

A Short Biography of Heinrich Witt*

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The following short biography reconstructs Heinrich Witt's life according to the information provided by his diary as well as from other sources. It is limited to presenting the main lines of the *course* of his life – in the full knowledge that any definition of a life's "main lines" is already an interpretation. A common thread of the narration, apart from those personal data and events as one expects from a biography (birth, family, education, vocation, marriage, death), are the business activities of Heinrich Witt as a merchant. Thus, the description of his life gives a sketch of the economic and social networks characterizing the life, both mobile and settled, of Heinrich Witt as a migrant. However, this biography will not and cannot provide a detailed description of each of Witt's business activities or of his everyday life or of the many people to which he had contact in Germany, Europe and Peru. Even if, according to Bourdieu, the course a life has taken cannot be grasped without knowledge of and constant reflection on the "Metro map", this biography also does not give a comprehensive description of the period, i.e. of the political, economic, social and cultural events and discourses in Peru, Europe or, following Witt's view, on the entire globe.¹ Furthermore, this rather "outward" biography is not the place to give a reconstruction of Witt's world of emotions or the way in which he saw and reflected on himself. All this will be left to the discoveries to be made when reading his diary. Finally, the *writing* of his diary, though an important part of Witt's everyday life, will not be treated here either, but will be reconstructed in its own place, following the biography.²

Childhood and Youth in Altona and London (1799-1822)

Heinrich Witt was born in Altona on 11 May 1799. In those days Altona was the most important city of Holstein, with the Hanseatic City of Hamburg in its immediate neighborhood on the Elbe.³ Since 1460 the Duchy of Holstein was in

* Translated from the German by Mirko Wittwar.

1 Pierre Bourdieu, *L'Illusion biographique*, in: *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 62 (1986), pp. 69-72.

2 See Christa Wetzel, "History of the Diary of Heinrich Witt" (in this volume).

3 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 383. The duplicate of the baptismal register of the Evangelical Lutheran Main Church of Altona records for the year 1799 Heinrich Witt was baptized on 13 June and had

personal union connected to the Kingdom of Denmark, and thus Witt, the child of a German family, was a subject of the Danish King since the day of his birth.⁴ He was born into a well-off, bourgeois, Protestant merchant milieu. The Witt family did probably not themselves belong to the uppermost class of Altona (and Hamburg) merchants, but it had family and social connections to it.

Heinrich Witt's father, the merchant Peter Hinrich Witt, was the only child of a wine merchant, Christian Burchard Witt, and the daughter of a family of Senators from Segeberg, Sophia Hedewig Meyer.⁵ Peter Hinrich Witt had completed a commercial training, followed by the then common stay in London, to consolidate his trade and foreign language skills.⁶ After his return he seems to have soon successfully established as an independent merchant in

been born "on 11th" (without giving the month) (Kirchenarchiv des Ev.-Luth. Kirchenkreises Hamburg-West/Südholstein, Altkirchbuchamt, Pinneberg: Duplikat Tauf-Register 1792-1801 Hauptgemeinde, p. 508, No. 254). According to the logics of the entries of the baptismal register, Witt's birthday would have been 11 June. Probably there was a mistake or the entry into the baptismal register is incomplete. It is rather improbable that Witt, who almost always gives correct dates, made a mistake concerning his own birthday, of all. Also the register of the grammar school Witt attended gives 11 May as the date of his birth: *Die Matrikel des Christianeums zu Altona 1738-1850*, ed. by Bernd Elsner, Hamburg: Verlag des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1998, p. 158.

- 4 Since 1773 the Duchy had been completely incorporated into the Danish state, however in contrast to the Duchy of Schleswig, according to international law Holstein was still a part of the Holy Roman Empire or later the German Confederation. For a short overview of the German-Danish history see Richard Bohn, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, 2nd revised ed., Munich: Beck, 2006; in detail for at about 1800 see Christian Degn, *Die Herzogtümer im Gesamtstaat 1773-1830*, in: Olav Klose/the same, *Die Herzogtümer im Gesamtstaat 1721-1830*, Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1960, pp. 161-427; on social life see Franklin Kopitzsch, *Altona – ein Zentrum der Aufklärung am Rande des dänischen Gesamtstaats*, in: Klaus Bohnen/Sven-Aage Jørgensen (eds.), *Der dänische Gesamtstaat*. Kopenhagen – Kiel – Altona. Zentren der Aufklärung, Vol. 4, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992, pp. 91-118.
- 5 On the biographical data: Peter Hinrich Witt (1768-1813), HWD, Vol. 1, p. 370, 438, as well as the archive of the Evangelical Lutheran Church District of Hamburg-West/Südholstein, Altkirchbuchamt, Pinneberg: Duplikat Tauf-Register 1763-1776 Hauptgemeinde, p. 344, No. 274, Altonaisches Todten-Register Vom Jahr 1794-1817 Vertriebene Hamburger 1814, p. 411, No. 105; Sophia Hedewig Witt, maiden name: Meyer (1735-1813), HWD, Vol. 1, p. 414, as well as Altonaisches Todten-Register (as above), p. 402, No. 68. The biographical data of Christian Burchard Witt could not be investigated. HDW does hardly provide any information about the father's family; Witt stated that he knew only little about his ancestors (HWD, Vol. 1, p. 370).
- 6 Witt does not give detailed information about his father's professional activities in London. On German merchants and merchant assistants going temporary or for good to London in the 18th century see e.g. Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London. Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1660-1818)*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007; on Germans in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries in general see: Panikos Panayi, *Germans in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, in:

Altona. Already in 1792 he succeeded with marrying into the wealthy Mennonite Willink family. The ancestors of his bride, Elisabeth, had immigrated to Altona and Hamburg from Holland in the 17th century. In both cities the many branches of this extended family, like so many Mennonite immigrants, had become wealthy and well respected members of society.⁷ Elisabeth Willink's father was the former baker and, in the years around 1800, successful merchant Diederich Willink. Her mother, Maria, coming from another Mennonite family from Altona, was the daughter of a wealthy soap factory owner.⁸

Heinrich Witt was his parents' fourth child and only son. Before him, Sophia Elisabeth (Betty) and Maria Charlotte had been born, as well as Lucia Dorothea who died already as a small child.⁹ According to the memories of

the same (ed.), *Germans in Britain since 1500*, London, Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1996, pp. 29-48; the same, *German Immigrants in Britain, 1815-1914*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 73-93.

- 7 Heinrich Witt wrote a longer passage about his mother's family, HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 371-83. For the biographical data given in the following see in each case also the section about the Willink family (in particular the "Dirkscher Zweig" [the Dirk branch of the family]) in: *Hamburger Geschlechterbuch*, ed. by Bernhard Koerner, in cooperation with Ascan Lutteroth, Vol. 4, Görlitz: Starke, 1913 (hereafter quoted as *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 4), pp. 409-42. Biographical data of Elisabeth Witt, maiden name: Willink (1775-1819), HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 377, 534; in *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 4, p. 436, the husband's name is given as Peter Heinrich Witte. According to Robert Dollinger, *Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Lübeck, Neumünster i. H.: Wachholtz*, 1930, p. 174, the Willink family counted among the richest families in Altona. On the history of the Mennonites in Altona and Hamburg see also: Matthias H. Rauert/Hajo Brandenburg (eds.), *400 Jahre Mennoniten in Altona und Hamburg*, 25. Mai bis 19. August 2001, Hamburg: Altonaer Museum in Hamburg, Norddeutsches Landesmuseum, 2001; Michael D. Driedger, *Zuflucht und Koexistenz. 400 Jahre Mennoniten in Hamburg und Altona*, with a contribution by Peter J. Foth, Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2001.
- 8 On the biographical data: Diederich Willink (1750-1822; in HWD also Dirk) and Maria Willink, maiden name: Beets (1756-1836), HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 375ff. According to Silvia Jodat/Matthias H. Rauert, *Mennonitische Lebenswelt im 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Rauert/Brandenburg (eds.), pp. 30-33, in 1796 Diederich Willink was a Mennonite master baker and merchant. From 1796 on the registries of Altona and Hamburg list him exclusively as a merchant, previously as a "Becker und Schiffs-Rheeder" or "Becker und Kaufmann" (*Neues Hamburger und Altonaer Adreß-Buch auf das Jahr 1796*, Hamburg, no year given [1795], p. 324; the same: *auf das Jahr 1791*, Hamburg, no year given [1790], p. 213; the same: *auf das Jahr 1792*, Hamburg 1791, p. 93 [section Altona]). Heinrich Witt does not mention his grandfather's work as a baker.
- 9 On the biographical data: Sophia Elisabeth Witt (1793-1821), HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 383f., 585; Maria Charlotte Witt (1795-1830 or 31), *ibid.*, pp. 1, 351f., 383f., Vol. 10, p. 334; Lucia Dorothea Witt (1797-1801), *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 383 (in HWD without biographical data, "died young"); on the latter see also the entries in the Altona Church books: duplicate of the baptismal register (like fn. 3),

his son, at about 1800 Peter Hinrich Witt's business had been in the export of goods from Norway, most of all dried fish, to French and Portuguese ports, and in the import of wines and brandy from France and salt from Portugal to Norway – on his own account and on his own ships.¹⁰ As it was common among the merchants of Altona, he had an account at a trading company in Hamburg, and at regular intervals he attended the stock exchange of this Hanseatic City.¹¹ A few years later the business of Heinrich Witt's father suffered a downturn and finally a far-reaching decline, connected to the political events of the time.¹² After the French had occupied Hamburg in 1806, Peter Hinrich Witt is said to have stubbornly refused to attend the city's stock exchange, which resulted in losing important business contacts. As a consequence of the naval war between Britain and Denmark, starting in 1807, he furthermore lost much of his wealth, as the insurance companies did not fully compensate him for the ships confiscated by the British. In the course of risky financial transactions he suffered further losses.

The decline of Peter Hinrich Witt's business resulted in a clear reduction of the family's social contacts and opportunities, although the family did not actually become poor. Thus the merchant and, after his death, his widow were still capable of providing their children with an education befitting their social status. Betty and Maria attended private schools for "young ladies".¹³ Their brother started his school education at about 1805, at the "Erziehungs-Institut für Knaben (Educational Institute for Boys)", run by a teacher from Altona.¹⁴ Later young Heinrich changed to the private school of Antoine Fidèle Amand

date of baptism 26 October 1797 (no page or number given); Altonaisches Todten-Register (like fn. 5), p. 147, No. 148.

10 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 388.

11 See the accounts given in the Altona and Hamburg registries: Neues Hamburger und Altonaer Adreß-Buch auf das Jahr 1792, Hamburg 1791, p. 93 [section Altona]: "Witt, Peter Hinrich, grosse Elbstrasse, Kaufmann, No. 73 B. C. unter Feder Carstens"; Königlich allergnädigst privilegirtes Altonaisches Addressbuch für das Jahr 1802, Altona, Hamburg, no year given [1801], p. 136: "Witt, Pet. Hinr. Kaufm. Firma Witt & Comp. Königstr. no 281. B. C. in Hamb. unter Krüger & Comp."

12 On the following see HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 386, 410.

13 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 383.

14 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 385. The institution of Jacob Bertels (HWD: Bartels) in the Altona registry, e.g.: Königlich allergnädigst privilegirtes Altonaisches Addressbuch für das Jahr 1803, Altona, Hamburg, no year given [1802], p. 13.

Ropsy, a French emigrant who had come to Altona in the late 1790s.¹⁵ In early 1808 Peter Hinrich Witt himself took over his son's education. Later Heinrich Witt remembered to have learned in particular Latin, English and Arithmetic with his father. He received additional lessons in geography and religion from a private tutor.¹⁶ After Easter 1809 the now almost ten years old boy attended the grammar school in Altona, a royal institution whose fees were clearly below those of the renowned private schools. This allowed also less wealthy families to provide their sons with a good school education.¹⁷ According to his father's wish, who wanted to have his son an opportunity to make a career in the ducal or royal state service, from 1812 on Heinrich Witt additionally attended private lessons in the Danish language with the school's headmaster.¹⁸

Whereas the father was in charge of his son's school education, the mother took care of his religious education at home. Witt's notes do not tell about in how far Elisabeth Witt referred to the Mennonite denomination in this context. Concerning the children's formal denomination, in any case the couple followed the father's religious orientation: Heinrich Witt and his sisters were christened and confirmed as Protestant-Lutherans.¹⁹

Heinrich Witt tells about an, all in all, happy childhood in a – despite his father's irascibility, tendency to drink and frail health – intact bourgeois family with loving relations between parents and children as well as between the siblings, with a dignified sociability at home, house concerts, poetry recitations and small theatrical performances among relatives and befriended families.²⁰

15 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 385, on Ropsy's emigration to Altona *ibid.*, p. 544. Ropsy was also teaching at the grammar school. His educational institute is listed in 1807 for the first time by the Altona registry (*Altonaisches Addressbuch für das Jahr 1807. Mit Königl. Allergrnädigstem Priv., Altona, Hamburg, no year given [1806], p. 228*).

16 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 390f.

17 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 394ff. On the history of the school see: *Die Matrikel des Christianeums* (like fn. 3).

18 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 401. On the law passed in 1812, prescribing Danish language skills for all state offices in the Danish state and thus also in the Duchy of Holstein see Degn, *Herzogtümer*, p. 316.

19 On Witt's baptism see fn. 3. Witt was confirmed in the Evangelical-Lutheran church of Ottensen on Holy Thursday 1816. At the archive of the Ev.-Luth. Church District of Hamburg-West/Südholstein, Altkirchbuchamt, Pinneberg, there exists only a list of names of the registry of confirmands 1764-1824 Ottensen [*Christianskirche*]. Heinrich Witt is filed under the year 1816.

20 Witt's depiction of his childhood until the summer of 1814 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 384-444. On bourgeois culture as well as generally on the bourgeoisie in Germany in the 19th century see e.g. Jürgen Kocka (ed.), *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987; Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Deutsche Bürgerlichkeit nach 1800*.

In the afternoons and on Sundays the boy met play- and later schoolmates to play with them in the garden and in their fathers' warehouses, for long walks and butterfly hunts as well as for chess. All of his life chess was to be one of Heinrich Witt's favorite occupations.²¹

In the summer of 1814 Heinrich Witt left grammar school without having passed the final examination required for university studies.²² The school's register recorded that the boy intended to start a career as a merchant.²³ At first, however, the fifteen-year-old was sent to England. From September 1814 to October 1815 he attended a boarding school at Woodford Wells, a small place northeast of London.²⁴ Heinrich Witt spent his holidays as well as occasional days off in London with his uncle, Diederich Willink junior, his mother's younger brother. After a stay on Saint Thomas, still Danish in those days, this merchant had settled down in the British capital where, in 1815, he married Frances Cresswell, the daughter of a lawyer.²⁵ Diederich Willink introduced his nephew to the circles of his German and British acquaintances. Furthermore, Heinrich Witt renewed his contacts to young British merchant's assistants who had spent part of their apprenticeships in Altona. Together with them or on his own he visited a number of sights and attended theatre performances and church services.

In early December 1815 Witt returned to Altona.²⁶ It was there where, on 1 January 1816, he started his five-year apprenticeship with the renowned trading company of Conrad Hinrich Donner, his godfather who had also

Kultur als symbolische Praxis, in: Jürgen Kocka (ed.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich. Eine Auswahl*, Vol. 2: Wirtschaftsbürger und Bildungsbürger, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, pp. 92-127; Manfred Hettling/Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds.), *Der bürgerliche Wertehimmel. Innenansichten des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000; Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums. Eine Familiengeschichte (1750-1850)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

21 The last game of chess recorded in the diary dates from May 1881: HWD, Vol. 9, p. 869.

22 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 443.

23 Die Matrikel des Christianeums, p. 158.

24 On the stay at John Jay's boarding school at Woodford Wells as well as on the visits to London as mentioned in the following see HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 451ff.

25 Biographical data of Diederich (Dirk) Willink (1780-1832): HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 38of., see also fn. 7, on Frances Maria Cresswell (1782-1870): HWD, Vol. 1, p. 452, Vol. 7, p. 160; on the wedding Witt attended see *ibid.*, pp. 483f.

26 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 507.

married his mother's cousin.²⁷ Witt started his career as a merchant by copying letters. Over the time he learned and took over several activities with this internationally networked trading company.²⁸ A particular emphasis of Donner's was the Denmark business. Apart from this at that time the company's activities covered several countries in Europe and as far as in the Caribbean. Being a merchant banking house, the company was active both in the trade in agricultural products (linen, sugar, coffee, tobacco etc.) and in the banking and insurance business.²⁹ Bill transactions and banking became Witt's main task.³⁰ In the last year of his apprenticeship, in 1820, he applied for a job at trade companies in Celle, Amsterdam and Saint Petersburg. However, finally he agreed with Conrad Hinrich Donner to prolong his contract for two more years – now as a paid merchant's assistant with a yearly payment of 600 Marks.³¹

Over the whole seven years at Donner's, Heinrich Witt used his time off and the Sundays for the pleasures and social gatherings as they were common in those days among the well-off bourgeois youth.³² He met with the sons of respected families from Altona and Hamburg, for walks and riding, for playing chess and cards, for evenings at the theatre and small tea dances; occasionally

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- 27 The beginning of the apprenticeship: HWD Vol. 1, p. 508. On Conrad Hinrich Donner (1774-1854) and Elisabeth Donner, maiden name: Willink (1784-1826) as well as the couple's children see the section about the Donner family in: *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch*, ed. by Hildegard von Marchtaler, Vol. 9, Limburg an der Lahn: Starke, 1961 (quoted as *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 9), pp. 201-40; as well as Hildegard von Marchtaler, Donner, Conrad Hinrich, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 4, Berlin 1959, p. 73; on the wife see also *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 4, p. 438; the wedding is also mentioned in HWD, Vol. 1, p. 374. On the trade company founded under his name by Conrad Hinrich Donner see Maria Möring, *175 Jahre Conrad Hinrich Donner*, Hamburg: Hanseatischer Merkur, 1973; purely hagiographic: Kristina Dörge in cooperation with the Conrad Hinrich Donner Bank AG, *200 Jahre Conrad Hinrich Donner Bank: 1798-1998*, Hamburg 1997.
- 28 For a detailed description of Witt's work at Conrad Hinrich Donner see HWD Vol. 1, pp. 508ff. On the copying of letters as an introductory task in the context of a merchant apprenticeship see e.g. the entry "Kopierbuch" in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 11, Leipzig 1907, pp. 466f. (online: <http://www.zeno.org/Meyers-1905/A/Kopierbuch>, last access 1 October 2010)
- 29 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 516, Vol. 9, p. 462; as well as Marchtaler und Möring. On the development of the Merchant Banks in the 18th and 19th centuries see Stanley Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London, Boston, Sydney: Allan & Unwin, 1984.
- 30 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 512.
- 31 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 514, 548, 555, 562. During his apprenticeship Witt had not been paid any salary.
- 32 The depiction of these years in HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 508-605.

they went to bigger balls. He made his first experiences with overdosing on alcohol, shaved for the first time (1820) and, after having had some romantic feelings for certain girls, experienced his first more persistent love. The chosen one was Emilie Reincke, his friend Eduard's younger sister.³³ When he was on his own, he learned Spanish, polished the Dutch language skills he had acquired at Woodford Wells and read much, in particular English novels and books about history. For some time he played the flute.

This happiness, as depicted by Witt, was marred by his mother's death on 2 April 1819. The parents' inheritance of a total of about 100,000 Marks was equally distributed among the three children.³⁴ From then on the siblings were to spend only a short time together. In July 1820, Betty Witt married Antoine Ropsy, her brother's former teacher, and a year later she died in childbed when having her first child.³⁵ Maria Witt married in June 1822 and moved to her husband, the Altona-born royal architect Johannes Limpricht, to the Lübeck-Oldenburg residential town of Eutin.³⁶

From Europe to Peru (1823-1824)

Heinrich Witt left Altona only a short time after his sister. On 31 December 1822 his contract with Conrad Hinrich Donner expired. With the consent of his legal guardian, who had been appointed after his mother's death (Witt attained his majority only at the age of 25), he did not immediately look for a

33 On his being in love with Emilie Reincke (HWD: Emily; 1801-1886) as a summary HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 520f. Apart from many pieces of information presented in Witt's diary (e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 519-25), on Emilie and Eduard Reincke (1801-1886) as well as the other members of this merchant family from Altona, with whom Witt had regular contacts, see the information found in: *Hamburger Geschlechterbuch*, ed. by Bernhard Koerner, in cooperation with Ascan W. Lutteroth and Theodor Will, Vol. 8, Görlitz: Starke, 1929, pp. 475-524.

34 On his mother's death and the legacy provisions as well as guardians and administrators see HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 534ff.

35 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 544ff. On the death of his sister Betty in July 1821 see HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 584f.; on August Diederich Carl Ropsy (HWD: Charles, 1821-1848) *ibid.*, p. 584, Vol. 2, pp. 353f., 786 (giving a wrong date of birth, although only by a few days [1. July instead of 27 June], perhaps here Witt concluded from the date of baptism on the date of birth), Vol. 4, pp. 283f. Death and birth/baptism see also in the Altonaer Kirchenbücher (Archive of the Evangelical Lutheran Church District of Hamburg-West/Südholstein, Altkirchbuchamt, Pinneberg: Duplikat Totenregister 1817-1838 Hauptgemeinde, p. 74, No. 30; Duplikat Tauf-Register 1818-25 Hauptgemeinde, p. 287, No. 382.

36 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 604. Johannes Limpricht (deceased in 1859), see *ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 652.

new occupation but, in mid-January 1823, started a three-month journey which was supposed to be followed, in London, by the usual foreign stay of a junior merchant.³⁷ He travelled together with a former workmate at Donner's who was on a business trip on the continent for a London trading company. The travel route was determined by the latter's business tasks and led to Vienna via Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and from there through Bavaria to Frankfurt and Cologne, then to Paris via Brussels and finally to London.

After his arrival in the British capital in early May 1823, immediately Witt started a job as a voluntary and thus unpaid staff member of the Sadler, Guest & Co. trading company, a position to which Conrad Hinrich Donner had helped him.³⁸ After having rejected an offer by a company from Saint Petersburg already in May, at the end of July he changed, by appointment of his uncle Diederich, to the trading company of Antony Gibbs and Sons.³⁹ The idea was that at first

37 On the first guardian's agreement see HWD, Vol. 1, p. 2; here Witt does not mention the second guardian. The depiction of the journey from 20 January to 4 May 1823 *ibid.*, Vol. 9, pp. 468-584. Probably this journey was meant to extend Heinrich Witt's education, and in retrospect he calls it his "grande tour" (HWD, Vol. 9, p. 472). On the originally noble *Grand tour* being adopted by the bourgeoisie see Thomas Grosser, *Bürgerliche Welt und Adelsreise: Nachahmung und Kritik*, in: Rainer Babel/Werner Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000*, Ostfildern: Thorbeke, 2005, pp. 637-56; also Joseph Imorde/Jan Pieper (eds.), *Die Grand Tour in Moderne und Nachmoderne*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2008. In the context of planning the journey Witt does not mention the then following stay in London. However, as later he records that Donner had written already at the end of February that he had been successful with organizing an employment for Witt in the British capital (HWD, Vol. 9, p. 512), it must be assumed that the stay was intended right from the beginning.

38 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 512, 585ff.

39 The rejected offer from Saint Petersburg see HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 594, 597; on Diederich Willink as an intermediary see *ibid.*, pp. 617f. Witt started his employment at Gibbs on 29 July 1823 (*ibid.*, p. 618). On Antony Gibbs and Sons see John Arthur Gibbs, *The History of Antony and Dorothea Gibbs and of their Contemporary Relatives, including the History of the Origin & Early Years of the House of Antony Gibbs and Sons*, London: The Saint Catherine Press, 1922 (hereafter quoted as Gibbs, History); Antony Gibbs & Sons Limited, *Merchants and Bankers. A brief record of Antony Gibbs & Sons and its Associated Houses' business during 150 years. 1808-1958*, [written by Wilfred Maude], London 1958 (quoted as Gibbs, Merchants); William M. Mathew, *The House of Gibbs and the Peruvian guano monopoly*, London: Clarendon, 1981. Parts of the official documents of Antony Gibbs and Sons have been preserved at the Guildhall Library in London and can be read on microfilm, *The Gibbs Archive. Papers of Antony Gibbs and Sons 1744-1953*. Ed. World Microfilms Publications. London, no year given (quoted as Gibbs Mss.).

he was to work at the London office for a trial period of some weeks, to then move to the position of a correspondent in English, French and possibly also Spanish at the company's Gibraltar branch. (Witt's notes on what the position was about are not clear. In the first volume of his diary he tells that his contract had referred to the position of "general correspondent," in the ninth volume it says that he had been offered a position as a "copying clerk" at the London office which might have been changed into that of a "corresponding clerk" in Gibraltar.⁴⁰) However, as his superiors were not satisfied with his handwriting and language skills, Witt tells, finally one agreed on changing the contract. Whereas somebody else took over the correspondent's position in Gibraltar, now Witt at the London office took over most of all bookkeeping tasks, at first for a trial period of three months and yearly wages of 100 Pounds Sterling.⁴¹ If he proved his worth, the company would offer him a position with its new branch in Peru.⁴² Heinrich Witt successfully completed his period of trial, and on 20 February 1824 he left London for Liverpool, where he was supposed to go on board the Peru-bound British sailing ship "Wanderer."⁴³

The ship left Liverpool on 25 February 1824, with a mixed cargo bound for Chile and Peru.⁴⁴ During the 172 days of the journey, which was a long time even in those days, Witt spent his time most of all on astronomic and nautical observations, reading, writing and learning Spanish – as far as his duties for John Moens, his new superior at Gibbs's, who was travelling with him on the "Wanderer," and his seasickness allowed.⁴⁵ In August the "Wanderer" arrived at the port of Valparaiso in Chile, in September the journey was continued to Quilca in Peru, in those days the port for trade with Arequipa, Peru's most important city in the South. On 25 September 1824, Heinrich Witt entered Peru for the first time.⁴⁶ At that time the country experienced the last stages of its war for independence. Although this former Spanish colony had declared independence in July 1821, still the patriots had not pushed through everywhere in the country. Only on 9 December 1824, in the battle of Ayacucho, they were

40 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 2, Vol. 9, pp. 617f.

41 Witt had to pay himself for board and lodging (HWD, Vol. 9, p. 618). Chapman, *Rise*, p. 13, gives wages of £250 to £400 for the often foreign corresponding clerks at the London merchant companies in the first half of the 19th century, in exceptional cases even up to £500.

42 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 2, Vol. 9, pp. 622ff., 642, 646.

43 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 6, Vol. 9, p. 690.

44 The description of the crossing HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 10-75.

45 Information about John Moens and his work for Gibbs HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 7ff., 191; also Gibbs, *History*, pp. 354, 393ff.; Gibbs, *Merchants*, pp. 79ff.

46 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 76.

finally victorious over those troops which were still loyal to Spain. The viceregal *Intendencia de Arequipa*, Heinrich Witt's first area of operation, became a *Departamento* of the Republic of Peru.⁴⁷

Antony Gibbs and Sons had started their business in Peru already under Spanish rule. Since the beginning of the 19th century the company, whose business had up to then focused on trading with Spain, had been trying to set a foot in the colonial trade with Spanish America and had established good contacts to merchants in Peru.⁴⁸ In early 1821 John Moens was the company's first authorized agent to arrive in Lima, with the fight for independence still raging and the city still being kept by the royalists. Even if many of those Spaniards with whom Gibbs had originally made contact in Peru left the country after its independence, voluntarily or forced, and despite initial problems with the patriotic forces who suspected the ships Gibbs had chartered of smuggling and supporting the royalists, Moens succeeded with continuing and extending business also under the new government.⁴⁹ On 1 January 1822 the branch for the South America business, Gibbs, Crawley, Moens & Co., was established in

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- 47 For a general history of Peru in the 19th century see: Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú. 1822-1933*, Lima: Ed. Universitaria 1968-1970 (17 Vol.); Carlos Contreras/Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo. Desde las luchas por la Independencia hasta el presente*, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Fondo Ed. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Universidad del Pacífico Centro de Investigación, 2007 (4th Ed.); Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru. Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Nelson Manrique, *Historia de la República*, Lima: Eduardo Lores, 1995; essential dates: José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu (Dir. of investigation), *Historia cronológica del Perú*, Lima: Petróleos del Perú, 2006. For an overview of the country's economic history see: *Compendio de historia económica del Perú, Vol. 4: Economía de la primera centuria independiente*, ed. by Carlos Contreras, Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2011; as well as Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 2003.
- 48 Gibbs made their first business transactions with Lima from 1805 on, in cooperation with allied Spanish companies, see Gibbs, *Merchants*, pp. 18, 21. On the beginnings of the South American branch see Gibbs, *History*, pp. 391-421; Gibbs, *Merchants*, pp. 79-82; Mathew, *House of Gibbs*, pp. 6ff. On the loosening of the ban on trading with the Spanish colonies for foreign, particularly British, merchants already before achieving independence see e.g. Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London, New York: Longman, 1993, pp. 27ff.
- 49 On these suspicions see Gibbs, *History*, pp. 396ff.; on the business successes *ibid.*, p. 409. Witt refers to Moens's depiction of the latter's short-term arrest in March/April 1823 and the then stated accusations, HWD, Vol. 1, p. 37.

Lima. In 1823 the Arequipa branch was founded under Samuel B. Mardon.⁵⁰ Whereas many British and continental-European trading companies which had entered the South American market after the independence of Spain's and Portugal's former colonies soon went bankrupt, due to exaggerated expectations on the one hand and the difficulty to predict the political and economic troubles in many of the new republics on the other, Gibbs developed into one of the most important companies in 19th century Latin America, most of all in Peru and Chile.⁵¹

Heinrich Witt was one the first employees Antony Gibbs and Sons sent to South America to support and control Moens, Mardon and the locally hired staff members. There were disagreements in particular between Moens and the mother company in London which, already in summer 1824, resulted in the removal of Moens's name from the label of the South American branch.⁵² According to his own statement, Witt was supposed to take over the up to then neglected bookkeeping of the branch in Arequipa.⁵³ On 8 November 1824, after a six-week stay in Quilca and a two-day ride on a mule, he arrived in Arequipa.⁵⁴ For more than eight years this city was to become his place of residence.

Living in Arequipa, Travelling in Peru (1824-1833)

In Arequipa Witt acted as an employee of Gibbs, Crawley & Co. until May 1826. He did so obviously to the satisfaction of his new superior. Probably already in the first year Mardon granted Witt a pay rise. Instead of the 100 Pounds Sterling or 500 Pesos a year he had agreed with Gibbs in London, plus board and lodging, now he received 800 Pesos.⁵⁵ At that time Gibbs's business in

50 Also in 1822 a branch in Guayaquil (then Greater Columbia) was established, in 1825 there followed a branch in Valparaiso in Chile, 1826 in Santiago de Chile, 1844 in Tacna in the South of Peru, see Gibbs, *History*, pp. 404ff. On Samuel B. Mardon *ibid.*, p. 402, and HWD, Vol. 1, p. 103.

51 Already at about 1840 Gibbs was one of Peru's most important foreign trading companies, even before, from 1842 on, they took over the in the long run extremely profitable guano business to which the mother company owed its rise to become one of London's biggest merchant banks in the 19th century, see Mathew, *House of Gibbs*, pp. 6, 223ff. On Gibbs's Chilean business see Gibbs, *Merchants*, pp. 83ff.

52 Also Moens's shares were reduced, see Gibbs, *History*, pp. 410ff., 421; Mathew, *House of Gibbs*, p. 10. The final split happened in 1829.

53 Heinrich Witt's fields of tasks at the Arequipa branch HWD, Vol. 1, p. 116.

54 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 76-94, 97.

55 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 6, 116, Vol. 9, p. 677.

Arequipa consisted of importing and selling goods from Europe as well as exporting wool and (illegally) silver from Peru. Among Witt's tasks, apart from account- and bookkeeping, there also counted supervising the import and export proceedings at the port of Quilca. Thus in 1825 he went on several-day trips to the coast, to make cargos ready for shipment and handle vessels, to pay fees and duties and to organize the shipment of goods landed to Arequipa.⁵⁶ During one of his first stays in Quilca in 1825, Witt shipped coins worth 60,000 Pesos to Britain for Gibbs, and for five other trading houses he noted another 271,000 Pesos.⁵⁷ Also there were some silver bars of Gibbs's, which Witt gave to an officer of that same ship, however without recording the value of this exportation in his notes.⁵⁸

Regarding the overall development of European immigration to Peru Heinrich Witt, who came to the country in the second half of 1824, must be counted among the early immigrants after its independence; however he was not one of the very first immigrants of this period.⁵⁹ When he arrived in

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- 56 The three trips to Quilca and back to Arequipa HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 117ff., 122ff., 125ff. During these travels Witt was not really on his own but – like on all his following travels in South America – he was accompanied by muleteers who were familiar with the region or by other servants.
- 57 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 124. The other trade companies were three British and two Spanish or Peruvian companies.
- 58 Witt frankly mentions the smuggling of the silver bars (HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 122ff.). Alfonso W. Quiroz, *Corrupt Circles. A History of Unbound Graft in Peru*, Washington/D.C., Baltimore/Maryland: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, p. 96, gives Witt as an example of the foreigners in Peru in those years, who “described these activities [of illegally exporting silver bullion and silver coins] as if they were customary and part of their everyday tasks.” Quiroz consulted the two Lima editions of Witt's diary translated into Spanish and “parts of the typewritten version of the original text in English”; the editions in the Spanish language: Heinrich Witt, *Diario y Observaciones sobre el Perú (1824-1890)*, selection and preface by Pablo Macera, selection and traduction by Kika Garland de Montero, Lima: Corporación Financiera de Desarrollo, 1987; Heinrich Witt, *Diario 1824-1890. Un testimonio personal sobre el Perú del siglo XIX*, 2 vols., Lima: Banco Mercantil, 1992 and 1993. With regard to another illegal exportation of gold bullion in 1828, Witt wrote, that he “felt very uneasy about it.” (HWD, Vol. 1, p. 300).
- 59 On European immigration to Peru or Latin America in the 19th century see Giovanni Bonfiglio [ed.], *La presencia europea en el Perú*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2001; Samuel L. Baily/Eduardo José Míguez (eds.), *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America*, Wilmington/Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 2003; Walther L. Bernecker, *Die transatlantische Massenmigration von Europa nach Lateinamerika: Phasen und Erscheinungsformen*, in: Thomas Fischer/Daniel Gossel (eds.), *Migration in internationaler Perspektive*, Munich: Allitera, 2009, pp. 36-60. On German immigration

Arequipa, several foreigners were already living there, most of all merchants or merchant's assistants. After the patriots had taken over the city in December 1824, some of them established there under their own names or, such as Mardon for Gibbs, as representatives of foreign trade companies. Many of them were later to return to their home countries; if not always after having made the fortunes they had hoped for in South America. Others stayed in Arequipa for the rest of their lives or, like Witt, changed to some other city in Peru or Latin America after some time. In an overview of some of his acquaintances over the more than eight years of living in Arequipa, Witt in his diary lists for example 21 British, three Frenchmen and four Germans, and in the context of introducing these men he mentions some more Europeans.⁶⁰ Soon Witt made friends with these mostly unmarried (young) men. Together they spent their leisure time on walks and ridings, card playing and strong drinks. A taxing sports enterprise was the climbing of nearby Misti volcano, 19,101 feet high, which Witt undertook in May 1825, together with a shop owner from London, a Pomeranian serving as a captain with the Columbian army, a colonel of the Peruvian army who originated from Hesse (Clemente Althaus), as well as a former lawyer from Britain who had come to Peru as a diamond trader.⁶¹

Another leisure time activity were the public balls which, according to Witt's memories, were quite frequent in Arequipa in those years, and among which

to Peru see e.g. Georg Petersen, *Die Deutschen in Peru*, in: Hartmut Fröschle (ed.), *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika. Schicksal und Leistung*, Tübingen, Basel: Verlag Horst Erdmann, 1979, pp. 696-741; Walther L. Bernecker/Thomas Fischer, *Deutsche in Lateinamerika*, in Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Munich: Beck, 1992, pp. 197-214; Diana Millies, *Echando raíces. 180 años de presencia alemana en el Perú*, Lima: Galería ICPNA, 2007; particularly on German merchants in Latin America see also Jürgen Müller, *Einheimische Eliten und deutsche Kaufleute in Lateinamerika (1815-1870)*, in: Thomas Fischer (ed.), *Ausländische Unternehmen und einheimische Eliten in Lateinamerika: Ansätze zur Interpretation historischer Erfahrungen und aktueller Tendenzen*, Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2001, pp. 49-71. On the Peruvian view at immigration see e.g. Pilar García Jordan, *Reflexiones sobre el Darwinismo social. Inmigración y colonización, mitos de los grupos modernizadores peruanos (1821-1919)*, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, XXI, 2 (1992), pp. 961-75.

60 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 102ff.

61 The depiction of climbing Mount Misti HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 112ff. Clemens Freiherr von Althaus (1790-1836) had fought in the wars for independence and at the time of meeting Witt he was travelling through the country to draw the first map of republican Peru; see the entry on Althaus in Alberto Tauro, *Enciclopedia ilustrada del Perú. Síntesis del conocimiento integral del Perú, desde sus orígenes hasta la actualidad*, Vol. 1, Lima: Promoción Ed. Inca, 1987, pp. 84-85. Witt's description of Althaus HWD, Vol. 1, p. 116.

the one was standing out that was organized by the municipal administration in May 1825, in honor of *Libertador* Simón Bolívar.⁶² These balls also provided an opportunity to make contact with women from the local upper classes. Indeed, out of the 28 mentioned Europeans, 14 married Peruvian women over the years.

Also Heinrich Witt's later wife, María Teodora del Patrocinio Sierra Velarde, came from Arequipa.⁶³ Witt met her as early as in November 1824. Then she was married to Anton von Lotten, a merchant coming from the environments of Bremen and probably the first German merchant to settle in Arequipa. Like Gibbs, also von Lotten was in the wool trade.⁶⁴ As it was the custom, shortly after Witt's arrival he and Mardon paid a visit to von Lotten's wife, and also in the following Witt was a frequent guest in the house of this family which seems to have been a meeting point of the Germans living in the city.⁶⁵ In his diary Witt states that in those days he spent his evenings either with the von Lottens or in the house of the British Consul. María Sierra was the daughter of an Arequipeña, Catalina Velarde de la Torre, and a Spanish colonel, Pablo de Sierra. When she married Anton von Lotten in July 1824, the 29-year-old was already a widow. From her marriage with the Spaniard Alejandro Diez de la Torre, who had died in 1820, she had a son and a daughter, Juan and Rosa Diez Sierra.⁶⁶ With Anton von Lotten she had another two children. The first

62 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 117, 121 (23 May 1825).

63 On the following information about María Teodora del Patrocinio Sierra Velarde (1794-1876) and her family see – apart from the countless statements in Witt's diary – the compilation of genealogical data in Felipe A. Barreda, Los Garland, in: *Revista del Instituto Peruano de Investigaciones Genealógicas*, VI, 6 (April 1953), pp. 61-78 (there the family name is given as: de Sierra y Velarde).

64 On Anton von Lotten HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 100, 110f., as well as Barreda, p. 76. In December 1825 von Lotten became a citizen of Peru. The payment of the fee for the “carta de naturaleza” for Don “Antonio BonLoten” was confirmed in 1826 by the *Tesorería Jeneral*; see *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú*, Suplemento of Vol. 9, No. 16 of 22 February 1826 (Reprint: *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo del Gobierno de Simon Bolívar*, Fundación Eugenio Mendoza. Edición dedicada a la conmemoración del Cuatrocentenario de Caracas, Caracas 1867, p. 297). On the wool trade in South Peru see also Alberto Flores Galindo, *Arequipa y el sur andino. Ensayo de historia regional, siglos XVIII-XX*, Lima: Ed. Horizonte, 1977 (now in: *Obras completas*, Vol. 1, Lima: Fundación Andina SUR Casa de Estudios del Socialismo, 1993, pp. 233-451).

65 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 100, 102f., 112, 116f.

66 For the biographical data of Juan (1817-1908) and Rosa Diez Sierra (1819-1906) see Barreda, p. 74 (there the family name is given as: Diez de la Torre y Sierra).

daughter, Enriqueta, died as a baby.⁶⁷ Anton von Lotten would not live to see the birth of the second daughter, also called Enriqueta, in September 1826; he died already in May that year.⁶⁸ His widow charged the Bremen merchant Daniel Schutte, who had been staying in Arequipa for some time past, with attending to the legacy and with liquidating the wool business.⁶⁹ Schutte again asked Heinrich Witt, whom he had met in the von Lottens' house and as an employee of Gibbs, to take over this task which also required a trip into the interior of the country.⁷⁰ Witt accepted and resigned from his position at Gibbs's.⁷¹

In late May 1826 he crossed the Cordillera on a mule and went to the small town of Lampa in the Andean highlands, not far from Lake Titicaca, to check the books and bills of a wholesale buyer for wool.⁷² In mid-June he returned to Arequipa, where in the following months he took care of organizing and accounting von Lotten's legacy.⁷³ In November, once again Schutte sent him on a business trip to Lampa. This time at first Witt travelled together with Christoph Wilhelm Schutte, his client's younger brother who had meanwhile also arrived in Arequipa.⁷⁴ After having attended to his business, Witt continued the journey on his own and from then on for his pleasure. Via Puno, past the shore of Lake Titicaca, the journey led to Bolivia where, after having spent a few days in the capital La Paz, he made a ten-day trip through the Yungas, a region connecting the Andean highlands with the tropical rain forest.

67 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 110, 127 (died at the age of eight months in December 1825); Barreda, p. 76 (there the date of death is 8 December 1826).

68 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 127 (11 May 1826); Barreda, p. 74 (12 May 1826). The biographical data of Enriqueta von Lotten Sierra (1826-1896): HWD, Vol. 1, p. 110; Barreda, pp. 76f.

69 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 110f., 116, 127f. Daniel Schutte (1798-1886; orig. probably Schütte, HWD gives both spellings) had co-founded the Schutte, Post & Co. merchant company in Valparaiso in 1822. In the early 1830s he went back to Bremen, in 1835 he moved to Hamburg; apart from the many mentionings in Witt's diary see also Gerhart Commichau, 100 Jahre Daniel-Schutte-Stiftung, Hamburg: G. Commichau, 1982; the biographical information also on the website of the Daniel Schutte Foundation in Hamburg: <http://www.daniel-schutte-stiftung.de> ("Geschichte"; last access 20 January 2013); on the successful enterprise in Chile see also Hermann Wätjen, Der deutsche Anteil am Wirtschaftsaufbau der Westküste Amerikas, Leipzig: Meiner, 1942, pp. 70ff. (Schütte, Post & Co.).

70 The details of the mission HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 111, 116, 127f.

71 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 110, 128.

72 The account of the journey from 25 May to 12 June 1826 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 128-35.

73 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 136.

74 The account of the journey from 14 November 1826 to 8 January 1827 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 137-77. Christoph Wilhelm Schutte (died in 1880; orig. probably Schütte, HWD gives both spellings; date of death HWD, Vol. 9, p. 751).

In early January 1827, once again Witt returned to Arequipa. As María Sierra, in whose house he had stayed between his two trips to the Andes, had meanwhile moved out, now he stayed at Daniel Schutte's, for whom he took over further business tasks.⁷⁵ In his diary Witt emphasizes several times that he had not been an employee of Schutte and that he had never received payment either for working for the latter himself or for his attending to von Lotten's legacy, except for board and lodging. Rather, he stated, after May 1826 he had lived on from what he had been saving during his time at Gibbs's and from the money he had brought from Europe.⁷⁶ Furthermore, at about that time he started small-scale trading on his own account with goods from Europe which he had Conrad Hinrich Donner send to him to Arequipa.⁷⁷ The profits from this business he invested at interest in Schutte's company.⁷⁸

Eventually change of Witt's situation resulted from his contacts to Gibbs. John Hayne, the new co-manager of Gibbs, Crawley & Co. in Lima, came to Arequipa to check the books of the branch there. Hayne, who had been working with Witt as a bookkeeper at the office of Antony Gibbs and Sons in London in 1823/24, offered him to go to Lima and review the books there, which had been neglected by Moens.⁷⁹ Heinrich Witt accepted. To go to Callao, the harbor of Lima, he took the opportunity to go on board of the sailing ship "Prinzeß Louise," which had been sent on a trip around the globe by the *Preußische*

75 On the place of residence: HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 136, 177. E.g. in March 1827 Witt went to Quilca for Daniel Schutte, to ship money and goods to Europe (HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 178-81).

76 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 111, 128, 177.

77 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 536.

78 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 177f.

79 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 181; Gibbs, History, p. 420. Witt's statements on the dates of Hayne's stay in Arequipa are different from those given by the literature on the history of Antony Gibbs and Sons. In Gibbs, History, pp. 417ff., it says in the account of Hayne's career with Gibbs that Hayne, who had like Mardon been a partner of Gibbs, Crawley & Co. from August 1825 on, had come to the west coast in late 1825. After intermediate stops in Valparaiso and Santiago de Chile, it says, he arrived at Arequipa in June 1826 and from there went to Lima, where he took over the management of the branch (together with Moens). In HWD, on the other hand, it says that Hayne had come to Arequipa in the first half of 1827 and had made the Lima offer to him. It is well possible that Witt is wrong, but also that Hayne stayed in Arequipa a second time in 1827, although the history of the company knows nothing of it. Witt's dates may be supported by the fact that before his arrival in Lima (October 1826) Hayne could have had no knowledge of the actual state of the books there.

Seehandlung.⁸⁰ Together with some members of this Prussian trade expedition he left Arequipa for Quilca in mid-May 1827.⁸¹

In Lima, Witt stayed and worked in the house of Gibbs, Crawley & Co.⁸² In his leisure time he explored the capital, which at that time had about 55,000 inhabitants, and the environments of the city.⁸³ By appointment of his colleagues and superiors at Gibbs's as well as through acquaintances from Arequipa, during his more than five months of staying in Lima he met several foreign, most of all British but also German merchants and established contacts to Peruvian families and families of mixed nationality. Later, when he finally settled down in the capital in 1833, he was to build on these contacts; some of these acquaintanceships and even friendships were to last over decades. By help of a letter of recommendation by María Sierra, Witt also met her brother, Mariano, who was a leading official at the War Ministry under President General José de La Mar who had taken office in August 1827.⁸⁴

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- 80 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 182. Erroneously, Witt attributed the vessel to the Rheinisch-Westindische Kompagnie which also attempted to establish business contacts with Peru (Hans-Joachim Oehm, *Die Rheinisch-Westindische Kompagnie*, Neustadt an der Aisch: Schmidt, 1968, pp. 71ff.). On the Prussian overseas trade in the first half of the 19th century by the example of the vessel "Prinzessin Louise" see: Oswald Hauser (ed.), *Vorträge und Studien zur preußisch-deutschen Geschichte*, Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1983, pp. 87-150; as well as the account, not given in Hartmann and probably meant for the overseas department, by Wilhelm (William) O'Swald, the ship's supercargo, whom Witt had met in Arequipa: Bericht von J. C. H. W. O'Swald über die zweite Expedition um die Welt mit dem Königl. Preußischen Schiff "Prinzeß Louise" in den Jahren 1825 bis 1829, [ed. by W. O'Swald], Hamburg: Persiehl, no year given [1917] (Heinrich Witt is not mentioned).
- 81 The account of the journey from 14 to 27 May 1827 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 183-186. Apart from Witt, the vessel had twelve members of the Constitutional Congress of the Republic of Peru and their staff on board (*ibid.*, p. 184; O'Swald, p. 69).
- 82 The stay in Lima as well as a detailed presentation of some merchants and their families met by Witt and a description of the city in HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 186-200.
- 83 The number of inhabitants taken from Klarén, Peru, p. 169 (55,000 after the independence, 94,195 inhabitants in 1857). See also the information on the city and its urban life in Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom. Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000 (Chapt. 1: Lima in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 17-58).
- 84 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 187 ("official mayor"). Biographical data and information on Mariano Sierra Velarde (1797-1860) and his further career, who in the 1830s acted as a minister for a short time, in HWD, Vol. 1, p. 191, as well as in Barreda, p. 73. A second brother of María Sierra mentioned by Witt is not given in Barreda. According to Witt, in the wars of independence Manuel Sierra Velarde had fought for the Spanish side in Chile, had become a prisoner of the patriots and been shot, HWD, Vol. 4, p. 9; see also Witt's notes on the Velarde family in *ibid.*, Vol. 7, Appendix No. 5 (= Pictures 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 in the current edition of the diary).

Due to disagreements with John Moens, his work at Gibbs, Crawley & Co. was difficult. When in early November 1827 Witt had the opportunity to accompany John Moore, an employee of the British trade company Dickson, Price & Co., on a business trip to the Andes, he thus terminated his work for Gibbs, without having completed the reviewing of the old account books.⁸⁵ The trip, on mules, at first took them to Cerro de Pasco, located in the Central Andes at more than 14,000 feet and the center of mining in Peru, as well as to the small town of Huánuco a little bit further to the North. In both towns as well as on the road the travelers met several foreigners, most of them British, who had come to the country as employees of the Anglo Pasco Peruvian Mining Company. After the company had gone bankrupt in 1827 they had stayed in the region where they were now working for other companies or trying their luck by running mines of their own. Others bought or leased land and in some cases ran large haciendas. One of them was the Scot Archibald Smith who had come to Peru in 1826 as the mining company's medical officer. After the bankruptcy Smith leased a hacienda in the Huánuco valley, where Witt paid a visit to him.⁸⁶ There as well as at native and foreign business partners of Gibbs and Dickson respectively, from whom they carried letters of recommendation, the travelers found accommodation, usually including being provided with food by their hosts. Also this time Witt travelled exclusively for his own pleasure: for thirst of knowledge and love of adventure. Witt's description of this journey mentions walks through the hinterlands, sight-seeing tours to towns and villages, haciendas and mines, apart from invitations to dinner and dances where the foreigners courted the local young ladies. Shortly before Christmas 1827 Witt and Moore continued their journey further to the South, via Junín, Huancayo, Huancavelica and Huanta to Ayacucho, where they arrived in mid-January 1828.⁸⁷ In Ayacucho, just as at Huanta, they could still see the traces

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- 85 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 200. On Moore, a Scot Witt knew already from Arequipa, see *ibid.*, p. 108. The account of the journey from 5 November 1827 to 28 February 1828 *ibid.*, pp. 200-98.
- 86 Jorge Lossio, British medicine in the Peruvian Andes: the travels of Archibald Smith M.D. (1820-1870), *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, XIII, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2006), pp. 833-50; as well as HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 216ff. In 1830 Smith moved to Lima, where he not only had his own surgery but also practiced at hospitals. Also later Witt occasionally mentioned this physician and his family (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 73, 141, 414, 431, 528, Vol. 5, p. 538). In 1839 Smith (1813-1872) published a two-volumed work on Peru on which Witt comments critically (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 217, Vol. 5, p. 276), Archibald Smith, *Peru as it is. A residence in Lima and other parts of the Peruvian Republic comprising an account of the social and physical features of that country*, 2 vols., London: Bentley, 1839.
- 87 For his travel report Witt uses the old name of the place, which in 1827/28 was still common (San Juan de la Frontera de) Huamanga, however he records that it had been renamed Ayacucho, HWD, Vol. 1, p. 265.

of the rebellion of the indigenous farmers which had been suppressed in November.⁸⁸ Also, they paid a visit to the nearby battlefield of December 1824, after previously having visited the site, near Junín, of the second important battle for Peru's independence, that of 6 August 1824.⁸⁹ As since Cerro de Pasco the journey led through regions in the Andes which were rather far from Lima and where at that time only a few foreigners had settled down, now Witt and Moore usually stayed with native merchants, as well as with local dignitaries, i.e. the Prefects and those the diary gives by their Spanish titles, the *Intendentes*, *Alcaldes* and *Curates*. Among others, Witt was able to reach back to letters of recommendation by María Sierra and her brother Mariano, which opened access to the respected families.⁹⁰ From Ayacucho they went to Cusco, the capital of the Inca Empire, where Witt saw the carnival, visited the fortress of Sacsayhuamán and made a trip of several days to Ollantaytambo.⁹¹ From Cusco he returned to Arequipa in February 1827.

As in the meantime Daniel Schutte had left Peru, now Witt stayed in the house of Schutte's brother who continued the business in Arequipa.⁹² Also for Christoph Wilhelm Schutte Witt took over tasks at the office and went on four business trips in the course of 1828 – once again without being employed or paid, as he emphasizes. In the new port of Islay he transshipped money (and gold) to Europe and received goods for Schutte's company, he went to Lima to collect information about new legal regulations concerning the textile trade,

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- 88 On the rebellion: HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 226, 246f., 256f.; Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic. The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- 89 Witt and Moore saw the battlefield while being accompanied by a former adjutant of General William Miller, Juan Alarcón, who had taken part in the fighting. Witt included a detailed account of what had happened, based on Alarcón's information, and added a sketch of the battlefield as an appendix, see HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 260ff. and Appendix No. 12 (= Pictures 10 and 11 in the current edition of the diary). On Alarcón's participation see his mentioning in John Miller, *Memorias del General Miller al Servicio de la República del Perú*, 2 vols., Madrid, Frankfurt am Main: Ed. América, no year given [1917], Vol. 2, pp. 202f.; see also the entry on Juan de Alarcón (1791?-1836) in Tauro, *Enciclopedia ilustrada del Perú*, Vol. 1, p. 58.
- 90 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 259, 269 (Mariano Sierra), 276 (María Sierra). Witt mentions further letters of recommendation, among them also some he and Moore received from their new acquaintances on the journey, e.g. from Domingo Tristán, then Prefect of Ayacucho (*ibid.*, pp. 269, 277).
- 91 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 283ff.
- 92 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 298. Witt emphasizes that also Christoph Wilhelm Schutte had not paid him wages. He had only to a minor degree participated in the ventures of the company.

as well as to Tacna and Arica in the South, to find investors in a risky financial transaction of Schutte into which he had invested himself.⁹³

In spring 1829 Charles Crawley, one of the partners of Gibbs, Crawley & Co., came to the West Coast to inspect the company's business there. After his visit to Arequipa he offered Witt to join the company again and to take over the management of the branch from January 1830 on. However, before this, Witt was supposed to complete the reviewing of the company's books in Lima, which had not been completed in 1827.⁹⁴ Although at that time Witt, as he later wrote, had considered returning to Europe to realize the earlier plan of a joint company in Altona, together with his old playmate Georg Heinrich Sieveking, he accepted the offer and started his third employment at Gibbs's.⁹⁵ Between mid-June and mid-December 1829 he reviewed the account books in Lima. Then he returned to Arequipa, where he arrived on 1 January 1830, and immediately took over his new tasks as the branch manager and superior of two employees. He also took over the flat in the house Gibbs had rented near *Plaza Mayor* – after granting his predecessor Mardon, who had left the company, some time to move out.⁹⁶

In the then following period of slightly more than three years Witt was living in Arequipa, he spent most of his life on work, as he remembered.⁹⁷ Apart from this, he seems to have indeed enjoyed his leisure time as well as his new social status in the city, i.e. the status of the branch manager of a renowned British trade company. For example, together with three Brits he rented a house on the country where they had a great party on New Year's Eve 1831; at carnival of

93 The first trip to Islay from 20 to 24 March 1828 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 298-301; the trip to Lima via Islay and back to Arequipa over land from 8 July to 11 August 1828 *ibid.*, pp. 302-20; the second trip to Islay from 14 to 26 August 1828 *ibid.*, pp. 320-24; the trip to Tacna and Arica from 31 October to 2 December 1828 *ibid.*, pp. 325-36. Witt detailedly explains the transaction concerning Custom House orders given by the then prefect of the department of Arequipa, General Antonio Gutiérrez de La Fuente (*ibid.*, pp. 324f., 329).

94 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 337f.; Gibbs, History, pp. 419ff. (there December 1830 as the date of Witt joining the Arequipa branch).

95 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 298, 337f. Georg Heinrich Sieveking (1800-1878) was a son of the Hamburg syndic Johann Peter Sieveking (1763-1806) and Margaretha Dorothea Caroline Baur (1776-1855), daughter of an Altona merchant. Young Sieveking and Witt had been playmates since their early childhood (a.o. HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 391f.), the friendship lasted until Sieveking's death. On the family see the section in *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 4, pp. 303-34.

96 The account of the trip and the stay in Lima HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 338-50. The taking over of business and the flat in Arequipa *ibid.*, pp. 350ff.

97 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 351f.

that same year he invited to another ball.⁹⁸ This bachelor's life came to an end when, on 10 October 1831, Heinrich Witt married María Sierra.⁹⁹ Even during his travels Witt had kept contact to the widow, and after he had settled for good in Arequipa it had obviously been intensified.¹⁰⁰ After their marriage, for which Witt probably converted to Catholicism, María Sierra and her two daughters, Rosa and Enriqueta, moved to Witt.¹⁰¹ In 1826 or 1827 her son Juan, at the age of eight or nine years, had been sent first to Bremen and then to Altona where he attended school, to then complete a commercial apprenticeship at a renowned trade company.¹⁰² It is not known if Heinrich Witt officially adopted his three step-children in 1831 or later. In his daily life, however, he became the father of a family, even if the couple did not have children of their own. Usually in his diary he speaks of *his* children and later grandchildren, in general without giving any further explanation.

In 1831 there is also a change concerning Witt's German family. After the death of his sister Maria, now Witt's closer family consisted of her widower Johannes Limpricht and the three children born after Witt had left Altona, Elisabeth, Johannes junior and Heinrich, and Carl Ropsy, the son of his sister

98 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 351, Vol. 3, p. 795.

99 On the wedding: HWD, Vol. 1, p. 352 (there also María Sierra's moving in to Witt, as mentioned in the following); Barreda, p. 76.

100 The diary lacks a detailed account of the 1830s. However, when telling about a stay in Arequipa in 1859 Witt mentions that the two had been meeting there in the early 1830s, before their marriage (HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 567, 569).

101 In his diary Witt does not mention any conversion. In Arequipa at that time, however, a Catholic woman marrying a Protestant would only have been possible by way of a Papal dispense. Witt does not mention such a dispense either, however the diary mentions the conversion of other Protestants marrying Peruvian women in the 1820s (HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 135, 221). Also in Barreda (p. 76), who refers to the appropriate church book from Arequipa as a source, there is no indication of a dispense. The census of the City of Lima of 1860 (which is often wrong, however) lists Witt as a Catholic, Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, Censo Jeneral de Lima, Book 1: Cuartel Primero, p. 19. When Witt's death was entered into the register of death of the City of Lima 1892, a "C" was written into the appropriate column, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Dept. República (hereafter: AGN-R), Registro Civil de Lima – Municipalidad 1892 Def[unciones] [Libro] 4 Octubre-Diciembre Duplicado, Sheet 45.

102 Information about the education of Juan Diez HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 368, 524, Vol. 3, p. 771, Vol. 5, pp. 346ff. In Bremen Diez had been living with Daniel Schutte's family, who at first also paid his expenses. After the marriage of Witt and María Sierra he changed from Bremen to Altona and Witt took over the funding of his step son's education (ibid., Vol. 1, p. 536, Vol. 3, p. 818). Before returning to Peru in 1840, Diez spent some time in Britain.

Betty.¹⁰³ Other relatives of Witt still alive in 1831 were his grandmother, Maria Willink, as well as several members of the Willink family in Altona, Hamburg and London. To some of them, in particular his niece and nephews and their offspring, but also to his aunt, Frances Willink in London, as well as to his cousin, Cornelia Hugues (Nelly) and her brothers Theodor and Marcus-Andreas, Witt maintained contact for the rest of his or their lives.¹⁰⁴

First Years in Lima (1833-1842)

In March/April 1833 Heinrich Witt and his Peruvian family moved to Lima.¹⁰⁵ As Charles Crawley returned to Europe, Witt was supposed to support John Hayne who now became the head of the company's Lima branch.¹⁰⁶ Hayne was in charge of strategy, Witt took over the management of the office (the counting house), and Karl Reinhard Pflücker, a merchant from Silesia who had come to the West Coast in 1826, was in charge of the magazine and of sales.¹⁰⁷ Whereas Hayne, being a full partner of Gibbs, Crawley & Co., acted as the official representative of the company, Witt and Pflücker had power of

103 The biographical data of Witt's niece and nephews: Elisabeth (1823-1879), Johannes junior (born 1825) and Heinrich Franz Peter (1827-1909) see HWD, Vol. 1, p. 1, Vol. 9, p. 86; for information on Heinrich Limpricht, who became a famous chemist and was the principal of the University of Greifswald in 1871, see also Karl von Auwers: Nachruf für Heinrich Limpricht, in: *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, XLII, 4 (1909), pp. 5001-36.

104 The biographical data of the Hugues siblings: Cornelia ([1800]-1888) Theodor (1803-1878) and Marcus-Andreas (Marc-André; 1808-1887) see HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 254, 459, Vol. 10, p. 329; on Theodor and Marcus-Andreas Hugues see also the entries in: *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Hans Schröder on behalf of the Verein für hamburgische Geschichte, Vol. 3, Hamburg: Perthes-Besser and Mauke, 1857, pp. 427f.

105 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 352.

106 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 352ff.

107 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 353, 606. Witt referred to his position as that of "chef de bureau". On Pflücker's work for Gibbs (until 1847) see also *ibid.*, p. 354, Vol. 4, p. 9; also Gibbs, *History*, pp. 418ff. Karl Reinhard Pflücker (born 1804) is often mentioned by Witt's diary (year of birth HWD, Vol. 10, p. 469). In 1878 he went back to Europe (*ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 625). On his descendants in Peru see also the section "Pflücker" in: *Apuntes sobre Cien Familias Establecidas en el Perú*. Archivo Luis Lasarte Ferreyros, annotated and ed. by Juan Miranda Costa, Lima: Rider, 1961 (in the following quoted as *Apuntes*), pp. 599-616.

procuration, also both held smaller shares in the profits.¹⁰⁸ Apart from daily account- and bookkeeping, correspondence and making out bills, among Witt's tasks there also counted the supervision of the office's bookkeepers, cashiers and other employees as well as making the extensive interim and annual accounts the South American branch sent to the mother company in London at regular intervals.¹⁰⁹ Later Witt remembered workdays of 14 hours as well as two shorter trips to the Andes to improve his health which was suffering from the workload.¹¹⁰

At the end of 1833 María Sierra and her daughters returned to Arequipa for another two years.¹¹¹ After her older daughter, Rosa, had married Christoph Wilhelm Schutte in 1835, she moved back to Witt in Lima again, together with her nine years old daughter Enriqueta.¹¹² In early 1838 they were joined by Berna Velarde de la Torre, María Sierra's foster-mother.¹¹³ From Arequipa she brought with her Rosa Diez's and Christoph Wilhelm Schutte's less than one year old daughter, Conradina, who was supposed to grow up with Witt and his wife.¹¹⁴ In 1840 also María Sierra's son Juan returned from Europe and, probably

108 The list of those having signatory power, HWD, Vol. 1, p. 353. Gibbs, History, p. 421, calls Hayne and George Thomas Davy, the head of the branch in Valparaiso, the "only two full partners of Gibbs Crawley & Co. on the Coast." Witt refers also to himself as a partner (HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 350, 606), however he does not give the percentage of his share; but his share, he says, was higher than Pflücker's (*ibid.*, p. 353).

109 Other than the actual account books of the branch in Lima, some account sheets, accounts and profit and loss accounts (some of them written by Witt) as well as part of the correspondence with London have been preserved, see Gibbs Mss., most of all the section Business archives: South American branches. Lima, Peru. Accounts. 1819-1883, Guildhall Library Ms. 11.032.

110 The depiction of a workday HWD, Vol. 1, p. 366; the journeys of 1840 and 1841 *ibid.*, pp. 366f. Witt mentions eye problems as well as general physical exhaustion. Both times he went together with Prussian Baron Leopold von Winterfeldt. Already in 1832, when he was still the branch manager in Arequipa, Witt had been to the country for a recreational leave (*ibid.*, p. 352).

111 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 355, 368.

112 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 365; Barreda, p. 74 (not giving the date of marriage).

113 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 368; on Berna Velarde see also *ibid.*, p. 780. Doña Berna, as Witt in his diary calls her almost frequently, had come to Lima already in 1833 but had then returned to Arequipa together with María Sierra (*ibid.*, p. 352). She lived in Witt's house until her death in December 1848 (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 295f.).

114 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 368. Conradina Schutte Diez (1837-1889; mostly called Corina by Witt), biographical data *ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 728, Vol. 10, p. 457; Barreda, p. 74 (there: Corina Schutte y Diez de la Torre); due to her second marriage with the Hamburg merchant Gustav Adolf Schön (see fn. 349), Conradina Schutte found also entry into Hamburg sources,

on Witt's recommendation, started an employment at Gibbs, Crawley & Co.¹¹⁵ Other members of Witt's household were the servants. Although in his diary Witt does not tell about how many servants he employed in the 1830s and early 1840s, based on the information provided by Witt about the family's servants in the late 1840s and early 1850s we must assume that the household employed at least one cook (male or female), one or two maids as well as a nanny, furthermore a butler and a coach driver.¹¹⁶ Also, Witt does not tell in his diary if the Afro-Peruvian maids were slaves or employees. However, it is not improbable that in Lima in those days, slightly more than ten years before slavery was completely abandoned in Peru, a family of this social status owned slaves.¹¹⁷ For the time being, from the records of the notaries in Lima there is evidence for two transactions: In 1852/53, when she was already married and no longer living with her parents, Enriqueta von Lotten bought and sold one female slave respectively; in 1850 Witt himself accepted a female slave as a security for a loan.¹¹⁸

During María Sierra's two years in Arequipa Witt had been living as a grass widower in the house owned by Gibbs. After her return to Lima, he rented a flat in a house on *Calle de las Mantas* for several years. At the end of August 1842, finally the family moved to a house of their own on *Calle del Correo*, also

see Hamburger Geschlechterbuch, ed. by Bernhard Koerner, in cooperation with Ascan Lutteroth, Vol. 5, Görlitz: Starke, 1914, p. 233 (there: Corina Anna). The first daughter of the Schutte couple, Guillermina, had probably died in 1836, shortly after her birth (Barreda, p. 74).

115 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 367f., Vol. 3, p. 730.

116 This minimum figure can be concluded from Witt's statement on the family's servants in the late 1840s and early 1850s, e.g. HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 297f., 455.

117 On the history of slavery in Peru see Carlos Aguirre, *Breve historia de la esclavitud en el Perú. Una herida que no deja de sangrar*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005; Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru*, Wilmington, Delaware 1992; on Lima in particular also Christine Hunefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom. Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994.

118 Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Dept. Colonia, Protocolos Notariales (hereafter: AGN-C, PN), Vol. 162, Cosío, Sheet 250: Traspaso Doña Juana Villegas á Doña Enriqueta Bon [sic] (dated 12 October 1852, purchase of a slave by the name of Teresa); *ibid.*, Vol. 161, Cosío, Sheet 439: Venta la Señora Doña Enriqueta Bon [sic] de Garland á la Señora Doña Dolores Lamar de Perez (dated 24 January 1853, selling the slave Teresa Valdivia); *ibid.*, Sheets 54-55: Obligacion Don José Antonio Trevino a favor del Señor Don Enrique Witt (dated 13 March 1850).

among the best addresses of the city, in Lima's 1st District, close to *Plaza Mayor*.¹¹⁹ Whereas Witt writes that he had bought the house *Calle del Correo* No. 22, the notarial recording of the purchase contract from 21 August 1841 gives María Sierra as the buyer who is said to have made the transaction with the consent of her husband. The price was 24,000 Pesos.¹²⁰

When in late April 1842 Witt terminated his employment at Gibbs's because, as is the reason given by him, after having been away from Altona for almost 20 years he intended to travel to Europe, both economically and socially he had definitely been successful in Lima.¹²¹ Concerning what he had earned at Gibbs, Crawley & Co. since 1830, he later accounted that at the end of his employment he owned a capital of slightly more than 172,500 Pesos (about 32,000 Pounds Sterling), carrying an interest which enabled him and his family to make a living after his separation from Gibbs.¹²² Furthermore, in the early 1840s obviously he was widely accepted and included both among the circles of foreign merchants and the native families of the small stratum of social and political upper class families in the capital. In his diary, for all of his life in Lima he regularly tells about a number of close and distant acquaintances, a social network which was – and had to be – constituted and maintained by way of visits and invitations, writing letters of recommendation, mutual assistance in cases of conflict and similar practical and symbolic actions. Indeed we lack a detailed description of the 1830s and early 1840s, but it may be sufficient as an example for 1842/43 that Witt tells that during his travels after his separation from Gibbs he had taken a

119 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 366 (Mantas), 606 (Correo). The names of the streets of Lima were changed still in Witt's lifetime. The *Calle del Correo* (also: *Calle del Correo Viejo*) became the first *cuadra* of *Calle de Lima*. For the sake of simplicity, also in the following the old street names will be kept as they are almost frequently given by Witt's diary. A concordance is found e.g. in: *Guía de domicilio de Lima para el año de 1864*, compiled by M. A. Fuentes, Lima: Imprenta del Autor, 1863.

120 AGN-C, PN, Vol. 427, Menendez, Sheets 692-709 verso: Venta Real. Don Juan Gorrochano y otros a Doña María Sierra de Wigt [sic]. On the circumstances of buying the house see also HWD, Vol. 1, p. 781.

121 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 368f., 606. In his diary Witt emphasizes that the guano business which had been taken over by Gibbs's at that time had not been the reason for leaving the company, even if during conversations with Hayne he had argued against the business, due to the high risk.

122 His wealth after all expenses on rent, household, travel costs etc. HWD, Vol. 1, p. 606, Vol. 3, p. 818; his estimation that the family could live on the interest alone *ibid.*, p. 368. In Pound Sterling, given an exchange rate of 45 Pence Sterling a Peso in 1842, see Markus A. Denzel, *Finanzplätze, Wechselkurse und Währungsverhältnisse in Lateinamerika (1808-1914)*, p. 40, in: Jürgen Schneider/the same (eds.), *Währungen der Welt VII. Lateinamerikanische Devisenkurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997, pp. 1-106.

number of letters of recommendation with him and that, on the occasion of his leaving for Europe, he had paid more than 200 farewell visits.¹²³

In April 1841, furthermore the Peruvian government accepted Witt as the Kingdom of Denmark's first Consul in Peru, after previously having rejected the appointment of another merchant.¹²⁴ In the following 35 years until his resignation in 1876, fulfilling his tasks as a Consul was an integral part of his life, just as taking part in the activities of the consular corps which regularly attended openings of the parliament, presidential inaugurations and similar events and celebrations. As a Consul, usually Witt was also invited to receptions and balls held by Peru's presidents.

Before starting on his intended departure to Europe, Witt went on two longer journeys in South America. Between the end of April and mid-July 1842 he went to the North of Peru.¹²⁵ After short stays in Trujillo and Cajamarca he went on a tour through the Andes which lasted almost three weeks – with an excursion to the rain forest, to the shores of River Marañón, one of the headstreams of the Amazon River. The second journey, from mid-November 1842 to the end of February 1843, led to Chile and South Peru.¹²⁶ The greater part of his slightly less than two months in Chile Heinrich Witt spent in

123 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 608ff., Vol. 2, p. 49.

124 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 606. Documents referring to Witt's appointment and activities as the Danish Consul (after 1845 Consul General) are preserved both at the Danish National Archive (Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen; in the following: RA) and at the archive of the Peruvian Foreign Ministry (Archivo Central, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima; quoted as: MRE). Documents referring to the appointment process (including the commission document of 10 November 1841) as well as on Witt's elevation to Consul General (including the commission document of 22 January 1845) at RA, File: Udenrigsministeriet, Sub-File: Departementet for Handels- og Konsulatsager, 1762-1865, Box 82: Samlede Sager 498, Ungaaende H. Witts Udnaevelse til Consul i Republiken Peru – og angl. hans Udnaevelse til Generalconsul 1841-46 (this file quoted as RA-UM-HK, Samlede Sager 498); MRE, File: 9-11 Consulado de Dinamarca 1841, Box 45, Sub-File 19; File: Cuadernos Copiadores 117, Correspondencia con Cónsules de Países Europeos en el Perú, 1843-1861, Sub-File Dinamarca.

125 The account of this journey from 25 April to 19 July 1842 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 608-752. Witt was accompanied by a Black servant who had been hired especially for the trip. The departure of "Henrique With [sic]" is recorded in *El Comercio*, 25 April 1842, Column: Noticias Comerciales.

126 The account of the journey from 17 November 1842 to 25 February 1843 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 793-874, Vol. 2, pp. 1-30. The departure of "Mr. With [sic]" also in *El Comercio*, 18 November 1842, Column: Puerto del Callao. After his return, "D[on] Enrique Witt" presented his passport to the police authority in charge, see *El Comercio*, 1 March 1843, Column: Intendencia de Policía.

Valparaiso, the country's economic center; furthermore he made short trips to Santiago and to the coastal places of Talcahuano and Concepción further to the South. Both in Valparaiso and in Santiago he stayed at the houses of the respective branches of Gibbs, Crawley & Co., whose heads and employees took care of his wellbeing. They helped him with connecting to their families and acquaintances, in particular among the many British and German merchants in Valparaiso. Witt interrupted his journey back to Lima for a stay in Arequipa, to see his daughter Rosa Diez and her family. From Arequipa he went on a trip to Orcopampa in the Andean highlands where Christoph Wilhelm Schutte, now his son-in-law, was running a silver mine on behalf of one his creditors (the company owned by Schutte had had to suspend payment in 1838).¹²⁷ When Witt left Arequipa for Lima he took his granddaughter Conradina with him, who had been staying with her parents for a couple of months.¹²⁸ Her sister Amalia, born in 1838, stayed at her parents' house.¹²⁹

Back in Lima, Witt started preparations for his journey to Europe. He wrote his last will and testament¹³⁰, applied for a passport at the Foreign Ministry¹³¹, attempted (in vain) to have a deputy consul for the time of his absence recognized by the Peruvian government¹³² and made yet another short trip

127 The description of the trip to Orcopampa HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 2-20; Information about Schutte's bankruptcy and death *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 862, Vol. 2, pp. 14f.

128 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 727, Vol. 2, p. 27.

129 Amalia Schutte Diez's date of birth HWD, Vol. 4, p. 440; Barreda, p. 75 (there: Isabel Amalia Schutte y Diez de la Torre). Two genealogical Internet databases – although giving slightly different spelling – give 1835-1918 (http://records.ancestry.com/amalia_diaz_schutte_records.ashx?pid=20434621 and <http://www.geni.com/people/Amalia-Schutte-D%C3%ADaz-de-La-Torre/600000006930615430>; in both cases last access: 6 January 2015).

130 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 32. Already in April 1842 Witt had his wife and Karl Pflücker provided with full power of attorney, AGN-C, PN, Vol. 428, Menendez, Sheets 251-253 verso: Poder jral. Don Henrique Witt á Doña Maria Sierra de Witt [y Carlos Pflücker] (dated 21 April 1842); see Witt's remark that in the time of his absence Pflücker made payments from his account at Gibbs's in connection of buying the house on *Calle del Correo*, HWD, Vol. 1, p. 781. Also during Witt's European journey Pflücker took care of conflicts connected to this (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 25).

131 MRE, File: 9-11 Consulado de Dinamarca 1843, Box 50, Sub-File 16: Witt's letter of 8 May 1843. Witt received the passport in the evening of 17 May 1843, one day before his intended departure (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 49).

132 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 33. The government under General Vivanco rejected recognition of the "Pro-Consul" Witt had suggested, giving the reason that Witt's document of commission did not sufficiently provide him with authority for such a transfer of his tasks as a Consul. The fact that the predecessor government had in 1842 granted Witt the appointment of a deputy was not recognized as a precedent, nor earlier decisions regarding the Consuls

to the Andes to inspect a copper mine into which Karl Pflücker, his former workmate at Gibbs, Crawley & Co., had made an investment.¹³³ Part of his own wealth he entrusted to the custody of Gibbs's in Lima and Valparaiso, where the branch there invested it at high interest, and invested another part into a small wool venture together with Schutte.¹³⁴ These two transactions may be supposed to be among the first positions Witt entered into his own account books which he opened in those days.¹³⁵ Furthermore, he once again turned to the Italian lessons he had started the previous year to prepare for his intended stay in Italy.¹³⁶ Finally on 18 May 1843 he went on board the British commercial sailing ship "Vicar of Bray" which took slightly more than four months to take him to Europe via Cape Hoorn.¹³⁷ Two years and seven months were to pass until he returned to Lima.¹³⁸

Travels in Europe (1843-1845)

His time in Europe, from the end of September 1843 on, started with a one-month stay in London where there happened a sequence of private and business meetings. Witt paid visits to the widow and family of his uncle Diederich Willink, to his former employer Antony Gibbs and Sons, and to a variety of old acquaintances from his time in London as well as in Altona and Hamburg who were living, for some time or for good, in the British capital. Then there were

of other countries. See the correspondence on the issue, MRE, File: 9-11 Consulado de Dinamarca 1843, Box 50, Sub-File 16: Witt's letters of 26 April and 8 May 1843; File: Cuadernos Copiadores 17, Correspondencia con Cónsules de Países Europeos en el Perú, 1843-1861, Sub-File Dinamarca: copy of the letter from José L. Gómez Sánchez of 4 May 1843.

133 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 42. Also on this journey Witt was accompanied by Baron von Winterfeldt (see fn. 110).

134 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 606, Vol. 2, p. 32. On the continuation of the business with Schutte *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 191.

135 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 32, Vol. 3, p. 818.

136 The diary does not tell when exactly Witt started learning Italian. A teacher is mentioned for the first time for August 1842 (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 782), before this Witt had been learning Italian on his own and had been reading Italian books during his travels in 1842, see e.g. *ibid.*, Vol.1, pp. 618, 687, 715, Vol. 2, p. 887.

137 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 50ff. El Comercio, 19 May 1843, Column: Puerto del Callao, records on the "Vicar of Bray": "su carga plata y otros productos del pais, despachada por Gibbs y Ca. conduce de pasaje a D. Henrique Witt."

138 The account of the journey from 18 May 1843 to 23 December 1845 fills almost two volumes of the preserved diary: HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 48-896, Vol. 3, pp. 1-727.

visits to and by acquaintances from Peru, most of all British merchants who in the meantime had returned from South America. With Gibbs, at whose office he also wrote his correspondence, he made an agreement about the modalities of his business running via the company and immediately ordered a shipment of goods to the branch in Lima.¹³⁹ During his leisure time he saw the sights of the British capital.

From London he went to Liverpool and Manchester. In both cities, often by recommendation of the Liverpool branch of Gibbs's, he first of all established business contacts and placed smaller orders.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore he met his cousin Diederich Willink junior who was employed at a Liverpool trade company.¹⁴¹ This was followed by a trip of several days to Ireland, to visit the captain of the "Vicar of Bray" and his family near Dublin, and by a trip to Glasgow and Edinburgh as well as a tour through the rural areas of South Scotland and North England.¹⁴² Finally in Kingston upon Hull he started his passage to Altona where he arrived on 21 December 1843.¹⁴³

The following five months in his home town were almost exclusively dedicated to social contacts and obligations. It seems as if Heinrich Witt's relatives, friends and acquaintances from his childhood and youth made it easy for him to join the circles of the Altona upper class. To a certain degree this holds also for the neighboring city of Hamburg. In his diary Witt tells about a great number of invitations to tea and dinner, balls and other bigger and smaller social events, apart from the many visits he paid almost on a daily basis. In mid-March he held a dinner party himself, to return the many favors by his friends and acquaintances.¹⁴⁴ Some events were of bigger public importance, for example the celebrations on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Count von Blücher-Altona, Altona's governor for many years. This meeting perhaps provided Witt with the first opportunity to present himself to the public while wearing the uniform of a Consul.¹⁴⁵ Another important event was the laying of the foundation stone of the Altona-Kiel railway in May 1844, whose official

139 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 124, 126, 694f.

140 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 198ff.

141 Diederich Willink junior (Diedrich; 1824-1889) was the son of Diederich and Frances Willink from London, see HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 200ff., as well as Vol. 10, p. 537 (biographical data).

142 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 213ff., 235ff.

143 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 326, 328.

144 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 408ff.

145 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 399ff. Witt met Blücher also on other occasions, a.o. the celebration of the Count and his wife's golden wedding anniversary (*ibid.*, pp. 439ff.).

opening in September that year he also witnessed.¹⁴⁶ Some of his friends and acquaintances from Altona were shareholders of the railway company, some of them held leading positions with it.

In private, Witt met particularly often with his cousin Nelly Kramer (maiden name: Hugues) and the love of his youth, Emilie Knauer (maiden name: Reincke¹⁴⁷), as well as with their respective husbands, children and other relatives. Another very frequent contact was Georg Heinrich Sieveking, the friend of his youth, who had meanwhile opened a trade company together with Karl Schuster instead of, as originally intended, with Witt.¹⁴⁸

Still in January 1844 Witt paid a visit to his brother-in-law in Eutin, Johannes Limpricht, who had meanwhile married a second time, and to his niece and nephews whom he saw for the first time. Elisabeth, born in 1823, was already married to Paul Bobertag, a teacher, and was the mother of a son. 19-year-old Johannes junior was soon to start his law studies, and 17-year-old Heinrich was still attending school.¹⁴⁹

A combination of private and business contacts were the meetings with Conrad Hinrich Donner, now Danish Counselor (*Konferenzrat*), and Daniel Schutte who had meanwhile settled as a merchant in Hamburg and had married a woman from there. In difference to his activities in England and Scotland, however, during this first stay in Altona Witt does not seem to have done any actual business, even if he paid visits to several respected merchants in Altona and Hamburg. In his leisure time he went on long walks along the Elbe and through Hamburg where he still saw the traces of the great fire of 1842. (Even in Lima they had donated money for the victims on that occasion.¹⁵⁰) Now and then he went to the theatre and visited people and important places of his youth. For example, he saw his old nanny and went on a long walk along the Elbe, on the occasion of which he noted down the changes since he had left Altona.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, from January on he took lessons in Latin, French and

146 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 460, 690f.

147 The news of Emilie Reincke's engagement with the Hamburg merchant in June 1823 had reached Witt in London, HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 601, 686 (wedding on 11 February 1824, see also *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 9, pp. 497f.).

148 Given Witt's many meetings with these people, here as well as concerning further meetings with Conrad Hinrich Donner and Daniel Schutte, we refer to the Index of Persons and Places.

149 The stay with the Limpricht family HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 372ff.

150 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 758. In his diary Witt gives many details of the event (*ibid.*, pp. 755ff).

151 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 407, 421ff.

Danish, sometimes several ones a week. Also intended Italian lessons had to be dropped, as the Italian teacher in Altona was booked out.¹⁵²

At the end of May 1844 Witt went on a trip to Denmark and Norway.¹⁵³ By coach and steamship, sometimes even on foot, he went to Copenhagen via Kiel, Flensburg and the Danish islands of Als, Funen and Zealand. Also in the Danish capital, where he spent two weeks, he continued the combination of social contacts and tourist sightseeing he had been practicing earlier on this trip through Europe.¹⁵⁴ Among the many people Witt saw in Copenhagen there was also the Danish King. On 29 June 1844, probably by appointment of then Royal Adjutant Christian Christopher Zahrtmann, Donner's son-in-law, Christian VIII granted his Consul to Peru a short audience at Amalienborg Castle.¹⁵⁵ Witt presented the King with a collection of Peruvian antiquities.¹⁵⁶ He had received the pottery, coming from Inca burials, from an acquaintance from Trujillo and had initially intended to give them to the Antiquarian Society in Copenhagen. Now they became a part of the Royal Collections.¹⁵⁷ His request for a Danish flag and a shield with the Danish coat of arms as well as his appointment to Consul General – which indeed happened in early 1845 – however, had been presented earlier to the public official who was in charge of him at the General Customs Chamber and Commercial Council.¹⁵⁸

152 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 364, 381ff.

153 The account of the journey from 28 May to 14 August 1844 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 466-642.

154 The account of the stay in Copenhagen from 25 June to 9 July 1844 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 531-65.

155 The account of the audience HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 538f. Donner had handed Witt a letter of recommendation for Zahrtmann. Witt kept a copy and later added it to his diary as an appendix, see *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 470 and Appendix No. 14 (= Pictures 15 and 16 in the current edition of the diary), Vol. 2, pp. 531f. On Zahrtmann (1793-1853), who became Danish Naval Minister in 1848, see C. With-Seidelin, Zahrtmann, Christian Christopher, in: *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, ed. by Carl Fredrik Bricka, 1st ed., Copenhagen 1887-1905, Vol. 19, pp. 277-80 (Online: <http://runeberg.org/dbl/19/0367.html> and the following pages, last access 4 August 2013).

156 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 538f.

157 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 459. Later the Director of the Royal Collections asked Witt to send him further antiquities (*ibid.*, p. 563). Witt granted the request after his return to Lima (unclear: *ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 865; clear: RA, Nationalmuseet Etnografisk Samling, 1800-1851, Box 1: letter Sieveking & Schuster to [Christian Jürgensen] Thomsen, Altona, 24 November 1846, letter Siegfried Schmidt to Thomsen, Kiel, 28 November 1846).

158 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 535f. On Witt's appointment as a Consul general see fn. 124. Before, the Danish government had sent him a letter, asking about which possible difference would it make in Peru if Witt was a Consul or a Consul General (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 885). Letters by Witt on that question as well as draft letters by the Ministry are preserved in RA-UM-HK, Samlede Sager 498: Witt to the directory of General Zollkammer und Commerz Collegium

From Copenhagen he went to Christiania (today Oslo).¹⁵⁹ During his short stay in the Norwegian capital, he saw his former legal guardian, Lukas Willink, who at that time was running a cement factory on an island near the city.¹⁶⁰ Then he went on a journey through Norway's mountain and lake scenery as far as to Trondheim on the north coast. The coach trip took almost one week.¹⁶¹ From there he took the steamer to Bergen where, like in Trondheim, he made contact to local merchants for whom he had letters of recommendation from Altona and Hamburg. Over land, including a short excursion to Hardangervidda, he went back to Christiania, to go on immediately to Altona via Copenhagen and Kiel. In mid-August, after having been away for two and a half months, he arrived back in Altona and continued the social life he had been living before his trip to the North.¹⁶² At that time he also contacted the Swedish envoy to Hamburg. However, he did not achieve his intended appointment as Swedish and Norwegian Consul to Peru.¹⁶³

In September 1844 at first Witt went on another short trip.¹⁶⁴ Together with some acquaintances from Altona and Hamburg he went to Alexisbad in the Harz Mountains for a couple of days, and then to Berlin where, apart from seeing castles, museums, memorials etc., they also attended the General German Industrial Exhibition at the old Arsenal.¹⁶⁵ Then at the end of that

(General Customs Chamber and Commercial Council), Frankfurt am Main, 4 November 1844 (Report No. 10); draft letter [Garlieb?] to Witt, Copenhagen, 22 November 1844; Witt to the directory of General Zollkammer und Commerz Collegium, Milan, 24 December 1844 (Report No. 11).

- 159 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 565. The account of the stay in Norway (after intermediate stops during the crossing in Gothenburg) from 11 July to 10 August 1844 *ibid.*, pp. 569-636.
- 160 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 585f.; on biographical data of Lukas Willink (HWD: Lucas; 1786-1871), Witt's mother's cousin, see *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 4, p. 438.
- 161 Witt gives a detailed description of the coach (HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 569f.). Witt bought it shortly after his arrival in Christiania and used it already for his tour through the environments of the city. He rented the horses, each accompanied by a postillion, on the road.
- 162 The account of his stay in Altona from 14 August to 3 September 1844 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 642-50.
- 163 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 648, 690.
- 164 The account of the journey to Alexisbad and Berlin from 3 to 14 September 1844 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 650-88.
- 165 On the exhibition from 15 August to 24 October 1844 see: *Amtlicher Bericht über die allgemeine Deutsche Gewerbe-Ausstellung zu Berlin im Jahre 1844*, 2 vols., Berlin: Verlag Karl Reimarus, 1845.

month Witt went on an extended journey through several countries of Europe.¹⁶⁶ This trip led him through Holland and Belgium, on the Rhine via the Prussian Rhine Province as far as to Mainz, from there as far as to Lake Constance and Zurich via the Grand Duchy of Baden and the Kingdom of Württemberg. Across the Alps his way led to Milan and further to the Mediterranean. In early January 1845, from Marseille he crossed the sea to Algiers, the capital of the French colony which had been established in 1830, for a two-week stay. Back on the European continent, he travelled through the cities and landscapes of the Italian kingdoms and princedoms: he visited Naples, Sicily, Rome (around Easter 1845), then Florence and Venice. He crossed the Alps via the Brenner Pass and went on to Munich via Tyrol and the Salzburg region, arriving in the Bavarian capital at the end of May 1845. Then his journey took him to Wrocław via Prague, to go from there to Bremen, the last station of his tour, via Dresden, Leipzig, Brunswick and Celle. On 15 July 1845, after a journey of nine and a half months, Witt arrived in Altona again.

Like the previous stations of Witt's European stay, those of this tour were on the one hand due to the relatives and acquaintances he was seeing. For example, in Heidelberg he met his nephew, Carl Ropsy, who was studying law in Tübingen, and together with him he went on a short trip through Baden and Württemberg, including an excursion to Strasburg.¹⁶⁷ In St. Gallen he paid a visit of a few days to a merchant he had met in Lima in the 1830s.¹⁶⁸ He went to Vevey on Lake Geneva only because he wanted to see two Russian ladies again he had met in Amsterdam.¹⁶⁹ He went to Altötting and Celle to meet his Hugues cousins. Marcus-Andreas had meanwhile joined the Catholic Order of the Redemptorists, and Theodor was a Calvinist reverend.¹⁷⁰ In Silesia Witt saw the mother and brothers of his colleague at Gibbs's in Lima, Karl Pflücker, as well as the brothers of the husband of his niece Elisabeth Bobertag.¹⁷¹ He met

166 The account of the journey from 29 September 1844 to 15 July 1845 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 696-896, Vol. 3, pp. 1-519.

167 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 786-806.

168 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 814ff. Witt states that in Lima in 1834 or 1835 Mayer checked the whereabouts of some goods he was distributing via Huth, Grüning & Co., to then place the order with Gibbs.

169 Witt's meeting with Mrs. Pfeil and Katinka von Swetschin in Amsterdam HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 699f. Witt had then intended to meet the two women already in Frankfurt, but had missed them. When a relative of Mrs. Pfeil asked him to hand over a brooch to her, he decided to also go to Vevey (*ibid.*, pp. 781f.). At Vevey the three met several times (*ibid.*, pp. 852ff.).

170 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 417ff., 508ff.

171 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 465ff.

his nephew Heinrich Limpricht in Brunswick, where the latter had started to study chemistry.¹⁷² Finally near Bremen he paid a visit to the family of his son-in-law, Christoph Wilhelm Schutte, and visited Anton von Lotten's and thus also his (step) daughter Henriqueta's relatives.¹⁷³ On the other hand, his travel route was the result of Witt's desire to see certain places and regions which were famous for their history, architecture and artistic beauty, that is he went on a bourgeois "grand tour". As a matter of fact, some parts of the journey, in particular in Italy but also in Switzerland, were definitely in accordance with the classical educational and cultural journeys of the 19th century bourgeoisie.¹⁷⁴

Each according to the local situation, Witt travelled by coach, railway or ship, in the Alps there were also hiking tours of several days with mountain guides. As far as the often only short stays allowed, he went on city tours and saw the respective sights, most of all castles, parks and gardens, museums and picture galleries, churches, cemeteries and memorials, also city halls and harbors, as well as frequently institutions such as prisons, hospitals, libraries, schools, schools for the blind and the deaf-mute, as he had done on his previous European journeys. At some places old and new acquaintances showed him through the cities, often Witt also hired professional guides or, for a small tip, had locals show him round. In most cases he also went on short trips to the nearer environment of the places he visited. When during his trip on a Rhine steamer, from Bonn to Mainz, his one-month ticket allowed for an unlimited number of stops, he used the opportunity for a number of walks through the mountains and places on the right and left banks of the river.¹⁷⁵ In many cities he went to the theatre or the opera, attended concerts and ballets, among them, in Brussels and Milan, performances by the famous Austrian dancer Fanny Elßler. He even kept the ticket from Brussels.¹⁷⁶

Usually Witt travelled on his own; sometimes he joined small groups of travel companions, in most cases just for shorter stages of the journey, however sometimes also for longer periods, most of all in Italy. For example, repeatedly he went on short sightseeing tours together with two Prussian architects, not only in Naples but the three of them also went to other places for several days. With one of them he went to Pompeii, where they visited the excavations

172 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 503ff.

173 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 515ff.

174 Witt himself called also this journey "mon grand tour" (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 696); on this concept of a journey see fn. 37.

175 HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 739-77.

176 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 722 and Appendix No. 19 (= Picture 42 in the current edition of the diary), Vol. 3, pp. 15f.

and climbed Mount Vesuvius.¹⁷⁷ During the stay in Sicily there formed a companionship of six people who loosely stayed together for several weeks. They climbed Mount Etna and then explored Rome, Florence and Venice.¹⁷⁸

Even if in almost all bigger cities Witt paid visits to trade companies he knew or which had been recommended to him, this journey through Europe was first of all an educational and pleasure trip not meant for business. Only on rare occasions and in small amounts he purchased goods which he had sent to the Gibbs branch in Lima.¹⁷⁹ Again and again, however, he bought jewelry and other items for his wife and children, also sculptures, paintings and copperplate prints for his house in Lima, catalogues of exhibitions to which he had been and brochures about the castles, monuments and museums he had seen.

Back in Altona, in mid-June 1845, Witt started preparations for his return to Peru.¹⁸⁰ At carpenters in Hamburg and Altona he ordered several pieces of furniture, he bought table linen and had some garments made for himself, among them a uniform he bought including epaulettes, hat and sword, for his new rank of Consul General.¹⁸¹ In advance of his future activity as an independent merchant in Lima he established contacts to possible business partners and ordered goods at several producers to be shipped to Lima.¹⁸²

177 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 11ff. Witt had met Georg Friedrich Hitzig (in HWD also Hetzig) and Friedrich Ludwig Persius by appointment of the then famous landscape artist Carl Wilhelm Götzloff, who was living in Naples. On Persius (1803-1845), in 1845 Royal Architect of the Prussian King and Royal Building Councillor, see Eva Börsch-Supan, Persius, Friedrich Ludwig, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (NDB), Vol. 20 (2001), pp. 198f (Online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118592823.html>, last access 23 July 2013). In his diary Witt also recorded the death of his former travel companion (HWD, Vol. 3, p. 535). On Hitzig (1811-1881), whose career started only after the Italian journey, see Irmgard Wirth, Hitzig, Friedrich, in: NDB, Vol. 9 (1972), p. 274, (Online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11934792X.html>, last access 23 July 2013); on Götzloff (1799-1866) see Hans Geller, Götzloff, Carl Wilhelm, in: NDB, Vol. 6 (1964), pp. 596-97 (Online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119396831.html>, last access 23 July 2013), there also the "open house" is mentioned which Götzloff was keeping in Naples "where almost every German artist as well as many travelers coming to the region were met with hospitality." (p. 597).

178 The group consisted of a pharmacist from Berlin, a physician, a "doctor" (probably a jurist) and one elderly gentleman (the latter three from Cologne) as well as a man from Milan whose profession Witt does not give, HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 151ff.

179 HWD, Vol. 2, p. 820, Vol. 3, p. 108.

180 The account of the stay in Altona (incl. the trip to Eutin and Kiel) from 15 July to 2 September 1845 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 519-67.

181 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 520, 546f.

182 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 546.

Meanwhile his negotiations with Gibbs, which had happened by written correspondence during his travels, had produced a negative result as far as he was concerned. Witt's suggestion to join Gibbs, Crawley & Co. again after his return to Lima had been rejected by John Hayne and Thomas Davy, the partners in Peru and Chile respectively. The offer made by William Gibbs, who at that time was the senior partner of Antony Gibbs and Sons, to accept a position as head of office in London, had been rejected by Witt.¹⁸³ Despite this rejection Witt was to maintain his connections to Gibbs. Until the end of his life his bank account in London was at Antony Gibbs and Sons.¹⁸⁴

After many farewell visits, on 2 September 1845, Heinrich Witt left his home town to go to England, where he spent another period of slightly more than six weeks before finally leaving Europe.¹⁸⁵ In London he saw his relatives and acquaintances and did some more private and business purchases. In early October he stayed with William Gibbs for some days at the latter's country residence near Bristol.¹⁸⁶ During his then following stay in Liverpool he was most of all preoccupied with business contacts and ordering goods. Apart from this he found time to once again see his cousin, Diederich Willink, and to pay a visit to the family of Gerald Garland, who was his successor as office manager at Gibbs's in Lima.¹⁸⁷ Finally on 17 October he went on board an Atlantic steamer in Southampton. His journey back to Lima, this time via Panama instead of Cape Hoorn, took nine weeks, including stops on Madeira and in the Caribbean, crossing the Panama isthmus by boat and on horseback, as well as a short stay in Paita in the North of Peru. As a guest traveler on a British warship Witt arrived at the harbor of Callao in the night of 22/23 December 1845.¹⁸⁸

183 The negotiations in detail HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 406, 420, 733, 804, 885, Vol. 3, pp. 31, 537, 544.

184 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 542 (financial statement for May 1890).

185 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 567 (departure from Altona). The account of the stay in England 5 September to 17 October 1845 *ibid.*, pp. 569-641.

186 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 607ff.

187 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 615ff., 623ff. On Gerald Garland (1811-1898), Witt's later son-in-law, see (apart from countless mentionings in Witt) also information in Barreda, pp. 65f; the biographical data also in the section on Garland in *Apuntes*, pp. 378-85, here p. 378. Witt shortly sketches Garland's business biography, describing his career at Gibbs's: Garland had started in 1832 as an employee under Witt in Arequipa. In the mid-1830s he changed to the main branch in Lima, in 1842 he became head of the office there. In 1851 he left the company (HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 623ff.; date of joining and period of working as a manager see also Gibbs, *History*, p. 455, there: George Garland).

188 The account of the voyage from Southampton to Lima from 17 October to 23 December 1845 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 641-727. *El Comercio*, 23 December 1843, Column: Puerto del Callao,

An Upper Class Life in Mid-Century Lima (1846-1850)

In Lima, Heinrich Witt started preparations for his activity as an independent merchant. In the family's house on *Calle del Correo* he established an office; from several foreign and Peruvian merchants he collected information about the market situation in Lima and Peru.¹⁸⁹ However, before actually starting his business activities in the capital, in January and February 1846 he went on yet another four-week journey to the South of Peru, to Arica, Tacna and Arequipa.¹⁹⁰ The main objective of this trip seems to have been business negotiations with Christoph Wilhelm Schutte. Schutte had returned from Orcopampa to Arequipa, and in 1845 he had started a partnership with a Frenchman and a Swiss, Louis Aurégan and Ferdinand Le Platinier who, as silent partners, contributed one third each of the capital of C. W. Schutte & Co.¹⁹¹ Among others, Witt and Schutte agreed that Witt was once again to lend money to his son-in-law (20,000 Pesos) and to participate in a wool transaction. Schutte's company, on the other hand, would sell goods Witt was to import from Europe.¹⁹²

Still in February 1846, the first goods Witt had ordered in Europe arrived at the harbor of Callao and were sold to merchants in Lima. The first time the list of duty paid goods at the harbor of Callao mentions the arrival of trade samples for "E. Witt" is on 10 February 1846. The following day lists, among others, several kinds of cloth and stockings, port wine and beer as well as books and miscellaneous trade goods which had arrived for Witt from Liverpool.¹⁹³ In the years to follow he, like many foreign merchants in Peru, imported miscellaneous goods from Europe, in most cases on his own account but sometimes also by

records the arrival of the "Cormorant" with "D[on] N. [sic] Witt" on board on 22 December 1843.

189 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 729ff. Still on 23 or 24 December 1843 Witt reported his arrival to the police authority in charge: *El Comercio*, 24 December 1843, Column: Intendencia de Policia (there "D[on] Enrique Vill [sic]").

190 The account of the journey from 13 January to 10 February 1846 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 756-811.

191 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 784.

192 HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 784, 802.

193 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 812. *El Comercio*, 10 February 1846, Column: Aduana; *El Comercio*, 11 February 1846, Column: Puerto del Callao. In those days there also arrived several deliveries of Witt's baggage and personal items, *El Comercio*, 31 January 1846, Column: Puerto del Callao: "Al Sr. Consul Jeneral de S. M. Danesa D. H. Witt 8 cajones equipaje"; *El Comercio*, 16 February 1846, Column: Aduana: "A E. Witt Equipaje 11 bultos."; *El Comercio*, 21 February 1846, Column: Aduana (a.o. port wine, beer, ham, cheese, prints, books and a gun). In early March there arrived cloths again, *El Comercio*, 3 March 1846, Column: Aduana.

order of merchants from Altona and Hamburg. However, already from 1848 on he reduced the extent of imports on his own account and shifted his main activities over to money transactions in Lima. In the course of the year 1847 at the latest he had started discounting bills from merchants and traders in Lima and lending money at interest.¹⁹⁴ Apart from this he participated in the businesses of other merchants, among them two trade expeditions to China and the Philippines organized by his son Juan Diez. Diez, who had given up his position at Gibbs's in 1846, went himself to Macao, Canton and Manila, in 1846/47 on a ship owned by a merchant participating in the business, in 1848/49 on a ship of his own, called "Maria," bought from Witt's and his own money. He purchased Chinese silk and other goods for the market in Lima as well as sugar in Manila which was supposed to be sold in Chile.¹⁹⁵ According to the entries in Witt's diary, however, this speculation did not produce any large profit, just like Witt's participations in the import of French goods to Lima in 1846/47 (together with a Frenchman and a North American) and a bigger delivery of miscellaneous goods which in 1848/49 were shipped to California, at that time experiencing the Gold Rush, by Lima-based trade companies.¹⁹⁶

Apart from his business activities, Witt continued the family and social life he had led before his European journey. At regular intervals he exchanged visits with numerous members of Lima's upper class and met foreign merchants, consuls and diplomats. On his own or together with his wife and his children he was invited to dinners, smaller parties or bigger balls, they went to the theatre and the opera where for some time they had rented their own box. Often also Witt and María Sierra invited to smaller tea and dancing parties which, according to Witt's memories, were well frequented, in particular because of

194 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 817, Vol. 4, p. 177. Several credits of the late 1840s and early 1850s are registered in the notarial records, see e.g. AGN-C, PN, Vols. 160 and 161, Cosio.

195 Probably in October or November 1846 Diez left Gibbs's (HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 14, 17f.). Information on the two mentioned trade expeditions are found on many pages of Vol. 4 of the diary, the first mentioning of the plans HWD, Vol. 4, p. 14; information on the goods e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 96, 109, 406, 421; the purchase of the ship in New York *ibid.*, pp. 202, 212. Diez's application to have the "Maria" listed by the Peruvian register of ships, as it is mentioned by Witt (*ibid.*, p. 272) is also recorded in the books of the Finance Ministry, AGN-R, H-4-1982, Ministerio de Hacienda. Libro índice alfabético de expedientes 1843-1851: 1848, Sheet 77 verso: "Diez, Dn Juan pide patente de navegacion para su buque 'Maria' Expediente 357 Legajo 154". In 1851 Diez also applied for the listing of his second ship, *ibid.*, Sheet 82 verso: "Diez, Dn Juan: pide patente de navegacion para el buque '[Iowa]' Expediente 366 Legajo 168".

196 The venturing in goods from France in part. HWD, Vol. 3, p. 877, Vol. 4, pp. 24f., 41, 134, 177, 242; the trip to California and the sales revenue *ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 291, 372f., 379.

the attractiveness of his daughter Enriqueta von Lotten who had reached the age of 20 in 1846.¹⁹⁷ In early October, 1848, the family held a big ball where the President of State, Ramón Castilla, and his wife, who originated from Arequipa like María Sierra, led the dance together with the Witt couple.¹⁹⁸ María Sierra's acquaintance with Francisca Diez Canseco de Castilla led to further visits and invitations to social events at the Presidential Palace.¹⁹⁹

At the time of the above mentioned ball Enriqueta von Lotten was already married. In May that year she had accepted the proposal by Gerald Garland, Witt's already mentioned successor at Gibbs's, thus deciding against Hermann Reincke, a younger brother of Witt's Altona friends, Eduard and Emilie, who for several years had been living in Lima.²⁰⁰

Together with the young couple, which at first was also living in the house on *Calle del Correo*, at the end of December 1848 for the first time the Witt family moved into a small summer cottage (*rancho*) in the seaside resort of Chorrillos near Lima, formerly a fishing village, where already since colonial times the distinguished families of the capital were spending the hot summer months. In October 1849 Witt and Garland rented another *rancho* which Witt later rented for longer and bought in 1862. In 1867 he sold it to the merchant Wilhelm Brauns, who originated from Bremen, and bought a *rancho* from the heirs of another German in Lima, Friedrich Pfeiffer.²⁰¹ During the two to

197 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 177, 236.

198 The account of the ball of 6 October 1848 covers five pages of Witt's diary (HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 264-68), including a detailed list of the guests invited and non-invited.

199 E.g. HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 404f., 534f. The two couples led the dance also on the ball held by Gerald Garland in July 1850 (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 513).

200 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 201, 232ff. (wedding on 21. July 1848). On Gerald Garland see also fn. 187. Hermann Reincke had come to Lima in 1842, where at first, by recommendation of Witt he had been employed at Gibbs's. From 1843/44 to the end of 1846 he was the partner of a merchant originating from Hannover. In March 1847 he had travelled to Europe, to acquire orders for his intended own trade company in Lima; he came back only after Enriqueta's wedding and then stayed only a few months in Lima. On Reincke's time in Peru and his interest in marrying Witt's daughter see a.o. HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 524f., Vol. 2, p. 378, Vol. 4, pp. 42, 65, 149, 202, 270, 283, 285, 352.

201 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 306, Vol. 4, pp. 433f., Vol. 6, pp. 293, 801, 806. The transactions are recorded in the notarial records: AGN-C, PN, Vol. 161, Cosío, Sheets 123 verso-124 verso: Arrendamiento Don Camilo Rodríguez al Señor Don Enrique Witt (dated 12 May 1850, rental contract over 14 years from 1 September 1853 on); Vol. 166, Cosío, Sheets 439 verso-440 verso: Arrendamiento Don Camilo Rodríguez al Sor Enrique Witt (dated 5 March 1857, rental contract over ten years); Vol. 494, Orellana, Sheets 2211 verso-2214 verso: Venta real Don Camilo Rodríguez y otros al Señor Don Enrique Witt (dated 13 February 1862, purchase price 4100 Soles); Vol. 569, Palacios, Sheets 284-285 verso: Venta Pfeiffer á Witt (dated

three months the family was living in Chorrillos (almost) every year, usually Witt went to Lima for work. During the first years he spent the week alone in the house in the city and went to the coast only on weekends. After the train connection between Lima and Chorrillos had been opened in 1858 he commuted mostly on a daily basis.²⁰²

With the marriage of Gerald Garland and Enriqueta von Lotten also Witt's family was constantly growing.²⁰³ In November 1849 Enrique Garland von Lotten was born, the first of a total of nine surviving children of the couple. The seven sons born between 1849 and 1860 – Enrique, Guillermo, Alejandro, Geraldo, Ricardo, Juan and Antonio – were finally followed by two daughters, María and Corina, in 1866 and 1870.²⁰⁴ From March 1849 on also Amalia Schutte was living with Witt and his wife, the second daughter of Christoph Wilhelm Schutte and Rosa Diez.²⁰⁵ Together with her sister and Karl Pflücker's children she was taught in Lima by the German private tutor Mr. Zyla, whom Pflücker had come from Silesia to Lima for his sons in early 1846.²⁰⁶ Also Heinrich Witt, just like about his daughter Enriqueta before, cared about the

29 March 1867, purchase price 12 500 Pesos/10 000 Soles); *ibid.*, Sheets 464 verso-466: Venta Witt á Brouns [sic] (dated 7 May 1867, purchase price 6000 Pesos). Already on the day of the purchase Witt settled the house on Juan Diez, *ibid.*, Sheets 290 verso-291: Declaracion Vitt [sic] á Diez de Latorre [sic] (dated 2 April 1867). Later he bought back the *ranchito* (14 000 Soles; HWD, Vol. 7, p. 711; AGN-C, PN, Vol. 587, Palacios, Sheets 75-76: Venta Diez de la Torre á Witt, dated 9 February 1876). On Wilhelm Brauns (HWD: William; died in 1872), the head of Huth, Grüning & Co. in Lima and Consul of Hamburg (until 1866) and later of Austria, see the information given by Witt on the occasion of Brauns's death, HWD, Vol. 7, p. 328. On Friedrich Pfeiffer (HWD: Frederick; died in 1858) and his family see *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 190f.

202 E.g. HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 306ff., Vol. 5, pp. 355, 745, Vol. 7, pp. 8, 61ff., Vol. 8, pp. 523ff.

203 A plate print of the family, still without the "Garland-Boys" printed in Millies, *Echando raíces*, p. 5 ("Grabado de Heinrich Witt y familia, años de 1850," Colección Familia Cook).

204 Enrique (1849-1884), Guillermo (born 1851), Alejandro (1852-1912), Geraldo (1853-1930), Ricardo (1855-1926), Juan (born 1857), Antonio (born 1860), María (born 1866), Corina (1870-1936). Another son, Arturo, had died in April 1859, shortly after birth (HWD, Vol. 5, p. 581, Vol. 10, pp. 26, 242). On the biographical data and other first names of the Garland von Lotten children see, apart from the information given in HWD (dates of birth: Vol. 4, pp. 440, 606, Vol. 5, pp. 319, 338, Vol. 6, pp. 774, 776, Vol. 7, pp. 176f.; date of Enrique's death: *ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 396) also the compilation in Barreda, pp. 66ff., as well as, in the section on Garland, in *Apuntes*, pp. 378-85; in all cases the data are incomplete, sometimes there are slight differences. *Apuntes* does not give Corina Garland von Lotten.

205 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 344.

206 Witt does not mention Zyla's first name. HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 763f., 822, Vol. 4, pp. 180, 480, 484, Vol. 5, p. 310.

two girls' education, repeated the subject matter with them and occasionally offered them additional lessons in English.²⁰⁷ When in early 1851 Zyla stopped teaching the children, for some time Witt even took over the whole teaching of his granddaughters.²⁰⁸ A little time later also Zyla's time as Witt's Latin teacher came to an end. Since 1846, the two of them had sometimes spent up to three evenings a week on reading and translating the works of ancient Latin authors.²⁰⁹ Witt was particularly committed to the translation of some of Tacitus's works into German, on which, together with Zyla, he was persistently working over a longer period and even after the lessons with Zyla had come to an end.²¹⁰

When he was not occupied with these Latin or Italian studies – the latter without a teacher – or his many social obligations, in the evenings occasionally Witt went to the club of the foreign merchants, the Commercial Reading Rooms, where he played chess or cards and read foreign newspapers.²¹¹ At that time he was particularly interested in the reports on the revolution of 1848 in Europe and in the Schleswig-Holstein War about the secession of the two duchies from Denmark which was ended by the victory of the royal troops over the rebels.²¹² Another one of his regular leisure time activities was walking up the *Cerro de San Cristóval* near the city, mostly in the mornings, a habit he kept until his very old age, as far as his health allowed.²¹³

Business and Travels in Europe (1851-1856)

Witt's business life changed clearly after April 1850, when together with Christoph Wilhelm Schutte and Juan Diez he fixed a contract about founding a joint trade company by the name of Enrique Witt e hijo or Henry Witt &

207 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 781, Vol. 3, p. 848, Vol. 4, pp. 360, 382.

208 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 603.

209 E.g. HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 820f., Vol. 4, p. 544.

210 E.g. *ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 414, 606, Vol. 5, pp. 303, 333.

211 Witt's Italian studies: e.g. HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 820f., Vol. 4, p. 48. Commercial Reading Rooms: e.g. *ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 811f., 830, 842, Vol. 4, pp. 20, 47, 70, 528.

212 Information and judgements by Witt on the political events are frequently found in HWD, Vols. 4 and 5.

213 E.g. HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 11, 121, 164, 252. Witt recorded his climbings of San Cristóval (including futile attempts) again and again in his diary, and from Vol. 7 on the tables of contents include a special thematic heading for them ("Ascents of San Cristóval," HWD, Vol. 7, p. 883). On 31 December 1886 Witt noted that he had given up these walks since quite some time ago (*ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 69).

Son.²¹⁴ First of all the enterprise was supposed to sell, on a commission basis, manufactured goods of European, mostly German, producers in Lima and Peru. Also Schutte's already existing trade connections to France were supposed to be exploited.²¹⁵ By the end of the year 1850 Schutte's partnership in Arequipa came to an end. Louis Aurégan returned to Paris but still organized transactions for Henry Witt & Son. The second partner, Le Platinier, became the head of Schutte's Arequipa company which was to be continued until 1859.²¹⁶ To make the new Lima company known at the European trade places in question, to fix the necessary contracts about goods supplies with the producers and traders, as well as to open up accounts at local banking houses, in April 1851 Witt and Schutte went to Europe.²¹⁷ They were accompanied by their wives and Schutte's two daughters, the latter to stay in Hamburg afterwards. At first the two girls, 13 and 14 years old at that time, stayed with their uncle, Daniel Schutte, and his wife Bertha (maiden name: de Jongh) for a short time, before changing to a girls' boarding school in Hamburg.²¹⁸

The Witt and Schutte families spent about three months in Paris and London respectively, a total of about two months they spent in Hamburg and Altona. There were shorter stays in Brussels, Bremen and South England; furthermore the Witt couple went on a Rhine trip of several days from Cologne to Mainz. The two men negotiated with several trade companies and banking houses, and finally they were able to win over definitely renowned houses both in London and Altona which granted them credit lines and which they were allowed to refer to in the circulars, printed at both places, announcing the new partnership. In London they were Cotesworth & Powell (reference and a credit line of 10,000 Pounds Sterling), Edward Sieveking & Co. (a credit line of 5,000 Pounds Sterling), J. H. Schroeder & Co. (credit line) as well as Lovegrove & Leathes (reference), in Altona they were Hesse, Newman & Co. (reference and a credit line of 100,000 Marks) and J. H. & G. F. Baur (reference

214 The contract negotiations HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 471ff., the signatures of 14 April 1850 *ibid.*, p. 482. A copy of the contract has been preserved as an appendix to the diary, *ibid.*, Vol. 4, Appendix No. 10 (= Pictures 34, 35 and 36 in the current edition of the diary). The diary gives the name of the company in both languages and sometimes referring to the partners in the plural (*hijos, sons*). In the following only the English name in the singular is used.

215 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 478; Schutte's (ex-)partner Aurégan became one of the company's business partners in Paris. On C. W. Schutte & Co. in Arequipa see fn. 191.

216 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 388, 461, 598f., 786f., Vol. 5, p. 384.

217 The account of the journey from 9 April 1851 to 5 March 1852, HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 618-879, Vol. 5, pp. [31]-254.

218 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 132, 160.

and a credit line of 100,000 Marks).²¹⁹ These agreements happened by way of already existing personal and business contacts, in the context of which Witt in his diary emphasizes the significance of his good reputation for the negotiations.²²⁰ Schutte's reputation as a businessman, on the other hand, Witt tells, had rather been an obstacle, which was why they purposefully avoided Schutte's name for that of the company. For example, Antony Gibbs and Sons rejected being mentioned in the London circular, as from his bankruptcy in 1838 Schutte still owed the company more than 70,000 Pesos.²²¹ Witt and Schutte made agreements with agents in Hamburg (Daniel Schutte) and Manchester (Samuel Meyer/Myer); in other cities they fixed agreements with trade correspondents.²²² At several places they also bought goods. Already in mid-November they were able to ship a first load of goods for Henry Witt & Son from the harbor of Hamburg. Also two employees for the Lima office of the new company went on board the sailing ship.²²³

Apart from business purposes, this journey was also meant for seeing the old friends and acquaintances in Europe again and to introduce the members of the German and the Peruvian branches of Witt's family to each other. In London, among others they paid a visit to Witt's aunt, Frances Willink, in Bremen to the von Lotten family and to relatives of Schutte's. In Hamburg they met with Nelly Kramer and their family and with members of the Sieveking, Reincke and Knauer families.²²⁴ Also, in Paris and London they met with acquaintances from Peru who, for some time or for good, were living in Europe, the best known of them certainly the former President of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, General Andrés de Santa Cruz.²²⁵ Finally, just like during his

219 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 773, 777, 860, 863, 874, Vol. 5, pp. 139f, 542. Witt does not give the amount of the loan by Schroeder. Witt rejected a loan offered by Donner (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 160).

220 E.g. HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 830, 841.

221 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 780. On the money Schutte was owing Gibbs see *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 14, Vol. 5, p. 179.

222 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 768, 779, Vol. 5, p. 262. Meyer worked also as an agent for D. Schutte (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 198).

223 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 121, 138.

224 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 837, Vol. 5, pp. 113ff., 120, 128ff.

225 In Paris and Versailles they met e.g. an acquaintance of María Sierra, Jesus Bedoya de Escobar (HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 690, 720ff., 793), as well as Felipe Pardo and his family (*ibid.*, pp. 703f.). They met Santa Cruz and his family several times in Paris and London (*ibid.*, pp. 707ff., Vol. 5, pp. 31ff.). The history of the temporary and the lasting Peruvian and Latin American migration to Europe in the 19th century is as yet largely unresearched. On Paris see Jens Streckert, *Die Hauptstadt Lateinamerikas. Eine Geschichte der Lateinamerikaner im Paris der Dritten Republik (1871-1940)*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2013.

first extended European journey Witt completed a much varied tourist and educational program which, however, he sometimes modified considering his wife's physical constitution and his granddaughters' interests. In London they several times attended the Great Exhibition where they could see exhibits from Peru, among others.²²⁶ Not at last the travelers did much shopping, in particular in Paris, for their households in Lima.

In November 1851, the Schutte couple went from Hamburg via Paris to London, from where they intended to start their journey back to Peru in December.²²⁷ In December also Heinrich Witt and María Sierra left Hamburg and went to Paris which, despite Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's coup d'état early in the month, was supposed to serve as a starting point for a several-month journey through further European countries (considered were France, Spain and Italy).²²⁸ However, this journey did not happen anymore. As in Southampton Schutte was prevented from leaving Britain by one of the British trade companies whom he owed money since his bankruptcy, Witt had to go to England. After consultations with John Hayne, who was living in London again since 1847 and had become one of the partners of Antony Gibbs and Sons²²⁹, finally Witt achieved a settlement with all of Schutte's British creditors and had his son-in-law released. Himself being one of Schutte's creditors, also he gave up on part of his money; furthermore he paid the agreed sums from his own funds for a start, which again increased the amount of money Schutte owed him. (Back in Lima, Witt and Schutte had the new depths registered in the notarial records.²³⁰) Then, in mid-January 1852, the two couples left for

226 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 666f., 831f., 861ff., Vol. 5, pp. 39f. On Peru's contribution to the World Exhibition of 1851 see Leticia Quiñones Tinoco, *El Perú en la vitrina. El progreso material a través de las exposiciones (1851-1898)*, Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2007, pp. 135ff.

227 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 140ff.

228 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 158, 171f.

229 In 1847 Gibbs had reorganized their South American branch, which now ran under the name of William Gibbs & Co. Hayne's successor as head of the branch in Lima became Samuel Went, who up to then had been manager of the branch in Arequipa (HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 91f., 98); see also the literature on Gibbs mentioned in fn. 39.

230 Witt gives a detailed account of the negotiations and the achieved result, HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 172-85. The depths to a Peruvian creditor were not covered by the agreement (on Schutte's depths after 1838 see also *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 14). The notarial records see AGN-CN, PN, Vol. 162, Cosío, Sheets 32-32 verso: Declaración. Don Cristoval Guillermo Schutte a favor del Señor Don Enrique Witt (dated 8 March 1852; 26,000 Pesos, at an interest of 6 % p.a.).

Peru together. This time the return journey, like the outward journey, was via Panama.²³¹

Before arriving in Lima on 5 March they spent one day with the Garland family in Paita in Peru's northernmost region. In 1851 Gerald Garland had left Gibbs's and had become the manager and one of the partners of the Ruden & Co. trade company in this port city.²³² Enriqueta von Lotten and her children, however, soon returned to Lima. She rented a flat in a house at the corner of *Calle de Zárate* and *Calle de Aldavas* in the 2nd District, which was bought by Witt in 1864.²³³ Now also Christoph Wilhelm Schutte and Rosa Diez, who had been living in Arequipa until their departure for Europe in 1851, settled down in the capital.²³⁴

In Lima, just like in 1846 after his return from his first European journey, Witt once again started a period of establishing his business. Henry Witt & Son had circulars printed also there, hired Witt's former port agent in Callao for dealing with the customs procedures for the goods coming from Europe, and started selling. In charge of the latter was first of all Schutte, whereas Witt dealt predominantly with office work, in particular bookkeeping.²³⁵ Business was starting only slowly, so that soon they had to rent additional storage facilities.²³⁶ To be able to pay their business partners in Europe despite lacking revenues, sometimes Witt had to acquire loans for the company in Lima, which he was not always granted.²³⁷ Also Hesse, Newman & Co. in Altona refused to double

231 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 189.

232 The stay in Paita HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 251f.; on Garland leaving Gibbs and his new activity for the company of the North American Alexander Ruden jr. see *ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 516, 525, 577f.; also Gibbs, *History*, p. 455. The arrival in Lima *ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 254 as well as *El Comercio*, 6 March 1852, Column: Puerto del Callao (Entradas 6 March, passengers on board the "Vapor inglés 'Santiago'" from Panama a.o. "Mr. & Mrs. de Witt"); also *El Correo Diario del Pueblo*, 6 March 1852, Column: Puerto del Callao (there the arrival is recorded under the date of 5 March).

233 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 4. The diary does not tell when exactly Enriqueta von Lotten went back to Lima.

234 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 261, 277, 322, Vol. 6, p. 4.

235 See the account of the business development between March and October 1852, HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 254-321; on the distribution of work in particular, *ibid.*, pp. 260, 265. Juan Diez may be supposed to have contributed only part of the investment; HDW does not mention any contribution by Diez to the business activity.

236 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 313.

237 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 318.

the company's credit line.²³⁸ An attempt to increase sales by opening the company's own shop was futile in the long run.²³⁹

Clearly more profitable at that time were Witt's participations in his son's business activities. Juan Diez had meanwhile bought his second ship and went on further trade expeditions to China, California and, after the gold discoveries in Australia in 1851, to Sidney and Melbourne. In particular the selling of Chinese flour in Australia and of Australian tallow in China and Peru resulted in considerable profits.²⁴⁰ Sailing between Canton and San Francisco, in the early 1850s Diez's "Iowa" served as a transport for Chinese workers, among others.²⁴¹ According to Witt, these passengers were free emigrants, in contrast to the "coolies" who had been taken to Peru since 1849. Probably, neither then nor in the context of his earlier voyages to China Diez took part in the, in most cases, forced migration to Peru of Chinese contract workers.²⁴² In great numbers and under usually very bad working conditions the coolies were employed on the plantations on the coast, a smaller share worked in the cities in the households of the better-off families.²⁴³ Since 1852 also among the servants of the Witt family there was a Chinese cook, Achipe, who stayed with them into the 1870s, with a few interruptions.²⁴⁴ Whereas Witt's diary does not give any details about how Achipe came to Peru and to Witt's household, in the case of a second Chinese servant, Ayao, Witt tells that he had bought the latter's contract from Guillermo Garland in 1872.²⁴⁵ At that time, shortly before the end of the coolie system, his grandson was buying off from the importers

238 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 306.

239 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 317.

240 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 347f., Vol. 6, pp. 4f. Witt did not hold shares of the "Iowa" which sank off the Chilean coast probably in the mid-1850s. The "Maria", bought together with Witt, was sold by Diez in early 1857, shortly before the beginning of the worldwide economic crisis.

241 HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 617, 789, Vol. 5, pp. 157, 280.

242 Diez's ships are not listed in María Castro de Mendoza, *El transporte marítimo en la inmigración china 1849-1874*, Lima, no year given.

243 On the history of the coolies and generally the Chinese immigration to Peru in the 19th century see Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru. A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1951; Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Hijos del Celeste Imperio en el Perú (1850-1900). Migración, agricultura, mentalidad y explotación*, Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989; on the history of the descendants of the coolies: the same, *Herederos del Dragón. Historia de la comunidad China en el Perú*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000.

244 On the beginning of Achipe working for Witt e.g. HWD, Vol. 5, p. 644, Vol. 7, p. 42; on the end: Vol. 8, p. 97.

245 In Witt's words: "whom in October of 1872 I had bought from Guillermo" (HWD, Vol. 7, p. 446). Ayao stayed with Witt at least until 1880 (last mentioning: *ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 289).

the contracts of ill and weak Chinese people after their arrival in Callao for a reduced price, to feed the men up and then sell them again at a profit.²⁴⁶

In the leisure time left to Witt apart from his business activities and still many family and social obligations he continued particularly his intensive Latin studies. However, at the end of October 1852 he had to give up on this, just like on his extensive further reading, as his eyesight had much deteriorated. For quite some time Witt, who had been nearsighted since his childhood, had felt his vision being blurred and found it extremely difficult to read and write.²⁴⁷ The eight physicians and health experts he consulted in Lima and Callao made different diagnoses and recommended several therapies, none of which however, as far as Witt tried them out, did improve his eyesight.²⁴⁸ Thus already in 1853 he intended to go to Europe and to see German eye specialists to be provided with a final, convincing diagnose. As during the important period of being established he did not like to leave the new company only under Schutte's custody, he postponed the journey.²⁴⁹ However, until his departure in August 1854 he kept the advice by his first physician not to use glasses anymore and, if possible, to stay away from both reading and writing.²⁵⁰ In order of nevertheless enjoying books and newspapers, still in 1852 he hired a young Englishman, Richard Bullen, as a reader.²⁵¹ Apart from Bullen, who came to the house for three hours every day, also Witt's nephew, Johannes Limpricht, was frequently reading aloud to him. Limpricht, who in the Schleswig-Holstein War had fought for the secession of the duchies from Denmark and, according to Witt, had not been able to continue his academic career after the end of the war, had come to Lima at about May 1853 where, by appointment of his uncle, he found his first employment at a trade company.²⁵² Limpricht did also do the writing for Witt. Furthermore, it must be assumed that at that time Witt dictated at least his business and consular correspondence to the employees at the office of Henry Witt & Son.

246 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 423. Guillermo Garland was working together with a "Doctor", probably a physician, whose name is missing in the diary due to text loss.

247 E.g. HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 32, 81, Vol. 4, p. 707, Vol. 5, p. 321, Vol. 6, pp. 1ff.

248 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 2ff. Witt went to see an Italian, a Frenchman, an Englishman, a German as well as four men on whose nationality he does not comment.

249 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 3.

250 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 2.

251 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 787, Vol. 6, p. 5.

252 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 326ff. (also on Limpricht's further career in Peru and Altona/Hamburg), Vol. 6, pp. 5f.

Finally on 11 August 1854, Witt together with his wife started his third journey from Peru to Europe.²⁵³ Before leaving, he had agreed with Christoph Wilhelm Schutte on a change of their partnership contract. Witt terminated his active involvement in the joint enterprise and, as a compensation, was to receive a higher interest rate for his invested capital – an agreement about which he obviously felt angry for all of his life.²⁵⁴ Probably on occasion of this agreement the name of the company was changed to Enrique Witt y Schutte or Henry Witt & Schutte respectively.²⁵⁵ Despite this change of the contract, Witt was supposed to care for the company's business also in Europe.

This time the journey took him from Panama first to New York, where the couple spent five weeks during which, however, they did not see much of the city and its environments, due to María Sierra being ill. In his diary Witt regrets particularly that there had been no possibility to see the Niagara Falls.²⁵⁶ From New York they took a liner to Europe where, taken several stays together, they spent slightly more than two months in Britain (most of all London), in Paris and in Berlin respectively, as well as seven months in Hamburg and Altona. Additionally there was a short trip to Brussels. Furthermore in the summer of 1855, between two stays in Hamburg, they went on a five-month journey through several countries of Germany, the Habsburg Monarchy, some Italian princedoms and Switzerland, thus to a certain degree making good for the journey which had not happened in 1852.²⁵⁷ Now they were travelling together with their granddaughters Conradina and Amalia Schutte whose education in Hamburg had been completed and who stayed with their grandparents also during the further stages of this European journey (among others, the Paris stay was to follow) and returned to Lima with them. In Hamburg, Witt had furthermore hired a German servant who accompanied them throughout their entire further time in Europe and who then also went to Lima with them.²⁵⁸ Finally from England they took a niece of Gerald Garland with them to Peru.²⁵⁹

253 The account of the journey from 11 August 1854 to 10 June 1856 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 34-281.

254 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 818, Vol. 5, pp. 330, 537, Vol. 6, pp. 3f.

255 Witt does not give a date of when the company's name was changed. Furthermore, in the diary the company is often abbreviated as "H. W. & S.", which makes sense for both versions. However, it is very probable that the change happened before Witt's departure in 1854. Thus, in the following from here on the new name is used, as previously in the English version.

256 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 46.

257 The account of the journey from 23 May to 27 October 1855 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 78-226. Witt calls also this journey a "grand tour" (*ibid.*, p. 78; on this see fn. 37).

258 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 324, 680, Vol. 6, pp. 78, 272.

259 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 271.

Like on his earlier European journeys, also during these stays in the various cities Heinrich Witt paid visits to relatives, to European or Peruvian and other South American acquaintances and business partners, and he pursued an extensive touristic and educational program, each according to occasion and possibility together with his wife, his granddaughters or on his own.²⁶⁰ Apart from smaller souvenirs they bought at the various stations of their trip, also this time Witt and his family bought some items for their Lima household in Hamburg and Berlin, but particularly in Paris, most of all clothes, furniture and dishes, but also a coach and, in Genoa, marble plates for the stairway of their house on *Calle del Correo*.²⁶¹

Also regarding business matters Witt was basically successful during this journey, even if he was not able to make all the deals he attempted for Henry Witt & Schutte.²⁶² In London, for example, he achieved an increase of the company's credit line at J. H. Schroeder & Co. In Altona he was successful with recruiting Bernhard Donner as a new creditor; after his father's death in 1854 Bernhard was continuing the company under its original name.²⁶³

Witt was also much in pursuit of the journey's other objective, the diagnosis and treatment of his eye disease. After having been to a doctor already in New York, he consulted nine physicians in various European cities, among them some of the most renowned eye specialists of the time, and at around the turn of the year 1855/56 he stayed at the clinic of Berlin eye specialist Albrecht von Graefe for six weeks, together with his wife and granddaughters, for whom he arranged for a rented piano.²⁶⁴ The majority of the physicians diagnosed an inflammation of the retinal.²⁶⁵ This illness could not be cured,

260 Visits to Witt's closer relatives in Germany and Britain HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 52ff., 58ff., 71ff., 224ff., 239ff., 260ff., to relatives of Schutte and von Lotten in Bremen (*ibid.*, pp. 238ff.).

261 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 82f., 178, 227, 248.

262 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 178, 268.

263 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 62, 255, 260f.

264 The visits to physicians HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 44f., 56, 65ff., 101, 105ff. The account of the stay at the clinic (17 Decemeber 1855 to 25 January 1856) *ibid.*, pp. 233-37. According to information by the Museum of Medical History of the Charité in Berlin (e-mail of 26 November 2010), the there preserved Graefe collection does not include any documents from Graefe's office. Apart from Albrecht von Graefe, also Johann Christian Jüngken (Berlin; HWD: Jüncken), Friedrich Hermann de Leuw (Gräfrath) and in Vienna Anton von Rosas as well as Friedrich and Eduard Jäger von Jaxtthal must be counted among the eminent authorities of ophthalmology in those days.

265 Witt accepted this diagnosis (HWD, Vol. 6, p. 68). A minority of the consulted physicians had, like the first one Witt had consulted in Lima, diagnosed a beginning cataract (*ibid.*, pp. 56, 67).

as was the unequivocal opinion of the specialists; however a worsening and possible blindness could be prevented by way of a diet and a strict alcohol abstinence as well as a variety of medical treatments. As far as we know, Witt did not become blind until the end of his life. If the inflammation healed or at least became less intensive, and in how far Witt's ongoing visual problems were connected to his nearsightedness cannot be clarified anymore. However, the diary shows a great number of complaints about his bad and, in the course of time, dwindling eyesight. Concerning his stay at von Graefe's clinic in 1856, Witt concluded that then he had had the impression that the treatment had been helpful.²⁶⁶ Whereas in his diary he depicts his further life as on the whole being lived according to the advice of the doctors, he did not make use of von Graefe's permission to wear glasses, even if for the rest of his life this meant a severe impairment and, e.g. when being at museums, galleries or theatres, during this journey his enjoyment of art was much reduced.²⁶⁷ For reading aloud to him as well as for paperwork he hired secretaries in Hamburg and Paris.²⁶⁸ On the trip to the South of Europe in 1855 and after the return to Peru in 1856 his granddaughters took over these tasks.²⁶⁹ On the Atlantic steamer, Witt furthermore successfully asked a fellow traveler to read out to him, the Belgian engineer Desideré Vlemenx who was supposed to join the Peruvian state service. In return, on the ship and later in Lima Witt helped the Belgian with learning Spanish.²⁷⁰ This time the travelers crossed the Panama isthmus by the railway line opened in 1855.²⁷¹ As already in 1852, the journey included a stay with Gerald Garland in Paita, who at that time was running an oil mill there, for which he had borrowed money from Witt.²⁷²

266 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 237.

267 The allowance to wear glasses and Witt's rejection HWD, Vol. 5, p. 335, Vol. 6, p. 237; lamenting problems during the trip e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 174, 185f., 194, 244f., 273.

268 In Hamburg Witt employed, one after the other, three secretaries, and one in Paris (HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 60, 248). The Italian lessons he took in Hamburg were exclusively oral (*ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 60).

269 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 1, 131, 152, 187.

270 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 340, Vol. 6, p. 273.

271 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 277f.

272 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 338, Vol. 6, p. 281 (including the visit). AGN-C, PN, Vol. 166, Cosio, Sheets 320-321: *Obligacion é hipoteca el Señor Geraldo Garland al Señor Don Enrique Witt* (dated 10 October 1856).

Family Life between Lima and Europe (1856-1863)

Looking for a secretary and reader was also one of Witt's first activities after the family's return to Lima on 10 June 1856.²⁷³ A German secretary he had hired in Hamburg and sent ahead to Peru had died shortly after arrival, probably on yellow fever which spread in Lima at that time.²⁷⁴ First he employed three Germans for short periods. (One of them was Ludwig Albrecht, well-known in Peruvian history for his building the *Hazienda* "Casa Grande" in the Chicama valley in later years.²⁷⁵) Finally Witt hired Richard Bullen again, this time for reading and writing – on six days a week for about five hours a day.²⁷⁶ Additionally he hired the teacher of the older Garland sons, the Englishman George A. Coleman, who read to him from English books and newspapers in the evenings.²⁷⁷ As neither Bullen nor Coleman spoke German, from about 1858 on also Johannes Limpricht came frequently to the house, to read German dramas and articles from German newspapers as well as French history works to Witt.²⁷⁸ In the following more than 30 years until his death Witt employed a great number of paid and unpaid secretaries and readers with whom he often spent several hours a day and to whom he dictated his voluminous correspondence – and also his diary –, who kept his books and read to him in English, Spanish, German and French. Some of them, like Bullen and Coleman, worked several years for Witt, others stayed only for short periods, either because they found other jobs or left Lima again or because Witt cancelled their employments for one or the other reason.

Whereas this way the number of employees was rising, the size of his household in the house on *Calle del Correo* had diminished after his return from Europe. Conradina and Amalia Schutte were now living with their parents, after April 1857 Juan Diez was staying in Europe for good, due to health reasons.²⁷⁹ He returned to Lima only as late as in March 1860, where he stayed until April 1862, before going to Europe again. (Apart from some stays of

273 Arrival in Lima HWD, Vol. 5, p. 324; El Comercio, 10 June 1856, Column: Movimiento marítimo Puerto del Callao (passengers of the "vapor ingles NEW GRANADA" from Panama a.o. "Don D. Felminex, señor Witthen [sic] y señora, un peon", from Paita a.o. "Geraldo Garland").

274 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 323, Vol. 6, p. 214.

275 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 324f. Ludwig (Luis) Albrecht is mentioned several times in Witt's diary, see the Index of Persons and Places.

276 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 326, 330.

277 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 329.

278 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 508f., 515.

279 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 342, 347f.

several months in Lima, in 1868/69, 1874/75 and 1876/77 respectively, as far as we know from Witt's diary he seems to have spent the rest of his life in Europe; he died in Switzerland in 1908.²⁸⁰) The sons of Enriqueta von Lotten and Gerald Garland, however, were frequent guests of Witt and his wife. In October 1859 the household employed five servants: the already mentioned Chinese cook, Achipe, the German butler the couple had brought from Hamburg, an Afro-Peruvian butler, and an Afro-Peruvian maid, all four of whom stayed with them for a longer period, as well as an indigenous porter the family had hired just a few weeks before.²⁸¹

According to Witt's depictions, at the end of the 1850s the Witt couple and also the Garland family led a socially rather quiet life – notwithstanding the usual visits, invitations and Witt's obligations as a Consul. Only occasionally they invited to smaller parties.²⁸² The Schutte couple, on the other hand, having two daughters of marriageable age, organized a well-attended evening party (*tertulia*) every week at about 1858.²⁸³ In December that year Conradina Schutte was promised to one of the regular guests, Ferdinand Cordes from Hamburg.²⁸⁴ As the Protestant groom rejected conversion to Catholicism, for the church wedding one needed an exceptional permission by the Papal Nuncio in Bogotá.²⁸⁵ Cordes had started his career as an employee of Huth, Grüning & Co.'s, but had then entered into a partnership with another businessman from Hamburg. However, he dissolved it even before the wedding in May 1859, to start working for Henry Witt & Schutte.²⁸⁶ In mid-July he went to Europe together with his young wife, where he was supposed to care for the company's business which, as a consequence of the worldwide economic crisis after 1857, had partly to be reorganized.²⁸⁷ Some of the companies in

280 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 698, Vol. 6, pp. 304, 863, Vol. 7, pp. 77, 631, 704f., Vol. 8, pp. 250f., 358. Year and place of death in Barreda, p. 74.

281 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 644, 680.

282 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 332, 335ff.

283 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 343.

284 The engagement on 16 December 1858 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 519; Information on Ferdinand Cordes (1832-1868) *ibid.*, p. 454, biographical data in Barreda, p. 74 (there: Theodor Ernest). The marriage was solemnized by the Consul of Hamburg on 17 May, and the Church wedding was on 18 May 1859, HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 591f.

285 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 572, 581.

286 Cordes, Lauezzari & Co. were dissolved in March 1859 (HWD, Vol. 5, p. 550). Only by the end of July 1859 Witt records an official agreement between Henry Witt & Schutte and Cordes, however already by an earlier date he mentions the latter's contribution to working at the office (*ibid.*, pp. 590, 600, 604f.).

287 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 600, 604f., 606f.

London, Hamburg and Altona with whom Henry Witt & Schutte did business on their own account were in trouble as a result of the crisis, some, among them Georg Heinrich Sieveking's company in Altona, even had to completely give up on operations.²⁸⁸ Being the company's representative, Cordes achieved some successes for Henry Witt & Schutte in London and Hamburg; however he became partner only as late as in 1863, when returning to Lima. In the meantime he established himself as the successor of the firm's agent Samuel Meyer in Manchester, who had died in 1860.²⁸⁹ It seems as if although Henry Witt & Schutte felt the effects of the crisis, on the whole they went through it without having been much affected.²⁹⁰ However, given the difficult economic situation, as we read from his diary, Heinrich Witt agreed with a reduction of the interest rate for the capital he had invested in Henry Witt & Schutte from twelve to ten per cent by 1 May 1858.²⁹¹

Shortly before his granddaughter's wedding Heinrich Witt went to Arequipa once again, where he had not been since 1846. Accompanied by Johannes Limpricht, he went to this city in the South in late March 1859, to liquidate Schutte's remaining business there after the suicide of its manager, Mr. Pinckernelle from Hamburg, who had come to Peru for Henry Witt & Son in 1851, and to take care of the necessary formalities.²⁹² This slightly less than six-week trip to Arequipa, where once again he met many of his old acquaintances, was Witt's last bigger journey within Peru.²⁹³ Before starting it, the now almost 60-year-old wrote a new last will and testament.²⁹⁴

After his return to Lima, Witt spent some time on making up the accounts of the liquidated company in Arequipa.²⁹⁵ It seems as if by the late 1850s, according to the agreement of 1854, his contribution to the work of Henry

288 Witt's depiction of the effects of the crisis in particular HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 379ff., 541ff.

289 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 651f., 678f., 759, 763, 873, Vol. 6, p. 550.

290 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 381ff.

291 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 463.

292 The account of the journey from 28 March to 10 May 1859 including the liquidation of the company HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 553-87. According to Witt, Hans or Johann Pinckernelle (HWD: John Pinckernelli) was a son or relative of the Hamburg ship broker Ernst Friedrich Pinckernelle. The entry on the Pinckernelle family in the *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch* does not give any appropriate person, see *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch*, ed. by Hildegard von Marchtaler, Vol. 12, Limburg an der Lahn: Starke, 1975, pp. 317-44.

293 At least it is Witt's last journey within Peru mentioned in the preserved volumes of the diary.

294 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 552.

295 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 588, 643, 649, 711, 862.

Witt & Schutte was mostly restricted to supervising the business and the work of the employees at regular intervals.²⁹⁶ At the beginning of the 1860s this changed. On the one hand, a fire in a mill in Callao in November 1860, to whose owners Henry Witt & Schutte and additionally Witt on his own had lent money, resulted in a long-drawn quarrel with the insurance company in Hamburg which came to an end only in 1862.²⁹⁷ On the other hand, in October 1860, the Peruvian government awarded Henry Witt & Schutte the contract for exporting guano to Germany from January 1862 on. Guano, dried sea bird dung, was a much demanded fertilizer in North America and Europe, in particular in Great Britain. It was the Peruvian state's most important source of revenue between 1840 and 1880 and offered outstanding profit rates to the trade companies involved.²⁹⁸ As the contracts of those companies as previously participating in the guano business were running out, in 1860 the Peruvian government contracted other companies which were capable and ready to pay the high advance payments for the consignment options.²⁹⁹ Henry Witt & Schutte made an advance payment of 500,000 Pesos; the Hamburg companies of J. D. Mutzenbecher Söhne and A. J. Schön & Co., which also participated in

296 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 330, 351, 643, 862.

297 First mention of the fire HWD, Vol. 5, p. 758. The news of the final settlement of the claim reached Witt in mid-April 1862, see *ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 306. Witt's information on his entry as a "sleeping partner" of the firm *ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 826; the partnership is registered in the notarial records, see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 168, Cosío, Sheets 712-716: *Compañía los Señores Don Amandus Möller y Don Austin Moore con Don Enrique Witt* (dated 11 July 1859). On 10 May 1862 the partnership was terminated, see *ibid.*, Vol. 170, Cosío, Sheets 840-842: *Désolución y Chancelación Los Señores Don E. Witt y otros*.

298 Historiography judges differently on the significance and practices of guano trade and on how the high revenue influenced Peru's political, economic and social development in the 19th century. Apart from the already mentioned works on Peru's history, see e.g. Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development. Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840-1880*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1993; Heraclio Bonilla, *Guano y burguesía en el Perú. El contraste de la experiencia peruana con las economías de exportación del Ecuador y Bolivia*, 3rd extended ed., Quito 1994; José R. Deustua C., *Guano, salitre, minería y petróleo en la economía peruana, 1820-1930*, in: *Compendio de historia económica del Perú*, pp. 165-237.

299 In May 1860 the contracts for all trade regions (with the exception of Spain) were newly tendered. In October, like with Henry Witt & Schutte for Germany, contracts were fixed with five companies or consortiums; the contract for the main markets of Great Britain and the USA, however, was annulled again in early 1861, and a new agreement was made with a consortium of Peruvian companies as late as in January 1862, after the previous contract with Gibbs's had expired. Apart from the sometimes very detailed description of the process in Witt (HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 704ff., Vol. 6, pp. 285ff.) see the summary in Mathew, *House of Gibbs*, pp. 215ff.

the transaction, subscribed for a joint share of 25 per cent of the sum total.³⁰⁰ In April 1862, Henry Witt & Schutte advanced another 65,000 Pesos for the extension of the contract to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia.³⁰¹ Even if, compared to its main market of Great Britain, the German business was rather small, Witt's work at the office was required repeatedly, at least until in late January 1862 the first ships taking guano to Germany for the company had been dispatched.³⁰²

At the beginning of the 1860s there were some changes also concerning Witt's family. In April 1862, Juan Diez and Amalia Schutte accompanied Witt's oldest four grandsons, Enrique (12), Guillermo (11), Alejandro (9) and Geraldo (8), to Britain where the children were supposed to attend school near Liverpool, under supervision of their aunt, Emma Garland.³⁰³ In August that year, also María Sierra, Enriqueta von Lotten with her two next eldest sons Ricardo (7) and Juan (5) as well as Johannes Limpricht went to Europe.³⁰⁴ The reason for this journey was an illness of María Sierra for the treatment of which she intended to consult European specialists. The physicians in Lima had diagnosed a tumor in the lower abdomen.³⁰⁵ Witt stayed in Lima to take care of the guano business.³⁰⁶ However it seems, after sensation caused by the premature prolongation of the guano contract in November 1862 (for another four years until 1870, for another advance payment of 700,000 Pesos) had calmed down, as if there was much less work for Henry Witt & Schutte than Witt and Schutte had expected in August.³⁰⁷ On 29 January 1863 Heinrich Witt followed his wife and, for the fourth time in twenty years, travelled to Europe.³⁰⁸

300 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 745, 814, 872.

301 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 308.

302 On 29 January 1862, HWD, Vol. 6, p. 291. Some documents regarding the guano activities of Henry Witt & Schutte and the company's accounts with the Peruvian government were published in 1864 in defense of the firm against incriminations: E. Witt y Schutte ante la opinión pública. Refutación de las calumniosas imputaciones del Diputado D. José Martín de Cárdenas, Lima: Imprenta del "Mercurio", 1864.

303 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 862, Vol. 6, pp. 303f.

304 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 331. Limpricht, who most of all acted as a male accompaniment during the crossing, returned to Lima already in 1862 (*ibid.*, pp. 357, 369).

305 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 316, 321f., 329f.

306 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 329.

307 The extension of the contract HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 358ff. Previously Henry Witt & Schutte had several times lent smaller sums to the Peruvian government, who needed money (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 339). Witt's changed judgement on the necessity of his presence in Lima already before the extension of the contract *ibid.*, p. 343.

308 The account of the journey from 29 January to 15 September 1863 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 377-549.

Witt spent most of the slightly less than eight months of this travel with his family in France, at first in Paris, where María Sierra and Enriqueta von Lotten had rented several rooms at a hotel already since October 1862, for some time accompanied by the Cordes couple and Amalia Schutte, then in May and June in Vichy for five weeks, where mother and daughter had a spa treatment.³⁰⁹ At both places they socialized with acquaintances from Peru or South America.³¹⁰ In Vichy they met, among others, the acting Vice President and later President of Peru, General José Antonio Pezet, and Peru's then *chargé d'affaires* in Paris, Pedro Gálvez Egúsuiza, and their respective wives.³¹¹

Neither in Paris nor in Vichy were the doctors able to achieve any lasting improvement of María Sierra's health. From now on Witt's life was to be essentially affected by his wife's illness. Due to medical considerations, the couple gave up on a long intended journey through France, Switzerland and up the Rhine as far as to Koblenz.³¹² However, Heinrich Witt went on several shorter trips on his own. In Hamburg and Altona, just like during the previous European journeys, he visited his relatives, friends as well as private and business acquaintances. With the partners of the Mutzenbecher and Schön companies he conferred about the guano trade.³¹³ Furthermore, he collected information about boarding schools, as the Garland couple considered sending their sons to Germany. (In late 1863 the children eventually changed to Eimsbüttel near Hamburg.³¹⁴) In Berlin, once again he consulted Albrecht von Graefe who, according to Witt's notes, diagnosed a slight worsening since the previous examination but still did not expect Witt to become completely blind, provided he would keep his diet.³¹⁵ During a short stay in Britain in early May 1863 he saw his aunt Frances Willink in London and her family as well as some business partners; near Liverpool he had a look at his grandsons.³¹⁶ In early July he went to Trier to see his cousin Marcus-Andreas Hugues who was now living in a Redemptorist monastery, and further to Wildbad in the Black Forest where Juan Diez was staying at a health spa.³¹⁷ Together they went to Paris, from where Diez went to Switzerland after a few days with the family.³¹⁸

309 Treatments in Paris see HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 360, 364, 372, 395f., 457; in Vichy *ibid.*, pp. 462ff.

310 Contacts in Paris HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 364, 396ff.

311 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 478ff.

312 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 489.

313 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 415, 426.

314 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 426f., 445, 560, 569.

315 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 438.

316 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 447ff., 454ff.

317 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 499ff.

318 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 523f. In early 1864 Witt received post from Diez from Cairo (*ibid.*, p. 579).

Witt, María Sierra, Enriqueta von Lotten and her son Juan started their return journey to Peru at the end of July 1863, while Ricardo Garland had also been consigned to the care of his aunt in October 1862.³¹⁹ After a short stay in London, for final business and private visits as well as some shopping, they left Southampton on 3 August 1863.³²⁰ Also this time they made a stop on Peru's northern coast to see Gerald Garland who, since 1861, was running a cotton plant near Paita in partnership with the owner of the land, Pedro Arrese (again Garland had borrowed money from Witt).³²¹ On 17 September they arrived in Lima.³²²

Success and Strokes of Fate (1863-1879)

After their return the Witt couple received and paid a great number of welcome visits. Concerning Heinrich Witt himself – as always since his first return in 1845 – this included reporting back as a Consul at the Foreign Minister as well as a round of visits to the members of the diplomatic and consular corps.³²³ Already by 1 October he employed a new secretary and reader, in January 1864 another reader joined in.³²⁴ Also Witt took up again his regular walks up the *Cerro de San Cristóval*.³²⁵ Thus on the one hand Witt's family and everyday life soon went back to the tracks which had been usual before the journey. On the other hand, still in the year 1864 and in the following years there happened some changes which were of significance for Witt. For one thing, in February

319 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 360.

320 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 527, 531. According to Witt, also in Paris his wife and daughter did much shopping, e.g. *ibid.*, p. 399.

321 The 14 days stay with Garland HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 541-49. Witt had shortly met Garland already on the outward journey in early 1863 (*ibid.*, pp. 380f.). On the cotton plantation see *ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 866, Vol. 6, pp. 371, 541ff., 728. On the money borrowed from Witt see *ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 285, and AGN-C, PN, Vol. 170, Cosío, Sheets 770-771 verso: *Obligación El Señor Garland al Señor Witt* (dated 23 November 1861; the money Garland now owed his father-in-law amounted to 70,000 Pesos).

322 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 549.

323 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 550ff. Reporting back and paying visits as a Consul on the occasion of the journey *ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 736 (1845), Vol. 5, pp. 258f. (1852); for returning in 1856 appropriate information is lacking. On Witt reporting back to the Foreign Ministry, documents are preserved at MRE, File: Cuadernos Copiadores 117, Correspondencia con Cónsules de Países Europeos en el Perú, 1843-1861, Sub-File Dinamarca.

324 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 550f., 575.

325 E.g. HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 553f., 559, 598, 604.

1864 Witt bought the big house at the corner of *Calle de Zárate* and *Calle de Aldavas* where the Garland family had been renting a flat for several years and to which also the Witt couple intended to move.³²⁶ From a complicated owners' structure – the house was part of a former *majorat* (*mayorazgo*) – and complicated tenancies there developed a sequence of legal disputes which for a number of years took Witt's attention, time and money. Only after more than seven years, in April 1871, Witt and María Sierra were able to move into their rooms in the new house.³²⁷

For another thing, throughout almost the entire year 1864 Witt followed with great interest the coverage of the Second Schleswig-Holstein War which ended with a defeat of Denmark. As a consequence, in the Vienna Peace Denmark had to give up on the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.³²⁸ Holstein was at first administered by Austria, until in 1867, after the Prussian-German War, the duchies were joined to form a Prussian province. Thus, Witt's home town of Altona became Prussian. Witt's request at the Danish government already from March 1865, however, if due to his position of Danish Consul General in Peru he would stay a Danish citizen even if Holstein was finally to become Prussian, was probably left unanswered.³²⁹

However, Witt's interest in the political events of his time was not restricted to his home town or Germany or Europe. Rather, he observed the development at

326 On the purchase of the house *Calle de Zárate* No. 96 (corner *Calle de Aldavas*) and Witt explaining the implications of the *majorat* see HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 570ff., 580, 588f. The contract of sale is documented under AGN-C, PN, Vol. 564, Palacios, Sheets 688 verso-692 verso: *Venta Aliaga y otros á Witt* (dated 15 February 1864, purchase price 80 000 Pesos). Later Witt also bought the five neighboring shops on *Calle de Aldavas* which were also a part of the *majorat* (*ibid.*, Vol. 566, Palacios, Sheets 135 verso-140: *Venta Aliaga y Puente á Witt* (dated 9 March 1865, purchase price 8050 Pesos). At the time of the purchase, *Calle de Zárate* had already been renamed 4th *cuadra de Calle de Junín*.

327 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 249. Comments and information by Witt on the legal disputes are found almost frequently after the entry on the purchase of the house.

328 Vol. 6 of the diary provides much information about these events – Witt took them from newspapers and letters; first mentioning HWD, Vol. 6, p. 559.

329 RA, File: Udenrigsministeriet, Sub-File: Departementet for Handels- og Konsulatsager, Journalsager (Konsulatssager), 1865, Box 128: No. 694, Witt to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 28 March 1865 (Report No. 46). The appropriate passage of Witt's report was copied at the Ministry and filed as a special dossier (*ibid.*, No. 693). No answer by the Ministry has been preserved, also neither on these documents nor in the journal of arriving letters (RA, File: Udenrigsministeriet, Sub-File: Departementet for Handels- og Konsulatsager, 1849-1866, Journal over indkomne konsulatssager, Box 17: Journal for 1865-66: No. 693) there is any note referring to an answer. In his diary Witt does not mention this request or his considerations concerning a change of his citizenship.

a global scale, as far as he was able to collect information from newspapers and his correspondence. For all his lifetime Witt closely observed also the political and economic development in Peru, both as the Consul General of Denmark and as a merchant and private person. He discussed the events with friends, relatives, acquaintances and business partners, sent reports to Copenhagen for more than 30 years, and again and again made the development of Peru a topic of detailed discussion in his private and business letters as well as in his diary. Thus, he also followed the conflict of 1864-66 between Spain on the one hand and Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia on the other, war being declared in 1865. Like other inhabitants of Lima, he watched the bombardment of Callao by the Spanish fleet on 2 May 1866 from near: As soon as the first shots were heard, Witt tells, he went in the direction of Callao and climbed a steeple in nearby La Legua.³³⁰

Still in the year 1864, in October, Witt's granddaughter Amalia Schutte was promised to Juan Lavalle Correas from Buenos Aires, who was staying in Lima as the secretary of the Argentine embassy.³³¹ The wedding was in early 1865, in May the following year the couple, together with their son Juan Guillermo, born in the meantime, left Peru and at first went to Buenos Aires, later to Europe.³³²

As already mentioned, in 1866 Enriqueta von Lotten became a mother once again. This first daughter, María, was followed by a second one in 1870, Corina. Furthermore, in July 1867 her two eldest sons, Enrique and Guillermo, who had completed school in Eimsbüttel, returned to Peru. Already in September

330 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 746.

331 The engagement on 31 October 1864 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 632, there also a few information on Juan Bernabé (de) Lavalle Correas (1834-1868). Lavalle was the son of the Argentinian fighter for independence, Juan Galo de Lavalle González Bordallo, and related to the de Lavalle family in Lima, biographical data see <http://www.genealogiafamiliar.net/getperson.php?personID=I23410&tree=BVCZ> (last access 2 October 2010); the date of death also HWD, Vol. 7, p. 43.

332 The wedding on 2 January 1865 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 649; see also Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima, Mss., D 9655: Licencia expedida por el Sr. Provisor y Vicario General del Arzobispado para el matrimonio de Dn. Juan Lavalle con Dña Amalia Schutte, Lima, 2 January 1865. On behalf of the embassy Juan Lavalle went to New York in May 1865, but returned to Lima in September that year (HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 678, 697). Juan Guillermo Lavalle Schutte was born in Lima on 5 October 1865 (ibid., p. 703; different year of birth 1867 under <http://www.genealogiafamiliar.net/getperson.php?personID=I23417&tree=BVCZ> [last access 2 December 2010]), his sister Blanca Rosa was born in Buenos Aires in August 1866 (HWD, Vol. 6, p. 781), where the family had moved to shortly before (ibid., p. 750). For early 1868 Witt records the arrival of the family in Lisbon, in July 1868 they were in Paris (ibid., p. 858, Vol. 7, p. 17).

that year, Guillermo Garland started work as an employee of Henry Witt & Schutte. In May 1868 Enrique Garland, whose activities during the first months after his return from Europe Witt does not mention, took over the position of a “collecting clerk” at Schutte & Co, after Witt and Schutte had terminated their partnership.³³³ In July 1870 also Alejandro and Geraldo Garland were back in Lima. In early 1871 Geraldo found employment at a business office, in July that year Alejandro took over the position of a cashier at the *La Constructora* building company.³³⁴ Since early 1868 also their father, Gerald Garland, was living exclusively in Lima, after before having usually spent several weeks, initially even several months, per year on his cotton plant in the North.

After his return from Europe in 1863 Witt seems to have widely withdrawn from the management of Henry Witt & Schutte, and still in that same year he agreed with a further reduction of the interest rate of the capital he had invested in the company.³³⁵ Witt did probably not completely give up on basically controlling the company’s business and indeed in his diary regularly recorded the company’s activities and problems (the latter e.g. due to the already mentioned conflict with Spain, when the Spanish occupation of the Chincha Islands in 1864 affected the guano business for a short time³³⁶). Also Schutte occasionally consulted him, particularly in case of bigger sums.³³⁷ However, in a detailed description of his typical everyday life in early 1865 he does no longer mention any active work for Henry Witt & Schutte.³³⁸ Ferdinand Cordes, who by 1 September 1863 had joined as a junior partner, took over the import, whereas Schutte took care of the well running guano business.³³⁹ The attempt in 1864, however, to also take over the contract about supplying the USA by January 1866 was unsuccessful.³⁴⁰ Apart from the guano trade, Schutte tried to do business with the Peruvian government also in other fields. For example in early 1864, in the context of the conversion of the Peruvian currency from

333 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 813, 818f, 825, Vol. 7, p. 84; on the restructuring of the company see fn. 343.

334 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 175, 222f., 265.

335 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 562. The interest rate was reduced from 9 % to 7 ½ %. The diary does not tell when the reduction of the 10 % agreed in 1858 (see fn. 291) to 9 % happened. Witt mentions 9 % already at the turn of the year 1860/61 (HWD, Vol. 5, p. 766).

336 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 591ff.

337 E.g. HWD, Vol. 6, p. 641.

338 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 659.

339 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 550.

340 See in particular HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 623, 637ff., 674ff., 690ff.

Peso to Sol, he made an – again unsuccessful – offer by the company for the replacement of the then circulating inferior Bolivian 4 Real coins.³⁴¹

In 1865 at the latest, according to Witt there happened repeated clashes both between Schutte and Cordes as well as between Schutte and Witt (and María Sierra) which, probably in 1867, made Cordes leave the company. Together with his wife Corina Schutte, Cordes went to Europe where once again he took over the management of his own trade company in Manchester.³⁴² By 1 March 1868 Witt and Schutte also terminated their partnership. Schutte paid Witt off and continued the business under the name of Schutte & Co., Juan Diez was still holding shares and Gerald Garland joined as another partner. The liquidation of the old company was announced by circulars and by way of several adverts in the Lima newspapers.³⁴³ In late April 1868 Schutte handed the management of the company over to Garland and went to Europe together with Rosa Diez, where they settled down in Paris for good.³⁴⁴ Together with the couple there also went Juan Garland, not quite at the age of eleven, who now, like his brothers, was supposed to attend school in Europe. At first he was taught at Eimsbüttel, together with his brothers, but later changed first to Liverpool and then to Lausanne.³⁴⁵ In Paris the Schutte couple was living for some time with their two daughters whose husbands died in 1868, one shortly after the other.³⁴⁶ Both women married a second time. In 1872 Amalia Schutte married the North American physician George B. Shattuck, a relative of her father. They moved at first to Shattuck's home town of Boston and had two

341 Vol. 6, pp. 566, 574, 577. The currency conversion had been decided in February 1863, however it took some years until the Sol was finally to push through in Peru. On the conversion of the Bolivian coins see also Alejandro Salinas, *Las finanzas públicas entre 1821 y 1930*, pp. 325-30, in: *Compendio de historia económica del Perú*, pp. 303-420.

342 On the quarrels see HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 672, 722, 809, 821, 833; on Cordes leaving *ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 819, 836, 862.

343 The liquidation of Henry Witt & Schutte as well as information about Schutte & Co. *ibid.*, pp. 862f. Diez and Garland held 20 % each of the new company. The adverts e.g. *El Nacional*, 2 March 1868, advert: "Al Comercio" announcing that Witt was leaving by 29 February 1868 and then following advert of the new company and its two partners by 1 March 1868 (the advert was repeated nine times until 23 March 1868). Witt's diary preserves a circular on the change of the company, HWD, Vol. 6, Appendix No. 21 (= Pictures 39 and 40 in the current edition of the diary).

344 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 5f., 17; *El Comercio*, 22 April 1868, Column: *Movimiento* (Salidas: the passengers of the Saint-Nazaire-bound "Vaporing, LIMENÑA" a.o. "G. C. Schutte, señora y 2 sirvientes, J. Garland").

345 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 6, 400, 607.

346 Ferdinand Cordes died on 11 August, Juan de Lavallo on 16 October 1868 (HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 38, 43).

more children.³⁴⁷ In the late 1870s Amalia Schutte – together with her husband and/or her children – was staying in Europe several times, most of all in Paris.³⁴⁸ In 1878 her sister Conradina married the Hamburg merchant Gustav Adolf Schön, a son of a former business partner of Henry Witt & Schutte.³⁴⁹ The couple took residence in Paris, where in 1879 their only daughter was born.³⁵⁰

Withdrawing from work for Henry Witt & Schutte and the liquidation of the company did not mark the end of Witt's business activities. On the one hand, still in the 1860s he continued his own financial business, that is he still granted loans to private persons and companies, discounted bills etc. On the other hand, in 1864 at the latest he had started subscribing for shares of the corporations recently founded in Lima. In his diary, for November 1864 he mentions for the first time that he had been holding shares of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company.³⁵¹ Then, after having terminated his partnership with Schutte, Witt had considerable uncommitted funds to be invested in this new business field.³⁵² For example, according to a list given in his diary, in mid-April 1870 he held shares of two banks (*Banco de Lima* and *Banco de Crédito Hipotecario*), two railway companies (Cerro de Pasco Mineral Railway Company and Huacho Railway Company), three utility companies (Lima Gas Company, Telegraph Company and Lima Water Company) and one

347 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 348 (no date of the wedding), 435 (birth of daughter Corina 1873), Vol. 10, p. 23 (a total of four children); see also Barreda, p. 75. George Brune Shattuck (1844 or 1845-1923) was the grandson of one of Schutte's uncles. On Shattuck see also the biographical data given in the obituary in the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" (CLXXXVIII, 20 (17 May 1923), pp. 777-80; <http://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJM192305171882007>) as well as in the genealogical databases (http://records.ancestry.com/george_brune_shattuck_records.ashx?pid=26924616 and <http://www.geni.com/people/George-Brune-Shattuck/600000001758340193>, in each case last access 6 January 2015).

348 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 845, Vol. 8, p. 107, Vol. 9, p. 106, 211.

349 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 686f. (28 May civil wedding, 31 May 1878 Church wedding). On Gustav Adolf Schön (1834-1889) see a.o. the information given in *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 9, p. 233, there the date of the wedding is given 1 June 1878; the same in Barreda, p. 74. See also fn. 114.

350 Amalia Maria Cristina Schön (born 1879), HWD, Vol. 9, p. 188; *Geschlechterbuch* Vol. 9, p. 234 (there: Amalie Maria Christine); Barreda, pp. 74f.

351 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 645.

352 It seems as if Witt was paid the capital he had invested in the company – together with the money Schutte was still owing him – in yearly instalments over a longer period. The exact amount of the sum Witt had invested in the company at the time of the liquidation of Henry Witt & Schutte cannot be clearly read from the diary, due to text loss, see HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 862f. For 1 July 1870 Witt recorded the 4th instalment of 100,000 Pesos, the final 100,000 Pesos for 28 February 1871 (*ibid.*, Vol. 7, pp. 155, 243).

insurance company (South American Insurance Company).³⁵³ Also, under the name of Juan Diez and together with him, at the end of March 1870 he participated in the contract about the worldwide trade in guano the Peruvian government had made in 1869 with the French merchant Auguste Dreyfus or rather with the latter's Paris company, Dreyfus frères et Cie.³⁵⁴ Obviously the fact that this contract, which was extremely debated in Peru, meant the end of the guano business for some companies in Lima, Schutte & Co. among them, was no reason for Diez and Witt to stay away from participating.

Witt was elected into the supervising boards of several of the companies he held shares of, sometimes repeatedly. In April 1870, to once again take out this month, at the Cerro de Pasco Railway Company he was a member of the Board of Directors elected by the shareholders, at the same time he was the President of the same board of *Banco de Lima*.³⁵⁵ His work with the administrative boards and taking part in the shareholder meetings of the various companies consumed much of Witt's time, particularly in the first half of the 1870s.

Apart from this, Witt's days were filled with his extensive reading of newspapers and books, his walks up the *Cerro de San Cristóval*, still happening frequently at the age of over 70, to which from 1872 on he also added walks through the extended parks of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, opened in the South of the city, and not at last with his social and consular obligations and contacts.³⁵⁶ Also two new, long legal disputes with the neighbor of the new house into which he had moved in 1871, Colonel Segundo Leyva, consumed a considerable

353 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 156. On the economic development of Peru in these years see, apart from the already mentioned literature, e.g. Rory Miller, *Business History in Peru*, in: Carlos Dávila/the same (eds.), *Business History in Latin America. The Experience of Seven Countries*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, pp. 128-57; on the banks e.g. Carlos Camprubí Alcázar, *Historia de los Bancos en el Perú (1860-1879)*, Vol. 1, Lima: Ed. Lumen, 1957; Pedro Vidaurre Delgado, *Historia de los bancos y la expansión monetaria en el Perú*, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1988.

354 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 150ff. However, previously Witt at *Banco de Lima* had refused to vote in support of a transaction with Dreyfus, as it concerned Schutte & Co (ibid., pp. 99f., 104f.). According to Witt's notes, eventually Diez and Witt subscribed for shares of a total of 125,000 Soles, 50,000 of which were held by Diez and 75,000 by Witt (ibid., pp. 161f., 166f.). According to the list given in Bonilla, p. [98], with 475,000 Francs Juan Díaz [sic] de la Torre subscribed for the highest share of the shareholders in Peru, although not of all Peruvian shareholders.

355 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 156.

356 Witt's description of the official opening of the *Palacio de la Exposición* on 1 July 1872 see HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 343ff.

share of Witt's time.³⁵⁷ Occasionally he now also participated in activities by the organizations of Lima's German inhabitants. Probably since the end of the 1850s he had been a member of the *Deutscher Hilfsverein* (German Relief Association); however he seems to have only been a passive, paying member. In July 1871 he joined the *Deutscher Verein* (German Club).³⁵⁸ Previously he had followed with great interest, both in the newspapers and his correspondence, the coverage of the Franco-German War of 1870/71 and the foundation of the German Empire.³⁵⁹ In his diary Witt recorded most of all visits to the music and theater nights organized by the German Club, which he had occasionally attended, if invited, even before his membership.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, in 1871/72 he became engaged with a committee formed of members of both associations, for the purpose of creating a post for a Protestant German reverend in Lima. However this was unsuccessful.³⁶¹ Only as late as in 1899 a German Protestant reverend was to come to Lima.³⁶²

After some years of illness, during which the regular visits of several Lima physicians had formed part of the couple's everyday life, María Sierra died on

357 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 240f., 421, 477. In May 1876 even a written pleading of Witt's lawyer, Fernando Palacios, was published, *Recurso de nulidad interpuesto contra la sentencia revocatoria en el juicio que sigue D. Enrique Witt con el Coronel D. Segundo Leyva sobre los aires de la casa de este*, Lima: Imprenta de Manuel D. Moreno, 1876; see also HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 84ff. Finally, Witt lost the case. He included into his diary a word by word copy of the verdict (*ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 182) which had been published in the newspapers, e.g. *El Nacional*, 28 August 1876, Column: *Crónica Judicial*.

358 The diary mentions the *Deutscher Hilfsverein* for the first time in the context of the description of 9 August 1861 (HWD, Vol. 5, p. 837, "our 'German Relief Association'"); the diary does not tell about any activity by Witt with this association until 1871/72. His joining the *Deutscher Verein* *ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 269. On the various German associations and their activities in Lima see Georg G. Petersen, *Über das Deutschtum in Peru*, Lima 1964. An association for the "Support of a Friendly Attitude among the Germans Living here as well as of Establishing a Collection of Books" was founded in 1857, a "German Relief Association and Association for Aiding the Sick" in 1859 (*ibid.*, p. 52). In 1863 a gymnastics club "Germania" was founded, which developed into a comprehensive society association (*ibid.*, pp. 53ff., also on further activities of the club). In Callao, since 1867 there existed an association called "Teutonia" (*ibid.*, p. 53).

359 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 180ff.

360 E.g. HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 215, 244ff., 268f., 303.

361 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 277, 314, 347f., 362f., 368. According to Witt, the project became a failure because at the *Hilfsverein* there was no majority in favor of funding such a post, both the Catholic and the Jewish as well as even some of the Protestant members had opposed this.

362 Petersen, *Deutschtum*, p. 59.

20 May 1876. Her death resulted in a fundamental change at almost all levels of Heinrich Witt's life.³⁶³ For a longer period of mourning Witt withdrew from almost all social and business relations. For three months he received and paid only very few visits.³⁶⁴ With the exception of the director's post of the Lima Insurance Company, he resigned from all positions with the boards of the corporations; however during the first three months of mourning he kept to be informed about what was happening with the other companies he was holding shares of, and occasionally he took part in shareholder meetings.³⁶⁵ Already in June 1876 he tendered his resignation as a Consul to the Danish government, which was accepted by the Danish King in September that year.³⁶⁶ As well, Witt left the German Club.³⁶⁷ Also in the realm of private life and family he made some changes. Just a few days after his wife's death he dismissed his Chinese cook, Achipe, however paid him a smaller monthly sum thereafter.³⁶⁸ From

363 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 89ff.; the date of death also in Barreda, p. 77. On that same day the family published an obituary, *El Comercio*, 20 May 1876, morning ed., Column: Defunciones.

364 Witt recorded his renewed Sunday visits from 20 August 1876 on also in a special thematic heading in the tables of contents of the volumes of his diary, beginning with HWD, Vol. 8, p. 88o.

365 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 99, 118, 123, as well as on "meetings" e.g. *Banco del Perú*: *ibid.*, pp. 168, 176, 181, 200.

366 RA, File: Udenrigsministeriet, 1856-1909, Samlede Sager. Konsulatet Liege, Lima, Lissabon, 1866-1909, Box 362: Samlede Sager Konsulatet Lima (in the following quoted as RA-UM Samlede Sager 362, Konsulatet Lima), (udlag) Journalnr. A 6004: Witt to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 27 June 1876 (Report No. 116); *ibid.*, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 6141: the same to the same, Lima, 11 November 1876 (his thanks for having received the discharge document of the King of Denmark of 8 September 1876). In his diary, Witt mentions his resignation as a Consul only on the occasion of having received the acknowledgement of receipt (under the date of 6 November 1876, HWD, Vol. 8, p. 236). After having received his discharge Witt informed the Peruvian government. His letter to the Foreign Minister (13 November) as well as the latter's answer (22 November) were published by the press, e.g. *El Comercio* (23 November 1876, evening ed., Column: Crónica, "Consulado de Dinamarca"), *La Patria* (23 November 1876, Column: Crónica Interior, "Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores"), *El Peruano* (1 December 1876, 34th year, Vol. 2, No. 44, p. 171, Column: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, "Consulado General de Dinamarca en el Perú"). *El Comercio* also published an appreciation of Witt's long years' activity as a Consul (23 November 1876, morning ed., Column: La Mañana, "Consulado general de Dinamarca").

367 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 99f. Witt kept his membership of the *Hilfsverein*. In the list of members for the year 1890, "Witt, H." still appears; *Deutscher Huelfs-Verein in Lima-Peru. Bericht des Vorstands vom II Semester 1890*, Lima: Benito Gil, [1891], p. VII (to be found at: *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Berlin, File: Lima 15).

368 HWD, Vol. 8, p. 97. Witt continued the employment of the Chinese Ayao.

now on he was taking his meals with his daughter Enriqueta and her family.³⁶⁹ A short time later he started a review of María Sierra's personal items.³⁷⁰ After at first having moved into a bedroom in his daughter's flat, in early 1877 he again established in part of the rooms of the couple's former flat.³⁷¹ Then, together with Juan Diez and Gerald Garland, he took stock of his wealth. Of the slightly more than 923,000 Soles revealed by the final account of 12 March 1877, one half was distributed among his wife's three children, as her legacy. The house on *Calle de Zárate* became part of Enriqueta von Lotten's portion of the inheritance; Juan Diez inherited the house on *Calle del Correo*.³⁷²

Very soon after María Sierra's death Witt started considering another journey to Europe which, however, he postponed until further notice in 1877, among others by advice of his son Juan.³⁷³ Witt did not intend to leave Peru for good. Already in September 1876 he had ordered the construction of a small mausoleum on the cemetery of Lima. Not only María Sierra was supposed to be reburied there, but right from the beginning a second sarcophagus was intended which was supposed to take Witt's corpse when the time had come.³⁷⁴ Probably also in his last will and testament of May 1877, which may be supposed to have been written before his final decision of postponing the trip to Europe, Witt determined that, should he die somewhere away from Lima, his corpse was to be transferred to the city.³⁷⁵ Already before the completion of

369 HWD, Vol. 8. p. 109.

370 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 105ff., 120ff. The review of María Sierra's personal items and their handing over continued as far as into the year 1877 (*ibid.*, p. 437).

371 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 95, 283f.

372 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 329ff. The partition is recorded in the notarial registers, see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 296, Iparraguirre, Sheets 866-879: *Division y particion. El Señor Don Enrique Witt y los Señores Don J[ua]n Diez La Torre y otros* (dated 20 March 1877). Three months before her death, María Sierra had altered her last will and testament in favor of her daughter Enriqueta, see HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 21ff., and AGN-C, PN, Vol. 587, Palacios, Sheets 92 verso-93: *Codicilo Sierra de Witt Doña Maria* (dated 19 February 1876).

373 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 107, 112, 150, 361f., 412; see also the mentioning in the resignation request to the government in Copenhagen, fn. 366.

374 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 190f., 202, 432. For the building of the mausoleum Witt had material from Britain and a bronze door from USA brought, *ibid.*, pp. 489, 510, 641, 647, 652. The mausoleum at the *Cementerio General* with the two sarcophaguses and another burial for Enriqueta von Lotten exists still today (last visit 2009).

375 Witt's last will and testament of 1877 (HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 385, 395) has not been preserved. Regulations concerning a possible transfer to Lima are found both in the testament of 16 February 1887, which was valid at Witt's death (see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 106, Berninzon, documents belonging to Sheets 215 verso-216) and in the testament he deposited at the German envoy in Lima in 1882 (see fn. 420).

the mausoleum and the transfer of his wife's coffin in October 1878 his visits to the cemetery, mostly on Sundays, became another regular ritual of Witt's life.³⁷⁶

Variations of his everyday life at home resulted for Witt in particular from his two younger granddaughters and seven grandsons, all of whom had returned from Europe to Peru by the mid-1870s.³⁷⁷ Some of them were already married, some were living in the house of their parents, the Garlands, Witt now being another household member.³⁷⁸ Witt's first great-grandson was born in 1876.³⁷⁹ Finally in 1877 also Johannes Limpricht, who had returned to Europe in 1870, came to Lima again where also he was living in Witt's or rather Enriqueta von Lotten's house.³⁸⁰

As before, an important part of Witt's life was his extensive reading, possibly becoming even more extended after María Sierra's death, as well as his correspondence with his Peruvian and German relatives and his old friends from Altona and Hamburg. Those of his correspondence partners, however, to whom Witt had closer personal relations, became fewer and fewer in those years. Already in 1870 Witt's aunt in London, Frances Willink, had died, in 1876 his grand-nephews Paul and Heinrich Bobertag died, in 1878 it was his old friend from Altona, Georg Heinrich Sieveking, and Witt's cousin Theodor Hugues, in 1878 Witt's niece, Elisabeth Bobertag.³⁸¹ However, these deaths did not always result in a termination of correspondence. It was continued in several cases by the children or grandchildren of the deceased. For example, after Georg Heinrich Sieveking's death his son of the same name did not only continue the long-standing business contacts to Heinrich Witt but also occasionally informed him about social events in his home town.³⁸² Also the descendants of Elisabeth Bobertag seem to have made efforts to maintain the contact to Lima after her death.³⁸³ Already when his cousin Nelly was still alive, Witt maintained a correspondence with her son-in-law Theodor

376 The building was completed in August 1878, on 1 October 1878 María Sierra was reburied (HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 720f., 753ff.).

377 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 399f. (return Ricardo Garland, January 1873), 720f. (return Juan Garland, June 1875). The youngest son, Antonio, had gone to Europe with his parents in 1872, where also he was supposed to attend school; for health reasons he returned to Lima in 1873 (*ibid.*, pp. 335, 399f.).

378 Guillermo and Alejandro Garland had both married in 1875, see HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 662f., 751.

379 HWD, Vol. 8, p. 265; more information about the family see *Apuntes*, pp. 378-85.

380 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 184, Vol. 8, pp. 440, 479f.

381 The deaths in the diary: HWD, Vol. 7, p. 160 (F. Willink), Vol. 8, pp. 114 (P. Bobertag), 175 (H. Bobertag), 737 (Sieveking und Hugues), Vol. 9, p. 86 (E. Bobertag).

382 *E.g.* HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 687, 750, Vol. 9, pp. 86f., 401, 716.

383 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 87, 212, 328, Vol. 10, pp. 97, 174, 278f., 457.

Siemssen. He had met this successful merchant in Hamburg in 1863.³⁸⁴ Witt was able to also continue his consular correspondence, insofar as for several years he assisted his grandson Enrique Garland, who had become his successor as the Consul General of Denmark, with formulating the numerous letters to the government in Copenhagen.³⁸⁵

After the first period of intensive mourning, Witt basically took up again most of his business and social activities. For example, from September 1876 on he increasingly attended the meetings of the shareholders of the corporations and finally even took over directorates again, in December 1877 that of the *Banco del Perú*, in February 1878 that of the *Banco del Crédito Hipotecario*, which were both connected to a considerable amount of work.³⁸⁶ He made his Sunday and other visits and, in early August 1877, started yet another legal dispute.³⁸⁷ On the whole, however, Witt's activities in these years, as far as he mentioned them in his diary, were less intensive than in the first half of the decade. Possible reasons for this were, apart from his sorrow about his wife's death, increasing health problems of the now almost 80 years old widower.³⁸⁸

384 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 414ff. Letters the two exchanged in the 1860s and 1880s have been preserved as part of the Siemssen family archive at the Hamburg State Archives (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, File: Familienarchiv Siemssen 622-1/506, Sub-File 64; hereafter quoted as HH StA Siemssen).

385 Witt mentions several times that he had dictated the consular writings to his grandsons, HWD, Vol. 8, p. 566, Vol. 9, pp. 10, 281, 719, 732, 768, 789, 828. Already in his letter to the Danish Foreign Ministry in which he asked for his resignation Witt had suggested Enrique Garland as his successor, RA-UM, Samlede Sager 362, Konsulatet Lima, (udlag) Journalnr. A 6004: Heinrich Witt to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 27 June 1876 (Report No. 116). Enrique Garland was appointed Consul General in July 1877, see *ibid.*, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 6141: several documents on the procedure, a.o. appointment decree by King Christian IX (dated 11 July 1877); Enrique Garland to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 27 September 1877 (his thanks for the document). Further documents and correspondence from the time Garland was acting as a Consul (until his death on 31 October 1884) are found, apart from the already mentioned files, in particular under RA, File: Udenrigsministeriet, 1856-1888, Sager til Journal A, 7593-7602, Box 332: Journal Nr. 7602.

386 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 532, 566. The development of the number of meetings can be traced by help of the Table of Contents of Vol. 8.

387 HWD, Vol. 8, p. 449.

388 Already earlier Witt had repeatedly recorded also his own illnesses in his diary, particularly he complained of rheumatic pains. In his descriptions of the time after María Sierra's death the number of such entries is rising; however a systematic count over all the volumes of the diary is as yet missing. A painful intumescence of his left knee lasted from mid-November 1876 to March 1877, connected to a "general debility" of Witt, HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 242ff, 307ff.

Not at last, Witt's business was clearly affected by the economic and political crisis Peru experienced in the 1870s, particularly in the second half of the decade. Due to the decline of the Peruvian currency, Witt's capital was losing its value almost on a daily basis. Only those assets Witt had earlier placed at Gibbs's in London were not affected.³⁸⁹

Last Years (1879-1892)

Also the following years of Heinrich Witt's life were particularly influenced by the political events in Peru. The War of the Pacific between Chile on the one hand, and Bolivia and Peru on the other, which started in 1879, once again increased the country's economic problems.³⁹⁰ Imports and exports declined ever more, the prices for import goods were rising; banks, corporations and also many smaller independent enterprises reduced their business activities – voluntarily or of necessity – or terminated them completely. By the turn of the year 1880/81, shortly before Lima was occupied by Chilean troops, also Gibbs's terminated their activities in the city; the company's documents had been shipped to Valparaiso already in April 1880.³⁹¹ Also Witt's remaining business faced further difficulties after the beginning of the war, the value of his capital decreased ever more.³⁹²

Even if the costs of living were rising and social events became fewer or were happening in smaller and family contexts, for a long time everyday life in the Garland-Witt household may be supposed to have been mostly unchanged, in particular in the first year of the war, when the acts of war were happening far away from Peru's capital. In July 1879 there was a big celebration on the occasion of Corina Garland's birthday, there were smaller ones for the birthdays of María and Gerald Garland in August and September 1880. Until shortly before Lima's occupation (and soon after), Gerald Garland used to

389 Witt frequently recorded the exchange rates on London in Vols. 8 and 9 of his diary. In Vol. 8 he included a table of the development of his fortune over the years, beginning in 1843, see HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 601-02. In the beginning of March 1879 his funds at Gibbs's amounted to about 8,600 Pounds Sterling, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 871.

390 The war and its effects are broadly mentioned in Witt's diary (HWD, Vol. 8, from p. 856 on, and Vol. 9). On the course of the war see, apart from the accounts in the already mentioned overviews of the history of Peru, in particular William F. Sater, *Andean Tragedy. Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884*, Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

391 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 315, 761. See also Gibbs, *Merchants*, p. 124.

392 See Witt's notes on his fortune in March 1880 and 1881 respectively, HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 300, 840f.

play cards with several guests in many evenings.³⁹³ Also Witt kept his daily hours of reading and writing, his walks through the city and to the cemetery, and he paid the usual visits.³⁹⁴ However, also this family was affected by the war, the patriotic enthusiasm and the suffering of the victims of war, even if Witt had no casualties to be lamented among his closer family. Already in May 1879 Witt's grandsons Juan and Antonio volunteered for the army.³⁹⁵ Whereas Antonio Garland soon left the army again and, in June 1879, went for several months on a diplomatic mission to Bogotá as a civil attaché, Juan Garland was wounded in the Battle of Arica in June 1880 and became a Chilean prisoner of war.³⁹⁶ On behalf of the government, Alejandro Garland was involved in organizing money to pay for the war expenses.³⁹⁷ In October 1880 he acted as a secretary of the Peruvian committee which, brokered by the United States, met with Chilean envoys on the US warship "Lackawanna" in the port of Arica.³⁹⁸ Eventually at the end of 1880/beginning of 1881, like his brothers Geraldo and Antonio as well as three male house servants, he served with the reserve army during the defense of Lima.³⁹⁹ (Guillermo Garland was in the South at the copper mine he was running together with his brother Alejandro. Enrique Garland enjoyed immunity as the Danish Consul General, and Ricardo Garland had been classified as "invalid," according to Witt.⁴⁰⁰) Johannes Limpricht committed himself with the German division of the international urban guard (*guardia urbana*), a militia which was supposed to maintain order in the city when the course of the war required the policemen to go to the front.⁴⁰¹ Female members of the family took over welfare tasks connected to the war.

393 The birthdays HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 118ff., 422f., 434f. In his diary Witt records explicitly that on 23 December 1880 neither cards nor Roulette had been played, just like on 30 December. The next mentioning of a Rocambor round at Garlands is on 30 January 1881 (*ibid.*, pp. 753, 746, 795).

394 Witt's then reader and secretary came to Witt's house even on the days of the fight for Lima in early 1881. Only seldom Witt remarks that the way through the city was too dangerous (e.g. HWD, Vol. 9, p. 777).

395 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 62f.

396 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 88, 90, 322ff., 372f., 376, 864f. In May 1881 Juan Garland returned from war captivity.

397 E.g. HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 185, 195. His company, Alejandro Garland & Co., stopped operations by 1 May 1880 until further notice (*ibid.*, p. 427).

398 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 691, 709ff.

399 HWD, Vol. 9, p. 400.

400 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 118, 428f., 862.

401 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 380, 396, 436, 757ff. Due to the bad business prospects, in early 1880 Limpricht sold his cigar shop in the center of Lima (*ibid.*, p. 265).

For example, in July 1878 Enriqueta von Lotten took part in organizing a lottery in favor of war widows and orphans. Witt donated a tea tin and bought lots.⁴⁰² Also on occasion of other fund-raising he donated money.⁴⁰³ Already in April 1879, a few days after Chile declared war on Peru, also the German embassy in Lima had started their own fund-raising for the support of Peruvian wounded and bereaved. The “Call on the Germans in Lima,” which was published by the newspapers, gives Witt’s name as No. 1 on the list of initiators, followed by Juan Gildemeister, J. F. Lembcke, Dr. L. Contzen and Carlos Plenge.⁴⁰⁴ This group of initiators formed also the committee which decided about how the donated money was to be distributed among the needy.⁴⁰⁵ According to his own information, Witt himself donated 1,750 of the slightly more than 21,000 Soles donated by the Germans in Lima and Trujillo over the year.⁴⁰⁶

Given the soon looming victory of Chile and the expected occupation of Lima, Witt and his family, like many other families of the capital’s upper class, considered leaving the city and either going to the North of Peru or to Europe. After Peru’s defeats at Tacna and Arica in May and June 1880 the idea of going to Europe became concrete enough to make Witt, on advice of Alejandro Garland, sell part of his furniture by public auction.⁴⁰⁷ Witt applied for a passport and gave power of attorney to Enrique Garland who was supposed to act on his behalf in Lima.⁴⁰⁸ However, the family postponed the journey.⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore,

402 HWD, Vol. 9, p. 122. The “tea caddy” Witt mentions was probably the “caja de madera japonesa con paisajes y flores de mosaico incrustados” which is listed as “Obsequio del señor Enrique Witt” in the catalogue of objects donated for a fundraising organized by the municipal administration; *Catálogo de los objetos donados por las señoras de esta capital con destino a la rifa preparada por la Municipalidad de Lima para aplicar sus productos a los huérfanos, a los heridos, a las viudas y a las demás desgracias consiguientes a la guerra*, Lima: Imprenta de “El Nacional”, 1879, p. 14, No. 194 (to be found at: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima, Colección Zegarra, Vol. 27).

403 E.g. HWD, Vol. 9, p. 186.

404 *El Comercio*, 18 April 1879, 2nd evening ed., Column: Avisos de la Tarde: “Aufruf AN DIE DEUTSCHEN in Lima,” dated 15 April 1879. In his diary Witt states that this fundraising had been decided by the German Club, afterwards one had approached him. He had rejected to be named as No. 1 but had agreed with being mentioned as No. 2 or 3 (HWD, Vol. 9, p. 29). Among the four other initiators, Juan (Johann) Gildemeister (HWD: John, 1823-1898) is certainly the best known in Peruvian history; on biographical data of Gildemeister see the family’s section in *Apuntes*, pp. 392-99.

405 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 93, 218, 253, 261, 263, 270, 367f.

406 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 184f.

407 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 377ff.

408 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 420f. Witt received the passport in mid-August 1880.

409 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 418f.

before possibly leaving Peru Witt had to make provisions for the security of his tangible assets in Lima. As it was expected that, in case of Chilean occupation, British property would be better protected than German property, and as at first it was also unclear if he would be able to prove his being a citizen of the German Empire, in November 1880 Witt transferred his *rancho* in Chorrillos to his daughter Enriqueta, who was the wife of an Englishman.⁴¹⁰ Shortly before Georg Heinrich Sieveking junior had sent him the requested confirmation of his German citizenship, but Gerald Garland had already declared the *rancho* his property at the British ambassador in Lima.⁴¹¹ To be on the safe side, also Juan Diez's house on *Calle del Correo* was sold to Garland.⁴¹² Also, to protect the property, Witt had a British flag made which the tenant of the house was supposed to hoist at the invasion of the Chileans.⁴¹³ Furthermore, in December 1880 he also deposited a list of his personal possessions in the house on *Calle de Zárate* at the German ambassador.⁴¹⁴ In this house, where both the British and the Danish flags – for Gerald Garland and for the Danish Consul General, Enrique Garland – had been hoisted and where several relatives and friends of the family had taken shelter, Witt experienced the fights for Lima and the invasion of the Chilean troops in January 1881.⁴¹⁵ Whereas the house in the city remained intact, the *rancho* at Chorrillos was looted and destroyed.⁴¹⁶ Some weeks later Witt went to see the destruction at Chorrillos himself, just like on the day of the invasion of Lima he had walked through the city with Johannes Limpricht to see the damage.⁴¹⁷

410 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 395ff., 399ff., 406, 412f., 720. The endowment of the *rancho* is documented AGN-C, PN, Vol. 300, Iparraguirre, Sheets 502-503: Donacion. El Señor Enrique Witt á la Señora Enriqueta von Lotten de Garland (dated 15 November 1880).

411 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 716, 720.

412 Witt had been given authority by Diez, AGN-C, PN, Vol. 572, Palacios, Sheets 338-339: Poder Diez de la Torre á Vitt [sic]. According to a note written on the document by the notary, on 16 August 1880 a written confirmation of this “poder general” from 6 April 1869 was issued. The selling to Garland happened on 3 November 1880, *ibid.*, Vol. 300, Iparraguirre, Sheets 495-496 verso: Venta real. Don Enrique Witt pp. de Don Juan Diez de la Torre á Don Geraldo Garland.

413 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 718f.

414 HWD, Vol. 9, p. 750. Witt had two Germans sign the list as witnesses.

415 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 770ff.

416 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 787f. An application by Garland for compensation by Chile was rejected in 1887; the commission in charge found that the *rancho* had been destroyed not in the course of the fights for Chorrillos but afterwards, thus not related to the war (HWD, Vol. 10, p. 227).

417 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 782f., 806ff.

The occupation of Lima and other parts of Peru by Chilean troops lasted for more than three years. The withdrawal of the troops started only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Ancón in October 1883; the last Chilean soldiers left Peru's capital in August 1884.⁴¹⁸ Like all the inhabitants of Lima, also Heinrich Witt was affected by the restrictions due to the occupation, but it seems as if even in these times his life went on as usual. As there are no volumes of the diary covering this period, we cannot make any safe statement on Witt's life in Lima after mid-May 1881. However, concerning the following months we must assume that Witt (as well as his daughter's family) was able to live comparably unaffected and privileged. As a consequence of the war Witt's property had lost in value, but still he counted among the rich inhabitants of the city. Furthermore, being a foreigner, he was not affected by the high war contribution claimed by Chile. Also his grandsons, other than e.g. Karl Pflücker's sons, were not on the list of the 50 persons and enterprises from Lima and Callao from whom the Chilean commander in March 1881 demanded compensation payments of a total of 1 million Silver Pesos.⁴¹⁹

Witt did not stay in Lima until the end of the occupation. In May or June 1882 he finally made his fifth journey to Europe.⁴²⁰ He travelled together with the Garland-von Lotten couple and their two daughters and once more spent almost two years in Paris, London, Hamburg and Altona as well as on trips through France, Britain and Germany.⁴²¹ He met his relatives, friends and

418 On the time of the occupation see Margarita Guerra Martinière, *La ocupación de Lima, 1881-1883*, 2 Vols., Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Dirección Académica de Investigación, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 1991 and 1996.

419 The list is printed e.g. in Contreras/Cueto, *Historia*, p. 168. However, only a few actually paid the money demanded from them. Instead, a new war loan was issued (*ibid.*).

420 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 411 (crossing in 1882, no exact date given). We may suppose that Witt left in May or June, due to the fact that in his diary he mentions to have given up on keeping his own account books in April 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 324). Also in April 1882 he deposited a last will and testament at the German envoy in Lima, see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 662, Rosas Morales, E. P. 208 [1893] (notice of receipt on the envelop: 12 April 1882).

421 Although later in his diary Witt speaks of "our" journey, he does not mention his fellow travelers, with the exception of Enriqueta von Lotten, e.g. HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 28, 76, 142 ("our") and 64 (Enriqueta). In Witt's letters to Theodor Siemssen also Gerald Garland and the two daughters are mentioned (HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letters from Paris, 3 and 25 April [1884]). Possibly he was also accompanied by Johannes Limpricht as his personal aid, as it had been intended in 1880 (HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 417f.). In 1884 Limpricht was living in Hamburg (HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letter, Paris, 3 April [1884]); the Hamburg registry gives a merchant J. Limpricht from the 1886 edition on: *Hamburgisches Adreß-Buch für 1886*, Hamburg, no year given, p. 226). If, as it had been intended in 1880, also Alejandro Garland and his family went to Europe at least for a short time can be read neither from the diary

acquaintances from Hamburg and Altona – among them his cousin Nelly Kramer and the Siemssen family as well as his old friend Emilie Knauer – and together with Johannes Limpricht he made a trip through Holstein and to Greifswald to the latter's brother, Heinrich, who was a professor at the university there. Near London, once more he saw the descendants of his uncle Diederich Willink. On his way from Paris to Hamburg he stopped in Bremen to visit Hermann Rodewald, the former partner of Huth, Grüning & Co. and Consul of Hamburg in Lima, who had returned to his home town in 1858.⁴²² Together with his two daughters, Enriqueta von Lotten and Rosa Diez, Witt went to Lourdes, while Gerald Garland and his daughters were staying in London. Witt was not able to meet his second son-in-law again on this journey. Christoph Wilhelm Schutte had died in 1880.⁴²³ In early June 1884 Witt and his family started their journey back home. For the first time Witt did not leave Europe via Britain but via the French Atlantic port of Saint-Nazaire. In early July they arrived in Lima.⁴²⁴

As usual, the first weeks after their return were filled with a bigger number of visits and with looking for a secretary and for readers; however Witt was soon living his usual life again, despite the still troubled political situation in Peru.⁴²⁵ The quietness of his everyday life was interrupted at the end of

nor from the letters. On the following information about Witt's travel stations, activities and visits in Europe as well as on the return journey in 1884 see HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letters from Paris, 3 and 25 April [1884], and from Lima, 6 October 1884 and 10 March 1885.

422 Hermann Rodewald had come to Lima in early 1840 as an employee of Huth, Grüning & Co. When he became a partner of the company, from his predecessor he also took over the position as Consul of Hamburg. Furthermore, in his diary Witt calls Rodewald one of his few closer friends in Lima in the 1840s and 1850s (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 31, Vol. 5, p. 345; summarizing information by Witt about Rodewald *ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 345f.). In 1851 Witt had also visited Rodewald's mother in Bremen (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 166). During his stay in New York, several times he met Rodewald's brother Adolf who was living there (HWD: Adolphus; *ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 44ff.). In 1876 Rodewald had received Witt's granddaughter Amalia and her family in Bremen (*ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 107).

423 HWD, Vol. 9, p. 751 (date of death 6 November 1880).

424 Probably on 11 July, see *El Comercio*, 12 July 1884, Column: Interior – Callao: "Pasajeros llegados en el vapor 'Lima'. De Panamá – Señor Garland, señora y dos hijas, señor Witt y sirviente." See also HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letter, Lima 3/5 November 1884. In this letter Witt also mentions a visit to a notary on 12 July on behalf of some transactions with his grandson Enrique Garland concerning his property in Peru.

425 See HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letter, Lima, 6 October 1884. However, Witt additionally mentions that his grandsons had been affected by the consequences of the struggle for power between Miguel Iglesias and Andrés de Cáceres.

October 1884, when Enrique Garland died on the effects of a stroke.⁴²⁶ As a consequence, once again Witt wrote to the Danish government in support of Geraldo Garland, the brother of the deceased, to succeed the latter as the Danish Consul General in Peru.⁴²⁷

In the following years Witt led a quiet, rather solitary life, the meals in the household of his daughter Enriqueta – in the evenings almost always with several guests – being a regular feature, just like visits by his grand- and great-grandchildren and his regular drives to the cemetery, the hours spent with his readers and his secretary, as well as observing the political events in Peru and in the world.⁴²⁸ One of the regular guests was the German physician and anthropologist Ernst Wilhelm Middendorf who had been María Sierra's and Witt's medical advisor since 1865 and over the years had become a friend of the family.⁴²⁹

426 On 31 October 1884, HWD, Vol. 10, p. 396; *El Comercio*, 1 November 1884, Column: Defunciones. An obituary by the consular corps in Lima as well as Geraldo Garland's information about his brother's death are preserved at the Danish National Archive, RA-UM, Samlede Sager 362, Konsulatet Lima, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 6141: obituary, Lima, 1 November 1884; Geraldo Garland to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 5 November 1884.

427 RA-UM, Samlede Sager 362, Konsulatet Lima, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 6141: Witt to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 10 November 1884. After the death of his brother Enrique, Geraldo Garland at first provisionally administered the office of the Consulate General and was finally in June 1885 entrusted with the position which he held until his resignation in June 1900 (*ibid.*, Geraldo Garland to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 5 November 1884; note about commission by King Christian IX, 12 June 1885; *ibid.*, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 9105: Geraldo Garland to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 8 June 1900; note about the resignation being accepted by Crown Prince Frederick, 18 July 1900). Also on Geraldo Garland's activity as a Consul General some documents have been preserved both at the Danish National Archive and the archive of the Peruvian Foreign Ministry. Geraldo Garland had been able to make first experiences as a diplomat already in the 1870s, as the attaché of the Peruvian legation to Japan and China as well as as the Second Secretary of the ambassadors to Berlin and Saint Petersburg respectively; HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 390ff., 620ff. In Watt, *Chinese Bondage*, in the description of the diplomatic mission to China and Japan, his name is given as Gerardo Garland.

428 See Witt's statements in his letters to Siemssen (HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letters, Lima, 20/25 January [1885] and 10 March 1885) as well as the depiction of his life in Lima after November 1886 in HWD, Vol. 10.

429 On Middendorf (1830-1908), who spent many years in Peru, see the entry in Tauro, *Enciclopedia ilustrada del Perú*, Vol. 4, p. 1333, and Estuardo Nuñez, *Viajes y viajeros extranjeros por el Perú. Apuntes documentales con algunos desarrollos histórico-biográficos*, Lima: Consejo Nacional de Ciencias y Tecnología, 1989, pp. 352-66. After his return to Germany in 1888, he published a three-volumed work: *Peru. Beobachtungen*

Witt did not again start any business activities of his own but lived on the wealth he had invested in Europe.⁴³⁰ However, several times he granted loans to his grandsons, to support their enterprises; occasionally he funded the household expenses. At that time also his granddaughters received money every month.⁴³¹ In 1888 he financed the building of a new *rancho* at Chorrillos, where once again the family spent the summer months. Witt intended to give the house to Enriqueta von Lotten; in 1891, he made it a present to his granddaughters Maria and Corina Garland.⁴³² Already in 1887, he had finally bought the neighboring house on *Calle de Zárate*, with whose owner, Colonel Leyva, he had had such bitter legal disputes in the 1870s.⁴³³ Also this house he gave to his daughter.⁴³⁴ A fire in the family's house in the night of 31 July to 1 August 1887, which damaged parts of the rooms inhabited by Alejandro Garland and his family, caused further expenses.⁴³⁵

und Studien über das Land und seine Bewohner während eines 25-jährigen Aufenthalts, 3 vols., Berlin: Oppenheim, 1893-95. For the many mentionings of Middendorf in HWD, we refer to the Index of Persons and Places.

430 In his letters to Siemssen Witt emphasizes several times that he had withdrawn from active business and that thus he was not able to judge on the trade situation, HH StA Siemssen: Witt's letters, Lima, 6. October 1884, 20/25 January [1885] and 10 March 1885. Also the diary does record hardly any business activities by Witt anymore. An account of his wealth, his intakes from interests as well as his yearly expenses e.g. HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 404f. (November 1888). Witt's wealth was invested at Antony Gibbs and Sons in London, Ventura Marcó del Pont in Paris and Siemssen & Co. in Hamburg. As investments in Lima, only shares of the Lima Water Company are listed.

431 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 405.

432 Repeatedly Witt noted down the expenses on the building and equipment of the house in his diary (e.g. *ibid.*, Vol. 10, pp. 390, 398, 423f., 432, 437, 452). The first stay at the new *rancho* from the end of March 1889 on *ibid.*, pp. 448ff. Witt emphasizes several times, that he wanted the *rancho* to be his daughters's property (*ibid.*, pp. 377, 382, 390, 423, 447). The donation in 1891 see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 103, Berninzon, Sheets 500-502: Donacion y declaracion Don Enrique Witt a Maria Garland, Corina Garland y Enriqueta von Lotten de Garland (dated 19 August 1891). Enriqueta von Lotten was granted the right to use the house like her own during her lifetime.

433 HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 98ff, 178 (purchase price 14 000 Soles).

434 HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 107, 185.

435 HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 193ff. According to Witt, the fire caused a damage of between 4000 and 6000 Soles, nobody was hurt. One assumed arson by the tenant of one of the shops, to commit insurance fraud. A few days afterwards a suspect was arrested, see also the coverage in the Column "Crónica" in *El Comercio*: 1 August 1887, "Incendio – A las tres y media de la mañana de hoy"; 2 August 1887, "Incendio"; 4 August 1887, "El señor Vasallo".

As far as his physical strength allowed, even during the last years of his life Witt went on minor walks through the city and occasionally listened to sermons at various churches.⁴³⁶ Still at the age of almost 90 Witt paid his Sunday visits to acquaintances and friends, some of whom he knew for many years. Many of the people Witt had been dealing with in Lima over the decades were now dead.⁴³⁷ Others, like Karl Pflücker in 1878, had returned to Europe after many years in South America.⁴³⁸ Also in Europe only a few of the people Witt had been related to were still alive. In 1886 Emilie Knauer and his cousin Frances Cresswell died, in 1887 Theodor Siemssen and Markus-Andreas Hugues, in 1888 Nelly Kramer, in 1889 his granddaughter Corina Schutte and her second husband, Adolf Schön, in 1890 his cousin Diederich Willink.⁴³⁹ Witt himself became increasingly weaker and suffered from various physical problems, but not from any life-threatening illnesses.⁴⁴⁰ His eyesight was much limited but, as already mentioned, until the end of his life he did not become completely blind.⁴⁴¹

Heinrich Witt died on 3 November 1892, in the family's house *Calle de Zárate* No. 96.⁴⁴² On the next day he was buried at the cemetery in Lima, in the sarcophagus next to his wife's, in the mausoleum he had had built.⁴⁴³ In early March 1893 Geraldo Garland informed the government in Copenhagen of the death of his pre-predecessor as Consul General. Together with the obituary, Garland sent also Witt's Dannebrog Cross back to the Danish Foreign Ministry.⁴⁴⁴ A few days before his death, in the first days of October 1892, Witt

436 HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 125f., 309, 378, 489, 561.

437 Regularly Witt recorded deaths in his diary. From Vol. 7 on also the tables of contents include a special thematic heading "Deaths" where for each year the deaths were listed, starting in 1870 (HWD, Vol. 7, p. 883).

438 HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 624f.; on Pflücker see also fn. 107.

439 On Emilie Knauer see fn. 33, the other data HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 75, 89, 254, 329, 453, 515, 537.

440 In his diary Witt states that basically he was healthy, but becoming ever weaker, e.g. HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 301, 479, 560.

441 Witt lamenting his bad eyesight at that time e.g. HWD, Vol. 10, pp. 53, 65, 342.

442 AGN-R, Registro Civil de Lima – Municipalidad 1892 Def[unciones] [Libro] 4 Octubre-Diciembre Duplicado, Sheet 45. There senile decay is given as the cause of death ("Senectud").

443 *El Comercio*, 3 November 1892, 2nd ed., Column: Defunciones (obituary by the family, dated 3 November 1892); *El Comercio*, 5 November 1892, 1st ed., Column: Defunciones (advert by the family to express their thanks, dated 5 November 1892).

444 RA-UM, Samlede Sager 362, Konsulatet Lima, (korresp.) Journalnr. A 9105: Geraldo Garland to the Danish Foreign Ministry, Lima, 4 March 1893; the letter mentions that the

had yet again altered his last will and testament and had made his daughter Enriqueta almost his sole heir.⁴⁴⁵ According to a still valid clause of the last will and testament of 1887, Witt's extended diary, however, was left to his grandson, Alejandro Garland.

Order had been sent, the delivery of "Commandeur x" is noted down on the sheet. Also in his last will and testament of 16 February 1887 Witt had stipulated that the Order was to be sent back immediately (Clause 7, Item 2), see AGN-C, PN, Vol. 106, Berninzon, documents belonging to Sheets 2115 verso-2116: Protocolización del expediente sobre apertura del testamento de Enrique Witt.

- 445 Last will and testament of 2 October 1892, AGN-C, PN, Vol. 106, Berninzon, Sheets 1989 verso-1990 verso: Testamento de Enrique Witt.