History of the Diary of Heinrich Witt*

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Commenced in Lima on the 3rd of September 1859.

Narrative of my first voyage from England to the West coast of South America, in the year 1824, copied from my diary.¹

These lines comprise the beginning of the first of the ten extant volumes of the diary of Heinrich Witt. From early September 1859, at the age of 60, beneath this heading, Witt penned a five-page “preamble.” In it he briefly sketched his professional career until his departure for Peru and provided some scant information on his German relatives. He then commenced with the announced “Narrative” about his first journey from London to Peru in 1824: “After this preamble I begin with the Diary.”² His account of the crossing of the Atlantic flows on into a description of his first years living and working in Peru, up to April 1842. This is followed, still in the first volume, by an extensive insertion on his childhood and youth extending down into the year 1822. Finally, on the remaining pages of Vol. 1 and in the next eight volumes, there is a continuous running account of Witt’s life from April 1842 until mid-May 1881, aside from a small number of sections that interrupt the chronology. The last extant volume of the diary, originally Vol. 13, contains the description of Witt’s life from the end of October 1886 until 29 December 1890.³ Volumes 10 to 12 are regarded as missing, more about that at the conclusion of this essay.⁴

* Translated from the German by Bill Templer.

- 1 Heinrich Witt Diary (hereafter: HWD), Vol. 1, p. 1. The specification “Volume 1st” on the previous non-numbered page was not added until later, probably at the moment when the existence of a second volume made it necessary to number the first already written volume.
- 2 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 6. On the biographical data of Heinrich Witt mentioned in this text, see Christa Wetzel, “A Short Biography of Heinrich Witt” (in this volume).
- 3 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 581. The volume count follows the count in this edition. This last extant volume, whose first pages are missing, was later erroneously designated as Vol. 10 (in the manuscript written in pencil in or above the text: “Vol X”; HWD, Vol. 10, p. 22). However, it is evident from the text that Witt’s diary encompassed at least 13 volumes (HWD, Vol. 10, p. 84, entry, 19 Jan. 1887: “This day Mr. Ladd began writing the 13th Volume of my Diary”; see also the references to “Volume X” and “my Diary, Volume XI,” Vol. 10, pp. 394, 551). Witt’s final will and testament from 1887 also speaks of more than 12 volumes, see fn. 132 below.
- 4 On the concrete material form as extant of the 10 volumes of HWD, see Christa Wetzel, “Form and Content of the Diary of Heinrich Witt” (in this volume).

The text of these ten volumes has been written largely in the format of a personal diary, with precisely dated entries for a single day, several days or a week, and often with highly detailed accounts of the course of an individual day. Notwithstanding the diary form, it becomes evident already from the initial lines quoted from Vol. 1 and the brief information on the genesis and content of Witt's life narrative, that the extant text is not a diary in the narrower sense. That is to say, it is not a diary where the nearness in time in composition to the events described constitutes a central criterion for designating a text as a diary, distinguished from other egodocuments and self-narratives such as autobiographical texts.⁵ By contrast, Witt's extensive account of his life was begun with a very clear and marked temporal distance between the time described and the moment of actual composition, and was thus written looking back in retrospect and with a knowledge of the future of the events, actions and persons described. As his work progressed, the temporal distance between composition and events described narrowed ever more, until Witt in September 1880, in what was by this time Vol. 9, finally closed that gap, reaching the point of the immediate compositional present.⁶ Thus, for a portion of the text, the necessary nearness in time when writing down the account and the openness to the future ultimately existed. But the principal bulk of the manuscript does not fulfill this criterion for what is considered a diary by its more narrow definition.

Heinrich Witt himself called his manuscript a diary and wrote it in the form of a diary. However, and this too becomes clear in the very first lines of Vol. 1, he certainly did *not* assert that the "Narrative" that he began to write in September 1859 was a text written in temporal proximity to his journey of 1824. Rather, here and at numerous other points in the extant manuscript, he explicitly mentioned the temporal distance involved. Thus, in the subsequent diary volumes, what is always noted first is *where* (always in Lima) and *on what*

5 See, for example, Sidonie Smith/Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001 (pp. 266ff.); Philippe Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique*, rev. ed., Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1996 (1st ed. 1975), p. 14; idem/Catherine Bogaert, *Le journal intime. Histoire et anthologie*, Paris: Textuel, 2006, pp. 23f.; Arthur Ponsonby, *English Diaries. A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century with an Introduction on Diary Writing*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Gryphon, 1971 (reprint of the edition of 1923); Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Europäische Tagebücher. Eigenart, Formen, Entwicklung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.

6 HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 447, 696.

day he began with the writing of the respective volume.⁷ In addition, inserted into the account of his life in diary form are several shorter texts that serve to explain interruptions in writing and ruptures in the chronology. These insertions, which sometimes interrupt the accounting of his life in the very middle of a sentence, are also carefully dated. Over and beyond that, there are innumerable places in all ten extant volumes where it is repeatedly noted within the description of his life in what year, month and even on what precise day a given passage was written. That is because again and again in the course of writing, Witt shifted into his own present, anticipating a relevant future development in commenting on the past in the time just described. One such example is in his description of January 1843: “The two sprightly lads Fred and Henry were afterwards sent for their education to Valparaiso where they learned well, now in 1867 they are useful members of Society in Lima.” Another occurs in the account of January 1850: “He lived at the time on the ground floor of the large house [...] where now in Decr. 73 I am dictating these lines.” Still another example is in the description of September 1868: “(This last paragraph I add November, 8th 1877),” or in the account of March 1877, noting parenthetically: “(I may say in anticipation, August 25th 1879, that up to this day [...]).”⁸

Witt’s note that his “Narrative” had been “copied from my diary” also points to an additional text, to earlier notes and sketches available to him when he was writing. Even if it sounds at the beginning of Vol. 1 as if this was a mere “copy” of a diary written at the time of the events and impressions therein described, it quickly becomes apparent in the text that Witt did not simply copy his earlier writings. Rather he reworked them into what he deemed was a better description of his life. As narrator of his life, he comments explicitly or implicitly at many points in the extant diary volumes on how he dealt with his old descriptions: he made a selection, quoted, supplemented, shortened, corrected and commented on his earlier notes, he rewrote, wrote in revision, anticipated what was to come, and gave a reason for things left out or repeated. In the process, he was not always consistent in following a decision on how to proceed taken earlier and mentioned in the text.⁹ In addition, he sought

7 Likewise in those volumes where the first initial pages are missing, it is reasonable to assume that Witt included a notation of these basic data.

8 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 872, Vol. 4, p. 452, Vol. 7, p. 38, Vol. 8, p. 339 (omissions by Christa Wetzel).

9 Examples in Christa Wetzel, *Schreibend leben. Heinrich Witt und sein Tagebuch im Lima des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: Hans Medick/Angelika Schaser/Claudia Ulbrich (eds.), *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2012, pp. 139–54; a revised Spanish version: idem, *Vivir escribiendo. Heinrich Witt y su diario personal en*

to determine the status of the text he had been working on since September 1859 within the text itself, supplementing the term “copy” by some adjective. In his account of January 1828 in Vol. 1, written in the second half of 1861, Witt speaks, for example, of “my original diary of which this is a revised copy.”¹⁰ In September 1865 he was more precise: “these Extracts which are a copy of my previously written diaries in a condensed and somewhat improved form.”¹¹

As in these examples, Witt as a rule distinguishes the new text clearly in terms of language from the “old diaries” or “original diaries.” In the first four volumes of the extant manuscript, this is still generally termed “extracts”¹² from the “original diaries.” Later the term “remodelled diary”¹³ comes to be used for referring to the new text. But the expression “this my diary” also appears frequently. For example in Vol. 4, written in October 1873: “this my diary, a remodelled and condensed copy of the original.”¹⁴

The elaboration and revision of the “original diaries” into the “remodelled diary” also contradicts the idea of a basically spontaneous text or in any case a text largely composed unedited in the narrower sense. Yet since Witt’s egodocument cannot be clearly classified within any other self-narrative or autobiographical genre of writing, in the following we continue to employ the term Witt used most frequently for his life narrative: diary or diaries. As in this edition, the two extant volumes of Witt’s earlier notes and sketches are published under the heading of “draft diaries,” to demarcate and distinguish them from the 10 volumes written from 1859 on, this term is also used here, while Witt’s “remodelled diary,” elaborated on the basis of the draft diaries, is also called “new” or “final diary.” Because both first and final version can

el Perú decimonónico, in: Ulrich Mücke/Marcel Velázquez (eds.), *Autobiografía del Perú republicano. Ensayos sobre historia y la narrativa del yo*, Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2015, pp. 99-125.

10 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 248.

11 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 370.

12 For example, HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 174, 279; Vol. 2, pp. 99, 185; Vol. 3, pp. 156, 475, 631; Vol. 4, pp. 162, 215, 457, 685, 828.

13 “Remodelled diary” appears explicitly for the first time in HWD, Vol. 4, p. 93. Very frequently also as a verb, the first instance in HWD, Vol. 3, p. 784 (“These my extracts which I am now dictating and remodelling”).

14 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 342. “This my diary,” without any other addition, for example, in HWD, Vol. 3, p. 227, Vol. 4, p. 230, Vol. 6, p. 6, Vol. 7, p. 462, Vol. 8, p. 12, Vol. 9, p. 690. However, his employment of “this my diary” is not consistent. In several places he uses the phrase to refer likewise to his earlier notes (such as in HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 761, 806).

be considered “originals,” i.e. composed by Witt himself, the term “original diaries” will no longer be used.

The fact that Witt did not write the account of his life by his own hand does not clash with the definition of the diary. As was already evident from the quotation from the description of January 1850, Witt (like Goethe) dictated his diary. Eleven secretaries – seven Englishmen, one Scot, one Irishman and two Frenchmen – did the actual work of writing the extant diary after listening to Witt’s dictation. The various different handwriting styles of these secretaries can be distinguished in the manuscript. In addition, the secretaries, whom Witt located through personal contacts and also by adverts in the daily papers, are repeatedly mentioned by name in the text.¹⁵ The first mention of Richard Bullen, the first secretary who wrote Witt’s life narrative, can already be found on page 2 of the first volume of the remodelled diary. In the case of almost all his secretaries, the dates when they began and ended their activity for Witt are also noted in the text in brief insertions, often along with reasons for why they left.¹⁶ Thus, for example, the Scot James Bryson, who worked for Witt from the end of October 1874 until the end of December 1879 as a secretary and wrote the greater bulk of the ten extant volumes (in toto more than 3,150 diary pages),¹⁷ was introduced by Witt in the manuscript with the following notation:

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- 15 Several job adverts are mentioned in HWD (Vol. 6, p. 863, Vol. 7, p. 311, 471, 617). It was possible to establish the presence of such classified ads in *El Comercio* (for example, 26 September 1863, under the heading: Avisos diversos; 10 March 1868, 2nd edition (no column heading); 24 January 1872 (no column heading); 22 October 1874, under the heading: Avisos nuevos). The ads do not mention the name of the potential employer. The ad in September 1863 is clear attributable to Witt, since the address given is “N. 22 calle de Lima (antes del Correo).” Based on the temporal and topical coincidence with Witt’s references in the diary and the great similarity between later such ads and the ad of 1863, we can assume that all these advertisements were placed by Witt. He also searched for persons to read aloud to him in this way (for example, HWD, Vol. 9, p. 139).
- 16 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 370 (entry point, George A. Coleman), Vol. 2, p. 99 (termination, Coleman // entry of George Barker), Vol. 2, p. 305 (Barker // entry of George Graham), Vol. 2, p. 397 (Graham // entry of Charles Duval), Vol. 3, p. 227 (Duval // entry of Thomas R. Rees), Vol. 3, p. 474 (Rees // entry of Coleman once more), Vol. 3 p. 814 (Coleman // entry of Victor Dupont), Vol. 4, p. 342 (Dupont // entry of Edward Deeble), Vol. 5, p. 88 (Deeble // entry of James Bryson), Vol. 8, p. 617 (Bryson // entry of Neat Ladd). No corresponding such mention exists in the case of the first two secretaries, Richard Bullen and Andrew Garland.
- 17 Bryson wrote two complete volumes (Vols. 6 and 7), almost all of Vol. 5 and two-thirds of Vol. 8 of the diary (HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 88-876, Vol. 6, pp. 1-865, Vol. 7, pp. 1-877, Vol. 8, pp. 1-617). The Tables of Contents of several volumes were also his work.

Mr. Edward Deeble who joined me on 1st October 1873 see page 342 Vol. 4, did not return to his duty after the 19th October 1874 owing, as he said, to the bad state of his health and accordingly on 26th of the same month his place was filled by Mr. James Bryson, who, under my dictation will continue to write this my re-modelled diary.¹⁸

The insertion interrupts the daily entry already begun by Bryson's predecessor Edward Deeble, which then is continued with the added note "Continuation of Sunday, 19th of October 1851."

Bryson is also the first secretary who is mentioned along with place of composition and date at the beginning of a diary volume, namely in Vol. 7: "Commenced in Lima on the 27th of October 1877 by Mr. James Bryson."¹⁹ Extant are two such mentions of Bryson (Vol. 7 and 8) and one of his successor Neat Ladd (Vol. 9). Ladd was also the secretary who recorded the news of Bryson's departure twice in the diary. The first was an insertion in the description of April 1878, written on 1 January 1880.

Mr. James Bryson, who had been with me since October 1874, see vol. 5, page 88, told me on 30th December 1879, that, as his brother had to absent himself from Lima, he had to attend to his business and could therefore no more come to my office; on the 31st December he was with me for the last time and on 1st January 1880 Mr. Neat Ladd took his place.²⁰

A second time was as part of the account of Witt's life on 30 December 1879, written in July 1880, when the entire entry for the day dealt with Bryson's leaving his post as secretary.

Tuesday, 30th of December 1879. Bryson told me that as his brother and family intended to reside for some time near the mine which the firm possessed in the department of Huaráz he had necessarily to attend to the business more than he had done heretofore, and could therefore not continue with me. I was sorry that he left me, for he and I were well accustomed to work together; he had been with me since October 1874.²¹

18 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 88.

19 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 1.

20 HWD, Vol. 8, p. 617. In the continuous description of Witt's life, the first joint work on the remodelled diary is noted for 1 January 1880, so that it is probable that Witt dictated the above entry to Ladd directly on this same day (HWD, Vol. 9, p. 245).

21 HWD, Vol. 9, p. 242. For the date of writing, see the information given on the progress of work on the new diary, HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 386f.

However, the eleven secretaries are not only mentioned in the text on the occasion of their commencing work for Witt or terminating their employment. Rather, joint work on the extant diaries appears to have been a solid component of Witt's daily round of activity over the course of many years. The history of genesis and development of Witt's extant diary is narrated also in this manner in the text itself. Yet the genesis of the draft diaries, which Witt in part wrote, likewise already jointly with secretaries, partially still alone by himself, is noted in the new diary. Witt tells the tale of a complex history of his own life as a virtually lifelong diarist, a tale that allows us to reconstruct in detail the genesis of the extant diary.

Draft and Final Diaries: Writing a Long Life

Heinrich Witt's life as a diarist began, as his account in retrospect has it, already at the age of seven in 1806, when, requested by his parents, he made notations about his daily life.²² He kept his first regular diary in 1813, from 1 January to 2 May.²³ Young Heinrich attempted another such diary some 18 months later when he was sent to a boarding school in England. But that unproductive diary, as he characterized it, also ended shortly before his return to Altona at the end of 1815, as Witt later noted: "Some barren memoranda written by me in 1814 and 1815."²⁴

In the following years down to the end of 1819, he apparently only wrote some sporadic notes. These notations are occasionally mentioned in the new diary. The numerous precise datings and descriptions of individual days or parts of days in the account of this period of time in the diary also point to the existence of previous notes.²⁵ Yet Witt lamented, when he wrote in 1866 in the remodelled diary about his youth, that he lacked a "regular diary" of 1816.²⁶ It remains open in the final description as to whether such a "regular diary" had never actually existed or whether in the meantime it had been lost. In the description of his stay in Altona in 1844, Witt mentions that he looked through papers there that had been stored away at the place of Georg Heinrich Sieveking:

²² HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 386, 409.

²³ HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 412, 436.

²⁴ HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 449, 505 (last entry 9 November 1815).

²⁵ HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 532f.

²⁶ HWD, Vol. 1, p. 555.

I destroyed most of them but preserved fragments of my diaries, my letters to Maria from Woodford wells, and letters from my two sisters to myself.²⁷

At the latest on New Year's Day 1820, Witt resumed the regular writing of a diary.²⁸ This diary formed the beginning of a phase, almost five years in length, of continuous and detailed writing, as can be concluded from Witt's later account of this period of time in the extant Vol. 1 of the diary. This phase encompassed Witt's final three years in Altona, his first trip through Europe, the time in London, his journey across the Atlantic and the first few weeks of his stay in South America. During this phase of writing Witt undertook an important change in his diary: until that time he had written his entries in German, but in February 1824, shortly before his departure for Peru, he switched to writing in English.

There is no place in the ten extant volumes where Witt explicitly states that he began at this time to write his diary in English, but the change in the language of his notations can be clearly seen from the extant text. Thus, Witt comments in the already mentioned preamble in Vol. 1 that his secretary at that time was not proficient in German, which is why the secretary was unable to utilize an available travel diary from 1823/24.²⁹ The text of the remodelled diary then commences with an account of 20 February 1824, the day Witt left London bound for Liverpool and then to board ship there for Peru.³⁰ In 1859, Witt must have had at his disposal notes and sketches in English beginning from this date. Since in the extant diary, Witt does not mention anywhere that he translated an earlier German text into English later on – something that he noted for other parts of the final diary – it is reasonable to assume that he kept his diary from 20 February 1824 writing in English.

Witt likewise gives no explanation in the extant volumes for the change in language. The point in time for this shift in his notes initially suggests that he had quite pragmatic reasons. The languages that Witt would need in South America were English and Spanish, and English was clearly the more important language for him at the point in time of his departure for Peru. For example, the correspondence of the South American affiliate of the Gibbs

²⁷ HWD, Vol. 2, p. 412.

²⁸ Resumption 1820 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 537ff. (on p. 536, in context clearly a mistake, 1824).

²⁹ HWD, Vol. 1, p. 2.

³⁰ HWD, Vol. 1, p. 6.

firm with its central office was naturally in English.³¹ Moreover, given the substantial number of British merchants in the new republics on the western coast of South America already in the 1820s, it was to be expected that English would be the main language of business and everyday colloquial discourse among the foreigners in Peru, in particular for Witt, who was going there as an employee of a London trading firm. In addition, at the time of his departure in 1824, as he later noted a number of times in the final diary, he planned only to stay on several years in Peru and then return to establish himself as a businessman and trader in his hometown of Altona.³² There too, English would have been more important than Spanish. Significantly moreover, Witt's position at Gibbs had almost been terminated in the summer of 1823 due to his superiors' dissatisfaction with the correspondence he wrote in English (and Spanish). All this makes it seem likely that Witt decided to improve his proficiency in English likewise by writing his personal notes and diary sketches in this language. Already during his period of training at Conrad Hinrich Donner in Altona, he had been reading English books because, as he writes in the remodelled diary, he did not want to lose the knowledge of English he had gained while in school in Woodford Wells.³³ Alongside all these practical reasons, embracing English as the language of his diary probably also served the junior merchant as a means for symbolically inscribing himself into the circle of the British traders and businessmen.³⁴

Even if Spanish, as the predominant everyday language in Lima, gained importance in the further course of his life, Witt maintained English, aside from a few exceptions, for the rest of his life for his written notes and descriptions, both in the draft and the final diary.

After Witt had described the journey from England to Peru in almost daily diary entries, apparently soon subsequent to his arrival in Arequipa in 1824,

31 There are several extant documents in English written by Witt in the company archive of Antony Gibbs and Sons and accessible on microfilm (The Gibbs Archive. Papers of Antony Gibbs and Sons 1744-1953. World Microfilms Publications. London n. d.).

32 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 27, 298, 337.

33 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 517.

34 See the thoughts on language and identity in autobiographical writing in James Clifford, *On Ethnographic Self-Fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski*, in: idem, *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge/Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 92-113. How writers of biographical texts utilized "language as an element of their self-definition and social behavior" is also shown in Gabriele Jancke, *Autobiographie als soziale Praxis. Beziehungskonzepte in Selbstzeugnissen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2002, p. 210.

he largely ceased with his keeping of a diary. In the extant diary, the detailed description of his first period of stay in Peru comes to a halt with his entry for 14 November 1824.³⁵ But Witt continued to document his business and private travels in detailed travel diaries. For the period from mid-November 1824 to the end of 1829, the final diary contains descriptions in diary form solely for Witt's various trips.³⁶ By contrast, the stays in Arequipa and Lima between these trips are described in the form of short, summarizing descriptions that connect together the accounts of the trips, which are clearly demarcated from the remaining text by the heading "Connecting Narrative." Witt does not state here explicitly that he had no earlier notes and sketches at his disposal when he described this period in the new diary in 1860/61, but nowhere in the text does he make reference to any such notations.

Witt does explicitly mention the lack of earlier notes in his description of the years as manager of the Gibbs branch in Arequipa from 1830 on, and as office manager of the firm's affiliate in Lima from 1833 to 1842. He comments in the remodelled diary that his notes became ever fewer until they finally ran dry, ceasing altogether. He comments there that it was not until April 1842 when he began once more with the regular writing of a diary. He states that for that reason, the description of the period from January 1830 to April 1842 was only possible for him in the form of a short report. This report, of just under 19 pages, written in the first few months of 1862, also bears the heading "Connecting Narrative."³⁷

Not until the end of April 1842, when he left Gibbs and departed on a trip to the north of Peru, did Witt begin once more to keep a regular diary.³⁸ The occasion that prompted a resumption of writing was probably the planned travel on his schedule. That is because like in the 1820s, initially in 1842/43, Witt probably was writing down detailed daily notations, sketches and descriptions only during his travels. By contrast, in the time periods between the two trips in South America and before setting out on his journey to Europe in May 1843, during his stay in Lima he appears only to have made occasional notes. The remodelled diary also contains "Connecting Narratives" for these periods of

35 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 102. It continues with information on the political changes in Peru at the end of 1824 and several pages with comments by Witt on the foreign merchants with whom he became acquainted during his time in Arequipa. The section with the comments on foreign merchants is initially dated 25 May 1860.

36 HWD, Vol.1, pp. 102-350.

37 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 350. The report 1830-1842 ends with the dating 4 March 1862 (Vol. 1, p. 369).

38 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 350, 364, 608.

time, generally with very few datings of a specific day.³⁹ Witt's comment that he began once again to keep a diary in April 1842, "which since then I have regularly kept up until the present day the 16th of February 1862,"⁴⁰ is probably due to his retrospective summary in 1862, in which he no longer accorded any significance to these short phases of less regular writing.

During his travels through Europe in 1843-1845, Witt filled several notebooks or books with descriptions and notes about his experiences. In the description of the journey in the extant diary, he mentions countless times where, at what time of day and for how many hours he wrote his diary or jotted down notes. As already mentioned, two volumes containing Witt's writings in English about this trip are still extant today, alongside the ten volumes of the remodelled diary.

One volume, on its spine numbered "3," contains a description of the period from 2 December 1843 to 22 June 1844. Witt stayed almost the entire time during those months in Altona, Hamburg and the surrounding area; this was framed in December 1843 by the final days in Scotland and England, and the beginning of his trip through Denmark and Norway from the end of May 1844. The descriptions and notations come to an end three days before his audience with the Danish king. The second volume, whose numbering on the spine is no longer legible, describes the period from 13 September 1845 to 12 September 1846. That year included the final weeks of his European journey, which Witt spent in England, and the nine-week trip from Southampton via Panama to Lima, where he arrived on 23 December 1845, as well as Witt's trip to southern Peru in January and February 1845, and finally ca. half a year of his life in Lima, including the beginnings of his independent activity as a merchant.⁴¹ This second volume apparently was actually written down on the same days described in the text (or with a very small temporal gap, for example, on the

39 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 752-93, Vol. 2, pp. 30-48.

40 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 364.

41 See Heinrich Witt Diary, Draft Diary. In the following, these volumes are referred to as HWD, DD, Vol. 1 (Number "3") and Vol. 2. The volumes, bound in leather (paper 225 × 185 mm; sexto), with a bright, finely lined paper, are extant in a basically good material condition, where the cover and binding of Vol. 2 have great damage. In both volumes, the paper is discolored at points and curled, but the text remains unscathed. The handwritten pagination extends in Vol. 1 to p. 347 (page nos. 23 and 54 are given twice), in Vol. 2 to p. 348 (page no. 343 occurs twice; pp. 153-56 and 233-36 are missing, with loss of text). The text, written in ink in diary format, is nearly completely written in English and contains, like HWD, occasional drawings as well as corrections and additions in ink in Witt's handwriting and also in another handwriting; in Vol. 2 there is also scribbling in pencil by a child's hand (dated 1899).

day following or at the end of the week). But the volume bearing the number “3” was *already* a revised version of his notes and sketches written down on the same day therein described, and subsequently elaborated by Witt later on. For example, when describing his feelings shortly before his arrival in Altona in December 1843, Witt noted that he was copying the passage in question literally from his notes: “(I now copy literally from my pencil memoranda).”⁴² It is possible that this reference might also refer to an elaboration of the initially quickly written “pencil memoranda” that same day or the day after, but it is clear from other passages that this text was not written day after day in the time period described there. For one thing, Witt occasionally notes within the frame of a daily entry that he later obtained more information on some matter described (for example: “I learnt several days after, that these shops are merely temporary”).⁴³ For another, the text contains breaks in chronology. Witt apparently had gotten confused writing the clean copy. Thus, the not yet finished description of 28 December 1843 (up to p. 62) is followed on 107 pages by a description of the period from 21 January to 20 April 1844 (likewise not finished). Following this, the description of 28 December 1843 is continued. The respective pages have corresponding cross-references inserted at the end or beginning of the page: “see p. 169” and “from p. 62.”⁴⁴ When 23 January 1944 was finally reached on p. 205 in the continued account, Witt noted “see page 63,” and added a double dash. Then he inserted a six-page description of 14 October 1843, that apparently had been left out in the preceding draft diary.⁴⁵ The following two pages also belonged there:

Explanation given me by Edward Alexander junior of Glasgow of what I saw on 23rd Nov. 1843 in the Factory of Corbett Alexander & Burnside, Glasgow; belongs to Journal 2, p. 277.⁴⁶

Then follows the continuation of the description of 20 April 1844 on p. 212, once again after a short dash and the note “From p. 168.” The volume contains two further deviations or digressions from the chronology with corresponding

42 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, p. 44. The sentence is part of a continuous text and has not been added on the margin or between the lines.

43 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, p. 52. Likewise within a running text, although less clear in the temporal statement there: “(this ‘considerably’ is however false, as I have learnt afterwards)” (ibid., p. 169).

44 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, pp. 62, 169.

45 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, p. 205 (“see J1 2, p. 190”).

46 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, p. 210.

notes in the description of February and May 1844. The day 5 February 1844 had initially been left out and was belatedly added three pages later. The day 10 May is described before 9 May.⁴⁷

Unlike in the case of the final diary, the temporal distance between the time described and the time or period of actual writing in the draft diary was minimal. Witt wrote this volume while he was still on his stay in Europe. That is because in Vol. 2 of the extant draft diaries, he noted in his description of the time in London dated 20 September 1845 that during the evening he had worked on the clean copy of his diary for November 1844: "I remained quietly at home writing that is to say, copying in my previous journal in clean my diary of 25 Nov 1844, see page 100."⁴⁸ It is reasonable to assume that Witt, despite the mistakes in sequencing mentioned, proceeded in a fundamental chronological manner and that at this point he had already dealt and finished with the time period up to June 1844.

Of special interest is the fact that the draft diary number "3" contains a longer section in Spanish – in the description of Witt's journey through Denmark. The switch in language occurs in the entry for 18 June 1844. Witt's early morning activities are described in English, but the rest of the day, viewed from the vantage of the following day, in Spanish. It is introduced with a short explanation as to why he switched languages: he was afraid otherwise he might perchance "forget" some of his Spanish.

Tuesday 18 June. I rose at about 4 ½, the weather is clear & the wind seems to have ceased blowing, the therm stand at below 10 I have been writing the preceeding, at 6 o'Clock I got my good coffee with biscuit (Zwieback) it is now 6 ½, I am going to pack up my trunk & to take another long Ramble before I leave this pretty place.

Es indispensable que empieze á escribir mi diario en Castellano, porque sino corro riesgo olvidarme de este idioma; he repasado ya hoy (el 19) viniendo de Boyden acá á Faaborg, que tratando de pensar algo en Castellano, las palabra [sic] Danesas se me ocurrían. Pues voy á empezar. – Saliendo ayer de mi hotel [...]⁴⁹

47 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, p. 76 ("Monday 5 of Feby see 3d page hence"), 79 ("belongs to page 76"), and pp. 239-43, with several comments.

48 HWD, DD, Vol. 2, p. 14. By contrast, HWD, Vol. 3, p. 592: "I occupied myself with writing and went to rest early."

49 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, pp. 326-27. The remaining 20 pages of the volume are also written in Spanish, only on p. 333 and p. 334 are there short sections in English.

In 1844, regular everyday writing in the language he did not want to lose seemed to Witt a tried and tested means. This suggests that the language shift in 1824 was also for pragmatic reasons. In the clean copy of the diary for June 1844, Witt retained Spanish. However, in his later description of the time in the English-language final diary there is no reference to this.⁵⁰ Due to the absence of the next draft diaries, we cannot say how long Witt wrote his travel notes and the respective clean copy in Spanish. At the latest in September 1845, in the second extant volume of the draft diaries, he was writing again in English.

During his passage from England to South America, Witt also checked this volume of the draft diary, which at the time he was still writing in, and corrected it: "I perused & corrected this volume of my diary from its commencement."⁵¹ How far Witt got during the Atlantic crossing in working through his travel books must likewise remain an open question. In any case, in 1846 in Lima he was busy with the clean copy of his descriptions from 1845, as he noted both in the draft diary and also later in the remodelled diary.

Draft diary: "went to my office below to write the Diary during my last year's journey in clean (this is a great undertaking & occupies much of my time)" (entry 13 April.1846) "I study Algebra, Latin, read & copy my old diary in clean" (entry 14 April 1846)

Final diary: "From Tuesday, 14th to Friday, 17th of April 1846. A quiet week, I studied Latin and Algebra, commenced copying in clean the rough M [...] on the Continent of Europe"⁵²

Work on the diary of the trip to Italy, certainly also very detailed in the "pencil memoranda," went on at least until mid-August 1846.⁵³ Following that or still in parallel, Witt began to prepare Tables of Contents for his previous diary volumes.⁵⁴ The draft diary number "3" contains a Table of Contents, but the

⁵⁰ HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 510ff.

⁵¹ HWD, DD, Vol. 2, p. 95 (entry, 11 November 1845); similar on p. 75: "reading & correcting the first pages of this diary" (entry, 27 October 1845).

⁵² HWD, DD, Vol. 2, pp. 251f., 253; HWD, Vol. 3, pp. 331f.

⁵³ HWD, DD, Vol. 2, p. 332 (entry, 17 August 1846): "I occupied myself with writing the diary, which I had kept, whilst in Rome, in clean"; mention of work on the "Roman diary" a number of times in subsequent days (a last time in the entry, 30 August 1846), *ibid.*, pp. 333ff. See HWD, Vol. 3, p. 884.

⁵⁴ HWD, DD, Vol. 2, p. 336: "The whole morning I was occupied with my previous Journals, commencing with N 1. & indexing it."

later volume does not.⁵⁵ Very probably, in 1846 Witt did not get as far as a clean copy or Table of Contents for this diary volume. The fact that the volume, along with many corrections and additions in Witt's handwriting, also contains some addenda by the hand of another person suggests that it was precisely this volume which was used when Witt later wrote the final diary.

Along with working on the sketches and notes dealing with his trip to Europe, Witt kept up, unlike before, with the regular notes and descriptions likewise in his everyday life in Lima. Aside from one longer and several shorter interruptions, for the rest of his life, apparently almost on a daily basis, but at least once a week and generally with some detail, Witt continued to keep a diary.

In addition, in August 1847, Witt began to write an "account of my life." As a reason for taking up work on this text, he noted later in the corresponding daily entry in the remodelled diary, written in November/December 1872, that his commercial activities at that point took up little of his time and that he was feeling somewhat bored. He wrote that he was well aware then that this account would most certainly not be of any greater interest, but that he thought perhaps later on the text might be read by his relatives.

As my mercantile occupations were extremely insignificant, and I could not always be studying latin, [...] terminated upon writing an account of my life. I knew full well that its [...] could not be of great interest to anybody, but perhaps I thought the perusal [...] my relations. Accordingly I commenced the undertaking and set to work with a good will.⁵⁶

Witt began the undertaking, as would be appropriate for a life narrative, with a description of his childhood and youth in Altona. To judge from the description in the remodelled diary, this text consisted of a mixture of diary entries, quotes from letters and a summarizing narrative.⁵⁷ As a basis, along with his memory, Witt relied on his diaries from that time, some of his own letters, letters by third parties and some other materials, such as a family tree of the Willink family and an old travel diary written by his sister Maria.⁵⁸ He had brought these writings back with him to Lima from his trip to Europe.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ HWD, DD, Vol. 1, unpaginated page at the beginning of the book.

⁵⁶ HWD, Vol. 4, pp. 121f.

⁵⁷ HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 370-605.

⁵⁸ For example, HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 371, 463ff., 555ff.

⁵⁹ During his visit in Eutin (eastern Holstein) in late May/early June 1844, from his brother-in-law Limpricht, Witt had obtained Maria Witt's letters, her Harz diary and his own

Since Witt also wrote this description of his childhood and youth in English, as a rule he had to translate the old descriptions and data taken from the other documents from German.⁶⁰

Witt worked over the course of several years on this first autobiographical text in the narrow sense, i.e. the attempt to describe (and interpret) his own life in retrospect from a greater temporal distance. It is not noted in the extant diary when he stopped working on the *account*. In the chronology of the life narrative told in the final diary, Witt's comment that in the first week in January 1850, he read letters of his sister Maria, constitutes the latest reference to work on the description of his youth.⁶¹ It is possible that Witt continued writing on the text until shortly before his next departure for Europe in April 1851. When he halted this work, he had advanced in the description of his life up until February 1822.⁶²

Witt also made extensive descriptions during his trip to Europe 1851/52, and this time as well, he copied the descriptions written during his trip once more after his return to Lima.⁶³ It can be assumed that likewise in this case, he reworked and edited the text. He had just finished this work when he suffered a decline in sight at the end of October 1852. Due to his impaired eyesight and in order to adhere to the prohibition on reading and writing his first doctor in Lima called for, Witt stopped work on his ongoing diary that he had continued to keep, along with the work on his travel diaries.⁶⁴ Not until his next trip to Europe in 1854-56 did he start writing sketches and notes once again, or chose to dictate these during the trip to his granddaughters and also possibly to the secretaries engaged in Hamburg and Paris.⁶⁵ Likewise when back in Lima, Conradina and Amalia Schutte wrote, according to Witt's dictation, the now already customary further draft and elaboration of the description of the trip, and in addition a description of the period from October 1852 to departure

letters from Peru to his sister Witt (HWD, Vol. 2, p. 547). It can be assumed that he did not take the other materials along already in 1823 when he left Altona, thinking at that time that he would live only for a few years abroad.

60 On the necessary translation: HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 555f., 602f. The letters from Witt's sister Maria were in part also in French and English, see Vol. 1, pp. 469, 583f. and Appendix No. 25 (= Pictures 52, 53, 54 and 55 in the current edition of the diary).

61 HWD, Vol. 4, p. 451.

62 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 602.

63 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 267, 278, 281. The last mention of the copy is in the description of 21 September 1852 (Vol. 5, p. 315).

64 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 321, Vol. 6, S. 1f.

65 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 1, 152, 187. It is unclear whether the secretaries were likewise writing the diary along with Witt's correspondence. (Vol. 6, p. 60: "who read and wrote for me").

on the journey in 1854. This served to close the gap in Witt's descriptions caused by the complications of his eye disease.⁶⁶ Witt dictated both texts to his granddaughters in German; the notes prepared during the trip were already written down in German.⁶⁷

In parallel with the work with his granddaughters, which continued on until mid-September 1858,⁶⁸ Witt began, apparently already shortly after his return to Lima in June 1856, to dictate notes on his family life and political life to his secretary, although without keeping a detailed daily diary. According to the extant text, he finally resumed regular diary writing on 23 September 1858.⁶⁹

At the latest beginning in 1859, Witt also had his secretary and readers read aloud to him from the old diaries. The first dated mention of this in the remodelled diary is in the entry on 19 May of that year.⁷⁰ However, the copy of a poem by Richard Bullen dated 25 January 1859 in the draft diary number "3" shows that Witt had already begun earlier on to deal with his old descriptions.⁷¹ The reading aloud of "my old diaries" is also mentioned without any date in brief information on the assigned duties of George A. Coleman, who worked for Witt as a reader from 1856.⁷² However, in view of the lack of any mention of the reading of the old descriptions in the account of everyday life for the years before 1859, it can be assumed that in March 1875, when Witt described Coleman's duties, he was summarizing in retrospect his activities over the course of a number of years, but that Coleman was not yet, already in 1856, reading aloud from the old diaries.⁷³

On 3 September 1859, Witt finally began to dictate to Bullen the new remodelled diary. Even if Witt did not comment explicitly, either at the beginning of work in Vol. 1. or later on, about his initial motivation for writing, he appears to have understood the text begun in 1859 as a continuation of his first autobiographical project, in which some 10 years before he had reached the beginning of 1822 in the chronology. The short preamble which introduces

66 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 330, 463f., Vol. 6, pp. 1, 282. In the extant diary, the description of the trip, which takes up some 90% of the section, is in diary format, while the description of the period from October 1852 to April 1854 is written largely in the form of a report (HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 1-285).

67 See HWD, Vol. 6, p. 1.

68 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 463f., Vol. 6, p. 247.

69 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 321f.

70 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 592.

71 HWD, DD, Vol. 1, three unpaginated pages at the beginning of the volume, between the Table of Contents and the text of the diary.

72 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 329.

73 On the time of composition March 1875 for the section on 1856: HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 322, 347.

the volume – providing information on Witt's commercial training, the death of his parents and sisters and the current (1859) situation of his niece and nephews in Europe as well as the sketch of the events in 1823 – connects with the description of the year 1822.⁷⁴ As already mentioned, Witt also states in the preamble that he would have liked to begin with the diary of the trip through Europe in 1823. But here a gap had to remain, since the travel diary was written in German and Bullen (as well as the reader Coleman) were not proficient in German so that neither a copy nor a translation could be prepared.⁷⁵ Instead, the life narrative begins in a diary format with the entry for 20 February 1824.

In the subsequent 2½ years, Witt dictated this new diary to Richard Bullen and, after he left his employ in 1861, to Andrew Garland (a nephew of Gerald Garland⁷⁶), in parallel with his ongoing diary, i.e. the notes and sketches from the years beginning with 1859.⁷⁷ On 4 March 1862, he ceased work once again on the remodelled diary after 369 pages. He had progressed in the account of his life to April 1842, when he left the firm of Gibbs, and after a nearly 20-year absence from his native Altona, was planning his first trip from Peru back to Europe. Witt does not mention any reason in the text for stopping with the writing. (The interruption in work on the new diary may possibly have been in connection with the increased work load as a result of the awarding of the contract to Henry Witt & Schutte for the guano trade.) However he held out the prospect of a later continuation with the description of the trips in South America 1842/43.

Before I returned to Europe I made a journey to the north of Perú, another to Chile, perhaps I may give some day or other an account of them in the Extracts.

Lima 4th March 1862⁷⁸

Even after halting work on the new diary, Witt continued to keep his current diary. In Lima he continued to dictate as before to Andrew Garland, and on

74 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 1-6.

75 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 2. According to Witt's statements, Coleman knew several languages well, but had no German, HWD, Vol. 5, p. 329.

76 Gerald Garland had requested of Witt that he employ the son of his late brother, HWD, Vol. 5, p. 787. Andrew Garland (b. 1842), for data see Barreda, p. 65 (there: Carlos Andrés Garland de Menchaca).

77 For example, HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 643, 862.

78 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 369.

his next trip to Europe in 1863 he was writing down his own notes: "writing a rough draft of my diary in large characters, so as to spare my eyes as much as possible."⁷⁹ After his return to Lima, he edited these notes and sketches with his then secretary Mejer, molding them into a detailed travel diary, which Mejer finally made a clean copy of in September 1864.⁸⁰

At the end of September 1865, Witt resumed work on the remodelled diary, after George Coleman had for a second time come to work for him and was now also active as a secretary.⁸¹ But departing from what he had announced in 1862, Witt now did not continue his life narrative with a description of his trips in the 1840s. Rather, he initially took a step backward in the chronology of his life, now deciding to include in the final diary, with minor revisions, the description of his forbears and his childhood and youth, written at the end of the 1840s in retrospect and in English.

In the year 1847 when I was not afflicted with the weakness of my eye sight, which came upon me in October 1852, I began writing, but did not finish an account of the predecessors of my family, of my childhood, and youth, in short of that period of my life anterior to my departure for America with which these present extracts begin. This narration slightly altered will form the first part of mine, and Mr. Coleman's joint labors.⁸²

Witt and Coleman were busy with this work nearly a year, along with their other assigned writing activities and reading aloud to Witt. On 31 August 1866, after 236 pages, they concluded the section.⁸³ The quite detailed account reaches to the end of 1821, while the year 1822 is given only cursory treatment on a limited number of pages. Witt explained this by stating that 1822 had been little different from 1821. In addition, he noted, now in 1866, on the basis of his weak eyesight and without a secretary versed in German, it was no longer possible for him to undertake the translation and revision of his earlier notes and sketches.

79 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 424 See also Vol. 6, pp. 453, 513.

80 HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 388, 495. Witt notes there that when working on the extant diary (1877), the travel diary that he had available was a text he had written in November 1863 or June 1864. On the clean copy, see Vol. 6, p. 621. Mejer, whose first name Witt does not mention, was not involved in the writing of the final diary.

81 From mid-August 1865, HWD, Vol. 6, p. 694.

82 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 370.

83 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 605.

The year of 1822 was the last of my residence in Altona, it was passed in a manner similar to that of 1821 of which I have given ample details in the previous pages, to go through its occurrences as minutely as I have done in my German original, would not only perhaps be tedious but also even were I willing I could not, for as far as to the end of February only do I find an English translation, thence forward I have nothing but what is written in German: at this time unhappily a closed book to me through weakness of sight already alluded to.⁸⁴

Given the lack of any possibility for translation, the inclusion of the travel diary of 1823/24 also continued to remain a desideratum. Aside from this gap, Witt summed up at the end of August 1866 with satisfaction that his new diary now contained a continuous description of his life extending up to April 1842.

My diary is now brought up more or less to the commencement of 1823 where I took up the thread of my narrative Page 1 of this thick Volume, which I again left off page 369 when I had come as far as April 1842. Lima 31 August 1866.⁸⁵

Correspondingly, Witt and Coleman then resumed work on the narrative of Witt's life in April 1842. Initially in the remodelled diary, as already in the description of the years 1824 to 1842, shorter overviews on life in Lima, under the heading "Connecting Narrative," alternated with detailed travel diaries.⁸⁶ But after the very detailed description of the trip to Europe 1843-1845, filling almost two volumes of the final diary, Witt was basically able to maintain the format of the diary for the further description of his life, independent of whether he was describing his travels or his daily life in Lima.⁸⁷

From September 1865 on, Witt thus led a life once again as a "double diarist," so to speak. In the following 15 years, he worked continuously *in parallel* on the

84 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 602f.

85 HWD, Vol. 1, p. 605. The sentence contained in curly brackets in the transcription was later added by asterisk, and "where" in the above sentence was crossed out.

86 HWD, Vol. 1, pp. 606-08 (Overview circumstances of life April 1842), 608-752 (travel diary northern Peru), 752-93 ("Connecting Narrative": Lima July to November 1842), Vol. 1, pp. 793-874 and Vol. 2, pp. 1-30 (travel diary southern Peru 1842/43), Vol. 2, pp. 30-48 ("Connecting Narrative": Lima February to May 1843).

87 The description of the trip to Europe 1843-1845: HWD, Vol. 2, pp. 48-896, Vol. 3, pp. 1-727. Witt also provides a reason in the text for the few later deviations from the diary format, for example HWD, Vol. 6, p. 1.

new diary and on his ongoing diurnal diary in the here and now. These fresh notes and sketches, written already in the knowledge that they would be later reworked for autobiographical purposes,⁸⁸ were included at the appropriate time in the new account of Witt's life. In the final diary, the time described and the time of writing were converging, coming ever closer, and Witt's tempo in writing (and that of his secretaries) continued to accelerate. This speed-up is reflected in the comments in the life narrative on the progress of work on the new diary: the text of the first two volumes was completed at the end of December 1869 (in toto 1,770 pp.); it describes Witt's life until the middle of December 1844.⁸⁹ From the beginning of 1870 to the end of 1874, volumes 3 and 4, and just under 250 pages of Vol. 5 were written (a bit in excess of 2,000 pp.); the life narrative now extended up to the beginning of March 1852.⁹⁰ The rest of Vol. 5, Vols. 6 and 7 and almost three quarters of Vol. 8 were completed in the period from the beginning of January 1875 to the end of December 1879 (nearly 3,000 pp.).⁹¹ In the account of his life, Witt had now advanced all the way to April 1878. There was only a comparatively small step until he closed the gap and reached the compositional present.

On the one hand, the acceleration in the tempo and progress of work is attributable to Witt's changed life circumstances in the second half of the 1870s. After the death of his wife María Sierra in May 1876, when Witt for several months withdrew almost completely from public life and subsequently resumed his social and business activities only to a reduced extent, he clearly had more free time than at his disposal than before. It was possible to use those hours for reworking and elaboration of the old sketches and notes. On the other hand, even before the death of his wife, Witt had endeavored to progress more rapidly with the revision and writing of the final diary. When James Bryson (already mentioned) commenced his job in Witt's employ on 26 October 1874, his most important task was to be, as the later description of the first workday of the new secretary states, work on the new diary.

88 However, this is true for all the notes and sketches written since beginning with the first autobiographical project in 1847.

89 HWD, Vol. 3, p. 1 (time of composition dated: 29 December 1869), Vol. 5, p. 250 (time of composition dated: 2 January 1875). The numbers of pages written given here and below are without counting the pages of the extant Tables of Contents.

90 HWD, Vol. 5, p. 250 (time of composition dated: 2 January 1875).

91 HWD, Vol. 8, p. 617 (time of composition dated: 1 January 1880).

I at once told him that what I had most at heart was the correcting and copying in clean of my old diaries, with which at the time I had not progressed further than October 1851.⁹²

At this point in time, the newly written narrative of Witt's life had reached October 1851, at the beginning of Vol. 5. In view of his advanced age – in the meantime he had turned 75 – Witt appears to have feared that if he maintained the previous tempo of work, he would no longer be able to complete his life narrative, i.e., would no longer be able to bring it up to the present moment. He noted for example in his description of May 1871 (written in 1878) that it was extremely important for him to leave to posterity a “well written record of my life and travels.” For that reason, the work, then with Coleman, on the remodelled diary was what he termed his “principal occupation.”⁹³ However, in December 1871, they were still engaged with the description of the travel year 1845, which they had already been busy working on in January 1870.⁹⁴

In actual fact, the joint work between Witt and Bryson on the diary appears to have functioned very well right from the start. Witt noted later in the description of the first months of 1875, that already then they had made rapid progress.⁹⁵ But work on the text advanced much more quickly than in earlier years for another reason: the ongoing diary kept in parallel since 1859 was increasingly better tailored to the demands of the final diary, and fewer alterations were necessary.

In the remodelling and copying of my former diaries Bryson and I made quick progress, which was owing in a great measure to the few alterations we had to make in what Richard Bullen had written under my dictation.⁹⁶

However, these notes and sketches were likewise not taken over and included in the new text without some reworking. Notwithstanding his fears that he could not succeed in finishing the story of his life, Witt was as a rule still speaking in the late 1870s about the fact that his earlier notations were in the process of revision.⁹⁷ Yet given the rapid tempo of progress, these could no

92 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 619 (time of composition around July 1878, see Vol. 7, p. 579).

93 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 254. See also Vol. 7, p. 301. On dating the time of composition, Vol. 7, pp. 175, 422.

94 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 142, 301.

95 For example, HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 661, 697.

96 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 661 (entry 22 January 1875).

97 For example, HWD, Vol. 8, pp. 220, 548, 708, Vol. 9, pp. 73, 151.

longer have been especially extensive changes. Significantly, the description of his life in Lima in the 1860s and 1870s turned out to be on the whole less multifaceted and detailed, and was also correspondingly less extensive, than the descriptions of his travels in the 1840s and 1850s.

The period of Bryson's employment working for Witt was also the time when Witt dealt with the translation of the sketches and notes dictated in the 1850s to his granddaughters in German, and covering the period from October 1852 to the end of the journey to Europe in 1856. Witt explains the laborious procedure in connection with the description of his life in 1875 (in Vol. 7 of the diary): in the forenoon on Sundays and holidays, his grandson Ricardo Garland would read aloud the German text, section by section, und Witt would dictate to Bryson an English translation.

Our grand work was the remodelling and copying of my former diaries in which we were up to October 1858; there was however a great chasm to be filled up from October 1852 to June 1856, which included the travels of my wife and myself, Corina and Amalia in 1855, and as all this was written in German I translated it in the forenoons of Sundays and holidays, when Ricardo read the German and Bryson wrote down my English translation. In this however we did not make such quick progress as I could have wished.⁹⁸

The translation of the German text done in this manner took several months to complete. The first mention of this working procedure is in the entry for 24 January 1875, the last is dated 18 October of that same year.⁹⁹ The "great chasm" in the life narrative mentioned in the entry for 16 June 1875 had opened up because Witt and Bryson had continued on weekdays, in parallel with the translation work on Sundays, with the revision of the description of the period from June 1856. Bryson wrote down this text from March 1875 into Vol. 5 of the diary, connecting it with the description of the final days in October 1852, when Witt's eye disease had emerged.¹⁰⁰ The volume ends with the description of 31 December 1861. By contrast, for the earlier translated and naturally likewise revised description of the time period October 1852 to June 1856, Bryson started a new volume at the end of November 1875, namely Vol. 6 of the diary, even though at this point Vol. 5 had not yet been completed.¹⁰¹ It would appear

98 HWD, Vol. 7, p. 731 (entry 16 June 1875).

99 HWD, Vol. 7, pp. 663, 809. A further mention of this process of translation, Vol. 7, p. 789.

100 HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 321f. (time of composition dated: 1 March 1875).

101 HWD, Vol. 6, p. 1 (time of composition dated: 29 November 1875).

that Witt and Bryson initially broke off with work on Vol. 5, and then resumed it later on in parallel alongside with work on Vol. 6, as is evident from several datings regarding the time of composition.¹⁰² In both these volumes, Witt explained his procedure and the reasons for the break in the chronology of the life narrative by means of several sentences inserted or prepended, in which he explicitly referred to the respective continuation or the chronological linkage in the diary volumes: to blame were his eye disease and the lack of a “proper” secretary, namely one who knew German. It says in Vol. 5:

Here is a gap in my diary, which I shall fill up on a later occasion. It was caused by the sudden failing of my sight, and my consequent incapability of writing and the want, for some time at least, of a proper Secretary. Moreover, I find in my original diary, of which, as already said more than once, the present manuscript is a mere copy somewhat [...] and corrected, that before the 23 Sept. 1858 I have not recom [...] my life and other occurrences both private and public which came under my notice, and that of the intervening period from 10th June 1856 to 23 September 1858, the account given by me is in the shape of a narrative, which will be transcribed here, with the additions and alterations I may think necessary. For continuation, see page 1, Vol. VI. Written on the 1 March 1875.¹⁰³

The extant diary provides no information as to when the English draft for the narrative that followed this announcement, dealing with the period June 1856 to September 1858, was actually written. Yet this account occasionally also contains specifically dated descriptions of certain days as well as exact information about when some news mentioned in the diary had arrived in Lima and on what steamship.¹⁰⁴

At the beginning of Vol. 6, the introductory text connects with the explanation given in Vol. 5:

¹⁰² The final dating of the time of composition in Vol. 5 to the year 1875 (no month given) is on p. 663, before this the last monthly dating to July 1875 on p. 519; the first dating to March 1876 is on p. 730. The additional datings in this volume are to May, June and July 1876 (HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 766, 801, 805). Vol. 6 begins with the dating of the onset of composition on 29 November 1875 (HWD, Vol. 6, p. 1). After further datings to 1875, from p. 32 (January) there are several datings given for 1876, which also include the months mentioned in Vol. 5 and do not reveal any long pause in writing in Vol. 6 for the time worked on Vol. 5; see, for example, HWD, Vol. 6, pp. 82 (April), 90 (May), 133 (June), 151 (July).

¹⁰³ HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 321f.

¹⁰⁴ The description June 1856 to September 1858: HWD, Vol. 5, pp. 322–471.

Commenced in Lima, the 29th of November 1875.

I have said Volume V page 322, when the writing of my diary was suddenly interrupted by the failing of my sight, that the chasm from 28th October 1852 till 10th June 1856 would be filled up on a later occasion. The time for doing so has now come, to-day the 29th Novr. 1875¹⁰⁵

The note "For continuation see Volume V, page 322,"¹⁰⁶ placed right after the added text of 285 pages, also serves to forge the link in coherence of the life narrative. Correspondingly, before the description of the time from June 1856 in Vol. 5, Bryson wrote: "(Fm. Vol. 6, page 285),"¹⁰⁷ and the note "For continuation see Volume VI page 285"¹⁰⁸ also closed the circle on the final page of the text.

Thereafter, now in October 1876, Witt and Bryson continued the description of Witt's life in Vol. 6 from where they had arrived at the end of Vol. 5 of the diary: 1 January 1862. The subsequent 19 years of Witt's life were edited and revised in just under four years, until in September 1880 (after Bryson had left the post of secretary the end of 1879, and Witt was now working together with Neat Ladd), Heinrich Witt finally reached his present moment in time qua diarist in the ninth volume of the new diary – 21 years after the beginning of work on the remodelled diary and after more than 7,000 pages of text. Under the date of 21 September 1880, he noted that on this day, he had revised and "remodelled" his old diary down to the actual (previous) day. Only a few days later, the clean copy of the last still outstanding descriptions of certain days was inserted in the diary volume.¹⁰⁹

I had now at last concluded my task, that of remodelling my old diary and having it copied up to the day; at all events Mr. Ladd and I had already corrected it till the 20th inclusive. What now remained to be done was to index the diary of several years, and to fill up the gap from the 1st January 1823 to February 1824, when I left in the "Wanderer" for South America¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ HWD, Vol. 6, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ HWD, Vol. 6, p. 285.

¹⁰⁷ HWD, Vol. 5, p. 322.

¹⁰⁸ HWD, Vol. 5, p. 876.

¹⁰⁹ See HWD, Vol. 9, p. 696.

¹¹⁰ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 447. On the Tables of Contents mentioned in the quotation ("to index the diary of several years"), see Christa Wetzel, "Form and Content of the Diary of Heinrich Witt" (in this volume).

From this juncture on, Witt basically maintained *one* diary only, the text became a diary composed close to the time and events as described and without any apparent knowledge of the future, in keeping with the narrower definition of a diary. The very small number of corrections and the regularly neat hand suggest that likewise in the subsequent period, Ladd probably did not transcribe Witt's dictation *directly* into the diary volume. Rather, the extant text is the clean copy of a previously written version. However, in regard to the fundamental temporal closeness between the life described and the time when they were written down on paper, this working method probably only led to a very minor time lag.

Yet a somewhat longer time delay arose as a result of the actual inclusion of the travel diary of 1823/24, a text already mentioned in the above quote, in order to reach the compositional present and "fill up the gap." Immediately after the entry for 30 September 1880, Vol. 9 contains the description of the time from 1 January 1823 to 20 February 1824.¹¹¹ With an explanatory heading, Witt explicitly made a direct connection to the description of his childhood and youth in Vol. 1, thus integrating this section into the overall framework of his final diary.

Diary (continued from Volume I, page 605) from 1st January 1823 to 20th February 1824, inclusive, translated from the German, and copied from the English original, with occasional slight alterations and additions.¹¹²

It cannot be clearly determined from the extant text exactly when the translation of the German diary, written more than half a century earlier, was actually done. Likewise, nothing is stated about whether, as is quite likely, Ricardo Garland was involved once again in the translation. A first English draft had been completed by the end of September/early October 1880 if not before. Thus, for example, the extant text has the information that in August 1880, Witt dictated a section of text dealing with July 1823.¹¹³ And in the description of the year 1880 placed immediately after the insertion of the description of 1823/24, Witt noted in the entry for 8 October that Ladd had finished with the clean copy of the remodelled diary reaching until the end of September 1880 and was able to begin with the copying of the description of the period extending from January 1823 to February 1824.

¹¹¹ HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 456-690.

¹¹² HWD, Vol. 9, p. 456.

¹¹³ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 619.

To-day Mr. Ladd finished indexing my diary till 31st December 1878, and wrote up the remodelled one to 30th September last, so that he could begin copying the corrected diary from 1st January 1823¹¹⁴

However, there was probably as yet no final version that Ladd should then have transposed in clean copy into the final diary. Rather, they were correcting the first version successively. It was stated in the later entry for 20 to 23 October 1880, for example, that Witt and Ladd had corrected the “rough English translation” before Ladd copied it into the diary volume.¹¹⁵ Correspondingly, the description in Vol. 9 contains notes dated to 1880 as well as notes from 1881.¹¹⁶

Ladd finished the work on this section in the remodelled diary on 8 February 1881.¹¹⁷ The description of the period, just under 14 months, encompasses 235 pages, and is thus in the manuscript just as extensive in length as the description of the entire childhood and youth until early 1822.¹¹⁸ Once again, the cohesiveness of the account of his life running through the diary volumes was explicitly created, in Vol. 9, by Witt’s note: “Now also this my diary is brought up to where I commence my narrative on page 6 of Volume I.”¹¹⁹ And in Vol. 1. Ladd supplemented the interim summary of 31 August 1866, quoted above, with a sentence bearing his signature:

The detailed diary from 1st January 1823 to 20th February 1824 inclusive will be found in Volume IX, pages 456 to 690 inclusive.¹²⁰

Immediately after the insertion, from February 1881 on, Ladd copied the descriptions of the previous four months written in parallel as well as the description of the most recent events, with a time gap that was growing ever smaller. Finally, in the beginning of April 1881, they had caught up to the present and were literally up-to-date.¹²¹

Witt’s trip to Europe in 1882-1884 (his last) led to another rupture in the writing of the diary. Since the diary volumes with the description of this trip

¹¹⁴ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 696.

¹¹⁵ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 702. Similar statements for November 1880: Vol. 9, pp. 711, 726.

¹¹⁶ For example, HWD, Vol. 9, pp. 466, 471f., 531, 600f., 619 (all 1880), 637, 647, 662 (all 1881).

¹¹⁷ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 690.

¹¹⁸ Even taking into account Ladd’s larger and more expansive handwriting style, the difference (with a uniform formatting of the two sections) is less than 10 per cent.

¹¹⁹ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 690.

¹²⁰ HWD, Vol. 1, p. 605; on the addition, see also fn. 85.

¹²¹ HWD, Vol. 9, p. 848; resumption October 1880 Vol. 9, p. 691; on progress of the work, Vol. 9, pp. 784, 818.

and the period of time immediately after his return to Lima are not extant, his activity as a diarist at that point cannot be reconstructed from the diary itself. Yet from extant letters by Witt in 1884 and 1885 to the Hamburg merchant Theodor Siemssen, the son-in-law of his cousin Nelly Kramer (née Hugues), we can learn that Witt, in keeping with his previous way of working as a diarist, this time had likewise himself made rough notes during the trip or had dictated them to one or more secretaries.¹²² Back in Lima, he then revised and edited the notes and sketches with his secretary there, who then ultimately copied this “remodelled” version in a clean copy into the volumes of the diary.

When at home much of my and my secretary's time is occupied with remodelling and copying the scrawl of my diary which though hardly legible, I have always been able to write, this is a pleasant occupation, for it recalls to my memory the many happy hours spent in Europe during the last two years¹²³

The letters give us no clue as to whether the secretary mentioned was indeed already Neat Ladd; however, the letters were not written by him. It is not known precisely when Ladd rejoined Witt as a secretary. The first extant mention of his name as secretary after the trip to Europe is in the entry for 1 November 1886.¹²⁴

Along with work on the description of the trip to Europe, Witt, as in the 1860s and 1870s, probably also kept up his current diary in parallel; after completion of the clean copy of the account of the trip, it likewise was copied into the extant diary. Witt noted that at the beginning of November 1886, there was still a time gap of three to four months between dictation and clean copy.¹²⁵ This was still the case in January 1887, when Ladd began to write the events from the end of October 1886 into the diary in Vol. 13.¹²⁶ From the extant text we do not know precisely when Witt and Ladd finally closed the gap.¹²⁷

122 State Archive Hamburg, Family Archive Siemssen 622-1/506, subfile 64: Letter, Heinrich Witt, Paris, 3 April [1884] (mention of a Spanish secretary).

123 Ibid.: Letter, Heinrich Witt, Lima, 6 October 1884.

124 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 27. In addition, Ladd wrote at least part of the non-extant penultimate volume (see Vol. 10, p. 84), and possibly all three non-extant volumes.

125 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 34 (entry, 8 to 10 November 1886).

126 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 84 (entry, 19 January 1887). The first dating in this volume is on the paginated page 23: 29 October 1886.

127 That Witt and Ladd were busy with the “writing of my rough, and the copying of my corrected diary” is noted last in the diary in the description from the end of December 1887, HWD, Vol. 10, 274 (entry, 27 to 31 December 1887). However, it is possible that the

In the accounts of the years 1887 to 1890, the work with Ladd on the diary appears to have been a solid component of Witt's daily routine. It is no longer possible to accurately determine the precise day up to which Witt was able to continue writing his diary. The incomplete extant final volume ends on p. 581 in a description of the events of 29 December 1890. In the binding we have today, the body of the book has been trimmed and bound directly after the last sheet with text. The volume is clearly less thick than the other nine extant volumes, each with around 900 pages.¹²⁸

However, the tenses used in the text and the statements on content there suggest that Witt did not stop writing his diary with the day 29 December 1890, and that the last entry that is now extant was also indeed the last part dictated by Witt of his life narrative. There was probably more. During this period, Ladd arrived at Witt's place in the late forenoon and left the early afternoon (11:15 a.m. to 2:15 p.m.).¹²⁹ During their joint working session in the late morning, Witt dictated his description of the previous afternoon and evening, or also in some instances of the previous several days, as well as of the forenoon of the current day, so that the description of a given day was in fact composed over the course of two days. The change in the day of writing appears as a rule in the text in a change of the tense: i.e. the events of the previous day are described consistently in the past tense, while in the account of the present ongoing day, the statements are in present tense. Likewise in the entry for 29 December 1890, we find this shift in content and in verbal tense. There is a section in present tense reporting on the previously unannounced departure from service of a reader and Witt's thoughts regarding how he might find a replacement: "To-day I have to say," "I am now under the necessity." After one paragraph there is a second section in the past tense: "When Mr. Ladd had gone I had some tedious hours."¹³⁰ So it is reasonable to assume that Witt did not dictate this section of the account of 29 December until some later point in time, the earliest on the following day, 30 December. However, then it is improbable that Witt did not continue his entry, as per usual, up until the point of Ladd's renewed presence

few points where in the final volume there is mention of the correction of a diary, what is meant is work on the ongoing current diary; see HWD, Vol. 10, p. 199 (entry, 11 to 18 August 1887): "Jointly we correct and polish my Diary which he th[...] [copies]."

128 Unlike the other volumes, the volume contains neither a Table of Contents nor the 28 appendices mentioned in the text (on this, see the information on the individual volumes in Christa Wetzel, "Form and Content of the Diary of Heinrich Witt", in this volume).

129 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 572 (entry, 18 October 1890, with the explicit reference that it was describing a typical day for this time).

130 HWD, Vol. 10, p. 581.

(the following day or some later day). The text that can still be discerned from the (damaged) lower edge of the sheet makes it appear certain that the volume contained *at least* one further page written with text.

Nonetheless: it is possible that Witt, who had in the meantime turned 91, did indeed stop with the dictation of his diary at the end of December 1890 or soon thereafter – perhaps for reasons of health; maybe Ladd also chose to terminate his activity as secretary at this point (end of the calendar year) and Witt was unable to find a replacement. There is no available precise information on this period in Witt's life. In any event, it would have been in keeping with Witt's fond conception of continuing to write his diary right up to the moment of his death, as he formulated it in August 1890:

Tuesday, 26th August 1890. Having once made it a custom to write my diary, I believe even from my early youth, I trust I shall be able to do so till the last hour of my life¹³¹

When Witt passed away on 3 November 1892, he left 13 volumes of his new diary with probably more than 11,000 written pages, on which he had described his life from 1799 until at least the end of 1890.

Already during his lifetime, Witt made provisions for the preservation and storage of this manuscript after his death. Thus, in his Last Will and Testament of 16 February 1887, he stated his wish that the final diary be bequeathed to his grandson Alejandro Garland von Lotten, who was to hold it in safekeeping and place it at the disposal of the family. Witt noted that the information the text contained could in the course of time be of use and interest.

que mi diario manuscrito de mas de doce tomos sea entregado como un recuerdo mio á mi nieto Alejandro Garland para que lo conserve en su poder y lo tenga á la disposicion de la familia, pues, en el trascurso de los años tiene que ser de utilidad é interes, por los datos que contiene¹³²

¹³¹ HWD, Vol. 10, p. 563.

¹³² See Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Dept. Colonia, Protocolos Notariales, Vol. 106, Berninzon, 1892, documents belonging to Sheets 2115 verso–2116: Protocolización del expediente sobre apertura del testamento de Enrique Witt, Provision 7, Point 3 of the last will extant there, dated 16 February 1887. Provision 7 was not affected by the change in will of 1887 that Witt arranged on 2 October 1892, a month before his death (*ibid.*, Sheets 1989–1990 verso).

Given the numerous times mention was made in the diary text itself of possible future readers of the diary, it would appear less probable that Witt wished that his diary, as it may sound in the provision in his last will, was to be preserved exclusively or primarily in the interest and for the use of his family and descendants. But it is clear from this statement in the last will that Witt wished to ensure the preservation of the text for an extended period of time after his passing. Consequently, he accorded to the description of his life another, greater importance than, for example, to his commercial books and ledgers, which, as he noted in the diary, after his death might be destroyed.

My Commercial Books may hereafter be destroyed, whilst my diary I feel confident will be preserved by my grandson Alejandro Garland, to whose care it is recommended in my last will¹³³

In keeping with Witt's last will, his diary was preserved by Alejandro Garland and his descendants. However, in the recollection of Kika (Eloyda) Garland de Montero, the granddaughter of Alejandro Garland, her grandfather as well as her father, Alejandro Garland Roel, had both intended to have the manuscript destroyed after their death.¹³⁴ Neither Garland Roel himself nor his widow complied with that wish. After the death of her mother, the manuscript was ultimately passed on to Kika Garland de Montero and after her death in 1993 to her son Clemente Palma Garland.

One can only speculate about the loss or unknown location of the missing volumes 10-12. It appears highly unlikely that Witt himself destroyed them before his death, given his efforts and concern that the text be preserved. However, did one of his descendants or some third party intentionally destroy or hide these volumes because of certain statements they contained in the context of the War of the Pacific and the occupation of Lima by Chilean troops (or because of other information therein)? Were they destroyed in an accidental fire from which it proved possible by luck only to salvage the extant volumes? After all, except for the first volume, all other extant volumes have damage from fire. Given the information available to us, this cannot be clarified, nor can the exact point in time be determined when this may possibly

¹³³ HWD, Vol. 10, p. 185.

¹³⁴ Kika Garland de Montero, Introducción, in: 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, pp. XI-XII. The edition is cited hereafter as Witt, *Diario y observaciones*.

have occurred.¹³⁵ However, already at some point before the first efforts were undertaken to publish the diary, we can assume that those volumes were no longer together with the others. Jorge Basadre, to whom Garland de Montero turned toward the end of the 1960s, speaks of the diary in his stocktaking of the sources for the history of Republican Peru (published in 1971) as a manuscript of “inestimable value,” and comprising “*muchos volúmenes*” (many volumes), while other volumes had apparently gone missing.¹³⁶ The publication planned by Garland de Montero and Basadre in the early 1970s, containing a section on the Chilean occupation of Lima, was in the end not realized. Garland de Montero stated that because of the political situation in Peru at the time, they had decided against a publication.¹³⁷ Finally, in the first publication of a selection of descriptions relating to Peru by Witt from the period 1824-1890, translated into Spanish and edited by Garland de Montero and Pablo Macera, there is explicit mention of ten extant volumes of the diary.¹³⁸ The photo of the manuscript contained in that edition shows the ten volumes of the final diary and the two extant volumes of the draft diary, the latter thinner in bulk and of a different format.¹³⁹ In the photo, we see the ten extant volumes in their old binding, at points heavily worn, probably the original binding from the 19th century. (Vol. 10 of the final diary, on the right-hand side, thinner than

135 All these thoughts regarding the possible fate of the volumes can be found, for example, in Pablo Macera, *Prólogo*, p. XIV, in: Witt, *Diario y observaciones*, pp. XIII-XXIV. Luis Paredes Stagnaro, who was involved in the second edition of the diary (see fn. 141), attributes the damage in the extant volumes, presumably based on information from Kika Garland de Montero, to an attempt by Alejandro Garland Roel in the 1950s to burn the manuscript (Luis Paredes Stagnaro, *El “Diario” de Witt*, unpublished typescript, Lima, September 2008, p. 6).

136 Jorge Basadre, *Introducción a las bases documentales para la historia de la República del Perú, con algunas reflexiones*, Vol. 1, Lima: Editora P. L. Villanueva, 1971, p. 103. Paredes Stagnaro dates contact by Garland de Montero with Basadre to the end of the 1960s (Paredes Stagnaro, “Diario,” pp. 1 and 6). Garland de Montero herself speaks of the year 1972, probably in error, given the information on the diary published by Basadre already in 1971 (Garland de Montero, p. XII).

137 Garland de Montero, p. XII. According to Paredes Stagnaro, “Diario,” p. 7, Basadre considered a publication opportune only after conclusion of the commemorative festivities marking the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the War of the Pacific and conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Ancón (1883) between Peru and Chile.

138 Macera, p. XIII.

139 Witt, *Diario y Observaciones*, p. 3 (photo caption: “Los volúmenes del manuscrito del diario,” no date or reference of origin).

the other nine volumes.)¹⁴⁰ The new binding of the ten diary volumes was done in connection with the next partial edition of Witt's diary in the early 1990s in Peru.¹⁴¹ That edition was to provide a full publication of the diary in a Spanish translation, although with a division separating the so-called "Diario peruano," i.e. the description of Witt's life in Peru and trips in Chile and Bolivia, from the descriptions of the times in which Witt was not in Peru or South America.¹⁴² The project was for these latter sections, not connected in the narrow sense with Peru, to be published in separate volumes following the publication of the "Diario peruano."¹⁴³ But that plan was likewise not scrapped.¹⁴⁴ In actuality, only the first two volumes of the edition were published, ca. 520 and 420 pages in length; they contain descriptions related to Peru from the period 1824 to 1847.¹⁴⁵

With the present edition of the full *English* text of the 10 volumes of the final diary, together with the two volumes of the draft diary, the extant text and public accessibility of Heinrich Witt's diary are now placed on a secure basis. Even though Witt does not mention anywhere in the diary that together with its preservation he also sought the publication of his life narrative, there are numerous reasons to think that this publication of his text is very much in keeping with Witt's intention, or in any event that he would not have objected

140 As Vol. 10 in the photo appears to have a similar binding as the other nine much thicker volumes of the final diary, it is reasonable to assume that all the volumes were bound in Lima after having been written, and the last volume after Witt's death, not filled completely.

141 Heinrich Witt, *Diario 1824-1890. Un testimonio personal sobre el Perú del siglo XIX*, Vol. 1: 1824-1842, Lima: Banco Mercantil, 1992 (cited as Witt, *Diario* Vol. 1), Vol. 2: 1843-1847, Lima: Banco Mercantil, 1993 (Witt, *Diario* Vol. 2). According to an oral statement by Luis Paredes Stagnaro, the new binding of the volumes was one of the preconditions set by Kika Garland de Montero for publication of the extracts by the Banco Mercantil.

142 Paredes Stagnaro, "Diario," p. 2.

143 Luis Paredes Stagnaro, *Introducción*, in: Witt, *Diario* Vol. 1, pp. VII-X, here pp. IXf.; idem, *Introducción*, in: Witt, *Diario* Vol. 2, pp. VII-X, here p. VII. In addition, the "Diario peruano" also included the statements by Witt pertaining to Peru in the description of the trip to Europe 1843-45. The project for a full publication of the diary in its entirety is also mentioned in the introduction by the Banco Mercantil in the first volume (Witt, *Diario* Vol. 1, p. V).

144 Paredes Stagnaro, "Diario," p. 6, states that the Banco Mercantil lost its independence in 1994, and the new parent institution of the bank, the Spanish Banco Santander, did not wish to continue publishing the full edition.

145 On the parts of the diary that were published in Peru (both editions), see the tables in "Spanish Editions of the Diary of Heinrich Witt" (in this volume).

to such publication. Heinrich Witt was quite evidently convinced that his life was worth the telling, that he had something to say that could be of import or at least of interest, not only for himself but to many others. As this reconstruction of the genesis of the diary shows, it was for Witt a matter of great importance to bring his life narrative into a form in which he wished to leave it to posterity.

These my extracts which I am now dictating and remodelling with so much care will they meet with the same fate as Finck's ponderous manuscripts – I trust to God that this may not be the case and some one or other may preserve them as a relic of former times.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ HWD, Vol. 3, p. 784. Otto Finck was an old acquaintance from Altona who had come to South America some years before Witt. He died in Lima in 1864. As Danish Consul, Witt had to take care of Finck's possessions and following the orders of Finck's sister, he had to destroy the papers of the deceased (see Vol. 3, pp. 781ff., Vol. 6, pp. 603ff.). This passage was probably the "message" Kika Garland de Montero "received" when first reading in the diary and that reinforced her decision to publish parts of Witt's diary, see Garland de Montero, p. XII.