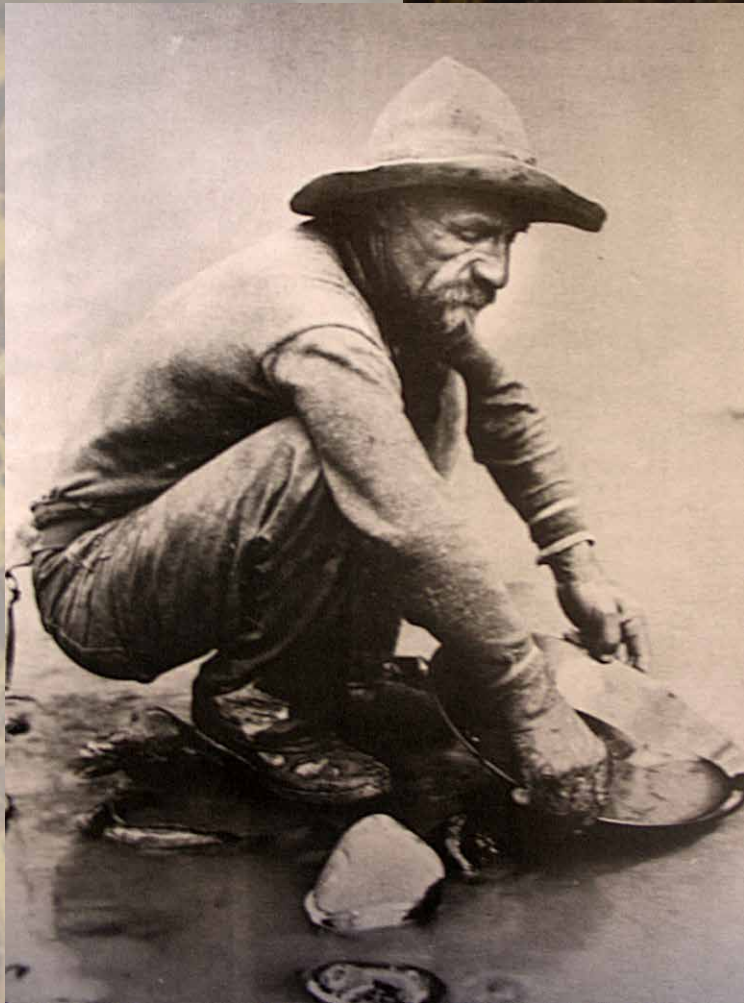


SCHLIEMANN AND THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH

THE 1850-1852 AMERICAN TRAVEL JOURNAL OF
HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A TRANSCRIPTION AND
TRANSLATION



edited by:
Christo Thanos & Wout Arentzen

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The Schliemann Diaries 2



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Contents

Introduction	7
Schliemann and the making of his second fortune (Wout Arentzen)	9
The Travel journal	9
The Californian gold rush	10
A disappointment in love	16
The outward journey	19
The shipwreck	21
The East Coast	24
A visit to the President	27
The itinerary	32
Panama	34
The journey from Panama to San Francisco	42
California	46
Ludwig's grave	48
The Sacramento River	50
The Gold fields	51
The Banking House of Henry Schliemann	56
Schliemann – Davidson	66
A nasty wound	74
A British sweetheart and a new native country?	78
Mecklenburg and then home	81
Later received information	84
The conflagration of San Francisco	88
The autobiography	95
The Bill	96
Schliemann's dates and whereabouts (Christo Thanos)	101
The transcription (Christo Thanos)	107
Introduction to the transcription	107
The journal	107
Editorial method	108
Symbols used in the transcription	108
The transcription of the diary	109
The transcription of the autobiography	196
Spanish translation	205
Nienke Brouwer (translation) and Wout Arentzen (editor and comm.)	
List of figures	209
References	211
Index	215

Introduction

This is the second part in the series *The Schliemann Diaries*. The set-up of this series is simple: the publication of all Schliemann's diaries in the form of a transcription, an English translation and an introduction to the text. The aim of this series is to unlock to the public the multi-lingual diaries in English. The original text can be read and interpreted with the help of the transcription. The English translation and the introduction (and possible footnotes) should make the diaries accessible to everybody. The idea is to have the numbering of the diaries (A1, A2, . . .) coincide with the numbering of the series. Thus the first diary A1 is also part 1 of the new series. I hope that every book will form the basis for a further in-depth study of the life of Heinrich Schliemann.

After the first part *Without having seen the Queen* appeared, the question arose whether it would be useful to also republish Schliemann's second diary which had already been published by Shirley Weber in 1942. As an intensive debate had raged between 1980 and 1990 as to the trustworthiness of Schliemann (based partly on Weber's publication), it seemed important to me to look again at the original text and to make it widely available.

In the autumn of 2012 I asked Wout Arentzen to collaborate with me on this new book, to which he wholeheartedly agreed. He immediately set to work energetically. When I had only just begun the transcription, he had already nearly finished the introduction. In November 2012 I visited the Gennadius Library (in Athens) to consult Schliemann's archive. Thanks to the help of Eleftheria Daleziou and Natalia Vogeikoff, I was able to examine a lot, leading to many new insights.

There are two documents in the A2 diary: a bill in Dutch and a short biography by Schliemann himself. Based on the digital version of the diary we erroneously assumed that the bill was glued into the diary. An examination of the original book showed however that the bill was loose, as was the short biography. An examination of the pages showed that the paper of the biography corresponds format-wise with that of the diary, but also that this paper did not originate from the diary. The pages came from a book that was bound different from diary A2. Hence, the bill and the biography are separate from the diary. It is not known who put these two documents in the diary, nor when.

Much has been written in the past about this diary. I am glad Wout Arentzen has provided new insights into the experiences of Schliemann in the US, in particular by also looking at the financial aspect of the story.

The diary was mainly written in English, with about four pages in Spanish. The Spanish was translated into English in the 1942 publication. I have opted to have the Spanish part translated again so that the entire text has been looked at.

I am again greatly indebted to Wout Arentzen for supplying the most important part of this book: the introduction. Together with Wout, I would like to thank The Archive of the Heinrich Schliemann Museum Ankershagen, Dr Wilfried Bölke, Katja Bogdonova, The Bancroft Library Berkeley, California State Library, Gennadius Library, Eric Gouda (Botanical Gardens Utrecht), Dr Armin Jähne,

David Kessler, Gerd Pohlan, the San José Public Library, the Center for Sacramento History, and Reinhard Witte.

And to conclude a special word of thanks to Eleftheria Daleziou and Natalia Vogeikoff for their hospitality and assistance during my visit to the Gennadius Library, to Karsten Wenting and Corné van Woerdekom of Sidestone Press for the excellent way in which they publish our books, and last but not least to Kelly Fennema for the English translation and to Nienke Brouwer for the Spanish translation.

Christo Thanos
August 2014
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Forthcoming

Part three of *The Schliemann Diaries* is well on its way: *Schliemann in Italy, Egypt and the Near East. The 1858 travel journal of Heinrich Schliemann: a transcription and translation.*

In the winter of 1858, the now very wealthy Schliemann makes an extensive “Grand Tour”. Via a stay of several weeks in Italy, he visits Egypt, Petra, Jerusalem and he travels via Turkey to Athens. During this journey he encounters extensively and for the first time archaeology. He visits pyramids and ancient cities, learns Arabic, does a lot of horse riding, learns to hunt, and as always on the high seas, suffers badly from seasickness. Unfortunately Schliemann was not lucky with the weather, the winter of 1858 was literally the coldest in years.

The diary runs to 263 pages and is mainly written in Italian, Greek and Arabic, with a few pages in English, French and Swedish. The diary has some dozen small drawings, amongst which one of Petra.

Part three is expected to be available by the end of 2015.

For more information: info@schliemann.nl

Schliemann and the making of his second fortune

The Travel journal

Schliemann's American travel journal was published in 1942 by Shirley H. Weber as *Schliemann's first visit to America 1850-1851*¹ and appeared in a German translation in 1958 by Heinrich Alexander Stoll in his *Abenteuer meines Lebens Heinrich Schliemann Erzählt*.

In contrast with the travel journal of his first European journey, the account of Schliemann's travel and sojourn in the US is a collection of several parts.² In the front are a bill by F.W.L. Werner from 1845 and an autobiography. Both were put into this journal at an unknown date and they do not really constitute part of the journal. Also the description of the conflagration of San Francisco was added at a later time. Here however Schliemann himself chose to glue it into the journal in more or less the right place. On cursory reading, it seems to be part of the journal but on closer inspection it turns out not to be so. The basis of this travel journal consists of the notes Schliemann made during his journey and stay in California. In this introduction I will show that it concerns here real travel notes. This in contrast to the description of the fire and the autobiography, which will both have to be dispatched to the realm of fantasy.³ After the end of this introduction I will deal with these loose parts, independently of their place in the journal.

1 Calder 1992, 23. "The diary for Schliemann's first visit to America has been edited in 1942 by a former librarian of the Gennadeion, Shirley H. Weber. The text is accurate; notes minimal. Weber never queried what Schliemann wrote but the material in this diary first in 1972 caused me to query Schliemann's veracity. D.A. Traill soon proved further assertions in the diary wrong. If Weber in the mould of Meyer had doctored the diary by suppressing or altering anything suspicious, the *Neu Schliemann-Forschung* would never have arisen."

2 When Weber made a publication in 1942 of this travel journal, she omitted the bill and she made a continuous story of the text. The German translation, Stoll 1958, harks back to Weber. In 1978 Traill showed that the report of the conflagration of San Francisco was glued into the text at a later date. Chambers 1990, 397, "Schliemann himself has left a full diary of his first visit to America ...".

3 Ludwig 1932, 92. "Schliemann war während des Riesenbrandes in San Francisco (4. Juni 51), entging mit knapper Not dem Untergange durch Feuer ...". Meyer 1969, 119, "Zu einem schauerlichen Erlebnis wurde ihm bei einem gelegentlichen Aufenthalt in San Franzisko der nächtliche Brand der Stadt (3./4. Juni 1851), dem er nur mit knapper Not entging."

The Californian gold rush

The first reports of a sensational gold find appeared in the Californian newspapers in March 1848. While Schliemann was travelling in Europe for the second time, the gold fever erupted first in California and subsequently in Hawaii. On 15 July 1848 the *Polyesian* came with a slightly alarming report:

The news from the gold region is at present the all absorbing topic of conversation in every circle of society ... One vessel, crowded with passengers, left on Tuesday last – two sail to-day, and some half-dozen more will shortly follow ... The little city of Honolulu has probably never before witnessed such an excitement as the gold fever has created ... We hope, for the sake of humanity, peace and order will be preserved, but we confess we tremble for the result upon the morals of the people and the peace of the country.^[4]

From Hawaii the news spread all over the world and wherever it appeared people became infected with the gold fever. To give an impression of how this news hit Europe, I include here an article from the *London Standard* of 6 October 1848:

In my communication by the Hibernia steamer yesterday, I expressed doubt as to the gold discoveries in California. The Washington Union of last night publishes the following extraordinary letter from an officer in the United States' navy, from which it would appear that the accounts have been understated rather than otherwise. It is stated that expeditions of gold hunters are setting out from all points to join the search and gold washing:-

“Since my last letter to you, written in San Francisco, I have visited the ‘Placer,’^[5] or gold region of California, and found it all as it had been represented to me. My anticipations were fully realised. The part I visited was the south fork of the river American, which joins the Sacramento at Suter’s Fort, or two miles from it. This river has its north and south forks, branching more than 20 miles from Fort Suter. On these two forks there are over 1000 people digging and washing for gold.

On Bear Creek and Halo Creek, branches of Feather River, many are now beginning to work. It is supposed that the banks and bottoms of all these small streams contain vast quantities of gold, and that the valleys between them are rich with the same metal. The people are now working at many places; some are 80 miles from others. The place I visited was about a league in extent; on this were about 50 tents; many have not even this covering. At one tent, belonging to eight single men, I remained two or three days. These men had two machines made in a day, from 80 to 100 feet inch boards, and very roughly put together. Their form was something like a child’s cradle, without the ends; at one end there was a moveable sieve or rack to wash down the dirt, and shake off the stones.

Holes were made in the bottom of the machine to catch the gold this wash stopped, and this was scraped out hourly. These two machines gathered each day I was present threefourths to one pound each, being three to four ounces of gold per man.

4 *The Hampshire Advertiser* – December 2, 1848.

5 Placer County is situated between Sacramento, Lake Tahoe and the Nevada border.

These men had worked one week with tin pans; the last week with the machine. I saw the result of the first day's work of two brothers; one had seven dollars, the other 82; they worked on the same five yards of land; one, however, worked less than the whole day. Their plan, like hundreds of others, was first with a pick and shovel, clear off two feet of the top earth, then put in a tin pan or wooden bowl a shovel of dirt, go into running water, with the hand stir up the dirt and heave out the stones, until they have remaining a spoonful of emery or black sand, containing one to five dollars. This can be done once or twice a day.

Each day is causing some saving of labour by the improvement in the rough machines now in use. The day I left, some small companies of five to eight men had machines from which they anticipate 500 to 600 dollars a day. There certainly must this day be at work on the different Placers, several hundreds of Americans and others, who are cleaning one ounce of gold a day. I have this week seen in Monterey a Californian, who shows 400 dols. of gold from the labour of one week: much of it was the size of wheat. I myself weighed one piece from his bag, and found the weight an even ounce. He, like many others, only went up to the gold regions to see the place, borrowed tools, worked a few days, and came home to show his labour, and take up brothers and cousins and provisions. Flour at the 'Placer' is scarce at 16 dols. per 100 lb. At almost this price it must continue, as people are forsaking their fields. I do not think I am exaggerating in estimating the amount of gold obtained on the rivers I have mentioned at 10,000 dols. a day, for the last few days. There is every reason to believe the amount will not this season (unless the washers are driven from their work by sickness) be any less. In this case the addition of workmen now joining the first ones, and the emigrants from the Atlantic States we shall have in October and December, will soon swell the value of Californian gold that will be washed out to an unheard-of value.

Many who have seen the 'Placer' think it will last 30 or 40 years. I should think that it would afford work two or three years to many thousands of people, and may for very many years, as I cannot calculate the extent of country having gold. The working of quicksilver mines, like everything else, is stopped, three-fourths of the houses in the town of San Francisco are shut up. Houses in Monterey are being closed this week; the volunteer companies of Sonoma and San Francisco have lost several men by desertion.

Under the present excitement, a ship of war or any other vessel lying at anchor in San Francisco would lose many men. In that town there is hardly a mechanic remaining. I expect the same in Monterey in two weeks. Both newspapers have stopped. All or nearly all the hotels are shut up. One of my clerks, who received 500 dollars and board, now receives in his store, near New Helvetia (Suter's Ford), 100 dollars per month; my others are fast closing their books to leave me. In fact, I find myself, or shall this month, without a clerk, carpenter or servant, and all my houses, formerly rented, given up to me. In two weeks Monterey will be nearly without inhabitants."^[6]

6 *London Standard* – Friday 6 October 1848.

And this was only the beginning. These and similar newspaper reports started off a huge flocking of people to California the following year. Although the California gold rush started in 1848, the participants were generally called “49ers”.

Sometime before he left for Russia, Schliemann had made it possible for his brother Ludwig to also come to Amsterdam. As Heinrich owed his career to his language studies, Ludwig too started to prepare his future in this way. Soon he is able to send his brother a short letter in broken English.⁷

In 1847 the time has come that also his brother Paul begins his training as a business man. His sisters, Wilhelmine and Doris, ask Heinrich what the best line of action would be for him. He is of the opinion that Paul should also go to Amsterdam, as that is the right place to become a businessman. He tells Paul exactly what is expected of him in order to succeed there and that rather frightens Paul off. He does not go to Amsterdam as he doesn't feel able to meet all his brother's demands. Things did not work out well for him. He had an unhappy love affair and committed suicide in 1852.⁸

At the end of 1847 Ludwig's luck turns. Amsterdam did not smile upon him as it had done on his brother. He loses his job. Meanwhile business is going well in St Petersburg, so he asks his brother for a job there. However, Heinrich does not see much in him.⁹ Apparently Ludwig has not got his brother's talent for learning languages. Ludwig would not be any good to me, Heinrich writes his father, it would take at least three years before he has learned Russian and all that time he would not be of any use.¹⁰

Both Heinrich and Ludwig will undoubtedly have read about the gold finds in California. Nothing shows that this information had any influence on Heinrich's doings in 1848. His business was doing well, so why would he go and seek his fortune in California? Matters were different for Ludwig. He could barely keep his head above water in Amsterdam and therefore decided to go to America.¹¹ He writes to his father and sisters that he intends to go to California to start a business. As he has no start-up capital, he asked his father whether he could have his maternal inheritance, but his father refuses. So he leaves for the US without any capital. It takes a long time before his sisters hear anything from their brother in America. Only in September 1849 he writes about his adventures. He is working in the gold fields with a number of friends. It is hard work and they have already been robbed a number of times:

7 Gennadius Library Serie B, Box 1/50-305 -161.

8 Bölke 2011, 195.

9 Meyer 1953, 38. Schliemann to his father, 16/2/1848: “... Ludwig kommt zum 1. März ... aufs Neue außer Stelle, und habe ich daher Schröder & Co. in Amsterdam ersucht, ihm monatlich 40 Gulden für meine Rechnung auszuzahlen. Ich hatte anfänglich Lust Ludwig auf mein Comptoir zu nehmen, habe mich jedoch bedacht und mich entschlossen, ihn entweder in Holland zu lassen oder nach Paris oder London zu schicken ...”

10 Meyer 1953, 38. Bölke 2011, 191.

11 Meyer 1953, 39. “Amsterdam, 8. Juni 1848. Mein lieber Bruder! Da die Zeit drängt, in wenigen Stunden reise ich von hier ab, um mich via Rotterdam pr. “Mississippi” Capt. Harvey (Amerikaner) nach New York einzuschiffen ...”

Sacramento, 25. 9. 1849

City Hotel, abends 9 Uhr

... ich reise morgen vor Sonnenaufgang nach den neu entdeckten diggings on the head of the Sacramento river & Trinity river (300 Meil. von hier) & zwar well armed and fitted out, – dies ist wichtig, da es dort sehr viele Indianer gibt, die nur zu häufig (wie es heißt, but I do not believe it) Anfälle auf die Amerikaner machen & Provisionen enorm theuer sind. Wir sind unserer 7, die zusammen gehen & haben 4 Maultiere und horses besides ... diese diggings sollen reicher wie alle bisher gearbeiteten sein ... in den 2 Monaten, die ich in den Minen war, machte ich durchschnittlich 1 Unze pro tag (hier \$16,- werth & in den Staten \$20) except my expenses I cleared in this time \$14,- of which I delivered yesterday \$420,50 to Messrs. Priest Lee & Co.^[12] this City for safe keeping, für den Rest machte ich meinen erwähnten outfit und kaufte zugleich für über \$100,- goods, suitable for the Indians. Siebenhundert Thaler^[13] in 2 Monaten ist so übel nicht! ... [wo] es überall overcrowded ist, und der Strom von people mit jedem Tag zunimmt, überall an den Flüssen sieht man von Tagesanbruch till at night die pickout fleißiger Arbeiter schwingen, die oft so dicht zusammen gedrängt sind, daß jeder 6 Fuß Breite beschränkt ist. Streitigkeiten und Raub irgendwiner Art ist in den Minen unbekannt, und man verläßt am frühen Morgen sein leichtes Zelt so ruhig wie in Deutschland ein gut verriegeltes Haus – jeder Diebstahl oder Unredlichkeit wird if proved sans façon mit dem Strick bezahlt. Die Arbeit ist sehr schwer, und kaum $\frac{1}{3}$ der Emigranten stehen es länger wie 8 Tage, viele viele werden schon von dem fatalen fever rague, was sie ganz herunterbringt, ergriffen, ansteckende Krankheiten sind unbekannt, und dennoch finden zahllose Sterbefälle statt, hier stirbt es vorzüglich stark, – der ungewöhnlich schnelle Wechsel der Temperatur bringt so viele Erkältungen zu wege, die erste Hälfte der Nacht ist angenehm rather warm, dann steigt ein starker Nebel auf & Eiskälte stellt sich gegen Morgen ein, bei Tage ist es schauerhaft heiß und von 12 bis 2 Uhr bisher ganz unmöglich zu arbeiten, man arbeitet in den Minen von Tagesanbruch bis 11 Uhr, geht dann zu seinem Zelte, kocht darin, reinigt sein Gold und schläft 1 Stunde, um 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ geht man wieder bis sunset ans Werk, – ich bin sehr stark und glaube, kann es selbst in der nassen Jahreszeit in den Minen stehen ...^[14]

However, Ludwig did not stay in the gold fields. He understood that the real money was made elsewhere, and, together with a partner, he started a hotel in Sacramento. It appears that Heinrich asked him about financial possibilities in America. Ludwig informs him as best he can. It is clear that he no longer needs his brother. They are on equal terms now.

12 *Placer Times* 19 May 1849. “Priest Lee & Co. Wholesale & Retail Dealers in dry goods, groceries, liquors, and provisions, on the corner of Second and J street. Sacramento City.”

13 What are meant here are preußischen Thaler, also called Reichsthaler, which were used in almost the whole of Northern Germany. This thaler was replaced in 1857 by the Vereinstaler.

14 Meyer 1953, 43-44. Richter 1992, 124.

Sacramento City 27. 3. 1850

Dearest Henry!

... You are aware that it is about 14 months ago since I left New York & great changes no doubt have taken place, you therefor[e] will excuse me if I am somewhat limited in my remarks. – The banking business in New York is no doubt most advantageous if one is well acquainted with the ropes, – the Yankees are most to selfish & smart, and it takes a stranger some time to be well versed in all their tricks, which are connected with that line of business. – However I am sure that enterprising and able men will soon surmount all difficulties and find a large and well cultivated field for their operations ... However advantageous the chances for investment may be in the States, it is nothing in comparison with our Golden Country, money fetches here now easy from 7 to 10% good security pr month and is really worth 50% more in business pr month. I know more than a dozen cases, when money was advanced of late even at 20 & 25% pr month.

Men coming to this country should bring every Cent along, instead of leaving it home. Independent fortunes have been made here in a few month & remain to be made for more than half a century to come, as Gold is fairly understood to be inexhaustible, nearly 100 times as much gold has been taken out during the last winter months than during the same period the year before, people know now how to work it and do not loose anymore their time in prospecting for the big-lumps. Gold is all over the country and even in those mountains around San Francisco, and new important discoveries are frequently made. Yesterday I saw two fellows (sailors) from the upper Juba diggings, they had more than 40 pounds Gold each and were ready to go home by this steamer. They told me of their great sufferings and privations in the snow-field of which they had been surrounded for nearly two month, they paid up there twice for flesh and bread as high as \$20.- per pond ...

Our City is rising very fast, it did not contain more than one single frame building, when I came here last July & now we are proud to state that we count already over 16.000 inhabitants ...

I am busy from early to late & am doing a fair business, I think I clear now from 2 to 250 dollars pr. week, and very likely I can do more. I have now 45 steady boarders & besides I keep a small store on Front street, containing Fancy Goods, liquors and fruits, – an old Gentleman, then a boy, attend it for me, I make about \$12,- pr. day clear money on the latter ...^[15]

Sacramento has become a big town and all the profit made there attracts its criminality. It may be easy to earn money quickly there but unorthodox means have to be used to hold on to it:

15 Meyer 1953, 45-46.

29th March, wenige Augenblicke vor Schluß der Mail. Letzte Nacht wurde einer meiner Koffer, im bedroom stehend, von 3 fellows die bei mir logirten, erbroch & ca. \$120,- herausgenommen. Der Diebstahl wurde ca. 12 Uhr nachts ausgeübt, ich folgte ihnen diesen Morgen zu Pferde, mit 2 Colds Revolvery Pistols bewaffnet, und fand dieselben vor in 2 Stunden unter einer Fichte ruhend. Ich verlange das Meinige mit einem ziemlichen Ungestüm & drohte alle the brains auszublase, wenn sie nicht das Geld herausgäben, besides ihre Rechnung \$41,- belauffend bezahlten. Sie leugneten hartnäckig und machten einen Anfall auf mich, ich retirirte einige Yards und feuerte darauf zwei Schüsse auf den mir zunächst zu Leibe Kommenden, ich traf ihn ins Bein, er fiel und schrei entsetzlich. Ich drohte den beiden anderen auf selbe Weise, worauf sie sich ergaben und mir den Fehler eingestanden. Alles, was ich herausquetschen konnte, war \$50,-, den Rest hatten sie im Mansion-Haus^[16] verspielt. Sie schworen, mir den Rest in einigen Wochen einzuhändigen und gaben mir ihre zwei Uhren als Unterpfand. Wäre ich mit einigen zusammen gewesen, so hätten wir sie tüchtig durchgehauen, doch nun war ich allein und hielt mich tapfer genug, sie hatten gar keine Waffen und fürchteten sehr mein Blei.

It was one frenchman, one german boy and one a little Irishman.^[17]

Not much more is known about Ludwig's stay in California than these two reports written by himself. On 2 March 1850 he and his partner placed an advertisement in the *Placer Times*:

WE THE UNDERSIGNED Offer for sale on liberal terms all our title and interest in the well frequented and convenient boarding house called Eagle House in 2d st. near K st.

SCHLIEMANN & ORCHARD, Proprietors. Sacramento City, March 1.^[18]

Why he and his partner are selling this "boarding house" is not clear. Does he limit himself now to his shop? It appears from the letter that he writes to his father and sisters that he cannot cope very well with the climate in Sacramento. It was

16 *Sacramento Transcript* 21 June 1850. "Mad Dog – A dog, supposed to be mad was killed last evening at the Mansion House, corner of J and Front streets. The animal rushed into the house, foaming at the mouth, and snapping at everything it could reach. The house was soon cleared of people, and Mr. Waller, the proprietor, immediately shot the dog with a Colt's Revolver."

17 Meyer 1953, 47. Richter 1992, 124-125.

18 *Placer Times*, 2 March 1850. Traill 2008, 35. "Aus Breifen, die er [Heinrich] von ihm [Ludwig] erhalten hatte, wusste Schliemann, dass Ludwig in Sacramento ein bedeutendes Vermögen erworben hatte, darunter ein Hotel und einen Laden." Gennadius Library Diary A8, 34, 10 September 1865 "From my [hotel]window I see the place where my poor brother used to keep his Hotel, on 2^d str. between K & L.; the lost [lot] is occupied by a brick building with iron shutters, which serves as house of ill fame."

unhealthy there, and there was yellow fever everywhere.¹⁹ In July 1850 Schliemann is informed that his brother has died of typhoid in Sacramento.²⁰

According to Schliemann's official autobiography, as published by him in 1881 as an introduction to his *Ilios the city and country of the Trojans*, he went to California in 1850 as he had not heard from his brother for a long time. Once there, he discovered that Ludwig was dead.²¹

A disappointment in love

According to his travel journal of 1846, Schliemann sang the praises of Russian women during a dinner in Liverpool.²² Not only were they beautiful but also very intelligent. They were fluent in at least three languages and in addition they played the piano very well. One drawback of the Russian woman was that they did not like foreign men. When we link this to Schliemann's attempts during this journey to pass himself off as a Russian, one soon gets the impression that he once had a not very happy experience with a Russian woman. When we subsequently read how he paints a wholly unrealistic picture of the Russian man to a French woman in the train to Antwerp, there is a feeling that he has not yet given up all hope. According to Schliemann the goal in the life of a Russian man is to ensure that his wife will get heaven on earth. Domestic harmony is according to Schliemann the highest happiness man can attain. Whether he actually had a woman in mind at that moment or only dreamt about her is unclear. In his attempts to become a Russian, Schliemann probably even went so far as to take a Russian name. Later on we shall see that Ivanovich Prokopy Ponomarev headed his letters to Schliemann in 1852 with "My dear Mr Aleksandr Nikolaevič".²³

At the end of 1847 Schliemann's pursuit of domestic bliss clearly seems to take shape. At least if the rumour is true that his brother Ludwig has heard. He writes his brother a letter in reasonably good Dutch in which he says that he has heard to his amazement that Heinrich has been struck by Cupid's arrows and plans to get married. He advises his brother strongly to be careful and to think hard before taking this big step. Ludwig assumes that the intended bride is rich and that his

19 Yellow fever is an infectious disease and belongs to the Flavi viruses. Ludwig Schliemann probably confused the name of the illness, as this virus does not occur in the surroundings of Sacramento.

20 Meyer 1953, 308. "Über L.s Tod schreibt S. am 23. Juli an den deutschen Konsul in San Francisco: 'Ludwig hatte sich auf den Weg nach den Minen von Northfork [gemacht]. Er wollte auf einer ihm angezeigten seichten Stelle einen ihm im Weg liegenden Fluß passiren, hatte aber das Unglück, in die Tiefe zu gerathen. Er packte sich kräftig ans Pferd, welches tapfer durchschwamm, erhielt aber in Folge des kalten Oktobertages und der nassen Kleider, die er nicht zu trocken im Stande war, das Fieber, in welchem er 12 Tage größtentheils ohne Besinnung ... von jeglicher menschlicher Hilfe verlassen zubrachte. Die Natur siegte, er erwachte aus dem Todesschlaf ... er [kehrte] nach Sacramento zurück. Der Arzt [hat] ihm dort geholfen, aber die Medizin war zu stark mit Quecksilber versetzt ...' If this report is correct, then Ludwig did not die of typhoid but of the medication for a cold or flu.

The *Sacramento City Cemetery 1849-2000* index tells us that Louis Henry Schlieman, Age 25, died at May 21, 1850 and was buried at Mr. Bennett's house.

21 Schliemann 1881, 12.

22 See Thanos & Arentzen 2012, 87-88.

23 See for instance Gennadius Library Box 7, 448 / 2338 – 6967.

brother thinks this a good reason to marry her. Heinrich should bear in mind that he will take the wrong step if he does not feel “les sentiments les plus noble”. The character and the feeling should correspond, money alone is not enough. Heinrich should write Ludwig about it in detail, for the time being he will not tell anybody.²⁴

How this story unfolds is not totally clear. In 1848 Schliemann takes up Russian citizenship. He is now a real Russian and there is nothing left that can get in the way of marriage to a Russian woman. In that same year he writes to his sisters that he has a woman on his mind. He has now, in his own words, reached the pinnacle of happiness. The woman of his dreams plays the piano beautifully and she speaks three languages fluently. Moreover, she is thrifty so that Schliemann expects to be able to become wealthy with her.²⁵ If we compare this remark with how Schliemann treated with contempt the ladies in Liverpool, we can ask ourselves how long he had been pursuing this woman, or whether this young lady just happened to satisfy his idealized picture. Towards the end of the year everything seems to be arranged. On 28 October 1848, Schliemann writes to his father that he is engaged to be married. He has found in St Petersburg a German-Russian girl, Sophie Hecker. Schliemann is definitively in love and very happy. “Wie schön der Gedanke, eine treue Gefährtin zu besitzen, die Freunde und Herzeleid teilt.”²⁶ A year after he got engaged things go awry on 15 November 1849. Sophie is a bit too obvious in her liking for a young officer. This is for Schliemann a sign that she is frivolous and he breaks off the engagement.²⁷ He writes his father that the planned wedding is off and that that is a good thing. Sophie is still too young and takes everything too light-heartedly. It is not important. For somebody like him with a good name, no debts and a fortune of 10,000 thaler, it should be no problem to find a wife. As he hopes to earn another 16,000 thaler in 1849, he will only have to wait until the autumn and he will be offered the richest and most beautiful daughters. But he does not really have the patience for that. Before he met Sophie, he became acquainted with another Russian woman. She is beautiful and sensible but has no fortune.²⁸ She is Jekaterina Petrowna Lyshina (1826-1896). It seems, however, that Jekaterina was not really attracted to Schliemann and thus this attempt to find a wife also resulted in a disappointment.

According to Schliemann’s official autobiography, he travelled to the US in early February 1850.²⁹ But when we look into that date it immediately becomes clear that this statement cannot be right. According to the travel journal that he kept during his stay in the US, he travelled through Western Europe for the second time in February 1850. And according to that journal he only left St Petersburg

24 Gennadius Library Serie B, Box 1/50, 330 – 329 – 2270. See also Arentzen 2012, 148.

25 Ludwig 1932, 82-83, dates this event in 1847. Meyer 1969, 140-141 gives the same story without a date.

26 Ludwig 1932, 83.

27 Ludwig 1932, 86-87, Meyer 1969, 140-141. Traill 1995, 23. “Her father, who wanted a rich son-in-law, persuaded her against her own wishes, to accept.” Traill bases himself on Ludwig 1931, 80-1, but I have not been able to find anything to support this statement.

28 Ludwig 1932, 83.

29 Schliemann 1892, 18

on 10 December 1850. If Ludwig Schliemann has really anything to do with Schliemann's departure for the US, then this date is more plausible. As we have seen Ludwig wrote his brother from Sacramento on 27 March 1850. In this letter he paints for Heinrich a financial wonderland where one can make a fortune in the shortest time.

Men coming to this country should bring every Cent along, instead of leaving it home. Independent fortunes have been made here in a few month ...^[30]

On 20 July 1850 Schliemann writes to a cousin asking him to convey to his sisters in a tactful way the message of the death of their brother. He has heard that Ludwig has died of typhoid in Sacramento, California, on 21 May. A business relation in New York, C.D. Behrens, has sent him a newspaper in which Schliemann finds the following sentence:

"On the 21st died in Sacrament City, of Typhoid fever, Mr. Louis Schliemann, formerly of Germany, late of New York City, aged 25 years."^[31]

In his letter of 20 July Schliemann writes that his brother would have made a small fortune of 7000 thaler³² in a short time. He has already written to another family member to arrange the necessary papers. The intention is that the sisters try to get hold of Ludwig's inheritance via B.H. Schröder & Co. in Amsterdam. Most biographers assume that securing the estate of his brother was the reason for Schliemann's journey to California,³³ but I have not found any indications of this. In his travel journal Schliemann himself gives as reason for this journey his insatiable desire for travelling.³⁴

On 19 October 1850 Schliemann writes a rather cryptic letter to Behrens in New York. He asks him to supply him with information by return of mail on the possibilities that are being created for a capitalist in California. A friend of his, who has about

\$ 30,000 would like to go to San Francisco next spring in order to invest that money as best as possible. He is a young man with lots of energy and an extensive knowledge of a merchant's occupation. Would it be possible to invest his money

30 Meyer 1953, 45.

31 Meyer 1953, 47-48. *Daily Alta California*, 25 May 1850.

32 1 Thaler was 3 Mark was Fl. 1,80.

33 Ludwig 1932, 89-90: "Drei Monate nach ... [dem] letzten Brief erhält Schliemann eine Zeitungsnotiz über den Tod des Bruders ... Wenige Monate später schiffte sich Schliemann ein, um das Grab des Bruders zu suchen und das Gold von Kalifornien." Meyer 1969, 114: "Der Verstorbene zog den überlebenden Bruder nach in die Fremde." Moorehead 1994, 32: "It was Louis who was responsible for the next chapter in Schliemann's life ... Declaring that he was intending to investigate what had happened to Louis's fortune [after his death], in order to bring back what he could salvage for his sisters, he made plans to sail for New York ..." Rattner & Danzer 2006, 56: "... einer seiner Brüder hatte sich im kalifornischen Sacramento niedergelassen und sich dort am Goldrausch beteiligt. Dabei erkrankte er an Typhus, und Heinrich reiste über den Ozean, um ihm beizustehen."

34 Weber 1942, 12. A2 diary [1]

there safely? Please give me all the information you have on the possibilities for a trader in San Francisco.³⁵

We do not have to go into who this friend is. Schliemann has the intention to go to California, not because his brother died there, or because he feels like a journey, but because he hopes to find possibilities to develop himself further as a trader. That is to say, he wants to go to California to make money.

Why Schliemann wants to leave St Petersburg is not clear. It could be that the broken-off engagement to Sophie Hecker and the relationship that did not develop with Jekaterina Lyshina contributed more than his brother's death. According to a letter to his sisters of 10 November, he is ready to leave St Petersburg for good. He has sold everything of value and there is nothing that ties him to this town anymore. He expects to receive within a fortnight all the moneys still due to him and hopes to depart on 24 November. And could his sisters send their answer to B.H. Schröder & Co. in Amsterdam.³⁶

The outward journey

Schliemann travels straight from St Petersburg to Amsterdam. Although, once there, he declared that Amsterdam is a much better city to live in than St Petersburg, he doesn't stay there any longer than absolutely necessary to settle his affairs. Only when he has arrived in London does he take some time off. At once the tourist in him pushes to the forefront, he wants to see everything that is talked about.

Schliemann starts with a visit to The Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. Great Britain was at that time the absolute economic leader in the world and wanted to show that. A huge glass exhibition building was constructed, the Crystal Palace, to show the symbols of its industrial, military and economic might. To also show British progress in the colonies and to promote them strongly, these countries were also invited to enter objects into this exhibition. Thus products of highly developed Great Britain were exhibited in Crystal Palace alongside those of less developed countries. Because of the size of the British colonies at that time, this was in fact the first world exhibition ever held. Everybody who visited it was most enthusiastic.

With a view to Schliemann's later development, we are taking here a look at how the universal scientist William Whewell (1794-1866)³⁷ described his visit to the exhibition. In order to get to know all the cultures of the world, one would have to travel, like a real Ulysses, all one's life and even if one did that, it would not benefit the rest of the world. According to Whewell this problem was not unsolvable, as in fact it had been solved.

35 Meyer 1953, 49. " Einer meiner vertrauten Freunde nämlich, der ca. 30/000 Dollars besitzt beabsichtigt am Anfange des Frühjahrs über dort nach San Francisco zu gehen u. daselbst obige Summe bestmöglichst anzulegen. Es ist ein junger Mann, der viele Energie und die besten kaufmännischen Kenntnisse hat u. daher ohne Geldmittel gewiß sehr gut in Californien fortkommen würde, aber mit Geld dahin zu gehen, das halte ich für sehr gefährlich und fürchte, daß mein Freund um sein Vermögen kommt."

36 Meyer 1953, 50.

37 He lectured in Cambridge in both mineralogy and moral philosophy.

... suppose such an Ulysses ... to come to some island of Calypso, some well-inhabited city, under the rule of powerful and benignant, but plainly, he must believe, superhuman influences, and there to find that image of the world and its arts, which he had vainly tried to build up in his mind, exhibited before his bodily eye in a vast crystal frame; – true in every minute thread and hue, from the sparkle of the diamond to the mighty bulk of the colossus; true to that which belongs to every part of the earth; and this, with the effects which the arts produce, not at the intervals of the traveller’s weary journey, but everywhere at the present hour ... When we have supposed such a vision, do we not seem to have gone beyond all the wonders of that wondrous ancient Odyssean tale? And yet, in making such a supposition, have we not been exactly describing that which we have seen within these few months?^[38]

In a time when all intellectuals agreed that the classical culture was the highest attainable, the English with their Crystal Palace had exceeded this.

“The Great Exhibition” was immensely popular with the English public. To give Schliemann an idea of this, George Harvis Ellis, to whom I will return later, comes in one of his letters with an anecdote that shows what the English were willing to do for a visit to this exhibition:

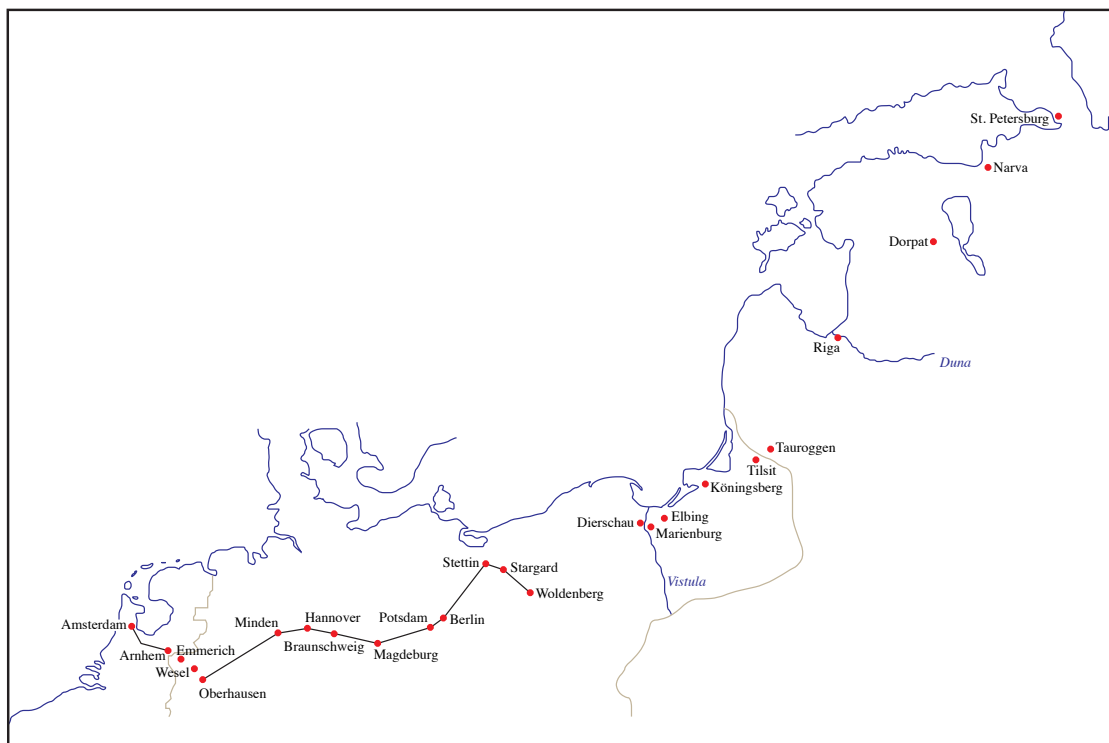


Figure 1: Schliemann’s travel from St Petersburg to Amsterdam over land (solid line: by train)

38 Whewell (18512), 11-13.

To give you an instance of the great desire evinced by the people to see the worlds industry a pawnbroker at Leeds in Yorkshire on the eve of the departure of an excursion train to London had pawned at his shop 2 Bushels of Watches by persons who could never have seen the Exhibition but for the money lent on these articles.

[39]

The next day Schliemann went to London Zoo to have a look at the next English hype of that moment: the hippopotamus Obaysch (c. 1849-1878). This was the first hippopotamus to reach Northern Europe in modern times. *In modern times* was added full of pride as not long before it had been discovered, based on fossils, that there once had been a time when hippopotami had lived in Northern Europe. Obaysch had nothing to do with these fossils, as he had come straight from Egypt. He had been captured there, together with some other exotic animals on the order of Abbas Pasha (1813-1854). He had swapped him for some greyhounds with the British Consul August Murray (“Hippopotamus Murray” 1806-1895). The hippo was named after the island in the Nile where he was captured. He had been transported to Cairo by boat over the Nile and then shipped by P & O steamer to Southampton. And on 25 May 1850 he had arrived in London Zoo where he immediately became a craze.⁴⁰

According to the notes in his journal, Schliemann visited on his last evening in London the Princes’ Theatre where he saw the last performance of the celebrated tragedian “Macready”. He is William Charles Macready (1793-1873) and Schliemann did not attend his real last performance but one of the performances of his farewell production. Macready played his real last show on 26 February 1851.⁴¹ Concerning the theatre, there is something peculiar there. Schliemann must have made a mistake here one way or the other. He writes in his journal that he went to the Princes’ Theatre, which was in Oxford Street. But Macready did not play there. He was associated with the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. When Schliemann made his notes, he presumably mixed up these two theatres in his mind.

The shipwreck

On his first sea voyage, Schliemann had been shipwrecked off Texel in 1840. The various reports he made of this in the course of his life do differ widely and none of them really agree with the report that the captain had drawn up with a notary public on Texel.⁴² The consequence of this is that one can wonder how accurate Schliemann’s report of the described shipwreck in this journal is.

So that the reader can check Schliemann’s story, I will reproduce here a large part of a report as appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune* of 17 February 1851:

39 Gennadius Library 463 (a-c) – 437, 6935-6938.

40 Root 1993.

41 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

42 See Arentzen 2011.

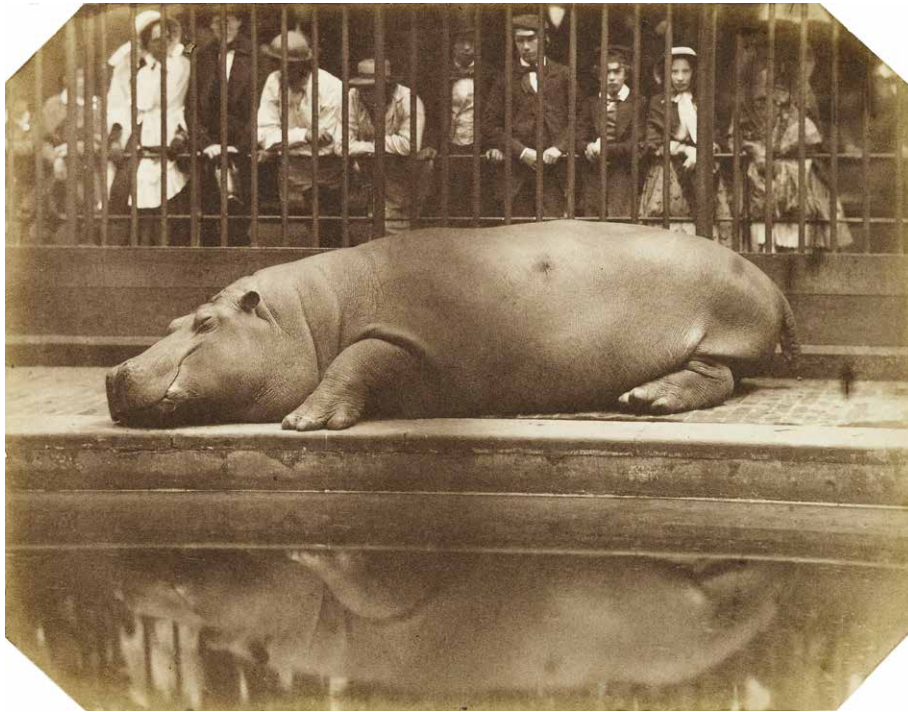


Figure 2: Obaysch the Hippopotamus – London Zoo 1852. Photo by Don Juan, Count of Montizón

Arrival of the Africa – The Atlantic safe at Cork!

The Cunard steamer Africa, Capt Ryrie, arrived at this port from Liverpool at 9 o'clock Saturday evening, after a passage of fourteen days 9 hours.

She brought the joyful intelligence of the safety of the Atlantic, which caused universal delight throughout the city. The particulars of the voyage of the Atlantic and her safe arrival at Cork, Ireland, are as follows:

The Voyage and Disaster of the Atlantic. (From the Liverpool Mercury)

We have received the following statement from a gentleman of considerable nautical experience who was a passenger on board the steamer: "The Atlantic left Liverpool on the afternoon of the 28th, having strong gales to the westward. We got over the bar about six the same evening, and, making a splendid run against head winds, passed Cape Clear on Sunday night about half past nine o'clock. After this we encountered a succession of westerly gales; but the steamer bore up against them all with an extraordinary degree of strength; and her machinery worked beautifully, till, suddenly and unexpectedly, on the 6th she broke down and was disabled. Our position then was, lat. 46° 12' north, lon. 41° 30' west; distance from Halifax, 897 miles; and New York, 1,400 miles. We laid to under canvass thirty hours, to get the floats off the paddlewheels, &c., and drifted sixty miles to the southward. We made sail, January 7, at noon, with the wind from the westward. On January 9, P.M., we had a gale from the southwest, and again laid to. On the 11th we bore away from Cape Clear, and encountered a strong

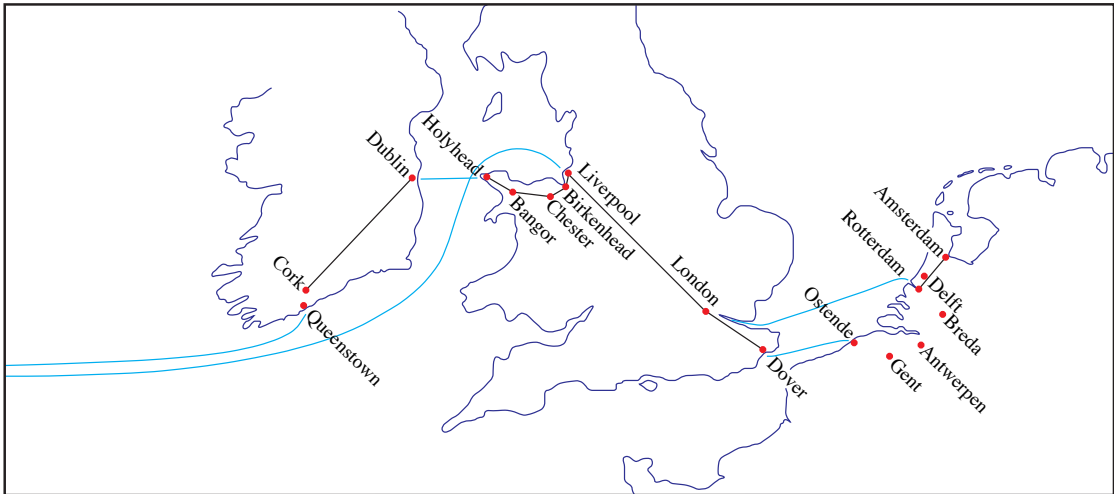


Figure 3: Schliemann's travel from Amsterdam to Queenstown (solid line: by train, blue line: by boat)

W.N.W. gale, the Cape being distant 1,350 miles. Nothing further transpired that is worthy of note till we anchored in the Cove of Cork, January 22, thankful for our preservation; and all on board satisfied with the skilful management of the experienced Captain under such disadvantageous circumstances. The vessel I believe to be as strong and as able as ever.^[43]

With a few variations, we get this story twice more in the version of the *Cork Examiner* and the *Liverpool Albion* supplemented by statements supporting the captain from both passengers and crew. The article concludes with the passenger list of the Atlantic, from which I have copied the last part.

The following is the Atlantic's passenger list, all of whom, we believe, came in the Africa:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| John J. Loring, Boston | David Rankin, Phila. |
| J.S. Wadsworth, N. York | H.P. Walker, Charleston |
| W. Benjamin, jr. N. York | R.H. Harris, Baltimore |
| L. Alexander, Ireland | J.H. Pottenger, Baltimore |
| H.J. Butterfield, N. York | E.H. Griffin, Valparaiso |
| C.C. Hatch and lady, N.Y. | Geo B Reese, Phila |
| A. Laurence, jr., Boston | Geo McKinzie, Pictou |
| W.E. Case and lady, N.Y. | C. Shroder, Hamburg |
| W.A. Wheelock & lady, N.Y. | H. Shlieman, St. Pet'rsb'rg |
| G.A. Curtis, Boston | D.H. Klaener, Galveston |
| J.H. Easter, Baltimore | G. Goldstein, England |
| J.L. Lowrey, N. York | Thos Little, Ireland |
| Geo D. Sutton. N. York ⁴⁴ | |

43 *New-York Daily Tribune*, Monday, February 17, 1851.

44 *New-York Daily Tribune*, Monday, February 17, 1851.

As only first class passenger names made it into the paper, it at once becomes clear that Schliemann did not get to the US on a shoestring to seek his fortunes there, as the average gold digger did. He travelled in the style that befitted his status as a prosperous businessman.

What exactly happened upon arrival in New York I have not been able to find out. In a letter to Johann Heinrich (John Henry) Schröder (1784-1883) in London, Schliemann wrote in 1867 that a divorce would not cause him too many problems as he had become an American citizen in February 1851.⁴⁵ And in 1869 he writes to his cousin Adolph Schliemann (1817-1872) that he has renounced the Russian Emperor on 17 February 1851 and subsequently has sworn allegiance to the United States of North America.⁴⁶ It is clear that Schliemann thought he was an American, but I have not been able to find any proof of this in the archives. It is certain that upon arrival in the US Schliemann was not naturalized to an American, whatever he may have wanted at that moment.

Unfortunately the passenger list of the *Africa* has been preserved only in part. On the list that can be consulted today, none of the passengers are mentioned who were originally on board the *Atlantic* according to the newspapers. In the part of the list that is still accessible today, after each name is mentioned apart from age, sex, profession and country of origin, whether one wants to remain in the US or not. Presumably the passengers were asked on board whether they wanted to immigrate or not. Although Schliemann's name does not occur on this list and we therefore do not know what he did answer to this last question, it is plausible to assume that he stated that he wanted to remain in the US. Presumably he thought that by doing so he had become American.

The East Coast

In New York Schliemann checked into the best hotel of the city, Astor House. This hotel was built in 1836 by the multi-millionaire John Jacob Astor (1763-1848). It had 6 floors and 309 rooms that were all lit with gas. And if that was not enough luxury, there was on every floor a toilet and a bathroom. Only successful and wealthy people could afford to stay there.

As usual, also in New York, Schliemann visited all the attractions that should not be missed. The best-known of these was undoubtedly Barnum's Museum. Despite its name, this institution was not so much a museum but more a cross between a collection of curiosities and a theatre. Not for nothing was Phinras Taylor Barnum (1810-1891) called the "King of the Humbug". By showing new curiosities all the time (dwarfs, Siamese twins, a stuffed mermaid, etc.) he developed his museum into one of New York's largest attractions.⁴⁷ To get an impression of what was mainly shown here, I will look at three random advertisements from 1850 and 1851:

⁴⁵ Meyer 1953, 128.

⁴⁶ Letter of 15-8-1869 from Schliemann's letter book. See Bölke 2013, 79-146.

⁴⁷ *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* 1909.

Barnum's Museum. – Tom Thumb and the Chinese Museum both of them now added to the Curiosities at this celebrated establishment, are attracting a vast deal of public attention. General Tom is the wonder of the age, and China as it is, excels everything. Saloon performances afternoon and evening – comedy and farce together.^[48]

General Tom Thump, Charles Sherwood Stratton (1838-1883), was only 102 cm tall. He became famous through his co-operation with Barnum. The Chinese Museum showed a Chinese family in Chinese clothing surrounded by Chinese furniture, etc.

Seasonable Amusements – Very lively and effective entertainments are now to be found at Barnum's Museum. Charlotte Temple, performed this evening, will draw a crowd. The comic pieces this afternoon are irresistible. The Museum is always attractive.^[49]

In the majority of the advertisements of end 1850 / beginning 1851 the public's attention is drawn to the theatre side of the museum. The performance of Charlotte Temple is typical of the kind of entertainment then appreciated. This play was based on a novel by Susanna Rowson (1762-1824) from 1791. Although originally published in England, this so-called seduction novel is characteristic of early American literature. This is the story about a schoolgirl who is being seduced by a soldier. She gets pregnant and he abandons her. Of course nothing but misery will come of this and ultimately she comes to a nasty end. To make the whole more attractive the villain too is meeting an unpleasant end. Early American literature knows a large number of novels and plays based on this theme and they were eagerly performed in Barnum's Museum.

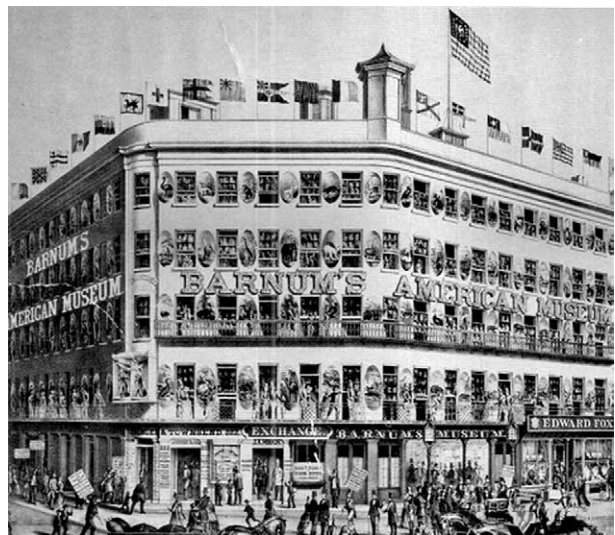


Figure 4: Barnum's American Museum, New York 1851 (artist unknown)

48 *New-York Daily Tribune*, November 20, 1850.

49 *New York Daily Tribune*, January 6, 1851.

Tears of Joy. – You must shed tears – you cannot help it – at the performances in the magnificent Saloon of Barnum’s Museum. In the evening, Madelaine is a moral play, so touching and so beautiful – best cure for drunkenness in the world. In the afternoon, Jim Crow Rice would make an angel laugh his wings off. Just try both. See and believe.^[50]

Jim Crow Rice, Thomas Dartmouth Rice (1808-1860) was a “black minstrel”.

It is not known what Schliemann really saw in Barnum’s Museum. General Tom Thumb must have been there, but neither he nor one of his fellow attractions made enough of an impression on him to make it into his journal.

In any case, Schliemann did not see “Black minstrels” in Barnum’s Museum. For them he went to Fellow’s Opera House where he saw Fellows Minstrels. These were the heydays of the Black Minstrels, small groups of white men touring the country and with blackened faces entertaining the crowds everywhere with jokes and songs.⁵¹ They played to a white audience only and in general their success was due to the racial caricature they portrayed on stage, which was so well known by their public. Schliemann was also not impressed by this, probably because fresh from Europe, he did not appreciate the image of the childishly stupid negro who could sing such lovely songs.

A European origin was by the way no guarantee that upon arrival in the US one could not immediately fall prey to racist feelings. When the Swiss geologist Louis Agassiz (1807-1873) came for the first time in 1846 into contact with black people, he was very put off, as is shown by a letter to his mother:

It was in Philadelphia that I first found myself in prolonged contact with negroes; all the domestics in my hotel were men of color. I can scarcely express to you the painful impression that I received, especially since the sentiment that they inspired in me is contrary to all our ideas about the confraternity of the human type and the unique origin of our species ... when they advanced that hideous hand towards my plate in order to serve me, I wished I were able to depart in order to eat a piece of bread elsewhere, rather than to dine with such service.^[52]

Agassiz’ repulsion was so great that he could not imagine that blacks and whites were related to each other. As there were several races, there had to have been several creations. Although Schliemann makes several racial remarks in this journal, we nowhere get the impression that the feelings went deeper with him than the usual prejudices of his time.

50 *New-York Daily Tribune*, March 31, 1851.

51 Slout 2007, 203 “The troops were small, comprising about seven or eight, including the agent ... The minstrels made their own wigs – principally of curled hair from mattresses or sofas. A few corks, burned at gas jets or incinerated in an old tin pail, furnished the make-up. Sometimes they ‘blackened up’ with burnt paper.”

52 Gould 1982, 173.

After an overnight stay in Baltimore, Schliemann next travels to Washington. Again he opts here for the best hotel, Barnum's, to stay the night. During his journey through the US in 1842, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) stayed in the same hotel⁵³ and he sang its praises:

The most comfortable of all the hotels of which I had any experience in the United States, and they were not a few, is Barnum's, in that city [Baltimore]: where the English traveller will find curtains to his bed, for the first and probably the last time in America (this is a disinterested remark, for I never use them); and where he will be likely to have enough water for washing himself, which is not at all a common case^[54]

A visit to the President

Once in Washington, Schliemann went to the Capitol to listen to a joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. One of the items on the agenda that day was the riots that had taken place in Boston not long ago.

In 1850 tensions started to rise between pro- and anti-slavery states. Extra problems arose when California wanted to join the Union. In order to prevent a further escalation of the problems, the 13th President of the US, Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) formulated with a few confidants The Compromise of 1850. In this compromise amongst others the entry of California into the Union was arranged and a law was promulgated which forbade the helping of slaves who had fled to the North, the so-called Fugitive Slave Act. This latter act in particular met a lot of opposition of the northerners. When on 25 October 1850 two southern marshals arrived in Boston to collect a slave who had fled there, the flame was ignited:

Boston, Sunday, Oct 27.

At about half-past 4 o'clock yesterday morning, W.J. Knight, who is alleged to be a slavecatcher from Georgia, was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Rugg, on a writ for slander. The writ alleges that Knight charged William Crafts, a citizen of Massachusetts, with being a slave, to the damage of his business and detriment of his character, in the sum of \$ 10,000. Knight was taken to Mr. Rugg's office, where a great crowd soon assembled, composed of whites and blacks. Abuse was heaped upon the prisoner, but no violence offered. Knight, after remaining in custody about half an hour obtained bail in \$ 10,000, and was set at liberty. This is said to be one movement of a series by the opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law to render its execution as obnoxious as possible. The Committee of Vigilance have had several sessions, and have, it is said, resolved to invite the suspected fugitive slave seekers to leave the City forthwith. So far, no attempt has been made to arrest a fugitive. The warrants lie dead in the Marshal's office. The excitement is great. Many say the law should be enforced, while others say that it shall not. A number of fugitives, fearing they cannot be protected, have fled to Canada.^[55]

53 Schliemann saw Dickens on 4 January 1868. See Traill 1993, 61-63.

54 Dickens 1897-1903, Vol XXVIII, 163

55 *New-York Daily Tribune*, October 28, 1850.

In the end William and his wife Ellen Craft⁵⁶ did not stay in Boston. In December 1850 they fled to Liverpool where they grew into leading figures in the anti-slavery movement. In 1860 they published their adventures as *Running a thousand miles for freedom*.

We shall always cherish the deepest feelings of gratitude to the Vigilance Committee of Boston (upon which were many of the leading abolitionists), and also to our numerous friends, for the very kind and noble manner in which they assisted us to preserve our liberties and to escape from Boston, as it were like Lot from Sodom, to a place of refuge, and finally to this truly free and glorious country; where no tyrant, let his power be ever so absolute over his poor trembling victims at home, dare come and lay violent hands upon us or upon our dear little boys, and reduce us to the legal level of the beast that parishes.^[57]

It will be clear that proponents of slavery viewed this action totally different. The slave states demanded that something should be done. After another such incident occurred in Boston on 18 February 1851, Fillmore felt obliged to make a proclamation:

... to the end that the authority of the laws may be maintained, and those concerned in violating them brought to immediate and condign punishment, I have issued this my proclamation, calling on all well disposed citizens to rally to the support of the laws of their country, and requiring and commanding all officers, civil and military, who shall be found within the vicinity of this outrage, to be aiding and assisting, by all means in their power, in quelling this and other such combinations, and assisting the Marshal and his Deputies in re capturing the abovementioned prisoners.^[58]

The law is the law and freed slaves should be recaptured. There's no escape from that. With this proclamation the matter was however not resolved. Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act remained high, also among the Representatives. It was one of the many debates on this subject that Schliemann attended on Friday 21 February 1851.⁵⁹

In his report Schliemann mentions a number of Senators:

- Henry Clay (1777-1852), Senator of Kentucky. Clay was a supporter of the abolition of slavery in the long term. To maintain the peace between supporters and opponents, he became one of the formulators of the Compromise of 1850.
- John Parker Hale (1806-1873), Senator of New Hampshire. Hale was the first senator who turned against slavery. He was an opponent of the Fugitive Slave Act and defended the members of the Boston Vigilance Committee who were arrested in connection with the “freeing of escaped slaves”.

56 William Craft (1824-1900), Ellen Craft (1826-1891).

57 [Craft] 1860, 93.

58 *New-York Daily Tribune*, February 20.

59 On 13 March 1851 the *Glasgow Weekley Times* placed under the heading “Resistance to the law in Boston, Washington, Feb. 21, 1851” the explanation Fillmore gave to Congress about his proclamation.

- James Murray Mason (1798-1871), Senator of Virginia. Mason was one of the authors of the Fugitive Slave Act.
- Stephen A. Douglas (1813-1861), Senator of Illinois. He was co-author of The Compromise of 1850, but he, contrary to Fillmore and Clay, was on the side of the slaveholders. In his Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 he tried to extend the possibilities of keeping slaves.
- John Davis (1787-1854), Senator of Massachusetts. He was an opponent of slavery. As he belonged to the same party as Fillmore, he tried to support him in The Compromise of 1850. He proposed an amendment to the Fugitive Slave Act in which it was forbidden to arrest former slaves who had become seamen. The amendment was rejected.

It is clear that Schliemann heard an interesting collection of supporters and opponents debating. The mention in his journal is very brief though and thus one gets the impression that he was there more for “the view” than for the contents.

That same evening Schliemann went to see the President, who received him very cordially and introduced him to his wife, daughter and father. The family conversed with Schliemann for an hour and a half and he was then invited to stay for the reception that the President hosted that evening. Just imagine, you arrive in Washington as a foreigner, ring the bell of the White House and are received. If you relate that story to your friends, none will believe you.

When William M. Calder III in the night from 5 to 6 January 1972 gave his “Mitternachtslesung” in Neubukow, now famous with Schliemann researchers, this was one of the first points with which he showed that Schliemann had lied in his autobiographical writings.⁶⁰ “Would any lady” he reasoned, “even Mrs Fillmore, spend one and a half hours chatting casually with an unknown twenty-eight-year-old boy from Mecklenburg, when at the end of this time she was to entertain the 800 most prominent citizens of her country?”⁶¹ As we have seen Schliemann was described in the passenger list of the Africa/Atlantic as a businessman from St Petersburg. It is therefore very likely that he did not introduce himself to Fillmore as an unknown boy from Mecklenburg but as an important businessman from Russia and that would undoubtedly have made a difference.

This is however only incidental evidence. The basis of Calder’s accusation lies in the reception that Schliemann describes. “In the quiet world of 1851 America such a distinguished reception would have been noticed in contemporary newspapers.”⁶² But Calder has not been able to find anything in any paper about this reception. This reception can therefore not have taken place, ergo this is a clear

60 For the circumstances of this lecture, see Kruse 2011. Ludwig 1932, 91 had also been surprised by this visit: “Wie groß muß die Sicherheit dieses jungen Deutschen sein, der keinen Gesandten sucht und braucht und sich, wahrscheinlich durch Empfehlungen aus Holland unterstützt, den Weg zum ersten Mann des Landes bahnt!”

61 Calder 1972, 340. The same contents can also be found in Calder 1986. Holden 1995, 9 “Heinrich also stopped in Washington, D.C., where, possessing incredible nerve, he quizzed President Millard Fillmore for an hour and a half on the economic state of the nation.”

62 Calder 1972, 340.



Figure 5: Millard Fillmore (1800-1875), photo by M.B. Brady, c. 1855-1865

lie of Schliemann. “The entry remains a masterpiece of its genre, the narration of outrageous untruth within the setting of accurate detail”.⁶³

When we look at the length and the place of Schliemann’s description of this visit, the question rises why such a “masterstroke” is so small and inconspicuous. But this a by the way.

How implausible it may seem that Schliemann just rang the President’s bell, we should consider that the murder of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) would take place only in 1865. In 1851 the job of being President of the US would have been considerably less dangerous than it would become later. It could well have been that Fillmore was a lot more approachable than we would expect today.⁶⁴

Let’s start by looking whether it could be expected that the reception mentioned by Schliemann had to be mentioned in one of the newspapers. Was this really such an exceptional occasion?

On 20 February, a day before Schliemann meets the father of the President, *The Rutland Herald* publishes a short item that is important for us:

⁶³ Calder 1986, 24.

⁶⁴ Barre 1856, 403 “There is a uniformity about the manners of Mr. Fillmore that is strikingly manifest. In the white house, in the city, among his friends, in the quiet seclusion of home, mingling with his fellow citizens, or among the crowned heads of Europe, he is the same plain, unostentatious, amiable, and polished gentleman.”

The father of President Fillmore, eighty years of age, arrived at the White House on Friday evening, while the President was holding his usual Friday's levee.^[65]

We now know not only for certain that Schliemann could have met Fillmore's father, more importantly we know that the President held a reception every Friday evening. What exactly were the conditions on which one could be admitted to the President does not become clear from this message. A few days after Schliemann's visit however something happens in the Fillmore family as a result of which the President cancels his receptions. He announces this to everybody via a message in the *New-York Daily Tribune* of 27 February:

In consequence of the recent decease at Sandusky City, Ohio, of the sister of Mrs. Fillmore, the President's receptions have been discontinued for the remainder of the season.^[66]

As the President informed his future visitors via the newspapers, the idea is created that this was a very large group that could not be reached in person. And as no day is mentioned on which the President customarily held his receptions, the impression is given that he could assume that every reader knew that this was on a Friday.

The fact that the whole country knew that one could see the President on a Friday is also shown by a short article that the *Sacramento Transcript* adopted from the *Albany Journal*:

The editor of the Albany Journal, in writing from Washington, mentions having met at the President's levee, on Friday evening, two sisters of Mitchell,^[67] the Irish Patriot.^[68]

Altogether, it seems that the reception to which Schliemann was admitted was less important than Schliemann and Calder thought. It seems likely that Schliemann's visit to Fillmore was for the President a normal Friday visit, albeit that this Russian merchant arrived 90 minutes early. As a polite man, the President received this early arrival and talked to him until the other visitors arrived.⁶⁹

65 *The Rutland Herald*, February 20, 1851.

66 *New-York Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1851. *New-York Daily Tribune*, March 13, 1852 "Presidential Levees. Washington, Friday, March 12, 1852 The National Intelligencer states that the Presidential levees are to be discontinued after to-night."

67 John Mitchel (1815-1875)

68 *Sacramento Transcript*, 30 April 1850.

69 Barre 1856, 387 "In the domestic circle, the amiability of his temperament shines most conspicuously." Barre 1856, 389 "No man can be for an hour in his presence, without becoming impressed with the belief that he loves his fellow men." It seems that the opportunity to visit the president remained longer possible than one would expect. Late 1928, early 1929 the German communist Egon Erwin Kish (1885-1848) travelled through the U.S. About his experiences during this journey he published in 1930 a book: "Paradies Amerika". In it he talks among others about his visit to President John Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933). "Wer sich langweilt in Washinhton ... geht um ein Viertel eins zum Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und schüttelt ihm die Hand. Man braucht sich nur im Vorzimmer des Executive Office einzuschreiben ... und darf sich einreihen in den Zug, der sich langsam gegen den Cabinet Room vorwärts bewegt." I would like to thank Gretl Bölke for pointing out this to me.

The itinerary

Schliemann went to the National Theatre on Saturday evening where he saw “the celebrated actress Davenport”. He refers here to the originally English actress Jean Davenport Lander (1829-1903). She was very successful in both the US and in Europe. She made her second tour of the US from 1849 to 1851. I have not been able to find anything on her performance in Washington, but in Gallipolis, Ohio, they were very enthusiastic about her:

Miss Davenport is filling her second engagement at the National Hall Theatre to densely crowded houses every night. The charming and brilliant actress has taken the hearts of all the Theatre-going public in this city. No actress has hitherto won upon the admiration of the public to a greater degree, in this region, for many years back.^[70]

The next day, Sunday 23 February 1852, Schliemann writes a letter to his father in which he tells the home front what has been happening and what his further plans are:



Figure 6: Jean Margareth Davenport Lander (1829-1903), daguerreotype c. 1840

70 *Gallipolis Journal*, March 6, 1851. *Gallipolis Journal*, June 5, 1851 “Miss Davenport is young and pretty, has a quiet, winning way that gradually draws you to her ...”

... Wie Du weißt schiffte ich mich am 28 Decbr. in Liverpool nach New York ein. Aber nachdem wir 9¹/₂ Tage auf See waren, brach uns die Dampfmaschine u obgleich schon 1800 engl Meilen von England entfernt mußten wir umkehren u langten am 22 Januar wieder in Cork in Irland an. Ich ging von dort über Dublin, Liverpool, London & Antwerpen nach Amsterdam zurück u. schiffte mich am 1 Febr in Liverpool auf dem Dampfboote 'Africa' nach New York ein. Nach einer stürmischen Reise von 14¹/₂ Tagen kam ich am 15 ds Mts in New York an u. um dies herrliche Land näher kennen zu lernen ging ich am 20 ds über Philadelphia & Baltimore nach Washington, wo ich am Tage darauf ankam. Ich besuchte hier bereits verschiedene Male die Sitzungen des Senats u der Deputierten-Kammer im Capitolium, besuchte den Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten, der mich in seine Familie einführte, fuhr gestern nach dem Berge Vernon wo der große Washington begraben liegt, dem dies Land seine Freiheit, diese Stadt aber ihre Gründung u ihren Namen verdankt u ich kann Dir gar nicht sagen, wie sehr ich mich hier belustige u. wie glücklich ich mich im schönen America fühle. Den einliegenden Bananen-Strauch pflückte ich gestern beim Flusse Potomac auf dem Berge Vernon auf dem Grabe von Washington. Dringend bitte ich Dich, schicke sogleich bey Durchlesung diesen Brief zusammen mit dem Banananzweige zur Schwester in Vipperow u. ersuche dieselbe den Zweig zu meinem Andenken u. als Talisman für sich selbst aufzubewahren. -Morgen wohne ich wiederum den Sitzungen im Capitolium bey u morgen Abend um 5 Uhr fahre ich nach Philadelphia, wo ich mich wohl 2 Tage aufhalten u. belustigen werde. – Am 27 ds bin ich wieder in New York u am 28ten ds bin ich mit dem Dampfboote Crescent City nach Chagres auf der Landenge von Panama. – Ich überschreite die gebirgige Landenge auf Mauleseln u. schiffe mich am 15. März mit dem Dampfboote 'California' nach San Francisco ein. In letzterem Orte bleibe ich wohl einige Wochen u. gehe dann per Dampfer nach Canton in China u später über Ostindien, Arabien u. Egypten nach Europa zurück.^[71] Diese Reise hat mir schon tausende gekostet u wird mir noch viele tausende kosten, aber die vielen nützlichen Kenntnisse u Erfahrungen die ich bey jedem Schritte einsammele sind unbezahlbar ... Es ist hier eine africanische Hitze u man schwitzt schrecklich wenn man im dünnen Sommerrocke ausgeht. Um diesen Briefsicher an Dich gelangen zu lassen, schliesse ich denselben nach St. Petersburg bey. Ich bin sehr wohl, werde aber leider sehr dick unter dem segnenden Einfluße des herrlichen Climas u der wunderschönen Speisen. Nie in meinem Leben habe ich so herrliche Austern geessen als hier. Einen ganzen Scheffel Austern kann man hier für fünfzehn Silberroschen kaufen. Man ißt hier die Austern niemals roh u immer gebraten, gesmort oder eingemacht ...^[72]

So Schliemann is not on his way to California to work there in the gold fields. It seems that he has given up the thought of investing his money in this new state. San Francisco is no more than another stop on a world tour.

On the following Monday, as Schliemann wrote in his journal, Congress debated the *cheap-postage bill*.⁷³

71 Meyer 1969, 115 "Seine Reiselust nach fremden Ländern läßt ihm nach der anderen Seite der Pazifik blicken, nach China und Indien ..."

72 This letter was sold on 23/24.05.2005 in Ketter Kunst – Auktion 294, Lot 1331.

73 A report on this treatment can a.o. be found in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, February 25, 1851.

In Philadelphia he again crosses the path of Dickens when he takes a room in the United States Hotel.⁷⁴ In this town, Schliemann visits amongst others the States' prison. In this prison an attempt was made to transform criminals by having them locked up in solitary confinement for years. Dickens had also visited this institution but he did not at all agree with Schliemann on the salutary effect of this institution:

My firm conviction is that, independent of the mental anguish it occasions – an anguish so acute and so tremendous, that all imagination of it must fall far short of the reality – it wears the mind into a morbid state, which renders it unfit for the rough contact and busy action of the world. It is my fixed opinion that those who have undergone this punishment, must pass into society again morally unhealthy and diseased.^[75]

Panama

There were two ways to travel by sea from New York to San Francisco. Theoretically there were three but the overland route was only for the intrepid who had the guts to travel through Indian territory with all the concomitant dangers. The safest, and longest, route was via Cape Horn. This was the route Schliemann's brother Ludwig had taken. A shorter route was via the Panama Isthmus. You took the boat to Chagres, followed the river inland as far as possible and then travelled overland to Panama. There you boarded a boat to San Francisco. Although this route was considerably more dangerous, most fortune seekers took it as it was shorter and cheaper.

When Schliemann arrived in Chagres, the Californian Gold Rush had been going for so long and the number of people crossing the Isthmus so large that it had paid off to build a railway line. The work on this line began in 1850 with the construction of a harbour on the Atlantic Ocean near Aspinwall, now Colón. The location had been chosen on economic grounds but it was about the worst place imaginable to build a railway. The first part of the line went through a swamp where thousands of tree trunks had to be driven into the ground as foundation for the railway line. In very favourable conditions this would have been a very difficult job but to make matters worse work started in the wrong season:

It was in the depth of the rainy season, and the working parties, in addition to being constantly drenched from above, were forced to wade in from two to four feet of mud and water, over the mangrove stumps and tangled vines of the imperfect openings cut by the natives, who, with their machetas preceded them to clear the

74 Sandoval-Strausz 2007, 53 “The United States Hotel, a five-story structure that fronted broadly on Chesnut Street, opened for business in 1828. Little information survives regarding its capacity, but the sixty-five windows on its main façade suggest a complement of between one hundred and two hundred guest rooms.”

75 Dickens 1897-1903, Vol XXVIII, 129.

way. Then at night, saturated and exhausted, they dragged themselves back to their quarters ... to toss until morning among the pitiless insects. Numbers were daily taken down with fever ...^[76]

When Schliemann writes that “this railway is being built upon the bones of the Americans” he conveys the bad working conditions only partially. It is true that Europeans and North Americans coped badly with working in this climate, but the Panama Railroad Company treated them relatively decently:

Irishmen were imported from Ireland, Coolies from Hindustan, Chinamen from China. English, French, Germans and Austrians, amounting in all to more than seven thousand men ... Chinamen, one thousand in number, had been brought to the Isthmus by the Company, and every possible care taken which could conduce to their health and comfort. Their hill-rice, their tea, and opium, in sufficient quantity ... they had been engaged upon the work scarcely a month before almost the entire body became affected with a melancholic, suicidal tendency, and scores of them ended their unhappy existence by their own hands. Disease broke out among

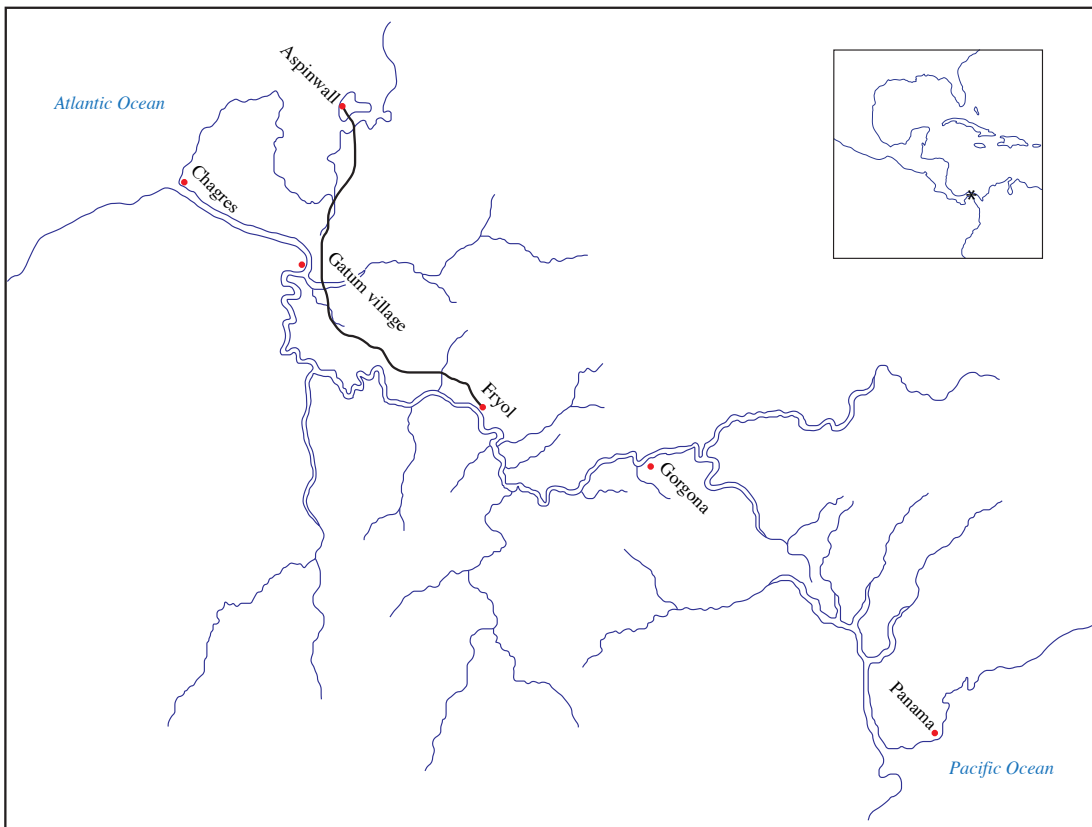


Figure 7: Schliemann's travel from Aspinwall to Panama (solid line: by train)

76 Otis 1867, 28.



Figure 8: The Panama railroad in 1867, drawing by F.N. Otis

them, and raged so fiercely that in a few weeks scarcely two hundred remained. The freshly-imported Irishmen and Frenchmen also suffered severely, and there was found no other resource but to reship them as soon as possible ...^[77]

When Schliemann arrived here, only part of the route had been completed. The building costs had however risen more than expected and in order to earn something now and to thus reassure investors, passengers were transported over that part of the line that could be used. On the way out Schliemann did not use this train but he did on the way back when he was fighting a nasty infection on his leg.

Like the people working on the construction, the travellers crossing the Isthmus also often suffered in this unhealthy climate. On nearly every passenger list that was printed in the California papers of that period, there was a name of somebody having died of Panama fever.⁷⁸

And this was not the only danger facing the travellers. In an area where in such a relatively short period lots of people appear and where so much wealth is transported, crime appears as well.

77 Otis 1867, 35-36.

78 It concerned here both yellow fever and malaria and at that time no distinction was made between these two.

An Account of the Great Gold Robbery

We [New-York Daily Tribune] find in the Panama Star of the 31st ult. [December 1850] the following detailed account of the great robbery of gold dust:

Just after our paper was put to press last Monday evening our city [Panama] was thrown into a great state of excitement by the rumour that the gold train of Messrs. Zachrisson, Nelson & Co. in which was upwards of \$2,000,000 in gold dust, had been attacked a few miles from the city, by an armed body of men who succeeded in killing one or two of the multheers, and making off with some \$120,000 of treasure ... Some twenty or twenty-five soldiers were ordered out, and were soon on the march. Mr Nelson being the first to hear the news, had already pushed forward.

From Mr. Nelson we gather these facts of the whole affair. The attack was made on the part of the train, under charge of Senor Arias, comprising eight mules, which had been unavoidably detained in the city to a later hour of the day than was usual. On arriving near a ranch or open space on the road known as the Guyabal, five armed men, with their faces besmeared with mud or paint, sprang into the road, and one of them seizing the bridle rein of Arias, another presented a pistol to his breast and told him to order a halt of his train. Some five or six more of the robbers then showed themselves from the opposite side of the road.

As soon as the halt was called, Arias was released, and started in a gallop for the Guyabal – not before, however, a revolver had been snapped at him. At the Guyabal he overtook another detachment of the train under charge of Senor José Paredes, who, on learning the particulars of the affair ... hastened back to the scene of the robbery, where, penetrating into the woods a few rods, they came upon the robbers, who, firing upon them were in turn fired upon, and one of them badly wounded by a ball from Predes pistol. As Mr. P. however, had his own detachment of mules to guard, and as his force was entirely too small to allow of a hope of securing any of the robbers, until reinforced, he and his companions rejoined their train and pushed on.

At about 8 o'clock at night, Mr. Nelson and his party arrived on the ground from the city, but it being too late to effect any active operations, nothing further could be done than to station guards at three different passes, which it was thought would effectually cut off the retreat of the robbers, except by the way of the Rio Grande. Capt. Garrison, with one or two others then returned to the city, for the purpose of getting a boat, and taking a station at the mouth of that River, where the party kept watch that night, but saw no suspicious persons.

On Tuesday morning at crack of day, Mr. Nelson's party, headed by Mr. Baltacar Quintero, an experienced woodsman, started on the trail. They had not gone far when they found a few cartridges, and then a knife, and then a letter, and some other articles; but after getting some distance in the woods, the greater discovery was made of seven of the boxes of gold, strapped together! Holes had been dug in the ground near by, evidently with the intention of burying them, but the approach of pursuers had driven the robbers from their purpose, and they were obliged to abandon their plunder to save themselves from being captured. While a sufficient guard was left with the recovered treasure, the balance of the party

pushed on in hot pursuit, and after toiling for hours in ascending the mountains, and scrambling through briars and brambles, on reaching a dense thicket, they were ordered to halt by an unknown voice.

Mr. Ran Runntis and Mr. Nelson immediately charged into the thicket, followed by their party, when they were greeted by a volley from the robbers, which was returned at random, as owing to the density of the undergrowth but little precision of aim could be obtained. The pursuing party boldly pushed on, and after exchanging one or more volleys, the robbers finding themselves in a tight place, took to flight, leaving what they had with them of their ill gotten gains on the ground.

On coming to this spot, the pursuers discovered traces of blood, and following the trail, they presently came upon a powerful negro fellow, whose thigh had been completely shattered by a musket ball. He was immediately recognized as a fellow who arrived here from Lima on the recent trip of the steamship Chili. About this spot were found nine canisters of the gold dust. Leaving a strong guard with the negro, and with orders to shoot him if any rescue were attempted, Mr. Nelson's party started to return to Guayabal.

On reaching the Guayabal, it was found that Senor Arias, who had two soldiers with him, and who had returned in advance of the main party, had discovered half a mule load, consisting of three boxes of gold, buried near a small brook.

After sending back a hammock in which to convey the wounded prisoner to town, the expedition again set out in search of more gold and robbers. Near to where Senor Arias had discovered the half mule load, the balance was found, sunk in a pool of muddy water.

A detachment of the soldiers, under the command of Capt. Baily, accompanied by Mr. McWithey, continued the search until night, when they encamped in the woods. Next morning, resuming their explorations, they came to a ranch where they stopped to procure a cup of coffee, while waiting for which, Mr. McWithey discovered two men in the bushes. Instantly giving the alarm, he commanded the two men to stand, and as his orders were seconded by the whole military force present covering the two men with their loaded and cocked muskets, they had no other alternative but to surrender. They proved to be two Chilians one white and the other of Indian blood. The latter confessed that they too were of the band, and that the negro who had been shot and captured was their Captain; that there were ten in the band, which comprised only Chilians and Peruvians – no Americans being among them. The two prisoners were secured and sent in to town, and committed to prison.

Upon the difference parties again meeting at the Guayabal, it was found that all the gold, with the exception only four or five thousand dollars had been recovered – and that three of the robbers had been captured. One other of the band was known to be wounded by one of the shots fired by Mr. Paredes, and it was determined that while the majority of the party should return to town, a detachment of the soldiers should next day resume and continue the search for the apprehension of the whole band.

On Wednesday morning, the man shot by Paredes made his appearance at a ranch for the purpose of getting something to eat, as well as to have his wounds dressed. The owner of the ranch immediately made prisoner of him, and mounting him on a mule and securing him brought him, into town and delivered him up to the authorities.

These are the main facts of the whole affair. The excitement in our city during Monday evening and the whole of Tuesday can be better imagined than described.

The wounded negro, who was captain or leader of the band is now in the city Hospital, where his wound is being attended to. We are informed that he has been condemned to be shot in a very short time, and that the other two prisoners are to be confined in the chain-gang for life.^[79]

And what to think of the murders that Schliemann mentions. There is a short but remarkable report in the *Jeffersonian Republican* of 27 March:

A party of thirteen persons, supposed to be passengers in the Empire City on her last trip, were murdered while crossing the Isthmus, by a band of Carthaginians⁸⁰ and negroes. Among those murdered were two ladies and three children. The murderers were arrested, and confessed their guilt.^[81]

News from the Panama Isthmus took some time to reach any of the American newspapers. The *Gallipolis Journal* came on 3 April with a detailed report on the discovery of this murder:

Murders on the Chagres River.

By the late arrivals from the Isthmus of Panama, we receive full files of papers and letters, all of which contain accounts of a horrible murder committed on the Chagres river, near the last of February. The whole Isthmus was in an intense state of excitement in relation to this cold blooded massacre of eleven persons ... The manner in which the unfortunate victims were discovered, was as follows: A gentleman was ascending the Chagres river, the 27th of February, in an open boat, when he discovered the body of a man attached by his clothing, to a snag in the river. He ordered his boatmen to approach the body, but after getting near enough to discover that the forehead of the deceased had been cleaved, as with a heavy knife or axe, the boatmen refused to go alongside of it. Proceeding up the river, the bodies of one, two, three, and four other men, and one woman, were also discovered in the river, most of them having become attached, by their clothing, to snags.

The bodies of most of the deceased were in a horrid condition. The entrails of several of them had been ripped open, as they were floating on the surface of the water, and the buzzards were feasting on their carcasses.

On a bar just below Pina Blanche the gentleman discovered two newly made graves. Landing his boat, he made an examination of the ground, which he found to be much torn up, as through a severe struggle had been had. The head and hands

79 *New-York Daily Tribune*, January 22, 1851.

80 An inhabitant of the town of Cartagena in Colombia.

81 *Jeffersonian Republican*, March 27, 1851.

*of one of the deceased, were uncovered by earth – and from them it was readily ascertained that the body was that of a man. There were some natives present, but all they knew of the matter was that the other body was that of a woman.*⁸²

This story goes back for the largest part to a report in the *Panama Star* of 1 March. The reporter of that paper went a bit further:

After diligent and strict inquiry all along the river ... [one] could only learn that a boat containing eight persons, returning Californians, together with the boat's crew, composed of Carthaginians, passed Palanquilla on Tuesday evening, with the determination of stopping somewhere below on the river during the night. Until the earth and sea shall give up their dead and all shall stand before the great judgment seat, we doubt if the names of these unfortunate individuals – where they come from and where they were going – will ever be known.

That they were cruelly murdered does not admit of a doubt ... by whom will scarcely be revealed before the great day of judgment.^{83]}

However, the reporter was premature with the last conclusion. The *Panama Star* had a report on 14 March saying that three of the murderers had been apprehended. “They were taken at Chagres by the Americans.” A fourth was still at large but it was assumed that he had gone to Carthagena.⁸⁴ The murderers were sentenced and shot dead in Panama.⁸⁵ I have not been able to ascertain the role of the Americans in this case.

Panama's modern, western history began as part of the Spanish realm. In 1821 there was a revolt against Spain and the country joined already independent Colombia. This choice was however soon regretted as in the next 82 years there were no fewer than 50 uprisings in favour of independence. Real independence was only reached in 1903 with the help of the US. Manuel Maria Diaz was governor of Panama in 1851. I do not know how approachable he was but he seems to have been very pro-American.⁸⁶ As he did everything to promote the construction of the Panama Railroad⁸⁷, it seems to me that it is not impossible that he also received Schliemann as a wealthy Russian businessman.

During the Spanish period, Panama had been an important centre for the trade between Europe and Asia, but after independence that position had been lost, and the town had become impoverished and many inhabitants had moved away.

82 *Gallipolis Journal*, April 03, 1851.

83 *Daily Alta California*, 22 March 1851.

84 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 3 April 1851.

85 *Gallipolis journal* April 24, 1851. “*The Execution of the Murderers.* – We are informed that the three murderers brought from Chagres, together with the Captain of the band of Chillians who robbed the specie train some time since, have been tried, found guilty, and are to be shot about the 5th April.”

86 McGuinness 2008, 148 “In May 1850, when the elite Liberal Manurí María Díaz had been the provincial governor of Panama ... [he was] accused of being a puppet of immigrants and doing too little to defend his own people”

87 *New-York Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1851. “His Excellency, Manuel Maria Diaz, has issued a Proclamation to the vigilant Alcalde of the district of Chagres, stating the interest that this Government takes in the completion of the Panama Railroad, and orders him and all other magistrates to apprehend and imprison all and every deserter that may be brought before them, and hold them at the disposition of the Chief Engineer, or agents of the Company”

... the city, high-walled and turreted, stands boldly out into the ocean, like Balboa of old ... no longer bristling with defiant cannon or decked with the flaunting colors of the Conquistador, but deserted, crumbling, and grass-grown, "mellowed into harmony by time." ... The city of Panama is peculiarly rich in historical associations connected with the early days of Spanish rule in this country, and is full of the decayed monuments of its ancient splendor.⁸⁸

Before he travelled on, Schliemann first visited the ruins of Old Panama:

The site of the "City of Panama the Ancient" (which was destroyed by the buccaneer Sir Henry Morgan in 1661) is located about six miles southeast of the present city, and is easily reached by water or land. If time permits, the traveller should by all means visit this spot. The ruins of its ancient fortifications, towers, churches, and public buildings are worthy of the attention of all interested in the early history of Central America, and will amply repay the antiquarian or the lover of the picturesque ...^[89]

As he owed his later fame to his work as an archaeologist, it is attractive to dwell a little longer on this visit. As far as I have able to determine, this is the first time in his life that Schliemann purposefully reserved time to look at the remains of a lost



Figure 9: Ancient bridge at Old Panama 1867 drawing by F.N. Otis

88 Otis 1867, 128.

89 Otis 1867, 133.

city. It is possible that for the first time, however small, we get a glimpse emerging of the archaeologist in him. It is also possible though that Old Panama was to Schliemann at that moment nothing more than all the other tourist attractions had been. That the remains of Old Panama would rank the same as his visit to the Crystal Palace and Barnum's Museum.

The journey from Panama to San Francisco

During this voyage Schliemann dispelled boredom amongst others by having explained to him how the position of a ship is determined. About the ship itself and its doings we do not find out much. Schliemann used ships as a means of transport but otherwise he was not really interested in them. There are probably few passengers who really are interested in the ship they are travelling on, but for Schliemann this is special as in 1881 he will write in his autobiography that he served as cabin boy on his very first sea voyage. In all descriptions of his various crossings during this voyage, not one memory of that period resurfaces.

From the remark he makes on the book of Thomas Dicks (1774-1857), that he borrows, we can see that Schliemann was more than just a businessman. He had a very wide general interest. It concerns here *The Sidereal Heaven and other Subjects connected with Astronomy, as Illustrative of the Character of the Deity, and of an Infinity of Worlds* of 1840. In this book Dick gives an overview of all existing knowledge related to everything visible in the universe. Based on that, he draws the conclusion that man is not alone, and that there must be an infinite number of inhabited worlds.⁹⁰ In the end, Dick's conclusions are based not so much on observations but rather on theological logic:

It is admitted by all rational theists and theologians that the Divine nature fills the immensity of space, and we consequently adore the Creator as an infinite and incomprehensible being ... It does not comport with the idea of a Being of infinite perfection that his works should be confined to one point of infinite space, or that one comparatively small race of intelligent beings should be the sole object of the moral government of Him whose presence fills the regions of immensity.^[91]

The fact that Schliemann was affected by this book shows not only that he was interested in more than merely earning money, but also that he had a broad-minded religious view. Many of Dick's readers were extremely annoyed by his idea that the whole creation would not revolve around man as image of God.

90 Dick was not the first to write about several worlds. More 1646 canton 76:

“Long ago there earths have been,
Peopled with men and beasts before this Earth,
And after this shall others be again,
And other beast and other humane birth.”

91 Dick 1840, 255.

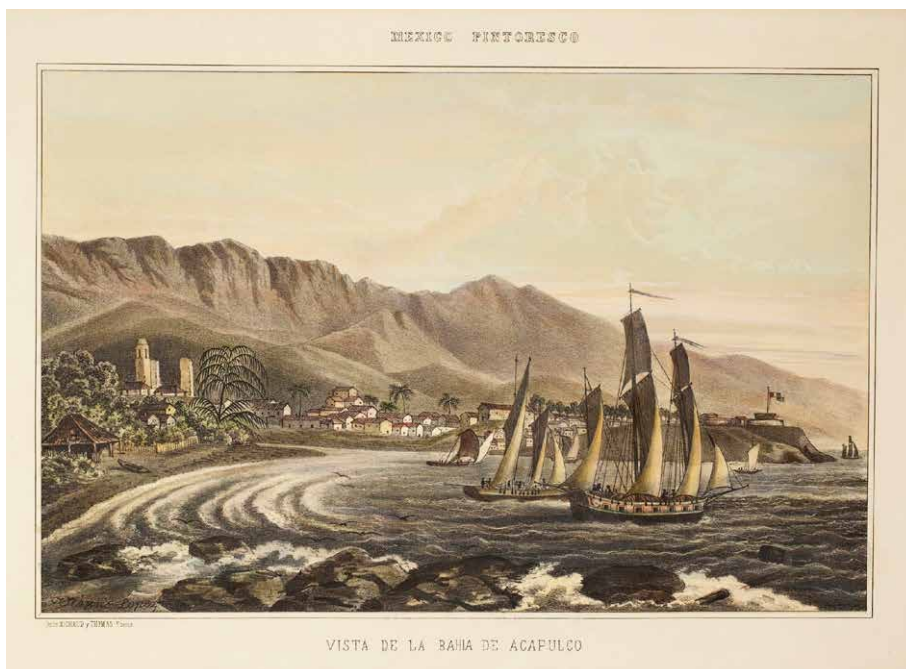


Figure 10: View of Acapulco Bay 1850, drawing by Julio Michaud y Thomas, lithography

For Schliemann’s story about the shipwreck near Isla Santa Margarita in 1850 I have not been able to find any independent corroboration.⁹² But this does not say much. In the newspapers of that time one can regularly find reports on shipwrecks that come closer to the fantastic stories of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) than to Schliemann’s notes.⁹³ It is quite possible that the less spectacular shipwrecks did not make it to the papers.

To see how Schliemann’s journey corresponds with the average journey, I’m supplying here a report of such a voyage as published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in October 1850:

Advice to Emigrants – A Pacific Voyage – Incidents and Reflections.

Pacific Ocean, Aug. 2, 1850

After patiently suffering six weeks in Panama, waiting for the steamer Northerner, we gathered our bones and other remnants on board of said boat on the 27th July and sailed on that day for the better land. We sailed south of west some 200 miles, and not until our bows pointed more northerly did we feel that we were making any progress.

92 *California Star* 25 March 1848: “Am. whaleship Hope was lost in Margarita bay.” This is the only shipwreck in the vicinity of Margaret’s Island that I have been able to trace, and more information is not given.

93 *Placer Times*, 16 February 1850. “They continued dropping one by one till they were all dead but Robert Hogg, chief mate, and Henry Leslie, second mate, who sustained themselves by eating a small portion of their companions and drinking their blood.”

Before describing further my voyage to San Francisco I must relieve my mind of a little information that belongs to those poor vagrants who design to wander this way. Take with you, my friends, pluck and money. Of these you must have a little more than barely enough for your journey. Be sure and lay in an extra stock for emergencies. Money alone will not do; as faith and works go together, so must indomitable patience and perseverance be backed up with ready cash.

Reduce your luggage; a box 3 feet long, 2 deep, 2 wide, made watertight, with rounded corners, with hinges and lock, well strapped, well filled with the "useful," is the only one article of baggage a wise man should bring this way. All beautifully made trunks with their contents are quite spoiled by the rain and mould by the time they reach Panama. The most durable articles of clothing are the cheapest. Forget not to bring with you a rubber blanket; also a good umbrella and two coarse towels. Avoid labour or exposure on the Chagres River; employ only natives to take you up said river; do not go alone; let your number not exceed six. Pray for wisdom in your choice of medicines if sick; medicine, as a whole, is death's sharpest weapon. Taste no liquors; in every drop of brandy there is a full grown devil. Meal gruel and plain boiled rice eaten sparingly is the best diet. Attend to these things or go with the multitude and be sick, and remember that great prudence even may not always save you ...

The Pacific Ocean is indeed a pacific ocean! – Five days out and we have seen no storms, no whales and hardly a crested wave, to disturb its peaceful bosom. But we have on board what is not so pacific – a living shark, whom we call our Captain. His other name is Waterman and I greatly fear before we get to San Francisco he will be a water man in another sense. Though an able man evidently as a seaman, he is tyrannical and overbearing to crew and passengers.

Our fare, for and aft, is allowed to be excellent. The passengers I am thinking, never lived better, even at home. The provisions are of the boat quality, well cooked and in abundance. The great number to be fed makes it difficult to get at the table until it has been reset three or four times. There is a lack of system. All crowd for the first table, and we are spoken to very much as farmers speak to their cattle: "Gee," "Back," "Come hither!" and the Steward too severely pricks with his guard, which has produced some unnecessary wrangling.

Passengers by the other line of steamboats make such bitter complaint of their treatment, that we are most perfectly content with our choice ...

The number of passengers on board of this boat is not far from 600. We are crowded, suffocated. One half, if not quite all, complain of ailments, and the weather is excessively warm. Some of us certainly have thoughts of the poor slaves in the Middle Passage ... Is there no law regulating the number of passengers to be carried by these boats?

Acapulco, Aug 3.

We arrived in this snug harbor this evening, at no little peril. Our Captain and all else on board were entire strangers to this harbor. Our bows at one time were in the breakers and grinding on the beach, and we were just able to back out and

escape, if not a shipwreck, a long detention. After feeling our way in the darkness, we at last found the harbor, where any person might have found it that had looked upon the chart.

The contrast between this place and Panama is so great I am almost willing to say it is the cleanliest place I ever saw. The inhabitants are neatly clad, and everything wears the aspect of law and order. Mountains nearly around the harbor and town. These mountains are fertile with rocks, mostly granite. Great boulders are scattered about, crumbling to pieces, which seem to Macadamize⁹⁴ the roads and door-yards. The principal ornamental trees are the cocoa and lime. Owing to the cholera, which was prevailing, fruit was not permitted to be sold. Cocoanuts, bananas and limes, however, found their way on board in rich profusion. The population of this city is estimated to be from 5,000 to 6,000. Three of our number died of the Panama fever, and were buried in this place.

After two days' detention, replenishing with coal, water, &c. we left this pretty harbor. And now, after five days have elapsed, nothing has transpired worth noticing, except our rich enjoyment of water-breezes. The sea every day is the same smooth sea. At midnight, when all is stillness, I have mounted the upper deck and surveyed the scene about me. The vessel moves along with the same untiring motion, while more than 500 living men, all prostrate, cover her deck! some asleep, dreaming of great expectations; others sick, are watching for morning. I look over the ship, then over the sea, then upward toward heaven's golden stars: thence my thoughts wing their way to friends, to my own New-England home; and then I realize with amazement what I am! where I am!



Figure 11: View of San Francisco in 1850 – oil on canvas painting by George Henry Burgess, 1878

94 The Scot John McAdam (1756-1836) thought of resurfacing a road with crushed stone and/or gravel. This kind of road is therefore called a macadam road.

Sunday, 11th – We are now sailing where we have occasional glimpses of Southern California. The breezes are cool and refreshing. The thin jacket is exchanged for warmer clothing. Whales, too, can now be seen throwing their water-spouts, and this gives a new interest to our voyage. The religious tract is widely distributed, and we have had two religious services – and thus the day has been employed pleasantly and profitably,

Aug, 15 – After a passage of 16½ days (sailing days) from Panama, we find ourselves this morning safely moored in the harbor of San Francisco. New scenes now await us ...

J.W.M.^[95]

Schliemann arrived in San Francisco on 3 April 1851, as we can read in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of 4 April 1851:

Per steamer Oregon, from Panama – ... H. Schleiman ...^[96]

California

In his autobiography of 1881 Schliemann tells his readers that he had become an American citizen by accident as he was in California when that territory became a state on 4 July 1850.⁹⁷ This is a curious statement as Schliemann was not in California on that date. He was either still travelling in Europe or had just returned to St Petersburg. The statement becomes stranger still as California did not become a state on that day:

Washington, D.C., Sept. 8.

The House of Representatives did another hard day's work on Saturday. The California Admission bill and the Utah Territorial Organization bill were both passed through all stages, just as they came from the Senate, and now only await the President's signature to render them laws of the land. California finally passed by the decisive vote of 150 to 57, and Utah by 97 to 85.^[98]

95 *New-York Daily Tribune*, October 4, 1850.

96 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 4 April 1851.

97 Schliemann 1881, 12. Jones 1949, 11 “The date should have been September 9, and whether blanket citizenship was conferred on all residents by edict is a point for historians to decide. Also Heinrich did not come to California until the spring of 1851; these, however, are mere trifles, and true it is that he rejoiced the rest of his life in his status as American.” *Lonely Planet Reiseführer Türkei* 2010, 217 “... bis der deutschstämmige kalifornische Hobby archäologe Heinrich Schliemann auftauchte, hatte niemand geglaubt, dass die phantastischen Stors von Homer mehr sind als tolle Legenden.”

98 *Gallipolis Journal*, September 26, 1850.

Jefferson signed this bill the next day and thus California became the 31st state on 9 September 1850.⁹⁹ Schliemann was in St Petersburg that day. In actual fact, he obtained his American citizenship only in 1869.¹⁰⁰

Of course during and just after Schliemann's life there would have been only few people who would have been able to discover that Schliemann was not in California on the said date, but even then it must have been relatively easy to see that the date that he mentioned was not correct. Every journalist in California surely should know when the state was admitted to the Union?

From 1880 until his death there regularly appeared in the various newspapers in California reports on Schliemann's archaeological activities. References to his California period in these reports were few and far between. The first notice I found comes from the *Daily Alta California* of 7 March 1884:

Dr. Henry Schliemann, the discoverer and explorer of the ruins of Troy, lives in a splendid marble palace at Athens ... The doctor lived in California when that State was admitted into the Union, and thus became a citizen of the United States, of which he is very proud, and announces it on the title-page of his books.^[101]

A year later, in 1885, the *Daily Alta California* published a letter from Athens under the heading: How Dr. Schliemann Dug Gold and Silver in Troy. The author waxes lyrical about the beauty of Schliemann's daughter: "The latter is just sixteen years old, and so exquisitely lovely that, as I saw her glide across the marble hall, I fancied one of the Graces had been released from her marble imprisonment and, like Pygmalion's statue of ivory, had assumed the human form."¹⁰² From this remark we can deduce that the writer had been in Schliemann's house and would therefore probably have spoken Schliemann. It is thus not clear whether the writer had the information from Schliemann himself or from the autobiography, but he also claims that Schliemann was an American because he was in California when it acquired the status of state.

In 1891 *The Popular Science Monthly* published an obituary. The entire California period was covered by two sentences:

In 1850 he [Schliemann] came to California, where he became an American citizen and the possessor of \$400,000.^[103]

99 *Jeffersonian Republic*, September 12, 1850.

100 *Tri-weekly Astorian* (Astoria, Or.) November 11, 1873. "Indianapolis is proud of the alleged circumstance that Dr. Schliemann, the explorer of Troy, paid a brief visit to its bailwick in 1869, stopping long enough to procure a divorce." That a myth can be created fast can be seen in *The Salt Lake Herald*, January 11, 1891. "Dr. Schliemann's will, a copy of which your correspondent has seen to-day, discloses the astonishing fact that he was an American citizen and has a wife now living in Indianapolis. All the printed laudatory notices of the great archaeologist claimed him as a German and made no reference to his American marriage. Dr. Schliemann guarded his secret well and it was only discovered at the opening of his will."

101 *Daily Alta California*, 7 March 1884. *Wichita eagle* July 28, 1888 "Notwithstanding Dr. Schliemann's classic tastes and surroundings, he is very justly proud of being a citizen of the United States. He was a resident of California when that state was admitted into the Union, and thus became a citizen of the great republic"

102 *Daily Alta California* 14 December 1885.

103 *The Popular Science Monthly* 1891, 803

Ludwig's grave

Schliemann arrived in San Francisco on 3 April 1851. He booked into the Union Hotel but he did not like it. The next day he took a room with Dr. Stout which was a lot cheaper. From Schliemann's remarks in his journal one gets the impression that this was a normal boarding house. But according to the advertisements that Dr. Stout had placed in the *Daily Alta California* in 1850 and 1851, he had other thoughts about it:

Dr. Stout's Hospital – Now success fully established for a year, and the oldest in San Francisco offers every comfort to invalids at reduced terms: a private room, \$12 per day; a private ward, \$8 per day; general ward \$5 per day. These prices include all charges, except surgical operations, night-watching and baths. Washington street, second block from Portsmouth square. This institution is rather a private residence for invalids than a hospital, and the proprietor feels confident that an inspection of its comforts and order will remove the popular prejudice against entering hospitals.

[104]

From that moment Schliemann's journal notes become irregular and thus his movements are more difficult to follow. It seems that in first instance he still has the idea of staying here only a few weeks. He travelled to Sacramento to find out whether anything could be saved from his brother's legacy.

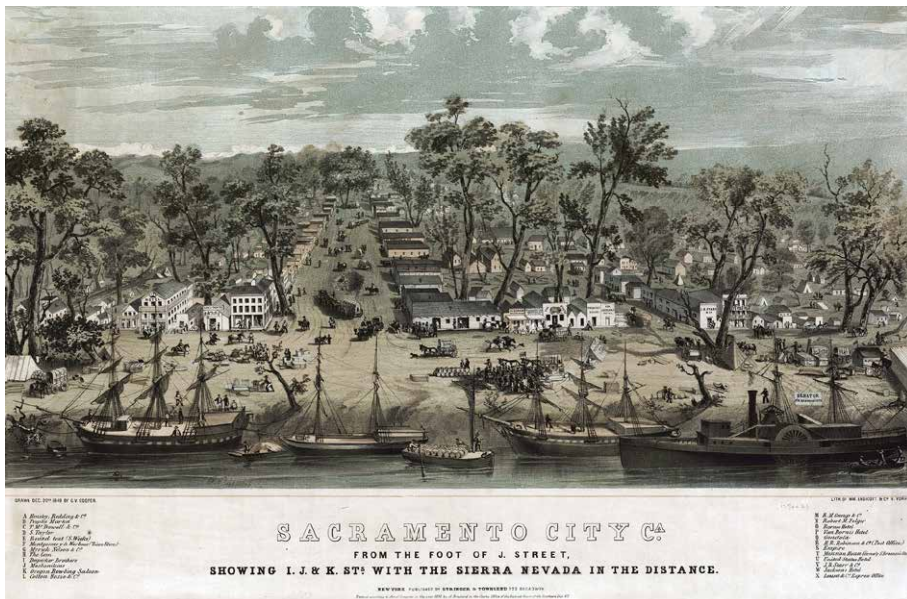


Figure 12: Sacramento City in 1849, drawn by G.V. Cooper, lithography

104 *Daily Alta California*, 27 March 1850.

Died.

In this city, on the 18th inst., of chronic diarrhoea, Mr. ALBERTUS OLMSTEAD, formerly of Hartford, Conn., aged 38 years.

In this city, on the 21st inst., of typhoid fever, Mr. LOUIS SCHLIEMANN, formerly of Germany, late of New York city, aged 25 years.

At the mines, on the North Fork of the Yuba, of congestive fever, on the 9th inst., HENRY WYMAN, of Boston Mass.

Massachusetts papers pleas copy.^[105]

Ludwig Schliemann's partner James Orchard placed a notice in the *Sacramento Transcript* on 21, 22, 25, 26, 27 and 29 June 1850:

ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTICE.

All persons having claims against the estate of Louis Schliemann, deceased, late of Sacramento City, will present the same, under oath or affirmation, to the undersigned, at the office of J.C. Zabriskie,^[106] in 2d street, opposite the Tehama Theatre, within ten months from the date of this notice

JAMES ORCHARD, Adm'r

June 18th, 1850^[107]

The term limit within which one could react thus expired on 18 March 1851. When Schliemann arrived in Sacramento, the affairs had been settled. Whether Schliemann met Orchard when he was in Sacramento in April 1851 is not clear. It looks as if Orchard left that city early 1851. On 13 January 1851 his name is mentioned in the *Sacramento Transcript* on a list of names of people for whom mail from 1850 is still being held in the post office, and in March 1851 he is mentioned a few times on a list of people that owe taxes. Thereafter his name does no longer turn up.¹⁰⁸

105 *Sacramento Transcript*, 23 May 1850. Also in the *Daily Alta California*, 25 May 1850.

106 *Placer Times* 11 August 1849. "Deeds, Mortgages. Powers of Attorney and articles of agreement executed with promptitude and legal precision by the subscriber at his office. He will likewise attend to land surveying. Office in rear of Mr. Gates's boarding house. James C. Zabriskie Attorney at Law."

107 *Sacramento Transcript*, 22 June 1850. Roper 1966, 15: "But as for your' brother's fortune, I doubt if we [the sheriff's office] can help you very much. You see his partner lit out with the money soon after Louis' death. And there's no telling where the rascal is now. He could be in Africa or Mexico by this time."

108 *Los Angeles Herald*, 26 September 1890 "... Judge Shaw [naturalized] James Orchard of England" *Los Angeles Herald*, 7 December 1893 "Wagner & Orchard, proprietors of the billiard hall of this place [Redondo], have started a lunch house in Redlands. Louis Wagner will manage affairs at Redlands, while James Orchard will stay at Redondo." Whether this is the same James Orchard I have not been able to find out.

Schliemann arranges a headstone on Ludwig's grave.¹⁰⁹ During this visit Schliemann seems to have changed his mind regarding the length of his stay in California. It seems that the old idea about which he so cryptically wrote to Behrens in New York resurfaced. He has had time to look around and decided that his chances are better in Sacramento than in San Francisco.¹¹⁰

The Sacramento River

In 1849 Joseph Warren Revere (1812-1880) published a book on his visit to California. This provides us with a picture of that area just when the Gold Rush broke out. The town of Sacramento, where Schliemann would establish himself three years later, did not yet exist and very few whites were living in the area:

The Sacramento is a most picturesque and beautiful stream, and presents, for a great part of its extent, the remarkable peculiarity of two sets of banks, which appear to be formed of alluvial deposits – the second, or farthest removed, having been deposited by the river at the highest stage of its waters. The country beyond the banks, and the woods which line them, is rolling prairie or level plains, interspersed with groves of oak, and the soil has proved, as far as tried, extremely productive and luxuriant. The banks of the river are thickly wooded, being lined on either side by a strip of heavy timber generally about a league in breadth. The river is deep, clear of snags, and navigable ... for steamers at all seasons of the year ... The tributaries of the Sacramento are numerous, rising in the Sierras on each side of the valley amongst timber of huge size, and their waters, cooled by the snows of these Sierras, make a delicious beverage. Nor is there any lack of water power, the sites for mill seats being almost without number ... The principal of ... [the] rivers are the Rio de los Plumas, known among the Americans as Feather River, and the Rio de los Americanos, otherwise called the American Fork. The region washed by these streams have proved especially prolific in gold ... The Americans alone had taken up lands in this fine section of the country, and composed the sum total of actual settlers. No Californian [from Mexican origin] had ventured to take out papers for ranchos here on account of the danger from Indians.^[111]

109 Gennadius Library Diary A8, 33, 9 September 1865. "All around the town are now small farms and with difficulty I found in one of them the small old cemetery in which my poor brother was buried & which has been converted into a corn-field; still I found there the monument I erected to his memory in 1851 but it was broken and lying horizontally on the ground. At my request W. Bennet, the present undertaker, dug open the grave because I was anxious to carry the bones of my beloved brother to Petersburg, but what was my astonishment when I saw that I had not put the monument on the right grave, because the crane which Mr. Bennet dug out had beautiful teeth, whereas poor Louis had non, thus it could not belong to him. I therefore abandoned all hope to recover his mortal remains." See also Stoll 1958, 95. David Traill told me in a personal email that he had discovered in 1979 that Ludwig's headstone no longer existed and that the cemetery of that period is now built over.

110 Rehork 1987, 59: "Als 14-Jähriger hatte Schliemann den frühen Kapitalismus gleichsam von unten her kennen gelernt. Doch anstatt dagegen anzukämpfen, entschloss er sich zum Weg der Anpassung. Und er verstand es, die Mechanismen des Kapitalismus skrupellos zu nutzen, bis hin zur Beschwichtigung des eigenen Gewissens."

111 Revere 1849, 69-70.

Soon however Revere discovered that not the Indians were the greatest danger for the new inhabitants:

Most of my men, both whites and Indians, as well as myself, caught the ague and fever from this visit up the Sacramento valley, from which I infer that this meanest of all diseases may be apprehended wherever the tulé¹¹² lands border the river. The decomposition of the short-lived tulé upon these lands when they are overflowed, generates a miasma which produces that universal malady of new countries ... until the country becomes more settled, I should prefer to give the lands, which are periodically overflowed, as wide a berth as possible.^[113]

In the meantime the Swiss John Augustus Sutter Jr. (1826-1897) had started a business in everything a gold digger would require. Via his father who had been living there already some time, he acquired the rights to a large plot of land. He started with the planning and construction of Sacramento City. The climate however did not agree with him and he fell ill. Using his illness, some shrewd businessmen relieved him of his land and city without ever paying him for them.

The Gold fields

Before he started to make money, Schliemann toured the various gold fields to get himself acquainted with the possibilities. In 1848 when the Gold Rush had only just begun, Jesse Quinn Thornton (1810 – 1888) did the same. It was then much quieter than when Schliemann went there but we get a good impression of what was happening there:

The Gold Region of California, as far as our present information extends, lies principally in the valley of the Sacramento river, and the smaller valleys of its tributaries, the Gila, Feather river, and the American Fork, reaching about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and fifty from east to west ... The lower gold mine, or Mormon Diggings, is about twenty-five miles up the American Fork, from Sutter's Fort; and this latter is, by land, from 150 to 200 miles from the city of San Francisco. You can go by water, however, across the bay of San Francisco, and up the Sacramento, to within a few miles of Sutter's Fort [Sacramento City]^[114]

Once arrived in Mormon Diggings, the visitor was confronted by a strange scenery, where strange things happened:

The hill-sides [at Mormon Diggings] were thickly strewn with canvas tents and bush arbors; a store was erected, and several boarding shanties in operation. The day was intensely hot, yet about two hundred men were at work in the full glare of the sun, washing for gold – some with tin pans, some with close-woven Indian baskets, but the greater part had a rude machine, known as the cradle. This is on rockers, six or eight feet long, open at the foot, and at its head has a coarse grate,

112 Revere probably refers here to the Redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*.

113 Revere 1849, 162-163.

114 Thornton 1849, 269.

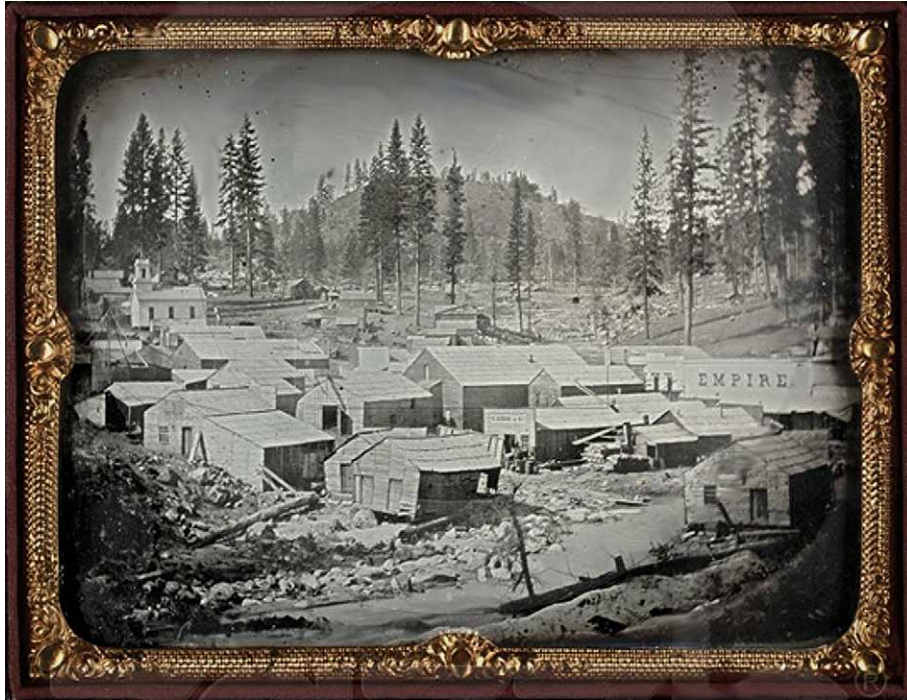


Figure 13: Nevada City 1852 – daguerreotype by Joseph Blaney

or sieve; the bottom is rounded, with small cleats nailed across. Four men are required to work this machine: one digs the ground in the bank close by the stream; another carries it to the cradle and empties it on the grate; a third gives a violent rocking motion to the machine; while a fourth dashes on water from the stream itself. The sieve keeps the coarse stones from entering the cradle, the current of water washes off the earthy matter, and the gravel is gradually carried out at the foot of the machine, leaving the gold mixed with a heavy, fine black sand above the first cleats. The sand and gold, mixed together, are then drawn off through auger holes into a pan below, are dried in the sun, and afterward separated by blowing of the sand. A party of four men thus employed at the lower mines averaged \$100 a day. The Indians, and those who have nothing but pans or willow baskets, gradually wash out the earth and separate the gravel by hand, leaving nothing but the gold mixed with sand, which is separated in the manner before described.^[115]

The volume of gold found over the years was breath-taking. In 1865 California had yielded already minimally \$ 750,000,000 worth of gold. That such a huge increase would influence the world economy should not surprise anybody. It is however difficult to determine how large this influence was. Production in the US increased and thus the volume of the product available on the world market. Many economists feared that this would bring along high inflation but this did

115 Thornton 1849, 271.

not occur.¹¹⁶ Inflation was limited to somewhere between 5 and 15%. Locally where there was a surplus of gold and a shortage of all kinds of other goods, there was indeed hyperinflation.¹¹⁷ In the end not the average miners became rich in this Gold Rush but the local shopkeepers and merchants. Thornton gives a clear example in his book:

I will mention a simple occurrence which took place in my presence when I was at Weber's store. This store was nothing but an arbor of bushes, under which he had exposed for sale goods and groceries suited to his customers. A man came in, picked up a box of Seidlitz powder,¹¹⁸ and asked the price. Capt. Weber told him it was not for sale. The man offered an ounce of gold, but Capt. Weber told him it only cost 50 cents, and he did not wish to sell it. The man then offered an ounce and a half, when Capt. Weber had to take it. The prices of all things are high, and yet Indians, who before hardly knew what a breech cloth was, can now afford to buy the most gaudy dresses.^{119]}

It must be clear to everybody that the pushing up of prices originated not only with the buyer but more often with the seller.

During the Gold Rush not only American and Europeans moved to California but also many Chinese. Schliemann writes remarkably favourable about this. The newspaper reports of this period paint a much more negative picture. To stem the influx of the Chinese, a Foreign Miners tax was introduced in California in 1852, thus more or less cutting off entry for poor Chinese migrants.¹²⁰

The Executive has official information that the Challenge brought over more than six hundred Chinamen, and that there are thirteen vessels up at Canton and British ports adjacent, for California, and that they will all be filled as soon as the Chinese holidays are over. It is estimated that the number about to sail, will amount to ten thousand souls.^{121]}

So many Chinese, that would surely constitute a direct threat to the interests of the Americans working here. It is about time that something is done about it. On 29 April 1852 a group of miners working on the Yuba River near Foster's and Atchinsons Bar got together in the El Dorado Hotel to discuss the Chinamen problem:

116 Meyer 1953, 75-76. Schliemann 23. Nov. 1855 "Vor 5 Jahren ... bloß auf den Aufruhr von Californien hin, fürchtete die Bank von Holland eine Entwerthung von Gold u. verkaufte Alles was sie davon hatte, ca. 100/Millionen Gulden, und nahm darauf mehre Jahre hindurch Gold nur mit Disconto an; – jetzt aber bereuet sie sehr ihre Übereilung, u. Gold hat wieder seinen vollen Werth in der Bank der Niederlanden ..."

117 Cutter 1948, 16.

118 a laxative.

119 Thornton 1849, 274.

120 Pfaelzer 2007, 31.

121 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 24 April 1852.

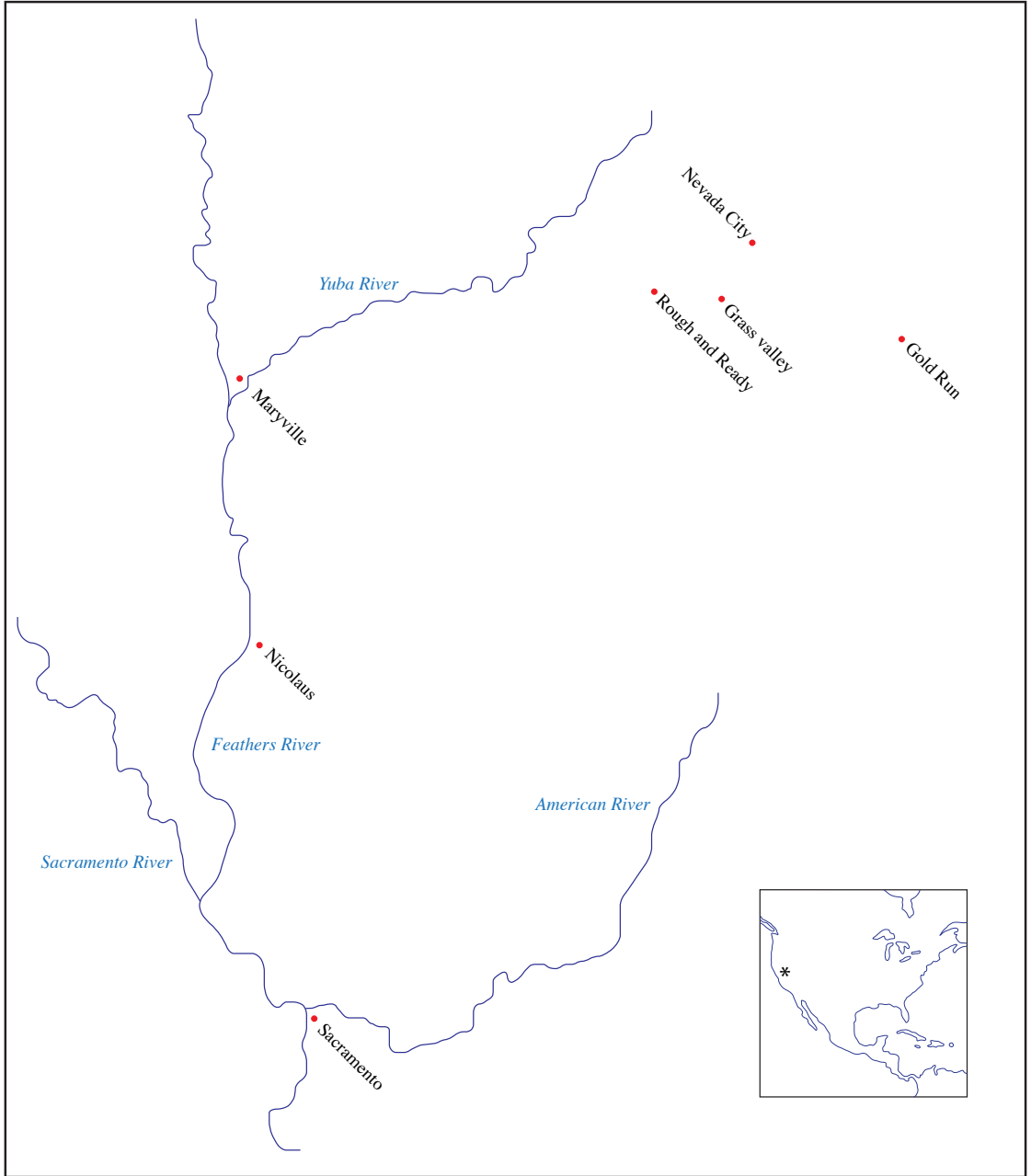


Figure 14: Schliemann's trip to the goldfields

Messrs. Gardiner, McCarty, Sims, Ham and others stated to the meeting the grievances which American labored under on Atchinson's Bar, owing to the conduct of the Chinese in removing the stakes that mark the lines of the different claims; filling up the drains, and the frequent collisions, between the parties, resulting from the above causes.



Figure 15: White and Chinese Miners 1852 – daguerreotype by Joseph Blaney

Mr. J.A. Tilton addressed the meeting, strongly advocating the necessity of having the “coolies” expelled forthwith from the mines. His remarks met with a cordial response from every one present.

Thomas M. Coombs, Esq., then read the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted without a dissenting voice:

Whereas, large numbers of foreigners, and Chinese especially, are overrunning and now occupying a large portion of the mining lands in this vicinity, to the injury and disadvantage of American citizens; and, whereas we hold that the mineral lands of California should belong to and be held solely by American citizens, therefore -

Resolved, That, after the first day of May next, no Chinaman shall be allowed to hold any mining claim on Foster’s and Atchison’s Bars.^[122]

Now these Chinese, as anybody would know who regularly read the papers, were no ordinary migrants. They were villains and murderers. People that one should beware of:

122 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 3 May 1852.

Disturbance on Board of a Chinese Emigrant Vessel – Attempt at Mutiny.

The Chinese emigrants on board the British ship Sultan, which arrived yesterday, from Hongkong, made an attempt to murder the crew and take the vessel. Our ship news reporter gathered these facts:

On the 29th of June, a Portuguese boy, who understands and speaks the Chinese language, informed the officers of the ship, that he had overheard some of the emigrants conversing in a mutinous manner, and forming plans to murder the captain and crew, and take possession of the ship – believing that the freight and passage money was on board. They had decided, in one of their meetings, to give the crew brandy mixed with opium, and then seize and murder them.^[123]

Of course, the noble English captain prevented these wicked plans so that nothing happened, but it did show again how unreliable the Chinese were. This and similar articles led in the end to Congress passing the Chinese Exclusion Act in response to the depression of 1882. From now on no new Chinese would be allowed into the US. Only in 1943 was this law repealed.

The Banking House of Henry Schliemann

Against this background, Schliemann placed his first advertisement in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of 18 May 1851:

\$20,000 TO LOAN, in large or small sums, against undoubted security.
Apply between the hours of 10 AM, and 12 M, to

HENRY SCHLIEMANN
In Gillespie's Doric Row, on M at.^[124]

According to his journal, Schliemann only began to do banking business in early June,¹²⁵ but according to this advertisement he was then already involved in lending money.

To finance its fast development, Sacramento City had to get money from somewhere. It seems that the city council could not always agree on how best to attract this much needed money:

City Scrip to be again Issued.

It is an old axiom that "perseverance accomplishes wonders," and this trite maxim is truthfully exemplified in the action of the Council on Monday evening. Two or three month ago a resolution was adopted by that body prohibiting the farther issue of city scrip, it being universally conceded that the city government had involved Sacramento in an indebtedness far exceeding that contemplated or granted by the City Charter. Soon after the adoption of the resolution an ordinance was adopted by which the Council were enabled to issue just as many bonds as they pleased, to

123 *Daily Alta California*, 2 August 1852.

124 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 1 May 1851. I have not been able to find the advertisement which Ludwig used as illustration opposite page 92.

125 Weber 1942, 65. A2 diary [55]

whomsoever they pleased, and of whatever denomination they pleased, without the consent of Mr. Mayor or Mr. anybody else. They only difference being, that bonds were the substitute for scrip, and whilst the latter could not bear interest the former could and did.

Four ineffectual efforts have been made in the Council, at various times, to repeal the resolution prohibiting the farther issue of scrip, but without success. Last evening, however, the resolution for rescinding prevailed, and the bars being down, the Council can now order as many issues as they please, not having the fear of a repealed Charter before their eyes.

The fact of it is, there are some claims the indebtedness of which should at least be acknowledged, even if there is an inability to pay them, and we can see but little difference, in the end, if the city refuses to issue scrip and continues to give bonds bearing interest.^[126]

It is clear that the city needs money, either way. How guaranteed bonds were in Sacramento cannot really be deduced from this newspaper article. The impression is given that the city was forced in the first instance to convert its interest-free pieces into interest-bearing pieces. Not a sign that investors had much faith in them. As investor one can wonder why the city wants to get rid of paying interest. Can they no longer come up with the money, or has the supply of money eased so much? The newspaper wonders whether the re-introduction of scrip will work, but Schliemann can see the point of it. He again places an advertisement in the paper on 23 July 1851:

City Scrip – \$6.000 City Scrip Wanted by

HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

In Lady Adams Hotel. on K street, between Front and 2d streets.^[127]

Whether he deals in money and bonds as well as gold dust cannot be deduced from the advertisements. Only on 11 September 1851 does he state for the first time in the newspaper that he is interested in it:

BANKING HOUSE of Henry Schliemann,
in the Brick building, corner of Front and J streets.
IMPORTANT to Traders and Miners,
3000 OUNCES fine clean Gold Dust wanted immediately
at \$17 per ounce, either in exchange for Gold Coin,
or for Drafts AT BAR on San Francisco, or for Drafts of
D. Davidson, house of Rothschild, at San Francisco,
on the United States and Europe.
Bank of HENRY SCHLIEMANN,
In the Brick Building, corner of Front and J.
Sacramento City, Sept, 10, 1851.¹²⁸

126 *Sacramento Transcript*, 2 April 1851.

127 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 23 July 1851.

128 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 11 September 1851.

This is the first time that the name D. Davidson turns up. It is clear that Schliemann knows that Davidson is connected to the House of Rothschild but he has the initial wrong. The man is called B. Davidson¹²⁹ and together with Julius May forms a partnership.¹³⁰ In the next paragraph I will go into more detail about this bank and its connection with Schliemann.

Business is going well and Schliemann engages two clerks, A.K. Grim who hails from Cleveland, Ohio, originally and Miguel de Satrustegui who comes from San Sebastian in Spain. Now both his English speaking and his Spanish speaking customers can be addressed in their own language.

Some time later, when he engages “Dr. Saynisch ... reputed to be the greatest geologist of modern times”, who according to Schliemann is not very useful to him, he shows that he is susceptible to scientific fame. The Dr. Saynisch Schliemann mentions is Dr. Lewis Saynisch. Whether he ever published anything on geology I have not been able to discover. And I have also not been able to find books by him on any other subjects. As far as I have been able to ascertain Saynisch dealt with the whole of nature, as was the custom in those days, and geology was not more than a part of his work. The Duke of Newwied who Schliemann mentions is Maximilian Prinz zu Wied (1782-1867). He travelled through the US from 1832 to 1834 and published an extensive report on his findings. In this particular book, Schliemann’s not very useful employee is mentioned:

Herr Dr. Saynisch bewohnte mit mir dasselbe Haus und ich hatte bedeutenden Nutzen von seiner Kenntnisse des Landes. Mit dem lebhaftesten Dankgeföhle muss ich der Güte gedenken, mit welcher er uns bei unseren naturhistorischen Beschäftigungen unterstützt.¹³¹

Herr Dr. Saynisch hämmerte schöne Stücke von Saussurit und Talk mit Glimmer ab, doch bald trat eine Thonschiefer-Formation ein, und wir waren erfreut, gute Proben der vorhergehenden mitgenommen zu haben.^[132]

Schliemann’s business was flourishing but at least one of his Russian friends is worried about him. Ponomarev writes him a letter on 4 / 16 September 1851. Business in Russia is going well and also the friends cannot complain. Ponomarev has fallen in love with a woman also called Catarina but the worshipped lady did not like him yet, but not to despair. With patience the elephant conquers the fly as a Russian saying goes. But Ponomarev does worry about his friend Aleksandr Nikolaevič:

Do you want to hear my opinion about your stay in California? Here it is: I would advise you to leave it as soon as possible. What can force you to live there? The thirst for acquisition? But you have so much [money], that you, with your

129 Jones 1949, 10 “Mr. Davidson, the ex-consul in Sardinia, whom he had known in Italy”. Holden 1995, 9 “... [Schliemann] was pleased to find ... Mr. B. Davidson, whom he had met in Italy.” At that point in his life Schliemann had not yet been to Italy. See Mühlembrich 2010².

130 San Francisco Directory 1860 – Davidson Benj[amin] (Julius May) bankers, and consul of Sardinia. NW cor. Montgomery and Commercial, dwl S & Suttor nr. Powell.

131 Wied 1839, 52.

132 Wied 1839, 69.

abilities, with your zeal, can settle anywhere and live well. Let's take for a moment that you become the victim of a disease, of typhoid fever for example, it is good if you survive it, but to heal such means are necessary that you which will suffer from them for the rest of your life. I'm telling you as a friend, let California be, God be with it and its gold. Richer than any one in the world you will nevertheless not become and in material wealth you can live both in Europe as well as here in the Russia.^[133]

The climate in Sacramento in summer suited Schliemann very well but in the autumn the dangerous side of this territory surfaced. Ponomarev's fear is confirmed, Schliemann falls ill. He has a very high fever from 4 October until 1 November. What he contracted exactly is not clear.¹³⁴ It is possible that this was called typhoid, as it was with his brother. In many a death announcement of this period this is given as cause of death. Besides almost as often the term 'brain fever' is mentioned. What this is exactly is not clear. Schliemann tells us that his doctor has given him Quinine and Calomel. Quinine has a strong effect on bringing the fever down and would certainly have contributed positively to Schliemann's recuperation. Calomel is however questionable. This is Mercury chloride (Hg₂Cl₂) and depending on the dosage moderately to very poisonous. Small dosages make you throw up and in those days it was assumed that thus all impurities that caused the person to be ill would leave the body. However, when the dosage was higher, the patient did not only throw up but also lost his hair and teeth, and in a worse case his life. The medication used at this time was often more dangerous than the disease.

On 18 November 1851 an advertisement by Schliemann appears which shows that his business has expanded and that he entered into association with Davidson:

BANKING HOUSE of Henry Schliemann & Co,
Agent of B. DAVIDSON, House of Rothschild,
at San Francisco.
EXCHANGE AT SIGHT ON
A. Belmont, Agent of RothschildNew York
A. Lanfear & Co. Agents of RothschildNew Orleans
N. M. Rothschild & SonsLondon
De Rothschild BrothersParis
L. Behrens & SonsHamburg
M.A. de Rothschild & SonsFrankfort
HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO'S Bank
In the Brick Building, corner of Front and J sts.
Sacramento City, Sept. 10. 1851 ^[135]

133 Gennadius Library Box, No 449/1440. Originally written in Russian. I would like to thank prof. dr. Armin Jähne for the translation of this letter.

134 Stoll 1958, 109. "Aus Schliemanns Angaben über seine Krankheit ein klares Bild zu gewinnen ist nicht leicht möglich. Es könnte sich um ein tropisches Fieber oder um eine Darminfektion gehandelt haben, und die gelben Flecken können eine begleitende Pilzinfektion der Haut gewesen sein. Gelbfieber macht keine gelben Flecken, sondern eher eine Gelbsucht."

135 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 18 November 1851.

Gold dust is not mentioned in this advertisement and thus the idea is created that Schliemann's agency for Davidson only concerned bonds of the various Rothschild houses. It seems that Schliemann made a distinction in the agency for Davidson and his other affairs. From now on, two advertisements are published always one above the other. Standard is the above-mentioned advertisement and in addition, without Davidson's name, advertisements concerning money and gold dust:

AMERICAN COIN.

*11-2 PER CENT PREMIUM paid for American coin
by HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO
Bankers, corner of J and Front streets*

CITY BONDS *bought and sold by
HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO.
Bankers, corner of J and Front streets*

1 Per Cent Premium *paid for silver dollars by
HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO.
Bankers, corner of J and Front streets*^[136]

or

AMERICAN COIN.

\$50,000 Gold Dust Wanted
*immediately, at the highest prices
in Exchange for American coin. at the
Bank of HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO.
In the Brick Building, corner of Front and J.
Sacramento City, Sept. 10. 1851*^[137]

Figure 16: Sacramento Daily Union, 13 December 1851

In total Schliemann placed 93 times an advertisement with his own name or as Schliemann and Co between 1 May 1851 and 8 April 1852, and another 72 times as agent of Davidson.

Who the Co. was in Schliemann's firm was unfortunately never mentioned in any of the advertisements. And he does not appear in any other sources as far as I have been able to ascertain.

Whether he did not fully recover last time or whether he again became infected by something is unknown. But according to himself, he had another fever attack on 4 January. This time it is so serious that he has to go to a healthier climate. He moves to San José to recover. Who exactly Dr. Davini is I have not been able

136 Sacramento Daily Union, 1 December 1851

137 Sacramento Daily Union, 13 December 1851.

to find out.¹³⁸ He probably had a private hospital as many doctors did in San Francisco and Sacramento. This is not certain as, contrary to many other doctors, he did not place any advertisements to get new patients.

Once Schliemann felt well enough to return to work, he first visited the New Almaden Quicksilver mine:

This mine has been known for ages by the Indians, who worked it for the vermilion paint that it contained ... In 1845 a captain of cavalry in the Mexican service, named Castellero, having met a tribe of Indians near Bodega, and seeing their faces painted with vermilion, obtained from them, for a reward, the necessary information of its locality, when he visited it, and having made many very interesting experiments, and determined the character of the metal, he registered it in accordance with the Mexican custom, about the close of that year ... In 1850, a tunnel was commenced in the side of the mountain, in a line with the patio, and which has already been carried to the distance of one thousand one hundred feet by ten feet wide, and ten feet high to the crown of the arch, which is strongly roofed with heavy timber throughout its whole length. Through this the rail-track passes; the car receiving the ore as it is brought on the backs of the carriers (tenateros) from the depths below, or from the heights above ... We were shown a map giving the subterranean topography of this mine; and truly, the crossings and recrossings, the windings and intricacies of the labyrinthine passages, could only be compared to the streets of a dense city, while nothing short of the clue furnished Theseus by Ariadne, would insure the safe return, into day, of the unfortunate pilgrim who should enter without a guide ... These men work in companies, one set by night, another by day, alternating week about. We inquired the average duration of life of the men who work under ground, and found that it did not exceed that of forty-five years, and the diseases to which they are mostly subject are those of the chest; showing conclusively how essential light and air are to animal, as well as vegetable life ... The price of the ore is settled by agreement for each week. Should the passage be more than commonly laborious, they do not earn much; or if, on the contrary, it proves to be easy and of great richness, the gain is theirs; it being not infrequent for them to make from thirty to forty dollars a week a-piece, and seldom less than fifteen.^[139]

Although all the advertisements he places give the impression that business is doing well, it seems that Schliemann found Sacramento no longer to his liking. According to his journal he felt homesick for St Petersburg, the place where all his desires come together.

Schliemann writes a letter to his sisters in Mecklenburg on 31 January in which he tells them that he wants to return to Europe in May. He does not mention St. Petersburg and his longing for the city in this letter.¹⁴⁰ As Schliemann was convinced that upon arrival in New York he had swapped his Russian citizenship for an American one, he thought that he could not return to Russia. It seems that

138 It probably concerns here Domingo Davini. He posted a request for naturalization in Santa Clara County on 26 February 1853. With my thanks to the San José Public Library.

139 Hutchings 1862², 88-96.

140 Pers. comm. dr. W. Bölke.

also Ponomarev knew about this. On 28 March / 9 April¹⁴¹ 1852 he writes from St Petersburg to his friend Aleksandr Nikolaevič in Sacramento:

My dear Mr Aleksandr Nikolaevič,

I have received your last letter of 22 January and I'm sorry to hear that you have a fever. I have written you before that the climate in California is harmful and I advised you to leave that country, the more so that you can vivre à votre aise. You can return to Russia whenever is convenient for you and nothing will happen to you – I have enquired about this with somebody in the know. He was the head of the office of the Third Department.¹⁴² I am delighted to hear that your businesses are doing well but as your friend I would advise you to return to Europe. I will send you a few Russian newspapers in the next few weeks. And I hope that fate will make a reunion in Petersburg possible.

I remain as always,

Your IP^[143]

Where Sacramento City owes its origin and growth to the Sacramento River, this same river has also always been a threat to the city. On 8 March 1852 it struck again:

Sunday, 12 M.

A calamity which threatens to be as disastrous as that which was visited upon this city in January 1850, is again renewed, and as we write we fear that the ravages of the liquid element will prove even more destructive than during that "reign of terror."

At 1 o'clock this morning, the alarm bell aroused our citizens from their slumbers, and the streets were soon filled with men rushing to the scene of disaster, which proved to be the Levee, near the mouth of the American river. The embankment at the sluice gate had caved in, and the waters were slowly oozing through the porous soil, of which the Levee is composed. The immediate cause of this rupture is attributable to the sudden rise of the American river, the waters of which were rushing with tremendous force against the Levee at this point.

The Mayor, Chief Engineer McDowell, Marshal White and other prominent citizens were almost instantly on the ground, and assisted by others, immediately endeavoured to stop the breach. Timber, hay, bags of barley, and dirt in immense quantities were thrown into the gap, but all without avail. In spite of their utmost efforts, however, the stream steadily increased in volume until it loosened the earth upon which the timber of the sluice gate rested.

141 Ponomarev in St. Petersburg used the Julian calendar and Schliemann in Sacramento used the Gregorian calendar.

142 The Third Department was part of the Czarist Chancellery and dealt with the surveillance of political opponents and foreigners living in Russia. Tret'e otdelenie (3. Afseling) in: *Sovetskaja Istoriceskaja Enzyklopedija* Part 14 Moskva 1973, col. 393f.

143 Gennadius Library Box 7, 448 – 2338/6967. Ponomarev's letters are written in Russian. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Armin Jähne for translating these letters. "Ponomarev schreibt in einem Zug, von einem Wort ins andere übergehend. Interpunktionszeichen sind höchst selten. Es liest sich besonders schwer."

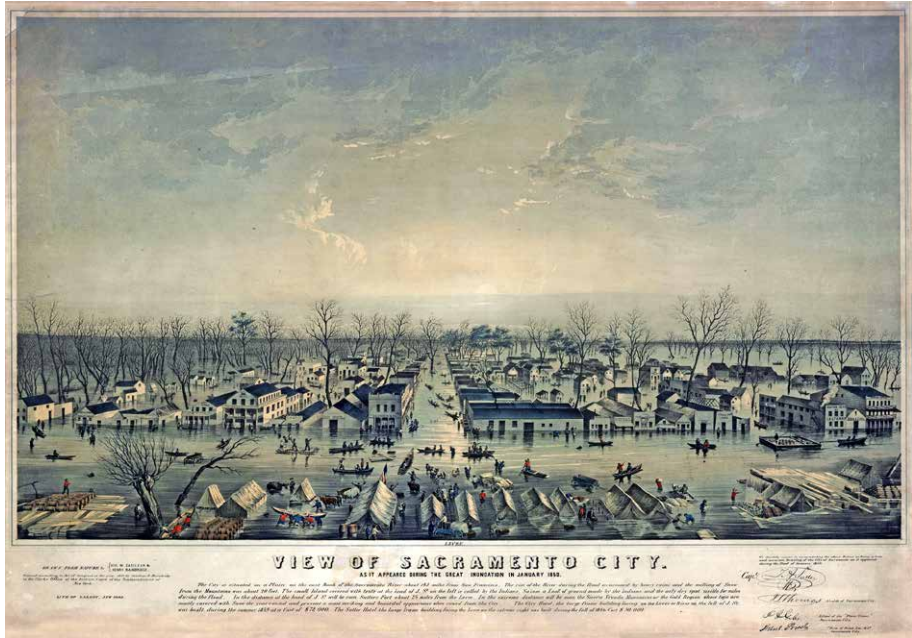


Figure 17: View of Sacramento City during the Great Inundation of 1850, drawing by G.W. Casilear & H. Bainbridge

This occurred at 2 o'clock, and directly after the waters hurled all their strength against the bridge, which was instantly swept into the slough. The storehouse of Mr. Brooks, which stood near the bridge on the Levee, was next borne off, and then the rush of water from the Sacramento through the crevasse was terrific. Trees, scows, boats, tents, all were engulfed and carried down the current in one solid mass, until they reached the bridge which connected the foot of Third street with the peninsula between the Slough and the American river. The force of the shock was so great that the bridge was snapped like a pipe stem, thus cutting off all communication between the two points. There were many inhabitants dwelling upon this strip of land, and boats were dispatched to their relief ...

About 4 o'clock the water in the slough had risen to the level of I street, and commenced running up 2d street towards J street. A proclamation was issued by the Mayor calling upon the citizens to assemble and throw up a temporary embankment along I street at the foot of 2d street. The overflow was soon checked at this point, but the water found another outlet near the foot of 7th street, and I street in this vicinity was soon under water ...

Sunday, 6 P.M.

The city is almost wholly submerged. All the avenues south of J street, and east of Third, are entirely under water, and present to the spectator one unbroken sea, with the blocks rising like islands from the water ... Of course the entire city is alive with excitement. Occupants of dwellings, and all having property and merchandise are busily engaged in removing their goods and furniture into higher

apartments, or transporting them to the abodes of their more fortunate neighbours. The water stands several inches deep in nearly all the stores on K street, but the great thoroughfares, J street below Sixth and Front street have up to this time escaped. The dwellings on the outskirts of town are mostly deserted, and the late tenants have taken refuge on the hulks in the harbour or with their acquaintances.

Carpenters are manufacturing boats with inconceivable rapidity, but the demand is increasing so fast that they are unable to fulfil one half their orders ...^[144]

Whether due to the floods or to something else, on 16 March Schliemann again got a fever. In the next paragraph we will see that Traill thinks that this fever attack never occurred, but for the time being I will keep to Schliemann's own notes. He again goes to the milder climate in San José to recover. When he felt better again he decided that he had had enough. He went to San Francisco and sold his bank to Davidson. The affairs were wound up in no time and on 8 April 1852 the two men put an advertisement in the *Sacramento Daily Union*:

Notice – *The Banking business hitherto carried on in Sacramento City by HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO. is this day transferred to, and will henceforth be carried on by, B. DAVIDSON, of San Francisco, to whom all the deposits have been delivered.*

HENRY SCHLIEMANN & CO

With reference to the above advertisement, B. DAVIDSON begs to notify that he will respond for all such deposits as have been transferred to him by Messrs. Schliemann & Co

*B. DAVIDSON
Sacramento, April 7, 1852*

Notice – *The Banking business hitherto carried on by Henry Schliemann & Co., will in future be conducted by Messrs. GRIM & SATRUSTEGUI, who are authorized to act as Agents for B. DAVIDSON, of San Francisco, for the purchase of Gold Dust. Drafts at par on San Francisco. No deposits taken*

*B. DAVIDSON
Sacramento, April 8, 1852^[145]*

144 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 8 March 1852.

145 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 8 April 1852.

With this take-over Schliemann's business changed character. It is now no longer a bank but only a purchasing office for gold dust for Davidson. The above advertisement was placed on three consecutive days in the same paper and thus the take-over was complete.

The *Sacramento Daily Union* itself also paid some attention to it:

BANKING FIRM. – Davidson's Banking House in this city, we perceive is to be conducted in future by Messrs. Grim & Satrustegui, in place of Mr. Schliemann, who has been called to Europe to attend to some family matters of importance to him. We are certainly pleased to see Mr. Grim occupying a position so worthy of his steady habits and competency as an accountant. His star is certainly in the ascendant, and we wish him the most abundant success.^[146]

That it now becomes Davidson's Bank is clearly seen in a letter that Moris A. Cohen wrote to Schliemann on 15 June 1852:

In Sacramento things goes on pretty much the same as when you left. No great changes, thank God no fires yet. Davisons [sic] Banking House goes on smoothly, under the management of your young friends Messrs. Grim & Satrustegui, but I do not think their purchases of gold dust are as large as it was during your time ... [A] new Banking House has been opened in the adjoining building ... The establishment opens at 8 o'clock a.m. & closes at 5 o'clock p.m. I am fully aware if you were here that such hours would not suit you. Your policy was to work while the sun shined.^[147]

The fact that Schliemann's bank only existed for two years seems in our eyes a very short time but this was nothing special for California in those days. In 1850 ten banks opened in San Francisco, among which B. Davidson & Co. In 1851 four out of these ten had closed again. Subsequently another one closed in 1852, one in 1854, two in 1855 and again one in 1856. After this year only B. Davidson & Co was still operating.¹⁴⁸

Also the bank of Grim & Satrustegui did not survive for long. In a letter of 13 October 1852 Grim keeps Schliemann informed of the developments in Sacramento:

And now [I] take this opportunity of tendering you my sincere thanks for your kind offer when the "black day" comes which I hope will never be my doom to see.

Mr. Satrustegui and myself have departed some month since. He is now in Sonnora in the office where his brother were to be and his bro. has gone to South California on sure speculation. I am now connected with a gentleman by the name of Frs. Rumler (a German) who is a splendid businessman and a gentleman in every sense of the word. Our firm now reads Grim & Rimmley. Since the change we are

146 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 8 April 1852.

147 Gennadius Library 81 (a-b) – 468, 7022-7024.

148 Armstrong 1916, 51.

doing much larger business as we perfectly agree upon every point. We have made a decided change in our office. [We] have evicted a large vault¹⁴⁹ and encircled our counter which gives us much more room for business

P.B. & Co's business has considerably fallen away and many of their customers are now doing business with us. And several of the banking houses are closing up.^{150]}

The notice of this change had appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union* on 23 and 24 July 1852:

COPARTNERSHIP – *The undersigned have this day formed a copartnership under the style of GRIM & RUMLER, as agents for B. DAVIDSON, San Francisco, for the transaction of a general banking business.*

*A.K. GRIM
FRANCIS RUMLER
Sacramento City, July 22, 1852^{151]}*

And thus the transaction is completed and Schliemann's bank functions again as a bank.¹⁵²

Schliemann – Davidson

As I have shown in the previous paragraph, based on the advertisements, the image is created that around 10 September 1851 Schliemann was given the agency of B. Davidson of San Francisco to deal in his name in bonds of the various Rothschild firms. It is difficult to determine how the affairs of Davidson were organized. According to one of the advertisements that he placed he and his partner Julius May are dealing in anything and everything. And it is also possible to have things forwarded via them.¹⁵³

Apart from the advertisements by the partnership, there are also advertisements by B. Davidson in which he, as said, as agent of Rothschild offers for sale bonds on the various Rothschild houses. He did not place any advertisements as bank and as far as I could ascertain, he did not offer to purchase gold dust via the papers. It is however clear that as bank he did deal in gold dust.

On 25 March the *Daily Alta California* publishes an article about a gold digger who asked his colleague to deliver some gold dust form him to the bank of B. Davidson:

149 See Weber 1942, 66. A2 diary [54]

150 Gennadius Library 127 (a-b) – 492, 7089-7091.

151 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 23 July 1852.

152 In the end this partnership did not prove to be a success. Gennadius Library Dairy A8, 34, 10 September 1865 "My former clerk A.K. Grim is partner to B.F. Hastings & Co. in Virginia City Nevada State, he is said to gamble and to be too fond of the fair sex although he is married and has many children."

153 See for instance *Daily Alta California*, 19 September 1851.

On the thirteenth of the present month a man named Arthur W. Gee, who was at work mining at the Buttes, on the Mokelumne River, entrusted to a man named William Sylverberg, who had been working with him and was coming down to San Francisco, two bags of gold dust, one containing fifteen hundred and sixty-eight, and the other eleven hundred and nine dollars. These he requested Sylverberg to deposit for him at the banking-house of B. Davidson. Sylverberg came down, but probably being troubled with a bad memory, or suddenly "taken with a leaving," he left this port in the last steamer, on his way home, taking Gee's money with him. Mr. Gee made a statement of the above facts to the City Marshal yesterday.^[154]

How this matter was resolved, whether Sylverberg was ever apprehended and Gee received his gold back I have not been able to discover. Neither the *Daily Alta California* nor the *Sacramento Transcript* or the *Sacramento Daily Union* wrote ever again about this story.

This is the first reference to the bank of Davidson and his trade in gold dust that I have been able to find. How large his trade in gold dust was, or whether he only stored the gold dust at the time is not clear. Only on 5 December does his name appear for the first time in the "Treasure" Export list in the *Daily Alta California*. By then he is one of the larger gold dust exporters in the medium-sized business segment.¹⁵⁵ Thereafter his name keeps appearing on this list week after week as a top medium-sized firm.

Davidson was involved in a lawsuit three times in 1851. I have not been able to find the verdict of the first case, he lost the second one and won the third. What these cases were about is not totally clear.¹⁵⁶

There appeared a very curious story in the paper on 14 April 1851 which is rather difficult to interpret:

Theft. – Two Frenchmen went into the banking house of B. Davidson yesterday, for the purpose of weighing some gold which they had in two paper packages. As they were weighing one of them the other was laid upon the end of the counter. The one they were weighing not containing as much as they wished, they stepped to get the other one, when they found it had been spirited away. There were in the office at the time besides the two, Three Frenchmen and one American. The package contained a little over three hundred dollars.^[157]

Just as with the theft mentioned earlier, with this disappearance we again cannot find out from the papers what really happened or whether the culprit was ever apprehended.

It is not clear when exactly the connection was established between Schliemann and Davidson. The first letter of Schliemann to Davidson that we know of nowadays dates from 19 October 1851. From that moment he very regularly sends a letter to Davidson with an account of his activities. He bought the gold with coins that

154 *Daily Alta California*, 25 March 1851.

155 *Daily Alta California*, 5 December 1851.

156 *Daily Alta California*, *Daily Alta California*, 11 March 1851, B. Davidson vs. C. Rumpfelt, 28 March 1851, B. Davidson vs. Charles Quilfelt. *Daily Alta California*, 27 August 1851, B. Davidson vs. Bark Timandra.

157 *Sacramento Transcript*, 14 April 1851.

were sent daily by Davidson. In the evenings Schliemann would send part of the gold dust that he had bought that day to Davidson. In total Schliemann sent about \$1,350,000¹⁵⁸ worth of gold dust to Davidson.¹⁵⁹ In addition Schliemann deals in gold dust with The Baring Brothers & Co. of London. In Schliemann's archive 16 letters have been preserved from this period from this firm to Schliemann. All letters concern gold dust sent by Schliemann to London:

We observe that you intended to ship to our consignment on the 1st instant 1000 oz Finest California Gold Dust in [the] value about £ 4000 to come forward per Steamer via Panama ...^[160]

We have further received your favor of the 18th March covering duplicate Bill of Lading for the parcel of Gold Dust per "California" which has safely reached us ...^[161]

He also sent bills of exchange drawn on Rothschild to The Baring Brothers which they subsequently cashed with Rothschild in London. It is made clear from these letters that Schliemann did not have an exclusive contract with Davidson or with N.M. Rothschild & Sons.

As we saw earlier in the letter of Moris A. Cohen, Schliemann made long hours every day. It was a tough existence if we can believe Schliemann's words of 2 November 1851:

... I had a very hard time here during the last week and never a negro slave worked harder than I did.

But that is all nothing to the danger of sleeping the night alone with so immense accounts of gold in cash. I always spend the night in a feverish horror and loaded pistols in both hands. The noise of a mouse or a rat struck me with terror; – I could eat only once a day viz: at 6¹/₂ at night, and other wants of nature I was forced to forget entirely. In one word: it was most awful time, but now thanks to Heaven my sufferings are nearly passed, for the clerk I engaged her [sic] at \$250 pr.mth. comes to-morrow. When ... all [is] in the old order, I shall go for a day to Nevada to see what our prospects are at that place ...^[162]

According to his journal, Schliemann had a fever from 4 until 20 November. Whether the fever was really as high as he claims cannot be ascertained. He must have felt well enough to work though. It is however possible that his above remark "[when] all [is] in the old order" refers to his illness.

From the sources available so far we get the impression that a difference of opinion arose between Schliemann and Davidson around 7 November 1851. In the letter of that day Schliemann points out to Davidson that he is an honest businessman:

158 Traill, 1978, 352.

159 Traill, 1978, 352.

160 Gennadius Library 17 (a-c) – 446, 6958-6960.

161 Gennadius Library 24 (a) – 456, 6989.

162 Meyer 1953, 50.

We never ask anything except what is fair and right and must request you to book the above in conformity^[163]

The second fever attack of 4 January 1852, which forced Schliemann to go to San José to recuperate, is mentioned in a letter of 13 January from Grim to Davidson.¹⁶⁴

Also his old friend from Amsterdam¹⁶⁵, G. Janssen who then lived in Vermont, knows about it. He is even convinced that Schliemann will shortly leave California:

Your kind letter of 31st Jan. reached me in due course & I would have replied to it sooner if I had not indulged the hope of seeing you here by this time ... From your above letter I am truly concerned to observe your labor under melancholy feelings in regard to your health. I hope you have recovered since. I almost infer it from your prolonged stay in Sacramento. It is quite natural [that] a periodical depression of mind and body should attend your continuously always lonely money making pursuits. I trust, however, Vermont will cure you easily enough, and I shall be happy to find the remedy for you in the shape of a charming beauty which I will point out to you in my own house. So, you better stop ... release your property and come over at once.^[166]

Schliemann does not accept Janssen's proposal, he does not travel to Vermont to have a rest. It even seems that Schliemann was already back in Sacramento on 17 and not on 21 January as he writes in his journal. From that date his signature appears again on the daily letters.

The floods that struck Sacramento on 8 March 1852, and which probably made Schliemann ill, were not only a disaster for the city. They could have large consequences for Schliemann's bank. In order to mine gold a lot of water is required. Where there is a lot of water much gold can therefore be mined, and when a lot of gold is offered for sale, the price will fall. Schliemann warns Davidson for this danger on 2 March 1852:

... As soon as the river fall and the waters in the valley abate so as to render the roads passable, we shall have an inundation of another nature, which will prove a million times more beneficial to our infant State in general and this city in particular, than the present calamity is fatal. – We shall be inundated with gold and it is here the general opinion that its value will fall to \$16 p. Pd. Whatever may be the amount in bankers' hands, it will not be sufficient to buy $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gold which is being offered and there being then no reasons to keep the price at rates which are real in our 20.000 miles off home but fictions for this strange far west country, the value is bound to come down to its old standard of 1846 ...^[167]

163 Meyer 1953, 309.

164 Traill 1978, 352.

165 Gennadius Library 465 (b-c) – 454, 6982-6985. “From Europe I have good news, but I don't know much of our old Amsterdam people, another generation has sprung up since, alth[ough] nothing different from the old one we saw 6 or 7 years ago.”

166 Gennadius Library 465 (b-c) – 454, 6982-6985.

167 Meyer 1953, 50-51.

Schliemann suffered a third fever attack from 17 March to 4 April and he again travels to San José to recover. As we have seen, the limit had now been reached and he decides to sell his bank to Davidson. According to Traill this third fever attack never occurred, and Schliemann invented it to disguise the real reason for his departure. In his assumptions Traill thinks that Schliemann's travel journal was written for third parties. Third parties for whom Schliemann wanted to hide the full facts of his departure from California. Traill thinks that this was necessary as Schliemann was continuously cheating Davidson.

It is clear that the relationship between Schliemann and Davidson had considerably cooled at that time. It looks as if Schliemann's remark of 7 November 1851 did not really influence Davidson. On 17 March 1852 Schliemann sends the gold for Davidson via Adam and Co instead of via Gregory Express. By the looks of it Davidson was much put out by that, as in his letter of 19 March Schliemann explains extensively why he felt obliged to also give some of his business to Adam and Co. And he promises Davidson not to do this again in future. The air had not been cleared though. It seems that Davidson accused Schliemann in his letter of 19 March of sending him not enough gold. At least that is the impression one gets when in Schliemann's letter of 20 March he suggests that Davidson did not sufficiently empty the sacks.

Around 20 March there are problems again between Davidson and Schliemann. The former seems to be of the opinion that Schliemann delivers purer gold dust to his competitors in San Francisco. It looks as if he complains about it. It seems, if we can believe Schliemann's remark of 20 March that Davidson does not really dare to overtly formulate his complaint:

By your remarks you seem to imply having received from another banker of this city the information as to our being in the habit either of selling the flower and bulk of our purchases here or of shipping the same to one of your competitors in San Francisco, which accusations we reject with scorn and indignation as a foul, mean and absurd calumny of desperate foes.^[168]

There also seem to be problems about the amounts of money that Schliemann charges. Davidson seems to have the feeling that he is paying too much. Schliemann however points out that he does not charge him anything but the market price:

By looking on our accounts from August last to the present day you will see that you regularly got it [quicksilver gold] invoiced at the market prices.^[169]

And again Davidson seems to think that Schliemann sends him less gold than he states. In a letter of 24 March Schliemann points out that he does not understand how this is possible:

We cannot conceive how our remittances could fall short in weight as you state.^[170]

168 Traill 1993 , 47.

169 Traill 1993 , 47.

170 Traill 1993 , 47.

On 26 March he returns to the subject:

We have had our weights tested and are now perfectly correct and hope in future you will find our remittances full weight.^[171]

However the problem does not seem to have been solved by this. He advises Davidson on 5 April to have his scales tested as well. On 6 April Schliemann writes to Davidson for the last time. In this letter he admits that there was a shortfall of \$ 20 in the parcel of gold that he had sent the day before. And on 8 April Schliemann sells his bank to Davidson and that is the end of the collaboration.¹⁷²

What exactly were the problems between Schliemann and Davidson is difficult to distil from the details known now. In the end everything ended well as is shown in a letter that Davidson sent to Schliemann in St Petersburg:

San Francisco April 7 1852

H. Schliemann Esq

Sir

I beg to advise you that I have examined your account, which I find perfectly correct, and I hereby acknowledge having received from you the Balance of the a/c¹⁷³ as well as all Bills of Exchange which I had deposited with you for sale thus closing our a/c definitively to this day.

I am

Sir

yours very truly

B. Davidson^[174]

There are remarkably few published recollections of Schliemann's California days. The majority of articles dealing with that time date from after the publication of *Schliemann's first visit to America* and refer to what is written in it.¹⁷⁵

However there are a few later California recollections of Schliemann which do not paint a favourable picture of him. In 1887 there are a few lines in the *Daily Alta California* that go into Schliemann's California period:

Dr. Schliemann's will leaves his archaeological museum to Berlin. Schliemann used to buy gold dust in Sacramento, and got his start in life in this state. He might have sent some of his articles of "virtue and bigotry" to our university.^[176]

171 Traill 1993 , 47.

172 According to Traill the \$ 20 error of Schliemann was the last straw for Davidson. On 16 April he travelled to Sacramento and forced Schliemann to sell him his bank. Traill 1993, 48. Gere 2006, 66 "In California he [Schliemann] bought gold dust from the miners to sell on to the Rothschild agent in San Francisco, but left abruptly under suspicion of short-weighting consignments of gold."

173 a/c = account current

174 Gennadius Library Serie B (B) Box 6 No.77-5850.

175 Bv. Roper 1966 and Holden 1995.

176 *Daily Alta California*, 2 December 1887.

In his autobiography Schliemann does not say anything about what he did in California and this is thus probably the first article that mentions that he dealt in gold dust there. As the author states that the beginning of Schliemann's career lay in that state, it seems doubtful whether we are dealing here with anything more than a very vague recollection.

In 1890 there is, in the same paper, a little more presumably authentic information on Schliemann's activities during the gold rush days:

In Dr. Schliemann's memorial notes no attention is paid to the fact that he was in California in gold-digging days, and was a rather too close buyer of the yellow metal at Sacramento.^[177]

Unfortunately it is not known who wrote these lines and we therefore cannot judge what their value is.

In the same year, 1890, two recollections were published in the *The Daily Bee* of 30 December which can be linked directly to well-known persons. The first is by Lloyd Tevis (1824-1899). He started a "law, loan and real estate office" in Sacramento in 1850. He moved to San Francisco in 1853 and worked his way up, as Schliemann had, and accumulated great wealth.¹⁷⁸ So he was at the right moment in the right place. This article begins with a surprising remark, one that I have not found anywhere else so far:

"Schliemann Brothers," was the sign that used to confront Sacramento people in 1851," said Loyd Tevis, "and, so far as I know, the older of the two brothers, who afterward became the great archaeologist, was a successful, painstaking young fellow of about four and twenty years, who dealt fairly with all who sold or bought gold dust.

At that time he was said to be the agent of the Rothschilds, and I have no reason to doubt that he was. He was only there about a year, and when he left I think he had made a good sum of money."^[179]

This recollection does not give the impression that Schliemann was known as dishonest among his fellow "bankers". We have to keep our options open though as clearly Lloyd Tevis' recollections are not completely perfect.

In the same article, Harvey Willson Harkness (1821-1901) is speaking. He had settled in Sacramento in 1849 and had worked there as a doctor, estate agent and newspaper editor. When in 1869 he had earned a fortune with his selling and buying of land, he moved to San Francisco and devoted the rest of his life there to science. He was the president of the California Academy of Sciences from 1887 to 1896:

177 *Daily Alta California*, 28 December 1890.

178 *The New York Times*, July 25, 1899.

179 *The Daily Bee*, December 30, 1890. Adopted from the *San Francisco Examiner*, December 30, 1890. This is the article that according to Wilhelm 1984, 229 is published in *The Sacramento Bee* of December 30, 1900.

Dr. Harkness, President of the Academy of sciences, was a Sacramento pioneer, and remembers the “Schliemann Brothers” very well. “The elder was a very handsome fellow and very bright. I remember looking at him once, and thinking that he was a man whose career was worth studying, amid all the men who had come to that town in search of fortune. His younger brother died finally, and was buried, I believe, in Yerba Buena Cemetery. It has often struck me since that my impressions of 1851 were entirely correct; the man gained a world-wide fame.”^[180]

And here we have the Schliemann brothers again. Harkness arrived in Sacramento in 1849. He may have known Schliemann’s brother Ludwig, it could even be possible that he was the doctor that treated him. As I have not been able to discover who the Co. was that Schliemann mentioned in his advertisements, the question arises whether perhaps Schliemann included his brother posthumously in his business? I have not been able to find more than these two remarks about the “Schliemann Brothers” and the above can therefore be called nothing more than a vague assumption.

As a scientist Harkness was doing creditable work on Californian fungi. As president of the California Academy of Sciences he deviates in this article from his field of work and gives his opinion on Schliemann’s later work:

“... on the whole, when I read his [Schliemann’s] books there seems to me that in them [is much] which can hardly be possible. He dug down with his Arabs fifty feet into what might be called a mere sandhill, and there – as if by a miracle – discovered the treasure-house of old Priam. Now, the invading hosts of three thousand years ago were very careful plunderers and it seems to me extraordinary that Dr. Schliemann should discover all that he exhibits. Why should an army of invaders leave a treasure-house, with its valuable jewels, to the mercy of a Schliemann three thousand years after?”^[181]

Harkness cannot believe that Schliemann’s finds were real. An unknown writer comes to Schliemann’s rescue in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of 11 January 1891:

At least he [Harkness] has permitted himself to be reported as sneering at the reputed discoveries of the great archaeologist at Hassarlik [sic] and Mycenae, and as suggesting that the treasures found may have been fraudulent. It would seem from all that was published about the matter, that this doubt grew out of the fact that the President of the San Francisco Academy once, many years ago, knew Schliemann when he was a poor clerk in this city ... It is human nature, perhaps, to look back upon such as we knew as very humble persons, as impossible of achieving greatness.^[182]

We shall not dwell longer on the statement of this writer. I only include him here to show how quickly “recollections” can distort.

180 *The Daily Bee*, December 30, 1890.

181 *The Daily Bee*, December 30, 1890.

182 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 11 January 1891.

The most curious report of Schliemann's stay in California that I have found in an American newspaper no doubt comes from the *The Fairport Herald* of 2 February 1877:

At the close of 1851 Schliemann determined to visit California, and embarked on the steamer Atlantic for this city. After a tempestuous voyage of six weeks, he reached New York, bringing with him a draft from the Rothschilds on August Belmont¹⁸³ for the amount of money he had made in Moscow. Reaching the El Dorado of the world, as California was then called, he settled at Sacramento and commenced the banking business. The miners took to him instinctively, and trustingly brought him their gold-dust. At the expiration of four years he returned to New York the possessor of \$400,000 and a shattered constitution.^[184]

The remark on “the steamer Atlantic” shows that the writer had information that was not easy to come by in 1877, but as he mentions that Schliemann stayed in California for four years, it appears that his information is not that trustworthy after all. Presumably it again concerns here a recollection that has developed into a story.

A nasty wound

On the return journey Schliemann again used the route via the Panama Isthmus. This time however the journey was more difficult. Although his health had not been totally shattered, contrary to what the *The Fairport Herald* reported in 1877, he was not feeling too well. He was given a mercury preparation in California for the fever and this was probably the reason that a small wound on his leg would not heal properly. It was only a small wound in the beginning but in the tropical climate it soon became larger, probably due to an infection.¹⁸⁵ Moreover it was the rainy season when Schliemann travelled across the Isthmus. He was continually plagued by rain and mosquitoes.

This time Schliemann decided halfway, at Frijol, to take the train to Aspinwall (Colón). Having arrived there, there was no boat and he had to wait until one arrived. Whereas in the following year Aspinwall would grow into a township with hotels and shops, at that time there was nothing.¹⁸⁶ There was no accommodation and the passengers had to sleep in the rain. There was no food and you had to live off what you could get hold of. Because of the rain it was not possible to make a fire and thus everything that you could put your hands on had to be eaten raw. The mosquitoes were so bad that at times Schliemann had to roll in the mud to escape their bites. Not surprising then that this was not good for the infection on his leg. The weather was very much against people waiting for the boat in Aspinwall:

183 August Belmont. After the financial crash of 1837, he started August Belmont & Company in New York to look after Rothschild's interests in the US.

184 *The Fairport Herald*, February 2, 1877.

185 Weber 1942, 81. A2 diary [69]

186 Otis 1867, 75 “In 1852, when these hotels were erected, travelers were often detained here for several days.”

Detained – The steamer Sierra Nevada, for Chagres, is detained by the storm. She will leave to-day.^[187]

At last on 8 May Schliemann could have his leg wound seen to aboard the SS Sierra Nevada. From that moment it was an agreeable voyage despite his leg bothering him. The boat arrived in New York on the 18th. The New York papers did not mention the arrival of the boat but there was a report in the *Jeffersonian Republican* on 27 May:

The Sierra Nevada brought on nearly \$400,000 in gold dust.^[188]

We do not hear anything about the passengers and their state of health even though a large number of them must have been ill due to the wait in the rain and the uncooked food. It is of course possible that this was a happy voyage and that nobody died on board. This was by no means always the case:

Death on Board Steamship Empire City from Chagres to New York.

May 25th – The day the E.C. sailed from Chagres, John Slane, of Edina, Knox county, Missouri, of Panama fever aged about 27 years.

At sea Feb. 11, Willis S. Allen, of Carrollton, Mo.

At sea, March 27, John Potter, of Gentry county, Mo.^[189]

It seems that Schliemann was in a hurry to leave the US. Although he only arrived on 18 May, he embarked already on the 19th on a boat to Liverpool.

Despite that fact that his leg hurt rather badly, he did not go and see a doctor but instead went to a concert of Jenny Lind with an acquaintance:

MADAME OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT

(late Mad'lle JENNY LIND) begs to announce that she will give her

LAST CONCERT BUT TWO IN AMERICA

On TUESDAY EVENING, May 18, 1852,

In METROPOLITAN HALL^[190]

Johanna Maria Lind (1820-1887), the Swedish Nightingale. This Swedish woman caused a furore in Europe at a young age. She made her opera debut on 7 March 1838 in Stockholm as Agatha in Weber's "Freischütz". Later she had star roles in Berlin, Leipzig and London. With these she became so famous that Barnum invited her to come to the US. She toured there from 1850 to 1852 and conquered town after town with her voice. She sang amongst others Amina in Bellini's "La sonnambula", Alice in Meyerbeer's "Robert le Diable" and Marie in

187 *New-York Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1852.

188 *Jeffersonian Republican*, May 27, 1852.

189 *Glasgow Weekly Times*, June 19, 1851.

190 *New-York Daily Tribune*, May 18, 1852.



Figure 18: Jenny Lind -
the northern nightingale.
Lithography by Henri-Auguste
Pingot

Donizetti's "La fille du régiment". She especially attracted attention as Norma in the opera of Bellini of the same name.

She became such a big star that theatres were specially built for her. In 1852 she stole the heart of the pianist Otto Goldschmidt (1829-1907), whom she married in Boston after a short romance.

She earned so much during the American tour that the couple could retire after their return to Europe. Jenny Goldschmidt Lind busied herself thereafter only with good causes and by singing for them she made them a lot of money. She became so famous for this in England that a bust of her was erected in Westminster Abbey in 1894.¹⁹¹

Of all the people that Schliemann met on board on his way to Liverpool, only Feargus O'Connor (1794-1855) did not sink into oblivion. He was a politician whose noble plans in the end came to nothing concrete:

It is generally admitted that Mr. O'Connor was an honest through rash enthusiast. Although his Land scheme was a complete failure, and involved many in disappointment and ruin, yet it betrayed no personal or mercenary views. He

191 *Encyclopedia Americana* 1920. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, Bd. 10, 1980. The programme listing as published in the paper shows that this was an edifying concert with one or two pieces for a "wider public". I would like to thank dr R. Witte for this information.

did not fatten on his supporters, but rather spent and exhausted himself and his own means in their behalf ... Mr. O'Connor was still member for Nottingham when, during the session of 1852, he exhibited on various occasions conduct so extravagant and violent, that he was committed by the Speaker for insubordination to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and at length it was manifest that he was permanently insane. He was thereupon committed to the care of Dr. Tuke, of the Manor House, Chiswick, under whose care he remained until within ten days of his decease.^[192]

O'Connor's obituary does not mention his visit to New York but this does not mean that it did not take place:

Mr. Feargus O'Connor, the well known Chartist^[193] orator, and member of the British House of Commons, arrived in New York on Thursday, by the Europe, and is staying at the Irving House. He is said to be insane.^[194]

Once arrived in London, Schliemann went to see doctor G.F. Collier with his leg. *The Lancet* of 1830 shows that he was teaching at the School of Anatomy, Medicine, and Surgery in Dean Street:

Dr. G.F. Collier, 32, Spring Gardens. – On the Principles and Practice of Medicine, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, ten, A.M. One course, of four months, four guineas;¹⁹⁵ two courses, of eight months, six guineas; perpetual, eight guineas. On Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Botany; Tuesday and Thursday, ten, A.M. One course, of four months, three guineas; two courses, of eight months, five guineas; perpetual, seven guineas.^[196]

This doctor burned Schliemann's wound clean with *lapis infernalis*, silver nitrate (AgNO₃). This was one of those typical 19th century 'remedies' of which it is not certain whether it was not more dangerous than the ailment. In epilepsy and syphilis it was used internally with the result that the patient got anaemia and hallucinations. He became very restless and wanted to move about all the time. It was also used externally to burn off warts and bits of proud flesh. This was less dangerous but seems to have been rather painful. Hence the name infernal stone (lunar caustic). In Schliemann's case it would eventually have led to healing of the wound as the toxicity would also have killed off the bacteria. No matter how dangerous and painful this remedy may have been and how difficult Schliemann found it to take a rest, the wound did heal in the end and that was another problem solved.

192 *The Gentleman's Magazine* XLIV 1855, p. 545-547.

193 In 1837, 6 parliamentarians and 6 labourers formed a committee in Great Britain to promote the interests of the working classes. They summarized their demands in the People's Charter of 1838. The political movement that stemmed from this and existed until about 1848 called itself "Chartism".

194 *Gallipolis Journal*, May 20, 1852.

195 The guinea was the equivalent of 21 shilling. In 1816 it was officially replaced by the pound which is divided into 20 shilling. The term remained in use for instance to indicate the fees of doctors and lawyers and only disappeared in 1971 when the decimal system was introduced.

196 *The Lancet* 1830, 17.

A British sweetheart and a new native country?

Travelling was nothing special for Schliemann. But the trip to Maidstone that Schliemann made from Paris is remarkable even by his standards. Crossing the Channel twice for a visit to a father of somebody who one has travelled with two years earlier?¹⁹⁷ Schliemann mentioned earlier in his journal that he travelled from St Petersburg to Berlin together with Messrs Latham, Smith and Ellis.¹⁹⁸ Next he notes down in Acapulco that he quickly added a few words to a letter to G. Ellis before sending it.¹⁹⁹ I presume that this is the same Ellis with whom he travelled together. Why Schliemann writes to him is not clear from his journal. And it is also not clear how many letters were exchanged between Schliemann and Ellis. In any case Schliemann must have written to Ellis again from Sacramento. He answered him on 28 June 1851 from Maidstone:

Dear Sir,

Allow me to thank you for your last very kind and interesting letter and congratulate you upon your Californian prospects, the picture you draw of the Gold country is so enticing as almost to make one discontented with Old England but then if we do not make fortunes so rapidly we have not to run the same risks. I should almost imagine if you return in November that you will be in time to see the Great Exhibition ... I trust you have been able to secure a suitable manager for your Banking business as it must be very essential that he be a shrewd trustworthy man of business ... I shall be very glad to hear from you at your convenience and trust that we shall see you at Maidstone in November or October ... My Sister and the rest of the family unite with me in wishing your health and prosperity. Believe me to remain

Yours very faithfully

George H. Ellis.^[200]

There are two things in this letter that are striking. Ellis did not know that Schliemann had already seen the “Great Exhibition” and he assumed that Schliemann would be back in England in October or November.

When he writes to Schliemann again on 28 October he knows that the situation has changed:

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your very kind and interesting letter also a Newspaper and some specimens of Californian gold. I feel much obliged by your kind remembrance and regret that a longer stay in California than you previously intended will prevent my sister Hannah and myself meeting our fellow traveller to Newcastle so soon as we had anticipated. Allow me again

197 Weber 1942, 87. A2 diary [74]

198 Weber 1942, 14. A2 diary [2]

199 Weber 1942, 49. A2 diary [39]

200 Gennadius Library Box 7, 462 (a-b) – 435, 6927-6930.

to congratulate you on your great success in business. I am not at all surprised that with such opportunities although your desire to return to England is very great that you should stay in the gold country an other year. I am much obliged to you for your kind proposals and must own I always have had a great desire to attempt to make my fortune in another country for although I am very well to do here yet it must be many many long years before I could attain a competency. Of course I am not able to assert that I have the sufficient pluck and shrewdness to push my way in California as it must be almost impossible for us quiet steady going Englishmen to imagine quite perfectly & correctly the manner of business and stake of society existing in a country like yours, but if you think that with a good knowledge of general business united with energy and perseverance which is all the capital I could bring, I could get on so as eventually to repay al that you so liberally propose I should indeed be thankful to you and owe you indeed a deep debt of gratitude ... I shall look anxiously for your next kind letter and should it contain the proffered information and means of my meeting you in Sacramento City I need not assure you that every talent and power that I possess shall be devoted with untiring energy to your interests ... My sister Hannah joins with me in wishing you happiness and prosperity.

Believe me to remain My Dear Sir

Your very sincerely

George Harvis Ellis ^[201]

Things are going well for Schliemann in Sacramento and to Ellis' and his sister Hannah's disappointment it will take a while longer before they will see him again. It looks as if Schliemann has invited Ellis to come to California. Ellis rather likes the idea but he has doubts also. And in the end it seems to have come to nothing.

Where in the first letter it comes across rather strangely that Ellis sends Schliemann also the regards of his sister, it now becomes clear that Schliemann knew her. They once travelled together to Newcastle.

On his return journey Schliemann writes a letter to Grim from Panama. It seems that despite Ponomarev's assurance that nothing will happen to him, he is not convinced that he can return to St Petersburg. From Grim's reply we can see that he can see a new future for himself that is not mentioned in his journal:

You write in your letter that you intend residency in "Cadiz", from all accounts that is one of the pleasantest Cities in the world to engage life in. I presume you intend marrying Hannah Ellis. ^[202]

Schliemann did not only write to Grim from Panama but also another acquaintance of him in Sacramento, Moris A. Cohen, received a letter:

I was glad to see you had arrived save at Panama after a pleasant trip. I also note your intention to proceed to London & from there to Cadiz old Spain in which place you where lastly to become settled, I indeed admire your choice as I always

201 Gennadius Library Box 7, 463 (a-c) – 437 , 6935-6938.

202 Gennadius Library Box 7, 122 (a) – 460, 6999.

considered it a beautiful Country ... Perhaps in the part of the country you propose making your house, you may be able at some future time, to use your influence with your friends in procuring us some consignments of wines if they are inclined to ship to this market. I shall be grateful if you could procure us any business in this way.^[203]

Cohen does not write about Schliemann's plans with Hannah Ellis, so his letter does not make us any the wiser on this subject.

During the trip from New York to England Hannah Ellis was not dominant on Schliemann's mind. One of the other passengers, a Canadian Lady named Vidder, had caught his eye. He was, according to his 1858 Diary, very much in love with her, but nothing came of it.²⁰⁴

On 6/18 June 1852 Ponomarev again writes a letter to Schliemann:

My dear Aleksandr Nikolaevič,

I congratulate you on your return from California, I am very happy that you are back in Europe and hope to see you soon. No unpleasant things are awaiting you. All acquaintances send their greetings. Please write us whereto we should address our letters to you.

See you soon,

Your IP.^[205]

Whether because of this letter, Miss Vidder or for another reason I have not been able to find out, but once back in England Schliemann does not visit Hannah Ellis or her brother George.

After his arrival in Paris Schliemann writes Ponomarev two letters which are promptly replied to:

My dear Aleksandr Nikolaevič,

*With much pleasure I received your two letters of the 27th and 29th / 9th and 10th from Paris and read in them that you have fully recovered and rested from your hard work. I have immediately forwarded your letter to Ek[aterina] Petr[ovna] but as a friend I'm duty bound to say that si elle content maintenant à lier son sort avec le vôtre – c'est parce qu'elle vous sait maintenant riche – and that in my opinion is not good on her part, if only because if she has feelings for you, you should not have to wait for them until you became rich. I do not know much about your contacts and judge only based on what I see. You should know more about this ...*²⁰⁶

Schliemann does not pay any attention to Ponomarev's misgivings. If he ever had a real interest in Hannah Ellis, that seems to have disappeared completely now. When he makes the crossing to England in July 1852, mentioned in the beginning,

203 Gennadius Library Box 7, 81 (a-b) – 468, 7022-7024.

204 Thanos (in prep) & Gennadius Library: Schliemann's A3 diary [70]

205 Gennadius Library Box 7, 465 – 2339/7014.

206 Gennadius Library Box 7, 469 – 2340/7026.

this is only to visit her father, Charles Ellis. He subsequently writes Ellis a letter, to which the latter responds on 11 August 1852. Father Ellis made a trip through Wales with his son George. Daughter Hannah is not discussed in this letter, but Schliemann is sent good wishes for his health:

My dear Sir,

... I was much grieved to hear of your severe illness, but I venture to hope that the visit to your family and to the scenes of your youth have been of service, and that you are by this time convalescent. I am pleased with your remarks upon the sacred truth of Religion. Rely upon it, than it is no less our duty than our happiness, to keep constantly in mind that we are Gods creatures. That we are in his hands, that all events are under his wise direction, and that in the hour of trial and suffering we can look to him alone for guidance & support. The daily recognition of the assistance & providence of God is essential to our wellbeing. Without a strong and abiding faith of this nature we cannot be prepared for the trials and sufferings to which all are exposed. I am strongly opposed to the fanaticism that is often found in connection with Religion and by the prevalence of which much angering is done to the sacred laws but liberal and exalted sentiments of the Government of our heavenly father must exercise a favourable influence upon the life and character. You are by this time, I presume in the midst of your friends at St Petersburg. You must find it a strange contrast to California. The change will on very many accounts be agreeable to you. Your health will no doubt greatly benefit by the straight and regular life that you are now leading. From the activity of your disposition, I quite expect you will soon enter upon mercantile pursuits. Your former connexions and experience will enable you to enter upon matters of business that present a fair chance not only of success but also of comfort & usefulness. I will be glad to hear of your continuous prosperity.^[207]

The shadow of Hannah Ellis appears one more time in a letter that Grim sends Schliemann from Sacramento on 13 October 1852. Grim clearly has another impression of Schliemann's morality than father Ellis:

Give my love to all your lady acquaintances. What arrangements have you made with your dear sweetheart.^[208]

Mecklenburg and then home

Now that his leg has healed and he knows that Jekaterina is well-disposed towards him, Schliemann is suddenly in a hurry to get to St Petersburg. Before going there however, he first pays a short visit to Mecklenburg where his family lives.

In 1848, A.E. van Noothoorn (1811-1851) was on a walking tour of Europe. To get an impression of the country where Schliemann's family lived, we will have a look at a few remarks that van Noothoorn made about Mecklenburg:

207 Gennadius Library 464 (a) – 476, 7042.

208 Gennadius Library 127 (a-b) – 492, 7089-7091.

The fields [of Mecklenburg] are clean, especially on the shores of the sea, clean enough to fire the imagination of the artist and to feed the muse of the poet. The reminders of the past as well as the old memorials provide them with a new importance. Here and there one spies the ruin of a fortress that in ancient times protected the country against invasions by the Saxons. You can see the graves of the Huns in the valleys ... Not far from them are the round graves (kegelgräber), which are from a later date, and among these pagan memorials are the ruins of monasteries and abbeys of the Middle Ages ... The farmers are mainly tenant farmers who enjoy a fixed abode which as inheritance to their sons have a tenancy of a hundred years ... The big town fashions, the inventions of coquetteries and the affluence of our days have already permeated among the isolated inhabitants of the countryside; however the majority still wears the stiff garments of their forebears; the men have linen trousers, a long blue collarless smock, a leather belt and a hat with a wide brim. The women wear several skirts, and shoes with high heels ... In general they have a composed and chaste countenance, clear blue eyes, blond hair, a pale skin with a light blush... The men are powerful and strong. Since childhood they have been exposed to the vagaries of the weather; since their youths

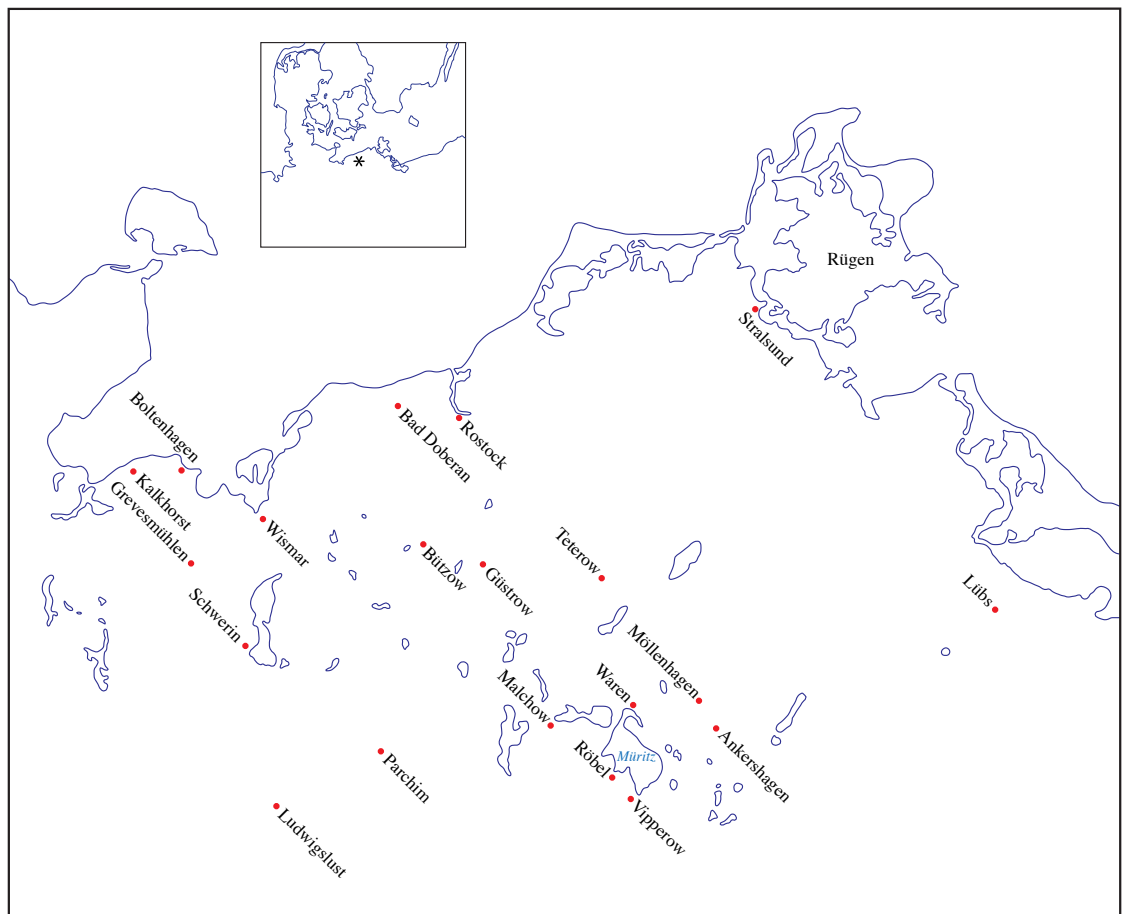


Figure 19: Schliemann's trip through Mecklenburg

they are used to hard labour ... The majority of these Mecklenburg tenants were wealthy, at least well-to-do. Their lands provide them with their basic necessities of life: grain, fruit and flax. Livestock is for them a mainstay of trade, in particular horses; hunting and fishing provide them with additional resources ... At first sight everything in their houses point to a habit of tidiness. Generally it is a rather large house, built of stone and divided into two parts. The entrance is through the barn which is wide and high and is always kept neat and tidy. On either side of the barn are the quarters of the servant girls who have to tend to the cattle. In the centre of the house is the kitchen where the winter activities take place. Besides there is a room for the farmer which is decorated with some walnut pieces of furniture, as well as a cabinet in which apart from the linen also the almanac, the bible and the prayer book are kept. There is also the conjugal bed that is decorated with flowers and ribbons on important feast days. When the grass is mown there is another feast and a third one after the harvest. This time there is song and dance in the valley and performances from pastoral life from early in the morning until late at night. The mower ceremoniously offers the female haymakers a recently carved rake with green twigs tied around it; in gratitude the haymaker makes him a wreath of corn ears and corn flowers. And then the merry dancing commences. Men and women, master and farmhand join in the circle that skips around the green apple tree ... In the autumn the tobacco leaves are prepared while sitting around the hearth and old folksongs are sung or ghost stories are told.^[209]

Van Noothoorn does not write about the poverty-stricken day labourers who at that time in the history of Mecklenburg are migrating in large numbers to the US and Australia in search of a better life. This is of no importance since in Schliemann's youth these would not have played a large role. As the son of a clergyman he would have played with the children of the affluent tenants and not with those of the poor day-labourers.

Again Schliemann did not allow himself any rest. He was running from one family member to the other. He greets his sisters Wilhelmine and Elise²¹⁰ more or less in passing, and he only recognises the former as she had seen him in Russia in 1850. He only stays a little longer with his uncle in Kalkhorst. Whether "Cousinchen", whom he had given "ein paar glühende Küsse auf den Mund"²¹¹ in parting when he last saw her in 1840, was also there we are not told. It seems that Schliemann did not think of her at that moment.

His return to the city that he had left so sadly did not disappoint. In St Petersburg he is greeted cordially by his old friends and even Miss Catherine Lyschin, who had ignored him earlier, is very kind to him now. That bodes well for the future.²¹²

Ponomarev was right. Schliemann's attractiveness to Jekaterina had increased enormously by the fortune that he had made in California.²¹³

209 (Noothoorn) 1849, 81-85.

210 I would like to thank dr W. Bölke for this information.

211 Meyer 1953, 12.

212 Weber 1942, 89.

213 Einsle & Bölke 1996, 89. To what extent this newly acquired fortune played a role is difficult to assess as Givago had already tried before Schliemann's departure to pair the two off. It seems that he already thought then that Schliemann was wealthy enough to marry his niece.

On 31 December 1852 Schliemann writes his sisters to tell them that a great change had taken place in his life. On 12 October he had become the husband of Miss Catherine Lyschin, a Russian lady with both a beautiful body and a good brain. He now enjoys all the advantages of domestic life.²¹⁴

Schliemann starts up again his Russian business in January 1853:

St. Petersburg Janr. 8, 1853
Messrs. Schlusser & Co

Sir,

Referring to my circular of 1st July 1848 I herewith beg to inform you that after my return from California I now continue my former business under my own name,

I am Sir your obedt servt.

H. Schliemann ^[215]

Later received information

At times Schliemann is kept informed by Grim on what has been happening in Sacramento. On 3 January 1853 Schliemann receives from him a pamphlet on the latest disaster to strike Sacramento. It concerns here the *Sacramento State Journal Extra -- for the Atlantic States, by the Golden Gate* of 12 November 1852. One page with a report on the fire in the city of Sacramento and two pages with a list of names plus amounts of everybody who had lost something in that fire. On the reverse Grim puts Schliemann's mind at ease:

Dear Schliemann

I am saved from the fire. The whole of the building which we occupy is saved. Our business now is tremendous. All others burned out except RB&Co, Goewerneur to Muck & C.

A.K. Grim ^[216]

214 Weber 1942, 89. A2 diary [76]

215 The Bancroft Library, Berkeley. BANC MSS 92/638 z. I thank David Kessler for sending me the transcription of this letter.

Gennadius Library Box 7, 505 – 486 , 7072 : “St Petersburg 22^{ten} September 1852. Herrn H. Schliemann. Hiermit erfüllen wir die schmerzliche Pflicht, Sie von dem Dahinscheiden unseres Herrn Carl Schüsser zu benachrichtigen. Das Geschäft unseres Hauses wird auf denselben Fusse wie bisher von unserm Herrn Wilhelm Schüsser fortgesetzt werden, und bitten wir um die Fortdauer des uns bis jetzt bewiesenen Zutrauens. Genehmigen Sie die Versicherung unserer hochachtungsvollen Ergebenheit. Schüsser&Co.”

216 Gennadius Library 30 (a-b) – 499, 7119-7122.

Schliemann kept this publication in his archive and had the report of the fire copied into his travel journal by somebody else.²¹⁷ By whom he had this report copied and why is not known. For comparison I give here the report of the *Sacramento Daily Union*:

AWFUL CONFLAGRATION:

Sacramento in Ruins – Loss of Life – Immense Destruction of Property !!

That terrible destroyer which has heretofore laid in ashes every other important town in this State, has at last visited our own fair city of the plains, and in a few brief hours swept almost every vestige of it from existence. Amid the excitement and confusion which prevails, it is impossible for us to give our readers abroad more than a brief summary of the painfully thrilling events of the last thirty hours.

At ten minutes past 11 o'clock, on Tuesday night, the appalling cry of fire was sounded, and almost instantly the entire population rushed into the street, and at once perceived that their direst apprehensions were more than fully realized. A dense mass of smoke and flame was seen issuing from the millinery shop of Madame Lanos, on the north side of J street, two doors below 4th, in the heart of one of the most combustible blocks in the city. The wind for the first time in many months was blowing a gale from the north and with the rapidity of thought the devouring element shot forth its lurid fangs fastening upon the frail wooden tenements on either side of the burning building, and enveloping them in a sheet of fire. The millinery store of Madame Lande and the Southern House, a large frame hotel just below soon after caught, and then followed in rapid succession the ignition of the adjoining buildings, occupied by Hart, McAlpin & Co., as a paint shop, and by Passenaud, perfumer. This latter tenement was directly opposite the Crescent City Hotel, and in another moment, the now uncontrollable enemy encircled in its resistless folds this immense pile, and before the firemen who were now in full force upon the ground could stop its progress, the building from roof to basement was glowing like a furnace. It was now palpably evident that no human aid could avail aught to save that section of the city lying south and east of the Crescent City, and accordingly the occupants of buildings on 4th street and K street, immediately commenced removing their effects, but before they had even determined where to convey them, their insatiable foe was blowing his hot breath into their very faces. In less than ten minutes the fire cleaned a wide track through the corner of K and 4th streets, and then seized upon the new brick stores owned by Dr. Carpenter and others, on the north side of K, and the hardware store of Nevett & Co, and the Phoenix Hotel, on the south side of the same thoroughfare. The fiery tempest then swept eastward and southward, destroying almost every building in the city east of 4th, J and 10th, and south of J street. In these blocks were the new brick Methodist Church edifice, the most costly religious structure in the State, the Roman Catholic Church, the Baptist Church and the old Methodist Church. The Horse Market building and the numerous livery stables, hay yards, hotels and restaurants in the vicinity of the town – all are gone. In the mean time

217 Weber 1942, 90. A2 diary [76-79]1852 – *Sacramento State Journal Extra-- for the Atlantic States, by the Golden Gate: Awful Conflagration : Sacramento City Burned to the Ground : Ten Millions of Dollars Worth of Property Totally Destroyed!*

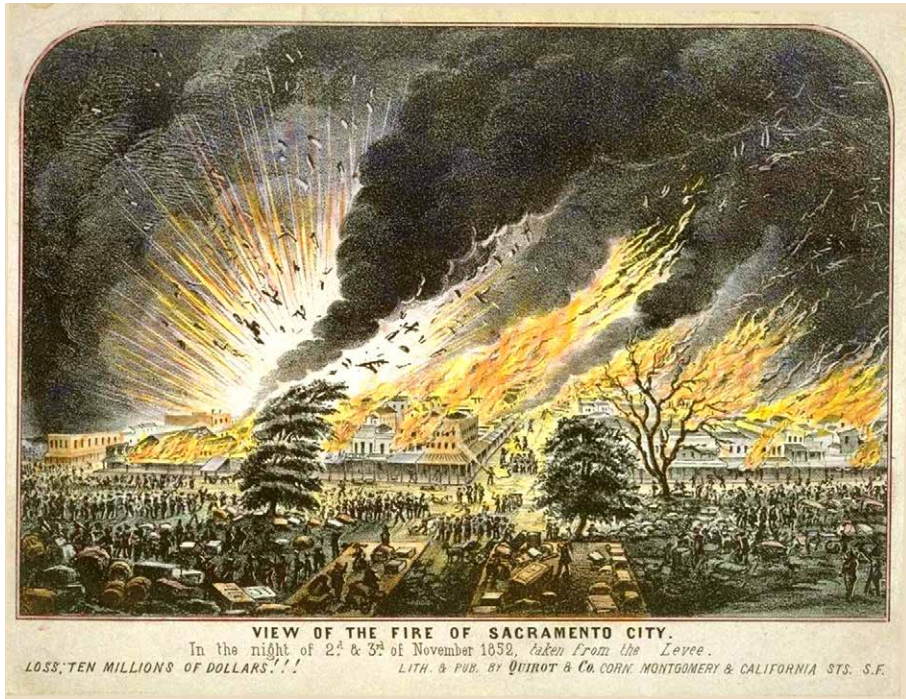


Figure 20: View of the fire of Sacramento in the night of 2^d and 3^d November 1852, by: Quirot & Company

the fire had been gradually but surely working its way down J street on either side, and on its passage consumed the Missouri Hotel, adjoining the Crescent City, and all the shops on the same side of the street as far as 3d street. These tenements were all old and of but little intrinsic value, occupied mostly by Hebrew clothiers, and as lawyer's offices. On the opposite side, the fire was checked for a time by the fire brick block of buildings occupied by Mitchell & Co., shoe dealers, Brown, Henry & Co., wholesale dealers in dry goods, W.R. Hopkins & Co., and the upper stairs by Johnson daguerreotypist, W'nans & Hyer attorneys, and others. But the insidious foe stealthily darted upon the sheds and rookeries in the rear of the block, and soon after this row, piled with the costliest goods, presented nought but a mass of rubbish.

We regret to learn that the valuable law library of Messrs. Winans & Hyer, in this block was totally destroyed. The extensive iron warehouse of Brown, Henry & Co., situated in the rear of their store, was also wholly consumed. The fire now crossed 3d street on both sides of J, and attacked the magnificent "Overton Block" four stories high, and the largest, most expensive, and as was supposed the most thoroughly fire-proof building in the city. But it sank like grain before the reaper's sickle. The rear of this house on 3d street, has been the last month occupied as the Post Office, and contained at the time of its destruction all the valuable property belonging to that department, with the exception of the treasure books of Read & Co, The remainder of the first story was occupied as Saloons, Stores and

Reed's Banking House. Simultaneously with the ignition of the Overton Block, the block on the west side of J street below 3d, took fire, and now all hopes of saving any valuable building not perfectly fire proof, or their contents were at an end. Fierce and terrific did the raging billows hurl themselves against their powerless enemy, man and his works. Extending as high up as 8th st., its boundaries were marked by excluding the buildings on the east of that street, and also eleven houses on J, extending from the plaza to 8th street. From 8th down to Page, Bacon & Co.'s (whose brick it did not burn.) it swept off every building in its progress along J, and down to N. except the following: On J street the stores of Bushnell & Co., J. Madison, Watson & Biscoe. Saved on K street; Lady Adams & Co., Stanford & Brothers. We say "saved" as they were not burnt. Their preservation is not attributable to human exertion, but to the resistance offered to the fire by the materials of which they were constructed.^[218]

And so disappeared a large part of the Sacramento that Schliemann had known. His successor Grim was lucky, the building in which Schliemann's former bank was housed was spared.²¹⁹

On 15 February Schliemann again receives news about Sacramento. This time he himself makes a note in his journal. It concerns a flood. Because of what he had experienced, he imagined the disaster differently from what really happened. There is very little in the papers on Sacramento's flood. A few short reports from early December 1852:

The Rise. – Since Wednesday morning the Sacramento has risen eighteen inches. In several houses outside of the Levee the water is up to the first floor. Having made a trip Thursday afternoon along the whole extent of the Levee above the city, with a close examination of all its strong and weak points, we feel perfectly safe in asserting that with ordinary diligence to keep it in repair, it will prove amply sufficient to protect the city. At the lowest point the water will yet be required to rise four feet in order to overcome it.²²⁰

On 1 January 1853 the *Daily Alta California* gave an overview of the events and it appears that there was indeed a disaster that winter but not in Sacramento:

The present winter is conceded to be the most severe experienced in this country since it has been populated by Americans. During the last fortnight it has been raining and snowing continually in the mountains and valleys, and we are daily in the receipt of accounts of distress and suffering in all parts of the State. The waters have been unusually high, and communication through the mining regions almost entirely cut off, either by snow or overflowed streams. The rivers have been swelled to such an extent as to inundate all the low lands, causing immense damage, destroying stock and agricultural products. The whole country between Tahoma and Sacramento city was entirely under water, whilst Marysville was partly inundated, and though Sacramento city was well protected by a levee, the lower portions were submerged. The waters at the present time have subsided,

218 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 4 November 1852. See also a letter from Grim to Schliemann of 8 July 1853, Meyer 1953, 56.

219 Grim to Schliemann, July 8, 1853. Meyer 1953, 56.

220 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 10 December 1852.

although the rains still continue. On the mountain streams, the loss of mining implements has been great, and all work for the present suspended. Bridges have been swept away, and ferries destroyed, and some few lives lost. The southern portion of the mining district has suffered equally with the northern. Stockton has been inundated partially, and property to a considerable amount destroyed. The bridges on the Clavers, Stanislaw's, and other streams have been swept away, and communication with the mining towns for a while suspended. The flood has been universal, and the water higher than in the memorable winter of 1849.

The great scarcity of provisions, and the consequent high price, has occasioned much suffering and distress already, and it is feared that many will die from starvation. Many miners subsist entirely on beef and potatoes, whilst in other portions of the mines there are hundreds who have nothing at all but barley and potatoes. In portions of Yuba and Sierra county the snow was already ten feet deep and still falling, and the miners actually reduced to absolute want. In one place they held a meeting and forced a trader to sell what flour he had on hand at forty-five cents per pound, and all who were able to leave did so, thus leaving the provisions for those who were unable to find their way through the snows to the valleys. In some places cabins are entirely covered with snow, and the roofs of many have been crushed in thus cutting off the last chance of protection ... there is much suffering and distress, and it is not improbable that some may perish

The conflagration of San Francisco

The new towns and cities, that housed all those new people who had been attracted by the gold in California, were mainly built of wood and canvas. Due to their rather hasty construction with inflammable materials, these cities were very susceptible to conflagrations, as we have already seen in the report on Sacramento. In the period 1849 – 1851 San Francisco burned no fewer than eight times:

24 December 1849
5 February 1850
4 May 1850
14 July 1850
17 September 1850
31 October 1850
4 May 1851
22 June 1851

In the period that Schliemann was in California this thus happened twice, on 4 May and on 22 June. Strangely enough these two fires were not reported in his travel journal. Once back in Russia, he must have noticed this and then wrote a report for his journal which he glued in. This report is pure fiction as for instance

can be seen from the date, 4 June.²²¹ There was no fire in San Francisco on that day. Schliemann writes that he was in the Union Hotel when the fire began. This is impossible on 4 June as the hotel had been destroyed by the fire of 4 May and reconstruction had only just begun on 4 June.

Upon the site of the late Union Hotel, fronting Portsmouth Square, Mr. Selover, one of the unfortunate proprietors of that establishment, who lost his all by its destruction, has erected a large one story wooden building, which he has fitted up as a refreshment saloon, as a stepping stone in the way of recovering his severe losses.^[222]

It is thus attractive to think that Schliemann described the conflagration of 4 May.²²³ However, Schliemann's story deviates on many points from the various newspaper reports on this fire. A second possibility is the fire of 22 June. That one did occur after the date that Schliemann used but that does not say much, as we know already that it was not an actual note of that particular day. It is tempting to think of this date as a number of elements in Schliemann's story which do not appear in the newspaper reports on the fire of 4 May are mentioned in the reports of the 22 June fire. Apart from the similarities, there are also many differences so that we must conclude that the above article was no more than an inspiration for Schliemann's story. According to Schliemann's journal, the fire broke out just after ten in the evening when he was lying in bed.²²⁴ According to the *Daily Alta California* "Yesterday morning a little after ten o'clock, the dreadful cry of Fire" sounded.²²⁵

I presume that once back in Russia Schliemann wrote his story about the fire in San Francisco from memory. I give here reports on the two fires as published in Sacramento. It is quite likely that Schliemann had read these and that much information that he 'remembered' originated from these. It cannot be excluded though that he also incorporated information on other fires in his story.²²⁶

First the fire of 4 May:

221 Roper 1966, 51 "Soon after he had retired in his hotel room on June 4, 1851 ..." Although this article appeared in *The California Highway Patrolman*, it copied Schliemann's date without any qualms. Paddison 2003, 126 "Late in the evening of May 3, 1851, as San Francisco was once again easing from boisterous Saturday night to quiescent Sunday morning, a fire started somewhere among the hotels, gambling houses, and saloons of its crowded downtown plaza. The flames spread quickly through the city, licking at canvas and devouring wood. The first major blaze in more than seven months, it caught even the fire-hardened residents of gold-rush San Francisco by surprise. A twenty-nine-year-old German visitor named Heinrich Schliemann, many years before archeological discoveries in Troy would propel him to international fame, outran the fire from his plaza hotel to the top of Telegraph Hill, where he watched the city burn." Without mentioning it, Paddison adjusted Schliemann's date.

222 *Daily Alta California* 28 May 1851.

223 Traill 1993, 43-44 is of the opinion that Schliemann based himself on a report in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of 6 May 1851.

224 Weber 1942, 63. A2 diary [53]

225 *Daily Alta California*, 23 June 1851.

226 Traill 1993, 44 "Though I have seen no mention of the rumors of French incendiaries in connection with the fire of San Francisco, the *Union* of May 9th, which reports that the city of Stockton was burned to the ground on the night of May 6th/7th, indicates that incendiaries were suspected of having caused that fire and that a Mexican had been lynched."

San Francisco Again in Ruins.

**SEVERAL SQUARES DESTROYD
LOSS ABOUT \$7,000,000.**

SEVERAL LIVES LOST

Union Office, May 5th, 1851

To Gregory & Co. and Mr. W.W. Kurtz, of the Alta, we are indebted for the disastrous intelligence which has laid again in ashes our sister city. The steamer Union brought up the news, reaching here this morning, at 6 o'clock. From the Alta, we extract the following:

It is our melancholy duty to announce this morning the most awful Anniversary of the terrible conflagration one year ago in this place.

San Francisco is again in ashes. The smoke and flames are ascending from several squares of our city, as if the God of Destruction had seated himself in our midst, and was gorging himself and all ministers of devastation upon the ruin of our doomed city and its people.

About eleven o'clock last night, the cry of "Fire" startled every one like an earthquake. The fire had just commenced in a paint shop on the west side of Portsmouth Square, adjoining the Bryant House, formerly called, but more recently the American. It

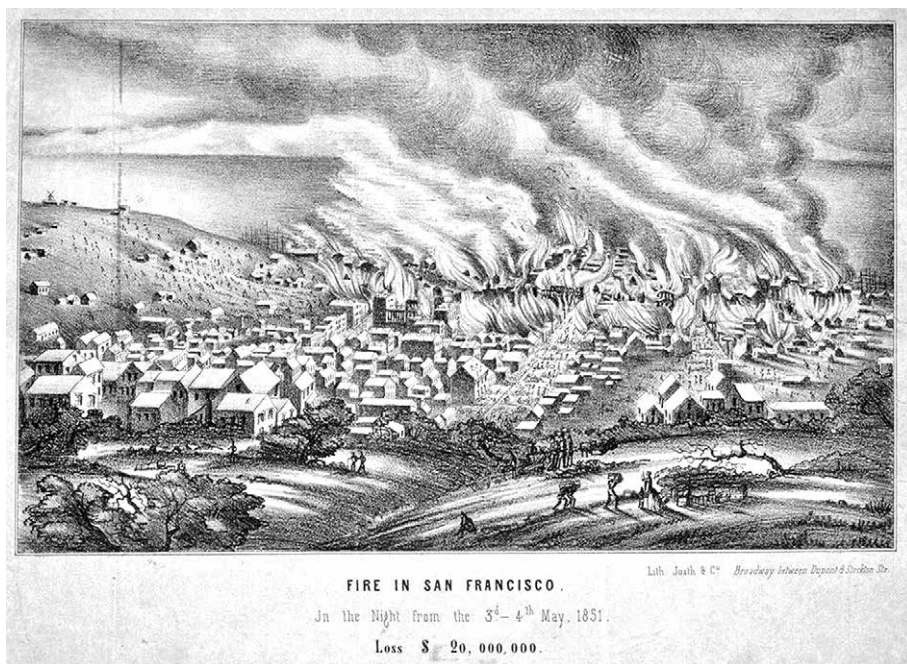


Figure 21: Fire in San Francisco from 3d and 4th May 1851, artist unknown

was but a slight blaze when first seen, but in five minutes the whole upper story was full of flame. We have never seen flames spread so rapidly. Before the engines could get upon the ground and commence playing, the American on one side, and a store occupied by Messrs. Rhodes as a furnishing establishment, were in flames.

The buildings in the vicinity being all of wood and extremely combustible, the fire spread up Clay street, back towards Sacramento, and down Clay towards Kearny, with frightful rapidity. It soon had full command and the Fire Department could only work upon borders, and endeavour to check its progress by anticipating it. In this they succeeded on the north side before it reached Dupont street. But in every other direction in which it could spread, it took its own course. There was little chance to save much of the moveable's – for ere they were aware of their danger in most cases, the flames were wrapping them in destruction.

To the South it spread to Bush street, and to the East, at the time of writing this, 5 o'clock, A.M., it has passed Jackson street, sweeping everything from a little east of Dupont to the wharves. The blocks between Dupont and Kearney streets, west of Portsmouth square, as far as Bush street, three in number, are in ashes. Between Bush and Jackson, Kearney and Montgomery, five in number, all down. Between Montgomery and Sansome, Bush and Jackson streets, five in number, all down.

Three men at the building of Wells & Co. were burned to death

One man on Washington street fell dead from over-exertion. He was so completely surrounded by the fire he could not be relieved by those who saw him fall.

Three men were burned to death in the Union, one of them the bookkeeper by the name of Willard.

James King of William was badly burned, but escaped with life,

Beyond Sansome, towards the shipping we do not know how great is the destruction, for the smoke is so dense, and the fire intervening, it is impossible to tell. Besides these thirteen blocks, almost every building of which is destroyed, there are many others. It is impossible to even guess at the number of buildings or the amount of property destroyed.

A thousand buildings is within the bounds of truth, we judge, and ten millions of dollars could not replace the terrible destruction. Some place it twice or three times as high. It is sufficient to say, that more than three-fourth of the business part of the city is nothing but smouldering cinders. It is impossible to give a list of the buildings burned or the names of the sufferers ...

All of the buildings about Jones' Hotel had been consumed when we went to press, and it is thought the hotel itself will burn although the firemen were making extraordinary exertions to save it.

Not a house was left on Leidsdorff street. And everything on both sides of Long Wharf to beyond White Hall.

Here and there a brick building stands like a tomb among a nation of graves, yet even they in most cases have nothing but their walls standing. Scarce a fire-proof building in the whole burnt district has stood the test ... The building of Moffat

Co. was saved only at the risk of their lives by Messrs Moffat, Perry & Ward, of that firm, who remained within the building throughout the conflagration and extinguished the fire repeatedly.

The fire has now (half-past five) reached Pacific street, and is rapidly spreading in that direction towards Claek's Point.

A man at half-past five o'clock, on Jackson street, between Kearny and Dupont sts., shot a woman and immediately after shot himself, wounding himself in the forehead. The woman is dead; the murderer was taken to the station house.

A man was stabbed in Washington street about 2 o'clock, near the Jackson House.

But the most lamentable part of this sad story is the loss of human life. How many have perished cannot be known at present – but several are known to have lost their lives ...

Mr. Kurtz informs us that at the departure of the steamer (12 o'clock noon of yesterday) for Sacramento, the fire was raging towards Clark's Point. Several houses had already caught fire, but he could not distinguish which in consequence of the smoke. The very plank wood of the streets was burning.^[227]

This message goes back to the report in the *Daily Alta California* of 4 May and was also taken up in the *Sacramento Transcript* of 6 May. The *Sacramento Transcript* gives some extra information on 7 May:

In the late terrible conflagration, the press of the city was almost annihilated. But one establishment escaped unscathed. The offices of the Courier, Standard and Picayune, were totally consumed, types, presses and everything else. A portion of the type of the Herald office was removed at an early stage of the fire, to the supposed fire-proof building of Mr. Bidleman, on Montgomery street, from which it was afterwards taken, and with difficulty conveyed to a place of safety on Telegraph Hill.²²⁸

... We had a conversation with Mr. Baker a few hours after the fire commenced, and he assures us that every light in his premises had been put out, and that no person that he was acquainted with, was at the time of the commencement of the conflagration in the building. The conclusion arrived at is, that an incendiary, who had personal motives of revenge, was the cause of the whole of this dire calamity.^[229]

And Schliemann had to make do with that regarding the fire of 4 May.

Alas, on 22 June it happened again, a report of which appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of 24 June:

227 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 6 May 1851. This article continues with a very long list of who has lost what and for which amount.

228 *Sacramento Transcript*, 7 May 1851.

229 *Sacramento Transcript*, 7 May 1851.

BY THIS MORNING'S BOAT.

Through Freeman & Co's Express.

TERRIBLE CONFLAGRATION!

***Immense Destruction of Property!
Loss \$3,600,000!***

From the S.F. Herald

Our ill-fated city, though just recovering from the disaster of the 3d of May, was again visited yesterday morning by a terrible conflagration, which swept unchecked from Powell to Sansome street in one direction, and from Broadway to Clay in the other. The fire broke out about fifteen minutes before eleven, A.M., in a frame house on the north side of Pacific, and about twenty yards from Powell street. It is asserted that it was the work of an incendiary. Alarm was instantly given, and the dread cry in a few moments drew thousands to the spot. The wind was blowing strongly at the time, but during the progress of the fire, as is always the case, rose almost to a gale. The first building was soon in flames, which spread like wildfire to those adjoining on Pacific street. The gallant firemen were soon upon the ground, but their efforts were powerless before the raging element. In that section of the city, too, there was no water, and the engines at that point of course unable to stay the flames. Down Pacific street sped the fiery storm, it stopped not for a second, but on, on it drove before the now fast rising winds to Washington. In the meantime, while thus extending south, it was spreading north and east. — The hook and ladder companies worked like heroes, while tearing down the frame houses in advance of the fire to stop its progress — but it was of no use. Such was the fearful rapidity of the scourge, that twenty minutes sufficed for it to pass from one street to another. Moreover, the burning brands and sparks, borne high up into the air, landing upon houses a square from the scene of conflagration, and thus at one time we saw three or four different buildings, three or four hundred yards apart, burning at the same time.

About 12¹/₂ o'clock, the flames had complete possession of Washington street and the Plaza. Despite every effort, it crossed over to the houses at the northwest corner of the Plaza, consumed the old adobe, occupied by Burgoyne & Co. and others, together with some half dozen houses between that and Dupont street. It was stopped on the south by untiring industry, at the County building, occupied by Justice McGowan and numerous others. It was now making fearful headway towards Montgomery street. The Alta California office withstood the flames for a while, but it too fell before the fiery blast that swept around it. The new Janny Lind Theatre on the Square, was consumed ... The City Hospital soon after took fire, and here the scene of distress as the unfortunate inmates — some ninety in number — were brought out, was harrowing. Many who were burnt in the former

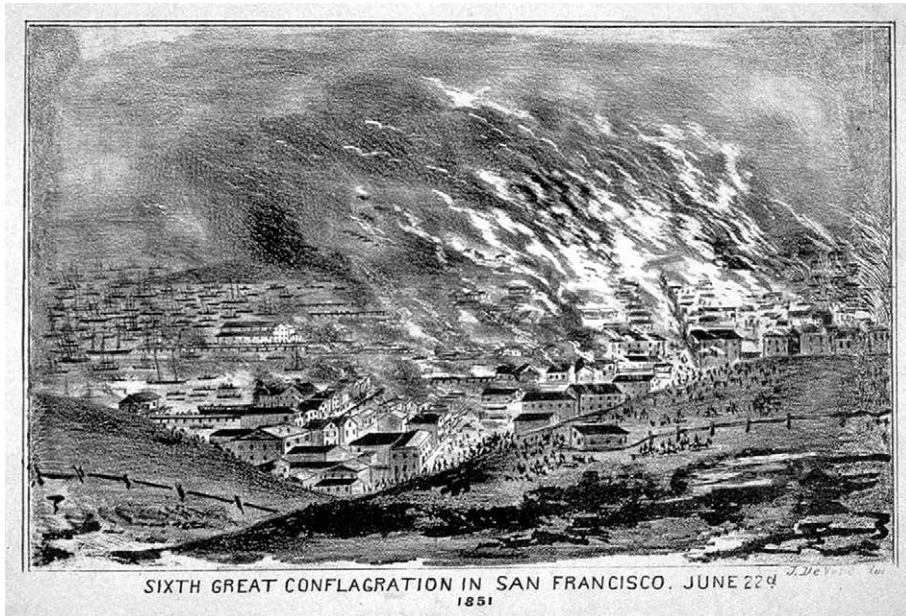


Figure 22: Sixth Great Conflagration in San Francisco June 22^d 1851, drawn by Stewart Edward White

fire ... were still under treatment. By the untiring exertions of Dr. Chapin, Mr. John Cotter, and a number of other benevolent persons, they were all removed without any serious accident ...

Numerous attempts were made to check the progress of the flames, by blowing up the houses in advance, but it did no good; besides, owing to the small stock in the city, it was very difficult to get powder – the quantity obtained being insufficient for the purpose. Whether the fire originated through accident or design, upon which opinions are divided, it seems that several persons were apprehended during its progress setting fire to houses which the flames had not yet reached. They were taken off and delivered up to the Committee of Vigilance ... A Frenchman emerging from his house with a load of valuables in his arms, saw a man applying fire to some shavings; he dropped his load to get at his revolver to shoot the scoundrel, but before he could do so, the man had fled. A house on Pacific st. near Montgomery, was discovered on fire before the flames had reached Dupont st. One man on Montgomery st. became exasperated at those around, and drawing a revolver fired three times at different persons. A ball passed through the hat of one, but fortunately injured nobody ... A man was shot dead by an officer in Bush street, for plundering the property placed there by the sufferers in the fire.

We understand that after full examination, a man arrested and carried to the room of the Vigilance Committee, for robbery during the fire, was adjudged “not guilty” and promptly released.^[230]

230 *Sacramento Daily Union*, 24 June 1851.

The autobiography

On February 1853 F. W. Hepner, who had taken care of Schliemann in Amsterdam in 1842, wrote a letter to his old protégé:

Schade, daß Sie nicht Literat sind, denn ich glaube, daß wenige Menschen so interessante Memoiren wie Sie zu schreiben im Stande wären; wenn Sie vielleicht einmal dazu übergeben, Ihre Lebensbeschreibung aufzusetzen, dann erbitte ich mir von Ihnen das erste Exemplar.^[231]

Whether Schliemann had at that time already written the autobiography that now is at the beginning of his American travel journal, I have not been able to ascertain.²³² It is certain though that Schliemann did not have this version printed²³³ and that Hepner had long died when the first copy could be presented in 1942.

The autobiography is, like the Christian hagiography, a genre that maintains a difficult relationship with the historical reality which it purports to describe. The author shows himself as he wants the world to see him. As said earlier, during his life Schliemann published in 1881 an extensive autobiography as introduction to one of his archaeological books, *Ilios, Stadt und Land der Trojaner*. This is the story of a poor boy who dreams of excavating Troy, something that he indeed does in the end, after overcoming all kinds of setbacks. A beautiful story that is incompatible on many points with what we can still find out about the historical reality.

It is not known what the aim was of the autobiography in his American journal. I have not been able to find out whether or not it was read by contemporaries. When we compare this version of Schliemann's life with the later "official" autobiography, the discrepancies between the two are very striking. In the version published here there is not a single reference to Troy, there is no childhood dream that comes true.

Right in the first sentence we find a very remarkable statement: "I was born ... in Ankershagen ..." This is strange as in reality Schliemann was born in Neubukow, as he writes in his "official" autobiography.

In this autobiography we get the story of a poor almost illiterate boy from Mecklenburg who on his own accord works himself up to an important businessman. Because of his father's poverty he gets a very poor education. This remark is the more remarkable as Schliemann tells in this same journal that during his visit to Ankershagen he found that his initials were still visible on the windows of the house and in various tree trunks. After a minimum of basic schooling – who knows whether he only learned to write his initials – he was apprenticed to a grocer in Fürstenberg. When he becomes unable to work due to an accident, he is kicked

231 Meyer 1953, 51.

232 It is not clear when and whether Schliemann or somebody else put the autobiography and the bill in the journal. I thank Christo Thanos for pointing this out to me.

233 Stoll 1958, 62. "... was die Augen geshen haben, notiert der nimmermüde Stift. Wahrscheinlich nicht nur für sich selbst, denn manche Stellen des Tagebuchs erwecken den Eindruck, als habe der Schreiber die Absicht gehabt, seine Aufzeichnungen nach der Heimkehr den Freunde in Rußland zugänglich zu machen."

out. He walks to Hamburg but cannot find work there because of his deficient education. Only when he arrives in Amsterdam, after a hazardous sea voyage, do things change for the better. His boss there sends him to a writing course. Next he learns German in Amsterdam. And all this while he was, as is generally known today, admitted to a grammar school (German: gymnasium) after some private tuition.

It would take up too much space here to give a complete analysis of this autobiography compared to the “official” autobiography and other sources.²³⁴ Besides this piece is completely separate from the American journey that is recounted in this journal. The above example is sufficient however to recognize the trend of this autobiography. Schliemann shows here that he has a good brain and an iron will. Look how good I am, you can take your chances with me when it comes to doing business. This sounds well thought-out but we could question that. For a businessman deemed to be honest, there is a strange passage in this autobiography:

... I was at a loss what I was to begin in my state of utter destitution, in the depth of winter, without any means for subsistence. In this dilemma I resorted to a trick, and feigning to be very ill I requested the landlady to send to the Consul and to get for me a certificate of admittance in the hospital.²³⁵

Schliemann tells his possible readers here that he is not ill but acts as if in order to get lodging. How likely it is that the hospital would lodge somebody who is not ill we won't go into. I am only quoting this example as it is impossible to see it as a recommendation for a businessman. What would his customers think if they knew that in an emergency he is prepared to lie to save his affairs.

The Bill

Right at the front of this travel journal there is a bill, presumably in F.W.L. Werner's handwriting, he was Schliemann's last landlord in Amsterdam. For who this bill was and why it is in this travel journal is not clear. It concerns a number of provisions that have to be paid for.

There is a small notebook of Schliemann in which he notes down the amounts payable to his landlord in 1844-1845 for various things. In order to be able to say a little more about the bill found in the journal, I will have a look at this notebook. On page 1 we find the following list ²³⁶:

234 See for Schliemann's journey to the Netherlands Arentzen 2011 and for a wider discussion Arentzen 2012.

235 Weber 1942, 9. A2 diary: loose annex.

236 Gennadius Library Serie D, Box 1/2. On the inside of the cover it says: Mr Sliemann. Underneath in Russian: Heinrich Schliemann Amsterdam October 28, 1844.

In Ludwig 1932, 65 we find a list on which are noted the expenses for the days 11 and 12 May. This list was adopted in Crepon & Bölke 1990 and Vandenberg 1995. However, the list cannot be found in the above mentioned notebook. It must have been put together by Ludwig based on data of different days. Apart from this, it is a mystery to me why Ludwig would conclude a list that covers two days with “macht in der Woche die Summe von”.

3 March	3 rolls	0.075
	butter	0.22
4	2 rolls	0.05
5	2 rolls	0.05
6	2 rolls	0.05
	eggs	0.15
7	2 rolls	0.05
8	2 rolls	0.05
9	2 rolls	0.05
	eggs	0.15
	shoeshine boy	0.10
	paid	<u>0.995</u>

On average he spent one guilder a week via his landlord. At that time he was working for F.C. Quien. From the beginning of April we can see from this small cashbook that the amounts that he pays to his landlord increase to an average of one guilder fifty. This is a clear indication that he earns more money at that time, which is undoubtedly the result of his move to the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. In early August we can see another increase:

28 July	berries	0.06
	3 rolls	0.075
29	3 rolls	0.075
	sugar	0.30
	berries	0.06
	1 roll	0.025
30	berries	0.06
	3 rolls	0.075
	tea	0.35
	gin	0.20
31	3 rolls	0.075
	berries	0.06
	butter	0.10
1 August	2 rolls	0.05
	berries	0.06
2	butter	0.225
	3 rolls	0.075
	shoeshine boy	0.10
3	3 rolls	0.075
	milk	0.07
	paid	<u>2.195</u>

Dinsdag 1845

De Heer H. Schliemann
aan P. W. L. Werner
daar aan H. v. g. g. d. d.

11 May	4 Broodjes	J	10
	1 1/2 Broodjes	"	20 1/2
	2 1/2 1/2 Finest	"	15
	1/2 1/2 1/2	"	32 1/2
12 "	2 1/2 1/2 Water	"	25
	5 Broodjes	"	12 1/2
	1/2 1/2 1/2	"	20
	5 1/2	"	35
13 "	1 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	20 1/2
	1/2 Rogge waas	"	10
	2 Broodjes	"	05
	2 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	00
14 "	2 1/2 1/2 Water	"	25
	3 Broodjes	"	07 1/2
15 "	3 1/2	"	07 1/2
16 "	3 1/2	"	07 1/2
	1 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	20 1/2
	2 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	15
	2 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	09
17 "	2 1/2 1/2 Water	"	25
	4 Broodjes	"	17 1/2
	1 1/2 1/2 1/2	"	20
	1 1/2 1/2	"	10
			3.75 1/2

H. Schliemann
P. W. L. Werner

Figure 23: Schliemann's bill of 1845

The expenses fluctuate a bit per week but on average he now spends 2.10 guilders a week. This is a result of the salary increase that Schliemann got soon after he started at B.H. Schröder & Co. We can see that Schliemann did not have his lunch and dinner at his lodgings and that expenses only concern his breakfast and what he occasionally consumed after his return home in the evening. He could easily permit himself that as he earned then 1000 guilders a year, as he said himself.

The last payment that Schliemann noted in his cashbook dates from 16 March 1845. He had to pay his landlord that week 4.105 guilders. The bill put in the journal discussed here amounting to 3.755 for the period 11 to 17 May fit in well with the amounts in the cashbook.

One of the products that Schliemann purchased with some regularity via his landlord is Dutch gin. The quantities he ordered are not that much when we realize that Amsterdam at that time was plagued by alcoholism. Between 1809 and 1815 the average inhabitant of Amsterdam drank 34.7 litre Dutch gin, 17 litre beer and 6.8 litre wine a year.²³⁷ Amsterdam was then suffering a severe economic crisis and large parts of the population were unemployed and had to live off charity. However, drinking in Amsterdam was not only done to chase away the sorrows of the existence but also to stay healthy. The only sources of water in Amsterdam were the canals and the roofs with their gutters and drainpipes. Apart from serving as water supply, the canals were also used for waste disposal, and gutters and drainpipes were made of lead. The quality of the water from these sources was such that it cost a few people their lives every year. Schliemann was aware of this problem and writes about it to his sisters already on 20 February 1842 when he had only just arrived in Amsterdam:

Wassertrinken ist hier keine Mode, weil es hier nichts gibt, wegen der sumpfigen Lage Amsterdams. Alles Canalwasser ist salzig, und wird daher alles Wasser, was zum Kochen gebraucht wird, durch Dachrinnen aufgefangen, es ist jedoch so giftig, daß viele Todesfälle durch Vergiftungen kommen.^[238]

Only people with money could afford to drink water, which they had brought in by barge from Utrecht. Water was clearly a luxury good in Amsterdam at that time.²³⁹ It is quite possible that in this period of Amsterdam's history the consumption of alcohol prolonged more lives than it cut short.

In the autobiography found in this journal Schliemann asserts, as in other places, that in Amsterdam he spent all his money on his studies and lived a very frugal life. The above cashbook shows that this was not the case. When Schliemann has paid the bill found in the front of the journal, he confirms the image that he was not poor at the end of his time in Amsterdam and that he had not spent all his money on his language studies.

237 De Miranda 1922, 141.

238 Meyer 1953, 31.

239 Only with the establishment in 1853 of the Amsterdamse Duinwater Maatschappij (Amsterdam Dune water Company) did Amsterdam get reliable drinking water.

I should like to thank the following persons and institutions for their valuable assistance:

Bancroft Library Berkeley
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Schliemann's dates and whereabouts

Schliemann used in this diary two calendars: the Gregorian and the Julian. The Julian calendar is 12 days behind the Gregorian calendar. During his voyage from December 1850 to May 1852 Schliemann (almost certainly) mainly used the Gregorian calendar: of a total of 19 days indicated (Monday, etc.), 18 agree with the Gregorian calendar (the date *Sunday* 23 December 1850 in fact turns out to have been a *Monday*). In July 1852 (back in Russia) Schliemann uses both the Gregorian and the Julian calendars. On 23 July he also gives the date of 4 August (23/4 August) thus making it clear that the second date is the Julian. For the months of October, December, January (1853), February and March it is not clear which calendar he uses. As the Julian calendar was then used in Russia, it seems plausible that from October 1852 onward he continued with the Julian calendar.

The overview below gives the dates that occur in the diary. The dates used by Schliemann are in **bold**. No dates are given after October 1852 as we are not sure whether the Julian calendar was in fact used. The places are given as they occur in the diary and the page number of the diary is referred to in brackets []. The place name before [] occurs on the page referred to, the name after [] was deduced from the text.

December 1850

Tuesday 10	St Petersburg [1]
Friday 11	Narva-river [1]
Saturday 12	Dorpat [1]
Sunday 13	Riga [1]
Monday 14	Tauroggen, Prussia [2]
Sunday 15	Tilsit [2]
Monday 16	Konigsberg [2]
Tuesday 17	Elbing, Marienburg, Dierschau [2]
Wednesday 18	Woldenberg , Stargard, Stettin , Berlin [2], Potsdam [3]
Thursday 19	Magdenburg, Braunschweig, Hannover, Minden, Overhausen, Wesel, Emmerich [3]
Friday 20	Arnhem, Amsterdam [3]
Saturday 21	Rotterdam [4]
Sunday 22	department from Rotterdam [4]

Sunday 23 Gravesand, Greenwich, Woolwich, London [4]
 [according to the Gregorian Calendar, 23 December was a Monday]
 Tuesday 24 London [4, 5]
 Wednesday 25 London [5]
 Thursday 26 London [5]
 Friday 27 Liverpool [6]
 Saturday 28 department from Liverpool [6]

January 1851

Monday 6 at sea [6, 8]
 Friday 10 at sea [7]
 Wednesday 22 Queenstown, Cork [8]
 Tuesday 23 Dublin[8], Holyhead, Bangor, Chester, Birkenhead, Liverpool [9]
 Friday 24 Liverpool [9]
 Saturday 25 London, Dover [9]
 Sunday 26 Ostende, Gent, Antwerp [9], Breda [10]
 Monday 27 Breda, Delft, Rotterdam, Amsterdam [10]
 Tuesday 28 Amsterdam, Rotterdam [10]
 Wednesday 29 Rotterdam [10]
 Thursday 30 London [10]
 Friday 31 Liverpool [10]

February

Saturday 1 Liverpool [10]
 Sunday 2 passing Cape Clear [11]
 Tuesday 11 passing the Banks of New Foundland [11]
 Saturday 15 Bay of New York, New Jersey-City [11]
Sunday 16 New York [12]
Monday 17 New York [13]
 Tuesday 18 New York [13]
 Thursday 20 New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore [14]
 Friday 21 Baltimore [14], Washington [15]
Saturday 22 Washington [15]
Sunday 23 Washington [16]
 Monday 24 Washington, Baltimore [17]
 Tuesday 25 Philadelphia [17], New York [18]

Wednesday 26 New York[18]
Friday 28 New York, sailing to Charges [18]

March

Thursday 06 San Domingo [19]
Friday 07 at sea [19]
Sunday 09 Chagres [21], Gatun, Vamos Vamos [22]
Monday 10 Chagres-river [25], Gorgona [26]
Tuesday 11 leaving for Panama [26], arrival in Panama [29]
Thursday 13 Panama [30]
Friday 14 Panama [31]
Saturday 15 steamer "Oregon" [33]
Sunday 16 near Taboga island [33], lat. 7° 16'N and long. 81.° 03'W (170 miles from Panama)[35]
Monday 17 lat. 8° 33'N and long. 84° 34'W (392 miles from Panama) [36]
Tuesday 18 lat. 10° 22'N and long. 87° 30'W (594 miles from Panama) [36]
Wednesday 19 at sea[36]
Thursday 20 lat. 13° 54'N and long. 94° 05'W [37]
Friday 21 lat. 15° 09'N and long. 97° 07'W [37]
Saturday 22 Acapulco [37], [39]
Monday 24 lat. 17° 50'N and long. 103° 02'W [40]
Tuesday 25 lat. 19° 32'N and long. 106° 00'W [40]
Wednesday 26 lat. 21° 30'N and long. 109° 04'W [40]
Thursday 27 lat. 23° 41'N and long. 111° 08'W, Cape Lucas (Lower California) [40],
Friday 28 lat. 25° 45'N and long. 113° 36'W [41]
Saturday 29 lat. 27° 44'N and long. 115° 11'W, passed island Cerros [41]
Sunday 30 lat. 30° 08'N and long. 116° 29'W [41]
Monday 31 San Diego [41], passed Catalina [42]

April

Tuesday 01 passed Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Miguel, Santa Rosa [42]
Wednesday 02 [42], San Francisco [43]
Monday 07 San Francisco [44]

Wednesday **09** to Sacramento [44]
Saturday **26** Sacramanto [44]
Sunday **27** Sacramento [46]

May

Friday **02** Sacramento [46]
Wednesday **14** [46], Nicolaus, Plumas, Suttersville, Marysville [48]
Thursday **15** Yuba-diggings, Longbar, Parkisbar [48]
Friday **16** Nevada City [48]
Saturday **17** Gold-Run, Grass Valley, Rough and Ready [49]
Monday 19 Sacramento [50]
Monday **26**¹ to San Francisco [50]
Tuesday **27** San Francisco [50]
Wednesday **28** San Francisco [50], Sonoma [51]
Saturday 31 Sonoma, Napa, Benicia, [51]

June

Sunday 01 Sacramento [51]
Wednesday **04** San Francisco [53]

July

Sunday **31** Sacramento [55]

September

Monday **01** Sacramanto [56]

October

Saturday **04** [59] ill in Sacramento
Sunday **05** [59] ill in Sacramento
Monday **06** [59] ill in Sacramento
Tuesday**20** [59] ill in Sacramento

November

Saturday 01 [59]

1 The date of Monday 26 and Tuesday 27 are probably not correct. See page 207, note 3.

January 1852

Sunday **04** [59] (Sacramento)
Tuesday **20** San Jose [59]

February

Tuesday **17** Sacramento [60]

March

Monday **08** Sacramento [62]
Tuesday **16** [62] Sacramento
Wednesday **17** [63] Sacramento
Sunday **28** [63] San Jose
Tuesday **30** San Jose [63]

April

Friday **02** San Francisco [63]
Wednesday **07** Sacramento, San Francisco [63]
Thursday **08** to Panama [63]
Thursday **15** Acapulco [64]
Saturday **17** Gulf of Teuantepec [65]
Sunday **18** Pacific Ocean [65]
Saturday **24** Panama [65]
Sunday **25** Gorgona [67]
Monday **26** Gorgona [67], on a swamp [70]
Tuesday **27** [68] Aspinwall
Wednesday **28** [69] Aspinwall
Friday **30** [69] Aspinwall

May

Saturday **08** [70]
Tuesday **11** Kingston Jamaica [71]
Tuesday **18** New York [72]
Wednesday **19** New York, to Liverpool [72]
Sunday **30** Liverpool [73]

July

Tuesday **6/18** Calais, Dover, London, Chiswick [74]

Sunday **11/23** London, to Hamburg[74]

Friday **23/4 August** St Petersburg [75]

Saturday **24** [76] St Petersburg

October

12 [76]

December

31 [76]

January 1853

3 [76]

February

15 [79]

March

2 [80]

The transcription

Introduction to the transcription

The journal

The journal consists of 80 pages written text and one small sketch. It is written in ink and nearly every page is numbered (alternately in ink and pencil). The text is mainly written in English and a few pages are in Spanish: [19] (partly), [20], [21] (partly), [50] (partly), [51], [52] and [55] (partly). Some Russian names are mentioned on page [60].

Two parts have been physically removed from the original diary/text by Schliemann and replaced at a later date. On page [13]-[14] a small part of the text has been removed from the page and later filled in with a thin strip of paper. The original page in Spanish [53]-[54] has been removed and replaced by a sheet with English text. There is still a short fragment of Spanish text on page [55].

The diary consists of three parts: the original diary, a loose-leafed text (2 large sheets, each with 4 pages of written text) by Schliemann and a bill from 1845. This bill is in Dutch and is loose in the diary. The bill is not dealt with in Weber (1942) and I don't know whether Weber has seen the bill but not used it or that the bill has been added to the diary at a later date.

Size-wise the paper of the loose-leafed text exactly matches the paper of the diary: 21.7 x 34.8 cm. At first sight the loose pages were once part of the diary but that is not the case. These loose pages were part of a book that was bound differently. One can see that the binding threads in the original diary are at 3, 16-17.5 and 32.5 cm (measured from the bottom of the page), while the binding holes of the loose leaves are at 9-9.5, 17-17.5 and 26-26.5 cm. I have to conclude therefore that the loose pages derive from another book.

Both the loose-leafed text and the bill are (for the time being) not connected to the diary and are physically separate. Hence in the transcription the diary is dealt with first, next the loose-leafed text and lastly the bill.

The Spanish texts have been translated into English and are presented in a separate chapter. The bill consists mainly of a list of words and numbers and the English translation is given on the same page.

Editorial method

A transcription has been made of the original text: the conversion from a written text to a typed or printed text. The spelling, capitalization, punctuation, etc. in the transcription, are retained as written. The misspellings are the misspellings of Heinrich Schliemann. Superscript words and letters have been brought down to the line.

Schliemann made many spelling mistakes, writing errors, rephrases: words and letters have been crossed out or overwritten. All deletions have been indicated, the overwritings are very numerous and can often not be reproduced. Often it is totally unclear what was overwritten and, in my opinion, the overwritings do not provide new insights into the text. The majority of the overwritings have therefore not been incorporated in the transcription.

The following symbols were used in the transcription:

[1]	page number of the journal
TWe	the vowel <i>T</i> is overwritten by the following vowels “We”
↓word(s)↓	inserted text above a line
→word	word inserted from the left
↔words↔	these lines are perpendicular to the page and have been added later (only page [71]).
↑words↑	here a part has been cut out of the diary, and a new piece of paper has been added. The text later applied has been marked (only pages [13] and [14]).
[?].	vowel illegible
[?][??]	vowel crossed out and illegible
[<i>ill. wrd.</i>]	illegible word
[<i>ill.wrd.</i>]	illegible, crossed out but some vowels can still be read
[<i>ill.wrd.</i>]	word(s) fully crossed out

The transcription of the diary

[1]

The irresistible desire to travel and to see the world prompted me to leave St Petersburg ↓again↓ on the 10 December 1850. It was a cold day; the Neva-river had already from the beginning of October off been covered with thick ice and all over the metropolis the best sledgeroad had been established for many weeks past. - When after the parting-dinner, which I gave to my friends, I rode in a sledge over the Isaac's-place, I saw once more before me the grand Imperial palace, the Admiralty, the equestrian statue of Peter the Great and the Isaac's - Church, and these magnificent master-pieces of art presented to me the most imposing aspect, as I thought that this was ↓perhaps↓ the last time I should see them in this life. - My friends Lischin and Meline accompanied me to the post office, where two of my servants awaited me with my baggage. At 7 o'clock precisely I started. - I had 3 fellow-passengers, true english=men, that is to say, most polite, amiable and interesting persons, and we passed the time very agreeably together. - Soon we passed the "Triumphal Gates" and the last tie which bound me to Petersburg had flown. - We had rows to our post-carriage and could therefore proceed but slowly through the deep snow. - The next day at 2 p. m. we arrived at the fortress Narva, which Peter the Great won from the Swedes by the memorable battle of Narva. On the following day we passed Dorpat, which is celebrated for its excellent university and on the fourth day of our journey we arrived at Riga, on the Duna, capital of Curland,

[2]

and stopt for dinner at the Hôtel
“London”. - The ice of the Duna not
being strong enough to go over with
the post-carriages, a passage for boats
had been cut some days previous,
and we were with our baggage rowed
over the river. On the opposite side
we found another post carriage and
horses. On the fifth day we arrived
at Tauroggen and an hour afterwards
we passed the russian frontier and
found ourselves in Prussia, where
the nicely cultivated fields and the
neat villages formed an immense con=
trast with the ~~immense~~ snowy deserts
and filthy [~~ill. word.~~] stages ↓ and isolated towns ↓ of Russia. On the
15 Decb^r at 11 o'clock in the evening
we arrived at the prussian town
Tilsit and proceeded immediately for
Konigsberg, where we arrived on
the 16th Decb^r at 7 o'clock p. m. -
At 8½ o'clock we departed again,
(after ~~hav~~ a fine dinner at the Hotel
“du Nord” where we enjoyed at the same
time the beautiful singing and music
of some strowling Tyrolians); at 7
o'clock in the morning we ~~passed~~
breakfasted at Elbing, at 11 o'clock
we passed Marienburg and at 4 o'clock
p. m. we went at Dierschau on
a large floating bridge over the Vistula
On the 18th Decb^r at [??] noon we
arrived at Woldenberg, where we got
a bad dinner and at 1 o'clock we
started by the railroad over Stargard
to Stettin, where we arrived at 5½ o'clock
p. m. At 6½ o'clock we started again
by rail and arrived at 9½ o'clock at
night at Berlin, where I seperated
from my fe three most amiable english
fellow travellers Latham, Smith and
Ellis, with whom I had come down
from St Petersburg. Knowing that the

[3]

Cologne-train was to start at 10 o'clock
I drove thither as fast as possible and
was fortunate enough to arrive a few
minutes before the train started. ~
At 11 o'clock we passed Potsdam,
at 4 o'clock in the morning Magdeburg,
then Braunschweig, Hannover & Minden.
and at 6 o'clock in the evening I
arrived at Overhausen, whence I
started at 7 o'clock by the stage-coach
for Wesel, Emmerich and Arnhem, where
I arrived the next morning at 7 and
took immediately my departure by rail
for Amsterdam. At 11 o'clock I arrived
in the capital of Holland and took
up my lodgings as usually in the
Hôtel des Pays Bas. With great delight
did I walk along the beautiful canals
and clean streets, which brought to
my mind thousand old and agreeable
reminiscences; - though in the past time
we may have had to struggle with
thousand fold difficulties and hardships,
yet ~~it shows~~ when we think of it at
a subsequent period of life, it looks
all so agreeable and pleasant as if it
were covered with a rosa veil. The
chimes, which ~~strikes~~ play every quarter
of an hour on all church-steeple of
Amsterdam had now a peculiar charm
to me, and involuntarily the thought
sprung up in me, that though in architec=
tural point of view St Petersburg
beats any other place in the world,
most surely Amsterdam presents much
more comfort of life than your russian
capital the grand coloss of the North.
After having settled my bordings at
~~Amsterdam. Although I had~~ Having been
9 days and 10 days ↓ nights ↓ continually in
stage coaches and railway-carriages
I felt very much excited, so that even
in the ensuing night I could not shut

[4]

an eye, and I wrote therefore all the night long to my friends at St. Petersburg. After having settled my business at Amsterdam and provided myself with many letters of recommendation for America from my friends, B. H. Schröder & Co of Amsterdam, I departed on 21 Decbr at 4½ o'clock by the railway for Rotterdam, where I stopt at the Bath-Hôtel and on the 22 Decbr at 8 o'clock in the morning I started by the steamer "Oceanic" for London. I had abt 12 fellow passengers, among whom was Mr. Schmidt partner of the house P. & C. van Notten & Co an amiable and very interesting man. After a splendid passage of 20 hours we arrived ↓at 4 o'clock next morning↓ in the mouth of the Thames, where we ran a-shore and were compelled to await the tide, which came up at 10½ o'clock. At last we got off and with increased speed we proceeded ~~towards~~ up the river. - Nothing more delightful can be imagined, than the ~~banks of~~ majestic river Thames covered with thousands of vessels of all possible sizes of all possible nations, nothing more charming than its beautiful banks, particularly that of the County Kent, presenting as far as the eye could reach nicely cultivated fields, intersected with neatly looking villages and splendid cities. Soon were we at Gravesand, where the Customhouse-officers came on board, then passed we Greenwich, Woolwich and ere I could imagine we landed at the "Catharine-dock" at London. I took up my lodgings again ↓with M^r Keizer↓ at the "Royal-Hotel" Blackfriars-bridge. ~~with~~ It was Sunday, the 23^d December, and as usual on holy days the bustly, busy London presented a dead appearance. On the 24th Decbr I attended to my business, discounted the bills on London which I had brought with me from St Peters=

burg deposited half sold my gold in
the Bank of England and deposited half
my money with Messrs Baring Brothers & Co
London, whom I brought for the other
[5]

half-anoter who gave me a letter of
credit on James King & Son of New York,
whereas for the remainder I bought at
the rate of 49 United States Coupons and
bills on New York. Having regulated my
business I visited the great Crystal palace
in the Hydepark, and could not satisfy
my eyes in inspecting this stupendous
masterpiece of modern art. The Crystal
palace is being built almost entirely
of Iron and Glass and its enormous
extent is in proportion to the immense
amount of pieces of industry from
all nations which are being exhibited
during the ensuing summer. The Great
Exhibition will doubtless tend to univer=
sal advantage; - through the congrega=
tion of people from all parts of the
world nations will loose in a conside=
rable degree the prejudicial opinion,
which they entertain against each other,
they will become more amalgamated
and greatly stimulated and encouraged
by looking on each others' masterpieces
of workmanship. On the 24 Decb^r, 4th
Christmas day eve, I went to the Zoological
garden was invited to the country seat
of Mr Schmidt, my fellow traveller from
Rotterdam to London, in whose family circle
I spent the evening most agreeably, and
came home only at 2 o'clock. On the
25th (1st Christmas day) I attended
divine service in Westminster-abbey
and went afterwards to the Zoological-
garden, where I saw an immense col=
lection of animals, to which had recently
been added a Hippopotamos presented
by the Pasha of Egypt. - On the 26 Decb^r
I visited again my several commer=

cial friends, who provided me with numerous letters of recommendation both for New York and San Francisco, afterwards I dined with Mr. Schwartz and Walter and went then with them [6]

to the Princes' theater, where I saw the celebrated tragedian "Macredy", who played for last time before retiring from the stage. - On the 27th Decb^r I departed by the Express train for Liverpool, where I stopt again at the "Adelphi-Hotel".

~~On the 2~~ I went then to Messrs Brown Shipley & Co, agents of the United States Mail steamships' company and engaged my berth on board the "Atlantic," Captⁿ West, which was to leave Liverpool on the following day for New York. - On the 28th Decb^r at 3 o'clock in the afternoon we sailed. It was blowing a complete gale and thus utterly impossible to put off the pilote, who consequently went with us. The steamer "Atlantic" is assuredly the most magnificent and grandest steamer in the world; - she is of more than 900 horses' power and ab^t 3000 tons' burthen. Her accomodations for passengers, of whom she can take ab^t 150, are most splendid. The ~~walls~~ ~~of the large~~ mahogany walls of the three immensely large saloons are ornamented with ~~many~~ ↓ hundreds of ↓ gigantic looking-glasses and beautiful paintings; - the Sofas, Chairs, tables etc are all most rich and magnificent; - the ground is covered with gordeous carpets. - Our splendid steamer behaved admirably well during the severe westerly gales, against which we had continually to contend, but on the 6th January it was blowing quite a hurricane ↓ & at 6½ p. m. ↓ a mountains-high wave came to strike the barboard wheel with so formidable force, that the main-shaft broke and both our engines all at once disabled. Dismay

spread over all passengers, and none of us had the least hope of that we might be saved, for we were in the midst of the Ocean, 1800 miles from Liverpool and 1400 miles from New York; - as soon as the wheels were stopt by the breaking of engines, the steamer began to roll immensely and lying then on the one [7]

then on the other side, she threatened to capsize at every moment. Captain West, not in the least daunted by the imminent dangers, which threatened us with immediate destruction, set without loss of time to work to make sails; - 4 days and 4 nights was this gallant officer uninterruptedly on deck and by dint of superhuman exertions he was lucky enough to create a provisionary main-sail and maintop-sail. When all was ready we contrived to make for any port in the West, but all our endeavors remained fruitless; the continual westerly gales drove us more backward than forward. In a meeting of passengers on the 10th Jany it was therefore resolved to request Captⁿ West to return, which he did incessantly. In spite of our small sails, which looked like handkerchiefs in comparison with our immense craft, ~~our steamer~~ the latter went admirably well before the wind averaging 6 knots an hour and making sometimes as much as 9½ knots. - Nothing binds people more than common misfortune, and so it happened that we passengers became all most intimately acquainted with each other; when the weather permitted we were walking about and amusing ourselves on deck, whilst when the weather was bad we sat in the smoking room & discussed upon all possible topics. My fellow passengers were : Wadsworth, Reese, Alexander, Louri, Lorin, Mackenzie, Walker, Griffin,

Case & lady, Hatch & d^{to}, Wheellock and d^{so}, Butterfield, Easter, Pottenger, Harris, Klaener, Goldschmidt, Benjamin.

Although we had provisions enough to live upon for 35 days after the misfortune, yet in the uncertainty as to the period of our ultimate arrival, Capⁿ West deemed it prudent to put us to small allowance, and [8]

instead of 4 meals a day, which we got before, we received from the 6th Januy off only 2 meals a day. -

In consequence of the severe weather most of our passengers were cruelly suffering from sea-sickness, but when on the 6th Jany the misfortune happened, and when we became aware of the impending dangers, our sea-sickness was all at once absorbed by more serious considerations, and we felt ourselves from that moment off first rate.

Most singularly during the whole of our voyage we did not meet a single sail. At last in the ~~evening~~ ↓morning↓ of the 22 January we learrived in sight of the rocky Irish coast, and ion the same day at noon we landed in the harbour of Queenstown, whence we were taken by ~~stea~~ small steamer up the Lee - river to Cork. The entrance to Queenstown and eventually to Cork proffers the most ↓grand &↓ splendid view; - every where ~~imm~~ the eye meets with colossal rocks covered with underwood of pine and oak. In the evening at 6 o'clock we arrived at Cork, a very dirty and poor place with ab^t 80/m inhabitants. - Whilst some of the passengers remained for the night at Cork, I went with several others on ~~to Dubl~~ by rail to Dublin, where we arrived in the morning at 4½. Wishing to see as much as possible of Dublin, which I had to leave again

at 6½, I took a carriage and drove through the town in all directions. Dublin is a very fine place and one of the streets "Sackville - street" is one of the most beautiful streets I ever met with; in it I saw the ~~B~~ vast building of the Bank of Ireland, Nelson's monument and numerous beautiful mansions. - Arrived at Kingston at 7 o'clock, I went up to a Hotel for breakfast and started at [9] 9 o'clock by the steamer for Holyhead, where we arrived at abt 12½ o'clock. At 1 o'clock we started by rail ↓ the express train ↓ crossed whole Anglesea-island, passed ↓ through ↓ the beautiful Britannia-bridge over the Menai street, Bangor, Chester and Birkenhead, whence we immediately proceeded across the Mersey to Liverpool and I took up my lodgings again at the Adelphi-Hotel. It was 23^d Jan^r at 8 o'clock p. m. when I found myself fairly installed in my Hôtel. - I went immediately to the theater and on the following day I, together with 3 fellow-passengers visited Messrs. Brown-Shiple & Co, who returned us our passage money of £35- each and in the evening at 8½ o'clock I departed by the mailtrain for London, where I arrived in the morning at 5 o'clock. I slept a few hours, and called ~~upon~~ at 11 o'clock upon my agent, from I learnt with ~~that~~ greatest displeasure, that certain business, which I entrusted to a party at Amsterdam, had not been executed. - Therefore I decided to ascertain the cause of the delay and to departed without loss of time for Amsterdam. The direct Rotterdam-steamer having already left, I went by rail to Dover. On the railroad I met with M^r Duke, shipbuilder from Dover, who told me a good deal of

California. In the evening of the 25 Jany I left by the steamer for Ostende.

The sea being very high, ~~it was very dif-~~ and the steamer lying a good end out in sea, it was not without great diffi- culty and not without repeated shower baths, that I could get in a boat on board of the steamer. In the morning of 26 Jan^y we arrived at Ostende, and I left immediately by way of Gent for Antwerp, where I arrived at noon.

[10]

I visited M^r Engels, whose brother in San Francisco had been particularly recommended to me, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I departed by the stage coach of van Gent & Loos for Rotterdam.

We had to pass several broad waters, and arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening at Breda, where we stopt for the night. The next morning at 5 o'clock we started again, had to cross several very broad rivers, passed Delft and arrived at 12 o'clock in Rotterdam, whence I immediately proceeded by rail to Amsterdam, where I arrived at 2½ o'clock and took up my lodgings this time at the "Rheinische Hof", where I was to pay immensely dear for bad victuals and miserable accommodations. - I contrived to settle at Am- sterdam my business as well as it possibly could be and left on the 28th

Jan^y at 4½ o'clock ~~again for~~ together with J. H. Schröder and B. H. Schröder for Rotterdam, where we stopt for the night at the "Hôtel des Pays Bas". In the morning of 29 Jan^y at 5 o'clock Mess Schröder left for Antwerp, whilst I went by direct steamer (Ocean) straight on to London, where I arrived on the 30th Jan^y at 3 o'clock in the evening. On the 31 Janry at 5 o'clock p.m. I left by the express-train for Liverpool, and stopt again at the Adelphi-Hôtel, where

I found all my fellow-passengers of the "Atlantic", ready to start on the following morning by the Africa Capt^a Ryrie for New York. In the morning of 1st Febr'y ~~we departed~~ at 10 o'clock we departed under the continual firing of the canons. ~~and~~ The splendid weather then prevailing prognosticated us a prosperous and pleasant journey. We had on board about 115 passengers, among whom were very nice and most interesting men, whose company proved most delightful to me; - my very intimate [11]

friend was M^r D. Klaener from Galveston, with whom I had already been together on board the Atlantic, and ↓with↓ whom ↓I↓ was now again in the ↓same↓ stateroom together on board the Africa. - I was rather disappointed regarding the accomodations which I expected to find far superior to those of the Atlantic, whereas they proved to be far inferior. On the 2^d Febr'y we passed Cape Clear, when all at once the thereto fine weather changed; a heavy gale sprung up and lasted about 6 days during which time it was quite impossible for ~~ge~~ us passengers to go on deck. On the 11th Febr'y we came on the Banks of New Foundland, where the water assumed all at once a green color. We passed the Banks in 2 days. On the 15th at 4 o'clock in the afternoon we came in sight of Zandy-hock and entered the Bay of New York. When ab^t 3 miles from New York-city we began to fire canons and to throw rockets, in order to give to the inhabitants to understand, that we brought some highly joyful intelligence. Though it was ab^t 9 o'clock p. m. when we ~~la~~ got into the steamer's resting-place at New Jersey-city, many thousands of people had gathered together on shore in anxious expectation to learn the news we brought and immense was the joyful excitement

when one of our officers ~~cried~~ ↓proclaimed↓ through the speaking-trumpet: "the Atlantic is safe" this joyful intelligence spread with the swiftness of lightning from mouth to mouth, in a few minutes it was known ~~at~~ by every inhabitant of N. Y. and equal quickness was it conveyed by the electric telegraphs to Louisiana and Mississippi, to Cincinnati and Michigan. ~~Th~~ It was an outburst of feeling, in which every member of the Union participated with equal sympathy, with equal cheerfulness. - No sooner had the favorable report become known, [12]

when hundreds of printing-presses were put to work to bring it to paper and when at 11 o'clock I rode through the town Newspapers with the recital of the Atlantic's fate were ↓everywhere↓ cried out for sale. A newspaper, which costs only 2 Cents, was sold for and eagerly paid with 50 Cents.

I stopt at the ~~Hôtel~~ "Astor-house", the grandest and most gigantic Hôtel I ever saw; - it is provided with more than 300 bedrooms, besides many large saloons, smoking and private chambers. There is a large reading-room for the ~~ill-urrd.~~ sole use of the boarders of the house, furnished with Papers from all States of the Union. Patriotism does not allow any foreign papers. Each boarder pays 2½\$ a day for bedroom & attendance, breakfast, dinner, tea and supper. Wine is paid extra. I find the American table extremely comfortable and tasteful to me; in the morning I use to take Ham & eggs, Buckwheat-cakes, fried Hominy and Chocolate. At dinner Oysterpies, Soup, Roast beef, roast Turkey, Game and Pudding. At 6 o'clock p. m. weak tea and at 11 o'clock at night for supper cold Turkey and Ham. - The 16 Febry was a Sunday and I went to Church, where I was delighted to hear the Thanksgiving rendered to the

Almighty for the safety of the Atlantic.
 Afterwards I went to C. D. Behrens 335
 Houston Street, the former partner of my
 unfortunate brother, who was very much
 surprised to see me; I invited him
 to dine with me in the Astor-house. On
 my return to the Hôtel I found still
 M^r Wirths & Brakel, who, having seen
 my name among the arrived passengers of
 the Africa, had hastened to find me out,
 and I therefore invited them likewise
 to dine with me. After dinner they both
 departed for Philadelphia, and I went to
 see the town. New York is a very regularly
 built, nice, ~~and~~ clean town and has
 many many elegant and even colossal
 [13]
 buildings; but as a new city it can of
 course in no way be compared in architec=
 tural point of view to any of the grand
 European capitals. The houses are generally
 of brick and not ~~paved~~ covered with
 chalk. Of the streets, which are all
~~pretty~~ very regular and well paved,
 the ~~p~~ broadest and most elegant is the
 Broad-way, which is ab^t 3½ miles long
 and passes the whole town. There are
 4 theatres, all of which are small, ~~and~~
 badly decorated, and little attended to,
 for the bustling busy [~~ill-wrd.~~] spirit of the
 Americans does not permit them to think
 of theaters. The only place of public amuse=
 ment [~~ill-wrd.~~] most attended to is Barnum's museum,
 where all sorts of ludicrous humbug is
 represented. Fellow's minstrels'-concerts
 are also much visited; - the musicians
 are all negroes, who contrive to amuse
 the public by their music, their songs,
 †and by all sorts of burlesque humbug.
 I cannot say that I like these american
 amusements, in which the Yankees find so
 great delight. On Monday, the 17th Feby I visited †
 and by ¹

1 This line concerns a part of the original text that was later covered up.

on Monday the 17th february I visited²
the various houses for which I had letters
of recommendation. On the 18th I was
invited to a grand Ball, which the Light-
Guard gave in the Astor-house, and which
lasted till 5 o'clock in the morning. -
There was a large congregation
of yankees' ladies. Be it that the american
beauties do not take enough exercise in
the open air or be it for the quick change
of the temperature, the fair sex fades here
extremely soon and usually at the age of
22 they look just as old and worn out
as they are beautiful and symmetrical
at 16 & 18. - The men are with few excep=
tion of good constitution but thin and
weak as compared to the english; - they are,
if properly approached very frank and commun=
icative and regarding industry and assi=
duity, there is hardly a people on the
earth's surface who surpass them; - the
fair sex, though a little more solid than the french
[14]

is here by far lighter than the daughters
of fair England, and an overvivacity and
a very great tendency to the frivolous and
amusing are the chief characteristic of
the yankees' daughters. Having after most
careful investigation ascertained, that the
best investment for funds for exportation
to California is Gold coin, I entrusted
all my funds to the care of Messr^s
James King & Son, giving them at the
same time all necessary instructions how
to act in my behalf. On the 20th Febry
at 9 a. m. I left by the railway for the
South and arrived at 1½ o'clock at Phila-
delphia and at 7½ o'clock in the evening
at Baltimore, where I stopt for the night
at Barnum's-Hôtel. The american rail=
roads are merely laid out with the design
to make money, and not the least notice
is taken as to convenience and accommo-

2 ibid

dations for passengers; - you see here
 neither station-houses nor watchmen,
 and every where only one track of rails,
 ↑on the railroads. ↓ Alas! but too frequently
 ↑great misfortunes happen in consequence. ↓
 The cars are ↓very long, and the entrance is from both ends; ↑
 in the midst ↑of the each car is a small iron stove. ↓
 passengers. There is little or no regularity
 prevailing, which is the more awkward and
 proves the more frequently fatal, as there
 are numerous broad rivers to pass, where
 the cars stop and the passengers are taken
 over by steamers; - on these occasions the
 rush is always immense, and as if a
 race were to be won the passengers storm on
 with ~~whom~~ mad fury out of the cars on
 the steamers, and from these again into the
 cars. - These latter are roughly made; - the
 entrance is from both ends and a long cor-
 ridor as it were conducts through the cars,
 so that you can walk through 10 or 12 Cars
 without interruption. The seats are on
 both sides, and on each bank sit 2 persons.
 The leaning can be turned over, so that
 4 can sit together if they choose proper. -
 In each train there is a smoking-car. -
 In Baltimore I enjoyed a good oyster
 supper, and the following morning again
 an oyster-breakfast, and on the 21st Febr
 at 9 a. m. I started by rail for Washington
 [15]

~~where~~ together with M^r Klaener, who had seen
 my name in the book at Barnum's Hotel
 and called at my room in the morning at 4.
 On my arrival at Washington I went
 immediately to the sessions of the House
 of Representatives and the House of Con-
 gress in the Capitol, a magnificent buil-
 ding on the top of a hill. With the most
 vivid interest and the sincerest delight
 I heard the powerful speeches of Henry Clay
 Senator of Kentucky, Hale of New Hampshire,
 Mason of Virginia, Douglas of Illinois,
 Davis of Massachusetts etc. The chief
 topic of discussion was the late negro-riot

at Boston. - I left the Capitol at 4 o'clock, took then my dinner (together with M^r Dean, whom I had previously met with on the railroad) at the ladies' table at the National-Hôtel, and in the evening at 7 o'clock I drove to the President of the United States to whom I made my introduction by stating that the great desire to see this beautiful country of ~~the~~ [the] West and to make the acquaintance of the great men who govern it had induced me to come over from Russia, and that I now deemed it my first and most agreeable duty to pay my respects to the President. He received me most kindly, presented me to his wife, daughter, and father, and I had 1½ hours conversation with them. The President is a very plain and friendly looking man of about 50; his name is Fillmore. His wife is about 46, a very noble and friendly looking lady; his daughter may be 17 years and is looking rather green. - At 8½ opened the "levee" with the President and there assembled more than 800 persons, from all parts of the Union, all eager to see and speak to the President. This latter introduced me to M^r Webster, Secretary of State; to M^r Clay Senator of Kentucky and to several others. The President's palace is a most magnificent mansion; there are no sentinels to watch and bar the doors; there exist no ceremonies to which the stranger has to submit to be presented to the first Magistrate. I staid there till 11 o'clock. On Saturday 22 Feb^r I visited the great Patent [16] office, where patterns are exhibited of all inventions upon which a Patent has been granted by the United States government. At 10 o'clock a.m. I went in a coach from the Capitol to the Potomac-river, where I embarked on board a steamer to go down and see Mount-Vernon. - It being Washington's birthday, there were numerous passengers. We arrived at Mount-Vernon at 12 o'clock

and remained there ab^t 1½ hours. - Washington's mansion is a plain building, 2 stories high, erected in his plantation called Mount Vernon; close to the house are the tombs of him and his wife. He died in 1799. - The house is occupied and guarded by a negro-family, slaves to W. Here and there in the gardens are stationed negro-boys, offering for sale limons & sticks, which according to their assertions were pluck and cut from trees planted by the great Washington. - My fellow-passengers bought of these objects with great eagerness, and were anxious to pick out from the wall which surrounds Washington tomb little stones, which they ~~preserved~~ regarded and were going to preserve as holy relics. We then visited Fort Washington, a small fortress on the Potomac-river, and returned to town at 3½ o'clock. After dinner I went to the ↓national↓ theater, which had only been recently erected for the concerts of Jenny Lind; a roughly made building with still worse decorations. The house was thronged, for the celebrated actress Davenport was to play. The actors and actresses knew their ~~rolls~~ ↓parts↓ very well by heart, and I must avow that I never amused myself better. In the american theaters there is no prompter. On Sunday the 23 Feb^r I went 2 times to church, and visited also the grand marble monument which is now being erected by wilful contributions to the memory of great Washington. As the necessary funds can be collected but very slowly, the construction of the monument proceeds also very slowly, and it will take still 2 more than 21 years to complete it. Every state of the Union has contributed one large piece of marble, upon which is marked the name of the State

[17]

When completed the monument will be 576 feet high and will resemble an immense pyramide. On the 24 Feb^r I visited once

more the sessions of Congress, where the cheap postage-bill was discussed and after dinner at 5 o'clock p. m. I departed from over Baltimore to Philadelphia. In passing Baltimore the corpses of several workmen were carried through the streets, who had a few minutes previous been killed by the falling in of a wall. In the morning of the 25 Feb^r at 3½ o'clock I arrived at Philadelphia and took up my lodgings at the "United States" hotel. After breakfast the landlord procured me tickets of admittance to the States' prison, Girard's college and Laurel-hill-cemetery and I therefore went to see these remarkable places. I went down by an omnibus to Girards College, which is an institution for orphan children founded in 1779 by the will of a certain Girard, frenchman by birth, who, having by successful operations accumulated a fortune of 30/millions of dollars, bequeathed 1 millⁿ for the construction of said edifice, which is quite of marble and surrounded by immense columns in the way as the Exchange of Paris. - I ascended to the very top from whence I enjoyed a marvellous view upon the town and the adjacent country. Then I went to the Laurel hill cimitery, which is beautifully laid out on the immensely high and rocky bank of the Schuylkill-river, which is tributary to the Delaware-stream. Afterwards I went to the Penitentiary, a huge stonen-building surrounded by mighty walls. From the center of the building, where ~~the~~ some gaolers constantly [18] watch, the visitor sees 6 immense corridors of which each is provided with hundreds of small cells, each of which contains one prisoner. These cells are well aired and each is provided with a small gar=

den, in which the inmate is allowed to walk every day for 1½ hours. - Each prisoner is set to work in the profession which he has learnt; what he performs is sold in public auction; from the net proceeds the institution gets a certain part and the remainder belongs to the prisoner, who by assiduity can thus during a few years' detention accumulate a little fortune of some hundred dollars. A mighty effect is produced upon the prisoner by the policy of sole-imprisonment & they ~~ga~~ leave the prison with seldom exception greatly improved. and it almost never happens, that a prisoner appears a second time between the same walls. The ~~de~~ town of Philadelphia is regularly built, and the streets in general present a neater and cleaner appearance than those of New York. - In the evening at 5 o'clock I departed for the latter place, where I arrived at 11 o'clock. On the 26 Febry I went again to the several parties, to whom I had been introduced by letters from Europe, gathered from every one some subsequent introductions for San Francisco, ~~and~~ settled my money matters with M^r King and on the 28 Feb^r at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I went on board the "Crescent City" with destination for Chagres. Thousands had gathered together on the pier, partly to bid a last farewell to their parting friends, and partly led by curiosity. Such was the throng of the multitude, that with the utmost difficulty only I could get on board the steamer. - Wirths & Brakel accompanied me to the steamer; On the pier I found M^r Dean [19] from Tranton, of whom I spoke in writing of Washington. I further saw on the pier M^r Behrens my unfortunated brother's partner, who had equally come

to say me a last farewell. At 3 o'clock
 ↓we↓ departed under the loud and uninterrupted
 cheers of the multitude. The weather
 was beautiful and spoke fair in favor
 of a prosperous journey. We had ~~about~~
 on board ab^t 180 Cabin = and 80 steerage
 passengers; - of the latter ab^t 60 who
 had engaged to work on the Panama
 railway, hoping during 6 months' labor
 to spare sufficient means to get over
 to California. They will certainly be
 successful in this respect, since they
 get 35 \$\$ per month and victuals besides,
 but certainly for the most part they
 will die away on the Isthmus, be-
 cause the climate there is the most
 →un wholesome of the world. Among the
 Cabin passengers there is very mixed society
 and it would be difficult indeed to find
 out ↓from among them↓ more than one dozen persons,
 whose society was desirable or agreeable
 to me. Till to day 12 o'clock (7 March)
 we have had a splendid jrun and
 most beautiful weather. Since 4 days
 it is very hot and every morning take
 I a fresh seawater-bath. Yesterday
 we had during the whole day San Do-
 mingo ~~in~~ s with its high coast in sight.
 To day at noon we were on the 16 degree
 latitude and 57 - longitude and had
 only 470 miles to Chagres. -

Nada de mas terrible que el calor; -
 contra el frio puede ~~gas~~ cubrirse
 con espesos vestidos pero contra el calor
 no hay ayudo ninguno. Por mas legeros que
 sean mis vestidos yo debo sufrir horriblemente,
 aunque tomé un baño cada mañana. -
 El ~~?~~ Se puede ver que el baño es muy
 poco usado, porque no cae ningun agua
 de la douche. - A bordo del vapor de Panama
 [20]
 a San Francisco yo contractaré dos o tres
 baños al dia para todo el tiempo que
 quedaremos en el mar. - Nuestro capitan

Tanner es ombre muy sencillo y parece que entiende muy bien su empleo. - El dependiente parece ser ombre rico y arrogante. - Las acomodaciones son [*ill.wrd.*] [*ill.wrd.*] muy malas, ~~puero~~ los comunes son sucios, pero casi no se puede esperar otra cosa a bordo de un buque de 260 pasajeros. Hay a bordo poco mas o menos de 20 mujeres; entre ellas [*ill.wrd.*] unas como 16 casadas y 4 mozas que van en California ~~para~~ a buena ventura para buscarse [*ill.wrd.*] maridos. Estas 4 doncellas parecen muy stupidas y son muy feas, ademas que son ya de edad avanzada y tienen poco mas o menos de 30 años. Pero sin duda alguno ellas hallaran en California lo que desean, por ser aquel mercado muy poco provisto del bello sexo. - ~~aje~~ En mi camera hay 4 camas, de las quales yo ocupo una; otra ocupa un judio Sueco con cara muy fea y un poco suspi= ciosa; otra ocupa el capitán Poustand y la ultima es tornada por un gordo americano habitante de San Francisco. - Hay dos puentes, de los cualos el uno es llamado quarter-deck y sirve a los pasajeros en el tiempo de gran calor, ~~por ser~~ o de llovía por ser abrigado por el puente superior contra los rayos del sol y del [*ill.wrd.*] mal tiempo. El puente superior sirve por paseo por la tarde o por el tiempo, cuando el cielo es cubierto de nubes. - A bordo de este vapor no se mesura la distancia por el echar del "log", porque tenemos el sol casi durante todo el dia. La comida es muy inferior a lo que teniamos a bordo de los vapores de Inglaterra à Nueva York, no hay aqui ni chocolate, ni jambon con huevos, ni muchos otras cosas. - Me dicen que sobre el Isthmus de Panama los viveres son muy raros y por consiguiente yo compraré algunos a bordo de nuestro vapor para llevarlos conmigo. - Una viesta muy buena ofrecen

[21]

los pezados volantes, que proseguidos por otros mas grandes se levantan fuera, volan alguna distancia y desaparecen de nuevo en el agua; - son largos de media pié hasta un pié. - Los movimientos de este vapor son un poco diferentes de los de/los vapores ingleses. Estos ultimos se echan con el cabo en el agua, y vacillan en toda la largueza, mientras que los vapores americanos oscilan siempre de un lado al altro. [*ill.wrd.*] Nada puede igualizar la magnificenza del firmamento por la tardo, cuando la brillante luz de millones estrellas proclaman la gloria de Dios; nada de mas hermoso que el aspecto del mar cuando el sol brilla con sus rayos ardientes.

On the 9th March at 5 o'clock in the morning we discovered the coast of Central-America and at 10 o'clock a. m. we landed 1 mile from Chagres. There came immediately boats alongside, but it took nearly 2 hours ere I could get away with my baggage the rush of the passengers being very great. The sea was going very high and not without great danger to loose my luggage or to crush my skull did I get ashore. - Among all the miserable places I have met with, and it happened to me to see many in different parts of the world, I must give the palm to Chagres. - On the left hand side of the Chagres river live the natives; - their houses are mere huts or shelters; and some 4 poles are rammed in the ground and intertwined with bamboo-cane, of which equally consists the thatch. One or two hammocks and an iron-pot [*ill.wrd.*] that is all you see in the interior On the other side of the river are established a few ↓small↓ wooden [*ill.wrd.*] the houses, occupied by english americans; the whole ground-floors of these houses are filled up with stores of liquors, fruits, clothes, etc. I was immediately busy to engage boats

[22]

in which however I could not succeed, my fellow-passengers who went before me having taken away all good boats; and I therefore thought it best to go by the steamer, its possessors having engaged to dispatch us without the least loss of time in small boats from the place where the steamer would stop. I left Chagres at 1½ o'clock; I had about 23 fellow passengers; - though we ~~had~~ went only at the rate of 2½ knots an hour, we soon passed the boats, which had advanced us. The Chagres river is very narrow and so shallow, that with the greatest difficulty only it is possible for small boats to go up; ~~Bess~~ the more so as thousands and thousands of snags (old stems) look out of the water at every step and impede the progress. Nothing more imposing and charming can be imagined than the banks of the Chagres river, covered with ↓incessant & ↓ impenetrable forests of Corozo de Lola, Orange- & limon trees, cocanut= palms, palms of Corrozo de lola, guayabos, bamboo-cane, leaves of chichica [~~ill-wrd.~~] and thousands of others. We stopt for some refreshment at Gatun-village, consisting of two or three miserable ~~cabin~~ huts of natives. In the evening at 6½ o'clock we stopt for the night at Vamos Vamos; eight of my fellow passengers sat gambling the whole night, whilst 12 others went to sleep under a carrozo tree close to a house, and myself with two others, we got hammocks for which we were to pay abt 3/6^d each. - Though the house where we stopt was without any walls and had but a very light cover of ~~cane~~ dried leaves, yet the heat was insufferable, and I was perspiring the whole night, as if I were lying in a russian steambath; besides the noise was immense all the night long, and when I at last I fell asleep for one moment I ↓was↓ immediately ~~awoken~~ a again awoken by swine or children who hurt against me. After the heat

of the day and the first part of the night,
a cold dew rises towards 3 o'clock and
from then till sun-rise it is quite chilly.
~~after having~~ In the night I saw many
[23]

sinister looking natives around me and
had consequently continually my revolving
pistol in one hand and my dagger-knive
in the other. We start~~ing~~^{ed} in the morning
at 5½, but scarcely had we proceeded
for 1 mile farther, when owing to a
rapid and to the shallowness of the water
we were to stop with the steamer altogether
and got into the 2 boats, which had been
attached to the steamer; it was at that time
raining very hard and we got very wet.
At ab^t 8 o'clock we came to a place
The large boat in which I was with
about 12 others and the most part of the
baggage, was rowed by 4 suspicious looking
negro-spaniards, whilst the other boat was
managed by 2 negro-frenchmen natives
of Domingo. At 6 o'clock we met an
opposition steamer, 3 times larger than
ours and quite differently built, for she
had an enormous wheel behind and
had t~~o~~[wo]³ large decks the one above the other.

She had no passengers, for as it takes
merely 12 hours to go down from Gorgona
to Chagres in open boats, every body prefers
the latter to steamers. Shortly afterwards we
came to a point, where the railway touches
the river and where a few wooden houses
were erected for the accomodation of
the railway workmen; - ab^t 40 of these
~~were~~ came out when we passed; their pale
and iemi~~ci~~ated faces clearly denoted their
sufferings under the horrible effect of this
poisonous climate. - Under the influence
↓ of frequent rain & ↓ of a constan~~t~~ heat during the day-time
of from 100 to 110 degrees (scale of Farenheit)
the growth of the vegetation is extremely rapid
and causes a strong miasma, which together

3 Original text was written in ink, the correction is in pencil.

with the evaporation of the thousand swamps and ponds with standing water, and the miasma arising from the quick decomposition of animal and vegetable matter infests the air, and certainly this climate is the most unhealthy on the globe. - The constant tremendous thirst, which torments the new arriver, can in no way be quenched; for [24]

the water is ~~very w~~ as warm as the air and full of insects; - to kill these latter and to make the water drinkable it is always being mixed with brandy, which keeps the nerves in continual excitement and weakens the body. - The most beautiful fruit of the tropical clime grows here in wilderness but it is poison to everyone except to the natives who are accustomed to it from their earliest youth up. - The natives of this country may be divided in three classes, viz: in indians of fair ~~or~~ [~~ill-wrd.~~] brown complexion, usually regular features and long beautiful hair; in negro-spaniards, who are a mixture of negroes with spaniards, with curled ~~or~~ short black hair, very irregular monkey-like features and thick projecting lips; and finally in creoles, or descendents of the spaniards, who settled here in the beginning of the 16th century. These creoles have not mixed with any other blood, they are general speaking of fair complexion but of course sunburnt. - The Creoles speak the Spanish language ~~exceedingly~~ with a beautiful accent and even in old Spain I never heard this language better spoken than here. The Indians speak also very good and at all events better, than the northern provinces of Spain, whilst the negro-spaniards speak a sort of mixed language. - ~~Both Indians and Negroes~~ ~~yo.~~ The railroad (ferro-carril) is being built not from Chagres, but from a bay 3 miles below it, where vessels of every burthen can land. The natives being too lazy for such work, all the laborers

are americans, who come here under an engagement of free passage, housing and victuals and a pay of 35 dollars or 7 pounds Sterling per month, and an obligation as that ~~the~~ after 100 days work they are to be transported to California or to any other port of the U. S. which they may desire. But with very rare exceptions the americans cannot stand the climate here for 100 days ; ~~they usually~~ for the most part they catch the fever within the first month after their arrival and die away [25]

ere they are 6 weeks here. The survivors are of ruined health and disabled for life from enjoying the happiness ~~of b.~~ We can therefore say, that this railway is being built upon the bones of the americans. -

On the 10 March at about 11 o'clock a. m. we landed at some ~~€~~ indian huts to take refreshments; - wishing to give to my body a little wholesome exercize, I climbed up at a hundred feet high ~~pal~~ coconut palmtree and threw down some fruit to my thirsty fellow-passengers; afterwards I went up in orange-tree and shook off hundreds of oranges ~~to my thirsty~~ ↓ to my ↓ comrades. - The Indians charged us a picayune (½ dime) for each cup Coffee or milk. - The farther we went up the river, the more difficult became the passage, and almost every 5 minutes the negroes were to jump in the water and to drag us over some sandbank. I should certainly not have liked to follow their example, for the river is full of alligators (caymanas) and Iguanas (these latter are very like the alligators but have a much longer tail and are of less size). Alligators in the Chagres-river are usually from 3 to 10 feet long and seldom more; in a river near Panama they are said to be to 40 feet long by 4 and 5 feet broad. - The rays of the burning sun were falling perpendicular upon us and extenuated by ~~fatigue~~ thirst, we landed

at 4 o'clock again at some huts for refreshments; all what we could get was some bad black coffee of the worst description. Gorgona was said to be only 4 miles off and ~~are~~ abt 9 fellow passengers and I resolved to go afoot. But not being acquainted with the road we soon missed the way and found ourselves in the thicket of the wood without being able to find our way either forward nor backward. - With immense pain we broke our way through thorny bushes and bahuco and [26]

at last we came to some place in the river, whence I we saw our boat not far off. I went in it again, whilst my companions went anew for Gorgona conducted by an Indian-boy. At last at 10 o'clock in the evening we arrived at Gorgona, a most miserable place consisting of a few wooden houses with gorgeous denominations of : "Union Hôtel" and "Panama Railroad Hôtel". I stopt at the former and received victuals and accommodations of the worst description, though I was to pay very dear; - beef is very bad and I cannot eat it at all; ham is so salted that I were to drink myself to death if I touched it. - The only thing I could take was sour stewed apples and weak tea. They located me for they night in a small garret in which besides me slept upwards of 30 persons; - the miasma and heat arising from so many people gathered together in a small apartment prevented me from sleeping. - In the morning of the 11th March I hired 3 mules; of which one £ a saddle mule for me and the other two for my baggage;- the owner of the mules Debursio Haramillo went a foot with me. We started at 6½ a. m. Although I was to suffer cruelly under the perpendicular rays of the burning sun,

~~and though~~ yet this journey from Gorgona to Panama is most surely one of the most interesting that I ever made in my life. The way is ~~for the most part not~~ ↓but↓ ~~broader~~ ↓but↓ /just broad enough for one mule pass ~~and it is never broader th~~ but from time to time the traveller encounters little windings ~~or~~ open places, which make it possible for two mules to pass. To prevent embarrassment which would be caused by the encountering of mules going to or coming from Panama, the muledriver, on entering ~~th~~ a narrow pass, always cries at the pitch of the noise in order to give a signal to those who might come in opposite direction. The way [27]

[ill.wrd.] the way leads over the Cordilleras Andes mountains, which are extremely steep and covered with innumerable stones of all possible size, between which it is very difficult indeed to penetrate. They say that Fernando de Cortes has in 1516 established a turnpike road across the mountains, but its traces have almost entirely disappeared. After having with ~~the~~ the greatest difficulty reached the top of a steep mountain, the traveller involuntarily shudders when he looks down into the valley which lies 2000 feet deep *[ill.wrd.]* under his feet and into which he is led by a ↓rough↓ path one foot broad and every now and then interrupted by large stones and deep holes. Nothing more beautiful can be imagined, than to behold ~~the splendid~~ from the top of one mountain the magnificent production of nature down to the bottom of the deep valley and abruptly up again 2000 feet high to the top of another mountain. - These thousands of feet high and many many miles long amphitheatres made by the hand of nature, are filled up with every specimen of southern vegetation; In all their grand majesty the Higuero the Corozo de lola, ↓rice↓ palm, Coconut palms,

and ~~are~~ ↓ thousand others ↓ are lifting to the ~~sky~~ the clouds
their gorgeous tops, whilst the beautiful
orange= and limon trees and chichica
leaves ~~are off less in~~ as if humbling
themselves before their grand neighbors
are offering to the fatigued and exhaust-
ed traveller their beautiful fruit. -

Parrots, Cacadous, canaries, paraos, and
thousands of other birds of the most beautiful
plumage were flying around us. Thousands
of monkeys from one foot ~~high~~ in size
to ~~the~~ man's height were playing about and
crying in the trees and the whole nature
seemed to sing the praise of the Almighty.
The Isthmus of Panama is [*ill.wrd.*] an immense
~~garden~~ Eden in which the descendants of Adam
& Eve seem to have retained the manners &
customs of their primitive forefathers; for
[28]

they go quite naked and live from the fruit
which the splendid tropical vegetation puts
around them in magnificent abundance.
Their chief characteristic is a horrible lazi=
ness, which does not permit them to occupy
themselves with anything; they cannot find
themselves happier, than lying in their hammocks
and eating & drinking. They are [~~??~~] ~~dy~~ /very
fantastic but ready to commit any crime
which might tend either to enrich their pro=
perty or to take vengeance for what they
think offence. No ~~mate~~ body goes here
without being well armed with a 5 or
6 barrellled pistol and a long dagger-knife.
In coming up the river Chagres, and crossing
afterwards the Cordilleras Andes from Gorgona
to Panama, the traveller is at every moment
disgusted at the horrible smell of animal
matter which strikes his organs; - this smell
arises frequently from the discomposition
of mules [*ill.wrd.*] which fall on the road
or of wild beasts such as guana, but
alas still much more frequently from
the discomposition of travellers murdered
on the road by the hand of the natives. -
When these latter stop for the night

with a boatfull of passengers, they use to select for their halt a place little above some snag and some rapid; - then in the night, when all are asleep, the boatmen fling with all their power suddenly the boat down the rapid upon the snag, so that the boat capsizes and all hands perish, with the exception of the natives, who are perpared for it and share their spoil. - Often, when they are unsuccessful in their attempts to drown their passengers, they stab or shoot them to death and ~~through~~ throw them over the banks of the river in the thicket where the corpses are consumed by insects and by buzzards, which can be seen in myriads on the way from Chagres here. - On the way from Gorgona to Panama they equally shoot or stab them and throw them down in the abyss, where never a ↓living↓ human being has put his foot. - Abt 16 or 18 [*ill.wrd.*] [*ill.wrd.*] [*ill.wrd.*] individuals of great [29]

respectability and very large fortune having a few days ago been killed in the most atrocious manner by the natives on the Chagres river, and their bodies partly thrown in the river and partly burned on the bank of the river, so that they arms and legs looked wide out of the water, and were horribly mutilated by the buzzards, the scorn of the americans residing in this place was roused to the highest degree; a petition was made to the governor, and [*ill.wrd.*] a party of Ame=ricans accompanied by some soldiers went immediately down to Chagres in pursuit of the murderers. They got hold of 4 of the latter, who were brought in here on the day of my arrival (11 March) and will be shot in a few days. Had it not been for the stringent exertion of the Americans, no body here would have taken the slightest notice of the murder. - ~~Where as~~ The Tropics seem to be the father=land of the vegetable-world, [??] every

plant every tree of Europe I find here,
a thousand times more grand, more beau-
tiful. The ([??]butterling) ↓butterflies↓ have here almost
the size of a pigeon, and are of the most
beautiful colors in blue and yellow. -

I arrived here at Panama on the 11 March
at 3 in the afternoon and stopt at the
Louisiana Hôtel, which (except in Chagres
and Gorgona) is the dearest and worst I
ever met with in my travels, but the
best in this city. - Panama is a most
miserable dirty place, with about 2000 inha-
bitants, of whom certainly $\frac{1}{4}$ are Americans,
 $\frac{2}{4}$ negro= & indian-spaniards, and $\frac{1}{4}$ spanish
Creoles. The streets are narrow, and have
the common-sewer in the midst, which is
very convenient in the rainy season. The
houses are all built so as to hang some
6 to 58 feet over in the streets in order to protect
against rain and against the burning sun.
It is indescribably hot here and all the
day long I perspire, as if I were sitting
in a russian steam bath. The perspiration excites
[30]

the thirst, and I know no means to
quench it; for the only thing I can drink
here without fear to poison myself is
brandy and water. - Panama was built
ab^t 8 miles from here in 1516 by Fernando
de Cortes, and ab^t 250 years ago it had
a flourishing commerce and ab^t 100.000
inhabitants. Ab^t 200 years ago it was
over taken and devastated by pirates and the
whole population was murdered; only
a few fled and rebuilt afterwards the
present miserable town. - The soldiers
here are all colored people and are said
to be the greatest rascals; as their employ
is to contribute to public safety, so
their crimes pass under the mantle.

They go barefooted and look like rovers
with their old roasted guns. - The govern-
ment-seat is in Bogota ab^t 1000 miles
from here. Here are printed twice a week
2 english papers (called the Panama Star

and the Panama Echo) and 1 spanish (called el Panameño). - In my Hotel I have to sleep together with 6 other persons and the heat of the apartment is certainly 110 degrees, though we keep all doors all the night wide open. - Windows and window glass are things quite unknown here in Panama. Every room of the houses opens ↓by large doors↓ upon galleries. Good Panama-Straw-hats cannot be bought here. -

On the 13th at 7½ p. m. I went to the theater, a small roughly made building, which resembles more a barn than a theater. As usual in spanish theaters I was to pay first for admission and then for my seat (6 reals for the former and 2 r for the latter). I got a place in the pit, which instead of chairs, was filled up with bad banks. They represented "El Alcalde de Salamanca" and "La Familia improvisada" and the play being to the benefit of the poor the house was crowded to excess. - There were many spanish "belles" in the theater; - they have black hair, black eyes ~~and a yellow~~ pale ~~but interesting~~ complexion, but generally very interesting features. There were equally a large number of ↓stout↓ colored ladies in the house, who with their blunt ~~and~~ [31]

strong features presented a great contrast against the fine and thin spanish-ladies. Under the influence of this burning climate the spanish beauties fade still far quicker than the americans. On my left hand were sitting two young spaniards, and I employed all my power of conversation to gather from them as much as possible useful information about this country and the mode of its government. But I found their education on a very low degree, and all I could learn from them was, that a president stands at the head of the government; that the country is divided into ab^t 30 provinces and that each province sends 2 representatives and 1 senator

to Congress, which takes place once a year at Bogota, and lasts 3 months. This latter place, though only ab' 1000 miles from here, takes ab' 28 days to the traveller, for the way leads continually through the Cordilleras Andes and is connected with immense danger and hardships, as it goes sometime ↓over↓ 12.000 feet high mountains through eternal snow and ↓then↓ again ~~under~~ through desserts under the burning sun of the tropics. - The characteristic of the spaniard in this country is a great inclination to the frivolous and amusing, a great laziness and a great lightness of character. Every body wears night and day a dagger-knife with him and besides a pistol when going out of town. As could be foreseen, the actors and actresses plaid very bad, ~~very badly~~ knew ↓very badly↓ their parts and the prompter's voice could always distinctly be heard. - In the Coffee-house opposite the theater I got the best coffee that I ever tasted since I left Liverpool; in the coffeeroom is written "Aqui non se fia". -

On the 14th March early in the morning, I hired together with a fellow passenger two mules ~~and~~ for 3\$ a pece and set off to the place, where the city of Panama had formerly been. With the utmost difficulty and cruel sufferings under the burning sun we traced the mules' tracks through forests, underwood and thickets and arrived after 1½ hours ride to the sea-shore in sight of and not far from [32]

the ruins of old Panama. On the sea coast we had again to battle and struggle with thousands of difficulties and hardships; the heat of the sun was so great, that we could scarcely breathe; our mules were always sinking deep in the loose sand; sometimes we came to places, where our beasts fell to the belly in the mud, then again had we to find our way through large and pointed pieces of rocks, where

a single false step of the mule would have brought instantaneous death to his rider. Then again had we to descend and to drive our mules over high and steep rocks. At last we arrived and were very disappointed to find but very little to satisfy our curiosity. - The old city has ~~been~~ ab' 200 years ago entirely been devastated and destroyed by the Buccaneers. In this burning heat the decomposition is as it were keeping pace with the vegetation and thus little or nothing [~~ill.wrd.~~] can be seen of the old city. Here and there was visible something of an old wall or the ruins of some houses; then a stonen bridge over a small canal and at last a steeple; [~~ill.wrd.~~] the walls ~~though~~ composed of granite stones and cement, were covered with thousands of trees of all dimensions and I saw them to 100 feet high; - I don't know how trees can grow from out a stonen wall and I cannot cease to wonder at the splendid vegetation of the Tropics. The walls of the steeple were equally all over covered with underwood. Judging by the ~~old~~ ruins, the old town must have had from 80 to 100/m inhabitants. Fatigued and exhausted by hardship and thirst, we found with the utmost difficulty our way to the end of the ruins, where we rested ½ hours in an forest of orange-trees, which had certainly formerly been a park and had served as place for refreshment and recreation to the inhabitants of old Panama. - In a moat near the wall I saw an alligator of more than 7 feet length. Myriads of Musquitos trouble [33] here both men & beasts, and thousands of Iguanas which come forth at every pace, disgust the view of the visitor to this country. On the way home we met still much more difficulty than on going out, for the tide was fast running up, and some

times it rushed upon us with great fury. At last at last we reached an indian house, where we put up for some refreshment; but there was no fruit to be got, and all we could obtain was a little bad water, which we swallowed away ~~with~~ satisfy our burning thirst. - At 2 o'clock we came home; our beasts were quite exhausted by fatigue and no spurring with the heels or beating with the whip could prevail upon them to go anything faster than at a slow pace. -

On the 15th March at 10 o'clock in the morning I got my luggage carried down on negroes back to the sea-coast; - another negro brought it ~~then~~ in the boat and as the latter could not quite come up to the shore, I got myself also carried on negroes shoulders in it. We had to wait ab^t 1 hour in the boat and only came on board the steamer "Oregon" at 11^¼. This steamer has very good accomodations and pleases me a good deal better than the Crescent City. There is only one deck covered with canvass, and no supper deck; - the saloon serves all at once as assembly-room and dining hall. - The ↓staterooms & ↓berths are very nice and clean.

16 March. We started yesterday by 5^½ for it took a long time to take all the passengers and luggage on board. We steered S. W. We soon got Taboga island in sight. It was a delightful evening. A fresh sea breeze had cooled the air. - Full moon was shining perpendicular upon us, and such is her brightness here in the Tropics, that hardly a single star was perceptible on the cloudless sky.

[34]

Nothing excells the beauty of Taboga island with its thousands of feet high mountains covered with forests of palmtrees, orange-trees, when seen from on board a steamer in a moonlight night; - nothing more majestic than the aspect of the [~~ill. word.~~]

calm ocean when reflecting the full moon in the tropics. - Till a late hour all passengers were on deck and enjoyed the fresh evening air together with the splendid spectacle of nature. I asked for a bath, but had no little difficulty to get it, the colored man, who takes care of it being just as indolent as he is lazy and [*ill.wrd.*] ↓arrogant↓. - The table on board the Oregon is far from what it was on board the Crescent city, for there being no ice on board we have no means to preserve fresh meat; all dishes of meat, which are brought on the table consist therefore of salt porc and corned beef. But I see we have got 3 ↓living↓ oxen on board, which most likely will be slaughtered to supply us when we run shorter of meat.

We have ab^t 100 passengers in the first and about 40 in the 2^d cabin; we have all to ~~dine~~ ↓take the meals↓ at the same table, and the latter being but very short, ½ of the passengers sat first and the rest afterwards. The tea and coffee is most excellent on board this steamer. -

The Staterooms are very small; I have T where I am together with 2 others. In the night the heat was intolerable and neither of us could sleep, though we all lay naked. Unfortunately we could not open the window owing to the spray of the sea, our stateroom being close to the wheel. - Though ventilators have been put to operate all through and over the ship, yet the heat is awful. - We all go in the thinnest possible close and with large straw-hats; - Our Captain ~~Patterson~~ ↓earson↓ and a lady-passenger are caught by and suffering from Panama- fever. - This morning I experienced again much difficulty to get a few buckets of seawater for my bath [35]

for which I have now agreed with the negro to pay always 50 ^{cts}. All the morning we have been in sight of the mountainous coast of the

american continent and I think by 12 o'clock
 we shall come out of the Bay of Panama
 and come in the open ocean. - It is a
 hot and calm day. - Off Panama we
 met yesterday the english ship "Antelope"
 (formerly a steamer now converted in a
 sailing vessel), which arrived in 70 days
 from San Francisco with passengers. -
 During my stay at Panama I visited the
 Mass in the catholic church, and was not little
 disgusted at the blind fanaticism of these
 ignorant people. The catholic priests of
 this country are said to be all greatly sub-
 jected to despondencies and ~~the greed~~ dissipation;
 nothing more shocking than the stupid
 features of a catholic priest, worn out
 and emaciated by prostitution. One of
 the ecclesiastics who officiated had ab^t
 4 months ago made an attack upon the
 pudor of a girl less than 9 years old and
 effected to rape her. For this outrage
 he was merely condemned to 3 months'
 emprisonment and had only last week
 left prison to continue his profligate life. -
 In the foregoing ~~passages~~ I forgot to insert
 that on the 13th inst I visited the governor
 of Panama, who received me with great
 politeness & with whom I had a long
 conversation. ~ Today (Sunday 16 March)
 at noon we were according to the
 bulletin stuck up on deck latitude 7° 16N.
 long. 81.° 03° west and the distance run from
 Panama was 170 miles.
 Monday 17 March. Very hot; gentle breeze
 from N. W. From early in the morning
 till about 6 in the afternoon we had alter-
 natively the mainland and islands in
 sight. To prevent confusion at table
 the Cabin-passengers on producing their
 tickets had to draw the lot who should
 dine on the first and who at the 2^d table.
 [36]
 I drew 2^d table N^o 11. I had a long con-
 versation with ~~th~~ Captⁿ Pearson, who has
 recovered from his sickness and is just

as gentlemanlike as he is plain and communicative. - He told me, that on each of the 2 last voyages the Company to which the "Oregon" belongs had lost 25/m\$, but that they would make money this time. He is little afraid of competition, since millions are required to set up a line of steamers on the Pacific. We were today 17 March at noon lat. 8.° 33" N. and long: 84° 34" W.; distance run 222 miles and thus 392 miles from Panama. -

Tuesday 18 March. We have to day a fine North breeze and as the vessel shakes and rolls a little, many of my fellow passengers are suffering from seasickness. We saw this morning a great many black fish of great size, which moved forth in the water like porpoises, though they were by far larger than the latter. Lat north 10.° 22 Long 87.° 30 W; distance run 202 m, from Panama 594 miles.

Wednesday 19 March. Since writing the above we have had four stoppages owing to some little reparations being made in the machinery. Last night I slept upon a bank in the dining room. All around me on banks as well as on the groundfloor were taking the nights rest lady passengers, who could not sleep in their berths on acct of the great heat. This morning at 4½ the negro came to tell me that he had prepared my bath and I consequently went on deck to take it; - in coming to the stair= case I was compelled to laugh heartily at the great number of ladies and gentlemen, who half-naked were lying pêle-mêle together and sleeping on the staircase. - a sea-voyage requires particular concessions and allowances in the shape of fashion, for if we were to observe here the etiquette of [37]

northern decency, we were to dye here under the horrible heat. - This morning at

breakfast I got acquainted with a very interesting person, partner of Fill & Co of S. Francisco, with whom I conversed more than 3 hours; - he is a man who has travelled much and possesses much knowledge & experience.

Thursday 20 March. No alteration neither in the wind nor in our progress nor in the temperature of the weather. To day at noon we were Lat 13.° 54" North; Long 94.° 05 South. and the distance run was 210 miles.

Friday 21. At noon Lat. 15.° 09 " lat: north and 97.° 07 Long: West; distance run 190 miles.

At 4 p. m. we got land in sight. At 6½ p. m. we saw on shore a fire, which we supposed to be produced by the burning of a dry grass field kindled by the burning sun.

Saturday 22 March. All the morning we had land in sight and at 10 o'clock a. m. we landed in the harbour of Acapulco. The entrance to the harbour is [?] most beautiful and picturesque; - on both sides thousands of feet high mountains covered with large stones and pieces of rock and with forests of Orange= Coconut=, Banana= and other trees. The little bay is very deep so that we could throw anchor at the very shore. There are 7 other large sailing vessels in the harbour, which have brought Coal from England and besides 3 old vessels, which serve as depositaries for Coals from which the Steamers are supplied. - Seen from the bay the city of Acapulco presents the appearance of an african village, for with few exceptions the houses are mere huts or shelters made of 4 or 6 poles rammed in the ground and covered with shingle and cane; some of the houses have walls of the same material, but for the most part they are open; the space between the houses is filled up with palm=, Coconut=, & orange trees. There are but a few stonen buildings occupied by Spanjards or Yankees; - one Church and one fort. I went on shore at 10½ and entered into more than 30 huts and houses. The inhabitants of the Cane-houses or huts are all a mixture of spanish and indian-blood, and I saw at every pace b very nice and

[38]

regular ↓female↓ features. They speak very good spanish.
In the street I met 4 soldjers who led 2 pri=soñers, who were put together by chains; - on enquiry I learnt, that the prisoners had only a few days ago ~~been~~ committed ~~for~~ murder and robbery, and that they were now to undergo 3 years imprisonment. The chains by which they were fastened were so light, that without pain I should be able to tear them to pieces. The criminals had a false and ready to any crime look. - The 4 soldjers were miserable looking colored wretches and mere vagabonds; their rifles mere roasted toys. - I could get no admittance to the fort, a mere heap of stones armed with a few guns and occupied by a few wretchedly looking soldjers. - This fort is on the point to fall in ruins, and the mexican laziness does not permit of repairs. There was formerly much sick=ness in Acapulco, it being entirely surrounded by enormous mountains, which ~~did not~~ ~~permits~~ intercepted all wind and besides there being close to the fort a large swamp which incessantly spread out bad miasma. But a french engineer has drained out the swamp and made a large cut in a ~~b~~ mountain, so that the wind can come in and the state of health of the town is thus considerably improved. Acapulco was formerly an important place when Mexico belonged to Spain, for at that time all eastindian produce destined for the city of Mexico, Veracruz and other ports of the interior was brought in here by spanish vessels from Manilla, which took then in return from the numerous and ~~pro~~ abundant mines of this country Gold, silver, and inferior metals such as Copper, Iron, etc but since Mexico fell off from Spain this intercourse has ceased and the mines are entirely abandoned. The Mexicans are false, ignorant arrogant. ~~With bribes~~ The government seat is Mexico ab* 120 leagues or 280 miles from here. They have 1 president and each of the 18 states

of this country sends to Congress 1 Senator and 2 representatives. But it is all merely proforma, for by bribing every thing can here be rendered possible. With money in hands ~~the~~ and by bribing the Collector, the Treasurer and the clerks, whole cargoes can be ~~exported~~ [39]

smuggled here. - Any rogue, who wishes to enrich himself at the expence of the country merely goes to the President and offers him 10/m pesos to make him Collector, which is immediately complied with, and the rogue cheats then this sum 10 fold in one year. All offices of government are here sold by the first magistrates, who act like despotic rogues, controlling the country with the army. I added a few words to my letter to M^r G. Ellis and gave it then to the Mailmaster to forward it. - In the market I bought a great many oranges and some pineapples and went on board again at ab^t 2 o'clock. Acapulco is Lat: 16. 42" north and Long: 98. -

22 March. During our stay at Acapulco we had on board a customhouse officer, a fair specimen of Mexican stupidity and indolence. Yesterday evening came several ~~off~~ mexican officers on board to take prisoner a young man, native from Ohio, who, a year ago had been in partnership with a spanjard at Acapulco and suddenly run away with £600, after having previously seduced the daughter of his partner. - He first hid himself somewhere on board ~~but~~ but when the officers after vain research after him had given him up, he all at once instituted himself their prisoner. This morning came many indian boys swimming to the steamer and by diving and playing in the water all sorts of tricks they endeavored to gain some dimes. - Thousands of fish were seen swimming around the ship and contriving to catch some little of what was thrown overboard. At 1 o'clock we left our anchoring place and

taking the passage to the right we passed through immense heaps of stones wonderfully thrown together by the hand of nature. All the day we had the beautiful mexican coast in sight, presenting 2 and sometimes even three and four ~~huge~~ ranges of ↓huge↓ mountains which hid their tops in the clouds. The country is here more barren and hardly produces any thing for ab^t 20 miles from the coast. - [40]

This evening we saw on shore ~~2 lighter~~ 2 fires, very likely originated by the natives. Pacific Ocean the 24 March. The coast is this morning much farther off and the high mexican mountains look like dark clouds. At 9 o'clock we past a steamer supposed to be the New Orleans ↓coming↓ from San Francisco. Latitude north 17° 50", Long: ~~East~~ West 103° 02 distance run, 190 miles. -

On the 25 March. Lat: 19.° 32" north, Long: 106.° 00 " West; - distance run 197. - no land in sight. We are today in the Longitude of the Bay of Lower California. -

On the 26 March. A steerage passenger having died last night from Dysentery, his body was this morning sowed up together with a piece of old iron in linen ~~and~~, then covered with the United States flag and laid upon a plank. The ship's doctor read then a short prayer and the dead was committed to the deep, where it disappeared instantaneously. It is to day much cooler. -

~~On the 27 March.~~ To day at noon we were 21.° 30 Lat.; and 109.° 04" Long; distance run 209 miles.

On the 27 March. It is again very cold, and passing last night upon a bank in the great saloon I suffered very much from cold and want of comfort. Henceforth I shall sleep again in my state-room. The negro having stirred me at 4 o'clock I went up to get my bath; - the water was very cold and from this day off I shall bathe at noon. = From 4 till 9½ o'clock we had Cape Lucas, the most southern point of Lower California in sight. - The fourth mate

having lent me his quadrant and explained to me its use, I tried to measure the altitude of the sun and to determine our latitude. Supposing the whole sphere of the hemisphere divided into 360 degrees and a line drawn from the point where we are to the s canopy above, the number of degrees from the top of this perpendicular to the edge of the sea must necessarily be 90 degrees, and making an allowance of 12 minutes for the height of the vessel, there remains $89.^{\circ} 48''$. I measured the height of the Sun, which was $68.^{\circ} 41'$, and deducting these two cifers and adding $2.^{\circ} 36'$ (distance from the Sun to the Equator), I found our latitude to be $23.^{\circ} 41'$. Our longitude was this morning[?] $8^{\circ} 111.^{\circ} 08'$, and the distance run 174 miles. We are [41]

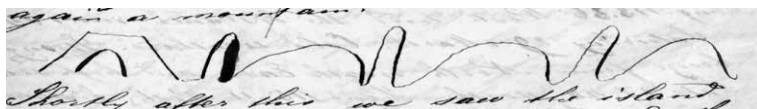
steering ~~W.N.~~ North West half West and have since yesterday strong head wind. Mrss Roberts having lent me the 3 volumes of Thomas Dick L. L. D. of Astronomy, I read almost all the day long in this beautiful book, which affords me immense interest; - my fellow passengers are amusing themselves by tickling each other in the neck with a piece of paper rolled together and persuing then each other to inflict punishment for the offence. It being too cold in the saloon I slept this night for the first ~~their~~ time again in my stateroom. - This afternoon we 28 March. This morning I was compelled to passed Margarets - Island and a peninsula; both barren land full of rocks. A ship having wrecked here last year, the crew saved themselves on this island but perished from starvation, not being able to find any food. - Between Margarets - Island and the coast is a large and deep Bay celebrated for Whalefishery. 28 March. This morning it was so cold, that I was compelled to put on winter clothes. - At abt 8 a. m. we saw a great many very large fish called "Black-fish", which move in the water like porpoises. - No land in sight. To day at noon we were Lat. $25. 45$ north, Long. $113. 36$ West and the distance run 184 m. Saturday 29 March. Cold weather. Strong

breeze from North north East and high sea.
Lat. 27. 44 north, Long. 115. 11 West; distance
150 m. This afternoon we passed 5 islands, of
which only the largest one, called Cerros is
on the map. All these islands consist of high
and barren rocks and offer a splendid scenery.
Sunday 30 March. The weather is again colder
with a strong breeze from north; - I was
compelled to sleep last night with two wool-
len blankets. - This morning we had divine
service. - Long West 116. 29 ; Lat 30. 08 North
Monday 31 March. This morning at 10½
we opt in the port of San Diego, a
miserable little place under Lat: 32. 40
Long: . San Diego is divided into
3 parts, of which a few wooden houses
are built on the bank of the harbour, a
few more a little farther up the coast,
and the bulk of the town ab^t 4 miles
from the stoppage-place of the vessels.
The harbour is but small, however 30 to
50 feet deep and enclosed by huge rocks.

[42]

The surface of the water is covered with
a sort of very long yellow seaweed called
“Kelp”, which grows sometimes hundred feet
long. - Having only one passenger to put ashore
and to deliver the Mail, we did not throw
the anchor and went on again after 1½ hours
stoppage. During the whole day we had the
coast in sight, covered with very high
rocks, amongst, which we discovered one
covered with snow. These mountains are
called the Coast-range; the Sierra Nevada is
ab^t 120 miles from shore in the interior
of the country. Towards evening we passed
2 islands, of which one is called Catalina.
Tuesday 1 April. This morning at 5 we
passed the beautiful island Santa Barbara
consisting of 7 huge rocks, and ~~covered with~~
presenting the most grand and picturesque
sight. At first comes a high quadrangular
rock, ~~having in it~~ a forming an immense
arch or thoroughfare, large and deep enough
for any man of war to pass, then comes

a high Cone rock in the form of an immense Cone, than a mountain, then again a cone, again a mountain, again a cone & again a mountain.



Shortly after this we saw the island Santa Cruz, then San Miguel and then Santa Rosa, all of them consisting of high rocks. The whole morning we see to our left la the rocky coast of America. It is a fine morning and much warmer than during the last days. At 11 o'clock we past "Point Conception". We saw on shore innumerable herds of cattle, which run off at all speed when we past. The coast presented continually broad & beautiful valleys ↓plains↓ covered with wild oats. From the beach to the mountains ab' 5 miles. We were at noon 201 miles from St Diego and Lat: 34.31 North, Long: 120. 10 West. - Wednesday 2 April. This morning at 6½ we met 2 steamers viz: the "Tennessee" and the" M^c Kim". The former being to far off we went to meet and to stop the latter in order to put on his board a passenger who had secretly come ~~and hide~~ on board at Panama and not paid his passage. When a few days ago the Captain and storekeeper [43] asked round for the tickets, this man hid himself among the pickles, where he was found by one of the stewarts. Another passenger who had also come on board without payment, had hidden himself between two matrasses; whence he was dragged out. He got through by paying \$100-. The man whom we put this morning on board the M^c Kim had come out from N. York without a farthing in his pocket; but

he had been more lucky on board the Crescent city. Now he returns by the M^c Kim to Panama. He was on board our steamer secluded for 2 days in the bathroom with water and bread. -

The M^c Kim & Tennessee left S. F. yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

This morning one of the steeragepassengers, an elderly man having died from fever, he was sowed up in canvass and committed to the deep, whilst one of the passengers, Fögginsen, read a funeral sermon. We see this morning the Californian coast involved in a thick fog, which is said to be peculiar to the environs of S. F. -

In the afternoon at 2½ o'clock we entered the Golden Gate ~~and~~ (consisting of 2 immense pieces of rock in the form of a gate) and proceeded at a fast rate in the harbor of San Francisco; which is enclosed and sheltered by huge mountains and large enough to contain all the fleets of the globe.

Soon we saw the outskirts of the city of S. F. and soon afterwards the city itself.

More than 800 ↓large 3 mast↓ ships of all nations were lying close to the city and presented a grand and beautiful appearance. Owing to the innumerable masts, little could be ~~discovered~~ ↓seen↓ of the town ere we landed in a boat.

The rush of the passengers to get off was so great, that not without difficulty & dangers could I get away from the Oregon.

For putting a shore I was to pay 1½\$; for carrying the luggage to the Hôtel, 2½\$.
[44]

I put up at the Union Hôtel, which is the best in this city ~~and where I have to pay 7 \$ per day~~. For a small bedroom on the 4th floor 6 feet long by 5 feet broad have I to pay 7\$ per day, board included. - The streets are paved with planks; the houses for the most part of wood. The new arrival is amazed when he looks upon this bustly busy city of 40/m inhabitants and when

he thinks, that it has taken existence only 18 months ago, for before that there were only a few frame buildings. Sacramento City April 26. Almost four weeks have past since I wrote the above and great changes have taken place in my position. I stopt at the Union Hôtel only one day and took then my lodging with D^e Stout, to whom I paid \$20 for board and lodging. After having looked around and come to the conviction, that I ought to take several weeks in order to get well acquainted with the locality and the mode of doing business in this quarter, I thought I should do as well to go for a couple of days to Sacramento to look after the affairs of my unfortunate brother, who died here May 21 last year. I therefore crossed again the bay in a steamer and went up the Sacramento-river, which ~~ha~~ is much like the Chagres-river but much deeper and broader. After much difficulty I found out the tomb of my brother, and gave \$50 to the Undertaker to get made a beautiful marble tombstone with inscription thereon, which has since been executed in San Francisco and the tombstone stands now on the grave. Having looked here to business and ascertained, that I do better to invest my capital in this city than at San Francisco, I decided to [~~ill. word.~~] settle down here and therefore went back to S. F. on the 7th April to fetch my luggage. On the 9th inst I returned to Sacramento and have lived here ever since. I must avow that the climate agrees perfectly well with me - the days are hot, the nights cool and refreshing - and I like it much better than at S. F.,

[45]

where a strong gale blows all the day long. Sacramento lies in the midst of the Sacramento valley, which comprizes ab^t 360 square miles and resembles an immense garden covered with beautiful trees and underwood green at all seasons of the year. An

immense levee or dike has been erected at great expence to protect the city from inundation, which would otherwise occur almost every year, for from the melting of the snow ↓in the mountains↓ the waters of the river assume a vast magnitude. - Though this city is still in its infancy, still it contains already ab^t 10/m inhabitants and the population is daily increasing. The streets are broad and very regular, but of course not paved and with very few exceptions all houses are of wood. The americans are extremely smart in the art of tracing out towns, and to this city they have given 55 immense streets, commencing by ↓on the northward↓ by A and terminating ↓southward↓ by Y; beginning westward by 1st and terminating eastward by 31. - Thus it is no wonder, that most part of our city is covered with meadows, trees, and under-wood and offers to the sportsman an inexhaustible stock of rabbits, cayotes, and quails. The great plague of this place are the rats, of which there are millions. - I thought to find here great wealth, but I was much mistaken; - the wild speculations of various kind, but especially those in real estate, have killed almost every body, and men worth a year ago hundred thousands, have now nothing. Under these circumstances it is not all wonderful that money is very tight and commands the high interest of from 5 to 10 and 12 per c^t per month. But very little security can be had here and the utmost care and precaution is requisite in loaning money. In no country of the world have I found so much selfishness and such immense love of money as in this Eldorado. With an american money goes over everything in the world, and the desire [46] to attain it as fast as possible brings forth his indiscribable, his boundless energy. - His enterprizing spirit, too hot for mature consideration, boldly goes ahead, and however fre-

quently defeated by miscalculations, he as often tries to go ahead again; - an american can never become daunted. - April 27. Today I took my bath in the Sacramento river, went to church and visited then D^r Carpenter (I. on 12th str.) who wishes to make a loan. He is one of those few men of this city who inspire me confidence; for he acts with caution, has a good character and a monthly income of ab^t 4000\$ The foreigner who comes to this country is lost in admiration and esteem for the american race, in contemplating the wonder works, which have been achieved ↓here↓ in less than 2 years. But these sentiments gradually ↓soon↓ disappear, when the new arriver [*ill. wrd.*] becomes thoroughly acquainted with the character of the californian yankees, when he sees himself surrounded by a gang of scoundrels, when he sees that all is based here on swindling, that all is abominable falsehood, and fraud and humbug, or in the plain californian: that all is calculated to "shave". -

May 2^d. Every day furnishes me new and striking proofs of the sharp and cunning character of the people I am doomed to live with. - At first they surround me with politeness and civilities; make me the trustee of a thousand little confidences and when they think they have inspired me with the fullest confidence then they make an attempt to cheat me. As I use to think ↓here↓ every one to be a rogue, and as I have all my eyes about me, so they fail in their attempt but not yet daunted they try a second time to impose upon me. Being again frustrated in their hopes, they leave me entirely. - So some time ago a man of very gentlemanly appearance [*ill. wrd.*] ↓endeavored↓ to make me his confidential and to inspire me great friendship. When he thought he had attained his aim, he came to my office and asked me if I knew D^r so and so, and when I answered in the negative he began to

[47]

speaking in the most favorable manner of this man's character and his immense wealth and thereupon he asked me, if I did not wish to make that eminent person's acquaintance. I acceded to it and shortly afterwards he presented his great friend to me. The D^r began to talk to me of a thousand nice things, enlarged then upon the immense and inexhaustible treasures of California, upon the great rise which is necessarily to take place in the value of real estate in this town, brought then the conversation upon his own immense riches both in real estate and in houses, talked then a long string of the noble character and the great treasures of another person (whom I accidentally knew to be a ~~poor~~ light-minded, broken and poor man) and then suddenly by striking himself on the forehead he remembered that he had that man's note for \$260- and drawing it out of his pocket, he requested me to discount it at any rate I choose proper, for by an unforeseen accident it happened that he had run short of cash just that day. - He was so perfectly sure to take me in, that he appeared immensely struck and disappointed, when in answer to his request I told him that I would not give five pence for his note, but that he could get any amount of money from me by affording sufficient undoubted security.

14 May. Having determined to settle down permanently in Sacramento City I thought it the greatest duty incumbent upon me to travel through the country, to visit the various towns and villages in the mining districts, to inspect the diggings and the different ways in which Gold is won, in order to gather at least some superficial idea of this country's wealth and to see the resources of this city. With this intention I started on the 14 May at 9½ o'clock in the morning by the steamer "Dana" to Marysville. It was a fine but very cold day and I froze, though wrapped up in 2

blankets. After having gone up the Sacramento-river [*ill. wrd.*] ~~considerable distance was entered the American~~ [48]

for 30 miles and left to the right hand the American river, we went up the Feather-river, leaving the Sacramento to the left. Having proceeded in the former for 20 miles, we entered the Yuba and after having run in it for ½ m. we landed at Marysville. Fare on the steamer \$5. We passed on the road the cities of Nicolaus, Plumas & Suttersville, of which a year ago were entertained very high ideas, but which have never become and will never become anything. At Suttersville I saw a great many of the native Indians, who half or entirely naked were running about their dwellings, consisting of heaps of earth. - I stopt at Marysville in the City-Hôtel, where I had very bad accommodations and victuals, though I was to pay very dear. Marysville is nicely situated on a hill on the river's side and the climate is considered extremely healthy. Storekeepers are doing a very good business as they have to supply the miners all along the Yuba river; but Marysville is thought to become a very dead place when the ~~water~~ ^{is} for want of sufficient water the rivers ~~bee~~ become unnavigable. - On the 15th at 6¼ a. m. I went off a foot to the Yuba-diggings, and after having passed Long-bar, I came to Parkisbar, where I stopt for the night at the National-Hôtel, a small canvass-house with awful accomodations, but good victuals. After dinner I went down to the river to see the miners working; - they cannot do much just now owing to the high water. Every one has his claim, but usually 4 or 5 individuals join together in a company; sometimes one man hires workmen; - one of them loosens the earth, two others put it with shovels in wheelbarrows and carry it to the seves, which another man shakes continually; water is brought into the seves either by pumping or by means of long hoses, which are placed in the river in places where it forms a little fall, so that the power of the stream forces the water along the hoses into the seves. From these latter dirt is brought into

the pan and gradually cleansed more. - Parkis Bar-city offers a splendid view on the river and the adjacent mountainous country. Across the rapid Yuba-stream is established a ferry which is drawn by means of a tow; fare 25 ¢. I departed on the 16th at 6¼ a. m. from Parkis Bar, crossed the river and went up the road to Nevada City, then ascending immense, steep hills, then descending into deep valleys. For abt 8 miles I travelled together [49] with 3 Chinamen, with whom I could in no way make myself understood. On the top of a high mountain I saw an indian ranchee. Quite fatigued and exhausted I arrived in the evening at 6 o'clock at Nevada City, a small and extremely nasty place in the midst of a pine-forest, and took up my lodgings at the french Restaurant of Gaudin, where I made the acquaintance of the professor of languages P. Kowalewski, who spoke marvellously well the russian language. On the 17th at 6½ a. m. I went from Nevada to the Gold-Run, a large valley, where plenty of gold is found. I inspected there a great many tunnels from which the waste dirt and lead is drawn out either by horsepower or by hand-work. The lead is cleaned by sluicing and yields fair profits. - This valley seemed to be extremely rich of the pure-stuff, for gold was glimpsing everywhere and even in the mud which hung to my boots I saw many particles of this precious metal. - I proceeded on to Grass-valley (abt 6 m: distant from Nevada) where I visited the various Quartz-mills, of which three are already in full operation, whilst three others are nearly completed. - As I understood from several of the proprietors and their workmen, Quartz-grinding pays exceedingly well and Wetzlar assured me, that he could easily clear \$1000 per week above all expences. The Quartz is dug in several places on the hills, brought in wagons to the mills, burnt, put under the stamps; - water is running con-

tinually on it and brings the pulverized Quartz through fine seves into two large basons, from which the water runs of, whilst the mud remains. Thence the mud is under the influence of water put into large seves which are shaken by the machinery; - the mud is gradually taken off and the pure stuff remains. - Between the Quartz mills I found a frenchman at work with the gait so characteristic in his countrymen; he was working in a small creek and made, according to his assertion 6 to 7 \$ a day. - Close to him stood some [50]

seven indian women and children, who were beseeching the frenchmen to put into the pans, which they were stretching out to him some of the dirt which he dug out; - he granted their request and they eagerly run then to the canal to wash the gold out from it. -

One of the women being in mourning, she had her cheeks painted black and her ~~cheeks~~ ↓hair↓ full of pik. I dined in Pickham's Hôtel and proceeded then by a wagon to Rough and Ready, where we paused for the night, though we arrived already at 2 p.m.

We stopt with Miss Downey in the "Western-Exchange", which was all the day long crowded to excess, there being three women in the house. Women have a great charm for men, which is particularly perceptible with those who have been excluded from female society for some time; even the society of an old and difformed woman has then something gratifying in it.

The night was very cold and I suffered much being located just under the roof; it was blowing a strong gale accompanied by heavy rain. - Our team p set off at abt 9 a. m. and though we had a canvass-coffver we were to suffer much from the rain and cold. -

Llegabamos a Sacramento el Lunes 19 Mayo. ↓[ill-urd.]↓ Deseando ver al hermoso valle de Sonoma, lo que me habian mucho ponderado, yo me fui a San-

Francisco el Lunes 26 Mayo a las dos despues de medio dia, y pare a en la fonda llamada Rasette-house donde encontré a un criado hollandes. El vapor habiendo sido anunziado en el periodico para el. 27, yo me fui a las seis por la mañana al lugar de donde debia de despedirse, pero no habia alla vapor ninguno y me dijeron que yo habia salido al vapor el dia antes. Por consiguiente yo era forzado de quedarme en San Francisco el dia entero. Debia sufrir mucho del fastidio, porque no tenia yo asunto ninguno. En fin el 28 Mayo a las 9 de la

51
mañana nos despedimos. Teniendo un fuerte viento contrario, ibamos muy lentamente, y ciertamente me hubiera fastidiado mucho, si por dicha mia no hubiese encontrado a bordo el Profesor F. G. Reeger de Sonoma, hombre muy interesante, que habia [~~ill. wrd.~~] viajado mucho y visto gran parte del mundo. Jamas de mi vida he visto hombre cosi amable, afable y prudente que el S^{nt} R.- Con igual facilidad hablaba el ingles, frances, aleman, italiano, portuguez, español, holandes, y sin duda alguna es tambien profundamente versado en las lenguas griega y latina. - Como me han siempre proporcionado mucho gusto las lenguas estranjeras, imenso gusto me dio el hablar con S^{nt} R. en diferentes idiomas y cosi el tiempo se pasó muy pronto. Llegamos al embarcadero a las cinco de la tarde, y de alla fuimos llevados por un carruaje a Sonoma aldea pequenía con quatro o cinco mil ↓cientos↓ habitantes. Mucho me gusta el hermoso valle de S. ensemado co millones flores y el aire fresco y sano que se respira. - La tierra es muy fertil y el S^{nt} Vallejo ha producido en un pequeño jardin para quinze mil pesos de vino. Ciertamente, si las minas de oro no hubiesen sido descubiertas las tierras

se vendrian aqui muy caras, pero, como
ahora el trabajo cuesta sumamente caro, ninguno
no piensa aqui de agricultura y las tierras
no tienen precio ninguno. Por mi parte yo
no querria vivir a Sonoma, pero hay
algunos que prefieren la soledad de los cam=
pos al ruido de las grandes ciudades.
Yo despedi me de S. el Sabado 31 May
por la diligencia a Napa, donde tomamos
la comida y a la cinco de la tarde
llegamos a Benicia, de donde yo parti
a las seis y medie de la tarde por
el vapor Senator y llegué a Sacramento
[52]

a la una y media. -

Mio sola ocupacion aqui siendo
el prestar dinero sobre hipotecas de
tierras y cases, tengo casi nada que
hacer, y como desde niñez soy
acostumbrado de trabajar desde la
mañana hasta la tarde, no puedo yo
describir la impaciencia y el fastidio
que me atormentan. Ademas el calor
durante el día es insuportable y
mucho me hace sufrir, porque yo tengo
mucha sangre. La sociedad de Sacramento
es compuesta de aventureros, cuyo
sola ambicion y deseo es el enrique=
cerse a costa agena; no hay aqui
compañia de mi gusto, no hay pasatiem=
pos que me recrean y de todo mi
corazon deseo yo volver cuanto antes
en Europa. Pero como el viaje de San=
Peterburgo por aqui, como tambien el
trasporto del dinero me han costado
↓mucho↓ desearia yo recobrar mis enormes gastos
y volver despues por la China.

Si Dios quiere yo me embarquare
a San Francisco al fin de esto ano
para Canton por un buque de vela,
visitare despues todos los principales
puertos en las Indias y proseguiré
mi viaje por Egipto y Italia en
Alemania. [*ill. wrd.*] Despues me colo-

care a S Petersburgo ^[4] porque de todos las ciudades que he visitado de mi vida prefiero Petersb^[5]: sus amables y afables habitantes, sus hermosas y muy limpias casas, sus bellas calles, su delicioso clima, todo me gusta mucho a Petersburgo^[6] Jamas he encontrado un estrañero que no hubiese hablado con los mayores elogios de Petersb^[7] Todo es muy barato a Petersb^[8] y viviendo en la primera fonda y teniendo coche y caballos no se puede gastar mas de dos mil duros al ano. - En verdad Petersb^[9] esta al cabo de mis deseos, pero antes de verle tengo de visitar muchos otros paises [53] ¹⁰

San Francisco June 4th, 1851. A most horrible disaster has befallen this City! a conflagration greater than any of the preceding fires has reduced nearly the whole city to ashes. I arrived here last night at 10½ o'clock and put up at the Union-Hôtel on the Plaza. I may have slept a quarter of an hour, when I was awoke by loud cries in the street: „fire, fire” and by the awful sounds of the alarm-bell. I sprung up in all haste and looking out of the window ~~to~~ I saw that a frame building only 20 or 30 paces from the Union Hotel was on fire. I dressed in all haste and run out of the house but scarcely had I reached the end of Clay-street when I saw already the Hôtel on fire from which I had just run out. Pushed on by a complete gale the fire spread with an appalling rapidity, sweeping away in a few minutes whole streets of frame buildings.~~and coming~~ Neither the iron houses nor the brickhouses (which were hitherto consi=

4 Here a place name has been overwritten with St Petersburg. The original name can no longer be read and this applies also to all other references to St Petersburg.

5 ibid

6 ibid

7 ibid

8 ibid

9 ibid

10 The original page was removed and this one was later added by Schliemann. So pages [53] and [54] are from a later date.

sidered as quite fireproof) could resist the fury of the element; the latter crumbled together with incredible rapidity, whilst the former got red-hot, then white hot and fell together like card-houses. Particularly in the iron-houses people considered themselves perfectly safe and they remained in them to the last extremity. As soon as the walls of the iron houses getting red-hot the goods inside began to smoke, the inhabitants wanted to get out, but usually it was already too late, for the locks and hinges of the doors having extended or partly melted by the heat the doors were no more to be opened. Sometimes by burning their hands and arms people succeeded to open the doors and to get out, but finding themselves then surrounded by an ocean of flames they made but a few paces, staggered and fell, rose again and fell again in order not to rise any more. It was tried in vain to arrest the progress of the fire by the blowing up of houses with gunpowder. Wishing to

[54] ¹¹

avoid dangers I went up Montgomery street and ascended „Telegraph-hill” which is a mountain ↓ab^t 300 feet high↓ close to the city. It was a frightful but sublime view, in fact the grandest spectacle I ever enjoyed. The fire continued to spread in all directions sweeping away the whole of Washingtonstreet, Kearnystreet, Montgomery street, California street, Sansomestreet and many others and except a few houses on Battery street, Bushstreet, and on the Hillside the whole beautiful city was burned down. The roaring of the storm, the cracking of the gunpowder, the cracking of the falling stones -walls, and the cries of the people and the wonderful spectacle of an immense city burning in a dark night all joined to make this catastrophe awful in the extreme. A report having spread out among the people that the fire had been caused by french

¹¹ *ibid.*

incendiaries, the scorn of the enraged populace fell upon the french and many a poor french chap was thrown headlong in the flames and consumed. I remained for the night in the restaurant on Telegraph-hill and went at 6 in the morning down to the city. It was a horrible sight to see ↓the↓ smouldering ashes and ruins of this a day before so flourishing city. Whilst I saw a great many germans, frenchmen, englishmen and other foreigners half in despair sitting and weeping on the ashes of their destroyed property, the americans never daunted, laughing and joking among themselves just as if nothing had happened, went boldly a-head to constructed new houses and I saw them in many places at 6 o'clock in the morning busy to lay on the still hot ashes of their former buildings the foundations for new ones. In the morning from 6 till 10 it is very hot in San Francisco; then all at once a strong gale springs up and from 10 a. m. off the cold increases till 3 o'clock in the morning, so that it is impossible to walk here during the day after 10 or during the night without a very thick overcoat.
[55]

Si hago el viaje por la China y las Indias, en tal caso visitare tambien Jerusalem, no por preocupaciones religiosas, sino para satisfacer mi curiosidad.
July 31. Since writing the foregoing pages my position in the world has undergone a most memorable change to my advantage. Having during my recent excursion in the mining districts fully satisfied myself as to the enormous wealth of this Country and the immense resources of Sacramento-City, I established here already in the beginning of June a banking-house for the purchase of Gold dust and the sale of „Exchange” on the United States and Europe. I have got two clerks, one an american of the name of A. K. Grim and native from Cleveland in Ohio; the other a spanjard

Miguel de Satrustegui native of San Sebastian in Biscaya (Old Spain); to each of them I pay \$250 (ab^t 360 ~~p~~-~~Ce~~ Rubles Silver) per month. My office is in the house on the corner of Front and J. streets, which being built entirely of stone and iron, is considered [~~ill. wrd.~~] perfectly fireproof. Availing myself of an opportunity offering I bought from Barton Lee & Co. (bankers of this city who recently failed with nearly 2 millions of Silverrubles) an immense fire- and thief proof safe weighing nearly 200 Puds, but I had great difficulty in conveying it to my office. I had 20 men and 12 yokes of oxen ~~to~~ one whole day at work to bring it only across the street. - Gold dust comes in plentifully and I buy on an average 5 Puds per day. My purchases go for the most part to the house of Rothschild at London, whose branch-establishment at San Francisco [~~ill. wrd.~~] ↓supplies↓ me by [?] every night's steamer ~~the~~ with the necessary Coin. The continued great heat from 100 to 125 degrees Fahrenheit [56]

~~brings forth~~ which accelerates the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter, and the exhalation of the many swamps and ponds with stagnant water all around the town - all this contributes to infest the air and to produce much sickness. Ague, isthmus-fever, diarrhea, dysentery, erysipelas etc are taking away hundreds of hopeful men and quickly people our cemetery, whose number of graves is several times larger than the number of the population of our city, though the latter was only founded some 3 years ago. The thieves of this country having invented the slung shot, which ensures additional success to their criminal industry, great caution is now requisite and my 2 clerks and myself we go night and day armed with Colt's revolving- pistols (each of which can kill 5 men in as many seconds) and long bowie-knives. I always get up at 5 o'clock

in the morning, take at 5½ my breakfast at the Orleans-hotel and open my office at 6 o'clock to shut it at 10 o'clock in the evening. During the whole day my office is crowded with people and I seldom get my dinner before 8 o'clock at night.

1 September. Since writing the above I have taken one more clerk, a certain Doctor Lewis Saynisch, native of Germany. D^r Saynisch is reputed to be the greatest geologist of modern times and has written many valuable books about Geology; - after having travelled many years in company of the Duke of Newwied in geological pursuits both in Southern Europe and America, he came after a long serie of misfortunes and misery to California to try his luck at the mines. But ~~h~~ not being able to stand the hardships and fatigue connected with mining, he came exhausted in body and mind to Sacramento to offer himself to me as clerk and I took him more from compassion than from want for an [57]

additional clerk. Unfortunately D^r S. is a bad calculator and makes many mistakes.

My business is now on an enormous scale and my profits are large. If in former years I had known that I should one day gain only one quarter of what I earn now, I should have thought myself ~~the~~ the happiest of men, but now I feel myself very unfortunate, since I am seperated by a distance of 18/m versts from St Petersburg where all my hopes, all my desires are concentrated. In fact, in the midst of the hurricanes on the roaring oceans, in dangers and hardships, in toil and difficulties, in the whirlwind of amusements and in the bustle of business my beloved Russia, my charming St. Petersburg is constantly before my eyes. Whilst here in Sacramento I can every moment expect to be murdered or robbed, I can in Russia sleep tranquilly in my bed without any fear for my life or property, for thousand eyes of justice watch there over the peaceful inhabitant. Whilst ~~in so~~ nearly the whole western Europe

is constantly alarmed by impending disturbances, Russia ([~~ill. word.~~] ↓by far↓ the most powerful of and the largest of all empires that ever existed or that will ever exist) beams with the bright ray of eternal peace thanks to its wise and most glorious emperor Nicolas. It is not without immense gratification and pride that I witness the great admiration and [~~ill. word.~~] ↓reference↓ with which the americans speak of our great monarch.

My bank is from early till late constantly jammed, crammed and rammed full of people from all nations and I have to speak all the day long in 8 languages. In fact if I knew a hundred languages it would not be sufficient to speak to every one in his native tongue. The people I have most to deal with are americans, mexicans and chinamen, but the last mentioned bring but little gold to market and I have never been able to buy from a Chinaman more than 5 Oz at a time.

[58]

The China men who come to this country are a very harmless, honest ↓and industrious↓ set of people, and I never heard of any fraud being committed by any one of them. They have founded in this country 4 chinese cities to which they have given the names: Peking, Hong Kong, Canton & Nanking, and thousands of people continuing to pour in from the Celestial empire, the aforesaid cities are fast gaining in extent. The Chinamen wear immense strawhats, fully as large as a ladies' umbrella, a wide jacket which reaches to the knees, wide trowsers and very high shoes, of which lower part is of wood and furnished with enormous heels and the upper part of thin cloth. - The mexicans are a lazy and false class of people without the least education and I never saw any one of them who was able to write his name; - the lower and middle classes of mexicans cover themselves instead of coat and waistcoat with gaudy colored, embroidered blankets called „sarapas”, which mode of dress is peculiar to all spanish races of South America, but of different color. The mexican „sarapas” are red, yellow, green and blue,

the new granadian gray and blue, the peruvian & chilian blue and white. From New Granada, Peru & Chili there have also many thousands come over to California. The new granadians are of the same character ↓& habits↓ as the mexicans whereas the Peruvians and Chilians are a good natured very industrious race of people, particularly the latter who are celebrated for their great assiduity, perseverance and gentlemanly behaviour. Alas! the Chilians are the only nation which has ~~pas~~ derived great profit by their independence from Spain. The Kanakers, inhabitants of the Sandwich-Islands, of which likewise thousands have made this country their asylum, are of brown color; - their extreme laziness and ignorance does not allow them to apply themselves to any work whatever and they live from robbing and marauding. But the meanest and most disgusting people I ever saw are the Californian indians, who are of copper-red color and stand but very little above the beasts, of which they have the habits. They are of small height and have most difformed features; - ~~their front is overgrown with thick~~ they have thick black hair of which also the forehead is overgrown as far as the eyes. They are extremely dirty and live like ants in heaps of [59]

earth, in which they literally roast, the fire being kindled in the midst of the earthen-hut and only a small opening practiced at the top for the passage of the smoke. They are constantly armed with bows and quivers filled (stuck) with arrows and are a thievish miserable race. All of them are attacked by venerian sickness, which the baby sucks with the milk of the mother, or, as medical men affirm of which he is attacked in the mother's womb.

1 November. I have just recovered from a severe fever which has confined me to bed for nearly 3 weeks. I caught it on the 4th October with frequent vomiting and chills in quick succession with great heat. On the 5th my whole body was covered with yellow spots and from the 6th to the 20th I was lying in continual ravery. My accomodation and attendance was most miserable indeed my bed being in the office of which the fore- and back-doors are constantly

open. My physicians did not administer me any thing but quinine and calamel, but in spite of this poisonous medicine my strong constitution triumphed at last and I am now again feeling quite smart. My brother died here 1½ year ago from the very same sickness and according to the doctors assertions there is no chance for my recovery if the fever catches me a second time. My clerk the geolog L. Saynisch having got from his daughter in Ploosburg near Philadelphia the news that his wife was severely ill, he left me on the 4th October San José in Santa Clara Valley, Janry. 20. 1852. On the 4th inst I was again seized by a malignant fever and despairing of my life in case I remained in the poisonous climate of Sacramento, I went forthwith by the steamer down to San Francisco and thence to San José in the beautiful valley of Santa Clara, where I stopt at the house of D^r Davini an italian, who paid particular attention to me at the trifling fee of \$5 (ab^t SR 7) per diem. Be it for the skill of the doctor or for the purity of the air, or for the change of climate, I soon became convalescent and now feel strong enough to return tomorrow to Sacramento after having only for a single week been confined to bed. The Santa Clara-valley is surrounded by huge mountains, in which however no gold is found. The temperature is exceedingly mild [60]

and during all the time that I have been here the thermometer stood ab^t 20 degrees Reaumur. The recent rains have moistened the [~~ill-ward.~~] earth and fields, meadows, and trees are in the flower of spring and offer a most beautiful aspect. Since I have left the bed, I am every day making an excursion on horseback and pay one dollar for each hour. In company of a gentleman who is likewise residing at Dr Davini's and who is a native from the Argentinian-Republic in South America; I took yesterday, in a gig which I had hired at \$10, a ride to Quicksilver mines, which are about 12 versts from here. This Quicksilver mine is asserted by far to exceed in richness both of quality and quantity the celebrated „Almaren” quicksilver works in old Spain. It belongs to a company in San Fran=

cisco, who are realizing immense treasures out of the mines, inspite of their tremendous expences which amount to more than \$5000 (SR 7000) every day. There are ~~more than~~ 500 workmen constantly employed and each of them gets 8\$ (SR 11. 40 cop ↓~~коп~~↓) per day the labor being very unwholesome. The inspectors get 20, 30 & 40\$ per day. I entered the shaft for a considerable distance and fully satisfied myself that the mine is inexhaustible. The pieces of rock are all pregnant with Quicksilver. The shaft is nearly on the top of a 2500 feet high mountain, whence the rock is brought down by oxen-teams to the manufacture where it is distilled. For miles around the mines are springs of Soda-water, which exceeds in flavor and purity any artificial Soda water I ever tasted.

Sacramento, February 17th I had to day the visit of Александръ Гавриловичъ Ротшевъ^[12] from St Petersburg, and I invited him to dine with me. M^r Rôtschef is a very talented man who has travelled much and seen a great deal of the world. He speaks and writes with the greatest fluency spanish, english, french, portuguese, german, italian ~~and~~, dutch and russian and is deeply versed in literature and many other useful sciences. I enjoyed till a late hour the most interesting conversation of M^r Rôtschef and I must avow that I never my life saw an abler or a cleverer man than him. After having spent a day in the society of such [61]

a beautifully educated man as M^r Rôtschef, it will appear double onerous and disgusting to me to morrow to converse with the people I am doomed to live with in California. M^r Rôtschef is constructing on the Yuba-river a mill for the washing of Golddust, and I do not in the least doubt that with his iron-will and the steadiness of his capacious mind he will succeed to accumulate large wealth in this country.

A heavy rain-storm has set in upon us a fortnight ago and has continued since without intermission, in consequence of which the miners

12 Alexandr Gavrilovir Rôtschef.

in the drye-diggings have now a great abundance of water and are reaping rich harvests. The waters both in the American and Sacramento-rivers are rising rapidly and if the storm continues but for a few days longer, the artificial embankments which surround the city will be put to a severe test.

I believe that no where in the world gambling is carried on to a more alarming extent than in this city and the gambling-houses, of which there are a dozen are night and day crowded with people, principally miners, who are losing here in a few minutes what they have accumulated during years of hard labor and privations. How immense the persons is who make gambling their profession is evident from the fact that when I first came to this city \$8000 (11.500 SR) monthly rent was paid for one gambling-table in the Eldorado-Saloon. Every thing is very dear here. Clerks in banking houses get \$250 to \$300 a month; in shops from \$150 to \$250. Waiters get \$100 to \$150 per month. Cooks get from \$100 to \$350 a month. Female servants are very scarce and it is very difficult to get even a negress at \$150 a month.

Eggs are exceedingly scarce here and are paid \$1- (1 R 40 Cop Silver) each. - Butter is sent out here from the eastern States (Massachusetts and New York) and though it has to make the immense voyage round the Cape Horn it is still well preserved and was sold here \$2- per pound; - but now it has fallen to \$1-. Milk costs \$1- per bottle. Veal, turtle, pork, salmon, cayotes, rabbits, and venison costs \$1- pr pound, whilst beef varies between 30 and 50 Cents per pound. The wages of laborors here in the city are from 5 to 8\$ per day, whilst [62]

↓common↓ workmen by the hour get \$1 for each hour.

Sacramento March 8th. Since writing the above the incessant rain had caused the waters of the rivers to rise uninterruptedly, till they reached last night an awful height being in different places level with the „levee”. Last night at 12½ o'clock we were suddenly awoke by the tolling of the alarm bell and made aware of the impending danger. The levee on the Sacramento had given way in one small

place, and the opening becom~~ing~~^{ing} every moment larger. I run to the place of the disaster and assisted in stopping the opening, but all endeavors were fruitless and the water widened it every moment more and more and gushed through with increasing impetuosity. All at once ~~the~~ a large piece of the levee on which we stood was loosened under our feet and gave way with a tremendous crash. I was with a number of others thrown into the water and taken away with the current for a considerable distance. We had some difficulty to get out ~~and~~ after a most disagreeable bath of muddy water and some bruises and contusions. The streets of the city filled with great rapidity; in some places the water stood 10 to 12 feet deep and people had to save themselves on the 2^d floor of the houses. The loss of goods damaged or lost by the fire was most enormous. The house where I lived being built upon a small elevation, I had ~~no water~~ in the bank no water, the latter coming only up to the level of the ground floor. As soon as the terrors of the first impression caused by the flood had passed, people thought of diverting themselves and to make the best of it. A great number of small ↓flat↓ boats were made in all haste of planks; rafts were put together and soon the communication was every where restored. The streets presented a most burlesque appearance; here a horse dragging a raft with people, there a man in a cask rowing with some pieces of wood, there some boats capsizing etc. Some people are said to have made a hundred dollars in a single day by conveying people across the streets. ↓16 March.↓ The flood stood at its extreme height only 4 days and then quickly abated but large ponds of stagnant water remained both in and around the town, which under a constant~~l~~ dealy heat of from 30 to 40 degrees Reaumur produced a poisonous miasma and much fever, ague, dysentery etc.

[63]

San Jose March 30th I was unfortunate enough to catch the fever again on the 17th inst and after having for several days been tormented by chills and vomiting, with yellow spots over all my body ~~wit~~ and in the impossibility to get up from bed, finding myself in a complete state of

exhaustion and frequent ravery ; my clerks in conformity to the directions previously given by me for such an event, £ wrapped me up in blankets and sent me in a senseless state under the attendance of a servant by the steamer down to San Francisco and thence by a coach to San José. ~~At~~ Till the 28th inst I have been lying in a ~~de~~ most desperate state and in ↓almost↓ continual ravery, but at last my strong constitution bore off the victory and already to day I have been able to get up for a couple of hours. If my convalescence continues I shall probably return the day after tomorrow to Sacramento give over my business to M^r B. Davidson, agent for Rothschild at San Francisco and return as soon as possible to my beloved Russia, for I feel I should not ~~be able~~ survive if I caught another time the fever.

Sacramento April 7th. On passing through San Francisco on 2^d inst I represented to M^r B. Davidson the impossibility of my remaining any longer in the poisonous climate of Sacramento and requested him to take over my business without any further responsibility for myself, to which he consented and he came up yesterday to settle our accounts. Every thing having now been settled and arranged between us, I go by this day's steamer with aforesaid friend down to San Francisco and leave to morrow by the steamer „Golden Gate” for Panama.

Pacific Ocean Latitude North 38°, Longitude South 125°. On board the United States mail Steamer „Golden Gate” April 8. at 8 o'clock at night. I returned last night and took this morning my ticket for the steamer. Feeling myself still very ill, I preferred taking a Stateroom in the upper cabin for myself, for which I had to pay \$600- (SR 840). We started this afternoon at 2 o'clock under the thunder of the canons and passed at [64] at 6 o'clock the entrance to the bay of San Francisco called „Golden Gate”. With full steam and a fair wind we are now dancing fast over the waves of the Pacific Ocean with direction to the South. In spite of my frequent severe illness and

the frequent pretty large difficiencies which I found in my Cash, and which I can only attribute to the dishonesty of my Clerks, I have all reason to be perfectly satisfied with my success in California and most assuredly among those who leave this Country there is hardly one in a hundred thousand, who has done as well as myself. Nothing exceeds my joy and exultation in finding myself away from California, which seemed destined to become my grave.

Acapulco in Mexico ↓April 15↓ Latitude North 17°, Long 102½°. We arrived here this morning after a splendid run of only 7 days and stop here to take Coals and refreshments. Our noble steamer is crowded to excess having on board just 1300 passengers, representatives of almost any nation of the globe. She is of 4000 tons burthen, of 1500 horses power and is certainly the largest and quickest steamer in the world. To day whilst we were lying here in the harbor there arrived three ocean-steamers from Panama with passengers from New York and New Orleans; namely the „Wilfried Scott”, (which has completed the run from N. York round Cape Horn to Acapulco in 45 days) with 700 passengers, the „New Orleans” with 650 passengers and the „Northerner” with 800 passengers. These three steamers were lying along side of us and it struck me most wonderfully, what a difference exists in the disposition of those passengers who go out to and those who return from California. On board the above mentioned steamers the passengers were dancing and singing all the day long on deck, talking of nothing but of the golden mountains which they were going to accumulate in California - all was joyful enthusiasm and hilarity. On board our steamer however things looked quite different; out of 1300 passengers there was not a single one whose phisionomy ~~or~~ evinced joyful excitement, no body of us sung or danced, all of us appeared equally [65] serious or downbeaten in spirits. Because the mind of the most part of us was ~~taking~~ taken up by the consideration what long and sour faces their friends at home would make on seeing them

return with ~~€~~ disappointed hopes and empty pockets, whilst those few of us who had realized fortunes in California were absorbed by the most serious considerations how to bring the money safely home and how to employ it afterwards to advantage.

Pacific Ocean Latitude North 13. Apr 18.

Yesterday ↓ at 4 o'clock p. m. ↓ we experienced in the Gulf of Teuantepec a most frightful Typhoon from the West South West and ~~the~~ such was the fury of the wind that it knocked down the waves ~~and~~; in fact there was no wave visible ~~and~~ & the ocean presented to the eye one immense sheet of boiling foam. The typhoon lasted 4 hours, during which our steamer lay completely and nearly motionless on one side, so much that the cross-masts and the tops of the main masts were continually bathed in the sea. The roaring & howling of the typhoon was of such frightful force that even in the Cabin it was impossible to understand what we cried each other in the ears at the pitch of the voice. Even the boldest of our seamen lost all hope and all expected every second that we should be set upside down. After 4 hours of cold and trembling horror the typhoon abated gradually, which we could observe by the increasing rolling and shaking of the steamer. At midnight it was again perfectly calm, ~~and~~ but the waves which had commenced rising when the typhoon abated were still rolling mountains high. To day it rains very hard and I am afraid that the rainy season has fairly set in.

Panama, April 24th. We ~~moved~~ ↓ anchored ↓ this afternoon at 6 o'clock in the bay of Panama abt 2 miles from the city and were immediately surrounded by a large number of boats to take us off [66]

But we could not leave the steamer before the harbor-master came on board, which lasted till 7½ o'clock. [?] I did not get away before 8 o'clock. ↓ I was with six other passengers in one boat. ↓ When we were abt 200 paces from the shore some twenty naked natives threw themselves

in the water, and approached us swimming tenders carrying their services to carry our luggage to any place in the town where we might wish to stop. But when we refused to let take it before reaching the shore, they seized our things with impetuosity, the one taking a trunk, the other a carpetbag, the other a hatbox, and having swum with them ashore ~~and running~~ ↓ they run ↓ then away with them and disappeared in the dark of the night. Several of my fellow-passengers were robbed in this way of all they had earned in California. But as to myself, I was prepared for these tricks and sitting on my luggage I ~~threatened to~~ with my revolving pistol in one hand and my dagger in the other I threatened to shoot or stab the first man who attempted to carry off any thing of my luggage. After having fairly landed I engaged to men ↓ at 1 dollar each ↓ to take my trunks to the Hôtel [*ill-wrd.*] and watching them closely and menacing to blow out the brains of the first who would attempt to run away, I at last got safely to the „American Hôtel, where I got very bad accommodation for the night and stinking victuals. Hoping to find a steamer on the Atlantic side and being afraid that the rainy season would soon render the roads across the mountains impassible, I and M^r Livingston in company of many hundred others set off on the slippery and perilous way. I had 3 mules, for which I paid \$40. The rain continued to pour down in torrents so that soon we had not a bit of dry cloth on. The small mountain ↓ gulches ↓ brooks, and rivulets had grown up to rapid streams, and the ~~small~~ narrow mules-track was slippery in the extreme, particularly on the declivity of the mountains. The mule is a wonderfully clever beast; - when we came on mules' back [67] to a mountain gulch or rivulet resting on large ~~sm~~ slippery stones, then the mule looks attentively for a few seconds in the water, draws his four legs together and slips down the stone, and then putting his foot on some crevice or inequality of the opposite stone he jumps out of the dilemma

with great agility. Sometimes my bridle tore and then the mule feeling himself free, immediately jumped into the thicket to feed on some foliage and I had then to glide instantly backward down to avoid certain destruction, for I should have been literally hanged by in the thick branches intertwined with ivy.

Quite exhausted by fatigue we at last reached Gorgona by 6½ p. m. and I with many others put up at the Railroad-Hôtel, where I slept on my trunks. Next morning (26 April) at 5 o'clock I was awoke by the cries of an Irishman who having drunk rather too big a draught the night before, was robbed of his trowsers containing a purse with sum 500 dollars. The city-police was called in, but all searches were in vain. The Irishman came from St Thomas and wanted to go to California, where he said to have made a considerable sum on a previous visit. At abt 8 o'clock [~~ill. word.~~] I with some 7 other passengers hired at the rate of 2 dollars each a boat made of a hollow tree and went down on the Chagres-river to „Frijol”, whence we proceeded by the railway to a spot called „Aspinwall “ on Navy Bay which is part of the Carabian Sea. On the way down to „Frijol “ we saw a great many Crocodiles which like old stems of trees were lying on the banks of the river. We also killed a large Aligator ↓with the oars↓ on the ground of the river. We had to wait for the railway train till 3 o'clock and only at 3¼ we started. ~~We~~ The whole way from Frijol to Aspinwall leads over continual swamps covered with an impenetrable forest of palmtrees and thousands of other trees of the tropical climes. Though the distances is only 20 miles we wanted 3 hours to perform it and only arrived at Aspinwall after sun-down. In stead of Coals we used for fuel the wood of palmtrees. This railway small as it is, is a most stupendous work. Hundred thousands of immense piles had to be driven in the ground and at the top of them were then again laid beams a-cross and were heaped up with earth to render the ground solid. At Aspinwall [68] the railway goes for a long distance through the water of the bay on a sort of bridge formed by long

rows of immense piles rammed in the ground, and on which the rails are laid out with great skill. This railway can be said to have been built on the bones of many many thousands of americans and europeans, who fell victims to this most poisonous climate. The white man can not stand the hard work on swamps under the perpendicular rays of the sun, and out of one hundred labourers often 50 or 60 die from fever, disentry, diarrhea, or ague ere they are one month here.

The directors of the Panama-railway not being any more able to engage workmen in the United States, they have now directed their attention to Carthagena, Santa Martha and the various ports of the island Jamaica, whence they bring the negroes and natives to work here, and indeed with great success, for these people having been born under a similar clime, are able to live and work here.

~~We~~ We expected for certain to find a steamer in Navy Bay, but to our utmost vexation and disappointment there was none, the „Crescent City” having gone the same morning. We found ourselves in the most miserable situation imaginable, for the rain poured down in torrents and no house was ~~to be found~~ ↓there↓ to give us shelter, only one house having as yet been erected for the american consul. Thus we made the best of it and camped under palmtrees. I spread my blankets on my trunks and slept on them in spite of the incessant rain.

Next morning our first care was to obtain [~~ill. word.~~] something to eat, for not having got anything since we left Gorgona, all of us experienced an awful hunger. But, alas, food was nowhere to be got and in the extremity of our position we killed an immense lizzard, which we ate ↓raw↓ with the same ~~appe~~ voracious appetite as if it had been a roasted turkey. The lizzards, called here „Iguanas” exceed here the ordinary size of the alligators and crocodiles and I have seen the former to the length of 40 feet. On the 27th we made of palm-leaves and palmbranches ~~a sort of~~ some huts or shelters, through which however the rain filtered incessantly. On the same day at 6 o'clock p. m. the railway train brought the

remainder of the passengers per „Goldengate”
[69]

amounting in all to ab' 1300 persons, which number was increased by the arrival at Panama of two more steamers, the passengers of which were brought down on the 28th & 30th April by the rail=waycars and thus on the 30th our number altogether might amount to ab' 2600. The incessant rain rendered it utterly impossible for us to kindle fire and unable to procure us any other victuals we fed on the raw meat of lizzards, monkeys, turtles &, mules, and Crocodiles, which latter is considered as a great delicacy among the natives of this country and particularly the tail. Our position was the most horrible immagina=ble and our sufferings increased every moment. Ever since we left Panama none of us had any dry clothes on and we had no means to protect our=selves against the rainstorm which continued to pour upon us in all its intensity. Hundred of us were attacked by the isthmus-fever, diarrhoea, dysentery & ague and died after a day or two of cruel suf=fering. The dead remained where they were, because none of us could our would bury them. The fetid odor and poisonous miasma arising from the quick putrifaction and dicomposition of the dead bodies of men and beasts infested still more the unwhole=some state of the atmosphere. But all the above torments and sufferings were but trifling to the pain we had to endure from the musquitos, which ~~did~~ surrounded us night and day by myriads and did not cease to torment us by their atrocious ~~but~~ sting. Like a crazy man have I frequently [*ill.wrd.*]= [*ill.wrd.*] weltered in the mud without being able to free myself of this most horrible of plagues. Many of my fellow-passengers rubbed themselves the whole body with mercury in order to get rid of the musquitos but I would not do it.

Already at the ~~beginning~~ ↓end↓ of January, in consequence of the great deal of Mercury which had been admini=stered to me by the Californian physicians, a small wound sprung up on my left leg, to which however I paid no attention to it as it did not cause me any pain. Even when I left California the wound was but trifling; but as soon as we passed Cape Lucas on

the Pacific Ocean and entered the Tropics the wound became much worse and grew daily more dangerous until the Isthmus of Panama, where it assumed a most serious character and caused me the most atrocious pains, which I contrived to linger a little [70]

by rubbing with Mercury. The wound enlarged daily and the flesh fell off for a considerable distance and the bare bone was visible.

Many of my fellow-passengers were killed by the bite of scorpions and snakes (particularly rattle-snakes) which abound in these regions.

Thus I spent fully 14 days in wet clothes and lay ↓camped↓ 12 days (from 26 April till 8th May) on a swamp being night and day exposed to the rain which continued to fall upon us in torrents and against which we had no means to protect ourselves; being deprived of all food except the raw meat of lizzards, crocodiles, turtles, monkeys, etc with which my fellow passenger Livingston supplied me; being brought to despair by the musquitos ; expecting every moment death either by gangrene which seemed going to join my wound in the leg, or by the multitude of sicknesses to which I saw hundreds of my fellow-passengers falling victims, or by the bite of snakes and scorpions, of which I saw so many a poor fellow perish - thus thou= sands of miles from my beloved St Petersburg, thousands of miles from those dear to my heart I lay more dead than alive and without being able to move on account of my leg-wound. In this horrible situation all human feeling forsook us and we sunk below the beast. We became so familiarized with death, that [?] →it lost for us all its terror, that we began to like it and to look upon it as a lingering of our suf= ferings. Thus it came that we laughed and amu= sed ourselves at the convulsions of the dying and that crimes were perpetrated among us; crimes so terrible! that now at a later date I cannot think of it without cold and trem= bling horror.

At last on the 8th May at abt 4 o'clock
in the morning a canonshot apprized us of
that a steamer was approaching and nothing
could exceed our joy and enthusiasm. It was
the United States-steamer „Sierra Nevada”,
which at 6 o'clock was followed by the steamer
„Illinois “ and in the course of the morning
[71]

further arrived the „Georgia “ and the „New Orleans”
Thus there was room for us all. Those who had taken
at St Francisco through tickets to New York were
obliged to go by the Mailsteamers „Illinois” or
„Georgia”, whilst the others who had no tickets
could choose their birth where they liked.
With the assistance of some seamen I was
brought on board the „Sierra Nevada” where
I took a Stateroom with two beds ↓in the upper cabin↓ entirely
by myself and had to pay \$130 - I gave
the wet clothes, which I had on and those which
were in my trunks to one of the waiters to get
them dried, and having got my wound dressed
by the ships physician and taken some [*ill.wrd.*]
beef tea and wine I slept for the first time
since the 24th April in drye bedclothes.
We left the same evening for Kingston
capital of the british island „Jamaica”,
where we arrived on the 11th May in the morning.
The sun stood just 10 degrees latitude north
and shone thus perpendicularly upon Kingston.
This is a fine place surrounded as far as the
eye can reach with fields of Coffee, Sugarcane
and forests of palms and orange-trees. At
the entrance of the harbour is a pretty strong
fort and the view of the city and environs
is most picturesque. The city has abt 40.000
inhabitants, ~~for the most part~~ of whom
⅘[#] are negroes. The streets are broad and
part of them are paved. The houses built for
the most part of brick and one to two stories
high, intersected by gardens filled with
all the splendour and luxury of the tropical
vegetation. My health and strength having a
little improved, I hobbled with a crutch to
an apothecary-shop in town to get some mercury
ointment. Most strange to relate, the apothe=

cary having heard from me that I came from California asked me if I was by accident M^r Schliemann from Sacramento, and when with great surprise at his knowing me I answered in the affirmative, he showed me a bill of exchange for £10- drawn by myself on Baring Brothers & Co in London in favor of M^r M. A. Cohen, who had remitted it to the apothecary, ↓who is↓ a native from Vienna. The kind attention paid to me by the apothecary and his boys, the cheapness of the medicine, the comfort

↔My friend Livingston stopt at Kingston. Among the other passengers who went with me to New York were Horsmann from Philadelphia, D^r Albers from New Orleans Fink from Kingston and his brother from St Domingo. A young spaniard from Panama, Caporal vice Consul from Panama.↔¹³

[72]

of the houses - every thing formed here an agreeable contrast against what I met with in California and I could not remember of this latter country without a sigh. I bought on the wharf 2 baskets with oranges at the rate of 50 Cents each.

~~We lifted the anchor at 5 o'clock in the~~

This colony has lost much and is nearly ruined since the emancipation of the slaves, the colored men being an arrogant and lazy people, and without them the work cannot be done, because no white man is able to work in the open air in this hot climate. Thousands of scotch= german- and irish workmen have been sent out hither, but they all found their grave here in a few months, because the heat is to awful and the rum to cheap, a whole gallon ($\frac{1}{3}$ beg pa) being sold here for 25 Cents (ab^t 32^{cap}).

After a quick run of 6½ days we arrived on the 18th at 4 o'clock in the morning at New= York, where I put up at the „New York = Hôtel on Broadway. New York is a paradize for a man who comes from California and full of enthusiasm I cried out oh New York! New York! I visi= ted my friend G. Janssen, partner of Schmidt & Co with whom I went at night to the farewell= Concert of Jenny Lind in the Metropolitan

13 This text was added later and has therefore been placed at the bottom of the page.

Hall. This celebrated cancatrice had recently got married at Boston in Massachusetts to a jew of the name of Goldschmidt a pianist from Hamburg, who for that purpose had adopted the christian faith. Jenny Lind intended to start on the 29th May by the steamer „Atlantic” for Europe and she therefore gave her farewell concerts on the 18th, 20th and 22^d May; - admittance tickets 3\$, 2\$ and 1\$. Jenny Lind has an income of £20,000 a year.

On the 19th May, to the great disappoint=ment of my friend Janssen I left by the steamer „Europa” for Liver pool. The harbor of New York is the most beautiful I ever saw, being surroun=ded by splendid islands, covered with numberless somer mansions of the New York inhabitants.

We had ab^t 125 passengers, among whom the names of Caporal native of Smyrna, Janey Widder from Toronto, Arnold, Taylor from Manchester, Knauth and lady with sister from Leipzick ↓and Colonel Giugi from Toronto↓. The irishman

Feargus O’ Connor member for Nottingham was also pas my fellow passenger. Feargus O’ Con= nor is certainly one of the most eminent men ever produced by Ireland and the greatest orator that ever spoke in the House of Commons. Having a few months ago been accused of the embezzlement [73]

of a large sum of money, of which he was unable to give account, he went in a deranged state of mind to New York, whence he now returned in a complete state of craziness and he annoyed us very much by taking the one or the other’s wine and drin=king it out, [z] by throwing the one or the other’s hat over board, or tormenting us by his insane jokes or blows. Our passengers were for the most part fine people and formed the best society I ever met with on board a steamer, and if not my wound in the leg had caused me so much pain I should certainly have enjoyed this trip very much. On the 30th May at 5 o’clock a. m. we got Cape clear in sight and passed then the South-coast of Ireland, which we had for more then 8 hours clearly in sight. At 2 p. m. we past Holyhead and at 6 p. m. we saw the coast

of Old-England. At 7 we entered the river Mersey and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour afterwards we landed at the wharf in Liverpool. It was painful for me to separate from several of my fellow passengers, for whom I felt a very strong attachment. I stopt for the night at the „Adelphi-Hôtel” and left the next morning at 4 o'clock together with Col. Giugi and a young american from Philadelphia for by the mailtrain for London, where we arrived at 11 a. m. We stopt at „Morley's Hôtel” on Trafalgar square. After having given over to Baring Brothers & Co what funds I had brought with me from California in Gold dust and bills of Exchange I applied to D^r G. F. Collier of Springgardens London, who after having burnt out the foul flesh of the wound with „lapis infernalis” dressed it and ordered me to remain quite in my room keeping the leg always in a horizontal situation. Having lived 3 days in Morleys Hôtel I took at the doctor's advice a private lodging just opposite his country-seat at Chiswick. But being accustomed to active life the inactivity and particularly the loneliness brought me nearly to despair and thus after having lived 7 days at Chiswick, I left by the steamer via Boulogne for Paris, where I put up at the „Grand Hôtel d'Angleterre, Rue des Filles St Thomas and 2 days afterwards I took private lodgings on the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle N^o 11 at M^{me} Rambeau's. Under the attendance of D^r Monot the first physician of Paris the state of my wound improved daily and already after 15 days I was able to go on horseback and to walk much afoot. From that time off I began to amuse myself and the time appeared to me less [74]

tedious. I rose in the morning at 5 o'clock; took at 5½ my bath in the „Natation Henri IV”, went then two hours on horse back in the „Champs Elyses” and in the „Bois de Boulogne”, breakfasted at 8½ in one of the Cafés in the Palais Royal, went then to a literary society of which I became a member and where I stopt till 3 p. m.; rode then to the Café de l'Horloge in the Champs Elysés where I took my second breakfast, dined at 6 o'clock in the „Hôtel des Princes,” and spent the evening either in the „Grand - Opera”, or in the „Opera

Comique”, or in the „Theatre Francais”, or in the one or the other places of amusement in the Champs Elysés.

Having got ~~the~~ an invitation from M^r

Ch^s Ellis in Maidstone, with whose son I had travelled 2 years ago, I left again by way of Håvre, and ~~Dover~~ ↓Southampton↓ for London, whence I proceeded by way of Gravesend and Stroof to Maidstone, a fine little city situated in a beautiful valley. I stopt there only for one day and returned then by Gravesend, London, Newhaven and Dieppe to Paris.

My wound was in the meantime pretty nearly healed up, but there still remained a small open spot, which I could not get healed and having at the same time got wearisome of the idle and dissolute life at Paris, I went at the invitation of D^r Collier on the 6/18th July by way of Calais Dover (where I visited M^r Duke) and London to his Countryseat at Chiswick, where I stopt 4 days, got my wound quite healed up and left then on the 11/23th July from London by the steamer „John Bull” for Hamburgh, whence I immediately proceeded by the railway over Schwerin to Rostock. At the Bützow railway-station I met two of my sisters, of whom I recognized only the one who had been with me two years ago in St Petersburg; but the other I did not recognize at all not having seen her for more than 20 years. My two sisters were going to enjoy the sea-bath on the island Rügen, and as their way led them over Rostock, so we travelled together to that city, whence my sisters left the next day for Stralsund and Rügen, whilst I went over Wismar and Grevismulen to Kalkhorst to visit my uncle the reverend F. Schliemann, whom I had not seen for 20 years. I staid a couple of days with him and left then by way of Wismar again for Rostock to visit my old friend M^r Schreiber at Doberan and my cousin Counsellor at law A. Schliemann at Güstrow. Having made these visits I returned to my uncle at Kalkhorst, with whom I staid this time only one night and left then by way of Boltenhagen, Wismar, [75]

Schwerin, Ludwigslust, Parchim, Lübs, Malchow, Waren and Möllenhagen to Ankershagen the little village where I was born and raised.

It is impossible for me to describe the impression produced upon me by the sight of the places, where I spent the happy years of my early childhood, and where every house, every tree, every stone and every bush brought to my memory a thousand agreeable reminiscences of years long gone by.

It must be that every object appears in gigantic proportion to the eye of the child, because the churchsteeple which formerly appeared to me of immense height and which I always thought the highest in the world; the lindentree in the midst of the orchard which formerly seemed to touch the Clouds, - in fact every thing appeared now only in miniature to me, except the ~~ill-wrd.~~ balsam-poplars and the cherrytrees before the door, which must have grown up considerably, for they seemed to me of the same height as 21 year ago. I found the initials H. S. of my name a hundred times on the glasspanes of our former dwelling-house, or on the trees in the garden and in the court, where I had the habit to cut it when a child, and on the large linden-tree where I had perpetuated myself with a hatchet in 2 feet long initials, the latter appeared so fresh as if made only a month ago. On the door of the pavilion in the garden I still found an inscription made with pencil by my father and dated 7 May 1827. The present vicar Conradi showed me every kindness, accompanied me to the church and to my mother's grave, the railing of which was in a very decaying state, and having satisfied my curiosity as much as I could in a couple of hours, I hired from the inn-keeper a waggon with a pair of horses and left for the village Viperow on the lake Muritz to visit another sister of mine, who lives there in the family of my uncle Wachenhusen. I arrived there at 9 o'clock in the evening and left the next morning at 4 o'clock by way of Roebel, Waren (where I visited Bahlmann an old friend of my father), Teterow & Gustrow to Rostock whence I started the ensuing morning by the steamer „Erbgrossherzog Friederich Franz” for Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. Today, 23 July/4 Aug at 6 p. m. we arrived in this beautiful capital

of Russia, in this charming St. Petersburg, and nothing
[76]

exceeds my joy to see myself here, again.

July 24th 1852. I was today on change, where
all my old friends received me with enthusiasm.
I also visited Miss Catherine Lyschin, to whom
I vainly paid my addresses in former years,
but who now received me most kindly and
[*ill.wrd.*] [*ill.wrd.*] [*ill.wrd.*] every thing promises
appears to promise fair.

December 31. 1852. Since writing the above
a great change has taken place in my
position in life, because on the 12th Octobr
I became the happy husband of Miss Catherine
Lyschin, who is a russian lady of great
accomplishments both of body and mind
and ~~after~~ I enjoy now all the comforts
of a quite domestic life. I have travelled
much and seen certainly a great deal
of the world, but never have I seen a
country which pleased me so much as my
heartily beloved Russia, never have I
seen a city which pleased me one thousandth
part as much as my charming St Peters=
burg, never have I met with a people
for whom I felt only one thousandth part
of the liking and love which I cherish for
my adopted brethern the russians. I shall
therefore make St Petersburg my home for
the remainder of my life and never think
of leaving it again.

January 3^d 1853. By this days mail I got
from M^r Grim, one of my former clerks
the following printed report of a terrible Con=
flagration which had on the 2^d November
reduced the flourishing city of Sacramento
to a heap of ashes and smouldering ruins :

“ and ¹⁴Sacramento State Journal Extra for the Atlantic
States,
by the Golden Gate.
Awful conflagration.

14 From here on Schliemann pays more attention to his handwriting (if it is his handwriting at all): the handwriting becomes neat, there are no more writing errors and the line spacing is regular and larger: an average of 9 to 10 words per line and 30 lines per page instead of 6 words per line and 44 lines per page. This handwriting occurs on pages [74] to [79].

Sacramento city Burned to the Ground.
Ten Millions of Dollars worth of Property totally destroyed!
Loss of Life

As chroniclers of passing events, we are again called upon
[77]

to record a terrible calamity to one of the proudest evidences of California energy and enterprise. In a single night our beautiful city has been swept away by the terrible element with which we are accustomed to associate the end of all earthly things. The morning of the 2nd inst dawned bright and beautiful and never did the streets of Sacramento present a more stirring and lively scene than during the entire day. Though the interest felt in the first Presidential contest in the State was intense, the struggle of parties was conducted with the most perfect good humor, and closed without a single instance of riot or disorder. Wearied with the excitement of the day, the majority of our citizens had retired to rest by eleven o'clock, when the unusual quiet was interrupted by the alarm of fire, and a frame building, near the north west corner of J and fourth streets, was discovered to be on fire. Though long exemption from anything more than false alarms, had rendered many indifferent to a cry so startling in almost any other city, the fire companies rushed to their posts with an alacrity worthy of better success; but in consequence of a strong breeze, the flames spread with such appalling rapidity that their efforts appeared almost hopeless. Within the space of five minutes, the fire had reached several buildings on either side of J Street, and fairly commenced its awful career. At the same time, the wind came in rapid and continued gusts from the north west, sending a shower of sparks and burning brands along J and K streets, as if eager *ofto* complete the work of destruction. House after house was thus kindled in quick succession, and the roaring flames rushed on with such speed that many of the flying inhabitants had barely time to escape with life. In attempting to save property, several perished and many ¹⁵

[78]

were seriously injured. With the exception of the buildings on I street, and a few beyond 9th, almost the entire portion of the city east of 4th st. (embracing about twelve squares) was consumed in a space of time incredibly short. West and south from the

15 Schliemann uses lower case letters in this line.

starting point, the devastation went on more slowly, and when the eastern half of the city was a mass of blazing ruins, some hope was still felt that the remainder and better built portion might be saved. Between 4th and 3rd streets there was but one brick building on the north and none on the south side of J, to check the flames which moved steadily down to 3rd street, and crossed it, though every effort was made to save the fine new brick building known as Overton Block, and the one occupied by Scudder, Cañoll & C^o. These shared the common fate and the complete ruin of the city became evident. Here and there a desperate stand was made by the few who had the heart to contend with the devouring element; but the wind blew almost a hurricane, shifting so frequently that fiery arms appeared stretched in every direction, and the most splendid edifices in the city blazed for a few moments and then fell into piles of glowing ruins. In less than four hours left houseless-hundreds with nothing but the clothing upon them. As yet it is impossible to make anything like an accurate estimate of the value of the property destroyed. Within the range of the conflagration, there were many buildings which had been considered fire-proof; but of the number only five were left standing. With two or three exceptions, the walls of the brick houses consumed fell in soon after the flames enveloped them. Gentlemen well acquainted with the value of property in the city place the entire loss at 10,000,000. It has been ascertained that [79]

seven persons were consumed, and in all probability others will yet be discovered to have perished. When the sun rose on the morning of the 3rd, where the evening before stood our flourishing and busy city, nothing remained but a few scattered houses and a waste of blackened ruins. But even before dawn, messengers had been despatched in every direction to procure the materials for rebuilding. Even the heaviest losers, with that dauntless energy peculiar to California at once commenced preparations to rear again their homes and places of business. In many instances, our business men cleared away the heated and smoking remains of their old stands to lay the new foundations. - Two days were sufficient to restore the cheerfulness of all, and our streets began to present a scene of bustling industry unequalled in the past. During the last four days, the sounds of the hammer and trowel have been

ringing in every quarter. Long ranges of temporary buildings have sprung up, and again we recognize the familiar streets. Strange ↓as↓ it may be appear, property has advanced considerably since the fire, and vacant lots now readily rent for more than when the buildings were upon them. No one who has witnessed the tremendous energy displayed by our citizens, during the last week, can doubt that in a few months Sacramento will be restored to it's former prosperity. - Many of our people have lost splendid fortunes, but the same enterprise and industry Which won is at work to restore them. We confidently predict that on the 2nd of November, 1853 Sacramento will be a better built and more flourishing city than ever before.

¹⁶February 15th 1853. The last american steamer brought again awful tidings from California. [80]

The heavy rainstorms which had set in in the latter part of November had and continued uninterruptedly during two months, had swollen the rivers to a never-known height and the whole Sacramento valley was one immense sea. The artificial embankments around Sacramento-city had in several places given way and the whole city was again under water and the loss of goods had been most tremendous. The communication with the mines having been entirely cut off, famine arose every where and thousands starved to death with hunger. Victuals of all kinds rose in the mining districts to fabulous prices and ↓flour↓ was paid as high as 2\$ (2R 80 Silver) per pound.

March 2. The news, which came to hand to day from California are again of a more cheerful character; the rainstorm had ceased, and the flood had subsided, victuals had receded to their former prices and mining pursuits were again carried on with increased vigor.

16 Schliemann's "normal" handwriting is used again.

Transcription bill

Amsterdam 1845

De Heer H Sliemann D^{at}
aan F.W.L. Werner

[Mr. Schliemann]
[to F.W.L. Werner]

voor aan Hu. geleverd

[delivered to you]

11 Meij	4 Broodjes	F -10	[4 rolls of bread]
	1 T Brood	" - 20½	[1 wheat bread]
	2 M. Genever	" - 13	[2 measures of Genever (1 measure is ca.1decilitre)]
	½ Kan dito	" - 32½	[½ jug ditto]
12	2½ ^{ons} Boter	" - 25	[250 gr of butter]
	5 Broodjes	" - 12½	[5 rolls of bread]
	½ ^{ons} Thee	" - 20	[50 gr of tea]
	5 " Suiker	" - 35	[500 gr of sugar]
13 "	1 Tarw brood	" - 20½	[1 wheat bread]
	½ Roggebrood	" - 08	[½ rye bread]
	2 Broodjes	" - 05	[2 rolls]
	2 M. Pot Oly	" - 09	[2 measures of oil]
14 "	2½ ^{ons} Boter	" - 25	[250 gr of butter]
	3 Broodjes	" - 07½	[3 rolls]
15 "	3 dito	" - 07½	[3 ditto]
16 "	3 dito	" - 07½	[3 ditto]
	1 Tarwe brood	" - 20½	[1 wheat bread]
	2½ ^{ons} Koffy	" - 15	[250 gr. of coffee]
	2½ M. Pot Oly	" - 09	[2½ measures of oil]
17 "	2½ ^{ons} Boter	" - 25	[250 gr of butter]
	7 Broodjes	" - 17½	[7 rolls]
	Schoenepoetser	" - 20	[shoecleaning]
	Melk	" - 10	[milk]
		F 3, 75½	
	Voldaan		[paid]
	F.W.L. Werner		

The transcription of the autobiography

[i]

I was born on the 25th December 1821/6 January 1822 in Ankershagen a small village in Mecklenburgh Schwerin, Germany, where my father was clergyman. Like all or nearly all clergymen my father had nine children and no money and his time being very much taken up by his duty, he was unable to procure me or to give me any education. So it happened that I went to school at the village sexton's together with the peasant boys thye constant companions and associates of thye earlier part of my life. I lost my mother when I was 9 years of age. At the age of 13 my father put me as apprentice in a small grocer's store in Fürstenberg in Mecklenburg Strelitz, where I served 6 years, of which time 4 years as apprentice without any salary; the following year as clerk with 28 SRubles per annum, and the last year with 56 SR salary per annum. Our business was on a very small scale indeed the sales of a whole year amounting to scarcely, to 4000 SR. As I was [~~ill.urd.~~] my principal's [~~ill.urd.~~] only assistant, it happened that I had to work very hard. I was to open the shop at 4 o'clock every morning, to sweep the ground-floor, to clean the counter and the weights, to clean my principals boots etc. My principal used to rise at 8 a. m. and whilst he took his turn to attend in the shop, he sent me to the destillery to grind potatoes with the servant or to do some work in the cellar. After having served 6 years in this most miserable business it happened that my father, who in the meantime had retired from office on account of feeble health and old age and got from the Mecklenburg government 8000 prussian dollars cash instead of a pension for life, was swindled out of this money by some sharp fellows, who promised him very high percentage and never returned to him neither the principal nor one single copeque of the interest. Thus my father was with his whole family thrown into a state of utter destitution and misery. At the same time it happened that by lifting too heavy a cask of cichory, a blood-vessel sprung in my lungs and I got a heavy blood-spitting, which rendered me incapable for all sorts of hard work. My patron seeing that in my broken health I could not be of any more use to him, took an apprentice in my place and turned me out.

In spite of my small emoluments I had spared about 30 prussian dollars, which besides a few old clothes were all the property I could boast of in this world. Half in despair I walked off for Hamburg, which is distant only 30 german miles (or 210 wersts) and nevertheless I wanted 10 day to make this tour. When on the tenth day of my tiresome footjourney I saw from [ii]

afar the Hamburg-churchsteeple, separated from each other by a large distance, which indicated to me the largeness of the town, I was seized with wonder and amazement and I thought Hamburg to be the largest city of the world and when on entering the gate I saw the great bustle and life in the streets I did not cease full of enthusiasm to cry oh! Hamburg, Hamburg. It was the 13th Sept 1841.

I took my lodgings at a small inn at Altona and by force of enquiries I got on the 27th Septbr a place as clerk in the shop of E. L. Lindemann jun^r on the Fishmarket in Altona, with a salary of 60 pruss. dollars per annum. In spite of my most strenuous endeavors I could not make myself useful to my new employer, because the work he gave me was too hard for my ruined health, I got the bloodspitting stronger than ever before and was again turned out after a fortnight's vain efforts to fill up my duty, with the gratification of one dollar. After 4 week's vain endeavor to obtain a new situation I got ~~again~~ a place as clerk in Hamburg in the shop of E. L. Deycke jun^r. My new employer seeing that the work in hop and in the store exceeded my forces, he wanted to employ me for bookkeeping and ~~his-corresp~~ other writings, but alas I was entirely ignorant and hardly able to write my name and so it happened that after a fortnights service I was again dismissed with 1 [?]¹⁷ 16 sgr (ab^t 1 SR 25 ^{cop.}) gratification. In this extremity of my position I remembered that my father had once told me of a certain M^r Wendt, who had ~~been his~~ once been his pupil and who ~~had~~ was now shipbroker in Hamburg. I therefore applied to this gentleman and representing to him the horror of my situation I requested him to

17 According to Weber 1942, 5: 1 kr 16 sgr.

procure me a place as cabinboy on board a ship to America. ~~But~~ M^r Wendt a very kind-hearted good man recieved me very friendly and told me that on account of my bloodspitting I was unable to serve as cabin-boy, but that he was use his endeavors to get me away as passenger on board the Hamburg-bark-ship „Dorothea” Simonsen Master, which was to sail on the following day for Laguayra in Venezuela, South America. M^r Wendt spoke on the same day with the owners of the vessel Mrss Wachsmuth & Krogmann and succeeded to persuade them to take me as passenger in their ship for 20 prussian dollars. My trifling savings having meanwhile vanished away to 10 [?]¹⁸. I sold my silver-watch for 3 dollars [iii] and having obtained 9 dollars for 3 shirts, a coat and a pair trowsers, I was enabled to pay off the passage-money of 20 [?]¹⁹ and having purchased for the remaining 2 [?]²⁰ a ~~p~~matress and a blanket I went on board the ship the same day in the evening. We started only on the 12/24 Novb^r 1841, but were retained 4 days in the river Elbe near Blankenese on account of contrary wind. At last on the 28th Novemb^r at 4 a. m. the wind turned favorable and we started. We passed at 10 a. m. Cuxhafen and got already at 2 p. m. the English island Helgoland in sight. - We reached at 4 p. m. the height of Helgoland, when suddenly the wind turned from South East to North West, and compelled us to tack and to ply to windward. Towards evening a ~~sp~~ heavy gale sprung up, causing the vessel to roll and to shake very much. The gale continued without interruption till Sunday 5 December, and during all this time I lay on my mattress suffering from seasickness and unable to take any nourishment. On the 5 Decb^r we had a perfect calm and ↓feeling much better↓ I could for the first time take some victuals. But on the 6th the stormy weather set in again and continued unabated till the 11th. All the day of the 11th it was blowing quite a hurricane and the vessel rolled

18 According to Weber 1942, 5: 10 *r/l*.

19 According to Weber 1942, 5: 20 *r/l*.

20 According to Weber 1942, 5: 2 *r/l*.

and pitched tremendously. During the whole of our voyage we had never seen the Sun, and were thus unable to ascertain our exact position.

On the 11th the sky was thicker than ever covered with clouds, only at ab^t 4 p. m. the clouds separated a little in the West and we saw for a few moments the setting sun, which beamed upon us in all his splendor as if he wanted to wish us a last farewell.

No sooner had the Sun disappeared when it became suddenly dark night. I went down to my birth to rest, and never ~~before~~ since we left Cuxhaf en had I slept so well as that evening. Suddenly (it might be ab^t midnight) I was awoke by a horrible cracking of the vessel and by a simultaneous exclamation of the Captain: „we are lost! save your selves ! “ Seized with trembling horror I jumped out of my birth in the Cabin half filled with water, into which I plunged up to the middle of my body was with difficulty I reached the staircase and crawled on deck, where a mighty wave from the right board of the vessel threw [iv]

me with fury to the opposite side and I should inevitably have been thrown over board, had it not been for the rigging, of which I happily got hold of. - I then endeavored to get again to the other side, where I attached myself with a downhanging rope to the board. I was almost naked and a woollen shirt was all my covering. The waves went continually over me and every moment I expected death. The cracking of the vessel increased and the vessel sunk more and more with each succeeding wave. The captain had entirely ↓lost↓ his command over the crew, and all was confusion and horror. The one cried, the other prayed, the other blas=phemed, the other endeavored to get courage by drinking. Some of the crew tried to launch the large boat, but such was their confusion, that the boat was launched perpendicularly and of course instantly swallowed up by the waves. The second boat was launched on the wind- side, but im=mediately smashed to pieces by the fury of the waves. Thus there only remained to us the small stern-boat, which to make use of it in the last

extremity was attached between the two masts. In consequence of the immense cracking and rolling of the vessel, the ships-bell rang continually and its doleful sounds seemed to proclaim our watery grave. We might have been two hours in this awful situation, when the Captⁿ and crew sought refuge in the masts. It was a very dark ~~night~~ and very cold night and snow fell in fine flakes upon us. Suddenly the wrack ~~of~~ fell completely on one side on the sandbank and was dashed ~~an~~ few seconds afterwards in a thousand pieces. Seeing the decided moment coming the crew threw themselves in the small stern boat, I plunged headlong in the water and was [~~ill-wrd.~~] dragged in by the second mate. The ropes which retained us to the masts were cut and a tremendous wave took us away with it. Like a shuttlecock we were thrown about by the mountains' high waves, ~~of wh~~ whose cold spray dashed continually upon us, and with the hands we shoveled the water out of the boat. ↓ Two of the crew were drowned. ↓ We were 14 persons in the small boat, and it was a wonder indeed that we did not sink, for we had hardly a hand's breadth of board. We had no oars and were thrown [v] about a play-thing of the wind. We looked with terror to each wave, which threatened to capsize our boat or to swallow it up. In this horrible situation we passed 7 hours, when we were thrown by the waves on the beach of the Island Texel, whose inhabitants were busily engaged in stealing what had been washed ashore of the vessel and the cargo. A small waggon was procured and we were conveyed to the house of a dutchman of the name of Jan Brans, where a large fire was kindled in the chimney and we were treated with Coffee and black-bread. The owner of the house gave me a pair of large wooden-shoes, a pair of old torn linen trowsers and a nightcap and we remained 3 days with him. I felt not sick after the shipwreck and the loss of 3 [~~ill-wrd.~~] teeth which were knocked out to me in some way or other I had not to complain of any injury. On the

15th December we were ordered to walk off to another village on the island called „Burg- Texel”, [~~ill.urd.~~] where the Consuls Sonderdorp & Ram live. I was told by the latter, that I had to proceed on the following day in company of the crew over Harlingen by the Hage to Hamburg, but I insisted on going to Amsterdam, against which they at first remonstrated/but/afterwards they consented and gave me a letter for the Consul of Mecklenburgh at Amsterdam, whose name is Quack. According to their directions I left on the following morning by a small craft for the Capital of the Netherlands. The contrary wind retained us three days on the Zuyder-lake and as the craft-shipper had neither bed nor stove on board, I had to suffer cruelly in my miserable garments. We stopped on the 17th at Enckhuizen and arrived on Sunday morning the 19th December at Amsterdam. I went immediately with my letter to the Consul's, but ~~had~~ when I rung the housebell and the servant opened she thought by my dilecerated clothes that I was a beggar and shut the door immediately. I rung again and as soon as the servant opened I threw my letter in the corridor crying at the same time that she might give it to the Consul. She did so, whereupon the Consul sent me 2 guilders (about 1 Silberrubel), informing me at the same time that I might never address myself again to him. - I then went back to the shipper who had brought me from Texel and who recommended me to a sailors' tavern in the street called Raam=

[vi]
kooy where I boarded and lodged 2 days at the rate of one guilder a day. Having thus spent the money got from the Consul, I found myself in the last extremety, because the landlady of the tavern „Widow Graalman” having remarked that I had no more money, wanted to turn me out, and I was at a loss what I was to begin in my state of utter destitution, in the depth of winter without any means for subsistence. In this dilemma I resorted to a trick and feigning to be very ill I requested the landlady to send to the Consul and to get for me a certificate of admittance

in the hospital (gasthuis op de Ouderzidsachter=burgwall). The landlady who was afraid that I was really sick and that I she might be forced by the police to keep me till my recovery, hastened to procure me said Certificate and I was on the same day admitted in the hospital and got the bed N^o 66.

Already on the day of my arrival at the island Texel ~~that~~ at my request the captain of the vessel had written to M^r Wendt

in Hamburg and representing to him my intention to go to Amsterdam & requested him to send me a letter of recommendation for that place. It happened that M^r Wendt got ~~my~~ the letter when he with a large number of friends was sitting at a banquet; - M^r Wendt read ~~my~~ the letter aloud and he made immediately a collection in my favor, which produced f 240 (or abt 130 Silver Rubles). This brave man sent me the money in a letter of credit of Messrs Kleinworth Brothers of Hamburg on Messrs Hoyack & C^o of Amsterdam.

These latter learned from the Consul Quack that I was in the Hospital and immediately sent thither to inform me of my lucky fate. It was after having lain for eight days in the hospital, that I got the happy news and immediately went to the office of Messrs Hoyack & C^o, who paid me some money on account of my Hamburg-credit and procured me a place as office-boy in the countinghouse of Messrs B. H. Schröder & C^o. I bought some shirts and a suit of clothes and entered my situation on the following day. My occupation was to carry the letters to the postoffice to present bills for acceptance etc
(vii)

It happened that in the beginning of 1842 there was in Amsterdam a celebrated Calligraph of the name of Magnée from Brussels M^r Schröder kindly offered to me to pay the lessons for me if I wished to learn writing, to which I joyfully consented and in 20 lessons I advanced so far that I could make myself useful as copying-clerk. I then

took lessons in the german language, which I learnt to speak and write correctly, learnt then the dutch language, afterwards the french, english, spanish, italian and portuguese languages. Meanwhile M^r Schröder advanced me almost every month in his office and in less than 2 years I became the first clerk in the house, got „full power” and had already 15 clerks under me. The wet climate of Holland had a most favorable influence on my former pectoral disease, which soon disappeared entirely. In the third year of my stay in the counting house of Schröder & C^o I learnt the russian language, which indeed I found the most difficult tongue of all, the more so as there was in Amsterdam no body who knew a word of russian, in consequence of which I had to study it from books. But I by reading much aloud I soon accustomed myself to this beautiful language and after having studied it for 6 weeks I was already enabled to write commercial letters to Russia, which correspondence proved extremely advantageous to my principals and became the cause that after a stay of 4 years I was sent by Messrs B. H. Schröder & C^o as agent to St Petersburg.

²¹In the beginning of my stay in Amsterdam I had very hard times, my emoluments being only f 300 (155 SR) p^r annum, from which I had to pay my board and lodgings as well as my clothes and lessons, and so it happened that during the first year I hardly ever got anything but dry black bread and water. During the first year I occupied a small furnished room, for which I paid f 4 (2¼ SR) p^r month, but afterwards when my salary increased I took a fine furnished room at f 10 (ab^t 5½ SR) p^r month

[viii]

but I continued to observe the utmost economy and throughout the whole time of my residence in Amsterdam I never spent more than 20 ^{cents} (10 Copeques Silver) for my dinner. All my savings I sent to my poor family in Germany, whom I have sustained ever

21 Schliemann uses here a different kind of handwriting, the vowels become very small.

since the end of 1842.

I arrived here in St Petersburg for the first time on the 30th January 1846 and 7 days afterwards I went to Moscow. In both places my endeavors were crowned with good success, so that after a few months I was enabled to establish myself here in Petersburg as wholesale dealer on my own account. I have ever since been very lucky in my operations. In 1846 I was 4 times on business in Moscow, and on the 1st October of the same year I went, with a view to extend my mercantile connexions, via Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam & Rotterdam to London, visited subsequently Liverpool, Håvre, Paris, Bruxelles, Cologne, Coblenz, Dusseldorf, Krefeld, and returned by way of Amsterdam, Hamburg and Berlin to St Petersburg, where I arrived on the 14th Decbr 1846. At the end of 1848 I went for the 5th time to Moscow. On my return journey, which I made in an open sleigh with a cold of 33 to 36 degrees below the freezing point, I took cold and lay nearly 4 months on the sick-bed. In June 1849 I fell dangerously ill from nervous-fever and lay 1 month in a most desperate state. On the 18 February 1850 I started for the 6th time for Moscow and on the 4 March I left from hence by way of Kovno, Gumbingen, Königsberg & Berlin for Amsterdam, where I stopt one week, and went then by way of London to Edinburgh in Scotland, visited Glasgow, and went thence by the steamer via Greenock to Liverpool; thence to Chester and Bangor to see the Britannia-bridge; thence by way of London, Håvre, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg & Lubeck back to St Petersburg.

Spanish translation

*By Nienke Brouwer (translation) and Wout Arentzen
(editor and comments)*

[19] There is nothing worse than the heat. You can dress yourself against the cold with layers of thick clothing but there is no remedy against the heat. However thin my clothing is I still suffer greatly even though I take a bath every morning. It is obvious that the shower is not used often because very little water comes out of it. On board of the steamship from Panama [20] to San Francisco I want to arrange for two to three baths a day during our time at sea.

Our captain Tanner is a quiet man who seems to know his job very well. The first mate appears to be a wealthy as well as arrogant man. The accommodations are really poor, the common areas are filthy but that is to be expected for a ship with 260 passengers on board. There are some 20 women on board, 16 or so of them are married and 4 single ladies are headed to California with the hope of finding a husband. These 4 ladies appear to be quite dumb and are quite ugly. On top of that they are elderly being around thirty years of age, but there is no doubt that they will find what they are looking for in California since there is not a lot of competition. In my quarters there are 4 beds, one of which is occupied by me. Another is occupied by a Swedish Jew with a very ugly and suspicious face. Yet another is occupied by captain Poustand and the last one is taken by a fat American, a resident of San Francisco. The steamship has two decks, one is called quarterdeck and is used when it is especially warm or rainy as it is covered by the upper deck sheltering it from the sun and the rain. The upper deck is used to take a stroll in the evening or on a cloudy day. On board of this ship the position is not determined by casting the “log”¹ but by the sun which is present nearly the entire day. The food is far worse than what we had on board of the steamships going from England to New York. Here there is no chocolate, no bacon and eggs or much else for that matter. I was told that on the Isthmus of Panama food is scarce and therefore during our journey I bought some supplies to take with me.

[21] It is a pretty sight to see the flying fish jumping from the water as they are being chased by larger fish. They fly for a distance above the surface before disappearing again in the water. They are half a foot to one foot tall. The

1 A nautical instrument to measure the speed of a ship. It is a piece of wood attached to a rope with knots at regular intervals. Sailors counted the number of knots that past through their hands in a given period of time and thus were able to calculate the speed of the ship.

movement of this steamer is a bit different from the British steamers. The latter hit the water with the bow and the movement rolls along the length of the ship while the American steamers always sway from side to side. Nothing compares to the magnificence of the starry sky in the evening when the bright lights of millions of stars declaring the glory of God. There is nothing more beautiful than the warm rays of the sun glistening on the sea.

We arrived at Sacramento on Monday May 19th. Longing to see the beautiful Sonoma valley, which I had heard so much about, I headed to San Francisco on Monday 26th of May at two in the afternoon. I stopped at the inn called Rasette House² where I met a Dutchman. The steamer having been advertised in the newspaper for the 27th³, I left at six in the morning to where it should leave but there was no steamer there and I was told that it had gone out the day before. As a result I was forced to spend the entire day in San Francisco. I got quite bored as I had no other business there. Finally on May 28th we left at 9 in the [51] morning. There was a strong headwind and we moved slowly and I would have gotten quite bored if I had not met Professor F.G. Reeger from Sonoma on board, a very interesting man who had travelled a lot and seen a large part of the world. Never in my life have I seen a man so kind, forthcoming and prudent as Mr. Reeger. He spoke with equal ease English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch and no doubt is also deeply versed in Latin and Greek as well. As I have always been fascinated by foreign languages it brought me great pleasure talking to Mr. Reeger in various languages and the time passed quickly. We arrived at the dock at five in the afternoon and from there we were taken by carriage to Sonoma, a small village with four or five hundred inhabitants. I like the beautiful valley of Sonoma very much. It is dotted with millions of flowers and the air you breathe there is fresh and healthy. The land is very fertile and in a small garden Mr. Vallejo has produced some 15 thousand pesos worth of wine. Undoubtedly, if the goldmines had not been discovered this land would have been very expensive,

2 *Pacific Rural Press* 7 December 1872. "The year following the discovery of gold in the State the first hotel building, occupying this site [the corner of Bush and Sansome], was erected. Old Californians will remember it as the 'Rasette House'."

3 I have not been able to figure out what went wrong here. In May 1851 there was a daily ad in the *Daily Alta California* for the boat to Sonoma:

FOR SONOMA – *The fine fast running steamer GEORGIANA, having been thoroughly repaired, will resume her regular trip for SONOMA, the 23d March, leaving Central Wharf every TUESDAY, THURSDAY and SATURDAY, at 7 o'clock A.M., and returning, leave Sonoma every MONDAY, WEDNESDAY and FRIDAY, at 7 o'clock, A.M. For freight or passage apply on board, or to ENGELS, HOOPER & Co., Montgomery st, opposite the U.S. Assay Office.*

Schliemann arrived in San Francisco Monday May 26 and so, according to this ad, the next boat would leave at Tuesday May 27. There is nothing about a delay in the papers. If the boat had left the day before there must be something wrong with Schliemann's dates. Had he lost a day somewhere? In that case he arrived in San Francisco on Sunday May 25. Schliemann tells us that he left on May 28th but that was a Wednesday and so no boat left on that date.

but with labour prices being as high as they are currently, nobody here thinks of agriculture and the land is worth next to nothing. Personally, I would not want to live in Sonoma but some prefer the solitude of the countryside over the noise of the large cities.

I said goodbye to Sonoma on Saturday the 31st of May and took the stagecoach to Napa, where we had lunch. At five in the afternoon we arrived at Benicia from where I took the steamer called Senator⁴ at six thirty and I arrived at Sacramento at [52] half past one.

My single occupation here is to loan money for mortgages on land and houses. I have almost nothing to do and because from an early age on I have been used to working from morning until evening I can not begin to describe the impatience and annoyance that haunted me. On top of that the heat during the day is unbearable and I suffer greatly, because I have a lot of blood. Sacramento's society is formed by adventurers whose sole ambition is to get rich at the expense of others. There is no company here to my taste, no pastimes to relax and all my heart wants is to return to Europe soon. However the journey here from to Saint Petersburg, as well as the transportation costs of the money, have been considerable and I prefer to recoup my huge expenses by returning by way of China.

God willing, at the end of this year I will board a boat in San Francisco heading to Canton and afterwards visit all the main ports in India and continue my journey through Egypt, Italy and Germany. Then I will settle in St. Petersburg because of all of the cities I have visited in my life I prefer St. Petersburg with its kind and gentle people, its beautiful and clean houses, its pretty streets and delightful climate. I have never heard a foreigner that not spoke with the highest praise of St. Petersburg. Everything is very cheap in St. Petersburg and living at a first rate hotel and having a carriage and horses will not cost more than 2000 duros⁵ a year. Indeed St. Petersburg is my desires, but before I see it I will visit many other countries.

[55] If I were to take the trip to China and India then I will also stop to visit Jerusalem, not for religious reasons but to satisfy my curiosity.

4 In May 1851 there was a daily ad in the *Daily Alta California* for the boat to Sacramento:

...
*The superior steamer SENATOR, Capt John Van Pelt, will
leave Pacific st. wharf [San Francisco] every Tuesday, Thursday and Satur
day at 4 P.M.*
...

Schliemann tells us that he left Benicia on Saturday May 31 at 18.30 with the steamer Senator. Benicia is on the run from San Francisco to Sacramento and this boat left San Francisco at 16.00 so there is no problem with this date.

5 Until 1857 the Spanish and Mexican 8 Real Pieces or Peso were legal currency in the United States. A piece of eight was equal to one Dollar. One Duro was equal to 20 Reales and so to 2,5 Dollar. Schliemann speaks thus about 5,000 Dollars per year.

List of figures

- 1 Arentzen
- 2 Royal Collection Trust, UK (<http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/2905523/obaysch-the-hippopotamus-london-zoo>)
- 3 Arentzen
- 4 The Barnum Museum, Bridgeport USA
- 5 Library of Congress, Brady-Handy photograph collection
- 6 Harvard University Library, Weissmann Preservation Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection; TC-24; olvwork100480)
- 7 Arentzen
- 8 Otis 1867
- 9 Otis 1867
- 10 Album Pintoresco de la Republica Mexicana
- 11 Oakland Museum of Art
- 12 Library of Congress
- 13 California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento (http://catalog.library.ca.gov/exlibris/aleph/a19_1/apache_media/2SM3MI7LHR2CRD4C8YGKPKUUCU3NYE.jpg)
- 14 Arentzen
- 15 California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento
- 16 California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside
- 17 Library of Congress (http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/map_item.pl?data=/home/www/data/gmd/gmd436/g4364/g4364s/pm000311.jp2&itemLink=D?gmd:1:./temp/-ammem_1Cmv::&title=View+of+Sacramento+City:+as+it+appeared+during+the+great+inundation+in+January+1850+/-drawn+from+nature+by+Geo.+W.+Casilear+%26+Henry+Bainbridge+;+lith.+of+Sarony,+New+York.&style=citymap&legend=)
- 18 Bibliothèque National de France (www.gallica.bnf.fr)
- 19 Arentzen
- 20 Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley
- 21 Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley
- 22 Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley
- 23 Gennadius Library Athens, Greece

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Index

- Acapulco, 44, 78, 103, 105, 147-149, 176
Admiralty, 109
Ague, 167, 174, 180, 181
Almadén quicksilvermines, 61, 171
Altona, 197
Amsterdam, 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 33, 95, 96,
99, 101, 102, 111, 112, 117, 118, 194,
201, 202, 203, 204,
Ankershagen, 95, 187, 196
Antwerp, 16, 102, 118
Arnhem, 101, 111
Aspinwall, 34, 74, 105, 179
Bahuco, 135
Baltimore, 27, 33, 102, 122, 123, 126
Bangor, 102, 117, 204
Baring Bros. & Co., 68, 113, 184, 186
Barnum's Museum, 24-27, 42, 121
Barton, Lee & Co., 167
Behrens, C.D., 18, 50, 121, 127
Behrens, L. & Son, 59
Berlin, 78, 101, 110, 204
Birds, 137
Black Fish, 146, 151
Blankenese, 198
Bogota, 139
Boston (riots), 27-28, 76, 124, 185
Brakel, Mr., 121, 127
Bremen, 204
Brittania Bridge, 117, 204
Brown, Henry & Co., 86
Brown, Shipley & Co., 114, 117
Brussels, 202
Buccaneers, 142
Bützow, 187
Butterflies, 139
Calder, William M. III, 29, 31
California, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 33, 46-
47, 51, 53, 58, 59, 62, 65, 68, 69, 71,
72, 74, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 88, 118,
122, 128, 129, 134, 150, 158, 165,
168, 170, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179,
181, 184, 186, 190, 191, 192, 205
California, Lower, 103, 150
Capitol, 27, 33, 123-124
Carpenter, Dr., 85, 157
Catherine Dock, 112
Catholic Church, 145
Cerros (Cedros) 103, 152
Chagres river, 33, 34, 39, 40, 44, 103, 130,
131, 134, 137, 138, 155, 179
Chagres, 33, 34, 40, 75, 103, 127, 128, 130,
131, 132, 133, 138, 139
Chester, 102, 117, 204
Chilians, 38, 170
China, 33, 163, 166, 207
Chinese emigrants, 53-56, 169
Church (Schliemann's visit to), 120, 125,
157, 188
Citizenship, American, 46, 47, 61
Citizenship, Russian, 17, 61
Coast Range, 152
Coblenz, 204
Coffee, 134, 135, 141, 144, 183, 200
Cohen, M.A., 65, 68, 79, 80, 184
Collier, Dr. G.F., 77, 186, 187
Cologne, 204
Conflagration of Sacramento, 85, 189-191
Conflagration of San Francisco, 9, 85, 88,
89, 90-94, 164-166, 189, 191
Congress of the United States, 33, 123, 126

Cordilleras Andes, 136, 137, 141
 Cork, 22, 23, 33, 102, 116
 Corozo De Lola, 131, 136
 Cortes, Fernando de, 136, 139
 Creoles of Panama, 133
 Chrystal Palace, 19, 20, 42, 133
 Daily Alta California, 47, 48, 66, 67, 71, 87, 89, 92
 Davenport, Fanny E.L., 32, 125
 Davisdon, B, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64-71, 175
 Davini, Dr., 60, 61, 171
 Dean, Mr., 124, 127
 Deycke, E.L., 197
 Diarrhoea, 167, 180, 181
 Dicks, Thomas, 42, 151
 Dierschau, 101, 110
 Dorpat, 101, 109
 Dublin, 33, 102, 116, 117
 Dusseldorf, 204
 Duke, Mr., 117, 187
 Duna, 109, 110
 Dysentery, 167, 180, 191
 Edinburg 204
 Elbing, East, 101, 110
 Eldorado Saloon, 173
 Ellis, Charles, 81
 Ellis, Hannah, 80, 81
 Ellis, George Harvis, 20, 78, 79, 110, 149, 187
 Engels, Mr., 118
 Enkhuizen, 201
 Fellows' Minstrels, 26, 212
 Fever:
 Brain fever, 59
 Congestive fever, 49,
 Fever, 13, 35, 51, 60, 62, 64, 68, 69, 74, 134, 154, 170, 171, 174, 175, 180
 Isthmus fever, 167, 181
 Nervous fever, 204
 Panama fever, 36, 45, 75, 144
 Typhoid fever, 18, 49, 59,
 Yellow fever, 16, 36
 Fill & Co, 147
 Fillmore, Millard, 27, 28-31, 124,
 Fire at Sacramento, 84-86, 190-191
 Fire at San Francisco, 88-94, 164-165
 Floods of Sacramento River, 69, 87, 174, 192
 Flying-Fish, 205
 Frijol on Navy Bay, 74, 179
 Fürstenberg, 95, 196
 Gambling, 131, 173
 Gatun Village, 103, 131
 Girard, Stephen, 126
 Girard College, 126
 Glasgow, 204
 Gold Mines, 53, 159, 172
 Gold rush, Californian, 10, 12, 34, 50, 51, 52
 Golden Gate, 84, 85, 154, 175, 181
 Gold Run, 104, 160
 Gorgona, 103, 105, 132, 135, 136, 138, 179, 180
 Grass Valley, 104, 160
 Gravesend on Thames, 102, 112, 187
 Great Exhibition, 19, 20, 21, 78, 113,
 Grimm, A.K., 58, 64, 65, 66, 69, 79, 81, 84, 87, 166, 189
 Gumbingen, 204
 Hamburg, 96, 106, 187, 197, 201, 202, 204
 Hecker, Spohie, 17, 19
 Le Harvre, 187, 204
 Helgoland, 198
 Hepner, F.W., 95
 Hippopotamus, 21, 113

- Hotels:
- Adelphi (Liverpool), 114, 117, 118, 186
 - American Hotel (Panama City), 178
 - Astor House (New York), 24, 120, 121, 122
 - Barnum's Hotel (Baltimore), 122, 123
 - Bath (Rotterdam), 112
 - City Hotel (Marysville), 159
 - Du Nord (Konigsberg) 110
 - Grand Hotel d'Angleterre (Paris), 186
 - Louisiana Hotel (Panama City), 139
 - Morley's Hotel (London), 186
 - National Hotel (Pakisbar), 159
 - National Hotel (Washington DC), 124
 - Panama Rail Road (Gorgona), 135
 - Pay Bas (Amsterdam), 111, 118
 - Pays-Bas (Rotterdam), 111, 118
 - Rheinische Hof (Amsterdam), 118
 - Royal Hotel (London), 112
 - Union Hotel (Panama), 135, 154, 155
 - Union (San Francisco), 48, 89, 135, 154, 155, 164
 - United States Hotel (Philadelphia), 34, 126
- House of Representatives, 27, 28, 46, 123
- Iguanas, 134, 142, 180
- Illnesses of Schliemann:
- Blood-spitting, 196, 197, 198
 - Nervous fever, 204
 - Fever, 13, 16, 170, 171, 174
 - Ulcer in leg, 74-78, 181-182, 185-186
- Imperial Palace, 109
- Indians, 13, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 133, 134, 159, 170
- Isaac's Place and Church, 109
- Isthmus of Panama, 34, 35, 36, 39, 74, 128, 129, 137, 182, 205
- Jamaica, 105, 180, 183
- Janssen, G, 69, 184, 185
- Jerusalem, 8, 266, 207
- Kanaker, 170
- Keizer, Mr., 112
- Kelp, 152
- King, James & Son, 113, 122
- Kingston (Ireland), 117
- Kingston (Jamaica), 105, 183, 184
- Klaener, D, 23, 116, 119, 123
- Königsberg, 101, 110
- Kovno, 204
- Krefeld, 204
- La Guayra, 198
- Laurel Hill Cemetary, 126
- Lind, Jenney, 75-76, 93, 125, 184-185
- Lindemann, E.L., 197
- Liverpool, 33, 75, 75, 102, 75, 105, 114, 117, 118, 141, 186, 204
- London, 19, 21, 24, 33, 68, 77, 79, 102, 106, 112, 113, 117, 118, 186, 187, 204
- Long Bar, 159
- Lübeck, 204
- Lyshina, Jekaterina Petrowna (Lyschin), 17, 19, 83, 84, 189
- Macready, William Charles, 21
- Maidstone, 78, 187
- Marienburg, 101, 110
- Marysville, 87, 104, 158, 159
- Mecklenburg, 61, 81, 82, 196, 201
- Meline, Mr., 109
- Menai Street, 117
- Mexico, 148
- Monot, Dr., 186
- Moscow, 204
- Mosquitoes, 74, 142, 181, 182
- Mount Vernon, 33, 124, 125
- Narva (fortress), 109
- Narva (river), 101, 109

Nevada City, 104, 160
 Navy Bay, 179, 180
 Nicolaevič, Aleksandr (Russian alias of Schliemann), 16, 58, 62, 80
 Niewwied, Duke of, 58, 168
 New York, 14, 22, 24, 33, 49, 61, 74, 75, 102, 103, 105, 113, 114, 115, 119, 121, 127, 176, 183, 184, 185, 205
 Nicolaus I (Emperor of Russia), 169
 Nicolaus (mining camp), 104, 159
 Obaysch, 21, 113
 O'Connor, Feargus, 76, 77
 Oranges, 134
 Overhausen, 101, 111
 Overton Block, 86, 87, 191
 Panama, 33, 34-42, 44, 45, 46, 79, 103, 105, 128, 129, 134, 136, 137, 138-142, 145, 153, 154, 177, 181, 205
 Panama Isthmus, 34, 35, 39, 74, 128, 129, 137, 182, 205
 Panama, Old, 41, 42, 141, 142
 Panama Railroad, 40, 128, 180
 Paris, 78, 80, 126, 186, 187, 204
 Pakisbar, 104, 159, 160
 Pasha, Abbas, 21, 113
 Patent Office, 124
 Pearson, Mr., 145
 Penitentiary, State, 126
 Peter the Great, 109
 Philadelphia, 33, 34, 102, 121, 122, 126, 127, 171, 184, 186
 Picayune, 92, 134
 Plumas, 104, 159
 Point Conception, 153
 Ponomarev, Ivanovich Prokopy, 16, 58, 59, 62, 79, 80, 83
 Postage (Cheap Postage Bill), 33, 126
 President of the United States, 27-31, 124
 Prussia, 61, 88, 89, 110, 168, 169, 175, 189, 203
 Quack, 201, 202
 Quadrant, 151
 Quartz mills at Grass Valley, 160, 161
 Queenstown, 102, 116
 Quicksilvermines, 11, 61, 171
 Quien, F.C., 97
 Railroad Panama, 40, 133
 Railroads United States, 122-123
 Raamkooy, 201
 Reeger, Prof. F.G., 162, 206
 Riga, 101, 109
 Rothschildt, House of, 57, 58, 59, 66, 68, 72, 74, 167, 175
 Rotschef, Alexander, 172
 Rotterdam, 12, 101, 102, 113, 118, 204
 Rough and Ready, 161
 Rhum, 184
 Sackville Street, 117
 Sacramento, 13-16, 18, 48, 49, 50, 57, 59, 60, 61, 61, 64, 69, 71, 72, 73, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87, 91, 92, 104, 105, 155, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 168, 171, 172, 173, 175, 189, 190, 192, 206, 207
 Sacramento River 13, 50, 51, 155, 157, 173
 San Diego, 103, 152
 San Francisco, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18, 19, 33, 34, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 57, 59, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 88, 89, 90, 103-105, 114, 118, 127, 129, 145, 147, 150, 154, 155, 162, 164, 166, 167, 171, 175, 183, 205, 206, 207
 San José, 60, 64, 69, 70, 105, 171, 174, 175
 Santa Barbara Islands, 103, 152
 Santa Clara Valley, 171
 Santa Margarita, Isla, 43, 180
 Satrustegui, Miguel de, 58, 64, 65, 167
 Saynishc, Lewis Dr., 58, 168, 171

- Schliemann, Adolph, 24
- Schliemann, Doris, 12
- Schliemann, Elise, 83
- Schliemann, Ludwig, 17, 18, 34, 48, 56, 73
- Schliemann, Paul, 12
- Schliemann, Wilhelmine, 12, 83
- Schmidt, of P. & C. Van Notten & Co., 112, 113
- Schmidt & Co, New York, 184
- Schröder, B.H. & Co, 18, 19, 97, 99, 112, 118, 202, 203
- Schröder, John Henry, 24, 118
- Schwartz, Mr., 114
- Scorpions, 182
- Scudder, Carroll & Co., 191
- Senator
- Clay, Henry (Kentucky), 28, 29, 123, 124
 - Davis, John (Massachusetts), 29, 123
 - Douglas, Stephen (Illinois), 29, 123
 - Hale, John Parker (New Hampshire), 28, 123
 - Mason, James Murray (Virginia), 29, 123
- Shipwreck (1840 off Texel):
- Brans, Jan, 200
 - Burg-Texel, 201
 - Dorothea (Hamburg-La Guayra), 198, 200
 - Shipwreck, 21, 200
 - Simonsen, 198
 - Sonderdorp and Ram, 201
 - Texel Island, 200, 201, 202
 - Wachsmuth & Krogmann (owners of Dorothea), 189
 - Zuyder Zee (the Netherlands), 201
- Ships and steamers:
- Africa (Liverpool-New York), 22-24, 29, 33, 119, 121
 - Atlantic (Liverpool-New York), 22, 23, 24, 29, 74, 84, 114, 119, 120, 121, 185
 - Crescent City (New York-Panama), 33
 - Dana (Sacramento River), 158
 - Erbgrossherzog Friedrich Franz (Rostock-Cronstadt), 188
 - Europa (New York-Liverpool), 185
 - Georgia (Panama-New York), 183
 - Golden Gate (San Francisco-Panama), 181
 - Illinois (Panama-New York), 183
 - John Bull (London-Hamburg), 187
 - McKim (San Francisco-Panama), 153, 154
 - New Orleans (New York-San Francisco), 150, 176, 183
 - Northerner (New York-San Francisco), 43, 176
 - Ocean (Antwerp-London), 112, 118
 - Oregon (Panama-San Francisco), 46, 103, 143, 144, 146, 154
 - Senator (Benicia-Sacramento), 163, 207
 - Sierra Nevada (Panama-New York) 75, 183
 - Tennessee (San Francisco-Panama), 153, 154
 - Winfried Scott (New York-San Francisco), 176
- Sierra Nevada, 182
- Snakes, 182
- Sonoma, 104, 161-164, 206, 207
- Springs of natural soda (Santa Clara), 172
- St Petersburg, 12, 17, 19, 29, 33, 46, 47, 50, 61, 62, 71, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 101, 106, 109, 109, 110, 111, 112, 164, 168, 172, 182, 188, 189, 203, 204, 207
- Stettin, 101, 110
- Stout, Dr., 48, 155
- Stroof, 187
- Sugarcane, 183
- Suttersville, 104, 159

Taboga, 103, 143
 Tanner, Capt., 129, 205
 Tauroggen, 101, 110
 Teuantepec, Gulf of, 105, 177
 Telegraph Hill, 92, 165, 166
 Theatre:
 National Theatre (Washington), 32, 125
 Metropolitan Hall theatre New York, 75, 184
 Princes' Theatre (London), 21, 114,
 Tilsit, Russia (former Prussia), 101, 110
 Traill, Davis, 64, 70,
 Trees:
 Banana, 147
 Coconut, 147
 Limon, 137
 Orange, 134, 137, 142, 143, 147, 183
 Palm, 143, 183
 Triumphant gate, 109
 Typhoid 16, 18, 59
 Typhoon (Gulf of Teuantepec), 177
 Vallejo, Mr., 162, 206
 Vamos Vamos, 103, 131
 Vermont, 69
 Vidder, Miss, 80
 Viperow, 188
 Vistula, 110
 Waldenberg, 101, 110
 Walter, Mr., 114
 Washington, DC, 27, 29, 33, 46, 102, 123, 125, 127
 Washington Monument, 125
 Washington Fort, 125
 Washington Street (San Francisco), 48, 91, 92, 93, 165
 Weber, Capt., 53
 Weber, Shirley H, 7, 9, 107
 Webster, Daniel, 124
 Wendt, J.F., 197, 198, 202
 Werner, F.W.L., 9, 96, 194
 West, Captain, 114, 115, 116
 Whewell, William, 19
 Wirths, Mr., 121, 127
 Yuba diggings, 104, 159,
 Yuba River, 49, 53, 159, 160, 172
 Zoo, London, 21
 Zoological Gardens, 113

SCHLIEMANN AND THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH

In this second part of *The Schliemann Diaries* we follow Heinrich Schliemann (the famous 19th century archaeologist, trader and traveller) through his diary on his second journey: his travels to America from December 1850 to March 1853. The original diary was written in English and for a small part in Spanish. This publication is a transcription and translation of Schliemann's travel diary.

In 1850 the millionaire Schliemann decided to end his job as trader in Russia and to try his luck in the United States. He travelled via Europe to New York and Washington and then via Panama on to the goldfields in California. He made a second fortune in Sacramento with buying gold dust and with banking. After two years he returned to Europe and got married in St Petersburg.

In this diary Schliemann describes his travels from the perspective of a wealthy business man in the mid-19th century and writes about the landscape, his visits to the theatre, the hotels he used, his much discussed meeting with the American president, his lucrative banking business in California, etc. His travels and accommodation weren't always without danger. Schliemann describes in detail the extreme heat and humidity, fatal illnesses, rainstorms, floods, mosquitoes, robbers, murderers and swindlers.

Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890) was a shrewd trader and later in life he became one of the best known archaeologists of the 19th century for discovering the legendary city of Troy and the golden masks of Mycenae. Schliemann also made many travels around the world and recorded his experiences in several diaries. In this series, all Schliemann's travel diaries will be made available to a wider public by means of a transcription, an English translation and an introduction. These publications will present a new image of the trader and archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann and the world in which he lived.

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