seward, but, to no one else ».

The letter is as follows:

« Florence, September 10, 1861.

« My dear Mr x x

Yours of yesterday has just come to hand. In reply I would say that the minutes which you put down from memory of the conversation which we had together about the opinions & feelings which I had heard Mr. Walsh express, are in the main correct. The language which you employ, or quote, I think I may justly say gives the *tenor* of what Mr. Walsh said to me at the time of our first and second talks. I would, however, substitute for the phrases “ frequently denouncing ” &c. (speaking of the new administration) and “ entire approval ” &c. (referring to the conduct of the rebels, high and low) some such expressions as “ one is as bad as the other ” and “ it is hard to choose between them ”. Of course it is difficult to give the precise words used, but the simple fact remains that Mr. W. did not express approval, but on the contrary disapprobation of the course of the government. His language of hostility—I think I may use as strong a word—was sufficiently decided to excite in me the extreme indignation of which I told you, and to provoke the sharp—retort, which seemed at the time to threaten to destroy our friendly relations. I remember that I was outraged and grieved beyond measure, to hear one who had for twenty years received benefits from the government of our dear country, at the moment when that government was menaced with the gravest peril, not only express no sympathy with those called by the people to the administration of affairs under circumstances the most trying, but condemn those men, and compare them to knaves who had done all they could to pull down ruin upon the nation. Not thinking Mr. W. would again be a seeker for place—at least in the present condition of affairs—the incident of our conversation nearly passed from my mind until, hearing of his appointment, I for the first time incidentally mentioned it to you. I will add that at the time of these disloyal declarations, a less decided *permanent* impression was made on my mind, from the fact that sometime before, I had got an idea of a

flippancy or laxness of political principle which seemed to belong to the character of the person concerned in this matter. As evidence of this, I may mention that, soon after his return from Naples, when our Embassy was broken up; on the destruction [sic] of the government of Francis II, he took upon himself to defend that monarch as the victim of injustice, throwing the blame upon the party of reform, and, if I am not mistaken, condemning the movement, in that part of Italy at least, as unjustifiable usurpation. I was provoked at the time, but excused the matter as one of those caprices or vagaries of opinion which even right minded men will sometimes give way to.

As to our conversation about privateering and the duties of consuls with respect to it, I think you have made a faithful record of what I told you.

You are at liberty to use the information which I gave you before, or whatever this letter contains, in such a manner as in your judgment may serve the cause of right and of our country; but *privately*, so that I may not be compromised. You will do me the justice to believe that I would not say a word to injure Mr. W. or hinder in any manner the promotion of his interests. I have only the kindest feelings towards him, and would not wish that our present friendly relations should be disturbed, although they may be only those of a casual acquaintance. But I do appreciate the importance at such a time as the present of having our country represented by men whose fidelity is beyond question.

I do not know that there is any thing else in your letter which calls for a reply.

Albert J. Jones »

There are at Florence and Paris many Americans who could bear much stronger testimony than this to the treasonable sentiments of Mr. Walsh, and I regret that there are not more of them, whose sense of duty to their country is strong enough to induce them to communicate the facts within their knowledge, though at the risk of encountering his resentment and the hostility of certain persons, who, for purposes quite alien from any American national interest, are anxious to clothe Mr. Walsh and others of the same stamp with official rank and authority derived from the Government of the United States.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 18*<sup>77</sup>

Washington, September 20, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 26th, No. 12, has been received. I send you, in confidence, a copy of my latest instructions to Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton, from which you will learn that the negotiations with Great Britain and France for an accession to the Declaration of the Congress at Paris have been suspended, and the causes of the suspension.<sup>78</sup>

We are desirous to act in good faith and to acquit ourselves of all responsibility for the failure of negotiations with enlightened powers for the advancement of the interests of peace and humanity, and yet we are at the same time resolved to maintain the independent position and the dignity of our Government. We therefore hold ourselves ready to perfect a Convention with the Government of Italy for our accession, and at the same time you will not urge the proposition against any disinclination which that Government may express or intimate.

We shall be the friends of Italy, and Italy, we are sure, cannot be otherwise than friendly to us, no matter what treaty relations exist or fail to be made.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 19*<sup>79</sup>

Washington, September 21, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 19th, No. 10, was duly received.

In regard to tenders of military service it accords with our views of the public interest to receive foreigners, friends of freedom and the unity of the American Republic, into our military service as officers and soldiers.

<sup>77</sup> L'Istruzione n. 15, Washington, 26 agosto 1861, trasmetteva la nomina di James H. Armsby, di New York, a console degli S.U. a Napoli. L'Istruzione n. 16, Washington, 30 agosto 1861, trasmetteva la nomina di David H. Wheeler, dello Iowa, a console degli S.U. a Genova. L'Istruzione n. 17, Washington, 9 settembre 1861, trasmetteva la nomina di Andrew J. Stevens, dello Iowa, a console degli S.U. a Livorno.

<sup>78</sup> Le istruzioni per Adams e Dayton si riferiscono alla firma della Convenzione per l'adesione degli S.U. alla Dichiarazione del Congresso di Parigi concernente la guerra sul mare e i diritti dei paesi neutrali. Gli S.U. rifiutarono di aderire alla Dichiarazione poiché un nuovo articolo ne modificava i termini in modo tale da cambiare la sua natura, facendola gravare sugli affari interni e rendendo non reciproca la convenzione: gli Stati Uniti vi avrebbero aderito solo a pari condizioni. Archivio dell'Ambasciata degli Stati Uniti, Roma.

<sup>79</sup> Negli Archivi Nazionali questa Istruzione è collocata subito dopo la n. 18.

We have thus far been able to assign satisfactory positions to all who have offered. I cannot, of course, foresee how long this state of things will last. The army is rapidly filling up, and we have therefore no need to offer special pecuniary inducements beyond the compensation prescribed by the laws of Congress. Of course we cannot authorize you to advance monies to defray the expenses of volunteers from Italy, although, for the present, we cheerfully accept those who come.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 21*<sup>80</sup>

Turin, September 23, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches, No. 13, dated August 14, 1861, No. 14, dated August 24, 1861 with a commission and passport for Luigi Monti as Consul at Palermo, and a bond for his signature, No. 15, dated August 25 1861 with the commission of James H. Armsby as Consul at Naples, and No. 16 dated August 30, 1861 with the commission of David H. Wheeler as consul at Genoa; also of a Circular from the State Department respecting passports dated Aug. 19, 1861.

The exequaturs for the consuls were all applied for on the days of the receipt of their respective commissions, but in consequence of the absence of the King, who has gone to Florence, the exequaturs are not yet issued.

Mr. Monti has returned me his official bond, duly executed, and I enclose it herewith.

I have no advices from either of the other newly appointed consuls, which I much regret, as I consider their presence at their posts at this time very important. Mr. Cooley having declined the Vice-Consulate at Florence, that office is now in the hands of Mr. Brown, deputed by the late Consul General, and accordingly there is now, I believe, not a single consulate in the Kingdom of Italy which can be said to be efficiently filled.

There is now an active movement in the trade in arms and munitions of war at most of the Italian ports, and I have no doubt that vigilant

<sup>80</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 30, Washington, 19 ottobre 1861, accusando ricevuta di questo dispaccio, il Seward comunicava al Marsh che « i nostri consoli presso i porti del Mediterraneo hanno avuto l'ordine di raggiungere con sollecitudine le proprie sedi, e ho fiducia che tutti l'abbiano già fatto. La flotta starà all'erta per i battelli che trasportano armi per gli insorti avendo come falsa destinazione Buenos Aires ».

consuls at those ports might do much towards embarrassing the purchase of such articles by agents of the confederate States, and they might occasionally give such information respecting the shipment of them as to enable the government to intercept them on their passage.

The person who informed me of the sale of seven thousand pairs of shoes at Turin to a professed agent of « the American Government » has now satisfied himself, that they are to be shipped at Genoa for Buenos Ayres [sic], but with the hope of falling in with a confederate cruiser or privateer at sea to whom they can be disposed of.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 22*

Turin, September 24, 1861.

Sir: On the evening of the 21st of this month, I received a telegraphic despatch, a copy of which I annex in the original because, as written down by the telegraphic operator, it does not admit of an intelligible literal translation.<sup>81</sup> The meaning of it appears to be, that two colored sailors on board the barque *Harvest* from Liverpool to Civitavecchia attacked the officers, that the mate, in self defence shot one of the mutineers, and that the other was put in irons. The acting consul asks for instructions. I infer from his addressing himself to me, that there is now at Rome no minister or consul of the United States.<sup>82</sup>

I replied by telegraph advising that the surviving mutineer be kept in confinement, and by the first mail, wrote to the acting consul that he must apply to the minister or consul at Rome for instructions, but if no such officer now remained in the papal states, I would advise him further as soon as I learned the facts more clearly. In the meantime, however, I said that the sailor should be kept confined, the affidavits of the witnesses

<sup>81</sup> Il telegramma allegato era datato Civitavecchia, 21 settembre, e portava la firma del vice console Marsanich. Questo il testo: « Bark *Harvest* arrivato da Liverpool equipaggio di neri viaggiante Mediterraneo parte equipaggio ammutinato, due marinai neri avventansi contro ufficiale capitano inerme salvato, secondo investito dal coltello di un nero spara revolver lo uccide — allora mettesi a ferri; l'altro bastimento quarantena. Attendo istruzioni ».

<sup>82</sup> John P. Stockton fu Ministro degli Stati Uniti a Roma dal 18 giugno 1858 al 6 giugno 1861. Gli succedette Alexander W. Randall che durò in carica dal 6 agosto 1861 all'11 agosto 1862. Consoli statunitensi a Roma durante questo lasso di tempo furono Horatio de V. Glentworth (26 agosto 1858-8 agosto 1861), William D. Howells (8 agosto 1861-13 settembre 1861), e William J. Stillman (6 settembre 1861-6 febbraio 1865).

taken in writing, and both the criminal and the evidence sent home by the *Harvest*, if she was about to return to an American port, and if not by some other vessel. I have received as yet no further communication on the subject.<sup>83</sup>

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 23*

Turin, September 24, 1861.

Sir: I have perhaps said as much as is necessary in former despatches on the subject of the numerous offers of service I receive from military men, but the two gentlemen, Col Anfossi and Col. Cluseret, whose proposals I enclose herewith, produce so excellent testimonials that I cannot refuse their request to forward the accompanying papers to the Government.

I have no doubt that a judicious American officer might select, among the unemployed military men now in Piedmont, a large number, whose services would be of great value to the army of the United States, but I have held out no encouragement to any of them.

It would enable me to relieve myself of the annoying pressure of these applications, if I were furnished with express instructions on the subject.

***Stati di servizio del Colonnello Cluseret***<sup>84</sup>

Cluseret (Gustave Paul) né à Paris le 19 Juin 1823, fils de Cluseret (Antoine) Colonel du 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne, Commandeur de St. Wladimir de Russie, officier de la légion d'honneur etc. etc.

Entré à l'école spéciale militaire de St Cyr le 1<sup>er</sup> février 1841.

Nommé Sous-lieutenant au 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne le 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1843.

Lieutenant au même régiment le 18 Janvier 1848.

Commandant du 23<sup>me</sup> Bataillon de garde mobile le 28 février 1848.

Chevalier de la légion d'honneur le 7 Juillet 1848.

<sup>83</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 29, Washington, 16 ottobre 1861, il Seward comunicava al Marsh di « non avere alcuna ragione per dissentire dall'atteggiamento da voi tenuto in relazione alle questioni derivate dall'ammutinamento del brigantino *Harvest* ».

<sup>84</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 23 del Marsh, con le due copie, quasi uguali, dello stato di servizio.

Licencié le 29 Janvier 1849.

Rentré comme lieutenant au 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne.

Mis en non activité le 1849 pour avoir réclamé l'exécution de la loi électorale pour l'armée.

Replacé comme lieutenant au 58<sup>me</sup> de ligne le 1852.

Passé avec son grade au 4<sup>me</sup> Bataillon de chasseurs à pied.

Entré aux affaires arabes (bureau de Tlemcen, Afrique) 1853.

Nommé Capitaine au 3<sup>me</sup> Bataillon de chasseurs à pied, pour plaie de guerre (prise du Mamelon vert, siège de Sébastopol) 7 Juillet 1855.

Rentré en France (mars 1856) et passé sur sa demande, par permutation, avec son grade au 8<sup>me</sup> Bataillon de chasseurs à pied, partant pour l'Afrique (avril 1856).

Proposé pour officier de la légion d'honneur à la suite de l'expédition de Kabylie (Afrique).

Nommé Commissaire impérial auprès le 1<sup>er</sup> Conseil de guerre à Blidah (Afrique).

Démissionnaire août 1858.

Repris du service auprès de Garibaldi et nommé Major d'état major attaché à sa personne.

Chargé par lui du commandement des français.

Nommé Colonel le 2 9<sup>bre</sup> 1860 avec brevet régulièrement délivré par le Ministre de la guerre.

### Campagnes

Afrique 1853 1854

Crimée 1854 1855 1856

Afrique 1856 1857 1858

Italie 1860

### Blessures

23 Mars 1855 Siège de Sébastopol coup de feu à la jambe gauche.

7 Juin 1855 Mamelon vert (Crimée) coup de feu à la jambe droite.

25 8<sup>bre</sup> 1860 Siège de Capoue éclats de mitraille aux 2 jambes.

### Décorations

Légion d'honneur 7 Juillet 1848.

Médaille de Crimée.

### Positions particulières

A professé de 1843 à 1847 les cours d'art militaire, de fortification et de topographie.

Chargé par le Général Aupick de faire pour S.A. le Duc de Nemours le relevé des opérations du corps d'armée dont faisait partie le 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne du camp de la Moselle.

Mis par le Ministre de la Guerre à la disposition du Colonel Kovalevsky aide de camp de l'empereur de Russie, envoyé à Paris 1847 pour étudier en détail l'organisation militaire française.

A rempli les fonctions du ministère public auprès du 1<sup>er</sup> Conseil de guerre de la division d'Alger.

### Renseignements

Pour s'assurer de l'exactitude des dates relatées ici, de mémoire, s'adresser au ministère de la guerre à Paris qui délivrera un duplicata des états de services, la seule copie qui ait été délivrée au Colonel Cluseret ayant été déposée par lui entre les mains de la commission de l'armée méridionale, ainsi que son brevet de Colonel; fait constaté par le récipissé délivré au nom de la commission, récipissé mis sous les yeux de S.E. M. le Ministre des Etats Unis à Turin.

Pour les renseignements relatifs à la valeur et capacité militaires de Mr. Cluseret s'adresser à Mr. le Général de Division Baron Renault Sénateur, dernier général sous les ordres duquel il ait servi en France. En Italie s'adresser au Général Garibaldi.

J'affirme que les Etats de Services ci-dessus détaillés sont conformes à la vérité autant que ma mémoire peut me servir.

Le Colonel

G. Cluseret

D'après les états de services ci-joints on peut s'assurer que Mr. Cluseret a passé par toutes les positions qui initient un officier aux différentes parties d'une organisation militaire complète et le rendent capable d'organiser et d'instruire.

L'arme des chasseurs à pied dans laquelle Mr. Cluseret a fait les campagnes de Crimée et d'Afrique lui est particulièrement familière et il pourrait en former d'excellents bataillons avec l'élément américain et des instructeurs français. L'habitude de manier la carabine dès l'enfance et de parcourir de grands espaces rend le soldat américain essentiellement propre au métier de Chasseur à pied. Il ne faut plus que lui donner l'esprit de



corps, l'habitude de la discipline et celle de nos manoeuvres rapides qui seules peuvent aujourd'hui lutter avec avantage contre la portée considérable des nouvelles armes à feu.

Mr. Cluseret (Gustave Paul) fils de Antoine Cluseret Colonel du 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne.

Sorti de l'école spéciale militaire de St Cyr le 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1843 et nommé sous-lieutenant au 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne.

De 1843 à 1848 a professé les cours d'art militaire, fortification et topographie.

Détaché par ordre du ministre de la guerre en 1847 auprès du Colonel Levalewski aide de camp de l'empereur de Russie pendant son séjour à Paris pour lui donner tous renseignements sur l'organisation militaire intérieure des troupes françaises.

Nommé lieutenant au même corps 18 Janvier 1848.

Nommé au commandement du 23<sup>me</sup> B.on de garde mobile le 27 ou 28 février 1848.

Nommé chevalier de la légion d'honneur le 7 Juillet 1848.

Licencié le 29 Janvier 1849.

Replacé comme lieutenant au 55<sup>me</sup> de ligne.

Mis en non activité au sujet des élections de [sic].

[sic], Mr. Cluseret ayant exigé le respect de la loi électorale.

Replacé au 58<sup>me</sup> de ligne en 1852.

Passé avec son grade au 4<sup>me</sup> B.on de chasseurs de Vincennes.

Détaché aux affaires arabes à Tlemcen (province d'Oran) au 3<sup>me</sup> B.on de chasseurs de Vincennes.

Nommé Capitaine à l'assaut du Mamelon vert (Crimée) et blessé d'un coup de feu à la jambe droite (7 Juin 1855).

Rentré en France février 1856.

Passé par permutation et sur sa demande au 8<sup>me</sup> B.on de chasseurs à pied, rentré en Afrique mai 1856.

Proposé dans l'expédition de Kabylie pour le grade d'officier de la légion d'honneur et nommé à la fin de l'expédition Commissaire impérial près le 1<sup>er</sup> Conseil de guerre à Blidah.

Démissionnaire au mois d'août 1858.

Repris du service dans l'armée de Garibaldi.

Major d'état major attaché à la personne de Garibaldi, puis sur sa demande chargé du commandement des français.

Blessé d'éclats de mitraille aux 2 jambes (siège de Capoue) et nommé Colonel le 2 9<sup>bre</sup> 1860.

<i>N. d'ord.</i>	<i>Casato e Nome</i>	<i>Grado</i>	<i>Età</i>	<i>Lingue che possiedono</i>	<i>Osservazioni</i>
1	Anfossi Francesco	Colonnello Brigadiere ed ispettore organizzatore	42	Bene Italiana-Francese mediocrementemente l'inglese	A servito nell'Armata Sarda, ed à fatto gli studi regolari nella Scuola militare per gli Uffiziali in Torino. Nelle guerre dell'Indipendenza italiana dal 1848 in oggi à organizzato e comandato vari corpi.
2	Calascibetta Fortunato	Maggiore di Fanteria	34	Bene Italiana-Francese si fa comprendere in inglese	A servito nell'armata delle Due Sicilie, ed è molto abile nell'amministrazione militare in tutti i rami e potrebbe organizzare il Corpo delle sussistenze militari per le truppe in campagna del quale à già fatto parte molto lodevolmente.
3	Ferrari Felice	Maggiore Amministrativo	46	Bene Italiana-Francese si fa comprendere in inglese	Servì come aiutante maggiore contabile nell'armata sarda.
4	Raibaud Ernesto	Maggiore di Fanteria	34	Bene Francese, italiana mediocrementemente l'inglese	Servì nell'armata Sarda, ed è buono istruttore.
5	Fiore Saverio	Capitano di Fanteria	34	Bene Italiana, Francese si fa comprendere in inglese	Servì nell'armata delle Due Sicilie. Eccellente istruttore - abile ad organizzare e comandare un Reggimento.
6	Garibaldi Giacomo	Maggiore di Fanteria	44	Bene Italiana-Francese si fa comprendere in inglese	Servì nell'Armata Sarda.
7	Calascibetta Gioacchino	Tenente di Bersaglieri	28	Bene Italiana-Francese studia l'inglese	Servì l'Armata delle Due Sicilie ove giunse al grado contrascritto previo esame - A fatto il corso degli studi nella Scuola militare di Napoli.
8	Delnoce Vincenzo	Commissario di Guerra di 2 <sup>a</sup> classe corrispondente al grado di Maggiore	28	Bene l'Italiana. Si fa comprendere in inglese	
9	Nicolosi Salvatore	Sotto Commissario di Guerra corrispondente al grado di Capitano	33	Bene Italiana-Francese si fa comprendere in inglese	
10	Telli Romolo	Tenente di Cavalleria	28	Bene Italiana-Francese	A servito nella Cavalleria sarda
11	Calascibetta Ercole	Tenente di Fanteria	22	Bene Italiana	A servito nell'Armata delle Due Sicilie
12	Olivieri Felice Luigi	Capitano di Bersaglieri	25	Bene Italiana-Francese studia l'inglese	
13	Previte Antonio	Tenente di Fanteria	—	Bene Italiana-Francese Bene l'inglese	A servito nell'Armata delle Due Sicilie

N.B. I Brevetti di nomina del rispettivo grado, e gli altri documenti di Servizio di ogni singolo ufficiale, saranno presentati al Governo degli Stati Uniti appena verranno richiesti.  
Fr. Anfossi

## Campagnes

1853, 1854, Afrique  
1854, 1855, Crimée  
1856, 1857, 1858, Afrique  
1860           Italie.

## Blessures

Coup de feu à la jambe gauche (23 mars 1855 Crimée)  
Coup de feu à la jambe droite (7 Juin 1855 Crimée)  
Eclats de mitraille aux 2 jambes (25 8<sup>bre</sup> 1860 Siège de Capoue).

## Décorations

Légion d'honneur 7 Juillet 1846.  
Médaille de Crimée.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 22* <sup>86</sup>

Washington, September 27, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 3, 1861 has been received.

Mr. Lawrence, with commendable patriotism, obtained leave to remain at home to recruit the volunteer forces in the State of Massachusetts. He yesterday, however, received his passport, and I suppose he will immediately proceed to Florence.

Assure Mr. Cooley of the sincere pleasure which his generous conduct in the matter has given to the President.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 24*

Turin, October 3, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 17 dated Sept. 9 1861 with the commission of Andrew J. Stevens as consul at Leghorn; also a circular dated Aug 28 1861 respecting the oath of allegiance, with several blank forms for the oath. The exequatur for

<sup>86</sup> L'Istruzione n. 21, Washington, 24 settembre 1861, trasmetteva la nomina di William T. Rice, del Massachusetts, a console a La Spezia.

Mr. Stevens was immediately applied for, but neither that nor those for other recently appointed consuls have yet been obtained, the King being still absent.

Upon receipt of the circular and form of oath, I applied to the Secretary General of the Department of Justice, before whom official oaths are usually taken, to administer to me the oath of allegiance, but for red tape reasons he declined to accede to my request, and the magistrate he referred me to; as possibly a person who would venture to administer it, is out of town. I hope however soon to find some less scrupulous officer.

Mr. Leese, late consul at Spezia, has resigned, and I enclose herewith a letter from him to you to that effect. I have appointed Mr. W. T. Rice acting consul from Oct. 1, at which date Mr. Leese's resignation takes effect.

I have received several depositions taken by the consul at Civitavecchia respecting the mutiny on board the *Harvest*. I think it a case where, in the exercise of a sound discretion, the consul may discharge the prisoner, or send him home for trial. As in this case the vessel is to sail for South America and then to return to Europe, the captain and mate, who are necessary witnesses, could not be sent home with the mutineer, without breaking up the voyage, and I have advised the consul to discharge the sailor, or send him to Cadiz aboard the *Harvest*, there to be dealt with as shall be thought expedient by the consul and the captain.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 23*

Washington, October 4, 1861.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: Your confidential despatch of September 3rd, No. 16, was duly received.

The information it gives of the vibration of opinion in Europe concerning our affairs is very interesting. The true state of the case, I think, is simply this: Disunion presented itself in the border states in the guise of neutrality. It was only partially successful. Missouri hesitated; Kentucky assented and adopted neutrality; Virginia divided; and Maryland stood fast for the Union. Disunion now reveals itself in its true character and levies war against the border states. It gains some foothold by

sudden movement, and desperate means, but the Union stands unmoved and unmovable. It collects its means and organizes its powers with energy, and moves steadily on with assured success.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 24*

Washington, October 10, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 14th, No. 19, has been received.

I thank you for the counsel and aid which you gave to Mr. Sanford on his recent visit at Turin, and I am satisfied that the views of its objects, incidents and results which you have taken, are just.

The account of the public opinion in Europe concerning our domestic affairs which you have given me is very clear. The fluctuations of that opinion are entirely natural. Any condition of opinion existing there at any time is necessarily built on not an American, but a European estimate of the political, moral, social and military forces of the Union, and of its assailants respectively, and those estimates are framed under the influence not of American, but of European interests and ambitions. It will change with every circumstances and every hope and fear that modifies those estimates.

Europe suffers by the anomaly of civil war in America, hardly less than we do ourselves. The first manifestation, there as here, has been impatience under this suffering. The first policy of European states like our own was to prevent it, and the next to bring it to a more sudden end than in the nature of things has been possible. We have corrected that error at home. There is no other way but for European states to correct it among themselves. When this impatience shall have ceased, they will be prepared to consider the matter in its real magnitude and to decide whether disunion, war and anarchy throughout the whole continent of America would immediately and forever bring greater benefits to other nations and to mankind than the preservation of the American Union, with its rightful powers and its benignant influences. In doing this they will come to appreciate the resolution and the virtue of the American people. In any case the destinies of that people are dependent, not on European sympathies, but on their own action, and, acting upon a consciousness of this truth, they will have nothing to fear from foreign prejudices or intervention.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 25*

Washington, October 10, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 16th, No. 20, has been received.

This Government cannot pay any money or other consideration to any person, as an inducement to him to come or to defray his expenses in coming to engage as an officer or as a soldier in the military service of the United States.

Its armies, regular and volunteer, are still open, as they have been, to foreigners who offer their services, as they are to Americans. No person qualified for service has been rejected. No one here can say how soon the competition for the commissioned offices will be so great as to render acceptance of such as may come afterwards uncertain.

Officers will not be accepted in any case unless qualified by experience, good character and conduct. The pay of the persons in the military service is more liberal, as I am told, than that in any other country in the world. The cause is as noble as any which ever invoked the aid of the sword. Those who come within a short period may reasonably expect employment. Those who delay will probably find the armies filled, and, as I trust, the great battle won.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 26*

Washington, October 11, 1861.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: Your private and confidential note of the 16th of September, relating to the late Consul at Leghorn, has been received.

In common with most Americans, I had venerated his father. I knew him pleasantly at Naples. He had friends around me in the Department who commended his ability. On these grounds, I nominated him to the President. I was shocked when informed of his want of loyalty, but I did not hesitate to remove him at once. I am entirely satisfied of the correctness of his removal, and I thank you for having shown the necessity for it so promptly.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 28*<sup>87</sup>

Washington, October 15, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch No. 23, bearing the date of September 24th, has been received. It presents the wishes of two Italian military gentlemen, Colonel Anfossi and Colonel Cluseret, to join our military forces, and the evidence of their professional character.

I can say on this subject only as I have already written to you in other cases, that the condition of our affairs is such as to forbid our contracting engagements by correspondence with European officers abroad, however meritorious or distinguished. If those gentlemen were here, I am sure that they would be received into the service at a grade as high as possible, not doing injustice to other candidates. I presume that they would be so admitted if they should come soon. But no one here can foresee how soon any official place will be filled by the appointment of candidates who present their wishes here in person.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 25*

Turin, October 24, 1861.

Sir: At an early hour this morning, I received a telegraphic despatch from Mr. Behn, acting consul at Messina, stating that a three-masted American schooner, believed to be a piratical cruiser, had been lying for some days in the gulf of Gioia, near the northern entrance of the straits of Messina, and had been seen on the 22nd instant cruising off Cape Spartivento.

I presume this is a « Confederate » privateer, and she is probably endeavoring to intercept American merchant ships, which, on their passage to or from the Levant, often pass through these straits.

I immediately addressed a note to Baron Ricasoli, a copy of which I enclose herewith, and at his office hour had an interview with him, explained the facts and asked that proper measures might be taken by the Government of Italy to prevent the supposed privateer from seeking

<sup>87</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 27, Washington, 12 ottobre 1861, il Seward accusava ricevuta del dispaccio n. 17, datato 10 settembre, e confermava al Marsh il permesso di assentarsi dalla capitale per tutta la durata dell'Esposizione Nazionale di Firenze.

refuge or obtaining supplies in the ports of this Kingdom. Baron Ricasoli replied that as soon as the translation of my note should be completed, he would give the matter his attention, and apprise [sic] me of the decision to which he should arrive. I expect a favorable answer.

I have telegraphed Mr. Behn to notify the consulate at Palermo, and the vice—consulates elsewhere in Sicily, of the presence of this ship in the Mediteranean, and have sent similar messages to the U. S. consulates at Genoa, Spezia and Leghorn.

As I have stated in former despatches, well-informed Italians believe that our commerce in the Mediteranean [sic] is in much danger from cruisers fitted out or supplied in remote Italian ports, and I beg leave again to draw the attention of the Department to the expediency of increasing the number of consulates in this sea, and especially of keeping in these waters one or more armed national steamers of sufficient force to protect our commerce against aggression by cruisers commissioned by the rebel states.

***George P. Marsh a Bettino Ricasoli*** <sup>88</sup>

*Copia*

Turin, October 24, 1861.

Your Excellency: By a telegraphic despatch just received from the consulate of the United States at Messina, I learn that a three—masted American schooner, believed to be a piratical cruiser, has been lying for some days in the gulf of Gioia, and on the 22nd instant was off Spartivento.

The object of this vessel no doubt is to intercept American ships bound to or from the Levant, which often pass through the straits of Messina, and touch at the port of that name for refreshments, or, on the return voyage, to take in sulphur.

The suspected pirate carries the flag of the United States, but this is the usual practice of the privateers commissioned by the states now in rebellion against the American Union, which show the national flag as a decoy, and hoist their own only in the ports of those states.

The local authorities of all the European colonies on the continent

<sup>88</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 25 del Marsh.



and islands of America have been instructed by their respective governments to refuse aid and countenance to armed vessels sailing under commissions from the pretended « Confederate States », and not to permit them to bring prizes into colonial ports.

Your Excellency is aware that even lawful privateering inevitably degenerates into indiscriminate piracy, and I need not dilate on the great dangers likely to result from the allowance of privateering in the Mediterranean [sic], under any flag, in the present political condition of the countries bordering on that sea.

Under these circumstances, the Government of the United States, which has been compelled by the Civil War in America to withdraw its naval squadron from the Mediterranean [sic], will look with confidence to the Government of His Majesty for the adoption of such measures as will tend to secure the lawful commerce, not of the American Union only, but of Europe, against the dangers of reckless piracy, and I especially ask that instructions may be given to the naval and the local maritime authorities of the Kingdom to refuse to armed vessels claiming authority under the « Confederate States » permission to purchase munitions of war or other supplies in Italian ports, or to hold possession of prizes in Italian waters.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 26*

Turin, October 26, 1861.

Sir: I have received exequaturs for Mr. Monti, Consul at Palermo, Mr. Armsby, Consul at Naples, Mr. Stevens, Consul at Leghorn, Mr. Rice Consul at Spezia, and Mr. Wheeler Consul at Genoa. Those for the consuls at Palermo, Spezia and Genoa, with the commissions have been forwarded; those for Messrs Stevens and Armsby, I retain until I shall hear of the arrival of those gentlemen in Europe.

Some of the newly appointed consuls have complained, in terms which the circumstances by no means warrant, of a supposed delay in the obtaining of their exequaturs, and may perhaps have made to the State Department representations on this subject of a character altogether unjust and ungenerous toward myself.

In point of fact, there has been no unusual delay, and the exequaturs obtained by me have been issued in a shorter time after the reception of the commissions than is common with this or other European governments.

In no case have I failed to make a written application for the exequaturs during office hours on the day of the receipt of the commission, and I have twice, in personal interviews with Baron Ricasoli, urged speedy attention to these particular cases as important in reference to the detection and prevention of privateering in the Mediterranean, and have pressed the matter as far as diplomatic propriety, and a proper regard for the convenience of the Italian Government, would, in my judgment, permit.

I trust, therefore, that I shall not be prejudiced in the opinion of the Department by complaints which have no better foundation than the inexperience and unreasonable impatience of those who make them.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 27*

Turin, October 27, 1861.

Sir: On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October I received from Col. Long, U. S. Naval Storekeeper at Spezia, a letter stating that the Collector at that port had refused permission for the shipping of the naval stores deposited there by the United States, by a merchant vessel, without payment of the duties of entry.

I thereupon addressed to Baron Ricasoli a note of which a copy marked A is enclosed herewith, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> of the month received a reply, a translation of which marked B is also enclosed.

The embarkation of the stores was accordingly permitted, and the vessel was expected to put to sea on Friday last.

***George P. Marsh a Bettino Ricasoli***<sup>89</sup>

*Copia*

Turin, October 7, 1861.

Your Excellency: On the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1848, through the courtesy of the Government of His late Majesty Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, the Government of the United States was permitted to deposit naval stores, for the use of the American Naval Squadron in the Mediteranean [sic], at the Lazaretto [sic] Carignano at Spezia, free of all custom house

<sup>89</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 27 del Marsh.

charges, and this privilege has been liberally continued under the administration of His present Majesty, the King of Italy.

The unhappy rebellion which is now raging in the United States has obliged the President to withdraw the naval forces of the Union from the Mediteranean, and he has ordered the naval stores now remaining at Spezia, which are needed for public use in our own waters, to be shipped and retransported to the United States.

Such stores have been frequently, but by no means uniformly, sent from the United States to Spezia in ships of war, and the payment of duties has never been required whether the stores were shipped by an armed or an unarmed vessel. All the vessels of the American Navy being now required for coast service and for the prevention of piracy, a ship of war cannot be spared for the transportation of the stores in question, and the Navy Department has on this occasion chartered a merchant ship to bring them home.

The inspector of the customs at Spezia has informed Mr. Long, United States Naval Agent at that port, that the embarkation of the remaining stores on board of a merchant ship, though on account of the United States Government, would not be permitted without the payment of the usual import duties thereon. Although the employment of a merchant ship under present circumstances arises *ex necessitate rei*, it is believed not to be a departure from former occasional usage. The ship is as much in the service of the American Government, as if commissioned as a ship of war, and it is confidently hoped that the Government of His Majesty will not find in this unforeseen contingency a reason for departing from the liberal policy it has hitherto pursued, and for exacting duties the payment of which was contemplated by neither government when the stores were landed in His Majesty's territories.

The ship is expected to arrive at Spezia about the 10th of October, and as the stores are wanted for immediate service, and the detention of the vessel in port will be attended with increased expense to the Government of the United States, I trust Your Excellency will pardon me if I ask as early a reply as may be convenient to His Majesty's Government.

Permit me to add that until Monday, October 14th inclusive, I expect to be at Florence, and to ask that Your Excellency's answer, if prepared in time to reach Florence on or before the 14th instant, may be addressed to me at that city.

***Bettino Ricasoli a George P. Marsh*<sup>90</sup>**

*Traduzione*

Turin, October 16, 1861.

The Department of Finance, to which I have communicated the request you were pleased to address to me by your note of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, has given the necessary order to the Director of the Customs at Genoa to permit the stores of the American Squadron deposited at Panigaglia to be re—exported, by a merchant-vessel, without payment of duties.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 28*

Turin, October 28, 1861.

Sir: Availing myself of your kind permission, I left Turin for Florence on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October and remained nine days at the latter city.

It was my wish to have prolonged my absence for a sufficient length of time to visit the very interesting and remarkable physical improvements in the Val di Chiana and a part of the Tuscan Maremma, with a view of furnishing, with your permission, a detailed account of them to the Commissioner of Patents. But as up to the day I had fixed for leaving Florence, I had not received a reply to a note I had addressed to Baron Ricasoli in relation to the demand of duties on the reshipment of the government naval stores at Spezia, which formed the subject of my despatch No. 27, I thought it my duty to return to Turin, instead of proceeding to the districts I have mentioned. I hope to be allowed, on some future occasion, time to complete the observations and studies I commenced some years since on these curious and important works, which are highly worthy of being made generally known to the American people.

The Exposition, considering that all foreign products are excluded, and that the time between the announcement and the opening was little more than three months, is highly creditable to the industrial and decorative skill, as well as to the higher art, of the Italian people.

The most conspicuous deficiency is in machinery, a fact explained partly by the cheapness of manual labor in this country, and partly by the incontestable superiority of hand—made products in almost every department of art, which renders them much preferable in the eyes of a people of so cultivated taste and so critical judgment as the Italians.

<sup>90</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 27 del Marsh.

The metal-works of Italy is in general inferior to that of England and France, though very fine specimens of musket and of rifle barrels of almost every conceivable texture of metal, finely finished iron furniture and some remarkable pieces of hammer-work were exhibited.

Wood, from the want both of material and of machinery, is not wrought to so great an extent or with so much facility in Italy as in some other countries, but the exposition contains many beautiful articles of furniture skilfully ornamented with marquetry and carving.

The excellence of the silk fabrics of Italy is too well known to require notice, but the broad and other woollen cloths excited admiration as evincing a degree of skill in the manufacture of this material which foreigners were not prepared to expect at an exhibition of Italian industry.

The cattle of native breeds or at least little intermixed with foreign stock, were spoken of by English visitors as very superior, but the production of the ceramic art in its varied forms were, I believe, generally considered as among the most remarkable features of the show. Some analogous products, the material for which, everywhere comparatively rare, is found in considerable quantities in the United States, might be advantageously manufactured among us, and I propose to accompany a future dispatch with a paper on the subject, to be communicated, if you think proper, to the Commissioner of Patents.

To me, who have known Italy in her days of humiliation and oppression, the most gratifying circumstance connected with the Exposition was the fact that the Italians are now at last beginning to enjoy what is their own. In my former visits to this country, I have met in the galleries, in churches celebrated for their pictures, and in other repositories of art, but few native observers, while all these places were crowded with American, English and German travellers. Now, however, the obstacles which the jealousy of the Neapolitan, papal and ducal governments has hitherto interposed to free communication between the people of the different states being removed, visitors have flocked from every part of Italy to Florence, and the Italians are greatly more numerous than the strangers. Indeed I sometimes passed an hour or two at the exposition and other places of public resort, without hearing a word spoken in any other tongue than that of Italy.

The well founded expectations of the government as to the beneficial political effects of this first common gathering of the Italian people for so many centuries, seem likely to be fully realized, and I have no doubt that the Exposition will give a new impulse to the development of the spirit of nationality which is of itself so rapidly growing up. It is an

interesting and significant feature of this spirit, that it manifests itself most strongly and spontaneously among the peasantry, whose ignorance and hereditary local prejudices, it had been feared, would prove an almost insuperable obstacle to the germination and growth of a large and generous patriotism. One of the oldest and most respected of the Tuscan nobility mentioned this to me as a thing wholly unexpected to himself, and as, at the same time, one of the most encouraging indications with respect to the future of Italy.

The desire for the possession of Venetia as a right most unjustly withheld, and of Rome, both as a political necessity and as a means of riddance from an incubus which has, for a thousand years, crushed down the life of the nation, is rapidly strengthening, and unless repressed by foreign interference, or satisfied by concessions on the part of the Papal See, must soon find expression in forms that will produce an entire revolution in the relations between the Italian people and the papacy.

Until recently, universal as is the opposition to the continuance of the temporal dominion of the Roman Court, a reverence has been professed, and to a great extent really felt for the person, character and spiritual authority of the present pontiff. But this is fast yielding to political considerations, and the present policy of that court, and the personal conduct of Pius IX himself, are rapidly undermining the tottering remains of that hereditary veneration with which the people of Italy have so long regarded the incumbent of the papal throne.

In the case of Pius IX, as in those of so many other spiritual and temporal princes, imbecility has been mistaken for goodness, and he has been almost universally spoken of in former years, as a weak, obstinate; but well—meaning and amiable, though much misguided man. Latterly, however, Mr. Browning's prayer: « More madness, Lord! » seems to have been answered in reference to him as to the slavery propagandists of our own South, and the assumed mildness of his language and manner have given place to a tone of speech and action more in accordance with the policy of his court and his own real sentiments and purposes.

I was at Rome in 1849, not long after the flight of Pius IX to Gaeta, and there and at Naples, as well as afterwards in my intercourse with the many Italian patriots whom the tyranny of so called Christian governments had driven to seek refuge under the shelter of Moslem toleration and hospitality, I had unusually good opportunities of becoming well acquainted with the public and private character of Pius IX, and, not to speak of the evidence I saw of unexampled perfidy on his part towards the

cause of reform which he had professed to espouse, I became convinced that while in point of fatuity he had not been surpassed by the weakest of his predecessors, he was not behind the worst of them in vindictiveness of temper, in tenacity of adherence to the most mischievous abuses of the Vatican, and in rancorous hate of the principles of liberty and conscience and of political and social freedom. The Gaeta proclamation, found in a monastery not far from the frontier, in which the friends of Catholicism were called upon to crush the Republicans and « not to spare even the child at the breast », was believed to have been submitted to him, if not drawn up by his order, and at any rate he was not known to have ever expressed any disapprobation of that sanguinary manifesto.

But this had been half-forgotten, and the kidnapping of the Jewish boy Mortara at Bologna,<sup>91</sup> a crime probably perpetrated in obedience to the express order of Pius IX, and which certainly received his hearty personal approval, was pardoned, or at least apologized for, on the ground, that such was his pitiable weakness of intellect that he really believed it a duty to resort to even this atrocious and detestable invasion of the most sacred of natural rights, for the sake of propagating the Catholic faith. But though a single enormous crime might have been overlooked, the multiplication of not less flagrant outrages by the Pope and his government has proved at length too severe a trial for the blind devotion and unquestioning submission of the Italian people.

Two recent acts of Pius IX have excited feelings, the one of contempt, the other of indignation, which will not easily be allayed. I refer to the late papal allocution,<sup>92</sup> the impotent malice and bold mendacity of which were never surpassed in the annals of diplomacy, and to the judicial murder of Lucatelli.<sup>93</sup>

I do not know how fully the American and foreign journals have possessed you of the details of this last transaction, but the facts are these. A papal gendarme was killed a few weeks since in a street affray, and

<sup>91</sup> Edgardo Mortara, un fanciullo ebreo di sei anni, era stato sottratto ai suoi genitori il 23 giugno 1858, adducendo a pretesto il fatto che due anni prima egli era stato battezzato dalla sua governante cristiana. Sulle reazioni americane a questo incidente vedi H. R. MARRARO, *American Opinion* cit., pp. 150-154.

<sup>92</sup> L'allocuzione del 30 settembre 1861.

<sup>93</sup> Il 21 settembre 1861 Cesare Lucatelli, un facchino, fu decapitato a Roma. Era stato accusato di aver ucciso un gendarme, certo Velluti, durante una dimostrazione tenuta il 29 giugno 1861 in onore di Vittorio Emanuele II e di Napoleone III. Secondo alcune dicerie il vero autore del delitto era un tal Giacomo Castrucci, ma le testimonianze a carico di Lucatelli furono molto precise, mentre quelle a carico di Castrucci risultarono vaghe ed incerte. Cfr. E. DEL CERRO, *Cospirazioni romane (1817-1868)*, Roma, Voghera, 1899, p. 234 sgg.

Lucatelli, who, though a man of good moral character, was obnoxious to the papal government as a known liberalist, was charged with the murder, arrested and brought to trial. The proceedings of the court were secret, as is the practice in criminal cases at Rome, and the prisoner was neither confronted with the witnesses, nor afforded an opportunity of rebutting their testimony. The proof was totally inconclusive, but the judges had not the courage to acquit a man whom their superiors had foredoomed. They accordingly convicted Lucatelli, but recommended him to mercy on the express ground that the evidence was insufficient to establish his guilt. The pope refused to pardon the accused, or to commute the sentence, and the prisoner was ordered for execution. As soon as this was publicly known, an Italian named Castrucci,<sup>94</sup> who was at Rome at the time of the homicide, but had subsequently escaped and fled to Florence, surrendered himself to the Tuscan authorities, and declared that he was the person who had given the fatal blow, but, as he said, *se defendendo*. A telegraphic despatch was immediately sent to Rome stating the declaration of Castrucci, and it is now certain that the telegram was received by the Roman government some time before the hour of execution, though there were at first some feeble attempts to deny this fact. The authorities refused to interfere, and Lucatelli was put to death.

The burst of indignation which followed alarmed the government, and by way of justification, the publication of a « summary » of the trial was ordered. But it was at once seen that the evidence, so far from proving the guilt of the prisoner, showed that he could not have been the perpetrator of the alleged crime. He was identified in the proceedings, not by recognition by the witnesses, but by description, the description of the person agreed in no one particular with the physique or habit of Lucatelli, but, on the contrary, applied very well to Castrucci. This being pointed out to the government, the « summary » was instantly recalled, and so successful were the measures adopted for its suppression, that at the time I left Florence the Roman committee there had been able to obtain but a single copy.

The condemnation of this outrage is by no means confined to republicans or anti—catholics. On the contrary it is denounced in the strongest

<sup>94</sup> Sotto questo nome si ricordano sette fratelli, nativi di L'Aquila, che abbracciarono tutti la causa liberale. Nel 1848 presero parte attiva alle insurrezioni, soprattutto a quelle contro i Borboni. Furono così tutti coinvolti in processi politici, e quattro di essi furono giustiziati. Altri due furono imprigionati nel carcere di Procida. Cfr. *Carceri e galere politiche. Memorie del duca Sigismondo Castromediano*, Lecce, 1895, vol. I, p. 260.



terms by men of every party, and the prelate Liverani<sup>95</sup> has made it the subject of an indignant and powerful invective which has been published in almost every Italian journal.

Father Passaglia,<sup>96</sup> an eminent ex-jesuit, the official defender of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, has, as you are doubtless aware, attacked the temporal power of the pope in one pamphlet, and endeavored very greatly to limit and restrict the doctrine of his spiritual infallibility in another, and both he and a very large body of the Catholic clergy have, within two years, made more rapid advances towards a formal and complete rupture with the papacy than Luther and the German Reformers had done in the same space of time.

Under these circumstances, I look upon a schism, or rather, I should say, a radical religious reformation, in Italy as an event not probable merely, but nearly certain, unless it be arrested by some relaxation of the stolid obstinacy with which Pius IX and his advisers have hitherto resisted the progress of the age and the reasonable demands of the people of Italy.

Speech, the press and the pulpit being now free, the papal system can no longer shrink from the test of searching inquiry. It must stand at the bar with other thrones and dominations accused of usurpation or abuse of power, and defend itself by other than the brute arguments of the bayonet and the rack. The result cannot be doubtful. In fact, whatever may be the speculative conclusion of theological inquirers and schoolmen, the popular opponents of papal supremacy in Italy, who are suffering under the great want of the age—the want of a *man* to lead them—are ready for action whenever a master spirit shall place himself at their head. That man may perhaps be found in Ricasoli, if the intrigues now in operation to displace him shall succeed, and when he or any other true hero shall become the conductor, the bull that is trying to stop the train will be thrown from the track, or crushed under the wheels of the locomotive.

<sup>95</sup> Francesco Liverani (1823-1894). Canonico di S. Maria Maggiore e prelado domestico, autore di numerose opere erudite su soggetti sacri e profani. Pubblicò vari lavori polemici, dei quali i più notevoli sono *Il Papato, l'Impero e il Regno d'Italia*, Firenze, Barbera, 1861 e *La dottrina cattolica e la Rivoluzione italiana*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1862, che sostenevano la necessità per il papato di rinunciare al potere temporale e di venire a patti con lo Stato italiano, e cercavano di dimostrare l'ingiustizia e la nullità della censura ecclesiastica delle condanne per delitto politico. Cfr. *Opere di Mgr. Francesco Liverani*, 5 voll., Orvieto-Macerata, 1858-1859.

<sup>96</sup> Il Marsh si riferisce molto probabilmente all'opuscolo del 1860, *Il Pontefice e il Principe*, e al *Pro causa italica ad episcopos catholicos auctore presbytero catholico*, pubblicato anonimo il 23 settembre 1861 e del quale il Passaglia si riconobbe autore il 9 ottobre.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 29*

Turin, October 29, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches No. 18, dated Sept 20, 1861 with a copy of your latest instructions to Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton; No. 19, dated Sept. 21, 1861, relating to offers of military service; No. 20, dated Sept 23, 1861 acknowledging the receipt of a private and confidential note of mine dated in August last; No. 21, dated Sept 24, 1861, enclosing the commission of William T. Rice as Consul at Spezia; No. 22 dated Sept 27, 1861 announcing the expected departure of Mr. Lawrence, Consul at Florence, for his post; No. 23, dated Sept 24, 1861, confidential; No. 24 dated Oct. 10, 1861, relating to the negotiations with Garibaldi and the public opinion of Europe on our internal troubles; No. 25, dated October 10, 1861, relating to offers of military service; and No. 26 dated October 11, 1861, confidential.

I shall avail myself of the very able views suggested in your instructions to Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton, so far as they are applicable to the question between the United States and Italy, and I shall endeavor to obtain an answer from Baron Ricasoli to my note on the proposed treaty in respect to the rights of neutrals in maritime war, but I frankly confess that I see no reason to expect that the Minister of Foreign Affairs will be induced to enter upon the consideration of the subject at present. He has now charge of the portfolio of the Interior as well as of that of Foreign Affairs, and between the ordinary and extraordinary duties of these posts, and the necessary attention to party political movements at home, he is too much absorbed to pay any attention to other matters not of immediate practical interest to the Italian Government. When the Ministry of the Interior shall be permanently filled, and the foreign and domestic policy of the government a little settled, I hope to obtain at least an examination of the subject, but whether Italy will anticipate the action of the great maritime powers is another question.

Numbers of military men continue to offer their services to the Union and some are already on their way to the United States, but I regret that some others, and especially Colonels Cluseret and Anfossi, whose testimonials are of the highest character, are not in a condition to undertake so long a voyage without some pecuniary aid, or at least the certainty of employment on their arrival.

Mr. Dillon returned from France on the 11 of September. I hear

nothing from Mr. Fry, but as Mr. Dayton, to whom I wrote for information as to his address, has forwarded to me a letter for him from the State Department,<sup>97</sup> I infer that he had left Paris some time since, and has most probably gone to southern Italy without passing through Turin.

The expressions you employ in your despatch No. 24 on the state of European opinion strike me as exceedingly forcible and just. It is almost impossible to reason with European politicians on our affairs, unless you admit their often very questionable premises, and, as to most of them, I think their final judgment will be that the party which prevails was in the right. There are, however, exceptions, and I have met here Italian gentlemen, in and out of public life, who show a comprehension of our condition quite surprising in persons who have never trodden our soil.

Two naturalized citizens of South Carolina, native Italians, called on me yesterday. One of them requested me to forward a letter to his friends in that state. I told him I could only send a letter to the State Department, but could give him no assurance as to the disposition that would there be made of it. As he had left South Carolina long before the rebellion, and did not seem disloyally inclined, I thought it better to forward the letter, which I herewith enclose, than, by refusing, to put the writer on the search for rebel agents, through whom to communicate, and I considered his application to me a proof that he was not now in intercourse with such.

The other Italian had a passport visaed [sic] for the United States by the acting consul at Ancona, but said he did not propose to return to America.

As the railroad from Rimini to Ancona, completing the line from Turin to the latter city by way of Alessandria, and a branch from Milan to Piacenza which gives a choice of routes by the former, are to be opened next week, Ancona will almost at once become a post of importance. I respectfully advise the early appointment of a salaried consul at that city, and I renew my recommendation of Mr. William Magoun, a native American citizen now at Turin, as a fit person for that or any other vacant consulate.

The consul at Genoa informs me that a son of Dudley Mann<sup>98</sup> lately

<sup>97</sup> Il 23 settembre 1861 il Seward avvertiva William H. Fry che « i pubblici interessi richiedono imperativamente la vostra presenza a Torino », che il permesso di assentarsi accordatogli in maggio si intendeva revocato e che doveva annunciare al Marsh il proprio ritorno in modo da riprendere servizio « immediatamente dopo, per quanto possibile, aver ricevuto questa comunicazione ».

<sup>98</sup> A. Dudley Mann visitò i vari governi europei per conto del Presidente Davis. A Roma il Mann ebbe diverse conversazioni con il cardinale Antonelli e fu anche

passed through that place on his way to Florence. He had no information as to his objects, but they are, probably, not of a patriotic nature.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Privato e confidenziale*

Turin, October 30, 1861.

Dear Sir: I take the liberty of sending you an extract from another letter received a few days since from the same distinguished French gentleman, from whom I quoted on a former occasion.

After speaking of the disturbed condition of Europe, and the impending political revolution by which, instead of arbitrary limits imposed by force and fixed by treaty between autocratic sovereigns, the principle of nationality is, in general, to be recognized as the governing rule in determining the extent and configuration of the European states, he proceeds:

« We here in Paris are seriously alarmed at the prospects for the next winter. Our finances are nearly exhausted, not so much by the excess of public expenditures, as by their accumulation in a short space, and by the utter want of order. The laboring classes are likely to suffer much, and are grown impatient of any diminution of their habitual comforts. The American Revolution and Civil War contribute mainly to the sufferings of our commercial and manufacturing classes, and still more to the anxiety which is the fore—runner of evil, and often the worst of evils. Of course every sound mind is, among us, decidedly favorable to the cause of the Union and the Northern States. As Frenchmen, we have, (or firmly believe so) a special cause for wishing the reconsolidation of the *Union for itself*, and the existence of a mighty maritime power beyond the Atlantic, but corrupt, opposing, material interests incline our men of business to favor the cause of the South, because its ports are eminently convenient for both our importations and our exports, and because they hope to find there a more liberal tariff.

The considerations which you were kind enough to state in your letter are very strong, and I took the opportunity of sending an extract from that letter, relating to the so called Morrill tariff,<sup>99</sup> to its great

ricevuto da Pio IX. Sulla visita del Mann a Roma, cfr. Stock, *United States Ministers* cit., pp. XXXVI, 83 n, 279, 280, 281, 285 n, 301, 302, 329. Vedi anche il vol. III, pp. 40-41 in nota.

<sup>99</sup> La tariffa Morrill del 20 febbraio 1861 fu, dopo il 1832, la più forte tariffa protezionista degli Stati Uniti, e fu approvata con l'appoggio concertato degli industriali

adversary, but at the same time a plain—dealing and enlightened man, Mr. Michel Chevalier.<sup>100</sup> Yet it remains a thing of absolute necessity, for us little less than for England, that, by some means or other, the ports of the American states be opened and accessible.

« The total interruption of our intercourse would be a calamity almost equal for us to the disasters which Civil War itself inflicts upon America. Let us hope that either a prompt and decisive victory, or else some well—devised *transaction*, may soon stop the deadly effusion, not of treasure only, not of blood only, but I would almost say of principle and liberty!

« We are here seriously afraid, lest the necessity of keeping for a long time under arms so large a proportion of the civil population, the almost irresistible influence of talented officers in time of war, and the necessity of keeping down domestic foes, may soon endanger the republican spirit, and lead you, as it did the Romans of yore, from a struggle between Marius and Sylla to a duel between Caesar and Pompey, and lastly to a pitched battle between Triumvirs and Tribunes. »

The « considerations » the writer refers to, as presented in my letter on the subject of the Morrill tariff, were a hasty view of the true character of that law as really a revenue, not a protective measure, and as differing from the Walker Tariff of 1846,<sup>101</sup> which was avowedly anti-protectionist in principle, mainly in containing provisions intended to secure us against fraudulent invoices and other evasions of the revenue laws. I pointed out the fact, also, that an enormous proportion of the European manufactured goods sent to our ports were imported on account of foreign houses having branches or agents established in our commercial towns, and not by order of American merchants, and I also, briefly showed the necessity of our resorting to sometimes comparatively high duties, on the ground

del Nord e in conseguenza del ritiro dei senatori sudisti dal Congresso. Tale tariffa fornì all'Inghilterra, nazione liberista, uno dei più pesanti motivi di lagnanza contro gli Stati del Nord durante la Guerra Civile. Justin Smith Morrill (1810-1898), del Vermont, autore del progetto della legge tariffaria presentato il 2 marzo 1861 ed emendato il 5 agosto 1861. Morrill diceva che era « una legge mirante ad ottenere più forti entrate dalle importazioni, per pagare gli interessi del debito pubblico e per altri scopi » (*U.S. Statutes at Large, 1859-63*). Buchanan pose il suo veto, ma la legge passò nel 1862.

<sup>100</sup> Michel Chevalier (1806-1879). Economista francese. Nel 1836, dopo una missione speciale negli Stati Uniti, pubblicò le *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*, uno studio generale del territorio americano e dei trasporti fluviali. Nel 1851 pubblicò *l'Examen du système commercial connu sous le nom de système protecteur*, e nel 1860 si batté attivamente per la conclusione del trattato commerciale tra Francia e Gran Bretagna. Chevalier fu considerato uno dei più preparati sostenitori del libero scambio.

<sup>101</sup> La tariffa Walker (Legge tariffaria del 1846) riduceva il tasso di interesse sulle importazioni (*U.S. Statutes at Large, 1845-51*); fu approvata il 30 luglio 1846.

that we have no other source of *national* income, and of the great reluctance of our people to submit to direct taxation, or any other mode of raising a revenue than by duties on imports.

I have not the slightest wish unnecessarily to prejudice Mr. Dillon in your private or official opinion, but I think it my duty to state, that when, two days since, I asked him whether he knew Mr. Scott,<sup>102</sup> late consul at Rio Janeiro, who was charged with having written to inform the rebel government when and where their privateers might expect to fall in with home-bound ships from Rio Janeiro, he said he did, and that as soon as he saw the fact stated in an American paper, he cut out the paragraph, and « sent it to Rio Janeiro ».

As he said this without appearing to attach any importance to the circumstance, I do not suppose he was conscious that he had committed a grossly disloyal act. But the motive for sending the slip must have been to put Scott on his guard against returning to the U. S. by way of a northern port, or otherwise coming within the reach of U. S. officers who might be charged to arrest him, and, like many other things, his conduct on this occasion serves to show very clearly where his habitual sympathies are.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 30*<sup>103</sup>

Turin, November 1, 1861.

Sir: I am happy to say that Baron Ricasoli has assured me today, that the Italian Government would adopt substantially the policy of France in relation to privateers, that consequently Confederate corsairs will not be allowed to enter ports in the Kingdom of Italy, except in case of stress of weather or other « vis major », and that orders to that effect will be given to the local authorities on the Italian coast.

There are, as I have observed in a former despatch, many obscure harbors in Calabria and southern Sicily, where a small vessel, like that lately seen about the Faro of Messina, might obtain supplies, and perhaps

<sup>102</sup> Robert G. Scott jr. fu console a Rio de Janeiro dal 1853 al 1856.

<sup>103</sup> Nell'Istruzione n. 33, Washington, 25 novembre 1861, il Seward, nell'accusare ricevuta di questo dispaccio, affermava che « l'azione del Barone Ricasoli nei confronti dei pirati del Mediterraneo torna ad onore del Governo italiano e soddisfa quello degli S.U. ». Il Seward esprimeva anche l'elogio del Presidente per la circospezione del Marsh e soggiungeva che il suggerimento del Marsh circa la nomina di un console per Otranto, Gallipoli e Taranto sarebbe stato accolto.

lurk for some days, without being detected by the responsible officers of the government, who reside, for the most part, in the larger towns.

The ports of Taranto, Gallipoli and Otranto are very favorably situated as points of observation of the movements of privateers, who might hover off the coast to intercept American vessels from Trieste and the Levant, and a vigilant agent stationed at either, with proper subordinates at other points, might watch a great extent of coast. I beg leave respectfully to renew my suggestion of the expediency of appointing a consul to reside at one of those towns.

Mr. Behn, the vigilant acting consul at Messina, appears to have acted with much promptitude and good judgment in regard to the suspected corsair referred to in my despatch No. 25 of October 24 1861, and I enclose herewith a copy of the last despatch received from him at this legation, so far as relates to this subject.

***F. W. Behn a George P. Marsh*** <sup>104</sup>

*Copia*

Messina, October 26, 1861.

Sir: Before the arrival of your telegram, I had already informed the consuls at Palermo, and at Malta, also my consular agents at Syracuse and Catania, of the appearance of the suspicious schooner.

This schooner remained cruising near Cape Spartivento until Thursday 24 inst. at noon, and took the direction for Malta; from Saturday 19th, until Monday evening the 21. inst., this vessel, without ever showing her colours [sic], cruized in the Bay of Gioja in Calabria, a few miles off, and in sight of the Pharo Point Lighthouse, although the wind was favorable to pass the Straits of Messina from the first moment she came in sight of our coast.

The appearance of this vessel has created much alarm among the merchants, as a considerable number of American vessels are expected.

As it just happens, that I am well acquainted with Captain Clifford of the English Liner, *Victor Emmanuel*, and with Captain Glass, of the frigate *Terrible*, I spoke to them on the subject, and received the promise that they will instruct the commanders of two gunboats expected here and bound for a cruize in the Gulf of Taranto and the Ionian Sea, to

<sup>104</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 30 del Marsh.

board the schooner, should they fall in with her, or any other suspicious vessel, and report to me, should there be any reason to believe they were on an unlawful errand.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 31*

Turin, November 11, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches No. 27, dated Oct. 12, 1861, relating to permission to me to visit Florence during the Exposition; No. 28, dated Oct 15, 1861, relating to offers of military service by foreign officers; No. 29, dated Oct. 16, 1861, relating to the mutiny on board bark *Harvest*, and No. 30, dated Oct 19, 1861, relating to expected arrivals of the newly appointed consuls at Mediterranean ports.

I have not been able to see Colonel Anfossi since the receipt of your despatch No. 28, but I have communicated the substance of it to Col. Cluseret, who immediately resigned his post in the Italian service, and is preparing as fast as possible to proceed to the United States. He will have letters and other testimonials of professional ability, of much more weight than any opinion of mine, and I have no doubt will prove a very valuable officer.

Colonel Figyelmessy,<sup>105</sup> who started for America last evening with letters from Messrs Kossuth, Pulszky<sup>106</sup> and other gentlemen, informs me, confidentially, that Mr. O'Brien, an Irish military man, has been for some time engaging officers for the Confederate service in Italy, and is expected soon to embark for America, if not already gone. I write by this mail to the District Attorneys at New York and Boston to be on the watch for him. Neither Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Armsby, nor Mr. Stevens has yet arrived in Italy, so far as I am informed. Mr. Fry has not reached Paris, and recent letters from New York lead me to infer that he is probably still in the United States.

<sup>105</sup> Filippo Figyelmessy, ten. col. dei Mille, diverrà colonnello nell'esercito nordista. Per molti anni, poi, console americano nella Guiana britannica, morì a Fildelfia nel 1907, a 87 anni.

<sup>106</sup> Francesco Pulszky (1814-1897). Patriota e scrittore ungherese, seguì Kossuth negli S.U. e descrisse il suo viaggio in un volume dal titolo *White, Red and Black*, pubblicato in inglese a Londra nel 1852 e in tedesco a Cassel nel 1853. Cercò all'estero un sostegno per la causa ungherese; amico e seguace di Garibaldi, fu arrestato a Napoli al tempo dello scontro di Aspromonte. Nel 1866 gli fu consentito di tornare in Ungheria. Pubblicò la sua autobiografia *Elotom és Korom (My Life and Times)*, Budapest, Franklin, 1880-1882.



***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 31*

Washington, November 22, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of October 28th, No. 28, has been received.

It is gratifying to us to learn that the exposition of works of utility and beauty at Florence was so eminently successful. It must be confessed that a people never appears so interesting as when, relieved by their own heroism from social and political embarrassments, they immediately use to command respect for their genius in the pursuits of cultivation and refinement.

Even if I dared to venture an excursion upon the political waters of the Eastern Hemisphere, the perils by which our own noble ship is surrounded in her native element would call me back again. I must be content, therefore, with saying that your accounts of the agitations in Italy are deeply interesting, that the progress of liberal ideas there seems hopeful, and and that thus far Baron Ricasoli appears to have justified the confidence reposed in him by the Government and people. May their unity be preserved and their liberties assured, and may his name be identified with those noble achievements.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 32*

Washington, November 22, 1861.

Sir: I have your despatch of October 29 (No. 29).

The British and French governments, which stand at the head of the maritime powers, having declined our adhesion to the Declaration of Paris without conditions which the United States cannot yield, there is no important object to be attained by pressing the same upon other powers. You will therefore let the matter rest in Italy for the present.

I think that when at no distant day it shall need to be renewed, the interest that shall move it forward will appear first on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is a matter of regret that we cannot consistently offer special inducements to military gentlemen in Italy who are unable to defray their own expenses in coming to join our armies, but we are forbidden to do so by urgent considerations. First, we do not need to solicit foreign aid, and we naturally desire to avoid the appearance of doing so. Secondly, we wish to abstain from intrusion into the domestic concerns of foreign

states, and, of course, from seeming to do so. Thirdly, our own countrymen are coming forward with just claims upon all positions requiring skill in the art of war, and we must avoid jealousies between native and foreign defenders of the Union. Already the forces in the field exceed half a million, and the officers charged with organizing them report to us that those recently recruited will swell the number to seven hundred thousand. If the insurrection should continue, it will be more difficult to keep them down to a million than to lift them up to that figure. Still, we do not revoke what we have thus far said, and we will receive from Europe those who may come.

A consul will be appointed for Ancona.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 34*

Washington, November 25, 1861.

Sir: Your private and confidential note which communicates to me a very interesting extract of a letter written to you by a friend of the Union in France has been received. I thank you very sincerely for it. The information which that correspondence gives coincides with suggestions which we have received from France through other channels.

It is quite manifest here that the insurrection has culminated and the prospect of the triumph of the Union is now satisfactory. I cannot doubt that by this time these new phases of the struggle will have gained attention in France as well as elsewhere in Europe.

I do not dwell on your correspondent's apprehensions of a change of our character, customs and institutions as a consequence of this unhappy Civil War. They are naturally enough entertained by a stranger. But the heart and mind of the American people are, and I am sure they will remain, unchanged.

We are looking out for Mr. Fry, who I supposed was with you long ago.

***William H. Fry a William H. Seward***

New York, 734 Broadway, Friday November 29, 1861.

Dear Sir: An enquiry addressed by you to Mr. Greeley may properly be answered by me.

Owing to an increase of alarming symptoms I was obliged to place myself under the hands of Dr. Horace Green of this city, whose specialty and celebrated discovery of the mode of infiltrating the air-tubes and lungs with nitrate of silver, etc., put him at the head of his school. He has operated about fifty times upon me with beneficial results, and having given his opinion that I may now safely make the voyage, I am preparing to sail, and hope to reach Turin next month.

I regret that any communication intended for me failed to reach me abroad; and I have, accordingly, been particular to enter into explanations.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 35*

Washington, December 2, 1861.

Sir: Herewith I transmit the Commission of Ladislaus Usshazy,<sup>107</sup> as Consul at Ancona, and request that you will promptly apply for the usual exequatur, to be transmitted, together with the Commission to Mr. Usshazy at his post.

Your despatch No. 27, of the 27th of October, gives an account of your proceedings concerning the refusal of the Collector at Spezia to permit the shipment of the naval stores deposited there by the United States, by a merchant vessel, without payment of the duties of entry. Your note to Baron Ricasoli was a very proper one, and your promptness in addressing him is much commended.

Your despatch No. 18, with the letter of Mr. Godard concerning the use of balloons in the United States army was referred, on its receipt, to the Secretary of War for perusal. It was returned to this Department on the 18th ultimo with a letter stating that the army is now well supplied with ballons [sic] for reconnoitring purposes, and that Mr. Godard's services are therefore not needed.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

Turin, December 7, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to introduce to you Colonel Cluseret, whom I have mentioned in my official despatches as an officer of distinguished

<sup>107</sup> I documenti ufficiali parlano di Ladislaus Ujhazy, console ad Ancona dal 27 novembre 1861 al 12 dicembre 1863.

merit, who desired to offer his professional services to the American Government. Colonel Cluseret has been delayed some time by the reluctance of the Italian Government to accept his resignation, and has only very lately succeeded in obtaining his dismissal.

His testimonials will, I think, be found entirely satisfactory, and from a good deal of intercourse with him, I feel authorized to speak of him as an accomplished soldier, who cannot fail to prove highly useful in our military service.

***Francis Pulszky a William H. Seward***

6 Viale B. San Salvario, Turin, November 30, 1861.

Dear Sir: It gives me peculiar pleasure to recommend you the Colonel Gustavus Cluseret who as Chef du Bureau Arab in Algeria, as officer in the Crimean Army, and lately under General Garibaldi, has given sufficient proofs of the highest qualities of a most efficient scientific officer, whose talents for organization are of a superior kind. I believe that I am paying my debt for the friendly reception which I met in the U. S., by recommending such a distinguished superior officer to you.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 32*

Turin, December 9, 1861.

Sir: You have been already advised, no doubt, that the suspicious three—masted schooner mentioned in my despatches nos 25 and 30 has arrived at Constantinople on her way to Odessa. The admission of her captain that he gave a feigned name to the pilot who boarded him, his avoiding communication with the consul at Messina, and the fact that he hovered for days in the gulf of Gioja and off Cape Spartivento, when, according to all testimony but his own, the wind was favorable for the prosecution of his voyage, are strong evidence that his conduct was governed by no honest motives, and I therefore suspect that if not a pirate in disguise, he was engaged in the not less criminal employment of serving the brigands who, in the name of Francis II and Pius IX, are devastating Calabria.

The proposals of Baron Ricasoli to the Pope have excited no little surprise, because they apparently offer concessions which go much beyond the known opinion of that Minister and the hitherto well settled policy of this Government. But, after all, it is a step, though, it must be confessed, an oblique one, towards the divorce between Church and State, and the consequent emancipation of the Italian people from the iron reign of spiritual despotism under which they have groaned for centuries. A schism is inevitable, and if the proposals had been accepted, there is nothing in them, which, in that event, would bind the government to take sides with the papacy.

It means to cut loose from it, and if the connection is to be severed, there is evidently no reason why the crown should concern itself more with the ecclesiastical patronage of the Romish Church, its bulls, its interdicts, and its excommunications, than it now does with the action of the Waldensian religious organization.

The diplomatic corps at Turin, and the political men connected with the Italian Government, though with few if any exceptions, favorable to the maintenance of the American Union and the reestablishment of its sovereignty over the rebel states, are nearly unanimous in denying the legality of the seizure of the Southern commissioners on board of the *Trent*,<sup>108</sup> and in the belief that a war between England and the United States is inevitable. I think they under-rate the influence of English jealousy of France, and I cannot doubt that the fear that this latter country will find her desired opportunity in such a war will go very far towards cooling the hostile ardor of the British people.

The present indications are that the Ministry will be sustained by the Italian Parliament. The opposition is acrimonious, but not concentrated, or united upon the policy to be pursued, and hence the Ministry will probably triumph over its opponents, who are numerous enough, if organized and disciplined, to make the result at least doubtful.

I learn that Mr. Fry was still in New York as late as the beginning of November.

<sup>108</sup> James M. Mason e John Slidell, accreditati dal governo secessionista presso i governi di Gran Bretagna e Francia, furono catturati al largo dell'Avana a bordo del postale inglese *Trent* dal capitano Wilkes, comandante della fregata nordamericana *San Jacinto*. La Gran Bretagna chiese il rilascio dei prigionieri, ma ottenne un rifiuto. Più tardi il Seward annunciò la liberazione dei due diplomatici, e l'Europa accolse questo atto come la prova migliore di un equilibrato e sereno svolgimento della vicenda. Il riconoscimento dell'indipendenza della Confederazione sudista fu prorogato. Ad eccezione della Gran Bretagna, tutte le potenze straniere rifiutarono di accogliere nei propri porti le navi corsare.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 34*

Turin, December 23, 1861.

Sir: Some days since I received a letter from Mr. Schurz,<sup>109</sup> Minister of the United States at Madrid, suggesting that the mediation of the King of Italy might perhaps avail something towards the settlement of the threatening difficulties between the United States and England, and advising that steps be taken to ascertain whether His Majesty would be inclined to offer his friendly offices to the parties.

Knowing the sensitiveness of the Italian Government and people on the subject of foreign influence and intervention, I did not believe that a proposal of the sort indicated by Mr. Schurz would be favorably received, but I thought the suggestion too important to be disregarded and therefore took occasion in a short conversation with Baron Ricasoli at his public reception, to allude to the suggestions of the journals concerning the mediation of a European power as a possible means of reconciling the difference. Baron Ricasoli said at once that he did not believe any good would come from foreign intervention, and that he was opposed, on general principles of diplomacy, to all such measures. The conversation was here interrupted and I did not at that time renew it.

At Baron Ricasoli's next private reception of the foreign ministers, I went to the Foreign Office, and spoke of the encouraging tone of your late dispatches, but did not allude to the subject of the previous conversation. Baron Ricasoli, however, almost immediately introduced it, and condemned, in decided terms, all foreign mediations, interventions, arbitrations and international congresses, the day of all which he hoped had passed away forever, and he added that the only true method of settling national difficulties was by direct open straight-forward negotiation between the parties in interest.

It was therefore evident that no proposal for the mediation of the King of Italy would meet with support from Baron Ricasoli, and of course that it was not worth while to pursue the subject further.

<sup>109</sup> Carl Schurz, del Wisconsin, fu destinato in Spagna il 28 marzo 1861 in qualità di inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario. Si dimise il 15 aprile 1862.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 35*

Turin, December 24, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches Nos. 31 and 32 dated November 22 1861, Nos. 33 and 34 dated November 25 1861, and No. 35 dated December 2<sup>nd</sup> 1861, the latter enclosing Mr. Usshazy's commission as consul at Ancona. An *exequatur* for Mr. Usshazy was immediately applied for, but will hardly be granted before the expiration of the Christmas holidays.

Mr. Stevens writes me under date of December 17 that he has arrived at Leghorn. His commission and *exequatur* were sent him by return of mail.

I have not heard of the arrival of either Mr. Lawrence or of Mr. Fry in Europe.

The wife and daughter of Mr. Binda, late consul at Leghorn, who has long been lying prostrate and nearly insensible, from paralysis, inform me that his bills for salary for the current year have been dishonored, and that no reply has been received to his requests for explanation. They desire me to forward to you a statement of his account with the Treasury Department, and I enclose it accordingly. Mr. Binda's present address is 68 Rue neuve des Mathurins, Paris.

Colonel Cluseret, whom I have more than once mentioned, expects to sail for the United States on the 25th instant. He informs me, that during his brief stay in Paris, he has communicated freely on American affairs with most of the leading liberal journalists of that city, and that several of them will espouse our cause. I desire to state, confidentially that though I am firmly convinced that in our internal struggle, and especially in our present difference with England the support of the liberalists of France is of much importance to us, yet I did not think myself at liberty to ask Col. Cluseret to take any steps towards securing that support, and he has acted entirely upon his own judgment in doing so.

The favorable opinions I have heard expressed concerning Col. Cluseret's professional ability lead me to believe that he will prove a highly useful officer.

***Prospetto finanziario riguardante Giuseppe H. Binda*** <sup>110</sup>

Due for Salary

From the 1st of January to the 31st of March 1861	\$ 255.
From the 1st of April to the 30th of June 1861	\$ 222.92
From the 1st of July to the 30th of September 1861	\$ 252.24
	<hr/>
	\$ 730.16

State Department

Due for Consular Disbursements

For 6 months rent of Consular office, given the 1st of January to the 30th of June 1861	
Supported by two vouchers	\$ 75.
For 6 months cash paid stationary and postage from the 1st of January to the 30th of June 1861 supported by three vouchers	\$ 97.06
For three months rent of Consular office from the 1st of July to the 30th of September 1861 supported by two vouchers	\$ 37.50
For three months cash paid, stationary and postage, from the 1st of July to the 30th of September 1861, supported by 2 vouchers	\$ 40.59
	<hr/>
	\$ 250.15

\$ 730.16

\$ 250.15

Total 

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\$ 980.31

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 36*

Turin, January 6, 1862.

Sir: At a very early hour yesterday morning, I received a telegram from Mr. Perry<sup>111</sup> of the American Legation at Madrid, announcing the

<sup>110</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 35 del Marsh.

<sup>111</sup> Horatio J. Perry, del New Hampshire, fu nominato segretario dell'ambasciata degli S.U. in Spagna il 5 luglio 1849. Operò poi, in vari intervalli dal 1852 al



arrival of the privateer *Sumter* at Cadiz with a number of prisoners taken from American ships captured and destroyed at sea by that vessel.

I immediately communicated the fact by telegraph to the legation at Constantinople to the consulate at Trieste and to the consuls at all the principal ports in the Kingdom of Italy, and addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a communication on the subject a copy of which will be sent with my next dispatch.

I learn by later intelligence that, in spite of the protestation of the American consul at Cadiz, the *Sumter* was admitted into that port. I presume she will be allowed to coal and refit, and otherwise prepare herself for depredations on American shipping in the Mediterranean and I fear the British authorities at Malta and Corfu as well as the Greek Government will prove equally indulgent. There is, I imagine, no danger that the Italian Government will allow any countenance to be given to Confederate cruisers, by its local authorities, at present, but the fact cannot be disguised, that the almost universal disapproval by European jurists of the seizure of the rebel commissioners on board the *Trent* and the treatment of the subject by the American Government so far as it is yet known, combined with the malignant misrepresentations of the English press and the impression, produced by the insidious efforts of the British government to create a belief that the United States are seeking a quarrel with England, and above all, the alleged want of evidence that the Federal Government intends or desires to take advantage of the present crisis for putting the question of the perpetuation and extension of domestic slavery on a more satisfactory footing—all these considerations are doing much to alienate from us the confidence and good will of that portion of European society whose favorable opinion has been always regarded as both, in itself, most worth, and, practically, of greatest value.

In no part of the continent was the sympathy with the Government of the Union at the commencement of the rebellion, so strong or so universal as in Italy. Although that sympathy is greatly weakened, it is not yet lost, and I trust that events are near at hand which will restore it to its original strength and confirm this government in its disposition to show no favor to our rebellious citizens.

The alarm of piracy excited some weeks since by the suspicious conduct of an American schooner off the southern coast of Italy created

1855, come incaricato d'affari, finché una lettera datata 26 maggio 1855 lo rimosse dall'ufficio. Il 30 aprile 1861 ebbe una nuova nomina, e fu ancora incaricato d'affari *ad interim* per diversi lunghi periodi a partire dal 5 giugno 1861 fino all'allontanamento definitivo nel 1869.

a great panic among our navigators, but injurious as it was for the time, it may perhaps have been of service, by preparing American ship—masters for the real danger which now threatens them. Many American ships have been sold to Italian subjects, and some are engaged in freighting on European account between Mediterranean and Atlantic ports. So far these vessels are safe, but our own proper commerce in this sea must suffer severely.

The *Sumter* and the other pirates which will follow her from America, or be fitted out here by her officers, will be openly or secretly aided by the citizens of every state, which has possessions bordering on the Mediterranean, except, I trust, Italy and France, and the many American ships now navigating this sea must either rot in harbor or expose themselves to imminent risks of capture, unless one or more armed vessels of sufficient speed and force to cope with the *Sumter* be sent out for their protection. This I suppose the necessities of the home—service will render difficult, if not impracticable, but I doubt not that the wisdom of the government will devise a proper remedy as soon as the means for its application are at hand.

I regret to say that I have no advices of the arrival of Mr. Fry in Europe, and though I may be misinformed, I infer from a private letter received this morning from a friend in Paris, that there is no reason to expect that he will assume the duties of his post this winter, if ever. You are already aware, Sir, of my opinions and wishes on this subject and of the grounds of them, and I earnestly beg that it may receive the early attention of the Department.

I received on the 5 instant your dispatch of December 5th 1861, No. 36, enclosing a commission for Mr. Redfield as consul at Otranto, and the *exequatur* has been applied for.<sup>112</sup>

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 37*

Turin, January 13, 1862.

Sir: The news of the settlement of the difficulty between the United States and England on the affair of the *Trent* has been received in Italy with lively satisfaction, and although on the question of legal right, the

<sup>112</sup> L'Istruzione n. 36, Washington, 5 dicembre 1861, trasmetteva la nomina di J. S. Redfield, di New York, a console ad Otranto.

opinion of lawyers and statesmen was nearly unanimous against the seizure, yet I believe that both here and elsewhere in Europe, the conduct of the American Government, as now understood, is thought to have been not only more dignified, but at least not less honorable than that of England. The violent and mendacious language of the British press now receives the condemnation it deserves, and I have no doubt that the cause of the Union will be essentially advanced in European estimation by an event which the President and his cabinet have with such wisdom and skill converted from an apparently unlucky accident, into an instrument of good.

The result will serve, I think, to do something towards dispelling an error almost universal among European statesmen, and which I have seldom passed a day on this side the Atlantic without having occasion to combat—the assumption namely that the American Union is less a republic than an unbridled democracy, of which the Federal Government is but a blind instrument. The illuminations in some of the great cities on the receipt of the intelligence of the capture of the commissioners, the compliments to Capt. Wilkes,<sup>113</sup> the various spirited resolutions proposed in the House of Representatives, were cited as evidences of a popular feeling which an Executive elected by the people would be powerless to resist, and nothing short of its actual result of the affair could have convinced Europe, that in this, as in most other important crises, the government is left free to initiate the national policy.

In a former dispatch I expressed a desire to visit the Val di Chiana near Florence and the Tuscan Maremme, with a view at continuing observations commenced long ago on the physical improvements which have converted the sterile and pestilential marshes of the Val di Chiana, and much of the Maremme, into fertile and salubrious regions. The

<sup>113</sup> Charles Wilkes (1798-1877). Esploratore, scrittore e ufficiale di marina, nato a New York. Fu fatto capitano nel 1855. Nel 1861, comandante della fregata *San Jacinto*, fu inviato nelle Indie Occidentali alla caccia dell'incrociatore sudista *Sumter*. L'8 novembre 1861 fermò in mare il postale inglese *Trent* e catturò i diplomatici secessionisti James M. Mason e John Slidell, che portò a Boston. Ma nonostante il fatto che tutto il Nord approvasse la sua impresa, Wilkes fu biasimato dal Governo nordamericano; mancando l'azione di un adeguato movente, poteva far rischiare una guerra con l'Inghilterra. Il 6 luglio 1862 il Wilkes ottenne il comando delle flottiglie dei fiumi James e Potomac, e quindi di speciali squadriglie destinate ad operare contro i sabotatori secessionisti nelle Indie Occidentali e nelle Bahamas; ma non essendo egli riuscito nel compito affidatogli e avendo per di più commesso più di una violazione della neutralità a danno di paesi stranieri, fu richiamato e portato davanti alla corte marziale. Malgrado ciò, nel 1862 fu promosso al grado di commodoro; pur essendo stato di nuovo accusato di insubordinazione (1864), nel 1866 era messo a riposo come contrammiraglio. Vedi *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. II, pp. 135-142.

ingenuity displayed in these works is remarkable, the methods are original and most curious, and the results are of great economical importance as well as scientific interest. For my purpose it would be necessary to visit some portions of the Maremme where the improvements are not yet so far advanced as to have removed the causes of disease and Baron Ricasoli who has great landed possessions in those districts, informs me that it would not be prudent to travel through some parts of them later than the month of April. If permitted to make this excursion I should need to be absent from Turin five or six weeks at most, and I should be at all times on or near lines of daily communication with the capital, whither I could return at any time on very short notice. I should desire also to return through the island of Sardinia, where similar works, under different local conditions are in progress and as both Leghorn and Genoa have now frequent communication with different ports in Sardinia, I could take that route without materially lengthening my absence. It would be my purpose to prepare for the Patent Office a sufficiently full description of these operations, the principles and methods of which are susceptible of advantageous application in many parts of the U. S. and I should connect with the report information on some important products of Tuscan industry which the necessity of a somewhat sudden return from Florence last autumn prevented me from collecting with sufficient minuteness to be useful.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 38* <sup>114</sup>

Washington, January 14, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of December 23rd, No. 31, has been received.

It conveys to us the decidedly adverse expressions made by Baron Ricasoli on the suggestions from a distant quarter that His Majesty the King of Italy might propose mediation in the apprehended event of difficulties between the United States and Great Britain.

I do not know whether the Baron would esteem it complimentary, but if you should think it would not be disrespectful, you may say to him that he speaks on the subject very like an American statesman.

<sup>114</sup> L'Istruzione n. 37, Washington, 3 gennaio 1862, trasmetteva la nomina di Albert J. De Zeyk, dello Iowa, a console a Taranto.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 39*

Washington, January 31, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of January 6th, No. 36, has been received. I have submitted that portion of it which relates to the want of protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean to the Secretary of the Navy.

The complications of our commerce with foreign countries are not only annoying, but are very embarrassing. Nevertheless they are regarded as not illegitimate consequences of the insurrection. Temporarily they impair the national prestige, but they do not very seriously endanger the cause of the Union. It is impossible to meet factious treason with due resistance at so many points in our own extended country and in every court and port throughout the world. But, we have become at last, and certainly within a time not unreasonable, masters of our position at home. Soon I trust we shall find ourselves less exposed abroad. We have had eighty years experience of domestic peace. It would be unbecoming a magnanimous people to bear impatiently the evils of a brief insurrection, however great they may be.

I hope in my next despatch to be able to give you a definitive answer to your inquiry concerning Mr. Fry.<sup>115</sup>

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 40*

Washington, February 4, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of January 13th, No. 37, has been received.

It affords me much satisfaction to know that the enlightened public sentiment of Italy approves the disposition of the *Trent* case which has been made by this Government.

I confess to some apprehension that an absence for five or six weeks from your post might possibly result in some detriment to the public service at the present time when our condition is subjected to so much hostile criticism in Europe and when the affairs of Italy itself are a subject of deep but friendly anxiety on our part. But the President has concluded to authorize me to refer the matter to your own discretion.

<sup>115</sup> Il 21 gennaio 1862 il Seward scriveva al Fry che a parere del Presidente l'interesse pubblico richiedeva che l'ufficio di segretario di legazione a Torino non fosse più vacante. Se, quindi, non avesse raggiunto Torino « al più presto », il Presidente avrebbe ritenuto « suo dovere nominare un altro funzionario per quell'ufficio ».

*George P. Marsh a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, February 6, 1862.

Sir: About a fortnight since, an Italian gentleman, friendly to the Federal Government, but, I believe, personally a stranger to Mr. Dillon,<sup>116</sup> inquired of me whether the latter was Secretary of this Legation. Upon my reply in the affirmative, he said he asked the question because he had heard surprise expressed, that a person who was in the habit of publicly denouncing his own government should be allowed to remain in its service, and he added that on a late occasion Mr. Dillon's language had been so violent that a bystander had rebuked him for his want of patriotism, and that the parties had sharp words in consequence.

Being already sufficiently apprized of Mr. Dillon's sentiments toward the present administration, and his habitual freedom in the utterance of them, I needed no further evidence on that point, and therefore did not ask the time, place or occasion of the conversation, nor inquire what language Mr. Dillon used, or who was the person who had so properly reminded him of his duty to his country and its rulers.

On the evening of the same, or perhaps the next day, I met Mr. Dillon at a crowded party at the French Minister's. He approached me and said he wished to appeal to me from the decision of Mrs. Marsh on a question he has put to her, which was whether he, a secretary of legation, had not the same right as any other citizen publicly to criticize and condemn the action of his own government.

I replied that on questions of general political policy, such, perhaps, as the expediency and effects of protective tariffs, I thought a person in his position might express opinions at variance with those of his government, but that this must always be done with extreme caution, because much weight was attached abroad to the opinions and the language of persons in diplomatic life, and that a member of a legation could in no case be justified in openly condemning the *action* of the government he served. He said that he understood the rule to be that, with respect to matters specially committed to a particular legation, a member of that legation could not properly censure his government, but that in all other cases he had exactly the same liberty as any private citizen, and he added that he had been severely blamed for publicly condemning the conduct of the present administration.

<sup>116</sup> Non ci è stato possibile accertare quali rapporti intercorressero tra Buderman e Dillon.

I asked no explanation, but expressed my total dissent from this opinion, in a perfectly mild tone and manner, but Mr. Dillon was apparently vexed at my answer, and in an abrupt, not to say rude and peremptory style habitual with him, said that you had written to Mr. Greeley, that circumstances had occurred which rendered the revocation of Mr. Fry's leave of absence necessary, and he asked whether any steps had been taken « on this side » for that purpose.

Had Mr. Dillon, at a fit time and place, and in a suitable manner, put this question to me, I should have considered it a question which he had no right to ask, but I should probably have told him all I knew of the reasons which induced you, not at my request, but as a mode of superseding him, to revoke Mr. Fry's leave of absence. But there were around us, or rather in contact with us, several persons, some of whom understood English, and I could not give him the only reply which in my judgment such a query thus merited, without leading to a discussion wholly inappropriate and unprofitable on such an occasion. I therefore contented myself with negotiating, in the fewest words possible, the special supposition which his question implied, reserving further explanations to a time when they should be properly asked.

This occurred on the evening of the 23 of January. A few days afterward, I learned more fully the facts to which he had alluded in saying that he had been blamed for his language concerning the federal administration. There had been two such conversations, one at the table d'hôte of a hotel or refectory, the other at a reception given by the President and Chamber of Deputies in the salons of the Palazzo Carignano. I heard little of detail as to the first discussion, but I am informed, on perfectly credible authority, that in a conversation with a member of the Italian Parliament, at the last reception, which was on the evening of the 22nd of January, Mr. Dillon spoke of the conduct of the American Government in prosecuting the war with the seceding states, in terms of such severe condemnation as to draw forth a sharp rebuke from an Italian gentleman who had long visited the United States, and who, perhaps, (though of this I am not certain) had been naturalized there. This led to a warm discussion conducted with much irritation on Mr. Dillon's part, and in a tone that could hardly have failed to attract the attention of many persons present.

I received yesterday, at a moment when I was endeavoring to prepare a reply to an urgent letter asking information about the *Sumter*, in time for the early Genoa mail, a note from Mr. Dillon, of which this is a copy:

14 Via Carlo Alberto, February 5, [1862]

Dear Sir: The text of the note I spoke to you of some time since, and to which I w'd wish to send a reply today runs thus: « Mr. Greeley rec'd from Mr. Seward under date of 25 Nov.<sup>r</sup> last, a letter asking the whereabouts of Mr. Fry and stating that *circumstances had rendered it necessary in September* to revoke his leave of absence—that the revocation had been sent, but Mr. Seward supposed it had not reached Mr. Fry ».

What is the meaning of this. Do you know?

Yours respectfully

R. Dillon

Considering this note a repetition of the query Mr. Dillon had addressed me at the French Minister's, I thought he had not a right to expect me, in replying to it, to answer questions he had not asked, and I therefore wrote him as follows:

Legation of the United State, Turin, February 5, 1862.

Dear Sir: The only proper answer I can give you is to repeat what I said to you at Mr. Benedetti's, namely, that I have never expressed a wish for the revocation of Mr. Fry's leave of absence nor have any measures been taken for that end « on this side » to use your own expression, to my knowledge.

On the contrary, I have given Mr. Seward to understand that I was not disposed to complain of this indulgence extended to Mr. Fry, or to ask that it should be abridged.

R. Dillon

G. P. Marsh

Sec. Leg.

The negative judgment of this note will of course suggest to Mr. Dillon that there is room for further explanation, and this, his own recollection of his frequent public attacks upon the government of his country will probably furnish him. If, however, he asks an explanation from me, in a proper manner, I shall give it, by informing him that I have expressed my dissatisfaction with his political sentiments and his open avowal of them, in a way which I expected would lead to his recall, though not to revocation of Mr. Fry's leave of absence.

My only motive for not at once volunteering this information is the wish not to provoke anything like an altercation with Mr. Dillon so long



as I am obliged to maintain official relations with him. I have been particularly solicitous to avoid any irritating conversation with him since I have been led to infer from your dispatches that the Department did not consider the information it had received a sufficient reason for recalling him before the arrival of his successor, although he has more than once used language on American politics under my roof, which I should not have suffered to pass without criticism in any other American citizen, and I regret that Mr. Greeley, by communicating to Mr. Dillon or his friends your letter to him, should have involved me in the probable necessity of discussions which will prejudice the usefulness of this Legation, by still further embittering Mr. Dillon towards an administration, to which, with other similar legacies, Mr. Buchanan bequeathed him.

It is perhaps superfluous to add that I have no information of Mr. Fry's arrival in Europe, or departure from New York.

***William H. Seward a Green Clay*** <sup>117</sup>

*Senza numero* <sup>118</sup>

Washington, March 6, 1862.

Sir: The failing health of Mr. Fry, Secretary to the Legation at Turin, will probably soon render necessary a change in that office. If the position would be acceptable to you, you are requested to inform the Department how soon, in the event of your appointment, it would be convenient for you to proceed to Turin. On the Minister's account it is necessary that the new Secretary should repair to his post with the least delay practicable.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 41*

Washington, March 8, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of the 6th of February, not numbered, has been received.

<sup>117</sup> Green Clay, del Kentucky, fu nominato segretario dell'Ambasciata statunitense in Russia nell'aprile del 1861, ma fu sostituito subito dopo e inviato come segretario di Ambasciata in Italia il 10 aprile 1862. Fu incaricato d'affari *ad interim* dal 4 agosto al 5 ottobre 1866, e dal 17 agosto al 2 novembre 1866. Si dimise il 12 luglio 1868.

<sup>118</sup> Questa comunicazione fu inviata a Louisville, Kentucky.

By the enclosed communication which is left open for your perusal and which you will close and hand to Mr. Dillon,<sup>119</sup> you will perceive that his Commission as Secretary of Legation has been revoked. Measures have already been taken with regard to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Fry, who is still in this country and whose failing health has at length compelled him to abandon his purpose of going abroad as Secretary of the Legation at Turin.

Your censure of the disloyal conduct of Mr. Dillon is well merited.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 39*

Turin, March 10, 1862.

Sir: The retirement of the Ricasoli ministry, though long threatened and not by any means unexpected, has produced a general shock and a feeling of alarm throughout Italy. The new ministry,<sup>120</sup> as at present constituted, is scarcely acceptable to any party, and I believe the warmest opponents of the late cabinet would, in general, have been better satisfied with a partial modification of it than they are with the total revolution which they have done something at least to bring about.

Very many well informed persons ascribe the retirement of Ricasoli and his fellow ministers to a palace intrigue, but I believe that the real causes are to be found in differences of opinion in the cabinet itself, on fundamental questions of policy, and in the impossibility of filling the Ministry of the Interior with a person who would have been satisfactory at once to the Parliament and to his own colleagues.

But whatever may have been the causes of the dissolution of the late ministry, there can be no doubt that French influence has made itself felt in the composition of the new cabinet, though what France has to gain by the appointment of ministers, who, so far as they are acceptable at all, are so to the party of which Garibaldi is the representative, is far from obvious.

I did not see Ricasoli after his resignation, as he left town almost

<sup>119</sup> Con tale comunicazione, non numerata e datata Washington, 8 marzo 1862, il Seward informava Romaine Dillon che « quando riceverete la presente, considerete revocata la vostra nomina a segretario dell'Ambasciata degli S.U. a Torino ».

<sup>120</sup> Il gabinetto Rattazzi, in carica dal 3 marzo all'8 dicembre 1862, era costituito dai seguenti ministri: Poggi, ministro senza portafoglio; Rattazzi agli Interni; Rattazzi e poi Durando agli Esteri; Sella alle Finanze; Depretis ai Lavori Pubblici; Cordova e poi Conforti al ministero di Grazia e Giustizia; Mancini e poi Matteucci alla Pubblica Istruzione; Petitti alla Guerra; Persano alla Marina; Pepoli all'Agricoltura.

immediately, but I had a long conversation with him three or four days before his resignation, in which he expressed political sentiments of the greatest liberality in respect to Italy, and an unabated warmth of interest in our great conflict, the real character and certain results of which he penetrates, through the clouds which enclose it, with true statesmanlike insight.

We are evidently growing in favor in Italy as well as elsewhere. The *Trent* affair has placed American statesmanship in a most enviable position in the opinion of European publicists and Capt Wilkes's patriotic, though unauthorized, action has resulted in great good to our cause throughout the European continent.

I do not personally know the new ministry well enough to speak of their individual feelings and opinions on the American question, but though they certainly cannot be more friendly to us than their predecessors, I shall trust that they will not be less so. The Ricasoli ministry would not have admitted a Confederate armed ship into an Italian port, except in case of distress, and in my last interview with Baron Ricasoli, he expressed much indignation at Cardinal Antonelli's declamation that the *Sumter* would be received at Civita Vecchia on the same footing as any vessel of war of known and recognized nationality.

The Garibaldian meeting now in session at Genoa, is regarded by conservatives with a good deal of alarm, but I think without reason. Garibaldi, in spite of his apparently uncontrollable impetuosity, is a man of consummate prudence. He almost never says or does anything which he would afterward desire to repudiate, and I do not believe that the meeting will produce any important results which other causes would not bring about without it.

Italy is unprepared for war, and a new struggle with Austria would prove a dangerous, if not a fatal experiment. Baron Ricasoli supposed that in the event of another war, Italy would have had the aid of Italy <sup>121</sup> [sic] against Austria, but this, I think, would have proved a fallacious expectation.

During the Carnival festivities, which have just terminated, the manifestations of popular detestation, not only of the papacy as a temporal power, but of the whole moral machinery of the Romish Church have been of a character to excite alarm even in the minds of some Protestants. The resistance of the Curia Romana to the public opinion of Europe and the rational feeling and national interests of Italy is kindling a resentment,

<sup>121</sup> Il Marsh scrisse « Italy », ma probabilmente intendeva scrivere « France ».

which is a new phenomenon in a people of so strong Catholic sympathies and so gentle temper as the Italians, and nothing but the latter feature of the national character, which is so little understood by those not well acquainted with Italy, prevents the populace from inflicting a signal vengeance on those who are denying them of what they claim as their natural rights and exercising over them what they regard as an usurped authority.

I beg leave to value any sincere acknowledgments for the President's and your own kindness in granting me leave to visit the Maremma and the Val di Chiana. It is not at present probable that I shall avail myself of it. Certainly I shall not, unless I believe that I can render better service to my country by the observations I wished to make than by remaining at Turin and in any event my absence will be a short one.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

New York City, April 1, 1862.

My dear Sir: I write to inform you I did not sail as expected, but will go on the *America* which sails from Boston tomorrow.

My commission, Mr. Irving the disp. Agt, had not rec'd, so have requested him to forward it. May I hope you will send it at your earliest convenience. I did desire to go first to St. Petersburg that I might see that the books were properly posted up, to be handed over to the new minister & make a proper inventory of the property of the legation as required. But will now entrust that to Mr. Goodloc (act. sec. in my abs.)

I go directly to Turin.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 42*

Washington, April 3, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of March 10th, No. 39, has been received.

So far as our affairs were concerned, we had special reasons to be satisfied with the proceedings of the Italian Government under the late ministry, while all its measures seemed to us loyal, patriotic and wise. If it were to be allowed, I should almost venture to express my regret for the resignation of Baron Ricasoli. But our interest in Italy remains unchanged, our best wishes will therefore attend the new Government, and our confidence is already extended to them without reservation.

Dispaccio n. 40

Turin, April 4, 1862.

Sir: The new ministry of this Government, which, after much difficulty, had at length completed its own organization, has not yet avowed any very definite system of policy, and has contented itself with generalities, which embody substantially the same principles as those of the preceding administration. The legislation it thus far asks relates only to matters of temporary expediency. Upon these questions it has not sustained a defeat, but it will encounter a vigorous opposition, whenever it shall lay itself open to attack, by the proposal of action, of a marked political character, on any subject.

Although, then, it cannot be charged with purposes hostile to the views openly avowed by any party, it has identified itself with none, and there is no quarter to which it can look, with confidence, for a steady and firm support.

On the other hand, there is no union of opinion and action among the parliamentary opponents of the ministry, unless so far as they are influenced by a jealousy of France, the government of which country is the regular raw—head and bloody bones of timid and discontented politicians, as well of ultraists on all sides, throughout Europe.

The position of Garibaldi in Italy, at this moment, is most extraordinary. His popularity and his influence are greater than ever, and no man doubts that he could overthrow the government, and make himself dictator, in an hour, if he chose to give the signal. He is regarded with distrust and dislike by the old Piedmontese nobility, and by the half dozen *political* papists in other parts of Italy—if indeed there are so many—but with all other classes he is omnipotent. He is now on a tour through Lombardy organizing the associations for rifle—practice, and his movement in everywhere a triumphal progress. In Lombardy, the aristocracy, who suffered with the people under Austrian despotism, are as enthusiastic Garibaldians as the commonalty [sic], and the whole population of Milan was in a perfect delirium during his late visit to that city. His interview with Manzoni has been much talked of, and the conduct of the great author has given the sincerest pleasure to the friends of Italy. Manzoni, as a writer, stands at the head of the Italian literature of this century, but for many years he has been supposed to be highly conservative, almost retrograde indeed, in his political opinions. His reception of Garibaldi,

however, was not only most complimentary to the latter, but it was of a character which showed the profoundest sympathy in the great aims to which Garibaldi is devoting his life. I enclose a slip from an Italian paper containing an account of the interview.<sup>122</sup>

Even at this giddy height of popular exaltation, Garibaldi retains his simplicity of manner and habits, his singleness of purpose, and his remarkable union of burning enthusiasm with extreme caution of action and expression. As to the results he aims at, he conceals nothing; as to the immediate steps he means to take, he discloses nothing; and so far as I can judge from frequent intercourse with persons who have been closely associated with him at Caprera, those most trusted by him know as little of the details of his plans as does the Emperor of Austria. His most ardent expressions commit him only to aims, not to measures, and it would be hard to convict him, before a petit jury, of ever having said anything indicative of a purpose of definite action either against Austria or Rome.

I saw Garibaldi the other day for the first time. The conversation turned principally on American affairs, and he manifested the same warm interest he has always shown in the triumph of the Union cause, and the same high respect for the wisdom of the present administration, which I have the pleasure of hearing expressed in every quarter with which my position brings me into relation.

Although, as I have said, the Piedmontese aristocracy look upon Garibaldi's movements with anxiety and alarm, there is, even in that body, a stirring among the dry bones, which gives token of an awakening to a new and nobler national life.

An aged nobleman of the reactionary party, who was long in the public service, but is now in retirement, said to me last week: « Well I am a conservative, a *codino*, because I am constitutionally opposed to revolution, but I find I am an Italian above all, and I think that pamphlet<sup>123</sup> of Guizot's in defence of the temporal power of the Pope, coming, as it does, from a Protestant, from the author of the History of Civilization, from a statesman of his antecedents, is « lo scandalo del secolo », the disgrace of the age!

The recent victories of the Union forces over the rebel troops have been received with much satisfaction in Italy, and those branches of industry which had suffered from the stagnation of American trade—the

<sup>122</sup> Tale allegato non è stato rintracciato.

<sup>123</sup> *L'Eglise et la société moderne*, uscito nel 1861.

silk manufacture, especially,—are rapidly reviving in the hope of the restoration of peace and commercial activity.

The news of these successes, I learn, have produced a marked effect upon the feelings and opinions of very many Americans resident in Europe, who have been much annoyed with scruples as to the lawfulness of the « war which the present administration is waging against the South. » I learn from Mr. Powers and other loyal Americans at Florence, that there have been some remarkable instances of change of position on this question, in that city, within the last few days.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 41*

Turin, April 5, 1862.

Sir: I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Mr. Monti, Consul at Palermo, dated March 20, 1862, a copy of my reply to that letter dated March 28, 1862, and of a second letter on the same subject dated April 5, 1862.

Mr. Monti has, no doubt, reported to you the history of the case, as the facts occurred, and will have received direct instructions from the State Department before they could be communicated to him through me.

I am extremely anxious to avoid raising any issue with the Italian Government on this subject, both because the policy of the new administration on all subjects is yet unsettled, and because it is rumored that an armed Confederate steamer is expected at Palermo; and I do not wish to have the question of her reception in an Italian port embarrassed by any difficulties arising out of collateral discussions.

The first paragraph of my letter to Mr. Monti of April 5, refers to a note from him announcing the arrival of the *Ino* at Palermo, but which I cannot have copied in time for this mail, the hour of closing which is at hand.

I can only add to what I have said, that under the circumstances of this case, I do not think the Italian Government would permit any summary action on the part of the Consul, and I see no course but to leave the matter as it is for the present.

**Luigi Monti a George P. Marsh** <sup>124</sup>

Palermo, March 20, 1862.

Your Excellency: The schooner *Wm. E. Alexander* of Savannah, 147 tons, Nathaniel G. Tucker, Master, has arrived in this port from Venice loaded with lumber. She is owned in Savannah by Wm. E. Alexander, 1/4 Nathaniel G. Tucker 1/4 Wm. Clark, 1/4, and Wm. H. Stark 1/4.

The vessel cleared from Savannah in May 1861 before the Southern blockade was proclaimed, with papers signed by rebel authorities, and with the words « United » erased, and « Confederate » written instead.

The United States Vice Consul at Liverpool Mr. H. Wilding cleared her from Liverpool in August 1861.

The U. S. Consul at Venice, H. Sprenger cleared her from that port for Palermo in February last, after having received instruction to that effect from the U. S. Legation at Vienna.

An authenticated copy of such instruction is herewith enclosed.

Capt. Tucker has the intention of selling the vessel here, if he gets a chance, (as he has a power of attorney to that effect from the above named owners) or procure a freight for some other port.

I beg leave to ask Your Excellency's instructions in this matter, and particularly whether I am authorized under the circumstances, to clear her, or to certify to the power of attorney which the Capt. has from the owners, who were at that time and are still residents of the rebel states, or to sign and seal all other papers required by law for the selling of American vessels in foreign ports.

**George P. Marsh a Luigi Monti** <sup>125</sup>

Turin, March 28, 1862.

Sir: By the 6th Section of an Act of Congress passed on the 15th July 1861, it is enacted, that « from and after fifteen days after the issuing » of a proclamation provided for in the 5 section of the same Act, « any ship or vessel belonging in whole or in part to any citizen or inhabit-

<sup>124</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 41 del Marsh.

<sup>125</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 41 del Marsh.



ant of a state or part of a state, whose inhabitants are by such proclamation, declared in a state of insurrection, found at sea, or in any port of the rest of the United States, shall be forfeited to the United States. » *On the previous 19th April*, the President proclaimed that he had « deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade » of the ports of several states, Georgia being one of them. Notice of this proclamation must have reached Savannah before *Capt. Tucker sailed*, but any ships had been sent to Savannah to enforce the blockade, I do not know.

In pursuance of the Act of July 13, 1861 The President on the *16th of August 1861*, issued the proclamation contemplated by that Act, declaring, among other things, that after fifteen days, vessels belonging in whole or in part to the inhabitants of the rebel states, found at sea, or in a port of the United States, would be forfeited.

The Vice Consul at Liverpool could not have known these facts until the end of August, and I infer from your letter that he had cleared the *Alexander* before the intelligence reached him.

Upon what grounds the Minister at Vienna acted, I do not perceive. Perhaps he had not received the pamphlet containing the laws of the Extra Session, and proclamation, and it may be that the American Minister at London had instructions of which I know nothing, but which had been communicated to the Consulate at Liverpool and to Mr. Motley.

For any thing I can see to the contrary the vessel is liable to seizure and forfeiture, and I do not think you can treat her as entitled to the rights of nationality.

I write by this mail to the ministers at London and Vienna and will communicate to you their replies. In the mean time you will not permit the sale or clearance of the vessel.

P. S. You will treat this letter as confidential.

**George P. Marsh a Luigi Monti** <sup>126</sup>

Turin, April 5, 1862.

Sir: Yours of the 23rd was so long in reaching me, that I could not reply in time to anticipate the sailing of the *Ino*, and I therefore

<sup>126</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 41 del Marsh.

concluded to defer writing until I should hear from Mr. Motley. I have just received a letter from him, but at too late an hour to mail a letter for you today, and this will be dispatched tomorrow.

Mr. Motley's instructions to the Consul at Venice were given before he was aware of the passage of the law of July 13th 1861, or of the President's proclamation of August 16, 1861, and he has no special instructions applicable to the question. He is, however, inclined to sustain his decision, on the ground that the forfeiture applied only to vessels « found at sea » or in loyal parts of the United States.

I am myself disposed to think that the forfeiture is incurred in the case of any Southern vessel sailing under rebel papers; but it is not easy to see how the forfeiture can be enforced in a foreign port. I am aware that at Rio Janeiro, Mr. Webb threatened to remove the captains of rebel vessels, but I do not know upon what ground he claimed the right, nor do I discover any authority for a consul to exercise that power.

If it were certain that you could remove the captain of this vessel, and put the ship into the hands of a loyal master and crew, without objection on the part of the Government of Italy, I should advise you to do so, and send the vessel home for adjudication, but I should be extremely unwilling to take such a step without the assent of the authorities of this Kingdom, and I think it very desirable to avoid raising any question on the subject.

The best course would be for the Captain voluntarily to surrender the ship to the Commander of some U. S. vessel, in which case I think his chance of lenient treatment by the government would be worth more than that of getting his vessel back again to her owners.

If the Captain chooses to accept a clearance to a *loyal* domestic port, I advise you to give it; otherwise to detain the ship's papers until you receive instructions from the State Department, to which you have, no doubt, reported the case.

As to the sale of the vessel, I think you cannot authorize it, unless the Captain will consent that the proceeds shall remain in the hands of the Consulate, subject to the order of the Government of the United States. In that case I see no objection.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 42* <sup>127</sup>

Turin, April 7, 1862.

Sir: I received your dispatch No. 41, dated March 8 1862, announcing the revocation of Mr. Dillon's commission, and communicated the substance of it, together with the letter which accompanied it, to him, on the 30th of March.

He made no reply to my note, nor have I seen or heard from him since.

I am gratified at this action of the administration, and apprehend no serious embarrassment to the Legation from the want of a secretary until an arrangement satisfactory to the Government can be made for the appointment of one.

I should, however, not think myself justified in absenting myself from Turin for the length of time required for a visit to the Maremma, before the arrival of a secretary, and as the only season when it is safe to travel in that district will, probably, in the mean time have passed, I shall not avail myself of the leave of absence granted me for that purpose.

I should be glad to be allowed to substitute for that leave permission for a few short absences, not exceeding three or four weeks in the aggregate, during the hot months of summer, when there shall be nothing special to detain me at Turin.

In this permission, I desire to include a trip to London and a stay of four or five days at that city for the purpose of securing the copy—right of a work written by me before I left the United States, for which an English bookseller offers me a sum small indeed, but not unimportant to me. I understand that twenty four hours only are necessary, but the author must be in England on the day of publication, and as this cannot perhaps be fixed to a day, I should wish leave to extend my stay to three or four, if necessary. <sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> In risposta ad una richiesta del Marsh tendente ad ottenere un breve congedo, il Seward (Istruzione n. 43, Washington, 26 aprile 1862) affermava che « il permesso da voi richiesto è stato di buon grado accordato ».

<sup>128</sup> Nel 1862 il Marsh pubblicò *The Origin and History of the English Language*, un volume che comprendeva anche del materiale edito nel 1861 sotto il titolo *Lectures on the English Language*. L'opera divenne un classico nel campo della filologia e dell'etimologia.

**William H. Fry a Frederick W. Seward**

734 Broadway, New York, April 11, 1862.

Dear Sir: I perceive by the *Telegraph News* of this morning that Mr. Clayton has been appointed Secretary to Turin. Pray, tell me if this be authentic. I do not suppose it to be so, as a few weeks ago in answer to a dispatch from you, I replied I was getting ready to go—upon the warmer weather and more settled skies coming in. This, I supposed, under the circumstances which I apprised you of, was satisfactory—fully so—or I would have learned the contrary from the Department. I regret to trouble you, for I know how you must be oppressed with your labor.<sup>129</sup>

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 43*<sup>130</sup>

Turin, April 29, 1862.

Sir: An hour since I received from Mr. Romaine Dillon, of whom I had heard nothing since the 30 of March, the following note:

Turin, April 29, 1862.

Dear Sir: Will you read & return me the enclosed correspondence recd a few days since from my brother whose letter dated 28 Mch was written in entire ignorance of Mr. Seward's Revoke. In regard to which letter, therefore, I am still in the clouds of surprise.

If you will favour me with Baron Ricasoli's address I will endeavour to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the expressions attributed to him. Am I right in the opinion that the act of Congress deprives an officer whose commission has been revoked of his return travelling expenses, and is therefore decidedly censorious?

! The « correspondence » referred to in the above note consisted of a letter from Mr. Fry dated, if I read it right, in December last, requesting

<sup>129</sup> Nella sua risposta del 15 aprile 1862, il Seward informava il Fry che la notizia della nomina del Clay era esatta, « avendo il Presidente stabilito che sarebbe incompatibile con il pubblico interesse il permettere che quel posto restasse ancora vacante ».

<sup>130</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 44, Washington, 26 maggio 1862 il Seward replicava che, essendosi già provveduto in merito, questo dispaccio non richiedeva alcun commento.

Mr. Dillon to remain at his post; a slip from some N. York paper announcing the transfer of Mr. Green Clay from St. Petersburg to Turin; a slip from the *Times*, of New York, quoting a London correspondent as accusing Mr. Dillon of open hostility to his government, and alleging that Baron Ricasoli and Mr. Rattazzi had expressed surprise at Mr. Dillon's being allowed to retain his place; and a third slip containing a defence of Mr. Dillon from his brother in New York.

To this note I replied as follows:

Turin, April 29, 1862.

Dear Sir: I am not aware of any provision of law by which the return allowance of diplomatic officers is cut off, except in case of malfeasance. The laws are at the new Legation Office, Via Gioberti, where you can consult them.

I know nothing of the source of the article in the *Times* nor upon what authority the opinions alleged to have been used respecting you by Baron Ricasoli and the Com. Rattazzi [sic] were ascribed to them.

I cannot understand, however, why you should be surprised at the general statements of the London correspondent of the *Times* with respect to your political sentiments and sympathies.

You will remember that at an evening entertainment at Mr. Benedetti's in the later part of January last you told me you had been blamed for openly criticising and condemning the conduct and policy of the present American administration; and it is true, that, both before and after your rather public discussion of that subject, at the Convegno dei Deputati a short time before, more than one Italian gentleman—I do not mean the distinguished statesman referred to in the *Times*—did express astonishment to me that a person, habitually so unreserved in his condemnation of the course of his government in prosecuting the war with the insurgent states, should be retained in its service.

I do not know Baron Ricasoli's address.

I perceive that the copy of my dispatch No. 38 of Feb 6, 62 is not marked « confidential. » If the original is not as noted, it should have been, but I have not the least objection to Mr. Dillon's being informed, that I communicated to you, at once, such information as I had respecting his discussions at the reception of the deputies and the expressions of surprise, by respectable gentlemen, to which I referred in that despatch.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 44* <sup>131</sup>

Turin, May 10, 1862.

Sir: On the 10 of April last the Minister of Foreign Affairs notified the diplomatic corps at Turin that about the 25 of that month the King would visit Naples and remain at that city through the month of May.

The Minister added: « In making you this communication I think I ought to add that His Majesty would, with pleasure, see the diplomatic corps at Naples on this occasion. »

The invitation is expressed in stronger terms than are commonly used on such occasions, and as I knew that some political importance was attached to the presence of the corps at Naples during this visit, and as moreover nearly all the other foreign ministers were openly instructed by their governments to attend His Majesty, I should have thought it my duty to accept the invitation, had I felt myself at liberty to do so.

But not less than six days would be occupied in going and returning, and four would be entirely too short a stay to answer the purpose contemplated. I could not make the journey therefore without a larger absence than ten days, and I do not know that a visit to Naples in such a case would not be considered an « absence from my post, » within the meaning of the statute.

Another consideration was not too decisive with me. American travellers who spend the winter in southern Italy generally return to the north in May, and many of those who pass through Turin require the visa of an American minister to their passports. My absence at this time—the most important week of the King's stay at Naples—would involve the closing of the office of the Legation, and I should thereby expose such travellers to a more serious inconvenience than would perhaps be justifiable.

It is proper to add that no arrangements were made for the transportation of the corps, or for their entertainment at Naples, and therefore the expenses of the visit (which in the case of the other ministers are borne by their respective governments) would have drawn very largely upon an official income inadequate, except with the most rigid economy, to the ordinary outgoes of an American minister at this expensive capital.

These reasons will, I hope, be thought to warrant me in declining

<sup>131</sup> Nell'accusare ricevuta di questo dispaccio il Seward, con l'Istruzione n. 45, Washington, 1 giugno 1862, approvava il punto di vista del Marsh, aggiungendo: « In questi casi, soprattutto quando non c'è il tempo di consultare il Dipartimento, si pensa che farete valere tutta la vostra capacità di decisione ».

an invitation, which every other head of legation at Turin, with the exception of the ministers from Switzerland and from Prussia, the latter of whom is absent, has been instructed to accept.

The beneficial political effects of the King's journeys to Florence, Milan, and Naples will, it is thought, induce His Majesty to repeat them occasionally hereafter, and the diplomatic corps will doubtless often be invited to be in attendance. There will, of course, be no opportunity for asking permission or directions in particular cases, and I beg for general instructions on the subject.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 45*

Turin, May 12, 1862.

Sir: I beg leave to suggest to you the expediency of attaching a salary to the U. S. Consulate at Rome, and of raising that post to a consulate general.<sup>132</sup> The number of Americans who visit that city is large and constantly increasing; and though Rome has little commercial importance, there are not many European cities where a competent consul can be more useful to his countrymen. The strictly official duties of a consul at Rome are no doubt fewer than those of the same officer at Paris; but the demands upon his time, and the services he actually renders, are scarcely less, and there seem to be no very good reason for liberally compensating one of these consulates and leaving the other to depend upon so precarious a source of income as thus far.

Mr. Stillman,<sup>133</sup> the present consul at Rome, is a very respectable, competent and worthy person, and so far as I can judge from some familiarity with the subject, I can say with confidence that we have never had a public agent, diplomatic or consular, at that city, who was more acceptable to the Americans who visit that city, or more creditable to the government that employs him, than Mr. Stillman. The receipts of the office are inadequate to his support and I have no doubt that the public

<sup>132</sup> Non si comprende bene il perché di questi suggerimenti del Marsh a proposito del consolato degli S.U. a Roma, tanto più per il fatto che a quell'epoca gli S.U. avevano a Roma un ministro nella persona di Alexander W. Randall.

<sup>133</sup> William J. Stillman (1828-1901) fu console degli S.U. a Roma dal 1861 al 1865; poi da Roma fu trasferito a Creta. Era nato a Schenectady e aveva studiato allo Union College. Fu direttore del *Crayon* e corrispondente del *Times* di Londra. Scrisse *Autobiography of a Journalist*, Boston, 1901. Cfr. Stock, *American Minister* cit., pp. XXI, 17 n, 260-261, 280, 292, 296-302, 303-304, 305-306, 309-311, 346-347. Per i suoi dispacci come console, cfr. Stock, *Consular Relations* cit., pp. 214-298.

interests would be promoted by the allowance of such a compensation as would make the post worth retaining by a gentleman so well qualified to be useful and respectable in that position.

I trust the appointment of a Minister to the Papal court will not be renewed, because it would, under present circumstances, be almost an act of discourtesy to the Italian Government.<sup>134</sup> There is no country in Europe, in which the cause of the American Union has met with so warm and hearty a sympathy as in Italy. Since my arrival at Turin, I have not seen or heard of an Italian, favorably disposed to the cause of liberty in his own country, who was not friendly to the cause of the American Union. The Italian population—with the exception of the comparatively insignificant Papal faction—from the King to the peasant, is unanimous in its wishes for the triumph of the federal cause, and it deserves a better return for its friendship than a step, which, after the Legation has been so long vacant, would be construed by the opponents of this government as a triumph, by its friends, as a token of sympathy on our part with the enemies of progress, prosperity, and independence in Italy.

Mr. Stillman is perfectly competent to represent the United States, so far our Government needs to be represented at Rome, and his promotion to the rank of Consul General would give him as high a position as the English consular agent now enjoys, and as high as would be required for any negotiations likely to occur with the papal authorities.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 46*

Turin, May 12, 1862.

Sir: My dispatch No. 41 of April 5, 1862 was accompanied with a copy of a letter from myself to Mr. Monti, Consul at Palermo, in which I advised him to consent to the sale of the *W. E. Alexander*, on condition that the proceeds be deposited in his hands subject to the order of the Government of the United States.

By a letter received from Mr. Monti, this morning, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, I learn that this arrangement has been substantially affected.

I am gratified with this conclusion of the affair, because, though

<sup>134</sup> Gli S.U. mantennero un ministro a Roma fino al 1868. Cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *The closing of the American diplomatic mission to the Vatican and efforts to revive it, 1868-1870*, in *Catholic Historical Review*, a. XXXIII (1948), pp. 423-447.



I have no doubt that every member of the Italian Government is favorably disposed to the maintenance of the authority of the Federal Union, yet the question was beset with difficulties, and I was extremely reluctant to embarrass the Italian ministry, or ourselves, with the unprofitable discussion which would have necessarily have grown out of any attempt on our part to *enforce* the rights according to the United States, under the Act of Congress of July 1861, and the President's proclamation of August following.

I had great apprehension that, in case of any appeal to the local authorities, by us, or by the Captain of the ship, the attention of some of the Confederate agents in France or England would be drawn to the subject, and that an interference on their part, directly, or through the French or British legation, would increase the embarrassments of this question.

Under these circumstances, I trust that I shall not be thought to have exceeded the bounds of a reasonable discretion in my instructions to Mr. Monti, and that he will not be blamed for conforming to them.

Mr. Clay lately appointed Secretary of this Legation arrived this morning.

***Luigi Monti a George P. Marsh***<sup>135</sup>

Palermo, May 6, 1862.

Your Excellency: The schooner *W. E. Alexander* sailed today for New York. Mr. Sartorio bought the vessel at the amount which I stated in my last communication, viz. 1400 \$.

I allowed the Captain the debts which the vessel had incurred for seamen—wages and ship chandlery—to the amount of \$ 299.20. As also his fourth share on the vessel \$ 275.20; the balance \$ 825.60 was deposited with me in a note at six months drawn upon Messrs Lawrence, Giles & Co. New York. Mr. Emmanuele Sartorio endorsed by I. L. V. Florio, payable to the Captain, and by him endorsed payable to the order of Hon. Wm. H. Seward Secretary of State.

With this mail I have sent all the proper documents to the Dept. together with the register & crew list of the vessel as also the first of exchange of the above said note.

<sup>135</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 46 del Marsh.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

Turin, May 24, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the commission from your hand appointing me Secretary of the U. S. Legation at Turin, and to state that I entered upon duty the 12th inst.<sup>136</sup>

Allow me to express myself grateful for the transfer from St. Petersburg. In every respect, as to climate, the court, & the people, I find Turin so much more agreeable to me.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 47*

Turin, May 27, 1862.

Sir: I have received and communicated to the Italian government your circular of May 2, 1862, relating to partial communication with New Orleans, and that of May 5, 1862, relating to the appointment of a collector, and the modifying of the blockade at the same port.

The recent absurd and criminal movents of the « party of action » in Italy at Bergamo and Brescia have given great pain to the sincere friends of Italy, liberal as well as conservative. The origin and definite purposes of this rash step, if known to the Government, are not publicly understood; but many of the best informed persons with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing on the subject believe that it was prompted by Mazzini, without the participation or knowledge of Garibaldi, and that the assumption of the responsibility for it by the latter was an act of generous self-sacrifice on his part to save the deluded victims of Mazzini's madness.<sup>137</sup> There is good reason to believe that Garibaldi has pledged his honor to abstain from all private and hasty action, and it is irreconcilable with his character to suppose that he could have engaged in a scheme in direct violation of this pledge.

<sup>136</sup> Il 12 aprile 1862 il Seward aveva trasmesso la nomina del Clay ed altri documenti, e aveva informato l'interessato che lo stipendio avrebbe avuto decorrenza dalla sua entrata in servizio.

<sup>137</sup> Il Seward nella sua replica, con l'Istruzione n. 46, Washington, 21 giugno 1862, diceva di aver letto con grande interesse la relazione del Marsh sui recenti fatti di Bergamo e Brescia e le sue « riflessioni sui probabili sviluppi degli eventi nel Regno d'Italia ».

At the same time, I have no doubt that a plan has been long maturing for attacking Austria from another quarter, under circumstances which would have compelled the justification of the Italian Government in the struggle; but the defeat of the movement at Bergamo will probably lead to the abandonment of the project. I do not suppose that Austria will attempt to hold the Italian Government responsible for acts which it did not inspire and which it has energetically repressed. This she could not well do while she is openly permitting, and no doubt encouraging, the formation of predatory and revolutionary expeditions against Italy, within her territory, and the whole affair, so far from seriously compromising the Italian Government will probably be regarded in Europe as another link in the chain of evidence to show that the peace of the continent will be seriously hazarded, if the people of Italy are not soon effectually relieved of the embarrassments, to which the temporal power of the Papacy, the pretensions of the enthroned princes, and the possession of Venice by Austria, expose them.<sup>138</sup>

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 47*

Washington, June 27, 1862.

Sir: Mr. Giddings,<sup>139</sup> our Consul General for the British North American Provinces, in a communication to this Department of the 20th instant, makes known the desire of Mr. Harrison Stephens, a native of Vermont, but long a resident of Montreal, that his son, Sheldon Stephens,<sup>140</sup> should be permitted to occupy, without compensation, the position of an Attaché of your Legation; should such an arrangement not be unacceptable to you, I herewith transmit a copy of Mr. Giddings' letter with the remark that the Department perceives no objection to your complying with the request of Mr. Stephens. You will therefore be governed by your own wishes in the matter.

<sup>138</sup> Cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *American opinion and documents on Garibaldi's march on Rome, 1862*, in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, a. VII (1947), pp. 143-161.

<sup>139</sup> Joshua R. Giddings, console generale per le Provincie britanniche del Nord America dal 25 marzo 1861 fino alla morte avvenuta in Montreal il 27 maggio 1864.

<sup>140</sup> Non è registrata alcuna nomina di Sheldon Stephens.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, June 30, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith, according to requirement, an inventory of the property of this Legation. This list will be found to show a deficiency of some books that are most needed in the business of the Legation, such as, the last two volumes of the *U. S. Statutes*, Kent's Commentaries, and others equally useful for reference.

I take this occasion to state: that, while Secretary of the Legation at St. Petersburg, I was appointed to the same office at Turin: in the interim, of the date of my new Commission and of the arrival of the newly appointed Secretary at St. Petersburg, Mr. Goodloc continued to act as Secretary of the Legation, as he had done during my absence, and he thinks he should be compensated. Sec. 9 Act. Cong. Aug. 18-1856 might seem applicable, but I beg to be informed as regards the custom of the Department, in such cases.

Whether the position at St. Petersburg was vacated by me at the date of my commission or at the time of entrance of the new Secretary upon his official duties?

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, July 4, 1862.

Sir: Your attention has been, no doubt, attracted to the subject of a proposed contingent by the Kingdom of Italy to the French army in Mexico.

The intention of sending troops to that country by this Kingdom having been formally disavowed by the President of the Council when the question was first agitated in the Chambers, it is believed that no such purpose is now entertained, though I have little doubt that the subject, probably at the suggestion of Rattazzi, has been broached between the governments of Italy and of France.

Having no instructions in reference to this matter, and not being advised as to what may have passed between the American and the French governments on the subject, I have not thought myself authorized to ask any explanations from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Of course the motive for the offer, if offer there was, on the part of Italy, was to purchase the aid of France in furthering the policy of this

Government with respect to the Roman and Venetian questions. But though in military circles, the movement would not perhaps be an unpopular one, I have no doubt it would be very ill received by the Italian Parliament and the Italian people, and I am assured by well-informed persons, that it would excite an opposition powerful enough to overthrow a ministry, which, like the present, possesses the confidence of no party, and is tolerated, not supported, by any.

In a casual conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself an experienced soldier, some days before I heard a whisper of any intention on the part of Italy to participate in the Mexican war, I spoke of the extreme difficulty which a European army would find in long sustaining itself, and *a fortiori*, a foreign dynasty, in Mexico.

General Durando replied that he held the same opinions, and that his views on the subject had been much strengthened by information he had received from Gen. Ghilardi,<sup>141</sup> an Italian military gentleman, who had long served in that country, and who, I believe, is now in the United States.

In any event, although the personal policy of the President of the Council, will be that of France, I cannot believe that the Ministry will approve any project of this sort, unless it comes up in such a form as to divest it of all designs of prejudicing the interests, or exciting the susceptibilities of the Government and people of the United States.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 48*

Washington, August 4, 1862.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: Your confidential despatch of July 4th (not numbered) has been received, and I give you the President's thanks for the vigilance and discretion you have exercised in the matter to which it relates.

Certainly we are seeing some strange hallucinations in European courts in regard to American affairs. Nor can I deny that there is even

<sup>141</sup> Luigi Ghilardi, di Lucca. Combatté in Spagna con l'esercito costituzionalista. Nel 1848, con il grado di colonnello, si batté con l'esercito nazionale in Sicilia; l'anno successivo si schierò contro gli Austriaci a Livorno e nella difesa di Roma. Fu lui a consegnare al generale Oudinot la protesta dei consolati dei paesi stranieri per il bombardamento di Roma. Partecipò alla rivolta messicana: catturato dai Francesi, fu fucilato in Messico il 12 marzo 1864.

something of method in them which indicates a belief in some quarters that the political system of this continent can be shattered and broken to pieces by erratic movements of some one or more of the planets of the other hemisphere, while the harmony and regularity of systems existing there shall remain unimpaired. But when I find myself at all likely to invest these phenomena with any dangerous importance, I remember how the death of a king, or of a statesman, or of a child, or a fire, or a flood, or a dearth or a panic in the exchange, may cause the whole to disappear like a chimera and be forgotten. Perhaps it is well that it has entered into the head of somebody in Europe to think of landing an army from Italy to devastate Mexico. It shows that political speculation on that continent hostile to the nations of this continent, has reached the absurdity in which it must culminate. Our secession brethren have been very inventive, but I doubt whether with all their versatility they ever conceived of such a ramification of their perverseness.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 49* <sup>142</sup>

Turin, August 5, 1862.

Sir: The movement of Garibaldi in the southern provinces of the Kingdom, which has excited so much alarm throughout Europe, seems to be drawing to a close. The proclamation of the King, who was supposed by most of the Garibaldians to have a secret understanding with their leader, has, for the moment, cooled the zeal of the party of action for striking an immediate blow. Garibaldi is now receiving few if any recruits, and most of those who were on the way to join him in Sicily are said to be returning to their homes. It is, however, not impossible that he may soon re—appear in another quarter of Italy, and few doubt that the present agitation on the subject of Rome and Venice will go on increasing until it ends in the accomplishment of the object, or in a revolution the limits and results of which none can foresee.

It is not thought probable that the Garibaldians will face the royal troops which are slowly marching towards rather than against them, and it is quite evident, on the other hand, that the Government intends to avoid a collision between the ardent, but perhaps misguided supporters of

<sup>142</sup> Con il dispaccio n. 48, Torino, 25 luglio 1862, il Marsh accusava ricevuta dell'Istruzione n. 47, Washington, 27 giugno 1862, e si diceva «soddisfatto» per la nomina di Sheldon Stephens ad addetto culturale presso l'ambasciata di Torino.

Italian unity and its own regular army, which might in case of serious resistance, possibly refuse to act against the insurgents.

As soon as order shall be restored, public opinion will demand from the present ministry some evidence of substantial progress in the adjustment of these questions, and it is very generally believed in Italy, that the Emperor Napoleon, fully convinced at last of the impossibility of maintaining the present status, will soon withdraw his troops from Rome.

The Ministry, which is now recovering from its panic, acted at first with great weakness. While not venturing to arrest Garibaldi, or even to censure him by name, it sequestered and prosecuted opposition journals—the *Opinione* for instance—for publishing the speech he delivered at Palermo, though accompanied with editorial comments decidedly condemning both it and the movement it initiated. This is said to have been done in obedience to the mandate of the French Minister, but I suspect that this puerility was due as much to party resentment as to the influence of Mr. Benedetti.

On the other hand while, for the simple statement of an already notorious historical fact, the ministry seizes opposition journals, which, though not adherents of the present cabinet, support, with zeal, dignity and ability, the Crown, the Constitution, and the avowed *general* policy of the government, it allows the *Armonia*, the leading journal of the ultramontanists, to indulge in the most virulent attacks—legally treasonable in their character—upon the King, the Parliament and the Constitution, and in the most scurrilous and mendacious libel, upon the character and conduct, official and private, of the leading personages of the Kingdom.

As is so usual in great moral revolutions, the Government is far behind the people. There are no statesmen in Italy who do not believe that the exercise of—not merely temporal sway—but of *any* species of coercive authority by the papacy or by any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction is absolutely irreconcilable with the existence of the new order of things which they are striving to maintain, and they avow that they look forward to the divorce of Church and State, or rather of the absolute ignoring of the former by the latter, as a step both necessary and soon to be taken by every government which pretends to rule over a free people. But yet they have not the courage to accept the declaration of war which the Roman court has promulgated against everything they hold politically sacred, and they are committing the fatal mistake of protecting and sustaining the very power which is avowedly striving to overthrow the foundations of the modern political society of the Kingdom.

There is, among very well—informed Italians, a great ignorance of the

theological, and more especially of the political character of Protestantism, and of the history of the reformatory movements of the sixteenth century in southern Europe. The shallow common—place, that the Latin races are constitutionally Catholic, which has been used with so much effect in Protestant Europe and America, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary which is furnished by the annals of Italy itself, has passed into a sort of political axiom, and the fear of violating this supposed natural law induces statesmen to hesitate in the adoption of measures for which the people are fully prepared, and which the interests of liberty already urgently demand.

The disaster of the army of the Potomac before Richmond<sup>143</sup> has excited a general feeling of painful regret in Italy, but I must add that it was received with no surprise in military circles. Whatever may have been the real ability, with which that army has been commanded, its action has been, for many months, a subject of unfavorable criticism among European soldiers, friends as well as enemies to the Union cause, and I have many times been grieved to hear predictions which have been at last too painfully fulfilled.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 50*

Washington, August 25, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of August 5th, No. 49, has been received. The statement of the condition of the Italian question which it contains is very important and interesting.

The gloom which settled upon the public mind here after the affair at Richmond, has already worn off. The forces of the Union are recruiting. The call for three hundred thousand volunteers has been promptly answered, and three hundred and seventeen thousand brave and determined men are already either in the field, or on the way to it, or in camps of organization. The only question that remains about the three hundred thousand militia men called for through the process of a draft, is whether that number of volunteers for the war shall be accepted in place of the militia, or whether the Government shall insist upon the draft.

General McClellan having successfully withdrawn his great army from

<sup>143</sup> Il risultato della campagna attorno a Richmond fu incoraggiante per i Confederati e deludente per il Governo di Washington.



its position on the James River, is bringing it forward to unite with the army of General Pope on the Rappahannock. The insurgents have moved from Richmond with their main force to destroy General Pope's <sup>144</sup> army before he could be joined by McClellan. But the junction is at least partially effected already, while, although there has been some skirmishing, no important action has taken place.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 50*

Turin, August 26, 1862.

Sir: The latest intelligence respecting the state of affairs in southern Italy is that martial-law has been proclaimed in Sicily and in the meridional provinces, and that Garibaldi has landed in Calabria. No encounter, except an accidental and insignificant one, has taken place between the royalists and the Garibaldians, and in spite of the threatening appearance of the military preparations and tone of the military orders, it is evident that the Government is at least as fearful of the consequences of a collision as are the insurgents.

Notwithstanding official representations to the contrary, I am convinced by private letters and other sources of information, that the sympathies of the Sicilians are almost universally with Garibaldi, and the same may be in general asserted of all the population of southern Italy, except the small minority which is in the pay of the papal government and the ex-king of the Two Sicilies.

Something of the unanimity of these populations is to be ascribed to the fact that they persist in believing—and thousands in Turin are of the same opinion—that there is a secret understanding between the Government, or at least the King, and Garibaldi. This is argued from the notorious fact, that Garibaldi was for weeks making preparations, which the Government must have been aware of, and which it made no serious effort to obstruct; from the careful avoidance of a collision by the

<sup>144</sup> Nel luglio del 1862 il generale John Pope ebbe il comando dell'armata della Virginia che doveva avanzare attraverso il Rappahannock. Nel frattempo vari distaccamenti delle truppe di McClellan venivano ritirati dalla penisola per portare rinforzo al Pope lungo i fiumi Potomac e Aquia; ma il Pope fu costretto a ritirarsi attraversando il Bull Run. In seguito egli attribuì il suo insuccesso alla incapacità dei rinforzi, che venivano dall'armata di McClellan, di marciare sotto il tiro dei cannoni. A settembre McClellan fu posto a capo delle difese di Washington, mentre Pope fu privato del comando dell'armata della Virginia.

Government authorities; and from the apparent good feeling between Garibaldi and the Rattazzi administration when the present cabinet came into power. As to this latter point, I have no doubt that Garibaldi received liberal, though perhaps very vague, assurances of support in his enterprise, from persons whom he had a right to consider as representing the Government; and as to the neglect of the authorities to obstruct his preparations, it is well known that, though they prefer to have, thus far, been able to procure no evidence of any attempt to enroll volunteers in this city, except proof that a Garibaldian ex-colonel offered a boy ten francs to « engage » himself for a purpose not stated, yet there has all the time existed in Turin an office for enlisting soldiers for Garibaldi, the locality of which could readily be found by any who chose to ask it.

The Government is in a serious strait between the French, who are urging it to the most vigorous action against the insurgents in the hope, no doubt, that an end will be made of the great agitator, and the people of the Kingdom, who would probably not bear any measures of personal severity towards Garibaldi himself.

I still hope and believe that some temporary arrangement will be arrived at by which the great name, fame, and political weight of Garibaldi may be saved, and a collision either with the royal troops or with the French garrison of Rome avoided. I believe most politicians think the ministry highly blamable for inducing the King to issue a proclamation in his own name, because this makes the affair a personal matter between Garibaldi and himself, and it could not now well be assuaged by the resignation of the cabinet. I agree in this view of the subject, and look upon it as an entirely selfish measure, adopted solely for the purpose of employing the weight of the King's authority and his personal popularity as a shield for the cabinet, which ought to have been content to bear the consequences of a course of policy, which it has itself directed without interference on the part of His Majesty.

The session of Parliament which has just closed has not been marked by important features of general legislation, but there is one of its acts which ought to be noted, both as an evidence of a deep-seated and widely diffused nationality of feeling, and for the serious consequences which may follow it.

The Government had made a partial arrangement with Rothschild & Co. and other foreign capitalists, for the construction of extensive lines of railroad in southern Italy, subject to the approval of Parliament. A company of native capitalists proposed to undertake the same works on terms very much more favourable to the Government, and Rothschild &

Co., being asked if they would vary their proposal, so as to make it equally advantageous to the Italian Government, peremptorily refused to concede any of the points of difference.

The question of accepting the proposal of the Italian bankers came before the Chambers. The proposal was resisted by the Ministry, upon the ground that the nation was already committed to Rothschild & Co., but it was at once apparent that the sense of the Chamber of Deputies was favorable to its acceptance. Upon this the Rothschilds asked for a delay of twenty—four hours to consider whether they would modify their terms. This was repressed by a vote said to be unanimous, and in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the ministry, the proposal of the Italian company was accepted with scarcely a dissenting voice.

Such a unanimity, against all the patronage of the ministry and all the moneyed influence of the first bankers of the world, could only be the fruit of a strong national feeling, and it is considered an important victory for the cause of Italian unity.

The ministry, besides other reasons, were chiefly influenced by a fear of the resentment of the Rothschilds, if they were deprived of a contract which would have yielded them a profit of many millions; and there is no doubt that a portion of the venom which their most corrupt and most dangerous power—for it is no less—has been pouring out upon the cause of the American Union, through the leading journals of England and France, will now be shed upon the Kingdom of Italy through the same impure channels.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 51*

Turin, September 1, 1862.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: The result of the Garibaldian movement will have become known to you, through the telegraph, before this dispatch can reach the seat of Government.

The prisoners, Garibaldi included, will probably be tried by court—martial, and as is supposed, condemned to death; but they will be finally disposed of in such way as the Emperor Napoleon shall prescribe, unless the present ministry is overthrown before the question is decided. The King has put himself, in this matter as well as in too many others, into the hands of Rattazzi, who is little better than an instrument of the

Emperor of the French, and will implicitly obey the instructions of that Sovereign. Strenuous efforts are making, and will be continued, by the absolutists and the Church party to procure the execution of the expected sentence, but on the other hand, the hold of Garibaldi on the affections of the liberalists throughout Europe is so strong, that both this and the French Government must be aware that it would be excessively hazardous measure to proceed to extremities against him. For any severities which may be practised towards him public opinion will justly hold, not Rattazzi only but the Emperor Napoleon, responsible, and were Garibaldi to be put to death, or even—which is but too probable—to die of his wounds, a thousand Orsinis would be ready to avenge him.

The Government offered, it is said, while Garibaldi was in Sicily, to allow him and his staff to retire to America upon a pledge not to return to Italy, without the permission of the King. This he declined, nor do I suppose he will now give any pledge whatever in relation to his future conduct. But I think it not improbable that he will be permitted to embark for the United States, and to take with him many of his officers and other followers.

Although Garibaldi is sometimes spoken of as a citizen of the United States, I believe his nationalization was never perfected, and if it had been, he is no doubt, now completely rehabilitated as an Italian subject. For this reason, as well as others—among which I may mention the extreme jealousy of the Italian Government at this moment in relation to all manifestations of sympathy with a movement whose ultimate aims it professes to believe to be the destruction of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic—I have not thought it my duty officially to interfere in his behalf. At the same time I cannot believe the Government or people of the United States would desire their representative at the Italian court to remain a passive spectator of the sacrifice of Garibaldi and his companions, and I have therefore addressed to a distinguished Italian gentleman, who is connected with the extremists of no party, but is in confidential relations with leading members of the Government, an unofficial note, of which I annex a copy marked A. I hope for a speedy answer, and this I shall immediately communicate to you.

The Ministry is just now especially jealous of American influence in Italian politics for the reason that American ships are reported to have been concerned in consigning men and munitions of war to the insurgents, and it was very positively asserted, a few days since, by official persons in Sicily, that the United States frigate *Constellation* was lending aid and countenance to them. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was, I believe,

satisfied on this latter point by assurances I gave the Secretary General of that Department, who called upon me for explanation; but another circumstance is now creating some uneasiness at Turin with respect to our possible relations to the Garibaldians. It is confidently affirmed that Mr. Usshazy, United States Consul at Ancona, is among the prisoners taken with Garibaldi, and Usshazy's relatives at Turin are disposed to believe the rumor. It seems to me, however, quite incredible that a man of his age, experience and position could have been guilty of so gross an imprudence, and I think it more probable that the person found in the ranks of the insurgents is the younger son of Usshazy's, who lately arrived from Hungary.

Until the news of Garibaldi's defeat was received the Ministry were in a state of terror amounting almost to delirium, and many acts, equally absurd and illegal have been committed by them. Among them I may mention the arrest of several members of the Chamber of Deputies in violation of their constitutional privilege, and particularly that of Mr. Francis Pulszky, who, I believe, is personally known to you. Mr. Pulszky is a correspondent of the London *Daily News* and went to Sicily with the knowledge and approbation of the Government, partly as a letter writer for that journal, and partly with the avowed object of using his influence with Garibaldi to induce him to renounce his enterprise. On his return from Catania, he was arrested at Naples, and is now confined in the Castello dell'Uovo. His arrest was excused by the Ministry on the ground that on leaving Catania he had put in his pocket a copy of Garibaldi's last proclamation, but it was at the same time expressly declared that the arrest was made by Gen. La Marmora without orders from Turin, and without any cause known to the Government, except the possession of the proclamation. I have, however, strong reason for believing that he was arrested by instructions from the Government, upon the denunciation of a personal enemy, and it is a curious circumstance that among the papers found on him at the time of his arrest, there was a note from one of the Ministry thanking him for a letter which Pulszky had written him from Catania conveying information valuable to the Government. As for the denunciation, it is believed that the Ministry attached no importance to it, and it is thought that the real cause of the arrest was the expression of the opinion, in the letter I have alluded to and elsewhere, that the present administration could not stand and ought to resign.

The Ministry is now publishing a series of notes, letters, and instructions to provincial authorities at various times during the summer, with the object of showing that the Government did all it could to arrest the

Garibaldian movement. I do not think this evidence entitled to much weight, but am disposed to believe, with some of the friends of the administration, that Rattazzi either underrated the influence of Garibaldi, or thought his purpose was to transport his followers to the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and aid in kindling a conflagration in that quarter, which might extend to central Europe, and so weaken Austria that Venice would fall an easy prey. Very many persons believe that the King was privy to Garibaldi's plans and approved them, and I have just been positively assured by a foreign gentleman long resident at Turin, and whose means of information are as good as those of any person not immediately connected with the royal household can be, that Garibaldi corresponded with His Majesty down to his entrance into Catania. That Garibaldi might have written to the King is probable enough, but that Victor Emmanuel, in the face of his own proclamation and of so many public acts of his ministers encouraged the movement after its object was distinctly known, is quite too incredible to be believed, except upon evidence which is not very likely to be produced.

At the same time, if Garibaldi's own testimony is to be admitted as sufficient proof, I have no doubt he can adduce facts which would place the King and his councillors in a position very difficult to explain upon any theory consistent with frankness and sincerity both towards the Emperor of France and Garibaldi.

Were it not for the tone of the *Discussione*, which is regarded as a semi—official organ of Rattazzi, I should not suppose the Ministry would hazard a trial, which, if conducted before a civil tribunal, can hardly fail to bring out some damaging revelations, but the present opinion at Turin is that some sort of a judicial process, most probably by a military court, will be instituted, for the double purpose of whitewashing the administration, and of putting it into the legal power of the Government to rid itself of persons whose presence in Italy disturbs the repose of the august ally of the new kingdom.

It is alleged that parliament will be immediately reassembled, but I think it more probable that so questionable a step will not be risked, that the Ministry will decide upon the disposal of the prisoners before summoning the national legislature, and then call upon Parliament to approve their decision. If their proceedings are sanctioned, the ministers may stand, if not, they may resign and appeal to the nation at the next election of deputies, which will take place in the spring.

Turin, August 31, 1862.

*Privata e confidenziale*

My dear Baron: You are aware that Garibaldi some time since entertained the idea of entering into the American military service. It has occurred to me as a possibility, that, in case of his recovery, the Italian Government might not be unwilling to send him and his companions to the United States, as a convenient method of disposing of them.

I have absolutely no authority to enter into any stipulations on the subject, and I cannot therefore make an official communication to His Majesty's Ministry in relation to it. But, though the American Government would certainly, neither directly nor indirectly, do any act which would seem to sanction or approve the illegal course which these persons have pursued, yet they would be willingly received in the United States, and I think it extremely probable that some arrangement would be made for their reception into the military service.

I make this suggestion both because I think it might possibly relieve the Government of Italy, for which my own, as well as the people of the United States, entertain the sincerest friendship and respect, from an embarrassment, and because I should hope, at the same time, that it might offer to the prisoners an opportunity of usefulness to us, without prejudice to the interests of Italy.

I should esteem it a favor if you would communicate this hint to such persons in power as you shall judge expedient, and favor me with a note in reply.

Although I make this note confidential, you are at liberty to use it, as you think proper, in any way which will not give it publicity through the press.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 52*<sup>146</sup>

Washington, September 13, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of August 26th, No. 50, has been received. The account which it gives of the political condition in Italy is full of

<sup>145</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 51 del Marsh.

<sup>146</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 51, Washington, 1 settembre 1862, il Seward informava il Marsh che era stato approntato un passaporto per Sheldon Stephens «in accordo con il vostro suggerimento», e che era stato fatto pervenire allo Stephens attraverso il console degli S.U. a Montreal.

interest and instruction. Late advices, however, which were hastened by the telegraph, inform us that General Garibaldi, the leader of the popular movement against the Government, has been wounded and captured by a French force in Calabria. It would seem that this event must have brought the armed revolution suddenly to an end, although instead of abating it may even have increased the agitation which threatens to disturb the peace of Italy and of Europe.

Military affairs here have taken an unfavorable direction during the last three weeks. The Army of the Potomac, which was in command of General McClellan, having evacuated its position on the James River, reached the Potomac near Alexandria, unpursued and in safety. The Army of Virginia, under General Pope, which was advanced to the Rappahannock, through some mistake on his part was flanked by the insurgents, in large force, and returned to Manassas. Here it became involved in a series of severe engagements in which it was not supported by the Army of the Potomac as it is supposed that it might have been. Both armies thereupon retired towards this City. An inquiry has been instituted to ascertain where the responsibility for these unnecessary reverses belongs. In the meantime, the insurgents, executing a long cherished design, advanced on the south branch of the upper Potomac, which at this season is fordable at many places, and crossed it at and above Edwards' Ferry, and occupied Frederick. While there, menacing equally Washington, Baltimore and Harrisburgh [sic] in Pennsylvania, they put forth an appeal on Wednesday last to the people of Maryland to rise and join the insurrection. Our troops having recovered from a temporary disorganization, an army was immediately organized and despatched under General McClellan to meet the insurgents at Frederick. The last information we have is that they have promptly evacuated Frederick and advanced westward to Hagerstown. This movement is supposed to indicate an abandonment of any design to strike Baltimore, or to advance on the north side of the river to the Potomac, while it still leaves them the choice of entering Pennsylvania or of recrossing into Virginia, at or above Harper's Ferry.

Acting upon the same general aggressive policy, the insurgents are advancing towards and threatening Cincinnati. These bold movements very naturally produce much excitement and considerable alarm. On the other hand, the armies of the Union are receiving immense reinforcements and our military authorities express much confidence in their ability to retrieve the losses sustained and prosecute a vigorous and decisive campaign. Although cheerfully indulging these expectations, I do not



think it profitable to dwell upon them, because measures are going on which must produce important results, and perhaps altogether change the military situation, while my speculations would be crossing the Atlantic.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 52*

Turin, October 8, 1862.

Sir: The amnesty to Garibaldi and his followers, which has been for some days expected, was published in the Official Gazette of Monday the 6th instant. It was a step which the Government could not, with safety to itself, have avoided, or even much longer delayed. It would have been wiser to promulgate it earlier, and it is little creditable to the discretion or the good taste of the Ministry that, in the amnesty itself, the King is made to stigmatize as a « rebellion » a movement at least winked at by his Government, and identical in character and aims with the campaign of 1860, which he approved, and to which he owes the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the Sardinian crown.

The correspondence between the consul of the United States at Vienna and General Garibaldi has, no doubt, been reported to you.<sup>147</sup> I do not know whether the letter of the consul had any influence with Garibaldi, but I have this morning received from him a communication, a translation of which, with a copy of my reply, is hereto annexed.

Col. Vecchi, the bearer of the letter, informs me that the General, though now out of danger, is recovering very slowly, and will not probably be able to move from Varignano in less than two months. The « friends » referred to by Garibaldi are explained by Col. Vecchi as meaning the military family and staff of the General, and perhaps other officers who have long served under him.

The Legation is continually annoyed by offers of service from military men of all grades, and it is extremely difficult to persuade them that your clear and explicit circular of August 8 in relation to emigration of laboring men and artisans was not designed as an invitation to European soldiers to offer themselves to the legations and consulates of the United States in Europe for enlistment in our own military service.

<sup>147</sup> Su Theodore Canisius, console americano a Vienna, e sul suo ruolo in questi negoziati, cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *Lincoln's offer of a command*, in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, a. XXXVI (1943), p. 253 sgg.

I have made it a uniform rule to inform these persons that I could afford them neither aid nor encouragement for any such purpose, and that a former circular from the State Department authorizes me to say that tenders of service from foreign officers were no longer desired by the American Government.

The recent proclamation of the President,<sup>148</sup> the text of which I have not yet seen, will I hope, have a favorable effect on the public opinion of Europe in relation to the character and probable results of the present struggle between the Union and the rebellion. There has been a good deal of effort, even in Italy, to produce the impression that the President was not personally or politically hostile to the existence of slavery, and his recent letter to Horace Greeley was made the basis of a series of articles in the *Discussione* of Turin,<sup>149</sup> favoring the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, on the ground that the slavery question was in no sense a direct or contingent element in the controversy. The proclamation will I doubt not, do much to correct any erroneous conclusions which may have been aimed at on this subject.

**Giuseppe Garibaldi a George P. Marsh**<sup>150</sup>

Varignano, 5 ottobre 1862.

Mio caro signore, Sono malato e lo sarò per qualche mese. Ma io penso continuo alla disastrosa guerra di America — mia seconda patria — cui vorrei — allorché sano — esserle di qualche utilità. Vi andrei coi miei amici. E faremmo un appello a tutti i democratici di Europa perché accorressero a combattere con voi le sante battaglie.

Bisognerebbe però in cotesto appello rivelar loro il principio che ci muove — lo affrancamento degli schiavi, il trionfo della ragione universale.

<sup>148</sup> Lincoln proclamò l'emancipazione il 27 settembre 1862, dopo la ritirata dell'esercito del generale Lee. Per tutto il nord si era diffusa l'opinione che la guerra per l'Unione dovesse essere anche una guerra contro la schiavitù. Lincoln aveva preparato il proclama durante l'estate, ma preferì attendere una vittoria unionista per pronunziarlo.

<sup>149</sup> *La Discussione*, quotidiano che si pubblicò a Torino a partire dall'inizio dell'agosto del 1862. Suo direttore era P. C. Boggio.

<sup>150</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 52 del Marsh. Invece di dare la traduzione inglese, diamo la minuta originale di mano del Vecchj, conservata nel Museo Centrale del Risorgimento di Roma, Busta 547, n. 92(6), Carte H. Nelson Gay. La data della minuta è 5 ottobre, quella della traduzione 7 ottobre.

Vi piaccia d'interrogare su tale proposito il vostro governo e di rispondermi per mezzo del mio amico Vecchj le vostre idee sopra ciò.

Credetemi intanto con affetto V.ro

***George P. Marsh a Giuseppe Garibaldi*** <sup>151</sup>

*Privata*

Turin, October 8, 1862.

Mio caro Generale.

I have just received your letter of October 7, 1862 and will lose no time in forwarding a copy of it to my Government. If the dispatch reaches Liverpool in time for the steamer of Saturday next, it will arrive at Washington about the 25 of the month; if too late for that mail, not before the 1 of November.

I have no doubt that the Government will reply without unnecessary delay, but I cannot venture to anticipate the character of its answer further than to say that I am sure it will be conceived in a spirit of the highest respect and the greatest kindness towards yourself and your brave companions.

You and they will, in any event, be warmly welcomed by the American Government and people, and I fervently hope that means may be found to give you all an opportunity of rendering new services and winning new laurels in the cause of liberty and of progress, to which the best years of your life have been so nobly devoted.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 54*

Washington, October 8, 1862.

Sir: Your confidential despatch of September 1st, No. 51, relating to the capture, imprisonment, probable trial and ultimate fortunes of General Garibaldi, has been received. The proceeding you adopted in writing unofficially a note to a distinguished Italian statesman upon the subject, as well as the note itself, seem to have been equally inoffensive and judicious, and they are approved by the President.

As you are well aware, the policy of this Government is entire abstinence from all participation in controversies between foreign states,

<sup>151</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 52 del Marsh.

and even more complete abstinence, if that were possible, from connexion [sic] with domestic agitation in any foreign state.

Under these circumstances, the information that jealousies of the United States have arisen in Italy is received with much surprise. The President has not recognized at all the insurrectionary movements which have recently occurred in Italy, and has proclaimed no neutrality between the state and the insurgents. We know there only the Government, the authorities and the flag of the Kingdom of Italy. If American vessels have carried supplies to the insurgents, the fact is unknown to this Government, nor has any intimation of such a proceeding or such a purpose ever been received by the Government or any of its responsible authorities.

If any Consul of ours has taken a part in these proceedings, he will be brought under the censure of the Government, and will not be allowed to retain consular functions. If any naval officer in our service has lent aid to the insurrection, he will be deprived of his command. Intent upon the public defence in the domestic struggle in which we are engaged—seldom free from apprehensions of foreign interference in that struggle in favor of the insurgents—the Government intends that if it shall ever come from any quarter, it shall come not only without right, but without even provocation or other excuse. You will judge whether it is important to communicate any and what part of this instruction to the Government of His Majesty. In any case, you will inform him that no foreign desire is more sincerely cherished by the United States than that for the stability, peace, prosperity and welfare of the Kingdom of Italy.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 53*<sup>152</sup>

Turin, October 20, 1862.

Sir: The retirement of Mr. Thouvenel from the Ministry, though generally regarded as very strong evidence of the settled hostility of the Emperor to the unity of Italy, has not produced so great a sense of disappointment in the Italian people as might have been expected from

<sup>152</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 58, Washington, 10 novembre 1862, il Seward, mentre accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio, informava il Marsh che il Presidente lo ringraziava per il chiaro resoconto che egli dava della politica italiana « nell'attuale interessante crisi », ed aggiungeva: « È facile notare che le passioni e gli interessi dell'Europa cominciano ad attirare una parte di quell'attenzione che durante l'anno trascorso gli uomini politici europei avevano, tanto inutilmente per ambo i continenti, conferito agli sfortunati affari del popolo americano ».

the sanguine character of their previous hopes of a speedy and satisfactory solution of the Roman question. The tone of *La France*, which, in spite of all disclaimers, is here believed to derive its information from the Tuileries, had prepared the Italian public for the fall of Thouvenel, and few now doubt that the dynastic ambition of the Emperor, the superstitions of the Empress, and, as many suppose, the resentment of the Rothschilds, have concurred in dictating the return of France to the policy of Villafranca, which, it must now be supposed, it is the fixed determination of the Emperor to carry out.

It is however too late to obtain the assent of the people of Italy to any proposals of partition or confederation. The sense of nationality is as thoroughly developed, and as consciously felt, as in any European race, and though Naples and Sicily may possibly, for a time, be lost to the House of Savoy, I think no man who knows the Italian people can question their resolution, or their ultimate ability, to accomplish at last that unity, which, as a counterpoise to the too great weight of the French and Germanic elements in Europe, will be as great a blessing to the general interests of the continent as to themselves.

The overthrow of Garibaldi is a great temporary check to the spirit of progress, for it leaves the liberalists without a leader around whom to rally. The probability, I fear, is against his recovering from the wound in the foot, but even in case of his restoration, the failure of his late expedition will have greatly lessened the prestige of his name, and the scandalous misrepresentations of the ministerial press concerning his action in that unfortunate scheme have produced an impression, which the triumphant refutation of these base libels will not wholly remove.

Thus far, there is little depreciation in the market value of public securities, nor do I discover much other evidence of general depression. Much will depend on the action of Parliament, which is soon to assemble, and of the Crown in case the Ministry is not sustained by the national legislature. If the King retains Rattazzi in spite of parliamentary condemnation, and dissolves the Chambers, I think serious consequences may result, but I can hardly suppose that Rattazzi will ask, or the King venture to take, so hazardous a step. There is, apparently, more danger that the formation of a new ministry may be confided to La Marmora, a man certainly able as a general, but retrograde in his political sympathies and opinions, and without either the moral or the intellectual qualities which the present condition of Italy so imperiously demands in the head of the administration.

In the meantime, if the Roman question, politically considered, is

not advancing to a solution, the moral emancipation of the people from the influence of the Romish Church is rapidly progressing. The lower clergy, to a very great extent, are gradually throwing off the yoke of the papacy, and a very large number of priests in southern Italy are now openly advocating the formation of a national church, which though certainly not Protestant in a theological sense, would be virtually independent of the Romish See, and politically hostile to its claims to civil or ecclesiastical supremacy.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 54*

Turin, October 21, 1862.

Sir: Since the publication of the notice from the State Department, announcing that the Government of the United States no longer required the services of foreign officers, I have not thought it worth while to communicate to you specifically any of the very numerous offers I have received from military men, except that of Garibaldi. A proposal, however, has just been made to me at the suggestion of Garibaldi, of which I ought perhaps to take a more formal notice. Col. Cattabeni, who has been distinguished in all the European campaigns of that general, and who, I understand, is well acquainted with the English language, offers to raise and organize immediately a corps of four battalions of five hundred men each, to be composed of soldiers who have seen service, and who are now free from military obligation to the Italian Government, and to embark them for the United States as soon as the means of transportation are provided, for service in the army of the Union.

The intention of Col. Cattabeni to make this proposal was communicated to Mr. Rattazzi through an eminent lawyer of Genoa, who came to Turin for that purpose, and who, as I am informed by Col. Cattabeni's agent, received from the Minister assurances that the enrolment [sic], organization and embarkation of the corps would be permitted by the Italian Government.

I desired the agent who came to me from Col. Cattabeni to visit me at Turin, make his proposal in a definite form, and give me such further details as the Government would require to enable it to act understandingly on the subject, but there has been as yet hardly sufficient time for his arrival and if I wait for an interview with him I may be too late to write in time for the steamer of Saturday. I do not think myself at liberty to

communicate with the Ministry on the subject, but I have no doubt that Mr. Rattazzi gave the assurances which have been already stated.

Almost any number of volunteers could be secured in Italy, and elsewhere in Europe, for service in the army of the Union, and I think few European governments would oppose any very serious obstacles in the way of this emigration for that purpose.

In case the proposals of Col. Cattabeni or of other military men should be deemed worthy of being entertained, I beg leave to suggest that the negotiations respecting terms, selection and organization of recruits and other preliminary details be committed to some American officer acquainted with French, if not Italian and German, as none but a professional man can safely undertake the conduct of an affair so alien from the ordinary pursuits of civil life as this.

\* *George P. Marsh a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 55*

Turin, October 25, 1862.

Sir: Col. Cattabeni, whom I mentioned in a late dispatch, has submitted to me a written proposal for the enrolment [sic] and organization of a volunteer corps for service in the American army, a translation of which I enclose herewith.

Col. Cattabeni is an officer of experience and tried bravery, and I have no doubt the corps he proposes to raise would prove very efficient soldiery. I suppose the men would not expect a bounty enlistment, and as they propose to furnish their own equipments, they could be brought into the field, ready for active service, at a less cost than soldiers raised in the Northern States of the Union. I think it not improbable that the Government of Italy would, in some way, aid in their transportation to America, but that, of course, I cannot ask.

*Giovanni Battista Cattabeni a George P. Marsh* <sup>153</sup>

Genoa, October 23, 1862.

To H. E. the Minister of the United States: The legion shall be composed of four battalions, each five hundred men strong; in all two thousand men.

<sup>153</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 55 del Marsh.

The list of officers and sub. officers shall be submitted to the examination of a board of five officers nominated by General Garibaldi, and the action of the board shall be subject to his approval.

The undersigned pledges himself that at the time of embarkation the legion shall be instructed and organized on military principles, and clothed and equipped in every respect.

The undersigned pledges himself that the legion, on its arrival in America, shall be ready to proceed to the scene of action, and take its position in the field.

The *personnel* of the legion shall consist of soldiers already tried in battle, and sufficiently strong and robust to bear the hardships and fatigues of war.

It shall always observe the rules of the strictest discipline.

The legion shall bind itself by oath to serve till the end of the war.

It asks no (special) recompense for the services it may render the Republic, and the only conditions proposed are:

1. Pay equal to that of the other troops of the Federal army.
2. The embarkation of the legion by means of transport adequate to the conveyance of the entire *personnel* at a single voyage.
3. As soon as General Garibaldi shall reach the American soil, the legion shall pass immediately under his command, by the name of the First Regiment and shall constitute his advanced guard.

### **George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 56 <sup>154</sup>

Turin, November 3, 1862.

Sir: Your dispatches No. 49 (circular) relating to foreign intervention in American affairs, <sup>155</sup> 50 dated Aug 25 1862, 51 dated September 1, 1862, a circular without number, dated September 5 1862, relative to proposed improvements in international postal arrangements, 52 dated Sept. 23 1862, 53 dated Sept. 15 1862, <sup>156</sup> directing me to ask for tracings

<sup>154</sup> L'Istruzione n. 61, Washington, 1 dicembre 1862, accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e « approvava » il suo contenuto.

<sup>155</sup> L'Istruzione n. 49, Washington, 18 agosto 1862, era identica *mutatis mutandis* alla n. 44 che, con la stessa data, era stata spedita ad Horatio J. Perry, Esq., Madrid.

<sup>156</sup> L'Istruzione n. 53, Washington, 15 settembre 1862, faceva richiesta al Marsh di procurarsi presso il Governo italiano « copia degli ordinamenti vigenti in Italia per l'alloggio di ufficiali ed equipaggi dei differenti tipi di navi da guerra », per conoscenza del Dipartimento della Marina.



of certain internal arrangements in Italian ships of war, 54 dated October 8 1862 relating to the possible interference of American consuls in Italian domestic affairs, and 55 dated October 9 1862 enclosing a copy of a letter of recall to Mr. Canisius, U. S. Consul at Vienna, were all received in due course of mail.

The several printed circulars which accompanied some of these dispatches designed to be communicated to the Italian Government have been given to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; the tracings requested in No. 53 were immediately applied for, but no reply to the application has been yet received; and I have the honor to enclose herewith the reply of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to my note communicating the circular of Sept. 5, 1862 relating to improvements in international postal arrangements.

I shall make Nos 54 and 55 the subject of another dispatch.

*Luigi Amedeo Melegari a George P. Marsh* <sup>157</sup>

Turin, le 27 octobre 1862.

Monsieur le Ministre, J'ai reçu avec ses annexes la note que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du dix courant et je me suis empressé d'appeler sur cette importante communication l'attention du Département des Travaux Publics qui a dans ses attributions les Postes nationales.

Nous sommes parfaitement convaincus de l'opportunité d'une entente entre les diverses administrations postales et des avantages immenses qui en pourraient résulter pour la facilité et le bas prix des correspondances. C'est là un objet bien digne de la sollicitude du gouvernement éclairé qui a bien voulu en prendre l'initiative, et si, comme nous osons l'espérer, l'idée d'une conférence internationale se traduit en pratique, notre administration sera heureuse de concourir à ses travaux en y apportant les principes largement libéraux que le gouvernement du Roi a introduits dans les règlements intérieurs et tâché de faire prévaloir dans ses conventions avec les autres puissances.

Le gouvernement des Etats Unis n'ignore certainement pas que l'obstacle le plus sérieux à une réduction générale des taxes et à un traitement uniforme consiste dans les droits élevés de transit qu'exigent quelques

<sup>157</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 56 del Marsh. Il Melegari era segretario generale al Ministero degli Esteri.

pays et notamment la France dont les correspondances doivent nécessairement emprunter le territoire. Mais en faisant la proposition d'une conférence le Gouvernement des Etats Unis aura sans doute prévu la difficulté de déterminer ces pays à renoncer au bénéfice que leur procure leur position géographique, et aura peut-être acquis la persuasion qu'une discussion loyale et complète entre les délégués des diverses administrations puisse aider à la solution satisfaisante de ce point.

En tout cas dès que la conférence sera fixée la Direction Générale des Postes Italiennes est disposée à nommer son Délégué.

Veuillez, Monsieur le Ministre, m'informer, le cas échéant, du résultat des démarches de votre Gouvernement, et agréez, je vous en prie, les assurances de ma haute considération.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 57*

Turin, November 4, 1862.

Sir: Not having been able to see Mr. Rattazzi, I have sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the substance of your dispatch No. 54, and of the letter of recall to Mr. Canisius, U. S. Consul at Vienna, enclosed in dispatch No. 55.<sup>158</sup> In making a verbal translation of this letter, and in preparing a copy of it to be given to the Minister, I ventured to omit the paragraph which points out a distinction between the present case and the former negotiation between Mr. Sanford and General Garibaldi, because the statement therein made would be liable to be remarked upon by this Government as not strictly exact in point of historical fact.

I believe Mr. Sanford was directed to confer with me on the subject of his mission, and, if I am not mistaken, your dispatch to him referred to instructions which had been, or would be, sent to me on the subject. But no such instructions were received by me, and the application to the Italian Government was made by General Garibaldi himself, by letter addressed directly to the King, and answered by His Majesty in, I think, an autograph communication. Mr. Sanford and I were both of opinion that the facts of the case ought to be made known to Baron Ricasoli, and accordingly, *after* Mr. Sanford's return from Caprera, I detailed to that Minister, verbally, the history of the transaction throughout, except that

<sup>158</sup> L'Istruzione n. 55, Washington, 9 ottobre 1862, trasmetteva copia di un dispaccio al Canisius, console americano a Vienna, e autorizzava il Marsh a leggerlo al Rattazzi e a fornirgliene una copia in caso di sua richiesta.

I did not state precisely what conditions General Garibaldi exacted, but only said in general terms that he insisted on stipulations, at the outset, which could not be acceded to, and that consequently the negotiation fell to the ground, without any distinct proposal ever having been made by Mr. Sanford in behalf of his Government.

These I believe to be the precise facts of the case, and though I do not suppose it very material whether the King's consent was granted upon our application, or upon that of General Garibaldi, I thought it better to omit an unimportant paragraph of your letter than to alter its tenor, or to employ a statement which would be thought inaccurate.

General Durando thanked me for communicating the letter of recall and said he had never supposed, for a moment, that the federal government was in any way privy to the act of the consul, or justly responsible for it, though he added, that had the letter proceeded from the American Legation or a consulate *in Italy*, while Garibaldi was still a prisoner charged with a grave offence against the Government, the Ministry would have thought itself authorized to demand an explanation.

The rumor of Mr. Usshazy's participation in the Garibaldian movement, though for a time believed even by his most intimate friends, turns out to have been erroneous. It was not unnatural that this report, together with those of American sympathies with the insurgents in Sicily, should have excited a momentary jealousy at Turin, at a period of extreme alarm—almost panic, indeed, in official circles—but General Durando assures me that the Government of Italy entertains the most undoubting confidence in the impartial good faith of the United States and the sincerest desire to cultivate friendly relations with us.

General Durando, who is a soldier of experience, tells me that he has read with much interest the recent article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* on the American war, which is ascribed to the *Prince de Joinville*, and that it had served to explain, in a way creditable to the American Government, what had been before incomprehensible to European military men, the reasons why the North, with its vast superiority in men and material, had not made greater progress in the suppression of the rebellion.

The newspaper accounts of the state of Garibaldi's health are not at all to be relied upon, and I have reason to believe that the improvement in his condition is not so decided as is now represented. The latest detailed information I have is contained in a private letter from Garibaldi's intimate friend Col. Vecchi, who writes, under date of October 29, that the General was able to move the ankle joint of the wounded foot, and that without much pain. This conspires with other indications to prove

that the ball is not lodged, as some have supposed, in the malleolus and it now seems probable that Garibaldi's own opinion of the cause and lodgment of the projectile was accurate. I learn from a gentleman who was present when the wound was received, and who himself drew off the boot from the leg, that the General said the ball struck the joint, passed around under the integuments to the forward part of the ankle and there remained. He wished to have it extracted on the spot, but the young surgeon in attendance did not dare to take the responsibility of so doubtful and so critical an operation, though he made a slight incision at the joint where Garibaldi declared the ball might be found.

The death of Garibaldi would be a severe, perhaps even a personally dangerous blow to the present Ministry, and in any event both contemporaneous and future Europe will condemn it for having wantonly sacrificed an element of national strength which it might have preserved and which Italy can ill afford to spare.

I think it rather probable that the Ministry will be sustained at the approaching session of Parliament, but if so, the support of the majority will be due to the fear of a reactionary administration under La Marmora or some other known enemy of liberty and progress, rather than as approbation of the measures of the present Ministry or as confidence in the wisdom and integrity of Rattazzi. The violation of the constitutional privileges of ten deputies & the arrest of some of them at Naples was probably the unauthorized act of La Marmora, but it is a proof of great weakness on the part of the ministry that it had not the courage or the wisdom to disavow and condemn it. This is, apparently, the most difficult point the Cabinet has to deal with, and thus far, its opponents seem disposed, on this question, to give it no quarter.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 57*

Washington, November 5, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of October 8th, No. 52, was received only yesterday, and it has been without delay submitted to the President. He is touched by the respect and good will towards our country which is manifested by the illustrious General Garibaldi in his proposition not only to retire to it as an asylum, but even to engage in its military service to suppress the insurrection which at this moment is threatening its precious liberties and even its very existence. To add to the embarrassments of

the Government, it is kept constantly aware that schemes and combinations are continually set on foot in Europe by our own disloyal citizens to induce foreign states to intervene in the struggle upon the slightest pretext. Under these circumstances, it is our obvious interest, as it is a paramount duty to respect the authority of all foreign states on every international question which involves communication with any of their subjects or citizens.

General Garibaldi is a subject of His Majesty the King of Italy and is understood by the President to be yet remaining in the military service of that Sovereign.

You will therefore in such manner as shall seem to you most discreet, either formally or informally make known to His Majesty's Government the proposition which General Garibaldi has communicated to you and ascertain whether that Government will consent to the transfer of General Garibaldi's military services to the United States. All difficulties on that point being removed, you will inform the General that he and his friends will be welcomed with enthusiasm by the Government and people of the United States, as brave and heroic soldiers in the cause of freedom and humanity, and that a proper command will be assigned him in the armies of the Union. The principles which the Government maintains in the contest, and the policy which it pursues have been made known by the laws of Congress and the orders and proclamations of the President, with so much distinctness that it cannot be necessary to define them in this correspondence.

Should the execution of these instructions have the result of warranting us to expect General Garibaldi's return to the United States, you will please ascertain from him when he will be able to depart from Italy, that measures may be taken to render him proper attentions and any needful assistance on that occasion.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 58*

Turin, November 16, 1862.

Sir: I enclose herewith tracings of certain arrangements of ships of war in the Italian navy requested by your dispatch No. 53.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Le copie non fanno parte di questa filza, dato che probabilmente furono girate al Dipartimento della Marina.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 59*

Turin, November 17, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a note from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in relation to the removal of Mr. Canisius, late U. S. Consul at Vienna, and a copy of my reply thereto.

***Luigi Amedeo Melegari a George P. Marsh*** <sup>160</sup>

Turin, le 15 novembre 1862.

Monsieur, J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de la note par laquelle vous avez bien voulu me communiquer un extrait de la lettre de rappel du Consul américain à Vienne, dont vous aviez eu l'obligeance de me donner lecture.

Le Gouvernement du Roi apprécie hautement l'entière spontanéité de la mesure que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis a jugé nécessaire de prendre à l'égard de ce fonctionnaire, et les sentiments qui l'ont dictée. Mais nous sommes persuadés que Monsieur le Consul des Etats Unis à Vienne, en adressant au général Garibaldi la lettre qui a motivé sa destitution, n'a agi que sous l'emprise d'un premier mouvement sans se rendre compte de l'irrégularité et de l'inconvenance de sa démarche. Aussi avons-nous crû devoir nous abstenir d'en faire l'objet de réclamations formelles. Nous verrions donc avec plaisir que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis voulût bien oublier la faute de cet agent et le réintégrer dans son poste.

Vous m'obligerez, Monsieur le Ministre, en ayant la complaisance de faire parvenir ces vœux à la connaissance de votre Cabinet, tout en le remerciant des égards qu'il nous a témoignés.

Veuillez agréer, je vous prie, les nouvelles assurances de ma haute considération.

<sup>160</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 59 del Marsh. Anche qui Melegari firma per il Ministro degli Esteri.

**George P. Marsh a Giacomo Durando** <sup>161</sup>

*Copia*

Turin, November 17, 1862.

Your Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note from His Majesty's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in relation to the removal of Mr. Canisius, late Consul of the United States at Vienna, and will lose no time in communicating it to my Government.

Without presuming to say what action the President will take with regard to Mr. Canisius, I can safely assure Your Excellency that the generous manner in which the subject has been treated by the Italian Cabinet will be highly appreciated by my Government and regarded as a new proof of the liberal and magnanimous sentiments which have always actuated His Majesty's Government in its relations with the United States.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 59* <sup>162</sup>

Washington, November 18, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of the 21th ultimo, No. 54, was duly received, and the proposal of Colonel Cattabeni to organize four battalions of experienced soldiers and to embark them for the United States for service in the army of the Union, has been submitted for consideration to the Secretary of War, from whose Department a letter declining the offer has just been received. In communicating to Colonel Cattabeni the decision contained in this letter, of which I annex a copy, you will at the same time assure him that his generous proposal is properly appreciated and will always be gratefully remembered by those who are battling in the sacred cause of Liberty and Union.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 60*

Turin, November 28, 1862.

Sir: Your dispatch No. 56, enclosing the commission of Mr. Holley as consul at Naples, was received some days since, and his exequatur was

<sup>161</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 59 del Marsh. Giacomo Durando era interpellato in qualità di Ministro degli Esteri.

<sup>162</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 60, Washington, 18 novembre 1862, il Seward informava il Marsh che avrebbe presentato la nuova proposta del colonnello Cattabeni al Segretario della Difesa.

sent me yesterday from the Foreign Office.<sup>163</sup> Your dispatch No. 58, dated Nov. 10 acknowledging the receipt of mine of Oct. 20, No. 53, came to hand this morning, but No. 57 has not been received.

I believe my dispatch No. 54 of Oct. 21, in reference to an offer of Col. Cattabeni to raise and equip a corps of soldiers for the service of the United States was enclosed in the same envelope as No. 53. It must therefore have been received by the Department, and as No. 58 does not refer to that proposal, or to my despatch of October 8, 1862, conveying an offer of service from General Garibaldi, I infer that both dispatches were acknowledged and replied to in No. 57, which, though out of time, I hope has not altogether miscarried.

The ball, as you will have heard, was successfully extracted from Garibaldi's foot on Sunday last. He was said to be doing well two days afterwards, but I have no later intelligence concerning him.

The present Ministry has gained no strength by the debate now in progress, and though, but for the circular of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys it might have stood, it now seems certain that it will fall, or, at best be supported by too small a majority to be counted on as effective. It is understood to be the present determination of the Ministry to dissolve the Chamber in either event. But the next election will, it is thought, show much greater radical strength than the last, and if the King persists in retaining the Cabinet, there is danger of very serious political disturbance.

The French Emperor, who now seems to aspire to universal empire, controls the Government, and I should not be surprised if Rattazzi, in spite of his democracy, should advise a coup d'état of a very retrograde character.

A private letter, which I received a day or two ago from the distinguished French nobleman I have mentioned in former communications expresses the decided conviction that the Mexican expedition, which is receiving re-inforcements and supplies more rapidly than the public press is permitted to announce, is destined for « the coast of Louisiana or Chesapeake Bay, » and the writer describes the present temper of the Emperor, in part, to irritation at the treatment received in America by the Orleans princes, and especially at the credit which they gained in our service and the political prominence they are deriving from these circumstances.

<sup>163</sup> L'Istruzione n. 56, Washington, 23 ottobre 1862, trasmetteva la nomina di George W. Holley, di New York, a console degli S.U. a Napoli.



***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 62*

Washington, December 2, 1862.

Sir: Your despatch of November 4th, No. 56, has been received.

Your modification of a statement contained in my instruction No. 55, when communicating it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under the circumstances was judicious and proper. It would be well, however, on some proper occasion, to explain the matter to him and give him your reason for the modification.

The President is gratified with the reassurances of the good feeling of Italy towards the United States which General Durando has given you.

The President regrets to learn that General Garibaldi's case is deemed a critical one. Italy probably feels what all the world sees, — that his fault was not failure in devotion to her but that of loving her too well. Enthusiasm is essential to the character of a hero, and posterity always reverses the judgments of prudence which consider enthusiasm as a fault.

The reply of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to our proposition for a convention designed to reform internal postal arrangements has been referred to the Postmaster General. I am authorized, however, to say that it is eminently satisfactory.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 63*

Washington, December 8, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatch of November 17th, No. 59, together with a copy of the note which was addressed to you by Mr. Melegari on the 15th instant in relation to the revocation of the Commission of Mr. Theodore Canisius, Consul of the United States at Vienna. The President acknowledges with pleasure the magnanimity which the Government of His Majesty has exhibited in this matter and has acceded to its request by restoring Mr. Canisius to his Consulate.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 61*

Turin, December 16, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions Nos. 59 and 60 relating to the proposal of Col. Cattabeni. No. 57 has not come to hand.

I received yesterday a private note from Col. Cattabeni the substance of which is contained in the following paragraph:

« I am impatiently expecting a reply, in order to put into execution what thus far has been but a project. As for me, all is ready ».

I have avoided making any inquiry into the extent of Cattabeni's preparations, or his ability to redeem his pledges, because I do not desire, on the one hand, to do anything which might seem to commit the Government to an acceptance of his offer, in case the result should be satisfactory, or, on the other, to excite in him and his friends hopes which may be disappointed.

A private letter from General Garibaldi received this morning informs me that he is now « a great deal better, and hopes to be quite well before long ».

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 62*

Turin, December 19, 1862.

Sir: There are in Sicily, and elsewhere in Italy, many former subjects of the different Italian governments, who have at various periods, migrated to the United States, or at least visited the territory of the Union and remained long enough to obtain certificates of naturalization, and who have since returned to Italy, and now claim to be recognized as citizens of the United States, and to enjoy all the privileges and immunities secured by treaty, and by international law, to native-born Americans residing in this Kingdom.

In most cases, these persons have no business connection with the United States, have removed their property as well as their persons from the jurisdiction of the American authorities, pay no taxes in any state of the Union, have no domicile or local residence except in the country of their birth, and offer no evidence, but their own declarations, that they help the United States, *cum animo revertendi*.

I am not informed what rule the Government of the Union had adopted in such cases, but I recollect that in one case—that of Ascanyan,

a Turkish subject, who became naturalized in America, married there, and then returned to Turkey and engaged in local business, without keeping up any commercial connection with the United States, as having any fixed domicile there. Mr. Miadistu decided that all rights acquired by naturalization were extinguished and that the party was rehabilitated in his native allegiance.

The views of the Italian Government, as, I suppose those of most other European states, agree in this view of the subject, and Gen. Durando, in a general conversation on the question of naturalization, not, however, with reference to any particular case, told me that his Government considered that the return of an Italian subject naturalized abroad, and his reestablishment in business, was at least *prima facie* evidence of an intention of waiving foreign citizenship, and that, except under peculiar circumstances, he would not be recognized or entitled to the rights of a citizen of the country to which he had emigrated.

I beg leave to ask such general instructions as can be given in regard to the treatment of Italians naturalized in America, and now resident in this Kingdom, and especially to draw the attention of the Department to the case of Joseph P. Agresta who, I am informed, has written to you on the subject.

Mr. Agresta has addressed to me no communication in writing but he requested me verbally to instruct the Consul at Messina to recognize and protect him as an American citizen, which I declined to do, being clearly of opinion that he had waived any rights to be regarded as such by the circumstances of his return and his conduct since.

He states that he went to the United States, without his family, being then a married man with children, in 1844. That one of his children joined him in the United States, but his wife never went to America. That he became naturalized, and remained in the United States until 1856, when he rejoined his family at Messina, of which city he is a native. That he engaged in the business of ship—chandlery at Messina, which he had carried on before he went to the United States, in company with his father, and had ever since continued it. That he had no domicile in the United States, that his name was not upon any municipal list of citizens, to his knowledge, and that he paid no poll or other tax in America. He further stated that he accepted a commission and served in the Garibaldian corps of volunteers in 1860, and that since the annexation of Sicily to the Kingdom of Italy, he had interested himself in national and local politics of Italy, and had published some partisan appeals on those subjects.

During the recent disturbances in Sicily, Agresta was arrested, under martial law, probably as a man of known turbulent and dangerous character, though no specific offense, I believe, was charged against him, sent to Genoa for confinement, and, finally, after the promulgation of the amnesty, released, with an intimation that he would not be permitted to return to Sicily to reside.

By a private letter from Mr. Behn, who I presume has reported the case to you, I am informed that Agresta absconded from Sicily in 1844, to avoid a prosecution for murder, and that he is a vicious, violent and dangerous person. I do not learn from Mr. Behn, or from Agresta himself, that there is any reason to believe that he ever contemplated a return to the United States, though he will now, no doubt, pretend, and perhaps prove, by the testimony of men like himself, that he always designed to do so.

I ought to have said above, that in a political hand—bill, published and signed by Agresta, upon alleged abuses of power by the government, he calls himself « one of the people », and addressing the « Governor », he says: « I, as an honest *citizen*, beg you to investigate the price of goods of all kinds, and if you find them extravagant, to reduce them, and put an end to the monopoly of the dealers &c. »

In short, it is evident that Agresta had identified himself with the common interests of the Sicilian people, and had no further connection with anything American.

The Italian Government, under these circumstances, would, I think, look with dissatisfaction on any attempt on our part to interfere between its police and this unworthy person, and while we should injure our own position, we could render him no service by interceding in his behalf.

Permit me to add, Sir, that I hope the information received from Mr. Behn will be treated as confidential, because its disclosure might expose him to the resentment of an unscrupulous enemy.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 63*

Turin, December 31, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions 61, 62, and 63, as well as of circular No. 28 relating to the tax on the salaries of government officers.

I have communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the substance

of your letter announcing the restoration of Mr. Canisius to the Consulate of Vienna.

The new ministry <sup>164</sup> has thus far lost none of the public confidence with which its entry into office was received, but it is yet too soon to judge how far its policy will be sustained by the nation and the Parliament. The Cabinet is composed of able men, and it is generally true of this ministry, as of the members of the previous administrations I have known in Italy, and I may add, of both houses of Parliament, that they are in general persons of more liberal culture, and more theoretical acquaintance with principles—or at least opinions—in matters of public economy and government, than the corresponding classes in any country where I have had opportunities of observation. Parliamentary and administrative experience they, of course, have not yet had time to acquire, and on the other hand, they have not had time to fall into many of the abuses and indecorums which are so apt to creep into the legislative and deliberative proceedings of governments.

The King acted most wisely in refusing to dissolve the Chambers at the insistence of Rattazzi, who has entirely lost the small remnant of public confidence he yet retained, and I think no one regrets his fall, though it involves the loss of the services of some very able and useful men.

The qualified recognition of the Kingdom of Italy by Russia and Prussia was a misfortune, and the acceptance of it by the Rattazzi Government was, in my opinion, one of the gravest errors of that administration. <sup>165</sup> It was a tacit admission that the grounds taken by those governments, in the communications which accompanied the recognition was right in principle, and it gives Russia and Prussia an excuse for keeping at Turin legations filled with persons known to be hostile to the interests of Italy, and for interfering in the politics of the Kingdom to a dangerous extent.

The Prussian government has recalled Count Brassier de S. Simon, <sup>166</sup> who had been accredited to the court of Sardinia before 1854, and is a

<sup>164</sup> Il Governo Farini, in carica dall'8 dicembre 1862 al 24 marzo 1863, era composto dai seguenti ministri: Peruzzi agli Interni; Pasolini agli Esteri; Minghetti alle Finanze; Menabrea ai Lavori Pubblici; Pisanelli al Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia; Amari alla Pubblica Istruzione; Della Rovere alla Guerra; G. Ricci e poi Di Negro alla Marina; Manna all'Agricoltura.

<sup>165</sup> Russia e Prussia riconobbero ufficialmente il Regno d'Italia nel luglio del 1862. Prima però avevano preteso dal Governo italiano l'assicurazione che i territori pontifici e quelli austriaci non sarebbero stati attaccati.

<sup>166</sup> Il conte Maria Giuseppe Antonio Brassier de Saint Simon Vallade, inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario del re di Prussia a Torino, fu sostituito nel 1863 dal conte Carlo Giorgio Luigi Guido d'Usedorm.

warm friend of the Italian cause, and it is supposed that Gen. Willisen, who was a general in the Austrian army at the battle of Novara, will succeed him. This is felt, and is no doubt intended, as little less than an insult.

It is also believed that another minister will soon replace Count Stackelberg,<sup>167</sup> the Russian envoy, who, from former acquaintance with Italy, became what no honest man who knows this country can fail to be—well affected to the success of liberal principles in it.

In my interview with the ministers, I have found them less inclined than most of their predecessors to express a decided interest in the success of the cause of the American Union, but I have certainly no reason to doubt that they are well disposed to that cause.

The King, whom I saw this morning, made several inquiries with respect to the prospect of a termination of the war, and evidently understands the difficulties which render a recognition of the independence of the Southern States, or a compromise upon terms which they would, or which we could, accept impossible. I have no doubt that the King desires the triumph of the national arms, as a result important both to the cause of civilized order and to the interests of liberty and progress in both countries.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 64*

Washington, December 26, 1862.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: Your despatch of November 28th, No. 60, has been received. The Secretary of War has, I think, adopted a policy which does not contemplate the acceptance of bodies of troops organized in foreign countries, even with the consent of their sovereigns. I have repeatedly received this exposition of his views, have received it from him even in connection with the offer of Colonel Cattabeni so distinctly, that I feel authorized to give it to you now, as I think I have heretofore done, as the answer of the Government to that proposition.

The Secretary of War still retains under consideration the offer of General Garibaldi. It involves some considerations upon which the con-

<sup>167</sup> Il Conte Ernesto di Stackelberg fu mandato a Torino come ministro plenipotenziario e inviato straordinario nel 1856, allorquando furono ristabilite le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Russia ed il Regno di Sardegna.

venience of that Department must necessarily be consulted. It is a source of high satisfaction to know that the General has been so far relieved of his painful wound as to justify a hope of his rapid convalescence.

The information which your despatch contains in relation to the ministerial crisis in Italy is very interesting. We hear, through another channel, the important news of the retirement of Mr. Rattazzi. It is not within my province to discuss the character or the probable consequences of that proceeding. Constituted as Italy is, this Government and the whole American people cherish a very lively interest in the stability and welfare of that Kingdom. I sincerely hope, therefore, that no injurious consequences may result from the change of administration.

You allude in your despatch to rumors of unfriendly dispositions on the part of France towards this country, and I thank you for this very proper exercise of vigilance. We have, however, in opposition to these rumors, such direct assurances of friendly disposition as must be deemed satisfactory unless we should allow ourselves to think them insincere and such a suspicion would be as ungenerous as it would be unwise and unbecoming. We have also strong convictions that unfriendliness on the part of France would at this moment be as injurious to that Power as it could possibly be to the United States. A war by her against this country would be a difficult and costly enterprise. It would give us, indeed, a new enemy, but we are better prepared than we ever have been for foreign war, and better than we could be again if the present insurrection should cease. We cultivate peace with France as with other nations, assiduously, and I trust we shall in no instance fail.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 68*<sup>168</sup>

Washington, January 21, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of December 19th, No. 62, has been received. The views you have expressed therein, concerning the claim of former subjects of the different Italian governments, who, having visited the United States and remained long enough to obtain certificates of naturaliza-

<sup>168</sup> L'Istruzione n. 66, Washington, 8 gennaio 1863, portava allegato un passaporto per Arnold Green, cittadino statunitense residente a Milano, e invitava il Marsh a farlo pervenire al Green al suo recapito o in qualunque altro posto potesse raggiungerlo. L'Istruzione n. 67, Washington, 10 gennaio 1863, compiegava una lettera sigillata del Presidente americano per il Re d'Italia, lettera che il Marsh era invitato a far pervenire al destinatario « secondo le consuete modalità ».

tion, have returned to Italy with the evident intention of taking up their abode in that country—to be recognized as citizens of the United States, and to enjoy all the privileges and immunities secured by treaty and by international law to native born Americans residing in the Italian Kingdom, seem to me to be very just and proper: and your proceedings in the particular case of Mr. Joseph P. Agresta, are therefore approved. In the similar case of Ascanyan to which you refer, Mr. Webster states—« It can admit of no doubt that the naturalization laws of the United States contemplate the residence in the country of naturalized citizens, unless they shall go abroad in the public service, or for temporary purposes, » In this opinion I fully concur.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 64* <sup>169</sup>

Turin, January 23, 1863.

Sir: I have received your instruction No. 64 relating to the proposals of Col. Cattabeni and of General Garibaldi, and have communicated to the former the opinion of the Secretary of War. I have heard nothing further from Col. Cattabeni though I think it probable that some of those who had intended to accompany him, in an organized corps, will individually offer their services to the American Government, in person.

Col. Repetti, <sup>170</sup> who lately served in the United States Army, has returned to America, and if any circumstances should induce the administration to adopt a different policy with regard to foreign soldiery, would be able to make useful suggestions on the subject.

General Garibaldi is said to be improving in health, but I have no particular information from or concerning him, since his return to his residence at Caprera.

<sup>169</sup> L'Istruzione n. 70, Washington, 19 febbraio 1863, accusava ricevuta di questo e del successivo dispaccio (nn. 64 e 65), precisando che l'ultimo era stato sottoposto per un minuzioso esame al Direttore Generale delle Poste.

<sup>170</sup> Alexander Repetti prestò servizio nel 39° Fanteria con il grado di luogotenente colonnello. Trentanovenne, si era arruolato a New York il 28 maggio 1861 con ferma triennale. Fu preso in servizio con il grado di luogotenente colonnello il 6 giugno 1861 e posto in congedo il 19 giugno 1862; la nomina era avvenuta il 14 settembre 1861, con decorrenza dal giorno dell'entrata in servizio. Cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *Lincoln's Italian Volunteers from New York*, in *New York History*, a. XXIV (1943), pp. 56-67.



***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 65*

Turin, January 24, 1863.

Sir: I received yesterday your instruction No. 65<sup>171</sup> enclosing a letter from the Post Master General concerning the proposed postal convention at Paris.

I had an interview this morning with Count Pasolini, and begged the early attention of the Italian Government to the subject. The former correspondence in relation to the convention have taken place before the accession of Count Pasolini to office, the question was news to him, but he promised to confer immediately with the proper department and I presume a delegate will be appointed to represent this government at the convention.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 69*

Washington, February 4, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of the 31st of December, No. 63, has been received. We are authorized to infer from the incidents it relates, that the agitation which a few months ago so seriously threatened the peace and safety of Italy, has subsided. What, when viewed at this distance, the new Kingdom of Italy seems to need is such a season of repose from revolutionary debates as may allow the sentiments of nationality and independence to ripen and become habitual and constant.

We are again involved in active campaigns, and looking with anxiety, but not without confidence, to the operations of our great armies in Virginia and Tennessee, and to our powerful land and naval expeditions upon the Southern Coast, and on the Mississippi River. The telegraph will report to you events in advance of any speculations that I might now venture to communicate.

<sup>171</sup> L'Istruzione n. 65, Washington, 5 gennaio 1863, trasmetteva due copie di una seconda comunicazione inviata al Seward dal Direttore Generale delle Poste il 27 dicembre 1862. Il Marsh era invitato a presentare al Ministro degli Esteri italiano i suggerimenti del Direttore Generale circa la proposta conferenza dei delegati postali e a sollecitare un pronto e benevolo esame del piano.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 66.*

Turin, February 14, 1863.

Sir: On the 24th of December last, I received a letter in French, a translation of which, marked A, is hereto annexed. I replied the next day by letter, a copy of which marked B is also annexed, and by the same mail I wrote a note to the Consul at Naples requesting him to inquire into the matter.

On the 30 of December, I received a second letter from the writer of letter A, of which I annex a translation marked C, and a letter from the U. S. Consul at Naples, of which I annex a copy marked D.

On the 1 of January I wrote to Delafield a letter of which I annex a copy marked E.

A few days after this, Delafield arrived at Turin, in charge of an officer and wrote me a note a translation of which marked F is annexed.

I requested Mr Clay to call upon Delafield [to] endeavor to satisfy himself as to his nationality and require him to furnish a written statement with respect to his citizenship, and his claims to the interference of the Legation in his behalf. Mr Clay reports that Delafield is ignorant of the English language, that his account of himself is confused and inconsistent, but that he pretends to have been born in New York, of parents who were American citizens, to have been sent to Martinique for his « education » at the age three years, and with the exception of an occasional short visit to New York, to have passed his life in the West Indies and in France. He furnished no written statement of his history, and did not seem inclined to dwell on that subject. The only evidence he has of his nationality is our irregular passport from the U. S. Consul General at Frankfort, issued upon his affidavit of citizenship.

About the 20th of January he came to the office of the Legation, with a police agent, and again demanded my protection, insisting that he was illegally detained. I declined discussing that question, until he should produce some evidence of American citizenship. This he said he could readily do, and insisted that he had been recognized as an American citizen by the American Minister at Rome,<sup>172</sup> which was sufficient proof. I told him I should require further evidence. He replied that he had testimony enough, but declined to specify in what it consisted further than that his

<sup>172</sup> Il ministro americano a Roma in questo periodo era Richard M. Blatchford, che durò in carica dall'11 agosto 1862 al 6 ottobre 1863. In Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States* cit., non troviamo alcuna notizia sul Delafield.

nationality was well known to his father-in-law and to « Mr Phelps » of New York.

I then told him that I could not interfere in his behalf upon such vague statements, and that even if his nationality were established, I should not oppose his extradition upon a proper demand in behalf of the friendly Government of Switzerland.

In the meantime, I had called upon the Belgian and Swiss ministers and learned from them that Delafield had represented himself in Belgium as a lawyer from the island of Jamaica, and had seduced and absconded with the young daughter of a respectable Belgian citizen; that he had fled with her to Switzerland, and was accused of having obtained a considerable sum of money there, by negotiating a pledging or bill of exchange drawn by himself and accepted by the well known banking house of Pillwill of Paris, the acceptance of which turned out to be a forgery.

Although I saw no cause for officially interfering in Delafield's behalf, I deemed it expedient to inquire, unofficially, at the Department of the Interior, whether it was the intention of the Government to surrender him to the Swiss authorities. The Secretary General of that Department informed me that he understood it to be the opinion of the Ministry of Justice that Delafield could not be delivered up, and by my directions Mr Clay informed him that I had reason to believe that such would be the result of this affair.

I have since received a private insulting note from Delafield threatening me with an appeal to the press, and naming certain New York journals as the organs to which he should address himself, but have had no other communication with him.

I believe he remains in custody, but have no particular information on the subject.

A considerable number of letters directed to the care of the Legation for Delafield have been received, all of which were sent back to the Post Office except one, which was inadvertently delivered to him. One letter directed to me by a banker at Metz contained a bill of exchange for 4000—drawn by Delafield on a house at Brussels acceptance of which had been refused, and it was enclosed to me for Delafield, by his directions, according to the statement of the writer. As this bill was probably designed for some fraudulent purpose, and might be important as evidence, I returned it to the writer of the letter.

I see no reason, whatever, for believing that Delafield is an American citizen, or for interfering with the course of justice, if he is so. There is no pretence of any political motive for the action of the Swiss Govern-



George Perkins Marsh nel 1861.

*Per gentile concessione della  
Columbia University Press.*



ment, and I am informed that before making the demand for Delafield's extradition, the authorities applied for and obtained the formal consent of the American Consul at Geneva, who is, I presume, well informed as to the facts of this case.

***Charles Delafield a George P. Marsh*** <sup>173</sup>

*Copia. Traduzione.*

Mr. Minister: I have just been arrested as a *thief* (*voleur*)—which is an infamous slander invented for the purpose of my arrest. I am an American citizen of the United States. My passport has been seen by the Consul here, at Naples.

As to the legality of my arrest, it is in violation of the law of nations, for the *Swiss* authorities cannot rightly reclaim at Naples, by extradition, an American citizen, not accused of an act qualified as *Crime*, by the law. Besides, this charge is a malicious slander as I can prove to you.

I claim then Mr. Minister your intervention and protection. At the instance of the Swiss authorities I have been arrested by orders from Turin.

***George P. Marsh a Charles Delafield*** <sup>174</sup>

[*Copia*]

Turin, December 25, 1862.

Sir: I have received your letter without time or place of date, but which I infer to have been written at Naples, complaining of an illegal arrest of your person, and I write by this mail to the Consul at Naples to request him to obtain such information as will enable me to judge whether the case is one in which I can properly interfere.

You are aware, no doubt, that the quality of an American citizen does not exempt you from the criminal jurisdiction or police authorities of this Kingdom, and I am quite unable to gather from your letter any facts which will warrant the opinion that you are illegally detained.

In the first period you say that you have been arrested as a thief—and subsequently you insist that your arrest is illegal because the authorities

<sup>173</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.

<sup>174</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.

of Switzerland cannot demand the extradition of an American citizen not accused of an act which the law qualifies as a crime.

I suppose from this, though you do not state the fact, that you are charged with having committed a larceny in Switzerland, and you will not deny that larceny is an « act qualified as a crime » by the laws of all civilized countries.

I do not make these remarks by way of prejudging your case, but to show you that your letter alone does not furnish me with any facts upon which I can act.

As soon as I hear from you or the Consul, I will attend at once to the subject.

I advise you to engage legal counsel to examine the facts of your case, which of course none but a person on the spot can do, and prepare a statement for my use.

**Charles Delafield a George P. Marsh** <sup>175</sup>

*Traduzione.*

Prison « de la Concordia ».  
Naples, December 24, 1862.

Mr. Minister: Mr. Matchford (Blackford), <sup>176</sup> American Minister at Rome, who promised me, when I was there, his support, has just sent me the following dispatch by telegraph—« I am minister near the Court of Rome and not the Court of Italy—I can do nothing for you, since I am only accredited at Rome. Address yourself, for protection, to my colleague at Turin— ».

Mr. Minister the best cause is that of the innocent. The innocent one can speak boldly. That is my case, as you will be convinced. Demand that I be conducted to Turin where you are, and if I do not enable you to prove to the Italian Government the maliciousness of my arrest, by proofs as clear as day, then abandon me—« Comme un misérable »—.

In my protest to the *prefect* and to the Minister of Interior I claim L 1000 Sterling for each day of my illegal detention. Up to this moment I have not had a line in establishing the charge or in justification of my arrest. The journals say that I have been examined—this is false.

I was not separated from my wife, at first, who is a Belgian, but

<sup>175</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.

<sup>176</sup> Errore di scrittura. Sta per Blatchford.

upon the arrival of the new Questeur we have been separated. The Belgian Consul interposed in behalf of my wife, because the Swiss authorities can not demand at Turin the extradition of a Belgian passing thro [sic] Italy. The consul has written to the Minister of Belgium at Turin as well as to the Minister of Interior.

Messrs. Brofferio and Mancini, deputies, are engaged to sustain our reclamation at Turin. « Avocat » Casella wrote here to his colleague Mr. Mancini to take charge of our case—.

Mr. Minister, do not let foreign governments profit by the misfortune of the United States to tyrannize over its citizens by arbitrary and illegal acts.

***Alexander Hammett a George P. Marsh***<sup>177</sup>

*Copia*

Naples, December 29, 1862.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 25th about Chas. Delafield complaining of his illegal arrest as a citizen of the U. S. Having no proof thereof but his own assertion, for he only produced an oath taken before the Consul General at Frankfort, that he is a native of N. York, adding that he had been 14 yrs. in France. His colour evidently denotes him a Creole. He brought with him a Belgian woman of about 18 yrs of age intended, as he said, to be his future wife. Scarcely arrived on the 10th of Dec., he asked to see me, and when he came, wanted me to oblige myself for him to take an apartment. I thought the request strange from one whom I did not know and—without proof of citizenship, having changed his name on arrival at the [illegible].—Notwithstanding his being solicitous for me to pronounce him an American citizen I have been cautious, lest I should compromise myself as well as our Government—.

Having made application that he be sent to Turin, it has been declined. I have the honor to enclose a copy of my letter to the *Questore*, as well as the reply. I am at a loss how to consider him. If an American citizen it becomes a question whether the right of extradition applies to him. He has a lawyer to advise him—awaiting your orders in this affair.

<sup>177</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.



**George P. Marsh a Charles Delafield** <sup>178</sup>

*Copia*

[Turin], January 1, 1863.

Sir: I have examined your case as far as your letters and one from the U. S. Consul at Naples enable me to do so. I find in them no evidence of your right to be recognized as an American citizen, nor do I perceive any grounds for the distinction you seek to establish between the liability of natives and foreigners to extradition under the treaty between Switzerland and Italy.

For these reasons I must decline to interfere in your behalf.

**Charles Delafield a George P. Marsh** <sup>179</sup>

*Traduzione*

Turin, January 12, 1863.

Monsieur: I invoke your protection. I am at the hotel *Della Caccia Reale*. Have the goodness to call to see me.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 67* <sup>180</sup>

Turin, February 16, 1863.

Sir: I desire permission to recognize Mr. Joseph Artoni as Attaché to this Legation, and to issue to him a passport describing him as such.

Mr. Artoni is a native of one of the Lombardo-Venetian towns still under the dominion of Austria. He emigrated to the United States in early life, became naturalized as an American citizen, and after residing more than twenty years in different cities in the Northern States, for the most part, I believe, in Philadelphia, he came to Turin in 1861, and has acted as my private secretary since the autumn of that year.

Mr. Artoni is thoroughly loyal in his political sentiments, he is master of the English and French as well as of the Italian languages, and is a

<sup>178</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.

<sup>179</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 66 del Marsh.

<sup>180</sup> L'Istruzione n. 71, Washington, 14 marzo 1863, informava il Marsh che era « in suo potere riconoscere il Sig. Joseph Artoni quale attaché presso la Legazione di Torino e di rilasciargli un passaporto dal quale risultasse tale qualifica ».

man of excellent character and habits, and in all respects worthy of unreserved confidence.

These qualifications, as well as his familiarity with the institutions and interests of Italy, have rendered him very useful to me, and if connected with the Legation as a regularly recognized Attaché, he will, I doubt not, be able to render it essential service, and at the same time do credit to the country of his adoption as a gentleman and as a political agent. Mr. Stevens who was recommended as an Attaché by Mr. Giddings, U. S. Consul General at Montreal, determined not to accept the position and, of course, has never joined the Legation.

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Senza numero* <sup>181</sup>

Turin, March 9, 1863.

Sir: With the consent of the Minister of this Legation, I have the honor to apply for a short leave of absence (six weeks or two months) for the purpose of visiting Rome, Naples, and the southern portions of the Kingdom.

Trusting to the Honorable Secretary's appreciation of the reasonableness of such a request, I remain with great respect.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 68* <sup>182</sup>

Turin, March 11, 1863.

Sir: I annex hereto a translation of a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announcing the appointment of Mr. Chevalier Joseph Agostini to represent the Italian Government at the proposed postal conference to be held at Paris in May next. The third paragraph of Mr. Blair's <sup>183</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Con una Istruzione non numerata ma datata Washington, 4 aprile 1863, al Clay veniva accordato il congedo richiesto in questo dispaccio.

<sup>182</sup> L'Istruzione n. 72, Washington, 13 aprile 1863, informava il Marsh che questo dispaccio era stato sottoposto per un attento esame al Direttore Generale delle Poste.

<sup>183</sup> Montgomery Blair (1813-1883). Direttore Generale delle Poste nel Governo Lincoln, rappresentò i leali Stati schiavisti e rimase un fedele sostenitore di Lincoln, e di McClellan fino al 1864, quando si dimise e si unì agli uomini del Partito Democratico. Mantenne un fermo atteggiamento al tempo della vicenda del Trent, denunciando l'illegalità della cattura di Mason e Slidell.

letter of 27 of December 1862, by which the second Monday of May was proposed as the day of opening the conference, was evidently overlooked by the Italian Ministry, and I have referred Count Pasolini to it. In case of any change in this respect, I beg to be informed, in order that I may apprise this Government in time.

***Giuseppe Pasolini a George P. Marsh*** <sup>184</sup>

Turin, le 27 février 1863.

Monsieur le Ministre, J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que mon collègue au Département des Travaux publics, à qui j'ai communiqué la circulaire qui accompagnait votre note du 24 Janvier dernier, a désigné Monsieur le Chevalier Joseph Agostini, chef de section à la Direction générale des Postes, pour représenter le gouvernement Italien aux conférences qui auront lieu le mois de mai prochain à Paris, afin d'aviser aux moyens de rendre les correspondances internationales plus faciles et moins dispendieuses.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien me faire connaître le jour où s'ouvriront ces conférences, afin que le Délégué Italien puisse prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour y intervenir.

Je saisis cette occasion de vous renouveler les assurances de ma haute considération.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 69*

Turin, March 20, 1863.

Sir: The box of books from the Department of State referred to in your circulars of October 16 1862 has arrived, and I enclose herewith a list of the volumes contained in it.

I avail myself of this occasion to say that I have received on former times, since I reached Turin, two other cases of books apparently forwarded from the State Department. They came at different times, without

<sup>184</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 68 del Marsh.

invoice or other notice, and as there was not room for them—in the apartment then occupied by the Legation, they remained in the boxes until all the books, as well as the archives, were removed to the present office. In unpacking, they were not kept separate from the other books of the Legation, and no separate list of them was returned to the Department. They were however included in the catalogue made out by Mr. Clay, which I believe contains a full list of all the books belonging to the Legation and then in its possession.

### *Lista dei libri* <sup>185</sup>

List of books received at the *Legation* of the U. S. in *Turin*, March 1863 from State Department, Washington.

[*Turin*], March 17, 1863.

Vols.

11 Exec. Docs. 2st sess. 36 Cong.	1860-61
17 Sen. Docs.	»
1 Sen. Journal	»
1 Sen. Misc.ous	»
4 Reps. Comm.us	»
1 House Journ.l	»
1 House Misc.ous	»
3 Reps Ct. of Claims	»
1 Sen. Jourl	1 Sess. 37 Cong. 1861
1 House Journal	»
1 House Misc.ous	»
1 Exec. Docs. Rep. of Com.	»
1 Sen. Ex. & Misc.ous Docs, Reps, Coms.	»
1 Ex Docs. Oct. Vol.	1 Sess. 36 Cong. 1858-59
2 Unbound docs—Presi.l messages &c.	

<sup>185</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 69 del Marsh.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 70*

Turin, March 21, 1863.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions No. 68 dated Jany 21, 1863, No. 69 dated Feby 4 1863 and No. 70 dated Feby 19 1863.

Mr. Clay informs me that he has written, or proposes to write, to you asking leave of absence from his post for a couple of months.

I have no objection to the granting of this request, and, as Mr. Artoni to whom I referred in a former despatch, is regularly employed at the office of the Legation, I do not apprehend any serious inconvenience to the Legation as to the public interests from Mr. Clay's absence.

I take pleasure in adding that Mr. Clay has diligently occupied himself, since his arrival at Turin, in increasing his knowledge of the languages employed at this Court and in discharging the duties he has been called upon to perform; that he is loyal in his political sentiments, as well as gentlemanly in character and habits; and that I have no doubt he will prove a useful and respectable diplomatic officer.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 71*

Turin, March 27, 1863.

Sir: During the siege of Palermo in April 1860, certain persons claiming to be citizens of the United States suffered pecuniary injury from the detonation or plunder of houses and personal property in which they were interested, by the soldiers of the ex—King of the Two Sicilies.

These persons asked indemnity through Mr. Chandler, then Minister Resident of the United States at Naples, who appears to have laid the case before the Neapolitan Government, and to have asked instructions from the Secretary of State, but as the archives of that Legation are not in my possession, I am not well informed as to the steps taken by him in the matter.<sup>186</sup>

It appears that after Garibaldi obtained possession of the city of Palermo, he promulgated a decree, a translation of which marked A is hereto annexed.

<sup>186</sup> Per il dispaccio inviato dal Chandler al Segretario di Stato in merito alla vicenda cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *Diplomatic Relations* cit., vol. II, pp. 537-539.

A commission was appointed to ascertain the losses sustained by private individuals during the siege, and on the 8th of April 1861, Antonio Alajmo di Michele, one of the persons above referred to, presented to the commission a claim for something less than eleven thousand ducats (10.813,80) of which the sum of seven thousand eight hundred ducats was allowed, on the 15 of April, 1861.

It does not appear from any documents in my possession by what authority this commission was appointed, or under what instructions it acted. I suppose, however, that it was instituted before the annexation of Sicily to this Kingdom was consummated, and in pursuance of the decree of Garibaldi, but I do not know that the present Italian Government has ever acknowledged its action as binding.

Before the date of the allowance in question, namely on the 12th of April 1861, a new commission was organized for the final liquidation of claims for losses occasioned by the action of its Bourbon troops in 1860, and the commission derived its powers from a decree of the Lieut. General, or viceroy, appointed by the King of Italy.

On the 4 of December 1861, this commission examined the claim of Alajmo, and rejected it on the ground that the house in which the property destroyed was lodged was not the domicile of the claimant, but of his brother Pietro Alajmo. A re—hearing was granted, upon the application of Alajmo, and on the 9 of July 1862, the claim was again rejected, upon the same ground, and also for insufficiency of proof as well as for various alleged inconsistencies and contradictions in Alajmo's statements.

Alajmo requested me to obtain a reversal of this decision and an allowance of the claim, and I consented to this, so far as to ask an examination of its merits by the Government. I did not take this course without hesitation. I have very serious doubts whether Alajmo is now entitled to claim recognition as an American citizen; the evidence of the amount of his demand is not satisfactory; and I was particularly reluctant, under present circumstances, when the Federal Government may be exposed to reclamations of a more or less similar character, to a very great amount, to enter upon any discussion of the principles of national liability for such losses.

On the other hand, these claims had been recognized by Mr. Chandler; they had been entertained by the two commissions, without any exception on the ground of the doubtful citizenship of Alajmo, or any denial of the liability of the government to indemnify the party, in case sufficient proof were offered.

I thought it therefore advisable to order an examination of the case by this Government, without entering at all upon those questions, but simply suggesting that the conclusion of the commission was not warranted by the evidence before it. The Government, however, affirmed the decision of the commission, and it is now evident, that if the claim is to be further pressed, it must be rested upon the general principles of national responsibility in the like cases, and very delicate and important questions will necessarily be considered in the discussion.

I am aware, Sir, that this imperfect sketch will not enable you to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the merits of this particular case, but I have not thought it worth while to incur the expense of copying the very voluminous evidence and other papers in the case and of sending them to the Department, at a moment when it can hardly be expected that time could be afforded for the examination of them. I have supposed, however, that on the ground of Alajmo's want of American citizenship, or for reasons of state policy at the present critical juncture, the Government might deem the further prosecution of the claim not now advisable, and I beg for instructions on the subject.

As I have already remarked, no questions as to Alajmo's right to claim the intervention of the Federal Government, as an American citizen, has yet been raised, but, from my knowledge of the opinions of previous Italian ministries on this subject, I have not the least doubt that this Government would hold him to be a citizen of the Kingdom of Italy, if the point were to come up, independently, for decision.

The facts as to the nationality of the claimant are these: Alajmo is a native of Sicily. He went to the United States in 1852 and resided in New York until 1858, and has filed with this Legation an affidavit stating that he was connected in business in that city with Messrs Chamberlain and Phelps and with Lawrence Giles & Co. « and that he returned to Sicily in 1858 « to continue his business connections with the United States and did so till 1861. » He admits, however, that he has no legal connection, by way of partnership or otherwise, with any American house, and that he left no taxable property in the Union when he returned to Sicily, where he has been engaged since his return in general business as a sulphur broker.

He has a regular certificate of naturalization from the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York, dated May 22 1858. He states himself to have been aged twenty seven in 1861,

and therefore could not have been of age when he first applied for naturalization; but I think the local authorities of Palermo have not questioned his right to be regarded as an American citizen. There is no evidence, whatever, of his having left the United States *cum animo revertendi*, and I see nothing to distinguish his case from that of hundreds of other Europeans, who have spent a few years in the United States, in order to obtain an exemption from military service and other governmental burdens, and then returned to their native land without any fixed intention of revisiting the United States, then contriving to enjoy the protection of two governments, while performing the duties of a citizen of neither.

If, however, Alajmo is to be regarded as entitled to the interference of the Federal Government in his behalf as an American citizen, it seems to me that the evidence establishes a right to some indemnity, though it is extremely vague as to amount. I do not see any foundation for the objection that the claim cannot be sustained because the house in which the property was deposited and destroyed was not Alajmo's domicile; but I do not know to what length the Government of the United States is prepared to go in sustaining claims for losses resulting from military operations, and as I have remarked I have not entered into any discussion on that question.

***Decreto del generale Garibaldi pubblicato sul « Giornale Officiale di Sicilia » l'8 giugno 1860***<sup>187</sup>

Italia e Vittorio Emanuele

Giuseppe Garibaldi Comandante in capo le forze Nazionali in Sicilia in virtù de' poteri a lui conferiti;

DECRETA

Art. 1° I danni cagionati dalle truppe borboniche saranno provvisoriamente indennizzati dai Comuni ne' quali ebbero luogo.

Art. 2° I Comuni alla fine della guerra saranno rilevati dallo Stato delle spese che incontreranno in quella occasione.

Art. 3° I capi dei municipii, alla ricezione del presente, devono ordinare la valutazione di codesti danni per mezzo di periti giurati, e pagarli.

<sup>187</sup> Allegato A al dispaccio n. 71 del Marsh.



Art. 4° È ordinato ai municipii di soccorrere le famiglie di coloro che si battono in difesa della patria.

Art. 5° Sarà dato conto al Dittatore dell'esecuzione di questa ordinanza.

Partinico, 18 maggio 1860

G. Garibaldi  
Il Segretario di Stato:  
F. Crispi

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 72*

Turin, March 30, 1863.

Sir: The retirement of Mr. Farini from the Presidency of the Council of State of this Government was occasioned solely by the condition of his health. Count Pasolini's acceptance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was understood, at the time, to be temporary only, and as both ministers are succeeded by gentlemen of the same political views as themselves, the change in the cabinet does not indicate a change of measures, or any want of harmony in the administration.

In notifying the diplomatic corps of his appointment to the department of Foreign Affairs, the chevalier Visconti Venosta informed them that he could not receive them before Sunday the 29th instant, and of course I did not see the new Minister until yesterday.

In the interview I then had with him, he expressed himself as decidedly as any of his predecessors in favour of the cause of the Federal Government and added that public sentiment was literally unanimous on this subject in Italy, that no Italian journal advocated the interests of the Southern Confederacy and that he doubted whether any respectable Italian paper would even admit an article in defence of the rebel cause.

He then told me that in the day previous a deputy had notified him that he proposed to interrogate the ministry with respect to its views and policy on the American question. He said he did not know the purpose of the proposed interpellation, but had said to the deputy that his reply would be that the Italian Government would, in this matter, « postpone material to moral considerations, » and would not countenance the movement of the Southern States. The deputy then informed him that he should probably not press the matter further at present.

A remark made to me by one of the deputies three or four days before led me to suspect that the proposed interpellation was connected with some project of mediation between the Federal Government and the Confederate States, and I observed to the Minister that the President was strongly disinclined to admit of foreign intervention in any form, and that Congress had passed resolutions discountenancing all offers of mediation. I was not then able to state the terms of the resolutions because, although I had received a copy of them as originally introduced, and had learned that some resolutions had been adopted, I did not know whether they had been found without modification. The mail of this morning has brought me your circular of March 9, 1863, with a copy of the Resolutions adopted, and, as the Minister does not receive again until Saturday, I have thought it right to send them to him at once, instead of asking a special interview or waiting for the regular opportunity of reading them to him.

Last evening, a member of the Lower House, friendly to the Union cause, and probably the same referred to by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, called upon me and told me *confidentially*, that he had proposed to the Rattazzi ministry a plan of mediation on the part of the Italian Government, on the basis of the restoration of the Union; that at the request of Mr. Rattazzi, he had drawn up a memoir on the subject; that he was disposed to renew the proposal with the present cabinet, and he asked my approval of this step and my concurrence in it. I, of course, used such arguments as I could to dissuade him from any movement in the matter, and hope he will not proceed further with it; though as he did not seem convinced of the inexpediency of his proposal, and urged me to consider it more fully, it is possible he may still bring the question up in some . . . [sentence not finished].

The only inconvenience I should apprehend from the public discussion of such a project would be that it might tend to excite unfavourable sentiments where none now exist; for though there is, at present, but one opinion in Italy with regard to the contest, a debate, in which the Ministry should express itself on one side, would create a certain amount of hostile feeling among the opposition, and it might hence become an element in the party strifes of this Kingdom, of which the rebel sympathizers in Europe would take advantage.

There are in Italy, and especially at Rome, many Americans of doubtful loyalty, and some of undoubted disloyalty. I am told upon good authority that these persons are very zealous in misleading those with whom they associate as to the merits of the present civil war, and I have been strongly urged by persons whose opinions I respect to enlist the

services of some of the leading Italian journals in maintaining, or rather explaining, the Union cause. Professor Botta<sup>188</sup> of New York, who was lately at Turin, has removed some misapprehensions on the subject in the minds of distinguished political men, and his occasional articles on the war in the *Opinione* and the *Rivista Contemporanea* have been very useful. I hope the necessity for enlightening public opinion in any part of Europe will not long exist, and in any event, nothing effectual could be done here, in this way, without a pecuniary expenditure which I see no present motive for incurring, and which I certainly am not authorized to make.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 74*<sup>189</sup>

Washington, May 7, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of March 27th, No. 71, has been received. You request in it, instructions upon the claim of Antonio Alajmo against the Government of Italy for spoliation alleged to have been committed upon his property by the soldiers of the King of Naples during the siege of Palermo in the revolution of 1860, which resulted in the annexation of Sicily to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the consequent incorporation of the Two Sicilies into the Kingdom of Italy. The claimant invokes the authority of the United States in the prosecution of his claim.

The United States are at this moment engaged in suppressing a revolution which aims at nothing less than a dismemberment of the country and an overthrow of the Government. The revolution solicits recognition and intervention on every side to insure the accomplishment of its destructive purpose. It is inconvenient, at such a juncture, to employ its authority in the prosecution of even just claims set up by meritorious citizens against friendly foreign powers. The Government lies under no absolute obligation to any citizen to prosecute such claims, but it has a right to consult the public welfare which is always paramount to the private interests of individual citizens. The reflection is a very obvious one, that in such a

<sup>188</sup> Vincenzo Botta, membro del Parlamento subalpino, giunse a New York nel 1853. Cinque anni dopo era nominato professore d'italiano all'Università di New York, posto che mantenne fino alla morte avvenuta il 5 ottobre 1894. Sulla carriera universitaria del Botta e sull'importante ruolo che ebbe presso la comunità italiana, cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *Pioneer Italian Teachers of Italian in the United States*, in *Modern Language Journal*, a. XXVIII (1944), pp. 555-582.

<sup>189</sup> L'Istruzione n. 73, Washington, 14 aprile 1863, trasmetteva la nomina di B. L. Hill, del Michigan, a console degli S.U. a Napoli.

crisis, a good and loyal citizen might be expected to be at home in the United States, cooperating with his fellow citizens in maintaining the Government against its domestic enemies rather than to be residing abroad and invoking its aid to prosecute claims of his own, for redress against injuries which he may have suffered when domiciled amid the perils of a foreign revolution. Protection and support are reciprocal obligations. Mr. Antonio Alajmo seems to have scarcely conceived this truth. He came to the United States from Sicily, a minor in 1852, and remaining here until 1858, was then naturalized; very soon thereafter he returned to his native country, remained there ever since, and has at no time manifested or indicated any purpose of returning to the United State to assume the obligations or to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship. The losses of which he complains were incurred in a revolution affecting the country in which he was born, and to which he had returned, apparently at least for a home for life. This claim is one of a class which the Government of that country has admitted and made provision for. He has failed to obtain the benefit of that provision on grounds affecting the justice of the particular claim, and not its general character.

Appeals from that decision to the equity of the Government of Italy are as easy to him, personally, as they would be to the Government of the United States interfering in his behalf. The President excuses you from prosecuting the case, at least until it can be reexamined under more auspicious circumstances than those which now exist.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 76*

Washington, June 29, 1863.

Sir: You may not be able to discover the true condition of military affairs through the confusion produced by the cross-lights of the press. Our official information represents the siege of Port Hudson and Vicksburgh [sic] as going on successfully. Two of the three corps of the insurgent army, lately encamped upon the Rappahannock have forded the upper Potomac, and are in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The position of the third corps is not certainly known. General Hooker<sup>190</sup> has, at his

<sup>190</sup> « Fighting » Joe Hooker fu sconfitto il 3 maggio 1863 da Stuart e Lee: si ritirò attraversando il Potomac e rassegnò le dimissioni per un disaccordo con il generale Halleck. Il Presidente accettò le dimissioni senza indugio e passò il comando al generale George Gordon Meade.

own request, been relieved, and is replaced by General Meade, an officer who enjoys the confidence of the Army and of the War Department. He is moving vigorously, and judging from present appearances, a meeting of the two armies is likely to occur in Pennsylvania or on the border of Maryland. You will have heard much of cavalry raids and other subordinate movements of the two armies, but they have, thus far, been unfruitful of any important results.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 73*

Turin, July 6, 1863.

Sir: Immediately on the receipt of the President's autograph letter of the 9 Jan.y 1863 to the King of Italy, I communicated a copy it to Minister of Foreign Affairs and asked an audience for the purpose of delivering it to His Majesty. The King was then about going to Florence for an absence of several weeks and subsequent visits to other cities prevented my reception until the 10th of May.

On that day the King received me in an entirely unceremonious manner and the letter was presented. His Majesty spoke in the handsomest terms of his high appreciation of the President's integrity of character, and of his own continued interest in the Civil War in America, which he deplored as a great evil not only to us but to Europe, and expressed the hope that the most energetic efforts would be made to bring it to a speedy termination.

He referred also to the expectation of a general European war, which he deemed a probable event, and said he thought such a war would end in the establishment of the principle of the independence of nationalities throughout Europe, and the promotion of the cause of national liberty.

There is, I think, a growing importance in all parts of the continent for the termination of a war which Europe is fast coming to think we ought not to have entered upon, or ought, with our vast superiority in population and material resources, to have conducted with such vigour as to have already brought to a close, and as intervention on the part of France and England would now be looked upon by even our warmest political friends, with much less dissatisfaction than such a step would have exacted a few months since. We are accused of injuring not only the material interests of Europe, but the cause of free government; by failing to put forth the energy which the law of self—preservation ought to

inspire, and of showing, by a practical test, that popular institutions have not the strength and promptness of action which ever is essential to the proper discharge of the functions of government at such a crisis as this. I have no doubt that the adoption of a severer policy toward the rebellion would strengthen us effectually abroad as well as at home.

I do not know whether the American papers notice the criminal prosecution against Father Théoger and his brothers of the Ignorantelli. Théoger, the principal of a school at Turin, conducted by that association, was among the most conspicuous of the ultra—papal clergy in northern Italy and was represented by his party as a model of holiness and devotion. He and several of the friars were accused of the most abominable of crimes towards their pupils, and he absconded with two of his associates, while three others were arrested by the police. The priestly party made the most desperate efforts to screen them by frightening and cajoling the witnesses and their parents, and succeeded in silencing several of them. The three who were brought to trial were found guilty, but two of them were discharged, because the parents of the pupils abused were deterred from joining in the prosecution. A conviction and sentence *in contumacia* was pronounced against Théoger and the other fugitives and all the schools of the order were suppressed.

Although the prosecuting officers withheld much testimony, contenting themselves with publicly producing so much only as was necessary for the conviction of the delinquents, the evidence disclosed a degree of depravity in the Ignorantelli certainly never before exposed in a European court of justice, or never paralleled except in the annals of monastic life. The affair has produced the profoundest sensation in Italy and is a severe blow to the Romish party which may now be said to have no friends on Italian soil except those who have an interest in perpetuating its abuses. I send under another envelope a Turin journal containing an article which may fairly be pronounced a mitigated expression of public feeling on this subject.

Having accompanied Mr. Raimon to the Foreign Office just as I was closing this despatch, I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs who informed me that he had received from the British Government a proposal to the effect that the Italian Government should publish a declaration on the subject of the treatment of Federal and Confederate ships of war in Italian ports, providing that a ship of the one party should not be allowed to sail within less than twenty four hours after a vessel of the other should have left the harbour. This proposal was declined by the Italian Government upon the ground that it did not wish

to commit itself to any specific line of action on the subject, or to anticipate a contingency which might never arrive.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 74

Turin, July 7, 1863.

Sir: I have for many years been collecting notes and observations on the effects of human action upon the physical geography of the civilized world, and had prepared a large proportion of a work on that subject before I left the United States.

My special object has been to show the evils resulting from too extensive clearing and cultivation, and often so-called improvements in new countries like the United States, and the information I have collected on the subject is thought by competent judges important to the interests of the American people.

I have completed the manuscript and it is to be immediately put to press. I am negotiating with an English bookseller for its publication in London and wish to serve primary and other advantages of an English editor. It is, indeed, not probable that terms will be agreed upon, but I beg that, in case an acceptable proposal shall be made, I may have leave to visit England for the purpose of securing the copyright.<sup>191</sup>

I should require four or five weeks at most, for that purpose, and I request leave of absence, for that period in the months of August and September or October. Should no arrangements be concluded for publication in England, I should not visit London; but for Mrs. Marsh's health and my own, I should desire to spend the length of time I have asked in the Alps, at convenient points within two or three day's journey from Turin. In fact, the places I desire to visit are generally very much nearer, and could return at any time at very short notice.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Il Marsh scrisse *Man and Nature, or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* nel 1864. L'opera fu tradotta in italiano nel 1870 e ripubblicata nel 1874 con il titolo *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*. Frutto di lunghi anni di viaggi e di studi, il lavoro è stato giudicato come « il punto di partenza del movimento per la difesa della natura » (LEWIS MUMFORD, *The Brown Decades*, 1931, p. 78) e costituì uno dei primi tentativi di studiare l'eventualità e il bisogno della valorizzazione delle zone improduttive e depresse. Circa la versione italiana dell'opera, il Marsh affermò che fu fatta da una signora che conosceva molto poco l'inglese e poco l'italiano: così la prima edizione fu distrutta a causa della sua eccessiva modestia.

<sup>192</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 78, Washington, 25 luglio 1863, il Seward accordava « di buon grado » il congedo richiesto dal Marsh, avvertendolo che lasciava « alla sua discrezione l'opportunità di valersene ».

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 75

Turin, July 11, 1863.

Sir: I received last evening a note from Mr. Wheeler, Consul at Genoa, informing me that Capt Page,<sup>193</sup> late of the U. S. Navy, and now in the Confederate service, was at Florence and reported, upon what seemed credible evidence, to be waiting the arrival of the *Southerner*, a steamer lately built in England for the rebel government, of which he is to take the command.

I called this morning at the Foreign Office to draw the attention of this Government to these facts, but as the Minister of Foreign Affairs was engaged, I was unable to see him.

I have, however, had an interview with Mr. Cerruti, Secretary General of that Department, a gentleman of much ability and experience, and stated to him the facts of the case, as far as they were known to me, and the principles I thought applicable to it.

Mr. Cerruti, who is well disposed to our cause, requests me to reduce my observations to writing immediately, in order that he might bring the subject up for discussion before a meeting of a diplomatic commission about to assemble, and I accordingly drew up hastily a note, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and sent it to the Foreign Office.

I hope for favorable action, but the change in public opinion is becoming so general, that the Government will by no means find the same hearty support in sustaining us which it would have done some months since. Some of the leading political journals which have hitherto been very friendly to the Union interest, have deserted its cause, and unless more hopeful symptoms soon appear than European politicians are able to discover in our crisis, we shall lose great numbers of warm and influential friends in every part of Europe.

It is in vain to attempt to disguise the fact, that this change of opinion and feeling is ascribable, not to a want of confidence in the righteousness of our cause or in the physical ability of the Federal states

<sup>193</sup> Richard Lucian Page (1807-1901), ufficiale dell'esercito e della marina confederata. Nato in Virginia, Page fece il servizio da ufficiale negli S.U. finché la Virginia non si staccò dall'Unione; allora si dimise dal servizio federale e collaborò all'organizzazione di una marina dello Stato della Virginia. Nel 1861 fu nominato comandante nella Marina degli Stati Confederati, e ideò e realizzò il deposito della sussistenza a Charlotte, nella Carolina del Nord. Nel 1864 fu nominato generale di brigata dell'esercito provvisorio e messo a capo della difesa di Mobile Bay. Subì una sconfitta decisiva ad opera dell'ammiraglio Farragut e del generale Granger e fu tenuto prigioniero fino al settembre del 1865.



to make it triumphant, but to a belief that the Government is not making an energetic use of the vast resources in men and money at its control.

The policy of the administration in not making a new levy in the spring, to supply in place of the troops whose term was expiring, and especially to meet and counteract the vigorous movements which, on the experience of the two past campaigns has shown, we had reason to expect this summer on the part of the rebels, is severely commented upon, and I have more than once heard the opinion expressed in quarters sincerely friendly to us, that if we would not use our own power to put down the rebellion forthwith, peace ought to be imposed upon the contending parties at once, by the nations of Europe which have suffered so severely from our discords.

The latest dates received here are of the first of July, and as the facts are presented by the London *Daily News* and other friendly organs, they are, certainly, by no means of a cheering character.

I am preparing a pamphlet, consisting chiefly of extracts from the reprints of the New England Publication Society and other authentic sources, which I propose to publish in Italian and circulate at my own expense—not, however, with any official sanction—unless you disapprove the measure. It will be ready for the press in about a month, and may, I hope, be useful to us in Italy.<sup>194</sup>

***George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti-Venosta***<sup>195</sup>

*Copia*

Turin, July 11, 1863.

Mr. Minister: It is doubtless known to the Government of the Kingdom of Italy, that several vessels, built in England for the so-called Confederate States of America or for private persons residing in those States, have sailed from British ports and committed extensive depredations on American commerce. These ships have cleared as merchant—vessels, bound ostensibly upon lawful voyages, but have shipped armaments by other vessels to neutral ports, and there taken them on board. They have then, although never having visited a port claimed or occupied by the Confederate States, or entered any territory possessed by the forces of those States, hoisted the Confederate flag and plundered, destroyed by

<sup>194</sup> L'opuscolo a cui si fa riferimento non è stato individuato.

<sup>195</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 75 del Marsh.

fire, or ransomed every American ship they have been able to overtake, instead of sending them, according to the rules of civilized warfare, into port for condemnation by a court of admiralty, or otherwise establishing the validity of the capture by legal adjudication.

These vessels, it is believed, are in many instances, private property, belonging jointly to English and Confederate subjects, and employed for the purpose of plunder for their benefit, and not for any object of civilized or lawful warfare.

This legation is informed that Capt. Page, late of the Navy of the United States but at present in the service of the Confederate States, is now waiting at Florence to take command of a steamer built in England or Scotland for the purpose I have described and expected soon to arrive in the Mediterranean.<sup>196</sup>

She has been called the *Southerner* but will, perhaps, change her name, clear, it is supposed, as a merchant—ship for some neutral port, where she will take on board an armament shipped by some other vessel and then commence her piratical work upon the coasts of Italy as her predecessors have already done in the Atlantic.

I protest in the name of my Government against the admission of this vessel or others of like character and objects into Italian ports as lawful cruisers, and trust that they will not be treated by His Majesty's Government as ships of war belonging to a power engaged in legitimate warfare.

The Government of the United States does not admit that the rebellious states are entitled to the ordinary belligerent rights of independent nations, but waiving that question for the present, I contend that foreign—built vessels can be nationalized and vested with a military character only within the territorial jurisdiction of the state whose flag they bear. Vessels must retain their original nationality until it is changed by some act of the owners or their lawful agents, and of the sovereign power to which they are transferred, performed at a point where that state has jurisdiction *de jure* or at least possession *de facto*; and they cannot acquire a new nationality without first entering territory owned or held by the government which purchases them.

The Italian Government would certainly not admit that a vessel built in England for the late King of the Two Sicilies, or purchased by him, and sailing from that country as a merchant—vessel, could, by hoisting the flag of that prince and taking on an armament at a neutral port, without

<sup>196</sup> Vedi il dispaccio n. 75.

ever having been within territory actually possessed by him, become authorized to cruise against Italian commerce as a lawful vessel of war.

The case is, in many respects, analogous to that of the naturalization of persons in foreign states. An Italian subject cannot divest himself of his natural allegiance and become a subject of another power without submitting himself in person to the local jurisdiction of that power nor can a foreigner acquire the rights of Italian nationality without setting his foot on Italian soil.

I forbear, Mr. Minister, to enlarge on the obvious danger of encouraging, or permitting such proceedings as those of the Confederate States, and in an era when even regularly commissioned privateering is looked upon with disfavour, I believe that the enlightened Government of Italy will afford no protection to a piracy which would have disgraced the most barbarous ages.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 77*<sup>197</sup>

Turin, July 20, 1863.

Sir: I received last evening a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a translation of which is hereto annexed.

As the Ministry has been several times changed since August 1861, it is perhaps not strange that my note to Baron Ricasoli, dated on the 26th of that month, proposing the negotiation of a convention between the United States and the Kingdom of Italy for the recognition of the principles of maritime law declared by the Congress of Paris, should not be known to the members of the present cabinet; but it is remarkable that the Government of France, after having communicated to that of Italy our proposal of adhesion, in terms implying that the adhesion had been accepted, should not have informed the Italian Government that the proposed convention was not consummated.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs receiving only on Saturdays, I had an interview with the Secretary General this morning, referred him to my note of Aug. 26, 1861—which I found was familiar to officers who have been longer in the Department than Mr. Cerruti—explained to him the

<sup>197</sup> Il dispaccio n. 76, erroneamente numerato n. 77, datato 18 luglio 1863, accusava ricevuta delle Istruzioni nn. 75 e 76 che davano informazioni sul corso della guerra e precisavano che i resoconti del Marsh compresi nel trimestre che scadeva il 30 giugno 1863 sarebbero stati inoltrati subito dopo l'arrivo di alcuni documenti di conferma. L'Istruzione n. 75, Washington, 22 giugno 1863, è identica alla n. 45 inviata con la stessa data al Koerner a Madrid.

reasons why our adhesion must be given—in the form of a convention, and stated the causes of the failure of the negotiations at London and Paris in 1861.

Mr. Cerruti informed me that the proper action to be pursued by his Government towards vessels under the confederate flag had been discussed by the Diplomatic Council, upon the supposition that the adhesion of the United States to the principles adopted by the Congress of the United States, had been formally given and accepted, and he added that the failure of the negotiations for that purpose gave the question a new aspect in some respects, and would perhaps somewhat modify the conclusions at which the council had arrived.

The point raised by my note of July 11, 1861, was then discussed, and I learn that the Government had consulted some of the ablest Italian jurists on the subject. The question of the possibility of nationalizing and investing with an official character, as a ship of war, a foreign—built vessel never brought within the territorial jurisdiction of the state of which it was commissioned was, as Mr. Cerruti informed me, considered a matter of much delicacy and difficulty; but, though I do not expect that this Government will fully concede the ground I assumed, I was assured that such orders would be given to the local authorities as would substantially answer the purpose I had in view, in case a confederate cruiser should enter an Italian port.

I ought to add that Mr. Cerruti expressed the continued sympathy of his government for our cause and I have no doubt of the entire sincerity of these assurances.

The conduct of this Government is the more entitled to a generous appreciation by us, because the cutting off of the supply of cotton is a severe injury to Italian industry—especially at a moment when both vine—culture and silk—husbandry are suffering such ruinous consequences from the maladies of the grape and the silk worm—and apprehensions are entertained of serious disturbances from the expected suspension of large cotton factories near Genoa, which would throw many hundreds of laborers out of employment.

We have this morning a very brief telegraphic despatch with news to the 9th of this month, to the effect that Vicksburg has surrendered, and that Lee has been defeated in Pennsylvania.<sup>198</sup>

I beg leave to offer my congratulations to the Government on these auspicious events.

<sup>198</sup> La divisione Logan marciò per ordine del generale Grant su Vicksburg e la occupò il 4 luglio 1863.

**Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh** <sup>199</sup>

Turin, le 17 Juillet 1863.

Monsieur le Ministre, Dans le mois d'août 1861 le Gouvernement de l'Empereur des Français nous informait que les Etats Unis d'Amérique avaient fait déclarer leur intention d'accepter les principes sur le droit maritime proclamés par le congrès de Paris, et que le Gouvernement Impérial était prêt à constater l'adhésion pure et simple des Etats Unis.

N'ayant pas reçu de communication, sur cet objet, du Gouvernement Fédéral, je vous serais obligé, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien m'indiquer si l'acte d'adhésion des Etats Unis à la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris a été effectivement et officiellement reçu, et à quelle date précise cette formalité se serait accomplie.

Je vous prie d'agréer, avec mes remerciements, les nouvelles assurances de ma haute considération.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 77* <sup>200</sup>

Washington, July 25, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of the 6th of July, No. 73, has been received. The President expects you to express to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the sincere satisfaction of this Government with the answer which was given by him to the proposition of the British Government concerning visits of the insurgent vessels in Italian ports. This recognition of the insurgents as a belligerent was an unnecessary proceeding on the part of Her Majesty's Government. It has been very injurious to the United States while it has brought to the British nation itself only troublesome inconveniences, and requires constant efforts to prevent new and more dangerous complications.

I thank you sincerely for the report which you have furnished me of interesting judicial proceedings at Turin. Our country is now so entirely absorbed in the great internal struggle which faction has produced, that it pays little attention to events not bearing upon it, which occur in Europe.

<sup>199</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 77 del Marsh.

<sup>200</sup> Una circolare senza numero, Washington, 3 luglio 1863, informava il Marsh dell'imbarco di una cassa contenente, ad uso dell'ambasciata, una raccolta completa dei documenti della seconda sessione del 27° Congresso (ad eccezione del volume 6, Esecutivo), in tutto 29 volumi.

The desire abroad for the restoration of peace here is not unnatural. But there is reason to fear that it has been perverted so as to exact from the Government a peace which it cannot grant, instead of requiring the insurgents to forego a criminal and disastrous resistance which they cannot and ought not to maintain.

It may be hoped that events which have occurred here recently will correct European ideas in this respect.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 79* <sup>201</sup>

Washington, July 29, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of July 11th, No. 75, has been received. The information it contains has been communicated to the Secretary of the Navy, and I have the pleasure of approving the protest you have addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning the designs of the insurgents to abuse the Italian ports for the purpose of making war therefrom against the United States. The high sense of justice which the King of Italy has hitherto manifested, not to speak of the friendship which exists between the Italian nation and the American people induce a confident expectation on the part of the President, that His Majesty's Government will not tolerate the execution of the unlawful designs you have brought to its notice.

The statement you have given me of a decline of confidence in the success of this Government in suppressing the insurrection, which is exhibited in Europe, has been carefully considered in connection with similar information which was contained as well in a former dispatch of your own as in the communications of others of our representatives on that continent. I freely confess that the fact is regarded with sincere and profound regret. It cannot be admitted, however, that this unfavorable opinion is sustained by the argument upon which, according to your statement, it is built,—much less that it is sustainable independently of that reasoning. I think I have had occasion to say, heretofore, that insurrections are generally strong, vigorous and energetic in their beginnings, while well established governments may be expected to gain strength, vigor, and energy, as the struggle for self—defence to which they are summoned, advances.

<sup>201</sup> L'Istruzione n. 80, Washington, 17 agosto 1863, trasmetteva la nomina di Jay F. Howard, della Pennsylvania, a console a Napoli.

Eight hundred days have not yet elapsed since this popular Government, all unused to military action, and destitute of its machinery and appliances, was obliged to accept civil war on land and sea,—an insurrection occupying near half of the Union seized upon the principal military force, the most important navy yards, forts and arsenals, and employed their guns against the Government itself. Every two days of the intervening period witnessed the bringing of a new and effective ship of war, with an hundred seamen and marines into the naval service, as well as the gathering into camps of two thousand soldiers, practically all of whom were volunteers. The achievements of our land and naval forces have been equally brilliant and effective. Our marches and sieges have, I think, seldom been excelled. Certainly the area of the Government's authority has been so continually enlarged, that the Rebellion has retired within a compass altogether too small to maintain an independent state. We have regained the most important of our seaports, while we hold all others in close siege, and we are now traversing, unchecked, all the great rivers and lakes of the country, from their outlets to their sources.

Now, at the close of two years of war, what are the respective conditions of the belligerent parties? We are bringing out new and effective ships and increasing our naval marine more rapidly than before, and we are gathering into camps a force adequate to repair all the waste of the war. Our national credit is stronger than it was when the war began, and is equal to that which almost any other Government holds, though in a state of profound peace. Can those who forebode our downfall, show us where the forces and the material and the credit of the insurgents be concealed? To us it seems as if they are nearing the point of exhaustion.

It is, under the circumstances, eminently to be desired that the confidence of foreign nations in the success of the Government should not be lost. It is to be regretted that there may be nations whose forbearance from interfering with us, would give way with their respect for our strength and power. If, however, we are destined now to encounter foreign complications, let us be thankful that they have been delayed so long. We shall be found, when they come, with an army, a navy, and a treasury, not only adequate, as we think, to self—defence, but also befitting the continent and the cause we shall then be defending against nations whom we have never wronged, and who are quite as deeply interested in our friendship as we unhappily are in their forbearance towards ourselves.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 78*

Turin, August 17, 1863.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions Nos 77 and 78, and to express my sincere thanks for the leave of absence so kindly granted me.

I have received from several of the Ministry warm congratulations on the recent success of the Federal forces, though I have reason to believe that one or two members of the present administration are inclined to espouse the Confederate cause. The hope of obtaining the cession of Venice from Austria, as one of the conditions of the establishment of an Austrian prince on the throne of Mexico, is not altogether without influence, but I do not think that the more enlightened portion of the statesmen of Italy will be cajoled into the favorable acceptance of an alliance between France, Mexico and the Confederate States, by so shallow an intrigue as this.<sup>202</sup>

The recall of Sir James Hudson, who is deservedly much esteemed in Italy, and is an enlightened and sincere friend of national liberty everywhere, is ascribed by some well-informed persons to French influence. I do not deem this suggestion improbable, though I do not know that Mr. Elliott is likely to be a supporter of the Imperial policy in Italy.

I am requested by the Chevalier Vinay, whose son Captain Felice Vinay, of the Fourth Regt. New York Cavalry, was taken prisoner some time since at Aldie, to inquire if the Government is possessed of any information respecting him.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 82, Washington, 7 settembre 1863, il Seward notava che il Marsh aveva « perfettamente ragione di supporre che è prematuro fondare delle prospettive di cambiamenti della carta d'Europa sulla base dei fatti militari verificatisi di recente in questo continente ». All'Istruzione n. 83, Confidenziale, Washington, 14 settembre 1863, il Seward allegava copia di una Istruzione dell'11 settembre 1863 per il Molley a Vienna « in merito ai recenti passi della Francia in relazione al Messico ».

<sup>203</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 82, Washington, 7 settembre 1863, si informava il Marsh che « era stata richiamata l'attenzione del Segretario alla Difesa sulla richiesta del cav. Vinay e che sarà prontamente comunicata qualunque informazione riguardante suo figlio ». Con l'Istruzione n. 84, Washington, 3 ottobre 1863, il Seward precisava di aver avuto dal Segretario alla Difesa la notizia che « il nome di quell'ufficiale non è compreso nei ruoli dei prigionieri del Dipartimento della Difesa ».



***Frederick W. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 81*

Washington, August 22, 1863.

Sir: Your dispatch of the 20th ultimo, No. 76, has been received, and has been read with much interest. The assurance of Mr. Cerruti of the continued sympathy of his Government for our cause, is very gratifying. Italy cannot know how soon the principle of nationality which we are maintaining, may become important to herself. We are acting on a fixed policy worthy of consideration by all free governments liable to be assailed by reactionary movements.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 79*

Turin, September 26, 1863.

Sir: I have received your instructions Nos. 79, 80, 81 and 82. An *exequatur* has been applied for in behalf of Mr. Howard, who I learn has already arrived at Naples, and it will probably be received in the course of a week.

I have received from the Department of Foreign Affairs several public documents for the Government of the United States. Having occasion to send to the Commissioner of the Department of Agriculture a quantity of seeds for cultivation and distribution, I shall enclose the documents in question in the same case and request the Commissioner, to whom the case is addressed, to send them to the Department of State. They are as follows:—

Census of the Sardinian States, of Lombardy, Parma and Modena. Two sets, one for the Library of Congress, one addressed to the « Government of the United States », each in three vols folio.<sup>204</sup>

Abstract of Census in 8 vo. three copies.

Report on Commerce & Navigation folio.

Report of the Committee of Parliament on brigandage in the southern provinces.

<sup>204</sup> La Biblioteca del Congresso possiede: *Italy*: Direzione generale di Statistica. Censimento 1857. Popolazione. Censimento degli antichi Stati sardi, 1 gennaio 1858 e censimenti di Lombardia, Parma e Modena 1857-58. Pubblicato per cura del Ministero d'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Torino, 1862. *Sardinia*: Ministero Marina, Agricoltura e Commercio. Movimento della navigazione nazionale ed estera nei porti dello Stato e della navigazione nazionale all'estero. Torino, 1851.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Circolare senza numero*

Washington, September 28, 1863.

Sir: It seems desirable that you should have a correct view of the present military situation. We feel entirely safe in the occupation of New Orleans and the Mississippi. The forces are marching to occupy Texas.

We have a sufficient force in front of this Capital, as we suppose, to assure us against aggressive movements of the insurgents in this quarter. We trust that Rosecrans will be safe in Chattanooga until the large reinforcements which are going to him from three points, shall reach him there. Once at Chattanooga, we think we shall have the principal forces of the insurgents confined and practically harmless within the circle of Georgia and Alabama. Charleston is not neglected.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 86* <sup>205</sup>

Washington, November 28, 1863.

Sir: Desirous to inform you as fully as we are possessed ourselves of the gratifying successes which have crowned the national arms in Georgia, I cannot perform this in any other way so effectively [sic] as I can by giving you a copy of a graphic report which was received last night from Quarter Master—General Montgomery C. who, being accidentally in attendance upon General Grant's army, was an eye witness of the great transaction.<sup>206</sup> You will justly expect this auspicious event will be followed by movements for the restoration of the civil authority in the states which have been the principal theatre of the civil war. There are not wanting cheering indications that slavery will be willingly made a sacrifice by the loyal citizens of those states, to regain and perpetuate the blessings of Union.

<sup>205</sup> L'Istruzione n. 85, Washington, 17 novembre 1863, trasmetteva copia della lettera inviata dall'on. John A. Kasson a riconoscimento delle attenzioni personali e della collaborazione ufficiale prestatagli dal Marsh e da altri rappresentanti presso paesi stranieri durante la sua ultima visita ufficiale in Europa. L'Istruzione n. 87, Washington, 14 dicembre 1863, è identica alla n. 62 inviata al Koerner a Madrid.

<sup>206</sup> Si fa riferimento alla campagna del Chattanooga e alla battaglia per il Sud Ovest del 23-25 novembre 1863. Cfr. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, a cura di Robert U. Johnson e Clarence C. Buel, 4 voll., New York, The Century Company, 1887-1888; vol. III, pp. 677-730.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 80*

Turin, December 1, 1863.

Sir: Mr. Clay proposes to ask leave of absence for a few weeks for the purpose of visiting central and southern Italy. I have no objection to the granting of this request, and, believing that the usefulness of diplomatic officers is increased by a familiar knowledge of the countries where they are employed, I recommend that the permission desired by Mr. Clay be extended to him.<sup>207</sup>

In a conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday morning, the Minister alluded to a recent proposal in behalf of the United States Government for the purchase of the ironclad frigates now building at New York for the King of Italy, and said that His Majesty's Government would very gladly oblige that of the United States in the way proposed; but that the possible and even probable necessities of Italy were such, that, in the present aspect of affairs, the Ministry would not think itself, or be thought by the nation, justifiable in depriving it of any element of military strength which it now possesses or could command. He begged me, however, to be assured that His Majesty's Government continued to feel the strongest interest in the prosperity of the United States and the success of the federal authorities in putting down the present unnatural warfare, and added that it would always be happy to give us any proof of its friendship consistent with the usages of modern international law and civilization.

I am happy to say that the recent exposition of the condition of affairs in America from the State Department at Washington have produced a very favorable impression in most parts of the continent, especially in Italy, and that, though the conduct of the war by the federal government is still criticized as wanting in energy, and severity towards the rebel states, yet its management of our relations with Europe receives unqualified praise from all those European statesmen who are liberal enough to find anything to applaud in the acts of a republican government.

The European states which have most to hope or to fear from France seem to agree in denouncing the British ministry as the responsible cause

<sup>207</sup> Il Clay aveva richiesto in una lettera dello stesso giorno (1 dicembre 1863) un congedo di sei o otto settimane allo scopo di prendere conoscenza del paese. In un'altra comunicazione, datata 28 dicembre 1863, il Clay reclamava un pagamento straordinario di 323 dollari per il periodo in cui era stato incaricato d'affari (5 ottobre - 2 novembre) durante il congedo accordato al Marsh dal Dipartimento di Stato.

of the failure of the proposed European congress. I find it difficult to believe that any man of political experience ever seriously expected that such a congress as was invited by the Emperor of France would ever assemble, or that if it were really convened, anything but mischief to the liberal cause would result from its action. Italy, at least, has abundant cause to congratulate herself on the defeat of the scheme, for there is not the slightest apparent probability that a majority of the congress would have sustained the chief aspirations of that country, or even sanctioned the *faits accomplis* which have given the Kingdom of Italy its present organization.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 88*

Washington, January 7, 1864.

Sir: Your despatch of December 1st, No. 80, has been received. Leave of absence for eight weeks is accorded to Mr. Clay, pursuant to his request.

You will please make acknowledgments to the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the liberal and friendly answer of the Italian Government to my suggestion concerning a purchase of the ships of war recently built for its use at New York.

The attention of statesmen, measurably withdrawn from America, seems to be now fastening itself entirely upon European questions. Information concerning these questions has a certain value for us, although we have no direct interest in or responsibility concerning them. The position you occupy doubtlessly enables you to study the events occurring on the shores of the Mediterranean from the Alps to the Adriatic, while your long experience will assist you to form prudent judgments concerning their tendency and probable results. For these reasons your correspondence is regarded at the present moment with special interest.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 81*

Turin, January 8, 1864.

Sir: According to the custom of this Court, the members of the diplomatic corps at Turin were separately received, in private audience,

by the King of Italy, in the last day of the year 1863. In my interview with His Majesty, he inquired respecting the recent intelligence from America, but made no further observations beyond the expression of a hope that the present struggle, which was attended with consequences so injurious to the industry of Europe, might soon be brought to a close.

The two leading administration papers at Turin, the *Opinione* and the *Stampa*—which were formerly favourable to the interests of the Union—having lately deserted them and virtually espoused the Confederate cause, and the *Opinione* being generally regarded as a semi-official organ of the Government, I thought proper to draw the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to some offensive articles on this subject in the columns of the latter journal, and I expressed the hope that they were not to be regarded as authorized by the administration or as expositions of the sentiments and opinions now entertained by it. I was assured, in reply, that the Government was in no way responsible for the articles in question, and did not share the views of the writers.

I forward, through Mr. Miller, the *Opinione* of September 28, and of December 30th <sup>208</sup> containing leading articles, which will give you an idea of the spirit with which that able and influential, as well as otherwise calm, liberal, and candid, journal is animated towards us.

Although, as I have remarked in former despatches, the Federal cause is not, upon the whole, increasing the number of its friends on the continent, we have friends of progress in Italy, and even so unimportant a circumstance as the recent publication of the correspondence between Jefferson Davis and the Pope <sup>209</sup> has produced an impression quite favourable to us.

The letters are thought by many to show that between the great enemy of African liberty in America, and the great enemy of all liberty in Europe, a sympathy exists which is not shared by the people of the North or the Government which represents it. The letters have been published in all the liberal papers in Italy except those hostile to the Union cause, which, so far as I can learn, have not noticed the correspondence in their columns.

<sup>208</sup> Queste pubblicazioni non sono reperibili in questa filza di documenti.

<sup>209</sup> Sulla corrispondenza tra Pio IX e Jefferson Davis, si veda Strock, *United States Ministers* cit., pp. XXXVI, XXXVII, 279 n, 285, 287, 288, 290, 301, 302, 312-313, 314, 315, 324, 329, 342, 350. Si veda anche FEIERTAG, *American Public Opinion* cit., pp. 116, 117, 119, 120, 136, 142, 163. Sulle reazioni americane si vedano l'*Herald* di New York (15 e 20 gennaio 1864) e il *Times* di New York (15 gennaio 1864).



William H. Seward.



**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 82

Turin, January 9, 1864.

Sir: Several weeks since I prepared the rough draft of a despatch requesting information as to the power of American consuls to *renew* passports granted by the State Department or by American legations abroad, and left it upon my writing table, with a note to Mr. Clay, who was not at that moment in the office, requesting him to make a fair copy of the dispatch of the letters therein referred to, for transmission to Washington. On inquiring of Mr. Clay two or three days afterwards, whether the copies were ready, he informed me that he had not seen the despatch or the note which accompanied it, and thought it had been inclosed by mistake in the same envelope with another dispatch and sent to Mr. Miller at London.

Not having notice of its reception at Washington, I suppose it was lost, and I now repeat the substance of the despatch so far as I can recover it. On the 15th of September last Lucio Roda produced at this Legation a passport for himself wife and children as citizens of the United States, issued by J. P. Brown Esq., <sup>210</sup> U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople in 1861, describing him as a citizen of the United States and bearing attached a paper dated December 12, 1862 certifying, under the official seal of A. J. Stevens Esq. <sup>211</sup> U. S. Consul at Leghorn, that the passport had been « renewed » at his office upon the payment of a fee of three dollars. Roda desired a visa for Paris, and made substantially the following statement of his claims to American citizenship. He said that he was a native of Italy and emigrated to the United States and became naturalized there previous to the year 1843. In that year, or possibly a little later, he returned to his native land and engaged in the political and military affairs of Italy, but had never revisited the United States, where he admitted that he had neither property, domicile, nor business connections of any sort. He did not profess any intention of resuming his residence in America, but on the contrary, said that after spending some time in Turkey he was now definitively established (*stabilito*) with his family at Pistoja, in Tuscany. He was unable to state, with precision, the time or

<sup>210</sup> John P. Brown, dell'Ohio, fu nominato segretario dell'Ambasciata statunitense a Costantinopoli il 23 settembre 1858; funse da incaricato d'affari *ad interim* dal 25 maggio al 9 agosto 1861, dal 18 maggio al 20 agosto 1864 e dal 10 giugno 1871 all'8 marzo 1872, giorno in cui morì. Cfr. *Register of the Department of State*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1874, p. 103.

<sup>211</sup> Andrew J. Stevens era console degli S.U. a Livorno.



place of his naturalization and he produced no evidence of American citizenship, but said that he deposited his certificate of naturalization with Mr. Brown on taking out his passport.

Upon this statement I declined giving a visa to the passport or recognizing Roda as entitled to protection as a citizen of the United States, and immediately addressed to Mr. Stevens a letter of which a copy marked A is hereto annexed. Mr. Stevens replied by a letter a copy of which also, marked B, accompanies this dispatch, and, the 22nd of September, I again wrote to Mr. Stevens a letter—copy of which marked C is hereto attached. I see no objections to entrusting consuls with the power of renewing passports to persons bearing passports issued by the State Department since 4 march 1861, or by diplomatic officers commissioned by the present administration; but there are many secessionists and naturalized foreigners now travelling in Europe under passports issued many years ago at Washington or in 1860 & early in 1861 by former legations, and I am satisfied that consuls in general should not be authorized to recognize or renew such instruments—

***George P. Marsh a Andrew J. Stevens*** <sup>212</sup>

Turin, September 15, 1863.

Sir: Lucio Roda of Pistoja, who claims to be a naturalized citizen of the United States has this morning presented to this Legation a passport for himself wife & children, issued by John P. Brown, Esq., Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople in 1861, with a paper attached dated Dec. 12, 1862, certifying under your official seal that the passport has been « renewed » at your office upon the payment of the regular fee of three dollars.

I understood the certificate to mean that you had issued a new passport upon the faith of the old one, but Roda denies that he took a new passport, and if this statement is correct, I suppose you intended the certificate as evidence that you had *revived* or officially *recognized* the passport as a valid protection to Roda as an American citizen.

Unless you have special instructions to the contrary, you, as you are no doubt aware, cannot issue passports, that authority being reserved to

<sup>212</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 82 del Marsh.

the Legation in all foreign countries where such exist. But, however that may be, it is perfectly clear that Roda, even if legally naturalized, can no longer be recognized as entitled to any of the privileges of American citizenship. No principle of international law is better settled than that a naturalized foreigner loses his acquired rights of citizenship by a return to the country of his native allegiance, except it be for a mere temporary purpose.

Roda admits that he left the U. S. nearly twenty years ago, and has now lived for some years at Pistoja, where he is, to use his own expression, established (*stabilito*).

Italy is full of persons who have gone to the United States for the very purpose of escaping the liabilities of Italian citizenship, and who then returning to their native land claim the protection of our Government, without paying taxes to it or performing military service for its benefit. I have decided that I will recognize no naturalized Italian as an American citizen, unless upon the clearest proof that he left the United States for a mere temporary purpose and with a fixed *animus revertendi* to the country of his adoption. This decision I have communicated to the Secretary of State who has fully sanctioned it, and the present circumstances of our country render it obviously proper that it should be conformed to.

No passport presented by such person, therefore, should be renewed, visaed, or in any way officially recognized, nor should protection be extended to any naturalized citizens who, by re—emigrating from the United States, have renounced the rights and liabilities acquired and imposed by naturalization.

***Andrew J. Stevens a George P. Marsh*** <sup>213</sup>

Leghorn, September 19, 1863.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 15th instant relative to the passport of Mr. Lucio Roda, which was extended at this Consulate Dec. 12th 1862.

Waiving the question of the right of Roda to claim the protection of the Government of the United States, am I to understand that consuls in Italy are not authorized to *renew* passports?

<sup>213</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 82 del Marsh.

Turin, September 22, 1863.

Sir: I have received your despatch of the 19th instant reciting that the passport of Lucio Roda was « *extended* » at the Consulate at Leghorn on the 12th of Dec. 1862, and enquiring whether you are to understand that consuls in Italy are not authorized to *renew* passports. I observed in my letter of the 15th that I was in doubt as to the meaning you attached to the word *renew*, but that from the statement of Roda, I inferred that you intended to certify that you had *revived* his passport and *recognized* it as still valid, but had not issued a new one upon the faith of it. I am confirmed in this conclusion by your use of the term « *extended* » in your last communication, but I regret that you did not think proper to state explicitly the sense in which you employ the word *renew*.

In my judgment, the only proper meaning that can be given to this word, as employed by the Secretary of State in Circular No. 24 addressed to the diplomatic & consular officers of the United States in foreign countries under date of Sept. 24, 1862, is to issue a new passport, which, as you will see by a reference to Consular Instructions 401..402., can only be done by the Secretary of State or by the diplomatic & consular officers expressly authorized by the Secretary of State.

If, however, *renew* is to be construed as having a different meaning from issue, that meaning from issue, that meaning must be embraced in the language used in 401, which forbids all other persons except those so authorized to grant, issue, or *verify* passports. The words « renewed » either at this Department or at a Legation or Consulate abroad in the circular No. 24 are to be taken in connection with the general diplomatic and consular instructions reddendo singula singulis, and are not to be regarded as authorizing a consul to renew a passport, except in the case of a want of a diplomatic representative, when he might issue an original one.

Unless, therefore, consuls in Italy have some special authorization distinct from that conferred by the general regulations and by Circular No. 24—of which I have no evidence—I am clearly of the opinion that they have no power to issue a new passport or to « extend » or « renew » the validity of an old one as long as the United States have a diplomatic representative in that country.

I may here remark, though it is not a point of much practical importance, that if consuls have any power of renewing or reviving a passport,

<sup>214</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 82 del Marsh.

it should be done not by attaching a certificate stating the fact of renewal by way of recital in the past tense, but by a declaration of having the character of a present official act, endorsed upon or attached to the passport.

I think it would be for the public interest that consuls be authorized to issue new passports on the faith of originals recently granted by the Secretary of State, but erroneous abuses of the rights of protection abroad are so frequent that I do not think the power ought to be further extended.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 89*

Washington, February 1, 1864.

Sir: Your despatch of January 8th without a number, has been received. The President does not distrust the friendship of the King of Italy. The correspondence between Jefferson Davis and the Holy Father,<sup>215</sup> although it necessarily assumes some significance in Italian and certain other continental circles, produces no effect here. The temper of the people has become too calm and firm to be disturbed by foreign speculations upon our domestic affairs.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 83*

Turin, February 2, 1864.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: I have received your instruction No. 88 dated January 7 1864, in which you do me the honor to say that my « correspondence is regarded at the present moment with official interest ».

I have never known a critical juncture in the affairs of Europe when political prediction was more difficult than at the present hour, and I do not think that even in the period when European diplomacy was of the most tortuous character, there was ever a time when the continental governments gave each other less credit for frankness and good faith or when the liberalists of Europe in general had less confidence in the honesty of purpose of their own rulers.

<sup>215</sup> Vedi il dispaccio n. 81.

Most politicians here agree that a war between the German States and Denmark, which would probably extend itself all over Europe, must be regarded as certain had not experience shown that no faith ought to be put in the declarations of England—a Government of which it may be fairly said, that, as its threats have ceased to excite fear in the strong powers, its promises no longer inspire hope in the weak. Although thus far, the telegraph last evening reported that the German troops had crossed the Eider, it is not believed here that a war will ensue. England, it is thought, will, as John Q. Adams <sup>216</sup> said of the Polk administration in the debate on the Oregon question, « back out » and either cajole, or help to coerce, Denmark into a compromise which will satisfy the leading states of the Germanic confederation.

England has of late years lost ground in the public opinion of continental Europe, though in fact she never fully acquired its confidence. The little she had gained by liberal professions and especially of her great internal prosperity since the peace of 1815, is now gone, and I think she is generally regarded, by both the Germanic and the Latin nations of Europe, as the most selfish, unprincipled and perfidious power of modern Christendom.

Most persons here who are devoted to financial studies and pursuits—and almost all educated Italian civilians who occupy themselves much with economical theory—desire a war with Austria, because they think that the expense of continued preparation of men and material, which every year in large proportion consumes or renders worthless, and of keeping on foot a peace establishment of 300,000 troops, cannot be much longer sustained without exhausting resources which ought to be reserved for a state of actual war. Experienced military men do not appear to me to think Italy yet strong enough to cope with Austria, but the mass of the people, including the young officers who are generally from families of political influence, are eager for war because they hope for the conquest of Rome and Venice. I say *conquest* in the former as well as the latter case, for only those who are willing to purchase Rome at the cost of all that the sufferings and sacrifices of a generation have won for Italy, expect to obtain provision of the national capital by any other means than the sword.

<sup>216</sup> Cfr. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. XII, p. 239: 30 gennaio 1846: « Abbiamo un'altra prova del cedimento dell'amministrazione Polk sulla controversia per l'Oregon con la Gran Bretagna. Nel Giornale dell'Unione di martedì scorso è apparso un articolo in cui con tono energico si dichiarava che, se la Gran Bretagna dovesse proporre di prendere il 49° grado di latitudine come base per la linea di confine verso l'Oceano Pacifico — proposta che si faceva risalire a me —, noi dovremmo subito accettare ».

The policy of the Emperor of France on this point, if on no other, is clear enough and the late unexpected vote in the legislative body of the empire when, out of an opposition numbering thirty or forty members, no more than twelve could be rallied in favor of an amendment to the address looking to the abandonment of the French occupation of Rome—has dispelled the last hope of sympathy for the Italian cause from the Orleanist party<sup>217</sup> in France. At this moment one often hears quoted the remark of Cavour: that the only safe and wise policy for that party was to espouse the cause of the largest civil and religious liberty in Europe, and there seems to be little doubt that the present political nullity of the Orleanists is in a great measure owing to the conviction that there is no good reason to expect from a prince of that house a government which would secure to the French people the enjoyment of a larger measure of substantial freedom than they possess under imperial rule, or a system which would favor the emancipation of the rest of Europe from the shackles of political and ecclesiastical despotism.

In Italy, the breach between the Church and the Government, is daily widening, and I know very few among the warmest adherents of Catholicism who do not join in the contempt—I should hardly use too strong a word if I were to say execration—in which the clergy is held by the middle classes who in Italy as elsewhere in Europe constitute the real moral and intellectual power of the nation. The disclosure of astounding vice in the schools of the Ignorantelli at Turin have been followed by numerous similar revelations as to other seminaries conducted by the same and other religious orders, and the public indignation against the priesthood is aggravated by the aspect of affairs in France which is ascribed in no small degree to clerical intrigues.

It is evident as an eminent Italian statesman said to me yesterday, that no European government, except perhaps some of the minor states, desires to see Italy united and free, and that a pretended devotion to the interests of the Church too often masks a real hostility to the success of an experiment which could hardly fail to result in raising this Kingdom to the ranks which its great physical resources, its advantages of geographical position, and the unequalled mental endowments of its people so eminently entitle it to assume. Italy consolidated, and independent of priestly and of foreign dictation, it is readily seen, would prove a formi-

<sup>217</sup> Molti cattolici e conservatori che avevano in precedenza sostenuto il secondo impero di Napoleone Bonaparte, cominciarono a brigare per un mutamento di dinastia. Tra costoro i realisti « liberali » diedero vita al Partito orleanista, che appoggiava il conte di Parigi, nipote di Luigi Filippo, quale candidato al regno di Francia.

dable political as well as commercial rival to all the states whose territories border on the Mediterranean, and even to England. Hence the narrow jealousy, which induced the allied powers in 1829 so to narrow the limits of the infant Kingdom of Greece that it could of no possibility attain to the position of a truly independent self-sustaining state, now dictates a like policy with regard to the vastly more probable growth and development of the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>218</sup>

These considerations do not escape the notice of the Italian Government, or of any portion of its people, and the present condition of things cannot long be, ought not to be, borne. The Italian people will perish as a nation rather than much longer submit to see their natural capital employed, of either a foreign despot or a corporation of tonsured bonzes, as a rendezvous and a retreat for conspirators against the life of Italy, and for brigands who share their plunder with their protectors. Austria is aware of this, and foresees a speedy uprising of Italy. Hence, since the French Emperor changed his tone on the Roman question, and repudiated the promises which he impliedly hinted if not formally made, Austria has exerted her utmost energies, not merely to make her Italian possessions impregnable, but to convert them into a vast depot from which an irresistible invading force can be at any moment launched against the heart of the peninsula. If, as is most confidently asserted in spite of the denials of the Vienna press, Austria is now sending large bodies of troops to Lombardy, she certainly meditates offensive movements against Italy, and does not mean to await an attack, or to permit an advance of Italian troops upon Rome. She can concentrate a large army within the Quadrilateral before Italy could bring together an equal force upon the frontier and she can therefore have no motive for now sending additional troops to her already strongly garrisoned fortresses in her Italian provinces, unless she means to disable Italy by striking the first blow. The Italian Government, however, as I was told last evening by an officer of high rank, does not believe the rumors of the actual movement of Austrian troops in this direction, though it certainly does not consider it safe altogether to disregard them.

In any event, a collision between Italy and Austria, or between Italy and France, cannot long be delayed, and though I do not believe that war will now break out on the Eider, I think many months will not elapse

<sup>218</sup> Marsh fa riferimento ai Protocolli di Londra che, nel 1829, modificarono il trattato di Londra del 1827, restringendo le frontiere settentrionali del nuovo Stato Greco, nato dalla rivoluzione.

without stirring events on the Tiber and the Po. The Italian army is now very well armed, equipped and disciplined, and were it not weakened by the necessity of detaching a large force, to keep down the brigandage which the Papal government and the ex-King of Naples are stimulating and aiding in the southern provinces, I think it would be a match for any force which Austria could bring into the field against it, and probably also in the end to reduce the strong places now held by the latter power in Lombardy.

As for Hungary, although Kossuth's recent proclamation to his countrymen has produced a certain excitement among them, I cannot learn that the Hungarians resident in Italy have any serious expectation of an original movement in that quarter though a war between Austria and England—if a breach between two powers which in spite of occasional bickerings, are really more closely allied than any other two European states be possible—would no doubt be accompanied by an insurrection of all the non-German provinces of the former.

At present, therefore unless war is a part of the inscrutable but shifting policy of the French Emperor, it does not seem likely that the general peace of mind will be broken, until a necessity which can be no longer resisted drives Italy to vindicate her right to that which is her own by other means than congress or negotiations.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Confidenziale. Dispaccio n. 84*

Turin, February 16, 1864.

Sir: Since the date of my last despatch No. 83, Feby, 2d there is no essential change in the aspect of political affairs in Europe, so far at least as can be judged from this point of observation. The Danish question does not seem likely to lead to immediate general complications unless the Emperor of France finds in the movements connected with it some plausible excuse, or some favorable opportunity, for entering upon a war of conquest on the German frontier—a measure which few doubt is a part of his ultimate policy, if indeed he can be supposed to have any settled policy about anything except the securing of the interests of his own dynasty.

In Italy, the discussion of the probability of a general war is drawing increased attention to the almost unavoidable necessity of a war with Austria, and I think a movement would be commenced on this side at



once, if France would stipulate to guarantee to this Kingdom its present northern possessions in case its arms should meet with reverses in Venetia. I am inclined even to believe that Italy would invade Venetia if the Government were reasonably certain that England would not send a fl  et to the Adriatic to cooperate with Austria; but the warm sympathies which have so long existed between the oligarchies which dictate the policy of the two Latin states excite a very strong suspicion here that England would not refuse her aid to Austria, if attacked by Italy.

I learned very lately from a source which I think entitled to credit that attempts were making at a negotiation between this Government and the liberal party in Hungary for joint action in hostilities against Austria, and it is said that Klapka—who <sup>219</sup> now possesses greater consideration in western Europe than any other Hungarian patriot—is active in this matter. It is reported that there is a disagreement as to which shall begin the struggle, it being evident that the party which commences the attack runs a great risk of being crushed before its ally can create an effectual diversion by a movement from another quarter.

My own belief is, that if the Danish question is soon settled to the satisfaction of Germany, Austria will save her enemies all trouble on question of precedence by commencing hostilities herself, and I have not the least doubt that she intends and expects to invade Italy at a by no means distant day. The preparations for offensive war, which I mentioned in my last as going on in the Venetian territory, are rapidly advancing, and Austria is too sagacious a power to be now expending vast sums in accumulating the means for forward movements in a province where she intends to await an attack.

The universal scorn and contempt which every organ for the expression of public opinion in continental Europe is pouring upon the head of England may drive that nation into hostile action of some sort, for though she will not draw the sword in maintenance of honour or of principle, she may be goaded by shame into a manifestation of national manhood. If the war spirit is at length roused in England, it will be directed against the power she thinks least dangerous, and our present embarrassments may

<sup>219</sup> Gy  rgy Klapka (1820-1892). Generale che si distinse nella difesa di Komorn al tempo della rivoluzione ungherese del 1848-49. Terminata la quale, fu in esilio a Londra, Genova e Ginevra. Nel 1859 organizz   in Italia una Legione Ungherese, nel 1866 ne cre   un'altra nella Slesia superiore, ma in entrambe le occasioni la pace venne fatta prima che Klapka potesse marciare verso l'Ungheria. Nel 1867 fu eletto deputato; nel 1873 si rec   a Costantinopoli per organizzare l'esercito turco. Fu spesso giudicato il « Garibaldi ungherese ». Cfr. *Illustrazione Italiana*, 1892, 1   semestre, p. 357.

afford the rancorous hate, with which our institutions are regarded by the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies of that country, a convenient and comparatively safe opportunity for a more vigorous expression than the malignity and mendacity of British statesmanship and politico-religious journalism, which have hitherto constituted the national weapons against us.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 90*

Washington, February 25, 1864.

Sir: I have received your despatch of February 2d, No. 83, and I thank you very sincerely for the careful and comprehensive survey of European politics which it presents. Since it was written war has begun between Germany and Denmark, and the discussions which that event has elicited in Great Britain seem to justify your speculations upon the probable course of Her Majesty's Government with regard to it.

Our own affairs continue to improve. The movement of General Sherman involves very important consequences if it shall prove successful.<sup>220</sup>

Political activity is now being directed towards the canvass preparatory to the presidential election.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 85*<sup>221</sup>

Turin, March 1, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 89, dated Feb. 1, 1864, and to enclose herewith:

A duplicate of a printed circular from the Ministry of the Marine relating to the establishment of a Light near Rimini on the Adriatic.

<sup>220</sup> Quando per il 1864 si stavano preparando nuove operazioni militari, il paese si rivolse a Grant che, dopo la promozione al grado di luogotenente generale, abbozzò una strategia complessiva della imminente campagna e conferì il suo antico posto di comando a Sherman, che poté godere di una grande libertà nella condotta delle operazioni nello scacchiere occidentale.

<sup>221</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 94, Washington, 21 marzo 1864, si informava il Marsh che la circolare a stampa era stata passata alla Commissione per i fari e che l'interrogazione sulla tassa sui tabacchi era stata riferita al Segretario del Tesoro. L'Istruzione n. 95, Washington, 31 marzo 1864, trasmetteva copia di una lettera del Segretario del Tesoro, datata 28 marzo 1864, sulla proposta della tassa sui tabacchi.

Translations of a letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated Jan'y 12—1864, relating to the stranding of the Italian frigate *Re d'Italia*; <sup>222</sup> and

A letter of inquiry from the same department, dated Jany. 25, 1864, relating to a proposed increase of the tax on tobacco by the Government of the United States.

On this latter subject, I stated to the Ministry that no additional tax had yet been imposed and that it was not probable that action would be taken on the question before the Italian government would have time to take such measures in relation to it as it should deem the interest of this kingdom to require.

***Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh*** <sup>223</sup>

Turin, le 25 Janvier 1864.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Le bruit a couru depuis le commencement de l'année que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis va frapper d'une taxe de 20 centimes la livre la production du tabac sur son territoire.

Ce bruit a causé une perturbation dans les contrats en Amérique et le contrecoup s'en fait sentir par une forte élévation du prix de cet article dans les différents ports d'Europe. Notre régie, devant s'approvisionner de tabacs d'Amérique que forment la base de notre fabrication, se trouve très embarrassée, car s'il s'agissait uniquement d'un bruit sans fondement les prix ne pourraient pas se soutenir au taux élevé qu'il viennent d'atteindre, et par contre si la mesure dont on parle devait réellement avoir lieu, il faudrait aviser au moyen de faire face à cette éventualité avec le moins de sacrifices possible. Sur la demande du Département des Finances je viens donc vous prier, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien me donner les renseignements que vous seriez à même de me fournir soit sur la probabilité que la taxe en question soit décrétée par le Gouvernement et par le Congrès des Etats Unis, soit sur le chiffre réel qui serait adopté.

En vous remerciant d'avance de cette faveur je saisis l'occasion de vous renouveler, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

<sup>222</sup> Questo allegato non esiste nella filza.

<sup>223</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 85 del Marsh.

**Emilio Visconti Venosta a George P. Marsh** <sup>224</sup>

Traduzione

Turin, January 12, 1864.

Mr. Minister: I have just learned from the correspondence of the Minister of His Majesty at Washington, that the Government of the United States, as soon as informed of the accident which happened to our frigate the *King of Italy*, sent pressing orders, by telegraph, to its maritime authorities at New York, to contribute by all possible means, as in fact they have done, to the rescue of the ship from her position.

This is a new proof of the friendly sentiments with which the United States have always been animated towards Italy, and I will thank you, Mr. Minister, if you will have the goodness to express to that Government our lively and sincere gratitude.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

Istruzione n. 92 <sup>225</sup>

Washington, March 7, 1864.

Sir: Herewith I enclose a transcript of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, dated the 2d instant, and of the despatch which accompanied it, from Capitain H. S. Stellwagen, <sup>226</sup> commanding the U. S. Sloop of war *Constellation*, in the Mediterranean, in which he speaks of the continued friendly demonstrations towards our country of the ruling powers and people of the Italian Kingdom, and alludes particularly to the attentions shown to him and to the officers of the *Constellation* by His Royal Highness Prince Humbert (Umberto), heir apparent to the throne, who it appears desires and intends to visit the United States, probably this spring.

It might not be amiss for you, on some proper occasion, when in conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to allude to this purpose of Prince Humbert, and, in doing so, to intimate how gratifying such a visit from him would be to the Government and people of the United States.

<sup>224</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 85 del Marsh.

<sup>225</sup> L'Istruzione n. 91, Washington, 7 marzo 1864, trasmetteva la nomina di Franklin Torrey a console degli S.U. a Carrara.

<sup>226</sup> H. S. Stellwagen, capitano del *Constellation*, fu nominato comandante nella marina statunitense il 14 settembre 1855, capitano il 29 agosto 1862, si ritirò dal ruolo attivo il 24 dicembre 1865, morì il 15 luglio 1866. Vedi E. W. CALLAHAN, *List of officers of the Navy of the United and the Marine Corps from 1885 to 1900*, New York, 1901, p. 519.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 93* <sup>227</sup>

Washington, March 9, 1864.

Sir: Your despatch of February 16th, No. 84, has been received. The information received here from northern Europe tends to support the opinion you have adopted, that the war between Germany and Denmark is not likely to spread beyond its present limits, or to continue long. Doubtless there are elements of strife in the Mediterranean countries, but they originate in causes which are of a chronic character, and it seems probable that all parties will prefer to postpone operations during the present year.

Our own campaign is opening with an army virtually renewed. The election indicates increased soundness and steadiness of public opinion, and devotion to the Union.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 86*

Turin, March 19, 1864.

Sir: I beg leave to call the attention of the Department to the great irregularity in the transmission of correspondence through the transatlantic mails. If I can at all rely upon the statements of friends in whom I place entire confidence, I have lost more letters within the last twelve months than in the whole course of my previous life. Among other instances, two important business letters of mine to a correspondent in New York have been altogether lost, and we have been consequently subjected to great annoyance, and I doubt not, in the end, to considerable pecuniary loss.

I certainly cannot impute the delay and miscarriage of all these communications to infidelity or negligence on the part of the clerks in the public offices at Washington who are charged with forwarding the correspondence of the Legation abroad; for some of my missing letters were sent by the direct post. But several letters enclosed to the State Department by friends in the United States for me and my family have failed to reach us, and we are assured that those transmitted by us through the

<sup>227</sup> Nell'Istruzione n. 96, Washington, 19 aprile 1864, si ringraziava il Marsh per « l'interessantissimo resoconto » dei principali problemi politici che tenevano occupati gli statisti europei.

same channel are frequently not received in less than six or eight weeks, and in several instances more than three months have elapsed between this date and their reception.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 87 Confidenziale*

Turin, March 21, 1864.

Sir: Through the strenuous exertions of the Italian Government and the administration journals the war-fever has much abated in Italy, and if hostilities soon break out between this Kingdom and Austria, it will not be in consequence of any want of effort on the part of the Italian authorities to prevent them. At the same time, a deliberate intention to commence or to provoke an attack is the only possible explanation of the extraordinary energy which Austria is now displaying in putting her Italian possessions in a condition, not of defence only, but of effective offence, and that power is doing her utmost, by unofficial and semi-official menace and insult, to invite a collision with Italy, if not to begin one.

The Italian Government is certainly not idle but though its friends assert that it is rapidly arming, I see no reason to believe that it is making preparation adequate to the emergency, and I suppose the ministry relies either upon the disclaimer of hostile intention by Austria, or upon assurance of support from the French Emperor neither of which, in my opinion, justifies the security which the Government seems to feel.

There are many persons who are weak enough to believe that Russia would sustain Italy in case of an invasion by Austria, but there is a general solidarity between all the political and spiritual tyrannies of Europe, and the Holy Alliance against liberty and progress has unquestionably a real, if not a formal, existence. No great European power will draw the sword in any cause but that of despotism and obscurantism.

The death of Pius IX,<sup>228</sup> now probably a near event, is expected by many sanguine liberalists to produce a favorable change—the policy of the Emperor Napoleon towards Italy. I see no ground for such an expectation, nor if Napoleon were personally disposed to abandon the interests of the Papacy, do I believe that a single one of the leading European governments, Catholic or Protestant, would sustain or even morally encourage the

<sup>228</sup> Thouvenel riteneva che la morte di Sua Santità fosse imminente e che le truppe francesi di stanza a Roma avrebbero condizionato la scelta del suo successore. Cfr. L. CASE, *Franco-Italian Relations* cit., pp. 118, 119, 128, 267-269.

Italian Kingdom in extending its jurisdiction over the Patrimony of the Church. Every despotism, every aristocracy, every established church, every ecclesiastical dignitary, in Europe, is hostile to the principles of religious liberty, and they all agree in regarding the maintenance of the power of the Papacy as the strongest bulwark of their own usurpation. The only hope of European liberty then, is in the spirit of democracy, whose rising tide, we may hope, will at no distant day, be strong enough to burst all barriers and restore the down-trodden nations to the enjoyment of the rights of man.

I am happy to say that the Italians almost unanimously sympathize with the Danes in their present heroic struggle against the rapacity of the Germans, whose aggressive character, and especially the national ambition to Teutonize the whole world—while at bottom they care nothing for the establishment of national liberty among themselves—is one of the greatest sources of danger to the peace and social progress of this continent.

I have just received from a Danish gentleman of position and intelligence a note upon the Schleswig-Holstein question—not invited by any suggestion of mine—which he requests me to « send to Washington », and I take the liberty of complying with his desire by annexing a copy. Similar statements have been recently made to me by a friend from Schleswig, and a long familiarity with the history and politics of the Danish monarchy, ancient and modern, has convinced me that the feeling of dissatisfaction with the Danish rule in the *Dudrius* is greatly exaggerated by the organs of the German nation, and that whatever of this sentiment exists is rather an artificial excitement induced by an insidious German propagandism than a spontaneous development of national aims and tendencies <sup>229</sup>.

The present Italian Ministry has just passed through a critical period in the passage of a law by the Chamber of Deputies for the equalization of direct taxation in the different provinces which compose the Kingdom. The measure is still to be submitted to the Senate, the action of which body upon it is looked forward to with some anxiety, though it is believed that it will concur with the lower House. The Italian Senate—the number of whose members is by the Constitution indeterminate—has hitherto very generally adapted the legislation of the Chamber of Deputies without much debate. Recent administrations, however, by increasing the num-

<sup>229</sup> Rufus King, Ministro degli S.U. a Roma, scriveva nel dispaccio n. 4, 27 febbraio 1864, al Segretario di Stato Seward che « il progredire delle difficoltà nello Schleswig-Holstein e gli sviluppi a cui ha dato, o può dare, origine, è osservato con intenso interesse da tutti i partiti in Italia ». Stock, *United States Ministers* cit., p. 286.

bers of the senators, have introduced more of a popular, not to say a disputatious, spirit into that body, and the symptoms of opposition to the law I have just mentioned have been so threatening that the administration has advised the King to secure a majority by the nomination of more than twenty new senators. This measure is, I think, justly unpopular, and though it may ensure the passage of a law unquestionably very essential to the best interests of the Kingdom, it will react against the Government and very probably, in the end hasten the downfall of a ministry which it for the moment serves to continue in power.

***Un Danese a George P. Marsh*** <sup>230</sup>

*Copia*

Copenhagen, March 13, 1864.

Dear Sir: The state of our political affairs is at present exceedingly complicated.

The invasion by the great powers of Germany has doubtless for its aim the dismemberment of the Danish monarchy, not in protection of the German nationality which has been in no wise assailed. Fanatical propagandists have for many years, endeavored to banish the Danish language from Slesvig, which in ancient times was spoken all over that duchy and is yet employed by more than half its inhabitants.

The true state of things has, in the course of time, been duly laid before the European public, and latterly in a volume published in London entitled « Denmark and Germany since 1815 », by Charles A. Gosch <sup>231</sup>

The German Government Commissioners are using here the same proceedings as in Posen, Hungary, and Venetia. They expel the Danish functionaries, install German fanatics in their places, and have ordered that in the Danish country, Slesvig, the language of government and public business shall henceforth be the German; nay they have even enjoined the editor of the *Flensburg Zeitung* to insert news from Copenhagen in the columns headed « From Abroad » which is the most unmistakable manner shown what their object is.

The German newspaper writers give erroneous information about the condition of affairs. Even the German population in South Slesvig by no means desires to be separated from Denmark and that a similar feeling

<sup>230</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 87 del Marsh.

<sup>231</sup> CHARLES A. GOSCH, *Danimarca e Germania dopo il 1815*, Milano, Corona & Caimi, 1867, 330 pp. (« Collana di storie e memorie contemporanee », diretta da C. Cantù, vol. 31).



is predominant in Holstein, I became thoroughly convinced during my stay there last summer for an entire month. The people lived contentedly, were thriving under the Danish Government, and had perfect confidence that the Danish King embraces his German subjects with equal affection as his Danish. The King is himself a South Slesvigian by birth, but has gained the attachment of his Danish as well as of his German people.

A separate government for Slesvig-Holstein would satisfy nobody. If Holstein were severed from the German Bund, the entire Danish State might easily be organized, and the Danes would then do their utmost to reestablish permanently the good feeling which existed between the Germans and the Danes thirty years ago, when even in southern Germany there was a flourishing association entitled « the Society of the friends of Denmark on the Danube. »

The King of Denmark then reigned as an absolute monarch, and the Germanic confederation at Frankfort did not occupy itself with the internal affairs of this Kingdom. Now Denmark has free institutions, and we are willing to invest our brethren in Holstein and Lanenburg with the same rights which we ourselves possess. The national fanaticism, however, having seized upon the people, and partially blinded the Sovereign of Germany, this purpose cannot be realized without the separation of the duchies from the Germanic Confederation in which they, as properly belonging to another state, would be as far from political prosperity as Hungary or Esthonia.

The question of nationality ought not to create any difficulty. All that is good and great in German nationality is most widely and effectively realized by dissemination of its elements in other states: in France, in Russia, in Great Britain, in the United States. In the Danish Kingdom, it has been powerful enough to produce its most valuable points, and there is no ground to apprehend that under the sway of the Danish scepter its legitimate rights as its true interests would suffer.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 88*

Turin, March 31, 1864.

Sir: I desire leave of absence from my post, for five or six weeks, some convenient period during the summer months, or perhaps including September. My objects are partly the health of myself and family, and

partly the opportunity of making more extended personal observation on subjects connected with physical geography and rural economy; and I should hope to make available, for the good of my countrymen, the information I may acquire in the excursion I wish to undertake. Although I should wish to cross the frontier of both France and Switzerland, my time would be principally spent in the Alps, at points from which, in case of emergency, I could return to Turin at very short notice.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 89*

Turin, April 1, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith copies of a correspondence which has lately taken place between this Legation and O. Marasciullo of Monopoli, in southern Italy, who claims to be a citizen of the United States. Marasciullo appears, so far as can be judged from the copies of his naturalization certificate and other papers, to have been regularly naturalized in the United States, and Mr. Koerner, U. States Minister at Madrid, informs me that a passport was issued to him by the Legation at that city.

It will be observed that Marasciullo left Italy while a minor, and, of course, at an age when he was not of legal capacity to emigrate for the purpose of acquiring a foreign nationality. I do not know what weight the present Italian Ministry will attach to this circumstance—which has sometimes been regarded as an important one—but if it holds the same views of international law as its predecessor, it will decide, as I have done, that, under the circumstances of Marasciullo's return to his native land, he must be considered as having renounced whatever rights he may have acquired by naturalization in the United States.

As I have remarked in former despatches, there are now in this Kingdom, hundreds of Italians, who, after having resided in the United States long enough to become naturalized, have returned to Italy without any settled purpose of resuming their residence in America, but who still claim the rights of American citizenship. In many cases the local authorities have tacitly admitted their claim, and these persons then continue to escape the liabilities of such citizenship while enjoying all its immunities. But the present financial and military necessities of Italy are drawing attention to doubtful claims of exemption from the responsibilities of native born subjects, and many questions are now raised in relation to them.

I shall be glad to receive such instructions as it shall seem expedient to you to give, in relation to the case of Marasciullo and others depending on similar principles.<sup>232</sup>

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 90*

Turin, April 12, 1864.

Sir: I have learned accidentally that important changes in the arrangement of the consulates of the United States in this Kingdom have been recommended to the State Department by the Consulate General at Florence. Mr. Lawrence not having communicated to me his views and purposes on this subject, I am very imperfectly informed as to the nature and extent of the changes suggested by him or contemplated by the Department, and it is not improbable that I have been led altogether into error respecting them.

The statement first made to me was, that it was proposed to suppress all the consulates in the Adriatic ports and at Taranto, to establish inferior consular offices in their stead, and to increase the salaries of the consulates in western Italy by the amount saved by the suppression of those on the eastern coast.

I have been since told that the plan was, after reducing the existing consulates on the Adriatic, to establish a full consulate at Brindisi.

I think the consulates at Taranto and at Otranto might now be replaced by vice-consulates or commercial agencies, without injury to the

<sup>232</sup> I sei allegati seguenti erano archiviati insieme con questo dispaccio. Allegato A, 4 marzo 1864: il Marasciullo scriveva al Marsh per protestare per il suo arresto a Bari e per chiedere protezione in qualità di cittadino naturalizzato americano. Accludeva copia del suo certificato di naturalizzazione, la sua qualifica di elettore ed una dichiarazione attestante l'esistenza del suo passaporto. Allegato B, 8 marzo 1864: il Marsh rispondeva chiedendo precisazioni sulla sua situazione e sulle sue intenzioni, se cioè volesse tornare negli S.U. e se vi avesse proprietà o famiglia. Allegato C, 14 marzo 1864: il Marasciullo rispondeva di essere arrivato in America all'età di 18 anni, di aver sposato un'americana, di essere tornato con lei ed i suoi bambini in Italia per rivedere gli amici e con la speranza di potersi stabilire a Monopoli ma che, non essendosene presentata l'opportunità, voleva essere libero di ripartire. Allegato D, 19 marzo 1864: il Marsh scriveva al Marasciullo che il suo progetto di restare definitivamente in Italia sarebbe stato considerato alla stregua di una rinuncia al suo diritto alla cittadinanza americana. Allegato E, 24 marzo 1864: il Marasciullo precisava di aver alcuni debiti in America e perciò riteneva di potere « accampare un interesse economico ». Riaffermava i suoi diritti alla protezione da parte degli S.U. e notificava che il Tribunale di Bari gli aveva accordato una proroga di dieci giorni. Allegato F, 29 marzo 1864: il Marsh ripeteva che non riteneva possibile riconoscere al Marasciullo la cittadinanza americana, ma aggiungeva di aver riferito il caso al Segretario di Stato e di avere in programma una richiesta al Ministro degli Esteri italiano tendente ad ottenere una proroga fino all'arrivo da Washington di istruzioni in merito.

public service, and a similar office might not be altogether superfluous at Brindisi. I think too that an increase of salary at Leghorn, and more especially at Genoa—which latter is commercially though not politically, far the more important point as well as much the dearer residence—is demanded by every consideration of justice to the consuls at those ports. But I should look upon the transfer of the full consulate from the thriving growing town of Ancona to the insignificant port of Brindisi as a serious mistake.

All representations with respect to Ancona, coming from the commercial interests of Florence or Leghorn are to be regarded with suspicion, because both these towns look with much jealousy on Ancona, which is now beginning to draw to itself much of the business and the travel which formerly centered at these two cities. Railroad and other means of communication are rapidly constructing between Ancona and interior districts which formerly had no convenient outlet but the Tuscan towns, and the effect of these improvements is shown in the fact, that since 1860 Ancona has received an accession of 10,000 inhabitants from central and southern Italy.

This city is at present, and will long continue, the maritime terminus of the eastern line of Italian railways and the point of departure of the Levant steamers—a line which must soon become of much importance. The railroad now constructing towards Brindisi does not yet extend beyond a point scarcely less than two hundred miles distant from that port, and a very considerable period must elapse before it will reach the Adriatic in that direction.

It is true that the commerce of Ancona though increasing, especially internally, is not great, but it is equally true that the trade of Brindisi is very small and without any prospect of improvement for a long time to come.

There is another consideration, however, which as between the two ports in question, appears to me decisive, if a consulate is to be kept up at either. I refer to the facilities for political information, which are nothing at Brindisi, great at Ancona. I am aware that the American Government has not usually expected, or at least realized, much from its consulates, in this particular; but Ancona offers uncommon advantages for the collection of intelligence respecting the complicated affairs of eastern Europe and I think a really competent observer would be advantageously employed there. But Ancona is an undesirable residence, in most respects, and such a person as alone is fitted to be useful at that city would scarcely accept the position with the present inadequate salary.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 91*

Turin, April 16, 1864.

Sir: I enclose herewith a copy of No. 89 of the Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Italy, for the present year dated April 13, containing a royal decree on the subject of the entrance of foreign ships of war into Italian ports, and I forward, in another envelope, No. 90 of the Gazette, containing the Report on which the decree in question is founded.

I have this morning called the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the provisions of this decree, and inquired whether it was intended to apply them vigorously to our only vessel of war at present in the Mediterranean. The Minister replied that such was not the purpose of the Government and that the decree would not, in the actual state of things, be held to apply to our small naval force in that sea, or to make any change in the extent of the privileges hitherto allowed to us for the convenience of our armed vessels in Italian ports.

The report as you will observe, paragraph sixth, seems to imply that the decree would not be considered as extending to us under present circumstances and the Minister observed that the eighth article of the decree might be considered as embracing our case, we having no ships of war in the Mediterranean, sent out for belligerent purposes.

For the present, then, we are not likely to be embarrassed in the provisions of the new decree; but if our force should be augmented, or if confederate cruisers should make their appearance within the Straits of Gibraltar, a less liberal rule of action towards us might be adopted.

***Decreto di Vittorio Emanuele II***

VITTORIO EMANUELE II <sup>233</sup>

*Per grazia di Dio e per volontà della Nazione Re d'Italia*

Viste le Regie Patenti 24 Novembre 1827 che determinano il Regolamento dei Porti;

Visto la Legge penale per la Marina mercantile in data 13 Gennaio 1827;

<sup>233</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 91 del Marsh. Il regio decreto fu pubblicato sulla *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* il 13 aprile 1864, n. 89. Copia nei National Archives di Washington.

Visto il Regio Decreto 22 Dicembre 1861 che estende alle nuove Provincie del Regno le Leggi e Regolamenti della Marina mercantile in vigore nelle antiche Provincie;

Considerando lo stato delle relazioni esistenti tra l'Italia ed altri Stati marittimi che trovansi in condizioni di ostilità dichiarate;

Considerando le prerogative riservate dal diritto marittimo internazionale sopra alcuni punti speciali del litorale di uno Stato marittimo, nello scopo di mantenere e garantire lo stato di neutralità del Regno verso le Potenze belligeranti, e far validi in qualsiasi circostanza quei diritti che da tale condizione possono sorgere e derivare, non che all'oggetto di preservare intatta la sua libertà d'azione;

Sulla proposta del Nostro Ministro della Marina, di concerto con quello per gli Affari Esteri;

Abbiamo ordinato ed ordiniamo:

Art. 1. Non sarà permesso ad alcun bastimento da guerra od armato in corsa di alcuno Stato belligerante di entrare e soggiornare con prede nei porti o rade del Regno, fuori il caso di rilascio forzato.

Art. 2. In caso di approdo forzato, i legni da guerra od armati in corsa, di cui nel precedente articolo, e nelle condizioni ivi segnate, dovranno allontanarsi dalle coste del Regno non appena cessa la causa che li obbliga a rifugiarsi, salvo il disposto dell'art. 11.

Art. 3. Veruna vendita, cambio, baratto o dono di oggetti provenienti dalle prede potrà farsi sotto alcun titolo nei porti, rade o spiagge del Regno.

Art. 4. È proibito a qualsiasi suddito italiano il prendere commissioni dalle Parti belligeranti per armare navi in guerra, od accettare lettere di marca per far la corsa marittima, o concorrere in qualunque siasi modo ad equipaggiare, armare od allestire un bastimento da guerra, o corsaro delle Parti belligeranti suddette.

Art. 5. A seconda dell'art. 35 del Codice penale mercantile marittimo, è proibito a qualunque suddito del Regno d'Italia di arruolarsi o prendere servizio sulle navi da guerra o su quelle armate in corsa, in uno degli Stati belligeranti.

Art. 6. Quei sudditi che contravvenissero alle prescrizioni dei precedenti art. 4 e 5, o che commettessero qualunque fatto verso una delle Potenze belligeranti, contrario ai doveri della neutralità mantenuta dal Governo Italiano verso le parti suddette, non potranno prendere prote-

zione contro gli atti o misure qualunque sieno che i belligeranti riputasero esercitare sovra i medesimi, senza pregiudizio delle pene che per gli effetti dell'articolo 5 del presente Decreto sono loro comminate dal disposto dell'art. 80 del Codice penale per la Marina mercantile in data 13 gennaio 1827.

Art. 7. Nessun bastimento da guerra o corsaro belligerante potrà soggiornare più di 24 ore in un porto, rada o spiaggia del Regno, o nelle acque adiacenti quand'anche vi si presentasse isolatamente, salvo il caso di rilascio forzato per causa di cattivo tempo, di avarie o mancanza di provvigioni necessarie alla sicurezza della navigazione.

Art. 8. I bastimenti da guerra di una Potenza amica, quando anche belligerante, potranno approdare e soggiornare nei porti, rade o spiagge del Regno, purché lo scopo della loro missione sia esclusivamente scientifico.

Art. 9. In nessun caso una nave belligerante potrà far uso di un porto italiano a scopo di guerra o per approvvigionarsi di armi o munizioni.

Non potrà sotto pretesto di riparazione eseguire dei lavori atti in qualsiasi modo ad accrescere la sua forza guerresca.

Art. 10. Ai bastimenti da guerra o corsari belligeranti non verranno forniti se non viveri, derrate e mezzi di riparazione puramente necessari alla sussistenza del suo equipaggio e alla sicurezza della sua navigazione.

Quei bastimenti da guerra o corsari belligeranti i quali volessero rifornirsi di carbon fossile, non potranno ricevere codesto approvvigionamento se non 24 ore dopo del loro arrivo.

Art. 11. Allorché navi da guerra, corsari o legni di commercio delle due Parti belligeranti si trovassero insieme in un porto, rada o spiaggia del Regno, vi dovrà essere un intervallo di almeno 24 ore tra la partenza di qualunque bastimento d'una Parte belligerante e quella successiva di qualunque nave dell'altra Parte.

Questo intervallo potrà venire accresciuto secondo le circostanze dall'Autorità marittima del luogo.

Art. 12. Nei porti considerati piazze forti marittime, o porti militari o di armata: nei luoghi di ancoraggio ove esistono stabilimenti, arsenali e cantieri marittimi militari, non potranno soggiornare navi da guerra di Potenze estere in numero superiore a tre della stessa bandiera, e per un periodo di tempo maggiore di otto giorni.

Cotale periodo di soggiorno può solo prolungarsi pel caso di rilascio

forzato, o di avarie, oppure dietro formale permesso avuto dal Regio Governo, al quale si riferiranno le Autorità marittime locali per mezzo del Ministro della Marina.

Art. 13. I porti e luoghi di ancoraggio di cui all'articolo precedente sono i seguenti:

*Genova* con le sue adiacenze verso la spiaggia della foce, *Golfo della Spezia*, *Livorno*, *Portoferraio*, *Napoli*, *Baia*, *Castellamare*, *Gaeta*, *Messina* con gli ancoraggi del faro di Reggio (Calabria), *Milazzo*, *Siracusa*, *Augusta*, *Palermo*, *Trapani*, *Taranto*, *Brindisi*, *Ancona*, *Cagliari*, *Isola della Maddalena*.

Art. 14. Le Autorità marittime dei luoghi indicati nel precedente articolo, all'arrivo di navi da guerra estere, dovranno rimettere ai loro Comandanti o Comandante superiore delle medesime una copia delle presenti disposizioni per loro norma e con invito di uniformarvisi.

Art. 15. Alle Autorità marittime del Regno spetta l'esatto adempimento di quanto è prescritto dal presente Decreto, il quale avrà effetto dal giorno della sua pubblicazione nelle varie parti del Regno.

Art. 16. Rimangono abrogate tutte le disposizioni ora in vigore in quella parte che fosse contraria al presente Decreto.

Ordiniamo che il presente Decreto, munito del Sigillo dello Stato, sia inserito nella Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia, mandando a chiunque spetti di osservarlo e di farlo osservare.

Dato a Torino, addì 6 aprile 1864.

Vittorio Emanuele.

E. Cugia.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 92* <sup>234</sup>

Turin, April 17, 1864.

Sir: Mr. Luigi Monti, Consul of the United States at Palermo, having reported to me, that the chevalier Benedetto Onorato, Lieutenant in the

<sup>234</sup> L'Istruzione n. 98, Washington, 9 maggio 1864, comunicava al Marsh: « un appropriato attestato vi sarà quanto prima fatto pervenire perché lo presentiate al cav. Onorato in riconoscimento del suo intervento in favore dell'equipaggio della nave americana *Ella* ». L'Istruzione n. 100, Washington, 28 maggio 1864, notificava al Marsh che l'attestato del Presidente degli S.U. al cav. Onorato, una medaglia d'oro, sarebbe stato spedito a mezzo di vapore il 1° giugno; il Marsh era invitato a consegnarlo non appena ne avesse potuto disporre.



Italian navy, and Captain of the port of Trapani, had contributed very essentially to the rescue of the ship *Ella* of Bath from a very dangerous position near Trapani during a violent storm in the latter part of the month of March, I have, through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, thanked the chevalier Onorato for his gallant and generous conduct in that occasion.

From the report of Mr. Monti, which has also been communicated to you, it would appear that the services of the Chevalier Onorato were of a character to merit something more than a verbal compliment and I beg leave respectfully to suggest the expediency of making to him some suitable present as I believe is not unusual in such cases.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 97*

Washington, April 23, 1864.

Sir: Your despatches, No. 88, dated March 31st and No. 89, of the 1st instant, have been received. Your views relative to the case of O. Marasciullo, as presented in your No. 89, are approved by the Department. Under the circumstances of his return to his native land, as related by you, he may fairly be considered as having renounced whatever rights he may have acquired by naturalization in the United States.

The request preferred in your No. 88 for a leave of absence from your post for five or six weeks, cannot at present be granted without a departure from the rule which, owing to the frequency of such requests from our diplomatic representatives abroad, it has been found necessary to establish. The reasons you assign for desiring to leave Turin during the summer months are fully appreciated, but several applications based on similar grounds have lately been refused, and you will admit that it would not be just or proper to discriminate among those who solicit such indulgences. I hope this decision will not occasion you any inconvenience.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, April 26, 1864.

Sir: Having heard that Mr Howard is about to resign the consulate at Naples and that Mr Stillman now consul at Rome, would be glad to exchange his present position for the former post, I beg leave to re-

commend him for that appointment, as a person eminently qualified, by capacity, attainment, experience and thorough loyalty, to discharge its duties efficiently and discreetly.

I am the more interested in Mr Stillman's behalf because I know that certain persons resident at Rome infinitely inferior to Mr Stillman in all the qualities which compose the character of an American gentleman, and who are at the same time, in close relations with the enemies of the American Union in Rome, have laboured assiduously for a long time to injure Mr Stillman in the estimation of his countrymen and may perhaps have endeavoured to prejudice the State Department against him.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio senza numero*

Turin, May 6, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to forward you by this post printed copies of two treaties lately concluded between the kingdom of Italy and the French Empire<sup>235</sup>, and of a ministerial circular extending the benefits of those treaties to the states referred in the circular in question.

You will observe that the United States are not among the nations enumerated in the circular as entitled to the privileges secured to France, by those treaties, and the custom house authorities at Genoa and elsewhere, of course, do not think themselves authorized to admit merchandise imported from America, upon payment of the reduced duties stipulated by the new treaty with France. This fact became known to me only in the course of the last weeks, and I at once called the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the subject.

Some difficulties were raised by the Ministry of Finance, but after several discussions with the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—the members of the diplomatic corps for the last two weeks—I have been this morning informed by the Secretary General, that it was decided to put our commerce on the same footing with that of other nations which have concluded treaties of commerce with Italy and that orders to that effect would be immediately given to the custom house officers in the ports of this Kingdom.

<sup>235</sup> Una convenzione tra l'Italia e la Francia per lo scambio di vaglia postali fu firmata a Parigi il 7 aprile 1864. Pure a Parigi, il 16 maggio 1864, fu firmata una convenzione tra Francia, Brasile, Italia, Portogallo e la Repubblica di Haiti per la costruzione di una linea telegrafica tra l'Europa e l'America.

The Secretary states that his government desires to negotiate a new treaty of commerce with the United States, and requests me to ask full power and instructions for that purpose. Our treaty with Sardinia differs in many particulars from the last treaty concluded between the United States and the Two Sicilies. I am told that the Italian Government regards all treaties between foreign states and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies as abrogated, at least for most purposes, by the annexation of that Kingdom to Sardinia, and considers the treaties between those states and Sardinia as none extending to the whole kingdom.

It is easy, however, to see that upon the revival of our commerce with Sicilian ports, it may become an important question whether we are not entitled to the rights and subject to the responsibilities established by the treaty with the kingdom of the Sicilies so far as regards commercial operations in those ports.

The anticipation of such difficulties is an argument of some weight for the negotiation of a new treaty, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs desires that certain privileges—the surrender of deserters from the Italian commercial marine in our ports for instance, and reciprocally of deserters from our resident ships in Italian ports—which have been conceded to other nations, be mutually secured to each other by the United States and Italy.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 93 Confidenziale*

Turin, May 12, 1864.

Sir: I received by this morning's mail, your instruction No 97, dated April 23-1864, acknowledging the receipt of my despatches, No 88 on the subject of O. Marasciullo's claim to recognition as an American citizen, and No 89 asking leave of absence for five or six weeks during the coming summer.

In a late letter from Mr de Zeyk <sup>236</sup>, United States' Consul at Taranto, who has seen Marasciullo, that person is spoken of as decidedly a secessionist in political sentiment and principle, and I find in this fact an additional reason, if further grounds were needed, for denying him the protection he claims.

I beg leave to offer you my thanks for the courteous terms in which your decision on my request for leave of absence is couched, and in reply

<sup>236</sup> Albert J. de Zeyk, dello Iowa, era stato confermato console il 23 dicembre 1861.

to your kind expression of a hope that the refusal of the permission asked will not occasion me any inconvenience, I am happy to say that, beyond the discomforts of an uninterrupted residence in town during the hot and unhealthy months of summer, the only loss I shall probably sustain by it will be that of an opportunity of making some observations which I proposed to turn to other account than that of personal amusement, and which it may still be in my power to complete at a future period.

I am aware that American diplomats [sic] have been in the habit of receiving and taking liberal indulgence in the way of absence from their posts, and I presume the administration is quite right in thinking that the inconveniences arising from the abuse of this practice are greater than the good which sometimes results from its exercise.

I have no special claim to exception from a rule which the Government finds it necessary to adopt in other cases, and am therefore not in the least disposed to complain of the denial of my application for leave of absence.

I received from the State Department some months since, a circular on the subject of absence of official persons from their posts, numbered 43 and dated Nov. 28th 1863, and recent letters from other American ministers and consuls refer to a later circular on the same topic, apparently of a much more stringent character than the former. The instruction of which they speak has never reached this Legation, nor have my correspondents informed me what its special provisions are. Being, therefore, in doubt as to the precise rule which the Government intends to adopt on this point, I beg for information as to the meanings of the circulars and the constructions put by the Department on the first clause of the 19th section of the act of 1856.

You are aware no doubt, that since the passage of that act, it has been generally understood that diplomatic and consular officers might in the exercise of a reasonable discretion, absent themselves from their official residences for periods not exceeding ten days, without previous permission from the Government, when such absence was demanded by considerations of health or special convenience, and when, at the same time, they supposed they could do so without injury to the public service. I was informed at the time of the passage of this law, by persons influential in procuring its adoption, that this was the intention of its framers, and I have not understood that any objection had been raised, in any quarter, to this construction.

If the correspondents to whom I have just referred are right in their interpretation of the recent instructions of the Department of State, and

especially of the last circular, the President does not so construe the law, or regard the diplomatic and consular representatives of the Government as entitled to what they had supposed to be—when exercised within reasonable limits—a privilege granted by statute.

I beg, then, to be informed whether, by the late circulars, American ministers and consuls are deprived of all discretionary rights on this subject, and required to remain at all times, at the capitals and commercial towns in which their offices are kept.

If this be the intention of the Government, I beg leave to submit, with entire deference and respect, some consideration which seem to me to indicate the expediency of a relaxation of these rules.

The denial of indulgences to American diplomats, which, by general usage are granted to the far more liberally compensated representatives of all other nations, establishes a distinction which cannot but be mortifying to the former, while it deprives them both of enjoyments which are perhaps no more than a reasonable equivalent for certain special inconveniences to which all American ministers and consuls are exposed, and of some advantages in the collection of political and other local information important to the proper discharge of their public duties.

At Turin at least—and I do not know that there is in this respect any important difference in the usages here, and at other European courts—the entire diplomatic corps and almost all the intelligent society of the town, as well as many official persons, are absent from the capital at country residences or on travelling excursions, for nearly the whole summer and a part of the autumn, though they, of course, return to the city from time to time as the needs of their offices require. One of the ministers to the King of Italy representing a power having much diplomatic business with this Government resides the whole year at the distance of five hours from the city, coming to town only on special occasions; some others spend more time away from the capital than at it; and there is not one who, either by general license or by special permission, is not liberally indulged in this respect.

Occasional absence from these parts is rendered specially desirable to American ministers on the score of economy. I do not mean to say that, to a person keeping up a domestic establishment in a great city like this, it is always less expensive to travel than to remain at home, but under many circumstances it is so, and even a short absence often relieves one from those otherwise inevitable contingencies which, in diplomatic more than in ordinary life, make very heavy demands on the pecuniary resources of persons of a certain condition.

The salary of American ministers plenipotentiary was fixed more than fifty years ago at nine thousand dollars, with a like amount for outfit, and a return allowance of a quarter's salary, and these emoluments were then not more than were required to meet the necessities of the position. Since that period, the expenses of living in all European capitals have much more than doubled, and in the rapidly growing town of Turin, some items of household expense, rent especially, have doubled even since I arrived at this Court in 1861. I am now paying \$ 2000 rent for an apartment now but half-furnished by its proprietor, which I hired for the first year of my residence, almost completely furnished, at \$ 1200 and my office rent has risen in even a greater proportion.

The law of 1856, though it nominally increased diplomatic salaries, in most cases really reduced them by cutting off the outfit and return allowance, and American ministers on the average now receive a smaller compensation during their term of service than they did in 1810, though their necessary expenditures are twice or thrice as large..

The salaries of American diplomats are at present totally inadequate to their support at most if not all the capitals of Europe, in a style of reasonable comfort and respectability. It would certainly not be wise to ask an augmentation of their compensation at present, nor do I think it would be expedient, under any probable circumstances, to put their establishments on the same footing as those of their European colleagues. At the same time, the rapid increase in the cost of living is making the disparity between the position of an American and a European minister every day more glaring and painful, and I cannot help thinking that the foreign interests of our Government would be promoted rather than prejudiced by such indulgence on the part of the executive as can be granted without violation of law, and as, at the same time, can be bestowed without risk to the public service.

There are European capitals, which by the variety of their social intellectual and material resources in some degree indemnify American ministers for the special disadvantages of their position. Of these cities Turin is not one. Its society, though good, is not better than that of other large towns in Europe or America, and as to those local means of enjoyment and improvement in which other great cities of the Old World are so rich, Turin possesses absolutely none but its proximity to the Alps and other points of interest, from the benefit of which such a confinement to the city walls as the late circulars seem to imply would entirely exclude the minister at this Court.

I am conscious, at the same time, that no merely private considera-

tions ought to weigh against those of the public interests, and I am not ignorant of the clamor which has been sometimes raised, by certain journalists, with respect to alleged abuses of diplomatic privileges and indulgence. I think public opinion has in former years, exaggerated both the facts and the evils resulting from them, and you will pardon me for suggesting that high — toned representation and unreasonable complaints of this sort may possibly have sometimes led even the Government to suppose that its diplomatic representatives were more unfaithful to their trust than in truth they have been.

Indeed, when I call to mind the fervid expressions of virtuous indignation which I have frequently heard from American travellers, who have not found in the ministers of their Government the ready obsequiousness they expected, I think it would be strange if some effect had not been produced by the statement of their grievances in all quarters where their complaints are heard. It has lately become the practice of travellers to claim from diplomats many services which were formerly rendered by bankers and hotel-commissioners, and I have no doubt that the absence of a minister from his office at any time during the twenty four hours Sundays included, is sometimes a source of disappointment to persons who expect so much from those officers. American ministers are called upon—I speak only of cases within my own experience—to look up inheritances and investigate genealogical records; to search after the lost baggage of travellers; to act as mail agents for the reception and forwarding of letters to all parts of Europe with no provision for the payment of postage; to aid in introducing patent medicines for man and beast as well as in recommending other « valuable American inventions; » to purchase and forward merchandise; to import articles of American manufacture for the use of American citizens travelling or residing abroad, the quality to be warranted by the Legation and the articles to be paid for if found satisfactory on trial; to make collections of postage-stamps; to procure a lock of the sovereign's hair or his autograph or a private audience for some applicant for royal charity or for a loan from majesty « on good American security »; and finally to replenish the purses of travellers whose « expected remittances » have failed to arrive—a calamity distressingly frequent in these days of exorbitant exchange—and who are anxious to extend their field of foreign observation or to return to the United States and enter the military service which they have apparently run away to evade. The performance of these services is often required in terms which indicate that the applicant feels himself to be demanding a right, and his resentment at the refusal or momentary absence of the minister is generally in proportion to the absurdity of his claims.

It is, of course, possible that inconvenience to the public interests may sometimes arise from even an hour's absence of a diplomatic or consular agent, but the cases where serious injury would result from such indulgence as health and convenience require, from occasioned exertions to points from which the absentee can be recalled in a day or even much less, are, I suppose not very frequent, and there is, I imagine, no public offices to whom *some* relaxation is not allowed. In the case of official persons at home, the superior can be consulted, but in that of officers who cannot communicate with the Department in less than five or six weeks, it seems to me that some such discretion on the law of 1856 has been supposed to contemplate cannot well be avoided.

I have made this communication confidential, not because it contains anything which I am unwilling to have known, but because the publication of such details through the press is often a subject of ridicule both at home and abroad, to which it is hardly right to expose an officer who is obliged to state them.

Begging pardon for the length of this despatch, and renewing the expression of my thanks for the uniform indulgence of this Department.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 95* <sup>237</sup>

Turin, June 6, 1864.

Sir: On Saturday the 28 ult., I was verbally informed by one of the chiefs of bureau in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the removal of the naval depot of the United States at Spezia could not be longer delayed, and that the Italian Government proposed to offer us, instead, a suitable site for magazines in the anchorage of San Pietro, or in that of Sant'Antioco, two islands lying near the southwestern extremity of the island of Sardinia.

I requested a written communication to this effect, and wrote, unofficially, to Mr Rice, Consul at Spezia, and to Capt. Stellwagen, apprising them of the proposal of the Italian Government, and suggesting the expediency of a visit by the latter or by some of his officers, to the points indicated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order that the Navy Depart-

<sup>237</sup> Al dispaccio n. 94, Torino, 23 maggio 1864, il Marsh accludeva il giuramento di Franklin Torrey, una circolare riguardante i fari di Catania e Siracusa e una boa nei pressi di Capo Posillipo, e una lettera che un ecclesiastico italiano gli aveva chiesto di far giungere al sig. Silvestro Gastorani a Mobile.



ment might be promptly informed with respect to the advantages of the locality offered.

On the second of June I received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs a note of which I annex a translation, and immediately sent copies of the translation to Col. Long, U. S. Naval storekeeper at Spezia, and to Capt. Stellwagen repeating the suggestion of a visit to the proposed site for a new depot.

A letter just received from Mr Rice informs me that the *Constellation* is now at Malta, and will probably proceed to the East so that I fear the locality offered by the Italian Government will not be inspected in time to have the necessary arrangements for occupying it made during the present season.

***Emilio Visconti Venosta a George P. Marsh*** <sup>238</sup>

Turin, le 1<sup>er</sup> Juin 1864.

Monsieur le Ministre

Par ma note du 13 Février j'avais l'honneur de Vous annoncer que les travaux en cours d'exécution pour la formation d'un port militaire à la Spezia rendraient nécessaire l'évacuation du local occupé par la Marine Militaire des Etats Unis, et je me réservais de Vous faire connaître les dispositions que le Gouvernement du Roi pourrait adopter pour la concession d'un autre emplacement.

Je regrette, Monsieur le Ministre, qu'il ne soit pas possible de retarder plus longtemps le moment de l'évacuation, ni d'assigner à la Marine des Etats Unis quelque localité peu éloignée de celle dont on lui avait accordé l'usage.

Mais Vous comprendrez facilement que l'extension qu'on doit donner aux ouvrages de la Spezia et le service auquel est destiné ce golfe seraient incompatibles avec l'existence d'établissements d'autres marines militaires.

Animé du désir de donner à votre Gouvernement de nouvelles preuves de notre sincère amitié, le Gouvernement du Roi s'est occupé de chercher si d'autres parages de la Méditerranée n'offriraient pas des conditions convenables pour les magasins de la Station Navale des Etats Unis, et il nous paraît que la rade de S. Pierre ou celle de S. Antioco dans les eaux méridionales de l'île de Sardaigne pourraient remplacer avantageusement l'établissement actuel.

<sup>238</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 95 del Marsh.

Si après avoir fait procéder à une inspection locale et avoir demandé, si Vous le jugez nécessaire, des instructions à votre Gouvernement, Vous êtes autorisé à Vous entendre pour l'un de ces deux points, il sera facile de combiner les détails d'une nouvelle concession.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 101* <sup>239</sup>

Washington, June 16, 1864.

Sir: A request has recently been made by the Italian Government, in a note addressed to the Commander Bertinatti and by him communicated to the Postmaster General, that the Postal Convention between the United States and Italy, which was signed at Turin on the 8th of July, last, may be ratified by the respective governments in a formal manner. This suggestion having been approved, I herewith transmit the President's ratification of the said Convention, together with a full power authorizing you to exchange the same for the ratification of His Majesty the King of Italy.

In order that you may fully understand the views of the Postmaster General upon the subject, I also herewith enclose a copy of a letter addressed by him to this Department on the 14th instant with the printed accompaniment to which it refers. When the ratifications shall have been duly exchanged, you will forward that of His Majesty to this Department with a copy of the certificate of exchange.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 102*

Washington, June 15, 1864.

Sir: Your despatch, without number dated May 6th accompanied by printed copies of two treaties lately concluded between the Kingdom of Italy and the French Empire, and of a ministerial circular extending the benefits of these treaties to the states referred to in the circular, has been received and duly considered. The President is pleased to learn that your efforts to secure for the United States the privileges accorded by the trea-

<sup>239</sup> L'Istruzione n. 99, Washington, 9 maggio 1864, trasmetteva copia di una istruzione inviata con la stessa data ad Adams a Londra: argomento, gli ultimi spostamenti delle forze dell'Unione.

ties in question to France and to the states mentioned in the circular, have been successful.

Pursuant to the request made by you at the instance of the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the President instructs me to transmit the accompanying full power authorizing you to negotiate with His Majesty's Government a new treaty of commerce to take the place of the existing treaties between the United States and the kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies. You will, accordingly, upon the receipt of this instruction make known to His Majesty's Government your readiness & authority to enter upon the negotiations with any person similarly empowered on its part and you will proceed to prepare a projet [sic] of a convention which shall embody the principal features of the two treaties last referred to, with such modifications and additions as your experience and known familiarity with the respective interests of the two countries may suggest. When such a projet shall have been drawn up and agreed to by His Majesty's plenipotentiary, you will forward a copy of it hither for the consideration and further instruction of the Department.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 96*

Turin, June 21, 1864.

Sir: After the date of my last despatch, I was requested by Col. Long, U. S. Naval Storekeeper at Spezia, to obtain permission from the Italian Government for hiring, temporarily, a magazine at Leghorn as a deposit for the naval stores now at Spezia.

I accordingly applied for the permission, and received, on the 15 of June, a reply, of which I annex a translation.

I have advised Col. Long to freight a large vessel to lie for the present at Spezia and to discharge hereafter at such port as shall be designated for that purpose.

As nothing has been heard from Capt. Stellwagen, I shall write to Col. Long today, and suggest to him the expediency of visiting the points proposed by the Italian Government as soon as the magazines at Spezia are evacuated.

I received, by a late mail, a letter from P. Massa, a copy of which is enclosed herewith. I shall not reply to this letter, and I forward the copy in order that, in case the writer applies for a passport, the Department may be advised beforehand of his purposes in returning to his native land.

**Emilio Visconti Venosta a George P. Marsh** <sup>240</sup>

Turin, le 14 Juin 1864.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Le Ministre de la Marine, à qui je me suis empressé de communiquer le contenu de la note que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 7 Juin, vient de me répondre que le port de Livourne pouvant à peine suffire aux besoins du commerce, l'établissement de magasins militaires aurait à son avis de grands inconvénients. Par contre tout en exprimant le désir que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis veuille bien faire connaître le plus tôt possible son choix entre la rade de St Antioco ou celle de S. Pierre pour y établir les magasins de sa station navale, le Ministre de la Marine est disposé à permettre qu'un navire nolisé par les Etats Unis et ayant à bord le matériel de la station navale puisse rester provisoirement à l'ancre dans le golfe de la Spezia jusqu'à ce qu'une décision ait été prise à l'égard de l'une des deux localités sus indiquées. En vous informant de ces dispositions, je vous saurai gré, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien donner des ordres pour que les magasins existant dans le sein de Panigaglia puissent être promptement remis à l'administration de notre marine car leur démolition devient de plus en plus urgente en présence des travaux qu'on poursuit dans cette localité.

**P. Massa a George P. Marsh** <sup>241</sup>

Brooklyn, Long Island, N. Y., May 23, 1864.

Sir: Last year I was informed, by a friend of mine residing in Turin that as a general rule your Legation had come to the conclusion not to recognize a citizen of the United States all Italians naturalized in America, who had returned to Italy to reside there. As I am about returning to Naples, I respectfully beg your Excellency to relieve me from the doubt about the truth of such a decision. I am ready to depart, and am delayed but for Your Excellency's answer on the subject for which I shall be much thankful to you, and if convenient I should wish that a copy of the same may be forwarded to my brother at Naples as per direction at foot.

<sup>240</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 96 del Marsh.

<sup>241</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 96 del Marsh.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 104* <sup>242</sup>

Washington, June 23, 1864.

Sir: Your despatches Nos. 93, and 94 of the 12th and 23 ultimo respectively, the first marked *Confidential*, have been received. The communication addressed to Silvestro Gastorani of Mobile, enclosed with your No. 94, has been sent to the Navy Department for transmission to its destination. The observations submitted in your No. 93 relative to recent circulars from this Department on the subject of the absence of official persons from their post will receive proper consideration. At present I will merely remark that the circulars referred to were not intended in any way to interfere with the provisions of the Act of August 18th 1856.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 97*

Turin, June 28, 1864.

Sir: Upon the receipt of your instruction announcing the sending of a medal for the chevalier Onorato, I made inquiry at the Foreign Office in respect to the mode of presentation normal in similar cases in this Kingdom. I was informed that officers in the service of this Government cannot accept honorary testimonials as gifts of any sort from foreign Powers, without the consent of the King, and that the ordinary mode of proceeding is to send the medal or other gift to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who asks the consent of His Majesty to its acceptance and when this is granted, presents the testimonial to the intended recipient in behalf of the Government which offers it.

The medal arrived on the 22 of June and was sent to the Foreign Office the next day with a note of which a copy is annexed.

**George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti Venosta** <sup>243</sup>

Turin, June 23, 1864.

Mr. Minister: The President of the United States having been informed that the Chevalier Benedetto Onorato, Lieutenant in the Italian Navy,

<sup>242</sup> L'Istruzione n. 103, Washington, 17 giugno 1864, è identica alla n. 107 inviata a Gustavus Koerner, ministro degli S.U. in Spagna dal giugno del 1864 al gennaio del 1865.

<sup>243</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 97 del Marsh.

and Captain of the Port of Trapani, had rendered important services to an American ship in distress, in that harbour, has sent to this Legation an honorary testimonial which he desires may be presented to the Chevalier Onorato. From the report of Mr. Tubius, United States Consular Agent at Trapani,<sup>244</sup> made through the American Consul at Palermo,<sup>245</sup> it appears that during a violent storm on the morning of the 2 of March 1864, the American ship *Ella*, of Bath in the State of Maine, then taking in cargo at Trapani, dragged her anchors and was drifting towards the rocks of the Colombara fort, where she would inevitably have gone to pieces; that the Chevalier Onorato being apprized of her danger, manned his boat and with the aid of the Consular Agent and a considerable number of seamen, succeeded after many hours' labour in rescuing the ship from impending destruction and getting her into a safe position.

In a former communication to you, M. Minister, I anticipated the thanks of my Government for the courage and zeal displayed by the Chevalier Onorato on this occasion which proved effectual to save a large amount of valuable property and probably some human lives. The President of the United States reiterated the expression of these thanks for an act in itself so highly creditable to the officer in question, and at the same time so well calculated to strengthen the reciprocal friendship and respect which have always existed between the American and the Italian nation and which happily still continues to characterize the relations between their respective governments, and he asks that the medal which accompanies this note be presented to the Chevalier Onorato in such manner as the Government of his Majesty the King of Italy may deem proper.

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Senza numero*

Bagni di Lucca Italy, July 1, 1864.

Dear Sir: Availing myself of the leave of absence granted me, I left Turin the last of April intending to visit Naples, Rome, and the north of Lombardy. On arriving at Rome, I was taken very ill with a fever accompanied by symptoms of the congestion of the brain. I was only able to leave a few days ago whence I arrived at this place and by the advice of my physician am undergoing treatment in connection with the mineral baths.

<sup>244</sup> Il primo agente consolare a Trapani, come risulta dal ruolo del personale del Dipartimento di Stato, fu Leonardo Marrone, nominato il 3 novembre 1869.

<sup>245</sup> Console a Palermo nel 1861 era Luigi Monti, del Massachusetts.

The term of my leave has already expired and I shall return to Turin in a couple of days. As this has been unavoidable on my part, I am persuaded I shall meet with the indulgence of the Department. My partial deafness and other symptoms still continue and as I am forced to break off the treatment now I would respectfully ask that, if I am still unwell at the beginning of next month, I may be allowed to return to resume the cure of the baths during August for so far they have improved me very much. I would be within but little over a day's journey from the Capital and as Mr. Artoni, the Minister's private secretary, is at Turin, (already attached to the Legation) there would result little inconvenience to the Legation.

To you, personally, Mr. Seward, I am already much indebted and it gives me pain to renew my demand upon your kindness. This I would not do were it not a case of almost necessity to me.<sup>246</sup>

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 98*<sup>247</sup>

Turin, July 14, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions No 102, accompanied by a free power for the negotiation of a new treaty with the Kingdom of Italy; No 103 referring to a correspondence on the subject of an international telegraph; and No 104 referring to my despatches Nos 93 and 94.

It will not be practicable to draw the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the subject of this treaty until after the adjournment of the Parliament, but I shall devote the intermediate time to an examination of the existing treaties between this and other governments and to the collection of information on the subject, in order to be prepared to enter upon the discussion during the recess of the national legislature.

There is one point on which I should be glad to know the views of the Department of State beforehand, in order not to become in any degree committed by making a suggestion which may be disapproved by you. I refer to the question of the expediency of a reciprocal grant of the

<sup>246</sup> Il Seward rispondeva il 9 agosto 1864, accordando la proroga richiesta dal Clay.

<sup>247</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 106, Washington, 20 agosto 1864, si comunicava al Marsh che la questione relativa alla proposta di un nuovo trattato con il Governo italiano sarebbe stata esaminata con attenzione e che in merito alla convenienza di una reciproca garanzia della libertà di cabotaggio si era interpellato il Segretario del Tesoro.

liberty of *cabotage*, or the coasting trade, which many American shippers think would be to our advantage. The commercial treaties between Italy and France secure this liberty to both parties, *in the Mediterranean*, but do not allow Italian ships to trade between French Mediterranean and French Atlantic ports. The advantage is almost wholly on the French side in this case, but I believe the privilege was granted on a consideration for the liberty of the coral-fishing on the Franco-African coast, and some other trifling points.

The Italian Government will propose a stipulation for the arrest and surrender of mariners deserting from the commercial as well as from the military marine, and I should be pleased to know whether a provision to that effect would be approved by the Government of the United States.

I enclose herewith a copy of a printed circular from the Ministry of the Marine relating to the establishment of a light house on the island of Giglio.<sup>248</sup>

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 105*

Washington, August 1, 1864.

Sir: Your despatches of June 6th and June 21st, Nos. 95 and 96, were duly received, and so much of them as relates to the removal of the United States Depot at Spezia was promptly communicated to the Secretary of the Navy. For your information I enclose a copy of an instruction which he has addressed to the United States Naval Storekeeper at Spezia upon the subject of the removal of the stores now occupied by him.<sup>249</sup>

I have given directions for refusing a passport to P. Massa should he apply for one.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 99*

Turin, August 6, 1864.

Sir: I enclose by this mail, in a separate envelope, a circular from the Italian Ministry of the Marine on the subject of meteorological

<sup>248</sup> Non riteniamo di dover pubblicare, qui e negli altri casi consimili, le circolari del Ministero della Marina, perché riguardano i fari dei diversi porti.

<sup>249</sup> Questa istruzione non esiste negli Archivi Nazionali di Washington.



announcements,<sup>250</sup> and a copy of the *Gazzetta di Torino* of this day, containing, on its third page, a letter signed L. P. di C. which may be thought to deserve the notice of the War Department.

I am told by Italian friends that the initial are those of an officer—in the American service named Luigi Palma di Cesnola.<sup>251</sup>

### ***Estratto dalla « Gazzetta di Torino »***<sup>252</sup>

Le notizie della guerra d'America non ci pervengono che dai giornali di New York, interessati a colorire i fatti a norma del loro interesse.

Il *Vessillo italiano* di Vercelli ha una corrispondenza dal campo vicino a Petersburg a lui diretta da uno dei comandanti dell'armata federale, e che noi riproduciamo per intero:

14 luglio 1864.

... Le cose del campo continuano su piede incerto, né certamente van bene. — Il generale Grant non è ancor quello che taglierà il nodo gordiano colla sua spada. — Dacché egli ha preso il comando supremo delle armate federali, ha perduto ben *cento e quarantatre mila* uomini nella sola Virginia!

Passato colla mia cavalleria, due settimane fa, nelle Wilderness e a Spottsylvania, vi giuro d'aver visto coi miei occhi un gran numero di cadaveri alcuni abbruciati soltanto in parte, ed altri carbonizzati del tutto per l'incendio appiccato alle foreste nel Wilderness. — Né si pensa a seppellire quei miserandi avanzi! — E a centinaia sono pure i cadaveri putrefatti, insepolti e sparsi nella campagna di Spottsylvania. — E così stanno a migliaia cavalli e muli!

I separatisti hanno grandi vantaggi su di noi, e le loro perdite sono molto inferiori alle nostre. — Essi si difendono e noi attacchiamo: essi sono trincerati dappertutto, e per isloggiarli dai loro posti, a noi costa due terzi più di vite, e molte volte, come a Spottsylvania, dopo molti assalti siamo obbligati a rinunciare all'idea d'impadronirsi della loro posi-

<sup>250</sup> Non è stata trovata in questa filza la circolare.

<sup>251</sup> Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) giunse in America nel 1855, prestò servizio come colonnello e quindi come generale nell'esercito federale; dal 1865 al 1877 fu console generale degli S.U. a Cipro. Fu poi direttore del Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York. Si segnalò come valente archeologo.

<sup>252</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 99 del Marsh dalla *Gazzetta di Torino* del 6 agosto 1864.

zione d'assalto, conviene quindi fiancheggiare, e siamo oggi tanto lungi dal prendere Richmond quanto era Mac Clellan nel 1861, — lo siamo anche di più, perché bisogna oggi prendere prima Petersburg e poi assediare Richmond.

Gran dolore per me! — In due soli combattimenti ho dovuto lasciare sul campo 700 uomini dei 5.000 di cavalleria di cui mi fu dato il comando. — Vicende ed ira di guerra!

Io credo che, tosto o tardi, si dovrà richiamare al comando supremo della guerra MacClellan, il solo generale che noi abbiamo, meritevole di tal nome. — Questa è la mia opinione.

Il signor Chase, ministro delle finanze si è ritirato dal ministero. — L'ha egli fatto per accettare la candidatura di presidente in opposizione a Lincoln? — È ciò che molti sospettano.

Intanto il cielo dell'America si fa ogni giorno più minaccioso, e Lincoln ha ordinato che il giorno otto di agosto (lunedì) sia giorno di *digiuno* e di *preghiera* per la repubblica. — Non so se digiuneremo qui in campo benché avvezzi ad ogni sorta di privazioni, — ma quanto a pregare non vi è buon cittadino che non alzi ogni giorno un fervido voto a Dio perché cessi una volta questo orrendo flagello!

Vostro — L. P. — di C.

### **William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 107*

Washington, August 23, 1864.

Sir: Your despatch No. 90, has been received. I transmit to you herewith a copy of the *National Intelligencer* containing the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill which shows the changes which have been made by Congress in the Italian consulates.

Congress was not disposed to increase consular salaries as you will see by reference to the Congressional Debates on the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill which have been sent to you under another envelope.

The late Consul at Ancona resigned the office and the Department in view of the experience of the past three years did not consider that the appropriation for the place could be continued consistently with the spirit and letter of the law of August 2d, 1861, under which it was established as a salaried Consulate, and the appropriation was therefore discontinued, and so also at Otranto and Taranto.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 100*

Turin, August 22, 1864.

Sir: Attilio Valtellina of Bergamo, formerly a resident of the United States, but to whom I have refused recognition as an American citizen, informs me that he intends to apply to the Department of State for a passport, as a protection against the liabilities, and responsibilities of this Kingdom, and as I am apprehensive that he may accomplish this object through misrepresentation unless the facts are made known to the Department, I think proper to submit the following history of his case which is founded wholly on statements made to me by himself and his wife.

After his residence of some years in the United States, Valtellina and his wife, who is also Italian by birth and parentage, sold all their property in America, and returned to Bergamo, the native place of the husband early in 1861, bringing all their children, and with the intention of permanently re-establishing themselves in Italy. Valtellina had taken the primary steps for naturalization many years before, but did not complete the process until just before their departure from the United States, and after their final return to Italy had been decided upon.

They invested the proceeds of the sale of their American property in a small estate at Bergamo, consisting of a vineyard and mulberry grounds, and settled upon it. Not being able to meet the remaining payments, Mrs. Valtellina came to Turin at the close of 1862 or the beginning of 1863, and begged me to procure for her an audience of the King in order that she might attain from him a loan of several thousand francs to complete the payments for the land and properly stock it, and in their petition to the King, which was, if I mistake not, prepared by her husband, she described herself as a subject of His Majesty. I, of course, declined to aid her in the matter, and for some time heard no more of it.

In the course of the present year, the Minister of the Interior applied to me for information respecting the character of Valtellina and his wife, who, he said, had petitioned the King for pecuniary aid, and he told me subsequently that it had been determined to advance them a sufficient sum to relieve them from immediate embarrassment, and this was done accordingly.

This aid was certainly not afforded to these persons as American citizens, and I am convinced that it would have been refused if His Majesty's advisers had supposed that Valtellina intended to avail himself

of foreign protection to escape the ordinary burdens of the duties of an Italian citizen.

Valtellina has two sons who are of the proper age for military service, and he is endeavoring to screen them from liability to conscription here, as American citizens, while withdrawing them and his property from American territorial jurisdiction, his family and himself avoid both the payment of taxes and the performance of military duty in the United States.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 101* <sup>253</sup>

Turin, September 3, 1864.

Sir: As you will have learned from the public journals, the newly appointed Minister of the Emperor Maximilian <sup>254</sup> to this Court has arrived at Turin and has been received in audience by His Majesty the King.

Having received no instructions on this subject, and having been informed by the Chevalier Visconti Venosta that the Italian Minister at Washington would be instructed to make to you confidential explanations which it was thought would prove satisfactory to the Government of the United States, I have not deemed it my duty to do more than to repeat to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the substance of the opinions you have publicly expressed with respect to the attempt to establish an imperial throne on the ruins of the Mexican Republic. The expression of your views has had no little weight in Europe, and though the apparent hostility of Austria to the new dynasty leads the Italian people to look upon the « empire » with a certain degree of favor, I believe few statesmen on this side of the Atlantic expect that their Franco-Romish movement will prove a successful experiment.

The Mexican Minister left his official card at my house, but for general reasons, and the rather [sic] because I understand that the American representatives at Paris and London will not at present recognize the Mexican diplomats at those posts, I shall not return the visit until further advised.

<sup>253</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 113, Washington, 24 settembre 1864, il Seward accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e aggiungeva di non aver ricevuto nessuna notizia dal Bertinatti in merito alla questione di cui si tratta in questa comunicazione. Rufus King informò il Seward l'11 giugno 1864 che « soltanto tre Governi europei hanno riconosciuto il nuovo « Imperatore del Messico », e cioè la Francia, la Spagna e l'Austria ». Srock, *United States Ministers* cit., p. 306.

<sup>254</sup> Si tratta di Don Gregorio Barandiaran.

**Frederick W. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 110* <sup>255</sup>

Washington, September 3, 1864.

Sir: In the instruction addressed to you by this Department on the 20th ultimo (No. 106), you were informed that the question relative to the expediency of inserting in the proposed new treaty with the Government of Italy a reciprocal grant of the liberty of the coasting trade, had been submitted for consideration to the Secretary of the Treasury. His answer thereto has been communicated to this Department in a letter dated the 29th ultimo, of which a transcript is herewith enclosed. You will perceive from his reply that he does not deem it advisable to depart in the present instance from the policy hitherto pursued by our Government upon this subject by which the benefits of the coasting trade have always been reserved to its own citizens exclusively.

The stipulation for the arrest and surrender of marines deserting from the commercial as well as from the military marine, would be in no wise objectionable. Such a provision is a common feature in many of our treaties with other maritime powers.

It is not deemed necessary to instruct you with regard to other details of the proposed treaty. Your known sagacity and your familiarity with the subject committed to your care, afford a sufficient guaranty that the conduct of the negotiation upon other points may safely be left to your discretion.

**Frederick W. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 111*

Washington, September 5, 1864.

Sir: In consequence of the suggestion contained in the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to this Department by the Secretary of the Navy on the 25th of May last, the President has directed suitable testimonials to be presented to Captain Domenico Chirico of the Italian barque *Aurora* and to the crew of that vessel, for the aid and assistance rendered by them to the prize schooner *Sophia* in charge of Acting Ensign Paul Armundt in the month of May last. A gold chronometer

<sup>255</sup> L'Istruzione n. 108, Washington, 29 agosto 1864, trasmetteva la nomina di J. T. Redfield, di New York, a console degli S.U. a Brindisi. L'Istruzione n. 109, Washington, 2 settembre 1864, trasmetteva la nomina di George F. Comfort a console ad Ancona.

suitably inscribed has accordingly been sent to you for presentation to Captain Chirico, through the appropriate channel, and you will also place in proper hands a sum of money sufficient to pay to each of the crew of the *Aurora* a month's wages. A list of these seamen, giving their wages, is herewith transmitted. For the amount disbursed by you for this object you are directed to draw upon this Department.

The box containing the chronometer will be forwarded to you addressed to the care of Mr. John Miller, United States Despatch Agent at London.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 102* <sup>256</sup>

Turin, September 19, 1864.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: You will have learned that a treaty for the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome has just been concluded between the Italian Government and the Emperor of France. Rumors of pending negotiations to that effect had indeed been some time in circulation, but they were generally regarded as but the hundredth repetition of reports which never had a solid foundation, and the Italian people were quite taken by surprise by the official confirmation of them.

The conditions of the treaty are not yet made public; but it is known that among them is a stipulation on the part of Italy to transfer the seat of government from this city to Florence. It is also believed that there is a provision for the assumption of a large part of the public debt of the pontifical government by this Kingdom, and it is much feared that the Italian Government has by express promise, or by secret or implied pledge entered into engagements which are tantamount to a renunciation of the claims of Italy upon Rome as her national capital.

I regret to say that I do not think it improbable that this apprehension is substantially well-founded. The known opinions and sympathies of some Italian statesmen who are believed to have been active in effecting the conclusion of the treaty, and many other circumstances, give countenance to this view of the subject, and I have no doubt that this Italian ministry understands the Emperor Napoleon as considering the removal

<sup>256</sup> L'Istruzione n. 119, Washington, 21 ottobre 1864, accusava ricevuta di questo « interessante » dispaccio.

of the seat of Government to Florence to be a virtual abandonment of the purpose of establishing it at Rome, though it is not likely that such an engagement appears on the face of the treaty, or has been in any way *formally* entered into.

Neither party probably means what it has professed to the other in the negotiations. The reason assigned by the administration journals here for the change of capital is that the Emperor Napoleon—since at his bidding, the citadel of Turin regarded as one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was dismantled and demolished—considers this city as insecure against a sudden movement by Austria. But this is too shallow a pretext to deceive anybody, and the Emperor unquestionably intends it as a fatal blow at the policy of unification, and as one step towards his long cherished plan of erecting a Bonaparte dynasty at Naples. On the other hand, the Italian Government, well understanding this, hopes that the tenacious adherence of the Italian people to the idea of national unity will sustain its rulers in their present embarrassing position, until a general European convulsion, or some other fortunate conjuncture, shall enable them to free themselves from the snare into which French diplomacy, or rather the Imperial will, has drawn it.

In fact, the moral conquest, or more properly the fascination, of the King and his leading advisers by the magic of the Empire is so complete, that they may be regarded as ready to submit to any humiliation which Napoleon III may choose to inflict upon them. So far as they are concerned, he may, on all occasions, dictate in terms as arrogantly and as regardlessly of the honor and the interests of Italy as he did at Villafranca, and he need be, and probably is, restrained from the immediate avowal of his ambitious designs, by nothing but his fear of the jealousy of other powers, and of the strength of popular sentiment in Italy and out of it.

It is not to be denied that there is much popular dissatisfaction with the policy of this administration in many parts of Italy, and that political agitators, Romish, Bourbon, and Mazzinian, are constantly putting the question: What has Italy gained by her pretended unity?

But after all, there is no question that the belief in a community of interests, the consciousness of a national life, and the conviction that immense advantages to the whole Italian people have already resulted from the gathering of the different provinces under one political organization, are strong and rapidly growing sentiments throughout the peninsula. This, I have reason to believe, is scarcely less true of Naples than of the rest of the Kingdom. Distracted as the rural districts of southern

Italy are by brigandage and priestly and political intrigues, the recent progress of the city of Naples, and of all the most popular part of the adjacent provinces in material prosperity, in intelligence, in public order and respect for law, has been extremely rapid, and that population seems now hardly less attached to the new government than any others of its subjects. Ten years ago Naples and its dependent territory were socially, morally, politically more degraded than Spain or even Greece, but they have now left those states far behind them in the march of substantial improvement. The dynastic views of the French Emperor will find no support in Naples. The Murat faction, always insignificant, has ceased to exist, and the partisans of Francis II keep their number good only by the recruits who are sent there by Pius IX and their own fugitive king.

The question of the removal of the seat of government is naturally a very exciting one for Turin, and the transfer will meet with a determined and perhaps very formidable opposition, from the people and politicians of Piedmont. Turin has been a royal capital for generations. It can hardly be said to have had any other existence, or source of life than as a governmental residence and all its local institutions, all its social habits, all its industrial life, have been modelled accordingly. Its growth, though slow, had been steady, but it received a sudden stimulus in 1848, then an abrupt check from the expectation of the removal of the court to Rome in 1860, and then a new and strong impulse from the rapid increase of the number of its inhabitants, and the apparent defeat, or indefinite postponement of the realization, of those expectations on the retirement of the Ricasoli ministry in 1862.

Since that period a very large number of new houses have been built, or rather commenced, to accommodate the excessively crowded population of the city. The mode of construction prescribed by the customs of the country and by municipal regulations is enormously costly, and a long time elapses between the laying of the foundations and the actual occupancy of the huge piles which are erected as dwellings. Hence a large capital—often borrowed for speculation in building—has been invested in houses, few of which are yet in a state to receive tenants. The proposed change of capital threatens these operations with at least a long suspension, and the enterprising constructors and their creditors with ruin, and at the same time menaces a town which is the winter residence of almost every influential family in Piedmont with the utter prostration of all its material interests.

There has however thus far been no ebullition of popular feeling



nor any violent expression of public dissatisfaction. All are anxiously waiting the disclosure of the terms of the treaty and the action of parliament upon them, and in the meantime preparing for a strenuous opposition to the proposed change, which will find many powerful adversaries in other provinces as well as in this.

Parliament is rumored to meet on the fourth of October, and it is supposed it will be very soon dissolved, and the election of a new Chamber ordered to assemble soon at Florence. It is also thought probable that the King, the Court and the Ministers will spend the winter at that city, but that the secretaries general of the departments, and the inferior *personnel* of the public offices, as well as the archives of the Kingdom, will remain at Turin for several months longer, and that the ordinary routine of public business will go on here until perhaps another summer.

If this plan of a *divided* capital is adopted, the diplomatic corps may be embarrassed in the choice of a residence. It being usually impossible to have houses here for short terms, most of the foreign ministers—I unhappily among the rest—have taken apartments and offices on leases which have still at least a year to run and we shall very probably be obliged to take apartments and keep offices open both at Florence and at Turin. The question of removal of the capital, and of my own principal residence, will necessarily be decided before I can hear from the Department. I shall endeavor to act solely with reference to the public good, but as I shall in any case be obliged to submit to a heavy pecuniary sacrifice, I shall hope for the indulgence of the President in case I am thought to have made an erroneous decision.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 103* <sup>257</sup>

Turin, September 20, 1864.

Sir: Col. Long, United States Naval Storekeeper at Spezia, writes me that, in pursuance of instructions from the Secretary of the Navy, he has visited the island of San Pietro and St. Antioco, and that they are in his judgment not well suited to the purposes of a naval depot. He believes Cagliari to be a better position and desires me to ask the

<sup>257</sup> L'Istruzione n. 114, Washington, 12 ottobre 1864, accusava soltanto ricevuta di questo dispaccio. L'Istruzione n. 116, Washington, 17 ottobre 1864, comprendeva una copia della risposta del Segretario della Marina in merito al soggetto.

consent of the Italian Government to the leasing of magazines at that port for the deposit of our naval stores.

I have informed him that I am without instructions and of course without authority, on the subject, and that though I am ready to aid him in any communications with this Government which he may be authorized to make, I could not undertake to enter into any stipulations on the part of the Government of the United States without instructions to that effect from the Department of State.

I have been credibly informed that Cagliari is very inadequately supplied with water, and that the ships lying in that harbour are obliged to obtain their water from Pula, which is eighteen or twenty miles from Cagliari. Pula was formerly much frequented by the British Mediterranean fleets, has abundant and excellent water, and is reputed a very healthy station. Beyond this, I know nothing of its advantages or disadvantages, but it seems to me desirable that it should be visited by some competent persons of naval experience, before any contracts are entered into for magazines at Cagliari.

P. S. No. 102, a confidential despatch, has been sent by a private hand, and will not reach Washington until after the arrival of the present.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 104* <sup>258</sup>

Turin, September 26, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions No. 108 dated Aug. 29 1864, covering the commission of Mr. Redfield as Consul at Brindisi; No. 109 dated Sept. 2 1864, enclosing a commission for Mr. G. F. Comfort as Consul at Ancona; and No. 112 dated Sept. 5, 1864, with a certificate of the appointment of Consul Clawson as Consular Agent at Gallipoli.

By the mail which brought instruction No. 109, I received a letter from Mr. Comfort saying that he had declined to accept the consulate at Ancona, and I shall therefore not ask an exequatur for him. The other like cases will no doubt receive the attention of this Government as soon as the present ministerial crisis is over.

<sup>258</sup> L'Istruzione n. 118, Washington, 18 ottobre 1864, accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio.

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 110, relating to certain suggestions of mine in respect to proposed stipulations to be incorporated into a new treaty of commerce between the United States and the Kingdom of Italy; and No. 111 dated September 5 1864 referring to the presentation of testimonial to Captain Chirico of the Italian barque *Aurora*, and the payment of a month's wages to the crew of that ship. The chronometer mentioned in the instruction has not yet been received, nor did the envelope contain the list of the crew and the amount of their wages, supposed to accompany the instruction.

I shall present the chronometer to Captain Chirico through the Foreign Office, according to the practice in the like cases, but shall suspend the payment of the money to the crew until I receive the list in question.

I enclose herewith a circular from the Ministry of Marine received through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>259</sup>

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 105*

Turin, September 27, 1864.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: I shall avail myself of the earliest private opportunity to forward to you the journals and other publications recently issued at Turin, which contain the history of the deplorable events of the last weeks and of the negotiations which led to these events, with such observations on them as the best information at my command suggests. In the mean time, for reasons which need not be suggested, I limit myself to the statement of a very few facts.

The number of lives lost in the collisions between the citizens, the police and the soldiery, is believed to be larger than has been publicly admitted. Some well informed persons estimate it at not less than a hundred, but I think this probably an exaggeration.

There is good reason to believe that the police is in a great measure, responsible for the first resort to actual violence; and the Government

<sup>259</sup> Allegata si trova una circolare a stampa, n. 68, datata 16 settembre 1864, intitolata « Avviso per i naviganti », emessa dal Ministero della Marina a riguardo del faro di Capo Caccia in Sardegna.

has tacitly admitted this by dissolving the branch of that service which is thought specially culpable.

As to the conduct of the Ministry of the Interior, which is fiercely assailed, it is difficult to get at the truth, but I find it impossible to resist the conclusion that a less precipitous and more conciliatory course on its part would have saved the effusion of much of the innocent blood which has been shed—I say *innocent*, because it is positively asserted, and in so far as I know, an undisputed fact, that not one of the citizens killed or wounded was found to have been armed.

It is also stated, and I have not seen the statement contradicted, that the death of most if not all of the soldiers who were killed, is to be ascribed to the folly of their commanders, who posted them on those sides of a public square of no great extent, so that when the order was given to fire on the crowd in the centre, the opposite lines of troops were exposed, at very short range, to each other's balls.

General La Marmora has not yet succeeded in forming a ministry. Baron Ricasoli has been in consultation with La Marmora, and it is hoped that he will accept a place in the cabinet. No man deserves or enjoys the confidence of the Italian people in a higher degree than Ricasoli, and I know of nothing which would go further to calm the present excitement than his acceptance of the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The *Opinione* of this city, which was understood to be the special organ of Mr. Minghetti, and which, I suppose, expresses the views of Gen. La Marmora, admits this morning, for the first time, that the treaty, which had been declared by the Government journals to be already complete and binding, must be submitted to Parliament.

The stipulations of the convention have not yet been made public and of course it is impossible to pronounce at present how far the sanction of the Legislature is required for its validity.

The fifth section of the Constitution of 1848 is as follows:

« The executive power belongs to the King alone. He is the supreme head of the State; commands all the forces by land and by sea; concludes treaties of peace, alliance, commerce and others, giving notice thereof to the Chambers as soon as the interest and the safety of the State permit, and adding the necessary communications. Treaties involving a burden to the finances, or changes of the territory, of the State, shall not have effect until the assent of the Chambers is obtained ».

The *written* treaty may be unobjectionable, but it is hardly to be

supposed that Parliament will sustain the Government in carrying out any convention without satisfactory assurances as to the nature and extent of the secret articles and « moral guaranties » [sic] which may accompany it.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Lettera senza numero* <sup>260</sup>

Turin, September 27, 1864.

Dear Sir: I have again to solicit your kindness and I base my appeal upon your just appreciation of, and sympathy for, a Kentuckian who has remained loyal to his Government notwithstanding the exigencies and sacrifices of every kind.

You are no doubt aware of the disorganization that has existed in Kentucky for some time, consequent upon rebel raids and the social transition through which the State is now passing. At such a period private interests naturally must suffer and need the more personal attention. After now nearly four years of absence—with the interval that I was in the Army—it is very necessary for me to be at home for a short time, on account of matters of this sort, and more particularly, to receive a settlement of property. I have occupied my time in acquiring the language and knowledge necessary in the diplomatic service. I do not wish to resign so late in the term and just as I may commence to be useful. Though certainly I am aware that after years of preparation, the Government may any day send me home penniless.

With this explanation I hope the Department will grant me a leave of absence for three months; and if it thinks proper I will renounce my salary for the time. Also, my health lately has not been good and the voyage would doubtless be of benefit to me.

My position being a subordinate one, where resides constantly an able and attentive Minister, who cheerfully gives his consent to my absence, I see no inconvenience that will arise to the public service.

Another reason for my application, which I leave to your personal appreciation, is that I expect to be married. The acquisition of a beautiful and accomplished woman to the representation of the Government cannot but be appreciated by the Honorable Secretary of State.

<sup>260</sup> La replica del Seward, datata 17 ottobre 1864, accordava il congedo richiesto.

Hoping to receive an early and favorable response I remain, Mr. Seward, sincerely and respectfully your young friend.

I have not made my application formal, for the obvious nature of the considerations herein, preferring to write to you privately.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 106*

Turin, October 4, 1864.

Sir: I enclose herewith a slip from the *Stampa*, a daily journal of Turin, containing a version of the late treaty between Italy and France, which seem to proceed from an authorized source. According to this article, the purport of the convention differs essentially from that which public opinion had ascribed to it, and is also inconsistent with the interpretation put by the Government press of France upon its provisions.

If its true character is such as is here represented, it is much to be regretted that it had not been earlier promulgated, for I am convinced that it would by no means have excited the indignation produced by the original announcement of the negotiations, and that a full disclosure of the truth would have spared Turin the deplorable scenes of which it has lately been the theatre.

I presume that no official publication of the treaty will be made before the commencement of the session of Parliament on the 24 instant, and in the mean time the Italian public will remain uncertain as to the real nature of the convention. There is, however, no doubt that the terms will be accepted by Parliament and that the removal of the seat of Government will be more or less completely affected in the course of a few months.

I received this morning your instruction of September 12, 1864 without number, on the subject of the fee for passports. I had no previous knowledge of the legal provision referred to, and have issued some passports since it took effect, for which, of course, I received three dollars only.

I enclose herewith several printed circulars for the department of the Marine relating to buoys and lighthouses.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>261</sup> Il Marsh allegava una copia de *La Stampa* del 4 ottobre 1864 e due circolari a stampa: la n. 69 del 22 settembre 1864, emessa dal Ministero della Marina e riguardante il faro di Capo Sandolo; e la n. 70, del 27 settembre 1864, emessa dallo stesso Ministero per il faro di Porto Ferraio.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 117*

Washington, October 17, 1864.

Sir: I have received your confidential dispatch of the 27th of September, and I thank you very sincerely for the information it contains concerning the popular commotion at Turin, which attended the announcement of a treaty made at Paris between the Emperor and the King of Italy, in which provision is made for the withdrawal of the French military forces from Rome with a stipulation that Florence shall become the Capital of Italy.

I shall be indebted to you for such explanation as you shall be able to give me of the effects which this important proceeding produces in Italy. It is not impossible, however, that the proceeding will engage attention in all the courts of continental Europe.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 107* <sup>262</sup>

Turin, October 24, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a note received this evening from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in relation to the exchange of an Italian rifled gun, of the calibre of 40, for an American Dahlgren gun put at the disposal of the Italian Government by that of the United States.

Not being at this moment advised at what point it would be most convenient to receive the gun, I shall request the Italian Government to retain it until the question of the establishment of a new depot shall be disposed of or until I am better informed on the subject.

Colonel Long who was instructed by the Secretary of the Navy to visit the roads of Sant'Antioco and San Pietro, finds them at least in the present condition, unsuitable for a naval station for our Squadron, and has, I suppose, reported accordingly to the Navy Department.

<sup>262</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 123, Washington, 29 novembre 1864, il Seward informava il Marsh che la questione relativa allo scambio di un cannone italiano a canna rigata con uno americano del tipo *Dahlgren* e alla scelta di un deposito per la squadra americana era stata sottoposta al Segretario della Marina. Le copie della corrispondenza diplomatica, scriveva il Seward, erano da distribuire a chi il Marsh avrebbe creduto opportuno. L'Istruzione n. 124, Washington, 8 dicembre 1864, accludeva copia di una lettera del 6 dicembre 1864 scritta dal Capo dell'Ufficio della Assistenza del Dipartimento della Marina in relazione allo scambio di cannoni tra Italia e S.U.

Colonel Long is of opinion that Cagliari is a more eligible point, and as he seems to have sufficient authority to act on the question, and as the removal of the naval stores now under his charge to that port would result in a very considerable pecuniary saving, I have, at his request, applied to the Italian Government for permission to deposit these stores in magazines at Cagliari for such length of time as shall suit the convenience of both governments.

I am informed verbally, that this request will be granted, and I hope to receive the formal permission very soon.

I received a week since, through the United States Despatch Agent at Havre, a case containing one copy of the Official Register for 1863 and twenty—two copies of the Papers relating to Foreign Affairs accompanying the annual Message of the President to the first Session of the 38th Congress.

I have no instructions with respect to the disposal of this latter document, and beg to be informed whether any of the copies are designed for distribution.

***Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh*** <sup>263</sup>

Turin, le 15 Octobre 1864.

Monsieur le Ministre: Le Gouvernement des Etats Unis a bien voulu mettre à la disposition du Gouvernement du Roi un canon Dahlgren avec quelques projectiles du même système en échange d'un canon rayé et cerclé de 40 du nouveau modèle de la marine royale.

D'après ce qui a été convenu entre le Gouvernement Fédéral et le Ministre de Sa Majesté à Washington, le canon rayé de notre marine doit être remis avec un nombre proportionné de projectiles au dépôt de la Marine des Etats Unis d'Amérique dans la Méditerranée.

Je viens en conséquence Vous prier, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien nous dire si Vous désirez que le canon, dont il s'agit, soit remis au navire nolisé par les Etats Unis à la Spezia, ou si Vous préférez qu'on l'expédie, aussitôt que Vous l'indiquerez, aux magasins que la Marine Américaine va établir à Cagliari.

Je Vous saurai gré en même temps si Vous avez l'obligeance de faire parvenir au Gouvernement des Etats Unis les témoignages de notre

<sup>263</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 107 del Marsh.



sincère reconnaissance pour le procédé si amical et bienveillant dont il a usé en nous mettant à même, par une faveur toute spéciale, de connaître un système de bouches à feu qui est encore un secret pour les Puissances Européennes.

J'ai l'honneur de vous renouveler, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 108*

Turin, October 25, 1864.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: I have the honor to forward, under a separate envelope, several numbers of the *Opinione*, the leading ministerial journal of Turin, containing the most important articles which have appeared in that paper on the recent convention between Italy and France, together with three or four pamphlets on the same subject, and a report to the municipality of Turin in the late deplorable massacres in the streets of this city.

Since I last had a safe opportunity of forwarding a confidential despatch on this subject of the convention, so many revelations have been made, and there has been so full an expression of opinion in relation to it, in the principal journals of Italy and the rest of Europe, which of course have already reached you, that many of the observations I had prepared to submit to you have been rendered superfluous, and I therefore compress them.

There is no doubt that Parliament, which commenced its session yesterday, will sustain the Ministry on the question of the removal of the seat of government to Florence and it is equally certain that the public opinion of Italy, exclusive of Piedmont, is nearly unanimous in favor of the measure. The treaty, which does not technically stipulate the removal of the capital, and therefore does not necessarily involve an appropriation, will not be submitted to Parliament.

If I were to form an opinion upon the merits of the whole question from a study of the convention and the accompanying documents, from what is known of the history of its negotiation, of the motives and principles of the negotiation, and from the previous policy of the Emperor Napoleon, I should unhesitatingly condemn this arrangement

as one threatening much evil, and promising little good to the Kingdom of Italy. But the most enlightened and liberal statesmen of this Kingdom, as well as the true friends of liberty and progress in France, and England accept the convention without qualification, and I shall be glad to be convinced that my apprehensions in regard to its wordings are unfounded. I am indeed inclined to believe that it is a step to the establishment of the seat of government at Rome, but I do not yet see any reasonable probability that this Government can secure Rome as its capital, except at the cost of concessions and sacrifices to the ambition and intolerance of the Romish hierarchy, for which the possession of Rome will be a very inadequate equivalent.

The immediate effect of the removal to Florence will be the alienation of Piedmont, the patriotism of whose people and their attachment to the dynasty of Savoy, have hitherto constituted the real moral and, at the same time, physical strength of the monarchy. The Government will be weakened just in proportion to the degree of this alienation, and it will, I fear, soon become even more emphatically dependent than it now is upon the crooked policy and the mysterious caprices of the French Emperor. Italian statesmen are, I think, somewhat blinded by their own views of the importance of Rome as a national capital, and do not weigh the importance of the sacrifices which the convention will compel them to make, and they are, with not many exceptions, personally controlled by French influences to an extent which renders them unsafe judges on any question of policy on which France has expressed decided sentiments.

To those who are familiar with the history of the Papacy, the apparent opposition of the priesthood and of the Catholic press to the convention proves nothing as to the real sentiments of the Romish hierarchy, and it is worth noting as a symptom that many of the ultramontanists of Paris are now preparing to be converts to the policy of the Emperor on this subject. If the real sentiments and wishes of the papal court could be known, they would form the best possible test of the real merits of the question; for nothing can be more certain than that Rome will voluntarily acquiesce in no measure which will promote the true moral, social, and political interests of the Italian people.

On the other hand, the liberal publicists of France, for instance the direction of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who are as well informed in relation to the purposes of the Emperor as any persons out of his immediate circle can be, so far as they have yet spoken, approve the convention, and, upon the whole, the safest present conclusion seems to

be that the measure is to be judged by its ultimate results rather than by its apparent character and purposes.

Another question which will engage the attention of Parliament is of a less obscure character. I refer to the proceedings of the governmental authorities in suppressing a riot occasioned far less by local opposition to the treaty than by the brutal violence of a branch of the police which is or ought to be, immediately controlled by the Ministry.

No Piedmontese of note, except the Ministry and its immediate agents, was privy to the negotiations, though current political men from other provinces were freely consulted. The treaty was not officially made known even to the public officers of the crown until some days after it became public through the indiscretion of one of the negotiators. The first announcement in many of the ministerial journals was accompanied with comments insulting and threatening to the people of Turin. No attempts were made to soothe the irritation of the leading men of this city by any explanation of the expected results of the measures contemplated by the negotiations. None of the precautions which common humanity alike would have dictated to prevent unnecessary excitement and secure the public tranquillity and safety, were taken, and even the King, whose presence would have allayed, or perhaps altogether prevented the disturbances, was by evil counsels or mistaken judgment, kept away from the city until it was too late for him to exert any salutary influence.

The consequence of this weak and wicked mismanagement was that between fifty and sixty unarmed and peaceable citizens—men, women, and children—were shot dead in the streets, and more than twice as many others seriously wounded.

The partisans of the late Ministry have charged the disturbances upon the republicans, the Mazzinists, the party of action. These charges, I am fully convinced, are a groundless slander. Not a particle of evidence has yet been adduced to support them, though it is possible enough that testimony may be manufactured for the purpose. The organs of the liberalists of all shades were from the beginning most strenuous in urging upon this party and the people at large absolute quiet and complete abstinence from every act of provocation, while the ministerial, and more especially the ecclesiastical press has teamed with articles which were calculated, and in the case of the latter journals, unquestionably intended, to excite an irrepressible popular indignation and to incite to violences which could not fail to throw discredit upon the Government as an authority guided by constitutional law.

A parliamentary inquiry into the massacre has been ordered, but I

fear there is not moral courage enough in the national legislature and the government to hold those who are responsible for the public peace to a proper accountability.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 109*

Turin, November 22, 1864.

I mentioned in a recent despatch, that I had applied to the Italian Government to permit the temporary establishment of a depot of naval store of the United States at Cagliari.

I have received a reply, a translation of which is enclosed herewith.<sup>264</sup> The decision of the Navy Department to defer for the present the employment of store-houses on shore renders it unnecessary to prosecute the subject further, and I have notified the Italian Government accordingly.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 110*

Turin, November 15, 1864.

Sir: On the receipt of the certificate of M. Artoni's<sup>265</sup> appointment as Consular Agent of the United States at this city, I applied for an *exequatur* to him in that capacity, and have received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a reply of which I annex a translation.

***Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh***<sup>266</sup>

*Traduzione*

Turin, November 11, 1864.

I have had the honor to receive your note of November 3 asking that Mr. Joseph Artoni be recognized by the Royal Government as Consular Agent of the United States at Turin.

I regret that I am not able to comply with this request.

<sup>264</sup> Non sarà allegata. Vedi dispaccio n. 114.

<sup>265</sup> L'Istruzione n. 115, Washington, 14 ottobre 1864, trasmetteva il certificato di nomina di Joseph Artoni ad agente consolare a Torino.

<sup>266</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 110 del Marsh.

The settled practice of the Royal Government to decline to recognize Consular Agents of foreign powers at the places of residence of diplomatic representatives of such powers forbids me to issue the exequatur requested.

Trusting that, on some other near occasion, I shall be able to prove the sincerity of my desire to gratify your wishes in all cases possible, I hasten to return herewith the certificate of M. Artoni's appointment and, at the same time, I renew the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

P. S. It is understood that in case of the transfer of the seat of Government to Florence, the request for the exequatur may be renewed, as Turin would no longer be the residence of the Legation.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 121*

Washington, November 19, 1864.

*Confidenziale* <sup>267</sup>

Sir: I have read with much interest your confidential dispatch of the 25th of October which is devoted exclusively to Italian politics.

Italy being a hereditary monarchy in the House of Savoy, has in that circumstance a guaranty of considerable value against the demoralization which might be expected to follow a change of capital from its western interior position to an eastern one on, or near the Mediterranean. Time will probably materially modify the political sentiments of the Italian people, and thus impair the guaranty I have mentioned. As a distinct proposition, I should think any removal of the capital unwise, and a removal to Rome most unwise of all. But Italian statesmen seem to think otherwise and we may wisely perhaps leave the question to their judgment.

<sup>267</sup> L'Istruzione n. 120, Washington, 9 novembre 1864, trasmetteva la nomina di A. P. Henry a console degli S.U. ad Ancona.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 111*

Turin, January 16, 1865.

Sir: I have received your Instruction No. 122,<sup>268</sup> relating to the difficulty between the American and the Italian consulates at Turin and shall bring the subject to the notice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as soon as I receive some necessary additional documents from Mr. Perry.

In a former dispatch I observed that the list of the crew of the Italian barque *Aurora*, and the specification of the sums I was to pay them for aid rendered to the schooner ... did not accompany the Instruction from the State Department on that subject. The documents have been received and forwarded through the Ministry of Marine to Captain Chirico, but the list of the crew and the statement of the sums to be paid them has not yet come to hand.

The removal of the seat of this Government to Florence is to take place on the first of May next, and the necessary alteration and constructions of public buildings, for the accomodation of the different departments of the ministry and other branches of public service are now in progress at that city.

The excitement which the sudden announcement of this change produced having subsided, the measure has now become a subject of calm reflection and is by no means regarded even at Florence with the favour which welcomed the first intelligence of the convention. On the contrary, while it has gained no new friends as a wise or necessary step, the convictions of those who originally opposed it have been strengthened, and if the question were now to be tried upon its merits I do not think the Ministry could command a majority of either board of the national Legislature in its favour. That it was intended by some of the parties to the negotiation as a renunciation of the claim to Rome as the national capital, would now be scarcely denied, but however that may be, the effect of it will be to renew the agitation of the Roman question, and it will soon present itself to the people in a shape more imperiously demanding a satisfactory solution than ever.

Hitherto the desire to retain the seat of Government at the ancient

<sup>268</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 122, Washington, 29 novembre 1864, il Seward aveva deferito l'intero affare al Marsh, dato che a Washington non si sarebbe compresa tutta la questione né valutata la sua importanza.

capital of its kings has in a great measure stifled the voice of Piedmont in this question, and therefore the most powerful national influence which could be brought to bear upon it has been to a certain extent paralyzed. The moral strength of the nation resides in Piedmont, and the whole influence of all classes, with the exception of the clergy throughout the old provinces, will now be directed to the accomplishment of an end to which the population of the former Sardinian Kingdom has been hitherto comparatively indifferent. Jealousy of Florence and of Tuscan influence in the government will combine to rouse the spirit of other parts of Italy in the same direction and the peninsula will be better united on this point than it has hitherto been on any other.

Happily for the interests of Italian liberty, the recent encyclical letter of Pope Pius IX is likely to prostrate the various schemes of conciliation which have been dreamed of, as effectually as the madness of our own Southern pro-slavery politicians has dispelled the visions of a new compromise between the spirit of slavery and the spirit of freedom in our own commonwealth.

One of the most important measures now under discussion in the Italian Parliament is the bill for the suppression of monastic corporations. It is unfortunate that the measure had not been proposed and sustained on moral rather than financial grounds, for its advocates have thus deprived themselves of their strongest arguments and at the same time furnished their opponents with the most powerful weapons of resistance. Considered as a question of expediency in a moral point of view, independently of religious prejudice the reasons for the suppression of the conventual establishments are overwhelming, and their force is much increased by numerous recent disclosures of a turpitude and depravity among the members of many monastic institutions which are happily unimaginable in countries not familiar with the history of similar establishments in former periods. Four or five monastic schools have recently been closed by the Government for reasons similar to those which led to the suppression of the school of the Ignorantelli at Turin in 1863, and the exposure of vice in these instances is even more shocking in its details than in the foul case of Father Théoger and his associates. The fate of the bill is doubtful, but it is thought probable that it will pass the Chamber of Deputies in a modified form and then perhaps fail altogether in the Senate.

But while the political condition of Italy is in many respects unsatisfactory, there are in some directions sure tokens of at least material

progress. The readiness with which the proposal to anticipate the taxes for 1865 have been met by the people is a very favourable indication of the pecuniary condition of the people, and the improved well being of the labouring classes, and especially the great reduction in the number of mendicants, are circumstances which very forcibly strike the attention of all strangers who knew Italy fifteen years ago. The sale of the railroads and of the public domain, though at prices far below their probable value, will serve to relieve the treasury, and in fact the financial embarrassments of the Government are among the least of its real difficulties.

One of the worst indications I notice as a fact of observation is that, in spite of the rapid spread of education among all classes, there is an increase of crime, and a shameful and growing indifference to the detection and punishment of offenses against persons and property. Robberies and other acts of violence are far more frequent in northern Italy than they were four years ago, and the proportion of criminals arrested and brought to justice appears to be considerably less. The police is every where miserable, and the prosecuting authorities are, to a most discreditable degree, remiss in the pursuit, detection, and punishment of offenders.

The re-election of President Lincoln has, as you have heard from all quarters, been received with the greatest satisfaction by the friends, and the greatest disappointment by the enemies of European liberty. The issue presents itself on the continent in two aspects, first as a question of the abolition of domestic slavery, and secondly as a question of the power of popular governments to maintain themselves against domestic as well as against foreign hostility. The present administration of the American Government enjoys, I believe, the confidence of our European well-wishers, that is to say, of all the popular masses on this side of the Atlantic, on both points. I have no reason to doubt that most of the members of this Government are friendly to us, though I regret to say that it allows the ministerial journals to indulge in a tone of malevolence and misrepresentation of fact against us, which it certainly would not permit in the case of states whose good will it values at a high rate.



***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Lettera senza numero*

Metropolitan Hotel, Washington City, D. C., February 7, 1865.

Sir: The leave of absence which was granted me by your dispatch of 17 October last (rec'd Nov. 8) expires on the 12th of the current month. Mr. Marsh, the Minister at Turin, informed me that there was no objection on his part to my remaining until the 1st of April. I am, however, disposed to return to my post sooner, and have the honor to ask of the Department an extension of my leave for five weeks—within which time I will report at the Legation in Turin.<sup>269</sup>

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 125*

Washington, February 7, 1865.

Sir: Your despatch of the 16th of January, No. 111, has been received and your proceedings therein mentioned are approved.

I thank you for the information you have given me concerning the political affairs of Italy.

The United States rejoice in every thing that contributes to the stability of the Italian Government, or tends to promote the welfare and happiness of the Italian people. If, as you suppose, these sentiments are not fully reciprocated by the Government of Italy at the present moment, we may regret the circumstance without allowing it to affect our settled policy in regard to that very interesting country. Once we enjoyed the general respect of European states. Some of them became unfriendly when we entered the ways of adversity. We shall always gratefully remember that Italy was not one of these nations. However unfavorably any of its governing statesmen may regard us, we do not cease to remember that the fate of the Civil War, in which we are engaged, is little dependent on foreign favor, that if we fail, we cannot expect friends, and if we continue to be successful it will be less necessary than it has been hitherto to plead for friendship.

<sup>269</sup> L'8 febbraio 1865 il Seward rispose accordando il congedo che gli era stato richiesto.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

Dispaccio n. 113 <sup>270</sup>

Turin, February 13, 1865.

Sir: As the public journals have already informed you, the King of Italy left Turin for Florence on the third day of the present month, and the latter city will henceforth be the royal residence. The immediate occasion of the King's departure was the absence of any representation of the municipality of Turin at a court ball given on the evening of January 30th, and the refusal of that body to disclaim, or apologize for, popular manifestations of dissatisfaction in the streets and public squares of the city on that evening.

These manifestations, it appears, were specially provoked by the neglect of Parliament to pass resolutions implying some censure of the Ministry for their conduct during the disturbances of September 21 and 22, and to make any provision for the relief of the widows and children of innocent persons killed on that unhappy occasion.

The departure of the King was extremely sudden. No previous notice of his intention to remove to Florence was given, nor in fact was that intention even generally suspected at Turin before it was carried into effect; no public announcement of his change of residence has been since promulgated; nor has any communication yet been made to the diplomatic corps on the subject. The King, however, was accompanied by General La Marmora, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, by some others of the Ministry and by the principal officers of the Court, and many of the public journals declared that the personal removal of the King and the court was held to involve the removal of the seat of Government, and to be in fact an execution of the act of Parliament and the royal decree for transferring the capital to Florence.

In order to inform myself on this point, I visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Florence on Monday last and learned from him that Turin is still considered the official capital of the Kingdom, and will continue to be so regarded until the actual removal of the public offices and their archives and *personnel*. This, it is understood, will not take

<sup>270</sup> Nell'originale questo dispaccio portava erroneamente il n. 114. Con il dispaccio n. 112, Torino, 30 gennaio 1865, il Marsh aveva chiesto un periodo di congedo di tre mesi, con decorrenza dall'1 aprile 1865, per recarsi negli S.U.

place until April, or more probably May, and in the mean time, most, if not all, of the foreign diplomatic representatives will remain here, visiting Florence from time to time, if occasion shall require.

I shall, unless otherwise instructed, pursue the same course, and hope that this decision will meet your approbation.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 126*

Washington, February 27, 1865.

Sir: Your despatch of January 30th, No. 112, has been received. Circumstances indicate that we are approaching a final crisis of the insurrection. The action of European powers, especially maritime powers in that case must therefore be a subject of especial solicitude. We are soon to send a fleet to Europe which will visit the Mediterranean with the purpose of restoring the national prestige so unpleasantly impaired during this civil war. It would be an occasion of regret if your important point should be left uncovered at such a time. The President therefore desires that you will for the present waive your request for a leave of absence.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 114*

Turin, March 20, 1865.

Sir: On the 4th of this month, Mr. Henry S. Foote,<sup>271</sup> of Tennessee, called upon me at Milan, whither I had accompanied the Court by royal invitation, with the rest of the diplomatic corps, to attend the festivities of the Carnovalone, and asked me for a passport for Rome,

<sup>271</sup> Henry S. Foote (1800-1880). Originario della Virginia, fu senatore dal 1847 al 1852; presiedette la Commissione senatoriale per le relazioni con l'estero nel 1848, e nel 1850 difese strenuamente il compromesso proposto da Henry Clay per la questione razziale. Fu eletto governatore del Mississippi nel 1855, prevalendo su Jefferson Davis, e durante la Guerra Civile fece parte del Congresso degli Stati Confederati, portando avanti una politica di opposizione che sfociò nell'appoggio dato alle condizioni di pace proposte dal Presidente Lincoln nel 1863-64. Nel 1864 lasciò Richmond e qualche tempo dopo si stabilì a Washington. LAMB, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 139.

or at least for a visa to the *laisser passer* which was delivered him under your hand on his leaving the United States. I declined issuing a passport, but reserved the question of granting the visa until I could examine the latest instructions of the Department on the subject of passport, on my return to Turin. On arriving at this city, on Monday the 6th, I was met by intelligence of a severe domestic affliction, and being at the same time pressed for a decision by a telegraphic message from Mr. Lawrence, Consul General at Florence, I disposed of the question, without further consideration, by refusing a visa containing the word « good » or other technical expression, and endorsing on the *laisser passer* this entry:

« This memorandum has been presented at this Legation by the bearer thereof Mr. Henry S. Foote, who desires to proceed to Rome ». (signed)—[...]

I hope I shall not be thought to have gone too far in this quasi recognition of Mr. Foote as entitled to American protection, to which I was induced, chiefly by the fact that Mr. Foote now openly declares the rebellion virtually crushed, and that, in the concluding paragraph of his letter written to the people of Tennessee since his arrival in Europe, as well as in conversation, he recommends unconditional submission to the authority of the United States. Under these circumstances, I thought a visit by Mr. Foote to Rome, where the secession element is particularly strong, and where the government is notoriously favorable to the success of the rebel cause, would be much more likely to do good than hurt [sic] to the interests of the Union, and I have now reason to think that Mr. Foote's known and openly avowed sentiments are not without beneficial effect upon public opinion in Europe. It should be added that Mr. Foote could have obtained a passport from other legations, and it appeared to me better that he should travel under such a paper as was given him by you, which to a certain extent commits him, than under a passport from a foreign source.<sup>272</sup>

When the question of the establishment of a new naval depot at some Italian port was under consideration, I received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a letter of which I annex a translation. This should properly have been forwarded at the time, but I omitted to do so

<sup>272</sup> Nell'Istruzione n. 128, Washington, 8 aprile 1865, il Seward approvò la decisione presa dal Marsh a proposito della richiesta del Foote.

because the receipt of the letter was anticipated by that of your Instruction No. 116 of Oct. 17 1864, informing me that the Government of the United States was not inclined to make any arrangements on the subject at present.<sup>273</sup> I think the Italian Government would be pleased with the establishment of a depot at Cagliari, and very probably would, under present circumstances, grant more liberal terms than it was disposed to yield at the date of the letter herewith transmitted.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Instruction No. 126 of Feb. 27th declining to grant my request for a leave of absence, and I, of course, acquiesce in the President's decision on the subject.

***Alfonso La Marmora a George P. Marsh***<sup>274</sup>

Monsieur le Ministre

Turin, le 1<sup>er</sup> Novembre 1864.

J'ai pris connaissance, et j'ai communiqué au Ministère de la Marine, du contenu de la note que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 26 Septembre dernier pour demander la permission de faire transporter dans des magasins qui seraient loués par la Marine des Etats Unis dans le Port de Cagliari les approvisionnements qu'elle avait dans le Dépôt de la Spezia qui a dû être évacué par suite de la transformation du Golfe de la Spezia en établissement militaire de la Marine Royale d'Italie.

Le Gouvernement du Roi n'a pas de difficulté, Monsieur le Ministre, de déférer à ce désir soit en vue des relations si amicales qui existent entre les deux pays, soit en vue de la circonstance tout à fait exceptionnelle que les Etats Unis d'Amérique n'ont aucune possession en Europe et que la distance immense qui les sépare de la Méditerranée ne leur permettrait pas d'approvisionner leurs navires directement et à mesure que le besoin s'en ferait sentir.

Mais vous sentirez, Monsieur le Ministre, qu'en faisant cette concession nous sommes obligés de réserver au Gouvernement du Roi la liberté d'action que lui commandent ses intérêts et le maintien de la neutralité maritime.

<sup>273</sup> Vedi dispaccio n. 109.

<sup>274</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 114 del Marsh.

Il est donc de mon devoir de formuler les conditions suivantes:

La faculté accordée au Gouvernement Fédéral de louer des magasins à Cagliari pour l'approvisionnement de sa Station Navale de la Méditerranée pourra toujours être révoquée par le Gouvernement du Roi, et la Marine des Etats Unis sera tenue d'évacuer les magasins susdits dans le délai de quatre mois après qu'avis en aura été donné à la Légation des Etats Unis près la Cour d'Italie.

Si une rupture survenait entre les Etats Unis et quelque Puissance Européenne, l'évacuation des magasins de Cagliari devra avoir lieu immédiatement après la déclaration de guerre.

Les Etats Unis ne pourront jamais réclamer aucune indemnité pour l'évacuation des magasins de leur marine à Cagliari.

Les navires de guerre de la Marine des Etats Unis se conformeront aux dispositions du Décret Royal ci-joint du 6 Avril 1864 sur la neutralité des ports du Royaume d'Italie.<sup>275</sup>

Dans le cas où des navires de guerre des Etats Unis devraient s'arrêter dans le port de Cagliari au delà du terme fixé par l'Article 12 du Décret susdit, ils seront tenus, sauf le cas de relâche forcée, ou d'avaries, d'en demander l'autorisation du Gouvernement du Roi.

Les dispositions du Décret susmentionné concernant les navires belligérants seront applicables à la Marine militaire des Etats Unis d'Amérique aussitôt que ces Etats seraient en guerre avec d'autres Puissances, ou que des navires de guerre ou armés en course des séparatistes se présenteraient dans la Méditerranée.

J'aime à croire, Monsieur le Ministre, qu'appréciant le motif de ces conditions vous n'aurez pas de difficulté de les agréer. Je m'empresse toutefois d'ajouter que le Gouvernement du Roi sera heureux de pouvoir donner des preuves de son amitié envers les Etats Unis, en accordant à la Marine Fédérale toutes les facilités qui seraient compatibles avec ses devoirs.

Je saisis avec plaisir l'occasion de vous renouveler, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

<sup>275</sup> È allegato il R.D. n. 1728, 6 aprile 1864, riguardante le misure per la neutralità dei porti.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 115*

Turin, March 21, 1865.

Sir: I learn that the late appointee to the Consulate of the United States at Ancona has determined not to accept the post, and as the office is no longer a salaried one, I think there is no probability that any American citizen will consent to discharge its duties.

Mr. Rebighini, an opulent merchant of Ancona, who is highly recommended as a respectable person, and who is very well acquainted with the English language, desires the appointment of vice-consul or consular agent at that post, and I believe Mr. Lawrence has advised his nomination.

I am told there is an application from another person, who is either a clerk or a business connection of the British Consul at Ancona, and I am assured by highly respectable authority that, independently of this objection, he is a much less fit person than Mr. Rebighini.

I concur, therefore, in Mr. Lawrence's recommendation.<sup>276</sup>

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 116*

Turin, April 20, 1865.

Sir: As I observed in a former despatch, the list of the crew of the Italian barque *Aurora*, and of the sums which they were respectively to receive in consideration of services rendered a vessel captured by the United States Navy, did not accompany the instructions by which I was directed to pay them each one month's wages.

The original list as furnished by the Italian Legation at Washington, having been now received, I have sent to the office of this Ministry of Marine the sum of seven hundred and seventy—six francs and two centimes, that being the amount of one month's wages of the crew, according to the above mentioned list, of which I return a copy.<sup>277</sup>

The payment was made by Mr. Clay to the Secretary General of the Ministry, but no receipt was given.

<sup>276</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 129, Washington, 10 aprile 1865, si informava il Marsh che si era tenuto conto della raccomandazione del Console Generale per la destinazione del Rebighini al consolato di Ancona.

<sup>277</sup> L'elenco comprendeva il nome, il grado e la paga di ognuno dei dodici membri dell'equipaggio come erano stati forniti dall'Ambasciata d'Italia presso gli S.U. Il cambio fu fissato al rapporto di lire 5,25 per un dollaro.

The chronometer forwarded with the instructions had been delivered to the Ministry before, and I requested that it might be presented to the Captain of the *Aurora* and the money paid to the crew in the presence of the American Consul at Messina.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 117*

Turin, April 28, 1865.

Sir: I have received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs official notice that the office of that Ministry will be transferred to Florence on the fifteenth day of May next, but I have been since informed by the Secretary General, that it is doubtful whether the Minister of Foreign Affairs will be at that city in person before the end of the month.

It is understood that the King leaves Turin for Florence today, but no formal announcement of his change of residence has been made.

I shall remain at Turin until the removal of the public offices actually takes place and shall then proceed to the new capital.

***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***

*Dispaccio n. 118*

Turin, April 29, 1865.

Sir: Two days since a telegraphic message, forwarded to this city for transmission to Constantinople, brought us the first announcement of the fearful crime to which the chief magistrate of the Union has fallen a victim. The want of direct intelligence, and the brevity of the telegram, led many to suspect that it was a false rumor invented for purpose of speculation, but it was confirmed by later messages, and the post of this morning brings us many of the details of the assassination, as well as a notice of your appointment as Acting Secretary of State.

Upon the reception of the first message, members of the Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies, which were then in session, called at my house for information as to the truth of the report. This, in consequence of the accidental failure of telegrams to and from Mr. Adams,<sup>278</sup> I was unable to give, but knowing, as I do, the character

<sup>278</sup> Vedi il dispaccio n. 6.



of the enemies with whom the late President had to contend, and remembering the threats of which he was often the object, I have long thought such an event probable, and did not hesitate to say that I so considered it.

You will receive from nearer sources abundant evidence of the reprobation and horror which this enormous offence against humanity has excited throughout Europe, and I am happy to say that the most eminent friends of Italian liberty are not behind the foremost in condemnation of the crime and in regret for the sudden removal of a public officer who, at the moment of his death, enjoyed the reverence of the civilized world in a higher degree than any other man of our times.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has requested me to assure my Government of the special regret and sympathy of the King of Italy and of the present administration of the Kingdom, and most of the foreign ministers at this court have expressed to me similar sentiments.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have passed appropriate resolutions on the occasion, but as these will be officially communicated to the Government through the Italian Minister at Washington, I forbear to transmit them. I, however, enclose herewith, at the request of respectable persons, two series of resolutions from masonic associations, which have just been communicated to me.<sup>279</sup>

Great interest is naturally felt and expressed respecting the probable policy of Mr. Lincoln's successor,<sup>280</sup> and the effects of the President's death on the political interests of the United States. It has been a great satisfaction to me to be able to testify, from personal acquaintance with the present incumbent of the presidential office, to the purity and elevation of his character, and to his soundness, ability, and integrity as a statesman, and at the same time to profess a confidence in the stability of our institutions which excludes all fear either of a dangerous shock to them, or of a temporary derangement of their normal functions, from even so calamitous an event as this.

It would be ungracious at this moment to enquire jealously into the sincerity of the *official* expressions of European regret, or into the probable effects of Mr. Lincoln's death on the policy of foreign powers towards us. Happily, the progress of our arms has secured us from

<sup>279</sup> Il Marsh ricevette da tutta l'Italia numerosi messaggi di condoglianze che più tardi trasmise al Dipartimento di Stato.

<sup>280</sup> Andrew Johnson, del Tennessee, fu Presidente dal 15 aprile 1865 al 4 marzo 1869.

all visible danger of European intervention, and if there are governments which, in earlier stages of the rebellion, might have availed themselves of such a conjuncture as this, for evil ends, it is now too late to make it an occasion of successful wrong-doing by any European state to the people of the United States.

We are yet without definite information as to the condition of the Secretary of State and of his son and assistant, but the telegraphic intelligence seems favorable to the life and complete restoration of both of them. The great wisdom and ability with which Mr. Seward has conducted the foreign relations of the United States are universally acknowledged, and are, indeed so deeply felt, that his decease at this moment would be regarded by Europe as a loss to his country hardly less than that of the President himself, and I most earnestly trust both that his life may be saved and that he may be spared the heavy affliction of the loss of a distinguished son.

### ***Messaggio della Loggia massonica di Parma*** <sup>281</sup>

ITALIA UNA

all'O. . Di Parma

N. 126

All'annuncio della morte di Abramo Lincoln la Italia Una all'O. . di Parma nella seduta ordinaria del 28 aprile 1865 E. . V. . ha inciso la seguente Tav. . .

« LINCOLN fu rapito alla vita terrestre: il suo nobile capo ergevasi a porgere all'Eterno il tributo di una grande opera compiuta, quando ricadde sfracellato dal piombo assassino: sollevavasi il fortissimo petto alla gioja di un gran trionfo della Umanità... Ora non più, ma la personalità di Lincoln erasi elevata a quel punto, nel quale l'uomo individuo scompare e splende l'incarnazione di un principio. Tale era Lincoln; e come tale non era in potere di nessuna violenza lo spegnerlo. Ei vive in un popolo forte, ardito, convinto; vive nell'umanità militante a cui l'esempio della virtù sua ha accresciuto la fede, purificato il cuore, ingrandito l'intelletto.

Salve in eterno o Spirito di Lincoln. Tu ora abbracciato a quello di Washington guardi dalle sfere superiori col sorriso del perdono, della

<sup>281</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 118 del Marsh.

fede all'Umanità che lotta per la vittoria delle leggi eterne del progresso morale.

O grandi anime accogliete il saluto e l'affetto di chi rimane a combattere, ed il vostro pensiero alle grandi cose, alla pertinace virtù del sacrificio tutti — uomini e popoli — vi ispiri ».

Il Ven. A. Oliva

Per estratto conforme  
del segretario  
Adorni 18

***Messaggio del grande oriente d'Italia*** <sup>282</sup>

Turin, 28 Avril 1865.

Le Gr. . . M. . . Régent de la Maçonnerie en Italie  
Au Très Honorable Citoyen  
Sir. G. Marsh Représentant du Gouvernement des Etats Unis de  
Amérique en Italie

Le Grand homme qui vient de disparaître par suite d'un horrible forfait

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

a été le moteur puissant par le quel l'abolition de l'esclavage est devenue une réalité.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

est à ce titre, non seulement un Grand Citoyen de Votre pays, mais un des principaux bienfaiteurs de l'humanité.

La Maçonnerie de toutes les parties du Monde Lui doit un tribut de reconnaissance, de regret et de vénération.

Permettez, Monsieur, que je vienne Vous prier, au nom des cent et onze ateliers maçonniques de notre communion, de vouloir bien transmettre au Gouvernement et au Peuple des Etats Unis, l'expression de

<sup>282</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 118 del Marsh.

notre douleur et nos vœux les plus sincères pour que l'oeuvre si bien commencée par l'illustre Défunt puisse recevoir, par la force de Vos institutions républicaines, son entier développement.

Nos Ateliers maçonniques ont pris le deuil pendant neuf jours.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Représentant, l'expression de mon profond respect.

François De Luca 33.

Le grand Chancelier

M. Macchi

### ***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***

*Dispaccio n. 119*

Turin, May 15, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. [...] dated April 17 1865 with the official announcement of the assassination of the President of the United States. I immediately communicated a copy of this announcement to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have received a reply of which a translation is annexed.

I have received a considerable number of addresses, resolutions, and other expressions of condolence with the people of the United States on this sad event, which I shall forward to Washington by the first private conveyance. I retain them, in the meantime, because they would form a package somewhat bulky for the mails.

The omission of this Government to anticipate the official announcement of President Lincoln's death by spontaneous expressions of regret, in some such formal way as has been adopted by other European states, and the perhaps erroneous impression that the Italian Minister at Washington had abstained from offering or joining in any such expressions, have been the occasion of much severe comment by the liberal party in Italy, and this feeling has been, no doubt, strengthened by the rancorous and unscrupulous hostility which the ministerial press of Turin has long manifested toward the cause of the American Union. Perhaps the Government of Italy thought the resolutions of the chambers, which, however, were not originated by the Ministry, a sufficient official manifestation of the national sympathy, but something proceeding more directly from the head of the government, and of a more spontaneous character, would have been much more acceptable to a vast majority of the Italian people.

There are in circulation many rumors of a projected alliance between France, Austria, Italy and Spain for the maintenance of the new Imperial dynasty in Mexico, at the cost even of a war with the United States; and a visit of General Cialdini to Spain at this moment is expected by some to be connected with negotiations for this end. The whole thing seems extremely improbable as to some of the powers in question, supremely absurd as to the best interests of all of them, but I do not think the present administration of this Government would refuse to enter into an alliance with France for any purposes whatever which the Emperor of the French might wish to accomplish. In such a crusade, I can hardly believe that this or any other European government, except perhaps England, would have the support of its own people; and so transparent an attempt to put down republicanism in America as this would be, might very probably teach European statesmen that democracy is a much more powerful element of opposition to measures of despotic policy than they at this moment consider it.

The session of Parliament is not yet closed and the Minister of Foreign Affairs is still here, but the transfer of all the public offices to Florence will probably be completed before the month of June, and I intend to go to that city in the course of the present or the next week.

*Alfonso La Marmora a George P. Marsh* <sup>283</sup>

Turin, le 6 Mai 1865.

Monsieur le Ministre: J'ai reçu la Note que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser à la date du 5 Mai pour me transmettre copie d'une circulaire du Ministère d'Etat de Washington, notifiant officiellement l'assassinat commis sur la personne du Président des Etats-Unis et l'avènement à la Présidence de Mr. Andrew Johnson.

Dès le 28 Avril dernier, je me suis empressé d'expédier au Ministre d'Italie à Washington l'Adresse que le Parlement Italien a votée au Congrès de l'Union afin de lui exprimer ses sentimens de vive sympathie et l'indignation qu'avait soulevées en Italie le crime exécrable dont Mr. Abraham Lincoln a été la victime.

Le Roi, mon Auguste Souverain, et son Gouvernement se sont pleinement associés à cette manifestation, et je Vous renouvelle ici, Monsieur

<sup>283</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 119 del Marsh.

le Ministre, l'expression la plus vive des sentimens qu'ils ont éprouvés, ainsi que toute la Nation Italienne, dans cette triste circonstance.

En formant des vœux sincères pour la Prospérité des Etats de l'Union et de leur digne Président M. Andrew Johnson, je Vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***

*Dispaccio n. 120* <sup>284</sup>

Turin, May 24, 1865.

Sir: Although the representatives of foreign powers at this Court were formally notified that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be transferred to Florence on the 15 instant, General La Marmora, the head, and many of the chiefs of bureau, of that department remained at Turin till yesterday. Some of the other ministers will not be removed for some days, and the chief of the foreign legations, with but two or three exceptions, are still at this city.

It is said that the King will soon return to Turin and spend the summer in Piedmont, and few, if any, of the foreign ministers will be definitively established at the new capital until autumn. The confusion into which the public offices are thrown, from the want of convenient accommodations and the time required to complete the removal, will, as I am informed, interfere very seriously with the transaction of business for some months.

I had expected that the change would be more promptly effected, but thus far I have thought Turin my proper post, and the arrangement of the French mails has been, and is, a better reason for prolonging my stay here until a removal becomes clearly necessary. Letters and other communications from America arrive at Turin by the morning post, but do not reach Florence until evening at too late an hour for distribution, and of course they would be delivered to me there twenty four hours later. Then, at this city, there would of course be a corresponding delay in the opposite direction. At this interesting crisis of American affairs, it is very desirable to me, not to say important, to receive despatches and journals as early as possible.

<sup>284</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 134, Washington, 28 giugno 1865, lo Hunter rimetteva volentieri alla discrezione del Marsh la sua richiesta del permesso di assentarsi da Torino per un periodo di tre o quattro settimane.

I shall, however, go to Florence early next week, and Mr. Clay, if not already at that city, will, I suppose, arrive there tomorrow.

The extravagant rents demanded at Florence, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining suitable lodgings at any price here much embarrassed me as well as most of the other legations, and the apartment I expect to employ will not be at my disposal for several weeks. I cannot therefore immediately remove my family and furniture, and they will remain for the present at Turin where I have an unexpired lease of a house which runs till autumn.

Under these circumstances it would be very convenient to me to be occasionally absent from Florence for a longer period than ten days, and I have thought the Department would probably allow some relaxation of that rule during the period of transfer and the confusion which necessarily attends it. I shall endeavor not to abuse any indulgence which may be granted me in this respect, and I shall be gratified if the Department would leave it to my discretion whether to remain always at Florence or for special reasons of health or convenience, to be sometimes absent from that city for three or four weeks. I should, of course, be informed of the arrival of the expected United States naval squadron in the Mediterranean or of any other important occurrence, as soon as at the capital and no time would be lost in the discharge of any official duty from the indulgence I ask.

***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***

*Dispaccio n. 121*

Florence, June 5, 1865.

Sir: I left Turin on Tuesday last and came immediately to this city. I shall make my arrangements for a permanent residence here as rapidly as possible though for reasons stated in a former dispatch I shall be obliged to make occasional visits to Turin until I can secure proper apartments for my family and the convenience of the Legation, which is by no means an easy task. Mr. Clay preceded me by a few days, and has taken lodgings which will serve as an office until a better provision is made.

The Foreign Office is now established at Florence, though one branch of it, the Diplomatic Council, as well as some other public offices still remain at the former capital.

I saw General La Marmora on Saturday. He inquired into our present, and probable future relations with Mexico with no small interest, and I know from various sources that this subject is now occupying the serious attention of Italian statesmen of all shades of political opinion. In case the Emperor Napoleon shall decide to send large reinforcements to Mexico, I have no doubt whatever that Italy will be called on to furnish a contingent, and the leading article in the *Opinione*, a semi-official organ, which I sent to you by the last post, was doubtless intended to prepare public opinion in Italy for such an event.

The pending negotiations with Rome are looked to with much anxiety. Nothing authentic has transpired as to the character of the instructions of the Italian envoy, but it may be safely predicted that the conditions of any convention which may be concluded with Rome will be framed less with an eye to the best interests of Italy than in accordance with the policy of the Emperor of France, and it is probable that the contracting parties are now only waiting for the new instructions which may be expected from Paris on the return of the Emperor from Algeria before giving a definitive form to the concordat or later arrangement of the questions at issue.

***George P. Marsh a William Hunter***

*Dispaccio n. 122*

Florence, June 10, 1865.

Sir: On the receipt of the three proclamations of the President of the United States dated April 11 1865 relating, respectively, to the treatment of vessels of war of the United States by foreign powers in the ports and waters of such powers; to the closing of certain ports of the United States; and to the port of Key West. I enclosed copies of them all to the Minister of Foreign affairs with a note a copy of which marked A is hereto annexed.

On the 29 of May, I addressed to the Minister a note of which a copy marked B is hereto annexed, together with a copy of the proclamation therein referred to.

I have received from the Minister two notes dated June 6 and June 9 translation of which marked respectively C and D are annexed.

I shall go to Turin today partly for reasons of personal convenience, and partly to finish the draught of the treaty which I am authorized to



negotiate with this Kingdom. The library and archives of the Legation still remaining at Turin, I can perform this labour much more conveniently at that city than at this, and I hope to complete it in a few days.

It is now announced that the archives and offices of the Italian Parliament will remain at the old capital for some weeks, or even months, longer, and as the expected dissolution of the national legislature has not yet taken place, it is suggested that a new session may be convoked at Turin for the purpose of sanctioning a convention with Rome or possibly of acting on the question of promoting an Italian contingent to the French army of occupation in Mexico. The latter supposition is less probable than it seemed a few days since, but the present chambers would go with France and the Italian Ministry on this point. The next Parliament may prove less pliable.

***George P. Marsh a Alfonso Lamarmora***<sup>285</sup>

*Copia*

Turin, May 5, 1865.

Your Excellency: I have the honor to enclose to you copies of:

A proclamation by the President of the United States, dated April 11th 1865, relating to the treatment of vessels of war of the United States, by foreign powers in the ports and waters of such powers; A proclamation by the President of the United States, dated April 11th 1865, relating to closing of certain ports of the United States annumerated [sic] in said proclamation; and a proclamation by the President of the United States, dated April 11th 1865, declaring that the port of Key West, inadvertently included in the terms of the last mentioned proclamation, shall remain open.

Your Excellency is aware that the Government of the United States has never admitted the validity of the reasons which have induced various foreign powers, during the rebellion of a portion of the lawful territory of the Union, to deny to the armed vessels of the United States the hospitalities reciprocally usual between friendly nations.

It is also known to Your Excellency that, by recent victories of the arms of the Union, the Federal Government is once more in undisputed possession of nearly the whole of the territory lately occupied by the

<sup>285</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 122 del Marsh.

rebel forces and that the so called « Confederate States, » are now without a political capital, without an army, without sea ports, and in fact without a government recognized even by themselves.

The alleged reasons for the refusal of the usual international comity to our ships of war, never, as I have said, sufficient in the eyes of the Federal Government to justify such refusal, have now, therefore altogether ceased to exist, and my Government confidently expects that all foreign powers and especially the Kingdom of Italy, in whose waters no vessel bearing the rebel flag has ever appeared and which has always manifested the most amicable sentiments towards the United States, will acquiesce in the justice and propriety of restoring to the armed vessels of the Union the enjoyment of the hospitalities which has been granted by each of the two nations to the Navy of the other.

It is proper that I should admit on this occasion, that the United States have had no occasion to complain of the enforcement, in practice, of the rules prescribed by His Majesty's Government respecting the treatment of foreign armed vessels and I take pleasure in acknowledging a comity on the part of the Italian Government of which my own is by no means insensible, and which may justly be regarded as a proof that the friendship so long manifested by His Majesty's Government for the Government of the United States is in no degree impaired.

***George P. Marsh a Alfonso Lamarmora*** <sup>286</sup>

Turin, May 29, 1865.

Your Excellency: I have the honor to inclose herewith a printed copy of a proclamation by the President of the United States in relation to the treatment of cruisers acting under the pretended authority of the so called « Confederate States » in the ports of foreign powers.

It is certainly not to be expected that vessels under the rebel flag will seek an asylum in the ports of His Majesty the King of Italy, but in such case the liberality with which His Majesty's Government has treated the armed ships of the United States in Italian waters, and the notorious fact that no shadow of a Confederate Government now exists justify the expectation that no manner of recognition, aid, or comfort will be extended to ships claiming to belong to this illegal organization.

<sup>286</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 122 del Marsh.

Florence, 6 Juin 1865.

Monsieur le Ministre: Le transfert de la Capitale à Florence ne m'a pas permis de répondre avant ce jour à la Note que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 5 du mois de Mai dernier pour me communiquer deux proclamations du feu le Président des Etats Unis Mr. Lincoln, l'une relative au traitement des navires de guerre de l'Union à l'étranger, l'autre concernant la fermeture de quelques ports des Etats Unis.

Vous savez, Monsieur le Ministre, que le Gouvernement du Roi n'a jamais dissimulé ses sympathies pour la juste cause, qui vient d'obtenir des succès si décisifs, et vous avez bien voulu reconnaître vous même, que si nous avons été obligés d'appliquer, en principe, aux bâtiments de guerre des Etats Unis dans les eaux territoriales de l'Italie les dispositions que nos règlements consacrent pour les navires belligérants, nous avons eu soin d'en adoucir en pratique les prescriptions de manière à gêner le moins possible leur entrée et leur séjour dans nos ports, et dans nos rades.

Maintenant que la guerre civile peut être considérée comme terminée nous sommes heureux de pouvoir donner au Gouvernement des Etats Unis de nouveaux gages de notre constante amitié.

Je m'empresse donc de vous annoncer que toutes les restrictions provisoirement adoptées à l'égard des bâtiments de guerre des Etats Unis viennent d'être révoquées, et que dorénavant ces navires seront traités dans nos eaux territoriales sur le pied des navires de guerre des autres puissances amies et en paix.

Quant aux navires armés des séparatistes nous avons l'espoir qu'il n'en paraîtra point sur nos côtes. Et si contre toute probabilité il venait à s'en présenter, ils ne seraient reçus dans nos ports que dans ces cas de relâche forcée, où les lois de l'humanité ne permettrait pas de les repousser. Mais en ce cas même nos autorités prendront toutes les précautions nécessaires pour qu'il n'en puisse résulter aucun inconvénient.

<sup>287</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 122 del Marsh.

**Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh** <sup>288</sup>

Florence, 9 Juin 1865.

Monsieur le Ministre: Les déterminations, que j'ai eu l'honneur de Vous annoncer par ma Dépêche du 6 Juin, ayant prévenu la communication que par votre note du 29 du mois de mai Vous avez bien voulu me faire d'une Proclamation de S. E. le Président des Etats Unis d'Amérique, relative au traitement des navires armés des séparatistes, il ne me reste qu'à m'acquitter du devoir de Vous accuser réception de ce document.

Je saisis en même temps l'occasion de vous offrir, Monsieur le Ministre, les nouvelles assurances de ma haute considération.

**George P. Marsh a William Hunter**

*Dispaccio n. 123*

Florence, June 11, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith several letters of condolence on the assassination of President Lincoln, from various municipal bodies, corporations and other associations in the Kingdom of Italy, together with a sealed communication apparently from the Government of the Republic of San Marino. <sup>289</sup>

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 124* <sup>290</sup>

Florence, June 29, 1865.

Sir: Although I am not officially informed that you have so far recovered as to be able to resume the discharge of your functions as chief

<sup>288</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 122 del Marsh.

<sup>289</sup> Gli allegati comprendevano la traduzione di una lettera di condoglianze della Società Democratica di Ferrara al Popolo degli S.U. (28 aprile 1865) e di un'altra lettera inviata dalla Società Centrale dei Lavoratori di Parma (3 maggio 1865). Tutti i messaggi di condoglianze, più di 70 in totale, spediti da società operate, consigli municipali, nonché i messaggi ufficiali del governo italiano, furono pubblicati in un volume dal titolo: U.S.: Department of State: *The assassination of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States of America, and the attempted assassination of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary. Expressions of condolence and sympathy inspired by these events.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1866.

<sup>290</sup> Questo dispaccio era erroneamente contrassegnato con il n. 123.

of the State Department, I infer from the newspaper accounts that you are again at your post, and I accordingly address this despatch to you. I beg you, Sir, to accept for yourself and our common country my sincere congratulations on your return to duties which, if less arduous than heretofore, are still of a character to demand the utmost powers of an intellect which has been exerted with such commanding ability and such signal success in the direction of our foreign affairs during the eventful administration which has lately closed.

The transfer of the official capital of the Kingdom of Italy to Florence is now substantially effected, though some public offices still remain at Turin. The works of reorganization is, however, not completed, and it will be some months before the engine of state is again in regular operation. The King has gone to Piedmont for the summer, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs is at present at Turin.

I have left a draft of the proposed treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Italy at the Foreign Office for examination, and shall proceed with the discussion of its provisions as soon as the Ministry is ready to enter upon it.

By the letter of my instructions I am authorized to negotiate a « treaty or treaties ». I suppose this expression would include a consular convention as well as ordinary commercial treaty, but I am not clear as to the expediency of concluding a separate convention for this purpose. A consular convention much resembling ours with France was negotiated between that power and Italy in 1862. Great Britain has no consular connection with this Kingdom and the British Government has contented itself with inserting in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1863 a general clause securing to the consuls of the two countries respectively the powers, privileges, and exemptions granted by each to consuls of the most favored nation.

As I view the question, the principal motive for negotiating an independent convention for defining the powers and privileges of consuls, would be to limit the exemption of consular officers from liability to attendance in courts as witnesses. To invest consular pupils, or vice-consuls who may be American citizens or commercial representatives of insignificant powers with privileges which may occasion great inconvenience to American legal tribunals as we appear to have done in our convention with France, seems to me a subordination of the judicial authority to mere commercial interests, which is inconsistent with the dignity properly belonging to what American and English law regards as so exalted a department, and I should propose to exempt only consuls

general and consuls, citizens of the states they represent and not engaged in commerce from compulsory attendance in courts of justice.

You have certainly better means than I can have of judging of the intentions of the French Emperor with regard to Mexico and the United States, but I cannot help attaching some importance to the tone of the Italian ministerial press, and of all the Italian journals in the French interest, in regard to this question. They are evidently still aiming to prepare the public mind for a call from France for a contingent to the French army of occupation in Mexico, and for a possible rupture with the United States. How far these journals speak from ministerial inspiration, and how far from French suggestion, it is hard to say: but the articles of this column to which I refer are certainly not spontaneous expressions of Italian opinion. Happily they have in themselves no influence on public sentiment, being as they are politically inferior to the independent press in moral and intellectual force, as well as in variety and reliability of commercial, political and miscellaneous information, and consequently their only importance is as indicators of ministerial and imperial policy.

The negotiations with Rome will be resumed as soon as the parliamentary elections are over and as the present minister remains in power new concessions will be offered provided it suits the policy of France to require them. Many suppose the settlement of the Roman question to be especially desired at this moment by Napoleon in order that both his troops and those of Italy may be less embarrassed in their Mexican movements, but I shall be much disappointed if a Gallo-Italic transatlantic war does not end in a Gallo-Italic revolution at home.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 135*

Washington, July 24, 1865.

Sir: Your despatch of June 29th No. 123, has been received. I thank you for the interesting information which it communicates. It is not deemed important that you should make at present any proposition to the Italian Government relative to the negotiation of a Consular Convention. You will therefore confine yourself, under the authority that has already been given you, to the negotiation of a commercial treaty.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 136*

Washington, July 25, 1865.

Sir: The Commander Bertinatti, the esteemed Minister of Italy, here, is desirous of a leave of absence to visit his home, but feels a delicacy about applying for it. If, therefore, you could obtain the leave for him it would be very acceptable and in gratifying him, would please his many friends here. In making the application, informally, you might suggest that the Commander Bertinatti, would, when at home, have an opportunity of orally explaining many subjects relating to this country and some bearing upon its relations with Italy, more fully and satisfactory than is practicable by means of written communications. Under these circumstances, I trust that his wish may be gratified.

**Luigi Monti a George P. Marsh**

Palermo, August 7, 1865.

Your Excellency: I have received your despatch of July 31st. enclosing a communication to Mr. C. Gaetano La Fata which after perusing I have forwarded to him. In reply to the informations you ask me regarding my refusal to recognize him as an American naturalized citizen and his alleged oppression by the Italian authorities of Palermo and illegal arrest, I have the honor to submit the following facts.

Mr. C. G. La Fata arrived here from the U. S. in the latter part of 1862. He called at my office and stated that he had been over sixteen years in the U. S. and was a naturalized citizen thereof and showed me his papers and passport. He stated furthermore that he had served three months as a captain in a volunteer regiment of the State of New York and that on account of weakness in his eyes he had to take his dismissal [sic] which was granted, and he showed me a captain's commission signed by the Governor of the State of New York, and a discharge.

He told me then that he intended to establish himself in Palermo his native town, and together with his wife, also a Palermitan give lessons in the English and French languages. I took occasion during the conversation to state to him that as he intended to make Palermo his permanent home, and exercise a profession therein, without any *animus revertendi* to the U. S. this would be considered by the U. S. Government

as a renouncement of all claim to American citizenship and a reassumption of his status as an Italian subject. He seemed very much surprised at this view of the case and thought that I must be mistaken in my judgment. I therefore quoted to him the opinion expressed in Your Excellency's despatch of Aug. 19th 1862.

Mr. La Fata had hired a house out of town and advertised himself as a teacher of languages. On the 23 January 1863, I received a communication from the Questore of Palermo informing me that « the mysterious way of living of Mr. Gaetano La Fata, who was always alone, and had no scholars who went to his house to take lessons had given him cause for suspicion and having also learned by secret informations that during the night there were often heard steady heavy blows which came out from the interior part of the house as from a heavy instrument striking on hard metal and knowing furthermore from public report that this La Fata had emigrated from Palermo because pursued by justice as guilty of robbery, he had thought his duty to order a perquisition of his house. But there was found nothing suspicious or criminal except a trunk full of uniforms, which he claimed as his property, he asserting to be a Captain in the U. S. Army, and a citizen of that Republic. The Questore then asked me if there was any truth in his statements.

I had not quite finished to read this communication when Mr. La Fata called at the office to lay his complaint before me, and demanding that I should protest against the violation of his domicile as an American citizen and of the illegality of the act, because the officers had no written order from the proper authority for the perquisition.

I replied to him that before acting I required further information on the subject, and that I would call on the Questore before I would give him an answer. I remonstrated with him at the same time on his assuming and asserting before the authorities that he was or had been an officer in the U. S. Army, which assertion I was now bound to deny, as he had only been in the volunteer service, which was a very different thing.

I called on the Questore who informed me that the perquisition had been executed according to law, that the officer who presented himself at the house was an *Ispettore di Questura* dressed with the insignia of his office, who has the right to enter a domicile without a written order. Upon my inquiry as to the criminal offense which was the cause of Mr. La Fata's emigration to America, the Questore told me that he would cause further inquiries to be made in the Archives of the Police, and inform me forthwith. In fact on the 3d of February 1863,



he addressed me a note stating that « before the revolution of 1848, La Fata, then a clerk in the Post-Office together with a certain Giuseppe Di Martino abusing the secret of letters, did open them especially those that appeared to contain bills of exchange, and forging the signatures defrauded as many as they were able to. The robbery having been discovered Martino was arrested and condemned, La Fata emigrated and was condemned *in contumacia*.

Mr. La Fata called on me several times insisting upon my protesting against the acts of the authorities, which I refused to do, on the grounds, first, that he having taken a permanent domicile here, I according to instructions could no longer recognize him, as an American naturalized citizen, secondly that were he even a native born citizen, he could be subject while sojourning here to the local laws and police regulations, and the acts of the authorities having been perfectly legal there was no reason for me to protest.

Mr. La Fata expressed his regret at the view I had taken of the case, being of opinion that the domicile of an American citizen is inviolable, and said that he would appeal to Your Excellency and to the Hon. Secretary of State.

I heard no more of him till some time in the Spring of 1863, when he called at my office requesting me to subscribe to a paper which he was about to establish, entitled *Lo Smascheratore* which I did. His name appeared as the proprietor and responsible director of this paper, which expressed very radical opinions on Italian politics. Its issues were several times suppressed by the *Procuratore del Re*, for articles subversive of the present order of things, and after a few months it ceased its publication, owing to pecuniary embarrassment [sic] and want of patronage.

A few months after Mr. La Fata with several men of very radical political opinions, but who are suspected of being Borbonians or Reactionaries in disguise started another political paper *La Tromba*, his name again appeared as the proprietor & responsible director. It was the same as the « *Smascheratore* », and went through the same ordeal of suppressions, condemnations by the tribunal, and final stoppage for want of means and patronage. Mr. La Fata has also been an active member of political clubs, &c. &c.

On the 17th of January 1865, I received a communication from the Questore (not the same officer with whom I had the correspondence in 1863, but his successor), informing me « that from perquisitions which had taken place by order of the judicial authorities at Catania in the

houses of persons suspected of Borbonian conspiracy there had been found arms and compromising papers from which appeared also to be implicated in the plot Carlo Gaetano La Fata ». The Questore then stated that having ordered a perquisition in his house « there were found two pistols of short measure, and a letter from a cousin of his from Catania, in which, although there appears no manifest plan of conspiracy, yet he expresses with satisfaction the hope of an approaching change in the Government ».

The detention of insidious weapons being a criminal offense punishable with one month of imprisonment La Fata was arrested.

I again protested as being an American citizen, and an officer in the Army of the U. S. The Questore therefore asked me as to the truth of it.

I replied referring him to my communication to his predecessor dated January 24th, 1863, in regard to the same person; then I added « the perquisition of his house and his arrest having been executed according to the constitutional laws now existing to which every one who resides here is subject to, I see no cause for me to interfere in the matter ».

Mr. La Fata after a few days was admitted to bail; but a little after having the police discovered other satisfactory proofs of his complicity with reactionary and Borbonian [sic] plots he was again « arrested on 16th of February 1865, in pursuance of a *mandatus* of arrest issued by the Judge of instructions, charged with attempts against the internal security of the State and is yet in prison awaiting his trial ».

Mr. La Fata has repeatedly applied to me for protection, and I have of course refused on the same ground and for the same reasons of two years ago. By his residence and public acts he has resumed his status as Italian subject, and there has been neither illegality nor oppressions on the part of the Italian authorities.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 125*

Florence, September 15, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 137, dated August 28 1865 referring to a previous instruction No. 101 of June 16 1864, which accompanied the President's ratification of the Postal Convention between the United States and Italy, signed at

Turin on the 8th of July 1863, and I lose no time in replying that to the best of my knowledge and belief, neither the last mentioned instruction nor the ratification ever reached this Legation. I think I cannot possibly be mistaken in saying that I never saw them, and Mr. Clay and Mr. Artoni agree with me in believing that they were never received at this office.<sup>291</sup>

I have not at this moment access to the box containing the files of the Legation for 1864, and some older archives, but within two or three days I shall be able to examine them.

I shall immediately notify the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the fact that the ratification had been sent, though not received by the Legation.

The mail by which the instruction should have arrived must have been received at Turin as early as the morning of July 5, for I find that on that day I replied to private letters from America the dates of which show that they could only have come by that post.

Mr. Miller's register of communications received and forwarded may throw some light on this matter, and I wrote him today for information on the subject. I hope to receive his reply in time to give you, by the next post, all the explanations which are possible in the case.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 126*

Florence, November 4, 1865.

Sir: At the date of my Despatch No. 125, the books and archives of the Legation not wanted for immediate reference had not been removed to Florence, because I had not been able to procure a suitable apartment for an office, and I could not, therefore, make a thorough search for the missing Instruction No. 101. Since the arrival of the archives, as careful an examination as possible has been made of the files, and the result is a confirmation of the opinion expressed in my last, that neither the instruction in question, nor the President's ratification of the Postal Convention with Italy, ever reached this office.

These papers are certainly not now in my possession, and none of

<sup>291</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 137, Washington, 28 agosto 1865, il Seward incaricava il Marsh di inviare al Dipartimento di Stato, tutti i documenti sullo scambio delle ratifiche.

the members of the Legation have any recollection of ever having seen them.

I find by my private memoranda that on the fifth of July, I replied to letters which must have come by the same steamer as the Instruction, if it was forwarded within one or two posts after the date you assign to it. Some of these letters appear to have come through the despatch agency at London, others were forwarded directly from the United States.

In your Instruction No. 137, No. 101 is spoken of as having been dated June 16 1864, and in that case I should infer that it left New York by the steamer of Saturday the 18; but as instruction No. 102 is dated June 15, I suppose No. 101 must have had an earlier date. I received letters by the steamer of the 18 both direct and through, Mr. Miller; and he writes me that on the 27th of June he forwarded me « two dispatches » and on the 2nd of July « three d.o <sup>292</sup> and a printed packet ». I suppose that by « dispatch » Mr. Miller means any communication, public or private.

I availed myself of your kind permission to delay my final removal from Turin for some weeks, and did not take up my residence at Florence until September 9th. The difficulty of obtaining suitable apartments for my family and the office has been very serious. The health of Mrs. Marsh, which is much impaired, compelled me to decide upon taking a house before that which I had expected to occupy could be ready, and I accordingly established myself in the most satisfactory position I was able, three minutes outside the present Porta alla Croce, but within the limits to which the city lines will be extended in a few weeks.

The office is in a very central and convenient situation at No. 6 via Cavour (formerly Via Larga), opposite the Palazzo Riccardi now occupied as the office of one of the Ministries of the Kingdom.

The removal of the public offices has been going on very gradually, and is, I believe, not yet entirely completed. Of course the transaction of government business has been more or less retarded in all of them, but will soon resume its ordinary movement.

The address of President Johnson to a colored regiment at Washington has been extremely well received by the liberal party in Italy, as well, I believe, as elsewhere in Europe. Your own remarks at Auburn <sup>293</sup> did

<sup>292</sup> « D.o » sta per « ditto » (i.e. come sopra).

<sup>293</sup> Il discorso cui si riferisce il Marsh non è compreso nel volume *Works of William H. Seward*, a cura di George E. Baker. Anche il discorso del Presidente Johnson, cui si fa riferimento, non compare nel volume *Speeches of Andrew Johnson*, a cura di Frank Moore.

not reach us, except in a distorted telegraphic abstract, until yesterday. Of course, I have not had time to test its effect on this side of the Atlantic by actual observation, but one needs to know but little of public opinion in France, and among the partizans of French imperialism, and of other forms of absolutism in Italy, to be certain that it will serve as a most wholesome caution to the retrograde, and a cheering encouragement to the progressive parties, in those countries.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 127*

Florence, November 18, 1865.

Sir: The Italian Parliament was opened this morning, and I enclose herewith a paper <sup>294</sup> containing the discourse pronounced by the King on that occasion. The royal speech was well received, and the passages relating to the interruption of the negotiations with Rome, the separation of Church and State, and the suppression of the religious corporations, in particular, were warmly applauded. There is no doubt that notwithstanding an apparent reaction a few months since, a large majority of the nation entirely approves the course to which the Government is pledged on these two latter points. The principle of the separation of Church and State has been repeatedly avowed by the ministry, but I do not remember that the King has ever before committed himself personally to that policy, and it is possible that the apparent strength of the liberal party in the new Parliament may have induced the Ministry to advise His Majesty to profess his own adhesion to it on this occasion. The withdrawal of the bill for the suppression of the monastic establishments at the last session excited great dissatisfaction, and public opinion on the subject has been manifested in too energetic a form to be longer disregarded.

The public disclosures of the shocking immoralities so generally connected with claustral [sic] life, to which I have drawn your attention on former occasions, have not been without influence on this question. It is not that anything new has been revealed; for every man and woman of common intelligence in Italy knows, and has known from time immemorial, that these immoralities have always been the rule and not the

<sup>294</sup> Il Marsh allegava una copia del Supplemento straordinario del n. 316 dell'*Opinione*, contenente il resoconto dell'apertura delle Camere a Firenze (18 novembre 1865) ed il testo del discorso di Vittorio Emanuele II.

exception in conventual establishments of either sex. But, while the press was shackled, these crimes, though matters of universal notoriety, were not the subject of public remark, and all discussion of the tendency of the monastic system was smothered by the allied powers of the Government and the Church. Now, however, that not the general facts alone, but the details of individual cases and the evidence by which they are established, are brought out by judicial proceedings and proclaimed through the press, it is impossible for the public conscience to hold its peace, and the profligacy of the monks is openly avowed as an additional count in the indictment against them.

The same feeling extends, in a considerable degree to the clergy generally, though the secular priesthood are perhaps less obnoxious to the charge of grave licentiousness than the monastic orders. As a rule which has few exceptions among the middle, and even the more enlightened of the lower class, the priest is hated and despised, while at the same time he is feared by the latter as a magician possessed of supernatural powers, just as an African Mumbo Jumbo or an Indian medicine man is dreaded by the ignorant barbarians on whom he imposes.

In fact, the only classes who espouse the cause of the convents and of the priesthood are those who are interested in sustaining them as sources of pecuniary advantage, or as allies of the privileged ranks of society. These classes are daily weakening in numbers and strength, and there is good reason to believe that the day is not distant when aristocratic privilege and priestly power will fall to the ground together.

In speaking of the opening of negotiations with Rome as due to a « desire to satisfy the religious interests of the majority », the King could not have meant to say that the greater number of his subjects competent to form an opinion on the question, or even a numerical majority of them, desire to make terms with Rome, for the evidence to the contrary is too strong to be resisted; but merely that the religious interests of a country professing catholicism required that the Government should listen to proposals of accommodation from the head of the Catholic Church.

The new Parliament contains a large number of new members, men strange to political life and whose opinions are little known. But the *left* benches were much the best filled at the opening, and I have no doubt that the opposition is numerically strong enough to control the action of the chambers, if its members had experience, organization, and discipline, and its leaders the skill in parliamentary management which party chieftains acquire in America and in England. But that

discipline and that skill are wanting, and the Ministry will most probably have a working majority.

I have dwelt the more on the politico-religious questions, because these are the only yet avowed important measures of public policy. Others will no doubt be proposed by the Ministry at later periods of the summer.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 128*

Florence, December 26, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 138,<sup>295</sup> enclosing a communication for Mr. Perry<sup>296</sup> Consul of the United States at Tunis. Some time before the receipt of the instruction, I had addressed a note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, urging the closing of the windows complained of by Mr. Perry and I shall press the subject further as soon as the new Ministry is organized.

In Mr. Perry's letters to me, as well as in his despatches to you, he has repeatedly mentioned a « decision » of the Tunisian Government upon this question favorable to the claims which he makes in behalf of the United States.

Mr. Perry has never furnished me any evidence of a decision by the Bey or any other competent authority, on the subject, and apart from some private affidavits, I have seen no evidence except two reports of commissions, copies of which I enclose herewith.<sup>297</sup>

I have no reason to believe that the conclusions of the experts have ever received any official sanction or approval, nor will these reports have much weight with the Italian Government. I have no doubt, however, that Mr. Perry is right—his view of the law and the facts of the case, and hope this Government will order representation to be made in the premises.

<sup>295</sup> L'Istruzione n. 138, Washington, 14 novembre 1865, trasmetteva al Marsh per conoscenza una copia del dispaccio n. 80, inviato dal Perry il 6 novembre in merito al muro che divideva il consolato americano da quello italiano a Tunisi.

<sup>296</sup> Amos Perry, di Rhode Island, era stato confermato il 15 aprile 1862. Cfr. *Personnel Records Archives* del Dipartimento di Stato.

<sup>297</sup> Unico allegato è la copia, in francese, di un annuncio dal titolo *Homage à Dieu*, datato Tunisi, 2 settembre 1865.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 129*

Florence, December 28, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a note from the Minister of Marine respecting the delivery of a chronometer to Captain Chirico, of the Italian brigantine *Aurora*, and the payment of 776.02 francs to the crew of that vessel, for services rendered to the federal prize vessel *Sophia*, in pursuance of instructions from you to that effect. The absence of Captain Chirico and crew on a long voyage has, as I learn from the Consul at Messina, hitherto prevented the accomplishment of your instructions.

I shall need the sum advanced by me in Europe and beg to know upon whom and in what form I shall draw for it. American gold being quite unknown in Italy there is no current in established rate of comparison between the franc and the dollar, but if I am authorized to draw on London at the custom house rate of 19.283 cents to the franc, it will answer my purpose.

**Diego Angioletti a George P. Marsh**<sup>298</sup>

Ministry of the Marine,  
General Direction of the Mercantile Marine

Florence, December 28, 1865.

By two notes dated respectively December 29, 1864, and April 3, 1865, the Legation of the United States informed this Ministry that the Government of the United States desired to offer in acknowledgement of the services rendered to the federal vessel *Sophia* by Captain Domenico Chirico, Commander of the Italian brigantine *Aurora*, and by the crew of that vessel, by presenting to the Captain a gold chronometer, and to the crew the sum of seven hundred and seventy six francs and two centesimi to be divided among them in the proportion of their monthly wages.

With the first of the above mentioned notes the said Legation sent to this Ministry the gold chronometer, and with the second the sum

<sup>298</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 129 del Marsh.



above named, and expressed the desire that the post office of Messina would invite the American Consul at that port to be present at the delivery of the chronometer to the Captain of the *Aurora* and the payment of the money to the crew.

By a communication from the Captaincy of the port of Messina we are now informed that, in the presence of the said Consul, the chronometer was presented to Captain Chirico and the sum of 776.02 francs divided among the crew of the *Aurora* in the proportion indicated except that, on account of the absence of Diego Longore, his proportion, being 68.87 francs, was retained to be paid to him by the Captaincy when an opportunity offers, or to his family on due authorization.

Of all which the undersigned informs the above named Legation.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 130*

Florence, December 31, 1865.

Sir: Pursuant to usage at this Court the chiefs of the legations residing at Florence were separately received by the King this morning. His Majesty spoke, with evident interest, of American affairs, and desired me to express to my Government his congratulations, which I have no doubt, are sincere, on the favorable result of our great intestine struggle, and his hopes that all remaining obstructions to the reorganization of the Union may be surmounted, and that the United States may enjoy a long period of uninterrupted peace and prosperity.

The ministerial crisis, of the occurrence of which you are doubtless apprized, is understood to be terminated by the acceptance of the Ministry of Finance by Signor Scialoja, and the new cabinet will probably be announced in a day or two as reorganized under the Presidency of Gen. La Marmora.<sup>299</sup>

This Ministry, it is thought, will be provisional only, but an effort will be made to sustain it until after the critical period of the withdrawal

<sup>299</sup> La Marmora fu Presidente del Consiglio dal 31 dicembre 1865 al 20 giugno 1866. Il suo governo era così composto: Chiaves, ministro senza portafoglio; La Marmora agli Interni; Scialoja agli Esteri; Jacini ai Lavori Pubblici; De Falco al Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia; Berti alla Pubblica Istruzione; Di Pettinengo alla Guerra; Angioletti alla Marina; Berti all'Agricoltura.

of the French troops from Rome—if in fact they shall be withdrawn according to the terms of the Convention of September 15.

I think it very doubtful whether Gen. La Marmora can command a majority of the present chambers, but it is believed that the Emperor Napoleon desires that he should remain at the head of the Ministry, where he would be particularly efficient in support of the policy of France in case of domestic disturbances in Italy or in the possible contingency of a war between France and any foreign power.

We have telegraphic despatches down to the 16 of December and the vague accounts of excitement in Congress and among the people of the United States in relation to the occupation of Mexico by the French as giving rise to a certain degree of apprehension as to the issue of our negotiations with the Emperor's Government on that subject.<sup>300</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses solicitude on the subject of the ratification of the postal treaty negotiated by Mr. Kasson<sup>301</sup> with this Government, but not having received replies to my despatches Nos. 125 & 126, I am unable to give the Ministry any information in relation to it.

I beg to be permitted to offer to the President and yourself my sincere congratulations on the prospects of the complete success of your efforts to carry the country safely through the critical process of reorganization—perhaps the most difficult task imposed upon the Government by the rebellion—and my best wishes for your future public and private prosperity.

<sup>300</sup> Il 4 aprile 1864 il Congresso degli S.U. riunitosi a Washington aveva approvato all'unanimità una risoluzione contraria al riconoscimento di una monarchia in Messico. L'atteggiamento degli S.U. era stato sottolineato il 3 maggio 1864 dalla partenza da Città del Messico dell'ambasciatore Corwin all'approssimarsi del nuovo sovrano. Un inviato speciale dell'imperatore Massimiliano non riuscì neppure ad ottenere una udienza dal Presidente o dal Segretario di Stato Seward. Nel luglio del 1865 un altro tentativo dell'Imperatore per ottenere il riconoscimento degli S.U. si risolse in un completo fallimento. D'altro canto, uffici per il reclutamento di uomini per conto della Repubblica messicana furono aperti in New York ed in altre città americane.

<sup>301</sup> John Adam Kasson (1822-1910). Uomo politico originario del Vermont. Nominato da Lincoln primo assistente del Direttore Generale delle Poste, corresse e perfezionò il codice postale statunitense, e preparò lo schema d'invito per i governi stranieri a partecipare alla Conferenza Postale Internazionale che si tenne a Parigi e che gettò le basi per una « unione postale » estesa a tutto il mondo. Nel 1863 Kasson fu prescelto quale commissario speciale degli S.U. per questa conferenza e nel 1867 fu di nuovo inviato in Europa per concludere accordi postali con vari paesi. LAMB., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 473.

**William H. Seward a George P. Marsh**

*Istruzione n. 140* <sup>302</sup>

Washington, January 29, 1866.

Sir: Your despatches Nos. 128, 129 and 130, dated the 26th, 28th and 31st of December, respectively, have been received. Your proceedings upon the subject of my instruction No. 138, are approved. Herewith I transmit a letter of credit upon the Bankers of the United States at London authorizing you to draw upon them for the sum of one hundred and forty-nine dollars, in payment of the amount of 776.02 francs, sent by you pursuant to the instructions of this Department, to the crew of the Italian brigantine *Aurora* for services rendered by them to the United States prize vessel *Sophia*.

A new ratification of the postal treaty negotiated by Mr. Kasson with the Italian Government will be sent to you so soon as it shall have been furnished to this Department by the Postmaster General, whose attention will be called to the fact of the original ratification, sent from this Department with my Instruction No. 101, having failed to reach your hands.

**Green Clay a William H. Seward**

*Privata* <sup>303</sup>

Florence, February 24, 1866.

Dear Sir: I have just returned from a short visit to Rome. I went intending to be absent for ten days, but found so much to see and the attraction so great that almost with unconsciousness I overstepped my ten days. For this piece of truantcy [sic] I have now to solicit your indulgence. My absence was with the consent of Mr. Marsh, and I am sure you will appreciate, in the absence of any detriment to the service, the motives that could have drawn me into a longer sojourn in the Eternal City. Indeed, the idea of Rome as our Capital is such a familiar one that I hardly felt I was out of the sphere of my post of duty.

<sup>302</sup> L'Istruzione n. 139, Washington, 30 dicembre 1865, era identica a quella inviata allo Hale con il n. 15.

<sup>303</sup> Il Seward rispondeva il 19 marzo 1866 che la giustificazione avanzata dal Clay, per essersi assentato dal suo posto di lavoro per più di dieci giorni, era «soddisfacente».

From my observations and intercourse with Romans I am confident that, even were the most liberal measures introduced by the present papal government, the Roman people would not be content. There is to Italians something irresistible in the idea of national *Unity* which I can only compare to the [illegible] sentiment of *Union* with us. Rome to the outward world is governed by a papal government sustained by foreign bayonets, but beneath this simulacrum is a power stronger and more untiring than Pope or Emperor—the aspirations of a people for national freedom. This power, we have seen its irresistible force in the foundations of the Kingdom of Italy in spite of the opposing effort of European statecraft, and a remarkable instance of its dormant strength is the secret « National Committee » at Rome. Orders are given and obeyed with readiness and uniformity, and the political sentiments of the people moved and controlled as by a silent law of nature. During the late Carnival such an order was given, out of respect to the King of Italy, on the occasion of the death of Prince Odone, his third son, and few were the Romans seen on the Corso.

A day or two before leaving, I attended a reunion of Americans at a breakfast in celebration of the birthday of Washington, and I must say, of all I saw at Rome, this most marred the delight I had found in the art and monuments of that ancient city. We were invited on that occasion to share sentiments in regard to the Pope as should have made any American blush with shame. On a day when the hallowed name of Washington linked with that of a martyred President—dwelt in every patriot breast, we were called upon by the presiding officer to toast a tottering old man seated on a temporal throne of basest corruption and tyranny—as the « grandest thing of all Rome » and that « there he would sit come what may! » May be, there is grandeur in a benevolent old man seated in the serenity of spiritual power and of his own consciousness as head of the Church, extending the hand of blessing to a world of holiness—but certainly none in the present temporal apparatus of the Papacy at Rome for governing the affairs of men.

I must beg pardon for mentioning this little reminiscence, but the proceedings of that meeting of Americans, which will go out from the very midst of Italy, are not only unjust to—I may safely say—a large majority of those present but to a rising nation that is seeking in unity that liberty and strength we have found and perfected in our American Union.

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Lettera senza numero* <sup>304</sup>

Florence, March 5, 1866.

Dear Sir: Ever since my illness with fever—now more than a year ago—I have suffered from deafness in one ear, though I was assured by my physician it would pass away after a little time. This assurance failing, I consulted by letter Dr. Toynbee, <sup>305</sup> a celebrated curist of London; so far his prescription has done me little or no good. He now writes for me to come to London that he may make a careful inspection—which he considers necessary to further treatment. He thinks the deafness may be from derangement of the nervous apparatus of the ear, and this may be successfully treated after a personal examination.

As I expect to practice my profession of law, you can appreciate what a serious hindrance this would be to me if it becomes permanent, and I therefore—though not without much hesitation—respectfully ask for a short leave of absence in order to go to London and undergo a personal treatment of Dr. Toynbee—which I suppose will not require more than three, or at most four, weeks. I have spoken to Mr. Marsh on the subject and have his willing consent to my absence.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 131*

Florence, March 18, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a note from the President of the Council of State announcing the death of Prince Otho, <sup>306</sup> the youngest son of His Majesty, which ought to have been transmitted to you at an earlier date.

The late prince was a young man of rare moral and intellectual endowments, of a cultivated taste, a highly respectable amount of acquired

<sup>304</sup> Il 26 marzo 1866 il Seward rispondeva che « non c'è motivo per opporsi alla vostra richiesta » per il congedo di cui si tratta in questa lettera.

<sup>305</sup> Joseph Toynbee (1815-1866) di Heckington, otoiatra di fama mondiale.

<sup>306</sup> Oddone Eugenio Maria di Savoia, duca del Monferrato, patrono delle arti, quarto figlio di Vittorio Emanuele II, era nato a Racconigi l'11 luglio 1846. Dotato di una costituzione molto fragile, nel 1848 si era gravemente ammalato e, nonostante le cure cui era stato sottoposto, non guarì mai, tanto da dover restare relegato su una sedia a rotelle. Morì nella notte del 21 gennaio 1866. Vedi VALERIO ANZINO, *S.A.R. il principe Odone di Savoia duca di Monferrato*, Torino, 1867.

knowledge, and great amiability of character and generosity of disposition.

He has suffered through life from a congenital, or at least early developed, malformation, and the last few weeks of his life, during which he was unable to lie down, or even remain for a few moments in any posture of repose, were marked by a persistence and severity of physical pain rare in any case except those where the constitution has been destroyed by vicious indulgences and excesses to which the prince was happily a stranger.

The protracted sufferings of his life, as well as the sharper pains of his dying hours were borne with extraordinary patience, fortitude and resignation, and the grief of the royal family at his departure at so early an age and under such distressing circumstances has been sincerely shared by the Italian people.

I, of course, anticipated the expression of the sympathy of my own government, and have received the royal thanks through the President of the Council for my note to that effect.

***Alfonso Lamarmora a George P. Marsh*** <sup>307</sup>

Florence, le 22 Janvier 1866.

Monsieur le Ministre: J'ai la douleur de Vous faire part de la perte cruelle que vient de faire S.M. le Roi, mon Auguste Souverain, dans la Personne de son fils bien-aimé S.A.R. le Prince Oddone Duc de Montferrat décédé cette nuit à Gênes.

Recevez, Monsieur le Ministre, les nouvelles assurances de ma haute considération.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 132*

Florence, March 19, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions, No. 139 dated Dec. 30, 1865, enclosing copies of letters addressed, by direction of the President, to the Provisional Governor and Gov-

<sup>307</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 131 del Marsh.

ernor Elect of Alabama, and No. 140 dated January 29, 1866 authorizing me to draw upon the Government bankers in London for one hundred and forty dollars for moneys paid by me, under instructions of the State Department, to the crew of the Italian brigantine, *Aurora*. I have, in pursuance of this authority, drawn upon the bankers for the sum above named.

In making up my quarterly accounts, I find that, if I charge to the ordinary account contingent expenses the expenditures for boxing and removing to Florence the books, archives and other property of the Legation, and refitting the shelves and cases for the same, the amount of my charges, including also the ordinary disbursements, will probably considerably exceed the sum regularly allowed for the contingent expenses of the year. I beg to be informed whether these extraordinary expenditures should be made a matter of separate accounting, or in what mode the amount should be liquidated.

Mr. Clay has been for sometime suffering from an affection of the head, resulting from an attack of fever, which, though not threatening dangerous aggravation, certainly seems to require special medical advice not to be obtained except from physicians in the great capitals, who have devoted themselves to the study of similar complaints. The danger of the difficulty becoming chronic seems to render delay inexpedient, and Mr. Clay being desirous of proceeding soon to London for the purpose of taking professional advice, I beg to express the hope that he will not be censured if he leaves Florence before receiving a reply to his application for permission to that effect.

The President's veto upon the bill for enlarging the powers of the Freedman's bureau and your own remarks on that subject at the great meeting in New York, have been received here, and more or less fully copied and commented upon by the Italian press. I am happy to be able to say that both the public journals and the public men of Italy have, without any exception so far as my observation extends, expressed entire approval of the policy of the administration upon this question, and upon the general character of the measures to be pursued in the process of the restoration of the insurgent states to their former position in the Union.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 133*

Florence, March 20, 1866.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: I avail myself of Mr. Clay's departure for London to send a confidential despatch on the relations between the United States and France as affected by French intervention in Mexico. You are, of course, possessed of more authoritative information through the Legation at Paris and other sources, but the opinions I quote may be worth communicating.

There is a good deal of uneasiness in Italy in regard to the Franco-American question, arising partly, no doubt, from a sincere interest in the welfare of the United States, but more from the apprehension that, in case of serious difficulties between us and France, Italy would be drawn into the conflict and forced to take the side most opposite to the national feeling and the ultimate interests of the Italian people. The Italian politicians known to me, who are usually best informed in regard to the policy of France—I do not refer to members of the ministry or of the party of action, but to liberal conservatives—are firmly convinced that the Emperor will maintain the occupation of Mexico so long as our domestic dissensions continue to afford our European enemies hope of the renewal of hostilities between the Northern and Southern States. They think, too, that were all our internal difficulties settled, he would still not withdraw his forces without some humiliating concession or stipulation on the part of the United States which would serve as a better salvo for his honor than any invention yet devised by himself or his ministers. These opinions are alleged to be founded on information from higher sources than that derived from public journals, and they seem in some degree confirmed by the change of tone, or rather silence, of the opposition party in France on this question.

I have, on former occasions, given you extracts from private letters of one of the most eminent men in France, who belongs to the old noblesse and undoubtedly represents the sentiments of a large and powerful body of the French nation, which has been hitherto strongly opposed both to the Imperial Government and especially to the Emperor's Mexican policy. I find him now, unexpectedly, in a different position, and in a late letter he expresses himself to this effect:

« But what character may the relation between France and America soon assume! I confess I cannot look at this subject without shame



and grief. Never did a people, never our army, receive a sharper provocation, a heavier blow to the honour, than has been inflicted by Mr. Seward's notes, if followed by an acceptance of them on our part. We are summoned to violate our solemn engagements with the government we have ourselves created in Mexico, which will certainly crumble in pieces as soon as our troops are withdrawn. We are asked to lose the enormous sums staked on that adventure, and to abandon to certain ruin the unhappy adherents whom we have won to the cause of Maximilian! I was decidedly opposed to the Mexican undertaking and, from the first, foretold the calamities it would entail upon us; but now I would stake the last penny and the last man, to stand firm upon the conquered ground and await the threatened collision ».

The writer, however, thinks it probable that the Emperor may finally yield the point, and consider that his doing so would be a great triumph of American diplomacy and a signal victory for the democratic cause throughout the world. Doubtless your recent reply to Drouyn de Lhuys, which has not yet been published in Europe, will exercise an important influence on the question.

I take the liberty to add another extract from the letter just quoted, which may serve as a specimen of the opinions of many disinterested and judicious friends of America upon the relations between the races in the United States, and between the late insurgent states and the Federal Government.<sup>308</sup>

« To keep a conquered country in subjection until the principal elements of its population have undergone a complete change, is a policy inherited from the Romans the Saxons and the Normans. It might succeed in your case, but such does not appear to be the opinion of your present Chief magistrate, and I confess that I put little faith in the social, still less in the political, faculties of the African race. I should fear its gradual extirpation from the introduction of German and Irish emigrants into the territory where it now exists. Meanwhile, my ardent

<sup>308</sup> Il 3 marzo 1865 il Congresso aveva istituito al Dipartimento della Guerra una Commissione (nota comunemente con il nome di Commissione Freedman) destinata ad aiutare la gente di colore ad adattarsi alla libertà. Questo provvedimento fu giudicato troppo blando dai repubblicani radicali che, nel 1866, presentarono al Congresso un progetto di legge che mirava ad estendere i poteri della Commissione Freedman e stabiliva l'estensione della legge marziale a tutti quegli Stati che attuassero una politica di discriminazione verso i negri. Il progetto fu approvato da ambo le Camere, ma urtò contro il veto del Presidente Johnson che lo giudicò come una violenta ingerenza nei diritti degli Stati. Il Segretario di Stato Seward era nel complesso un « repubblicano moderato » e sostenne Johnson contro la fazione radicale del Partito.

wish is that your people may do everything feasible to protect this negroes' resistance, to promote their education, and to give them real guarantees, without allowing to them, in any place whatever, a preponderance, or a casting voice, which they are, in my belief, wholly incompetent advantageously to exercise. »

Though not relevant to the principal topics of the despatch, I add a word on Italian politics. You have, no doubt, observed that General La Marmora, in his late interview with Baron Malaret,<sup>309</sup> did not protest against the imperial interpretation of the Convention of the 15 of September, though that interpretation was absolutely inconsistent with the construction put upon the convention, at the time of its execution, both by the Ministry which negotiated it and by Gen. La Marmora's Cabinet which sustained it. It has excited some surprise abroad that Gen. La Marmora's silence on so critical an occasion has been so little censured either by the Italian Parliament or the liberal party. The explanation of this reserve is by no means to be found in our acquiescence of the Italian Government—I do not mean merely the present administration—or people, in a construction which substantially declares the convention to have been a fraud upon the Italian nation. It is to be ascribed in part to the sanguine temperament of the people, which leads them to expect that which they hope, and partly to hints, from authoritative quarters, that the Emperor is, after all, only cheating the Pope, not Italy, and that he means to surrender Rome « to the tender mercies of the Piedmontese, » upon the expiration of the time limited by the Convention. I perceive, with surprise, that a similar expectation is entertained, to a considerable extent, by even advanced and clear-headed liberals in England and many continental countries, but it would certainly be greatly at variance with the general policy and character of the French Emperor, if, while governing his own people with constantly increasing vigor, he were to promote, or permit, the consolidation, upon his own borders, of a great state which, without a radical revolution, would be as dangerous a focus of liberal ideas as Belgium or the United States.

<sup>309</sup> Josef Malaret (1820-1886). Diplomatico francese. Fu ambasciatore a Torino e a Firenze dal 1863 alla fine dell'Impero. Napoleone III manifestamente non lo consultò mai sulla politica verso l'Italia. Solo dopo il luglio 1870 ebbe istruzioni per riaprire i negoziati per una alleanza austro-franco-italiana.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 134*

Florence, April 10, 1866.

Sir: In pursuance of representations made by this Legation to the Italian Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs some time since instructed the consulate at Tunis to arrange the difficulty with the American consulate in relation to certain windows, upon terms acceptable to the latter.

Mr. Perry having informed me that a satisfactory proposal had been made to him by the Italian Consul, I advised him to accept it, and he now reports to me that the arrangement proposed has been carried out, and the affair is therefore amicably, and I trust permanently settled.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 135*

Florence, April 12, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 141, dated March 16, 1866, relating to the case of Mr. La Fata,<sup>310</sup> and to submit the following statement in relation to it. In July 1865, I received a long letter from La Fata complaining of what he alleged to be an illegal imprisonment, at the instance of the police at Palermo, and of the refusal of the United States Consul at that port to interfere in his behalf.

I replied to him on the 31st of that month, that without further information I could not decide upon his right to recognition as an American citizen, or upon the legality of the proceedings against him, informed him that I should ask the Consul at Palermo to report the facts necessary to determine the former question, and advised him to take legal counsel and procure, for my use, the opinion of a competent native lawyer on the latter.

I enclosed my letter to the U. S. Consul at Palermo, requesting him to see that it was delivered to La Fata and to report to me such information as he possessed on the subject. A few days after, I received

<sup>310</sup> L'Istruzione n. 141, Washington, 16 marzo 1866, accludeva copia di una lettera inviata al Dipartimento di Stato dalla signora F. B. La Fata e riguardante suo marito, detenuto nelle carceri di Palermo. Il Marsh ebbe in proposito « libertà d'agire nel modo che più gli sarebbe parso conveniente dopo aver preso tutte le informazioni del caso ».

a despatch from Mr. Monti, dated Aug 7—a copy of which is herewith enclosed, but Mr. La Fata neither then, nor on any subsequent occasion, has furnished me the opinion of counsel on the regularity of the proceedings against him.

I thought that the circumstances of La Fata's return to Sicily, and his conduct in engaging in Italian politics after his return were evidence that he left the United States with a purpose of resuming the character of an Italian subject, and knowing that such would be the opinion of this Government, I wrote him on the 14 of August, 1865, that I considered him as having waived his right, to be regarded as an American citizen, and that I could not recognize him as such, or interfere officially in his behalf.

I, however, soon after, expressed to the Secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs a hope that the prisoner would soon be brought to trial, and the case so disposed of as to avoid any occasion for raising a difficult question. Early in the autumn, I received other letters from La Fata adding, however, no new facts, and I requested Mr. Clay to call at the Foreign Office and again draw the attention of the Ministry to the case. The Ministry did not admit that there was any circumstances which would warrant the interference of the Legation, nor indeed had I acted otherwise than unofficially in the matter, but Mr. Clay was told that La Fata would be allowed all rights to which the laws of the land entitled him.

On the 31 of October last, I wrote to La Fata that I had unofficially called the attention of the Government to his case, and hoped that this interposition might have a favorable effect.

I have since heard nothing from him, and remain of the opinion that it is not advisable for the Legation to take any further steps in behalf of the prisoner.<sup>311</sup>

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 136*

Florence, April 13, 1866.

Sir: Although fully aware of the reluctance of the President to grant leave of absence to the chief of the American legations in Europe,

<sup>311</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 147, Washington, 8 maggio 1866, il Seward approvava il comportamento del Marsh riferito nei dispacci nn. 134 e 135.

I hope the reasons for which I now prefer such a request will be thought sufficient to warrant me in making it.

My wife has long been an invalid, and the fatigues of organizing a domestic establishment at the new Capital, and of the greatly increased social duties of our position during the past winter and present spring, have much aggravated the painful symptoms under which she has labored for many years, and she is advised, by highly respectable American physicians, that a resort to the professional skill of some eminent French or German practitioner, is a measure demanded by every consideration of prudence, and, probably even, of absolute necessity.

The case being of a critical nature, I should only with extreme reluctance, consent to be separated from her by any considerable distance during the time she may be under treatment, and I therefore beg that I may be permitted to accompany her to Paris, to Würzburg, or such other not more distant point as, upon mature consideration, her medical advisers shall recommend.

I do not desire a longer absence than eight or ten weeks, and I should hope to be able to return to Florence once, twice, or oftener if necessary, during that period.

The time I should select would be between the first of July and the middle of September, at which season of the year, as you are aware, there are few, if any, American travellers in town, and the capital is almost deserted both by the diplomatic corps and other official persons.

I do not forget that there are apprehensions—in which, however, I hardly as yet share—of a Germanic war involving the participation of Italy in the struggle. In the event of war, I do not desire to be at any inconvenient distance from the Court, which, in such case, would practically at least, be transferred to the northern side of the Apennines, and I should endeavor to see that my absence was under no circumstances, prolonged to the injury of the interests committed to my charge.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 137*

Florence, April 30, 1866.

Sir: I have not, in my previous despatches, discussed the chances of war between Italy and the Austrian Empire, because, until since the date of my last communication, the question has seemed to turn wholly upon the relations between that Empire and Prussia, and the possibility

of an independent conflict between this Kingdom and Austria has hardly been contemplated. You will see, by the enclosed slips from the *Opinione* of this morning, that the Government of Italy has not thought it necessary to take really efficient measures for prompt military action until within the last eight and forty hours. It is time that some preparations in the way of accumulating material, and some changes in the distribution of troops, had already taken place, with reference to future contingencies growing out of a probable rupture between the great German powers; but I am confident that, beyond such measures of precaution or the suggestions of common prudence would dictate, this Government has done nothing, either in the way of negotiation or of military preparation, which could justly excite the jealousy of Austria.

After all, many judicious persons are still of opinion that the Austrian movements in Lombardo-Venetia are precautionary only and that she will not begin a general war by an unprovoked attack on Italy.

The accompanying slips<sup>312</sup> contain, I believe, substantially all the information possessed at this moment on the subject, and I have only to add that in the expected change of the Ministry, there is every reason to believe that Baron Ricasoli—eminently the right man in the right place—will be President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 143*<sup>313</sup>

Washington, April 30, 1866.

#### *Confidenziale*

Sir: I have received your confidential despatch of the 20th of March, after a lapse of forty days.

I thank you for the account which you have given me of Italian opinion in regard to the situation in Mexico. I might admit that Imperialism is as strong in the fears or the affections of European states as your informants seem to suppose; yet I could not in any case admit that it is possible to bring the liberal Kingdom of Italy in combination

<sup>312</sup> Tali allegati non sono stati trovati in questa filza degli Archivi Nazionali di Washington.

<sup>313</sup> L'Istruzione n. 142, Washington, 12 aprile 1866, trasmetteva una lettera, e la usuale copia d'ufficio, del Presidente degli S.U. al Re d'Italia, lettera che il Marsh era invitato a « far pervenire secondo le consuete modalità ».

with any other European state, with an aggressive war for the overthrow of a free Republic on the American continent.

If there are politicians yet remaining in Europe, who labor under the delusion that the late Civil War in the United States has only been suspended, and is likely to be again renewed so as to impair the decision and energy of this Government in its foreign policy, such politicians are likely soon enough to have the means of correcting that great error.

The restoration of this country to its normal condition goes steadily onward, although its course may seem to outside observers as well as to those who are inside, protracted and convulsive.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 145*

Washington, May 3, 1866.

Sir: Your despatch of April 13th, No. 136, has been received.

In conformity with your request, leave of absence is granted to you for ten weeks, from such time after the 1st of July, as you shall think proper. This leave is granted upon the statement of facts which you present in regard to the health of Mrs. Marsh, and your desire to be with her while she shall be receiving medical attention at some place, other than at Florence.

The necessity of the proceeding is deeply lamented, and the proceeding itself is adopted with sincere regret on the part of the President. Applications for the mission which you have thus far discharged so well, are frequent. Our domestic politics are in a confused, perhaps I might say, in a transition state.

Changes are incessantly demanded here which are predicated upon claims of military, or other important and meritorious service. The President ought not to be required to defend ministers against such charges, when, for any reason, they leave their posts of duty uncovered.

The President directs me to say that in this case, as in every other, of the same kind, a leave of absence is not to be construed as a guaranty for a continuance of the trust; and that your resignation, under these circumstances, would be received, if you should find the terms I have mentioned, oppressive.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 138*

Florence, May 7, 1866.

Sir: I can add nothing to what I observed in my last despatch on the probability of a war between Italy and Austria. Both countries, indeed, are straining every nerve in the way of preparation, but I see no reason to believe that either intends to attack the other, unless hostilities are first commenced between Austria and Prussia. This is the opinion of the best informed persons here, whether Italian or foreign, in a very highly probable event, and I have no doubt that in that case war will immediately break out on the Austro Italian frontier.

The Austrians are said to have broken down the bridge at Peschiera, but communication between the two countries is still kept up, travellers being allowed to pass in both directions though not without embarrassment. The freight trains are stopped.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 146*

Washington, May 7, 1866.

Sir: Referring to my instruction No. 140, I herewith transmit a new ratification of the Postal Convention between the United States and Italy, which was signed at Turin on the 8th of July, 1863. When it shall have been exchanged by you for that of His Majesty, you will forward the latter to this Department, together with a copy of the certificate of exchange.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 139*

Florence, May 15, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Instruction No. 142, dated April 12, 1866, and of a letter from the President to the King of Italy. The office copy referred to in the Instruction as enclosed with the letter was not received. I presume it will come to hand soon, and I shall therefore delay the delivery of the letter for the present.

Since my last despatch military preparations have been carried on



with the greatest alacrity by this Government, and the enthusiasm of the people in every part of the peninsula and of the islands is unbounded. For a day or two, rumor of a more pacific character have been in circulation, and it is said that many military movements have been suspended. The enclosed slip from the *Italie*,<sup>314</sup> or ministerial paper, of this morning, contains all that is publicly known in relation to the rumors in question.

I have never been fully convinced that the present issues would be brought to an immediate test by war, and though public opinion has for some weeks regarded war as inevitable, I still incline to believe that such an event is not very near at hand.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 140*<sup>315</sup>

Florence, May 21, 1866.

Sir: Before this reaches you, you will have learned from nearer sources, of the formal proposal of a congress for the settlement of the German and Austro-Italian questions, and perhaps the result also of the proposal.

The enclosed slip of the *Nazione*<sup>316</sup> of this morning contains all that is publicly known on the subject at this city.

Although the cession of Venetia is a probable result of the congress, I have little hope that Italy will carry this point without yielding to sacrifices very injurious, if not fatal, to the realization of the enthusiastic hopes of the Italian people.

I believe she will be required to renounce her claims to the patrimony of St. Peter, perhaps also to the territory of the Ecclesiastical States which was annexed in 1860, if not to give up Naples and accept the Napoleonic project of an Italian confederation presided over by the Roman Pontiff.

No people was ever better prepared for a national war, so far as its moral status goes, than Italy is at this moment, and I should not be

<sup>314</sup> Non esiste questo allegato.

<sup>315</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 149, Washington, 11 giugno 1866, il Seward accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e precisava: « Non è semplice prevedere come ambizioni così grandi e così contrastanti possano essere conciliate, né è facile decidere a quale delle due si possa rinunciare ». Con l'Istruzione n. 150, Washington, 12 giugno 1866, il Seward ringraziava il Marsh per le opinioni espresse nei dispacci nn. 139 e 140, « chiaramente ben ponderate, sulle condizioni attuali degli affari europei ».

<sup>316</sup> È il numero del 21 maggio 1866.

surprised if a political disappointment at this crisis should produce effects of a character to hazard the peace of Europe, and to lead either to the triumph of a truly Italian policy, or to the overthrow of the present government.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 141* <sup>317</sup>

Florence, May 28, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instructions No. 143 dated April 30, 1866, No. 144 dated May 1, enclosing the commission of O. M. Spencer as Consul at Genoa, <sup>318</sup> No. 145 dated May 3, replying to my request for leave of absence, and No. 146 dated May 7, accompanying a new ratification of the Postal Convention between the United States and Italy, all of which arrived by the post of Saturday, the 26 instant.

I have already applied for an *exequatur* for Mr. Spencer, and shall take the earliest opportunity to exchange the ratification of the Postal Treaty. No office copy of the President's letter to the King of Italy has been received.

As I perceive by your letter that it is only with reluctance that the President accedes to my request for leave of absence, I shall not avail myself of the permission, except so far as to accompany Mrs. Marsh to Paris and make the necessary arrangements for securing medical advice after which I shall immediately return to Italy.

It is possible that I may be obliged to return to France, to bring her back, but I shall not do so if I can make other arrangements for that purpose.

The question of war or peace is as undecided as ever. The general opinion undoubtedly is that war is inevitable, but some of my most experienced and best informed colleagues still believe that some terms will be suggested, which will be, temporarily at least, accepted by the parties.

So far as Italy is concerned, the Roman question is one of the most

<sup>317</sup> Con l'Istruzione erroneamente contrassegnata n. 150, Washington, 19 giugno 1866, il Seward accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e ringraziava il Marsh per le « importanti informazioni politiche » ivi riportate. Allegata, giungeva una copia d'ufficio della lettera del Presidente degli S.U. al Re d'Italia.

<sup>318</sup> L'Istruzione n. 144, Washington, 1 maggio 1866, trasmetteva la nomina di O. M. Spencer, dello Iowa, a console a Genova.

difficult points to be arranged. There are, certainly, Italian statesmen who are ready to renounce all claims to the States of the Church and to guarantee the temporal power, but neither Parliament nor people, I believe, can be induced to accept such terms, even to secure the possession of Venetia.

The enrolment of volunteers has been suspended for the alleged reason that it is impossible to arm, equip, and organize them on foot, as they present themselves. The number already accepted is stated at forty thousand, and it is believed it might very readily be carried up to one hundred thousand. Inasmuch as none are received who are liable to conscription, the voluntary entrance into the service, of so large numbers from every quarter of the peninsula, is a very encouraging evidence of the strength and wide diffusion of the sentiment of Italian nationality.

Some of the opponents of this present ministry ascribe the suspension of enrolments to a reluctance on the part of the ministry to admit into the army so large an infusion of what is regarded as a democratic element; but the great difficulty of making immediate provision for incorporating so great a number of volunteers into the ranks seems to me a sufficient justification of the cause of the Government.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 142*

Florence, June 14, 1866.

Sir: The ratifications of the postal convention negotiated by Mr. Kasson and the Chevalier Barbavara <sup>319</sup> between the United States and the Kingdom of Italy were exchanged today at the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Italian copy designed for our Government is engrossed on large paper and enclosed in a case not suited for transmission by post. I shall therefore not return it until a private opportunity occurs for sending it to London or Paris, which I shall, in all probability, be able to do in the course of a week.

The attention of Italian artists has been drawn to the discrimination made in our tariffs between the works of American and European articles on importation into the United States. A movement is now on foot for

<sup>319</sup> Giovanni Barbavara era allora direttore generale delle Poste al Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici.

inducing the Italian Parliament to resort to retaliatory measures by the imposition of a duty on exportation, or a tax on the production of paintings and sculpture by Americans resident in Italy.

At this late period of the session, I do not think it probable that any such measures will be adopted during the present year; but I think the principle of reciprocity will be insisted on and enforced by appropriate legislation hereafter with respect to works of art as well as to agricultural and industrial products.

I hope that as soon as the question of peace or war is disposed of, the attention of the new ministry will be given to the project of a commercial treaty between the two governments, a draft of which I prepared and left with the Minister of Foreign Affairs nearly or quite a year ago. In the negotiation of such a treaty, I hope some equitable provision on this subject, satisfactory to all parties, may find place.

I believe ten American artists residing at Florence and at Rome intend to prepare a memorial to Congress, or to take other means of presenting to the Government their opinions and wishes on this subject.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 143* <sup>320</sup>

Florence, June 20, 1866.

Sir: The new Italian Ministry was organized last evening under the presidency of Baron Ricasoli, <sup>321</sup> who takes the department of the Interior. The only other change of importance is the substitution of Visconti Venosta, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, for General La Marmora, who remains as Minister without a portfolio while discharging the duties of chief of the staff in attendance upon the person of the King, and is virtually commander in chief of the army.

The King will repair to the field tomorrow, and it is expected that

<sup>320</sup> Con l'Istruzione n. 155, Washington, 25 agosto 1866, il Seward accusava ricevuta dei dispacci nn. 141, 142 e 143 e avvertiva il Marsh che erano stati approvati i termini in cui egli intendeva usufruire del congedo accordatogli in seguito alla richiesta di cui al dispaccio n. 141.

<sup>321</sup> Bettino Ricasoli fu Presidente del Consiglio dal 20 giugno 1866, quando La Marmora assunse il comando dell'esercito, al 10 aprile 1867. Il suo gabinetto era così composto: La Marmora, ministro senza portafoglio; Ricasoli agli Interni; Visconti Venosta agli Esteri; Scialoja e poi Depretis alle Finanze; Jacini e poi De Vincenzi ai Lavori Pubblici; Borgatti e poi Ricasoli e Cordova al Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia; Berti e poi Correnti alla Pubblica Istruzione; Di Pettinengo e poi Cugia alla Guerra; Depretis e poi Biancheri alla Marina; Cordova all'Agricoltura.

a declaration of war, or other equivalent manifesto, will be published today. There seems to be no doubt that hostilities will commence within the next twenty—four or thirty—six hours, though there are still persons who believe that Austria will propose terms which may delay the opening of the campaign, and perhaps pave the way for a final settlement of the great pending questions.

I found Baron Ricasoli this morning already engaged in the duties of his new position. He is very hopeful of success in this great struggle, and indeed it must be very difficult for a patriotic Italian to believe defeat possible when the whole nation is inspired with such enthusiasm. I am sure that the history of modern Europe—with the possible exception of republican France in and after 1793—has never exhibited an example of such universal, absorbing, and generous devotion to a national cause as is presented by the Italian people of today. Of course, the clergy, in general, do not sympathize with the people, but they have not influence enough to embarrass the Government, and their political position is regarded with great indifference.

There has been much financial & commercial annoyance from the want of a small representative medium of exchange since paper was made a legal tender. For a long time it was almost impossible to obtain bills of less than five hundred francs, and I have myself paid as high as six per cent premium for smaller notes. Measures have been taken which, there is reason to hope, will soon relieve this embarrassment.

Unless compelled by some serious aggravation of Mrs Marsh's symptoms, I shall not avail myself of the permission to visit Paris so kindly granted by the President. I may, however, accompany her for a few days to some watering place, or other healthful retreat, nearer the scene of action, and I have reason to believe that many, if not most of the members of the diplomatic corps will spend the summer at points admitting of communication with the Court if circumstances should render it desirable.

The exequatur for Mr. Spencer has been forwarded to him.

I have the honor to enclose herewith a paper received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs relating to the death of John Peterson, an American seaman, at Palermo.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>322</sup> Si allegava il certificato di morte, redatto in italiano, del marittimo americano John Peterson, deceduto nell'Ospedale Civile di Palermo il 13 marzo 1866. Il certificato, rilasciato dall'ufficio dello stato civile di Palermo, è datato 17 marzo 1866. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

*George P. Marsh a William H. Seward*

*Lettera senza numero*

Florence, June 20, 1866.

*Privata*

Dear Sir: When I called on Baron Ricasoli this morning, to congratulate him on his return to a post of great weight and responsibility at so critical a period of his country's history,<sup>323</sup> he spoke of the present aspect of American affairs in terms which I think cannot but be acceptable to the President and yourself.<sup>324</sup> I did not deem it expedient to report this brief conversation in the accompanying despatch, because I know the great repugnance of European statesmen to be *quoted*, when discussing matters not officially brought before them, and because my personal relations with this eminent statesman are such, that he habitually converses with me in a tone of greater freedom than our respective official positions would give me a right to expect.

He inquired particularly with reference to the prospect of the adoption of a plan of reconstruction which would harmonize the views of the President and of Congress, and when I, using some expressions borrowed from your recent speech at Auburn, said that I saw no sufficient reason to doubt that such a result would be arrived at, he expressed his gratification, and added, in an emphatic way: « I sympathize with the President. His plan of reconstruction meets my approval. It is based on sound principles of moderation ».

Baron Ricasoli is one of the most enlightened appreciators, and one of the most consistent and unwavering friends of our country, its great interests and its institutions, whom I have ever known in Europe. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Visconti-Venosta, has always been an open and decided supporter of the Union cause—which is more than I can say of some other members of the late and preceding Italian ministries—and it is, certainly just cause of congratulation that the Government of one of the great belligerent powers—the approaching continental war should have fallen into hands which, in any possible complication, will certainly not be disposed to regard us with jealousy or ill-will.

<sup>323</sup> Allegato si trasmetteva un estratto della *Gazzetta Ufficiale* del 20 giugno 1866, con il testo del proclama del Re e della dichiarazione di guerra all'Austria.

<sup>324</sup> Nell'Istruzione n. 151, Washington, 17 giugno 1866, il Seward ringraziava il Marsh per questa precisazione intorno alle vedute del Ricasoli circa i problemi interni degli S.U. e soggiungeva: « Ho sempre avuto il più grande rispetto per lui e lo considero un patriota ed un politico illuminato. Il Presidente è particolarmente soddisfatto ».

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 144* <sup>325</sup>

Florence, July 2, 1866.

Sir: Since the battle of the 24 of June, which, however unfortunate for the Italian cause in its immediate results, was in the highest degree creditable to the valor of the Italian troops, no military movement of consequence has taken place. The Austrians seem to be threatening the left flank of the army, and the important position of Bergamo and Brescia, by way of the Valtelline and the Val Camonica. It is not obvious why these passes, the former of which at least might have been very easily defended upon the line of the Stelvio, should have been left unoccupied, but in any case, it is not probable that the Austrians will be able to penetrate far enough to hazard the safety of the cities just mentioned, or to inflict serious damage on the country.

The commencement of an offensive warfare by a defeat was an event certainly not calculated to encourage the friends of Italy, but the battle has established the claims of the Italian soldiery to an equal rank with that of the Austrians, and I do not think the national spirit, or the credit of the Government is much depressed in consequence.

The Government has resolved upon a forced loan, but I believe the amount and conditions are not yet fixed. I cannot but think that the emergency would have been better met by a policy more in analogy with the financial measures resorted to by the American Government during our late war. Doubtless a national paper currency would soon have fallen to a low rate as compared with gold, but the proposed measure will not avert that result, and the embarrassment of a fluctuating and depressed circulation would be, in practice, less heavily felt than the sacrifices which a forced loan, insufficient in amount probably to carry the nation through the crisis, will inevitably entail on the people.

<sup>325</sup> Nell'accusare ricevuta di questo dispaccio il Seward, con l'Istruzione n. 152, Washington, 23 luglio 1866, affermava che « informazioni più recenti di quelle da voi comunicateci ci inducono a pensare che l'interesse diretto dell'Italia nel conflitto europeo è stato virtualmente già assicurato. In ogni caso, l'Italia potrà contare sull'amicizia degli S.U. ».

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 145*

Florence, July 10, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 148 dated June 8, 1866 with the commission of Mr. F. Swan as Consul of the United States at Naples.<sup>326</sup> The exequatur was immediately applied for, but, in consequence probably of the absence of the King, it has not yet been granted. Mr. Swan has passed through Florence on his way to his post.

I have also received your instruction No. 150 dated June 19, 1866, covering an office-copy of the President's letter of condolence to the King of Italy on the death of Prince Otho, and have communicated the copy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I enclose herewith two circulars from the Ministry of the Marine<sup>327</sup> and a copy of the important law of this Government for the suppression of monastic institutions.<sup>328</sup>

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 146*

Florence, July 11, 1866.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: We have no intelligence of any military operations on the Austro-Italian frontier since the passage of the Po by General Cialdini's corps and the abandonment of Rovigo by the Austrian troops, nor is the state of the negotiations for an armistice between the belligerent powers publicly known.

Whether information respecting movements by Cialdini is suppressed by the Government, or whether that General is waiting a decision of the question of armistice, I am unable to say, and I am equally ignorant

<sup>326</sup> L'Istruzione n. 148, Washington, 8 giugno 1866, trasmetteva la nomina di Frank Swan, dell'Ohio, a console a Napoli.

<sup>327</sup> Si tratta dell'avviso per i naviganti n. 20 sui fari nei porti austriaci dell'Adriatico, diramato a Firenze il 3 luglio 1866 dal Ministero della Marina, Dipartimento Generale del Servizio Militare.

<sup>328</sup> L'Istruzione n. 156, Washington, 25 agosto 1866, accusava ricevuta di questo dispaccio e dei relativi allegati e ringraziava il Marsh per l'invio di una copia della legge 7 luglio 1866 sulla soppressione degli ordini monastici.



whether the apparently inexplicable inaction of the large naval force collected at Ancona is to be ascribed to a similar reason.

These delays, with the defeat at Custoza, and the subsequent repulse of Garibaldi on the Caffaro, would naturally excite great discontent among the people, but this sentiment is quite thrown into the shade by the feeling of wounded pride and indignation at the conduct of France in encouraging, if she did not prompt, the offer of the cession of Venetia to that power.

The firm belief of the nation that Italy is able to wrest from Austria the territory which she conceives to be wrongfully withheld from her, the desire of atoning for a check so discreditable to Italian generalship, though so honorable to the valor of Italian soldiers as the battle of Custoza, the insult to the nation implied in the proposal of the Emperor of Austria to negotiate with Italy only through the Emperor Napoleon as her natural guardian, the cool arrogance with which the latter Sovereign has accepted this proposal, and the fear that France will refuse to surrender Venetia to Italy except upon unjust and humiliating conditions, have produced a general exasperation which would lead to popular outbreaks of a dangerous character in any people but one so conspicuous for patience and long-suffering as the Italians.

There is an almost universal, and I think well founded opinion that though the rank and file of the army and the regimental and inferior, as well as some few superior, officers, in both the regular and the volunteer service, have fought in the late actions, against greatly superior forces, with almost unexampled gallantry, yet that the chief command of the army has exhibited an imbecility which shows it to be utterly unfit to be entrusted with the direction of important military operations.

The responsibility of the attempt to penetrate within the Quadrilateral, which, under such circumstances, cannot well be characterized as other than insane, rests *prima facie* on General La Marmora, the Commander in Chief of the Army under the King, but the partisans of France and of the aristocracy of which two interests is the representative and champion in Italy, are making strenuous efforts to shift the burden to other shoulders. It is whispered that the movement was made upon the personal order of the King, in opposition to the opinion of his generals, and the expression «supreme command» in General La Marmora's official report of the battle seems designed to countenance this rumor. Besides, it appears incredible that this officer should have made so humiliating a confession of utter ignorance in regard to the strength

and position of the enemy, unless he was prepared to show that he was not answerable for exposing an important corps to danger the extent of which he had not taken the trouble to explore. On the other hand, it is improbable that the King would have taken it upon himself to overrule the counsel of his military advisers, and if he had committed an act of such unwarrantable rashness, it is thought that his sense of honor and his natural frankness would have led him at once to relieve them of the heavy imputation which he knew would rest upon them.

Generals of lower grade are blamed, without apparent reason, and General Sirtori, an officer of tried bravery and skill—but who, being a man of humble extraction, and a secularized priest, has no friends—has already been sacrificed for having intimated what was certainly the truth, that he could not maintain his position because another general, undeservedly high in royal favor, refused him aid which he could well have afforded him.

It is certain and undisputed that the advance was undertaken without any knowledge whatever of the position or force of the Austrian army, and I am informed, on what I consider entirely trustworthy authority, that General La Marmora refused to resort to any of the usual modes of reconnaissance upon the left banks of the Mincio before the order to march was given. It is even asserted, upon what seems sufficient evidence, that the leading column, Cerale's,<sup>329</sup> advanced without sending scouts forwards, that they were marching as to a parade, with bands playing, when they found themselves at once in the midst of the enemy, and that all the musicians at the head of the column except two were shot down at the first fire.

Knowing General La Marmora's rash and thoughtless impetuosity of temper and his incapacity for intellectual combination of any sort, I can readily believe that he has been guilty of any conceivable military imprudence, and nothing that I have seen in Italian political life has surprised me more than the patience with which the nation has borne the entrusting of such important civil and military posts to a person who has given so little evidence of capacity to discharge the duties belonging to them.

The present official position in both services is due mainly to his aristocratic birth and to the influence of the Emperor of France of which sovereign he is a devoted admirer. It was to sustain French policy that

<sup>329</sup> Il generale Enrico Cerale comandava la 1<sup>a</sup> divisione.

he was called to the head of the Cabinet in 1864 and he has never wavered in his attachment to that power. When, in the course of the last winter, it was thought that war was probable, Prince Napoleon visited Florence and other parts of the Kingdom for the purpose of « firing the Italian heart, » and especially of securing the retention of Gen. La Marmora in the cabinet. He spoke of him on every occasion, as a great statesman and a great soldier, and I have been personally assured by a very conspicuous liberalist, formerly an opponent but afterwards an adherent of this officer, that Prince Napoleon said to him: « We have in the French army, generals of the stamp of Cialdini, Della Rocca, Durando and Cucchiari, but not one who can be in the least compared to La Marmora ».

When war seemed inevitable, a reconstruction of the cabinet was obviously indispensable, and when the details of its composition were discussed, Gen. La Marmora not only claimed the first position in the field, but insisted on retaining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The nation almost with one accord, looked to Baron Ricasoli as emphatically the proper person to fill this important position, but La Marmora's tenacity of power and the influence of the Emperor Napoleon, to whom Ricasoli's clear intellect and iron inflexibility of character are especially distasteful, prevented his appointment to that post, and after a struggle of some weeks, the matter was finally compromised by the retention of Gen. La Marmora as a Minister without portfolio, and the nomination of Visconti Venosta, who had just been sent as Minister to Constantinople, to the department of Foreign Affairs.

Visconti-Venosta was probably not selected so much as being specially favorable to French interests as because he was one of the ministry which accepted the Convention of September 15, 1864, and because he was thought to have too little energy of will to be other than a *locum tenens* for his predecessor and destined successor Gen. La Marmora. But it is confidently asserted that he proves by no means so pliable as was expected and that he harmonizes with Baron Ricasoli in opinion, sentiment, and action. He is, I think, a much abler man than he has passed for, and though indisposed to intellectual effort and to party strife, will, I hope become an efficient aid to the eminent head of the cabinet.

With respect to the volunteers organized under the command of Garibaldi, I have always feared that the means and the occasion of doing any thing creditable to themselves or advantageous to Italy would not be afforded to them. There are soldiers of high rank and influence in the Italian army to whom a victory by Garibaldi would not be a welcome

event. His army is said to have been sent into the field as unprovided as possible with military material, with supplies and comforts, and with sanitary arrangements and conveniences. He will scarcely be able to effect anything important unless the fear of popular indignation secures him a better position and more efficient internal means than the military authorities would voluntarily bestow upon him.

In these remarks, I do not intend to imply any censure upon the King, who is as honest and true as he is brave. But the assumption of La Marmora imposes upon him and he stands in great awe of the Emperor Napoleon. It has been announced that Prince Napoleon and a distinguished French diplomat might soon be expected in Italy as the bearers of an imperial rescript, but later advices render this doubtful. Whether the King, in such an event, will stand by Ricasoli and the nation, I cannot say, but I am not without hope that the spirit he showed on his accession to the throne after the fatal battle of Novara, and in some subsequent occasions, will revive in this most critical hour for his dynasty and his country, and that he will show himself adequate to this great emergency.

The spirit of the Italian people, I am happy to say, is not broken, but, on the contrary their confidence and courage rise with their difficulties. The Tuscan and Neapolitan soldiers from whom less was expected, have fought well, the public stocks are advancing and the premium on gold has fallen very considerably. The national enthusiasm has made some impression even on the ecclesiastical party. Young men leave the theological seminaries and enrolled themselves in the army, and in some instances ordained priests have turned from cursing, and have publicly blessed and prayed for the Sovereign and the armies of Italy. If good counsels prevail with the King, I have no doubt that the Italian people will sustain him to extremity, and win for him and themselves an honorable and a commanding position among the thrones and nations of Europe.

***George P. Marsh & William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 147*

Florence, July 12, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith the ratification, by His Majesty the King of Italy, of the Postal Treaty negotiated between the United States and the Kingdom of Italy, in the year 1863, with official certificates of the exchange of ratifications.

***Trattato postale del 1863 con ratifica del 1866*** <sup>330</sup>

*Postal Convention between the United States of America and Italy.*

ARTICLES

*Agreed upon between John A. Kasson, Esq., invested with special Powers to this End, and Signor Commander Don Giovanni Barbavara, Director-General of Posts of Italy, by Virtue of his full Powers, in order to establish a regular Exchange of Correspondence between the United States of America and Italy.*

ARTICLE I. There shall be a regular exchange of correspondence in closed mails, between the Post Department of the United States and Post Department of Italy, upon the conditions set forth in the following articles: —

ARTICLE II. The exchange of mails shall be effected by means of the transatlantic steamers and of the intermediate routes of transit upon which the two postal administrations shall hereafter agree; or, in the absence of such an agreement, each postal administration shall designate the steamers and the route of transit by which the mails which it despatches shall be conveyed.

ARTICLE III. The offices for the exchange of mails on the part of the United States, are —

1st. New York.

2d. Boston.

On the part of Italy, are —

1st. The travelling office from Turin to Susa, when the transit is by the way of France and England.

2d. The travelling office from Milan to Camerlata, or the travelling office from Arona to Magadino, when the transit is by way of Germany and Switzerland.

The Post Departments of the United States and of Italy, whenever they shall find it necessary, may agree upon other offices of exchange.

<sup>330</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 147 del Marsh. Per maggior chiarezza diamo tutto il testo del trattato e relativa ratifica da *United States. Statutes at Large*, vol. 16 (41° Congresso, 1869-1871), pp. 1005-1008.

ARTICLE IV. The following articles shall be admitted into the mails exchanged between the two countries, to wit: (1) Ordinary letters; (2) Registered letters; (3) Documents of business and other written documents which have not the character of a direct personal correspondence, corrected proofs, samples of merchandise, including grains and seeds, and not having a mercantile value in themselves; (4) Newspapers and prints of all kinds, in sheets, in pamphlets, and in books; sheets of music, engravings, lithographs, photographs, drawings, maps, and plans.

ARTICLE V. The weight of each packet of samples of merchandise shall not exceed 500 grammes. The weight of any other packet of mailable articles shall not exceed 2,000 grammes; and the form of the packet shall be regulated by the practice of the despatching department.

ARTICLE VI. All mailable articles, except letters, shall be sent under band, or so enclosed that postal agents in both countries may readily verify the contents of the packet.

ARTICLE VII. The standard weight and progression for the single rate of postage upon all articles enumerated in Article IV. of this convention are established as follows: (1) For letters, 15 grammes; (2) For documentary manuscripts not having the character of a direct personal correspondence, for corrected proofs, and for samples of merchandise, 40 grammes; (3) For newspapers and prints of all kinds, embracing all mailable articles not otherwise assigned, the standard shall not be less than 40 grammes in Italy, or one ounce and a half in the United States; but each post department may establish a higher standard weight of progression adapted to its interior requirements for articles of this class which it despatches.

ARTICLE VIII. The prepayment of postage upon ordinary letters exchanged between the United States and Italy shall be optional; but letters not prepaid, or insufficiently prepaid, shall be charged in the country of destination with an extra rate of 5 cents in the United States and of 30 centimes in Italy. The prepayment of postage upon all other articles, including registered letters, shall be compulsory; and when they shall be in no part prepaid they shall not be despatched; but in such case they shall be, if practicable, restored to the sender.

ARTICLE IX. The articles under band, which shall be in part prepaid, shall be forwarded to their destination; but they shall be charged

there with twice the amount of the difference between the rate due and the sum actually prepaid.

ARTICLE X. The international rate of postage upon the correspondence exchanged between the two countries is based upon the following elements, to wit: (1) The interior rate of the United States; (2) The interior rate of Italy; (3) The maritime rate; (4) The intermediate transit rate; and any reduction which either country may obtain from the existing maritime and transit charges shall inure to the benefit of the people of the two countries by a corresponding reduction of the international rates of postage established in the following article so soon as the two departments shall have adjusted the amount.

ARTICLE XI. The international rates, combined of the elements above mentioned, and applicable to each standard of progression for the several classes of mailable articles, are established as follows, to wit: (1) For ordinary letters 20 cents in the United States and 1 franc in Italy; (2) For registered letters, in addition to the ordinary prepaid rate, an extra charge of 10 cents in the United States and of 50 centimes in Italy; (3) For documentary manuscripts, corrected proofs, and samples of merchandise, 20 cents in the United States and 1 franc in Italy; (4) For journals and all other prints, embracing articles not otherwise enumerated, the standard single rate shall be fixed by the despatching department, limited, nevertheless, by the maximum rate of 4 cents in the United States and of 15 centimes in Italy.

ARTICLE XII. Of the combined rate of international letter postage hereby established, three cents represents the interior single rate of the United States, and fifteen centimes the interior single rate of Italy. The remainder of the combined rate is assigned to the payment of the cost of sea conveyance and of intermediate transit, by whatever route the mails may be conveyed.

ARTICLE XIII. Articles under band described in the third and fourth paragraphs of Article IV. of this convention may be registered in either country for despatch to the other, upon payment of the registration fee of ten cents in the United States and of fifty centimes in Italy, in addition to the prepayment of the regular postage.

ARTICLE XIV. In order to simplify postal accounts between the departments as much as possible, and to prepare the way for their ultimate abolition, each Post Department shall retain to its own use all the postal

rates and charges which it shall collect, whether by virtue of prepayment or post payment; and each department shall pay the cost of conveyance of the mails which it despatches as far as the frontier of the country of destination. It is also especially provided that the cost of intermediate ocean and land conveyance of the closed mails shall be first defrayed by that one of the two departments which shall have obtained from the intermediaries the most favorable pecuniary conditions of such conveyance; and any amount so paid by one department for account of the other shall be reimbursed.

ARTICLE XV. It is distinctly agreed that all mailable articles addressed from one country to the other shall be exempt in the country of destination from any rate or fee whatever beyond the charges established by this convention.

ARTICLE XVI. Correspondence exclusively relating to the postal service shall be transmitted on both sides without any postal charge therefor.

ARTICLE XVII. Correspondence of all kinds erroneously transmitted, or wrongly addressed, shall be promptly returned to the despatching office. Articles which shall have been addressed to persons who have departed from the place of destination, leaving their address, shall be forwarded, or returned, as the case may require, charged with the postage which the addressee would have been required to pay on delivery.

ARTICLE XVIII. Letters, all registered articles, and all documentary manuscripts, which shall not be delivered to their address, shall be restored to the despatching department. Any of these articles which may have been forwarded by one department to the other on account shall be restored, and credit taken for the amount originally charged by the despatching office. But samples of merchandise, newspapers, prints of all kinds, and all mailable articles not excepted which cannot be delivered to their address, shall remain at the disposal of the receiving department, provided they shall not be reclaimed by the sender or addressee within six months from the date of their despatch.

ARTICLE XIX. Neither Post Department is required to make distribution within its jurisdiction of any articles the circulation of which shall be prohibited by the laws in force in the country of destination.

ARTICLE XX. The Post Departments of the United States and of Italy reciprocally engage to grant each to the other the gratuitous con-



veyance across their respective territories of all correspondence which shall be exchanged in closed mails with any countries to which they may respectively serve as intermediaries: provided always, that such conveyance shall be effected by the ordinary means of mail conveyance in use; and that the countries taking the benefit of such gratuitous service shall reciprocally accord the like privilege of free transit across their respective territories. The privilege is also accorded to each administration of sending an agent, at its own expense, in charge of the mails in transit. The further privilege is accorded of a free transfer of closed mails in the ports and harbors of the respective countries from one vessel to another, in continuance of their conveyance to final destination.

ARTICLE XXI. Correspondence of all kinds which either department shall despatch to the other for the purpose of being thence forwarded in its mails to another country of destination, shall be subject to the rates established by Article XI. of this convention, added to the ulterior rate in force beyond the frontier of the forwarding country, so that only one interior rate shall be received by the forwarding department.

ARTICLE XXII. Small sums of money may be mutually transmitted between the two countries by means of postal money orders, and the rates and conditions may be arranged by an agreement between the two departments after the system of postal money orders shall have been adopted by the United States.

ARTICLE XXIII. Until the same scale of weights shall have been adopted by the two departments, it is agreed that, for the purposes of this convention, fifteen grammes shall be taken as the equivalent of a half ounce, forty grammes as the equivalent of one ounce and a half, and so with their respective multiples in progression as applied by the respective offices. It is also understood that the rates upon correspondence shall be applied according to the weight stated by the despatching department, except in case of manifest error.

ARTICLE XXIV. The two departments shall settle by agreement between them all measures of detail and arrangement required to carry into effect this convention, which may be modified from time to time by special arrangements to be agreed upon directly between the two Post Departments.

ARTICLE XXV. This convention shall take effect from a day to be fixed by the two Post Departments, and shall continue in force until one

year from notice given by one of the departments to the other of its intention to rescind it.

ARTICLE XXVI. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged as soon as possible.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate, at Turin, the eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

[L. s.]

JOHN A. KASSON.

[L. s.]

G. B. BARBAVARA.

We, having seen and examined the above-signed postal convention, and having approved thereof in all and each of its parts, have accepted, ratified, and confirmed the same, as by these presents we accept, ratify, and confirm it, promising to observe it, and to cause it to be inviolably observed.

In faith whereof, we have signed with our hand the present letter of ratification and have caused our royal seal to be affixed thereto.

Given at Turin, the sixth of the month of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in the fifteenth year of our reign.

[L. s.]

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

On behalf of His Majesty the King, the Minister of State for foreign affairs,

VISCONTI VENOSTA.

I hereby approve the foregoing convention, and in testimony thereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. s.]

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
*Secretary of State.*

WASHINGTON, May 4, 1866.

The undersigned having met together for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications by the President of the United States of America and

His Majesty the King of Italy of the postal convention concluded and signed at Turin on the 8th of July, 1863, and the said acts of ratification having been produced, and having, after careful collation, been found in good and due form, the exchange thereof took place this day. In witness whereof, the undersigned have prepared the present certificate, which they have signed in duplicate and sealed with the seal of their arms.

Done at Florence the 14th day of June, 1866.

[L. s.]

GEORGE P. MARSH.

[L. s.]

A. LA MARMORA.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 149* <sup>331</sup>

Florence, July 23, 1866.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith mortuary certificates of the deaths of William Brand, an American seaman, at Palermo, and of Mrs. Lucia Fisk at this city. <sup>332</sup>

I enclose also a slip from a recent number of the *Opinione* <sup>333</sup> containing a remarkable letter from Paris, and a still more remarkable editorial leader which may be considered an authoritative exposition of the views and expectations of the more zealous partizans of the French alliance in Italy, though by no means of a majority of the people, of Parliament, or, as I believe, of the Ministry. The menace implied in the last paragraph of the third column is specially noticeable, and both the editorial and the letter of the Paris correspondent were evidently prepared, whether here or at Paris, in reference to the possibility of very unacceptable proposals for a peace between Italy and Austria, through Prince Napoleon, who is now with the King at headquarters. Thus far, the acceptance of even the temporary armistice of five days by Italy is not announced, but the conclusion of a peace by the mediation, or under the pressure of the Emperor Napoleon, is confidently expected.

<sup>331</sup> Il dispaccio n. 148 non è stato rintracciato. Sul retro del n. 147, nella raccolta dei dispacci conservata all'ambasciata, si legge questa annotazione: « N. 148 — non ricevuto per copia ».

<sup>332</sup> I certificati non sono compresi in questa filza.

<sup>333</sup> È allegato un ritaglio de *L'Opinione* del 20 luglio 1866, contenente un articolo dal titolo « La mediazione della Francia ».

If the peace shall be such as to satisfy the political necessities and reasonable demand of Italy, it will be an agreeable disappointment to her people, who would prefer leaving the terms to the arbitrament of battle, rather than a peace on any conditions whatever dictated or advised by the Emperor of France.

The loss of the *Re d'Italia* and the *Palestro* in the battle of the island of Lissa <sup>334</sup> is a severe blow to the Italian navy, but we have not yet details enough to enable us to judge whether, upon the whole, the Italian fleet has suffered a defeat or gained a victory.

My dispatches Nos. 145, 147 (confidential), and 148 were sent by a private opportunity and may not reach you so early as the present.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 150*

Florence, July 31, 1866.

*Confidenziale*

Sir: The war between the German powers, and between Austria and Italy, is apparently drawing near its end, but not much is publicly known in regard to the precise condition of the negotiations. It seems surprising that Prussia, after such an extraordinary succession of victories, should content herself with so little direct territorial acquisition as she now claims, and that Austria should be deprived of none of her Teutonic or Slavic provinces. But the new relations of Prussia to the northern Germanic states will give her a political importance which may be worth more than a wide extension of her boundaries, and her moderation is doubtless, in a great measure, due to the distinct understanding of all the belligerents, that any party, who should refuse to accept the Emperor Napoleon as an arbiter, must prepare to meet him as an enemy.

Upon whatever terms peace may be concluded, the mode in which the conditions have been imposed by Napoleon has deeply wounded the pride of all parties, and an imitation will be left which may lead ultimately to a new coalition like that of 1813, a war of nationalities against the pretorian bands of the second emperor. Such a war would, at this moment, be accepted with enthusiasm by the people of Italy, and the gallantry manifested by her soldiers and sailors in the late battles abun-

<sup>334</sup> Per gli echi in America della battaglia di Lissa vedi H. R. MARRARO, *Unpublished American documents on the naval battle of Lissa* (1866), in *Journal of Modern History*, a. XIV (1942), pp. 342-356.

dantly shows that, commanded by officers of any ability, they would prove formidable antagonists.

The principal point of dispute as between this Government and Austria is the possession of the Italian Tyrol. Prince Napoleon, doubtless enlightened by imperial inspiration, is said to have suggested one of those half—solutions which are so characteristic a feature of the Napoleonic policy. He proposed to give to Italy a territory of some economic and political value, but to leave all the important military positions on the crest and flanks of the mountains, including a part of the shores and waters of the lake of Garda, in the hands of Austria. If this scheme were to be adopted, the Emperor of France having, by the cession of Savoy and Nice, obtained possession of the keys of the north western and south western frontier of Italy, and secured to Austria those of the central Alps, would be able to keep this Kingdom indefinitely in that state of tutelage and dependence which his policy towards it has always tended to establish and maintain.

Prussia it appears gives but a cold support to the Italian claim to the southern Tyrol, and it is alleged that she bases her action on the omission of La Marmora to put forward that claim in the negotiations for the alliance. Such a mistake is possible enough, but those who are familiar with the position of Prussia in 1848 and 1859 will remember that, at those crises, her military men declared that the possession of the passes of the Tyrolese Alps, and even the line of the Mincio, by Austria, was essential to the security of Germany. Thus far Ricasoli seems inflexible in insisting on all that part of Tyrol which can fairly be called Italian, and the annexation of so much at least, is evidently as obvious a necessity to Italy as the acquisition of any territory whatever. I trust he may carry his point and if he succeeds, it will be a most remarkable triumph of simple, straightforward moral force over diplomacy, intrigue, political jealousy and national animosity. In that case, Italy may well boast that the wisdom, virtue and firmness of her great national statesman has compensated the mortifications which the subservience of Gallicized politicians to foreign dictation, and the imbecility of her general and her admiral in chief have brought upon her.

Nothing further transpires authoritatively in regard to the insane movement against the territory inclosed within the Quadrilateral. There is, however, no doubt that it was a sudden departure from the plan agreed upon at the council of war, according to which La Marmora was to remain on the Italian side of the frontier with a corps of observation, and the offensive movement was to be led by Cialdini through the country

south of the great fortresses. It is suggested, with great probability, that the whole operation was a plan of La Marmora to anticipate Cialdini and gain credit for himself by striking a blow before the latter could get within reach of the enemy. At any rate, it is certain that Cialdini's first intelligence of even an intention to advance on the part of La Marmora came in the form of a telegram from that officer, announcing a defeat much more crushing than the facts warranted. Indeed the commanding general seems to have been panic struck, and he telegraphed Garibaldi to fall back and save Brescia, describing his repulse as a « complete and irretrievable overthrow ».

There is now a strenuous effort on the part of La Marmora's friends and the French party to divert public attention from his shortcomings, and save him by concentrating public indignation on the unfortunate Persano, who is to be made a scape goat to bear the burden of the General's sins. It will doubtless be easy to throw a great weight of responsibility on the shoulders of the Admiral, who certainly was incompetent to the duties of his position, but the army will not be satisfied with a substitute, and will sooner or later, demand the retirement of La Marmora.

The volunteers have proved very efficient, considering how very inadequately they were supplied with material means. All they have accomplished has been effected by the bayonet, for *fire-arms*, properly speaking, they have had none.

### ***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 153*

Washington, August 2, 1866.

Sir: I pray you to accept my thanks for your very interesting confidential despatch of July 11th, No. 146. It seems to me a very faithful account of the political situation which existed in Italy at the time you wrote. The Atlantic telegraph, however, brings information so late as of the 30th of July.

It is not doubted that the basis of peace in Germany has been laid, nor is it doubted here that the terms of pacification will be satisfactory to Italy.

In some respects her case is not unlike our own — she comes out of the war a conqueror as the United States have come out of their Civil War. She is to arrange serious ecclesiastical questions; we, difficult political ones.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 151*

Florence, August 4, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that Mr. Marsh, availing himself of the leave granted him by the Department to be absent from his post at this Court, has this day presented me to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 152*

Florence, August 11, 1866.

Sir: It may be interesting to study the means by which the young Italian Kingdom has placed its army and navy on a war footing and prepared to sustain an offensive war against one of the most powerful and ancient states of Europe. This will more appropriately come within the scope of a report I propose making on the general finances and resources of the Kingdom. The last financial measure, a forced loan of 350 millions of francs, has met with a more favorable reception by the people than could have been reasonably expected. The wisdom of such a measure might well be questioned by political economists. But, the quotations of Italian funds on the European money markets was such as to deter the Government from recourse to foreign credit, and when resort is had to a national loan it must be remembered in this country there is a disposition among the wealthier classes to hoard their money and one of the important sources of the public revenue is an organized system of lottery. The effects of bad government are deeply rooted in this soil. And until more than one-fifth of the population shall have been taught to read and write and emancipated from the darkening influences of the priest-hood, it may be doubted whether the enlightened principles of political economy can be applied in Italy with success.

This condition, it seems, is appreciated by Italian statesmen, and popular education has been greatly advanced by the suppression of the ecclesiastical corporations and confiscation of their property to the benefit of a common school system under the immediate direction of the civil authority.

I append a resumé of the mode and conditions of the forced national loan.

*Resumé* of the mode and conditions of a forced national loan promulgated by Royal Decree August 2, 1866.

1. The nominal amount of the loan is 400 million francs—expected to realize in effect 350 millions—and bears interest from the 1 Oct. 1866 at 6 per cent. payable semiannually—5 per ct. to holders and 1 pr. ct. distributed in prizes.

2. The effective capital to be paid into the Treasury in six installments, the 1st of 3/10—Oct. 8, 1866, the last of 1/10—April 1, 1867. And the entire debt to be extinguished by twenty semi-annual payments during the years 1870-1880.

The detached coupons of interest and of debt, for three months before payment is due on them, are receivable by the Treasury in payment of taxes or for property sold by the Government.

3. The bulk of the loan is divided among the Provinces, and thus the communes and tax districts (*consorzi*), in proportion to the sum total of revenues of the inhabitants from trade manufactures, farms, and other movable riches.

4. The mode of distribution in the communes and tax-districts is as follows: *a*) The whole number of individual revenues, excluding those that do not exceed \$ 50 (25 gs) are arranged in a list from the highest to the lowest and divided into eight classes, each of which shall represent one—eighth part of the sum total of all the revenues of the commune or district. *b*) The 8th of lowest class thus obtained is exempted from contribution, and the apportioned amount of the loan for the commune or district is divided equally among the seven remaining classes. *c*) The medium or 4th class is held to pay its normal quota, or one—seventh. *d*) The 3 classes above the 3rd, 2d and 1st pay respectively 1, 2, and 3 sixths more than this normal quota, while the 3 classes below pay respectively 1, 2, and 3 sixths less than their allotted portions.

Thus, though somewhat complicated in detail, the loan is distributed in gradation so as to bear more heavily on the wealthier contributors and lessen proportionately the contribution of the poorer classes.

<sup>335</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 152. del Clay.



*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 153*

Florence, August 13, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt at the Legation of your despatches Nos. 151 and 152, respectively, dated July 17th and 23rd.

The negotiations, which were set on foot in the latter part of last month between Austria and Italy through the mediation of the Emperor of France, resulted in the acceptance by Italy of an armistice on the following conditions: 1. The military *uti passiditis* to be maintained. 2. The ultimate abandonment of Venetia by Austria and the question of its annexation to the Italian Kingdom submitted to a vote of the people. 3. A rectification of frontiers reserved for ulterior negotiation.

The incorporation of this last point—understood to cover the questions of the Italian Tyrol—was doubtless due to the firmness of Baron Ricasoli and was at the time regarded as a partial triumph of the policy of the new Minister-President over that of General La Marmora, who is popularly believed to be too subservient to French influence in Italian affairs. When these conditions were presented, for final approval, to Austria, who in the meantime had signed the preliminaries of peace with Prussia, the *uti-passiditis* clause was declared unacceptable. The French Emperor then released the Italian Government from the obligations it had assumed and the King was left to treat directly with his enemy. In this new phase of the difficulties, the recommencement of hostilities seemed imminent. Austria was heavily reinforcing her troops in the South from the army, now set free, at Vienna; and the Italian army thus threatened, was withdrawn from its advanced posts in the Southern Tyrol and Friul [sic] and concentrated on a line of defense behind the Tagliamento. But, the effect of these movements was to leave the situation free from the obstacles to an agreement. The Italian troops no longer occupied territory to which Austria had not already engaged with Prussia to cede her claims, and negotiations were reopened. In a conference day before yesterday at Pormons between officers of the two armies an armistice was agreed to on the general basis of the actual *uti passiditis*—all other questions left for settlement at the final negotiations of peace.

It is probable Austria will consent to a rectification of the Venetian frontier so as to include a strip of the Trent-country, for adequate compensation; and this may be made by the Italian Government convenient

ground on which to shift any indemnity Austria may demand on evacuating the fortresses of the Quadrilateral.

The belief that Italy has obtained as favorable terms after the elimination of the French mediation as she could have obtained before will go far towards allaying the popular irritation which was caused by the announcement of the Austrian cession of Venice to France.

Although I have never shared the opinion of those who believe the Emperor Napoleon wishes to keep Italy in a state of quasi-vassalage to foreign powers, yet I think there is no doubt his tutelage of Italian interests in the present war has to a certain extent paralyzed the military arm of the Kingdom. The wisdom of Count Cavour's policy in forming and maintaining the Franco-Italian alliance is beyond question; only in the hands of the weaker men who have succeeded that great statesman, has it degenerated into a certain subserviency to the imperial will. It is now to be hoped—and with every probability of realization—that the present Head of the Cabinet will elevate the foreign policy of Italy to that dignity which reposes on the reciprocal respect and confidence of nations.

The short period of this war is fruitful of lessons to Italian statesmen and the Italian people.

Peace is now acceptable to all parties—by the party of the Government, who desire it—glad to escape from a situation that was becoming more difficult for them every hour; and by the party of the opposition, who have taken umbrage at the re-appearance of Napoleon on the scene in the affairs of the Rhinish provinces to complicate the relations of Italy to Prussia and to France & they demand immediate peace in terms of bitter denunciation of the men whom they accuse of having turned to ashes the golden fruits of an opportunity so auspicious [sic] for the cause of national unity.

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 154*

Florence, August 18, 1866.

Sir: There is no new fact authoritatively announced in relation to the preliminaries of peace between Austria and this Government, except that the Emperor Napoleon, in accordance with a clause in the Austro-Prussian peace-preliminaries, has formally placed the Venetian province at the disposal of the King of Italy.

As the curtain unrolls and the history of the negotiation of the

armistice is known, the more evident it becomes that the Italian Government has had to content themselves within the limits of the alliance with Prussia, which only guarantees the pure and simple cession of Venetia. The settlement of «frontiers» and indemnification to Austria for the evacuation of the fortresses of the Quadrilateral are still open questions to be decided in the negotiations of peace which are now about to open. The special plenipotentiary of Italy to this conference is General Menabrea, formerly Minister of War, who is known to have opposed the plan of campaign which resulted in the battles of Custozza and Lissa and has, therefore, the confidence of the people as well as that of the Crown.

The enthusiasm for the war, which at the time of the commencement of hostilities was so universal, has after the military checks and under the increasing political difficulties given away to much irritation in the popular mind against the heads of the Army and Navy. Admiral Persano is to be arraigned before a court-martial; and the King has accepted the resignation of Gen. La Marmora as chief of the Military Staff, who is replaced by Gen. Cialdini. Gen. La Marmora has also resigned his position as Minister *sans portefeuille*. A divergence of views between him and the new President of the Council arose as far back as the 5th July when the cession of Venice was offered by Napoleon, the former being in favour of its immediate acceptance, with the declaration, however, that the war with Austria must continue until Prussia was satisfied. The political significance of La Marmora's withdrawal from the cabinet may be gathered further from an extract I take from a communication in the *Opinione* of this morning, which bears evident marks of an official source: «The First Minister of the King of Prussia is a man of daring and ready resolution. To him it appeared that Gen. La Marmora had not conducted affairs, militarily and politically, as had been arranged by mutual agreement when General Bernardt (aide de Camp of the King of Prussia) was in Florence. He thought that the attempt to penetrate into the Quadrilateral ought not to have been undertaken—for, in case of failure Austria would be left in a condition to reinforce her Northern Army from the Army of the South. In a word, Count Bismark was persuaded that Italy was acting a comedy, having been assured beforehand of the possession of Venetia, and that, in case of a reverse, Italy was decided to abandon Prussia. It is useless for us to waste words in proving General La Marmora is the last of men upon whom such a suspicion could justly rest. His character and whole life is a proof to the contrary. Nevertheless, these were the circumstances

and our diplomatic defeat is due alone to Count Bismark. Austria, knowing what had occurred between the cabinets of Florence and Berlin, rejected the terms of the armistice that had been previously concerted with the Emperor Napoleon, and we were obliged to yield to the exigencies of the situation ».

Italy, unfortunately, has been obliged to make peace and rest under the first trials of her gallant young army and navy, before she has had time to remedy defects of inexperience and discipline in the field. The moral effect is bad—humiliating to national pride.

The material result of the struggle, however, has been the acquisition of a province of a population of near two and a half millions of Italians, and Italy must now take her position as one the great continental powers. She has shown elements of strength which time and powerful organization may bind into a powerful national existence.

The line of policy the Ministry intend to adopt under the actual circumstances is traced in a circular—a translation of which I annex—addressed by the Head of the Cabinet to the prefects of the different provinces of the Kingdom.<sup>336</sup>

Another marked proof of the liberal sentiments of the Government and a distinguished homage to progress and popular liberties is a decree, signed by the King the 16th of the month at his Head Quarters in Padua, by which those Italians who have been banished or condemned *in contumacia* for political or other offenses against the State are amnestied and reinstated in *all* the rights of Italian citizenship. Conspicuous among these is illustrious Genovese and friend of Garibaldi, Giuseppe Mazzini.<sup>337</sup>

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 155*

Florence, August 18, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose two circulars from the Italian Ministry of the Marine in regard to certain lighthouses on the coast of Italy.

<sup>336</sup> Vedila, in data 12 agosto, in *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, a cura di Sergio Camerani e Gaetano Arfè, vol. XXIII, Roma, 1968, p. 110.

<sup>337</sup> All'epoca della guerra del 1866 Mazzini fu eletto deputato al Parlamento. Interpretando questo avvenimento come un invito alla concordia, il 22 marzo 1866 gli amici di Mazzini chiesero la convalida dell'elezione previo l'annullamento della sentenza di morte pronunciata dalla Corte d'Appello di Genova il 20 ottobre 1858. Ma tale richiesta fu respinta.

The cholera has reappeared in some of the Mediterranean cities of the Kingdom, but in a very mild form. The official Gazzette reports the number of cases at Genoa, from the 5th to the 16th Aug., 14 with 5 deaths; at Naples, to the 16th Aug., 55 cases and 30 deaths. Of these latter, 41 cases and 26 deaths occurred in the Convent of Capodimonte on the 15th, just after a period of fasting and practice by the inmates of the so-called *Vigilia*.

### *Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 156*

Florence, August 25, 1866.

Sir: I have honor to enclose in a separate envelope three numbers of *Gazzetta Ufficiale* containing two reports of General La Marmora of the battle of Custozza, and one report of the battle of Lissa published by the Minister of the Marine from official documents in its possession.<sup>338</sup>

The comparative strength of the combatants in the naval engagement—as far as I have been able to gather from the accounts published on both sides—may be estimated as follows: The Austrian Squadron 7 ironclads, 6 frigates, 1 corvette and 9 gunboats, with 3 paddle steamers for signals; heaviest guns on board were 48 pounders. Smooth bore & carrying a solid shot under 70 lbs.—only rifled guns over 24 pounders carrying elongated shot of 56 lbs.

The Italians had 12 ironclads (among which the *Affondatore*, a turret ship), & frigates, 4 gunboats, and 4 paddle steamers; some of the guns on board were Armstrong 300 pounders.

The Italian fleet was much superior in number, size and build of ships, and calibre of guns, but superior intelligence and seamanship secured victory to the Austrians.

The Italian Admiral has been much censured for leaving the *Re D'Italia* on the eve of the fight and going on board the *Affondatore* thereby diminishing the efficiency of the latter vessel from which so much was expected. The official report only gives the following reason for this act: « It was the first time the new means of naval warfare were to be brought into action; the Admiral thought it better he should be out of the line (*fuor la linea*) on an iron-clad of great velocity in order to be ready for any emergency in the heat of the battle to carry the

<sup>338</sup> Si omettono questi allegati, trattandosi di documenti ufficiali.

necessary orders to the different points and manoeuver the forces as the moment demanded. The *Affondatore* was selected by the Admiral for this purpose. The ship that did most execution of the Austrian Squadron was the Admiral ship—*Archduke Ferdinand Max*—which is thus described by an English officer who visited the fleet after the battle. *The Max*—4,500 tons, 800 horse power, crew 512—was originally intended for 32 guns, but was afterwards prepared for 16 guns. Its ram is not solid, but formed by joining together the plots which cover her bows and meet in front so when she struck, perhaps the first or second time the plates began to separate, and were after the battle found to be torn away from the prow and their edges curled up away from the wood. The bolts were of course torn out and occasioned the leak which was easily stopped. This vessel rammed 4 times and fired 156 shots, all 48 pounders ».

The following extracts are from the same account: « Though the wind had gone down before the engagement, there was a rolling sea, which was in favor of the Austrians, for it prevented the enemy from shooting straight at distances when their heavy guns might have done much damage. But with regard to the bad shooting of the Italians there is a great mystery. Numbers of witnesses declare that the guns were frequently fired with powder but no shot, and all assert that the practice was strangely bad.

« The Austrian Squadron advanced in 3 divisions, each shaped like an arrow-head, the ships being in echelon from the centre. Each division had its paddle steamer for repeating the signals, and the Admiral's orders were faithfully reported and answered during the battle, in spite of smoke and excitement; for though the weather was no longer squally, there was breeze enough to carry the smoke away. The divisions were two cobb's length apart from each other and the whole column went straight forward against the Italian line, till Persano's manoeuver brought his ironclads into a new position no longer supported by the frigates. The Austrian first division passed through the Italian line of ironclads between the third and fourth—dividing them into sections which strung in behind the ships which had broken through, set upon the *Kaiser*. Tegethoff whirled around to the left and returned to the succour of the frigates; then came the *melee* in the midst of which the *Re d'Italia* was sunk—the gray color of the Italian ships being the only means of distinguishing friend from foe.

There has been much speculation among the officers of the fleet at Pola on the subject of the *Affondatore*'s failure to take or destroy the

*Kaiser*. The general belief seems to be that the turrets were shaken and would not work, and she feared that a successful charge would carry her to the bottom as well as her antagonist. Every one appears to have been astonished at the rapidity with which the *Re d'Italia* went down, and they say that the ram of a ship must not be too long, or there will not be time enough to extricate it, so that conqueror and conquered must die together like two stags with their antlers locked. And not only so, but a stricken ship rolls over from the blow (ever breaking loose her guns, which then rush across decks) and swings back again with enormous force, sufficient to break a ram. Now the *Affondatore's* ram is 30 feet long, and would be difficult of withdrawal in time to save itself from being broken, or the ship from being sunk, so there may have been reasons for her leaving the crippled *Kaiser* who was showing her teeth and claws in a most decided manner, and always ready with a concentrated broadside.

« The general opinions of the officers seemed to be that there should be a fair proportion of rifled guns and smooth bores on board ship; that their only chance of winning this battle was to push in close and avoid distant engagement; that if our side perseveres in forcing a close battle it is very difficult for the enemy to avoid it, and that if they had possessed breech loading cannon they could have fired many more rounds, for they were often too close to the enemy to load. But, above all things, « Concentrate your broadsides and ram where you can » seems to be the great result of this experience. The smooth bore guns had some steel projectiles, and the officers say that these must have penetrated or broken into the Italian plates in a mass, and so given rise to the idea that the Austrians carried enormous guns ».

The general conclusion from the result of the engagement is that fighting between iron clad ships will undoubtedly be done at *close range*, as it is in the power of either party to thus defeat the calculations of the artillerists of the enemy. And, since experience is in favor of the principles of naval architecture and ordnance as applied in the monitor-build of ship and the Dahlgren gun of large calibre. The main end being to come to close quarters with the enemy and destroy him by mass of metal or bear down on him and sink him—high velocity and rifled ordnance must yield to weight of metal and invulnerability of ship.

*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Lettera senza numero*

Florence, August 22, 1866.

*Privata*

Dear Sir: I have seen several notices in the journals of an intended change in this mission and indeed one of your despatches to the minister seems to hint at such an eventuality. I have also heard through a private source of an effort being made for a transfer of one of my colleagues to the position I have the honor to occupy. I speak of the subject with great diffidence from reasons which your own mind will readily supply and appreciate. At the same time, I am aware that amidst the more important affairs that engage your attention, a matter of this sort might be disposed of in the routine of business without receiving your particular consideration. I feel already under many obligations to you personally and do not care now to increase my debt of gratitude—but to have a frank word with you, from the same spirit which prompted me to address to the loyal and wise policy of the administration the moment I saw the majority of Congress was departing from their avowed principles of the war. The same body had commenced an open proscription for opinion's sake; and I am sure the President could not be justly blamed for defending himself from the unprecedented unscrupulousness of political opponents by all the loyal means in his power.

I have no party claims to press—I am simply a man who stood loyal to my country and served it in arms amidst surrounding difficulties which no living man can better appreciate than the President himself. It pleased you, Mr. Seward, to call me to the position I now occupy in the service of my Government—and as then, so now, do I abide your judgment in the conduct of the Department over which you have presided with such eloquent fidelity to the Republic.

*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 157*

Florence, August 27, 1866.

Sir: By a telegram from Berlin we learn that a clause inserted in the treaty of peace, just concluded at Prague between Prussia and Austria, stipulates the reunion of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom to the Kingdom of Italy with no other condition than the assumption by Italy of a proportionate part of the Austrian debt conformable to the precedent



established in the treaty of Zurich when Lombardy was ceded in 1859.

The partition of the debt as well as the determination of boundaries remain subjects of negotiation between this Government and Austria, and there are still hopes that the latter power may be induced to cede a portion of the Trent country on Lake Garda.

The questions of Venice and Rome, the exciting causes of domestic agitation, once removed—Parliament will have the time and temper to give its attention to the finances and other imperious demands of home-government.

Italy has now before her a serious work of reorganization and her present situation is not unlike that of our own country; there is the same susceptibility in regard to French intervention on the peninsula and on our own continent; duties of reconciliation and reconstruction rest upon the legislators of both countries, and I may remark there is great similarity between the extreme radical parties of the two countries: the one wishes a continuation of war against Austria, the other a war of proscription against the Southern States, when in both cases the avowed causes of conflict have, in the main, ceased to exist.

The King and his ministers seem disposed to do their part of the work in Italy. The royal decree of amnesty for political offences—which I had the honor to bring to your notice—has been followed by others, not so significant in a national point of view, but more important as effecting the internal condition of the country; such as establishing greater freedom for the exercise of certain professions and trades by the abolition of special authorizations which were heretofore required from the Ministry of the Interior or the royal prefectures.

Probably, the most striking feature of the present political situation in Europe is the prominence given to nationalities, irrespective of dynastic interests or tradition. There is a corresponding gain to the people, and national ascendancy in Germany may even bring about an extension of liberty in France. Our own rebellion was an anachronism not less in this respect than in laying the foundation of a new state with slavery as the corner stone.

And though Italy comes out of the recent struggle with little military prestige beyond the individual bravery of her soldiers, yet with the completion of the national territory there is felt the need of larger liberties for the citizen and a broader basis for constitutional government. I believe the popular sentiment in this country and in our own will sustain the executive-policy of expansion rather than contraction and centralization of power, in the reestablishment of national unity.

*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 158*

Florence, September 1, 1866.

Sir: The attention of the Legation has been called by the American artists residing in this city to the state of our tariff in regard to works of art.

It seems the existing law discriminates between the productions of native and foreign artists, on their importation into the United States, and it was announced, on a revision of the Italian revenue laws an analogous provision was contemplated laying a tax on the works of foreign artists in Italy.

I have been assured, however, by members of the committee in Parliament that no such intention exists at present on the part of the Italian Government but that the subject may come up for discussion.

In an interview of Mr. Powers, the sculptor, with a member of this committee, he expressed, on behalf of his fellow artists in this city, their intention, in conjunction with the American artists at Rome, to propose a memorial to Congress for the modification of the American law so as to place all original works on the same footing—free of duty, having copies if not duplicated or repetitions by the original artist to come under the established duties as merchandise. It is claimed with the liberality which belongs to art that this should be the law of all enlightened nations.

I observe the new tariff proposal at the last session of Congress but not adopted continues a distinction which may in the principle of reciprocity operate detrimentally to the interests of a class that does so much honor to the American scene, and I have thought it not without utility to express their views on the subject.

*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 159*

Florence, September 3, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No 153 of August 2, and of your instruction No 154 dated Aug. 7, 1866,<sup>339</sup> enclosing the commission of Mr. Charles Sprawl appointed consul

<sup>339</sup> L'Istruzione n. 154, Washington, 7 agosto 1866, accludeva la nomina di Charles Sprawl, del distretto di Columbia, a console degli S.U. a Taranto.

of the United States at Taranto. The application for the usual exequatur has been made.

Since the retirement of General La Marmora from the Ministry the relations between the cabinets of Florence and Paris have been known to be less cordial, but the announcement from Paris, two days ago, that Venetia would be actually delivered over to France and a plebiscite instituted before acquired to Italy took almost everyone by surprise. It was generally believed that the express stipulation in the Austro-Prussian treaty of peace together with the declaration of Napoleon in relation to that province had put an end to the French intervention.

In the history of the Franco-Italian alliance no event that I remember—except perhaps the announcement of the September Convention which created the riots at Turin in 1864—has caused such surprise and widespread humiliation as this new dictatorial mediation of the Emperor Napoleon. Certainly nothing could tend more than his present policy, to confirm the conviction of those who believe the newly created Italian Kingdom can never become a faithful ally and support to France.

It is to be hoped that Baron Ricasoli will be able to resist the pressure that is brought to force him from power and sacrifice the Prussian alliance to the designs of a foreign potentate.

At the same time, the negotiations for peace between the plenipotentiaries of this Government and Austria are reported as proceeding favorably at Vienna. It is even semi-officially announced that in an interview which was granted to the Italian plenipotentiary by the Emperor of Austria, the latter expressed his willingness to cede Venetia directly to Italy, but that he could not recede from his obligations already engaged towards France.

In Italy too as the bitter reminiscences of the struggle become less fresh in the public mind there is observable the growth of a more friendly feeling towards Austria, and the establishment of amical [sic] relations with that power would, I believe, be acceptable to all except an extreme fraction of the old party of action—whose natural duty in the state is agitation.

*Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 160*

Florence, September 10, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith two circulars from the Ministry of the Marine, relating to certain light on the Italian coast. Also, a letter for Lt. Comdr Barrett <sup>340</sup> of the U. S. Navy.

The conclusion of peace between Italy and Austria, though momentarily delayed by the exorbitant demands said to be put forward by the latter, will doubtless lead to the establishment of friendly diplomatic relations between the two governments, the sincerity and durability of which, however, will depend upon the measure of satisfaction that shall have been given to the reasonable claims of Italy in the ratification of frontiers.

War, which has been defined to be the mathematical expression of the resources of two states, is perhaps a test of national strength not so much from the number of men that may be equipped and sent into the field as by reason of the strain which it places upon the government and institutions of a nation. Italy has been put to this test and learned in bitterness that popular enthusiasm is not the only requisite to military success. An important result of the recent war may be looked for, then, in the correction of traditional evils of internal organization. Retrenchment and reform have been already commenced in some of the departments by a large reduction of the number of employes and a radical modification of the system of bureaucracy—the great administrative evil of the country.

Much of the bad system of the former governments of the peninsula was retained in the different provinces, as the readiest expedient, at the time of their annexation; and there is wanting throughout the Kingdom that certainty and uniformity of law and administration, which secure the respect of the people and facilitate the operation of measures of general government.

Now that peace is assured, the only name—of all the heads of the different branches of the service—that issues from the war with increased lustre, is that of the Commander in Chief of the Volunteers. It is known in confidential circles that this officer, before the commencement of hostilities, was led to expect the command of an expedition to the Dalmatian coast—but was forced to relinquish it from political considerations which were imposed upon the Italian government by foreign powers,

<sup>340</sup> Barrett fu nominato luogotenente comandante nella marina statunitense il 16 luglio 1862, comandante il 6 febbraio 1866, capitano il 7 maggio 1871, commodoro l'11 giugno 1879. Morì il 31 marzo 1880. CALLAHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

who feared the spirit of revolution and did not wish the Eastern question sprung in the war.

And, when ordered for similar reasons to withdraw his volunteers from the portion of the Tyrol which he had occupied by dint of the hardest fighting—his simple reply was that of a soldier: « Obbedisco! » The conduct of General Garibaldi in these difficult situations and since, during other distasteful events—is the subject of general comment, and for purity of character and patriotism he stands alone in the universal estimation.

### *Green Clay a William H. Seward*

*Dispaccio n. 161*

Florence, September 13, 1866.

Sir: Since the concentration of the army on the northern frontier and withdrawal of troops from the southern provinces alarming accounts of the state of the public safety in those districts are of almost daily appearance in the public journals. A report of the prefect to the Provincial Council of Palermo, in Sicily, dated the 3d of the month, throws much light on the social condition of that island, and a few extracts may not be without interest.

In July 1865, the military division of Palermo consisted of 14, 197 troops of all arms, but, on account of the reduction made necessary by the war, counted only 4,874 men in August of this year. In the meantime the bands of malefactors were increased by 412 refugees from the operation of the levy and 620 deserters. The local force, that is, the National Guard, with few exceptions, refused to respond to the invitation of the authorities. The following table gives a comparative statement of the number of homicides and acts of highway robbery in the months of April, May, and June 1865 and the corresponding months of 1866:

Districts of		1865		1866	
		hom.	h. robb.	hom.	h. robb.
Palermo	(600,000 inhabs)	48	71	50	124
Trapani	(218,000 » )	38	39	34	32
Messina	(394,000 » )	3	5	13	9
Catania	(430,000 » )	26	4	32	33
Siracusa	(260,000 » )	10	3	9	8
Caltanissetta	(222,000 » )	16	16	34	20
Girgenti	(263,000 » )	23	27	52	49

The increase of crime, for instance, in the district of Girgenti on the southern coast of the island is more than 100 per cent.

The Prefect of Palermo proceeds to account for this almost incredible fact: « Sicily presents many individual characteristics that are to be met with in every branch of the social and political organization—forces which have escaped the destructive action of Government and developed themselves in spite of every obstacle, but the masses, oppressed for generations, have yielded to the sinister influences, and we now have a population among whom it is thought infamous to assist the authorities in detecting culprits, and considered a duty to conceal those whom it is sought to bring to justice. Very few have the courage to denounce malefactors and sometimes those who are most interested, refuse to do it. This is the terrible obstacle to the full vigor of the law. In the last four months almost daily occurrences have given painful proof of this disposition on the part of the inhabitants, and some are almost incredible; a proprietor was robbed of 16 oxen—he did not make known the theft to the Questura, and they were only able to gather some details from public report. After some days the cattle were found and restored, the owner denied that they had been stolen, and the authorities were scarcely allowed to intervene. There came to the knowledge of the authorities that in a farm house near Monreale there were two brothers Ignazio and Giuseppe Spinati and one Ludovico Cuccia—all well-known assassins. The house was surrounded, and in their attempt to flee Giuseppe Spinati was captured, the other two by the aid of the owner of the house succeeded in making their escape. Three days afterwards a band of 24 headed by this same Ignazio Spinati assassinated two soldiers and one gendarme—in revenge of their companions. Thus instead of making secure the three assassins, by reason of the assistance of the owner of the house, the officers of the law were only able to capture one and at the sacrifice of three of their own number.

This is the conflict which exhausts and disheartens those who have to sustain it; our men return, worn out by fatigue, to recount how by the assistance of the inhabitants the refugees have been able to make good their escape ».

The views of the southern provinces, including brigandage in the Neapolitans, cannot be expected to be eradicated until Rome, the centre of reactionary agitation in the heart of Italy, shall have passed under the authority of the new Kingdom, and the Government, secure from foreign menace, can bring to bear upon these populations the full force of the law.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 162*

Florence, September 24, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches Nos 155 and 156—the former approving of Mr. Marsh's action in regard to his leave of absence.

The serious continued illness of Mrs. Marsh has prolonged Mr. Marsh's absence from this city, as I have reason to believe he did not intend to avail himself of the full extent of the leave granted him by the Department.

I have the honor to enclose two copies of a circular from the Ministry of the Marine giving notice of the establishment of a new light on the coast of the Ionian Sea <sup>341</sup>.

***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 163* <sup>342</sup>

Florence, September 24, 1866.

Sir: The authority of the Government has been reestablished in Palermo, after the city having been in the possession of armed bands for six days. It seems, on the night of the 15th, the marauders who have infested the surrounding country for months past, by a concerted plan entered the city and seized upon several strongholds. They encountered slight resistance at the gates and other points from the small garrison and guard of public safety. The civil and military authorities were obliged to take refuge within the fortified precincts of the royal palace and then await the arrival of troops to their relief. Of these, 20,000 dispatched principally from Genoa and Leghorn, effected a landing on the 21st and quickly restored the supremacy of the Government. Information as to the amount of pillage and damage done in the city, or as to the number of the insurgents and to what extent the population sympathized with them, has not yet reached us in a reliable form. It is, however, probable that the movement partook of an insurrectionary character embracing a portion of the inhabitants of the city.

<sup>341</sup> Gli allegati non sono compresi in queste filze degli Archivi Nazionali di Washington.

<sup>342</sup> In una lettera non numerata, spedita da Washington il 12 novembre 1866, si accusava ricevuta dei dispacci nn. 161, 162 e 163 e si ringraziava il Clay per le « interessanti informazioni » contenute nei primi due dispacci relative alla situazione politica e militare italiana.

In a previous communication I had the honor to call attention to the alarming condition of the island. The causes of discontent had been increased lately by measures of finances and legislation. The law for the suppression of monastic bodies was held in suspense over religious superstition and bigotry. The discontinuance of some public works had thrown out of employment a large mass of laborers. And, besides the fugitive conscripts from the operation of the recent levies, which are estimated at about 3000, the island has long harbored numbers of runaway-prisoners and galley slaves who have evaded the prisons or escaped in times of political turmoil. The mountainous character and scarcely populated condition of the island as well as its mild and luxuriant climate are peculiarly favorable to a life of vagrancy.

These elements of mischief, it is believed on good evidence, were combined by the priests and monks to be hurled against the capital city of Sicily in the expectation to arouse a reactionary spirit of rebellion throughout the province of the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The unwise delay of the execution of the law for the suppression of the convents—those centres of reactionary influence—favored this design by giving time and opportunity to the enemies of the new Kingdom to concert their plans for a politico-semi-religious phase to any disturbance that might arise.

The election, by a large majority, of Giuseppe Mazzini as deputy for the city of Messina, after he had refused to accept the amnesty of the King, shows the existence of an extensive sentiment in favor of republicanism and quasi hostile to the present government. But there is no proof—nor is it at all probable—that this class, to any extent, took part in the recent movement, though their attitude of opposition to the Government may have found the possibility of it.

### ***Green Clay a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 164*

Florence, October 1, 1866.

Sir: More exact information concerning the revolt at Palermo confirms the character attributed to it in my last communication. The bands of robbers and malefactors of the surrounding country, taking advantage of the reduced state of the garrison and the increased discontent of the people at the inefficiency of the Government, subsidized, encouraged and assisted, by the religious corporations, seized upon the city in the hope of inaugurating a revolution in the island.



The number of the insurgents, including those of the inhabitants who took part, are variously estimated from twenty to thirty thousand. The royal troops, after meeting with considerable resistance from barricades in the streets and from bands intrenched in the convents, succeeded in reestablishing order and on the 23rd the city was placed under martial law. A commission has been appointed with full powers to investigate the causes and extent of the revolt.

I make the following extract from the official report of the Lieutenant General in command of the troops and royal Commissary extraordinary for the city and province of Palermo:

« It results from the investigation already commenced that the monks and nuns were efficient promoters of the disorders; their money was the principal resource for equipping and arming the bands and supplying them with ammunition. Many of the monks took part in the fighting, in the ranks of the insurgents. These were principally intrenched in the convents, especially in that of the *Stigmati*, which offered the greatest resistance. The nuns were present during the engagements and encouraged the rebels to fire on the troops. Public opinion, therefore, demands the prompt suppression of the citadels of reaction.

« The character of the movement results clearly from the atrocious deeds, committed in the brief period of its duration; in Misilmeri twenty eight carabineers and soldiers, after having resisted until overpowered by the number of the malefactors, were disarmed and horribly murdered. At the Victoria Barracks, situated a short distance south of the city, the small force in quarters there were barbarously massacred, and the furniture and material of every kind destroyed. Likewise, several private houses were sacked, among which that of the syndic. The military hospital and magazines were also sacked. In Monreale the Inspector of the *Questura* was murdered; everywhere, in fine, the disorder was inaugurated in blood and acts of the most brutal ferocity ».

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 165*

Florence, October 5, 1866.

Sir: Having learned that an eminent medical practitioner of New York, Miss Elizabeth Blackwell <sup>343</sup> M. D., intended to make a tour in the

<sup>343</sup> Elizabeth Blackwell, medico, nata in Inghilterra nel 1821. Giunse negli S.U. nel 1832, e si laureò nel 1849 presso l'Università di Geneva, New York, rice-

Alps and would leave Paris for Switzerland in the first weeks of August, I thought a consultation with her might probably save me the necessity of searching medical aid for Mrs Marsh elsewhere, and I started with her for Geneva on the night of the 6 of August, prepared for only a short absence.

Miss Blackwell, having been unavoidably detained in England and France, did not reach Geneva until the 19 of the month. She immediately visited Mrs. Marsh, but as a single opportunity of observation was not sufficient, she requested us to follow her to Chamonix, whither she was obliged to proceed on the following day, and we joined her there on the 21. She continued some days in attendance on Mrs. Marsh, and then prepared a statement of the case to be submitted to an eminent surgeon at Paris, and it was immediately forwarded to the address of Dr. Gould of Rome, who had been previously consulted and was supposed to be at Paris, in order that he might lay it before the surgeon for his opinion.

Dr. Gould, however, was still in Italy, and it was nearly three weeks before we learned this fact and received a reply to the queries suggested by Miss Blackwell's statement. The case proving to be one of a rare and complicated character, it was evident that Mrs. Marsh could hope for neither cure nor relief without recourse to surgical aid which, it was believed, could not probably be obtained except at Paris, and we proceeded to that city immediately on the receipt of the reply.

As soon as Mrs. Marsh was sufficiently rested from the fatigues of travelling, a critical operation was performed, which was followed by extreme prostration and nervous depression, and for some days, I could not venture to leave her for an hour. I hoped a little delay might enable her to return to Italy with me, but in the opinion of her professional attendants, further surgical treatment, which would require several weeks, was necessary, and I reluctantly decided to leave her at Paris and return to my post. I started for Florence on the morning of the 28 of September, hoping to arrive by the normal course of travel, but the Mount Cenis road having been destroyed by the flood, I was obliged to abandon that route at Chambery, and cross over to the valley of the Rhone, where the road had suffered somewhat less severely, but were still scarcely passable.

vendo la prima laurea in medicina mai rilasciata ad una donna. Dopo ulteriori studi a Parigi e a Londra, la Blackwell cominciò ad esercitare la professione a New York nel 1851, e nel 1853 fondò la New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Scoppiata la Guerra Civile, fu tra gli organizzatori della « Associazione centrale femminile di soccorso ». LAMB, *op. cit.*, I, p. 312.

I made all reasonable exertion, but was unable to reach this city until Wednesday the 3 instant, having been absent eight weeks.

I am happy to believe that no inconvenience to the public interests has been occasioned by an absence prolonged much beyond my intentions or expectations. Mr. Clay informs me that as usual at this season, there has been scarcely a single American traveller in town during the months of August and September, and the only question which has arisen with this Government, was very properly and successfully discussed by him before my return.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 166*

Florence, October 6, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a traslation of a circular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sent to this Legation by way of reply to Mr. Clay's note of the 26 September 1866, relative to the liability of American citizens residing in Italy to assessment for forced loans, together with a copy of a note which I addressed to the Ministry in answer.

I was assured at the Foreign Office yesterday, that proceedings against American residents in Italy for the collection of assessments under the royal decree would be suspended a sufficient time to allow of action on the part of foreign governments respecting the subject.

***Nota del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*** <sup>344</sup>

Florence, le 5 Octobre 1866.

À l'occasion où le Gouvernement du Roi s'occupait de régler la perception de l'emprunt national ordonné par le Décret Royal du 28 juillet dernier quelques Légations se sont adressées au Ministère Royal des Affaires Etrangères pour obtenir en faveur de leurs nationaux l'exemption de concourir à cet emprunt, et ont appuyé leur demande sur des stipulations passées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs et le Gouvernement du Roi.

Le Ministre Royal des Finances a été saisi de cette question, dont

<sup>344</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 166 del Marsh.

l'examen l'a amené à constater que tandis que pour quelques Etats l'exemption qu'on invoque découle des termes mêmes des Traités en vigueur, il y avait d'autres Etats auxquels cette exemption pourrait aussi être concédée d'après une large interprétation donnée au sens de l'article qui établit le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée, ou d'après une réciprocité de fait établie par un commun accord sur ce sujet.

Par cette considération le Ministre Royal des Finances a décidé que pour les étrangers appartenant aux Etats de la première catégorie l'exemption soit accordée de plein droit, et que la même faveur soit étendue aux sujets des Etats compris dans les autres catégories à la condition que les Légations respectives fassent parvenir au Gouvernement du Roi une déclaration officielle par laquelle les Gouvernements qu'elles représentent s'engagent à observer, le cas échéant, la règle de la réciprocité au profit des Italiens résidant dans leurs territoires. Les dispositions arrêtées pour la perception de l'emprunt devant suivre leur cours le plus promptement possible il est essentiel que cette déclaration soit transmise au plus tôt au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de S.M. le Roi d'Italie.

***George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti Venosta*** <sup>345</sup>

Florence, October 6, 1866.

Mr. Minister: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a circular note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under date of the 5th of October 1866, in relation to the liability of the subjects and citizens of foreign states residing in Italy to assessment for the national loan ordered by Royal Decree on the 28 of July last, and I have lost no time in transmitting a copy of the note to my Government. The case not having been foreseen, I am without special instructions on the subject, and it is of course out of my power to bind the Government of the United States by a formal pledge which would exceed the usual limits of diplomatic prerogative. At the same time, I have no doubt that my Government will be entirely ready to secure to Italian citizens residing in the United States complete reciprocity of treatment in this as well as in all other particulars, and I trust that His Majesty's Government will, with its accustomed liberality, direct proceedings against American citizens residing

<sup>345</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 166 del Marsh.

in this Kingdom for the enforcement of assessments under the decree to be stayed until the Legation shall receive instructions on the subject from the Government of the United States.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 158* <sup>346</sup>

Washington, October 27, 1866.

Sir: Your despatch No. 166, of the 6th instant, on the subject of the exaction of involuntary loans by the Italian Government from citizens of the United States in Italy, has been received. In reply, I have to state that this Government makes no compulsory loans in any case and resorts to no other system than one of general and uniform taxation, by either excise or import duties, or general and pro-rata taxes based upon valuations of estates uniformly throughout the whole country. The same financial policy characterizes the legislation of the several states. It is believed that no involuntary loan has ever been, or ever will be required of any Italian subject in any part of this country. Foreigners as well as our own citizens are exempt from such loans, or any other character of taxation than that required by our federal and state constitutions. We think, therefore, that in no case could we assent to the imposition of involuntary exactions or loans upon our citizens by the Italian Government. We have uniformly disallowed such a measure when it has been proposed by other countries.

A stipulation of reciprocal exemptions as is proposed will be seen from the above statement to be unnecessary.

In every case of convention with a foreign state, our Constitution requires a formally negotiated treaty with mutual ratification after the instrument shall have been approved by the Senate.

Negotiation for such a purpose with Italy would be deemed exceptional, and, therefore, would be likely to fail as the Senate and Congress would probably insist that no compulsory loan could lawfully be imposed. At the same time the Italian Government may rest assured that such loans will not be imposed here upon Italian citizens.

We confidently hope that the effort will not be persisted in by the

<sup>346</sup> L'Istruzione n. 157, Washington, 10 settembre 1866, trasmetteva la nomina di F. R. Hutching a console degli S.U. a Brindisi, e accusava ricevuta del dispaccio n. 147 del 12 luglio 1866.

Italian Government in regard to citizens of the United States in Italy. Even a debate upon such a topic would produce alarm and discontent.

I will very soon recur to the subject more at length in connection with the existing treaty between the United States and Italy and the law of nations.

At present it may be remarked that although the treaty with Sardinia of November 26th 1838, contains no stipulation expressly exempting the citizens and subjects of the parties from compulsory loans, the 5th article of the treaty between the United States and the Two Sicilies of the 1st of October, 1855, contains an express renunciation of the right to levy such an impost. It is presumed, therefore, that whatever might be the claim of the Italian Government with reference to the territory to which the treaty of Sardinia was restricted, it will not insist upon such a pretension within the territory embraced by the treaty between the United States and the Two Sicilies.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 167*

Florence, November 13, 1866.

Sir: His Majesty, the King of Italy, having determined to make a solemn entry into Venice, on the 7th of the present month, attended by his Court, the President of the Council, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the other members of the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps residing at Florence was invited to accompany him.

I deemed it my duty to accept this invitation, and proceeded to Venice accordingly, in company with the rest of the corps. The various ceremonies and festivities, to which the foreign ministers were invited, continue until tomorrow, but the Court dinner having taken place on Sunday evening, I felt myself at liberty to return to Florence and left Venice for this city on Monday morning.

The Italian troops had entered into formal possession of the city several days before, and the first burst of popular excitement was naturally spent on that occasion. There was, however, an abundant manifestation of enthusiasm on the reception of the King, and no spectator could doubt the sincerity of the fervent protestations which bore witness to the public joy at the long delayed accomplishment of the desire of the Venetian people for incorporation into the Kingdom of Italy.

The national traditions and feeling of the Venetians are republican,

if not democratic, and the accession of Venetia to the Italian Kingdom will, I think, strengthen the hands of the liberal party; but I see no cause to doubt that they accept in good faith, the present dynasty and the constitution of 1848, and will prove both patriotic and loyal citizens.

As the period of the promised evacuation of Rome by the French garrison approaches, the excitement on the Roman question, which had been for a time allayed, is renewed, and the object of the extraordinary mission of General Fleury to the King is matter of eager discussion and anxious conjecture. It would be idle to speculate on state secrets which a week will probably reveal, and I shall only add that, in my judgment, the sovereign possession of Rome by the Italian Government and people, whether with or without the assent of France, is a question of time only, though doubts may still be entertained whether that city will become the political capital of the Kingdom.

The finances of Italy are in an embarrassed condition, her industry is prostrated, her agricultural interests depressed. But she still has natural resources diminished indeed, but not exhausted, and it may be hoped that the final achievement of her complete unity, and above all, of her independence of foreign interference or dictation, may soon leave her at full liberty to concentrate the wisdom of her publicists and statesmen upon her internal administration, the development of her physical resources, and other moral and intellectual advancement of her people.

### ***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 168*

Florence, November 18, 1866.

Sir: On my arrival from Venice, on Tuesday morning, I found the papers, copies and translations of which, marked respectively A. B. C. D. and E. are hereunto annexed. Mr. Macpherson,<sup>347</sup> introduced by the letter marked A, had gone to Leghorn, and I had no other information on the subject of his mission than such as the papers above referred to furnished.

I lost no time in seeing the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—the Minister not having yet returned from Venice—stated

<sup>347</sup> Si tratta forse di Edward McPherson (1830-1893), della Pennsylvania, che il 4 dicembre 1865, in qualità di dipendente della Camera dei Deputati degli S.U., si rifiutò di leggere ad alta voce i nomi dei membri sudisti, rendendoli così non eleggibili.

to him such facts as I was possessed of and inquired whether he thought his Government would surrender Surratt<sup>348</sup> to the United States for trial, if he should be found in the Italian territory.

He replied that he thought the accused would be surrendered on proper demand and proof, but probably only under a stipulation on our part that the punishment of death should not be inflicted on him. Having no instructions on the subject, knowing nothing of those which Mr. King<sup>349</sup> might have received, and having, moreover, at that time, no reason to suppose that Surratt had escaped into the territory of the King of Italy, I did not press the discussion further.

On Thursday Mr. Macpherson returned, but the information he was able to give me related only to the mode of the detection of Surratt.

On Friday morning the 16, I received Mr. King's two letters, copies of which, marked F and G, are annexed, and at 8 P. M. the same day, a telegram, of which a copy marked H is also attached.

Upon the receipt of the telegram, I immediately addressed and sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a note of which I annex a copy marked I. and I called twice at the Foreign Office the next (Saturday) morning, but learned that the Ministry of Grace and Justice, to which my note had been referred, had not come to a decision on the subject. I presented such additional views as had suggested themselves to me in the mean time, and expressed an earnest hope that the request of my note, for the detention of Surratt until more formal proceedings could be had, would be acceded to.

The Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whom I saw in the absence of the Minister, appeared to me less favorably disposed to the application than I had expected from my former conversation with him, and at a later hour I addressed to the Ministry a note of which a copy marked J. is annexed hereto.

I doubt whether, in case of the surrender of Surratt, a *formal* stipulation to exempt him from the punishment of death will be insisted on. In the famous La Gala case,<sup>350</sup> Mr. Visconti Venosta, then as now

<sup>348</sup> John H. Surratt (1844-1916), figlio della vedova Mary E. Surratt che fu impiccata per complicità nell'assassinio di Lincoln. Il ragazzo si nascose presso un prete cattolico a St. Liboire, in Canada, e più tardi partì per l'Europa: a Roma entrò a far parte degli Zuavi pontifici, ma poi fu arrestato; dopo un audace tentativo di fuga, fu ripreso e alla fine tornò in America nel dicembre del 1866. Processato come complice nell'assassinio di Lincoln, fu assolto.

<sup>349</sup> Sull'atteggiamento di Rufus King in relazione alla cattura ed all'arresto del Surratt vedi Stock, *United States Ministers* cit., p. 388 sgg.

<sup>350</sup> Cipriano La Gala era un notissimo bandito. Catturato mentre si trovava sul vapore francese *Aunis*, fu posto in carcere a Genova. Il console francese protestò



Minister of Foreign Affairs, refused to enter into such a stipulation on the extradition of the offenders, but, nevertheless, the Government yielded to the intercession of the Emperor of France, and the sentence of those atrocious criminals, though convicted of numerous murders, robberies, and even cannibalism, was commuted, and I suppose the Government of Italy would strongly recommend Surratt to mercy if he is surrendered to us.

The public sentiment of all classes in Italy is decidedly adverse to the infliction of capital punishment, and I shall not go too far if I add to any severe or adequate punishment for the gravest offences. The universality of this feeling will have its weight with the Government.

In order to secure the transmission of this despatch by the next mail, it must be posted at so early an hour tomorrow morning that I shall not be able to see the Minister or Secretary General of Foreign Affairs before it is sent to the Post Office, and I cannot probably communicate the decision of the Ministry until another mail.

I have written to ask Mr. King for a copy of so much of his instructions on this subject as may be useful to me, and I beg for special instructions for my own guidance in the further conduct of this affair.

**Rufus King a George P. Marsh** <sup>351</sup>

*Confidenziale*

Rome, November 9, 1866.

My dear Sir: I send to you under very peculiar circumstances, and « as bearer of despatches » my friend Mr. Robert Macpherson. <sup>352</sup> He will tell you the story, which the accompanying despatches will help to illustrate. I need not ask you to aid him in his researches.

contro l'arresto interpretandolo come una violenza del diritto di extraterritorialità della nave. Il tono violento della stampa francese provocò aspre polemiche in Italia, e il giornale *Il Diritto* propose che il La Gala e i suoi quattro complici fossero pure restituiti alla Francia, ma dopo l'esecuzione: l'ambasciatore francese presentò una protesta, il direttore del giornale fu processato, ma fu assolto. Frattanto il Parlamento italiano aveva preteso un chiarimento sull'incidente: alla fine, La Gala e gli altri furono concessi alla Francia come prigionieri e quindi estradati. La Gala fu condannato a morte, gli altri ai lavori forzati. Ma, in base ad un accordo intercorso precedentemente in proposito, la pena di morte fu commutata con i lavori forzati a vita. Il Parlamento censurò il Governo, ed in particolar modo il Minghetti che si era assunto la piena responsabilità di ogni fatto. Cfr. AUGUSTO PIERANTONI, *Il brigantaggio borbonico-papale e la questione dell'Aunis*, Roma-Napoli, 1900.

<sup>351</sup> Allegato A al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

<sup>352</sup> In Stock, *United States Ministers* cit., non compare notizia alcuna sul Macpherson.

**Hermann Kanzler** <sup>353</sup> a **Giacomo Antonelli** <sup>354</sup>

MINISTRY OF ARMS. CABINET OF THE PRO MINISTER

[Rome], November 8, 1866.

Most Reverend Eminence: I have the honor to transmit to your most Reverend Eminence the accompanying documents on the arrest and escape of one Zouave<sup>355</sup> Watson, of the third company, and I shall not fail to communicate such further information as I may receive as to the result of the pursuit of this individual.

Bowing to kiss the sacred purple, I am proud to subscribe myself, with profound devotion.

**Hermann Kanzler a Allet** <sup>356</sup>

*Ordine*

[Rome], November 6, 1866.

Colonel: Cause the Zouave Watson to be arrested and conveyed under safe escort to the military prisons at Rome. It is of much importance that this order be scrupulously fulfilled.

**Allet a Hermann Kanzler** <sup>357</sup>

PONTIFICAL ZOUAVES COMMAND OF THE BATTALION N. 463

Velletri, November 7, 1866.

General: I have the honor to inform you that the Zouave Watson (John) has been arrested at Veroli and will be conducted tomorrow morning under good escort to Rome.

<sup>353</sup> Hermann Kanzler (1822-1888). Nato nel Baden, era generale dell'esercito pontificio. Cfr. Stock, *United States Ministers* cit., pp. XXXII, 187 n, 349 n, 349, 357, 394. Su Watson si veda anche sotto Surratt in Stock, *Ibidem*.

<sup>354</sup> Allegato B al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

<sup>355</sup> Cfr. H. R. MARRARO, *Canadian and American Zouaves in the Papal Army, 1868-1870*, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1945, 22 pp.

<sup>356</sup> Allegato C al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh. Allet comandava il Battaglione degli Zuavi di stanza a Velletri.

<sup>357</sup> Allegato D al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

While they were in search of him at Trisulti, his garrison, he was arrested by Captain de Zambilly at Veroli where he was on leave.

I have the honor also to inform your Excellency that his name is not *Waston* but *Watson*.

***Allet a Hermann Kanzler*** <sup>358</sup>

*Telegramma* Presented at Velletri November 8, 1866. 8:35 A M

Arrived at Rome November 8, 1866. 8:50 do.

His Excy the General Minister of Arms Rome: I receive the following telegram dated 4:30 A M from Captain Lambilly. At the moment he left the prison, and while surrounded by six men as a guard, Watson threw himself into the ravine, above a hundred feet perpendicular in depth, which defends the prison. Fifty Zouaves in pursuit of him.

I will transmit to Your Excellency the intelligence I may receive by telegraph.

***Rufus King a George P. Marsh*** <sup>359</sup>

Rome, November 12, 1866.

Mr. dear Mr. Marsh: I send you one of the photographs of Jno Surratt, which I received this day from the State Department and may help to identify the scoundrel, if we should be fortunate enough to catch him.

***Rufus King a George P. Marsh*** <sup>360</sup>

Rome, Tuesday, November 13, [1866].

My dear Mr. Marsh: I had another interview and long conversation with Cardinal Antonelli, this morning, in reference to the arrest and escape of *John H. Surratt*. The Cardinal gave me the reports of the various officers charged with the investigation of the facts in the case.

<sup>358</sup> Allegato E al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

<sup>359</sup> Allegato F al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

<sup>360</sup> Allegato G al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

They certainly show, on the surface, perfect *good faith*, on the part of the papal authorities and an earnest desire to arrest the criminal of whose *guilt* the Cardinal expressed himself fully satisfied. He added, that Surratt had, beyond doubt, made good his escape into the Italian territory and was now, doubtless, at *Naples*. I write to give you this information as it may aid your researches. I still think & hope we may catch the fugitive.

***Rufus King a George P. Marsh*** <sup>361</sup>

*Telegramma*

Rome, [November] 16, 1866 at 4:30 o'clock

Received [Florence], at 18:25 o'clock.

I have just heard that Surratt has been admitted wounded into the hospital at Sora.

***George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti Venosta*** <sup>362</sup>

Florence, November 16, 1866.

Mr. Minister: I am credibly informed and confidently believe that John H. Surratt, a leading actor in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, who escaped from justice after that event and has been recently serving as a Zouave in the papal army at Rome, is now in a hospital at Sora, (supposed Sora, Terra di Lavoro) where he is said to have been admitted in consequence of a wound received in some manner of which I am not informed.

It has been known for a considerable time to the Legation of the United States at Rome, that Surratt had enlisted in the papal military service, and this fact having been communicated, by the Legation, to the pontifical government, an order for his arrest and committal to the military prison at Rome was issued by the Minister of War on the sixth of the present month.

In pursuance of this order, Surratt, who had enrolled himself by the name of John Watson, was arrested at Veroli on the following day

<sup>361</sup> Allegato H al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

<sup>362</sup> Allegato I al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

and conducted to Velletri. On the eighth of the month, he escaped from his keepers, and has not been since heard of until his admission to the hospital at Sora.

The circumstances of the assassination in question are so well known that I need not enter into any detail on that subject, and this Legation, as well at the Government and people of the United States, have received such abundant proof of the intense horror with which this great crime was regarded by the Italian Government and nation, that I cannot doubt the entire readiness of the public authorities of this Kingdom to use all proper measures to bring to justice any of the participators in the offence who may be found within their jurisdiction.

I am, as may naturally be supposed, without conclusive evidence to prove, at this moment, the complicity of Surratt in the crime, or to show the identity of that individual and the person now in the hospital at Sora. The latter point, however, I am informed, can be established at once and beyond dispute, and the printed record of the legal proceedings against the assassins, a copy of which accompanies this note, will, I doubt not, be considered sufficient *prima facie* evidence of the guilt of the accused to warrant his detention until further proof, if any be necessary, can be produced to justify his extradition to the authorities of the United States for trial.

I need not enlarge upon the heinous criminality and the dangerous character of the offence with which Surratt is charged. The punishment of the assassins interests all civilized commonwealths, and the cause of justice is, in this instance, the cause of organized Government, of public order and of national security throughout the world.

I pray, therefore, Mr. Minister, that the local authorities at Sora may be instructed to hold the accused in safe custody until further proceedings can be had to ensure his surrender to such officers of the United States as shall be authorized to receive him.

**George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti Venosta** <sup>363</sup>

Florence, November 17, 1866.

Mr. Minister: I have the honor to enclose herewith a photographic portrait of John H. Surratt, alias Watson, supposed to be now in a

<sup>363</sup> Allegato J al dispaccio n. 168 del Marsh.

hospital at Sora. The portrait was received by the United States Legation at Rome from the Government of the United States, and is, therefore, no doubt, authentic. It may help to identify the individual at Sora with the accused, but, as it is not apparently of the most recent date, it is not improbable that time and the circumstances of Surratt's life for the last eighteen months, may have produced some change in his features and expression, which will render the likeness between the original and the portrait less striking. The point of identity, however, as I had the honor of stating to Mr. Cerutti, this morning, can, it is believed, be satisfactorily established by the testimony of persons at Rome, who have known Surratt familiarly on both sides of the Atlantic.

**George P. Marsh a William H. Seward**

*Dispaccio n. 169*

[Florence], November 24, 1866.

Sir: In pursuance of the request made by my note of the 16 instant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs reported in my last despatch, the Ministry ordered the local authorities at Sora to keep watch of Surratt, for the time being, but no further proceedings were had, nor did I receive any additional information on the subject until Thursday the 22nd instant. On that day I received a letter from Mr. King, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and communicated it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I am not advised whether Mr. King's information in respect to Surratt's having been at Sora proved accurate or not.

I have no information in respect to Mr. King's instructions from the State Department, and I have been at a loss to conjecture their nature, because Mr. Macpherson stated to me that Mr. King had not made any request to the papal government for Surratt's arrest and that that Government acted *proprio motu* in the matter. Still as Mr. King has telegraphed to the Consul at Malta, I presume he felt himself authorized to request the Consul General at Alexandria to take measures for the arrest of Surratt, if found in Egypt, though his letter does not state that he has done so.

My present impression judging from my last interview with the Secretary General of Foreign Affairs, is that the accused would not have been surrendered, and it would, therefore, be fortunate if he should be found in the Turkish Empire, where the extraterritorial jurisdiction of

the consuls would empower them to arrest and detain him, without offence to the Turkish Government.

I have been surprised to find that the Florence correspondent of the London *Morning Post* is quite well informed as to the history of the case up to the time of Mr. Macpherson's departure. I do not think I do that person any injustice, in saying, *confidentially*, that I suppose he must have communicated what he knew to the correspondent. He is a British subject, was grossly intoxicated on one occasion when he called at my house, and in a state of confused *crapula* on the other. I can readily imagine that the correspondent could extract from him all he was able to recollect on the subject.

***Rufus King a George P. Marsh*** <sup>364</sup>

Rome, November 19, [1866].

Sir: I am this moment in receipt of your despatch of the 15 inst, and as I cannot reply to it, in detail, in season for today's mail, must content myself with these few lines to apprise you that a telegram from our consul at Naples, dated yesterday, informs me that Surratt sailed *from Naples for Alexandria*, on the 17 inst (Saturday last). by a steamer stopping at Malta, to coal. Mr. Swan added that he had telegraphed to our Consul at Malta. I did the same without delay, urging Surratt's arrest, but, as yet, have no reply. Surratt is, apparently, beyond the jurisdiction or protection of Rome, but I still hope for his arrest.

***William H. Seward a George P. Marsh***

*Istruzione n. 160* <sup>365</sup>

Washington, December 10, 1866.

Sir: Your despatch No. 168, dated November 18th has been received. The course pursued by you on receiving from Mr. King, at Rome, information of the escape into Italian territory of John H. Surratt, is approved, and the promptness and energy of your efforts to secure his

<sup>364</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 169 del Marsh.

<sup>365</sup> L'Istruzione n. 159, Washington, 26 novembre 1866, trasmetteva la nomina di Francis Colton, dell'Illinois, a console degli S.U. a Venezia.

rearrest and his surrender to the United States, in the event of his being found within the Italian Kingdom, are highly commended.

You are no doubt already aware of the criminal's flight to Alexandria and of his arrest there at the instance of the Consul General, Mr. Hale.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 170*

Florence, December 10, 1866.

Sir: On the 27 of November, I received a circular from the Foreign Office a translation of which marked A is hereto annexed. I immediately prepared a reply anticipating in part the substance of your instruction No. 158, of October 27, but that instruction having reached me on the 29th before my note was copied to be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I suppressed the reply I had drawn up.

Inasmuch as the instruction contained the nearest approach which circumstances admitted to the « explicit declaration » required by the Italian Government, and as, further, the time was too short to allow of much preliminary discussion, I thought it expedient to deliver a full copy of the instruction to the Ministry, instead of making a verbal communication of its purport, or of putting the argument and assurance in any less formal and authentic shape.

I therefore left a transcript of the instruction at the Foreign Office with a note of which a copy marked B is hereto annexed. According to the practice of this Government, the question was referred to the Ministry of Finance, but I was informed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Saturday last, that no conclusion had yet been arrived at on the subject, though I was encouraged to expect a reply before the post of today. No reply, however, has yet been received to my note.

***Nota del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*** <sup>366</sup>

Florence, 26 Novembre 1866.

Par la note verbale du 5 Octobre dernier le Ministère Royal des Affaires Etrangères s'est empressé de porter à la connaissance de la

<sup>366</sup> Allegato A al dispaccio n. 170 del Marsh.



Légation des Etats-Unis que les citoyens américains résidant en Italie, ou y possédant des propriétés mobilières ou immobilières, seraient exempts de l'obligation de concourir à l'emprunt national, à la condition expresse toutefois que les sujets Italiens résidant aux Etats-Unis, ou y possédant des propriétés mobilières ou immobilières, jouiront de la même faveur.

En informant la Légation des Etats-Unis de cette détermination on insistait surtout sur l'urgence d'obtenir la déclaration explicite de réciprocité dont il s'agit, et on ajoutait qu'il serait du plus grand intérêt que cette déclaration fût donnée le plus tôt possible pour ne pas retarder le cours régulier des mesures relatives à cette opération financière.

Par suite de nouvelles insistances du Ministère Royal des Finances le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères croit devoir rappeler cette affaire à la Légation des Etats-Unis et la prier de faire connaître sans retard les déterminations du Gouvernement Fédéral à ce sujet. On fera remarquer à cet égard que les mesures d'exécution relatives à l'emprunt forcé ne pourraient pas être retardées au-delà du 15 Décembre prochain. A défaut de déclaration explicite de réciprocité, le Gouvernement du Roi ne saurait donc appliquer le traitement de faveur et se verrait obligé d'étendre aux étrangers, résidant et possédant dans le Royaume, les dispositions générales de la loi.

***George P. Marsh a Emilio Visconti Venosta*** <sup>367</sup>

*Copia*

Florence, November 30, 1866.

Mr. Minister: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of our instruction which I have just received from the State Department of the United States in relation to the exaction of involuntary loans by foreign governments from citizens of the United States residing in their territories.

It will be observed that this instruction contains all the guarantees against the imposition of such contributions, upon Italian subjects residing in the United States which the nature of the case allows; and I doubt not that the assurance of reciprocity of treatment in this respect thus given will be deemed amply sufficient.

As soon as I receive the further instructions which the present authorizes me to expect, I will lose no time in communicating them to

<sup>367</sup> Allegato B al dispaccio n. 170 del Marsh.

you, and I trust that the officers of the Ministry of Finance will be directed to exempt American citizens residing in Italy from compulsory proceedings for the collection of the proposed national loan, referred to in your notes to this Legation on that subject.

***George P. Marsh a William H. Seward***

*Dispaccio n. 171*

Florence, December 17, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a note received on Friday last from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in relation to the exemption of American citizens residing in Italy from contribution to the forced loan decreed on the 28 of July.

In order to come to an understanding on the question which will arise in regard to the evidence by which American citizenship is to be established, I went to the Foreign Office immediately upon the receipt of the note, but was unable to have an interview with either the Minister or the Secretary General of that Department, and as Saturday was the day of the formal opening of the new session of Parliament, I was obliged to postpone the discussion of the subject till some convenient day in the course of this week.

The only difficulty I apprehend on this point will be in relation to the liability of Italians who, after taking out a certificate of naturalization in the United States have returned and re-established themselves in their native land. I infer from some circumstances that a certificate of citizenship from the Legation or a consulate will be deemed satisfactory evidence, but I suppose the Government will expect a statement of the principles by which we are guided in recognizing the applicant as entitled to it.

Most of the returned emigrants have little or no property subject to taxation by the laws of the United States, but I have reason to believe that some who may claim American citizenship are possessed of considerable means. Until otherwise instructed by you, I shall require from such persons, before issuing a certificate of citizenship, proof by affidavit or otherwise that they have made the returns prescribed by law and paid the taxes to which they are liable.

I enclose a copy of the King's speech,<sup>368</sup> with remarks upon it, from

<sup>368</sup> È allegata una copia de *Il Diritto* del 16 dicembre 1866.

a Florence journal. These remarks, I think, express pretty nearly the view likely to be taken of the speech by majority of the Italian people.

Little has transpired respecting the objects of General Fleury's mission <sup>369</sup> to Florence, but it is supposed by many, with much apparent probability that one object is to negotiate a virtual, though perhaps not a formal, alliance offensive and defensive between France and Italy, another to obtain an explicit renunciation of the claims of Italy to Rome as the national capital.

The first of these measures is so manifestly full of danger to the best interests of Italy that I cannot believe that there is any likelihood of its being adopted by the Ministry, at least as at present constituted, or approved by Parliament. The other, however ready the nation might otherwise be to abandon the long cherished idea of making Rome once more the capital of Italy, would be so flat a contradiction to the solemn and authoritative declarations of the ministry of 1864, that I think it would be regarded by the Italian people as a humiliating concession to a foreign power, and at the same time as a decisive confirmation of the truth of the charges brought against the negotiation of the Convention of September in the parliamentary debate on the ratification of that compact.

I have received the commission of Francis Colton as consul at Venice, and have applied for an exequatur.

***Marcello Cerruti a George P. Marsh*** <sup>370</sup>

Firenze, 13 Dicembre 1866.

Signor Ministro,

Ho ricevuto il dispaccio che la S.V. Ill.ma si è compiaciuta indirizzarmi in data del 30 Novembre per comunicarmi copia delle istruzioni impartite dalla Segreteria di Stato in Washington, relativamente alle proposizioni di reciproca esenzione da prestiti forzosi eventuali, che erano state offerte dal Governo del Re.

<sup>369</sup> Emilio Felice Fleury (1815-1884). Nel novembre del 1866 fu inviato presso Vittorio Emanuele II per avvertirlo che, se fosse scoppiata a Roma una insurrezione dopo la partenza delle truppe francesi che presidiavano la città, l'Imperatore non avrebbe esitato ad ordinare l'imbarco e la partenza di 20.000 soldati per Civitavecchia. In vista di questa eventualità, il corpo di spedizione francese sarebbe stato tenuto all'erta a Nizza e Tolone.

<sup>370</sup> Allegato al dispaccio n. 171 del Marsh.

Dal dispaccio del Sig. Seward risulta che il Governo degli Stati Uniti non può in alcuna emergenza ricorrere pei bisogni dell'Erario al prestito forzoso, e che, trovandosi lo stesso principio in vigore presso ciascuno degli Stati che costituiscono la Repubblica, sarebbe inutile il confermarlo con apposita dichiarazione, la quale anzi verrebbe accolta con diffidenza dal Senato e dal Congresso.

Il Sig. Seward dichiara infine che il Governo del Re può essere sicuro che tali prestiti non verranno mai imposti su cittadini italiani.

Tenendo conto delle considerazioni esposte nel dispaccio di V.S. e di quello con esso comunicatomi, il Governo del Re crede potersi ritenere soddisfatto dell'assicurazione in ultimo mentovata, lo spirito della quale corrisponde appunto ai desideri da lui espressi. Nel prendere adunque atto della suddetta dichiarazione, io mi pregio di annunziarle, Signor Ministro, che il Governo di S.M. ha già impartito alle competenti autorità gli ordini opportuni, perché i cittadini degli Stati Uniti d'America domiciliati nel Regno sieno esentati da ogni partecipazione al Prestito Nazionale decretato il 28 Luglio di quest'anno.



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