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XÁNTUS
HUNGARIAN NATURALIST
IN THE
PIONEER WEST

BY
HENRY MILLER MADDEN

1949

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XÁNTUS
HUNGARIAN NATURALIST
IN THE PIONEER WEST

OÖLM LINZ



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Xántus

*(Lithograph by Giuseppe Marastoni, 1862, by courtesy of the
Portrait Collection of the Austrian National Library)*

XÁNTUS
HUNGARIAN NATURALIST
IN THE
PIONEER WEST

BY
HENRY MILLER MADDEN

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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THIS PAGE
OF AFFECTION
-I HAVE WRITTEN LAST
THAT SHE WHO SAW EVERY OTHER
MIGHT NOT SEE IT
MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

In the United States, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a few virtuosi and amateurs cultivated natural history, but the great American treasury of natural objects was largely undescribed, unclassified, and unstudied. By the end of the century the fauna and flora of the expanded nation had been entered in ordered catalogues, and the study of natural objects could proceed from taxonomy to bionomics and the less tangible consequences of the theory of organic evolution. This efflorescence of zoölogy and botany is attributed to many causes: the increasingly scientific temper of the century; the introduction of instruction in these sciences in the colleges; the support of the government and learned institutions; the exciting vistas of western lands not yet known to the scientist; and the zealous, if not always careful, collection of specimens in remote areas by persons whose only reward was an acknowledgment of esteem.

Not only did zoölogy and botany receive more attention from the public, but the method of study changed radically. Until 1850 the dominant figure was the naturalist, the man who was successively an explorer, an observer, a collector. After 1850 the naturalist was superseded by the scientist, who worked upon the specimens obtained by planned expeditions and examined in laboratories.¹ The scientist of authority came to depend upon the more adventurous frontiersman for representative collections of fauna and flora.

During this transitional period of the middle of the nineteenth century these collectors on the western frontier were in large proportion not native Americans but

¹ W. M. Smallwood, *Natural History and the American Mind* (New York, 1941), p. vii-ix, 215, 337.

European immigrants and travelers. It is not surprising that so many frontier naturalists were children of the Old World; there they had been exposed to a liberal secondary education, books in great number dealing with American wonders and nature, and the example of many private individuals who cherished science as an avocation. Moving to the New World, they brought with them respect for learning and eagerness for exertions which profited immensely the growth of the natural sciences.

The general body of European naturalists in America, from 1830 to 1860, may be divided into settlers and travelers. Both contributed to the development of American science: the former by the collection of specimens and, less importantly, by accounts of their activities; the latter primarily by their narratives and secondarily by their collections. Journeying to the United States from nearly all parts of Europe, they left the records of their observations in their own languages. From the Germanies came Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, Balduin Möllhausen, Lindheimer, Wislizenus, Moritz Wagner and Karl Scherzer;² from France,

² Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, born in 1797 in Karlsruhe, Silesia, died in 1860 at Mergentheim, Württemberg. From 1822 to 1824 he traveled in the region of the upper Missouri River, and from 1829 to 1833 in Missouri, Texas, and northern Mexico. He was in Louisiana, Texas, and California in 1849 and 1850, and in 1851 he ranged from New Orleans to the Great Lakes, and from New York to Fort Laramie. During the succeeding three years he was in the eastern and southern states. His American travels were completed in 1856. *Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1835) describes his early travels, and the later ones are recorded in forty manuscript diaries.

Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, born in 1782 in Neuwied, died there in 1867. His American travels, of great significance to biology and ethnology, are described in his *Reise in das innere Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834* (Coblenz, 1839-1841).

Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen, born in 1825 near Bonn, died in 1905 at Berlin. In 1849 he made his first journey to America, and joined Duke Paul Wilhelm in an expedition to Fort Laramie. In 1853, after returning for a short time to Berlin, Möllhausen again traveled

Lesueur and Nicollet;³ from England, Thomas Nuttall;⁴

in America, as a collector for the Smithsonian Institution and topographer for Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple's expedition from Fort Smith to Los Angeles. After a second visit to Germany he joined the party of Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives in the exploration of the Colorado River. He wrote *Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee* (Leipzig, 1858), *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hochplateau von Neu-Mexico* (Leipzig, 1861), and numerous romances based upon American themes.

Ferdinand Jacob Lindheimer, born in 1801 in Frankfurt-am-Main, died in 1879 at New Braunfels, Texas. He immigrated to America in 1834, and traveled widely in Texas and Mexico. His extensive botanical collections were submitted to George Engelmann and Asa Gray for study.

Friedrich Adolf Wislizenus, born in 1810 in Königssee, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, died in 1889 at St Louis. He studied natural science at Jena, Göttingen, and Tübingen, and in 1835 came to America. His western travels (1839-1846) ranged from Fort Hall to Chihuahua, and his collections embraced all branches of biology. He wrote *Ein Ausflug nach den Felsen-Gebirgen im Jahre 1839* (St Louis, 1840), and *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847* (Washington, 1848).

Moritz Wagner, born in 1813 in Bayreuth, died in 1887 at Munich. Wagner, who was later to distinguish himself as a famous biologist and champion of the Darwinian hypothesis, arrived in America on 7 June 1852, in the company of Karl Scherzer. In their tour, accomplished partly together and partly in separate journeys, Wagner undertook natural history and Scherzer the geographical and statistical studies. They proceeded to Central America in April 1853, returned to the United States early in 1855, and departed for Europe in the spring of the same year. The results of their journey in the United States appeared in a three-volume work, *Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853* (Leipzig, 1854).

Karl Ritter von Scherzer, born in 1821 in Vienna, died in 1903 at Görz. His American tour is noted above. He was one of the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian East Asiatic Expedition of 1869, from which he separated in order to visit California and the Rocky Mountains.

³ Charles Alexandre Lesueur, born in 1778 in Le Havre, died there in 1846. From 1816 to 1837 he was in the United States, and in 1819 was engaged in mapping the northeastern boundary. His collections were chiefly in ichthyology.

Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, born in 1786 in Cluses, Savoy, died in 1843 at Washington. From 1836 to 1840 he explored and surveyed the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and wrote a *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (Washington, 1843).

⁴ Thomas Nuttall, born in 1786 in Settle, Yorkshire, died in 1859 at 'Nutgrove,' near Liverpool. His travels included the regions of the Missouri River (1809-1811) and the Arkansas and Red rivers (1818-

from Switzerland, Jean Louis Berlandier;⁵ from Denmark, Henrik Krøyer;⁶ and from Russia, Viktor Ivanovich Mochulskii.⁷

The motives which impelled them to journey to the New World ranged from free intellectual curiosity to the search for political asylum. No uniform pattern can be detected in the multifarious activities of these naturalists. Some voyaged alone, some in large expeditions. Some were in correspondence with American scientists and submitted their specimens to the academies of the Atlantic seaboard, others reserved their collections for European biologists. The narratives of some are simple and matter-of-fact, of others embroidered and fanciful. Some hoped for preferment in America or Europe consequent upon their labors, others had less selfish motives.

By restriction of this scrutiny to those who came as immigrants rather than as travelers, a type which embraces almost all representative activities may be established. It consists of a European who left his homeland for polit-

1820), and in 1834-1835 he was a member of the Wyeth expedition to the mouth of the Columbia. His botanical and ornithological studies were monumental. He wrote *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory* (Philadelphia, 1821), and *A Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and of Canada* (Cambridge, Mass., and Boston, 1832-1834).

⁵ Jean Louis Berlandier, born about 1805 near Geneva, died in 1851 in Matamoros, Mexico. He was commissioned in Switzerland to make collections in Mexico and Texas, and landed near Tampico in 1826. His enormous accumulations and his manuscripts were acquired by the Smithsonian Institution after his accidental death.

⁶ Henrik Nikolaj Krøyer, born in 1799 in Copenhagen, died there in 1870. In 1842 he became inspector of the Royal Museum of Natural History, and in 1854 he traveled to the United States, proceeding from New Orleans to St Louis, Cincinnati, and New York. He collected molluscs and other animals. Two manuscript diaries of this journey are preserved at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

⁷ Viktor Ivanovich Mochulskii, born in 1810, died in 1871 at Simferopol. This eminent coleopterist traveled in 1853 from New York to Cincinnati, and from New Orleans to Philadelphia, and Boston.

ical reasons, thought of settling in a new home, drifted uncomfortably in a strange environment, enlisted in the army or joined an exploring party, reached the frontier, seized the opportunity to collect specimens of natural history, attained recognition and enjoyed correspondence with the academic scientists, published in his native tongue accounts of his adventures designed to enhance his repute among his countrymen, sought the bounty of patronage so evident in American public life, and eventually either sank into obscurity or returned to his homeland to enjoy the benefits which his transatlantic reputation assured.

Few European immigrants displayed these facets more brilliantly than the Hungarian János Xántus. He rose from complete obscurity to lasting fame, put the natural history of America permanently in his debt, interpreted the United States, through his writings, to Hungary, and wove such a veil of romance about his life that no biographical account of him has penetrated to the facts of his career in America. Naturalists have long felt the need of a biography of Xántus, because the lack of his itinerary and the ignorance of conditions under which he collected have prevented them from studying comprehensively the species taken by him. Taxonomic and ecological questions stemming from Xántus's work as a naturalist are incapable of solution on the basis of the faulty and corrupt biographical accounts at present available; valid conclusions await a biography based upon the sources available in the United States and Hungary but not previously explored.

Biographies of field naturalists are extremely rare. The conditions under which their collections were made, the obstacles they overcame, and the nature of their relations with the closet scientists have only infrequently been set forth. Thanks to the extraordinarily full documentation

of Xántus's career as a collector in America, it is possible, by examining his life, to display the frontier naturalist in the light of contemporary events.

In this biography of Xántus emphasis will be placed on the years of his stay in America, from 1851 to 1864.

CHAPTER I

YOUTH IN HUNGARY, 1825—1851

The family of Xántus, as the name suggests, was established by a Greek or Macedonian who settled in the fifteenth century at Csiktaploca, in the Transylvanian county of Csik. The rank of minor nobility was conferred on the family, and in the seventeenth century one Keresztes Xántus was royal judge and a warrior against the Turks. Obscurity surrounds the family until the nineteenth century, when Ignác Xántus was employed by the Széchenyi family as solicitor, land agent, and steward for its estates at Csokonya, in the county of Somogy, south of Lake Balaton. Ignác Xántus married Terézia Vandertich, and by her had three children, János, Amália, and Gyula. János, the eldest, was born at Csokonya on 5 October 1825. Of his early childhood nothing is known.¹

János Xántus studied at the Benedictine gymnasium at Győr, and stood thirteenth in a class of thirty-three students in 1841. He then attended the academy of law at Győr, and served as a vice-notary in the county of So-

¹ Terézia Xántus died on 27 July 1877.

Amália Xántus was married to Sándor Oszvárd, a lawyer of Pápa, county of Veszprém. She died in childbirth on 30 October 1869.

Gyula Xántus became registrar of deeds in Győr, and later head bookkeeper of the First Savings Bank in Győr.

Sándor Mocsáry, 'Xántus János emlékezete,' *Magyar tudományos akadémia, Emlékbeszédek a m. t. akadémia tagjai fölött*, IX (1899), 232. Constantin Wurzbach, Ritter von Tannenberg, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien, 1856-1891), LIX, 50. József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (Budapest, 1891-1914), XIV, col. 1663-1664. Lajos Lantos, 'Megemlékezés Xántus Jánosról,' *Természettudományi közlöny*, LXVII (1935), 467. L. Palóczy, 'Johann Xántus,' *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, XVII (1895), 328. Aladár György, 'Xántus János,' *Földrajzi közlemények*, XXII (1894), 377.

2 Madden: Xántus

mogy for three years. At Pest in 1847 he passed the bar examination for commercial subjects and the civil service. He then returned to Csokonya, where he may well have intended to follow a career similar to his father's. The revolutionary stirrings of the summer of 1848, however, jogged the young lawyer into joining the national guard, and when Hungary was invaded by Jelačić's Croatian forces Xántus went to Pest to join the artillery. As a sergeant he fought at the battle of Pákozd. He joined the garrison at the fortress of Komárom and was transferred to the infantry, in which he became a lieutenant of the forty-sixth battalion.²

On 8 February 1849 Xántus was captured by the Austrians at Ersekújvár and taken on foot to the fortress of Pozsony. After recuperating from pneumonia in a military hospital, he was imprisoned at Königgrätz. The war came to an end with the capitulation of Görgei in August 1849, and in October Xántus was impressed in the Khevenhüller-Metsch regiment as a private soldier. His mother interceded for him, and advanced the money necessary to obtain his release. Instead of returning to his home, Xántus, on his discharge in July 1850, went to Dresden, where he joined the Hungarian émigrés. His revolutionary utterances were overheard, and when he was passing through Prague on his way home he was arrested. Without a hearing he was condemned to serve

² Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 232. Wurzbach, op. cit. LIX, 50.

³ Mocsáry, loc. cit. 232-234. Wurzbach, op. cit. LIX, 50-51. Szinnyei, op. cit. XIV, col. 1664. Lantos, loc. cit. p. 467. Palóczy, loc. cit. p. 328. A. S. Saly, 'Xántus Nep. János,' *Képes ujság*, 27 November 1859, p. 217-218. The date of Xántus's departure from England, given by Saly as 5 May 1851, is disputed by some of Xántus's later statements. In a letter to István Prépost (Fort Tejon, 20 September 1857; in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest) Xántus asserted that he had been the regular London correspondent of *Magyar hirlap* from October 1851 to May 1852. This is doubtful, for the paper had almost daily dispatches from London since its establishment in 1849,

as a *Strafgemeiner* in the regiment from which he had been so recently released. Xántus escaped, fled on foot to Tetschen, and thence traveled by river boat to Pirna in Saxony. He continued to Hamburg and London, and on 5 May 1851 he sailed for America.³

and it is unlikely that the unknown Xántus replaced, on short notice, the regular correspondent. The London dispatches are unsigned, except three (*Magyar hirlap*, 5 February 1852, p. 3129-3130; 12 February, p. 3157-3158; 15 February, p. 3171-3173) which are attributed to 'X' — a common pseudonym even in Hungarian. Furthermore, Xántus asserted in 1857 (*infra*, p. 22) that he had arrived in America in advance of Kossuth, who landed in New York in December 1851. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, Saly's date may be accepted.

CHAPTER II

WANDERJAHRE, 1851 — 1857

The career of Xántus in America from 1851 to 1857 is almost as obscure as his childhood. The typical immigrant of that time left few records; in the case of Xántus it was not so much this unintentional indistinctness as his own mendacious accounts and his assumption of a false name which has created confusion. He wrote, or inspired, a number of narratives describing his activities during his first six years in America. Depending upon the audience to which they were addressed, they were imbued with either an oppressive boastfulness or a flagellant humiliation. In the latter category belongs a letter written by Xántus over the assumed name of 'L. Vésey' to Spencer Baird, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.¹

'And now, allow me dear Sir to furnish you some items in regard to myself, as our acquaintance will be drawn from time to time closer. — I was educated at the Polytechnical School in Vienna, & after leaving it entered the Royal Artillery. When in '848 the unfortunate war broke out against Hungary, I resigned my commission, but it was not accepted. I left notwithstanding my garrison, and offered my services to the *Hungarian* Secretary of war, who accepted it readily and entrusted me with an important mission. The Austrian Government declared me a deserter and ordered the sequestration of my property,

¹ Spencer Fullerton Baird (1823-1887) served as Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution from 1850 to 1878 under Joseph Henry (1797-1878), Secretary from 1846 to 1878. He succeeded Henry in 1878, and held office until his death.

but I think I did my duty, and never cared much about material losses! — You know dear Sir the tragedy, how it terminated, after we fought manly for two whole years against the combined foes of civilisation, at last we succumbed; and I found myself homeless & penniless trown out to Asia.

'I came to this country amongst the first of my countrymen, in advance of Kossuth, and by order of President Fillmore I received a grant of land in Iowa, as the others of my fellow Refugees. But actually I never took possession of, but being a good piano player, and a tolerable draughtsman, I procured a honorable support by teaching for a short time; when I went successively with the Prince of Würtemberg, Dr Wagner & Scherzer, & Dr Kroyer as collector. At last I fitted out of my hard earnings an expedition into North Minnesota, which failed so entirely, that in a moment of utmost despair, & under circumstances completely beyond my control — I was forced to enter the American army.

'With a honest past, very respectable connexions, and a good many enemies at home, I think I was justified in changing my name, and not to carry it on the muster Rolls of the American Military Ranks (?). My name at home was John Xántus de Vésey; but as Véseys are good many, and John Xántus is only one, I took the former.

'I told you this circumstances dear Sir with the object, that if you should make perhaps any reference to my collections hereafter, be so kind, and do it either in full *John Xántus de Vésey*, or *John Xántus* alone, as you please. I do not care much about my military acquaintances, but my friends may know it, that I am still living, and doing something.'²

² János Xántus (hereinafter referred to as J. X.), Fort Tejon, to Spencer Fullerton Baird (hereinafter referred to as S. F. B.), Washing-

In contrast to this apologetic letter is one which Xántus had written, six weeks earlier, to István Prépost, a friend in Hungary.

. I landed in America without a cent, so to speak. I have been to all the states in earning my livelihood, and have been in every condition of life. The Americans do not care what a person is, that is, what he does. Poverty is not shameful here; it is a misfortune, and everyone is bound to help himself as best he may. I, for instance, have been a jack of all trades — a newspaper boy, sailor, store clerk, bookseller, pharmacist, piano teacher, railroad cartographer, engineer, and teacher of German, Latin, and Spanish.³ If I had no money, I did not wait for a job as an artist . . . but, according to the American custom, I went to work as a day-laborer so that I might eat. Up to the waist in water I dug for days in a canal, and this is what changed my luck; for people saw that I was willing and energetic, and helped me forward with my plans. Believe me, this part of my life was sometimes as dark as soot, but I shall always remember it with pride. In Washington, this spring, I crossed with inexpressible satisfaction that canal in which I had once dug and sweated. Many influential persons were with me at the time. Showing them the place, I told them its story, and took from my pocket-book the first dollars I had earned

ton, 16 November 1857, p. 6-8; in a bound volume, entitled "Correspondence. John Xantus," in the archives of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. This correspondence is hereinafter referred to as S. I. Because Baird's address continued to be Washington, it will henceforth not be given. The trifling mistakes of Xántus in his English composition have not been held up to exhibition by the use of *sic*. The letters have been faithfully transcribed, and all errors appearing in this reproduction of them appear in the original. This practice will be observed in all following letters.

³ The passage after the word 'trades' was deleted from this account, but does appear in Mocsáry, *loc. cit.* p. 234-235.

there. After that, these men were much better friends of mine than before.

'Because my life was so filled with vicissitudes I am naturally better acquainted with the people and their lives, and I think I know them better than any of our countrymen who have, up to now, tried to write about America. What is more, I did not drop here as from heaven, but for several years I lived in England, France, and Germany, and traveled through Holland and Belgium, too. When I arrived, I did not look at everything with childish excitement, like many before me, but I compared everything before I passed judgment. I have not only wandered over every one of the states here, but I have traveled much in the territories, too, and I could do this only because the government helped me in innumerable ways. I learned the character and customs of the Indian tribes and many other unquestionably interesting things. A few years ago I traveled with the Duke of Württemberg through Mexico and Central America, and this brought entirely new and extremely interesting experiences into the store of my knowledge. Recently I chanced to come to this almost unknown land [California] which, doubtless, is one of the world's most remarkable wonders. . .'⁴

To complete this panorama, Xántus's retrospective account, written in 1867, of an incident of 1853 may be ranged beside the two foregoing contemporary narratives.

'Exactly fourteen years ago the mouth of the Mississippi was an exceptional Mecca for natural scientists. At that time Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, Prince Maximilian of Neuwied, Count Mochulskii, Agassiz, Henrik

⁴ J. X., Fort Tejon, to István Prépost, Pest, 10 October 1857. *Györi közlöny*, 17 June 1858, p. 190-191. The date of the letter is mistakenly given as 10 October 1858.

Krøyer, Karl Scherzer, and Moritz Wagner were there, and to make the company more fortunate, Ida Pfeiffer as well.⁵ I went in the company of Louis Agassiz. We all united in New Orleans for our common security and greater success, and in a group we traveled through part of western Louisiana and the islands of the Gulf of Mexico. Never had such a group been together in Louisiana, nor will there soon be such another. Its members represented every conceivable branch of the natural sciences, and with combined energy they descended on virgin territory in order to distribute their spoils over all parts of the world. We had world-famous entomologists, ichthyologists, herpetologists, ornithologists, geologists, botanists — in a word, everything. There was not a dilettante among us; each expertly pursued his aims with his whole body and soul. . .

'Our company was characterized by confidence, friendship, good spirits, strong coöperation, and inexhaustible patience until finally the Prince of Neuwied went to the Upper Missouri, Wagner and Scherzer to Central America, Agassiz to Florida, Dr Krøyer to Canada, and Frau Ida to California, thus breaking up the company, never to meet again. . .

'As the party had dispersed, I gladly accepted Duke Paul Wilhelm's suggestion that I accompany him to northwestern Louisiana, where he was to hunt with a friend of his. . .'⁶

Another source concerning the first six years of Xántus's life in America is the letters to his family which were published, after some editing, in a volume entitled

⁵ Ida Laura (Reyer) Pfeiffer, born in 1797 in Vienna, died there in 1858. She distinguished herself by traveling in remote parts of the world and by writing very successful accounts of her pre-Nellie Bly adventures.

⁶ J. X., 'Amerikai vadászkalandok,' *Vadász-verseny lap*, XII (1867), 186-187.

Xántus János levelei Északamerikából ['János Xántus's Letters from North America'].⁷ A summary of the information in these letters bearing upon his career will be given, together with the fragmentary assertions made by Xántus in other writings. At the conclusion of this reconstruction of Xántus's own story of his life, his letters to Spencer Baird and István Prépost, his account of the meeting of the scientists at New Orleans in 1853, and the summary drawn from his letters, in that order, will be subjected to critical scrutiny.

The letters which Xántus wrote to his family and later published in the *Levelei* commenced in December 1852. They are divisible into four periods: those written from the Great Plains (December 1852 to January 1853); those from New Orleans (March 1853 to June 1854); those from the Hungarian settlements in Iowa (August 1854 to February 1855); and those from Kansas Territory (January to September 1856).

Beside the four letters written during the first period there are no other documents extant. The first letter, superscribed 'Mekihaguo River, Indian Territory, 1 December 1852,'⁸ stated that Xántus had steamed up the Missouri River to Lexington, and had gone on horseback to 'Karthagena' (Carthage) to join a private surveying party employed to lay out a route for a railroad from St Louis to California. His compensation was to be two dollars a day and traveling expenses.⁹ With this party he journeyed into Kansas. The severity of winter endangered the group, and Xántus was given command of a detachment to seek succor at Fort Laramie. He set out

⁷ The book was edited by István Prépost, and published at Pest in 1858. It will hereinafter be referred to as J. X., *Levelei*.

⁸ Not identified.

⁹ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 7.

with this relief party from the Nebraska River on 17 December and proceeded consecutively by way of South Pass and Green River (Wyoming), Court House Rock and Chimmey Rock (Nebraska), Independence Rock (Wyoming), Snake River and Fort Boise (Idaho), and the Grande Ronde, Blue Mountains, and Cascade Mountains (Oregon), arriving at Fort Laramie (Wyoming) on 31 December.¹⁰ The exertions of the journey did not prevent Xántus from writing to his mother on this last day of the year. 'In twenty-five minutes I shall be writing in 1853. . . Now it is twelve o'clock; the sentries are trumpeting the change of the guard. My lamp has burned out, but still I can write in the dark, "Good-night!"' ¹¹ Xántus showed less solicitude for the companions for whose rescue he had been dispatched to the fort; there is no word in his narrative to show either that relief was arranged or that they had managed to shift for themselves.

On 3 January 1853 the government steamer arrived at Fort Laramie, bringing orders for Xántus to proceed through territory where 'there had never been white men' to Fort Washita on the Red River. Thence he was to survey a route to the Great Salt Lake. This expedition, instead, led him to New Orleans, whence he wrote to his family on 26 March.¹²

For the second period, commencing at this time, there is more festimony. The *Levelei* contains six letters from New Orleans and one from the Chandeleur Islands, and there is also information in Xántus's reminiscence of Antal Vállas, a Hungarian resident of New Orleans.¹³ According to almost every letter. Xántus was about to embark

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 15-17.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 19-20.

¹³ *J. X.*, 'Vállas Antal,' *Reform*, 3 January 1875, p. 2.

on a grand scheme. The succeeding letter made no mention of this dream; instead, a new prospect had appeared. In the letter of 26 March 1853 to his mother, Xántus wrote that the railroad survey was impeded by discussions in Congress, and that if it were not possible soon for him to start on the way to California he would join a scientific expedition being organized by the British Museum, the Académie des Sciences, and the 'New York Society of Natural Science' to collect in 'Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mosquito, Yucatan, Darien, California, Sonora, the Sandwich Islands, Colombia, Caracas, Granada, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Buenos Aires . . . the Juan Fernandez Islands (where Robinson once lived), Uruguay, Patagonia, and the Falkland Islands.'¹⁴

Less than a month later Xántus's next letter made no mention of this expedition, but transferred his goal to St Louis, where he was to take the post of draughtsman in the office of the railroad company. The work he was writing on his travels in the Indian Territory had not quite been completed, but it was to have been finished a few days after his arrival at St Louis; he expected to receive at least five hundred dollars for it, and a Hungarian edition of it would be available.¹⁵

The prospect of working in St Louis and of publishing his narrative disappeared in a blast of steam in May 1853. The *St Nicholas*, carrying Xántus up the Mississippi, engaged in a race with the *General Scott*, and near Natchez the *St Nicholas* exploded. Xántus swam ashore, made his way to Natchez, and was befriended by 'a member of Congress, former minister to Portugal, and one of the most influential men of his state.' From this elevated

¹⁴ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 20-22.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 22-23.

company Xántus went to the sugar plantation of Saul Marchand, where he spent eight days, and then returned to New Orleans. He had been appointed professor of Latin, Spanish, and German in the University of Louisiana, at a salary of nine hundred dollars and a dwelling.¹⁶

The appearance of yellow fever, an event almost inescapable in any account of New Orleans, permitted Xántus to avoid describing his teaching duties. His letter of 30 August 1853 repeated the familiar morbid story, varied by a venomous attack on a compatriot, Dr Kisfy, who had demanded of Xántus payment in advance for his professional services.¹⁷

Recovered from the fever, Xántus wrote to his mother in October that he had been to the Guadalupe River in Texas to buy 640 acres, paying \$ 315 for a quarter section.¹⁸ He urged his family to join him in this paradise, but with his customary chameleon change his next letter, four months later, did not mention the Texas venture. He described, instead, the great fire in New Orleans of 4 February 1854 which took 270 lives and destroyed ten million dollars' worth of property, and lost himself in its horrors.¹⁹

Xántus related his attendance, during his stay in New Orleans, at a private naval academy conducted by his compatriot, Antal Vállas, for which he received a diploma to certify his proficiency in maritime pursuits.²⁰

This second period in Xántus's early American career came to an end with a visit to the Chandeleur Islands in the Gulf of Mexico, south of Biloxi. There, according to

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 24-26.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 26-29.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 29-30.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 30-31.

²⁰ J. X., 'Vállas Antal,' loc. cit.

his letters, he felt a strong stirring of interest in natural science. He collected birds daily between three and eight o'clock in the morning, and observed other aspects of the natural life. From these uninhabited islands he returned to New Orleans in the summer of 1854.²¹

The succeeding period commenced with Xántus's determination to leave New Orleans and to visit the Hungarian settlements in southern Iowa. Since 1850 a colony of sturdy political refugees had grown up at the spot they named New Buda, in Decatur County. Such men as László Ujházy,²² Ferenc Varga,²³ László Madarász,²⁴ György Pomutz, and Ignác Hainer had taken out land claims under the Act of 4 September 1841; their rights were strengthened by the Act of 11 May 1858 which gave preference to the Hungarian refugees. New Buda has since disappeared, but in the early fifties it was a lively

²¹ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 32-35.

²² László Ujházy was born in Budamér in 1795. During the eighteen-thirties he was a leader in the county of Sáros of the campaign for liberal ideas, and during the war for independence he was a government commissary. He was the central figure in the founding of New Buda, in 1850, and then went to Texas to establish another colony of Hungarian immigrants. He was appointed United States Consul at Ancona and held office from 1862 to 1864. He died in Texas in 1870. Sándor Jászniagi and Imre Parlagi, *Das geistige Ungarn, biographisches Lexikon* (Wien and Leipzig, 1918), II, 662-663. Géza Kende, *Magyarok Amerikában; az amerikai magyarság története, 1583-1926* (Cleveland, 1927), I, 174.

²³ Ferenc Varga was born in Debrecen in 1817. In 1847 he became lieutenant governor of the county of Torontál, and in 1848 a government commissary for that county. From 1851 to 1871 he was a farmer in Decatur County, Iowa, and was then elected treasurer of the county, moving to Leon, the county seat. He visited Hungary in 1896 and died at Leon in 1902. L. M. Wilson, 'Some Hungarian Patriots in Iowa,' *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XI (1913), 479-516.

²⁴ László Madarász was born in Gulács in 1811. He was one of the first settlers in New Buda, in 1851, and became Xántus's host during the latter's visit. He died in 1909 at Good Hope, Missouri. Kende, op. cit. I, 177-178.

spot, brimming with the energy and optimism of its settlers.²⁵

To this colony Xántus turned in July 1854 from his inconsequential ventures at New Orleans. He steamed up the Mississippi to St Louis, but instead of continuing to Burlington in Iowa he apparently went up the Missouri to Brunswick.²⁶ From Brunswick he proceeded north through Trenton and Princeton to the Hungarian settlements, just across the Iowa boundary. In August he arrived at the cluster of Hungarian farms.²⁷

Four of his letters describe the frontier life of his countrymen, but of Xántus's part in it they say little. In November he complained that his funds were low and expressed the hope of joining a party to survey the boundaries of Kansas.²⁸ In February 1855 he informed his brother, in a letter from New Buda, that he was writing a number of works based on his journeys — 'Travel in the Northern and Middle States of the American Union,' 'Travel in the American Indian Territories,' 'Louisiana and Texas,' 'Travel in Central America,' 'The Gulf of Mexico and Its Islands,' 'Utah and the Mormons,' 'The History of the Hungarian Emigration to America.'²⁹

Xántus later asserted that in 1854, presumably during the period of his stay in Iowa, he had witnessed the remarkable sight of two domesticated bison cows on the farm of William Parker, not far from Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory. He was assured by Herr Köhls, the con-

²⁵ Wilson, *loc. cit.* Kende, *op. cit.* I, 138-163. G. P. Arnold, *New Buda and the Hungarians* (Leon, Iowa, ca. 1912).

²⁶ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 36.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 46.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 48.

sul of Braunschweig in St Louis, that the milk of the bison was 'sehr schmeckhaft und fett.'³⁰

Eleven months after Xántus wrote his last letter from Iowa he commenced, in January 1856, a series of letters which mark the final period of his years of wandering in America. He informed his mother that on 25 October 1855 he had set out with a topographical party from the junction of the Missouri and Kansas rivers for Fort Riley, which was reached on 30 November.³¹ In April and June 1856 he described the party's journey beyond Fort Riley into southwestern Kansas, and mentioned his treatment of the sick in the absence of the surgeon.³² He prescribed for five patients, two suffering from diarrhoea and three from intermittent fever. 'At home I never bestowed much attention on the medical sciences, but this much I do know, that a Hungarian physician would be astonished to see the local prescriptions.'³³ In September he wrote that since June he had been on an extended exploration to the Canadian River,³⁴ and from then until March 1857 he sent no letters at all.

The conclusion is inescapable that this account, of Xántus's own composition, is largely false. It is condemned by conflict with ascertainable facts and by internal evidence. Year after year Xántus consciously deceived his family by inventing situations gratifying his vanity and departing further from the truth. The veracity of this account will be investigated after Xántus's letters to Baird and Prépost and his story of the congress of naturalists at New Orleans have been examined.

³⁰ J. X., 'Ueber den amerikanischen Bison,' *Der zoologische Garten*, VIII (1867), 93.

³¹ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 53-54.

³² *Ibid.* p. 54-62.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 62.

In his letter to Spencer Baird, Xántus attempted to create the impression that he enjoyed a technical education which would make his services of value. As a matter of fact, he did not attend the Polytechnical School of Vienna, nor did he serve in the Austrian artillery, so that he had no commission to resign in 1848. The Hungarian war for independence lasted only a year, and at its conclusion Xántus was 'thrown out' not to Asia, but to western Europe. He did not receive a grant of land from President Fillmore. There is no evidence to support his statement that he fitted out an expedition into northern Minnesota; on the contrary, he never mentioned this episode on any other occasion. Xántus may have been justified in changing his name to Louis Vésey, but his name in Hungary was never 'John Xántus de Vésey'; in later life he called himself 'csiktaplocai Xántus János' — that is, János Xántus of Csiktaploca — as a prerogative of noble origin, but 'Louis Vésey' was a free invention.

Xántus's letter to Prépost, having fewer definite assertions, is less open to contradiction. Xántus, however, did not visit all the states, and there is no evidence to show that he visited Washington before 1857. Nor did he travel in France, Holland, or Belgium before sailing for America in 1851. There is, moreover, so much ring of Horatio Alger to this letter as to weaken its credibility.

The reminiscence of the congregation of scientists at New Orleans in 1853 is most indicative of the direction of Xántus's aspirations after 1856, when his interest in natural science began in earnest. In both the preceding accounts Xántus claimed that he had been a travel companion of Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, and in his letter to Baird he introduced himself in the same capacity with Moritz Wagner, Karl Scherzer, and Henrik Krøyer. In this third recounting, Prince Maximilian of

Wied, Viktor Mochulskii (advanced by Xántus to noble rank), Louis Agassiz, and Frau Pfeiffer were added to the ranks of his collaborators. Xántus thus laid claim to acquaintance with the most notable of the European travelers in America.

Of all these visitors, Duke Paul Wilhelm recurred most frequently in Xántus's letters and writings, for it was with him that Xántus claimed to have traveled most widely — in the United States, Mexico, and Central America. Duke Paul Wilhelm was in the United States from 1851 to 1854, in South America in 1854, and again in the United States from 1855 to 1858.³⁵ If Xántus traveled with Duke Paul, he must have done so before 1855, because his enlistment in the army under the name 'Louis Vésey' occurred in September of that year.³⁶ Duke Paul, in 1851, visited New Orleans, the Red River, Arkansas, Illinois, Wisconsin, the Great Lakes, Niagara, New York, St Louis, and the plains to Fort Laramie; and from 1852 to 1854 he was in the eastern and southern states.³⁷ Xántus maintained in his letter to Baird that he 'went successively with the Prince of Württemberg, Dr Wagner & Scherzer, & Dr Kroyer as collector.'³⁸ Wagner and Scherzer arrived in America on 7 June 1852³⁹ and departed from New Orleans for Central America on 22 April 1853.⁴⁰ If Xántus

³⁵ P. F. Stälin, 'Friedrich Paul Wilhelm, Herzog von Württemberg,' *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912), XXV, 243-244.

³⁶ Muster rolls, Adjutant General's Office, War Department. J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 10 September 1858, p. 1. R. H. Musser, Brunswick, Missouri, to S. F. B., 18 December 1858, p. 2. S. I. Musser was Xántus's lawyer and a newspaper publisher of Brunswick. He mistakenly gave October as the month, but confirmed the year.

³⁷ C. L. Camp, Berkeley, California, to the author, 1 February 1938.

³⁸ *Supra*, p. 22.

³⁹ Wurzbach, *op. cit.* XXIX, 229.

⁴⁰ Moritz Wagner and Karl Ritter von Scherzer, *Die Republik Costa Rica in Central-Amerika* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 45.

was correct in writing that he was associated with Duke Paul before his asserted travels with Wagner and Scherzer, he must then have been with the former before 1852, because Duke Paul was in the eastern states (hardly a field for exploration) in 1852 and 1853. In a report published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg (one of the few published accounts of Duke Paul's travels), Duke Paul stated that he was accompanied in August 1851 on his travels from St Louis to the Great Plains by Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen and a certain Herr Zichlinsky of Dresden, with whom he had become acquainted in New Orleans. Herr Zichlinsky soon parted from the company.⁴¹ It is impossible that Zichlinsky was Xántus under another pseudonym; for Xántus, in describing Möllhausen's sojourn at Fort Tejon in 1857, stated that this was the first time he had met Möllhausen,⁴² and Möllhausen did not mention Xántus in his account of the visit.⁴³ Möllhausen and Zichlinsky were the only companions of Duke Paul in 1851. Xántus may have encountered Duke Paul at St Louis in 1851, or at New Orleans in 1853-1854, but he could not have undertaken any extensive collecting trips in Louisiana because of the regularity of his letters from New Orleans. The august traveler was never mentioned by Xántus in his letters to his family. The statement of Xántus that he traveled with Duke Paul in Central America may be dismissed by reason of the fact that Duke Paul was en route to South America only in 1854, when Xántus was in Louisiana and Iowa. Xántus's association

⁴¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), 20 February 1852, p. 809-810; 21 February, p. 825-826; 22 February, p. 841-842; 24 February, p. 873-874.

⁴² J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 6. S. I.

⁴³ H. B. Möllhausen, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hochplateau von Neu-Mexico* (Leipzig, 1861), I, 59-60.

with Duke Paul, therefore, could not have been more extensive than an encounter in St Louis or New Orleans.

Moritz Wagner and Karl Scherzer, allied to Xántus by his accounts both as companion collectors and participants in the memorable gathering in 1853, were in the United States, as stated above, from June 1852 to April 1853. They were together in Illinois and Missouri in the latter part of 1852, and again in Mississippi and Louisiana from December 1852 to April 1853. Xántus met the two travelers in New Orleans, and proposed that they engage him to accompany them to Central America, but his petition was summarily rejected.⁴⁴ Wagner and Scherzer returned from Central America to the United States in 1855; by this time Xántus was in Iowa, with no possibility of joining them in the eastern states. The extent of his association with Wagner and Scherzer was his rejected plea for employment.⁴⁵

Henrik Nikolaj Krøyer, frequently mentioned by Xántus as one of his patrons, could not have taken part in the congress of naturalists which Xántus described because he did not arrive in the United States (at New Orleans) until 23 March 1854. He left New Orleans on 17 May for St Louis, arriving there on the twenty-fifth, and departing

⁴⁴ *Neue freie Presse* (Wien), 17 April 1870, p. 7.

⁴⁵ The following writings of Wagner and Scherzer, bearing upon this period, do not mention Xántus: Karl Ritter von Scherzer, 'Mittheilungen des österreichischen Reisenden in Nord-Amerika, Hrñ. Dr. C. Scherzer,' K. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, X (1853), 153-160; 'Auszug aus einem Schreiben des Hrñ. Dr. Karl Scherzer an den General-Secretär des kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften,' loc. cit. XVI (1854), 26-27; 'Bericht über eine wissenschaftliche Reise nach Amerika in den Jahren 1852, 1853, 1854 und 1855,' loc. cit. XX (1856), 43-67. Moritz Wagner and Karl Ritter von Scherzer, *Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853* (Leipzig, 1854). Moritz Wagner, *Die Entstehung der Arten durch räumliche Sonderung* (Basel, 1889), p. 13-14.

on 1 July for Cincinnati. He did not visit Canada. Only at New Orleans or at St Louis could Xántus have gone with him as a collector; yet Xántus's letters from the Chandeleur Islands and Iowa do not mention this influential scientist. Nor do Krøyer's manuscript diaries allude to Xántus.⁴⁶

There remain as participants in the New Orleans gathering of 1853 Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, Frau Pfeiffer, Viktor Mochulskii, and Louis Agassiz. Of these, Prince Maximilian and Frau Pfeiffer could not have taken part because the former had departed from the United States, never to return, seventeen years before Xántus's arrival,⁴⁷ and Ida Pfeiffer was in New Orleans only from 5 to 23 June 1854, a year after the congregation had met.⁴⁸

Viktor Ivanovich Mochulskii was a visitor to New Orleans during his trip to the United States in 1853. He was afflicted with yellow fever for seven weeks.⁴⁹ There is no evidence that Mochulskii met Xántus in New Orleans.

Louis Agassiz lectured in New Orleans in the spring of 1853 while journeying from Charleston to Boston. He did not spend sufficient time there to engage in naturalistic excursions, nor did he go from there to Florida.⁵⁰ Xántus was unintentionally honest in saying that 'never had such a group been together in Louisiana.'⁵¹

⁴⁶ Ellen Jørgensen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, to the author, 8 September 1938.

⁴⁷ Prince Maximilian sailed from New York on 16 July 1834. Friedrich Ratzel, 'Max Prinz von Wied-Neuwied,' *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXIII, 562.

⁴⁸ Ida Laura (Reyer) Pfeiffer, *Meine zweite Weltreise* (Wien, 1856), III, 207; IV, 1, 32. Frau Pfeiffer did not mention Xántus in describing her visit to New Orleans.

⁴⁹ E. O. Essig, *A History of Entomology* (New York, 1931), p. 714.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth C. Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Correspondence* (London, 1885), II, 512.

⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 25.

Passing on from the scrutiny of these three accounts, one is confronted by the story of Xántus's activities which his *Levelei* presents. The first period (1852-1853) described therein is manifestly an invention. If Xántus's account of the journey of his relief party to Fort Laramie is correct, he traveled over 2500 miles in seventeen days through the wildest area of the United States, almost touching the Pacific on the way from Kansas to Wyoming. This absurd tale appears to be based on a hurried thumbing of John Charles Frémont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44* (Washington, 1845), for all the geographical locations mentioned by Xántus received italicized treatment from Frémont. The remaining letters from this period lack all verisimilitude. The most satisfactory hypothesis is that from 1851 to 1853 Xántus was in or near St Louis, probably in the society of Germans. In support of this is the fact that St Louis was the point from which his letters were dispatched, and that in later writings he referred frequently to St Louis, implying a residence there. There is, furthermore, a note by Baird among the Xántus papers, 'Declaration of Intent Citizenship[,] Circuit Court St Louis[,] Jy [Fy?] 21. 1852,'⁵² which confirms Xántus's presence in St Louis in 1852.

The second section of the *Levelei*, dealing with Xántus's stay in New Orleans from March 1853 to June 1854, contains assertions which are disprovable; but, unlike the tale of the Fort Laramie expedition, which removed Xántus from his actual locale, it does fix him as being in New Orleans during the period in question. The joint expedition of the British Museum, the Académie des

⁵² S. I.

Sciences, and the 'New York Society of Natural Science' was a creation of Xántus's imagination.⁵³ The volume of travels in the Indian Territory on which he was working never appeared in print. The *St Nicholas* and the *General Scott* were steaming down the Mississippi: the *St Nicholas* arrived safe at New Orleans on 16 May 1853; the *General Scott* took fire on 15 May near New Madrid, Missouri, and was scuttled.⁵⁴ The name of Xántus does not appear in the minute book of the University of Louisiana (Tulane University) or in city directories of New Orleans for 1853 and 1854.⁵⁵ The great fire reported by Xántus took place on 5 February 1854, and consumed no more than forty lives and six hundred thousand dollars' worth of property.⁵⁶ The training at Vállas's academy did nothing except lend apparent background to Xántus's later claim to naval office. Xántus never again alluded to his collections on the Chandeleur Islands. In the absence of evidence to support Xántus's other assertions, it appears likely that during his stay of over a year in New Orleans he was engaged in the more menial tasks he listed in his letter to István Prépost. He himself complained that 'speaking six languages, playing piano, & being a good topographical draughtsman, after all efforts I could never bring higher up my existence, as to 25 dollars a month!!!'⁵⁷

Xántus's account of his sojourn among the Hungarians of Iowa must be criticized more for its omissions than for

⁵³ Académie des Sciences, *Comptes Rendus hebdomadaires des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, XXXVI-XXXIX (1853-1854), have no reference to such an undertaking.

⁵⁴ *New Orleans Daily Delta*, 17 May 1853, p. 4; 21 May, p. 2. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 21 May 1853, p. 2.

⁵⁵ S. B. Keane, Finance Secretary, President's Room, Tulane University, New Orleans, to the author, 7, 27 August 1940.

⁵⁶ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 5 February 1854, p. 3.

⁵⁷ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 1 August 1858, p. 4. S. I.

its falsehoods. Among the latter, however, must be reckoned his claim to the authorship of six of the seven works which he asserted he was writing; a series of articles entitled 'A mormonok története' ['History of the Mormons'] appeared in 1858 in *Magyar sajtó*,⁵⁸ but nothing resembling the other six titles was ever published. That Xántus could have been in southern Oklahoma in 1854 is manifestly impossible; the incident of his seeing domesticated bisons near Fort Arbuckle must therefore be excluded as a fabrication. Aside from these two lapses from veracity, the letters present a lively picture of life in a pioneer community, although they are reticent about Xántus's own activities.

In the latter part of 1854, Xántus entered a claim for 320 acres of land in Decatur County.⁵⁹ Following the general practice of claimants under the Act of 4 September 1841, Xántus did not take up actual residence, and made no improvements.⁶⁰ His claim was registered in the list of reservation of 22 January 1855.⁶¹ The land assumed importance to him only when he attempted, four years later, to have his title recognized in order to be able to sell it. Xántus devoted more time to small excursions in the vicinity of New Buda and the collection of specimens than to his half-section.⁶²

⁵⁸ *Infra*, p. 232.

⁵⁹ György Pomutz, New Buda, Iowa, to R. H. Musser, Brunswick, Missouri, 16 December 1858. S. I.

⁶⁰ 'We well know X. never inhabited nor cultivated one foot of it. Scarcely one or two [Hungarians] done any cultivation at all, at that time, because we thought, the then existing practice of preemption (Act of 1841) will allow us to lay a foundation of 4 logs and this will save it [the land].' *Ibid.* p. 1-2.

⁶¹ Samuel Forrey, Leon, Iowa, to Joseph Braden, Register, Land Office, Chariton, Iowa, 14 October 1858. S. I.

⁶² 'Another of Mr. Madarász's guests was the naturalist János Santösh [*sic*], who, assisted by his host, made a large collection of insects for the National Museum of Hungary.' Wilson, loc. cit. p. 495. 'A story

Xántus's stay at New Buda lasted about one year. He had not the perseverance to wrest a living from a frontier farm, and he did not remain in friendship with his fellow Hungarians. He persisted in his tales of expeditions with Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg and Wagner and Scherzer, which were not designed to make him agreeable to the hard-working settlers.⁶³ This enmity was later to appear in printed recriminations.⁶⁴

The fourth period represented in Xántus's *Levelei*, that of his letters describing his topographical expedition into Kansas Territory from October 1855 until September 1856, is entirely a fabrication, except for the mention of his presence at Fort Riley. From February 1855, when he had written about his low fortunes in Iowa, until January 1856 he had not communicated with his family. It was during this time, on 24 September 1855, 'in a moment of utmost despair,' that Xántus enlisted in the United States Army. He was enrolled in Company I, Second Dragoons, as a private soldier.⁶⁵ The place of enlistment was St Louis, but his army service was at Fort Riley in Kansas

often told and bearing the ear-marks of truth is that one of the colony, a naturalist, had gathered a quantity of specimens designed for shipment to Hungary and in the list were rattle snakes and other reptiles preserved in alcohol. When the recruits in 1861 gathered there, they made a raid on the naturalist's store house to satisfy their bibulous instincts, drinking the fluid from the preserved samples.' Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 12.

⁶³ R. H. Musser, Brunswick, Missouri, to S. F. B., 18 December 1858, p. 2. S. I. Musser stated that the lands originally claimed by Xántus were in the possession of László Madarász 'who was no friend of Xántus' and who supposed him in Japan with the Prince of Wurtemberg.' The tradition of this hostility is still fresh; Stephen Varga, son of Ferenc Varga, stated 'I heard my father in conversations with some of the other Magyars discussing this man Xántus and know they all agreed with him as to Xántus being a fraud.' Stephen Varga, Leon, Iowa, to the author, 13 August 1938.

⁶⁴ *Infra*, p. 165.

⁶⁵ Muster rolls, Adjutant General's Office, War Department.

Territory, and with the party of Lieutenant Francis T. Bryan to construct a wagon-road from Fort Leavenworth to Bridger's Pass.⁶⁶

Here, at what must have appeared to Xántus as the depth of adversity, so humiliating that he suppressed his name and signed himself 'Louis Vésey,' was actually the means of his rise to distinction. At Fort Riley he fell under the tutelage, and won the lasting friendship, of Dr William Alexander Hammond, Assistant Surgeon, United States Army.⁶⁷ Hammond was one of the many army medical officers who were heeding the exhortation of Professor Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, to take advantage of their geographical situation by pursuing the naturalist's occupation. The surveys for a railroad route from the Mississippi River to the

⁶⁶ Lieutenant Bryan was in charge of military roads in Kansas and Nebraska from 1855 to 1858. G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston and New York, 1891-), II, 261.

⁶⁷ William Alexander Hammond was born in Annapolis, Maryland, on 28 August 1828. He took the degree of M. D. at the University of the City of New York in 1848, and in 1849 was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the Medical Department of the United States Army. He served at western posts until 1860, when he resigned to accept the chair of anatomy and physiology at the University of Maryland. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War he was reappointed Assistant Surgeon (28 May 1861), and within a year the thirty-three year old junior officer was appointed Surgeon General of the United States Army (25 April 1862). He came into conflict with Secretary of War Stanton, and was tried by court martial on charges alleging irregularities in the purchase of supplies. Hammond was adjudged guilty and dismissed from office in August 1864. He returned to civil life to teach neurology. In 1878 an act of Congress exonerated him of all charges against his conduct as Surgeon General, restored him to the army, and placed him upon the retired list as brigadier general. Hammond died in Washington on 5 January 1900. 'Hammond must be reckoned as one of the greatest of the Surgeon Generals of the United States Army. No man has done more than he for the advancement of the Medical Department.' E. E. Hume, *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 176-189.

Pacific, authorized in 1853,⁶⁸ were the most fertile sources of collections, but the other explorations and frontier duties of the army were of importance in the additions which they made to the flood of material being sent eastward to Washington. Baird's matchless power of organization and fervent zeal for natural science provided the equipment necessary for these tasks, specific instructions for all types of field work, and a system of distribution of the specimens to scholars most qualified to assess and describe these immense additions. Of more immediate concern to Hammond and Xántus were the warm support and patronage which Baird would magnanimously extend to them as he had already to such young field naturalists as Robert Kennicott, Caleb B. R. Kennerly, and William Stimpson.⁶⁹

Dr Hammond urged Xántus to develop his skill as a naturalist and used his position to protect the lowly private, enabling him to devote to his collections time which would otherwise have been consumed by garrison chores. From its small beginnings in Iowa, Xántus's interest in natural history developed under the careful guidance of a competent scientist. His earliest collections were sent to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, which honored him on 30 December 1856 by electing 'Louis de Vesey, U. S. A.' to life membership, on the proposition of John L. LeConte⁷⁰ and Edward Hallowell.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Cf. U. S. War Dept., *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, 1855-1860) (hereinafter cited as *Railroad Reports*).

⁶⁹ G. B. Goode, 'The Beginnings of American Science. The Third Century,' Biological Society of Washington, *Proceedings*, IV (1888), 82. W. H. Dall, *Spencer Fullerton Baird* (Philadelphia and London, 1915), p. 229-231, 234, 236-239.

⁷⁰ John Laurence LeConte (1825-1883), the distinguished entomologist.

In addition, urged by Dr Hammond, Xántus commenced to send specimens to Spencer Baird for the Smithsonian Institution.

Recognition of the incipient naturalist came soon; the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1857 recorded that Dr Hammond, surgeon to Lieutenant Bryan's party, made an interesting collection, and that 'in this, for a time, he was assisted by Mr. J. Xantus de Vesey.'⁷² In the same report 'J. X. de Vesey and Dr. W. A. Hammond' (in that order) were acknowledged as the donors of skins of birds and mammals from Kansas.⁷³ Similar recognition was made in the reports of the Pacific railroad surveys.⁷⁴ These gifts were important in advancing Xántus's career, for Professor Baird delighted in rewarding with the support of his official position those who enriched the collections of the Smithsonian Institution.⁷⁵

In February 1857, a year and a half after his enlistment, Xántus commenced a correspondence with Professor Baird which was to last seven years, and which constitutes a reliable guide to his enduring work in natural history. His letters to Baird, even though they lapsed occasionally from veracity, have an unmistakable ring of truth. Xántus's first letter to Baird, which may be re-

⁷¹ Dr Edward Hallowell, of Philadelphia, was a noted collector of reptiles. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, *Proceedings*, 1856, p. 327. J. A. G. Rehn, Corresponding Secretary, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, to the author, 18 September 1941.

⁷² Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1857, p. 47.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 54.

⁷⁴ *Railroad Reports*, VIII, xvi.

⁷⁵ Baird assisted Captain (later Major General) George B. McClellan in preparing a volume on bayonet exercises, and supported Lieutenant (later Major General) Darius N. Couch's purchase of Berlandier's Mexican collection in 1853. Dall, *op. cit.* p. 271, 296-297.

garded as marking the end of his years of obscurity, clearly owed its origin to Dr Hammond's friendly interest in the unhappy Hungarian. This introductory letter is an intrinsic revelation of the basis upon which Xántus hoped to build his relations with Baird.

'Dr Hammond has communicated with me your last to him, in which you express a desire for a correspondence with me, & at the same time you offer to send me any of the Smith. Inst. publications, I should want. I am really sir, under many obligations to you, for your kindness. Please to accept my sincere thanks for in advance. — When last fall Mr Wood⁷⁶ was here, I expressed myself a strong desire to come in some contact with the Smith. Inst. & particularly with you, sir — I offered through Mr Wood to collect for the S. I., but it seems he never even mentioned to you my conversation with him. So I take the opportunity now, to inform you sir, that I am willing, and am ready to send from time to time such contributions of Nat. History to the S. I., as my poor abilities and my confined circumstances will allow. Being industrious, & having iron will I will overcome notwithstanding most of the above difficulties, as I did before. Because I made in the last years several collections in different sections of the Western Hemisphere for the Br. Museum, Copenhagen, St Petersburg, Munich, Leiden, & the Prince of Würtemberg.⁷⁷ And in the last year for

⁷⁶ William S. Wood, of Philadelphia, was collector and naturalist for Lieutenant Bryan's wagon-road expeditions of 1856 and 1857. Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit., 1856, p. 50; 1857, p. 47.

⁷⁷ Xántus's choice of the museums of Copenhagen, St Petersburg, and Munich as recipients of his collections may be linked with his asserted association with Krøyer, Mochulskii, and Moritz Wagner. The British Museum and Leiden are free inventions. Xántus himself wrote later, 'I dont want to do anything for these Museums; they never did anything for me.' *Infra*, p. 78.

the Philadelphia Academy of Nat. Sc, at the request of Dr Hammond, which last, thorough [though] by far not so formidable as the former, still was considered as the one of the best & largest ever made west of the Missouri.

'At present I have on hand very near the whole series of Kansas birds, but I promised it already to the Phil. Academy. Still I possess a great number of duplicates, and you shall have them as soon as the navigation opens; and I hope, till that time to secure some valuable mammalia also. — The reptiles etc on hand — several gallons — I promised to M^{rs} Hallowell & Leidy,⁷⁸ who I think want them for exchange with G. Cumming⁷⁹ of England.

'So — I am very sorry indeed, that at present [I] cannot accommodate you so, as I liked to do, but I hope to satisfy you the coming Spring & Summer, perfectly.

'Whatever you can spare of the Smith. Inst. publications, will be welcome to me. But especially anything on Ornithology, Herpetology, or Geology will be very valuable, & of *particular* interest for me. . . The directions for collecting etc etc I wanted to get in several copies for distribution amongst my pupils. I took great pains this winter, picked out of the several companies here the most intelligent men, and instructed them in collecting, preserving etc, and I hope at some future time they will contribute also their share to Nat. History, which will be a great satisfaction to me. . .

'Please to excuse my bed English, if it should be acceptable to you, I would more readily enter in French, Italian, German, or even in Latin correspondence, because with

⁷⁸ Dr Joseph Leidy (1823-1891), professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania, the distinguished palaeontologist and parasitologist.

⁷⁹ Hugh Cumming (1791-1865) was one of the most eminent conchologists of the nineteenth century.

scientific expressions in these langs am more conversant.' ⁸⁰

The renown which Xántus had sought since his arrival in America in 1851, which had escaped him except when he deluded the gullible with his romantic tales, was about to be his. He was at last in a position to establish his own reputation, a solid one. He had much in his favor; the general American enthusiasm for the Hungarians had diminished only slightly, he had displayed sufficient acuity and ingratiating to win Dr Hammond, and his efforts were favorably noticed at the Smithsonian Institution. On 21 January 1857 he was transferred to the Medical Department, and promoted to be a hospital steward, a rank corresponding to sergeant.⁸¹ He could look forward to the intervention of Baird in his fortunes. Relief from his humble station was at hand.

Despite the cloak of lies and pathetic self-aggrandizement which Xántus cast about his earliest years in America, this period does emerge clearly in its influence upon the career of the young immigrant. With great perception, he himself later dissected his state of mind during this time.

'We Hungarians *cannot sell* our capacities. I tried often to turn to my advantage my education. . . I am sorry to say however, that nobody went yet further as kind promises & assurances, and I succumbed to fate, as *simpathy alone never saved a life yet*.

⁸⁰ J. X., Fort Riley, to S. F. B., 1 February 1857. S. I.

⁸¹ In August 1857 Xántus entered a claim for \$14.75 extra pay, for having acted as nurse in the hospital at Fort Riley during the months of January and February 1857. This additional duty, performed as a private, antedated his promotion and transfer to the Medical Department, which was effected on 1 March 1857. Muster rolls, Adjutant General's Office, War Department.

'We Europeans, are not like Americans, what is incident to the life of almost every successful American, occurs but rarely to Europeans; the American has no idea what exile & expatriation means; he is always & everywhere at home, everybody speaks his language etc, and so the small caprices of fortune develop only his energies, & *he* becomes as a people instead of theoretical dreamer or amateur in sciences, practical *dollarman*. An American gentleman pressed by want adopts *whatever* presents itself at the moment to provide for his necessities & never feels degraded; this principle is very honorable I know — but still the European in face of such facts even clings tenaciously to his past, & like the young Spartan who stole the fox, makes no grimace while famine eats his bowels out!

'I had excellent introductions to several high standing Americans when I landed in New York . . . everybody received me well, but *nobody* lent his hand to build up some future for me. Although nobody refused openly his assistance, everybody's *act* seemed to say "help yourself."

'I asked once a gentleman . . . to help me to some standing in the topographical bureau, or Coast survey. He said he would do anything for me *but this*. He never trespasses on his principle, which is never patronize, or protect to protect, let everybody fight out his own happiness. — This is a very respectable principle I confess, and ought to be introduced in every branch of the State engine. But in my opinion it had been proper (to say the least) if the General had reversed our position, & had considered my peculiar case. How he had felt, if deprived of all his property, had been obliged to run only with naked life to a strange country, & had received such *answer* from a supposed friend! . . .

'All such tricks of fortune exasperated my feelings somehow, and after several adventures, reduced to last — I enlisted in the army, considering more honorable to serve a great Republic in any capacity, than beg favors of people who never understood me.'⁸²

Adversity showed Xántus the traits and actions which would improve his station. The only deliverance from his 'confined circumstances' in the army lay in scientific collecting. There is no doubt that Xántus's interest in natural history did not originate in travels with Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, Krøyer, and Wagner and Scherzer, nor is there evidence that it existed before 1854. It commenced in an untutored fashion in Louisiana and Iowa, was nurtured by Dr Hammond, and was about to be directed by Professor Baird to such an achievement that Baird could later write, 'It will be sufficient to say . . . that his collections are believed to have been much larger and more complete, than any ever made before in America, during the same period of time by any one person.'⁸³

⁸² J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 1 August 1858, p. 2-6. S. I.

⁸³ Draft, S. F. B. to Agoston Kubinyi, Director, Hungarian National Museum, Pest [ca. December 1862]. S. I.

CHAPTER III

FORT TEJON, 1857—1859

From his vantage point in the Smithsonian Institution, Spencer F. Baird could survey the whole of the United States and its territories and see vast areas, once unknown to the naturalist, assume shape in the panorama of science. As the map began to be crisscrossed by the lines of the surveys and dotted by stationary correspondents of the Smithsonian Institution, the regions which were less extensively exploited stood out more noticeably. One of these areas was in California, at the debouching of the great central valley from the southern junction of the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevada. It was of particular interest because of the proximity of several distinct physiographic regions: to the west and south it verged into the wooded coastal mountains; to the north it encountered suddenly the semi-arid San Joaquin Valley; and but a short distance to the east it merged with the Mojave Desert. 'The abrupt changes in fauna and flora that take place within a very short distance from the coast slope and valleys toward the interior, are amazing, and to be comprehended must be actually seen and studied.'¹

At this spot, in the Cañada de las Uvas, the easiest pass from the coast into the central valley, a military post, called Fort Tejon, was established in August 1854 to protect the wagon route and to supervise the Indians who were being concentrated at the San Sebastian reservation, fifteen miles to the northeast.² Substantial adobe struc-

¹ Joseph Grinnell, 'Old Fort Tejon', *Condor*, VII (1905), 12.

² G. W. Ames jr, *Fort Tejon* (Berkeley, 1936), p. 6-7. W. F. Edgar,

tures were built at a site chosen in the beautiful defile at an elevation of thirty-five hundred feet, and the First Dragoons were sent to garrison the fort. In 1856 there were six officers and eighty-one enlisted men stationed there.³ A severe earthquake in January 1857 shook the post; the damage was never entirely repaired,⁴ and as the necessity for protecting the pass disappeared, Fort Tejon was abandoned as a military station in September 1864.⁵

That Fort Tejon was not unknown to Professor Baird is shown by the letter which he wrote in 1856 to a friend who was married to Captain Gardiner of the First Dragoons. ' Much obliged to Capt. Gardiner for his kind wishes in regard to getting some specimens from about Fort Tejon for me. There is no locality from which they would be more acceptable. We have a few things brought by Lt. Williamson⁶ from that vicinity, just enough for us to wish for more. Would not your surgeon do something for us, as so many other army surgeons have done before ... ' ⁷ There is no doubt that the ignorance of the

³ 'Historical Notes of Old Land Marks in California. Fort Tejon,' Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, III (1893), 26.

³ Ames, op. cit. p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁵ Edgar, loc. cit. p. 28.

⁶ Robert Stockton Williamson (ca. 1824-1882), of the class of 1848, United States Military Academy. In 1853 he led a party in California in connection with the Pacific railroad survey, and in 1856 was promoted First Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers. From 1858 to 1861 he was in charge of meteorological observations and barometric experiments on the Pacific coast. G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston and New York, 1891-), II, 346-347.

⁷ S. F. B. to Mrs. J. W. T. Gardiner, Fort Tejon, 16 February 1856. W. H. Dall, *Spencer Fullerton Baird* (Philadelphia and London, 1915), p. 330. Although the letter's salutation is 'My dear Sister Annie,' the term of relationship is used playfully.

John William Tudor Gardiner (ca. 1817-1879) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1840. In 1851 he was promoted captain of the First Dragoons, and was stationed at Fort Tejon in 1855. Cullum, op. cit. II, 49-50.

natural history of Fort Tejon — particularly in view of the importance of the location for studies of geographic distribution — irked Baird, and that Fort Tejon became one of the spots which he determined to exploit when the opportunity arose. The introduction of Xántus to Baird, by Hammond, provided just the opportunity. The quality of Xántus's collections had been demonstrated by his work both for Baird and the Philadelphia Academy, and Xántus's indentured condition made it relatively easy, in February 1857, to arrange his transfer from Fort Riley to Fort Tejon. Baird was singularly well placed to effect such matters, for his father-in-law was Brigadier General Sylvester Churchill, Inspector General of the Army. Scientific zeal and benevolence both motivated Baird in snatching Xántus from his anonymity (or pseudonymity) at Fort Riley and arranging his transfer to Fort Tejon.

Insufficiently jolted by the good fortune which had befallen him, Xántus maintained his old romancing character in writing to his family. He had not written to them since dispatching the report of his fictitious expedition in September 1856, and he did not write again until he had started on his way to Washington from Fort Riley in March 1857, armed with recommendations from Dr Hammond.⁸ Several letters on the journey, written aboard the *Admiral* and the *Colonel Chambers* on the Missouri River, describe the landscape, the customs of Americans on steamboats, the profits to be gained from

⁸ One of Hammond's letters, to Senator William Bigler, stated that 'Mr De Vésey . . . is desirous of procuring his discharge from the army . . . Since he has been in our army he has uniformly conducted himself in a manner to win the respect of any officer with whom he has served . . . Any service which you may be kind enough to render him will be regarded by me as a personal favor.' W. A. Hammond, Fort Riley, to William Bigler, Washington, 1 March 1857. S. I.

steamboat operation, and a visit to his friend Lawyer Musser in Brunswick.⁹

Hospital Steward Xántus arrived at Washington on 19 March and, according to his own account, put up at Willard's Hotel; he related that on the following day he called on Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of State. He was offered the choice of going with the Topographical Corps to either Oregon or California. He chose California because it was 'the most bewitching region in the world (no winter, perpetual spring)' and because he hoped to marry there.¹⁰ On 22 March the hospital steward was presented to President Buchanan by Senator Caleb Cushing, and Xántus regaled the President with a description of his expedition to the Canadian River. The 'old gentleman' then inquired about Xántus's family and the well-being of Kossuth.¹¹ Visits to the Capitol and Mount Vernon followed, and final conferences with the Secretary of the Interior on the program of the topographical party which Xántus would lead to California.¹² In this elaborate fabrication, Xántus's meeting with Professor Baird (if it took place) was not mentioned. Letters from Philadelphia on 29 March and New York on 2 April conclude the description of Xántus's preliminaries for his departure on the *Illinois* for Panama.¹³ Of all these letters it may be said that only the dates and the visits to customary sights are truthful.

Supplied with equipment and sketchy instructions, Xántus sailed from New York on 6 April with a detach-

⁹ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 132-141.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 142-145. The Secretary of the Interior was not named in this letter.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 145-148.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 148-151.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 151-154.

ment of soldiers. He described his trip in an interesting and straightforward letter to his mother, written from San Francisco on 1 May. The *Illinois* reached Aspinwall on 15 April, and the passengers crossed the Isthmus on the railroad. On the following day the journey was resumed in the *Golden Gate*. Cape San Lucas, later to be Xántus's home for two years, was sighted on 24 April; the *Golden Gate* continued on and dropped anchor in the harbor of San Francisco on 29 April.¹⁴

Xántus remained in San Francisco a short time, shipped himself and his equipment to San Pedro, and staged inland to Los Angeles and San Fernando, arriving at Fort Tejon on 18 May.¹⁵ Yet the letters which he sent to his family continued to tell another story: in San Francisco he received six weeks' leave from the Department of the Interior, and set out for Oregon on a hunting trip; he saw Mount Hood and the Columbia River, and returned by way of Sacramento and Stockton; then his journeys led him to Los Angeles, and on 30 June he visited Mission San Gabriel. The culmination of this fantasy was Xántus's description of the assembly of 185 men in Los Angeles preparatory to the beginning of surveys: fifty were to work in the Gadsden territory; fifty to proceed to San Diego for a boundary survey; seventy-one to run range lines in southern California; and fourteen were to establish a cartographic bureau at Fort Tejon. Xántus was attached to this last party, in charge of the 'croquis

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 154-161. The San Francisco newspapers reported that the *Golden Gate* carried seven hundred passengers and listed them by name. 'Two hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and soldiers also arrived.' Xántus's name did not appear in the list of passengers. *Daily Alta California*, 30 April 1857, p. 2. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 29 April, p. 1; 30 April, p. 1.

¹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 1-2. S. I. All letters from Xántus to Baird, in this chapter, unless otherwise cited, are from Fort Tejon.

departement' with five draughtsmen under him.¹⁶ Xántus had actually arrived at Fort Tejon over a month before he wrote this fanciful letter.

A general statement of the arrangement whereby Xántus was to collect at Fort Tejon for the Smithsonian Institution is wanting, but may be pieced together from scattered information. He was not discharged from the army, nor was he promoted. He was supplied with most of the equipment required for his collecting operations,¹⁷ and authorized to arrange for other necessities with Andrew Forbes of San Francisco.¹⁸ He was to collect in all branches of natural history. He was to send a fortnightly letter to Baird, narrating his activities, and to keep a field register of the specimens taken. The dispatch of the collections was to be arranged in San Francisco with Forbes. No arrangement was made for the payment of an honorarium, and even the question of expenses was unsettled; Xántus, in forwarding the first large shipment of his collection, wrote that he should be satisfied if half the expenses were borne by the Smithsonian Institution.¹⁹ Decisions concerning the disposition of the collections

¹⁶ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 166-170.

¹⁷ From Fort Columbus on Governor's Island, New York, immediately before his sailing, Xántus wrote to Baird that the box of supplies had arrived and was in the charge of Lieutenant Churchill. J. X., Fort Columbus, to S. F. B., 4 April 1857, S. I. Lieutenant Charles Courcelle Churchill (1825-1908) was Baird's brother-in-law.

¹⁸ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 May 1857, p. 2. S. I. Andrew Bell Forbes (1824-1902) was a partner from 1854 to 1862 with W. F. Babcock in the firm of Forbes and Babcock, agents for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in San Francisco. Shipments to the Smithsonian Institution were carried free by this steamship line, and Forbes, informally, supported the interests of the Institution in San Francisco. Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1857, p. 48-49. Cf. Dall, op. cit. p. 331.

¹⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 7; 16 November, p. 1. S. I.

were not made until long after the specimens began to arrive in Washington.

The achievement of Xántus's scientific goal was confronted by many difficulties. The first and ever present was his crippling status as a hospital steward. There is no doubt that Xántus tended to exaggerate the hindrances there were. The protection which both Baird and Xántus expected from Captain Gardiner had vanished. 'To my great mortification Capt Gardiner has left before my arrival. The Cmdg officer of the Post is Colonel Fountleroy [Fauntleroy],²⁰ and the Asst Surgeon Dr P. G. S. Ten Broeck,²¹ I am sorry that the last named gentleman dont takes any interest at all in Nat History; and having no sick man at present, I have scarcely any intercourse with him. Should you know him Prof. you could write him in the Interest of the Institution, to facilitate my explorations here, by allowing me to leave some time the Post for the farther surrounding country.'²² Xántus did not await remonstrances to come from Washington, but devised his own method. 'Would you be so kind, and send me out per mail a couple dozen of glass eyes for birds. I will mount some fancy birds & present here to *persons*, who perhaps will assist me after this stratagem.'²³ Before Xántus had time to prepare this taxidermal lure his opportunities declined. 'Dr Ten Broeck is since a month in Los Angeles, I exspect him every day home, but I dont think he will favor my enterprise in any way, because Capt. Gardiner wrote to him also on the subject, but he

²⁰ Thomas Turner Fauntleroy (d. 1883), Colonel of the First Dragoons since 1850.

²¹ Peter Gerard Stuyvesant Ten Broeck (1822-1867), commissioned as Assistant Surgeon in 1847.

²² J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 4. S. I.

²³ J. X. to S. F. B., 29 June 1857, p. 4. S. I.

never took any notice of.'²⁴ The arrival of Baird's exhortation had some effect. 'Dr Ten Broeck is very kind since some days towards me, and after I gave him your last letter to him; he said (the first time since I am here) he has no objection if I should go out hunting after my hours of Duty; and that he has no objection if I should make an excursion for 3—4 days to the Kern River & Tulare lakes.'²⁵ The relations, however, were not permanently improved; a month later Xántus complained: 'Dr Tenbroeck promised me everything as I told you; but he never gone further as promise. I asked him after his kind conversation to let me go to the Kern river, but he thought he is going there himself to hunt grizzlys. He notwithstanding stopped in his house for a couple weecks, then he went to Los Angeles for a months spree I am confined accordingly as much as possible, but still prefer my present position to the humbugging of Dr Ten Broeck.'²⁶

After Xántus had been at Fort Tejon for nine months, the number of his foes doubled. Major George A. H. Blake²⁷ took command of Fort Tejon. 'Major Blake came in & assumed the command of the Post, issuing at the same time an order, that no enlisted men is allowed to fire a gun within the limits of the garnison (that means one square mile) — I went to him, and told that all Cmdg officers appreciated my object until now, and asked him to do the same, and give me permission to hunt. He said that I could go once or perhaps (if I behaved myself good (!!!) twice a month; but he will not suffer that every day

²⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 5. S. I.

²⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 24 November 1857, p. 3-4. S. I.

²⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 December 1857, p. 11-12. S. I.

²⁷ George Alexander Hamilton Blake (1812-1884), Major of the First Dragoons since 1850.

should be fired guns around the post. I hope the *grand* major will soon go away again, to join his Regiment in Oregon, and then is all right again. But should he stay here, of course I had to give up altogether collection, thats clear; although I would be really sorry, as in the Spring — no doubt — would be much harvest. I will try what I can, if I should be bound to abandon hunting, then — to do something at last — I will gather nests, plants, & coleoptera.' ²⁸

Professor Baird, on receiving this complaint, immediately took up the matter with his father-in-law, General Churchill. The latter reprov'd Major Blake, who replied to the Inspector General with some indignation. 'Your communication of April the 1st with its enclosure from Professor Baird of the Smithonian Institution, relative to Hospital Steward Vesey of this Post, has just came to hand, and I beg to say that since I have been in command of the post (7th February) every facility has been given to the Steward, not only by myself, but by the Asst. Surgeon, (Ten Broeck) in making his collections for the Institution, there is scarcely a day passes that he is not out making additions to his collections, and be assured Sir, that every facility shall be extended to him in his scientific explorations not incompatible with his duties, in conclusion the Steward has never expressed a wish for greater facilities than those already offered him.' ²⁹

While these letters were in the mail Xántus continued to complain of the restrictions put on him by Major Blake. Xántus had received a hunting gun sent by Baird, and tried it out in the confines of the camp; the sergeant had threatened to throw him into the guard-house. It was obvious that he could not hunt until Major Blake, 'with

²⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 February 1858, p. 2-3. S. I.

his arbitrary — Turkish Pasha like — power' relented. 'I am extremely sorry to be forced to stop hunting, particularly as I advanced so far, & the Spring is already before our doors. I have however some slight hopes, that the Major will be ordered way to Oregon, then is all right again. But if he should not, you may consider the hunting, as closed; I can not expose myself of course to the ruffianism of his satellites.'³⁰

The oppressed hospital steward, after three months' immunity, found the surgeon once more in his way. 'Dr Ten Broeck has returned again, but he never mentions his promise in regard to Kern river; I think he promised me only, that I shall be more willing to dress otters & grizzlys for him, as I was fool enough to do such "job" for him *in infinitum*; hoping he mayt to [do] something for us.'³¹ 'He is one of the most avaricious, most selfish, & most chameleon-like "gentleman" I ever encountered in the Medical Dept of our Army.'³² Xántus's final complaint against Ten Broeck concerned his inability to leave the post because of the surgeon's addiction to the fleshpots of Los Angeles. 'Dr Ten Broeck is since nearly 3 months vagabondizing in Los Angeles, I have to do all his Duty he comes home the last day of the month, and goes again the 1st of the next, this goes always so; he comes only not to be reported absent on the Post Return, and as soon as the Post return goes, he follows in track at once.'³³

²⁹ G. A. H. Blake, Fort Tejon, to Sylvester Churchill, Washington, 14 May 1858. S. I.

³⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 March 1858, p. 1-2. S. I.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 4.

³² J. X. to S. F. B., 18 March 1858, p. 3. S. I.

³³ J. X. to S. F. B., 6 January 1859, p. 4. S. I. Long after his departure from Fort Tejon, Xántus continued to interest himself in the doings of Dr Ten Broeck. From Cape San Lucas he wrote to Baird

The surgeon and the commandant were joined by the quartermaster in impeding Xántus. The dispatch of the collections had been difficult because of the high freight charges from the fort to San Pedro, and Xántus had been unable to use the government wagon. Xántus's request for this privilege had been refused by Lieutenant Magruder, the quartermaster.³⁴ 'He is even in bed [bad] temper, when Forbes sends package for me to his care, he told once "g— d— I am not your agent, procure somebody else, or I send back your traps."³⁵

The arrival of General Churchill's admonitory letter to Major Blake on 14 May 1858 heralded a truce which lasted for the remaining eight months of Xántus's stay at Fort Tejon, interrupted only by a few querulous notes in Xántus's correspondence with Professor Baird. The truce was not established, however, without a final exchange of shots. As related by Xántus on 15 May, 'Yesterday came to me the Major (Blake) and told me, he liked to have some mounted birds, whether I would fix some for him. — I told him frankly, that whenever is in my power to render any service to him, I am ready to do it with the greatest pleasure; but considering that there was no officer of the Army since I am in the service, who afforded so little assistance for the pursuit

that he had been informed by Dr Hays, the medical officer of the Tejon Indian reservation, that Hays 'was for 8 months Asst Surgeon in fort Tejon on ac[coun]t of Dr Ten Broek[']s disability, he got drunk as usual, capsized his buggy, & broke his leg. At present however the Dr (T. B.) recovered, relieved from duty, & ordered to the Surgeon general to give the stories of his curious proceeding during the last 5 years or more.' J. X., Cape San Lucas, to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 15. S. I.

³⁴ William Thomas Magruder (1825-1863) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1850. He was stationed at Fort Tejon from 1856 to 1858. He joined the Confederate Army and was killed at the battle of Gettysburg. Cullum, op. cit. II, 414-415.

³⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 8. S. I.

of my collection as he; I am obliged to decline any such service, unless he gives some privilege for hunting at least. — In consequence of the bold “pronunciamento” we had together a long dispute, & the final result was that he sent for the Sergeant of the Guard; and told him to turn over his orders to every Sergt of Guard, & report to the Officer of the Day likewise “*that the hospital steward has his permission to hunt at any time, and at any place whatever, even on the Parade*” — He wanted then at first to *fix* for him a Crow, and a white heron (those are his favorite birds) and I am just now engaged to fill this part of my convention... So I am very glad this obstacle is removed, although very sorry that I could not remove it a couple months before, I missed good many Spring birds no doubt.³⁶ That this was not the full story is beyond doubt. The major’s anger, arising from having the attention of the Inspector General directed upon him by the hospital steward, was hinted at, and the granting of permission to shoot was most perfunctory. That the major would revoke a standing order merely to obtain mounted birds is highly improbable.

Xántus’s fellow enlisted men gave him no more encouragement than the officers. ‘Here everybody is a gambler and drunkard, they sit day & night in Whisky shops, or gambling holes; and instead of supporting me; they ridicule my sport and trow every obstacle in my way. I treat them of course with princely contempt, and go on with doubled step in my path.’³⁷

Obstacles thrown in Xántus’s way by the officers and men at the fort were matched by difficulties posed by

³⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 May 1858, p. 5-6. S. I.

³⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 29 June 1857, p. 4. S. I.

lack of equipment. The box given to Xántus by Baird had been brought out by Lieutenant Churchill as his personal baggage in order to avoid the payment of freight charges, and had not been seen after it had been put on the pier at Aspinwall. 'Mr Forbes bought for me, powder, shot, caps, alum, saltpeter, wrapping & blotting paper, alcohol, and Rat traps, so cotton, twine, and wire. The last two articles I considered indispensable, for making a seine, and nettings. I dont know how to procure the other things as my means are at present very limited, and on the other side I do not intend to intrude again on Mr Forbes. I will buy anyhow arsenic and such litle articles, as I mostly need, of my own pocket; and let rather suffer a litle my own confort and wants.. You cannot imagine Sir, how much mortified I am and how much disappointed; all my anticipations of a succesfull collection being so very nearly entirely destroyed.'³⁸

Xántus's gun and his trunks were following him from Fort Riley, but they were so slow in arriving that Xántus was obliged to appeal to Baird for a gun suitable for hunting. 'It is a pity endeed, that my gun is not yet here, you may imagine yourself sir my deplorable situation, when everything full with birds, and I have to start out with a rusty old dragoon carabine, but this is the fact. I pray you send as quick as you can my guns...'³⁹ Ten weeks later Xántus wrote plaintively, 'I am entirely lost in imagination, why they dont send my guns!'⁴⁰ A more radical deprivation was to occur. 'I have to inform you again on a great calamity.

³⁸ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 May 1857, p. 1-2. S. I.

³⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 2. S. I.

⁴⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 6. S. I.

Lt Beall [Beale]⁴¹ with his Camels started here several days ago, & having no escort, he enlisted citizens, & armed them from the ordnance store of this Post. Consequently he took every musket, Carabine, pistol, & sabre on hand; and I am now entirely naked (scientifically speaking)!⁴²

Even ammunition was scarce. 'Since nearly 2 weeks — having no shot whatever — I use brass filings, and taking in consideration that I file it myself out of old buttons epaulettes etc; you can imagine the delightfull position I occupy at present as a Huntsman, amongst plenty game.'⁴³

The supply of preserving spirit was a problem. 'The alcohol, procured by M^r Forbes is the worst quality, only 58°...'⁴⁴ Xántus remedied this provisionally by substituting hospital alcohol and using the weaker preparation for his patients. 'Any other time, you should send alcohol, put the keg in a box, & fill the space with straw, this manœuvre will avert thirsty peoples attention, and always safely arrive at the destination. My kegs were exposed to everybodys teft, and I have no doubt they drank it, and filled again with water; besides to invite everybody, they marked it on both sides with conspicious letters "5 galloons Alcohol," so

⁴¹ Edward Fitzgerald Beale (1822-1893), Lieutenant, United States Navy. From 1852 to 1865 he was superintendent of Indian affairs for California and Nevada. Beale arrived at Fort Tejon about November 1857, and remained until January 1858. E. F. Beale, *Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River. Letter from the Secretary of War, Communicating the Report of the Superintendent of the Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River* ([Washington] 1858), p. 76.

⁴² J. X. to S. F. B., 2 February 1858, p. 2-3. S. I. It is curious that Xántus made no more mention of the bizarre apparition of the camel corps.

⁴³ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 November 1857, p. 3. S. I.

⁴⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 4. S. I.

as not to escape attention.⁴⁵ Xántus's jars for alcoholic specimens were broken by earthquake shocks, and kegs were not practical because of the insufficiency of spirits.⁴⁶

The obtaining of other collector's paraphernalia was hedged with difficulty. 'Here is a good blacksmith, he will make for me some substancial traps after my own design, and I will use the first rainy day to construct some wire-traps for smaller mammals, as I have with me plenty wire... The evenings I use for making a seine, I finished already 30 feet, my intention is to make it 100 feet long, by 7' wide...'⁴⁷

Allied in difficulty with the paucity of equipment was the absence of works of reference. The box of supplies lost at Aspinwall contained a few standard zoölogical works, and to replace them Xántus requested Baird to send him Brewer's *Wilson*,⁴⁸ the reports of the explorations of Sitgreaves,⁴⁹ Emory,⁵⁰ Marcy,⁵¹ Stansbury,⁵² and Simpson,⁵³ and pamphlets on the natural history

⁴⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 3. S. I.

⁴⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 July 1857, p. 4. S. I.

⁴⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 4. S. I.

⁴⁸ Alexander Wilson, *Wilson's American Ornithology . . . to Which Is Added a Synopsis of American Birds* by T. M. Brewer (New York, 1853).

⁴⁹ Lorenzo Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers* (Washington, 1853) (hereinafter cited as Sitgreaves, *Report*).

⁵⁰ W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Washington, 1848) (hereinafter cited as Emory, *Notes*).

⁵¹ R. B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the Year 1852* (Washington, 1853) (hereinafter cited as Marcy, *Exploration*).

⁵² Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, Including a Reconnoissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1852) (hereinafter cited as Stansbury, *Exploration*).

⁵³ J. H. Simpson, *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating the Report of Lieutenant J. H. Simpson of an Expedition into the*

of California.⁵⁴ His letters contain acknowledgment of Baird's own report on North American mammals,⁵⁵ the annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution for 1855 and 1856,⁵⁶ a work of Cassin's,⁵⁷ the map in Emory's Mexican boundary survey,⁵⁸ and the report on birds of the Pacific railroad surveys.⁵⁹ These works, with the addition of Audubon's *Synopsis*,⁶⁰ constituted Xántus's reference library. In all, Xántus was remarkably proficient in making the most of his limited equipment and his few books.

Another difficulty which beset the prosecution of Xántus's collections was the attenuated transportation. Letters sent by the Isthmian route required an average of twenty-three days to traverse the distance from New York to San Francisco,⁶¹ and four or five days more were consumed in dispatching the correspondence from San Francisco to Fort Tejon, by way of San Pedro and Los Angeles; freight was handled less expeditiously. In addition, shipments were subject to many hazards. When Xántus was apprised by Baird of the loss of his

Navajo Country in 1849 (Washington, 1850) (hereinafter cited Simpson, *Report*).

⁵⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 July 1857, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁵ *Railroad Reports*, VIII. 'General Report upon the Zoology of the Several Pacific Railroad Routes (Mammals).' J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 5. S. I.

⁵⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 December 1857, p. 2. S. I.

⁵⁷ Probably John Cassin, *Illustrations of the Birds of California, Texas, Oregon, British, and Russian America* (Philadelphia, 1856). J. X. to S. F. B., 2 February 1858, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁸ W. H. Emory, *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey* (Washington, 1857). J. X. to S. F. B., 15 July 1858, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁹ *Railroad Reports*, IX. 'General Report upon the Zoology of the Several Pacific Railroad Routes (Birds).' J. X. to S. F. B., 17 August 1858, p. 2. S. I.

⁶⁰ J. J. Audubon, *A Synopsis of the Birds of North America* (Edinburgh, 1839).

⁶¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 October 1858, p. 1. S. I.

fifth letter (3 August 1857) in the sinking of the *Central America*⁶² he was moved to observe: 'I am not at all ashtonished about the disasters on sea with the only vehicles of our correspondence. If you should happen to travel on the pasteboard barks of that Filibuster Company, you would be of my opinion. I long ago anticipated such affair, that of the *Central America* alias *George Law*, because it was so unreasonable intervall between this and the $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen, which perished a couple years ago on the Pacific. Such boats as the *Golden Age*, *Golden Gate*, etc never would be permitted to leave any European port, they are fit for Lakes or Rivers but nobody would believe (who is accustomed to any reasonable safety) that those boards barraks should attempt the waters of the sea.'⁶³ 'Concerning my future transports, I intend hereafter to send smaller parcels, one or two boxes at the time, in order not to risk so much, as I did at present. I should be extremely grieved & vexed, if my collection should sink to bottom or fly in the heavens on some of those remarkable *staunch crafts* (as they are ironically called) of the P. M. S. S. Co.'⁶⁴

The inauguration of the Overland Mail Company's stage route was viewed without enthusiasm by Xántus. He had written in June 1858, during the survey of the route, that 'the Wagon road expedition is just here, they established a station with us... They run from St Louis per Ritle [Little] Rock, the Cherokee Country Southern Comanches to San Antonio. From thence per

⁶² The *Central America*, earlier the *George Law*, founded between Havana and New York on 12 September 1857. The loss of life was about 423, and of treasure \$ 8,000,000. J. H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 228.

⁶³ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁶⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 24 November 1857, p. 10. S. I.

El Paso & Fort Yuma to Ft Tejon. From thence via Ft Miller to Sacramento city. — We can certainly say at the whole movement *difficile est satyram non scribere*. When there is already an established steam mail line, which performs their duty in 20-22 days from port to port; now this *turtle line* is established, to vex the whole corresponding community, with their stage & mule mail. — It is only pity, that they dont take their route a little more circuitously, if the company had established for instance a watering station somewhere in upper Canada, and another in Behring Straits. The undertaking of this mail improvements, will be still greater humbug, as it could be intended for nothing else!⁶⁵ The actual arrival in October of the first transcontinental stage, complete with a reporter of the New York *Herald*, did not dispel Xántus's ridicule.⁶⁶ 'The Company mayt kill at first several dozens of their horses, break down half their wagons, and effect some few quick passages, but nobody believes that they should be able to make a winter trip in less then 35-40 days! — Their first mail they brought in to Los Angeles (from Memphis) in 21 days, & to San Francisco in 24½, but crippled half their horses, & capsized over a dozen times their omnibuses. — The Panama route is at any rate the most reliable, & most safe, I think so.'⁶⁷

There was danger not only from foundering steamships and capsized stage-coaches but from local hazards as well. 'The Ordnance Sergeant of this Post rode down

⁶⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 June 1858, p. 4. S. I.

⁶⁶ Waterman L. Ormsby, the correspondent of the *Herald*, wrote a series of letters describing the journey. He devoted a passage to Fort Tejon, but did not mention Xántus. New York *Herald*, 17 November 1858, p. 2.

⁶⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 October 1858, p. 1. S. I.

to Los Angeles, and promised me to bring up my mail. He found there amongst other things a large, round package with Washington stamp (no doubt your Mammalia Report) put altogether in a Handkerchief, and placed on the pommel of his saddle. Taking a farewell dram — as the P. O. is barroom also — the horse got mad, broke the halfter, & run away. When caught (about 10 miles out of the town) was everything on her back, except — my unfortunate mail, and in it the Mammalia Report. I related to you the fact Sir, but dont comment on it.’⁶⁸

Communication was more costly than uncertain. Although the Panama Mail transported packages for the Smithsonian Institution without charge, the shipment of collections from Fort Tejon to San Pedro and thence to San Francisco was done only at a cost which seemed excessive to Xántus. In San Francisco he had attempted to arrange a reduced price, but Forbes’s mediation had wounded Xántus’s self-esteem. ‘Mr Forbes likes to put himself in attitude as a grand Protector, and requires his time for action ad libitum. When Mr Forbes recommended me to Captain Seely of the San Francisco & San Pedro steamer line, by introducing me spoke as follows: “Captain, this fellow is from the Smith. Inst. and is going to catch poisonous insects, and all kind of wild beast; be so kind and transport his catching apparatus as cheap as you can; you see — we transport ourselves everything gratis for the poor devils, etc etc” ’⁶⁹

From Fort Tejon to San Pedro the freight charge was ten cents a pound, payable in advance. Xántus suggested to Baird that an arrangement be made with Wells Fargo

⁶⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 4-5. S. I.

⁶⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 8. S. I.

and Company, who had an agency in Los Angeles,⁷⁰ but there is no evidence that this was done. In November 1857 Xántus dispatched the first instalment of his collection to Los Angeles in Messrs Starks and Company's wagon train, the rate being five cents a pound, half the charge in May. He desired Baird to remit half his total expenses of \$90, covering supplies and freight.⁷¹ Smaller charges for other shipments followed. In the entire twenty months of his stay at Fort Tejon, Xántus received about \$180 from Baird to cover the Institution's share of the expenditures, which were mostly for freight.⁷² In some instances Xántus received the entire amount which he had laid out for certain items, such as packing cases, so that the cost to him could not have exceeded \$150. That this sum appeared large to Xántus is understandable when the enlisted man's income from which it was paid is considered.

The final obstacle to Xántus's collecting, if such it may be termed, was the round of duties which accounted for his being at Fort Tejon. These obligations, of course, had not gone unreckoned by Baird and Xántus, but they were so multiplied by the surgeon's dereliction that Xántus lamented: 'Dr Ten Broeck is never at home, so I am in fact the Surgeon of the Post. In the morning I have to look out for the cleanliness of the Hospital, than comes the Sick call, than the Morning Report, than to dispense the Sick in Hospital, and finally to enter everything in the books. The ordinary routine of my duty keeps me busy every day until about 11 o'clock A.M. So you will perceive that only the afternoon is

⁷⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁷¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 November 1857, p. 1. S. I.

⁷² The figures and acknowledgments are scattered through Xántus's letters.

left to me, which I regularly use for hunting & skinning both. I have to make my privat correspondences etc all by candle, which keeps me some time awake until midnight.⁷³ Elsewhere Xántus complained that he had to act as librarian and superintendent of the bakery in addition to performing his medical duties.⁷⁴ It is astonishing that such an immense collection could have been made in the few hours which Xántus snatched from his daily routine.

This routine at the remote fort was varied by few excitements. Occasionally an earthquake startled the garrison, and the summer of 1858 provided speculation on the coming of the first of the overland stages. The most momentous occasion for the hospital steward was the arrival of Balduin Möllhausen, who had come from Panama to San Francisco to join Lieutenant Ives's Colorado River exploring party. He had proceeded to Los Angeles and, with other members of the party, continued to Fort Tejon, arriving on 10 November 1857.⁷⁵ Xántus, with his feeling for the dramatic, made the most of the opportunity in his letter to Professor Baird. 'As I was writing the above, somebody knocked at my door, and made his appearance — (who you think he was?) Mr Möllhausen. He informed me that he heard much in Los Angeles about my collection, and came up here expressly to see it. — I confess you sincerely that I felt since some time uneasy on hearing, that Möllhausen is coming & is going to collect (so to say) within gunshot of my kingdom. My old friend the Prince Paul

⁷³ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 October 1857, p. 1. S. I.

⁷⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 November 1857, p. 3. S. I.

⁷⁵ H. B. Möllhausen, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hochplateau von Neu-Mexico* (Leipzig, 1861), I, 29, 58. Möllhausen gives 15 November as the date of his arrival.

of Württemberg spoke much to me of his (Möllhausens) abilities; and likewise Dr Sherzer & Moritz Wagner. — But since I know him personally, I do not fear him, but on the contrary intend to assist him in procuring specimens at my own ground. — He was completely beaten by seeing my collection, & he confessed to others this morning, that he passed a sleepless night, and never will attempt to collect here anything, although he came with the intention, to do it.

‘I tell you *confidentially* that Mr Möllhausen (although he had known it, that I am collecting under the patronage of the Smithsonian, tried to induce me, to sell my collection to the King of Prussia, garanteing that he will confer a great favor on me, especially A. Humboldt. I of course emphatically refused his proposal, and I did that in presence of several Officers, amongst them Dr Ten Broeck.’⁷⁶

Something arose to sour the relations between Xántus and Möllhausen, for the former, two months later, wrote indignantly to Baird: ‘I never intended to mention again Möllhausen, but as you do it, I make a concluding remark. — As he visited me immediately after his arrival here, he promised me to do so again the next day, and I offered to hunt for him & with him as long as his stay here continues. More yet I made up a nice assortement of my duplicates, numbering exactly 60 specimens, and intended to give him as a present, when he shall visit me again. But he came not the next day or the following ones, although I was always home, waiting for him, with considerable loss in my usual occupations time. I met him several times on the Parade, Sutlers store, etc, but he always evaded my adresses,

⁷⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 5-6. S. I.

even turned from me his face, & left when I approached him. I never spoke him again, although he was here over 2 weeks. — Subsequently I heard from a gentleman, who was present at the transaction; that as soon as Mr Möllhauen left my room the first day, he requested Dr Ten Broeck to give me permission to hunt with him every day, until he is here. Dr T. B. answered as follows: "what you think Mr Möllhausen, having been so long in America, you ought to know, that it is unbecoming to a gentleman to have any intercourse with an enlisted man, I hope you wont disgrace us, your companions etc."

'It seems, Möllhausen followed the advise of Dr Ten Broeck, literally. You may tell him if you see him again, how *unbecomingly* to a gentleman, he acted. I on my part forgot, that I ever have seen him, and nothing in the world can induce me in this life, to speak him again!'⁷⁷ A year later the memory of Möllhausen still rankled. 'I wonder much that Möllhausen collected only so little. He had every possible facilities from the officers when here, several soldiers were ordered out to hunt for him, & Indians to fish. Thats true, that he did not care so much about collection; as pocker, euchre, Whisky toddy, & Brandy punch, but still he had many assistants to run up his catalogue only here at least to 1000!'⁷⁸

Other collectors did not arouse Xántus's professional indignation. 'As to my rivalls hereabout — I am certainly not much afraid of Dr Hammond of San Diego,⁷⁹ particularly in birds I am sure he will never attempt to run

⁷⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 January 1858, p. 7-8. S. I.

⁷⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 December 1858, p. 3. S. I.

⁷⁹ George Hammond (1831-1863), appointed Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, in 1856.

competition with me. Mr Cassidy⁸⁰ I dont know who he is. Möllhauen may tumble over good specimens, but I cannot prevent if he does so. The only think is Mr Bridges,⁸¹ who causes me some fear, as he is fully competent collector, & treatens my own ground with his operations. He issued a formal Proclamation in several Southern Papers, & offers high prices for specimens, some San Francisco Papers even wrote a leading requesting people to gather up *curiosities* for Mr Bridges. . .⁸²

Another distraction, this one deliberately caused, was the feud which Xántus carried on with László Madarász, the occupant of the lands which he claimed in Iowa. He attempted to establish a case for the ownership of 160 acres which he had abandoned on entering military service, and was pressed by the necessity of proving his claim before the expiration of the time limit provided by the Act of 11 May 1858. In this emergency he besought Baird's influence. 'I settled on said lands prior to January 22^d 1855, & improved the same for two years, in company with a Mr Ladislaus Madarász, whose land joined the same. The improvements consisted of a house, stables, and others buildings, besides 30 ackers land fenced in substancially, & under *actual* cultivation. After nearly two years habitation on said lands, I left; and gave the charge of the said lands to my friend

⁸⁰ Andrew Cassidy, who was employed by the United States Coast Survey, collected mammals and alcoholic specimens at San Diego in 1857, and presented them to the Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Institution, op. cit. 1857, p. 60; 1859, p. 65.

⁸¹ Thomas L. Bridges was born in Lilly, Hertfordshire, in 1807, and died at sea on a voyage from Nicaragua to San Francisco in 1865; from 1856 he was a resident of San Francisco. His main collections were botanical.

⁸² J. X. to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 8. S. I.

Madaráss, who continued ever since to cultivate & improve them, residing constantly in our common house... Now — having had some personal difficulties with aforementioned Mr Madaráss — he refuses to give up my lands, pleading that I left them, did not continue the improvements, and did not live on them since years. — My attorney, who is authorised to act for me, informs me, that he has under such circumstances very little hope to save my lands.⁸³ The fact is that Xántus had been in Iowa for only a little over a year before enlisting, and Musser, his lawyer, in three long letters warmly upholding Xántus's claim, never once mentioned any improvements made by Xántus.⁸⁴ Xántus recognized the flimsiness of his claim, and did not press it beyond writing to Ferenc Varga a letter defaming Madarász.⁸⁵ After Baird had submitted Xántus's case to the General Land Office and received an unfavorable report from the Land Office at Chariton, Iowa, Xántus lost interest in his homestead and allowed his claim to lapse.⁸⁶ The monotony of existence at Fort Tejon may have helped to account for the acerbity of Xántus's attack on his former host.

The garrison life of the enlisted man, inevitably compounded of loneliness, grumbling against the officers, petty quarrels, and restlessness, heightened in its monotony by the rarity of exciting contacts with the outside world, had for most men a deadening effect. Yet for

⁸³ J. X. to S. F. B., 3 October 1858, p. 4-6. S. I.

⁸⁴ R. H. Musser, Brunswick, Missouri, to S. F. B., 18 December 1858
12, 24 January 1859. S. I.

⁸⁵ J. X., Rancho San Gabriel [*i. e.* Fort Tejon], to Ferenc Varga, New Buda, Iowa, 19 December 1858. Géza Kende, *Magyarok Amerikában; az amerikai magyarság története, 1583-1926* (Cleveland, 1927), I, 223-225.

⁸⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 January 1859, p. 1. S. I.

Xántus this was the matrix in which he shaped his fame. For the first time since his arrival in the United States he had the stimulation of knowing that he was entrusted with an enterprise on which much store was set, which would be judged solely on the basis of its contribution to natural science. To hearten him Xántus had the constant encouragement of Professor Baird, who not only gave advice but received indulgently the tale of Xántus's aspirations. In this environment, essentially favorable despite its intrinsic and apparent hindrances, Xántus carried on his work.

Only one point of disagreement clouded the relations of Baird and Xántus. The latter early had the impression that the Smithsonian Institution was merely to act as a depository for his collections until he returned to Washington.⁸⁷ That Xántus sought return from these collections both in money and reputation is unquestionable; the money would come from duplicate specimens, and the reputation from the descriptions which he hoped to publish and from the series he intended to present to the Hungarian National Museum. He drew a playful veil over his financial aspirations in a letter to Baird. 'Dont speak sir, about making money of collections, I am long enough in this job, to know something about. After I suply the Sm. Institute, you know I intend to give a series to the Philadelphia Academy, and another to the Hungarian Nat. Museum; and should be something left for me after such disposal, I will be glad if they bring me back the cash only, what I expend for boots!!!'⁸⁸

These generous intentions were sorely tried by a suggestion of Baird that the more important acquisitions

⁸⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 November 1857, p. 4. S. I.

⁸⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 2. S. I.

be described as soon as they had been determined, and that distribution among various museums be arranged. Xántus replied with some heat, 'As I told you in my former letters, you may publish my birds in my name, if there should be any new species; and you may publish the list of my birds also, in your forthcoming Report; to show Geogr. distribution, habits, migration etc.

'But we are going dear Sir very rapidly from the arrangement, we made together at my coming out here; and a new proposition in your letter, treatens not only to go further still, but break to pieces my whole design.

'Hoping, that you will accept with as perfect sincere good faith my remarks on this very matter, as my intention is indeed; I take the opportunity to remind you dear Sir, that at *your own* suggestion we determined to concentrate my whole collection in the Sm. Institution until my return, when I had to write some Memoir on the Collection, and then dispose of the collection itself. — Although my intention was a different one before, but I cheerfully agreed in your proposition, hoping that at last, after 15 years disinterested collecting, I will take *some position* in the literary world; & with this view I refused every offer (coming from different quarters) & every inducement. Still I collected number of species, & not number of specimens.

'Subsequently you advised me to collect in large quantities, all the species, because by doing so, I could sell them, and realise some money. I overpowered my bitter reminiscences; & did so, as you advised me. In the hope sir, that I will be able to realise something, I gave up all my literary correspondences for home (which brought me in something at least monthly), turned the nights to days, spent every cent of my miserable monthly pay; & with this sacrifice & this energy, I

brought up my collection already to a very respectable *quantity*, which (if it goes so for a year) will beat no doubt every Government collection, not excepting Wilkes Expedition,⁸⁹ (always the quantity of specimens understood of course)

'Now, dear sir, supposed I *present* my surplus specimens to the principal European Museums; what will I sell?

'And, supposed, I am through with presents, & have still some specimens on hand for sale, to whom shall I sell, if I already presented them to the *principal* Museums?

'These are questions, which are certainly important to me, situated as I am!

'I cannot help, but I must consider dear Sir, that according such proceeding, instead of concentration, would be inevitable a *universal* distribution & dispersion; which system I cannot comprehend, how could profit me either scientifically or materially.

'Besides the principal Museums of Europe are so rich, that their runner out, or janitor has generally twice as much salary, as my whole earthen property, so they can send here any amount of collectors, if they want; or buy specimens if they prefer. . .

'I dont want to do anything for these Museums; they *never* did anything for me.

'As to publishing my new species; you may do so, with the collection already sent in, as you say "it is important for science," although I am not quite of the same opinion. If my collection were the *last* on the N. American continent, I would acquiesce in it, because

⁸⁹ The United States Exploring Party of 1838-1842, commanded by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, United States Navy.

I would consider it important, that the work should be complete. But how many species will be discovered after me; and we know very well, that the work even containing my species, in some months after its publication, will be again incomplete, having been discovered *again* species, not contained in it.

'Knowing as you do, dear sir my circumstances; you must admit, that it is with some sacrifices on my part to lead such a life as I do; principally if we consider, that I made myself to a perfect Slave of collection, & submitted myself to the impertinences, & continuous chicanes of persons, who can never appreciate my objects, whose intellectual capacity is below 0, and who still are my lords, with absolute power over me.

'In taking all this in consideration, I confidently hope, that you will appreciate my efforts, & that you will lend your brotherly hand to do some justice to me.

'I wish to publish after my return some Memoir on my whole collection here, which — no doubt — will give me more credit, than anything else; and will place me in some position in the scientific world. The surplus specimens I want to sell, so as to realize something, or regain at least a part of my expenses.

'This is all, I wish; and I hope you will support to your best, my wishes; by considering *hereafter* that my collection is intended to be *concentrated* in the Smithsonian Institute, as a Deposit, not to be disposed of until my return.

'I wish — as I requested you already — to understand me fully, and not to consider, by no means, my remarks, as any kind of offence; I expressed myself with frankness, and hope you will regard it no otherwise. To avoid even the sligh[t]est shade of any unpleasant feelings between us, which would [be] very painfull to me certainly,

I would request you, not to refer to the subject in your answer, at all. And we shall continue our proceedings undisturbed as ever!⁹⁰

Xántus's scheme to have the collections lie undisturbed at the Smithsonian Institution until his return and his plan to publish a memoir on the whole collection were manifestly absurd. At this time, when the enormous yield of the railroad surveys was pouring into Washington, the practice of distributing the specimens to citizens of the closely knit republic of science for determination and study was invariably observed. Natural science had not yet ramified sufficiently to hinder direct personal intercourse among cultivators of the major branches. Such men as Asa Gray,⁹¹ John Torrey,⁹² John Cassin,⁹³ Joseph Leidy, George Newbold Lawrence,⁹⁴ and John L. LeConte stood ever ready to lend their knowledge, at Baird's direction, to the task of cataloguing the recently discovered fauna and flora of the American West. That collections as important as Xántus's were to be should be withheld from their study was unthinkable. It was equally preposterous to think that Xántus, untrained except as a field naturalist, could ever cope with the immense task of describing the specimens of all the orders which he was gathering.

Indeed, the longer Xántus collected the more reasonable he became. At the end of his sixteenth month at Fort Tejon he requested Baird to submit 'the plants to the Inspection of either Prof Gray, or Prof Torrey, as I am

⁹⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 January 1858, p. 1-7. S. I.

⁹¹ Asa Gray (1810-1888), the most distinguished American botanist; Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University, 1842-1888.

⁹² John Torrey (1796-1873), the eminent botanist.

⁹³ John Cassin (1813-1869), the Philadelphia ornithologist

⁹⁴ George Newbold Lawrence (1806-1895), the ardent New York ornithologist and specialist in Neotropical birds.

very anxious to know, what I collected,⁹⁵ and three months later he willingly acquiesced in the offer of the Smithsonian Institution to send duplicates to other museums. Xántus hoped that Baird would send a good assortment, properly labeled, to the Hungarian National Museum; this would be a patriotic gift, and it would enhance his reputation. Should a second and third series of duplicates be prepared, he desired that they be given respectively to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and to the Royal Hungarian Society of Natural Sciences of Pest.⁹⁶

This last arrangement, for want of better, prevailed. The bulk of the collection and all the type specimens were retained by the Smithsonian Institution, and a generous gift was made to the Hungarian National Museum. Xántus himself apprised Ágoston Kubinyi, the Director of the Museum, with a show of wounded *amour-propre* vanquished by patriotism, that the museum was about to be benefited by his collections. He complained that an offer he had made while in Louisiana had not been answered, but 'in spite of all this, I did not abandon my patriotic purpose... With the last mail I wrote to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (where my entire collection is stored), asking it to make a selection of my vertebrates and to send them immediately to the Hungarian National Museum... The present collection is composed largely of California vertebrates, and is so complete that the like of it is, as yet, hardly to be found in the museums of Europe. Among other things there are mountain sheep . . . a grizzly bear, and numerous birds I discovered, which

⁹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 September 1858, p. 1. S. I.

⁹⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 22 December 1858, p. 5-8. S. I.

are to be found only in my collection. . . If the collection should increase to the extent that it could be housed in a separate room or section of the museum, I should wish in this event that the museum would distinguish it from other exhibits by the title "The North American Collection of János Xántus." Please be convinced that my desire is not the fruit of vanity but rests on a true patriotic feeling, as I hope that the high honor which would thus be bestowed on my collection would encourage others in our country who are richer and whose material strength is a thousand times that of mine, to similar patriotic contributions. . . I confidently hope that the museum will accept these specimens with the same patriotic good-will with which I collected and am sending them. . .⁹⁷

The collections, thus widely dispersed between Washington and Hungary, were taken by Xántus in the immediate vicinity of the fort. 'Of my Ft Tejon collection I captured 9/10 part within a mile from the Hospital, and I dont think I had the chance to go *one dozen times* (during the 18 months) further off then a mile.'⁹⁸ Within this restricted terrain Xántus collected from the very beginning of his stay all that fell within reach or gunshot range. A fortnight after his arrival he had 'some hundred plants, several serpents, toads, frogs, hylas, lizards etc, & about 50 birds & mammals, some skulls & skeletons also. The breeding season was almost over as I made my appearance here, still I secured several interesting nests & eggs; I could procure more still, but

⁹⁷ J. X., Pueblo los Angeles [i. e. Fort Tejon], to Ágoston Kubinyi, Director, Hungarian National Museum, Pest, 2 January 1859. *Pesti napló*, 17 March 1859, p. 3.

⁹⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 December 1858, p. 4. S. I.

never take the nest, unless I can take the bird also, or at least identify it.⁹⁹

Xántus's collecting was concentrated on vertebrates, mainly because of his lack of taxonomic knowledge of the invertebrates. Using only the few books of reference available to him he was still able to identify the mammals and birds which fell before his gun. The birds excited his greatest interest, and are referred to more frequently in his correspondence than the other branches. Although his knowledge of vertebrate taxonomy was slight, he was aware of the strong likelihood that many of his specimens represented species unknown to science, and he tended to enthusiasm in describing to Professor Baird his new acquisitions. Enthusiasm, indeed, marked most of his passages on all aspects of the biota of Fort Tejon. His first letter, after listing his captures of the fortnight, gave a general description of the fauna of the area. 'We have here grizlys in great abundance, they are really a nuisance, you cannot walk out half a mile, without meeting some of them, and as they just now have their clubs [cubs], they are extremely ferocious so, I was already twice driven on a tree, and close by to the fort. — Not very far on the plains, there are large herds of Antelopes, we have some deers, Elks, 2 Wolves, 2 Foxes, the Panther, wild cat, immense quantity of Badgers, & Otters, the Porcupine, Skunk, flying Squirrel, Gopher, Mole, Bats, and a ground Squirrel really in countless numbers, they dwell in holes & you can kill tausends in a day. Everybody tels me there is no mouse here, but yesterday opening a large snake, I found 3 of them in her stomach. And so I was told there is no Rat; but some days ago on an excursion

⁹⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 2. S. I.

I noticed a nest on a tall Pine, I at once climbed it, hoping it to be the Maximilians Jays nest, (as there were many of them round), you may imagine my ashtonishment when looking into the nest a — Rat jumped out, running up the three [tree], — I of course after him, but he went on the highestmost top, where I could not follow him, but descended & brought him down with the old Carabine.¹⁰⁰

This enthusiasm, valuable though it was in strengthening Xántus's graphic power, deprived his accounts of sober veracity. Such a romantic tale is that of his encounter with a bighorn. 'At San Domidio [Emigdio], distant from here 30 miles north,¹⁰¹ a man was shot in the legs, & I was ordered to see him. The man being dangerously wounded, I stopped there a couple days, & went out hunting in the mountains. There was from 2-5 feet snow that time everywhere in the Sierras. After reaching the top of a rocky hill, I descended on a ridge (swept clear from snow by wind) into a deep gulch, & when near the bottom — beheld a herd of Bighorn there numbering at least 300. — I fired at once in the crowd, & although my gun loaded with duck shot, I wounded one of their chieftains, a huge horned fellow. The others got frightened, & run in all directions hill up on the opposite side; but the snow was so deep in the gulch, that they could not go, they sunk at each jump, to their neck. By this time I went up with the wounded one, but scarcely aproaching him; to my great ashtonishment he posted himself in front of me, then made a desperate charge, & struck me in the abdomen with his forehead, that I tumbled several feet of[f],

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 2-3.

¹⁰¹ San Emigdio Mountains, twenty miles west of Fort Tejon.

capsized a couple times. As I had in front my filled hunting bag, his blow was not so violent as it had been no doubt, without this preservative; so I recovered soon; & just as he was preparing for a fresh attack, I dispatched him with revolver. I commenced now, in highest excitement, a furious descent on the fugitives, & killed four more of them in an area of about an acker... This is the first instance I heard of, that the mountain sheep attacks a man; but certainly I will look out hereafter, as I had a verry narrow escape.¹⁰²

In the California condor, the largest of North American birds, Xántus was confronted by something which gave him pause. 'I wonder, I cannot find in Audubon an immense Vulture, which leaves [lives] here. I think it is fully as large as the South American Condor; with a red nacked head & neck & entirely black or dark brown, with light underwings. They are quite numerous, but as yet I have no specimens, being entirely confined to the high mountains; but I am informed some of them measure from tip of wing to tip of wing fully 18 feet. I think this statement cannot be much exaggerated, as I myself often mistook them on hills for mounted men. I liked to know the name of these birds, I will secure some soon no doubt.'¹⁰³

Xantus's fanciful note on the nesting of this magnificent bird, now almost extinct, is of great interest. 'As to the eggs of the Cathartes Californ. I have much doubt, whether I will be able to procure some or not; but I will try anyhow. Preparatory to such enterprize, I carefully read over Dr Brewers article on the subject, and then subjected all the Indians & hunters (separately)

¹⁰² J. X. to S. F. B., 2 February 1858, p. 6-8. S. I.

¹⁰³ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 December 1857, p. 6. S. I.

to a strict examination. I am very happy to announce, that their information on the subject was *uniform* in every respect; without exception whatever; and so the nidification of this vulture can be described as follows:

“They build their nests invariably on large pine trees, in wild mountain gulches; but entirely regardless of height, as they build some time at the very top of the tree, sometime at the middle branches, & very often on the first branches, only ten or 12 feet from the ground. They commence the building in March, and about middle of May are full grown the youngs. However if they are not disturbed, they will incubate for several years in the same nests, taking very little trouble to repair the damages made my [by] weather. The Nest is always rudely constructed of dry twigs & branches of trees, with some grass inside, which however is trown in without any artistical skill, so famous by other birds. The nest is of immense size, sometimes 12 or 15 feet in diameter; and all the hunters concur, that some of them are so large, that a single one would fill a whole wagon to carry off. They lay 2, sometimes 3 eggs; but very seldom bring out more then 2, sometimes only one. The egg is rather larger as a common goose egg; white, with some pale reddish clouds, or hues. The young bird even when full grown is entirely grey; but they do not leave the nest, unless turn[ed] out, even when full grown, & able to fly. Their parents feed them in nest as late as July & August sometimes. One of the hunters tells me the following story: He knew a nest with young ones, and when observed that they are full grown intended to catch them. The nest was not very high, on a projecting branch, arched by several other branches above. He could not go into the nest, but had to scale the branch above, and from there he

jumped — straight down into the nest. The young ones (two in number) alarmed at the appearance of the strange guest, flew out, and soon lighted again on the ground in a sage ticket. He descended, and went after them but at his approach they flew up again, & joined by their parents, they sailed the whole day above the place. — The next day he saw them again in the nest, fed by their mother. He soon scaled the tree, and this time captured them both. — The parents did not attempt to defend their youngs, although they were constantly in sight, hovering above.¹⁰⁴

This extended note on the condor is an example of Xántus's preoccupation with ornithology. At the very beginning of his stay at Fort Tejon he reported enthusiastically, 'with one word, the feathered world is here on a large scale represented; and it vexes me only the rusty carabine! else I had already 10 times as many, as I have actually.'¹⁰⁵ The carbine could be abandoned for the taking of nests, but even this was no simple task. 'To illustrate the difficulty of taking some nests, I will tell you that the first *vireo* nest I discovered, took fully four days meditating & devising plans, as how to obtain it. The nest was situated on a limb of a water oak which was scarcely an inch tick, nearly twenty feet long, & projecting over a water, fully 4 feet deep, not including mud. The nest was at the furthest extremity of the limb, about twenty feet above water. — Finally, after every devise failed — I chopped logs, undressed, carried the logs neck deep in water under the nest, & built a regular tower work (in the log house architecture style), until I reached

¹⁰⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 4-7. S. I.

¹⁰⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 6. S. I.

to about 12 feet of the nest; I mounted then, pulled down the limb with a hook, & got the nest. What you say to such feats?"¹⁰⁶

The woodpecker aroused his interest. 'I do not know who named *Picus formicivorus*, but the name is a great mistake, as I had plenty opportunity to watch closely & minutely this species, being quite overflowed with them. This woodpecker had never an idea to eat ant, it leaves entirely & exclusively on acorns, & oak sprouts. They store up in an admiring manner their great stock of provisions for winter, & spring; by boring dry oaks full with holes all round, so as to fit in each hole an acorn. I procured some fine specimens of this granaries, and one for instance being only 3½ feet high, & 20 inches in diameter, contains 195 acorns, hammered in the holes so accurately, that it requires a very sharp forceps to pull one out. I will occasionally send you one of this pieces, some of them are really a "Cabinets Stück" as the Prince of Würtemberg would call them."¹⁰⁷

In September 1857, only four months after his arrival at Fort Tejon, Xántus sent to Baird a descriptive catalogue of 154 species of birds.¹⁰⁸ Many of the species were illustrated by quite acceptable colored drawings, and by notes on nesting and migration. The letters to Baird frequently contained short descriptions of specimens, mammalian as well as avian. There are also passages which indicate that Baird sent suggestions to Xántus to direct him toward the collection of specified types of animals. Particular groups were collected by Xántus for scientists who had requested his assistance;

¹⁰⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 22 December 1858, p. 4-5. S. I.

¹⁰⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 December 1857, p. 5-6. S. I.

¹⁰⁸ S. I.

for example, *Diptera* were obtained for Baron Osten-Sacken,¹⁰⁹ *Coleoptera* for LeConte, and nests for Brewer.¹¹⁰

The collections grew apace. In November 1857 the first shipment, of eight boxes, was made; it contained 76 mammals, 716 birds, 72 skulls, 17 skeletons, 24 nests with eggs, 17 bottles of insects, 1 box of *Lepidoptera*, 1 keg of alcoholic specimens, and 3 bundles of plants.¹¹¹ In April 1858 the twelfth box had been sent,¹¹² and in May the sixteenth brought the total of specimens listed in Xántus's field register to two thousand.¹¹³ After Xántus sent his twenty-first box in September 1858,¹¹⁴ he began to feel that he had exhausted the biota of Fort Tejon. He reported to Professor Baird that he thought he had taken every bird, except the California condor, and only five mammals were missing — the large wolf, the skunk, the prairie dog, the beaver, and the otter. He doubted the existence at Fort Tejon of the opossum, the porcupine, and the flying squirrel.¹¹⁵ The twenty-fourth box, the last from Fort Tejon, was dispatched on 16 November 1858.¹¹⁶ The comprehensive survey and collection of this area came, with it, to an end.

¹⁰⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 June 1857, p. 4-5. S. I. Carl Robert Freiherr von der Osten-Sacken (1828-1906), the entomologist; he was secretary to the Russian legation in Washington from 1856 to 1862.

¹¹⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 4. S. I. Thomas Mayo Brewer (1814-1880), the ornithologist and oölogist, of Boston.

¹¹¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 9. S. I.

¹¹² J. X. to S. F. B., 2 April 1858, p. 1. S. I.

¹¹³ J. X. to S. F. B., 29 May 1858, p. 11-12. S. I.

¹¹⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 September 1858, p. 1. S. I.

¹¹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 October 1858, p. 3. S. I.

¹¹⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 November 1858, p. 1. S. I.

During his term of duty at Fort Tejon, Xántus was not content to entrust his future to the arbitrary operation of military assignments, protected though he was by Professor Baird. Within three months of his arrival at Fort Tejon he became apprehensive of the abandonment of that post, and requested Baird to inform him of any action which might be taken in Washington in that direction. Xántus had heard that the establishment of a new post in the San Gorgonio Pass, about forty miles east of San Bernardino, was being considered, and recommended this location to Baird as being very suitable for collecting.¹¹⁷ He allowed the suggestion to lie dormant for another three months, then raised it again. 'I liked very much to go there in my present capacity, as the geological & topographical position of that Region induces me to believe, that there is large field for work. After all, until June next, (when I am here 12 months) I will exhaust so entirely Ft Tejon, that there will be not a Beetle new to catch it, and my position here afterwards would be not only tiresome & lonesome for me, but absolutely useless for the Smiths. Inst.'¹¹⁸ The prospect of establishing a fort in the San Gorgonio Pass paled, and with it Xántus's interest in the region.

In February 1858, half-way in his stay at Fort Tejon, Xántus broached to Baird his desire to explore Lower California. 'I wrote some time ago to Dr W. A. Hammond, & communicated with him a favorite plan of mine, asking him to forward it as far as he can by his influence. I proposed to go out to the Gulf or [of] California, & explore the peninsula as well, as the

¹¹⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1857, p. 6-7. S. I.

¹¹⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 November 1857, p. 3. S. I.

Sonora shore, & the gulf islands. I think there is hardly any spot on the N. American continent, which would reward more a collectors trouble, as the Vermillion Sea & environs. That Region forms something like a connecting link between the U. S. & Central American Zoology, & is almost unknown. — You have some idea now dear Sir, what I could do under independent & favorable circumstances; and you may imagine what amount I could gather there, when properly supported. If several Scientific Societies, & gentlemen would associate on shares, & procure me a *respectable* outfit, & monthly pocket money, I liked very much to undertake this trip; should you approve it dear Sir, & should you [be] as sanguine about the results of such undertaking as I am, then you could do certainly very much for the realisation, & I would request you very warmly to do, what you can. I am very tired of this sort of a chained & humiliating position, in which I am at present, where nobody appreciates my objects, & everybody pushes obstacles in my way. If this Plan should succeed, I wanted to get then my discharge from service sometime this summer or fall, go to Washington, overhaul there my collection, & start then next winter for Guaymas or La Paz, to commence operations a new... Should however the Plan fail, then please change my Post, as advantageously as possible, I think Southern Uta Territory, or Ft Tuc[s]on[,] Defiance or Ft Union would be tolerable good, provided they can be obtained.¹¹⁹

Baird showed interest in the general plan, and requested Xántus to supply details. Overlooking Baird's powerful connections in Washington, which were a

¹¹⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 February 1858, p. 4-5. S. I.

more tangible source of support, Xántus broadened his notion of enlisting the academies of natural science as his backers. 'In regard to the proposed gulf of Cala expedition; I think with proper menagement [it] could be carried out. If for instance the Academy of Philadelphia, the New York, Boston, Charleston, St. Louis, & N. Orleans Institutions, in company with the Smithsonian would agree, each of them had to expend only a trifle sum, & at the end of the expedition divide the collection amongst themselves according their share of expenses. To the present outfit I would require only plenty of ammuniion, about 25 lb of Cotton, 1 barrel alcohol & Arsenic. The minor apparatus I would leave to your arrangement. I wanted however as something *sine qua non*, a good skiff, which would sail *anywhere* in the Gulf... To conduct such an enterprize to good success, it is the *principal thing* to encourage the *boys* everywhere to hunt for reptiles etc & to induce fishermen & hunters to procure specimens. This expense would be not very much (as I buy any serpent, fish etc in Mexico for 5 cent a piece,) still it would be considerable. Adding to this the expenses which are almost daily, & never can be foreseen, & adding my board etc can [be] easily made an aproximate estimate of my probable monthly expenses. But it would be unavoidable, to hire a small boy, who would do for me such work, which is undispensable & still retards greatly collecting. Such a boy I suppose I can hire for from 6-8 dollars a month. The outfit would be not much over \$100 (including skiff), as you estimate. And you could send it out via the Horn, or any other route to Mazatlan or Guaimas care of the U. S. Consul. To the rest, I believe the collection can [be] carried out with \$100 per month... In case, you should menage the matter, you

ought to let me know timely, so as to give me time to get some money from my friends, as at present I am in a very precarious situation in *this* respect.¹²⁰

Baird's letter, in reply to this suggestion by Xántus, contained the much less chimeric proposal that Xántus accept an appointment in the Coast Survey as an observer of tides in Lower California.¹²¹ This prospect was agreeable to Xántus, except that in his next letter he expressed himself as loth to lose the sum due him upon the expiration of his term of enlistment in September 1860, which would amount to about \$300. 'But I do not care [if I] lose these emoluments (and I lose every cent, when discharged on my own request, before expiration of service) provided: I enter an employment, which secures me *for some time at least*, a honorable existence.' In case the plans for an expedition to Lower California should materialize, Xántus desired that (1) all papers and documents should be in the name of John Xántus, (2) he should have liberty to purchase in San Francisco all requisite supplies, (3) ready money be sent to Fort Tejon, (4) a sailing skiff be provided, (5) particular directions for the collection of fishes and waterfowl be supplied. Xántus recommended that his situation be so arranged that he could exhaust one place; by spending one season at Cape San Lucas and another at Mazatlán he would be able to take thorough collections from Lower California and the coast of western Mexico. 'I might be disappointed, but still I anticipate a great harvest, and I will start as soon as possible with rose spirits to try to beat Mr Véseys Ft Tejon collection — in every respect.'¹²²

¹²⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 May 1858, p. 3-5. S. I.

¹²¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 September 1858, p. 3-4. S. I.

¹²² J. X. to S. F. B., 10 September 1858, p. 1, 6-10. S. I.

Xántus's rosy spirits were obliged to wait until 21 January 1859 for full expression. 'About noon today arrived here the overland mail dropping your letter of 16th ult; and an order from the Secr of War for my immediate discharge. — Dr Ten Broek is in Los Angeles yet, & Major Carleton Cmdg the Post requested me to wait until the Drs return, (who is ordered home by messenger) so as [to] turn over to him the Medical stores. I am packing now, and hope to be in San Francisco about the 29th inst, when I will write you again circumstancially... Now dear Sir, please to accept my warmest thanks, for your kind services. And please be assured, that I will always gratefully acknowledge it, and anything I can do for you to gratify your wishes, just command my services which will be always ready!'¹²³

A few months earlier Xántus had expressed himself on the subject of army life. Now, on the verge of release, he could well repeat his sentiments. 'I did not know . . . the exact position of the army in this country, and I had not the farthest idea, that in the American Army only the officers are considered *men*; and the others something like a *last class negroes*. This is however a fact, and in my connection with this *Republican* army, and all its degrading and humiliating incidents has shown me human nature in a new aspect, and probably when my enlistment expires, I will be better prepared for riding the tide of life, or — as Burke says — for

¹²³ J. X. to S. F. B., 21 January 1859, p. 1-2. S. I. The letter of the Secretary of War to the commanding officer of Fort Tejon ordered 'Vesey's' instant discharge because of the 'peculiar circumstances' of the case, and directed that 'some intelligent soldier' be selected to perform the duties of hospital steward until a permanent replacement could be supplied. Letter books of the Secretary of War, War Department.

buffeting its waves.¹²⁴ For three years Xántus had been subjected to military life; it had been the means of his rise to notice and the springboard to even greater fame. Never once in his letters did he express satisfaction with his enlistment or acknowledge pleasure in his duties. Independence alone could appease his restlessness and desire for glory.

Xántus left Fort Tejon for San Francisco on 25 January 1859.¹²⁵ During his stay at the tiny frontier post since 18 May 1857 he had given unbounded satisfaction to Professor Baird. The annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1858 contained Baird's summary of Xántus's contributions to natural science. 'During the year 1858 a natural history exploration, commended in 1857, has been nearly completed by Mr. Xantus, while connected with the military post at Fort Tejon, which, for extent and thoroughness, has perhaps scarcely a parallel on our continent, considering the fact that it was made in about 16 months by one person, almost constantly occupied in official duties, and under various discouragements. The collections of Mr. Xantus filled 24 large boxes, and included nearly 2,000 birds, 200 mammals, many hundreds of birds' nests and their eggs, with large numbers of reptiles, fishes, insects, plants, skulls, skeletons, etc., all in the highest condition of preparation and preservation, and furnishing such accurate and detailed information of the zoology and botany of Fort Tejon as we possess of but few other points in the United States. Mr. Xantus also made copious notes of the habits and characters of the species, with numerous drawings.'¹²⁶

¹²⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 August 1858, p. 6. S. I.

¹²⁵ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 February 1859, p. 1. S. I.

¹²⁶ Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1858, p. 51.

Baird's report for 1859 gave Xántus even higher praise. 'Among the very important researches in the natural history of America, the explorations of Mr. John Xantus deserve particular mention... He has exhausted the natural history of the vicinity of the fort in the most thorough manner. All departments are fully represented in his collections...' ¹²⁷ This tribute is borne out by the importance of the area around Fort Tejon as a center of continuing biological studies. Because so many scores of specimens taken by Xántus were new, Fort Tejon became the type locality for biological forms ranging from mammals to plants, and came to be visited by scientists from all the world. ¹²⁸ The only limitations on the Xántus collections were those inherent in almost all collecting done during pioneer years; the specimens were not labeled with great accuracy, and dates of capture and precise localities were not always given. ¹²⁹ Despite these imperfections, the collections made by Xántus at Fort Tejon were a monument to his ability as a naturalist.

¹²⁷ Loc. cit. 1859, p. 65

¹²⁸ E. O. Essig, *A History of Entomology* (New York, 1931), p. 806. E. O. Essig, 'The Historical Background of Entomology in Relation to the Early Development of Agriculture in California,' *Pan-Pacific Entomologist*, X (1934), 101.

¹²⁹ Grinnell, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

CAPE SAN LUCAS, 1859—1861

The circumstances which occasioned the first thorough biological exploration of any territory within the peninsula of Lower California were almost identical with those which had brought Fort Tejon into the cognizance of science, except that Lower California was virtually *terra incognita*, whereas Fort Tejon had already been explored, albeit sketchily. A few botanical specimens had been taken by Richard Brinsley Hinds during the visit of H. M. S. *Sulphur* (Captain Sir Edward Belcher) to Lower California in 1839,¹ and one lone bird had been attributed to the peninsula before 1858;² aside from this, the biota of Lower California was unknown. Spencer Baird was eager to have this area ransacked. He was aware that many puzzles of geographical distribution could be solved once biological specimens from Lower California had been submitted to expert examination. The possibility of exploring the entire peninsula, however, was remote, and the interest of science would be well served by exhaustive collections from one region of the peninsula.

After Xántus had expressed his willingness to explore the vicinity of the Gulf of California, Baird, a member of the Coast Survey Board,³ bethought himself of

¹ E. W. Nelson, 'Lower California and Its Natural Resources,' National Academy of Sciences, *Memoirs*, XVI (1922), first memoir, p. 141.

² Joseph Grinnell, *A Distributional Summation of the Ornithology of Lower California* (Berkeley, 1928), p. 119.

³ P. P. Carpenter, 'Supplementary Report on the Present State of Our Knowledge with Regard to the *Mollusca* of the West Coast of North America,' British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1863, p. 616.

7 Madden: Xántus

obtaining a position in the Coast Survey for his protégé. He turned to Alexander Bache, the Superintendent of the Coast Survey,⁴ and secured for Xántus an appointment as tide observer.⁵ The location chosen was Cape San Lucas, the southern tip of the peninsula, the heart of a biological region sufficiently well marked later to be known as the Cape district. At the same time Baird arranged Xántus's discharge from the army.

In high spirits, Xántus rolled away from Fort Tejon in the overland mail coach on 25 January 1859, and arrived in San Francisco four days later. His exultation at being free after three years of enlisted service in the army was shaken by the reception he received from Lieutenant George H. Elliot, Corps of Engineers, United States Army,⁶ who had charge of tide observations on the Pacific coast for the Coast Survey. Xántus reported to his long-suffering protector, 'I called, the next day after my arrival on Lt. Elliot and introduced me as *John Xántus*. He said that he has no instructions whatever yet, only a short notice from the Washington office; *that if the Hospital Steward from Ft Tejon a Louis Vésey should present himself, to give him instructions in the menagement of the tide gauge, as he is very probably to go to Cape St Lucas as tidal observer*" — You will recollect very well dear Sir, that I *particularly* requested you in my letter of Sept 10th to be called at

⁴ Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-1867), Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey from 1843 to 1867, and Regent of the Smithsonian Institution from its foundation in 1846.

⁵ Remington Kellogg, *Mexican Tailless Amphibians in the United States National Museum* (Washington, 1932), p. 7.

⁶ George Henry Elliot (1831-1900) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1855. From 1857 to 1861 he was assistant engineer in the construction of the defenses of San Francisco Harbor. G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston and New York, 1891-), II, 609-610.

the Coast Survey John Xántus? You forget this point likely, but I had very unpleasant explanations with Lt. Elliot in consequence of this.

'I believe it was altogether superfluous to tell Lt Elliot that I am, or that I was a Hospital Steward, because he (being an officer) received me as a Hospital Steward, in a very haughty manner exactly as an Officer speaks to an enlisted man! He told me to go at once to the presidio, where I could eat and sleep with the Sergeants, and one of them will learn me gauge keeping. I told him not to imagine, that I will require months to learn how to menage a gauge, I will learn it in a few hours, or a couple days, but I have not the slightest intention to live & eat with the Sergeants in the barracks. After many words passing between us, I convinced him apparently, that he has to treat me in a very different manner, because he became gradually a gentleman, yielded to my desire, & read your letters to me.'

Lieutenant Elliot, indeed, had no instructions for Xántus, beyond the injunction to teach him the management of a tide gauge. To this end Xántus visited the gauge at Fort Point, in the Presidio, every morning, and also studied clockmaking. The mechanism intended for Xántus's management was a self-registering gauge, weighing about one-half ton and requiring shelter in a shed; the clock had to be visited every day, and a roll of paper inserted every month. Aside from this daily visit, which could be made by a deputy, the gauge required no care unless it should be damaged or obstructed by storms. At the end of each month about two days were required for the calculation of observations and for reports. As tide observer Xántus would

⁷ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 February 1859, p. 1-2. S. I.

be almost entirely master of his own time,⁸ and he was to receive a salary of one hundred dollars a month.⁹

During his stay in the metropolis of the West, Xántus enjoyed a few tastes of urban life. He wrote to Baird that he had become acquainted with Samuel Hubbard¹⁰ of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, who 'shows me the Elephants of the town, he made me acquainted with all the scientific man in town.'¹¹ 'Dr Trask¹² is particularly kind to me, and so is Dr Ayres,¹³ who both told me, to consider their houses as my own, and command their services no matter how.'¹⁴ 'I got acquainted with Colonel Greason [Grayson]¹⁵ also, who showed [showed] me a letter to him from you, where you stile him "*the Audubon of California*" — The Colonel has a fine . mounted collection of Tehuantepec birds but does not know to distingvish a flycatcher from a dove. . . Last evening I dined with Mr Forbes, where I had the pleasure to meet the whole scientific Corps of the Oregon Boundary Commission who came down for provisions. Mr Park [Parke]¹⁶ is particularly a very fine

⁸ Ibid. p. 2-3.

⁹ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 5 March 1859, p. 1. S. I.

¹⁰ Samuel Hubbard (1831-1912) came to California in 1850 as clerk of U. S. Brig *Dolphin*.

¹¹ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 February 1859, p. 3. S. I.

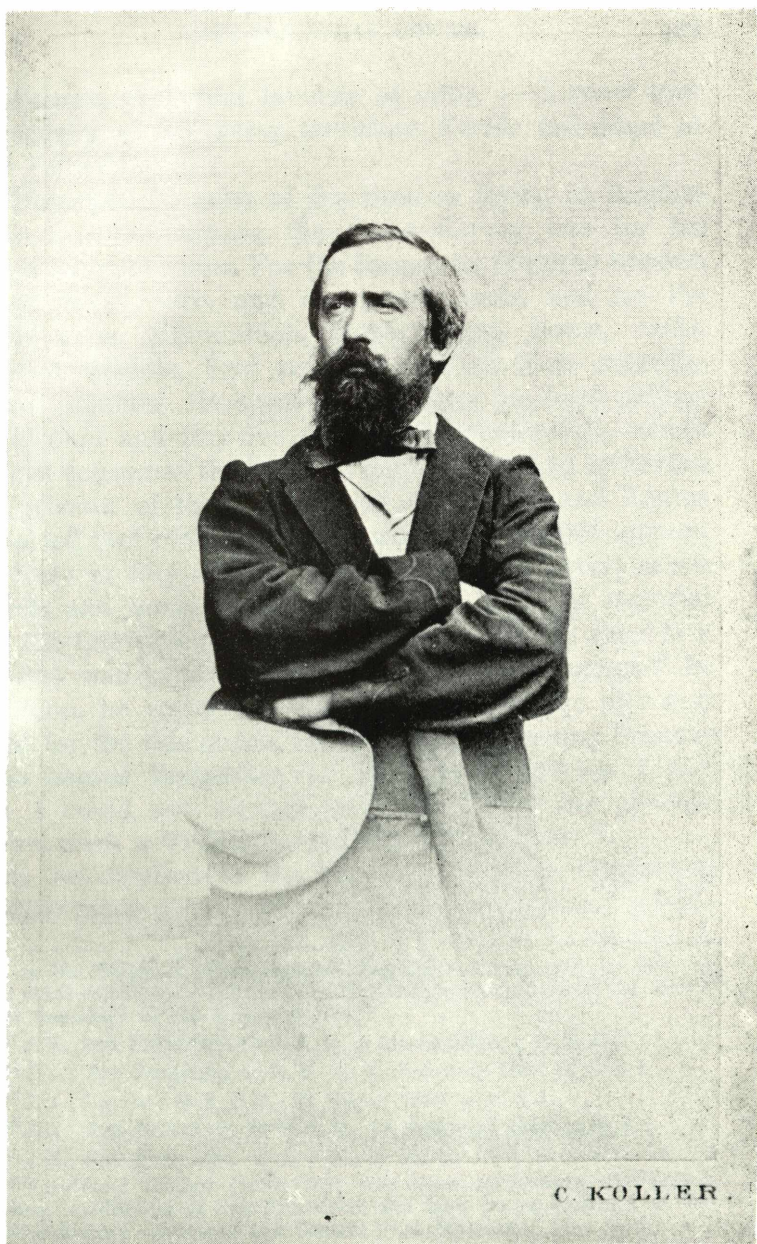
¹² John Boardman Trask (1824-1879), a graduate of Yale College, was a practising physician in San Francisco. He edited the first medical journal published on the Pacific coast, and was first state geologist of California.

¹³ William Orville Ayres (1817-1887) was a graduate of Yale College. He became a member of the California Academy of Sciences in 1854, and served as its secretary.

¹⁴ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 11 February 1859, p. 2. S. I.

¹⁵ Andrew Jackson Grayson (1819-1869) came overland to California in 1846. He collected birds in California and Mexico, and received a commission (never executed) from the Emperor Maximilian to prepare a Mexican equivalent of Audubon's *Birds of America*.

¹⁶ John Grubb Parke (1827-1900) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1849. In 1856 he was promoted first lieutenant.



Xántus, ca. 1862

gentleman, and great favorite of mine. — I know now personally almost every notorious *Pacific* individual of our color!¹⁷

Xántus spent much of his time in laying in supplies both for his duty in the Coast Survey and for his projected collections. For the former he required lumber, sheet metal, wire, and carpenter's tools, and for the latter guns, ammunition, traps, seines, boxes, casks, alcohol, arsenic, field registers and all their miscellaneous adjuncts. He spent forty dollars for forty gallons of alcohol and fifty-five dollars for ammunition, which almost consumed the hundred dollars advanced by Forbes on account of the Smithsonian Institution, and Xántus reported that other purchases would exceed this amount by forty or fifty dollars. Altogether he had twenty-seven chests and boxes, and twelve heavy boxes of material for the tide observations.¹⁸ By the time of his departure Xántus was cumbered with nine tons of baggage.¹⁹ In addition, he engaged a carpenter to build the pier and shed for the tide gauge,²⁰ and recruited a young Frenchman named Berlandier 'to assist in everything. I pay (as I could not arrange with Mr Elliot) his passage down, wich is 65 dollars, and than \$30 a month."²¹

In anticipation of his harvest in Lower California, Xántus made a compact with Ferdinand Gruber,²² a taxi-

ant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers. From 1857 to 1861 he was chief astronomer and surveyor for the determination of the north-west boundary of the United States.

¹⁷ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 5 March 1859, p. 6, 8. S. I.

¹⁸ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 11 February 1859, p. 4. S. I.

¹⁹ J. X., La Paz, to S. F. B., 29 March 1859, p. 4. S. I.

²⁰ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 11 February 1859, p. 3. S. I.

²¹ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 5 March 1859, p. 4. S. I.

²² Ferdinand Gruber (1830-1907) was born in Saxony. He was a leading taxidermist of San Francisco, and later became curator of the natural history section of the Central Park Museum.

dermist, for the exchange of birds and eggs from Cape San Lucas for specimens from the Farallon Islands, thirty miles west of San Francisco.²³ To Thomas M. Brewer Xántus pledged his best efforts in the collection of eggs and nests, which would be made available for him at the Smithsonian Institution.²⁴

Xántus's sojourn in San Francisco was protracted until 14 March. The impatient collector had continuing difficulties with Lieutenant Elliot 'who has unfortunately some know nothing principles about him, & was very willing to destroy everything.'²⁵ Elliot refused to advance a quarter's salary to Xántus, who complained indignantly to Baird, 'Just imagine yourself, that I shall go out with a carpenter to La paz & about 5 tons fr[e]ight, hire then some craft to carry me to the Cape, engage laborers & pay the carpenter to build pier & gauge house, & live besides 3 months; then send up to M^r Elliot my vouchers for my 3 months pay, & exspect the remittance of the 300 dollars. By this plan I had to wait for my first 1/4-ly pay at least 7 or 8 months, & it is hard to imagine how & by what means I could subsist for such a length of time; having no fortune of my own.' Lieutenant Churchill intervened in the dispute and told Elliot that the latter could trust Xántus 'some picayunes' or he would advise Xántus to resign; Elliot reconsidered, agreed to pay the freight charges, and advanced Xántus three months' pay. 'Lt Elliot changed considerably for

²³ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 4 February 1859, p. 3; 5 March, p. 6. S. I.

²⁴ J. X., San Francisco [to T. M. Brewer], 3 March 1859; in the archives of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University. Brewer is not given as the addressee, but that the letter is addressed to him is evident from the contents.

²⁵ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 5 March 1859 (morning), p. 1, 7. S. I.

the last few days, I might say he was even polite and kind.²⁶

The penchant for falsehood which Xántus normally restricted to impressing distant audiences brought him to an embarrassing impasse in San Francisco. Lieutenant Robert S. Williamson, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who had charge of meteorological observations on the Pacific coast, asked Xántus to make barometric observations at his new station. As Xántus explained the matter to Baird, 'I did not wish [to] refuse his request and on the other hand I would not take such a burden on me, which certainly would [be of] no benefit whatever by my collecting; therefore I made the stupid excuse, that I was very willing to do so, but I am already engaged to make such observations for the Smithsonian Institution, therefore I could not *properly* duplicate the observations for him. His statement was exactly by which he caught me by telling that his observations were made in concert & community with the Smithsonian Institution, shoved me a letter to this effect from Prof Henry, & insisted for the observations; I promised him to do so, if I can, & if they not hinder my other — very multifarious — operations. He is consequently under the impression, that I am already supplied with a barometer by the Smithsonian Inst., which is certainly not the case; therefore *if you think* sir, that such observations would be *really* important & useful, I would make them or get somebody to make them under my superintendence, if you would send me out a barometer at once. — I am perfectly well acquainted with the management & use of it, and Lt Williamson offered to pay every month some com-

²⁶ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 5 March 1859, p. 1, 7. S. I.

pensation, should the observations be regularly made."²⁷ Xántus was really caught in his own snare, for six months after his arrival at Cape San Lucas he reported to Baird that the barometer had not yet arrived.²⁸

On the eve of his departure from San Francisco for Cape San Lucas, a spot remote from commerce and bound to communication only by the calls of occasional whalers and coastal schooners, Xántus wrote warmly to Baird: 'You know I am a very attentive (although not amusing) correspondent, & so you know that my epistles if not frequently, occasionally . . . will reach you, giving full details of my operations. If you write me only less than half so much, I might anticipate enough reading matter also, — may I hope you will do so?'²⁹ There is a trace of melancholy in these words which Xántus's contemplation of his prospective isolation could well have justified. In better spirits he sailed on 14 March 1859 aboard the Hamburg bark *Wilhelm Kirchner*, accompanied by Berlandier and the carpenter and his nine tons of impedimenta. Aided by a fair wind, the bark sighted Guadalupe Island, 135 miles off the coast of northern Lower California, on 17 March. The ship was becalmed the entire day, and the captain landed a boat at Xántus's request.

This is the first recorded scientific exploration of Guadalupe Island; Xántus's account is consequently of great interest. 'The island is of the shape of a ham and guarded on the north end by 3 immense Rocks, & by 5 perpendicular ones on the south side. All those

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 2-3.

²⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 7. S. I. All letters of Xántus to Baird, in this chapter, unless otherwise cited, are from Cape San Lucas.

²⁹ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 13 March 1859, p. 2. S. I.

Rocks were covered by countless birds, seals, & sea Elephants, & there were innumerable turtles on the beach. — The island is 15 miles long from N to S, and 8 miles wide at the widest part. The island has a fine cove, where vessels of any size might anchor, but the entrance cannot be effected with Eastern gales, which blow continuously from July to November, as the entrance is not protected from E. — The cove on the S point of the land is only by small boats accessible, as it is entirely covered with sunken rocks, and there are very high rollers which can be heard at great distance like thunder of cannons. — The whole island is of a volcanic formation, rising up to the height of 2500 feet, and covered entirely with gigantic cactacea of innumerable genera & species, and some acacias. Along the cove there are groves of high heavy timber, and some tall palms, as there is a fine Spring discharging copious water into the sea. I noticed but a few land birds; a jay, a guiraca, 2 species of swallows, and some small parus like birds all unknown to me. I noticed also a Caprimulgus, the fish crow, the *Zonothrychia leucophrys*, & the *Emberiza grammaca*; so a Buzard much like the *B. Swainsonii*. — Of mammals we noticed two specimens of a dark colored *Lepus* with extremely long ears, but considerably smaller to the *L. Californ.* — There are plenty white rats likewise, which build their peculiar nests on the *Cereus giganteus*; and we saw many tracks of mice, but we could not see the last. The island is well wooded & well watered, there are fine places for a tide gauge also, and in addition there are about 10 thousand goats on the island, which would furnish abundantly fresh meat, as it coast [cost] only bullet & powder. — As the island is not inhabited, & far from land, naturally it is the rendezvous of millions of sea fowls during

the breeding season; and I believe it would be a good station for some few branches of natural History.³⁰

The voyage was resumed the next day, and Cape San Lucas was sighted on 22 March. Because Cape San Lucas was not a port of entry, Xántus could not land his baggage, but he did debark Berlandier and the carpenter; he continued on to La Paz, arriving there on 26 March. The letters of recommendation which had been given to Xántus afforded him a warm reception and absolved him of customs duties. 'The bishop was particularly kind, more so because I could speak with him in latin, which language he speaks quite fluently. — The governor Don Garzaga offered even me a military escort across the land, should I prefer to go to the Cape by land. He invited me to his house, and introduced [me] to all the influential populace of the town — in short everybody extended his utmost hospitality & kindness, and many gentlemen promised to visit me soon at the Cape.' Heeding his duties, Xántus chartered a small schooner to carry his baggage to the Cape and sailed from La Paz on 30 March.³¹

Cape San Lucas, which Xántus reached on 4 April, did not present a welcoming aspect to the tide observer.³² The nearest town, San José del Cabo, was thirty miles

³⁰ J. X., La Paz, to S. F. B., 29 March 1859, p. 1-3. S. I. In this letter Xántus wrote 'We were several hours on the island & had a good hunt' (p. 1). Unfortunately, no specimens of the peculiar fauna appear to be preserved. The island is twenty-two by six miles, and 4500 feet high. It has previously been thought that the first scientific exploration of Guadalupe Island was that of Dr Edward Palmer, in 1875 (Nelson, loc. cit. p. 141). The first recorded specimens of the eight species of birds peculiar to Guadalupe Island were taken by Palmer in 1875 (Grinnell, op. cit. p. 7, 113, 127, 157, 170, 181, 215, 218, 236).

³¹ J. X., La Paz, to S. F. B., 29 March 1859, p. 3-4. S. I.

³² The station was officially established on 30 April 1859. U. S. Coast Survey, *Report of the Superintendent*, 1860, p. 178.

away. There were few habitants at the Cape itself, and only one foreigner, an Englishman named Thomas Ritchie.³³ Even this scant society was denied Xántus, because the only suitable location for the tide gauge was seven miles distant from Ritchie's house. Xántus was obliged to pitch a camp in this remote spot, and to have water carried in goatskins from Ritchie's brackish well. 'The winds blows to hard all the time, and upsets every now & then my tent, as there is nothing but quick sand to fasten the pegs in. Besides it is to small, & so we have to sleep on the top of the boxes... The whole shore is sand for about 1/4 of a mile, & then commences a cactus desert about 6 miles deep, which is again girded on the Pacific side & north side by mountains of 5 & 6000' hight... There is not a single tree for many miles, if we except the Cactuses, of which there is infinite variety, and some of them (as the *Cereus giganteus*) raising so high as 60 and even more feet. The whole ground for miles is covered with saline effervescence, which makes painful to look for the eyes, and extremely difficult to walk on, as you sink in like deep sand. After this brief but dark topographical introduction you probably imagine my mission a failure at large —, but you are greatly mistaken. As regards my situation I will try to make out of it the best, and as for specimens (it is hard to believe but it is still so) there is a great quantity of birds, good many mammals, and what the most ashtonishing — an infinite variety of snakes and lizards, some of them of an enormous size, as the whipsnakes, ratlesnakes, and the Iguanas. There is on the contrary not a single

³³ Ritchie was a carpenter, and had resided at the Cape since 1829. U. U. Lassépas, *De la colonizacion de la Baja California y decreto de 10 de marzo de 1857* (Mexico, 1859), p. 154.

water bird to be seen; Mr Ritchie however tells me, that they are gone to Socoro island to breed, and about June they will certainly astonish me by their immense numbers. Of course the time is too short yet, to give you anything like a synopsis of the fauna, although I commenced already in earnest operations — almost in every branch of Nat. History.³⁴

Xántus's situation, then, was compounded of personal isolation and professional opportunity. This combination prevailed during his stay at the Cape, and was more than adequately exploited. During the two years that Xántus was destined to remain in Lower California he was almost constantly at the isolated Cape. Even if his own inclination and ambition had not driven him to intensive labor, there was little in his surroundings to seduce him from natural history. He made occasional visits to San José del Cabo, and his collecting led him on a few expeditions further afield. These latter were confined to an exploration of the coast in the direction of the Gulf of California, touching Cape Los Mártires (June 1859), and to excursions inland to Todos Santos (July-August 1859), Santa Anita and Miraflores (ca. October-December 1859), Santiago (December 1859-January 1860), and the Sierra de Santiago and San Lázaro (January 1860). He revisited Cape Los Mártires (January 1860), went inland to the Sierra Santa Gertrudis (January 1861), and visited Andrew J. Grayson at Mazatlán on the mainland, returning by way of La Paz (June-July 1861).³⁵

³⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 April 1859, p. 1-4. S. I.

³⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 July 1859, p. 1; 10 August, p. 1-2; Santiago, 28 December, p. 1; Cape Los Mártires, 25 January 1860, p. 1; 26 January 1861, p. 1; Mazatlán, 19 June, p. 1. S. I. J. X., S. S. *Panama*, off Magdalena Bay, to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 8 August 1861, p. 1. Bancroft Library, University of California. The letters from Xántus to

Excluding this last visit to Mazatlán and La Paz, Xántus was never more than seventy-five miles, as the crow flies, from his station; it will also be observed that Xántus's range of personal collection was confined to the southern part of the Cape district, that most of his traveling was done between his arrival in April 1859 and January 1860, and that during the remaining eighteen months of his stay he was absent from Cape San Lucas only twice. The importance of these facts cannot be overstressed. The geographical nomenclature of Lower California is repetitious and unstable, and the localities attributed to specimens taken by Xántus do not always correspond with recent nomenclature. Xántus was, furthermore, indefinite in his labels, and inclined to overestimate the distance of his excursions from the Cape. There has been, therefore, great uncertainty as to Xántus's itinerary; this has enormously complicated the study of the geographical distribution of Lower California fauna. It is commonly believed by many biologists that Xántus collected in an area extending three hundred and fifty miles to the north of Cape San Lucas. On the other hand, some scientists have been too harsh in attacking the validity of habitats claimed by Xántus for his specimens. For example, W. G. Binney attributed *Bulimulus inscendens* to an area three hundred and fifty miles north of the Cape,³⁶ whereas J. G. Cooper stated, 'Mr. J. Xantus (de Vesey) was employed by the U. S. Coast Survey for 18 [sic]

Baird, three in number, between 12 October and 28 December 1859, are missing; it is therefore impossible to adduce Xántus's exact itinerary while in the vicinity of Santa Anita and Miraflores. The geographical nomenclature here given is Xántus's own; some of the names do not correspond with the current nomenclature.

³⁶ W. G. Binney, *Land and Fresh Water Shells of North America* (Washington, 1865-1869), I, 93.

months, ending July 1861, as tidal observer at the Cape in 1859-1861, and from the nature of his duties was not permitted to go a day's journey from his post.³⁷ The fact is that the tide gauge was self-registering; the clock movement required periodic winding, but this duty could have been attended to by Berlandier, Xántus's assistant. The tide records covered the period from 30 April 1859 to 28 July 1861; these rolls, embracing each about thirty days, (except those for the period 17 June to 17 August 1860) are preserved in the records of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington. Xántus's name was signed to each of these rolls, except the roll covering the period 17 August to 20 September 1860.³⁸ It is therefore evident that Xántus could not have traveled a great distance from his station, for the rolls had to be forwarded at least quarterly to Lieutenant Elliot. It is equally evident that Xántus was not obliged to remain in the immediate vicinity of the tide gauge.

The entire course of Xántus's scientific work at Cape San Lucas was affected by his relations with the Coast Survey, and the character of his collection cannot properly be understood without an appreciation of them. It is apparent from a study of Xántus's career at Fort Tejon that he was impatient of routine and captious toward his superiors. At Cape San Lucas, though the tide observer was free of immediate supervision, he still had routine duties to perform and distant superiors to satisfy. He had no possibility of softening the judgment to be passed on the tide gauge rolls, the sole evidence

³⁷ J. G. Cooper, 'On Land and Fresh Water Shells of Lower California,' California Academy of Sciences, *Proceedings*, ser. 2, III (1890-1892), 100.

³⁸ Acting Director, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, to the author, 2 December 1937, 6, 12 August 1938.

of his attention to duty. These rolls for the first four months Xántus sent to Lieutenant Elliot for tabulation. In September 1859, reporting to Baird the dispatch of the rolls, Xántus wrote that he believed Elliot would be disappointed, because the tide was expected to reach twelve or more feet, but turned out to be lower than in San Francisco.³⁹ A month later Xántus made a more revealing statement; he recommended that if Baird should receive complaints from Elliot about the tide observations, he should bear in mind that Xántus was laboring under handicaps, that the breakwater could not be repaired after a storm, and that Elliot was partly to blame because of his 'avaricious' handling of the outfit.⁴⁰ The difficulty of communication between Cape San Lucas, San Francisco, and Washington delayed correspondence between the three parties; as late as February 1860 Xántus was able to write to Baird that he was surprised that Elliot had not sent in the reports from Cape San Lucas to the Washington office of the Coast Survey.⁴¹ As a matter of fact, in January Elliot had written to Superintendent Bache that notwithstanding the explicit instructions which he had given the observer the rolls for July and August were very imperfect.⁴² In a matter as precise and mechanical as the keeping of tide records dissatisfaction could be caused only by incompetence or dereliction, and both Elliot and Bache correctly surmised that the latter was the root of the trouble. Bache took up the matter with Secretary Henry,

³⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 10. S. I.

⁴⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 12 October 1859, p. 4. S. I.

⁴¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 February 1860, p. 3. S. I.

⁴² G. H. Elliot, San Francisco, to A. D. Bache, Washington, 19 January 1860, p. 1. S. I. During July and August, Xántus was at Todos Santos.

and proposed that Xántus be given a further trial; if his observations failed to be acceptable, his employment should be discontinued.⁴³

Before this decision was communicated to Xántus by Lieutenant Elliot, Xántus had sent, early in April 1860, a circumstantial explanation to Baird. 'It will be well enough, if I give you a short history of my Coast Survey operations, as it seems there is some misrepresentation of the affair in Washington, else Prof Bache would consider the subject in quite other light.

'Lt Elliot told me openly often, that he liked to go to the Cape himself, either alone or with me; and that he could not dispatch me before he hears in this respect the opinion of the Superintendent. Two months & more passed so, until his application was refused, and even then he told to Mr Parks [Parke] & several others, that it is strange the office gives preference to a Steward who is besides a foreigner etc. He then dispatched me at last, but said he could not advance me a cent for building & other expenses, before they are done. At last principally at the intervention of Lt. Churchill he agreed to pay may [my] salary for 5 months, out of which I shall pay the expenses, he to reimburse me afterwards. In fact he advanced only 3 months, as 2 month pay were already due to me.

'I inspected the lumber he purchased with Mr Szabo,⁴⁴ who is well acquainted with the tidal building, and told to Lt Elliot, that according Mr Szabos estimate, the lumber was not half enough. The Lt replied, that the

⁴³ A. D. Bache to Joseph Henry, Washington, 13 February 1860, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁴⁴ T. A. Szabó was an employee of the Coast Survey. He collected birds at Bodega in 1855 for the Smithsonian Institution, and was thus not unknown to Baird. From his name one may presume him to be a compatriot of Xántus.

Master Carpenter knows better than Mr Szabo, and the lumber *most* [must] be enough, he does not buy more.

'He engaged further a carpenter at \$4⁰⁰ a day which I had to pay to the carpenter.

'So *in fact* with an advance of \$345 I had to start out for Lapaz, to charter from there a vessel to carry me to the Cape, pay the Carpenter & laborers during the work, and to subsist 6 months!

'Arriving in Cape San Lucas, I spended already over 100 dollars in & from Lapaz, and commenced to put up the tide building. Naturally enough I had to put [it] up in such place, and in such manner, that the buildings expenditures shall not exceed the money in my possession. I could not build a pier, or any other extensive work — natural enough — but limit myself to the most economical manner.

'I put up reluctantly the building after Mr Ritchies advise, who is a resident here over 30 years, and supposed to know the locality. Besides I put up the building at the very same spot, where Capt Belcher had his tide staff a few years ago.

'Securing the clock principally against gales, I could not get *economically* more water than 1½ feet, at the lowest tide in April. Had I means or authority to construct the building according my insight, I had built a dam or pier into the sea, in deeper water; and every observation had been more correct & complete to the least 100^{ths}. The consequence of my disability in means was, that my breakwater changed somewhat the current in the bay, which accumulated sand on the Rocks, and from time to time the water shallowed more, so that since months the float of the tide clock is nearly or quite dry at lowest tide. To get lowest water I had of course not the means, to change the locality of the ob-

servatory, but still I did everything in my power to remedy the fault of the location, in taking at every low tide *hourly* observations on the boxed staff gauge.

'Mr Szabos estimate proved correct, as the lumber in fact was not half enough for the purpose, which I had to buy here at very high price, so I had to buy iron bolts, shingles, & many other items, not furnished to me at all, although Lt. Elliot mentioned all these items in his directions.

'After I put up the building in a most economical, but notwithstanding very secure manner, (as the time of the gales demonstrated), I had left in my pocket 17 dollars, to subsist on 5 or 6 months, although the water coast [cost] me alone nearly 10 dollars a month. I had a most miserable life & subsistence during nearly half a year, indebted to almost everybody around the Cape, & for months subsisting mainly on birds, fish, & crabs, obtained with gun, hooks, or hands. — Besides I was furnished only with one small tent, in which I had to keep everything I had, and to sleep on the toop of the boxes.

'I wrote November last to Lt. Elliot, that the whole foundation of the observatory was eaten up by the seaworms, & perfectly rotten, requesting him to send me lumber by returning chance. He wrote my [me] February 1st that he will send some; but although 4 vessels arrived here since that time from San Francisco, he has not sent any, nor wrote he a single line. — At present I have to brace almost every week the building with cactuses, (the only wood found here), the only means to keep up the observatory.

'Of course if I had means to my command, I could mend the observatory, that it would work like any other in the U. S., I understand well the principle, and know

very well the nature of the defect; as well as anybody else; the whole principle is the simplest thing in the world.

'I am extremely sorry that Prof Bache thinks the fault is mine, and that I am neglecting the interests of the C. S. for the sake of other pursuits. I took very great pains to reap a credit although under most disagreeable and annoying circumstances, I expended not only my whole pay for the interest of the observations, but also a considerable amount of my private means, received since my arrival here. If I could not satisfy Prof Bache, my reasons I confidently hope will satisfy him, that the fault was not mine; I had a good will, zeal, & intention to do my best, this I say upon my honor; and if I had contributed largely to the Natural History, in exploring the flora & fauna of this little known section of the continent; I had certainly not done it on the expense of the Interest of the C. S. I have done it in times, which other men undoubtedly had spent in repose. My habit is never to be idle, always at work!

'I wrote all this, that you might dear Sir communicate of it such extracts to Prof Bache, as you think necessary, for the vindication of my reputation, which I hope you will be able to do.'⁴⁵

The next mail in April from San Francisco brought Xántus the opportunity for vindication. Elliot had received instructions from Washington either to discontinue the station or to retain Xántus, paying him only for acceptable sheets; he had decided upon the latter course to permit Xántus to relieve himself of the

⁴⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 17-24. S. I.

supposition that he had devoted 'time belonging to the Coast Survey, to the interests of Professor Baird.' To Baird Xántus wrote, 'At first when I received this letter, I intended to resign myself, but after further consideration I decided not to give Lt Elliot the satisfaction, that I am incompetent or neglected my Duty; I therefore made an agreement with Capt Ritchie of this place, who against my promissory notes furnished me \$500 in cash. I sent at once to Mazatlan for carpenter, blacksmith, watchmaker, and many other necessaries; which all arrived a few days ago, and am putting up at present *on my own expense* a new observatory, which will be doubtless as perfect in working (when completed), as any others in the Coast Survey service. I have done this great sacrifice to show, that good will and attachment to my Duty, I always had on my part, and to show, that the faults in my observations were not the result of my ignorance.'⁴⁶

In May and June Xántus reported that he was camping on the rocks in order to be near the gauge. To reduce his expenses in the face of his indebtedness, he wrote, 'I was under the necessity of hauling in all my sails. — I discharged Mr Berlandier, who already left for San Francisco, and am at present quite alone with an old indian woman & her boy, who cook for me and do the most indispensable work.'⁴⁷ 'I am far from any shade whatever, & am constantly on the sandhill, under a vertical sun. My position is of course almost unsufferable, but I am firmly determined to hold out against all physical hindrances, until the service requires; as my honor has been assailed, a point for the vindication

⁴⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 24 April 1860, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁴⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 May 1860, p. 1. S. I.

of which I am always ready to steak anything, and sacrifice everything.⁴⁸

While Xántus was striving to win commendation, and before his new reports had reached Washington,⁴⁹ his fate was still the balance. In May Bache wrote to Baird, 'I have not changed any thing in the instructions to Lieut: Elliott, & infer from his letters that his patience with Mr. X., which has been much more exemplary than mine, is giving way & that he will soon close his connection with the Coast Survey. I wish he had ever remained X to us. If he makes himself useful to you, it might be good policy for the Smithsonian to assume the payment of his wages, in case he does not give us satisfaction, which I feel pretty certain he cannot, or will not. It is indeed a bad case & nothing but his remoteness & Lieut Elliot's forbearance have kept him employed so long.'⁵⁰ Elliot's forbearance broadened, for Xántus wrote to Baird that 'Mr Elliot changed good deal lately, he formerly used to send me his orders written on a piece of indifferent paper, with pencil generally, without any adress (as Sir or so), and signing his name & titles solely. At present he writes me with ink, in a letter form, addresses me "dear sir" and signs himself "your obt servt".'⁵¹

The way for these formal courtesies had been paved by Bache, who expressed to Baird his satisfaction with the tide rolls received in Washington in September.

⁴⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 12 June 1860, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁴⁹ Xántus addressed himself to Baird, 'I would beg you to look after the sheet, & its effect when arriving in Washington.' Ibid.

⁵⁰ A. D. Bache to S. F. B., 18 May 1860, p. 1. S. I. In February Xántus had empowered Baird to present some mounted birds to Bache (J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 5. S. I.); this *douceur*, if made, obviously had no effect.

⁵¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 August 1860, p. 4. S. I.

Xántus, in acknowledging this intelligence, wrote, 'I was glad to hear this, and I hope Prof Bache will be not so severe hereafter.'⁵² Between Elliot and Xántus relations did not become entirely smooth until the end of the year.⁵³ At that time Xántus reported that Elliot had found no fault with the tide gauge rolls, and had decided to retain Xántus at Cape San Lucas for another year, in order to make up the time that was lost. The expenses incurred by Xántus in refitting the station were defrayed by Elliot.⁵⁴

At all events, the latter part of the year 1860 was more satisfactory from the point of view of the Coast Survey than the period from April 1859 to June 1860. Xántus's extensive trips into the interior had ended in January 1860, probably because of his anxiety about the unsatisfactory state of the tide reports made during this period of great collecting activity. From January until May Xántus was attempting to shore up both his subsiding observatory and his reputation, and after May, with a fresh start, he gave the bulk of his attention to the Coast Survey duties. By January 1861 he felt sufficiently secure to instruct 'an intelligent young Mexican' in the routine formerly performed by Berlandier, and looked forward to another visit to the mountainous interior.⁵⁵

During the summer of 1861 Xántus received instructions to disestablish the station and to return to Washington.⁵⁶ The circumstances which surrounded the decision

⁵² J. X. to S. F. B., 30 November 1860, p. 1. S. I.

⁵³ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 August 1860, p. 4; 5 September, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁵⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 December 1860, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 January 1861, p. 3. S. I.

⁵⁶ J. X., S. S. *Panama*, off Magdalena Bay, to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 8 August 1861, p. 1-2. Bancroft Library, University of California. The station was officially discontinued on 28 July 1861. U. S. Coast Survey, loc. cit. 1861, p. 133.

are not known, but they did not irrevocably deprive Xántus of the possibility of employment in the Coast Survey.⁵⁷ The ill-feeling and mutual suspicion which had existed even before Xántus's departure from San Francisco in 1859 had clouded the three-cornered alliance; Baird was guilty of a slight error of judgment in recommending Xántus for a position requiring a monotonous preciseness which his protégé did not have by temperament, Elliot was hypercritical, and Xántus was too ready to dodge blame for his own mistakes. From the viewpoint exclusively of the Coast Survey it would undoubtedly have been better if Xántus 'had ever remained X'; yet the results of his labor were not so unsatisfactory as to demand his peremptory dismissal, and only the alliance of the Smithsonian Institution and the Coast Survey made possible Xántus's pioneer biological exploration of Lower California.

If the demands of his position as tide observer may be considered as a general impediment to Xántus in his pursuit of natural history, he had other specific ones as well. Eight months after his arrival at Cape San Lucas he began to lament political disturbances which made his position insecure. 'I leave [live] here in camp, in a country, where the only government form is anarchy, & everybody does unpunished what he pleases; ladrones predominating. To protect the interests of the Coast Survey I was even under the necessity of proceeding farther: At present there are two parties in the Country, in San Jose a conservative government, in Lapaz a liberal. In addition Todos Santos proclaimed lately inde-

⁵⁷ Xántus wrote to Baird, desiring of him a position in Washington and suggesting that a spot might be found in the office of Lieutenant William Petit Trowbridge (1828-1892), scientific secretary to the Superintendent of the Coast Survey. J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 20 August 1861, p. 4. S. I.

pendent of both. Each party holds a force and depredates the property of their antagonists, laying waste the whole country. Lately the San Jose vagabonds went over to Cap San Lucas, & demanded of me \$25 as license for the tidegauge. I paid it under protest. Soon after came the liberals, and under the plea, that I helped the conservadores, carried off *as punishment* one of my guns, 1 keg gunpowder, & killed for their dinner my cow!!!⁵⁸ A similar tussle between the liberals and conservatives at Mazatlán deprived Baird of three boxes which Xántus had forwarded from San José del Cabo in November 1859, together with three letters describing the important explorations in the interior between October and December 1859. The boxes contained 210 birds, 14 mammals, 10 skulls, 14 packages of geological specimens, 42 bottles of spirituous, and 2 five-gallon cans of alcoholic specimens. The loss occurred when the liberals commandeered the bark *Adelaide* (Captain Nye), which was to take the shipment to San Francisco, to pursue a brig-of-war hijacked by the conservatives; the *Adelaide* returned after an unsuccessful chase during which the three boxes disappeared.⁵⁹

Depredations of this kind sharpened Xántus's meditations on political subjects, and the visit of a new governor in March 1860 gave him the occasion to commend American imperialism. The governor 'was a whole day my guest, took much pleasure in looking over my collections on hand... He said unreservedly that it would be the greatest benefit if the U. S. would take possession of the country, he was much against such thing before, but he desires now that another (a more practicable) race should rule the country, else Mexico

⁵⁸ J. X., Santiago, to S. F. B., 28 December 1859, p. 4. S. I.

⁵⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 February 1860, p. 1. S. I.

is lost very soon for civilisation, anarchy & war of extermination will rule over her from one end to the other. You must excuse my politizing dear Sir, but we leave here amongst revolutions, & all our thoughts are somewhat assimilated with such ideas.⁶⁰

Eight months later the peninsula was still in turmoil, but a device reminiscent of the mounted birds for Major Blake and Superintendent Bache protected Xántus from the annoyances of strife. He wrote to Baird, 'The whole country is again in full revolution, there are 3 governors ruling each having his own army, and fighting against each other. I had no difficulties whatever this time, all parties know me now, and treated me always nicely when they came to the Cape. — This is principally attributable to the circumstance, that there being no drugstore or Doctor in the whole country, I volunteered sometimes to cure my neighbours, and with such success I performed some simple cases, that at present I am generally considered as the greatest Doctor of the age. As I never asked — of course — for any remuneration, I became naturally very popular, and there is nobody I think in the whole country who has any bad feeling towards me. . . The Mexicans are very good people in general; and all the eelfeeling towards foreigners was created by Walker,⁶¹ and Captain Stone,⁶² who both acted certainly very unjustly towards the poor, unoffending people.'⁶³ On the whole, the political dis-

⁶⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 March 1860, p. 4. S. I.

⁶¹ William Walker (1824-1860), the filibuster. He had proclaimed himself president of the independent republic of Lower California in 1853.

⁶² Charles Pomeroy Stone (1824-1887), a graduate of the United States Military Academy in 1845. After resigning his commission he led a Mexican surveying party to explore the public lands of Sonora and Lower California in 1857-1860.

⁶³ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 November 1860, p. 3-4. S. I.

equilibrium of Lower California was less a hindrance to Xántus's scientific work than the opposition of his superiors had been at Fort Tejon.

As at Fort Tejon, Xántus had difficulties at the Cape in arranging transportation for his specimens. In the first place, there was a chronic shortage of boxes, bottles, and cans. 'I dont know . . . what to do with boxes, for sending in specimens. Everything is put up in this country in cowhides, palm leaves, or willow baskets, and a box — when introduced by somebody — is purchased at high prices for furniture etc.'⁶⁴ On another occasion Xántus explained to Baird that he could not send large alcoholic specimens because he had only one tank which he required for keeping acquisitions, and that if another were sent out, a permanent exchange could be effected.⁶⁵ These shortages were only preliminary to the chief problem of shipping, which was constantly vexing. The boxes of specimens were frequently kept by Xántus at the Cape, awaiting chance calls from whalers, but if they became too numerous he was obliged to have them carried by small coasters to La Paz, there to be transshipped to San Francisco, either directly or by way of Mazatlán. During the latter part of his stay Xántus prevailed upon the army quartermaster in San Francisco, through the intermediation of Baird, to have the schooner which carried supplies to Fort Yuma and to Lieutenant Ives's party call at the Cape.⁶⁶ This service, however, was not dependable, for Xántus occasionally referred in his letters to Baird to the sight of United States brigs passing the Cape without

⁶⁴ J. X., La Paz, to S. F. B., 29 March 1859, p. 6. S. I.

⁶⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 June 1859, p. 1. S. I.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 3-4.

touching.⁶⁷ The infrequency of communication, nevertheless, did not dull Xántus's enthusiasm for collecting.

To one of Xántus's temperament, eagerly seeking advancement and renown, the presence of other naturalists in the vicinity could well have appeared as an annoyance rather than a stimulus. The attitude which Xántus actually had toward other collectors he expressed in characteristic fashion to Baird. 'You consider Cape San Lucas quite a Zoological mine, thats true but it requires still a *miner* to raise up the treasure. I wish if the gentlemen, who generally atribute results to localities, would come here, & would try to run opposition to my operations; they would be soon convinced that mere locality is not enough to store up novelties; the good locality is also only good, when there is *somebody* who dont knows trouble, expense, loss of time, & danger, and never regards rain, sun, cold etc but pitches in any time and always. — Dixi!⁶⁸ Xántus scorned the field naturalists who gave full descriptions for a bird seen on the wing. On one occasion he had caught a glimpse of a beautiful and rare bird, called by the natives a *pittoreal*, and despite his eagerness to record it he disclaimed intention of following this reprehensible practice.⁶⁹

Xántus had little reason, however, to anticipate anyone's running opposition to him in Lower California; during his stay he mentioned only three other naturalists — a Frenchman at Todos Santos named Fasseau, who was prospecting for pearl shells,⁷⁰ another Frenchman,

⁶⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 30 March 1860, p. 1. S. I.

⁶⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 May 1860, p. 2-3. S. I.

⁶⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 11-12. S. I.

⁷⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 August 1859, p. 5. S. I.

Dr Breton, resident in La Paz,⁷¹ and Dr John A. Veatch, an American. About the last Xántus wrote spitefully: 'Lately appeared in a San Francisco Paper a long account of an exploration made by a certain Dr Vitch to the Cerros [Cedros] island. He says he cannot say about birds, as he is not an ornithologist, they appear the same ones with those of San Francisco (!). He boasts that he collected 9 different kind of fishes, out of which he supposes 2 new ones. He collected further 72 kinds of plants, 4 supposed new. He speaks about a deer found on the island, but could secure none. About crabs, insects, & reptiles he is quite silent. He spent there 2 months, with 2 assistants & the crew of his schooner.'⁷²

Although Xántus derided his fellow naturalists, he made wide use of his assistant, of non-competing acquaintances, and of natives in enlarging his collections. He expected contributions from Berlandier, who not only maintained the tide gauge during Xántus's absence, but also, according to his master, made a trip to Santa Margarita Island and Magdalena Bay, two hundred miles up the Pacific coast.⁷³ Inasmuch as Xántus himself never went so far afield as Magdalena Bay, it may be doubted that his assistant made such an extended excursion. The master was not satisfied with his understudy. 'Ad vocem Berlandier — I have but little use of his services, except in employing him around the tide observatory. He has no passion whatever for Natural History, although he was recommended me as very

⁷¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 9. S. I.

⁷² Ibid. p. 5. Dr John Allen Veatch (1808-1870) was with a prospecting party on Cedros Island from June until August 1859. He collected plants there and on the adjacent peninsula, and gave them to the herbarium of the California Academy of Sciences. Nelson, loc. cit. p. 141.

⁷³ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 February 1860, p. 3. S. I.

addicted to this calling. Just think — he collected during my 3 months absence in the mountains, 17 birds and a few crabs & fishes — all told!⁷⁴ The departure of Berlandier in May 1860, after an apprenticeship of a year, had little effect on the number of specimens taken. Other persons had been energetically pressed into service, and more were to be made tributary; that their contributions did not always come from Lower California was of no moment to the omnivorous Xántus. An 'abalone fisher' supplied a series of shells from the Revillagigedo Islands,⁷⁵ and Captain Julian Hanks of the schooner *Perla* and Captain Lindholm of the Finnish whaler *Kurfürsten Konstantin* [*sic*] produced fishes and crabs from the same place.⁷⁶ Another amiable whaler captain was Horace Sherman, of the *Cynthia*, who brought 'clams of large size and other shells' from Magdalena Bay.⁷⁷

The governor of Lower California, Don Ramón Navarro, journeying from La Paz to inspect the wonderful object of North American ingenuity which Xántus had erected at the Cape, obligingly brought in a cage two beautiful magpies 'taken near Loreto'; these Xántus could not take heart to kill, because they were such good pets.⁷⁸ From other Mexicans, mostly ladies, Xántus received many presents, and as he did not wish to have the credit for these specimens, he gave Baird a list of

⁷⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 February 1860, p. 3. S. I.

⁷⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 20 February 1860, p. 3. S. I.

⁷⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 4 March 1860, p. 1. S. I.

⁷⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 13. S. I.

⁷⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 23 July 1859, p. 4. S. I. Baird expressed curiosity about the provenance of these magpies, and Xántus inquired of the governor, who in turn asked his brother at Loreto; the birds came, according to this information, not from Loreto, but from the Tres Marias Islands, near San Blas. J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 2. S. I. The identity of this species is uncertain.

his benefactors. As a testimonial to the enthusiasm for nidology, entomology, and conchology which Xántus was able to inspire in female society the list is here given. 'List of donations to the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. from Lower California, thrgh Mr John Xántus. Don Antonio Pedrin, 4 botles of insects, 2 birds. Don Juan Osio, 2 packages of shells. Don Valero Canseco, 6 petrified shells. Don Marcellino Ojeda, 1 package of dried plants. Don Ramon Navarro, Governor of L. Cala. 2 leaving jays, & 1 leaving Babissouri. Donna Beatrice Osio, 2 botles Coleoptera. Donna Juana Grin, 4 botles Coleoptera. Donnas Juana, & Pachita Dodero, 10 nests, with 34 eggs, & several botles insects. Donna Jesus Villasana, 4 large shells. Donna Francisca Villaescusa, 17 large shells. Donna Rosaria Ceseña, 5 nests with 11 eggs.'⁷⁹

In addition to receiving these voluntary contributions, Xántus occasionally purchased specimens. From whalers making land at Cape San Lucas after touching Tahiti or the Sandwich Islands he bought shells, mostly for gifts he made to the Hungarian National Museum.⁸⁰

For his own collecting, Xántus operated according to the same broad method he had used so successfully at Fort Tejon; but in Lower California his results were even more impressive. The Cape district is more distinct geographically, and its condition as an almost complete *tabula rasa* in 1859 makes it possible, with assurance, to judge the degree of thoroughness with which Xántus brought its biota into knowledge. No department of natural science was overlooked by him; but, as at Fort Tejon, his collections were more informed and important

⁷⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 August 1860, p. 7. S. I.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 3.

in those branches (mammalian and avian) of which he had taxonomic knowledge; the other orders were not neglected, but in exploiting them Xántus was not always aware of the treasure he was discovering. He was sufficiently perceptive of advanced methods to regret not having a camera — certainly a very early reference to the use of this aid in the study of nature.⁸¹ The biographies and descriptive notes with which Xántus accompanied his specimens were so complete and detailed that Baird's caution in describing the species in the biological journals irritated him. 'By the way, why you say in your descriptions, for instance: *the color of the feet appears to be black in life* (vide *Garcetta thula*) — and for instance: *the total length about* — when you can state such facts, quite *positively* if you look into my Register?!'⁸²

Baird, mindful of Xántus's limitations, had sent him more directions and works of reference,⁸³ and devoted much of his correspondence to answering questions asked by Xántus. At that, there were gaps in Xántus's qualifications. For example, the collector wrote to Baird that William Stimpson⁸⁴ had failed to send full directions for collecting *Crustacea*, but had contented himself by remarking '*crustacea are found at low water mark under stones, or by digging in sand.*' This reminded Xántus of an old Hungarian proverb, '*Here — I give you nothing, but take very good hold of it!*' The indefatigable collector, however, was not piqued, for he claimed the credit of

⁸¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 6. S. I.

⁸² J. X. to S. F. B., 11 July 1860, p. 4. S. I.

⁸³ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1859, p. 2. S. I.

⁸⁴ William Stimpson (1832-1872) was engaged from 1856 to 1865 in classifying the recent acquisitions of *Mollusca* and *Crustacea* in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution.

inventing a new method of taking crustaceans; he trained his dog, a pointer, to nose in the holes and under stones and fetch the crustaceans unharmed.⁸⁵ After some later expeditions Xántus wrote gleefully, 'Mr Stimpson will have a fine sport this time I am sure, I feel quite comfortable that he is to assort the crabs & not I, as the present instalment contains at least 10,000 crabs, representing at least 150 species!!!'⁸⁶

A weakness in Xántus's knowledge of the classification of *Diptera* is evident in his report to Baird that he had prepared three boxes of insects for Baron Osten-Sacken, and hoped that there would be some *Diptera* among them; if there were none, Xántus wrote that he must believe that he had never seen any, because he collected every insect he came across.⁸⁷ Baird informed Xántus that the package did contain flies and other *Diptera*, which moved Xántus to write that he had thought that flies alone constituted *Diptera*.⁸⁸

Directions for the collection of eggs by Alfred Newton⁸⁹ stimulated Xántus only to derision. To him they were full of English eccentricities and required so much paraphernalia that they would be suitable only for an English park.⁹⁰

Such were the handicaps and limitations under which Xántus worked. Beyond these, imposed by his situation and his background, were the failings common to most field naturalists of the time. Xántus was not precise in recording on his labels and in his field catalogues

⁸⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 July 1859, p. 6-7. S. I.

⁸⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 30 March 1860, p. 2. S. I.

⁸⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 4 March 1860, p. 2. S. I.

⁸⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 21 September 1860, p. 4. S. I.

⁸⁹ Alfred Newton (1829-1907), the English zoölogist.

⁹⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 August 1860, p. 1. S. I.

the exact habitat and the date of his capture, and he was not at all careful in accrediting the actual source of specimens. He had been equipped with labels bearing the printed legend 'Exploration of Lower California. John Xantus';⁹¹ this sufficed for personal identification, but was misleading in the case of specimens taken by others at Xantus's behest. Students of the Xantus collections, and particularly of his type specimens, have always been obliged to proceed with extreme caution because of the inaccuracy or untrustworthiness of his labels.

In this connection, the association, never made public, which he had with Ferdinand Gruber, the San Francisco taxidermist, was to give rise to ornithological puzzles. Species of birds which have never otherwise been reported from Lower California, but marked with Cape district localities, were sent by Xantus to Baird. These birds are now known to be all of Upper California, and the hand of Gruber in their provenance has been suspected on the basis of taxidermal peculiarities attributable to him. That this suspicion has been well founded is borne out by Xantus's own statement of his relations with Gruber. 'As regards Grubers collections for me, you most [must] learn that it is contracted on purely commercial basis. When the arrangement was pending in San Francisco between him and me, I just purchased a conchological collection from Dr Frick late Consul Genl of France in Honolulu, comprising all the water & land shells of the Hawaiian group. As Mr Gruber was very anxious to have the collection, I presented to him as a preliminary basis, although it cost me 68 dollars in cash. He made then with me an arrangement, that in return for the shells he will collect & buy as

⁹¹ Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 235

many Farallone eggs, as he possibly can. — As to birds we agreed, that he will collect some land birds (which I named to him), & all the Farallone birds in Spring plumage; up to 6 specimens from each kind. — For all such birds I have to give him in exchange fancy plumaged birds from here, birds which he is at liberty to accept or not after seeing my collection designated for him. Mr Gruber is a very excellent Taxidermist, and sells at a very high figure his birds for drawing room ornaments; and consequently I have to be prepared to get all the birds he collected for me, with elaborately made fancy specimens. The *Pyrrhuloxia*, the *cardinalis*; *Cyanospiza*, & *Icterus cucullatus*, also *Icterus Parisorum* will be probably acceptable to him, of which I have good supply for him. Therefore I hope you will have patience to wait, until I come to francisco, and get the birds; my presence is there indispensable to get the birds. Mr Gruber is a very honest man, but a very strict commerciante also.⁹² If Xántus had been an equally honest man the modern student would have no difficulty in believing that the labels were affixed in error; as it is, the possibility cannot be ruled out that they were applied with intent to swell the total of species taken by Xántus in Lower California.

Compared with the indisputably solid contribution of Xántus to the knowledge of the zoölogy of Lower California these questionable points are of minor importance. The solidity rests on the enthusiasm and passion which informed all Xántus's work as a field naturalist. He brimmed with curiosity and eagerness, and the notes of things observed and wondered at in

⁹² J.X. to S.F.B., 7 April 1860, p. 2-4. S.I. For a discussion of the problem of birds erroneously attributed to Lower California by Xántus, see Grinnell, op. cit. p. 235-237.

his letters to Baird graphically substantiate this. The letters almost assume the proportion of a journal, and in many passages they are strongly reminiscent of Pepys — of his boyish ability to be interested in everything and his descriptive power. For the insight they afford into Xántus's mind, as well as for their value as a description of his working methods, the following passages are particularly revealing.

'As your instructions in December called my particular attention to water birds, I undertook the toilsome & hazardous expedition along the coast in order to pick out a suitable winter camp for operations in this particular branch. Having made a minute reconnoissance of at least 160 miles of the coast, I came to the conclusion that San Jose [del Cabo] will be the best adapted place for such a purpose, as you will agree with me. There is sea, brakish water, & sweet water, reefs, lake, swamps, & sweet water, fine plantations, salt & sweet grass — in fact such a compendious combination of *everything* acceptable to waterfowls, that indeed seldom could be found together so many fine things.'⁹³

'As to mammals, besides the 3 bats, I sent you many mice, and you may find out the species, I had no time. You have seen also the *Tamias*, mole, gopher, & 3 hares I sent; so I have to add yet, that I procured a wolf & a skunk, which later I consider the *Memphitis bicolor*, although I have not the description of it, to make myself sure, I have only the catalogue of the mammals published by you. I wish however that you would subject the creature & skull to a *very* minute examination, as the animal in question is a very curious one, provided the stories are true, which were related to me. Everybody

⁹³ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 July 1859, p. 2-3. S. I.

believes here that *this* skunk is highly poisonous, more so, than the Rattle snake or Cobra coral. I at first ridiculed the stories, but Mr Ritchie assured me, that several of his horses & cattle were bitten by the skunk, and some of them died, some turned mad & had to be shot. Don Vicente Seseña a most respectable Ranchero near Cape San Lucas, told me the same story, adding that one of his sons was bitten by the skunk, & died in 2 hours. Don Antonio Pedrin formerly governor of Lower California & a highly educated gentleman told me many *facts* in this respect, corroborating the above stories; naming several men, women, etc who were bitten by the skunk, and died — got mad, deaf, lame, or crippled for life. — Now what you say to all this Sir; I at first laughed, then doubted, but I must confess I begin to believe — and whenever I turn up an old decayed tree, I hardly need say, that I look out sharply for black & white, much sharper as for rattling tails! — To make the whole thing more puzzled, everybody assures me that the skunks are only poisonous from Mulige [Mulege] & Todos Santos southward, and above the named points they are harmless, and make the nicest pets (!!!)⁹⁴

The sequel to this occurred seven months later. 'I send you in next batch a head of a Skunk, & please find out about the poison. I think the poisonous property of this animal comes from a kind of Hydrophobia, else it would be hard to believe a mammal poisonous. But the fact is fact, I know personally several cases, which came under my own notice, to convince me of the great danger of heaving [having] dealings with this Skunk. It might be possible that the hot climate, & total absence of water for months, subjects the animal to a rabiose

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 3-5.

sickness, a kind a Hydrophobia, this is my opinion; please consider the subject also.⁹⁵

A year after his arrival Xántus briskly recapitulated for Baird his activities. 'I visited different altitudes between here & Lapaz, also between here & Todos Santos, & crossed the peninsula from E to W & viceversa in 3 different points. I spent several weeks in the high mesas, and highest valleys & gulches of the Sierras; I visited also the highest mountain in the whole peninsula, the San Lazaro. It is true I carried out this part of my exploration mainly in winter, when some birds might have gone South; but there is very slight difference here between winter & summer, the whole year is alike, and the thermometer scarcely changes 5-6 degrees. It is possible that there are some lizards, or mice, and insects in the interior I could not encounter, but I hardly believe there are birds or larger mammals, not secured already.'⁹⁶ 'The result of my labors as far as it goes is that when I look over the collection particularly of radiata, & invertebrata I must conclude, that you will be greatly surprised at the variety I succeeded in gathering up. — Starfishes I have over 20 species, & crabs cannot be less than between 40-50 species, many of them undoubtedly forming new genera, *perhaps* new families, if I can judge after Mr Stimpsons little book. — Of small fishes I have very extraordinary species, & in general a very great variety, and so lizards & the like.'⁹⁷

The passion for thoroughness which marked all Xántus's collecting was typified by the naturalist's reaction to the rumor that there was a species of small bird in the vicinity of Santiago which had escaped him.

⁹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 5. S. I.

⁹⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 9. S. I.

⁹⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 July 1859, p. 2. S. I.

'I should be much mortified if those birds should be allowed there unknown, until Yankee civilisation comes into the country, which event is probably far in the future yet?'⁹⁸ Energy of this kind led to the accumulation of stores awaiting shipment so large that at one time Xántus exulted, 'There is at present only one brig in the Gulf, bound from San Blas to Bremen, therefore is no telling when I can send you again specimens, although I pray all the time for one — like the frogs for rain —, in order that I might clean out a little my stores, which are wonderfully crowded now indeed!'⁹⁹

These stores provided many series of most of the species; but, aside from an agreement that the first series should go to the Smithsonian Institution, there appears to have been no understanding between Xántus and Baird concerning the description of the series, and occasionally the disposition of secondary specimens gave rise to misunderstandings. At the beginning of his stay at Cape San Lucas, Xántus instructed Baird, 'You can commence then Sir at once the crossfire by describing all the new specimens,'¹⁰⁰ but a few months later he asked Baird to reserve the starfishes for him, as he would like to describe them himself in one of the Smithsonian *Contributions*.¹⁰¹ Baird's subsequent decision to submit the echinoderms to Theodore Lyman¹⁰² for determination provoked only a half-hearted objection from Xántus. 'I was somewhat disappointed, that you disposed of the starfishes, as I took very great personal

⁹⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 26 June 1860, p. 4. S. I.

⁹⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 5 July 1859, p. 1. S. I.

¹⁰⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 May 1859, p. 4. S. I.

¹⁰¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 23 July 1859, p. 3-4. S. I.

¹⁰² Theodore Lyman (1833-1897), zoölogist of Harvard College, a specialist in *Ophiuroidea*.

interest in them. But as you had a broad founded consent of mine, I cannot commence quarrels of course, hoping that *all the species* not worked up yet by Mr Lyman, will be kindly reserved for me.¹⁰³ That Xántus was not unwilling to have his specimens described, particularly if some were given his name, is evident from a grammatical excursion in one of his letters to Baird. 'As to the genitive of Xántus, I am indeed entirely ignorant. Taking in view the 2^d conjugation I should think "Xánti" is better; but you may use also *Xántusii* if you prefer. The later perhaps [is] better, on account of giving the whole name.'¹⁰⁴

Of all the faunal classes which he collected, Xántus had the strongest feeling of possession for the birds. He was indignant when Baird permitted George N. Lawrence to publish descriptions of new avian species. 'I am much obliged to M^r Lawrence that he named the humming birds *Xántusii*, although I had preferred to describe [them] myself. You know very well we agreed, that the birds shall be described *all* by me, or in my name, should you prefer not to await my arrival there. This favor to my part was certainly a limited, when I have consented that all the Reptiles, fishes, shells, crustacea etc are at your disposal. If M^r Lawrence makes a speciality of the humming birds, any other might make speciality of the water birds; one of the songbirds, one of the hawks or owls, and at last will be nothing left to me. I should like for the future good understanding, if you would not forgot always treaties entered with me.'¹⁰⁵ The accusation, of course, was peevish and unjust.

¹⁰³ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 11. S. I.

¹⁰⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 August 1860, p. 4. S. I.

¹⁰⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 August 1860, p. 1-2. S. I.

The order of least concern to Xántus was *Coleoptera*. He permitted his collection to fall between two rivals, LeConte and Ulke,¹⁰⁶ claiming that LeConte did not deserve priority because he was interested only in the beetles of the United States.¹⁰⁷ In the struggle for specimens the honors went to Ulke, and LeConte wrote in complaint to Xántus; the latter reported to Baird, 'Probably Mr Ulke was jealous, & helped himself of the best. It is all LeContes fault. I am however gathering up for him now a new series, and probably I will get again most of the species.'¹⁰⁸ Xántus's next letter notified Baird that a package of beetles was being sent to the injured party. 'The Package for LeConte comprises another full series of the Cape Coleoptera, which were formerly decimated by our friend Ulke.'¹⁰⁹ The impression is strong that Xántus was happy to be rid of the little creatures.

Whatever minor disputes Xántus precipitated were overcome by the enormous tact of Baird. A prominent ingredient in this was the honest praise which Baird gave for the collections, spiced occasionally with restrained flattery. When Xántus read the account of his activities in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution he was moved to exclaim, 'I looked over everything what you say about me, and I am nearly ashamed of the many compliments you bestow on me. I never deserved half of them!'¹¹⁰ 'Your exultations on the Receipt of boxes 6-10 are I should think a little

¹⁰⁶ Heinrich Ulke, born at Frankenstein, Prussia, in 1821, died at Washington in 1910. His large collection of North American beetles is in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh.

¹⁰⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 August 1859, p. 1-2. S. I.

¹⁰⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 October 1860, p. 3. S. I.

¹⁰⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 October 1860, p. 1. S. I.

¹¹⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 12 October 1859, p. 2-3. S. I.

extravagant, as I believe I hardly did so much, as to deserve Eulogies of superlative grade' was his reaction to Baird's expressed satisfaction.¹¹¹ That this satisfaction was deep and genuine is attested by the fact that Baird, in writing to his cherished collector Robert Kennicott, in the remote north on the Mackenzie River, mentioned the size of Xántus's collections.¹¹²

As the second year at Cape San Lucas rolled by, there were fewer novelties in the collection, and Xántus, particularly after his confinement to the environs of the tide gauge, lost the edge of his energy. In November 1860 he observed, 'I am getting along in the usual way, perched on the top of a sand hill, not very unlike a *Cathartes aura* — looking out for a chance prey which however is only casual.'¹¹³ 'Under such rosecolored circumstances of course I do not attempt much terrestrial collections; if I wanted even I could not, as there are not mules or horses left.'¹¹⁴ The impetus for collecting was manifestly running down. The compulsion of Xántus's duty to remain at the observatory was an obvious factor in this decline; but a more powerful one, though less apparent, was the sense of isolation which the observer could not escape.

At first, Xántus felt his isolation only by the infrequency of communication with the rest of the world. Only two months after his arrival at the Cape he wrote to Baird, 'Sometimes drop whalers in for provisions, but their latest news dates back 10 or 12 months generally,

¹¹¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 2-3. S. I.

¹¹² W. H. Dall, *Spencer Fullerton Baird* (Philadelphia and London, 1915), p. 344.

¹¹³ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 November 1860, p. 1. S. I.

¹¹⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 27 February 1861, p. 2. S. I.

and the only information they are able to give about news, is the latest whereabouts & quantity of the Sperm whales, and the probable price of the Sperm oil in New Bedford!"¹¹⁵ Another two months later he was still without mail or news. 'I do not know of course how the world stands, I wonder whether Emp^r Napoleon rules yet Europe, or somebody else?'¹¹⁶ Had Xántus received news, he would have known that Napoleon ruled Europe with even more glitter after Solferino and Magenta. It was not, however, his inability to follow the careers of European monarchs which induced the most pervading sense of isolation in Xántus, but the cumulating boredom of his situation. In a passage of the most vehement descriptive power Xántus burst out in his unhappiness. 'I am quite sick indeed of this place, every day seems a long year, and every one with the same monotonous desolation around me, not affording the least pleasure, variety, or enjoyment of any kind. I have no reading matter whatever, and the latest San Francisco paper is that, which announces by Pony Lincoln's election. I wonder what all happened since in the world!! I am now of God's grace nearly two years perched on this sandbeach, a laughing stock probably of the Pelicans & Turkey buzzards, the only signs of life around me. To the E & SE the eternally smoky Gulf, to all other points of the compass the sandy desert, covered with white salina and ornamented with cactuses in every form, sticking out like candlesticks on a white cloth... There is not a blade of grass in the country, & not a green leaf. Sand, salt, trunks of shrubs, Rocks & the like everywhere and covered everywhere with bleached bones

¹¹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 June 1859, p. 6. S. I.

¹¹⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 23 July 1859, p. 3. S. I.

of cattle mules horses etc, died by thousands lately of starvation.¹¹⁷

As his long stay at the Cape began to draw to its end there were a few opportunities for hilarity which tended to dissipate his unhappiness. Christmas of 1860 he spent at San José del Cabo, 'amongst bullfights, cockfights, & dancing. There was a great concourse of people, on account of a Bishop celebrating the midnight mass. The whole fiasta went off however very decently & with great order, more so than a 4th of July in a small American village.'¹¹⁸ The visit to Mazatlán in the summer of 1861 restored both his spirits and his joy in collecting, for he wrote rapturously to Baird, 'I got already about 60 birds, consisting of hummers, Guiracas, Icteridae, Muscicapidae etc, & many woodpeckers & gigantic Jays, some of them ornamented with 2 feet long tail. Everything is new to me, and accordingly I pitched into the wholesale business as you may suspect, with full spirit; in fact I am *on duty* about 20 hours a day; say 10 hours hunting, 10 hours skinning. What you are doing by Dios, I have no news from your neighbourhood since 3 months.'¹¹⁹

The return from Mazatlán to La Paz saw no diminishing of merriment. As a treat for his friends at La Paz, Xántus brought along a box of ice, the gift of a merchant named Schleiden. The fate of the box was related by Xántus to Grayson, his recent host. 'The green box, containing the kind token of the still kinder attention of our amigo, arrived safely in Pichilingue bay, and was transfered from the *icecoach* (alias Florence Walton Capt Payne) aboard the Pilotboat, & safely

¹¹⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 27 February 1861, p. 1-2. S. I.

¹¹⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 December 1860, p. 1-2. S. I.

¹¹⁹ J. X., Mazatlán, to S. F. B., 19 June 1861, p. 1-3. S. I.

landed in the Palacio of the Customs. Having not the farthest intentions, to offend anybody, I most generously invited all the gentlemen and almost every *quasi gentlemen* for a nice glass of ice cherry cobbler. Arriving the guests, including the governor, Judge, & bishop; — D^r Curry was appointed Director of the Bar, who at once set the tumblers, each one provided with spoon, & sugar. Now came the grand moment, the D^r ordered to open the green (formerly Schiedam) box, and almost at the same moment many thought to feel the cooling of the atmosphere, & a good many commenced to lick their lips. — A handful of sawdust now goes, another, another, & still another, until we thought that our Amigo Schleidel probably provided a homeopathic dose, fearing a big one may hurt our ice unaccustomed constitution. This supposition however was soon dispelled, when the operator pulled out a blue something, the remains of once a blanket, which was perfectly empty & dry, there was not the least indication of any ice whatever. Of course the whole company present thought the whole thing as a good joke plaid upon them; but when I told quite seriously that Mr Schleiden really gave me the box as present with assurance that it contained ice; & when I offered in evidence Mr Schleidens "*Jackesas, tristeras, calenturas, mal de amor*" proclamation; everybody was convinced *sin duda*, that our amigo was the *hombre*, who plaid the joke upon me!¹²⁰

These later jollifications were, of course, a sign of Xántus's restlessness, which stemmed from the prevailing isolation he suffered at Cape San Lucas. He had long since suggested to Baird the desirability of transfer to

¹²⁰ J. X., S. S. *Panama*, off Magdalena Bay, to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 8 August 1861, p. 5-9 Bancroft Library, University of California.

other fields suitable for collecting. Aware that months would go by before action could be taken, he made his first suggestion in the second month of his stay at the Cape. Xántus's earliest proposals were conceived with the notion of remaining in the service of the Coast Survey. In June 1859 he suggested to his protector four spots of value both to tide observations and natural history — Socorro Island in the Revillagigedo group, Cedros Island midway up the Pacific coast of the peninsula, Pichilingue Bay in the vicinity of La Paz, and Guadalupe Island. He recommended them in that order.¹²¹ Before Xántus was aware of Elliot's and Bache's displeasure, he pressed Baird again for a transfer to Socorro Island, supplying him with a description of the topography and biota of the island according to Captain Hanks's account.¹²² Even if Socorro were not chosen, Xántus wrote, 'I would be certainly very much pleased, if I could be left in the service of the Coast Survey for some years, and you might be assured, I will do everything in my power, to gratify you by exhausting the localities I may be detailed to.'¹²³ As his loneliness mounted, Xántus discarded his suit for an assignment to an island, and substituted Acapulco as his goal.¹²⁴ He recommended that town both for its southern fauna and its society.¹²⁵

After the catastrophe of the tide rolls Xántus was sustained by Baird, who had commenced to cast about for another appointment for Xántus, should he be dismissed from the Coast Survey. In answer to Baird's

¹²¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 1 June 1859, p. 4-5. S. I.

¹²² J. X., Santiago, to S. F. B., 15 January 1860, p. 6-8. S. I.

¹²³ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 3-4. S. I.

¹²⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 4 March 1860, p. 4. S. I.

¹²⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 3. S. I.

sign of support, Xántus expressed his satisfaction. 'I am much obliged for your kindness in offering me other positions of honor, (as for instance Consulship in Acapulco or some Central American Port), should my service here [be] discontinued; but you know very well such positions are always conferred on partymen, on solely party motives and grounds, and capacity is always out of consideration. Besides *I think* the Central American Consulships are not paid at all, they have only sealfees. Now should I be so fortunate as to be approved as Consul to some Central American port, I do not know indeed how I could get along without means of support, when some of the Consulates are not worth \$45 a month.

'I am not only by my naturalisation deed an American, but with all my heart and soul; and should be always happy to serve under the stars & stripes, *no matter where or in what capacity*, provided I was allowed a reasonable subsistence, a reasonable indepen[den]ce, and be fairly dealt with always. — I should be always and in any capacity as faithful to my Duties, as any born American, being proud of my adopted home. But else, as I cannot plunge myself into the misery, I have been in during the last few years, *as a quite natural course of selfsupport*, I shall be against my will obliged to retire to my native land.

'I place my future with brotherly confidence in your hands. Can you secure for me *any* position you think honorable, you may act always on my behalf without consulting me, when the circumstances require so. If you think I can continue in the Coast Survey service, I am satisfied. If you think elsewhere would be better, I shall be satisfied also. You know my principal aim is not materialism, but to be in position where I can pursue with advantage — collecting.

'I should be very happy certainly, if my connection with the Sm. Inst. would continue for many years yet. . .'¹²⁶

In his eagerness for a position of honor Xántus had forgotten to except one which his remembrance of Fort Riley and Fort Tejon made distasteful to him. When Baird hinted that a commission in the army might satisfy Xántus and provide him with means of maintaining his connection with the Smithsonian Institution, Xántus replied characteristically. 'I am much obliged for your kindness, in offering so delicately the chance to me . . . but I confidently hope not to injure your feelings — by positively declining it. — I am so much acquainted Sir with the American army, that I could not entertain for a moment the thought of joining her again — no matter in what position or Rank. Besides I am too old now, to buffet the life as a Brevet 2^d lieutenant. I may be wrong, but this is my "fixa idea," and I shall stick to it. For any other respectable position I am always ready, and if you think I may be of some use yet to scientific explorations; you have my chart *blanque*, and act always according the circumstances dictate.'¹²⁷

Simultaneously with this declination Xántus renewed his desire for the consulship at Acapulco, and furnished Baird with particulars for a passport application. 'Age 35 years. Stature 5'8" — Complexion dark — Eyes hazel — Hair & baird dark. A special recommendation fm the Mexican minister will do much good also, but recommendation of bishops is not of much use here nowadays.'¹²⁸ Finally, on the eve of his sudden recall,

¹²⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 21 September 1860, p. 5-7. S. I.

¹²⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 30 November 1860, p. 2-4. S. I.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 4. Xántus's enlistment oath (September 1855) gave his height as five feet, six and one-half inches.

he wrote animatedly from Mazatlán, 'By all means please write me something, the tide operations are to be continued I suppose, as Mr Elliot sent me again a new suply of lumber, but of course I should prefer some Consulate and I think now would be the proper time, as Mr Lincoln I see is favorably disposed towards adopted Citizens?'¹²⁹

In the end, Xántus left Lower California without any promise of employment. This was not altogether disappointing, for he was eager to visit his homeland before committing his future. The Hungarian immigrants in the United States, unlike the political refugees of other countries, could communicate unrestrictedly with their native land. They had not been in rebellion against oppressors of their own nationality, and they could survey the slow decline of the tyranny which they had fled. Particularly after the amnesty of September 1859 they were free to return to their homeland, and from the eighteen-sixties on they were as likely to succeed in the expanding Hungarian economic life as they were in the United States. Few Hungarian immigrants, though their sentimental attachment may have been great, did as much, of design, for the motherland as János Xántus, and none published his contribution so persistently. Xántus had told Baird in 1858 that 'We Hungarians *cannot sell* our capacities.' If Americans were the prospective purchasers, perhaps Xántus was right; but he had no difficulty in convincing his fellow Hungarians of his capacities. He did this by two means: the dispatch of specimens to the Hungarian National Museum, either through the Smithsonian Institution or directly from Cape San Lucas; and the publication of books and

¹²⁹ J. X., Mazatlán, to S. F. B., 19 June 1861, p. 3-4. S. I.

letters. Both these methods brought him to public attention, and assured him of a welcome far different from what he could have expected had he returned as a released prisoner from Bohemia in 1850.

The Hungarian National Museum had commenced to receive specimens of American fauna from Xántus while he was at Fort Tejon, and Xántus had made the most of this in his suggestion to Agoston Kubinyi, the director, that the collection be housed separately and bear his name.¹³⁰ Xántus was able to write proudly to Baird in September 1859 that 'The Hungarian National Museum, having already a large American collection & not wishing to store way my specimens amongst her duplicates — decreed: that a special saloon shall be appropriated to the exhibition of my North American collection, to bear the title *John Xántus N. American collection*, to incite other Hungarians by the great distinction to follow the patriotic exemple of said J. Xántus. — It is therefore in my interest to have the collection from time to time augmented with additions, so as to make it by time as complete as I can with my limited means. The Academy of Sciences elected me . . . lately to a member of that very high standing national institution, with a rather flattering resolution of their general assembly; the highest distinction a *Hungarian* can attain in his life, as there has at election, protection or birth or standing no influence whatever, but real scientific merit is the only qualification.'¹³¹

These honors stimulated Xántus to great efforts. He besought Baird to call 'the next bird — in my name —,

¹³⁰ *Supra*, p. 82.

¹³¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 2-3. S. I. Xántus was elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 15 December 1859, actually three months after this letter was written. József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (Budapest, 1891-1914), XIV, col. 1666.

Kubinyii, in honor of the R honorable August Kubinyi Director of the Hungarian National Museum. He is a very worthy gentleman, he saved the whole museum from the depredations of Genl Haynau, and he is since my childhood my true friend.¹³² His letters to Baird frequently contained directions for the choice of material to be sent to the Hungarian National Museum¹³³ and to Flóris Romer, the director of the museum in Győr, the town in which his mother resided.¹³⁴ By these means a large collection was established in Pest as a tangible sign of Xántus's patriotic activities, and even his home town was not forgotten.¹³⁵

The second method Xántus used to create his reputation in Hungary was the publication of books of travel and of long letters in the newspapers of Pest and Győr. The first volume of his travels appeared in 1858 while he was stationed at Fort Tejon, and the second in 1860 during his exploration of Lower California. These two books and his letters will be considered in Chapter VIII; here it will suffice to say that they made his name relatively well known. Professor Baird himself unwittingly contributed to this publicity by answering a

¹³² J. X. to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 7. S. I. It was left to Xántus himself to confer this honor; it was embodied, not in a bird, but in a starfish, *Heliaster Kubiniji* [sic]. J. X., 'Descriptions of Three New Species of Starfishes from Cape St. Lucas,' Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, *Proceedings*, 1860, p. 568.

¹³³ J. X. to S. F. B., 12 October 1859, p. 5; 7 April 1860, p. 13-14; 20 July, p. 3. S. I. In return for the possible gift of bison and antelope, Xántus promised to try to get a pair of Asiatic buffaloes 'which are many in Transylvania near the estate of my grandfather.' J. X. to S. F. B., 21 September 1860, p. 2. S. I.

¹³⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 January 1861, p. 2. S. I.

¹³⁵ As an example of these donations, the gift of five hundred handsomely mounted birds, mostly humming-birds, to the Hungarian National Museum was reported in the Hungarian press. *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*, 4 December 1861, p. 3.

letter from Xántus's mother. Terézia Xántus wrote to Baird in February 1860 that she had not had news from her son since July 1859, was worried about his well-being, and wished to inform him of the amnesty of September 1859. Baird replied to this letter, and his answer found its way to the newspaper in Győr. A clipping of this, in turn, was sent to the distant explorer, and in August 1860 he related to Baird, 'I read in several Hungarian newspapers the other day a letter of yours addressed to my mother, I was quite surprised as I did not know your corresponding with her. She understands only a little English, and the probability is she sent for good translation to some of her friends the letter, who published it. I was quite ashamed of the many flatteries and praises paid in said letter to our person; but you probably wrote it solely to a *mother*, therefore I am much obliged for you politeness, and kindness.'¹³⁶

The renown which stemmed from all these activities, combined with a longing to see his family and his native country, induced Xántus to set as much store on a visit to Hungary as on an honorable appointment

¹³⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 13 August 1860, p. 5. S. I. Terézia Xántus's letter to Baird (Győr, 12 February 1860) is preserved in S. I. I have been unable to find the newspaper article in question. A second letter from Terézia Xántus to Baird (Győr, 8 January 1861) is also preserved. To it Baird replied on 16 February, and this reply was also published; there is no indication in the accompanying article that there was an intermediary between Xántus's mother and the editor. The letter reads, in part: 'From a scientific standpoint his collections are still unusually interesting, and he richly deserves to be considered one of the foremost zoölogists of the day. These shipments [of gifts to the Hungarian National Museum] will continue from time to time, and we are determined to continue them until the collection of American species in the museum of Mr Xántus's native land will be so rich that none, or only very few, in Europe will be better.' *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*, 23 March 1861, p. 3. *Györi közlöny*, 21 March 1861, p. 90.

in America. At Fort Tejon he had pressed all avenues of escape from the army, but had never mentioned a desire to return to his home; at Cape San Lucas his discussion of plans for the future gave as much weight to a visit to his family as to his future employment in the New World. 'The only wish I have is, that to visit next winter my friends in Hungary, and arrange my material interests at home. . I have not seen for 11 years my mother & sister, and my property (restituted to my family by the conqueror) requires also regulation, as the government threatens to seize it again, should I disregard the gracious pardon with my continued absence. — I of course will never subject myself to the whims of the Austrian government by residence at home, but to secure something for my future is very important that I see after my small property, particularly as I already lost nearly everything in Iowa, by neglecting my own affairs for the sake of snakes & birds.'¹³⁷

Xántus had thus laid the ground for a continuation of his career either in America or Hungary. The necessity for a choice came closer when he received, on his return from Mazatlán on 1 August 1861, an order to disestablish the tide gauge station at Cape San Lucas.¹³⁸ With furious haste he disposed of a part of the Coast Survey property and packed the remainder; in addition, he had to arrange the shipment of the last instalments of the collections. Besides these official obligations Xántus had pressing social responsibilities, as he confessed to Grayson. 'I had the muy pesaroso duty,

¹³⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 February 1860, p. 4-5. S. I.

¹³⁸ J. X., S. S. *Panama*, off Magdalena Bay, to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 8 August 1861, p. 1-2. Bancroft Library, University of California.

to take leave of the many Señoritas, I had the good fortune to be acquainted with.¹³⁹ Having made his adieus, Xántus boarded the *Panama* at the Cape on 7 August and sailed for San Francisco.¹⁴⁰ 'A fixture at the cape' had gone.¹⁴¹

The recital of Xántus's schemes and reverses, his dejection and his high spirits, has taken attention from the results of his scientific labor. The extensive collections had been distributed, in part, to the most eminent specialists for determination; E. D. Cope¹⁴² studied the reptiles, Theodore Gill¹⁴³ the fishes, Baird the birds, J. L. LeConte the insects, William Stimpson the *Crustacea*, Theodore Lyman the *Ophiuroidea*, Horatio C. Wood¹⁴⁴ the *Arachnoidea*, P. P. Carpenter¹⁴⁵ the *Mollusca*, Harrison Allen¹⁴⁶ the bats, and Asa Gray the plants.¹⁴⁷ Before these scientists had received all the material on which they were to work, Professor Baird was able to summarize the extent of Xántus's collections — 'sixty boxes, some of large size, with contents embracing (and almost exhausting) every department of natural history, prepared and packed in a perfect manner, accompanied by numerous measurements,

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1.

¹⁴¹ C. B. Smith, La Paz, to J. X., 17 February 1861. S. I.

¹⁴² Edward Drinker Cope (1840-1897), the distinguished zoölogist and palaeontologist.

¹⁴³ Theodore Nicholas Gill (1837-1914) was long in charge of the ichthyological collections of the Smithsonian Institution.

¹⁴⁴ Horatio Charles Wood (1841-1920), a physician of Philadelphia, and a constant contributor to natural science.

¹⁴⁵ Philip Pearsall Carpenter (1819-1871), the British conchologist.

¹⁴⁶ Harrison Allen (1841-1897), a physician of Philadelphia, was the leading American authority on bats.

¹⁴⁷ [D. C. Gilman], 'Explorations in the Peninsula of California, by Mr. John Xantus,' *American Journal of Science and Arts*, ser. 2, XXXV (1863), 237.

notes, and biographies.¹⁴⁸ Greater than their extent was their significance in the study of geographical distribution. In 1860, a year before all the collections had reached Washington, Baird found it possible to establish the status of Lower California. 'The general peculiarities of its fauna and flora are now well ascertained. Besides the addition of a larger number of new animals to our fauna than has been made by one person in any single region of North America before, Mr. Xantus has shown that the most interesting relationship exists between the land species of the Cape and those of the region of the Gila, Upper Rio Grande, and the southern Rocky Mountains. On the other hand, very few of the characteristic species of the coast of Upper California occur at the Cape; while, as far as observed, the same may be said of the strictly Mexican types. The entire Peninsula thus proves to be as specially related to North America in its land fauna as is Florida, although the number of peculiar species is much greater.

'The marine fauna of Cape St. Lucas proves to be quite Panamic in its general features — much more so than the opposite coast of Mexico.

'It is out of my power, at present, to present a statement of the number of species collected by Mr. Xantus. There are, however, known to be about twenty new birds, as many reptiles, large numbers of fishes, crustaceans, and other groups in proportion. The collection of shells is much larger than any ever made on the west coast, with the exception of that by Mr. Reigen,¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1861, p. 58.

¹⁴⁹ Frederick Reigen, a Belgian, lived at Mazatlán from 1848 to 1850, and collected fourteen tons of shells, each of forty cubic feet. He 'filled his house with decomposing molluscs to such an extent as to induce the neighbours to have recourse to the police.'

forming the basis of the report on Mazatlan shells, by Mr. Carpenter, and is superior to any other in the extent of the species preserved entire in alcohol. The general results form a fitting continuation of the labors of Mr. Xantus at Fort Tejon and the whole will form an extraordinary monument of the ability of a single intelligent and accomplished collector to nearly exhaust the natural history of an extensive region, under difficulties sometimes apparently almost insuperable.¹⁵⁰

Another monument to Xantus's fecundity only a later age could appreciate. A contemporary novelist, accompanied by a biologist, visited Cape San Lucas in 1940 and mused on Xantus's pioneer labor. 'Speaking to the manager of the cannery at the Cape, we remarked on what a great man Xanthus had been. Where another would have kept his tide charts and brooded and wished for the Willard Hotel, Xanthus had collected animals widely and carefully. The manager said, "Oh, he was even better than that." Pointing to three little Indian children he said, "Those are Xanthus's great-grandchildren," and he continued, "In the town there is a large family of Xanthuses, and a few miles back in the hills you'll find a whole tribe of them." There were giants in the earth in those days.'¹⁵¹

P. P. Carpenter, 'Supplementary Report on the Present State of Our Knowledge with Regard to the *Mollusca* of the West Coast of North America,' British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1863, p. 241, 540.

¹⁵⁰ Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1860, p. 68.

¹⁵¹ John Steinbeck and E. F. Ricketts, *Sea of Cortez* (New York, 1941), p. 61-62.

CHAPTER V

HUNGARY AND WASHINGTON

1861 — 1862

After twenty-eight months of invaluable labor at Cape San Lucas, Xántus arrived on the *Panama* at San Francisco on 14 August 1861.¹ His twofold duties required him to liquidate and account for the property of the Coast Survey, and to arrange the dispatch to the Smithsonian Institution of the remaining portions of his collection.² The latter included the exchanges chosen from the Farallon specimens of Ferdinand Gruber.³ The paraphernalia of collecting were turned over to Samuel Hubbard, to be held at Baird's disposal.⁴ In liquidating the Coast Survey property Xántus had difficulties which were later to trouble him.⁵ He wrote to Baird that, because of his sudden departure from the Cape, he would require about a week in San Francisco 'to arrange the 57 chests & boxes, containing in a picturesque pele mele my personal, Smithsonian, & C. S. property.'⁶

Xántus's correspondence with Baird showed less preoccupation with the social and intellectual life of San Francisco than the letters written after his relief from Fort Tejon. It was concerned, however, with the

¹ San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 15 August 1861, p. 3. He was listed as Don Juan Xanbus.

² J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 20 August 1861, p. 1-2. S. I.

³ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 2 September 1861, p. 4-5. S. I.

⁴ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 20 August 1861, p. 5. S. I.

⁵ G. H. Elliot, San Francisco, to Samuel Hubbard, San Francisco, 10 February [1862]. S. I.

⁶ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 20 August 1861, p. 1-2. S. I.

course of the Civil War, a subject, even in remote California, of far greater moment than it had been at the even remoter Cape. Xántus's observations on the war, and the part of California in it, were characteristic of his mental processes in that they repeated the rumors of the day, leavened by a certain cynicism. 'The last Pony brought very alarming news from your side, and the daily papers here consider quite probable that Beauregard took Washington by this time! — I however do not believe in such probabilities? California is also in very doubtful position. After tomorrow is the election for State officers, & if the Secession ticket is elected, California will be another *edition* of Missouri at once. Secessionists & Unionists are about in equal numbers here, & the former are only kept down now, because all the executive offices are in power of Union men. The secessionists however held now meetings openly every day, & circulate such documents as for instance Breckenridges speach in Baltimore etc etc. — General Sumner is raising 1500 men since 3 months, and he has not yet half of the required number. The president sent by last mail a new requisition for from 5 to 10 thousand men, but this number will be never raised here I am sure, not even 1000 men all told! — there is no enthusiasm here at all.'

After a brief stay in San Francisco, Xántus sailed on the *Orizaba* for Panama on 11 September, accompanied by four boxes of specimens. He blithely informed Baird of his approaching departure, 'you may expect me this trip, if the Sumter or some other privateer dont catches us.'

⁷ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 2 September 1861, p. 5-7. S. I.

⁸ J. X., San Francisco, to S. F. B., 9 September 1861, p. 2. S. I.

October, and after conferences with Baird determined to visit Hungary rather than to seek immediate employment in America. Xántus sought Baird's aid to enable him to recoup his finances before leaving for his homeland. The means he favored was a loan, with the duplicate collection of birds as security; this was based on a very revealing motive. 'I could very easily get from home funds, but it is my ambition to let suppose my friends, that I have earned at least so much during the 10 years here, that I am able to reach my home — as a gentleman.'⁹ Baird, with unbounded magnanimity, arranged not only for small loans from persons familiar with Xántus's collection but contributed himself, and also wrote on 9 October to Oelrichs and Company, the New York agents of the North German Lloyd, requesting free passage for his protégé. The agents replied that they had been censured for giving free tickets, but if Baird would arrange an interesting collection of California birds for the museum of Bremen, they would be glad to comply by furnishing a cabin ticket on the *Bremen*, sailing on 25 October.¹⁰ The sums advanced included \$120 from Baird, \$75 from Baron Osten-Sacken, \$50 from Daniel Giraud Elliot,¹¹ a promise of \$100 from Cassin which Xántus himself arranged,¹² and a credit of \$88 with LeConte's tailor in Philadelphia.¹³ Thus

⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., [2 October 1861], p. 3-4. S. I. All letters of Xántus to Baird, in this chapter, unless otherwise cited, are from Washington.

¹⁰ Oelrichs and Company, New York, to S. F. B., 11 October 1861. J. X., New York, to S. F. B., 25 October 1861, p. 2. S. I. *New York Times*, 26 October 1861, p. 8.

¹¹ J. X., Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 19 October 1861, p. 1. S. I. Daniel Giraud Elliot (1835-1915) had amassed by 1869 the best private collection of North American birds.

¹² J. X. Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 22 October 1861. S. I.

¹³ J. X., Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 17 October 1861, p. 2. S. I.

clothed and armed Xántus went to New York, and on the eve of sailing he avowed his undying gratitude to his generous protector. 'When you receive this my dear Professor, I will be already on the Atlantic — homeward bound. I thanked you so often, & in so various forms, for the many kindnesses . . . the gigantic heap of friendly services, you kindly covered me with — perhaps undeservedly. I take with me, in my honest heart the recollection on your noble deeds, which shall only part from my bosom with my life.'¹⁴

Xántus had written to his mother that he should stop in Bremen for a couple of days to visit the scientific societies, and then should proceed by Leipzig to Győr.¹⁵ He reached his home on 19 November and was gratifyingly lionized in a number of ways.¹⁶ Two laudatory poems, extolling the returned traveler, appeared in the *Győri közlöny* in December.¹⁷ Wearing the uniform of a lieutenant of the United States Navy, Xántus had his portrait made by the distinguished painter Miklós Barabás; the enterprising *Győri közlöny* issued lithographic reproductions of it as a gift to new subscribers, thereby adding one hundred and thirty readers.¹⁸ The *Pest-Ofner Zeitung* described his ornithological collection,¹⁹ and on his arrival in Pest he was met at the station by several professors of the university. While

¹⁴ J. X., New York, to S. F. B., 25 October 1861, p. 2-4. S. I.

¹⁵ *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*, 13 November 1861, p. 3. *Győri közlöny*, 10 November 1861, p. 359.

¹⁶ Sándor Mocsáry, 'Xántus János emlékezete,' Magyar tudományos akadémia, *Emlékbeszédek a m. t. akadémia tagjai fölött*, IX (1899), 239.

¹⁷ Imre Kőmives, 'Ne csüggedjünk! Xántus János urnak,' *Győri közlöny*, 12 December 1861, p. 395. Lajos Bibok, 'Xántus Jánoshoz,' *Győri közlöny*, 15 December 1861, p. 398.

¹⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, 28 January 1862, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*, 4 December 1861, p. 3.



Xántus in the Uniform of the United States Navy, 1861

in the capital Xántus was the guest of Ágoston Kubinyi, and devoted much of his time to arranging the North American material in the National Museum.²⁰ He was serenaded by the academic choral union; the police, fearing a political disturbance, sent a troop to the museum, but the peaceful serenaders had already gone their way.²¹

The summit of Xántus's glory during the visit to his homeland was his inauguration as a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On 27 January 1862, before 'such a great crowd as was never seen before,' Xántus delivered his address on the subject of the physical geography of the ocean. He alluded to the attempt of Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg, professor at the University of Berlin, to enlist the maritime powers in collecting marine *Protozoa*, which had been spurned by the European powers, but willingly supported by the United States. As his share in this undertaking, he said, 'I alone, as an American officer . . . collected no less than fifteen thousand groups (in jars and paper containers) in the Pacific Ocean, which include every latitude, longitude, and depth, down to a mile and a half, from the United States to Australia, and from Vancouver to the Samoan Islands.'²² In view of Xántus's not inconsiderable contributions to natural history, one may regret that he celebrated his reception in a renowned academy by such a tissue of falsehood.

The welcome which Xántus received, and which gave promise that he could found a career on the basis of his

²⁰ *Pester Lloyd*, 20 December 1861, p. 3.

²¹ *Pester Lloyd*, 24 December 1861, p. 3.

²² J. X., 'Adatok a tenger természettani földiratához. Székfoglaló értekezés,' Magyar tudományos akadémia, *Magyar akadémiai értesítő. A matematikai és természettudományi osztályok közlönye*, III (1862), 88. *Pester Lloyd*, 29 January 1862, p. 2.

American reputation, did not lure him from his intention to try his fortunes again in America. Before his triumphant appearance at the academy in Pest he had already communicated explicitly his hopes to Professor Baird, prefacing them with the example of another Hungarian who had been entrusted with a consulship. 'I see in the N. Y. Herald that Lad. [László] Ujházy is appointed Am. Consul at Ancona; the appointment is very popular in Hungary, but the Austrian papers are enraged about it. If you can procure for me my dear Professor a Consulship, I am ready to accept it at once; as soon as I am notified, I start for my place of destination without a single days delay. I am indeed tired of Europe already, and would be very glad to leave her as soon as possible. A Central American, Mexican, or South American station would be of course most desirable, but I would accept a Consulship anywhere from the U. S. — If you could not arrange a Consulship on the American continent, you could place me perhaps (even temporarily) as American Consul to Pesth, or Belgrade, any of which both would be of incalculable advantage to me. I have of course no particular desire, all these are only suggestions, you may dispose of my future as you think the best, I place unbounded confidence in your friendship, hoping you will do for me the best. Please to remember me to Mrs & Miss Baird,²³ also to Capt. Churchill & other friends.'²⁴

Less pleasing news came to Xántus's attention in the columns of the *New York Herald*, for three months later he wrote to Baird, 'I was much mortified in not discovering my name amongst the *hundred & some* consuls,

²³ Lucy Hunter Baird (1848-1913), only child of Spencer Fullerton Baird.

²⁴ J. X., Győr, to S. F. B., 2 January 1862, p. 3-6. S. I.

who were lately appointed by the President to all parts of the world, I read their names with sorrow interest in the N. Y. Herald.'²⁵ His mortification did not hinder his renewing his request, varying it by adding the possibility of a 'pursership in the navy (perhaps on the African or Pacific Svadroom.). I start end of June certainly, therefore I pray you to write me *to the point*, what can I expect if there, that I may regulate myself before I start.'²⁶

In the end Xántus had to leave Hungary on 23 June 1862²⁷ without promise of employment, but with the support of a 'song-talisman' offered him by a poet in the columns of the *Györi közlöny*.²⁸ The *New York*, 'a modern Noah's ark, filled with all kinds of clean and unclean animals,' carried him from Bremen on 6 July to New York.²⁹ On the trip he commenced a series of letters for the *Györi közlöny*, differing from the ones published before his visit to Hungary in that they were commissioned by the editor, and not addressed primarily to his family. For that reason they give the impression that they were written consciously for an audience, and that European expectations of America were coddled. For example, the wonder of the German passengers that the New York pilot was not a redskin, and the amazement of the immigrants at the busy traffic in the harbor give a fair clue to the content of Xántus's letters to his

²⁵ J. X., Györ, to S. F. B., 29 March 1862, p. 3. S. I.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 3-4.

²⁷ Mocsáry, *loc. cit.* p. 239.

²⁸ Kálmán Lisznyai, 'Daltalizmán Xántus Jánosnak (Északamerikai utjára),' *Györi közlöny*, 25 May 1862, p. 166-167.

²⁹ *Györi közlöny*, 7 September 1862, p. 286. *New York Times*, 23 July 1862, p. 8.

compatriots in Győr. He landed in the New World, for the second time, on 22 July 1862.³⁰

Identifying himself completely with his adopted country, Xántus used the possessive 'we' and 'ours' in describing the marvels of America for the readers of his newspaper letters. He narrated his trip to Philadelphia, parenthetically praising the speed of American trains. 'I like to travel fast, and should gladly bruise my ribs once if I could shoot ahead for the rest of my life. Most Yankees think like this, and it is just for this reason that in many respects they are centuries ahead of the *Spiessbürger* world — so much so, that by the time the Europeans reach our present state of progress, we shall be traveling at least in airships, or perhaps even in cannon shells with telegraphic speed.' The democratic lack of compartments received Xántus's approval. 'For one who travels on American trains for the first time, it will appear very striking that there is but one class in the cars, and no one, by paying more, can barricade his moneyed self in such a place where he will not meet the common glances of the common people.'³¹

Xántus left Philadelphia for Harrisburg 'with a friend of mine who had been a Prussian soldier and who wishes to join the American army, to attain which end I offered to introduce him to the governor of Pennsylvania. As the governor was visiting a very good friend of mine in Carlisle, I thought it best for us to go there. Having gratified my friend's desires, I had nothing more to do in Carlisle, and so we left for Harrisburg after dinner so that he could take his military

³⁰ *Győri közlöny*, 11 September 1862, p. 290. *New York Times*, 23 July 1862, p. 8.

³¹ *Győri közlöny*, 18 September 1862, p. 297-299.

post immediately and that I could get to Washington so much the sooner.³² The truth is that, although Xántus was accompanied by Gustav Schimmel,³³ the object of the trip was to visit Professor Baird, the unnamed good friend, at his summer house in Carlisle, and to ask his intercession for both Xántus and Schimmel — to obtain, respectively, an office and a commission. They were both referred by Baird to persons in Washington, and arrived there on 27 July.³⁴ Schimmel failed at first to get a commission, and Xántus asked Baird if he thought it advisable for Schimmel to apply in Harrisburg.³⁵

Upon reaching Washington, Xántus called upon his first protector, Dr William Alexander Hammond, who had been appointed Surgeon General three months earlier. Using the direct and personal means so characteristic of Civil War appointments, Hammond had Xántus commissioned as Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, on the day after his arrival in the capital. This rank was the equivalent of lieutenant, and thus brought Xántus back within the army which he had once so detested. The appointment of one who was not a physician, even during this age of patronage, as Acting Assistant Surgeon was almost unique.³⁶ Xántus, however, took his good fortune with sang-froid, and described it tersely to Baird. 'I called on Dr Hammond, and he appointed me to his secretary with \$100 a month.

³² *Györi közlöny*, 26 October 1862, p. 341-342; 30 October, p. 345-346.

³³ By other means Schimmel obtained a commission, and was mentioned in dispatches.

³⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., Carlisle, 1 August 1862, p. 1. S. I.

³⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., Carlisle, 5 August 1862, p. 1. S. I.

³⁶ Records of the Medical Department, War Department. E. E. Hume, *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 520.

Ever since I am in his office, having but very little to do. To assort his mail is my only Duty as far, & this all is finished before 12 m every day. I am really ashamed in having so little business on hand.' He lodged at 421 Thirteenth Street, and spent some time in visiting the Smithsonian Institution and conversing with Professor Henry, the secretary, and Dr Gill, who had been working on the classification of Xántus's Cape San Lucas fishes.³⁷

Aside from the confessed light duties at the Surgeon General's office, Xántus had little to do, except to combat assaults on his reputation which came independently from two directions, and to seek an appointment which would be more favorable to the pursuit of science than his military commission in the war-time capital.

The impecunious Xántus had left a trail of unsavory debts behind him at Cape San Lucas and San Francisco, and this information was given to Baird while Xántus was in Europe. Xántus had not been above doing a bit of business on the side while he was at the Cape. On his return from Mazatlán he arranged for the sale of four sewing machines from Grayson's store,³⁸ and when he disestablished the tide observatory he sold to Thomas Ritchie some lumber for \$53, a grindstone for \$4, four shovels for \$4 — all property of the Coast Survey — and with the remainder of the lumber he paid off his servants.³⁹ He further undertook to handle the sale of livestock in San Francisco for Ritchie. From this sale he received \$330; he already owed Ritchie \$100

³⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., Carlisle, 1 August 1862, p. 1-2. S. I.

³⁸ J. X., S. S. *Panama*, off Magdalena Bay, to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 8 August 1861, p. 4. Bancroft Library, University of California.

³⁹ Thomas Ritchie, Cape San Lucas, [to G. H. Elliot, San Francisco], 24 November 1861. S. I.

on a check made against Lieutenant Elliot, which he had promised to cash in San Francisco. Of the total debt of \$430, he delivered \$190 to the purser of the *Panama* to be handed to Ritchie, and retained \$240, justifying to Ritchie his course by writing that Elliot could not pay him because the 'Revolution' had made money short. He amiably explained his embezzlement to his victim. 'I thought you will not be offended, if I keep for a short time, some of the money, I collected for you. I hope you will perfectly approve my proceedings, considering the circumstances under which I am. I may hope so after our friendly relations of 3 years which were never interrupted by any ill feelings.'⁴⁰ Ritchie did not approve these proceedings, and exposed them, as well as the sale of Coast Survey property, to Elliot. To the latter Xántus had accounted for only twelve dollar's worth of government property.⁴¹ This was not Xántus's only morally questionable act, for he failed to pay a bill of \$450.96 due Janson, Bond & Company of San Francisco for dry goods purchased on 21 March and 21 June 1861.⁴² Xántus told these creditors that Ritchie owed him money for the goods, and that when he was paid by the latter he would settle his account.⁴³

All these matters came to the attention of Elliot, who took them up with Samuel Hubbard, the principal intermediary of the Smithsonian Institution in San Francisco.

⁴⁰ Copy, J. X., San Francisco, to Thomas Ritchie, Cape San Lucas, 20 August 1861, p. 1-2. Thomas Ritchie, Cape San Lucas, [to J. R. Bolton, San Francisco], 24 November 1861, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁴¹ G. H. Elliot, San Francisco, to Samuel Hubbard, San Francisco, 10 February [1862]. S. I.

⁴² Janson, Bond & Company, San Francisco, to Samuel Hubbard, San Francisco, 7 February 1862. S. I.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Hubbard wrote to Baird in February 1862, expressing great surprise, for his impressions of Xántus and his intercourse with him had always been of the most favorable nature. He told Baird that Xántus had been paid in full (\$168.25) by Elliot; he hoped that Baird would take up the subject with Xántus, 'so that he can have an opportunity of defending himself from these charges against his character as an honest man.' The generous Hubbard further wrote; 'I shall wait with anxiety his reply, for I have always had an high opinion of him, and it does not seem possible that he could sell his honor for the paltry sum of \$690. This is a very unpleasant duty, writing about the character of a man who we have always respected. . My relations with Mr Xantus have always, and are still of the most friendly nature, I am sorry that anything should be said about him now that he is away from us.'⁴⁴

The character of Xántus emerges very clearly from this episode. His vivacity and gift for making things appear dramatic, his easy transposing of situations so that they appeared favorable to him, his ingratiating, and his unquestioned energy in the cause of the Smithsonian Institution were hiding the braggadocio which could so easily become downright dishonesty. Xántus had to give an accounting to the sternly upright Baird, as a result of which he promised to pay, at least, his debt to Janson, Bond & Company.⁴⁵ That his credit was not destroyed is shown by his request on 5 August 1862 for a loan of fifteen dollars from Baird, and the receipt for it on 23 August.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Samuel Hubbard, San Francisco, to S. F. B., 19 February 1862, p. 3-4. S. I.

⁴⁵ S. F. B. to J. X., New York, 10 December 1862. S. I.

⁴⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., Carlisle, 5 August 1862, p. 2; 23 August. S. I.

Paralleling this exposure of Xántus's shady handling of financial matters was a public attack on the record of his service to the government and to science. The Hungarian settlers in Iowa, who had already shown annoyance at Xántus's self-glorifying tales, had more tangible reason to resent the acclaim given him in Hungary. Their reading of the rapturous accounts of Xántus's achievements in the Hungarian papers determined them to investigate the claims made by him. László Madarász, the occupant of the land claimed by Xántus, and his friend Ferenc Varga wrote to the secretaries of War, the Navy, and the Interior to ascertain if the assertions of Xántus that he had led government surveying parties in the west and had commanded marine explorations were true. From these dignitaries came the answer that Xántus was unknown to them, and Ferenc Varga embodied this information in a letter published in *Jövő*, a daily newspaper of Pest, on 6 October 1862.⁴⁷

The outraged naturalist appealed to Baird for a defense of his reputation, and supplied him with a translation of the offending article. He was anxious to vindicate himself not only for personal satisfaction, but also to answer the inquiries which the Hungarian National Museum and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had made, prompted by the article in *Jövő*, of John Lothrop Motley, United States minister to the court of Vienna. Baird supported Xántus without reserve, and wrote highly flattering letters to both Motley and Kubinyi;⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Jövő*, 6 October 1862. J. M. Edmunds, Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, to László Madarász, Decatur, Iowa, 31 July 1862; in the possession of Stephen Varga, Leon, Iowa.

⁴⁸ Draft, S. F. B. to J. L. Motley, Vienna, [ca. December 1862]. Draft, S. F. B. to Ágoston Kubinyi, Director, Hungarian National Museum, Pest, [ca. December 1862]. S. I.

in addition, Xántus induced Secretary Henry and Surgeon General Hammond to write to Superintendent Bache, and the latter incorporated their testimony in a letter which he addressed to William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, for transmission to Motley.⁴⁹ That Xántus was able to win Bache, his most constant critic, to lead this defense, is a remarkable tribute to his personal gifts. No doubt the opinion of Hammond represented also the impressions which Xántus had made on Bache: 'In all my acquaintance with Mr. Xantus I have always found him a high toned honorable gentleman and an ardent cultivator of science.'⁵⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that not a single point made by Varga in his letter to the editor of *Jövö* was disproved.

Not content with the efforts of others to bolster his reputation, Xántus himself issued a folder on 1 December 1862, which contained the accounts of his explorations as printed in the annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution for the years 1859 to 1861. He prefaced these statements with his own plea. 'Dear countrymen in the United States: During my residence of over ten years in the United States, I always walked quietly along my path; minding my own, and not interfering with the business of others. The sole object of my life was to struggle myself up to a position where I could do something for our beloved old home. I succeeded with toilsome privations, and many sacrifices as regards comfort and material interests, to present almost every scientific

⁴⁹ Joseph Henry to A. D. Bache, 11 December 1862. W. A. Hammond to A. D. Bache, 5 December 1862. A. D. Bache to W. H. Seward, 13 December 1862. State Department papers. J. X. to S. F. B., [ca. 30 November 1862]. S. I.

⁵⁰ W. A. Hammond to A. D. Bache, 5 December 1862. State Department papers.

institute at home with specimens of American art, industry, and natural history, which by far surpass in quality as well as quantity any and every collection as far, in our Fatherland. By doing this constantly, naturally enough the organs of public sentiment at home have spoken very frequently about me, and naturally enough very favorably. Our countryman Francis Varga undertook to attack my good reputation. These contemptible and uncalled for charges having been circulated among you in this country, I beg leave to offer for your consideration... extracts from printed Congressional Documents in regard to myself.⁵¹ Xántus weathered all these attacks of the year 1862, and emerged from them even more favorably patronized than before.

From his sinecure in the Surgeon General's office Xántus was able to survey the passing scene in war-time Washington. He wrote to Baird in August, 'Our city very gloomy, the most extravagant rumors everywhere. One thing is certain the enemy is this side of Fairfax. I can't understand how this can happen, we have so many resources, so many advantages over the Rebels, and still lose ground. . The world has never witnessed yet such spectacle indeed. Whisky sellers, lagerbeer keepers and the like are made generals, they again make their shoemakers, tailors, cigarmakers etc to Colonels, Majors, & Captains. — Capacity here is only a secondary matter, if any; Contract, business, making money the leading ideas. Under such combinations of course "one hand helps the other" — and discipline is not among the known things.'⁵² He had occasional spurts of activity;

⁵¹ Printed folder, Washington, 1 December 1862. In the possession of the author.

⁵² J. X. to S. F. B., Carlisle, 29 August 1862, p. 1-3. S. I.

for example, he reported to Baird on 28 October that he was much engaged in making a map of the Antietam hospitals.⁵³

Xántus was sufficiently free to devote himself to the search for a consulship, and concentrated his ambition on the post at Martinique. He applied to Secretary Seward for the appointment on 15 November,⁵⁴ warmly supported by an official and a personal letter from Baird. The official letter stated that Xántus had every qualification for the post, but the personal letter went even further in its support. Baird assured Seward, 'I have said nothing of his qualifications as a naturalist, as these may perhaps be considered as irrelevant in an official point of view. I may however state here that he is the most accomplished and successful explorer in the field of Natural History I have ever known or ever heard of. . . Mr Xantus is a thorough man of business and if appointed would attend strictly to his official duties, occupying himself with Natural History only in his leisure intervals. His industry and energy are however so extraordinary that he would undoubtedly do all that could be desired either as consul or naturalist.'⁵⁵

Martinique, however, was not to know Xántus's explorations. Three days after submitting his application Xántus received from Seward a letter of acknowledgment, without any commitment. He forwarded it to Baird with the memorandum, 'I just received the enclosed note, which I think means "*your case will be put into the*

⁵³ J. X. to S. F. B., 28 October 1862, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁴ J. X. to W. H. Seward, 15 November 1862. State Department papers.

⁵⁵ Draft, S. F. B. to W. H. Seward, 15 November 1862, p. 1-2; an official letter of same date. S. I.

pidgeon hole" Probably some broken-down Politician has got the place.⁵⁶

Xántus did not long remain disappointed, for on 25 November he was appointed consul at Manzanillo, the port of the state of Colima, on the west coast of Mexico,⁵⁷ at a salary of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month.⁵⁸ His contract as Acting Assistant Surgeon was annulled on 1 December.⁵⁹

After winding up his affairs in Washington, and agreeing to accept five hundred dollars from Dr Henry Bryant⁶⁰ for a series of the birds collected by him and stored at the Smithsonian Institution and for a series of the birds to be taken during the first year of his exploration of western Mexico,⁶¹ he proceeded to New York. George N. Lawrence advanced him three hundred dollars at the request of Professor Baird,⁶² and he was supplied with letters of introduction from the Mexican minister to the governors of Colima, Michoacan, Jalisco, and Sinaloa.⁶³ He was given free passage by the Panama Railroad Company and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company,⁶⁴ but he was obliged to pay his own passage

⁵⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 18 November 1862, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁷ *Györi közlöny*, 21 December 1862, p. 407. State Department papers. A consular agency had been established at Manzanillo in 1855, and elevated to a consulate in 1860. The consulate was disestablished in 1887.

⁵⁸ J. X., Colima, to S. F. B., 24 January 1863, p. 6. S. I.

⁵⁹ Records of the Medical Department, War Department.

⁶⁰ Henry Bryant (1820-1867) was a prominent ornithologist of Boston.

⁶¹ S. F. B. to J. X., New York, 10 December 1862. S. I.

⁶² J. X., New York, to S. F. B., 10 December 1862, p. 1. S. I.

⁶³ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1862, p. 99.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 1862, p. 55; 1863, p. 53-54.

on the Vanderbilt line to Aspinwall.⁶⁵ From the Vanderbilt agents he could not obtain permission to have the bulky equipment lent him by the Smithsonian Institution carried free,⁶⁶ so he decided to use the Panama Railroad Company's brig to carry it. This enabled him to make certain his connection with the Pacific Mail steamer after crossing the Isthmus, but removed his equipment from his personal supervision.⁶⁷

Invoking God's blessing upon his faithful friend and protector,⁶⁸ Xántus sailed from New York on the *Ocean Queen* on 11 December 1862. Baird looked with equivalent spirit upon the departing naturalist, for in his report to the regents of the Smithsonian Institution he wrote, 'I doubt not that, with unabated zeal, he will be able to add much that is new and important to the different branches of natural history.'⁶⁹

⁶⁵ J. X., New York, to S. F. B., 10 December 1862, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁶⁶ Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1862, p. 41.

⁶⁷ J. X., New York, to S. F. B. 10 December 1862, p. 1-3. S. I.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁶⁹ Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1862, p. 41.

CHAPTER VI

MANZANILLO AND COLIMA

1863 — 1864

The area to which Xántus was going was described by Baird, with slight overstatement, as 'a new and entirely unexplored field.'¹ It was, indeed, little known, and promised to yield to Xántus species which would give him a third great representative group from the Pacific coast of North America. The first had made known the biota of a region of varied habitat in southern California, the second the peculiar fauna and flora of the Cape district of Lower California. The third was to be dipped from the teeming animal life of the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre.

As always when he was facing a new assignment and new adventures, Xántus was in high spirits on his trip to Panama. He described the rough sailing to Baird in a letter written off Haiti. 'The day before yesterday we sighted the Mariguanas [Inaguas] after a very boisterous & stormy passage; we were hurled up & down & to & from constantly as far, but reached safely yesterday noon the E point of Cuba, & are steaming now close alongside to San Domingo. It seems father Neptune is at last tired of his fury, the sea settles down nicely, and probably we will come safely to our destination. The gales & squalls made us all wet constantly, we have nothing dry on us as far. I often thought when shivering to my bones at the many Spermophyli Be[e]cheyi, whom I drowned out of their subterranean

¹ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1862, p. 55.

residences. What a satisfaction they had had, if they but could see me now in a similar position, dipped & ducked in salt water nicely!"² For his fellow passengers he had no high regard. 'Most of my traveling companions are going to California, and everything is said of them in this one word. They are all ordinary, uneducated people, and only those who are going elsewhere are exceptions. At least, this is the only judgment I could form of them, so far.'³ 'We have a mongrel great lot of passengers a board, as usual with gold hunting people the mere sight of most of them makes me sick.' His good nature was tested by other trials, too. 'Our accommodation & fare is just Vanderbuiltlike in every respect; we subsist now entirely on vegetarian diet; the cannibal diet has run out, or spoiled & trown overboard.'⁴

Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, who had been long absent from the correspondence, came into mention again as Xántus sailed through the Caribbean. Among the passengers was a certain Passow, a resident of Mazatlán, who informed Xántus that the Duke's taxidermist had found his way to Colima, and there prepared birds for a Dr Keller; the birds were sent to Germany. Xántus advised Baird to trace this collection, so that 'we shall make no blunders by describing birds, which were perhaps known. .'⁵

The consul arrived at Manzanillo on 28 December 1862.⁶ He presented letters of introduction to Ohlmayer and

² J. X., S. S. *Ocean Queen*, off Haiti, to S. F. B., 17 December 1862, p. 1-2. S. I.

³ *Györi közlöny*, 17 May 1863, p. 157-158.

⁴ J. X., S. S. *Ocean Queen*, off Haiti, S. F. B., 17 December 1862, p. 4. S. I.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 3-4.

⁶ According to his consular report, Xántus arrived on 29 December. J. X., Consular report no. 1, 3 January 1863. State Department papers.

Koch, the local steamship agents, but met a cool reception. Turning to a humble customs guard, Xántus received hospitality and the offer of animals to carry him to Colima. 'He kept his words, did everything for my comfort, made the conducta responsible for my safety; and refused to accept compensation even for his actual expenses for me — although he is nothing more than a negro! worth in Charleston perhaps \$600.'⁷

The road to Colima, which required a day and a half to traverse, was infested with brigands, and a strong military party was needed to guard the travelers and the steamer freight. In the forests and jungle of mangroves, ironwood, and palms Xántus saw animal life unknown to him — parrots, magpies, crocodiles, huge iguanas — until, wild with excitement, he could restrain himself no longer. 'I very often broke ranks, and followed a bird to ascertain what it was, not thinking at all about the ladrones.' The thought of the robbers, however, troubled him, and he spoke about them to Don Ramón de la Vega, the governor of Colima. 'I asked the Governor lately, what protection he could give to me against the ladrones in my excursions. He answered that he could give an *advice*, which would surely protect me. His advice was, that I must always carry with me some money (say from 10-15 dollars), and give the sum to the robbers very politely. They will soon know me, and they will leave certainly to me my arms, etc, and will be satisfied with my money alone. He (the Governor) would almost guarantee that the ladrones themselves would soon protect me, and give for me

⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 10 January 1863, p. 1-2. S. I. All letters of Xántus to Baird, in this chapter, unless otherwise cited, are from Colima.

escort to any distant excursion. Now what you think about such state of affairs?⁸

The state of affairs represented the political confusion of Mexico following the French invasion, complicated by the robber bands common to the western states. The topsyturviness was probably exaggerated by Xántus for the picturesque effect it would give to his reports and the hazards in the way of his collecting it enabled him to overcome. From the constituted authorities Xántus had full coöperation, and the governor of Colima expressed eagerness to have his state explored so that its treasures would become known. The naturalist became acquainted with persons of influence and made himself familiar with the topography. "There is an old Hungarian proverb: *"make your bed, before you lay down"* so I am making all the preliminary steps, to insure success, which is only by such diplomacy obtainable; under circumstances we are in here."⁹

The bulk of Xántus's consular duties was performed at Colima, and there he established his permanent headquarters. He made a monthly visit to Manzanillo to attend the maritime interests of his office. To his old friend Grayson at Mazatlán he reported his return to Mexico, minimizing his official duties and stressing his pursuit of natural history. "I am out again as you see — in the field. I was nearly 6 months in Europe, then returned to Washington, but although in the office there, the scenes in the country were so heartsickening, that I came out — out very far from the horrors of our fratricidal war — to enjoy here a comparatively quiet life, the life of a naturalist."¹⁰

⁸ Ibid. p. 7, 3-4.

⁹ Ibid. p. 7-8.

¹⁰ J. X. to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 2 March 1863, p. 1. Bancroft

Despite this self-reassuring description of his situation, the realities, as at Fort Tejon and Cape San Lucas, appeared less glowing as he was exposed to them. His salary of \$125, with ten percent allowance for rent, barely sufficed to pay his expenses, and he had no fees to swell his income. The greatest expense was his rent of \$35 a month, for which he obtained two rooms and half a court "on the principal street of the city" as the Consular Regulation requires. I have now a respectable room, fitted up as office, and a large sala about 45 feet long, the one end of which is intended for my storeroom, the center part for laboratory, & the other end for dormitory. Board he expected to obtain for \$30, a servant and his board for \$14, and the stabling of a horse for \$7; the laundress would charge \$5, and candles, cigars, and incidentals would amount to \$19. The total of \$110 would leave him only \$27.50 for paying boys for collecting, for transportation, and for emergencies. In addition, he bought of Morrell, the consular agent *ad interim*, a horse and saddle for \$100 in order to avoid hiring horses for the trips to Manzanillo, and the money advanced by Lawrence was consumed by the passage to Aspinwall and incidentals. He was therefore obliged, he apologized to Baird, to give Morrell a draft on Baird for \$250; he wrote that he had no alternative, and hoped that Baird would be able to arrange for funds with Lawrence or Bryant, who would benefit from the forthcoming collections. Xántus assured Baird that in future he would be able to manage, and would not tax Baird's generous patience.¹¹

Library, University of California. Xántus spent actually over eight months in Europe.

¹¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 24 January 1863, p. 4-9, 11-12. S. I.

Additional expenses were caused by the Mexican customs officers, who regarded Xántus with the suspicions which his predecessor had aroused. He was obliged to pay an import duty of \$58 on the collecting equipment, and a fine of \$25 for failure to have the invoice made in Spanish in New York. Furthermore, the boxes which Xántus packed for Baird were opened by the customs guards, who suspected that Xántus was attempting to smuggle out silver.¹²

Xántus's preoccupation with money, or rather with the lack of it, did not disappear from his letters. In most of the thirty letters he wrote to Baird from Mexico the subject is mentioned; and, except for one windfall, his fortune continued to decline as he strained his credit. In May 1863 he bemoaned the order of the Secretary of the Treasury that consuls be paid in greenbacks, which, according to him, were worthless in Mexico.¹³ The net of debts and prospective payments on the drafts he had issued weighed upon him, and by October, because of proposals crossing en route, he was in complete confusion about the method of repayment.¹⁴ Considering that his debts still included those contracted in 1861 to permit his visit to Hungary,¹⁵ his perplexity is comprehensible. On one occasion when Xántus was in funds he himself was startled. 'It is rather strange with me to think, that I am at last in surplus, I hardly can believe it, but it seems it is now so. Amen!'¹⁶

Although financial worry may have been at the back of Xántus's mind, he put on a brave show as consul.

¹² J. X. to S. F. B., 12 February 1863, p. 1-2. S. I.

¹³ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 May 1863, p. 1. S. I.

¹⁴ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 October 1863, p. 2. S. I.

¹⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 December 1863, p. 5. S. I.

¹⁶ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 October 1863, p. 3. S. I.

'The U. S. steamsloop Saranac is also here, I had an official transaction with her Captain, who received me by boarding her with 7 guns salute, beating drums, presenting arms etc etc.'¹⁷ The hauteur which such ceremonies might have created did not show itself in Xántus's demeanor to his adopted fellow citizens at Colima. 'Americans are only four here, Mr *Morrill* (not the Consul, he is *Morrell*) a druggist, *Mr Follin & Mr Niles* agents of Patent Yankee medicines, & *Mr Mann* a cotton ginner. All of them are well educated gentlemen, but with the exception of the first, all Southerners & violent Secessionists. I shall try however to avoid with them all politics, & be with them on the best possible terms *socially*, we must stick together here well, all of us are aware of this.'¹⁸ At Manzanillo, on the other hand, 'all the Americans are of the 3^d class people, always fighting, do not respect law or persons, and cause me great deal of trouble with the authorities.'¹⁹

These distinctions were overlooked on Independence Day. 'We had a grand 4th of July celebration here; in the morning, noon, & evening all the city church bells rang, at noon on the plaza the authorities fired 34 guns, & in the evening the whole city was illuminated. At noon the foreign Consuls, civil & military authorities (state & federal) came in procession to me, & the Governor of the State delivered an oration congratulatory & complimentary to the U. S. — I had of course to keep up the dignity of the Consulate, and invited the whole crowd to my residence in the evening, & every American.'²⁰ 'Thinking the opportunity so good, to

¹⁷ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 30 January 1863, p. 1. S. I.

¹⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 24 January 1863, p. 10. S. I.

¹⁹ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 25 June 1863, p. 2. S. I.

²⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 7 July 1863, p. 2-3. S. I.

establish friendly relations between all Americans here, I invited to me all our southern citizens also, who formerly annoyed me always good deal, and were always vehement enemies of the U. S. Government. They accepted all my invitation, and drank all the health of the President, the Government, the Army & Navy, and the success and prosperity of the Union; & as far as appearances go, they left my house without exception, as good Union citizens."²¹ "That the Mexican authorities & the populace of Colima celebrated the 4th with such enthusiasm, of course was done because *I am* the U. S. Consul in Colima, unquestionably the most popular individual in the country hereabout. There is no example on record, that Colima ever celebrated the 4th. Whether somebody ever gives me credit for this, I do not know, and I neither expect indeed, but I am sure I made the U. S. in general, & the American citizens in particular, popular & beloved in this section of the world, although our citizens are the most troublesome people in the world when outside of the U. S."²²

The epithet 'troublesome' describes Xántus's behavior as consul and explains his fall. An American citizen, John S. Blake, of Bellows Falls, Vermont, who operated a mine at Aguas Blancas within the jurisdiction of the Colima consulate, had been plagued by assaults upon his person and property committed by 'reactionary' forces. When Xántus was informed of these outrages he undertook steps which he reported in April to Captain Charles H. Poor, commanding U. S. S. *Saranac* at Manzanillo. 'I arranged a meeting with Tobaz the reactionary Chief, and came with him to an understanding. He

²¹ J. X., Consular report no. 13, 8 July 1863. State Department papers.

²² J. X. to S. F. B., 7 July 1863, p. 3. S. I.

promised me to remit the fine imposed on, and exacted from Mr. Blake, and promised not to molest him again . . . provided Mr. Blake will act solely as my Consular Agent, accredited to his (Tobaz's) dominions, as an "exequatur" from President Juarez he should never recognize in his territories. This arrangement, flattering to the vanity of Tobaz I considered as very cheap, willingly accepted and so far it seems to work very well."²³ To the Department of State he made a similar report a month later,²⁴ but the first information of the incident came to the department in a report from Rear Admiral Charles H. Bell, commanding the Pacific squadron aboard U. S. S. *Lancaster* at Panama, to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles. Bell sent to Welles a copy of Xántus's letter to Captain Poor, and opined that 'Mr. Xantus seems to have peculiar ideas in regard to his powers as Consul. It is certainly a strange procedure for an officer in his position to be holding, at the same time, diplomatic intercourse with a Government and a party in rebellion against it.'²⁵ Welles shared this opinion, and on 17 June turned the document over to Secretary Seward.²⁶

The Department of State, unlike the Coast Survey, did not content itself with admonishing its erring steward. On 18 June Frederick Seward notified Xántus that, 'in order to mark the displeasure of the President with this extraordinary course' which Xántus had thought proper

²³ J. X. to C. H. Poor, U. S. S. *Saranac*, Manzanillo Bay, 8 April 1863. State Department papers.

²⁴ J. X., Consular report no. 7, 14 May 1863. State Department papers.

²⁵ C. H. Bell, U. S. S. *Lancaster*, Panama, to Gideon Welles, 30 May 1863. State Department papers.

²⁶ Gideon Welles to W. H. Seward, 17 June 1863. State Department papers.

to pursue, his commission had been revoked. He was ordered to close the consulate upon the receipt of the dispatch, and was informed that his compensation would cease on the same day.²⁷

Xántus handled this dispatch as he handled his financial affairs, with evasive deception. With other mail it had left New York aboard the *Ocean Queen* on 23 June, been transferred to the Panama Mail steamer *Constitution* at Panama on 5 July, and put ashore at Manzanillo on 12 July.²⁸ Yet to his friend Grayson he wrote on 17 July in a vein reminiscent of Sydney Carton: 'As regards my position as Consul, I accepted the appointment temporarily on the solicitation of Fred. Seward & Surgeon General Hammond my personal friends; I received [it] however only as a friendly sacrifice for certain emergency's and long ago I demanded to be relieved, as the supposed emergencies were only dreams. I hope the real Consul will soon make his appearance, as I am much tired of my duties, undertaken against my inclination, and conviction.'²⁹ Xántus did not acknowledge the dispatch to the Department of State until 1 August, falsely asserting that it had reached him that morning by the *Constitution*.³⁰

To his faithful protector Xántus wrote on 1 August in a manner quite different from his effusion to Grayson.

²⁷ F. W. Seward to J. X., 18 June 1863. State Department papers. Wurzbach's biography of Xántus stated that because Xántus so resolutely opposed the prevailing French occupation all American consulates in Mexico were closed. Constantin Wurzbach, Ritter von Tannenberg, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien, 1856-1891), LIX, 51.

²⁸ San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 18 July 1863, p. 3.

²⁹ J. X. to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 17 July 1863. Bancroft Library, University of California.

³⁰ J. X., Consular report no. 14, 1 August 1863. State Department papers.

'With this mornings steamer unexpected events burst upon me. . If you think there is any necessity of doing something in the case, with the assistance of Dr Hammond, Chittenden,³¹ & Mr Chew³² you may do something, as the summary procedure is certainly unjust, and I never deserved it. But if you think we ought to leave things to take their own course, I am satisfied also; as I should certainly resign even if reinstated, I just wanted to have the satisfaction of resigning myself.'³³

To the project of reinstatement he devoted himself entirely, albeit slyly, in the acknowledgment of his dismissal which he made to Secretary Seward. Xántus's defense of his course is best expressed in his own words. 'I take the liberty to ask you now Sir, to grant me the privilege to explain in a few words the proceeding, which unfortunately — but certainly undeservedly — caused my removal. I deserved to be removed from my office certainly, if I performed ever such transaction, as the letter to Capt Poor purports I have performed; but I assure most positively the Department, that such case never happened, on the contrary I cautioned Mr Blake "not to have any intercourse whatever with the rebel authorities; not to notice them at all; and only in case if he should be molested again, I authorised him to exhibit his appointment to the rebel authorities, as an explanation that the U. S. will certainly punish them, if they committed again insults against him (Mr Blake) or our flag, and arms."

'My conscience is clear, that I acted in this case as well, as every other in perfect conformity with the principles

³¹ Lucius Eugene Chittenden (1824-1902), Register of the Treasury from 1861 to 1864.

³² Robert Smith Chew (d. 1873) was clerk in the Department of State from 1834 to 1866, and Chief Clerk from 1866 to 1873.

³³ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 1 August 1863, p. 1. S. I.

and spirit of the Government, I had the honor to represent; and the Department can easily ascertain, that I kept up the dignity of the Consulate, and established a popular and friendly feeling with the local authorities here, which was unfortunately not known here — before my arrival.

'To explain my certainly extraordinary letter to Capt Poor, I have to state that the very proceedings I wrote about in the letter to him; was his own idea, which he advised me to carry out in order to protect Mr Blakes family, and great property that time in imminent danger. I never asked Capt Poor for assistance, as I felt perfectly competent to settle all my affairs without resorting to force, in a legal way but Captain Poor assumed a position towards me, as if I had been only his clerk, ordering me to him, demanding reports, etc

'Knowing that I was entirely independent of his controlling disposition, I was of course much vexed; but I suffered still with forbearance, as I wanted to be on as good terms with him as possible in interest of the U. S., and finally I resolved to write to him the letter, I wrote — in order that his everlasting and uncalled for enquiries and meddling with my duties may cease at last.

'If this step is sufficient ground, that the Government withdraw her confidence in a summary way from me, who performed my official duties under trying circumstances certainly very creditably, I am very sorry indeed, and much mortified, but the Government is the best Judge whether I acted properly or not, therefore as a loyal citizen, and as a faithful & good servant I have only to obey her decision. .³⁴

³⁴ J. X., Consular report no. 14, 1 August 1863. State Department papers.

This decision Xántus was so loth to obey that he urged Baird to induce someone having the ear of Secretary Seward to recommend careful consideration of Xántus's explanation of his action.³⁵ Events at Manzanillo, however, temporarily forestalled Xántus's hope of reinstatement, for on 26 August Commander Fabius Stanly, commanding U. S. S. *Narragansett*, appointed one Neuschäfer acting consul.³⁶ Stanly rescinded this action on 30 September after ascertaining that Neuschäfer was not a citizen, and appointed Frederick Mann, the 'violent Secessionist,' in his stead.³⁷ To the latter Xántus turned over the consular archives. He judged the time ripe, after this succession of temporary appointments, to renew with Baird his suit. 'As circumstances stand, I think my reinstatement could be effected very well with influential patronage, but I left this matter optional with you. '³⁸ This was Xántus's last plea, for in November the accredited consul, William H. Blake, arrived, and pleas gave way to disparagement. 'He is a great politician, entered in 1862 the Indiana State troops as Captain, and in July, 1863 became a Colonel of his original Rgt. He then applied for appointment as Brig Genl, but his demand having been refused he resigned altogether; and came out as Consul to Manzanillo, to rest on his laurels. He is very unpopular here amongst Mexicans as well, as Americans, he think he is a Colonel still, and that he can command & order everybody at his hearts content. He is besides quite ignorant, cannot speak a word [word] Spanish, and I have to make out all his

³⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 11 August 1863, p. 1. S. I.

³⁶ Copy, Fabius Stanly, U. S. S. *Narragansett*, Manzanillo, to Neuschäfer, Manzanillo, 26 August 1863. State Department papers.

³⁷ Copy, Fabius Stanly, U. S. S. *Narragansett*, Manzanillo, to J. X., Manzanillo, 30 September 1863. State Department papers.

³⁸ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 October 1863, p. 1. S. I.

reports, and translate his conversations with the official Authorities. He resides in my house, but his conduct is so unbecoming to a gentleman, that I must soon turn him out, unless he goes voluntarily.³⁹

The dislike of Blake grew into hatred as Xántus contemplated the loss of a fortune which could have been his had he remained in office. One of the 'emergency's' to which Xántus had alluded in his letter to Grayson was the contest for the salvage of the *Golden Gate*. This 'boards barraks,' under the command of Captain Hudson, with 242 passengers, a crew of 96, and a treasure of \$1,400,747 in specie, took fire fifteen miles west of Manzanillo on 27 July 1862 while en route from San Francisco to Panama. When the captain perceived that the fire could not be extinguished he had the ship turned full speed for shore, but the fire spread aft and hindered the launching of the boats. The *Golden Gate* broke up as it entered the surf three hundred yards from the beach, and the fire consumed everything to the water's edge. The loss of life amounted to 223, and the treasure was spilled out into the shifting sands of the beach.⁴⁰ As early as 10 August salvage ships put out from San Francisco,⁴¹ doubtless contributing to the '3^d class people' assembled at Manzanillo. The authorized salvagers failed to recover any of the treasure, but they reported that about three hundred thousand dollars of the specie had fallen to the natives, who were exchanging double-eagles for twelve dollars in Mexican coin.⁴² Other sums were taken by free-

³⁹ J. X., to S. F. B., 17 November 1863, p. 2-3. S. I. Blake was a resident of Michigan City, Indiana. He was appointed on 13 August 1863.

⁴⁰ San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 7 August 1862, p. 3. J. H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 145.

⁴¹ San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 11 August 1862, p. 3.

⁴² Sacramento *Daily Union*, 11 December 1862, p. 2.

lance wreckers.⁴³ The scramble for the gold continued well over a year; in October 1863 Xántus informed Baird that the temporary appointment of Mann had been necessitated by continuous fighting at the wreck, endangering lives.⁴⁴

Xántus himself was not above the scramble, for he had accepted, after his dismissal and before the arrival of Blake, the task of representing the underwriters. His familiarity with the official correspondence concerning the wreck made him of such value that he received three hundred dollars for his past services and the offer of liberal compensation for the future. This did not offset, however, his anger at having lost his post. 'If I could have kept the Consulate, I had made about 15.000 dollars in the coming wrecking season, as the underwriters offered to me 3 procentum of the moneys, which will be found, if I stop in Manzanillo, & protect their property. This prospect is gone forewer, and now I will look out, to make in some decent way somehow else some litle cash.'⁴⁵ His next letter to Baird confirmed this information. 'The Consul [Mann] who is appointed only by a Captain of a man of war, cannot proceed without my help, therefore they had to arrange with me. Of course the Consul gets his share also for his services, and much more than I. It is a pity I am not Consul, I could have made in a decent way this time over \$15.000; and now although I shall do the *whole* business, I may make about \$5000 only, in the best case, but probably less.'⁴⁶ In January 1864 he reported to Baird that he had received \$8650 as his compensation from the underwriters. 'I have

⁴³ Ibid. 22 June 1863, p. 8.

⁴⁴ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 October 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 2-3.

⁴⁶ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 29 October 1863, p. 1-2. S. I.

placed already \$6000 to Europe, and have the balance here to navigate me away from here in any direction I may choose.⁴⁷

This financial good fortune did not mitigate Xántus's rancor against his permanent successor, and the Indiana colonel properly felt uncertain in his office. Blake besought the protection of Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and represented that he was the intended victim of the trio of ex-consuls — Xántus, Neuschäfer, and Mann. 'My fears may have exaggerated the danger,' he wrote to Colfax, 'but as the Consul Mr Xanthus who was removed for recognizing the French authority, is a German [!] a very cunning and unscrupulous man, and has some influence at Washington, he was formerly in the Surgeon Generals Office and has now some connection with the Smithsonian Institute.'⁴⁸ The colonel's epistolary style disintegrated under the stress of his indignation when he reported to Secretary Seward: 'The reported advance of the French on Colima and probably on this port has caused, considerable activity among Mexican officials here looking to obtaining an interest in the treasure, and I think it possible, that they are in collusion with one of the parties wrecking and a former Consul at this post, who I regret to believe, is in a corrupt combination, that will place the treasure beyond the reach of the owners untill an exorbitant salvage can be extorted.'⁴⁹

Blake's fear for his job changed to fear for his life. On 3 January 1864 he shot and killed a seaman named James

⁴⁷ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 30 January 1864, p. 2. S. I.

⁴⁸ W. H. Blake, Manzanillo, to Schuyler Colfax, 31 December 1863. State Department papers.

⁴⁹ W. H. Blake, Manzanillo, to W. H. Seward, 31 December 1863. State Department papers.

Mulhearn who had made off in a boat, accompanied by three others of the crew, from U. S. S. *Saginaw*, Commander Hopkins. Although the four seamen had been apprehended, Mulhearn was shot by Blake while they were being transferred to a place of greater security. The Mexican judge of the district informed Commander Hopkins that Blake would not be arrested, and that the disposition of his case should be arranged by the Mexican minister of foreign affairs and the United States minister.⁵⁰ To these officials the adjudication never fell, because Blake was arrested and confined in Colima. The two persons most concerned gave opposed statements to account for the colonel's imprisonment.

Blake reported to Seward on 31 January that 'This affair would have been justly and properly considered by the Mexican Authorities but for the efforts of John Xanthus, former Consul. He is a forigner, who at heart hates Americans and our institutions, and regards the struggle the Mexican people are making towards liberal ideas, with indifference and opposition. And to reveng himself upon the Government for his remooval, he has laboured assiduously to bring disgrace and dishonor upon the appointee who fills his position. Although removed in August last, he has remained here up to this date, in expectation of reappointment; and upon the occurrence of this affair, has worked in the most cunning and diabolical manner, to induce the Mexican State authorities to either withdraw my exequater or to have me arrested and tried by the courts. Speaking the language well, and being an addroit and bad man, his influence is very considerable; considering that there is no loyal Americans

⁵⁰ C. H. Bell, U. S. S. *Lancaster*, Panama, to Gideon Welles, ca. 15 January 1864. Navy Department.

here except two who are pecuniarily interested with him in effecting my remooval."⁵¹ On the other hand, Xántus represented himself to Baird as Blake's savior. 'Mr W. H. Blake my successor in the Consulate, is at present in Colima in the jail, underdoing a criminal trial. He has assassinated a poor american sailor in Manzanillo, and will be hardly sentenced soon. I saved his life, the people in Manzanillo wanted to execute him summarily, the murder was committed under such atrocious circumstances. My general popularity saved his life, and the U. S. from disgrace. The admiral acknowledged also in an official letter my services, and says that everything now depends from my influence & further good services, as he cannot do anything. Here we have now "one of Mr Seward's pets" — I wonder what he will do, with his nice representative.'⁵²

Whatever the influences at work may have been, Blake was 'tried by the Mexican courts for murder, and finally — on or about the 15th of febr — he was sentenced "to be shot." The execution was to take place the next day, but Mr Blake ran away to parts unknown; the authorities having given him all facilities to make his escape. As Mr Blake had no intercourse whatever with his countrymen in Colima, he has not made any disposition whatever about the consular property; which is scattered in different houses, and the bulk of it is pawned for his boarding in the hotel called "El progreso."⁵³ So did the tragicomedy end.

⁵¹ W. H. Blake, Colima, to W. H. Seward, 31 January 1864. State Department papers.

⁵² J. X. to S. F. B., 21 January 1864, p. 3-4. S. I.

⁵³ J. X., Washington, to R. S. Chew, State Department, 27 April 1864, p. 1-2. State Department papers.

The duties of Xántus's consulship, aside from the difficulties which he himself created, could not have been onerous, for there is almost no reference to them in his letters to Baird. So light were they that Xántus claimed to have been frequently absent from Colima and Manzanillo on extended explorations. In March 1863 he went along the coast about forty miles south of the mouth of the Rio de la Armeria.⁵⁴ The most extensive expedition which Xántus described to Baird is of very doubtful authenticity. He asserted that in April and May, in company with a priest of Cualcomantlan (Coalcomán) he penetrated southern Michoacan to the village of Chacan (?) in the Sierra Madre. Going forward with two Indians, he followed the crest of the range to Tupila (?) and 'finally, after 19 days immense sufferings & hardships' reached the town of Lauria (La Orilla) at the mouth of the Zacatula River (Rio Mexcala). As he reported to Baird, 'I hunted always when travelling, whatever happened to come in my way I popped at, and prepared the game during night by pinetorch light. I of course could not carry provisions with me, save tea chocholate, salt, & some sardines, and the last article had been better if dispensed with altogether, as once I eat a box for breakfast, and very nearly died of thirst during the day & following night, having not a drop of water. Under such circumstances I had to provide also for my kitchen, but fortunately this never troubled me much, there were plenty of Curassows & Chachalacas everywhere.' From the Zacatula River Xántus decided to go by canoe up the coast to Manzanillo. 'Dictum-factum I embarked in the hopes, to make the voyage along the coast in a straight line, in about 5 days, as the distance by that way is only 165

⁵⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 15 March 1863, p. 2-3. S. I.

miles, but "homo proponit, Deus disponit" we had always calms, and it took me 16 entire days to navigate the canoa, with her sails of matting to Manzanillo. You may easily imagine my nice situation, perched in the canoa, & roasted & burned to almost a mincepie by the boiling rays of the sun."⁵⁵ To belie this extravagant tale is the fact that, although according to Xántus the exploration lasted at least thirty-five days, ending about 10 May, during this period between 5 April and 10 May Xántus wrote from the city of Colima to Captain Charles H. Poor, commanding U. S. S. *Saranac*, on 8 April, and dispatched two consular reports to Washington on 15 April and 7 May.

Xántus only occasionally indulged in unrelieved mendacity in his accounts to Baird; the foregoing fabrication was one of these lapses. There is no reason to doubt that he did visit Tonila and Zapotlán in Jalisco during August,⁵⁶ and scouted into Michoacan in December.⁵⁷ From the point of view of the biologist, however, less interest attaches to the exact itinerary of Xántus in western Mexico than in the Californias because the area of Colima does not have the sharp physiographic boundaries characteristic of Xántus's earlier fields of exploration. Accepting all the expeditions which Xántus probably made, one may determine that he never went more than fifty miles from Colima or Manzanillo.

Within this territory Xántus did not collect so intensively as he had at Fort Tejon and at Cape San Lucas. The field had been touched lightly by earlier explorers, and Xántus tended to be seduced from thorough collection because of the profusion of exotic specimens attrac-

⁵⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 May 1863, p. 2-3. S. I.

⁵⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 31 August 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁵⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 December 1863, p. 1. S. I.

tive to his self-taught talent. Flamboyant birds and reptiles lured him away from the collection of less showy species, and he hoped to capitalize on the birds which would be valuable as parlor ornaments. His shaky knowledge was manifest in the naïve inquiry he addressed to Baird: 'Would you like to have a huge Crocodile & Alligator (one of each) prepared, if so, shall I send in one piece, or cut behind the legs, so that they might be put together again. . . One of these reptiles is very savage, has long head & pointed nose, & is of yellow color spotted with brown. — The other never attacks men or animals, is green, has short head & spoonbill. I think the one with pointed nose is the crocodile, & the flatnosed the alligator (?)'⁵⁸

Xántus's description of his capture of a jaguar showed his willingness to be cock-sure and his eagerness to be commended. He stated that the jaguar may be captured 'when the large green & caray turtles come out on the sandbeach, & lay their eggs. The Jaguar catches them and suckes out first night the blood; he *invariably* returns the following night, to eat the paws & neck of the turtle, and by finding a freshly killed turtle, the Jaguar can be trapped or killed nicely the following night. I killed my specimen this way, but I was in such an excitement, when the beast stood 5 yards before me, that I shot him through the shoulders, and he jumped at me. I took to my heels of course, and after a run of nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile he dropped down, and I dispatched him with a matchete in his head, which cut you can see on his forehead & skull. I thanked God, that I escaped his claws & teeth, and I shall not attempt to shoot another in the same way, this is pretty certain. I shall ever see the fellow with pointed

⁵⁸ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 30 January 1863, p. 2. S. I.

ears & enraged bounding on me; and I shall ever feel my big boots in the deep and heavy sand.⁵⁹

At Fort Tejon Xántus had shown his malice against other naturalists by his attack on Balduin Möllhausen, and at Cape San Lucas Dr Veatch had not escaped his barbs. The visit to Europe and his acquaintance with eastern scientists had heightened Xántus's self-esteem. From Colima he ridiculed other naturalists, although none was close enough to him to menace his own territory. Typical was his fulmination against Osbert Salvin,⁶⁰ who had been exploring Guatemala. 'The most startling news I received last mail, was certainly that Monsieur Salvin collected 576 species of birds in Guatemala. If Monsieur would swear on the bible, or Koran, or book of Mormon, or anything else the like — sacred book; I should never believe him a word after that! There is no country on the face of the globe of this size of Guatemala, which has ever seen 576 species of birds, this thing is sure. He may have collected in the style of Dr Woodhouse⁶¹ 576 birds, more than half of which he has never obtained, but thought to have seen, or heard about from others. I think if one turns out 300 species from a single country of the size of Guatemala, he has done very well; and I believe every species over

⁵⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 25 December 1863, p. 2-3. S. I.

⁶⁰ Osbert Salvin (1835-1898), British zoölogist. He collected in Central America from 1857 to 1858, 1858 to 1860, and 1861 to 1863.

⁶¹ Samuel Washington Woodhouse (1821-1904) received the degree of M. D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1847 and was appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States Army. He joined Lieutenant Sitgreaves's party to explore the Zúñi and Colorado rivers in 1851. His contributions to ornithology were encompassed in the report on the natural history of the region which he prepared to accompany Sitgreaves's report; they contain nothing to excite the scorn which Xántus expressed. Xántus thought enough of Dr Woodhouse's scientific ability to quote, as authoritative, his remarks on the domesticity of the bison: J. X., 'Ueber den amerikanischen Bison,' *Der zoologische Garten*, VIII (1867), 93.

this number is extraordinary thing, very seldom if ever accomplished. I can collect as well as any man alive, but I shall consider myself very smart, if I turn out here 300 species, of which nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ will be species which nobody ever has seen here. — Such bombastic collections are all humbug, and I shall defy him to show up half the crabs & fishes, I will have here. There is no possibility whatever, that another fool should be found like myself, who works day & night & spends his last cent to secure crabs and anything else the like. But enough of this, we shall see the results when actually compared.’⁶²

Xántus was himself not above censure, even by the standards of 1860. Knowing that Professor Baird had no specimen of the king vulture, he obtained one by special effort, but was displeased to observe that the colors of the head and neck had vanished. This loss he offset by touching up the specimen with water-color which, to his regret, did not capture the brilliance of the original.⁶³ Similarly, the jaguar which Xántus had taken at such risk had ears mauled by fighting; to make the specimen presentable, Xántus suggested that Baird patch the ears with some spare skin which the naturalist had included in the shipment.⁶⁴

Despite these strayings from the path of pure science, Xántus was energetic in his gatherings. His first box was sent in February 1863, six weeks after his arrival, and contained skins of raccoons, ant-eaters, opossums, spermophiles, and 104 skins of 59 species of birds.⁶⁵ This was followed by other shipments to the ‘redhouse,’ Xántus’s playful description of the Smithsonian Institution’s Gothic

⁶² J. X. to S. F. B., 15 March 1863, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁶³ J. X. to S. F. B., 14 May 1863, p. 5. S. I.

⁶⁴ J. X. to S. F. B., 25 December 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁶⁵ J. X. to S. F. B., 12 February 1863, p. 3. S. I.

pile.⁶⁶ In May the second and third boxes were dispatched,⁶⁷ but further shipments were impeded by the political situation. 'The French have taken Mexico as you know, and now between there & here the whole communication is stopped by the dispersed bands of Mexican patriots, who finding that they could not fight with the French, are now fighting on their own account, and plundering the highways; conductas cannot come just now, and I must take down with myself the collections to Manzanillo, which will be quite hard on my pocket, as I am going with an escort of lancers, whom I have to board, so their horses; & the mules with the boxes cannot go as fast, as else I would go; accordingly my voyage will be lengthened & my pocket lessened. The collection must go at any rate forward, I have no room in my house, can hardly step, and I can almost not sit down, everything is occupied by birds, and "other vermin" as a trapper would say.'⁶⁸

These difficulties in the way of collecting were of less importance than the hindrance imposed by Xántus's loss of his official position. His salary came to an end, but his commitment to collect the full series of species remained in effect. The compensation he received from the Smithsonian Institution was intended only to supplement his consular salary, and was insufficient to defray his expenses. After his acknowledgment of his dismissal on 1 August, and his concurrent suggestion to Baird that he be reinstated, Xántus pinned his hopes to the production of funds from private sources to permit his remaining in the field. On 11 August he proposed to Baird that the

⁶⁶ J. X., Chacan River, southern Michoacan, to S. F. B., 19 April 1863, p. 3. S. I.

⁶⁷ J. X. to S. F. B., 25 May 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁶⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 19 June 1863, p. 3-4. S. I.

Philadelphia Academy and the Boston Academy be requested each to furnish five hundred dollars, the 'butterfly gentleman' one hundred dollars, and Daniel Giraud Elliot another hundred dollars. Deducting from the total of these payments the three hundred dollars already received from George N. Lawrence and the two hundred and fifty dollars drawn by draft on Baird, Xántus thought that sufficient would remain to make possible the continuance of his exploration until the end of the year.⁶⁹ While he awaited reply to this proposal to end the strain on his finances, Xántus continued, with more time at his disposal, to prepare boxes for shipment. By the end of August the thirteenth box was embarked on the Pacific Mail steamer.⁷⁰

A steady stream of specimens continued to be captured and prepared, not only by Xántus himself, but by the Indians and boys he employed. One Indian was set to the task of taking in a mountain lake a rare fish resembling the catfish, and to overcome the risk of his imbibing the preserving spirit furnished him, Xántus dosed it with tartar emetic.⁷¹ Using all these aids and subterfuges, Xántus was able with pride to report to Baird that he considered the collection of reptiles to be complete, and was hardly less satisfied with the birds he had taken.⁷² The number of boxes continued to mount until February 1864, when he dispatched the forty-third, with the registers listing 4237 specimens, as well as about a thousand alcoholic specimens, five hundred shells, and the mineralogical specimens contained in four boxes.⁷³

⁶⁹ J. X. to S. F. B., 11 August 1863, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁷⁰ J. X. to S. F. B., 31 August 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁷² J. X. to S. F. B., 17 November 1863, p. 4. S. I.

⁷³ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 29 February 1864, p. 1-2. S. I.

Although his time was occupied by collecting, Xántus devoted his thoughts to his future, particularly after it became apparent that he was not to be restored as consul. Baird did not encourage his hopes for private financial support, and accordingly he determined to remain at Colima and Manzanillo not longer than a year.⁷⁴ He was as fertile of plans as he had been at his previous posts of duty, and even more far-reaching. Washington, Central America, Hungary, the Orient, Lima — all were foci of Xántus's designs. In October he requested Baird to keep his memory fresh with Surgeon General Hammond,⁷⁵ but in November, when Xántus received news of the accusations against Hammond's administration he prepared to cut himself loose from his foundering protector. 'I see from the papers that Genl Hammond has as good a chance of being decapitated, as I had; so I think he could not do much for me just now.'⁷⁶ Xántus, however, did not desert entirely his friend, for in February 1864 he wrote to Baird, 'I read also in the Herald, that he will be tried by court martial, for maladministration & frauds, I cannot believe such charges, it is entirely impossible, I know the Dr better. He may be guilty of liberality but of frauds — never. At any rate under such circumstances may [my] own career in the U. S. is closed also, and goes down with Dr Hammonds, as I have no other friend there, who was so willing & so *able* to help me, whenever I called upon him.'⁷⁷

Central America Xántus quickly dismissed from consideration because of the small financial return he could expect. 'I know very well that Costa Rica, or any other

⁷⁴ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 29 October 1863, p. 3. S. I.

⁷⁵ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 October 1863, p. 4. S. I.

⁷⁶ J. X. to S. F. B., 17 November 1863, p. 2. S. I.

⁷⁷ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 6 February 1864, p. 2-3. S. I.

Central American state is a good field for collections; I do not believe however that any such expedition would be a paying business, and that duplicates would bring high prices. In a country where a silver dollar is just about of as much value, as in Washington a 25 cent poststamp, one fellow ought to kill *at least* one golden partridge, and a couple of silver vultures monthly to make the business pay.⁷⁸ His desire to visit the Far East — which he was to realize five years later — he expressed to Baird, but without importunity.⁷⁹ As the year drew to an end he made plans to go to San Francisco,⁸⁰ and a tropical fever he had contracted in December hastened him on.⁸¹ In February 1864 he described his malady with becoming restraint. 'I am constantly sick, I took already 2 ozes Quinine since 27th of last month, and am so poor, and so much reduced, that I resemble rather a pickled herring. Under such sad circumstances I shall not go to San Francisco, and give up my voyage by China; but I intend to leave Manzanillo the 29th inst for Panama you have no idea how broken down I look.'⁸² Xántus intended to visit Lima for recuperation, but this plan did not materialize.⁸³ Instead, he followed his plan of visiting San Francisco, proceeding thence to Panama.⁸⁴

The many activities — official, quasi-official, and private — which Xántus carried on at Colima and Manzanillo had ebbed. Of all the projects for the future, the one most promising was his return to Hungary. The ovation which he had received in 1861 demonstrated that

⁷⁸ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 December 1863, p. 4-5. S. I.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁸⁰ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 30 January 1864, p. 2. S. I.

⁸¹ J. X. to S. F. B., 16 December 1863, p. 1. S. I.

⁸² J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 18 February 1864, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁸⁴ J. X., Manzanillo, to S. F. B., 29 February 1864, p. 3. S. I.

in his homeland he need not fear (at least while his transatlantic reputation was still fresh) the equivalent of Seward's arbitrariness, Bache's exaction, or his creditors' persistence. His original protector was being unjustly persecuted, he had not been restored to full favor in the Coast Survey, the Department of State was closed to him, and private support of scientific collection was disrupted by the exigencies of the Civil War. All the roads along which Xántus had traveled since 1856 had come to an end. He had realized this in July when he wrote his letter of abnegation to Grayson at Mazatlán. 'I was glad to make my home in the U. S., but the future is not to be the same, I anticipated, therefore I concluded to retire to the old wo[r]ld, and pass a life of vegetation amongst friends.'⁸⁵ The plans which Xántus made between July 1863 and his departure in March 1864 were only variations on his deeper desire to return to a life in Hungary, where vegetation could flourish in the rich mold which he had deposited in the Hungarian National Museum.

Xántus sailed from Manzanillo early in March, and arrived at Panama, after a short stay in San Francisco, on 27 March.⁸⁶ He reached New York in April, visited George N. Lawrence, and departed for Washington on 17 April.⁸⁷ His illness continued to plague him, although he was taking Dr Hammond's prescription of 'pitric acid.'⁸⁸ Added to his troubles was dissension over the disposal of duplicate specimens. Xántus wrote a rather peremptory letter to Baird, requesting the immediate

⁸⁵ J. X. to A. J. Grayson, Mazatlán, 17 July 1863, p. 4. Bancroft Library, University of California.

⁸⁶ J. X., Panama, to S. F. B., 29 March 1864. S. I.

⁸⁷ J. X., New York, to G. N. Lawrence, New York, 17 April 1864, p. 1. Feleky collection, New York, N. Y.

⁸⁸ J. X., Washington, to G. N. Lawrence, New York, 27 April 1864, p. 3. Feleky collection, New York, N. Y.

selection of a series of birds for himself,⁸⁹ and retreated to the heights of the Schuylkill to avoid the mud and dust of Washington.⁹⁰ Disagreements were not ended by Xántus's departure from Washington, for in Philadelphia, as he wrote to Baird, 'Mr Krider⁹¹ attacked me furiously here, saying that he has not received any birds or eggs from you on my account; I immediately gave him the birds which I had with me. I have now nothing.'⁹² Xántus turned to John Cassin for replacements; the latter exploded in imitative indignation to Baird. 'I am quite astonished to hear from Xantus that all his Cape San Lucas birds are distributed — or that for that or other reason he can get none to take with him to Europe!! — he is greatly grieved, though he says little, and I shall certainly give him the few that I have, — certainly shall, from mere common place conscience and sense of decency, — he, Xantus, has made it worse by giving the few he had to Krider — as he says to redeem his word of honor — he having promised. — Now — it is none of my business, but I too take the liberty of being grieved a few! — It is most uncommonly odd that he cant have at least as many as he choosed to take, — 1st series to the Smiths. 2^d to Pesth — 3rd and all subsequent, to him — thats the formula, — Please put up a box immediately if not sooner and send them to me! — large size! — I shall not be astonished if he does not go to Europe at present, but stays here until he gets up some collections to take with him!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!'⁹³

⁸⁹ J. X., Washington, to S. F. B., [12 May 1864]. S. I.

⁹⁰ J. X., Philadelphia, to G. N. Lawrence, New York, 19 May 1864, p. 1. Feleky collection, New York, N. Y.

⁹¹ John Krider was a taxidermist of Philadelphia.

⁹² J. X., Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 20 May 1864, p. 2. S. I.

⁹³ J[ohn] C[assin], Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 21 May 1864. S. I.

This unhappy ending was not unexpected. Xántus had been exposed to too many diverse obligations and pressures, and was caught in his own web. A few politenesses cloaked the inner bitterness of Xántus's last days in America. To Lucy Baird he sent autographs of Kossuth and Winfield Scott, and to her father his hearty thanks for an American passport,⁹⁴ but his departure from New York on 4 June was without the professions of eternal gratitude to Baird which had marked all the previous milestones of Xántus's career.⁹⁵

Xántus was himself unable to assess properly the importance and value of his eight years of field labor, or to foresee the extent of the debt of future scientists to his collections. His pursuit of natural history at Colima and Manzanillo had been weakened by the intrusion of other interests, and the more substantial work he had done in the Californias had receded in memory. None of his own speculations on his Mexican collection approached in enthusiasm those inspired by his labor in California, and Professor Baird's report on it went no further than to say that it contained many specimens of fauna new to science, and threw much light on the geographical distribution of the biota of Mexico and Central America.⁹⁶

Life in America had shown many of its facets to Xántus, and had pushed him to an eminence beyond the hope of the average immigrant of the eighteen-fifties. It had not developed in him those qualities which would have enabled him to take a part, probably nameless, in the agricultural or industrial development of his foster-country; rather, it sharpened his appreciation of the

⁹⁴ J. X., Philadelphia, to S. F. B., 24 May 1864, p. 1-2. S. I.

⁹⁵ J. X., New York, to S. F. B., 3 June 1864. S. I. *Györi közlöny*, 24 July 1864, p. 237.

⁹⁶ Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1863, p. 54; 1864, p. 82.

shady practices by which careers could be advanced in mid-nineteenth-century America. There was in him a touch of his contemporaries Phineas Barnum and William Walker, of the charlatan and braggart. Yet transcending Xántus's faults and failings was a winsomeness which took the edge from his roguery; his friends were won by his amiability, and his critics by his ingratiating. In his strength, as in his shortcomings, he represented both his age and his class of European immigrant.

CHAPTER VII

HUNGARY, 1864—1894

Xántus's return to Hungary in 1864 was favored by the steps which he had taken to create for himself a reputation. His extensive gifts, all well published, to the Hungarian National Museum, his two volumes of travels, the many letters he had written for the press of Hungary, and the faithful reporting by the newspapers of his activities and plans had made his name familiar. In addition, the Austrian tyranny had been so relaxed that Hungarians were able to stimulate cultural undertakings of a public nature in which Xántus could reasonably expect to take a prominent part. The decline of Austria and the constant resistance of Hungarian politicians to the ineffectual Habsburg attempts to centralize the monarchy presaged the restoration of Hungary as a sovereign state. In 1867 Hungary achieved constitutional equality with Austria, and in the realm of science celebrated its sovereignty by a vigorous promotion of institutions designed to enhance its nationalist pride. In a number of them Xántus took a not inconsiderable part.

During the visit he paid to Hungary in 1861 and 1862 Xántus participated in the work of a committee formed to promote a zoölogical garden for Pest. The president of the committee was Count Antal Szapáry, and among its members were Ágoston Kubinyi, the director of the Hungarian National Museum, and the eminent entomologist János Frivaldszky; Xántus was chosen honorary president. The project was not launched before Xántus's departure, but he continued, from Colima, to interest himself in it. In February 1864, while he was still at

Colima, he was selected to be the director of the zoölogical garden. From the spurious address of Lima on 15 April he responded by declining a salaried position, asserting that inasmuch as he had been the proponent of the zoölogical garden he would unjustly be accused of a mercenary motive if he accepted. The entire project lapsed, but was revived after Xántus returned to Hungary.¹

After a short stay in the Low Countries Xántus arrived in his homeland in July 1864. Again he was greeted by a congratulatory poem in the *Györi közlöny*.² He took the waters at Tátrafüred and was honored by having a mineral spring named after him. He attended the convention of Hungarian physicians and naturalists, and proposed that a library of natural history be established in the capital. He journeyed to Transylvania to visit his Székely relatives, and continued on to the mouth of the Danube, where he purchased ships for the river navigation company recently founded at Györ. All these activities were incident to his search for a secure position in official scientific life.³

The greatest honor was almost within his grasp in 1865, when Ágoston Kubinyi, who desired to retire, recommended that Xántus be chosen as his successor at the National Museum. Kubinyi's retirement was delayed until 1869, and Ferenc Pulszky, the companion of Kossuth in exile, rather than Xántus, obtained the office. The zoölogical garden appeared to offer the best chance to Xántus; in 1865 the project was resuscitated, and Xántus was the

¹ *Pester Lloyd*, 14 June 1864, p. 3; 16 June, p. 3. Sándor Mocsáry, 'Xántus János emlékezete,' Magyar tudományos akadémia, *Emlékbeszéd a m. t. akadémia tagjai fölött*, IX (1899), 241-242.

² Csalomyai, 'Xántus Jánosnak,' *Györi közlöny*, 21 August 1864, p. 271.

³ Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 240-241.

most energetic champion of it. Land was obtained from the city of Pest, eighty thousand florins were subscribed in shares, and Francis Joseph graciously gave thirty-four animals from the imperial menagerie at Schönbrunn. On 9 August 1866 the garden was opened, and Xántus, despite his earlier protestations, became its director. As president of the society he had discharged, five days before the opening, the provisional director, Leopold Joseph Fitzinger, after whose plans the garden had been laid out.⁴

The zoological garden of Pest was not a financial success, and Xántus tired of the unrewarded and unfamiliar labor of direction.⁵ After two years in this office he was commissioned by Baron József Eötvös, the minister of worship and public instruction, on 15 December 1868, to join the Austro-Hungarian East Asiatic Expedition. This expedition, which had set out from Trieste in October 1868, was organized primarily to establish commercial relations with the states of the Far East, but included scientists and collectors. The purpose of Xántus's participation, as set forth by Baron Eötvös, was the increase of the ethnographic, biological, and bibliographical collections of the Hungarian National Museum, the Hungarian Academy of Science, and the University of Pest; Xántus was specifically excluded from the political and commercial activities of the expedition.⁶

Xántus sailed from Trieste in December 1868, two months after the departure of the expedition which was proceeding by way of the Cape of Good Hope. He arrived at Ceylon in January 1869, spent three weeks there, and went on to Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, where he joined the

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 241, 242-243. L. J. Fitzinger, 'Mittheilungen über den Thiergarten zu Pest,' *Der zoologische Garten*, VIII (1867), 17-19.

⁵ J. X., 'Der Pester Thiergarten am 31. December 1866,' *Der logische Garten*, VIII (1867), 150-153, 189-191.

⁶ Mocsáry, *loc. cit.* p. 243-244.

expedition in April. He remained with it during its visit to Japan, Siam, Cochín-China, and China, and succeeded in ruffling the dignity of its members by his excessive Magyar patriotism. He unabashedly demanded of Herr Behre, the imperial and royal consul in Hongkong, that the shield reading 'Imperial-Royal Austrian Consulate' be replaced by one mentioning Hungary. The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, annoyed by his 'Magyar-frenzy,' reported that from every port he had denounced to the Hungarian government his fellow members for various affronts to Hungary, such as not having visiting cards with the new titles *de rigueur* since 1867. With Karl Scherzer, one of the most prominent Austrians in the expedition (and his supposed travel companion in the United States), his relations were particularly bad. His attacks on Scherzer led the *Neue Freie Presse* to retaliate by stating that as a Hungarian fugitive in New Orleans Xántus had had a reputation so low that Scherzer had refused to employ him in the exploration of Central America. 'And this same man suddenly appeared as a great naturalist, a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a censor of the conduct of Austrian gentlemen!'⁷

Unable to compromise his Magyar principles, Xántus parted from the expedition in October 1869. He visited Formosa and Singapore, and collected diligently in Borneo, Java, and Sumatra. In 1871 he returned to Hungary, having expended thirty-eight thousand florins on the collections he had amassed. He accepted appointment, on 5 March 1872, as keeper of the ethnographical section of the National Museum, albeit with complaints

⁷ *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien), 17 April 1870, p. 7. Constantin Wurzbach, Ritter von Tannenberg, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien, 1856-1891), LIX, 51. Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 244-245.

about the niggardliness of the salary of fourteen hundred florins; in 1873 he was advanced to be director of the section.⁸

Xántus married, in 1873, the actress Gabriella Dole-schall, the daughter of a physician residing in Miskolc. By her he had one son, Gábor, born in 1874, who became a teacher in the Catholic gymnasium in Miskolc. The marriage was unhappy, and was dissolved after Xántus left the Catholic Church to embrace Unitarianism. He took as his second wife Ilona Steden. He remained as an official at the National Museum, although he grieved at the neglect of his ethnographical collection, which remained uncatalogued and confined to a corridor of the building. For twelve years he directed the biological library of the museum, in addition to carrying on his duties in the ethnographical section. Before learned societies he delivered occasional lectures, and he wrote a few articles for the scientific press.⁹

Infrequent letters provided Xántus a few bridges back to his American career. In 1874, ten years after he had parted from Spencer Baird, he wrote to his old friend to thank him for some publications of the Smithsonian Institution, to offer the exchange of ethnological specimens, and to express his weariness of Europe and preference for 'a life in the vast free nature' of America.¹⁰

⁸ J. X., Pest, to Ferenc Pulszky, Pest, 13 January 1871; in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (Budapest, 1891-1914), XIV, col. 1667. Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 245-246.

⁹ J. X., Budapest, to Ferenc Pulszky, Budapest, 19 October 1873, 10 December; in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. Károly Viski, *Führer durch die Sammlungen der ethnographischen Abteilung des Ungarischen National-Museums* (Budapest, n. d.), p. 5-6. L. Palóczy, 'Johann Xántus,' *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, XVII (1895), 330. Szinnyei, op. cit. XIV, col. 1667. Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 246.

¹⁰ J. X., Budapest, to S. F. B., 12 December 1874. S. I.

In the following year he related his pleasure at knowing that Dr Hammond was on the road to vindication.¹¹ Another letter, written in July 1875, appears to be the last of the series which had been so conscientiously and fruitfully carried on between Baird in Washington and his wide-ranging collector. A letter to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, dated 24 February 1883, requesting some copies of its *Proceedings*, harked back a quarter of a century to activity which must, to the petty officeholder, have seemed far more important. 'I hope the Academy also recollects my labors in field, with which I supported for many years her collections, and the labors of her old members as f. i. Leidy, Hallowell, I. Lea, Cassin, Leconte, Lawrence etc, to whom I furnished so many novelties for description and investigation.'¹²

Xántus was visited by the enterprising 'lady correspondent' of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Olive Harper, in 1873. She described him as 'one of the most remarkable men of Hungary,' and favored her readers with a rather garbled account of his attainments. In one detail she hit upon a revelation of his method of collection in Asia which may stand as representative of the provenance of some of his American specimens. 'He had a particularly fine little Hindoo god, and I asked him how he had managed to get that. "Oh!" he said, "nothing easier; I hired a man to steal it."¹³

¹¹ J. X., Budapest, to S. F. B., 4 February 1875, S. I.

¹² J. X., Budapest, to Secretary, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 24 February 1883. In the archives of the Academy.

¹³ Olive Harper, 'Olive Harper's Letters. Number 19. A Brief Stay at Pesth. . (From the Lady Correspondent of the *Alta*.) A remarkable Hungarian. Constantinople, November 6th,' *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 23 January 1874, p. 4.

In the middle eighteen-eighties Xántus lost his energy and courage, and declined mentally. He was kept in a private asylum, oblivious of the activities of the capital. To recuperate from an attack of pneumonia he was taken by his wife in April 1894 to Volosca on the Adriatic, whence he returned to his home in the Damjanich Utca in Budapest in July. His condition became worse, and on 13 December 1894 he died at his home. He was buried in a plot provided by the municipality of Budapest as a mark of honor, in the Kerepesi Cemetery, opposite the mausoleum of Ferenc Deák.¹⁴

¹⁴ Palóczy, loc. cit. p. 327. Mocsáry, loc. cit. p. 247.

XÁNTUS AS AN AUTHOR

European interest in America mounted as the nineteenth century evolved. From a preoccupation with the noble savage this interest had widened to include an admiration for the colonists' struggle for liberty, and curiosity about the institutions and manners of the republic and the economic prospects of the land. James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe¹ were eagerly read in Europe, and from the Old World came such writers as Harriet Martineau, Alexis de Tocqueville, Charles Sealsfield, and Friedrich Gerstäcker to explain or depict life in the young republic. Hungary shared this interest in translations of American authors and European travelers, and was supplied with original accounts by Sándor Farkas of Bölön's *Utazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsvár, 1834), Ágoston Haraszthy's *Utazás Éjszakamerikában* (Pest, 1844), and Károly Nendtvich's *Amerikai utazásom* (Pest, 1858). Particularly after the collapse of the Hungarian war for independence, the tumultuous reception in America of Kossuth, and the settlement of many political refugees in the New World, there was a sharp increase of curiosity about the great republic.

The avidity of Hungary for news and impressions of America was not discriminate; Farkas's sound and measured book was jostled by wild newspaper yarns. There was, as yet, an insufficient body of public information to weigh the merit and veracity of accounts from

¹ An advertisement of a performance in Pest of *Tamás bátya kunyhója* (Uncle Tom's Cabin) appeared in *Hölgylutár*, 3 March 1855, p. 200.

America, and the eager public accepted the false with the true. It was to this public that Xántus addressed himself when he commenced to write from America.

During the first years of his stay in America, from 1851 to 1856, Xántus wrote nothing for immediate publication in Hungary. Thereafter, until his final return to Hungary in 1864, he was constantly busy writing for a variety of publications. He was the author of two books, a pamphlet, a short story, five long articles published in fifty-five instalments in Hungarian newspapers and periodicals, and forty-six individual letters and other contributions to newspapers. After his return to Hungary Xántus wrote eleven articles on American subjects for Hungarian periodicals. To German publications he sent an abridgment of his second book, an article on the American bison, and strange to say, a poem lauding the wedding of Francis Joseph and Elizabeth. In English, in addition, he wrote a folder and contributed four articles to the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, a section to Baird's *Ornithology* of the California Geological Survey, and an article to the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*.²

In subject matter there is no consistency in Xántus's writings; they range from dry-as-dust abstracts of statistics to the most lurid inventions. In the intrusion of personality and in style there is more uniformity. His letters to Baird give a fair indication of this egocentricity, the animated quality of his descriptions, and the pungency of his characterizations. Xántus probed no depths, but his surface skimming was brisk and lively, and human foibles

² The articles, other than those on America, which Xántus wrote after 1864, largely composed of reminiscences of travel in the Far East and discussions of general scientific questions, will not be considered here.

and frailties were admirably mirrored. In a word, Xántus was basically a feuilletonist, and his writings had the shortcomings as well as the merits of this type.

The first book written by Xántus was a collection of his letters to his family. It originated when István Prépost, a literary agent, saw the letters which Xántus had addressed to his mother and believed them suitable for publication. In July 1857 he wrote to Xántus, proposing himself as intermediary with the publishers. To this offer Xántus responded that he was willing, provided that copies of the letters which Prépost desired to publish be sent him for scrutiny.³ The copies were sent through Baird, and Xántus employed the limited time at his disposal at Fort Tejon in preparing the manuscript. The resulting volume was entitled *Xántus János levelei Éjszakamerikából* and was published by Lauffer and Stolp in Pest in 1858. Prépost contributed an introduction which presented Xántus as a penniless immigrant who, by his own efforts, had risen to a position of authority and had traveled the length and breadth of the United States. The author had supplied Prépost with autobiographical material, as well as his own estimate of his literary ability, in a letter of 10 October 1857 from Fort Tejon.

Xántus's statement reveals his inordinate valuation of his authorship. 'It would be exaggerated modesty on my part to say that I cannot write letters and works which are of general appeal and of interest to others outside my family. That I am able appears from the circumstance that when I was a stranger abroad and without friends or protectors I carved, by my own efforts and against my own desire, such a place for myself in English literature

³ J. X., Fort Tejon, to István Prépost, Pest, 20 September 1857. In the archives of the Hungarian National Museum.

that numerous New York, Philadelphia, and Washington papers offer honoraria for my works which Marryat and Walter Scott, if still alive, would envy. A few years ago these facts gave rise to a plan to publish in my own country and in my own tongue the account of my travels, partly so that there should be a serious Hungarian work on America and partly to show that I have not been idling during my travels. I think that the publication not only will be well received by the Hungarian public, but will also enrich Hungarian literature and, incidentally, will be in demand because of its novelty.

'You will see that my situation is, as yet, unknown at home. Velenczey, Béldy, Haraszthy, and Sándor Farkas of Bölön⁴ also traveled here (not here [in California] but in America), but they had letters of recommendation and fat rolls of bank-notes. They hastened through a few large cities, lived everywhere with the cream of society, and their short one-sided observations are the results of the moment's enthusiasm.

'As you know, I am not accustomed to travel in vain. Since my eighteenth year (and that was rather long ago) I have kept a complete diary, which has grown and grown in content, and since I have been abroad the pads have become note-books and the note-books great bursting

⁴With the exception of Velenczei, these were all Hungarian travelers in America. Gábor Velenczei edited *Az éjszakamerikai egyesült országok története* (Buda, 1836); this was a translation of August Lebrecht Herrmann's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig, 1835), which in turn was a translation of Henry Fergus's *The United States* (London, 1830-1832; vols. XXXIX-XL of *The Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, edited by Dionisius Lardner). Count Ferenc Béldi accompanied Farkas in a tour of the United States in 1831 and 1832. Agoston Haraszthy traveled to the United States in 1841 and settled in Wisconsin; his *Utazás Éjszakamerikában* was published at Pest in 1844. Sándor Farkas of Bölön (1795-1842) wrote the first Hungarian account of a journey in America, *Utazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsvár, 1834); this work is of such enduring value that a new edition was published at Budapest in 1943.

volumes. I am somewhat of a draughtsman, too, and I have never failed to make sketches of the most interesting places and scenes. And so I have at present almost a hundred manuscript volumes of travel notes, with at least a thousand drawings.

'When I approached Mr * I had almost nothing to do, and so I was ready to begin the editing of any one of my works at any time, and to send the sheets home if I received a favorable reply. But at present I am in an office, with very little time of my own, and this position is of such importance to me that to sacrifice it for the uncertain material success of my books would almost amount to madness. At present I am very busy. Only the evening hours are mine, and since I have much correspondence, I have neither time nor inclination for scribbling.

'Your plan to publish a paper of which I would be the only contributor is, allow me to say, impractical. I cannot think of any publication which could have existed without the aid of collaborators. The *Siècle* once made such a proposal to Dumas, who became so frightened at the immensity of the undertaking that, according to his own statement, he could not eat for a week. But putting aside all these reasons, if my travels are to be published extensively and to my taste, I do not wish to have them cruising about in periodicals and straying out of the world as easily as they came into it. I wish them to be compact volumes in homes and in libraries, to serve as everlasting documents.

'In the first volume, after a long preface (in which I shall introduce myself), I shall describe my travels in California and shall compare the routes I have traveled with the other routes. Afterwards I shall treat of the country through which these routes pass and of its plant

and animal life. I shall describe San Francisco and write the history of California to the present day.

'In the second volume I shall describe my journey from California to the Columbia River. I shall give the history of Oregon, statistics, and the adventures of my journey across the country and back to California.

'The third volume will contain more detailed accounts of travels in California. I intend to describe graphically the statistics, topography, physical geography, and especially the mines of the country.

'If I shall write a fourth volume (which I have not yet decided) it will treat of my adventures in California, its flora and fauna, geological formation, and the condition of the Indians.

'I should like the work to appear in large quarto volumes for the sake of the supplementary parts, and to be printed in Cicero type. In order that everyone may easily acquire the book and that it may have a wide sale, you could publish it in pamphlet form, say one a month, of five parts and five appendices. In this way four pamphlets would make a volume, and when four have appeared, you could sell bound volumes which would have a sale among those who did not buy the original unbound work.

'I should like to have you see that my plan is in every way practical. If you accept it, the first volume will be in your hands by March at the latest, and you could begin work immediately. By the time you publish the first volume the second will also be in your hands . . .'⁵

This curious farrago was intended for publication as a not too subtle advertisement of Xántus's book, and when so regarded its palpable falsehoods appear less startling.

⁵ J. X., Fort Tejon, to István Prépost, Pest, 10 October 1857. *Gyōri közlöny*, 17 June 1858, p. 190-191. The date of the letter is mistakenly given as 10 October 1858.

Xántus did not write for the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, and received no honoraria. The aspersions on Farkas and Haraszthy were undeserved; their accounts were not short or one-sided. The 'bursting volumes' of diaries, if they existed, were never published and have not been preserved; the same is true of the thousand drawings. The duties which deprived Xántus of time for writing, and were so important that they could not be sacrificed for the sake of literature, were those which he performed as a hospital steward at Fort Tejon under the direction of Dr Ten Broeck, or in his absence. The fact is that the impecunious immigrant was delighted that the letters he had written to his family were to be published as a volume.⁶

The *Levelei Éjszakamerikából* contains thirty-seven letters written by Xántus between 1 December 1852 and 5 July 1857. Of these the first twenty, as biographical sources, have been dealt with in Chapter II. Their value is confined to the information they shed on Xántus's life up to September 1856, and even in this connection they must be used with discrimination. The twenty-first letter, bearing the place and date of Elk Creek, Kansas Territory, 26 September 1856, was a turning-point in Xántus's literary career. Until this time his letters to his family were filled with haphazard inventions; imaginative creation was required to keep up the flow of writing, and danger was ever present that he would become entangled in conflicting stories. Had the hundred manuscript volumes of travel notes existed outside Xántus's fancy they might have been the basis of solid works, but in their absence plagiarism appeared to be best method of authorship.

⁶ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 10 December 1857, p. 2; 15 April 1858, p. 11-12. S. I.

In 1856 Xántus was thirty years old. After five years of life in the New World he had achieved nothing more lasting than an enlistment in the army, yet his letters were unrestrained in depicting his success. To anyone with his tendency to romance, verging on paranoia, the consequent sense of frustration would overbalance any scruple against plagiarism. Furthermore, in an age of pirated publishing, plagiarism was not condemned so vigorously as it is today. By promoting himself to the command of exploring parties, Xántus had automatically selected the medium which he would plagiarize. Marcy, Emory, and Sitgreaves had recorded in congressional documents the reports of their surveys. All that was required was the ability to translate them into Hungarian, embellish them suitably, and substitute himself for the actual commander. Hungarians enthusiastic about the America of Fenimore Cooper and Charles Sealsfield would not be critical. Haraszthy had buttressed his book with statistics, and Farkas had the advantage of 'fat rolls of bank-notes'; Xántus could dispense with both, for he tapped the original sources.

Xántus laid the ground for his first plagiarism in his letter of 30 June 1856, from the fictitious address of Elk Creek, southwestern Kansas.⁷ He wrote that he had led out, on 12 June, a party, equipped with twelve wagons and eighty-five pack-mules, destined to explore the region of the Canadian River. He reported that his letter was being written at the last spot whence mail could be dispatched, and he did not know how long his command would be in the field. The letters were resumed from Elk Creek ten weeks later, on 14 September, after the termination of what was described as a successful exploration.

⁷ Elk River, four miles north of Independence. J. X., *Levelei*, p. 60-62.

Xántus promised a report to his mother on the expedition after he had time to prepare it.⁸ His promise was kept in his letter of 26 September. As printed in the *Levelei Éjszakamerikából* it occupies 69 pages of a total of 168, and is in the form of a journal extending from 10 July to 9 September 1856.⁹

The report of Xántus's expedition cannot be interpreted ambiguously. Xántus memorialized it by writing, 'Beneath a large poplar I buried a bottle with the following inscription: "On 16 July 1856 an exploring expedition under command of János Xántus, with William Hammond the assistant engineer, John Harling, and John Burke, head carter, besides twenty-two hunters and carters, encamped here."¹⁰ Harling and Burke, fellow enlisted men with Xántus,¹¹ may have been pleased by the attention Xántus paid them, but Dr Hammond could hardly have approved his orderly's audacity. The source of this incident, as well as of the entire sixty-nine pages, was Captain Randolph Marcy's *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*. Captain Marcy's bottle sheltered a memorandum reading, 'On the 16th day of June, 1852, an exploring expedition, composed of Captain R. B. Marcy, Captain G. B. McClellan, Lieutenant J. Updegraff, and Doctor G. C. Shumard, with fifty-five men of company D fifth infantry, encamped here.'¹²

Marcy's *Exploration* was so popular that it appeared in three editions, as a Senate document in 1853 and 1854 and as a House document in 1854. It was available at

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 62-63.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 63-132.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 73.

¹¹ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 29 May 1858, p. 9. S. I.

¹² Marcy, *Exploration*, p. 38. The edition referred to is the Senate document of 1853.

western army posts as a part of the working library. That it described an area far different from the region to which Xántus chose to transfer its narrative was not an impediment to his plagiarism, nor did he hesitate to substitute his own nomenclature for persons and places mentioned by Marcy. Marcy's Wichita Indians became Comanches in Xántus's version, Dr Shumard became Mr Hammond, two antelopes shot by the hunters were magnified to five, and so on.¹³ In deference to his Hungarian readers Xántus made some amusing changes; a mountain named by Marcy in honor of General Winfield Scott was rededicated by Xántus to Fenimore Cooper, a creek similarly named for McClellan became Hungarian Creek, and Suydam Creek bowed to Commander Duncan Ingraham who had rescued the Hungarian refugee Márton Koszta from an Austrian man-of-war at Smyrna in 1853.¹⁴

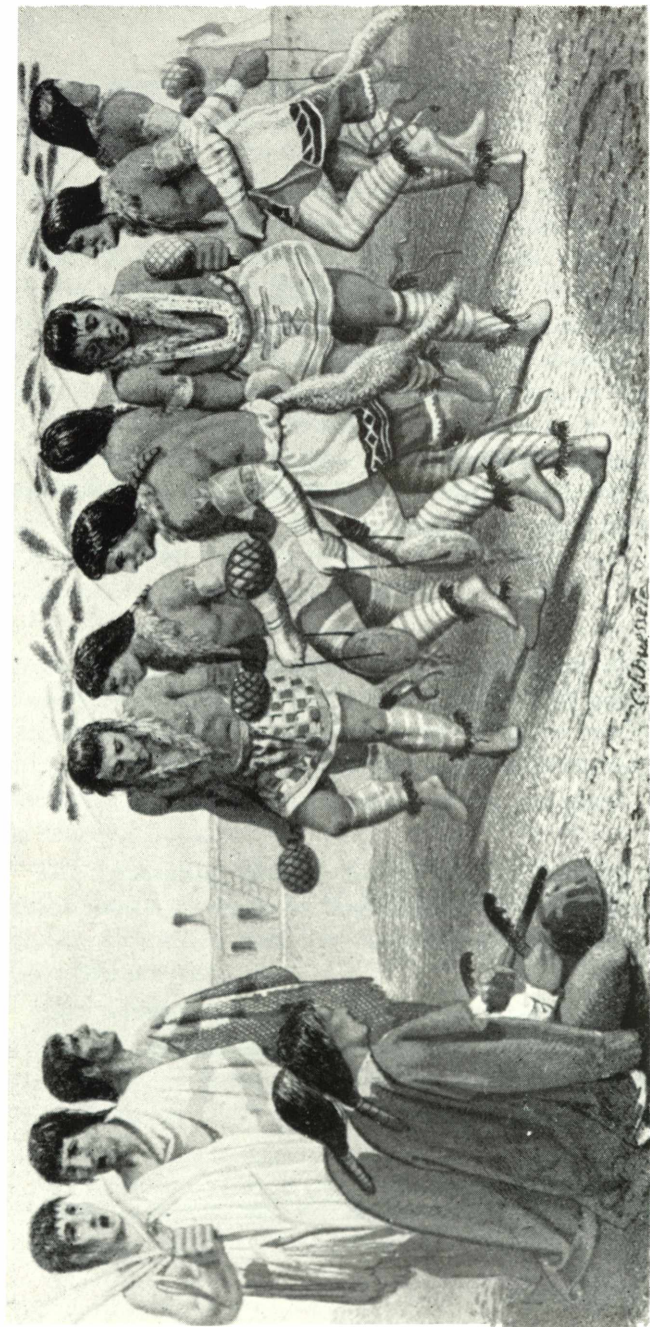
There is an almost verbatim correspondence between pages 64-123 of the *Levelei* and pages 32-89 of Marcy's *Exploration*, and between pages 124-132 and pages 13-32, respectively. The Comanche and Wichita vocabularies on pages 118-122 of the *Levelei* are identical, except for some transpositions, with those given on pages 297-300 of Marcy's book.

The remaining sixteen letters of the *Levelei*, dealing with Xántus's return to Washington and his experiences in San Francisco and Los Angeles, are obviously of his own composition.

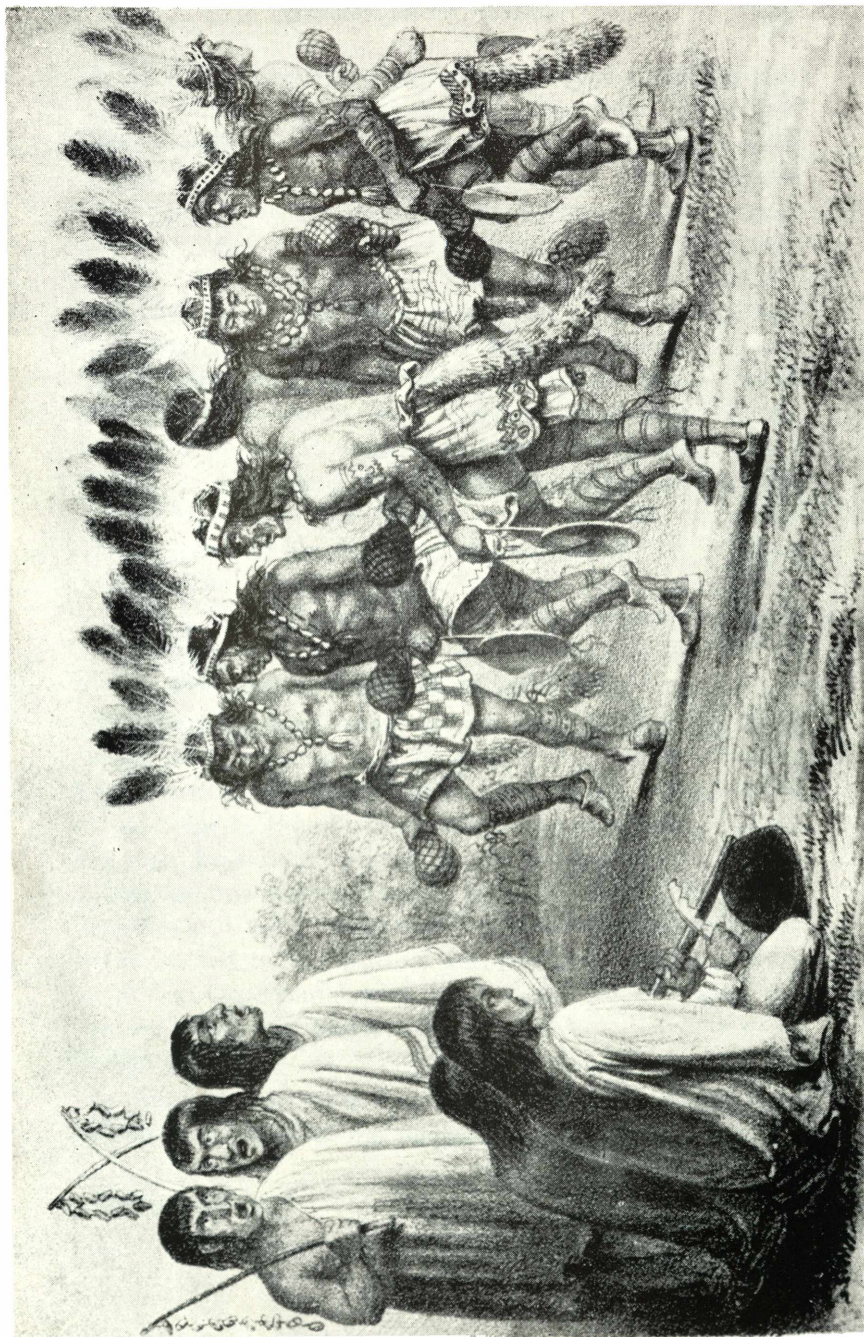
The *Levelei* was illustrated with twelve lithographic plates, of which ten were signed 'Drawn according to nature by J. Xántus,' one 'Drawn by J. Xántus,' and one was unsigned. Four of the signed plates are plagiarisms,

¹³ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 75, 102, 85. Marcy, *Exploration*, p. 39, 39, 49.

¹⁴ J. X., *Levelei*, p. 104, 76, 129. Marcy, *Exploration*, p. 70, 40, 25.



*You-Pel-Lay, or the Green Corn Dance of the Jemez Indians
(from Simpson's Report of an Expedition into the Navajo Country)*



Witchitaw táncz (from the Levelet)

and the remaining seven signed illustrations are gravely suspect. Xántus's frontispiece, *Arkanzas folyó, 1/2 mért-földre forrásától* ['The Arkansas River, One-half Mile from Its Source'], was taken directly from Marcy's eighth plate, 'View near the Head of the Ke-che-ah-que-ho-no'; *Arkanzas folyó főforrása* ['The Source of the Arkansas River'] corresponds with plate 10, 'Head of the Ke-che-ah-que-ho-no or the Main Branch of Red-River,' and *Witchitaw falu a Rushpatakon* ['Wichita Village on Rush Creek'] with plate 12, of the same name. Xántus went afield from Marcy to find another illustration. From Lieutenant James H. Simpson's report of his expedition into the Navajo country¹⁵ he copied the disparate drawing of 'You-Pel-Lay, or the Green Corn Dance of the Jemez Indians' (plate 6) and labeled it *Witchitaw táncz* ['Wichita Dance']. The unsigned plate, entitled *Union Park, Uj-Yorkban* ['Union Square in New York'] appears to have been copied from a view by C. Bachman, published in 1849 by Williams and Stevens of New York.

The *Levelei*, then, both in text and illustration, fixed Xántus on his course as a plagiarist. The volume was in preparation at the critical point of Xántus's career when he had come to the notice of Hammond and Baird. Before that time he had romanced in the letters written to his family; to this untrustworthy habit he added the more tangible sin. Unable to foresee the sound reputation which would be his as a result of his scientific work at Fort Tejon and Cape San Lucas, he counted heavily upon the renown which his plagiarized volume would win him in Hungary.

In Xántus's correspondence with Baird it is possible to find clues to some of his plagiarisms, but they are by no

¹⁵ Simpson, *Report*.

means complete. At first, he was cautious in not claiming originality for his writings, although there was little chance that Baird would scrutinize them; later, he spoke of them as if they were entirely the product of his own mind. Xántus first mentioned his authorship to Baird in a letter from Fort Tejon, seven months after his arrival there, in connection with his request for copies of the reports of exploring parties. 'I am sorry you could not raise more of the Explor. books; I hope however you will try to get at least Emorys¹⁶ for me, this is what I mostly liked, to translate it. I translated last year Stainsbury [Stansbury]¹⁷ and Marcy, they are just now published in Hungarian language, and I will make by it a nice profit in "every way."¹⁸

Xántus's authorship was delayed by the failure of the volumes of sources to arrive at the isolated post. Three months after making his request, Xántus reported to Baird, 'I was much mortified to hear, that you sent me *several* volumes of explorations, as I received only one — Sitgreaves. If you could procure both Reports of Emory, & Simpsons, I would be under many obligations, as I liked to translate them condensed for the Hungarian Geographical Society, which has already published in magnificent editions my condensed translations of Stainsbury & Marcy.'¹⁹ His jubilation, however, at his accomplishment

¹⁶ Emory, *Notes*.

¹⁷ Stansbury, *Exploration*.

¹⁸ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 10 December 1857, p. 2. S. I. Xántus's *Levelei*, containing the plagiarism from Marcy, actually was not published until 1858.

¹⁹ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 18 March 1858, p. 1. S. I. The Hungarian Geographical Society had nothing to do with the publication of Xántus's *Levelei*. Xántus could not have known whether the volume was magnificent or not because he did not see it until after January 1859.

was not dimmed. 'My Kansas letters are also just now published in Pest, and make considerable noise.'²⁰

Shortly before his departure from Fort Tejon, Xántus was about to see a copy of his first book and regarded the prospect with the excitement common to all authors. He wrote to Baird, 'The box from Europe, which you announce as received at last, of course I wish forwarded to me as soon as possible, the contents are of the highest possible interest to me. The box contains amongst other things my recently published books, and the criticism of every newspaper at home about them. I wish you had opened the box, and looked on one large volume, which contains a selected & condensed translation of Marcy, Simpson, Fremont, & Stainsbury, with many illustrations, some of them I hear very well executed on steel.'²¹ Xántus's eagerness conquered his discretion, for he used the plural 'books' incorrectly; Simpson was represented only by one plate; Frémont may have been the inspiration of the first four letters of the volume, but he was not translated; and there were no steel engravings in the book.

Xántus's anxiety to obtain other reports of western explorations was founded on his urge to capitalize by a second book on the reputation which his first was bringing him. He paid no heed to the projected subjects which he had outlined in his letter to Prépost, but scabbled among the reports available to him for the adventurous and romantic incidents which would be of most appeal to distant Hungarians. The result was *Utazás Kalifornia déli részeiben* ['Travel in the Southern Parts of California'] which was published by Lauffer and Stolp at Pest in 1860.²²

²⁰ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 11. S. I.

²¹ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 14 January 1859, p. 1-2. S. I.

²² Hereinafter referred to as J. X., *Utazás*.

The *Utazás* is approximately of the same format as the *Levelei*, and has an introduction by Xántus and a dedication to Ágoston Kubinyi, Imperial-Royal Chamberlain and Director of the Hungarian National Museum. It is divided into three sections: the first, from page 1 to page 36, is entitled 'From Los Angeles to Fort Tejon'; the second, from page 37 to page 63, 'Tejon and the Tejon Indians'; the third, from page 64 to page 183, 'The California Peninsula.' A short contribution on American antiquities by the ethnologist János Hunfalvy, Prépost's successor as Xántus's literary agent, occupies pages 183-188. Pages 189-191 contain a notice, signed by Xántus, of the desire of the Smithsonian Institution to enter into exchanges with scientific institutions of Hungary, and a list of American scientists willing to exchange specimens of their specialties; included are the names of Spencer Baird, John L. LeConte, Joseph Leidy, Edward Hallowell, Thomas Brewer, William A. Hammond, and John Cassin — all persons associated with Xántus as a collector. A fillip was given the title-page of the book by the description of the author as a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, and the Boston Athenaeum, an assertion true only for the first named.²³

In the *Levelei* Xántus had confined his plagiarism to one lengthy passage which did no great violence to Marcy's original, aside from transferring its locale. In the *Utazás* three explorers fell before his plagiaristic assault, and their narratives were hacked to yield the utmost in sensation and incident. They were Assistant Surgeon

²³ Xántus was never a member of the last two societies. Laura Hanson, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, to the author, 17 January 1938. Elinor Gregory, Boston Athenaeum, to the author, 27 April 1938.

Jonathan Lettermann,²⁴ Major William H. Emory,²⁵ and Lieutenant James W. Abert.²⁶ Xántus indiscriminately selected Letterman's 'Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians,'²⁷ Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth... to San Diego*, and Abert's *Report of His Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-47*,²⁸ and wantonly mangled them to fit both his anticipation of Hungarian taste and his chosen scene. In addition tho the three explorers, Baird and his 'General Report upon the Zoology of the Several Pacific Railroad Routes' were sacrificed to a plagiarized distortion.²⁹ The anonymous author of an article in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* on the mercury mines of New Almaden was also a victim of Xántus's theft.³⁰

The first section of the *Utazás*, dealing with the journey from Los Angeles to Fort Tejon, is entirely fanciful, and probably plagiarized. In it, among other inventions, Xán-

²⁴ Jonathan Letterman (1824-1872) was appointed Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, in 1849. From May to September 1854 he was en route with troops from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Defiance, New Mexico, and on duty at the latter post until June 1856.

²⁵ William Hemsley Emory (1811-1876) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1831. In 1846-1847 he was attached to General Kearney's expedition to San Diego, California.

²⁶ James William Abert (1820-1897) was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1842. He explored New Mexico during the years 1846-1847.

²⁷ Jonathan Letterman [sic], 'Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico,' Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1855, p. 283-297 (hereinafter cited as Letterman, 'Sketch').

²⁸ J. W. Abert, *Report of Lieut. J. W. Abert, of His Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-'47*, in Emory, *Notes*, p. 417-548 (hereinafter cited as Abert, *Report*).

²⁹ *Railroad Reports*, VIII. 'General Report upon the Zoology of the Several Pacific Railroad Routes (Mammals).'

³⁰ 'The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden,' *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*, I (1856-1857), 97-105.

tus described a waterfall in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles one hundred and forty feet high, and a passage across the Sierra Nevada at an elevation of thirteen thousand feet. The material, in this chapter, relating to the bighorn was adapted from Baird.³¹

The second chapter, entitled 'Tejon and the Tejon Indians,' was taken en bloc from Letterman's 'Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians.' Pages 37-39 of the *Utazás* are Xántus's own account of the establishment of Fort Tejon; but, commencing on the latter page and extending to page 63, the material, except for trifling embellishments, is Letterman's own.³² Xántus had the unscholarly practice of adding footnotes of citation to Letterman's text. One of these was to a non-existent work of Xántus, *Botanical Memoir of Southern California* (Philadelphia, 1858);³³ in two others Xántus's spleen against his alleged travel companion, Moritz Wagner, was displayed by the curious invention of a volume attributed to Wagner from which he was quoted to his own disadvantage.³⁴ The insertion of Hungarian allusions, commenced in the *Levelei*, was continued in the *Utazás*. Where Letterman likened the Navajo practice of seed planting to that used in the United States, Xántus substituted Hungary.³⁵ Letterman described the savage appearance of the Navajo warriors without com-

³¹ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 22-23. *Railroad Reports*, VIII, 673-679.

³² The 'Tejon' vocabularies on p. 58-60 are taken from Abert. *Report*, p. 427-430.

³³ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 42.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 47, 53. Xántus (i. e. Letterman) stated that the Tejon (i. e. Navajo) Indians lived in tents, and did not construct permanent dwellings. He then parenthetically chastised Wagner for writing of the Tejon Indians 'Sie leben in wahrhaft schönen und geschmackvollen steinernen Häusern überall.' This sentence he cited from *Reise im westlichen Amerika*. Wagner wrote no book of this title, and never traveled in the Far West.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 45. Letterman, 'Sketch,' p. 288.

parison, but Xántus patriotically made an analogy with Hungarian cavalymen of the time of Maria Theresa.³⁶ Some facts stated by Letterman were distorted by his plagiarist; in describing the clothmaking of the Navajos, Letterman wrote that 'the red strands are obtained by unravelling red cloth,' but Xántus inserted spurious learning by declaring that 'the red color is prepared from the bark of the mazquanita (*Yucca acutifolia* Torrey).'³⁷ A prudery observable in other instances led Xántus to reduce Letterman's statement that blue was obtained 'by dissolving indigo in fermented urine' to 'blue is made of indigo juice.'³⁸ This was in exception to his usual practice of enlarging on his original; e. g., 'These people suffer much from rheumatism' became 'Acute rheumatism is a common ailment among the Tejon Indians; this often changes to chronic rheumatism, and then naturally becomes very dangerous.'³⁹ Letterman's treatise on the Navajos, of course, became entirely meaningless when Xántus passed it off as dealing with California Indians.

The third chapter of Xántus's *Utazás* is entitled 'The California Peninsula' and occupies two-thirds of the volume. It purports to describe an expedition by sea from San Diego to San Bartolomé Bay (midway on the west coast of Lower California), thence overland to La Paz by a route near the west coast, thence back to San Bartolomé Bay by marching overland along the gulf coast, and by sea to San Diego. According to Xántus, the journey was undertaken in obedience to orders from the federal government, which supplied a treasury cutter for the

³⁶ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 49. Letterman, 'Sketch,' p. 290.

³⁷ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 51. Letterman, 'Sketch,' p. 291.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 49. Letterman, 'Sketch,' p. 290.

voyage from San Diego to San Bartolomé Bay; it commenced from San Diego on 24 April 1858, was continued from San Bartolomé Bay on 28 April, and on 25 May came to an effective end when Xántus's party sailed from San Bartolomé Bay for Upper California.⁴⁰ It was during this alleged expedition that Xántus wrote from Fort Tejon on 15 May to Baird, urging that the support of the academies of natural sciences be enlisted to make possible his exploration of Lower California after the expiration of his enlistment.⁴¹

The material for this chapter was drawn indiscriminately from Emory and Abert, whose narratives describe the Indians, cliff-dwellings, and ruins of New Mexico. It was not taken in the order given it by its authors, as was the case with the text plagiarized from Letterman, but was jumbled to suit Xántus's feuilletonistic purpose.⁴² Xántus's use of Emory and Abert, in details of adaptation, was so similar to his practice with Marcy and Letterman that examples need not be given. It is astonishing that such a competent ethnologist as János Hunfalvy was so deluded by Xántus's hodgepodge of Pueblo antiquities and early Spanish explorations in New Mexico that he was led to contribute a conclusion to the *Utazás*.

At 'Marques' on the peninsula Xántus created a mercury mine, and illustrated the operation of its smelter with a woodcut. The description of this mine and the woodcut were both taken from an account of the mines at New Almaden, near San Jose, published in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* in 1856.⁴³

⁴⁰ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 64, 67, 69, 183.

⁴¹ *Supra*, p. 92-93.

⁴² The source of the plagiarisms is best displayed by the following table:

The *Utazás* was furnished with eight lithographic plates, all signed 'Drawn by J. Xántus 1858.' Of the eight, at least six are plagiarisms.⁴⁴ Xántus also appended a map, on the scale of 1 : 6,000,000, of the area from San Francisco to Cape San Lucas, extending eastward to the 108th degree of longitude. This map was undoubtedly copied, albeit poorly, from the map drawn by Thomas Jekyll under the direction of Lieutenant Nathaniel Michler, Topographical Engineers, for Major Emory's *Report on the United States*

Xántus, <i>Utazás</i> , pages correspond with	Abert, <i>Report</i> , pages	Emory, <i>Notes</i> , pages
58-60	427-430	
62-63	423-424	
70		42
71		46
75-77	462-463	
80-81	480-481	
81-82		68
87		70
88		72-73
89		73
90	444	
104-105	465	
105	494	
106	500	
116-121	449-452	
141		81
143		85-86
144-145		87
146-147	508	
147	506	
147	505	
148	460	
149-153	454-456	
154	457	
155-156	464	
159	469	
160-162	470-472	
163-164	472-473	
171	481	
172	485	
172-173	486-487	
176-183	487-492	

⁴⁴ J. X., *Utazás*, p. 121-127. 'The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden,' loc. cit.

and *Mexican Boundary Survey* (Washington, 1857). The latter map embraced all the territory west of the Mississippi River; only the portion relating to southern and Lower California was used by Xántus, who added a few fictitious place names in Lower California and failed to retain the exact proportions of Jekyll's map.⁴⁵

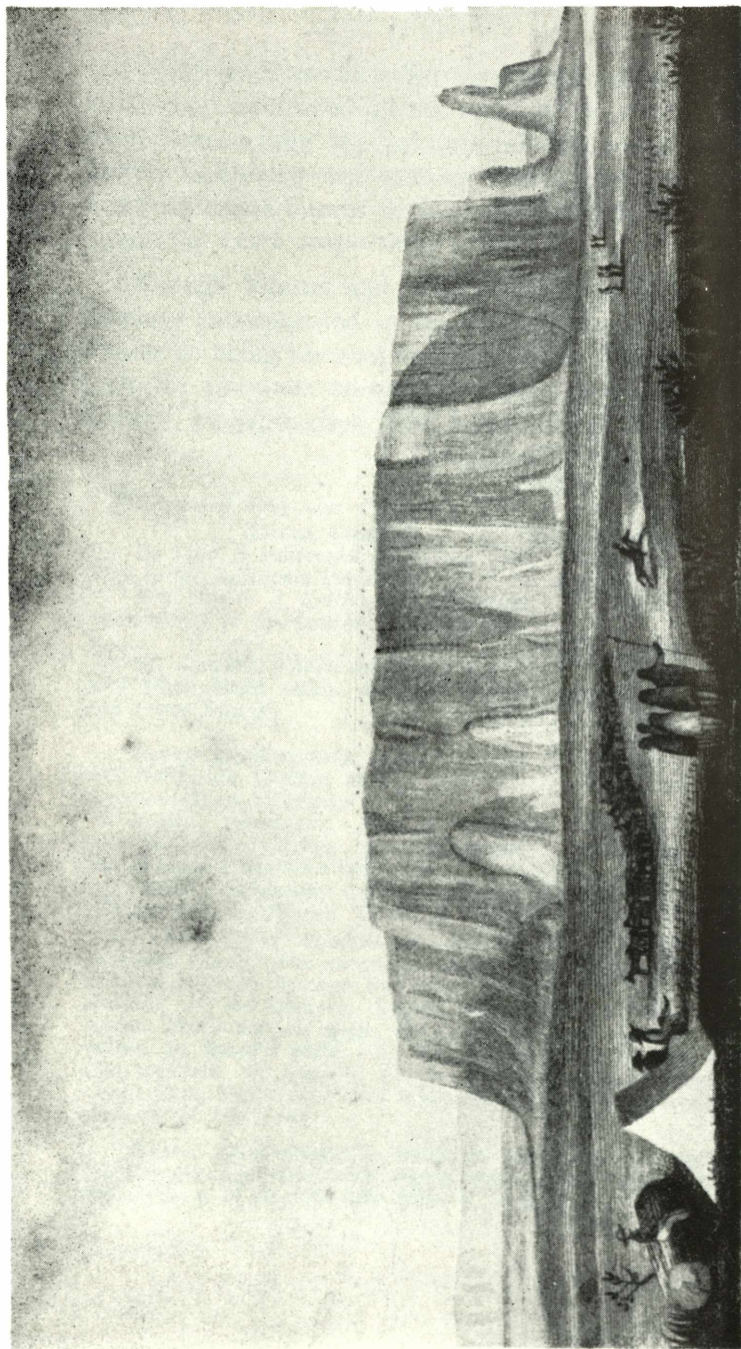
Although Xántus had acknowledged to Baird the borrowings incorporated in his *Levelei*, he referred to the *Utazás* as being his own composition, and tended to overlook his previous admissions about the sources of the *Levelei*. In September 1859, before the publication of the

⁴⁴ Tabulated, they are:

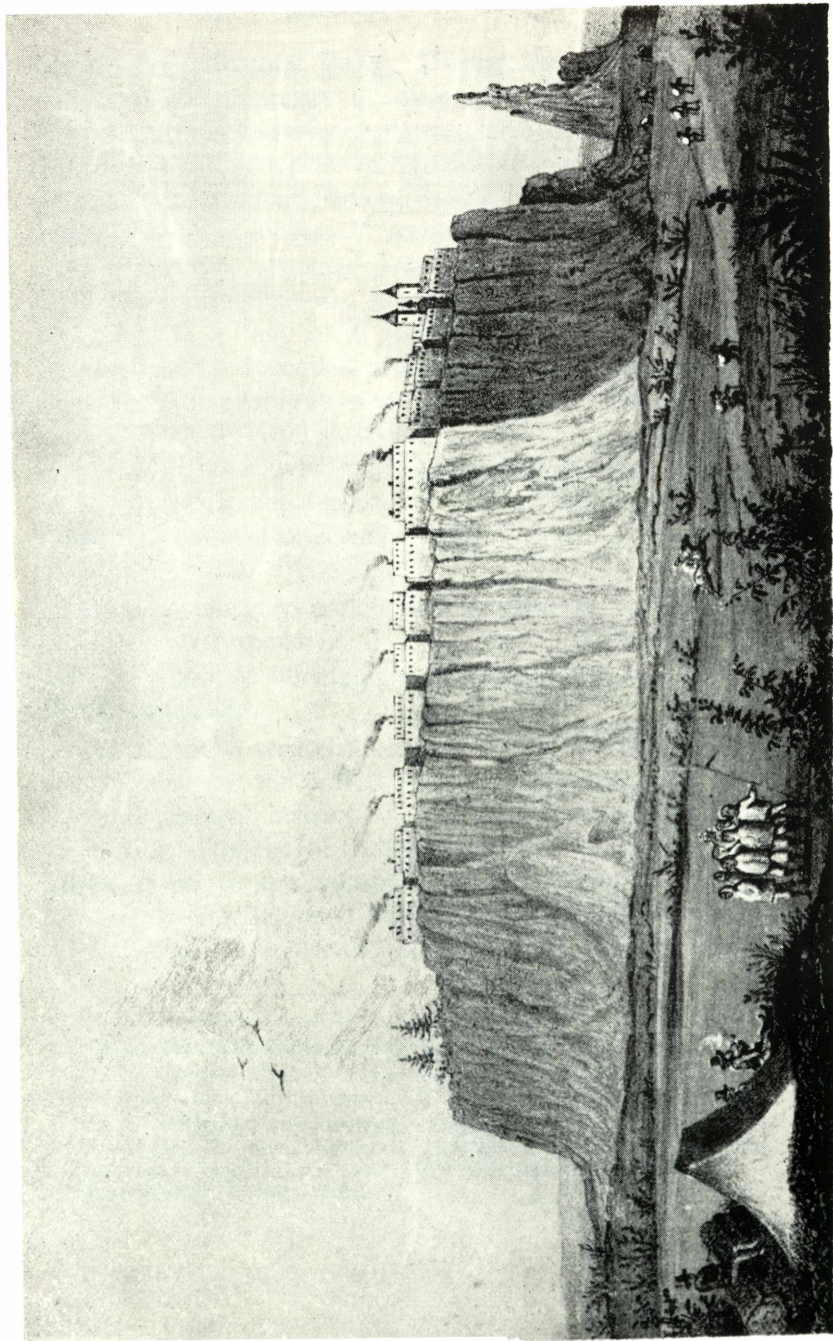
Xántus, <i>Utazás</i>	Abert, <i>Report</i>
<i>La Joya. A kaliforniai félszigeten</i> ['La Joya in the California Peninsula']	Pueblo de Santo Domingo
<i>San Marco. A kaliforniai félszigeten</i> ['San Marco in the California Peninsula']	Acoma, No. 1
<i>Éji tanyánk. Timpa és Todos Santos közt</i> ['Our Night Camp, Between Timpa and Todos Santos']	Emory, <i>Notes</i> Chain of Natural Spires on the Gila
<i>Indián kovácműhely. San Fernando. Déli Kalifornia</i> ['Indian Smithy. San Fernando, southern California']	Sitgreaves, <i>Report</i> Indian Blacksmith Shop (Pueblo Zuñi)
<i>Indián szövőszoba. San Fernando. Déli Kalifornia</i> ['Indian Weaving Room, San Fernando, southern California']	Indian Weaving (Pueblo Zuñi)
<i>Tejoni indiánnők tengerit őrlenek</i> ['Tejon Indian Women Grinding Corn']	Women Grinding Corn (Pueblo Zuñi)

In addition, the woodcut on page 23 of the *Utazás*, 'California Mountain Sheep,' was concocted from disparate drawings in Baird's 'General Report'; because the latter work was not supplied with a drawing of the bighorn, Xántus was obliged to superimpose the horns, illustrated on page 675, on the body of the pronghorn shown in Baird's plate xvi, thus producing a monstrous hybrid. The woodcut on page 62 of the *Utazás*, 'Indian Hieroglyphics in Cajon Pass, California,' was taken from Emory's 'Hieroglyphics' on page 89 of his *Notes*.

⁴⁵ Xántus acknowledged to Baird the receipt of Emory's 'fine map,' but he did not state from which work it was taken. J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 15 July 1858, p. 1. S. I.



Acoma No. 1 (from Aberl's Report of His Examination of New Mexico)



San Marco. A Kaliforniai félszigeten (from the Utazás)

Utazás, he informed Baird, 'During the past few years were several memoirs of mine published in Hungary, particularly as regards statistics, topography, climate, & geographical discoveries in Kansas Nebraska & California. Also a popular description of Southern California, with its popular natural History.'⁴⁶ Actually, the 'popular description' referred to was the *Utazás*, which was not published until the following year. After its publication, but before he had seen a copy of it, Xántus wrote to Baird, 'I continue of course to collect data on habits of birds & other animals, and probably some future time I shall publish them. I already published many such items, particularly lately in a book written & published by me in Pesth, Hungary, on lower California. I hear the book will be translated soon into German, when I shall be most happy to order for you a copy.'⁴⁷

The translation to which Xántus referred was by János Hunfalvy and appeared in *Petermanns Mittheilungen* in 1861.⁴⁸ It was an abridgment of the chapter on the California peninsula.

The pamphlet written in Hungarian by Xántus conveyed instructions for the collection and preservation of specimens of natural history. It was published by the Royal Hungarian Society of Natural Sciences in 1862.⁴⁹ The introduction to the pamphlet of fifty pages was dated fictitiously Revillagigedo Islands, 14 April 1860, and stated that Xántus had written it to aid those making, or intend-

⁴⁶ J. X., Cape San Lucas, to S. F. B., 14 September 1859, p. 3. S. I.

⁴⁷ J. X., Cape San Lucas, to S. F. B., 7 April 1860, p. 6. S. I.

⁴⁸ J. X., 'Johann Xántus' Reise durch die kalifornische Halbinsel 1858,' *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, VII (1861), 133-143.

⁴⁹ J. X., *Utasítás természetrajzi tárgyak gyűjtésére, elkészítésére, megtartására, és tovaszállítására* [Instructions for the Collection, Preparation, Preservation, and Transportation of Specimens of Natural History] (Pest, 1862).

ing to make, collections in the natural sciences, in the hope that an increase of gifts to the Hungarian National Museum would result. The pamphlet is identical with the article by Spencer Baird entitled 'Directions for Collecting, Preserving, and Transporting Specimens of Natural History' in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1856.⁵⁰ It was from these directions that Xántus had instructed his pupils at Fort Riley in 1857.⁵¹

The short story, 'Thank You Kindly, They're Well!' appeared in *Hölgyfutár* of Pest in July and August of 1858.⁵² It was written at Fort Tejon in November 1857, and is a worthless pot-boiler.

In chronological order of publication, the first long contribution of Xántus to the Hungarian press was entitled 'Fragments of a Travel Diary' and appeared in three issues of *Magyar néplap* of Pest in 1857.⁵³ The material duplicates pages 101-111 of the *Levelei*.

The second article was printed in seven issues of *Magyar sajtó* of Pest in 1858, and was captioned 'History of the Mormons.'⁵⁴ About this item Xántus had written to Baird, 'My next work will be, already under press, "the history of the Mormons (!!!)" The work . . . however I trust will be profitable, as there is great desire *just now*, to

⁵⁰ S. F. B., 'Directions for Collecting, Preserving, and Transporting Specimens of Natural History,' Smithsonian Institution, loc. cit. 1856. p. 235-253.

⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 46.

⁵² J. X., 'Köszönöm á'ssan, egészségesekek!' *Hölgyfutár*, 29 July 1858, p. 682; 30 July, p. 686; 31 July, p. 690; 2 August, p. 694; 3 August, p. 698.

⁵³ J. X., 'Utazási napló-töredék,' *Magyar néplap*, 13 May 1857, p. 302-303; 20 May, p. 318-319; 23 May, p. 326-327.

⁵⁴ J. X., 'A mormonok története,' *Magyar sajtó*, 13 July 1858, p. 329-331; 15 July, p. 333-334; 20 July, p. 341-342; 22 July, p. 345-346; 24 July, p. 349; 27 July, p. 353-354; 7 August, p. 373-375.

know something of the past of the Mormons, particularly in Eastern Europe, where they seem to grown out suddenly from the ground, like musherrooms. Nobody knows anything there yet about Mormonism, & therefore already is announced a Serbian & Wallachian translation of my work, to appear simultaneously with the original Hungarian.⁵⁵ This 'work' was based on Stansbury's *Exploration*, and was not translated into Serbian or Rumanian.

The next in the series of articles, also in *Magyar sajtó* (April 1859), was entitled 'A Few More Words from California' and consisted of seven letters from Fort Tejon (25 January 1859), San Jose (29 January), and San Francisco (1, 3, 4, 6 February).⁵⁶ The dating of the letter from San Jose was incorrect, as Xántus arrived at San Francisco on 29 January. The material is of great interest; it was of Xántus's own composition, described the Hungarian émigrés in San Francisco, and gave a generally accurate and lively picture of life in the city. Xántus was unable to refrain from some deliberate lies, such as his claim that Ormsby, the correspondent of the *Herald*, was a passenger on the stage, whereas Ormsby had actually passed through Fort Tejon in October 1858.⁵⁷

In the newspaper of his home town Xántus published his next lengthy contribution, in fifteen issues of *Györi közlöny* during 1861 and 1862. It bore the title 'From the Work of János Xántus, Shortly to Appear, Entitled "Travel in Western Mexico." Third Chapter. San Blas and Tepic.'⁵⁸

⁵⁵ J. X., Fort Tejon, to S. F. B., 15 April 1858, p. 11-12. S. I.

⁵⁶ J. X., 'Még egypár szó Californiából,' *Magyar sajtó*, 6 April 1859, p. 174; 7 April, p. 178-179; 8 April, p. 182-183; 11 April, p. 190; 19 April, p. 218; 22 April, p. 230-231; 30 April, p. 254.

⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 68.

⁵⁸ J. X., 'Xántus János "Utazás nyugoti Mexikóban" czimü legközelebb megjelenendő munkájából. III. fejezet. San Blas és Tepic,' *Györi közlöny*, 5 December 1861, p. 385; 8 December, p. 389;

This article was an elaboration of single letters published in the same newspaper in 1860.⁵⁹ The announced volume was never published.

The subject dealt with in the next series of eleven articles, entitled 'Mazatlán' and published in the same newspaper in 1862, could well have fitted into the same intended volume.⁶⁰ The visit to Mazatlán which Xántus described was asserted to have taken place in July 1859, shortly before the visit to San Blas and Tepic. That it could not have taken place at that time is evident from the letters written by Xántus to Baird from Cape San Lucas during the period in question. The traveler recorded his impressions of Mexican institutions remarked by all visitors — peonage, corruption, the promenades of young men and women, illiteracy, diet, gambling, laziness. Although these subjects were well known, there is sufficient personal touch in Xántus's account to strengthen the conclusion that his articles were written after his visit to Mazatlán in 1861 and predated to substantiate individual letters written in 1859 during an imaginary visit to the Mexican mainland.

The individual letters to newspapers covered varied phases of Xántus's life from 1856 to 1864. Chronologically, they were unevenly distributed — one was published in 1856, five in 1857, one in 1858, ten in 1859, fourteen in 1860, one in 1861, twelve in 1862, none in 1863, and two

12 December, p. 393; 15 December, p. 397-398; 19 December, p. 401-402; 22 December, p. 405; 25 December, p. 409; 29 December, p. 413-414; 19 January 1862, p. 21; 23 January, p. 25; 26 January, p. 29; 30 January, p. 33; 2 February, p. 37; 6 February, p. 41; 9 February, p. 45.

⁵⁹ *Infra*, p. 237-238.

J. X., 'Mazatlan,' *Győri közlöny*, 18 May 1862, p. 157; 22 May, p. 161; 25 May, p. 165; 29 May, p. 169; 5 June, p. 177; 8 June, p. 181; 12 June, p. 185; 15 June, p. 189; 22 June, p. 197-198; 26 June, p. 201; 29 June, p. 205.

in 1864. This distribution is explained by the general development of Xántus's career. In 1856 Xántus was still writing only to his family, who submitted some of his letters to the newspapers; in 1857 he was moving from Fort Riley to Fort Tejon and preparing the *Levelei* for publication; in 1858 he gathered the laurels of his first book and prepared the second; at Cape San Lucas in 1859 he commenced a flow of letters which continued into 1860. During the first half of 1861 his monotonous existence at the Cape deprived him of the urge to write, and during the remainder of the year he was en route to Hungary; in 1862, from wartime Washington and his sinecure in the Surgeon General's office, he wrote frequently. During the whole of 1863 he was coping with the duties of his consulship and their issue, and in 1864 the curtain was already descending on his American adventures.

In order to simplify the consideration of these forty-six letters, they will be given attention in outline form, in chronological order of writing. The date and place of writing, the title (if any) and the citation to the journals in which the letters appeared will be given, in that order. If the place of writing is fictitious, it will be enclosed in quotation marks.

1. 5 July 1856, 'Elk Creek, southwestern Kansas.' 'A Comanchek indus-törzs Amerikában' ['The Comanche Indian Tribe in America']. *Kelet népe*, I (1856), II, 332-349. Probably plagiarized; the date is coeval with the fictitious expedition in the *Levelei*, lifted from Marcy's *Exploration*.

2. 23 March 1857, Washington. *Györi közlöny*, 30 May 1858, p. 170-171. A duplication of three letters from Washington published in the *Levelei*, p. 148-151.

3. 23 March 1857, Washington. *Magyar sajtó*, 22 October 1857, p. 970. Not examined; from other examples of

duplication between *Györi közlöny* and *Magyar sajtó*, the presumption is strong that items (2) and (3) are the same.

4. 15 July 1857, Fort Tejon. *Magyar sajtó*, 23 September 1857, p. 870. Not examined.

5. 16-18 July 1857, Fort Tejon. 'Találkozás a Mojavékkal. Xantus utazásából' ['A Meeting with the Mojaves. From the Travels of Xántus']. *Képes ujság*, 27 November 1859, p. 218-221. A duplication of the *Utazás*, p. 29-36.

6. 10 October 1857, Fort Tejon. *Györi közlöny*, 17 June 1858, p. 190-191. To István Prépost, about the publication of the *Levelei*; quoted *supra*, p. 213-216.

7. [May 1858, Fort Tejon.] 'Gyümölcsök Kalifornia déli részeiben' ['Fruits in Southern California']. *Képes ujság*, 11 December 1859, p. 242-243. A duplication of the *Utazás*, p. 94-100.

8. 2 January 1859, 'Pueblo los Angeles.' *Pesti napló*, 17 March 1859, p. 3. To Ágoston Kubinyi; quoted *supra*, p. 81-82.

9. [1859, Fort Tejon.] 'Magyarország tudós társaságaihoz, muzeumaihoz, ipar- vagy gazdasági egyesületeihez s egyes tudósaihoz' ['To the Learned Societies, Museums, Industrial or Economic Societies, and Individual Scholars of Hungary']. *Pesti napló*, 21 October 1859, p. 2. A duplication of the *Utazás*, p. 189-191.

10. 15 April 1859, 'La Paz.' *Györi közlöny*, 22 December 1859, p. 406. Reports Xántus's arrival at La Paz. 'I described La Paz rather circumstantially in my last work, so that it would be superfluous to repeat. It is also unnecessary to mention that my old friends received me with a brother's hospitality. . . I shall stay but a few days in La Paz. I have sent one of my sloops to Carmen Island for salt and wine, and as soon as it returns I shall leave

for the Tres Mariás Islands with my entire expedition to begin operations.' Xántus referred to the entirely imaginary journey described in the *Utazás*, and the expedition to the Tres Mariás was equally imaginary; on 15 April he was already established at Cape San Lucas.

11. 15 June 1859, 'San José del Cabo.' *Györi közlöny*, 25 December 1859, p. 410. According to this letter, Xántus led his marine expedition to San José del Cabo, and was escorted overland to Cape San Lucas, on an outing, by Don Antonio Pedrin, the former governor of the territory. He wrote that his expedition would sail for Mazatlán during the following week.

12. 16 July 1859, 'Miraflores.' *Györi közlöny*, 29 December 1859, p. 414-415. With this letter Xántus's inventions became more complicated. He stated that he left San José del Cabo on 28 June, sailed to the Tres Mariás, where he found all his operations proceeding in order. 'According to the instructions to travel through western Mexico and to report on its mining and commerce, I . . . left in one of my cutters for Mazatlán, where I arrived on the fourteenth' of July. At Mazatlán he was invited by Don Vicente Seseña to visit his ranch at Miraflores, five leagues from the town. 'Our friend Seseña is the father of four beautiful daughters, the youngest of which is fifteen and the eldest nearly twenty. One would certainly be greatly perplexed if he had to choose between them, and would involuntarily turn Mormon in order to marry the four at once.' In actuality, Miraflores is a village in Lower California, Don Vicente Seseña was 'a most respectable Ranchero near Cape San Lucas,' and one of the daughters gave '5 nests with 11 eggs' to the collector! (*Supra*, p. 132, 126.) The device of transferring names and places familiar to him to a foreign terrain was never more unrestrainedly used by Xántus than in this case.

13. 3 August 1859, 'San Blas.' 'Töredékek Xántus újabb leveleiből' ['Fragments from Xántus's Recent Letters']. *Pesti hirnök*, 1 June 1860, p. 1. The author claimed to have sailed from Mazatlán on 30 July for San Blas, and described the latter city. The letter is an invention.

14. 17 August 1859, 'Tepic.' *Pesti hirnök*, 1 June 1860, p. 1. Describes an imaginary journey on 3 August from San Blas to Tepic.

15. 31 August 1859, 'Tepic.' *Györi közlöny*, 22 March 1860, p. 95-96. A letter to the director of the museum at Győr. In it Xántus stated his intention of enriching the collections in Hungarian museums. He described his collections as embracing one thousand vertebrate species 'which will certainly increase in a few years to eighty-five thousand specimens. I have insects and plants in no less numbers. At present my collection is stored at the Smithsonian Institution and placed under its care, and since I have already harassed the management with so many burdensome commissions I could not, at the moment bother them with another request [for material for the museum of Győr]. I should gladly chatter on but now I must finish. Just this moment I received word from the government by reason of which I must travel to Mexico City . to secure the president's permission to arrange the establishment of magnetic stations in the Sierra del Madre. The operations are being carried on at the special request of the late Alexander von Humboldt. ' This is entirely a fabrication.

16. 8 September 1859, 'Mexico City.' 'Töredékek Xántus újabb leveleiből' ['Fragments from Xántus's Recent Letters']. *Pesti hirnök*, 1 June 1860, p. 1. Xántus claimed to have arrived in Mexico City on 7 August, and described the city.

17. 8 September 1859, 'Mexico City.' Magyar tudományos akadémia. *Magyar akadémiai értesítő; a philosophiai, törvény- es történettudományi osztályok közlönye*, I (1860), 235-238. A letter to József Szabó, secretary of the Royal Hungarian Society of Natural Sciences. It stated that Xántus had already dispatched specimens to the Hungarian National Museum, and elaborated on the magnetic observations mentioned in (15) above, and the part in them played by him.

18. 2 February 1860, 'Socorro Island.' *Magyar sajtó*, 7 September 1860, p. 861. An invented visit to this island of the Revillagigedo group.

19. 9 February 1860, 'Socorro Island.' *Magyar sajtó*, 2 July 1860, p. 630. A long and circumstantial description of this island. According to Xántus, the island abounded in silver, copper, and iron. 'The flora includes all the plants of the tropical and temperate zones in wild profusion; until now I have found eighty new genera and almost six hundred new species. My tide gauges are now in complete operation, and a meteorological station is being built. I shall probably finish my observations here in six to eight weeks. .'

20. 4 March 1860, 'San Benedicto Island.' *Magyar sajtó*, 7 September 1860, p. 861. Another invention from an imaginary trip to the Revillagigedo Islands. 'A few days ago I sent almost ten thousand shells from Socorro, Bellevue, and Viajala Islands to the Hungarian National Museum, and tomorrow Mr Lindholm . . . is leaving with another crate . . . containing exceptionally wonderful and beautiful corals from these islands.' (Cf. *supra*, p. 125.)

21. 18 March 1860, Cape San Lucas. *Magyar sajtó*, 6 October 1860, p. 983-984. This letter is one of Xántus's most appalling lies. 'The day before yesterday I arrived

here safe from the Revillagigedo Islands and at present am very busy setting up an observation station at the Cape in order to study the extremely interesting ebb and flood of the tides here. . As I wrote to you last year, I was here at that time too, but simply by way of excursion, to find out whether we could build upon the rocks.

Mr R[itchie] received me with great kindness he is really an honorable and good-hearted man, and would give his last shirt to do someone a favor.' This was written almost a year after Xántus had arrived for permanent duty at Cape San Lucas. Xántus's remarks about Ritchie were prophetic.

22. 10 April 1860, 'Revillagigedo Islands.' *Magyar sajtó*, 6 October 1860, p. 983-984. Another invention, contradicting Xántus's earlier letters about the wealth of life on the Revillagigedo Islands. 'The Revillagigedo Islands, where I am staying for a few days, consist of five islands, only one of which is worth mentioning, the one with plant and animal life. The others are barren and rocky cliffs devoid of all vegetation. .'

23. 10 April 1860, 'Revillagigedo Islands.' *Budapesti hírlap*, 18 July 1860, p. 1966. This letter, to Ágoston Kubinyi, contained an offer to write 'in the most popular style, a practical guide to collection in the natural sciences.' The result was the plagiarism of Baird's directions.

24. 12 June 1860, 'Cape los Mártires.' *Györi közlöny*, 31 January 1861, p. 34. A description of Cape Los Mártires on the Gulf of California 'half-way between La Paz and Cape San Lucas'; it is not so designated in modern nomenclature. A visit to the ranch of Don Tranquilino Vallasana. 'Cacti constitute all the plant life and among them the *Cereus spinosa* Xántus is the most remarkable.' No plant bears this name.

25. 21 June 1860, 'Cape Los Mártires.' *Györi közlöny*, 3 February 1861, p. 38. A visit to Santiago, an account of palaeontological investigations in the vicinity, and a description of a sugar refinery.

26. 8 July 1860, 'Espíritu Santo Island.' *Györi közlöny*, 10 February 1861, p. 46-47. According to Xántus, the visit to this island in the Gulf of California was made in order to disband the magnetic and meteorological station which had been in operation for twelve months. 'As it is no longer necessary here, I shall transfer it to San Blas where I am going in a few days. No less than seven of my stations have been completed, and each with outstanding success.' A fabrication.

27. 29 July 1860, 'San Blas.' *Györi közlöny*, 31 March 1861, p. 103. Xántus assertedly arrived at San Blas on 26 July. The letter is a lament upon receiving news of the death of Count István Széchenyi.

28. 5 September 1860, 'Honolulu.' *Györi közlöny*, 11 April 1861, p. 114-115; 14 April, p. 118. An earlier letter, alluded to in this one, describing Xántus's alleged arrival at Honolulu, was not received. The circumstances, therefore, which led to this imaginary journey are not known. The letter describes the gathering of pulu.

29. 6 September 1860, 'Honolulu.' *Györi közlöny*, 18 April 1861, p. 123; 21 April, p. 126. Xántus gave a circumstantial account of an imaginary audience with King Kamehameha IV. 'He even knows more about Hungary than most of the members of the English parliament. I was simply astonished when His Majesty made some remarks, not only about the events of 1848-1849, but also about King Matthias, János Zápolya, and Rákóczi, too, which showed that His Majesty is not only a king but a cultured gentleman as well. He said that he would

much rather go adventuring with me than lead a prisoner's life under the royal crown . . .'

30. [7 November 1860,] Cape San Lucas. *Györi közlöny*, 9 May 1861, p. 146-147. This letter describes surgical operations performed by Xántus at San José del Cabo in answer to a telegraphic summons. He stated that he amputated an arm of each of two soldiers injured by the bursting of a cannon; the first operation required forty-two minutes, and the second, after Xántus had taken a glass of cognac, thirty-five minutes. The assertions are an elaboration on the cure of 'simple cases' which Xántus reported to Baird eight days later (*supra*, p. 121). There was, of course, no telegraph line between San José del Cabo and Cape San Lucas.

31. 29 November 1860, 'Guaymas.' *Györi közlöny*, 6 June 1861, p. 179. A fancied journey from Cape San Lucas to San Blas, Mazatlán, and Guaymas. General Pesquiera, governor of Sonora, visited Xántus's ship and inspected its scientific apparatus.

32. 11 October 1861, Philadelphia. *Györi közlöny*, 10 November 1861, p. 359. In this letter Xántus apprised his mother of his intended departure for Hungary.

33. 12 July 1862, aboard S. S. *New York*, Atlantic Ocean. *Györi közlöny*, 7 September 1862, p. 285-286. A letter reminiscent of typical letters by transatlantic travelers (cf. *supra*, p. 159).

34. 22 July 1862, New York. *Györi közlöny*, 11 September 1862, p. 290. Impressions of immigrants, New York Harbor, and the customs examination (cf. *supra*, p. 159).

35. 26 July 1862, Philadelphia. *Györi közlöny*, 18 September 1862, p. 297-299. A description of the trip from New York to Philadelphia, and an unrestrained attack on Great Britain for its aid to the Confederacy (cf. *supra*, p. 160).

36. 27 July 1862, Philadelphia. *Györi közlöny*, 12 October 1862, p. 325-326; 16 October, p. 330-331. A general account of Philadelphia, with attention to its schools, hospitals, and academies.

37. 29 July 1862, Harrisburg. *Györi közlöny*, 26 October 1862, p. 341-342; 30 October, p. 345-346. A description of the route from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, and of the latter town.

38. 29 August 1862, Washington. *Györi közlöny*, 21 September 1862, p. 301-302. An account of a visit paid to Counts Béla Széchenyi and Gyula Károlyi in New York between 23 and 27 August. It is most unlikely that this visit was ever made; on 23 August Xántus acknowledged the receipt of fifteen dollars he had borrowed from Baird, and his letter of 29 August to Baird made no mention of his absence from Washington during the preceding week (*supra*, p. 167).

39. 25 September 1862, Washington. *Györi közlöny*, 23 November 1862, p. 374. This letter was devoted entirely to listing the names of Hungarians serving in the Union forces, and to eulogizing them.

40. 16 November 1862, Washington. *Jövö*, 1 January 1863, p. 2; 4 January, p. 1-2. A vindication of Xántus in reply to the attack by Ferenc Varga in the same newspaper.

41. 20 November 1862, Washington. *Györi közlöny*, 21 December 1862, p. 406; 25 December, p. 409-410; 28 December, p. 413-414. A long disquisition on the strength of the Union, based on figures culled from the census of 1860.

42. 30 November 1862, Washington. *Györi közlöny*, 1 January 1863, p. 2; 4 January, p. 6; 8 January, p. 10-11. A continuation of the preceding letter, with attention to transportation, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and the press.

43. 18 December 1862, aboard *S. S. Ocean Queen*, off Santo Domingo. *Györi közlöny*, 14 May 1863, p. 153-154; 17 May, p. 157-158. A genuine description of Xántus's passage from New York to Aspinwall.

44. 21 December 1862, Panama. *Györi közlöny*, 22 October 1863, p. 338; 25 October, p. 343; 1 November, p. 351; 5 November, p. 355; 12 November, p. 363; 19 November, p. 371; 22 November, p. 375; 26 November, p. 379. This letter is an extensive description of Aspinwall, Panama, and a sketch of the history of the Panama Railroad; not an invention.

45. 15 April 1864, 'Lima.' *Pesti napló*, 12 June 1864, p. 2. A letter to Flóris Romer, refusing the offer of the directorship of the zoölogical garden of Pest, on the ground that were he to accept he would be accused of self-seeking. On the date of writing Xántus was either in New York, or within a day's steam (cf. *supra*, p. 198).

46. 1 June 1864, New York. *Györi közlöny*, 23 June 1864, p. 202. This letter, the last from America, reported that the war had turned successfully for the Union. 'My next, God willing, will be from Europe, from Southampton, when Manzanillo will be 9800 miles behind me' — a remark which may be construed as expressing a bad memory.

The eleven compositions of Xántus relating to America and written after his return to Hungary in 1864 were largely reminiscent and, in some cases, borrowed from his earlier writings. They will be considered in chronological order.

1. 'A harkályokról' ['On Woodpeckers']. *Györi közlöny*, 1864. Not seen.

2. 'Uj-Yorkból Uj-Granadába' ['From New York to New Granada']. *Hazánk s a külföld*, I (1865), 169-171, 184-187,

203-205, 218-220, 234-235, 250-252, 263-265, 275-278, 298-300, 312-314, 325-326, 341-343, 356-359, 374-375. This long article was taken, in part, from (43) and (44) in the preceding list, with changes in tense to indicate that it was written in Hungary rather than at the time of the journey. The remainder describes imagined visits to Jamaica and to Bogotá.

3. 'Egy vadászati kirándulás nyugati Mexikóban' [A Hunting Trip in Western Mexico']. *Természetbarátok és vadászok évkönyve*, I (1867), 89-110. The emphasis of this article is on jaguar hunting; it appears to be an elaboration of Xántus's description to Baird of his taking a jaguar (*supra*, p. 191-192).

4. 'Vadászati kirándulás nyugati Mexikóba' ['Hunting Trip in Western Mexico']. *Hazánk s a külföld*, II (1866), 594-597, 612-615. An abstract of the preceding article.

5. 'Jaguárvadászat' ['Jaguar Hunting']. *Vadász- és versenylap*, X (1866), 411-413. A further abstract of item (3).

6. 'Amerikai vadászkalandok' ['American Hunting Adventures']. *Vadász- és versenylap*, XII (1867), 181-187, 197-200, 249-253, 273-276. Related the fictitious gathering of scientists at New Orleans in 1853 (*supra*, p. 24-25).

7. 'László Károly' ['Károly László']. *Vasárnapi ujság*, 12 January 1868, p. 13-14. Not seen; it is devoted to the life of a Hungarian immigrant in New Orleans.

8. 'Gyöngyhalászat' ['Pearl Fishing']. *Hazánk s a külföld*, V (1869), 442-444. A duplication of the *Utazás*, p. 109-115.

9. 'Vállas Antal' ['Antal Vállas']. *Reform*, 3 January 1875, p. 2. A biographical sketch of this Hungarian citizen of New Orleans (cf. *supra*, p. 27).

10. 'A Colombiai Egyesült-Allamok és a panamai szoros' ['The United States of Colombia and the Panama Canal'].

Földrajzi közlemények, XV (1887), 273-318. A general survey of attempts to build a canal across the Isthmus, a description of surrounding territories, and the operation of the Panama Railroad.

11. 'Nyugati Mexikóról' ['On Western Mexico']. *Földrajzi közlemények*, XVII (1889), 217-271. Largely borrowed from the long articles in *Györi közlöny* on western Mexico and Mazatlán (*supra*, p. 233-234).

Xántus's German works included Hunfalvy's abridged translation of the third chapter of the *Utazás*,⁶¹ an article on the domesticity of the bison,⁶² and, putatively, a poem written in 1853 and published in Heliodor Truska's *Oesterreichisches Frühlingsalbum* in celebration of the marriage of Emperor Francis Joseph and Duchess Elizabeth in Bavaria. It was signed 'Johann von Xántus (Xenophil),' and was entitled 'Leier und Schwert.' The first stanza, as an example of Xántus's lyric style and his ability to draw a curtain over his hatred of Austria, is given:

Was jubeln all' die Nationen heute?
 Was kündet all' der Glocken Festgeläute,
 Mit ihren hellen Zungen wohl so laut?
 Seht! Hymen spendet Oestreichs Herrschersöhne,
 Traun, mehr denn Demant, *eine zweite Krone*,
 Ein Lichtgestirn, die hohe Fürstenbraut!⁶³

⁶¹ *Supra*, p. 231.

⁶² J. X., 'Ueber den amerikanischen Bison,' *Der zoologische Garten*, VIII (1867), 92-96.

⁶³ Heliodor Truska, ed., *Oesterreichisches Frühlingsalbum 1854* (Wien, 1854), p. 451-452. In a few copies of this book biographical information about each of the poets who contributed to the collection is given. According to this information, the author of this poem was born on 5 October 1818 at Csiktaploca in Transylvania. It is thus not altogether certain that Xántus the naturalist wrote this poem. Constantin Wurzbach, Ritter von Tannenbergr, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien, 1856-1891), XLVII, 263-264.

Among the works written in English by Xántus, the folder in defense of his reputation has been discussed in connection with Ferenc Varga's attack upon him.⁶⁴

From Fort Tejon, Xántus had made known to Baird his desire to publish 'some Memoir on my whole collection here, which — no doubt — will give me more credit, than anything else; and will place me in some position in the scientific world.'⁶⁵ This project he was neither temperamentally nor scientifically prepared to accomplish, but he did memorialize himself to the extent of four articles with a total of ten pages in the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. In 1858 he contributed descriptions of two new species of birds from Fort Tejon;⁶⁶ in 1859, a catalogue of birds collected in the vicinity of Fort Tejon, together with a description of a new species,⁶⁷ and descriptions of four new avian species from Cape San Lucas;⁶⁸ in 1860, he described three new species of starfishes from the Cape.⁶⁹ These scientific studies were, without doubt, polished and transmitted to the Academy by Professor Baird. They constitute one of the few literary productions of Xántus against which no charge of deception or mendacity can be made.

The Geological Survey of California was furnished with a volume on the land birds by Baird, in which he included

⁶⁴ *Supra*, p. 166-167.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 79.

⁶⁶ John Xantus de Vesey, 'Descriptions of Two New Species of Birds from the Vicinity of Fort Tejon, California,' Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, *Proceedings*, 1858, p. 117.

⁶⁷ J. X., 'Catalogue of Birds Collected in the Vicinity of Fort Tejon, California, with a Description of a New Species of *Syrnium*,' loc. cit. 1859, p. 189-193.

⁶⁸ J. X., 'Descriptions of Supposed New Species of Birds from Cape St. Lucas, Lower California,' loc. cit. 1859, p. 297-299.

⁶⁹ J. X., 'Descriptions of Three New Species of Starfishes from Cape St. Lucas,' loc. cit. 1860, p. 568.

a list of Spanish names of California birds, the work of Xántus.⁷⁰

The naturalist's protector, Dr Hammond, had written an article for the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, stating that Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg had communicated to Dr Hammond's friend, Mr de Vésey, the results of some experiments performed before the Académie des Sciences by M. Bibron,⁷¹ who had introduced a remedy for snake bite. Duke Paul sent some of Bibron's prescription to Mr de Vésey, who used it successfully in treating two men bitten by rattlesnakes near his residence in Iowa.⁷² Xántus capitalized on this introduction to the medical world by contributing to the same journal, under the signature of 'Louis de Vesey,' an account of his further successful application of this remedy. At Contra Costa, on his way from San Francisco to Fort Tejon in 1857, Xántus offered his aid to the parents of a boy who had been bitten by a rattlesnake. His offer was spurned; a physician treated the boy without success, and the patient was completely prostrated. After all hope was abandoned, Xántus was finally permitted to prescribe. He administered ten drops of Bibron's antidote, diluted with a little alcohol and water, repeated the dose four hours later, and in the morning was rejoiced to see that the boy had completely recovered. At Fort Tejon, Xántus subjected three dogs to the bite of rattlesnakes, gave them the same solution, and constated

⁷⁰ California, Geological Survey. *Ornithology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1870), p. 580-582. 'Spanish Names of Californian Birds. The following are names in use among the Spanish population of Upper and Lower California. The list has been furnished by John Xantus, Esq.

⁷¹ Gabriel Bibron (1806-1848), the herpetologist.

⁷² W. A. Hammond, 'Experiments with Bibron's Antidote to the Poison of the Rattlesnake,' *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, n. s. XXXV (1858), 94-96.

their recovery. Furthermore, dogs so treated were immune, for some time, to venom.⁷³ To contradict this incident, Xántus could not have been in Contra Costa, east of San Francisco, on his way to Fort Tejon, because he went by sea. Bibron's remedy, consisting of potassium iodide, corrosive sublimate, and spirits, could not have a beneficial effect on a patient suffering from snake bite.

It is startling that writings so widely dispersed have only twice, in eighty years, been subjected to investigation for veracity or originality. In 1863 Professor Josiah D. Whitney, the state geologist of California, at a meeting of the California Academy of Sciences, 'called attention to the curious errors' in the German translation of the *Utazás* which appeared in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*. Whitney believed that, by a confusion of notes, Xántus described a quicksilver mine in Lower California instead of the well-known mine at New Almaden. 'It is evident that Mr. Xantus's notice of rich gold, lead and copper mines on the peninsula must be taken with many grains of allowance.'⁷⁴ This warning did not penetrate outside the academy and the readers of its *Proceedings*, for no other inquisitive voice was raised until 1942, when the historians of Fort Tejon referred, inaccurately, to Chapter III of the *Utazás* as a scramble of 'the traits and customs of half a dozen tribes who lived all the way from the Tejon to the heart of New Mexico.' They pointed out

⁷³ Louis de Vesey, 'Experiments with Bibron's Antidote to the Poison of the Rattlesnake,' loc. cit. p. 375-376.

⁷⁴ California Academy of Sciences, *Proceedings*, III (1863-1867), 12. Whitney stated that Xántus had visited the mines at New Almaden. This is most unlikely, because Xántus was only once at San Jose, in January 1859, and did not mention an excursion to the mines in his detailed series of letters (*supra*, p. 233). Whitney, of course, did not know of Xántus's plagiarism of the article in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*.

Xántus's appropriation of illustrations from Sitgreaves's *Report*, but overlooked all other plagiarisms.⁷⁵

On the other hand, most biographies of Xántus give high praise to his literary works. In Hungary a recent biographer described the *Utazás* as a beautifully written book, with an easy, flowing style, containing much accurate information, and commended the instructions for the collection of specimens of natural history (plagiarized from Baird) as an example of Hungarian creative power.⁷⁶ In German Takács gave Xántus no less praise,⁷⁷ and in English a misguided enthusiast asserted that 'he wrote the best ethnographical book on the Indians' — whether the *Levelei* or the *Utazás* the critic did not specify.⁷⁸

Jókai, in one of his most penetrating novels, *An Hungarian Nabob*, satirized the boastful Magyar noble in a passage which, with appropriate changes of scene, well summarizes Xántus's career as an author. 'I have travelled in Egypt. In Morocco I abducted the most beautiful damsel of the Bey from his harem. I spend the season in Italy. I have whole folios written of my travels by the best French authors, and I publish them as if I had written them myself. The Académie des Sciences has elected me a member in consequence.'⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Helen S. Giffen and Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942), p. 81-82.

⁷⁶ Lajos Geszti et al., *A biológia magyar úttörői* (Budapest, 1925), p. 145-146.

⁷⁷ László Takács, *Der Ungar in der Welt* (Budapest, 1934), p. 37.

⁷⁸ Lovina S. Smith, *Hungary, Land and People, as Seen by Personal Experiences from 1907-1932* (Budapest, 1933), p. 406.

⁷⁹ Mór Jókai, *An Hungarian Nabob* (London, 1898), p. 33-34.

CHAPTER IX

BIOTA XÁNTUSIANA

Historians have frequently been the target of attacks by natural scientists for their alleged failure to recognize the importance of the life sciences within the general history of culture and their inability to overcome 'the historical scholar's congenital distaste for natural history.'¹ If this distaste does exist, the fault is partly that of the naturalists and biologists, whose scientific writings are usually bereft of information about their personal activities. Without these data the historian is hard put to establish even such simple facts as the naturalist's itinerary, the disposition of his collections, their measurable value to science, and the extent to which the collections were exploited or neglected. If the historian turns his attention to collections made a century ago, he finds that species then determined have frequently undergone changes in nomenclature so bewildering and, apparently, so capricious that their position in relation to the present status of forms is a puzzle even to the trained taxonomist.

From the historian's viewpoint, the collections made by a naturalist or an expedition should be studied to determine the number of new species discovered, and to establish the species, both old and new, so that a sound basis is given to studies of distribution and ecology. When the results of collecting are published in one report, or in a related series, this investigation is simple. On the other hand, when the specimens are described or listed by a score of scientists in papers extending over the years

¹ Harry Harris, 'Notes on the Xantus Tradition,' *Condor*, XXXVI (1934), 191.

from 1858 to 1939 and are lumped with the forms taken by other collectors, there are few historians or scientists who would be so bold as to claim completeness for the study of the work of an individual naturalist. The collections of Xántus are in this state; the study of them, however, is even more difficult because of the falsehoods strewn along his trail.

An example of such a falsehood occurred after Xántus's return to San Francisco from Cape San Lucas in 1861. The naturalist visited Samuel Hubbard and gave him information for a paper descriptive of the collections made by Xántus in Lower California. Hubbard read the paper before the California Academy of Sciences in September 1861. According to it, Xántus had taken the following specimens:

Mammals: 3000 of 325 species, of which 27 were new and 6 doubtful.

Reptiles: 2000 of 46 species, of which nearly 40 were new.

Fishes: over 20,000 of about 800 species, of which over 650 were new, including 35 new genera.

Lepidoptera: about 50 species.

Diptera: about 150 species.

Hymenoptera: about 150 species.

Orthoptera: 'a few.'

Coleoptera: about 50,000 specimens of 300 species, 'nine-tenths of them new to entomology.'

Crustacea: 800 species, 'fully 711 are new, embracing 9 new genera.'

Radiata: about 40 species, 'with many novelties.'

Mollusca: over 5000 specimens.

Shells: 'P. P. Carpenter gave, after a hurried survey of the collection, 1700 species last year, but since then the collection has more than doubled. About half of the whole

is pronounced by Mr. Carpenter and Isaac Lee [Lea] to be new.'

Plants: 'about 340 new species out of 390.'

Algae: '75 additional species, every one of which is new to science.'

Oölogy and nidology: over 3000 nests, 'with nearly 9000 eggs in the best condition, nine-tenths of which are pronounced by Mr. Brewer of Boston as additional to North American Oology.'

Corals: 8 species, of which 6 were new.

Sponges: 14 species, of which 10 were new.

In addition, collections were made in the fields of ethnology, geology, and palaeontology.

To crown this enumeration, Hubbard observed, 'The diligent and multifarious labors of this eminent naturalist confer an imperishable and truly honored name in the future annals of the two Californias. And his being an adopted citizen, shows the entire and abominable futility of that national jealousy which a few years ago would ostracise all but native Americans.'²

Despite the omission of ornithology, the field of most interest to Xántus, from this list, and the failure to enumerate specimens taken in *Insecta* (except *Coleoptera*), *Crustacea*, *Radiata*, shells, plants, algae, corals, and sponges, the total of specimens shown is 92,000. Of new species claimed (omitting oölogy), the total is 3829. This fantastic assertion went unchallenged except for Philip P. Carpenter's denial of the statement attributed to him. In the *Report* of the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1863 Carpenter caustically wrote that the account was entirely destitute

² A. S. Taylor, 'California Notes,' *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, XVI (17 January 1862), 115. The error of giving 'Mollusca' and 'Shells' as different groups is Taylor's.

of foundation in fact; it was 'a curious specimen of the tendency to extreme exaggeration, which seems indigenuous to some dwellers in a vast country, and has now, it seems, invaded even an Academy of Nat. Sc. . . .'³ Carpenter's article was reproduced stereotypically in his *Mollusks of Western North America*, one of the Smithsonian *Miscellaneous Collections*.⁴ The editors of the latter patriotically suppressed the footnote in which Carpenter expressed his opinion of the American tendency to exaggeration; the verdict on Xántus's claim was thereby also excluded from the authoritative summation of the molluscs of the west coast. Carpenter had earlier observed, 'As human life is so short, and those who have the inclination for scientific pursuits have generally so little leisure, it is a serious evil when so large a proportion of that little has to be devoted to the labour of making out the errors of predecessors.'⁵

It is through such a labyrinth of conflicting information that the investigator of Xántus's contribution to science must find his way.

In order to display systematically and graphically the extent of the *catalogued* portions of Xántus's collection, the following arrangement has been adopted. In the main divisions, the specimens are considered under the geographical headings of (A) Fort Tejon, (B) Cape San Lucas, and (C) Colima; by this, specimens, regardless of exact

³ P. P. Carpenter, 'Supplementary Report on the Present State of Our Knowledge with Regard to the *Mollusca* of the West Coast of North America,' British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1863, p. 617.

⁴ P. P. Carpenter, *The Mollusks of Western North America* (Washington, 1873).

⁵ P. P. Carpenter, 'Report on the Present State of Our Knowledge with Regard to the *Mollusca* of the West Coast of North America.' British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1856, p. 165.

locality of capture, are ranged within the three areas in which Xántus successively collected. A fourth heading, (D) Miscellaneous, includes specimens taken outside the preceding areas. Under each of these geographical headings the natural groups are displayed in four categories: (a) species new to science; (b) enumeration of species already known to science; (c) species taken by others and named in honor of Xántus; (d) notes of information and references to material bearing upon particular problems raised by the Xántus collections. A tabulation of species new to science concludes this chapter. Xántus's species have not been placed in synonymy. All species bearing Xántus's name are indicated by an asterisk. The journals in which the specimens are dealt with are abbreviated, as follows:

Amer. Acad. Proc. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Proceedings.

Amer. Ent. Soc. Trans. American Entomological Society, Transactions.

Amer. Jour. Sci. American Journal of Science and Arts.

Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc. American Philosophical Society, Proceedings.

Ann. and Mag. Annals and Magazine of Natural History.

Bost. Jour. Boston Journal of Natural History.

Bost. Soc. Mem. Boston Society of Natural History, Memoirs.

Bost. Soc. Proc. Boston Society of Natural History, Proceedings.

Brit. Ass. Rep. British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report.

Cal. Acad. Proc. California Academy of Sciences, Proceedings.

Conn. Acad. Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Transactions.

Essex Inst. Proc. Essex Institute, Proceedings.

Harv. Mus. Bull. Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Bulletin.

Mich. Mus. Misc. University of Michigan, Museum of Zoology, Miscellaneous Publications.

Mich. Mus. Occ. University of Michigan, Museum of Zoology, Occasional Papers.

N. A. Fauna. North American Fauna.

N. Y. Lyc. Ann. Lyceum of Natural History of New York, Annals.

Phil. Acad. Jour. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Journal.

Phil. Acad. Proc. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Proceedings

Rev. et mag. Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée.

San Diego Soc. Trans. San Diego Society of Natural History, Transactions.

So. Cal. Acad. Bull. Southern California Academy of Sciences, Bulletin.

Soc. ent. Ann. Société entomologique de France, Annales.

Ter. füz. Természeträjzi füzetek.

U. S. Nat. Herb. Cont. U. S. National Herbarium, Contributions.

U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. U. S. National Museum, Proceedings.

Wash. Biol Soc. Proc. Biological Society of Washington, Proceedings.

A. FORT TEJON

MAMMALIA

(a) Elliot Coues, 'A critical review of the North American *Sacomysidae*,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1875, p. 272-327.

Perognathus longimembris C., p. 305.

(a) F. W. True, 'Diagnoses of some undescribed wood rats (genus *Neotoma*) in the National Museum,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. XVII (1894), 353-355.

**Neotoma macrotis simplex* T. (Xántus brush rat, Fort Tejon wood rat), p. 354.

(a) C. H. Merriam, 'Descriptions of thirty apparently new grizzly and brown bears from North America,' Wash. Biol. Soc. Proc. XXVII (1914), 173-196.

Ursus californicus tularensis M., p. 188.

(d) Joseph Grinnell, J. S. Dixon, and J. M. Linsdale, *Furbearing Mammals of California; Their Natural History, Systematic Status, and Relations to Man* (Berkeley, 1937).

Ursus tularensis, I, 76-77. [Notes from Xántus's *Utazás* and his letters to Baird.]

(d) Joseph Grinnell, 'California's grizzly bears,' *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XXIII (1938), 70-81.

Ursus tularensis, p. 71-74, 80. [Notes from Xántus's *Utazás* and his letters to Baird.]

AVES

(a) John Xantus de Vesey, 'Descriptions of two new species of birds from the vicinity of Fort Tejon, California,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1858, p. 117.

Tyrannula hammondii de V. (Hammond flycatcher).

Vireo cassinii de V. (Cassin vireo).

(a) John Xantus, 'Catalogue of birds collected in the vicinity of Fort Tejon, California, with a description of a new species of *Syrnium*,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 189-193.

Syrnium occidentale X. (Southern spotted owl), p. 193.

(b) *Ibid.*

[A list of 144 birds taken between May 1857 and November 1858. Birds observed but not taken were excluded. Extensive notes were made, from which a memoir was to have been published; it never appeared.] 'It will be seen from the catalogue that the Fauna of Fort Tejon is essentially that of the coast of California and has only slight relations to that of the interior or Colorado region' (p. 189).

(b) E. E. Hume, *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps; Thirty-six Biographies* (Baltimore, 1942).

[A list of 64 birds taken by Xántus at Fort Tejon, accredited by Baird in his *Birds of North America; the Descriptions of Species Based Chiefly on the Collections in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution* (Philadelphia, 1860).] p. 530-531. [A list of 9 birds taken by Xántus at Fort Tejon, accredited by Baird in *Railroad Reports*, IX.] p. 531.

REPTILIA AND AMPHIBIA

(a) S. F. Baird, 'Description of new genera and species of North American lizards in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1858, p. 253-256.

Sceloporus longipes B., p. 254.

**Xantusia vigilis* B., p. 255.

(a) E. D. Cope, 'A review of the species of the *Amblystomidae*,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1867, p. 166-211.

Plethodon intermedius Baird apud C., p. 209.

P. croceater C., p. 210.

(b) H. C. Yarrow, *Check List of North American Reptilia and Batrachia, with Catalogue of Specimens in U. S. National Museum* (Washington, 1882).

[By reference to entries under 'Xantus' in index (p. 249), the Fort Tejon specimens may be established.]

(d) John Van Denburgh, 'The species of the genus *Xantusia*,' Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 2, V (1895), 523-534.

[A discussion of *Xantusia vigilis*.] p. 525-526.

(d) Joseph Grinnell, 'Old Fort Tejon,' *Condor*, VII (1905), 9-13.

[A discussion of the type locality of *Xantusia vigilis*.]
p. 12.

(d) John Van Denburgh, 'Four species of salamanders new to the state of California, with a description of *Plethodon elongatus*, a new species, and notes on other salamanders,' Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 4, VI (1916), 215-221.

[An incidental discussion of the dubious nature of the ascriptions of some specimens to Fort Tejon.]
p. 218-220.

INSECTA

(a) J. L. LeConte, 'Notes on the species of *Eleodes* found within the United States,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1858, p. 180-188.

**Eleodes veseyi* LeC., p. 187. 'Collected by Mr. John Xantus de Vésey; to whom I take great pleasure in dedicating the species, as a slight tribute of my appreciation of his enthusiastic labors, which have added much to our knowledge of the fauna of the Western Territories.'

(a), 'Catalogue of the *Coleoptera* of Fort Tejon, California,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 69-90.

'The present paper contains a list of the species of *Coleoptera* collected at Fort Tejon, during 1857 and 1858, by the indefatigable naturalist, Mr. John Xantus (de Vésey), which were found to be remarkable in

many respects. The number of species obtained (147) is very small for the time during which they were collected, and the proportion of new species (52) is very large' (p. 69).

**Omus xanti* LeC. [Proposed as name for a specimen of *O. californicus* which appeared to differ from the other specimens collected.] p. 69.

Cychrus punctatus LeC., p. 69.

C. striatus LeC.

Cercus sericans LeC.

Carpophilus caudalis LeC., p. 70.

Nitidula humeralis LeC.

Hister remotus LeC.

Hetaerius morsus LeC.

Attagenus rufipennis LeC., p. 71.

Anthaxia strigata LeC.

Acmaeodera connexa LeC.

A. retifer LeC., p. 72.

A. guttifer LeC.

Sericosomus debilis LeC.

Elater cordifer LeC.

Cardiophorus fulvipes LeC., p. 73.

Aplastus speratus LeC.

Podabrus tejonius LeC., p. 74.

Tanaops abdominalis LeC.

Hapalorhinus mirandus LeC., p. 75.

Dasytes quadricollis LeC.

D. sculptilis LeC.

Cymatodera ovipennis LeC., p. 76.

Ptinus verticalis LeC.

Pelecyphorus costipennis LeC.

Nosoderma pustulosum LeC., p. 77.

N. plicatum LeC.

Eleodes scabripennis LeC.

Helops angustus LeC.
Coniontis abdominalis LeC.
Eulabis brevicornis LeC., p. 78.
Xystropus opacus LeC.
Prionychus cyanescens LeC.
Allecula punctulata LeC.
Anaspis nubila LeC.
Baridius nasutus LeC., p. 79.
Centrinus lineellus LeC.
Sphenophorus simplex LeC.
Callidium blandum LeC.
C. obscurum LeC.
Brothylus gemmulatus LeC., p. 80.
Elaphidion lineare LeC.
Acmaeops falsa LeC.
Toxotus nubifer LeC.
Leptura 6-spilota LeC.
Tetraops mancus LeC., p. 81.
Glyptoscelis albidus LeC.
Oedionychis violascens LeC.
Phyllobratica flavicollis LeC.
P. bivittata LeC.
Diabrotica viridipennis LeC.
Microrhopala signaticollis LeC., p. 82.
Mycetina morosa LeC.

(a), 'New species of *Coleoptera* inhabiting the Pacific district of the United States,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1861, p. 338-359.

Staphylinus submetallicus LeC., p. 342.

(a), 'Additions to the coleopterous fauna of the United States. No. 1,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1866, p. 361-394.

Plastocerus frater LeC., p. 393. 'Fort Tejon, California, Mr. Ulke's collection.' [A Xántus specimen.]

(b), 'Catalogue of the *Coleoptera* of Fort Tejon, California,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 69-90.

[Lists 95 species known to science.]

(d) A. C. Davis, 'A list of the *Coleoptera* of Fort Tejon, California,' So. Cal. Acad. Bull. XXXI (1932), 75-87.

[A list of 272 species.] 'A rather striking thing one notices in going over the present list is the comparatively small number of species recorded by Leconte [paragraph above] that have been retaken in later years, and the rather large number of species that are now rather common about the fort that were not taken by either Xantus or Leconte' (p. 87). [This suggests the possibility that some of Xantus's specimens were not taken at Fort Tejon.]

CHILOPODA

(a) H. C. Wood, 'On the *Chilopoda* of North America, with a catalogue of all the specimens in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution,' Phil. Acad. Jour. ser. 2, V (1862-1863), 5-52.

Lithobius paucidens W., p. 14.

**Bothropolys xanti* W., p. 15. 'It affords us great pleasure to dedicate this species to Mr. Xantus, through whose "exhaustive collections" the rich fauna, of what has been a veritable "terra incognita," is being rapidly developed.'

Scolopocryptops gracilis W., p. 38.

PLANTS

(a) Asa Gray, 'List of a collection of dried plants made by L. J. Xantus, at Fort Tejon, and vicinity, California, near lat. 35°, and long. 119°, 1857-8,' Bost. Soc. Proc. VII (1859-1861), 145-149.

**Clarkia Xantiana* G., p. 146.

Pentstemon laetus G., p. 147.

Chorizanthe (Mucronea) perfoliata G., p. 148.

(a), 'Miscellaneous botanical contributions,' Amer. Acad. Proc. XI (1875-1876), 71-104.

**Solanum Xanti* G., p. 90.

(b), 'List of a collection of dried plants made by L. J. Xantus, at Fort Tejon, and vicinity, California, near lat. 35°, and long. 119°, 1857-8,' Bost. Soc. Proc. VII (1859-1861), 145-149.

[Enumerates 119 species known to science.]

B. CAPE SAN LUCAS

MAMMALIA

(a) Harrison Allen, *Monograph of the Bats of North America* (Washington, 1864).

Vespertilio oregonensis A., p. 60-61.

(a), 'Notes on the *Vespertilionidae* of tropical America,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1866, p. 279-288.

Vespertilio obscurus A., p. 281.

V. volans A., p. 282.

V. exilis A., p. 283.

V. tenuidorsalis A.

(a) C. H. Merriam, 'Descriptions of twenty-six new species of North American mammals,' N. A. Fauna, no. 4 (1890).

Spilogale lucasana M., p. 11.

(d) J. D. Caton, *The Antelope and Deer of America* (New York, 1881).

[A discussion of *Odocoileus hemionus peninsulae*, the mule deer, taken by Xantus.] p. 119, 337. [Caton's judgments were controverted by]

(d) Lyman Belding, 'The deer of southern Lower California,' *West American Scientist*, VI (1889), 26-27.

AVES

(a) John Xantus, 'Descriptions of supposed new species of birds from Cape St. Lucas, Lower California,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 297-299.

Picus lucasanus X. (San Lucas ladder-backed woodpecker), p. 298.

Campylorhynchus affinis X. (San Lucas cactus wren).

Harporhynchus cinereus X. (Cape San Lucas thrasher).

**Brachyrhamphus hypoleucus* X. (Xántus murrelet), p. 299.

(a) S. F. Baird, 'Notes on a collection of birds made by Mr. John Xantus, at Cape St. Lucas, Lower California, and now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 299-306.

Myiarchus pertinax B. (Lower California ash-throated flycatcher), p. 303.

Cardinalis igneus B. (San Lucas cardinal), p. 305.

Pipilo albigula B. (San Lucas brown towhee).

Chamaepelia passerina? var. *pallescens* B. (Mexican ground dove).

(a) G. N. Lawrence, 'Descriptions of three new species of humming-birds of the genera *Helimaster*, *Amazilia*, and *Melisuga*,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 107-111.

**Amazilia xantusii* L. (Xántus hummingbird), p. 109. 'Sent by Mr. John Xantus, whose investigations in the Ornithology of Western North America have been the means of adding many new birds to science. In compliment to him I have named it.'

(a) Elliott Coues, 'A critical review of the family *Procellaridae*,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1864, p. 72-91, 116-144.

Halocyptena microsoma C. (Least petrel), p. 79.

Nectris amaurosoma C. (Dark-bodied shearwater),
p. 124.

Puffinus opisthomelas C. (Black-vented shearwater),
p. 139.

(a) S. F. Baird, *Review of American Birds, in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Part I* (Washington, 1864-1872).

Turdus confinis B. (San Lucas robin), p. 29.

(a) Elliott Coues, 'List of the birds of Fort Whipple, Arizona: with which are incorporated all other species ascertained to inhabit the territory, with brief critical and field notes, descriptions of new species, etc.' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1866, p. 39-100.

Vireo pusillus C. (Least Bell vireo), p. 76.

Spizella cana Baird apud C. (California black-chinned sparrow), p. 88.

(a) G. N. Lawrence, 'Descriptions of new species of American birds,' *N. Y. Lyc. Ann.* VIII (1867), 466-482.

Passerculus guttatus L. (San Benito marsh sparrow),
p. 473.

(a) California, Geological Survey. *Ornithology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1870).

Melanerpes formicivorus, var. *angustifrons* Baird.
(Narrow fronted acorn-storing woodpecker), p. 405.

(a) S. F. Baird, T. M. Brewer, and Robert Ridgway, *A History of North American Birds: Land Birds* (Boston, 1874).

Buteo borealis var. *lucasanus* R. (San Lucas red-tail),
III, 285.

(b) S. F. Baird, 'Notes on a collection of birds made by Mr. John Xantus, at Cape St. Lucas, Lower California, and now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1859, p. 299-306.

[Lists 38 species known to science.]

(b) Lyman Belding, 'Catalogue of a collection of birds made near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Lower California,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. V (1882), 532-550.

'I have gone over the record books of the National Museum and made a careful enumeration of all the species collected by Xantus in Lower California. The total number of species amounts to 130. . .'
[Note by Ridgway] p. 533.

(c) Robert Ridgway, *A Manual of North American Birds* (Philadelphia, 1887).

**Aphelocoma californica hypoleuca* R. (Xántus California jay), p. 356.

(c) William Brewster, 'Birds of the Cape region of Lower California,' Harv. Mus. Bull. XLI (1902-1904), 1-241.

**Megascops xantusi* B. (Xántus screech owl), p. 93.

(d) S. F. Baird, 'Notes on a collection of birds made by Mr. John Xantus, at Cape St. Lucas, Lower California, and now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1859, p. 299-306.

[Important notes on geographical distribution.]

(d) Alfred Malherbe, *Monographie des picidéés* (Metz, 1861-1862).

Geopicus chrysoïdes M. (San Lucas gilded flicker), II, 261. [This description of a specimen doubtless taken by Xántus supplemented the earlier description of this species,]

(d) 'Description de nouvelle espèces de *Picidae*,' Rev. et mag. IV (1852), 550-555.

[which ascribed it to no more exact locality than America (p. 553). That the ascription of this species to Lower California rests upon a Xántus specimen may thus be asserted.]

(d) G. N. Lawrence, 'Description of a new species of bird of the genus *Phaeton*, also of a new species of humming bird of the genus *Heliopaedica*,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 142-145.

Heliopaedica castaneocauda L., p. 145. [A description of a male specimen of *Amazilia xantusi* L.]

(d), 'Descriptions of six new species of birds, of the families *Charadriidae*, *Trochilidae*, and *Caprimulgidae*,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 455-460.

Thalurania luciae L., p. 456. [This species was described on the basis of a specimen 'in a collection of birds made by J. Xantus, Esq., in July of last year [1861], on the Pacific coast of Mexico and the neighboring islands.' The habitat attributed by the collector to the specimen was 'Tres Marias Islands.' In 1871]

(d) A. J. Grayson, 'On the physical geography and natural history of the Tres Marias and of Socorro, off the western coast of Mexico,' Bost. Soc. Proc. XIV (1871), 261-303.

[stated that this species had been found in the Tres Marias by Xantus, but not by Grayson in his extensive exploration (p. 284). In 1899, in]

(d) N. A. Fauna, no. 14 (1899).

[E. W. Nelson expressed doubt that Xantus had ever visited the islands because the species sent in by him had never been taken by other explorers, and he sent in no species taken by them. This species is not known even from the adjacent mainland. 'Probably Mr. Xantus purchased these specimens from some one who misled him concerning their origin.' This species was proved to be *Thalurania glaucopsis*, from southeastern Brazil (p. 7, 61). There is no evidence that Xantus visited the Tres Marias in July 1861, during his visit to Grayson at Mazatlán. The Tres Marias are mentioned only once in his correspondence, in a letter

from Colima of 2 March 1863 to Grayson, in which he tepidly proposed a joint 'short exploration' of the islands, provided he could leave his duties at the consulate. This proposal was never executed, as Grayson's first visit to the Tres Mariás occurred in 1865.]

- (d) G. N. Lawrence, 'Descriptions of six new species of birds, of the families *Charadriidae*, *Trochilidae*, and *Caprimulgidae*,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 455-460.

Chlorostilbon insularis L., p. 457. [The remarks about *Thalurania luciae* apply equally to this species, which was proved to be *Chlorostilbon pucherani*, from southeastern Brazil.]

- (d) S. F. Baird, 'The distribution and migrations of North American birds,' Amer. Jour. Sci. ser. 2, XCI (1866), 78-90, 184-192, 337-347.

[This early article on geographical distribution remarked that 'the indefatigable researches of Mr. Xantus' demonstrated the existence at Cape San Lucas of at least twenty species not known elsewhere] p. 84-85.

- (d) W. E. Bryant, 'The Cape region of Baja California,' *Zoe*, II (1891), 185-201.

[An account, of great interest, of conditions under which a naturalist operated in 1890 — not very different from those of Xantus thirty years before.]

- (d) N. A. Fauna, no. 14 (1899).

Cissolopha beecheyi (Vigors) (Beechey jay), p. 50. 'A specimen of this bird in the National Museum collection, obtained by Xantus, is labeled "Tres Marias Islands, October 15, 1859." This record, however, is doubtful.' [As a record of personal collection it is unacceptable, for on 12 October Xantus was at Cape San Lucas, over two hundred miles from the Tres Mariás.]

(d) Lyman Belding, 'A part of my experience in collecting,' *Condor*, II (1900), 1-5.

[Expressed doubt that Xántus was ever in the Victoria Mountains of the Cape district, because of his failure to take common birds of that region] p. 3.

(d) Joseph Grinnell, *A Distributional Summation of the Ornithology of Lower California* (Berkeley, 1928).

Lunda cirrhata (Pallas) (Tufted puffin), p. 235.

Cephus columba Pallas (Pigeon guillemot), p. 236.

[Grinnell placed these Upper California species in a list of those attributed to Lower California only on inconclusive authority. The only definite ascription of these species to Lower California is that of specimens supposedly taken by Xántus at 'Sandoval point, 1860' and Cape Los Mártires in 1861. Grinnell, without knowing of the exchanges between Xántus and Gruber, pointed out the resemblance of the skins of these specimens to others prepared by Gruber. It seems altogether certain that Grinnell was right in his judgment that the skins were obtained from Gruber by Xántus, who either innocently or purposely labeled them as having been taken in Lower California.]

REPTILIA AND AMPHIBIA

(a) E. D. Cope, 'Catalogue of the *Colubridae* in the museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, with notes and descriptions of new species. Part 2,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1860, p. 241-267.

**Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus* C. (Xántus snake), p. 246.

Lampropeltis boylii C., p. 255.

(a) 'Notes and descriptions of new and little known species of American reptiles,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1860, p. 339-345.

Chilomeniscus stramineus C., p. 339.

Tropidonotus celaeno C., p. 341.

T. tephroleura C.

Pityophis haematois C., p. 342.

Lycodon lyrophanes C., p. 343.

(a), 'Contributions to the ophiology of Lower California, Mexico, and Central America,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1861, p. 292-306.

Caudisona enyo C., p. 293.

C. mitchellii C.

Thamnophis cyrtopsis var. *cyclides* C., p. 299.

Drymobius aurigulus C., p. 301.

Lampropeltis boylii conjuncta C.

Lichanura trivirgata C., p. 304.

(a) 'On *Trachycephalus*, *Scaphiopus* and other American *Batrachia*,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1863, p. 43-54.

Scaphiopus varius C., p. 52.

(a) 'Descriptions of new American *Squamata*, in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1863, p. 100-106.

Ciplodactylus unctus C., p. 102.

**Phyllodactylus xanti* C., (*Xantus* gecko). 'Obtained by John Xantus, Esq., to whom it is dedicated.'

Cnemidophorus hyperythrus C., p. 103.

C. maximus C., p. 104.

Uta thalassina C.

Sceloporus zosteromus C., p. 105.

Cyclura (Ctenosaura) hemilopha C.

(a), 'Contributions to the herpetology of tropical America,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1864, p. 166-181.

Uta nigricauda C., p. 176.

(a) 'On the *Reptilia* and *Batrachia* of the Sonoran province of the Nearctic region,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1866, p. 300-314.

Hyla curta C., p. 313.

(b) H. C. Yarrow, *Check List of North American Reptilia and Batrachia, with Catalogue of Specimens in U. S. National Museum* (Washington, 1882).

[By reference to entries under 'Xantus' in index (p. 249), the Cape San Lucas specimens may be established.]

(d) E. D. Cope, 'On the *Reptilia* and *Batrachia* of the Sonoran province of the Nearctic region,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1866, p. 300-314.

[A discussion of the geographical distribution of the reptile fauna of Lower California] p. 312-313.

PISCES

(a) T. N. Gill, 'Monograph of the genus' *Labrosomus* Sw., *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1860, p. 102-108.

**Labrosomus xanti* G., p. 107. 'I have dedicated this species to Mr. Xantus as a slight testimony to his worth and abilities: while engaged in his duties on the coast survey, and with many obstacles to contend against, on account of the present condition of affairs in Mexico, he has obtained a collection of terrestrial and marine animals, which is rich in new forms, and all the species of which are in the highest state of preservation.'

(a), 'Monograph of the *Philypni*,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1860, p. 120-126.

Philypnus lateralis G., p. 123.

(a), 'Synopsis generum *Rhyptici* et affinium,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1861, p. 52-54.

Dermatolepis punctatus G., p. 54.

(a), 'Catalogue of the fishes of Lower California in the Smithsonian Institution, collected by Mr. J. Xantus,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1862, p. 140-151, 242-246, 249-262; 1863, p. 80-88.

- Harpe diplotaenia* G., p. 140.
H. pectoralis G., p. 141.
Julis lucasanus G., p. 142.
Xirichthys mundiceps G., p. 143.
Iniistius mundicorpus G., p. 145.
Euschistodus declivifrons G., p. 146.
Hypsypops dorsalis G., p. 147.
Pomacentrus rectifraenum G., p. 148.
P. flavilatus G.
P. bairdii G., p. 149.
P. quadrigutta G.
Chromis (Furcaria) atrilobata G.
Glyphidodon troschellii G., p. 150.
Prionurus punctatus G., p. 242.
Sarothrodus nigrirostris G., p. 243.
Holacanthus strigatus G.
Pomacanthodes zonipectus G., p. 244.
Pimelepterus analogus G., p. 245.
Diapterus californiensis G.
D. gracilis G., p. 246.
Epinephelus sellicauda G., p. 250.
**Rhypticus xanti* G. 'I dedicate it to Mr. Xantus, who has made the magnificent collection, of which a part is here described.'
R. maculatus G., p. 251.
Amia retrosella G.
Lutjanus novemfasciatus G.
Hoplopagrus guentherii G., p. 253.
Haemulon scudderii G.
H. sexfasciatus G., p. 254.
H. flaviguttatus G.
Orthostoechus maculicauda G., p. 255.
Microlepidotus inornatus G., p. 256.
Upeneus dentatus G.

Umbrina dorsalis G., p. 257.

**U. xanti* G.

Nematistius pectoralis G., p. 259.

Cirrhitus betaurus G.

Trachurops brachychirus G., p. 261.

Decapterus hypodus G., p. 262.

Pronotogrammus multifasciatus G., p. 81.

**Xenichthys xanti* G., p. 83. 'This most interesting and even remarkable type is dedicated to Mr. John Xantus, to whom we are indebted for the noble collection of fishes and other animals of Lower California, and who has, more than any other single man, contributed to our knowledge of the natural history of the Western coast.'

Argyriosus brevoortii G.

Halatractus dorsalis G., p. 84.

Trachynotus rhodopus G., p. 85.

T. nasutus G.

Sphyræna lucasana G., p. 86.

Holocentrum suborbitale G.

Myriopristis occidentalis G., p. 87.

Phamphoberyx poecilopus G.

R. leucopus G., p. 88.

(a) 'On the limits and affinity of the family of Leptoscopoids,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1862, p. 501-506.

Dactylagnus mundus G., p. 506.

(a), 'Descriptions of some new species of *Pediculati*, and on the classification of the group,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1863, p. 88-92.

Antennarius sanguineus G., p. 91.

A. strigatus G., p. 92.

(a), 'Descriptions of the genera of Gadoid and Brotuloid fishes of western North America,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1863, p. 242-254.

Brosmophycis ventralis G., p. 253.

(a), 'On the genus *Caulolatilus*, Phil. Acad. Proc. 1865, p. 66-68.

Caulolatilus affinis G., p. 68.

(a) D. S. Jordan and C. H. Gilbert, 'Catalogue of the fishes collected by Mr. John Xantus at Cape San Lucas, which are now in the United States National Museum, with descriptions of eight new species,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. V (1882), 353-371.

'During a period of confusion in the Museum, this collection was scattered and many of the specimens lost or destroyed, and the study of the undescribed portion was abandoned by Professor Gill. The writers have gone over the entire collection again, and give here a catalogue of what remains. Even after the extensive collections studied by Günther, Steindachner, and the writers, there still remain in the Xantus collection several species new to science' (p. 353).

Clupea thrissina J. & G., p. 353.

Characodon fuscoides J. & G., p. 354.

Fundulus vinctus J. & G., p. 355.

F. extensus J. & G.

Gymnomuraena nectura J. & G., p. 356.

Apterichthys selachops J. & G.

Ophichthys miurus J. & G., p. 357.

Sebastopsis xyris J. & G., p. 369.

(a) G. B. Goode and T. H. Bean, *Oceanic Ichthyology, a Treatise on the Deep-sea and Pelagic Fishes of the World* (Washington, 1895).

**Lepidopus xantusi* G. & B., I, 519.

(b) D. S. Jordan and C. H. Gilbert, 'Catalogue of the fishes collected by Mr. John Xantus at Cape San Lucas, which are now in the United States National Museum, with

descriptions of eight new species,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. V (1882), 353-371.

[Lists 73 species known to science and 2 'sp. incog.']

(d) C. L. Hubbs, 'Studies of the fishes of the order Cyprinodontes. X. Four nominal species of *Fundulus* placed in synonymy,' Mich. Mus. Occ. no. 231 (1931).

[A discussion of *Fundulus vinctus* J. & G. and *F. extensus* J. & G., pointing out that they are synonymous with *F. heteroclitus macrolepidotus* and *F. diaphanus* of the east coast of North America. Their erroneous ascription to Cape San Lucas was probably caused by the confusion described by Jordan and Gilbert, rather than by a deliberate act of Xántus.] p. 2-3.

Characodon furcidens J. & G. [Actually from the Lerma River system, near Colima. Here again the false ascription is probably not attributable to Xántus.] p. 7.

ECHINODERMATA

(a) John Xantus, 'Descriptions of three new species of starfishes from Cape St. Lucas,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1860, p. 568.

Asteria sertulifera X.

Heliaster microbrachia X.

H. kubiniji X. 'I take pleasure in dedicating this species to my countryman M. Kubiniji [!], the accomplished Director of the Hungarian National Museum at Pesth.'

(a) Theodore Lyman, [Description of new *Ophiuridae*], Bost. Soc. Proc. VII (1859-1861), 252-262.

Ophiocoma alexandri L., p. 256.

**Ophionereis xantusii* L., p. 258.

(a) A. E. Verrill, 'Notes on the echinoderms of Panama

and west coast of America, with descriptions of new genera and species,' Conn. Acad. Trans. I (1867-1871), 251-322.

Goniodiscus stella V., p. 284.

Echinodiadema coronata V., p. 295.

Psammechinus pictus V., p. 301.

Brissus obesus V., p. 316.

Metalia nobilis V., p. 319.

INSECTA

(a) J. L. LeConte, 'Notes on the coleopterous fauna of Lower California,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1861, p. 335-338.

'The coleoptera of Lower California, thus far unknown to science, are now, by the industry of my indefatigable friend, Mr. John Xantus, capable of being duly compared with those of contiguous regions. His collections embrace (as I am informed by him) more than 500 species, of which the portions thus far sent to me contain 114.'

Megasoma thersites LeC., p. 336.

Euryomia fascifera LeC.

Chalcolepidus rubripennis LeC.

Lycus cruentus LeC.

Pelecyphorus aegrotus LeC., p. 337.

P. bifurcus LeC.

P. sexcostatus LeC.

Centrioptera spiculifera LeC.

Cryptoglossa seriata LeC.

Cerenopus cribratus LeC.

Diabrotica? insolita LeC., p. 338.

(a) Henri de Saussure, 'Sur quelques scolies de Basse-Californie,' Soc. ent. Ann. XXXII (1863), 17-19.

Scolia badia S., p. 17.

S. nobilitata Fabr. var.

S. consors S.

**Elis xantiana* S.

(a) J. L. LeConte, 'Additions to the coleopterous fauna of the United States. No. 1,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1866, p. 361-394.

Apenes nebulosa LeC., p. 364.

Lasconotus simplex LeC., p. 378.

Canthon puncticollis LeC., p. 381.

Anchastus bicolor LeC., p. 390. 'One specimen from Cape San Lucas, Lower California, in the collection of Mr. Ulke.' [Undoubtedly a *Xántus* specimen.]

(a) *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859, unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair* (Wien, 1861-1875). Zoölogischer Theil, 2. Bd., 1. Abth. A. 2. Hymenoptera, von Dr. Henri de Saussure.

**Trypoxylon xantianum* S., p. 78. 'In Promontorio S^{ti} Lucae, California inferiori, Dom. I. *Xantus* legit et mihi amici misit.'

(a) Henri de Saussure, 'Vespidae americanae novae nonnullae,' *Rev. et mag. ser.* 2, XXII (1870), 55-62, 103-106, 140-142.

**Odynerus xanthianus* S., p. 103.

(a) G. R. Crotch, 'Materials for the study of the *Phytospaga* of the United States,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1873, p. 19-83.

[The species are not listed by collector; the following list is, therefore, incomplete.]

**Pachybrachys xanti* C., p. 32.

**Euplectroscelis xanti* C., p. 75.

(a) G. H. Horn, 'Revision of the *Bruchidae* of the United States,' *Amer. Ent. Soc. Trans.* IV (1872-1873), 311-342.

**Caryoborus veseyi* H., p. 313.

(a), 'Synopsis of the species of *Cymatodera* and *Trichodes* of the United States,' Amer. Ent. Soc. Trans. V (1874-1876), 220-232.

**Cymatodera xanti* H., p. 222.

(b) P. R. Uhler, 'Observations upon the heteropterous *Hemiptera* of Lower California, with descriptions of new species,' Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 2, IV (1893-1894), 223-295.

[A general catalogue, with ascriptions of the Xántus specimens.]

(b) G. H. Horn, 'The *Coleoptera* of Baja California,' Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 2, IV (1893-1894), 302-449.

[A general catalogue. Heinrich Ulke assisted Horn in making the enumeration of species in the Xántus collection (p. 305). It does not appear to be complete.]

(d) Ibid.

[The Xántus collection was deposited in the Smithsonian Institution and then divided between Ulke and LeConte.] 'The series was said to contain about 500 species, of which Dr. LeConte admits having seen 114. It is highly probable that Xantus greatly overestimated the species collected... No definite localities are known for the Xantus collections and all the species heretofore described are stated to be from Cape St. Lucas. It is now determinable that this material was obtained in the region between San José del Cabo and La Paz' (p. 302).

(d) Malcolm Burr, 'On the *Forficularia* of the Hungarian National Museum of Budapest,' Ter. füz. XXV (1902), 477-488.

Apterygida taeniata, p. 486. [The presence of specimens from the Tres Mariás Islands, taken by Xántus, is stated. This ascription cannot be supported.]

CRUSTACEA

(a) William Stimpson, 'Notes on North American Crustacea, in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution. No. II,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 176-246.

'These rich materials have been chiefly accumulated by Mr. John Xantus, in the course of his most successful researches into the fauna of Lower California' (p. 177).

Thoe sulcata S., p. 177.

Milnia platysoma S., p. 180.

Pericera fossata S., p. 181.

Mithrax tuberculatus S., p. 189.

Teleophrys cristulipes S., p. 190.

Eucinetops lucasii S., p. 191.

Collodes granosus S., p. 194.

Epiattus sulcirostris S., p. 198.

Lambrus triangulus S., p. 201.

Atergatis rotundatus S., p. 202.

Actaea sulcata S., p. 203.

Xantho planissima S., p. 205.

X. lamellipes S.

X. vittata S., p. 206.

X. denticulata S., p. 207.

Xanthodius hebes S., p. 208.

Ozius perlatus S., p. 211.

Daira americana S., p. 212.

**Pilumnus xantusii* S., p. 213.

Metopocarcinus truncatus S., p. 216.

Trapezia nigro-fusca S., p. 219.

**Acheloūs xantusi* S., p. 222.

A. tuberculatus S., p. 223.

Pliosoma parvifrons S., p. 228.

Gelasimus brevifrons S., p. 229.

Ocypoda occidentalis S.

Grapsus altifrons S., p. 230.

Gecarcinus planatus S., p. 234.

**Calappa xantusiana* S., p. 237.

Cyclois bairdii S.

Dynomene ursula S., p. 239.

Ranilia angustata S., p. 240.

Remipes strigilattus S., p. 241.

Lepidops myops S.

(a) Albert Ordway, 'Monograph of the genus *Callinectes*,'
Bost. Jour. VII (1859-1863), 567-583.

Callinectes toxotes O., p. 576.

C. arcuatus O., p. 578.

(a) William Stimpson, 'Notes on North American *Crustacea*, in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution. No. III,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. X (1874), 92-136.

Herbstiella camptacantha S., p. 94.

Podonema vestita S., p. 97.

Eupleurodon trifurcatus S., p. 98.

**Xanthodes xantusii* S., p. 105.

X. insculpta S.

Micropanope latimana S., p. 107.

M. cristimana S.

Pilumnus depressus S., p. 109.

P. marginatus S.

Acidops fimbriatus S., p. 111.

Pachygrapsus socius S., p. 114.

(a) Henri Coutière, 'The American species of snapping shrimps of the genus *Synalpheus*,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. XXXVI (1909), 1-93.

Synalpheus sanlucasi C., p. 43.

(c) S. A. Glassell, 'New porcellanids and pinnotherids from tropical North American waters,' San Diego Soc. Trans. VIII (1934-1938), 277-304.

**Dissodactylus xantusi* G., p. 299. 'This species is

dedicated to Louis John Xantus de Vesey, in appreciation of his character as a gentleman and of his attainments and zeal as a votary of natural history.'

(d) [William Stimpson, 'Notes on North American *Crustacea*, in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution. No. II,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VII (1862), 176-246.

Trapezia maculata, p. 219. 'Mr. Xantus has sent a specimen of this species, collected at the Island of Socoro, off the west coast of Mexico. It was originally found at the Sandwich Islands, and is one of the very few species common to the American coast and the eastern outskirts of the great Indo-Pacific region.' [Xántus himself never visited Socorro Island and this species has not been since reported from America.]

Callinectes diacanthus, p. 220-221. 'We have been unable to find constant differences between the northern and southern varieties of this species, which ranges from Cape Cod to Rio Janeiro. It is also found on the west coast of America, as we have received an unmistakable specimen from Mr. Xantus, collected at Cape St. Lucas.' [This species is still regarded as entirely Atlantic; perhaps a clerical error at the museum may account for its attribution to Xántus.]

Remipes pacificus, p. 241. 'Taken by Mr. Xantus at Cape St. Lucas. It was originally found at the Sandwich Islands.' [This locality is unlikely for this species for which there is no record west of the Hawaiian Islands, except a possible one from the Galápagos Islands.]

ARACHNOIDEA

(a) H. C. Wood, 'Description of new species of North American *Pedipalpi*,' Phil. Acad. Proc. 1863, p. 107-112.
Scorpius allenii W., p. 107.

- Buthus exilicauda* W.
B. hirsutus W., p. 108.
B. emarginaticeps W., p. 109.
B. eusthenura W.
B. punctipalpi W.
Phrynus asperatipes W., p. 111.

MOLLUSCA

- (a) W. G. Binney, 'Descriptions of new species of *Pulmonata* in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1860, p. 154.
Pedipes lirata B., p. 154.
- (a), 'Notes on the terrestrial mollusks of the peninsula of California,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1861, p. 331-333.
 **Bulimus xantusi* B., p. 331.
B. artemisia B.
B. pilula B., p. 332.
B. inscendens B. 'Mr. Xantus traced it from Cape St. Lucas some 350 miles up the coast.' [This assertion is not true.]
- (a) P. P. Carpenter, 'Diagnoses of new forms of mollusks collected at Cape St. Lucas by Mr. J. Xantus,' *Ann. and Mag.* ser. 3, XIII (1864), 311-315, 474-479; XIV (1864), 45-49.
 'The specimens here described belong to the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. The first available duplicates will be found in the British Museum or in the Cumingian Collection.' p. 311.
Astenothaerus villosior C., p. 311.
Solemya valvulus C.
Tellina (*Peronaeoderma*) *ochrace* C.
Psammobia (? *Amphichaena*) *regularis* C., p. 312.
Callista pollicaris C.
C. (? *pannosa*, var.) *puella* C.

- Levicardium apicinum* C., p. 313.
Lucina lingualis C.
? *Crenella inflata* C.
Bryophila setosa C., p. 314.
? *Atys casta* C.
Ischnochiton parallelus C.
I. (? var.) *prasinatus* C.
I. serratus C., p. 315.
Nacella peltoides C., p. 474.
Acmaea (? var.) *atrata* C.
A. strigatella C.
Glyphis saturnalis C., p. 475.
Eucosmia variegata C.
E. (? *variegata*, var.) *substriata* C.
E. punctata C.
E. cyclostoma C., p. 476.
Haplocochlias cyclophoreus C.
Narica aperta C.
Fossarus parcipictus C.
F. purus C., p. 477.
Litorina pullata C.
L. (*philippii*, var.) *penicillata* C.
Rissoa albolirata C.
Fenella crystallina C.
? *Hydrobia compacta* C., p. 478.
Hyala rotundata C.
? *Diala electrina* C.
Acirsa menesthoides C.
Cythnia asteriaphila C.
Bittium nitens C.
Mangelia subdiaphana C., p. 45.
Drillia appressa C., p. 46.
Cithara fusconotata C.
Obeliscus variegatus C.

Odostomia (Evalea) aequisculpta C.

O. (Evalea) delicatula C., p. 47.

Chrysallida angusta C.

Eulima fuscostrigata C.

Opalia crenatoides C.

Truncaria eurytoides C.

Sistrum (? *ochrostoma*, var.) *rufonotatum* C., p. 48.

? *Nitidella millepunctata* C.

? *N. densilineata* C.

? *Anachis tincta* C.

? *A. fuscostrigata* C., p. 49.

Pisania elata C.

(b) W. G. Binney, 'Notes on the terrestrial mollusks of the peninsula of California,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1861, p. 331-333.

[Lists 7 species known to science.]

(b) P. P. Carpenter, 'Supplementary report on the present state of our knowledge with regard to the *Mollusca* of the west coast of North America,' *Brit. Ass. Rep.* 1863, p. 517-686.

[An account of great importance and interest. It states that specimens were 'received through' Xántus from Socorro Island, Tres Mariás Islands, and Santa Margarita Island, without asserting that Xántus visited these spots (p. 579). 'During the period that Mr. Xántus was out of employment, owing to the derangements of the war, a portion of the duplicates were offered for sale, and will be found in some of the principal collections' (p. 617). The 52 new species described in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* are listed (p. 618), and 315 other species taken by Xántus are enumerated (p. 619-626). The author took the liberty in this article to change the spelling of some of the descriptions he had given in the *Annals*.]

(c) W. H. Dall, 'Land shells of the genus *Bulimulus* in Lower California, with descriptions of several new species,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. XVI (1893), 639-647.

**Bulimulus (Leptobyrus) veseyianus* D., p. 645.
 'This species is named in honor of Mr. J. Xantus de Vesey, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the fauna of Lower California.'

(c), 'Note on *Lucina (Miltha) childreni* Gray and on a new species from the Gulf of California,' *Nautilus*, XVIII (1904-1905), 110-112.

**Phacoides (Miltha) xantusi* D., p. 111.

(d) P. P. Carpenter, 'Notice of the shells collected by Mr. J. Xantus, at Cape St. Lucas,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1859, p. 331-332.

(d) J. G. Cooper, 'Catalogue of the land and fresh-water *Mollusca* of Lower California,' *Zoe*, III (1892), 12-25.

[A discussion of the localities of the Xántus shells, giving an unfavorable verdict upon the localities claimed by Xántus.]

(d), 'On land and fresh water shells of Lower California,' *Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 2*, III (1890-1892), 99-103, 207-217, 338-344; IV (1893-1894), 130-143.

[A scrutiny of the localities claimed by Xántus for his specimens.] 'There is a strong suspicion among naturalists that many of them were brought there from the coast of Mexico by vessels and sold to him as being from the peninsula. In this way only can the absence of many of his species from later collections be accounted for. He afterwards collected on the Mexican coast, and may have mixed localities' (p. 101).

COELENTERATA

(a) A. E. Verrill, 'List of the polyps and corals sent by the Museum of Comparative Zoology to other institutions

in exchange, with annotations,' Harv. Mus. Bull. I (1863-1869), 29-60.

Stylatula gracilis V., p. 30.

Leptogorgia rigida V., p. 32.

(a), 'Synopsis of the polyps and corals of the North Pacific exploring expedition, under Commodore C. Ringgold and Captain John Rodgers, U. S. N., from 1853 to 1856. Collected by Dr. Wm. Stimpson, naturalist to the expedition. With descriptions of some additional species from the west coast of North America,' Essex Inst. Proc. IV (1864-1865), 181-196.

Leptogorgia cuspidata V., p. 186.

(a), 'Review of the corals and polyps of the west coast of America,' Conn. Acad. Trans. I (1867), 377-558.

Leptogorgia californica V., p. 398.

Muricea austera V., p. 430.

Leptogorgia labiata V., p. 552.

PLANTS

(a) Asa Gray, 'Enumeration of a collection of dried plants made by L. J. Xantus, at Cape San Lucas, &c. in Lower California, between August, 1859, and February, 1860, and communicated to the Smithsonian Institution,' Amer. Acad. Proc. V (1861), 153-173.

'The present collection was made by the indefatigable Mr. Xantus. Small as this collection is, it contains not a few novelties, and I trust is an earnest of many more. Mr. Xantus has already made one successful visit to the mountains within his reach, with very interesting zoölogical results. At the same time he made a good botanical collection, which has most unfortunately been lost.' p. 153.

**Polygala Xanti* G., p. 153.

Hibiscus (Bombicella) ribifolius G., p. 154.

Cardiospermum? sp. nov., p. 155.

Bursera microphylla G.

Dalea chrysorrhiza G., p. 156.

Coursetia? *glandulosa* G.

Caesalpinia Mexicana G., p. 157.

**Mimosa Xanti* G.

Carphephorus atriplicifolius G., p. 159.

Viguiera deltoidea G., p. 161.

V. tomentosa G.

Coreocarpus heterocarpus G., p. 162.

**Heterospermum Xanti* G.

Dysodia speciosa G., p. 163.

Macreightia intricata G.

Hyptis tephrodes G., p. 164.

Buddleia crotonoides G., p. 165.

Celosia floribunda G., p. 167.

Euphorbia gymnoclada Engelman apud G., p. 171
(not *E. gymnoclada* Boissier).

(a) A. P. de Candolle, *Prodromus systematis naturalis regni vegetabilis* (Paris, 1824-1873).

**Euphorbia Xanti* Engelman, XV, pt. 2, 62.

(a) Asa Gray, 'Notes on *Compositae* and characters of certain genera and species,' Amer. Acad. Proc. IX (1873-1874), 187-218.

**Malacothrix Xanti* G., p. 213.

(a), 'Contributions to American botany,' Amer. Acad. Proc. XXII (1886), 270-314.

**Sida Xanti* G., p. 298.

**Abutilon Xanti* G., p. 301.

(a) Sereno Watson, 'Contributions to American botany,' Amer. Acad. Proc. XXIV (1888-1889), 36-87.

**Boerhaavia Xanti* W., p. 69. ['First collected by Xantus (n. 93) at Cape Saint Lucas' but here described from a Palmer specimen.]

(b) Asa Gray, 'Enumeration of a collection of dried plants made by L. J. Xantus, at Cape San Lucas, &c. in Lower California, between August, 1859, and February, 1860, and communicated to the Smithsonian Institution,' Amer. Acad. Proc. V (1861), 153-173.

[A list of 102 species known to science.]

(c) T. S. Brandegee, 'A collection of plants from Baja California, 1889,' Cal. Acad. Proc. ser. 2, II (1889), 117-216.

**Lyrocarpa Xanti* B., p. 127.

(c) George Vasey and J. N. Rose, 'List of plants collected by Dr. Edward Palmer in Lower California and western Mexico in 1890,' U. S. Nat. Herb. Cont. I (1890-1895), 63-90.

**Bidens Xantusiana* R., p. 72.

(d) T. S. Brandegee, 'Notes concerning the collection of plants made by Xantus at Cape St. Lucas and vicinity,' *Zoe*, I (1890), 269-272.

[Important notes on the terrain of Cape San Lucas and on Xántus's collection of plants, the latter based on conversations with his guides and companions.]

C. COLIMA

AVES

(a) G. N. Lawrence, 'Descriptions of new species of American birds,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. VIII (1867), 466-482.

Zonotrichia melanotis L., p. 473.

Coturniculus mexicanus L., p. 474.

**Hadrostomus albiventris* L. (Xántus becard), p. 475.

Saltator plumbiceps Baird apud L., p. 477.

**Pyrgisoma xantusii* Baird apud L., (Xántus ground sparrow), p. 480.

Dendrornis mentalis Baird apud L., p. 481. 'I find no mention of any *Dendrornis* in Eastern Mexico, north of Cordova or Xalapa, and of none in Western

Mexico at all. The present species exhibits a range considerably further to the north than any other of the genus.'

- (b) S. F. Baird, [Correspondence to the editor,] *Ibis*, V (1863), 476-477.

[Mentions the species in the first instalment of Xántus's Colima collections.]

- (b) G. N. Lawrence, 'The birds of western and north-western Mexico, based upon collections made by Col. A. J. Grayson, Capt. [!] J. Xantus and Ferd. Bischoff, now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, D. C.,' *Bost. Soc. Mem.* II (1874), 265-319.

REPTILIA AND AMPHIBIA

- (a) E. D. Cope, 'Contributions to the herpetology of tropical America,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1864, p. 166-181.

Caudisona basilisca C., p. 166.

Tomodon nasutus C.

Toluca frontalis C., p. 167.

Sceloporus utiformis C., p. 177.

S. pyrocephalus C.

S. oligoporus C.

Phrynosoma asio C., p. 178.

Phyllomedusa dacnicolor C., p. 181.

- (a), 'An examination of the *Reptilia* and *Batrachia* obtained by the Orton expedition to Equador and the Upper Amazon, with notes on other species,' *Phil. Acad. Proc.* 1868, p. 96-140.

Bufo argillaceus C., p. 138.

- (a) 'Tenth contribution to the herpetology of tropical America,' *Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc.* XVII (1877-1878), 85-98.

Cnemidophorus lineattissimus C., p. 94.

C. communis C., p. 95.

(b) H. C. Yarrow, *Check List of North American Reptilia and Batrachia, with Catalogue of Specimens in U. S. National Museum* (Washington, 1882).

[By reference to entries under 'Xantus' in index (p. 249), marked 'Mexico' in text, the Colima specimens may be established.]

PISCES

(a) C. L. Hubbs and C. L. Turner, 'Studies of the fishes of the order *Cyprinodontes*. XVI. A revision of the *Goodeidae*,' Mich. Mus. Misc. no. 42 (1939).

**Balsadichthys xantusi* H. & T., p. 63.

(b) D. S. Jordan and C. H. Gilbert, 'List of fishes collected by John Xantus at Colima, Mexico,' U. S. Nat. Mus. Proc. V (1882), 371-372.

[A list of 16 species extant in 1882.] 'Much of this collection arrived at Washington in bad condition, and the greater part of it has gone to decay' (p. 371).

CRUSTACEA

(a) William Stimpson, 'Notes on North American Crustacea, in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution. No. III,' N. Y. Lyc. Ann. X (1874), 92-136.

Herbstia pubescens S., p. 92.

Herbstiella tumida S., p. 95.

Notolopas lamellatus S., p. 97.

Lambrus excavatus S., p. 98.

L. depressiusculus S., p. 101.

Chlorodius occidentalis S., p. 108.

Acheloüs transversus S., p. 111.

Osachila acuta S., p. 114.

MOLLUSCA

(d) W. G. Binney, *Land and Fresh Water Shells of North America* (Washington, 1865-1873).

Helicina ----?, III, 116.

D. MISCELLANEOUS
AVES

(b) E. E. Hume, *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps; Thirty-six Biographies* (Baltimore, 1942). [A list of 12 birds taken by Xántus at Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, accredited by Baird in his *Birds of North America; the Descriptions of Species Based Chiefly on the Collections in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution* (Philadelphia, 1860).] p. 529-530.

COELENTERATA

(a) A. E. Verrill, 'On new and imperfectly known echinoderms and corals,' *Bost. Soc. Proc.* XII (1868-1869), 381-396.

Paracyathus caltha V., p. 394. [A Xántus specimen attributed to Monterey, California. Xántus never visited Monterey and never ascribed other specimens to this locality; this ascription, therefore, may be a clerical error.]

TABULATION OF SPECIES NEW TO SCIENCE

	Fort Tejon	Cape San Lucas	Colima	Miscellaneous	Total
Mammalia	3	6			9
Aves	3	18	6		27
Reptilia & Amphibia	4	23	11		38
Pisces		66	1		67
Echinodermata		10			10
Insecta	56	25			81
Chilopoda	3				3
Crustacea		48	8		56
Arachnoidea		7			7
Mollusca		57			57
Coelenterata		6		1	7
Plants	4	24			28
Total	73	290	26	1	390

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These lists must be used with caution. They were stuffed by Xántus with non-existent titles, e. g. '“Notes on Bird Breeding, on the Pacific Islands,” Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1864' (his characteristic spelling of 'breeding'), and '“Algunos pajaros de las islas tres Marias,” Lassepas Memorial, II, Mejico 1859' (a second volume of Ulises Urbano Lassépas, *De la colonizacion de la Baja California y decreto de 10 de marzo de 1857*, Mexico, 1859, never appeared).

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