Kamehameha Giving Audience to Russian Officers

This meeting took place in 1816 at Kailua, Hawaii, during the visit of the Russian ship "Rurik." The persons (right to left) probably are: Choris (with sketchbook), who drew this picture; Chamisso (with long hair), the naturalist and poet; First Lieutenant Shishmarev; Captain Kotzebue; Cook, the translator; King Kamehameha, and Queen Kaahumanu. In the background, to the right, is a native temple with idols, a canoe, and natives carrying a pig.
THE RUSSIANS IN HAWAII

1804—1819

by

Klaus Mehnert

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
HONOLULU
# Table of Contents

**Chapter**

I. **Background and Plan:**
   - Krusenstern ........................................ 1

II. **The First Russians on Hawaii:**
   - Lisiansky ........................................... 7

III. **The Quest for Food:**
    - Rezanov — Baranov — Hagenmeister ............. 15

IV. **The Russian Flag over Kauai:**
    - Scheffer ........................................... 22

V. **Negative Attitude of the Russian Government:**
    - Nesselrode — Tsar Alexander I .................. 36

VI. **Friendship with Kamehameha Restored:**
    - Kotzebue—Chamisso ................................. 46

VII. **A Russian Painter of Hawaii:**
    - Choris ............................................ 56

VIII. **The Last Visit to Kamehameha:**
    - Golovnin ........................................... 61

IX. **The First Hawaiian in Russia:**
    - Lauri .............................................. 69

X. **Conclusion** ....................................... 73

**References Cited** .................................... 77

**Bibliography** ......................................... 84
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII published in 1938 a book by my colleague, Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall, entitled The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854. It is a fundamental history of Hawaii, based on a decade of patient and meticulous research, and one can no longer expect startling revelations in this field. However Professor Kuykendall, for technical reasons, had to concentrate greatly his enormous material, thus the door is still open for monographs on individual problems and special points of view of Hawaiian history.

The following monograph is based upon a recent publication of old Russian documents by the Soviet government, presented here for the first time in English, secondly on the works of members of early Russian voyages in the Pacific and of the Russian historian Tikhmenev, partly published in English translations for the first time, and finally on hitherto unprinted and untranslated letters from the Wilcox library in Kauai.

In tracing one of the strangest chapters of early Hawaii I have endeavored to blend my former work in Russian history, particularly in Russian colonial history, with my present interest in the Hawaiian Islands and their past, and to show how the events were seen not only in Hawaii but also in St. Petersburg.

I am grateful to all who have assisted me with their friendly advice and aid, especially to Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall, Miss Elsie H. Wilcox, President David L. Crawford, the Reverend Henry P. Judd, Dr. T. Blake Clark, Dr. Charles H. Hunter, Miss Margaret Titcum, Mr. John F. G. Stokes, Mr. Charles F. Loomis, Miss Janet Bell and Mr. J. Roy Petersen.

The translation of Golovnin’s Hawaiian impressions was kindly furnished by Mrs. Ella Embree. All other translations from the Russian, German or French are my own. The frontispiece is reproduced with friendly permission of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND AND PLAN

KRUSENSTERN

RUSSIA, an enormous land mass of monotonous plains, the world's largest and coldest single empire, and Hawaii, that graceful chain of small islands with landscape variety in abundance and subtropical climate—may seem at first sight strange companions to share the cover of a book. Yet little more than a century ago the Russian flag was raised over one of those very islands and for some time it appeared as though it might become the official emblem of the entire archipelago. The bulky Russian bear reached his claws out over the Pacific towards Hawaii from 1804 to 1819, and this is how it came about:* 

In 1581, some decades before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, in the days of Queen Elizabeth and Ivan the Terrible, a band of adventurous cossacks crossed the Urals and started the conquest of Siberia. In an astoundingly short time Russian hunters and traders in their quest for more and heavier furs had traversed thousands of miles of northern Asia and in less than fifty years their most daring advance guard near Okhotsk gazed over the waters of the Pacific. Four years later the first Russians appeared on the Amur River and there they might have stayed had not in the very next year, 1644, the Manchus ascended the Dragon throne in Peking. More than any other Middle Kingdom dynasty, the Manchus watched events on the Amur. They considered it their river, not their boundary, and with the treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 the Russians were pushed entirely out of the Amur region. Almost two centuries elapsed before the decline of the Manchus and the rise of Russia made it possible for Muraviov, one of Russia's greatest statesmen, to reestablish her on that river.

Blocked by the Manchus in the south, the Russians moved north-

* Notes necessary to the understanding of the story are at the bottom of each page, sources of quotations at the end of the book.
ward and by 1700 held the entire northeast of Asia in their power. But because their wasteful and ruthless slaughtering of fur-bearing animals rapidly depleted the stock they pushed still further on. By way of the Aleutian chain they reached Alaska and quickly subdued the natives. The numerous fur-hunting companies and individuals now merged into one group, forming the Russian American Company, which received in 1799 a monopoly charter from Tsar Paul. The same year, under its able although eccentric chief manager, Baranov, the Company continued to move further east and established its headquarters in Sitka, only 500 miles north of Vancouver Island.

Thus in two hundred years the Russians had carried through the conquest and colonization of the immense territory which extends east from Moscow, save for the few miles of the Bering Straits, more than half way around the globe. Every mile eastward had brought more furs to the eager markets of China and Europe and more money to the coffers of the Russian merchants. But every mile eastward also added to the chief problem which Russia then faced and still faces: transportation. Each pound of powder and bread, each nail and piece of cloth, had to be carried on horseback over the whole of Siberia, in little ships across the foggy and treacherous Bering Sea and on through Alaska. In return, every skin of fox or seal had either to travel back over the same route or—which was hardly shorter—through Kiakhta on the Mongolian frontier to the markets of China. Was there no easier way of getting supplies to, and furs from, Alaska?

Here Hawaii enters the story.

In 1799, the year in which Baranov had moved to Sitka, thereby extending to its limit the distance stretching between fur headquarters and the capital of Russia, a young Russian naval officer in the port of Canton thoughtfully regarded a small ship of some 100 tons. It had recently arrived with furs from the northwest of the American continent. The officer, A. J. von Krusenstern, was 29 years of age. He came of a family of Baltic Germans, loyal subjects of the Tsars since the reign of Peter the Great. During the last years Krusenstern had been serving with the British fleet. From them he had learned not only navigation but also of the ad-
The Russians in Hawaii

 vantages of world trade, and now, in the last year of this English service, he was in Canton. Here he watched a vessel, which, small though it was, had sold like hotcakes its cargo of furs for 60,000 piastres on the Canton market.

"Why should we Russians," Krusenstern thought, "transport our furs overland to China along a route that sometimes takes two years or more with huge losses resulting from the spoiling of skins, while others carry them more cheaply by ship across the Pacific and pocket the profit, forcing us to lower our prices in Kiakhta? Why could we not open a sea route from Sitka to Canton ourselves? We could, but with what ships? We might build a few in Okhotsk or Sitka, but such construction would be difficult without ship-yards, experienced men and equipment. Better with ships brought from Russia, and then . . ."

As he mused on, in his mind emerged a simple and ingeneous scheme, which seemed to solve with one stroke all troubles. The first problem, that of bringing supplies to the colonies, could be taken care of by sending ships around the Horn to Alaska, a long voyage but safer and speedier than the terribly hard route over Siberia. Thence the vessels would go with a cargo of furs to Canton, thus solving problem number two: the transporting of furs to the Chinese markets. Then—and this idea crowned his scheme—the Russian ships with the money obtained from the furs would buy the treasures of China, the spices of the East Indies and thereby eliminate a third problem, the usurious prices which so far Russia had paid to the traders of foreign nations for these goods. A Russian round the world service arose before the ambitious imagination of the young officer. "And some day," he probably thought, "I might command one of these ships and carry the Russian eagle around the globe."

Krusenstern was so enthusiastic over his plan that he wrote a memorandum which, upon his return to Russia, he submitted to the Minister of Marine. The cold reply which he received deprived him at first of all hope. But upon Alexander I's ascending the throne, other men took over the leading positions of the state, and in January, 1802, Krusenstern forwarded his memorandum to the new Minister of Marine, Admiral Mordvinov. This time he had better
luck. The Admiral and the Minister of Commerce, Count Rumiantsev (the later chancellor of Russia) accepted the project, and on August 7th, 1802, Krusenstern himself was appointed to command this expedition of two ships—the first Russian round the world cruise.\(^1\) Krusenstern in turn made his friend, Captain Lisiansky, 30 years of age, with whom he had served in the English fleet during the American war for independence, commander of the second ship, and on August 7th, 1803, the expedition left Kronstadt, the military port outside St. Petersburg.

The two ships of 450 and 370 tons respectively had been purchased in London and named *Nadejda* (or *Hope*, as she will be called in the following pages) and *Neva* after the river flowing through the capital. There were 85 men aboard one, 54 on the other, among them the enterprising plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company, Resanov, going as visiting ambassador to Japan; a young German naturalist, Dr. Langsdorff; and Otto and Moritz, aged fifteen and fourteen, the two sons of a well known author and courtier, Counsellor von Kotzebue. After a cruise past England, the Canary Islands, down the east coast of South America, around the Horn, past the Marquesas, the ships on June 7th, 1804, sighted the island of Hawaii.*

Originally Krusenstern had planned to cut across from the Marquesas directly to Kamchatka. But for want of fresh food—at the Marquesas he had only been able to procure seven hogs for both ships—he decided to stop at Hawaii. Here, he had been told, the natives used to come fifteen or eighteen miles out to sea to barter their provisions for European goods.

The Russians were to be badly disappointed. Although they came quite close to the island and slowly coasted along its southeast side, they had very little luck. To be sure some canoes came out. Krusenstern writes:

> Their cargoes however did not in the least answer my expectations. Some potatoes, half a dozen cocoa nuts, and a small suckling pig, were all that I was able to procure out of six canoes; and these we did not obtain without difficulty, and at a very high price, as the vendors would

\(^*\) To prevent confusion, geographical and personal names of the Hawaiian Islands, even in quotations, will be given in their present form without further footnote notations.
The Russians in Hawaii

take nothing but cloth in payment, and I had not a yard on board to dispose of. Stuffs of the manufacture of the island they had in abundance for sale; but as my wish was to procure provisions, I forbade any one from buying them.

Instead of hogs, for which Krusenstern was particularly anxious, ... an old man brought us quite a young girl, probably his daughter, whom I conceived, perhaps incorrectly from her awkward behaviour, and, at least, apparent modesty, to be still innocent; but he had the mortification which he so richly deserved, of offering his goods in vain.

The scarcity of provisions surprised Krusenstern greatly, "as the part of Hawaii where we touched seemed to be uncommonly well cultivated." In spite of his disappointment, Krusenstern was full of praise for the beauty of the scenery. Although he found the natives he saw "not of the handsomest," he observed their "cheerfulness, activity and lively quick eye." Turning around and weathering the South Cape of the Big Island, the Russians tried their luck on the Kona coast. They waited two hours off a village near the south end of the island before three canoes approached them.

In the first was a large hog that certainly did not weigh less than a hundred pounds, and occasioned us no small satisfaction. I already destined it for a Sunday dinner for my crew, and my mortification was therefore the greater, at not being able to purchase even this, the only one which was brought on board. I offered them every thing I had to dispose of; the best hatchets, knives and scissors, whole pieces of stuff, and a complete suit of clothes were refused; the possessor demanding a large cloth mantle capable of covering him from head to foot, and with which we had not the means of supplying him. From one of the other canoes I purchased a small suckling pig, the only article in the way of provisions, that I procured from these three canoes. A very immodest dressed up girl, who spoke a little English, experienced the same fate, as the one who had been brought to us the day before.

This day's barter, which turned out much worse than I could have calculated upon, convinced me that no provisions were to be procured without cloth, an article which they demanded for the least thing. ... What an astonishing change must have taken place in the circumstances of the natives of this island, in the short space of ten or twelve years! Kaiana, whom Meares in 1789 carried with him to China, never inquired during his stay at Canton, the price of any wares otherwise than by asking, "How much iron do you give for this?" So greatly was he impressed, even after a year's intercourse with Europeans, with the value of iron.² At present the natives of Hawaii appeared almost to despise

[ 5 ]
University of Hawaii

this metal, and they scarcely deigned to look upon even the most necessary tools. Nothing would satisfy them that did not flatter their vanity. 6

Unfavorable weather prevented Krusenstern from making an attempt to get provisions in Kealakekua. While for various reasons he had to hasten to Kamchatka and on to Japan, the Neva was bound directly for Alaska and therefore was less pressed for time. On the evening of June 10th the two crews waved each other farewell and the Hope took course into the sunset.

With her sailed the German naturalist Dr. Langsdorff, whose voluminous travel account is a supplement to Krusenstern's book. He too was disgusted with the failure to obtain food and this sentiment may have influenced his opinion of the islanders whom he describes as

naked, dirty, of a middling stature, not well made, and with skins of a dark dingy brown. They were covered with bruises and sores, probably the effect either of drinking kava,* or of a well known disease very common among them. Most of the men had lost their front teeth, which they said had been knocked out in battle by the slings.† They were very good swimmers. Their arms and sides were tattooed in figures of lizards, goats, musquets, and other things.‡

The learned naturalist also had an eye for economic and political realities for he observes:

The group of the Sandwich Islands is very commodious for all ships going to the north-west coast of America, to the Aleutian Islands, or to Kamchatka, to touch at; it has very secure bays. Here may be procured abundance of swine, bread-fruit, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, yams, batatas,§ salt, wood, water, and other things particularly desirable for ship stores. 6

And to Krusenstern's scheme he adds a new point: he saw Hawaii as an excellent port of call for ships carrying furs from northwest America to Canton, and he believed in the future of Hawaii as a good basis for the Russian north. Speaking of sugar cane he notes: "If this were cultivated to any degree of perfection, in time Kamchatka and indeed all Siberia might be supplied with sugar from hence."

* Beverage prepared from the root of the Piper Methysticum.
† Langsdorff was mistaken, for the teeth had been knocked out for ceremonial reasons.
‡ Sweet potatoes.
CHAPTER II
THE FIRST RUSSIANS ON HAWAII

LISIANSKY

As the Hope disappeared over the western horizon, Lisiansky decided to take the Neva to Kealakekua Bay for supplies, and there by the evening of the 11th he brought his ship safely to anchor. But the day's adventures were not yet complete. Lisiansky too was to have his encounter with the enterprising ladies of the island. He reports:

Just before dark a company of about a hundred young women made their appearance in the water, swimming towards our vessel, and exhibiting, as they approached us, the most unequivocal tokens of pleasure, not doubting of admittance. It was with a degree of regret [Lisiansky honestly adds] that I felt myself obliged to give a damp to their joy: but I was too firm in the resolution I had formed, not to permit licentious intercourse on board, to be won from it by any allurements or entreaties, by any expression of joy or of sorrow; and this troop of nymphs were compelled to return with an affront offered to their charms, which they had never experienced before, perhaps, from any European ship.¹

With equal sincerity the young Russian captain confesses that the reason for his attitude was not a moral one but "the fear of their introducing among my crew a certain disease, which, I had been given to understand, was very prevalent in the Sandwich Islands; and certainly the persons of several of the inhabitants, of both sexes, bore evident marks of its ravages."² Unfortunately Lisiansky was quite justified in his fears, for the disease since Cook's first visit to Hawaii in 1778 had made dangerous progress among the natives.³

The following five days during which the Neva stayed in Kealakekua were filled with many activities for the Russians. In the beginning all energies were directed towards the barter for provisions. First it seemed as if again the Russians' hunger for pork would remain unsatisfied, for they were told that the king's adviser, the English sailor John Young, serving as governor of the Big
University of Hawaii

Island during the king’s absence on Oahu, had forbidden the sale without his permission of any pigs to arriving ships. But when Lisiansky threatened an immediate departure, the prohibition was overlooked and the Neva’s pantry quickly filled.

Next Lisiansky and his officers went ashore for a visit. Because of a tabu the place looked deserted, everybody was indoors. In a coconut grove they found on the tree trunks marks of shots which they were later told had been caused by the British guns after Cook’s death.* In the village of Kealakekua they were shown a group of six huts named ‘king’s palace’ near a stagnant pond. Lisiansky describes their visit:

The first hut we entered constituted the king’s dining room, the second his drawing room, the third and fourth the apartments of his women, while the last two served for kitchens. . . I know not in what state the palace is kept during the king’s residence in it, but when we saw it, it was uncommonly filthy: it is, however, held by the natives in such high veneration, that no one presumes to enter it, with any covering of his body, except the maro, which is merely a piece of cloth tied round the waist. Our chief, on entering it, took off his hat, his shoes, and the great coat we had given him, though none of the natives were present.

Passing the royal temple, a small, fenced in hut, which they were not allowed to enter, the Russians visited the great heiau, which however left them rather unimpressed. Lisiansky remarks about the buildings:

They are suffered to remain in so neglected and filthy a condition, that, were it not for the statues, they might be taken rather for hog sties than places of worship. The statues, meanwhile, are carved in the rudest manner: the heads of some of them are a great deal larger than the body. Some are without tongues, while others have tongues of a frightful size. Some again bear huge blocks of wood on their heads, and have mouths reaching from ear to ear.

On leaving the temple Lisiansky confesses to tactless behaviour. Instead of using the door as the priest did, he and his companions leaped over the stone fence. The priest merely observed that if he had done this he would be punished with death.

On the morning of the 15th John Young arrived at the bay and thus the Russians for the first time came face to face with the man

---

* Captain Cook was killed in Kealakekua Bay on February 14th, 1778.
whom a few years later some of them were to consider their bitterest enemy and to bestow with contemptuous names. Young expressed his regret at not having come earlier, but seemingly he had only learned of their arrival the day before. As a welcome gift Young brought two hogs. During the afternoon the Russians visited with him the place which Lisiansky termed "the memorable spot where Europe had been deprived of her most celebrated navigator, Captain Cook."

With all the desired provisions stored away, the Neva left the bay the next evening. Maui was hidden in fog, only the top of Haleakala stood out. The next goal was Oahu. Lisiansky was so anxious to have a meeting with King Kamehameha* that he was willing to sacrifice a few days to make it possible. He changed his mind when he heard of an epidemic raging on the island. It was the very disease which prevented Kamehameha from his planned attack against his last rival, the Chief Kaumualii, whose domain, the islands of Kauai and Niihau, he wished to include in his united empire.

Unable to land on Oahu, the Neva proceeded to the northwest. While passing by Kauai very slowly due to lack of wind, Lisiansky was visited by King Kaumualii, the man who 12 years later was to sign a sensational document of submission to the Russian Tsar.* Of the first encounter of a Russian naval officer and this future 'vassal' of the Tsar, Lisiansky gives an amusing account:

On entering the ship, he accosted me in English and presented at the same time several certificates of recommendation, as he supposed, that had been given him by the commanders of the different vessels which had touched at Kauai: but, on inspecting these papers, I found that some of them were by no means in his favour; and I gave him a hint on the subject; and advised him for the future to be more obliging to those of whom he wished to receive testimonials of his honorable conduct, and to treat better European navigators, who prefer at present touching at the island of Hawaii... The king was waited on in the vessel by one of his subjects, who carried a small wooden bason [sic], a feather fan and a towel. The bason was set round with human teeth, which, I was told afterwards, had belonged to his majesty's deceased friends. It was intended for the king to spit in; but he did not appear to make much use

* Usually called by the Russians Tomi-Omi.
of it, for he was continually spitting about the deck without ceremony.

It seems that Lisiansky was the first to bring Kaumualii the welcome tidings of the epidemic in Kamehameha's army. The chief assured the Russian that he was determined under any circumstances to defend himself to the last, and that he had 30,000 warriors at his disposal. To this statement Lisiansky adds the ironic remark that the chief probably counted all the inhabitants of Kauai. (Among them there were also five Europeans.) The chief likewise boasted about his possession of three six-pounders, forty swivels, a number of muskets, and plenty of powder and ball. Lisiansky however believed he had not a chance against Kamehameha, whose army, compared with those of other South Sea islands, he styled "invincible." It included some 7,000 natives and about fifty Europeans in Kamehameha's service, a large arsenal of modern armaments at his disposal, and a fleet of many war canoes and 21 schooners of from 10 to 20 tons. With such forces, Lisiansky thought, he certainly would have been able to conquer Kauai, had it not been for the epidemic. These statements were doubtless remembered in St. Petersburg, when some years later the question of a Russian campaign against Kamehameha was discussed.

When the sun rose on June 20th the Neva was out of sight of the islands. But its young captain had been so impressed with the importance and possibilities of the archipelago, he devoted in his book in addition to the story of his stay an entire chapter to an account of the islands, giving one of the good early reports of the island group and proving himself a keen student and observer.

In an appendix Lisiansky compiled what seems to be the first published Hawaiian vocabulary, consisting of over 150 words and short phrases, which he must have considered especially useful, among them for example: "Why do you make a noise?" and "Hold your tongue." The pig has the place of honor on his list, being thrice represented: "Have you swine? I have no swine. I have swine."

Lisiansky summarizes his intelligent observations in these prophetic sentences:

I am of the opinion, that these islands will not long remain in their present barbarous state. They have made great advances towards civilisa-
The Russians in Hawaii

tion since the period of their discovery, and especially during the reign of the present king. They are so situated, that with a little systematic industry they might soon enrich themselves. They produce an abundance of timber, some of which is fit for the construction of small vessels. The sugar cane also thrives there; the cultivation of which would alone yield a tolerable revenue, if sugar and rum were made of it; and the more so, as the use of these articles is already known to the savages of the north-west coast of America, and becomes daily of more importance there.12

While the Hope under Krusenstern, in order to bring Rezanov to Japan, did not follow Krusenstern's original scheme, Lisiansky from Hawaii went straight north to the island of Kadiak, the port of which, St. Paul, had been the first Russian settlement off the Alaskan coast, then hurried eastward to Sitka. Here he helped Baranov to regain Sitka from hostile natives, who had captured it in June, 1802, massacring many of the Russians. During the six cold autumn weeks on this desolate coast Lisiansky doubtless had many an opportunity to tell Baranov about the warm and fertile Hawaiian Islands and of planting in the mind of this enterprising manager of the Russian American Company those seeds which some years later were to produce strange fruits. That winter and spring the Neva put up at Kadiak; by the end of June, 1805, she was back in Sitka and Lisiansky once more with Baranov until September 1st, when the Neva with a good cargo of furs, including 3,000 sea-otter and more than 150,000 small skins, sailed for Canton.

Like all sailors in those days, Lisiansky was ambitious to discover new islands. His desire came true in an unwelcome way when on October 15th at 10 p.m. the Neva suddenly received a violent shock and was found to be grounded on a coral reef.13 After throwing heavy articles such as guns overboard (with precaution that they might be recovered should circumstances permit), the Neva at daylight was back in deep water, only to be caught on a still more dangerous reef. Fortunately the weather was calm and after throwing many more things into the water, for the second time the ship was taken off the coral. The crew was able to rescue without losses the goods deposited in the water.

The chief consolation of the sailors during the two days of hard work on what they later called the Neva Shoal, was the view of an island about a mile to the west—an island which Lisiansky knew
had never been charted on a navigator's map. On it he spent the whole of October 18th with some of his officers, after landing with difficulty through the surf. Upon examination of the island, Lisiansky's pride in his discovery diminished. It proved to be only about two miles in circumference and, most disappointing, had no water. Animal life was abundant. Seals in great number "lay on their backs along the beach, motionless . . . they scarcely stirred at our approach, or even deigned to open their eyes." There were plenty of fish and turtles, and particularly birds, "many of which made their attack flying, while others ran after us, pecking at our legs: it was with difficulty we could keep them off even with our canes." While walking around, Lisiansky relates, they almost sank at every step up to their knees in "holes, that were concealed by overgrown creeping plants and contained the nests, as we supposed, of various birds; for we often heard their cries under our feet from being trampled upon."

Before leaving the island, the explorers fixed a high pole in the ground and buried near it a bottle containing a description of the discovery. The island, Lisiansky finishes the report of this episode, "in compliance with the unanimous wishes of my ship's company, received the appellation of Lisiansky." This island is one of the westernmost of the Hawaiian chain, to the southeast of Midway, and thus Captain Lisiansky became the only Russian whose name has become lastingly linked with the isles of Hawaii.

Five weeks later Lisiansky was to find that it was after all not quite so simple to transport furs from Sitka to Canton as it had seemed to Krusenstern. Past the Marianas the Neva was badly battered and soaked by a hurricane, and when next day Lisiansky ordered the ship cleaned he made a most unpleasant discovery: "On taking off the main hatchway, a thick blue vapor, of so offensive a smell, issued out, that for some time nobody could stand near it." Very graphically the young captain describes the distasteful work of examining the putrefying furs which was made possible only by frequently changing the men since they could not be exposed to the stench for more than a few minutes. 30,000 sea-bear skins and many other valuable furs of a total value of 40,000 Spanish dollars had to be thrown overboard.
When on December 3rd the Neva safely landed in Macao, the Russians were happy to find the Hope already in port. After adventurous sailings around Kamchatka, Sakhalin and Japan, and after parting with Rezanov and Langsdorff who went to Alaska, she had arrived just a week ahead of the Neva. Being the first Russian captains to visit the Chinese coast for commerce, the two friends encountered many difficulties before they were finally allowed to sell their cargo. In spite of the loss of furs through putrefaction and although part of the most valuable sea-otter skins were taken on to Europe, the Neva fetched a price of 178,000 piastres and the Hope another 12,000 for the furs brought from Kamchatka. The goods which the two Russian vessels bought in return in Canton consisted primarily of tea, also some chinaware and nankeens.*

On February 9th, 1806, both ships weighed anchor in Canton and after an uneventful voyage around the Cape of Good Hope reached Kronstadt in August. There were great celebrations at this successful termination of the first Russian round the world cruise. Even the Emperor and the Empress-mother visited the ships and were treated to some Russian beef which had stood the test of the whole three years' voyage and which, Lisiansky proudly adds, "was still more juicy and less salt than the Irish beef which I had lately purchased at Falmouth."18

What were the results of this cruise? Did they justify Krusenstern's scheme?

To be sure, with the energetic help of the British East India Company, the two ships had sold their cargo of Alaskan furs in China according to plan, but only because they succeeded in taking the Chinese by surprise.17 The Middle Kingdom, which at that time resented with growing bitterness the intrusion of the West, was not willing to have Russians too in Canton. It was determined to confine them to their little overland 'window' into China in Kiakhta on the Outer Mongolian frontier, as the unfriendly treatment of a Russian Embassy under Count Golovkin the year before had shown.18 For a long time to come the Hope and Neva were the only Russian ships to have traded in China, and not until more than half

* Cotton cloth.
a century later, with the treaty of 1858, in the days of Russia’s great empire builder in the east, Muraviov, Count of the Amur, was Russia allowed to trade again in China’s treaty ports.19

On the other hand, it certainly increased Russia’s prestige that her flag had circumnavigated the globe. The cruise had trained young Russian navigators who later were to make names for themselves, Otto von Kotzebue among others. And the Neva had assisted in the recapturing of Sitka which without her guns would have been much more difficult, perhaps for some time even impossible to accomplish.

But most important for our purposes: this cruise laid the foundation for Russia’s lively interest in the Central and North Pacific during the next years, and in particular demonstrated the importance of Hawaii as a possible supply base for her barren and hungry Alaskan colony, and as an ideally located port of call for Russian trans-Pacific cruises.
CHAPTER III

THE QUEST FOR FOOD

REZANOV—BARANOV—HAGENMEISTER

THE MOST pressing problem facing the Russian colony on the American continent, that of feeding the people, had not been solved by Krusenstern nor by Lisiansky. As the number of Russians in Alaska grew, the lack of food—a result of the climate and the bitter hostility of the local tribes—became more and more noticeable. This for example is the matter-of-fact report of the German scientist Langsdorff, who with Rezanov spent the winter 1805/06 in Sitka:

The portion of food allowed to the Promyshleniks,* who besides were exposed, scarcely half clothed, to the cold, the rain and the snow, and with scarcely a roof to shelter them, was two or three dried fish per diem; or sometimes, by way of change, they were indulged with the rancid fat of a whale which had been cast on shore, and was perhaps already half putrid. On Sundays they had a portion of thin soup, made with salted meat and a little rice, and occasionally a glass of brandy or a small quantity of molasses.¹

Langsdorff also tells how the Russians tried to get food from the natives: They,

tormented with hunger, were ready to give the last shirt, or garment of any kind, for fresh food: the consequence was, that at last many of them went about with no other clothing than stinking dirty sheepskin full of vermin.

And although Langsdorff implies that many of the difficulties were the result of poor organization and abuses on the part of the Russians, their chief source lay in the geographic and climatic location of the colonies. We may well imagine how during the long, cold and hungry winter nights, surrounded by Russians who were sick or dying of scurvy, Baranov could not help but think of the fair islands in the Pacific with their eternal spring and abundance of food.

* Hunters and traders.
This winter of 1805/06 was particularly terrible:
Starvation brooded over the colony owing to the wreck of one vessel and
the failure of another to arrive. A pound of bread issued daily to each of
the two hundred men on the island would exhaust the supply in a few
weeks; fish could not be caught, and the supply of dried fish, sea-lion,
and seal-meat was very low; eagles, crows, devil-fish, anything and
everything was eaten. Scurvy, the campfollower of want in those regions,
made fearful havoc among the sufferers; a cold rain poured down in­
cessantly; hunger, misery, despair, and death ruled the dismal scene. No
wonder Rezanov exclaims, “We live in Sitka only upon the hope of
leaving it.”

Only temporary relief resulted from the purchase of an Ameri­
can ship, Juno, with all her provisions, in exchange for money and
the sloop Yermak.* By February the situation was again unbearable.
It was decided that the Juno should be sent in search of provisions.
The crew, weak from starvation and scurvy, was barely able to
navigate the ship, and a voyage to distant Hawaii was out of the
question. Instead, with Rezanov and Langsdorff aboard, the Juno
sailed down to the northernmost town on the Spanish American
coast, San Francisco. In spite of Rezanov’s romantic betrothal to
Dona Concepcion de Arguello, the beautiful daughter of the Presi­
dio’s Commander, only with the greatest difficulty and lengthy
negotiation were means found to overcome the strict Spanish laws
prohibiting any trade of the colonies with non-Spaniards. On June
19th the Juno returned to Sitka with food worth almost 6,000
piastres.8

How were the Russians to insure their obtaining food from the
Spaniards? They could hardly expect every year the visit of a
personal ambassador from the Tsar and his making a Spanish lady
his fiancée. Into this situation arrived a communication from King
Kamehameha, in which he

made known to . . . Baranov . . . that he understood from persons trading
to the coast how much the Russian establishment had sometimes suffered
in winter from a scarcity of provisions; that he would therefore gladly
send a ship every year with swine, salt, batatas, and other articles of

* The scene at Sitka was so uninviting to the Americans from the Juno, that with
the exception of five they sailed away on the Yermak, which they called Yarmouth,
to Hawaii, arriving there in December, 1805, for a stay of two weeks. Voyages to
Hawaii before 1860, p. 18; Bancroft, History of California, II, 66, note 4; and Patter­
son, pp. 63-65.
The Russians in Hawaii

food, if they would in exchange let him have sea-otter skins at a fair price. 4

Shortly afterwards on his hurried overland journey across Siberia to obtain the Tsar's permission to marry Dona Concepcion, Rezanov unexpectedly perished from a fever, and the hope of obtaining further provisions from San Francisco grew still dimmer. The alluring thought of Hawaii must often have been in the mind of Baranov.

Alexander Andreyevitch Baranov was an unusual man. Born in Russia in 1747, he started his career as a petty clerk, and in 1771 tried his luck with an enterprise of his own. He failed, and in 1780, leaving wife and children behind, he emigrated to Siberia. For some time he lived in Irkutsk, but the 'Go East, young man' of the adventurous Russian carried him further. He traded liquor and other goods in the extreme northeast of the Asiatic continent and in Kamchatka, but again it ended in failure: two of his caravans were captured by natives and Baranov went bankrupt. He was then 42 years of age and without a penny. But once more he started anew, moved still farther east, having in August, 1790, signed an agreement which made him agent of the Shelikov Fur Company. That same month he sailed across the Bering Sea. The ship was wrecked on Unalaska, the men had to starve themselves through a severe winter, and ever afterwards Baranov appreciated the dangers of navigation between Siberia and Alaska. Surviving terrible hardships, he reached the Company's headquarters in Kadiak and assumed command. As the Company absorbed rival enterprises, Baranov's powers increased, and when in 1799 the now "Russian American Company" received a monopoly charter from the Tsar, Baranov for all practical purposes was governor over 586,000 square miles.

Living in a barren wilderness, surrounded by coarse and brutal people, separated by half the earth from his family which he was never to see again, working against heavy odds for the glory and wealth of the Company, Baranov had become a hardened and efficient executive. Bancroft well summarizes the many descriptions
of this extraordinary man which have come down to us, when he says:

Alexander Baranov was ... a man of broad experience, liberal-minded and energetic, politic enough to please at once the government and the company, not sufficiently just or humane to interfere with the interests of the company, yet having care enough, at what he decreed the proper time, for the conventionalities of the world to avoid bringing discredit on himself or his office. Notwithstanding what certain Russian priests and English navigators have said, he was not the lazy, licentious sot they would have us believe. That he was not burdened with religion, was loose in morals, sometimes drunk, and would lie officially without scruple, there is no doubt; yet in all this he was conspicuous over his accusers in that his indulgences were periodical rather than continuous, and not carried on under veil of that conventional grace and gravity which covers a multitude of sins.

He was frequently seized with fits of melancholy, due partly to uncongenial surroundings, and would at other times break out in passionate rage, during which even women were not safe from his blows. This exhibition, however, was invariably followed by contrite generosity, displayed in presents to the sufferers and in a banquet or convivial drinking bout with singing and merriment, so that his fits came to be welcomed as forerunners to good things. His hospitality was also extended to foreigners, though with them be observed prudent reticence. The poor could always rely upon his aid, and this benevolence was coupled with an integrity and disinterestedness at least far above the usual standard among his associates. . . . Indeed, if for the next two or three decades Baranov, his acts and his influence, were absent, Russian American history for that period would be but a blank. Among all those who came from Russia, he alone was able to stem the tide of encroachment by roving traders from the United States and Great Britain. He was any day, drunk or sober, a match for the navigator who came to spy out his secrets.

As for the natives his influence over them was unbounded, chiefly through the respect with which his indomitable courage and constant presence of mind impressed them. And yet the savage who came perhaps from afar expressly to behold the famed leader, was not a little disappointed in his insignificant appearance as compared with his fierce and bushy bearded associates. Below the medium height, thin and sallow of complexion, with scanty red-tinged flaxen hair fringing a bald crown, he seemed but an imp among giants. The later habit of wearing a short black wig tied to his head with a black handkerchief, added to his grotesque appearance. 

This is the man who stood behind the bold effort to hoist the Russian eagle over the Hawaiian archipelago.
In September, 1807, the Neva once more arrived at Sitka. She had stayed in Kronstadt only a few weeks for overhauling, then proceeded on her way to Alaska. On this voyage she was under the command of Lieutenant Hagenmeister, who later became Baranov's successor. It was Hagenmeister with whose name the first attempt to establish a settlement on Hawaii is connected. In 1808 he sailed on the Neva to Hawaii with, it seems, definite instructions from Baranov to establish there a Russian settlement.

A fairly detailed report has come down to us of this trip, for the Neva had aboard a British sailor, Campbell, who was shipwrecked with the Eclipse on an island off the southwestern tip of Alaska Peninsula, and who subsequently lost both his feet through freezing. He had been supported by the Russians, who took pity on him and finally allowed him to travel on the Neva to Hawaii where he hoped to find further transportation. Campbell later wrote:

It would appear that the Russians had determined to form a settlement upon these islands; at least preparations were made for that purpose. The ship had a house in frame on board, and intimation was given that volunteers would be received; none, however offered; and I never observed that any other steps were taken in this affair.

Since Campbell's statement is not very definite, it is difficult to guess how important his testimony is. From his own account it is clear that the Russians, if they had any intention of establishing a settlement, did nothing to carry it out. On the islands, which were reached in January, 1809, Campbell met a fellow countryman. Campbell informs us:

Amongst other things I told him that I understood the Russians had some intention of forming a settlement on the Sandwich Islands. This reached the captain's ears; and he gave me a severe reprimand, for having, as he expressed it, betrayed their secrets. He desired me to say no more on the subject in the future, otherwise I should not be permitted to quit the ship.

But Campbell himself deflates the importance of his information in his next sentence:

I know not what obstacle prevented this plan from being carried into effect; but although the Neva remained several months in the country, I never heard any more of the settlement.

* Evidently volunteers for settlement on Hawaii are meant.
† Hagenmeister's.
University of Hawaii

It is a matter of guessing for what reason—perhaps fear of Great Britain—Hagenmeister gave up his plan. It is also quite possible that he merely went for a general reconnoitering. However there can be hardly any doubt that the idea of a settlement on Hawaii at that time was in the minds of the Russians.

In the Scotchman's report we learn that Hagenmeister was the first commanding Russian captain to have an interview with Kamehameha. When the Neva arrived in Honolulu toward the evening of January 27th the ruler came to greet them.

King Kamehameha was in a large double canoe; on his coming alongside, he sent his interpreter on board to announce his arrival. The captain immediately went to the gangway to receive his majesty, and shook hands with him when he came upon deck. He was on this occasion, dressed as a European, in a blue coat, and gray pantaloons. Immediately upon his coming aboard, the king entered into earnest conversation with the captain. Amongst other questions, he asked whether the ship was English or American? Being informed that she was Russian, he answered, "Meitei, meitei," or, very good. A handsome scarlet cloak, edged and ornamented with ermine, was presented to him from the Governor of the Aleutian islands. After trying it on, he gave it to his attendants to be taken on shore. I never saw him use it afterwards.

According to the Russians the Neva also visited Kauai, where King Kaumualii "expressed his great desire to have people settle with him who might defend him against the revengeful Kamehameha."

After three months stay on the islands, the Neva sailed back to Alaska, while Campbell remained, returning later to England. Hagenmeister presented Baranov with a pessimistic report. Although he had convinced himself that the islands could produce anything which the Russian colonies needed, particularly sugar, he wrote that trade as the Russians wished it was impossible, because of the king's monopolistic position in the trade transactions. According to the Russian sources Kamehameha also did not fulfill his promise of sending 1,000 barrels of taro.

Whether as a result of Hagenmeister's visit to Hawaii or for other reasons, during the next years Baranov turned his attention again to California. In 1812, after several exploratory expeditions, a new Russian colony, Fort Ross (Ross from Russia), was founded.
The Russians in Hawaii

not far north of San Francisco, some miles beyond the mouth of the Russian River. But the high hopes of Baranov to make Fort Ross a center of hunting, ship-building and particularly agriculture, for a variety of reasons were doomed to disappointment.¹³

Again Baranov’s eyes turned to his other alternative—Hawaii. Someone had to be sent to the islands anyway to rescue the cargo of one of the Russian American Company’s ships. Because of the War of 1812 now underway, American skippers were anxious to sell their ships to get them under a neutral flag, and in the winter 1813/14 Baranov had bought among others the Atahualpa which he named Bering. A year later under the command of Captain Bennett the Bering, carrying a valuable cargo of furs from Alaska, reached the Hawaiian Islands, and on January 31st, 1815, while anchoring in Waimea Bay, Kauai, was thrown upon the beach. According to the ship’s log King Kaumualii was very unfriendly, although he had his subjects help in the rescue of the cargo. This cargo Captain Bennett had to leave behind on Kauai when after several months he finally was taken aboard a passing ship. Nor did the natives remember the Bering wreck with friendly feelings. Some of them, according to the log, had been successful in “pilfering almost everything that came to hand,” but seven were killed when an estimated 2,000 tried to haul the ship up and the cables broke.¹⁴

Thus we find that in the summer of 1815, upon learning of the Bering’s disaster after Captain Bennett’s return, Baranov had a very imperative reason for sending someone to Hawaii to rescue the cargo.
CHAPTER IV
THE RUSSIAN FLAG OVER KAUAI
SCHIEFFER

The necessity for salvaging the Bering's cargo coincided with the presence of an enterprising and adventurous man in Sitka who was to play a considerable role during the next years in Russo-Hawaiian relations and to be instrumental in bringing them to a climax.

Dr. Yegor Scheffer—Yegor is the Russian equivalent for George—was a young German. He had studied medicine at Gottingen, Germany, and in 1808 entered public life in Russia as a surgeon with the Moscow police. He seems to have had an inclination for the extraordinary, for in 1812, during Napoleon's march through Russia, we find Scheffer engaged in constructing balloons in order to watch the movements of the enemy's army. His interests however lay not only in the air, but also on the water and when in October, 1813, a ship of the Russian government, Suvorov, under the command of Captain Lazarev, set sail for Russian America, Dr. Scheffer was on board as ship's physician.

Captain and doctor apparently did not get along well together. When the Suvorov, after the discovery of the Suvorov Islands (east of Samoa) and a visit to Alaska during the winter 1814 and spring 1815, sailed for Europe, Scheffer left the ship. This quarrel endeared him to Baranov who himself had succeeded in becoming a bitter enemy of Lazarev. Baranov disliked Lazarev to such an extent that he even gave up his original idea of sending him with the Suvorov to carry out on Hawaii what Hagenmeister had failed to do. Having now spent a winter in Alaska, Scheffer well realized the necessity for a reliable and comparatively close supply base if the Russian colonies were to survive. After hearing about the disappointment with Fort Ross and of the possibilities of Hawaii, he succeeded in convincing Baranov, that he was the very man destined to win a foothold there for Russia.
The Russians in Hawaii

On October 17th, 1815, Dr. Scheffer left Sitka on the Isabella, an American ship under Russian flag, and shortly afterwards landed on the Big Island. Other Russian ships with laborers were to follow later.

Scheffer tells his own story of the events connected with his stay on Hawaii. His report, although exaggerated and unjust in its accusations, is probably reliable in regard to his own activities and movements. The following version is the extract from Scheffer's journal prepared in St. Petersburg by the Aulic Councillor Zelensky and printed by the Soviet government in 1937.

One word must be said about this material. The Krassnyi Arkhiv (Red Archive) is a periodical of the U.S.S.R.'s Central Archive Administration which publishes documents from the government archives, particularly of the pre-Bolshevik era. It naturally is intended to expose the wickedness of the Tsarist regime and thereby to add justification to the Bolshevik revolution and the U.S.S.R.'s inner and foreign policy. This explains why the Soviet government took pains to publish documents on what is—from the Russian point of view—such a minor episode as Scheffer's activities in Hawaii. The publication's purpose is to show how the imperialistic appetite of the Tsars extended even to points as far away as the Hawaiian Islands. S. Okun, one of the better known Bolshevik historians working on Russia's history in Asia and on the Pacific, in editing the present documents, begins his introduction with this accusing statement:

The attempt to seize the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, made in the name of Tsarist Russia in the beginning of the 19th century, was not the anarchic deed of some rogue [Scheffer], as official sources later presented it, but was the realization of a carefully thought out plan, prepared by the Russian American Company and approved by the Tsarist government.

It is not our intention to defend the government of the Tsars. But a reading of the documents, presented by Mr. Okun, reveals that his accusations are hardly justified, for we find that the attitude of Scheffer, of Baranov, of the Russian American Company and of the government differed greatly.
Scheffer's report gives us his own opinion of the matter:

Dr. Scheffer, upon being invited by the chief manager of our colonies [Baranov], went to the Sandwich Islands with the main mission of rescuing peacefully the plundered freight of the Company's brig Bering, wrecked in the beginning of the year 1815 on the island of Kauai. This freight was worth about 100,000 rubles and was misappropriated by the islanders against the wish of King Kaumualii, the ruler at present of only two islands. In October of the same year 1815 Scheffer arrived on the American ship Isabella on the island of Hawaii, the largest of the southern islands of this group, on which resides another king, Kamehameha.

([Note in the Russian original, and not clear whether added by Scheffer or Zelensky:] This king is very old. He was the chief of a small northern part of this island but due to his grim nature and his greed for enriching and robbery aided by foreigners—runaways from New Holland who settled with him—he tyrannically killed the king of the southern half and other kings and their relatives on the other islands which are now under his rule. Among them he also killed Kaeo who ruled over the islands: Oahu, Maui, Lanai, Kauai and Niihau.* His [Kaco's] son Kaumualii saved himself through flight to Kauai where he continued to rule two islands situated to the north and far from Hawaii.)

The colonies' chief manager, knowing that this King Kamehameha is in every respect stronger than King Kaumualii and possesses a small fleet, cannons and an army, wanted through him to force Kaumualii to have the plundered goods returned if he should not voluntarily satisfy the Company. He therefore sent to Kamehameha with a respectful letter in the name of H.M. the Lord Emperor a medal to be worn around the neck on a Vladimir ribbon.*

But before Scheffer could set foot on shore several American captains or skippers who had formerly been in our colonies but later went to the islands with their ships, namely the very old Ebets, Gunt, Adams† and the old John Young, who for a long time lived on this island in capacity of governor and possesses great influence on the king, found time to assure Kamehameha and many of the highest islanders that his, Scheffer's, arrival and ships soon expected by him from Novo Arkhangelsk,† constituted unfriendly plans of the Russians.

* Kaeo was killed not by Kamehameha, but fell in a battle near Pearl Harbor against his own nephew, Kalanikupule, (in December, 1794,) for the possession of Oahu.
† Novo Arkhangelsk (New Archangel) was the name of the Russian settlement on Sitka (or Norfolk) Sound, erected after the original settlement had been captured by the natives and with Lisiansky's help recaptured from them. After that time the names Sitka and Novo Arkhangelsk are used interchangeably.
The Russians in Hawaii

([Notes in the original: 1.] About the evil actions which this skipper Gunt, or Hant, committed in our port of Novo Arkhangelsk, the Company's administration reported to the Acting Foreign Minister, his exc. Count Nesselrode, on April 26th, 1817, to bring it to the attention of His Imperial Majesty. [2.] This very old Young, a runaway English sailor from a ship, has been living long on the island of Hawaii. With his wicked morals he gained great confidence with Kamehameha. In his fatherland he would have been deserving the gallows for his wicked compliance with the king to whom he brought flesh of babies which he purposely killed when this brutal king wanted to catch fish which like human flesh best of all as bait. At present he is secret agent for the North Americans. A similar monster of an English sailor lives on Kauai. He ran away from a ship with other comrades after he killed a captain.)

Therefore the letter with the medal, sent ahead to Kamehameha, was returned unopened.

([Note in the original:] In 1809 when the Company's ship Neva under Lieutenant Hagenmeister put in at Hawaii, North American skippers spread the rumor on all the islands that the Russians wanted to come and seize them. The English frigate Cornwallis purposely arrived at these islands from East India to find out whether the Russians had not settled on them.)

When Scheffer found time to go ashore in the district of Kailua, where Kamehameha then had his residence, to convince him that on the contrary the American captains had made hostile insinuations, this ruler became more benevolent.

According to the testimony of other contemporary visitors on the Big Island, Scheffer, to overcome the king's suspicion, introduced himself as a scientist. Captain Barnard states that Scheffer's "ostensible object was the prosecution of his researches of the mineral and botanical productions of the island." And Corney adds, "Dr. Shefham* assured the king that he had merely come to collect plants and see what the islands produced."

Scheffer's report continues:

Ceremoniously kneeling he [Kamehameha] accepted from Scheffer and placed upon himself the medal sent to him. He promised to give him provisions and to build him several little straw houses in which to live, and this he did. Later Scheffer healed the Queen Kaahumanu from a sickness and the king himself from a feverish cold.

* Misspelled for Scheffer.
This Captain Barnard confirms, writing: “I found that Dr. Shafford* had succeeded in removing the prejudices of the king, had acquired his favour, and stood high in his good graces: he was at this time attending one of the queens, who was indisposed, as her physician. The king had caused a house to be built for him in the center of a bread fruit grove, where the doctor could pursue his botanical researches without interruption. I visited him there, and passed some hours with him.”

The report of Scheffer goes on:

He became rather friendly with the king, most of all because he let him take arbitrarily from his wardrobe and from the Company's property the things that he wanted. To his family, the queens, the brother-in-law, and several important islanders who promised to persuade King Kaumualii to return the Company's freight, about which in the name of Kamehameha they let him know, he gave presents and in return received from them gifts of lands for plantations on another island, Oahu, and documents proving his ownership to them.

Six months passed in waiting for the ships from Novo Arkhangelsk assigned to Scheffer. During this time, Scheffer examined the lands presented to him within the territory of Waimea and particularly on the other island, Oahu, where the king allowed him to go and buy more land for plantations from Queen Kaahumanu. He found them highly suitable for the cultivation of many things, abundant with various timber and sandal wood, with water, fish, wild bulls, etc. On the lands given to him he began planting many articles. At the same time the North Americans with the help of the villain, the old Young, upset King Kamehameha and apparently even made him agree to kill him, Scheffer. Perhaps this might have happened, but the hastened arrival of the Company's ship Otkrytie [Discovery], as well as of the Ilen from the shores of New Albion shortly afterwards, did not permit it.12

The chief objection to Scheffer's activities on Oahu, it seems, was his erecting of a fort. (However we are not quite sure whether he built the fort at this time or during a later visit.) If Scheffer, while building his fort, even hoisted there the Russian colors, as we are told by Corney, we can well understand the alarm of John Young, and the insistence of Kamehameha that Scheffer should leave.13 Scheffer, too weak to resist by force, departed peaceably, probably late in April, 1816. His fort, finished under the direction of John Young, became a stronghold of Kamehameha, and, although

---

* Misspelled for Scheffer.
The Russians in Hawaii

later abolished, is still remembered in the name of Fort Street, Honolulu, which passes over the site.

The report goes on:

Scheffer now left the plantations which he had started on Oahu near a port in latitude 21° 21' N and longitude 157° 58' W of Greenwich in the care of the trader Kicheriov and went himself on the Discovery to the island of Kauai. There King Kaumualii received him it is true in a very friendly manner, however, some embarrassment was observed in him, which originated as it became apparent later from the same hostile insinuations of the North American skippers which were made also to Kamehameha.

([Note in the original:] Still in 1806 [1804] when the Company's ship Neva under the command of Lisiansky landed at this island, Kaumualii, knowing how to express himself in English rather well, asked our officers to furnish him with arms and powder for his defense against Kamehameha when he should attack him. This however was refused to him. He was highly distressed when the Neva left, for at that time there were rumors that Kamehameha had gathered up to 10,000 men and was preparing to sail for Kauai. Diseases broke out in his army and lack of provisions hindered Kamehameha's attack. When the same ship for the second time in 1809 stopped at this island, under the command of Hagenmeister, Kaumualii expressed his great desire to let people settle with him who might defend him against the revengeful Kamehameha.)

With written documents he promised: to pay for the plundered property of the company with sandal and fragrant wood; to trade only with Russians; to give to the Company forever the lands of a whole province for plantations; to permit the establishment of factories on Kauai where they would be needed. Then he desired to give himself into eternal protectorate of His Majesty the Lord Emperor and this latter he confirmed in a solemn manner before his people.

Here Scheffer refers to the document of May 21st, 1816, also recently published by the Soviet government, which reads:

His Highness, Kaumualii Taeyevitch,* king of the north Pacific Sandwich Islands, Kauai and Niihau, born prince of the islands Oahu and Maui, asks His Highness the Lord Emperor Alexander Pavlovitch, the all-Russian autocrat, to accept the above islands under his protection. He wishes with his successors to be loyal forever to the Russian sceptre and has accepted as sign of his loyalty and submission the Russian flag off the ship Discovery, belonging to the Russian American Company.

* Taeyevitch in Russian means "Son of Kaeo" (or Kaeo).
Signed by the king with a cross. Translated in the Sandwich language and proclaimed to the inhabitants of Kauai and Niihau by the king himself.

Imperial Russian Collegiate Assessor,* commissioner of the Russian Company, doctor of medicine and surgery, Yegor de Scheffer. Read on the ship Discovery before a meeting of the entire crew of 38.

The ship's crew's fleet's lieutenant and cavalier Podushkin.

This sensational document Scheffer immediately dispatched to his superiors. A copy of the act he sent by way of Canton and Denmark to St. Petersburg, where it must have arrived sometime shortly before August 15th, 1817, while the original document aboard the Discovery went to Sitka. Baranov forwarded it on the Bostonian ship Brutus to Okhotsk, from where it reached the capital overland on October 15th, 1817.

Also by way of the Discovery Scheffer informed Baranov that he cannot soon return to him to render account, because on the land given by the king to the Company he sowed and is sowing and planting all kinds of vegetables, tobacco, cotton, sugar cane, coco trees, banana, taro, potato, watermelons, nuts, ginger, grapes, pineapples, oranges, and that soon he will accept a whole province on the island of Oahu presented to the Company by the king.

The supercargo Topogritsky, who evidently had been in Kauai on the Discovery, added his own observation about the energetic actions of Scheffer.

Scheffer's report continues:

Kaumualii asked purposely for the Russian flag from the ship Discovery which he hoisted at any time over his house. Also he asked for the uniform of a naval officer which he put on. Mr. Scheffer assures that the king, when taking the oath of adherence to His Majesty during the solemn declaration before his people, even put his right hand on the gospel and the cross.

Due to this friendly disposition of King Kaumualii, Dr. Scheffer in the course of 14 months built on Kauai, with the help of islanders furnished by the king, in Waimea valley several small houses for a factory and planted gardens, while for the store house the king gave a stone building; at his order the elders of the province in which the port of Hanalei is located, solemnly gave it to Scheffer including 30 families living

---

* A title in the Russian civil service.
The Russians in Hawaii

day. He inspected this port, the river Waimea, the lakes and the whole situation; he laid out forts on three elevations, calling one Alexandrovsk, the other Yelisavetinsk and the third Fort Barclay.10 The valley of Hanalei, in accordance with the wish of the king, he named after himself, calling it Schefferovaya Dolina.20 He also changed into Russian the names of other geographic points, rivers, lakes and people. For the building of these forts the king furnished his people.

Of the three forts which Scheffer mentions, to our knowledge only two were built, the one at Waimea and the other overlooking Hanalei Bay. The fort near Hanalei is a low oval enclosure, today entirely overgrown with grass and bushes and apparently never finished, although strategically well located, protected to the north and west by a cliff falling abruptly to the ocean, to the south by a ravine, and thus accessible only from the east. The fort at Waimea is still very well preserved, with strong walls of piled rocks from ten to twenty feet high and from fifteen to thirty feet thick.21

It seems that Scheffer indeed had succeeded in making himself the actual ruler of Kauai. He had guns mounted in the Waimea fort and on public occasions displayed on its flagstaff the Russian banner.22 When Corney came to Kauai on April 16th, 1817, approximately one year after Scheffer’s arrival there, he was surprised to find no natives to meet his ship. Scheffer visited him and according to Corney “he would not allow us to have any communications with the shore, and through policy we did not press the point, but made all sail to the northward toward Norfolk Sound.”23

Scheffer continues:

This province abounds in little rivers, rich with fish. The fields, mountains and the whole location is charming, and the soil most reliable for the planting of grapes, cotton, sugar cane, of which he planted some, establishing orchards and vegetable gardens for many delicate fruits. The harvesting of these proved to Scheffer the great benefit which this place and the islands on the whole could bring to Russia. He even figured out a profit from the harvest which he saw from his own planting. Since he did this more in theory, [estimating] where and at what price one could sell it, in all probability one should figure one-fourth less than he counted. But even then there can be a rather considerable profit, including here sandal and fragrant wood for which one could start a special sylviculture.

While Scheffer worked in Hanalei, there arrived in Kauai the foreign
schooner Lady, usable for military purposes to some extent, which Scheffer at the wish of the king bought for him and gave him. The payment for it had to come from the Company which was to be recompensed with sandal wood. This, at the assurance of the king, was almost ready.

Scheffer had now reached the climax of his success. He had concluded with Kaumualii in all four agreements. They too arrived at St. Petersburg on October 15th, 1817, and covered, according to a report of the Russian American Company, the following points:

One [agreement was] about the return of the freight, plundered three years before from the ship wrecked at the island of Kauai; about giving the trade in the fragrant sandal wood growing on that island exclusively to the Company; and about the permission to the Company to build factories in all places and to establish plantations with the help of the islanders.

The second about the cession forever in favor of the Company of one half of the island of Oahu including its inhabitants and with what there is in its earth, while in return, under the leadership of Dr. Scheffer who shall have the title of commander over his troops of 500 men, the Company must help the king to return his torn away islands of Oahu, Lanai, Maui, Molokai and others, which the king also submits to the high protectorate of the Lord Emperor.26

The third: that the American Company on its own account will buy for any sum whatever from the Bostonian captain Vitimor a warship which is to be used for the above mentioned return of the islands. In return for this purchase the king will pay the Company with fragrant wood.27

The fourth: that the king presents as gift to Mr. Baranov on the island of Oahu at the port of Hannarau* a village belonging to the king free of taxation.28

But while Scheffer was thus extending his influence and building a Russian colony on Kauai,—how did Baranov and the Russian American Company, how did the Imperial government react? Baranov's attitude is surprisingly negative. A report of the Company states:

Baranov did not approve this purchase and refused to pay, because he had not authorized Dr. Scheffer to all such actions, but merely commissioned him to recover the plundered freight, and perhaps to start trade

* Most likely Hanalei, which Scheffer in his report calls "Gannarea." In this case Oahu would be a misprint for Kauai. Yet it might stand for Honolulu to which the Russians usually refer as "Gonoruru." The Russian alphabet has no H and substitutes in foreign names a G.
with sandal wood. Consequently the bestowing of citizenship on the king goes very far beyond the limits of his power. It is also not known whether the king's gifts to the Company and the settlement will be approved by the supreme government. Until then Mr. Baranov forbids Scheffer to enter into any further speculations and demands from him the return of the ships which were with him, Kadiak and Ilmen, with their crews, and the presentation of the expense account of all the capital entrusted to him, about 200,000 rubles.27

What is the explanation for Baranov's disapproval? Even if Scheffer had exceeded his instructions by far, was it not for the good of the Company? Why did Baranov not back him enthusiastically? We do not know the answer, but we can make a guess.

In the first place, Baranov received together with the news of Kaumualii's submission the information that he had to pay 200,000 rubles as a gift to the chief. Baranov was a careful manager, the Company had suffered during the last years a number of serious losses through shipwrecks, and 200,000 rubles was not a small sum.

Baranov's second reason was probably a very personal one. He was now 70 years of age and expected any day the fulfillment of a wish he had long cherished: after 26 years in Alaska to be relieved of the heavy burden of his responsibility and to retire. Twice, the last time in 1812, the Company had sent men to take over the management of the colony, but both times they had perished on the long way half around the world. For the third time now Baranov was waiting for a successor, and after almost four decades in the cold of Siberia and Alaska he dreamed of spending the last years of his life in the sunny and fruitful valleys of Hawaii.28 This he wanted to do not as an enemy but as a guest of Kamehameha. And here Scheffer was endangering his project. Baranov knew enough of Hawaii to realize that Kaumualii's allegiance to the Tsar and the doctor's over-ambitious activity could not but lead to a conflict with Kamehameha. Even though he might have wished to obtain plantations on the islands, he lost interest in them as soon as he saw that their price, due to Scheffer's clumsiness, was Kamehameha's hostility.

In St. Petersburg, as soon as Scheffer's news had reached the capital, the Company's administration on August 15th, 1817, forwarded the copy of Kaumualii's act of submission through the
University of Hawaii

Minister of Inner Affairs to the Tsar. The Company was not ill pleased with Scheffer’s success, although it wished Scheffer to tread lightly and not antagonize anybody. While waiting for the Tsar’s decision and using the opportune departure of the frigate Kamchatka under Golovnin for the Pacific, the Company wrote Scheffer on August 20th a letter, with the following admonitions:

a. To protect King Kaumualii from the [attacks of] rulers of other islands only if these do not occur under the influence of any European nation or by that nation itself;

b. to respect the king in so far as the manner of his savage life demands it;

c. not to handle disputes and cases that might come up between Russians and Indians,* without communicating them to the king and demanding his justice;

d. not to offend the islanders in the least by appropriation of their property or female sex;

e. not to use the islanders for work without pay nor by force, and

f. to carry on trade relations in the same manner as before until circumstantial intelligence is obtained and proper prescriptions are given.29

Scheffer however never received these orders from the Company. Long before the Kamchatka reached the waters of the Pacific, Scheffer’s star had set. As a matter of fact, the departure of Scheffer from Honolulu and of the Kamchatka from Kronstadt was almost simultaneous.

At that time at least ten other white men were living in Kauai.30 In establishing for Russia a monopolistic position in the sandalwood trade of this island, Scheffer had severely antagonized the nationals of other countries, particularly the Americans. No matter to which nation they belonged, they certainly did not wish Russia to dominate the islands. Since the war between America and England had come to an end, the cooperation of these two countries’ citizens on Hawaii was no longer hindered. They began to arouse Kamehameha against the newcomers, and Scheffer’s people themselves gave them an excellent argument. The doctor’s men had polluted a Hawaiian temple in the neighborhood of Honolulu, which consequently had to be destroyed. “The fury of the natives

* Hawaiians.
The Russians in Hawaii

was unbounded, and, without Young's interference, Scheffer's people would have paid for it with their lives.\textsuperscript{31}

Kamehameha in November, 1816, had learned, as we shall see, from Kotzebue that Scheffer acted without the Russian government's authorization. He now brought pressure to bear on Kaumualii to expel Scheffer. The king of Kauai by then was probably himself tired of the troublesome guest, although Scheffer's alleged attempt to kidnap him is most likely an exaggeration.\textsuperscript{32}

Naturally Scheffer does not tell all this in the brief account of the unexpected end to his adventure:

At the desire of Scheffer a schooner was sent to Oahu to find out in what condition was the local factory. Upon the ship's return, all the Company's people who had been there for planting also returned, since the Indians at the instigation of the scoundrel John Young and other North Americans demanded their departure and threatened to kill them. Thus our factory on Oahu came to an end, and the lands given and sold by Kamehameha's family came again under the power of their former proprietors.

And the old Young and the North Americans were not satisfied with the destruction of that factory but wished to destroy and to chase out the Russians from Kauai (of course fearing that King Kaumualii after acquiring a war ship with the help of our men would become strong.) They succeeded also in this. More than once they attempted to tear down the Russian flag hoisted over the house of Kaumualii, which however he did not allow. But finally, upon the strong persuasion of these scoundrels, from May 8th, 1817, on, he disclosed a hostile disposition which threatened Scheffer and all his men with loss of life. A new flag, hoisted in place of the Russian, with cannon balls marked on it, made this quite clear.

Finally it was demanded that all Russians go off to their ships, from which they did not allow anybody ashore and forbade all relations. Thereupon Scheffer decided to leave. He himself went on a foreign ship to Canton to get here faster and to report all happenings, while the ship \textit{Discovery} with the people he sent to our Novo Arkhangelsk colony. Consequently the previously plundered goods and what had been newly given in gifts and what according to the trade conventions had to be received in sandal wood—in all about 200,000 rubles—remained appropriated by King Kaumualii. In addition to the ship \textit{Discovery} there had arrived from Novo Arkhangelsk on the island of Oahu also another
ship, *Kadiak*. But due to a large leak in it and its rottenness it could not be dispatched. Thus also this ship was abandoned on the shore and will rot or the savages will break and plunder it.

One can appreciate Scheffer's desire to be rather brief and vague about the ignominious end of his Hawaiian adventure, and thus it is not quite clear what actually happened. However if we take the statements of two contemporary visitors to the islands, Corney and Kotzebue, we probably come close to the truth.

Corney, who arrived at Waimea, Kauai, on March 18th, 1818, about half a year after Scheffer's departure, has the following story to tell: He found the English flag flying on the fort which mounted about thirty guns. From the natives Corney heard that the Russians had built it with dungeons and had imprisoned there some white men and natives. Corney continues:

Kamahalolani was averse to these proceedings. The Russians wished to send Kaumualii to Petersburg, but could never get him on board. At length Kaumualii discovered that they wished to possess themselves of the island; he consulted with his chiefs, returned their [the Russians'] schooner, (which they refused,) and ordered them on board their ships. three of which were lying in a snug harbor at the west end of the island. They resisted and a scuffle ensued, in which three Russians and several natives were killed, but the latter at last forced them on board and Dr. Shefham made his escape to Canton in an American vessel. The Russian ships went to Norfolk Sound.33

Captain Kotzebue, of whose visits to the islands more will be said in the following chapter, on his last stop in Honolulu, on October 2nd, 1817, heard that Scheffer had sailed on board an American ship to Canton just a few days before the *Rurik*’s arrival.33 He found the Russian ship *Kadiak* on shore in a very bad condition, for the crew had been forced during the voyage from Kauai to Oahu constantly to pump to keep the ship from sinking, and on reaching the harbor was obliged to let her run ashore. The *Discovery* it seems had safely sailed, however we do not know with how many Russians or Aleutians aboard. Kotzebue saw Tarakanov, an agent of the Russian American Company, who apparently after Scheffer's departure was in command of the Russians. Tarakanov told him that he condemned Scheffer's actions and that he was surprised only three of their people had been killed. With some
The Russians in Hawaii

Russians and a hundred Aleutians he was in great need and Kotzebue supplied him with food for a month. Kotzebue also mentions:

Tarakanov had entered in an agreement with Mr. Hebet, the owner of two vessels that lay here, to keep the Aleutians for a whole year in board and clothing, on condition that he might take them to the islands on the coast of California, where they were to be employed in the catching of sea-otters; after the lapse of the period, the American is to take them back to Sitka, and to give the Company half the produce of the skins.

In this rather beggarly fashion the final remnants of Scheffer's bold enterprise were to be transported back to their fog-bound Alaska, and this is the last we hear of them.
CHAPTER V
NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

NESSERLODE—TSAR ALEXANDER I

Let us suppose for a moment that Scheffer had not been expelled. Would Russia have become mistress over the archipelago? Would the course of Hawaiian history have been radically changed? Such a conclusion hardly seems justifiable, for in contrast to the Russian American Company's approval, and differing from Mr. Okun's statement, the government at St. Petersburg repudiated entirely Scheffer's actions. This attitude is due in the first place to one man, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode.

Karl Vassilievitch Nesselrode was born in Lisbon in 1780, son of the Russian ambassador. His family originally came from Westfalia but had lived for generations in Russia's Baltic province Livonia. While the father was ambassador to the Prussian Court, Nesselrode received his education in a Berlin gymnasium. At the age of sixteen he entered the Russian navy, but soon joined the diplomatic service. His early years as a young diplomat he spent in assignments all over Europe, particularly in France, where he became a pupil of the great master of diplomatic art, Talleyrand. He won Tsar Alexander's confidence and from 1812 on was practically, although not nominally, his Foreign Minister. He was present at the decisive battle of Leipzig; in 1814 he signed for Russia the first treaty of Paris. Later he became officially the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Vice-chancellor, and in 1844, crowning his career, Chancellor of the Russian Empire.

All his life Nesselrode followed a cautious and conservative policy. He knew the subtle diplomatic game of Europe like the inside of his pocket and he enjoyed his part in it; but he hated novelties and situations with which he was unfamiliar. As the specialist in European affairs he attained his success. Therefore to
The Russians in Hawaii

him the world was Europe and everything that side-tracked him from his fascinating European chessboard annoyed him, made him suspicious and met his opposition.

Such was the man who had to decide the Russian government's attitude toward Scheffer's activities. There can be no question as to what his reaction would be. And the Tsar, who at that time was passing through his phase of mysticism and religious exaltation, relied on the count's judgment. When Nesselrode in late summer, 1817, was made acquainted with the development in Hawaii, he first did what ministers in all the world and at all times have liked to do: he let the matter rest half a year. During this time he probably explained to the Tsar the inadvisability of the entire scheme. This was hardly difficult: Europe, after the Napoleonic wars, passed through an era of international congresses. The serpent of revolution, equally feared by Tsar and Minister, was beginning to raise its head in Germany; even in the Russian army traces of a conspiracy had been found. This development needed close watching: the European monarchies had to stand together, therefore they could not afford to get into quarrels because of some distant islands and an ambitious physician. Nor would it be wise to antagonize Great Britain by acquiring territory in an archipelago which was so closely linked with her. England, with Napoleon out of the way and her hands free in Europe, was bound to watch carefully all developments overseas and to resent a Russian intrusion into her sphere. To Nesselrode, Kauai certainly was not worth a quarrel with London. Even so, their world-wide rivalry was dangerously growing.

Nesselrode won the Tsar to his point of view. On February 24th, 1818, he could inform the Minister of the Interior, Ossip Petrovitch Kozodavlev, in the following words of the Emperor's decision:

The Lord Emperor deigns to deem that the acquisition of these islands and their voluntary entering under his protection not only fails to bring any real advantage to Russia, but, on the contrary, in many respects is accompanied by very important inconveniences. Therefore it pleases His Majesty not to accept the mentioned act of King Kaumualii, but only to establish with him the above mentioned friendly relations, such as he has with other independent governments, and to strive toward the
amplification of the trade turnover of the American Company with the Sandwich Islands, in so far as this will be consistent with this arrange-
ment of things. At the same time all possible affability and desire to preserve the amicable relations with Kaumualii should be expressed.
On this basis only the Company must in these places arrange its affairs.¹

To this imperial statement the count added on his own account that, while the reports received from Dr. Scheffer prove his thoughtless actions which have already caused some unfavorable conclusions, His Majesty, not proceeding yet to any positive decision, consents to agree that it is necessary to wait first for further news on this subject.

On March 13th Mr. Kozodavlev forwarded these statements to the Russian American Company. The Company’s administration was no doubt alarmed by this—the Tsar’s and Foreign Minister’s negative, although not yet final attitude to what the Company had believed to be a plan full of alluring possibilities. The Tsar’s will had to be obeyed. However the Company hoped that perhaps it would be still possible to save the fruits of Scheffer’s labors by sacrificing Scheffer himself. Two days later, on March 15th, the Company, in connection with its yearly instructions to Baranov, informed him of the Highest decision, ordering him to use every means to recall Scheffer. The Company wrote:

Dr. Scheffer behaved in his actions on the Sandwich Islands with ex-
treme thoughtlessness. He therefore deserves unconditional recall from there. Thus he would be prevented from committing more unpermissible deeds, and all possible annoyances, particularly in fulfilling the lately declared supreme will, would be eliminated. He [Baranov] should not permit him to continue ruling there to the harm of further prospects favorable to the Company, and should remove him to here [St. Petersburg] through Okhotsk.

Being a foreigner [Scheffer], after settling his accounts with the Com-
pany, perhaps will wish to return to the Sandwich Islands on his own account in order to possess the land presented to him by the other king, Kamehameha. From this it is impossible to prevent him without obvious violation of his freedom, particularly when he learns that King Kaumualii was not accepted into the protectorate of Russia. In case it should happen that he really proceeds to return to those islands on foreign ships and perhaps even with a plausible pretext, Mr. Baranov should try to make him friendly disposed toward the Company which he could greatly harm in a contrary frame of mind. In this matter Baranov may
The Russians in Hawaii

take council with Mr. Hagenmeister, the leader of the expedition sent by the Company in 1816 around the world, and with Mr. Golovnin, the commander of the war frigate Kamchatka, who planned to be without fail on the Sandwich Islands and in our Novo Arkhangelsk.²

Some days later, March 26th, 1818, the council of the Company met to consider the entire situation, and adopted three resolutions: The first, in obedience to the Tsar’s order, was to return Kaumualii's act of submission to the king of Kauai. The document was to be sent to Baranov who should entrust it to Hagenmeister or if he was no longer in Alaska, to another dependable officer with knowledge of the English language. If there were no officer available, one of the Company’s employees, for instance the supercargo Topogritsky, should be sent. However, to minimize the effect of the document’s return, the Russian representative in handing it to the chief was to tell him:

The Lord Emperor, as father of his people, never fails to protect and shield his true subjects who happen to be in commercial and industrial affairs in distant parts of the world, for he is convinced that they will prove in every case worthy subjects of his Imperial Majesty in observing not only peace, without disturbing any national rights, but also friendly mutual relations with whomsoever they may have to deal. In this conviction and on the other hand expecting from the islands’ ruler himself and the inhabitants of these islands under his rule an equal and just retribution and a friendly disposition to his loyal subjects, [the Tsar] most graciously leaves Kaumualii in complete independent freedom. He only desires that the Russian subjects, trading and earning their living with the Russian American Company and under her flag, will be accepted in the same freedom of sincere friendship and for the mutual benefit.³

The document bears the signatures of the following gentlemen: Ivan Weidemeier, Gavrila Sarychev, Yakov Krujinin, Mikhailo Buldakov, Venedict Kramer, Andrey Severin, Office Clerk Zelensky.

Yet the Company’s council apparently still felt very badly about returning to Kaumualii the momentous paper signed with his cross. To soothe him it adopted its second resolution, to ask the Minister of the Interior to petition from the Lord Emperor the most gracious permission to bestow upon the king, when being informed of the supreme response, a golden medal with the inscription “To the king or ruler of the Sandwich
Islands, Kaumualii as a sign of his friendship to the Russians." This would be handed to him in the name of His Imperial Majesty with the Anne ribbon, to be worn around the neck. Also if it should please His Majesty one might add to this token a gift consisting of a cutlass and a crimson mantle with golden tassels and gauze. However the council most humbly leaves all this to the monarchic consent of His Imperial Majesty.

Having shown its obedience to the Tsar's and his Foreign Minister's wishes, the council felt justified in passing a third resolution, which was intended to some extent to remedy the damage done to their plans by their loyal obedience. It was decided to send Baranov a new letter "in order that the acquired lands on the islands, necessary for the safety of trade, might be maintained."

To be sure, the letter was to confirm to Baranov the fact that Scheffer must absolutely be removed from his position. However, to take Scheffer's place,

for the quiet management of those commercial and economic establishments, which are already started there to the mutual advantage of the Company and the islanders, and which also in the future can be continued without the slightest fear or contradiction exactly on the basis of the aforementioned supreme will,—Baranov should appoint another man, dependable, intelligent and modest, telling him how to behave in a detailed instruction in conformity with the admonition which was already sent by the Company's chief administration to the person in charge of the local factory [i.e. Scheffer].

Practical importance these resolutions of March 26th, 1818, did not possess, for at that time Scheffer's game at Kauai was already up and he long since on his way to Russia, (of which fact the government in St. Petersburg only learned from Scheffer on August 13th, 1818.) But they do show that Nesselrode and the Company did not have identical views on the matter and of this fact Scheffer no doubt was aware. Scheffer was not the type of person to give up. The thought, some day in spite of everything to be the Tsar's governor on Hawaii, was too strong in his mind, and in February, 1819, he presented the Emperor with a detailed memorandum on Russia's advantages in establishing herself in the archipelago.

In strong and persuasive words Scheffer describes the abundant nature and climate of the islands and their enormous possibilities. He shows that he was more than a mere adventurer, he was also a
The Russians in Hawaii

man of vision when he describes the economic future of Hawaii. Two decades before their actual arrival he suggested the employment of Chinese laborers on the islands. Also he prophesied that cotton grown there would supply one half of Russia. Boldly he paints the picture of a North Pacific Russian Empire with Hawaii as the connecting link and recommends himself as leader of an expedition for their acquisition.

For the maintenance of her political weight in England, Russia needs the Sandwich Islands. . . . From the Sandwich Islands, Russia will be able to offer her alliances to China, Japan, Liukeira, and to the American possessions, liberated from the Spanish yoke. She will be able to aid the Philippine Islands, Timor, Java, Goa while the products from the Sandwich Islands and from Russia will spread to these countries.

But the fiery statements of the imaginative doctor fell on cool ears. His memorandum was put into the bureaucratic machinery and within the same month the Department of Manufactures and Inner Trade wrote a comment, which put dampening criticism on Scheffer's enthusiasm.

Scheffer remained undaunted. A few days later, on March 2nd, he submitted a new memorandum to Alexander I. In it he stresses the financial advantages Russia derives from the fur trade of Alaska and claims that nothing could be more beneficial for it than the seizure of Hawaii. To him this seems not only desirable but indispensable:

Without this we shall lose our colonial possessions on the northwestern coast of America and the Americans from the United States will soon seize them. On the other hand the English continue every year to spread their possessions in Asia, and Russia will soon find herself compelled to adopt forcible measures, in order to safeguard her advantages, derived from the trade with China, America and other parts of Asia. The Americans of the United States under various pretexts have done nothing for a long time but cause all kinds of hindrances in our enterprises in that part of the world. For this they even employ false reports and rumors, for instance that we are at war with them and therefore will be forced to leave the Sandwich Islands. Citizen Bulfink in Boston spread the lie that a large part of the settlements occupied by the Russian Company in America belonged to him and his friends. They act craftily against us in China. The published statement of their Secretary of War Calhoun of December 5th, 1818, does not leave the slightest doubt as to

* On the west coast of India.
their intention to annihilate our trade between Asia and America.\textsuperscript{11}

Aware of this malevolence, Lieutenant Podushkin* and I, in our commercial relations on the Sandwich Islands, were guided by all prudent means and settled all questions with the islanders in a friendly and unconstrained manner. . . . Chief Kaumualii on the islands of Kauai, Niihau, etc. of his own free will agreed to be dependent on Russia, and of course it is not up to the Europeans but to the islanders themselves to dispose of these islands.

One only has to look at a map to realize all the advantages which Russia may expect from the occupation of these islands. But it is necessary to accomplish this enterprise in the very shortest time, for after one year's delay it will be too late. In addition: only through the possession of these islands will Russia become independent in many articles for which she is paying high sums to foreigners and with which these islands can furnish her, such as sugar, coffee, spicery, medical plants, dyes and other things which are indispensable for almost all nations in the world. Furthermore, neither on the Kuril Islands, nor in Kamchatka, nor in Okhotsk, nor on the Aleutian Islands, nor on our coasts of northwestern America is there salt, or grain, while the Sandwich Islands abound in them and therefore can contribute these important articles to the prosperity of the inhabitants of those places. Georg Scheffer.\textsuperscript{12}

In his persevering fight Scheffer received the assistance of the Russian American Company which seems to have become more and more conscious of the importance of her interest in Hawaii. On March 18th, 1819, the Company's chief administration presented to the Department of Manufactures and Inner Trade a lengthy memorandum cautiously backing Scheffer's arguments.\textsuperscript{13} In particular it stresses the Company's view that the islands do not belong to any other great power, that Kaumualii himself was not against their seizure by the Russians and that all the trouble was exclusively the fault of the English and American sailors, whom it describes in dark and ominous colors. The memorandum presents a pleasant picture of the future, in which the Russian settlements on the islands will "radiate safety, benefit and profit," the Russians would intermarry with the natives (the lack of racial prejudice has been one of the characteristics of all Russian colonization) and—this it was hoped would impress the bigoted Emperor if everything else failed—the "holiness of the Christian religion" would "tame the brutal tempers" of the Hawaiians.

* Commander of the Discovery.
The Russians in Hawaii

But it was all in vain. Three months later, on June 24th, 1819, Count Nesselrode, in the following letter, informed the Minister of Interior of the Emperor's final will, which definitely rejected any territorial ambition and only permitted trade relations with Hawaii:

Dear Sir, Ossip Petrovitch,

Having had the honor of receiving Your High Excellency's most honorable communication number 128 with the enclosure of the papers which you received from Dr. med. Scheffer and from the Russian American Company's chief administration concerning the benefit and various measures to add the Sandwich Islands to the Russian sceptre, I have reported the content of these papers to the Lord Emperor.

His Imperial Majesty, I am very sorry to say, deigned to learn from them that the friendly and commercial relations of the Company with these islands, which had started so successfully, have quickly collapsed and at that in a most unpleasant way.

Turning his special attention to the administration's opinion His Majesty deigned to see that in spite of this, the Company hopes, first, to re-establish friendly relations with the Chief Kaumualii; and second, by peaceful means later to obtain and to spread its own settlements on those islands.

Examining the Company's suggestions in this twofold respect His Imperial Majesty ordered me to communicate to you, dear Sir, the following remarks: as it is known to the chief administration, His Imperial Majesty during the seemingly most favorable circumstances when the above mentioned chief himself upon his own incentive asked to be admitted with his subject islands into the dominion of the Russian empire, rejecting even then this right of possession voluntarily presented to him, deigned to command that the Company refuse this proposition and limit itself only to the establishment of the same friendly and commercial relations which Kaumualii has with other independent countries. This supreme will was founded on firm considerations.

His Imperial Majesty, still convinced of their correctness, finds it even less necessary to change the above mentioned rule since the later events themselves have proved to what degree it is well founded. Experience confirms how little one should rely on the durability of such a settlement.

As to the Company's intentions to work for the reestablishment of friendly relations with those islands, His Imperial Majesty approves this and wishes it full success. He is convinced that with wise arrangement on the part of the administration and cautious selection of executors who are modest and careful in affairs, the Company, using these methods, will achieve with greater certainty the same advantages and profit which it expects from the unreliable possession of these islands.

[43]
For this purpose His Imperial Majesty consents:

1. That the Company should use according to her judgment the above-mentioned gifts which have been assigned in the supreme name to Chief Kaumualii in accordance with the Company's earlier suggestion.

2. That after succeeding in reestablishing her relations she [the Company] be absolutely guided only by those directions which in accordance with the supreme will were explained in my communication to Your High Excellency of February 28th, 1818.

3. That for the success in her enterprises and particularly in this matter she [the Company] should behave with the greatest possible caution in selecting its employees and in addition furnish them with the most exact and clear orders. By no means should she allow them to act in an arbitrary manner like her last agent Scheffer, who with all his knowledge and zeal did not possess seemingly the necessary caution and therefore, having subjected himself and the Company to so many troubles, cannot be used in those places to advantage.

4. That she be encouraged in the fact that all commanders of warships leaving from here around the world will be ordered to declare everywhere in those distant places, that the Company enjoys the special protection of His Imperial Majesty, but that these same commanders will be required to gather the most exact information and to report on the actions of her agents.

It pleases His Imperial Majesty that Your High Excellency inform the Company's chief administration of this for the necessary execution.

Accept, etc. Count Nesselrode.

This was the end. Now that the Tsar had twice rejected the Company's plans, they had to be abandoned. Scheffer too realized that he was no longer welcome in Russia and he took his leave.

What were the reasons for the failure of his plan? In the first place, the attitude of Nesselrode and the Tsar.

Second: the lack of a strong and unifying leader in the Russian American Company. Rezanov, who might have been the man, was dead, and Baranov during the last years lived in the constant hope of being released from his position.

And last but not least, the fact that the Hawaiian Islands at that time possessed in Kamehameha a strong, ambitious and clear-sighted ruler, who was able to enforce his will in the entire archipelago, including Kauai. Kamehameha in turn was doubtless under the influence of his Anglo-Saxon advisers, and these, although
The Russians in Hawaii

kindly assisting every visiting Russian ship, were naturally opposed to a Russian seizure of the islands, particularly if carried out in Scheffer’s aggressive fashion.
CHAPTER VI
FRIENDSHIP WITH KAMEHAMEHA RESTORED
KOTZEBUE—CHAMISSO

While all these events were taking place in Kauai and St. Petersburg, a famous new Russian circumnavigation of the globe with the ship *Rurik* was under way. The *Rurik*, built and equipped by Count Rumiantsev, the ex-Chancellor of the Russian Empire, was intended as the Russian contribution to find the long sought Northern passage around the American continent—from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The vessel was very small, a two-master of only 180 tons with eight small cannon and was not meant to be a man-of-war, but it sailed under the Russian war flag at the request of its young captain, Kotzebue, who believed "that a voyage of discovery under the merchant's flag might be exposed to inconveniences and even impediments." The *Rurik* left Kronstadt July 30th, 1815, and reached Kamchatka a year later, having travelled around the Horn without touching Hawaii. The plan for the summer 1816 was to explore part of the Alaskan coast and to find there a suitable harbor, which in the following summer was to be used as base from where the penetration to the northeast in small native boats was to be attempted. After exploring successfully the sound which to this day is known as Kotzebue Sound, the *Rurik* turned south and after a call at San Francisco sailed for the Hawaiian Islands.

Otto von Kotzebue was then twenty-nine years of age. We have already met him when as a young boy he and his brother accompanied the first Russian round the world cruise. He had the advantage of being the son of an internationally known dramatist, whose plays had even been produced in America, and also he was the nephew of Krusenstern. Like Krusenstern, the young captain was a Baltic German. In the story of his cruise with the *Rurik* he has left an intelligent, detailed and humorous account of his stay and his observations in Hawaii during the *Rurik's* two visits in the

[ 46 ]
The Russians in Hawaii

winter of 1816 and again in the autumn of 1817. Yet Kotzebue was by no means the only one to record the *Rurik*’s voyage. We possess in addition a document of literary value from the pen of the ship’s naturalist, Chamisso.

Adalbert von Chamisso was born in 1781, son of a French nobleman, in the Champagne. During the Revolution his family left France when the boy was nine. Thus he grew up in Germany where at the age of fifteen he became a page to the queen of Prussia. For some time he served in the army, but then he decided to study natural sciences at the University of Berlin. Dissatisfied and torn, as was all of Europe during the storm of the Napoleonic wars, he tried to get away from the Old World, and applied for participation in the *Rurik* expedition. Since the naturalist who was expected to join the cruise had just resigned because of ill health, Chamisso was accepted.²

After what we know of Dr. Scheffer’s activities, it cannot surprise us that the arrival of a Russian man-of-war should be considered by the islanders as a new Russian menace. To be sure the fair ladies had no political prejudices and knew no discrimination. Kotzebue writes:

Several canoes filled with girls came rowing toward us, but I had no time to attend to the fair sex, and sailed as fast as possible toward Kealakekua, where I hoped to find Kamehameha.³

But when later a pilot came aboard the *Rurik* and found that he was on a Russian vessel, Kotzebue heard from him the story of Scheffer in the following way:

Five months ago two Russian ships, belonging to the American Company, had stood-in here; quarrels ensued between the Russians and the natives, in which the latter, (by the account of the narrator,) appeared in a very advantageous position; the ships, on leaving the Sandwich Islands, threatened to return soon with a strong reinforcement, mentioning particularly a man-of-war, that would likewise oppose the inhabitants.⁴

Only with difficulty could the pilot be prevented from jumping overboard.

It is quite possible, and Chamisso’s story seems to confirm it, that this was the first time Kotzebue had heard of the Scheffer
affair. He had left Russia weeks before Scheffer had started from Sitka on his venture, and the Rurik did not touch Alaska. At any rate, Kotzebue had no instructions as to what attitude to take in such a case and his natural reaction was one of regret that something, the background of which he did not know, had aroused the anger of the Hawaiians against Russia and thereby threatened to spoil his and his crew's vacation on the islands. Thus we find him from the outset doing his best to disassociate himself and the Tsarist Government from Scheffer and to convince the king that the doctor acted entirely on his own, yes, even against the Tsar's will. This fact too does not harmonize with Okun's accusation of the "carefully thought out plan."

Kotzebue was informed that the king was at Kailua, some miles north of Kealakekua, and it was here, on November 24th, 1816, that for the first time the commander of a Russian warship met the great ruler of the islands. Kamehameha was apparently relieved to hear of the friendly intentions of the Russian ship against which he had already mobilized 400 men with muskets along the coast. Sending one of his chiefs aboard the Russian ship, the king requested the visit of Kotzebue on land.

Kotzebue's story of this day in the company of Kamehameha is so vivid and colorful that it merits extensive quotation:

The king met us with some of his first warriors upon the landing-place, and shook me heartily by the hand, when we had landed. There were a great many people gathered here by curiosity, but they behaved with perfect order, and neither noise nor importunity was allowed. I now stood beside the famous Kamehameha, whose deportment and unrestrained friendly behaviour inspired me with the greatest confidence. He took me to his thatched palace, which, after the fashion of the country, consisted of one single large room; and, like all other houses here, was exposed to every wind, by which the oppressive heat is diminished. We were offered some very pretty European chairs, and, a mahogany table being set before us, we were in possession of all the furniture of the palace. Although the king has several houses built in the European style, he prefers this simple habitation, not wishing to infringe upon the manners of the country; every thing that he considers useful he imitates, and endeavours to make his people adopt it; stone palaces he deems superfluous, the thatched houses being more comfortable, and he wishes to increase the happiness, and not the wants, of his subjects: his
The Russians in Hawaii

dress consisted of a white shirt, blue pantaloons, red waistcoat, and black neckcloth; but sometimes, I was told, he dressed splendidly, having several embroidered uniforms, and other dresses.

The chiefs, who during our audience, were sitting on the ground, cut a very ludicrous figure in their black coats on their naked body; besides, they are generally too tight for them, being purchased from American ships, where the people seldom arrive to the height and bulk of the Sandwich chiefs. One of the ministers had the waist high up the back, the coat was buttoned with the greatest difficulty, and he perspired excessively; his misery was very evident, but fashion did not permit him to get rid of this burden. It is singular that the savages surpass even the Europeans in supporting the inconveniences imposed upon them by fashion. The sentinels at the door were quite naked, having a cartridge-box, with a pair of pistols, tied round their waists, and holding a musket in their hand. The king having poured out for us some very good wine, and having himself drank our health, I acquainted him with my intention of supplying myself here with water and wood. A dexterous and tolerably well informed young man, named Cook, was the only white person in attendance on the king, and spoke the language of the country with perfect ease; he had been mate in a ship, but had been settled for some years on this island, where he had gained the king's favour, and was in possession of a large estate; he now formed an interpreter between us. Kamehameha directed him to speak as follows:

—"I am informed that you are the commander of a man-of-war, on a voyage similar to that of Cook and Vancouver, and, consequently, have nothing to do with trade; it is therefore my intention not to enter into any with you, but to supply you gratuitously with everything my islands produce. This matter is now settled, and requires, therefore, no more mentioning. But I beg you will tell me whether it is the wish of your emperor that his subjects should begin to inconvenience me in my old age? Since Kamehameha has been king of these islands, no European has had reason to complain of any injury done him here. I have made my islands an asylum for all nations; and honestly supplied every ship that wanted provisions. Some time ago, Russians from the American colony of Sitka came here; they are a nation with whom I never had any connection before; they were well received, and supplied with all necessities, but they have basely requited me, having treated my subjects on the Island of Oahu with great hostility, and threatened to conquer the islands with men-of-war. Yet, as long as Kamehameha reigns that will not take place! A Russian physician, named Scheffer, who came here some months ago, pretended he was sent by the Emperor Alexander, to botanize on my islands; now I had heard the good fame of the emperor, and was particularly pleased with his bravery; I not only permitted Mr. Scheffer to botanize, but also promised him every assistance,
University of Hawaii

granted him a piece of land, with peasants, that might insure him against any want of provisions; in short, I tried to make his abode as pleasant to him as possible, and refused him no demand. But what was the consequence of my hospitality? Even in Hawaii he repaid my kindness with ingratitude, which I bore with patience; after this he went, by his own will, from one island to another, settling at last upon the fruitful Island of Oahu, where he proved himself my worst enemy, by destroying the murai, our sanctuary, and stirring up against me, on the Island of Kauai, King Kaumualii, who had submitted years ago to my government. And Scheffer is there at this moment, threatening my islands..."

I assured Kamehameha, that the bad conduct of the Russians here could by no means be attributed to the emperor, who would never countenance an illegal act from any of his subjects; but the size of his empire prevented him being early informed of such bad actions, which never remained unpunished, when they once came to his knowledge. My assuring him that the emperor had no intention of conquering his islands, pleased him very much; the glasses were immediately emptied to the health of the emperor, and he became still more open than before. With a vivacity unusual for his age, he kept up the conversation, putting various questions respecting Russia. Cook could not always translate his words, which being peculiar to the Hawaiian language, and so witty, it frequently set his ministers laughing.

Accompanied by Cook and a guard of five naked soldiers, the Russians visited Kamehameha's favorite wife, Kaahumanu, whom they found in the company of two other wives of the king, occupied with smoking, eating, and arranging their hair in a curious fashion. The hair was

fashionably cut short; they only suffer it to grow a few inches over their forehead, smearing it with a white, gummy substance, and then comb it upwards; the white rays thus rising above the brown face, give it a singular appearance.

Then they called on the crown prince, Liholiho, the later King Kamehameha II, of whom Kotzebue gives a most uncomplimentary picture. The captain was under the erroneous impression that Liholiho meant "dog of all dogs" and he hugely enjoyed playing on these words and their relationship to their bearer.* For their meal, the Russians returned to the king.

During dinner, the king was very loquacious, addressing himself first

* In reality the full name of the prince, Kalaniulihiholo, translated into English means, according to Reverend Henry P. Judd, "The heavens with great glowing." Kotzebue probably confused Liholiho with 110 which in Hawaiian means "Dog."
to me, and then to his ministers, who laughed heartily at his wit. He is fond of wine, but takes it sparingly, though he always took care to keep our glasses filled. After having drank the health of each of us in the English fashion, he called upon us to drink that of our emperor: this being done, one of his ministers handed to me a feather tippet, made with great skill, and which was formerly worn by the king himself, on solemn occasions, the king telling me at the same time, through Cook, although he speaks English pretty well himself, "I have heard that your monarch is a great hero; I love him for it, because I am one myself, and I send him this tippet as a proof of my affection." When we had dined and left the house, the king ordered that my rowers should be well entertained; he gave the charge of them to one of the chiefs, the cloth was laid again, they were invited to sit down, and were waited upon with the same attention which had been shewed to us. A canaka, with a bunch of feathers to drive away the flies, stood behind each of them.

Kamehameha's first walk was to the murai: here he embraced one of the statues, adorned with fruit and pork, saying, "These are our gods, which I worship: whether I do right or wrong in thus worshipping them, I know not, but I follow my religion, which cannot be bad, since it teaches me to do no wrong." This expression in a savage, who had raised himself to this degree of civilization by his own energy, shews much sound sense, and was somewhat affecting to me. . . .

After the king had finished his religious ceremonies he took the Russians to the house where he had first received them and said: "I have seen how the Russians eat, now you may satisfy your curiosity by seeing how Kamehameha eats." Kotzebue relates the well known Hawaiian food habits and how the king fully observed them, quietly and with dignity explaining to the Russian captain who probably looked surprised: "This is the custom in my country, and I will not deviate from it." He then informed Kotzebue that on Oahu the Rurik could get for provisions forty-three pigs, a proportionate number of fowls and geese, every kind of fruit which the island produced and as much wood as Kotzebue wished.

In return Kotzebue, to convince the king of the Russians' peaceful intentions, presented him with two metal eight-pound mortars with the name 'Rurik' cut into their carriages, including grenades and powder, and with apples brought from California which the king and his ministers liked so much that they preserved the pips to make them grow on the islands. And still on this same busy day the Rurik sailed for Oahu.
Here once more Kotzebue had to overcome the natives' suspicion which resulted from Scheffer's activities. The Russians were received by Young, whom they found in the process of finishing construction of the fort. Complaints against Scheffer were the first thing that Kotzebue heard from the governor of Oahu, Kalanimoku. The Russian thus describes his first meeting with Kamehameha's loyal and intelligent prime-minister, who liked to call himself "William Pitt":

Kalanimoku's athletic figure, united to his noble deportment, appeared to advantage in the Roman costume; his countenance betrayed sense, which he actually possesses, for which reason the English on the island give him the name of Pitt. He welcomed me after the European manner, by shaking hands; and, having invited me to a seat, he sat down with his attendants, when my first endeavour was to prevent any suspicion concerning us. His countenance soon cleared up, and he spoke as follows:

"The gods are witnesses that we have not wronged the Russians, but they have rendered us evil for good!" I assured him all that Scheffer (about whom he principally complained) had done here, was against the will of our emperor, and endeavoured also to quiet him respecting the future, of which he still seemed to entertain some fear.

Confidence was soon established, and the next morning eight fully manned double canoes pulled the Rurik into the harbor of Honolulu. Then began the customary entreaty of the insistent nymphs of the islands, which has so often aroused the disgust of visitors. This is how Chamisso, the poet and philosopher, shocked not so much by the girls' importunity as by the mercenary aspect of their offers, tried to explain to himself in a friendly spirit of understanding this attitude of a people he had instantly learned to love:

Decency it seems to me, is inborn in man, but chastity is only a virtue according to our rules. Under conditions closer to nature... man has no duty to the stranger; where he meets him, he may kill him and take possession of his property. Whether he uses the killed one's flesh for food or allows it to decay, is of no consequence. But if he grants life to the stranger, he owes him also what belongs to life; the meal is prepared for all, and man needs a woman. On a higher level hospitality becomes a virtue and the house father waits on the road for the stranger and invites him under his tent or roof, so that he may bring the Highest's blessing upon his dwelling. Whereat he easily considers it his duty to offer him his wife, whom then to refuse would be an insult. These are
The Russians in Hawaii

pure, uncorrupted customs. Chastity was foreign to this people of pleasure and joy. . . . We have inoculated it with greediness and avarice and have stripped off decency from it.8

There was only one event which almost broke the friendly relationship. Kotzebue decided to survey the harbor and for this purpose had long poles with flags affixed to them fastened to the ground. Kotzebue writes:

The sight of these flags exasperated the people, for Scheffer had once hoisted a Russian flag, saying, 'I take possession of the island,' and therefore they had no doubt but I was taking the first step towards a conquest.9

Only when on Young's representation Kotzebue replaced the obnoxious flags with harmless brooms, was peace restored.

Both authors give a very pleasant picture of their stay on Oahu: of the friendliness of the people and of the "indescribably beautiful" landscape. Kotzebue made a little expedition toward Pearl Harbor, of which he prophetically remarks: "If this place was in the hands of Europeans, they would find means to make it one of the best harbours in the world."10 Kotzebue was even honored by an invitation to a tournament in which over sixty men fought each other with lances of sugar cane, during which some were severely wounded; while Chamisso upon his requesting it was permitted in the heiau to participate in a service which began on November 30th and was to last for three days. What impressed him more than anything else was the gaiety of the ceremony. Compared with its hilarity

the diversion of one of our masquerade balls could be considered a funeral. The religious functions fill only occasional hours. . . . The periods in between are devoted to the jolliest conversation, and good meals are partaken.11

Enchanted was Chamisso by the native dances, which he contrasts with what to him were the hideous acrobatics of the European ballet.

We barbarians! These people, endowed with sense of beauty, we call "savages," and we allow the ballet to expel the abashed poet and the grieving actor from the halls which we boast to have devoted to art.

Chamisso mourns that in the years since his visit to the islands
the dances and primitive joy of living were reported to be in decay: "On Tahiti, on Hawaii, missionary shirts cover the beautiful bodies, all artful play is silenced, and the tabu of the Sabbath settles over the children of joy." Evidently Chamisso on the basis of new information from Hawaii had altered his original conception about the possibilities of Christianity on the islands. Twenty years earlier, immediately after his visit to Hawaii, he had written: "No missionaries had yet come to the Sandwich Islands and truly they could promise themselves but little fruit among this sensual people. Christianity can be established on the islands of Eastern Polynesia only by overthrowing everything existing."

Finally, on December 14th, while Russia was buried deep in snow, the Rurik left the sunny, friendly shores of Honolulu. Saluting the new fort with seven shots she took course to the west. Early the following summer, after visiting the Radack chain of the Marshall Islands, the ship was ready to attempt the chief goal of the cruise, the northeastern passage. But a violent storm in the North Pacific which injured Kotzebue and damaged the ship necessitated a month's stay on Unalaska for repairs. By the time the Rurik entered the Bering Strait the summer was advanced and unfavorable ice conditions were encountered. Kotzebue, who was ill and depressed, came to the bitter conclusion, for which he has been reproached ever since, of calling off the enterprise.

The Rurik steered southward and on September 26th, 1817, her crew once more beheld Mauna Loa. The Russians more or less repeated their former visit. Again they landed first at Kailua. The king being absent on a fishing trip, Kaahumanu entertained the guests with watermelons. Kotzebue tells:

She herself cut out the inner part of a melon, and put the piece in my mouth with her own hands, in which her royal nails, three inches long, rather incommode me.

Toward sunset Kamehameha returned. Without taking time to dress himself, he came up to me naked, and shook me by the hand most heartily; one of the ministers dragged a couple of bonitos behind him, and the king said, ordering one to be laid at my feet, "This fish I hooked myself, and beg you to accept it as a testimony of my friendship."
The Russians in Hawaii

The king later wore his beloved red waistcoat. Whether his simple attire was donned out of modesty or vanity is hard to say—the latter, it would seem, if we trust Kotzebue. He records the king’s statement that the uniforms sent to him from the king of England were certainly very dazzling, but of no use to him: “For Kamehameha outshines every thing.”

In Honolulu the Russians found their old friend Kalanimoku and John Young and were told of Scheffer’s none too glorious departure. There seemed to be a general relief over the happy outcome of the Scheffer episode, and the Rurik’s men again passed pleasant days on Oahu, until, on October 14th, having taken in all their provisions, the Rurik once more sailed off to the west, to arrive by way of Africa on August 3rd, 1818, in Kronstadt.

Two more members of the Rurik’s crew must be mentioned. One is Dr. Frederick Eschscholz from Dorpat (Baltic Provinces), the physician and entomologist of the expedition, who later published some of his observations. It is he who gave to a butterfly, which he found on Oahu and described in detail, the name of Vanessa Kamehameha. The other is the artist Choris.
CHAPTER VII

A RUSSIAN PAINTER OF HAWAII

CHORIS

As far as the people of Hawaii are concerned, the best known and most beloved fruit of the *Rurik*'s visits are the water colors of the young Russian artist who accompanied the expedition, Louis Choris.* In 1822 Choris published in Paris his book "Voyage pittoresque autour du Monde," which portrays the entire voyage of the *Rurik* and includes 19 large lithographic plates on Hawaiian subjects. After the success he had with his book, Choris issued in 1826 a second smaller volume: "Vues et paysages," from which our frontispiece is taken.

Historically most important are his two portraits of Kamehameha I. We have several accounts of the circumstances under which the one of the king in a red waistcoat was produced. First, Kotzebue's:

The skill of our draughtsman, who had sketched some of the chiefs in a most happy manner and very quickly, was admired even by Kamehameha, but who a long time resisted my solicitations to have himself, as they say here, put upon paper, probably fearing some enchantment; and it was only when I told him that our emperor would be glad to have his portrait that he consented to it. Mr. Choris succeeded admirably well in taking his likeness, although Kamchameha, to make it more difficult, would not set [sic] still for a moment, but was making grimaces all the time.¹

Choris, who naturally hoped to paint the king as a savage chief in strange native attire, writes with evident disappointment:

Judge my surprise, when I saw the monarch display himself in the outfit of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt, and a necktie of yellow silk. I asked him to change his dress; but he refused absolutely and insisted on being painted as he was dressed.²

* Choris probably should be pronounced with a kh sound at the beginning (like in the ich in German or loch in Scottish).
The Russians in Hawaii

According to Kotzebue, Choris must have caught the likeness of the ruler. The natives immediately recognized Kamehameha's portrait; and, when it became known in the country that we had Kamehameha on paper, we daily received a crowd of visitors, who wished to see him.

And another traveller on the Rurik testifies:

The very resembling picture of Kamehameha had exceptional luck. All recognized it, all enjoyed it.

The other pictures of Choris show the outlines of the Big Island, the king's favorite and intelligent wife Kaahumanu, a profile of the queen's brother, the royal temple in the bay of Kailua, idols, the port of Honolulu with the fort, two male heads, weapons and utensils, three men dancing, canoes, utensils, portrait pictures of three male Hawaiians, dancing girls, a woman, Honolulu near the fort, inside of a chief's (Liholiho's?) house.

Disappointing to our idea of the ancient hula's grace are the two pictures of the dancers. But neither did they please his companions and thus we may take them as rather inadequate reproductions of the reality. Here is what Chamisso writes:

On the fourth of December three men danced; on the sixth a group of girls, among them many of exceptional beauty. It is not they who made a lasting impression upon me, but the men, who were more artistic and yet among whom the first was not even to be called good looking among his own. By the way, one should not look at the two poor illustrations which disfigure Choris' work. Dancing is unpaintable, and what he has painted here the guardian angel of art may forgive him.

Yet it is safe to say that no other artist has given us such keenly observed and well executed pictures of the early Hawaii and its celebrated king. A detailed and penetrating discussion of Choris' Hawaiian pictures is given in the studies of Huc-M. Luquiens and John F. G. Stokes. But little has been hitherto known of the life and personality of the Russian artist himself. The writer therefore was fortunate when during a stay on Kauai he found in the private library of the Wilcox family a number of original letters bound into a copy of Choris' work which throw some light on the painter and which the Misses Elsie and Mabel Wilcox kindly permitted to be used. Six of the letters are written in German, one
in French, and to our knowledge they are here published for the first time. A commentary is hardly necessary as the letters speak for themselves.

My dear daughter Herrmine,

Your wish to have a memory of my friend Louis Choris (who was one of your godfathers) cannot be fulfilled better I believe than by my sending you herewith a copy of his work, "Voyage pittoresque au tour du monde," which years ago I received from him. I have had it bound anew and inscribed with your name and birth year, also I have added a few letters from Choris which I received from him from various places and finally his lithographic portrait picture, the latter separate in case you wish to have it framed.

Since you have not known Choris it will please you doubly if in the following I tell you something about his life and our acquaintance.

Louis Choris

was born in the university town of Kharkov (in Russia). His parents died there early. The father had been a teacher at the local university. My friend and compatriot, the titular councillor J. Matthes, who at that time was employed as teacher of drawing at the University of Kharkov, accepted the orphaned Louis Choris as fosterchild in his home and when Matthes moved to St. Petersburg, he took him with him, gave him a good education, and occasioned that Louis Choris participated in 1815 as draughtsman in the expedition of the round the world voyage, which took place at the expense of Count Rumiantsev under Captain Otto von Kotzebue (son of the famous author) in the ship Rurik.

Adalbert von Chamisso, whom I met in Hamburg and later in 1824 in Berlin went along as naturalist. Louis Choris I met in August of 1818 in St. Petersburg, upon his return from the voyage, in the home of Mr. Matthes. We soon became close friends after meeting several times a week in the house of our fatherly friend Matthes. There we also agreed on a plan according to which we wanted to make a voyage through Russia to India (I as a beginning botanist), a plan which was carried out by Professor Raske, a Dane. But we were prevented when Choris became seriously ill. During his sickness I often sat at his bedside.

When he had recovered the physician demanded that he move to a milder climate. Thus Choris travelled early in 1819 from Kronstadt by sea to Havre and from there by land to Paris. He took with him many utensils of the Indians and several objects of natural history which he had collected from time to time, and the transport of which by sea was cheap. Upon his arrival in Paris he presented most of it to the local museum which won him the great favor of the minister and of the head of the museum.
The Russians in Hawaii

Under the guidance of the famous painter Gerard, Choris endeavored to get experience in portrait painting, simultaneously he worked at the publication of the present work.

In 1820 I made a hike from Cassel to Paris and surprised Choris with my visit. During the first six weeks of my stay we met almost daily in the Louvre gallery, since foreigners were permitted to visit the gallery every day except the 'jour de roi' (Monday) after presenting their permis de sejour. . . .

With Choris of course I visited also several other sights of Paris. . . .

Choris and I carried on a lively correspondence and when in 1827 I married and in 1828 you, dear Herrmine, were born, the wish of Choris, mentioned earlier, to be godfather of my first child, was fulfilled, to be sure by proxy. In the hour of your birth I received one last letter from the friend, but—he was then no longer alive. For in July, 1828, I read in a Hamburg paper that Choris had been murdered by brigands on the way from Veracruz to Mexico. He was then making, for the French government, his second voyage around the world and he had given me addresses in various places where I could write him. I immediately wrote to Mexico to the address that I had from him and received unfortunately the confirmation of what the paper had written in the affixed French letter from Mexico.

This my dear daughter is at present all that has to tell you about Choris your Father, blessing you,

J. Wehrs.

Berlin, 28th of May, 1864.

Among the five letters from Choris to Wehrs presented to Herrmine, the second, written in Paris on July 30th, 1823, gives an amusing insight into the temperamental young Russian artist. Writing about a possible brief trip to Russia he adds:

only to arrange my affairs and then again immediately again [sic] to go South—! !—! !—I don't know yet what I shall do—where I shall live and perish? ? But I am rather fed up with travelling and vagabonding! ! —I have the wish, the great wish to marry! ! But where to find something? ? My circumstances are such that I need a wife who must possess education and also some money—this for the world—[Here one word illegible]—one must seek in a woman goodness of heart—also some beauty—I might prefer a widow to a girl, but a girl is much more pleasant! !—Thus you see—I wish much—where could one find all this ? ?—Very difficult [illegible]—! ! ! Are you married—? ? Oh, don't remain as you are—courage—take a wife—love your wife, then you will be loved—remain truthful to her. She probably wants to be it too, but for God's sake don't let her too much out of sight—neither make big
University of Hawaii

voyages! ! !—You can well allow yourself to make trips of two or three months—only not more nor for a longer period! ! ! ! !
There you have from me almost a dissertation on marrying! ! ...

One of Choris’ letters to Wehrs is dated December 6th, 1827, and was written on the French frigate Jeanne d’Arc near the island of St. Christopher. He briefly tells of his voyage, of his drawings and also that he is collecting plants, having been made a correspondent by the “Museum des Jardin des Plantes.” The last letter was written March 2nd, 1828, from New Orleans, immediately before his start for Veracruz and Mexico City. It ends:

Farewell, my good friend. Think of me and sometimes drink my health—your first son should be named Ludwig.* Your Friend Choris.

On the back of the letter the methodical Mr. Wehrs wrote “Received in the hour of birth of my daughter Herrmine May 28th, answered June 7th to Mexico through Mr. Schirmer on ship Jupiter, Captain Steinmetz, (Veracruz).”

At that time Choris had been dead for over two months. The circumstances of his death Wehrs later briefly learned through a letter written in French from Mexico City:

Mexico, September 19th, 1828.

Sir,
I have had the privilege of receiving these last days your letter through the House of Beurman [?] and Muller of Veracruz in which you express your desire to learn the truth about the unfortunate catastrophe of Mr. Choris. It is only too true that he has been murdered during the first days of March between Veracruz and Galapa near the [illegible] nacional. He was with an Englishman by the name of Henderson whom he had met en route. The latter, although having received eight bullets in his body, had the good luck to get away and is now here. Mr. Choris was killed instantly. His body was found the following day after great searching, hidden under leaves and mud in the forest along the road . . .

[Signature illegible.]

Mexico, Calle 2 Montevilla No. 11.

* German for Louis.
CHAPTER VIII
THE LAST VISIT TO KAMEHAMEHA

GOLOVNIK

FOR YEARS there had been a bitter hostility between Baranov and the officers of Russian ships visiting Alaska. The latter brought back to St. Petersburg so many unfavorable reports on the maladministration, abuses, cruelty of Baranov and his men in the colonies, that finally in 1816, upon recommendation of the Navy Minister, Admiral de Traverse, the Tsar decided to have the matter thoroughly investigated, in order either to silence or confirm the stories. The building of a ship was ordered. The man to whom in February, 1817, was entrusted the task of heading this investigation was Captain Vassili Mikhailovitch Golovnin.

Golovnin was then forty-one years of age, a native of Central Russia near the old town of Ryazan. He had studied at the Kronstadt naval school and from 1801 to 1806 had served as a volunteer in the British Navy. In 1807 he had been commissioned to survey as commander of the Diana the coasts of Kamchatka, Alaska and the Kuril Islands. While engaged in this task, Golovnin, in July, 1811, during a visit to a Japanese settlement on the southern-most island of the Kuril chain, Kunashiri Jima, had been captured with some fellow Russians. For over two years the men were held prisoners. After their return to St. Petersburg in 1814 Golovnin wrote a book, which is one of the most vivid and amusing accounts of Japan forty years prior to her opening.¹

In May, 1817, the sloop was launched and christened Kamchatka, in the presence of the Tsar. It was equipped with twenty-eight guns and capable of carrying 900 tons of cargo. Golovnin chose his crew of 130 men. Among them were Fyoder Litke and Baron Ferdinand von Wrangel, in later years two of Russia’s most famous navigators and explorers. He was also accompanied by a Russian artist, Tikhanov.² On August 26th, 1817, during the days of Schef­fer’s departure from Hawaii and just before the last visit of the
Rurik there, the Kamchatka left Kronstadt. Golovnin's orders, in addition to his investigating the affairs of the Russian American Company, were “to send military and other supplies to Kamchatka and to other ports of the Sea of Okhotsk which could be reached only with great difficulty by overland routes,” and—unless the Rurik had already done so—to survey certain parts of the North Pacific and Bering Strait. Also, as will be remembered, he was given by the Russian American Company's administration a letter to Scheffer.

The Kamchatka sailed via England, Brazil, Cape Horn to Kamchatka, visited a number of islands in the Bering Sea and the Aleutian chain, called at the Russian settlements in northwestern America and after crossing half the Pacific, on October 18th sighted the island of Hawaii. The next day the Russians went around its southern point and on the 20th, after the customary encounter with the hospitable mermaids, they reached Kealakekua Bay. Immediately a pilot appeared. Offering his services he produced papers containing testimonials from the captains of various ships which he had piloted. “Almost all of these described him as an able pilot, good swimmer and diver and an expert swindler, who never steals anything until he is quite sure of success, and therefore advised mariners to beware of him.”

The next day Golovnin received an answer to his note sent the day before notifying Kamehameha of the Kamchatka's arrival. The king's letter was written by a man of whom Golovnin during the next days saw a good deal and on whose testimony he bases many of his statements on Hawaii, a Mr. Elliot.

Elliot seems to have played a rather significant role at the court of Kamehameha during the last two years of the king's life. He called himself John Elliot de Castro and was probably of mixed English-Portuguese blood, although Golovnin makes him a Scotchman. Chamisso jokingly writes that he was so small, he did not even reach to his own knees. Elliot told the Russians that years ago he had lived in Rio de Janeiro as surgeon. But his adventurous spirit gave him no rest. While smuggling tobacco in Buenos Aires he had been imprisoned. Free again he found his way to Hawaii and tried his luck as trader of pearls and physician to Kamehameha.
The Russians in Hawaii

meha. The king gave him land, on which Elliot founded a family. But after two years he again resumed his wandering life and in 1813 we find him in Sitka recommending himself to Baranov as expert on Spanish affairs. In December, 1813, Baranov sent him with a hunting party under Tarakanov aboard the Ilmen to Fort Ross. Extending their expeditions to Southern California, Elliot and Tarakanov with some others were captured by the Spaniards and remained in captivity until rescued by Kotzebue during his stay in San Francisco in the fall of 1816. Elliot and two Russians were taken aboard the Rurik when she sailed for Hawaii. Whether Tarakanov was among them we do not know, but he is the same man whom we met in charge of the Russians after Scheffer's departure for Canton. Elliot was again accepted in the king's service, and when two years later the Kamchatka arrived, the Russians found him well off, with valuable land and a yearly salary of 800 Spanish piastres paid in sandalwood. They believed him to be Kamehameha's foreign minister and spent much of their time in his stimulating company.

Elliot's letter was a masterpiece of diplomatic pompousness. Golovnin writes:

You can imagine my surprise when on the following day in answer to my simple little note came an official letter written in English. Herewith is the literal translation:

"To the Commander of His Russian Majesty's frigate Kamchatka,

Dear Sir:

His Hawaiian Majesty regrets that he is unable to have the pleasure of visiting you in Kealakekua, on account of the illness of His Majesty's sister Pepi, who is approaching the last few moments of her life. His Majesty gives absolute freedom to his chiefs and other inhabitants to sell to you any food products which you may need. As to fresh water, His Majesty recommends that you obtain the same on the Island of Maui, for in Kealakekua the water is not good. I have orders from His Majesty to come to your ship tomorrow.

Please accept the assurance of His Majesty's sincere respects in which assurance I also beg the honor to join,

Your obedient servant,

John Elliot-de-Castro
Secretary of State to His Majesty

Kailua
November 1st, 1818."
Soon after the letter, Elliot himself appeared with gifts of food from the king and took the Russians ashore. Together they inspected several villages, and everywhere they were received with friendly hospitality. During the afternoons of both the 21st and 22nd the Russians' ship was visited by some Hawaiian chiefs and the wife of one of them. Golovnin found the tabus still strictly observed. One chief, who was not allowed to eat chicken, jumped overboard when one was served, and later lighted the Russian cigars only with fire from his own boat, while the woman went on deck during the dinner, in order not to be present when men were eating. When wine was served, one of the guests, a brother-in-law of Kamehameha, drank the health of "Rukine Alexander," that is, the Russian Alexander. To make up for her food restrictions, the chief's lady drank more than the men, according to the captain's graphic report.

Two days later the Kamchatka anchored at Kailua, where, as loud wailing indicated, the king's sister had died the night before. On the 24th the last meeting between Kamehameha and a Russian captain took place. This time the king wore light green velvet trousers, a white shirt, a silk kerchief around his neck, a coffee-brown silk vest, white stockings and shoes and a round soft felt hat. He met Golovnin with an outstretched arm, and with "How do you do?" and "Aloha," inviting him and his officers into his house. This is the captain's description of the king's audience hall:

There we found, standing to one side, a very large trunk which (according to Elliot) contained hand arms; next to it stood a mahogany bureau of European workmanship; there were also two tables—one large leaf-table and a round one, both of mahogany; the smaller table was covered with a blue napkin and on it stood a quart of rum, a decanter half filled with red wine, a large glass full of water and three or four smaller glasses, empty. Next to the table stood an arm-chair and two or three chairs of European make. Two very cheap ordinary mirrors—worth not more than five rubles apiece—hung on the wall, and under them leaning against the wall stood several guns, swords and spears. This half of the tent was covered with grass mats; the floor of the other half was bare and there stood an ordinary ship's cast iron stove, in which a fire was burning, and various dishes in the corner.7

After a visit to the king's five wives the Russians found Ka-
mehameha in the yard. He, having in the meantime changed into the parade uniform of an English naval captain, was wearing a hat with feathers and gold braid. He sat in this elegant attire on the ground, playing with his naked courtiers his favorite game which consisted of the following:

The players sit in a circle, each one holding a slender stick about three feet long in his hand; five cushions are put in a row, one next to the other, in the middle of the circle; each player in turn hides a small stone under one of the cushions and the others one after another hit with the stick the cushion under which they think the stone is hidden; those who guess correctly win.8

In the evening the Kamchatka was visited by four of the king's wives, "rather stout, tall women overloading the stern of my boat with their weight." The same night the ship left for Oahu and on the afternoon of the 26th arrived at Honolulu. There were four American merchant ships in port and two brigs belonging to Kam­ehameha. The wreck of the Kadiak was also still visible.

Seeing all these vessels flying their flags and the Hawaiian flag hoisted over the fort, I could not help but be pleasantly surprised at such a step towards enlightenment on the part of this savage people, and, frankly, I was ashamed when I recalled that the eastern shores of Siberia and Kamchatka present no such sight.9

After pleasant days on Oahu in the company of Davies, Marin and Boki, the Russians on the 29th set sail for Kauai and anchored the next afternoon in the bay of Waimea.10 It is amusing to observe what pains Golovnin took in his book to conceal from his readers the identity of the country for which Dr. Scheffer had acted. Golovnin writes:

Not long ago a party of Europeans under the leadership of a physician foreign to them, settled on the island of Kauai. . . . The imprudent doctor . . . was so simple minded that without preparing the chief for this enterprise he began at once building forts and hoisted the flag of the nation whose small force he commanded.11

We can easily see that Golovnin did not have much sympathy for the man to whom he was carrying the letter. He too emphasizes the view that it was due largely to the Americans that Kamehameha took measures to expel Scheffer, and he even tells that one of the American captains offered his ship to the king to assist him in case of attack by the Russians.12
When in the evening of the same day Golovnin set his ship's course to the west (to reach Kronstadt by way of Good Hope on September 6th, 1819), he left the islands with a great admiration for their aged ruler. For he states:

Kamehameha is already very old; he considers himself to be seventy-nine years of age. It is probable that his exact age is unknown even to himself, but his appearance shows that there cannot be such a great disparity between the real age and his estimation. However, he is alert, strong and active; he is temperate and sober; he never takes strong drinks and eats very moderately. In him one sees a most amazing mixture of childish deeds and of ripe judgement and actions, that would not disgrace even a European ruler.

Golovnin then illustrates his opinions with a number of stories which seemed to him typical of the king and which he probably had heard from Elliot. One characterizes Kamehameha's honesty: an English ship, run aground near Oahu, had to throw overboard a load of some 15,000 pounds of copper to get afloat. Kamehameha sent his divers who recovered all the copper which the British captain had considered lost. However the king did not keep it, instead he inquired as to what is done in similar cases in Europe. When he was told that in England for rescuing the cargo of a sinking ship one eighth belongs to the salvagers, he kept this much and returned the rest to the ship.

Another incident throws light on the king's political wisdom. When walking with Elliot to the spot in Kealakekua Bay where Cook had been killed, Golovnin and his officers, indulging in the ancient human weakness of souvenir collecting, started to gather some stones. Elliot then told them the following story: Once he had, just like the Russians now, picked up a stone on this memorable place.

When asked by Kamehameha what he needs it for he said that he would like to send it to England to his friends. Upon these words the Hawaiian changed in appearance: his eyes began to sparkle, he snatched the stone from Elliot's hand and threw it into the sea saying that in sending a thing like this he merely wants to remind his countrymen of the unfortunate incident which should have long since been forgotten and that good people after making peace must never recall old disputes.

A third anecdote related by Golovnin shows the shrewd common sense and humor of Kamehameha:
The Russians in Hawaii

Vancouver showed a globe to the king and explained that the earth is round and revolves and that the English and the Sandwich Islanders walk with their feet directed at each other. Kamehameha examined the globe at great length and the position of the two kingdoms, but made no remarks and lapsed into deep thought. Finally, when they sat down to dinner he put a large piece of biscuit on a plate, a few small ones on top of it and said: "Well, here is the earth" (pointing to the plate), "this is Hawaii" (the large piece), "here is Kamehameha" (pointing to the small pieces) "Vancouver and the others sitting peacefully and dining. Now see what happens!" With these words he turned the plate upside down and all the pieces of biscuit fell to the floor. Then he said to Vancouver that he, Kamehameha, is no fool and will not believe in such stupid stories.18

Yet this great man, who by a tremendous effort had made himself the enlightened ruler of his people, still possessed in his old age—and this observation seemed particularly touching to Golovnin—the traits of a child. During the day in Kailua, Kamehameha, noticing a plain cotton striped handkerchief in the hands of one of Golovnin's officers, Baron Wrangel,

...took it at once and looked at it admiringly for a few moments as if on the verge of asking for it; but as soon as Elliot told him that that was not nice, he threw it back to Mr. Wrangel and folding his arms became as quiet as a little boy who had just been scolded for his pranks.16

Later, seeing Golovnin's old, very large English shoes, which he was wearing because of sore feet, Kamehameha asked to be presented with them. Enumerating all the king's wealth, Golovnin observes:

A cotton handkerchief or a pair of shoes could not possibly be objects of great curiosity to him and, besides, he knew that they were mere trifles of no value, but he was impelled by the instinctive action of a childish mind due to lack of education.

Because of his admiration for Kamehameha, Golovnin also felt much fondness for his subjects. He took a different attitude toward the possibility of their Christianization than did Chamisso.

Were it possible to introduce the Christian faith and the art of writing among the Sandwich Islanders they would in one century reach a state of civilization unparalleled in history.

And he adds:

If a few well educated, patient people, capable of observing things care-
fully, like the missionaries of old, should settle in the Sandwich Islands, there is no doubt that they would soon become famous as enlighteners of this people and would have an excellent opportunity to observe... the gradual transition of man from a wild state into that of a civilized being.

Golovnin’s prophecy came true, although at the time when he wrote it down he could not foresee that only sixteen months later the Thaddeus would bring the first missionaries from New England. When he heard of this fact before his book was printed he added a footnote, stating that if the missionaries came with pure intention and sincere attitude to the islands, their success was inevitable.

Fittingly we might conclude our story of Golovnin’s visit to Hawaii with a quotation from his book, which could be placed as a motto over much that was done or attempted during the following 120 years of Hawaiian history:

Nature is not like humans who assume unto themselves divine power on earth; it does not distribute its gifts to one favored spot of its possessions. A great mind and unusual talents may be found among all mortals, no matter where they are born, and if it were possible to gather several hundred children from all parts of the globe and to educate them according to our standards, maybe from among them those with kinky hair and black faces would produce more great and exceptional people than those born of European parents.
CHAPTER IX
THE FIRST HAWAIIAN IN RUSSIA

LAURI

During the Kamchatka's stay in Honolulu, Golovnin relates, many natives asked to be employed by the Russians. Although he had heard good reports about their work on western vessels, Golovnin, not needing any helpers, refused. One young fellow however stayed as a stowaway on the sloop and the captain, not wishing to resort to force, gave in. He also thought that it might be a good idea to teach one of the islanders Russian, hoping that he then could become useful to the Russian American Company in its dealings with Hawaii. As the Hawaiians had seen nothing of Russia but the wretched Alaskan settlements, a visit by one of them to the real Russia might add to their estimation of his country.

The name of the young Hawaiian was Lauri, but not for long. "We converted his name," Golovnin writes, "into a surname and gave him the personal name of Terentius in honor of the Saint of the day when Lauri came into our service as if by coming on that day he selected the Saint as his patron."¹

This is the story of Terentius Lauri, the first Hawaiian to visit Russia:

The Sandwich Islander Lauri, about 25 years of age, is tall, well built and vigorous; he is not bad looking and his skin is of a dark chestnut color—the color common to all the islanders. He has a merry disposition and a kind heart and is clever and adaptable by nature. While still on the sloop, and here in Petersburg, he liked to follow our customs and tried to please his friends and for doing this he was loved by all who knew him. On the sloop he became especially attached to one of the non-commissioned artillery officers who for that reason was assigned to take care of him upon our arrival in Russia and to show him all things of interest to him in the city. It must be noted that this officer could converse with him better than the rest of us.

Lauri lived in one of the houses of the Russian American Company, near
the Semionov Bridge, but came to see me often. He was so clever that within several days he learned where his friends lived and went about without a guide even as far as the Galley Harbor. He once bought a hat in a shop on the Sennaya and brought it to show it to me; seeing that he had been cheated I sent an officer with him to the shop to redeem the money. Lauri took him directly to the shop where he had bought the hat.

Some of his actions astonished and puzzled me. For instance, he would never sit down in company if there were anyone whom he considered more important than himself standing up; when tea or anything else was being served he always tried to help himself last; he was very careful not to sit or stand with his back to anyone. I knew that no one had taught him these manners and that he could not have acquired them by observation in so short a time; therefore, could he have possibly learnt such polite manners among his own people? When he was asked to sing or dance his native dances he did so right away without excuses and always with obvious pleasure. He did not like our soft, subdued music, but was delighted with drums and trumpets. Once a famous singer performed in my house; we led Lauri to the piano to see what impression the music, which everyone admired, would make on him. He listened for a couple of minutes, then said—"enough, not good"*—his usual expression when something did not please him.

He loved to serve others and was ready to do anything in order to please. Once when we were in the Marianas Islands several Spanish officials came aboard the ship; noticing that they kept their hats on while talking to our officers, and having observed that none of our men ever dared do this on the sloop, Lauri tore off their hats and put them in their hands. We laughed, but the Spaniards felt quite differently about it until we explained to them who did it.

In Petersburg he saw so many objects surpassing his understanding that he did not know what he liked best; the mountain-like buildings, the huge ships, the splendor of the garments, especially in the churches, the horse carriages—all of this enraptured him. But best of all he liked the cavalry parade. He watched the infantry go by in astonished silence, but when the cavalry started forward and trumpets were sounded, he was beside himself: he put his hands to his mouth imitating the trumpets and started prancing around bending his neck down like the horses. One can well imagine that the people watching the parade took him for a lunatic for he was always well dressed and in appearance did not look in the least like a savage.

Lauri did not like to be laughed at. When he reached the temperate zone and, for the first time in his life, he witnessed a hail storm he

* This quotation is given in broken Russian.
The Russians in Hawaii

started collecting the hailstones, undoubtedly taking them for pebbles, and indicated by signs at the same time that he would take them back to Oahu, his birthplace. As soon as he noticed that these pebbles turn to water and disappear he was the first one to laugh at his own mistake, but when the sailors collected the hailstones and brought them to him he at once became angry at this joke and complained to me. I recall another occasion, when the ship's cook who usually brought the sailors' soup for me to taste was taking it back to the kitchen and Lauri wanted to taste it. The cook gave him the cup and Lauri, not knowing what was in it, took a mouthful and burned himself; he cried out at first, then started to laugh, but noticing that the sailors were joking at his expense, he started weeping and came to me complaining about the cook.

He did not like strong drinks and detested drunken people, but for sweet things he had a particular liking. He had only one noticeable vice: his stinginess. On the sloop we supplied him with clothing, underwear, and all that was necessary. The officers were constantly giving him things and he had many things that he did not need at all. In spite of all that, he was always picking up bits of rags, pieces of string, broken needles and such trash and hiding them in his trunk. In Petersburg he loved to dress well when going out, but at home he would wear the most dilapidated clothing that should have long since been discarded. For the winter the Company supplied him with very good winter clothing, which he liked very much, especially the wolf-skin fur coat. He took such good care of it that when coming to see me he would carry it over his arm and would put it on only when ascending the stairs and would then put it away in a safe place. As a result, he often suffered from colds and coughs and we were compelled to tell him that all these things were not his own, but had been given him by the Company only for a time and would be taken away from him upon his departure and replaced by new ones. Then only did he stop saving them and wore them around more freely. Once the ladies purposely lost some money to him playing dominoes: he was delighted and took the money willingly, but as soon as he himself began to lose he did not pay anyone and saying "I do not know how," put the money in his pocket and left the game. "I do not know how" was his usual negative answer meaning "not so, that is not true, I do not want to," etc.

At first Lauri liked Russia very much and did not even want to hear about his own country, but later, when all the new objects became more familiar and especially when winter set in imparting to all nature a deathly aspect that he could have never even imagined possible, our Lauri began to talk about Oahu and to complain about the local climate. Eventually he frankly said that he did not want to live here and would die if he could not return home. He especially disliked ice and snow
University of Hawaii

of which he always complained. He also had no liking for beards, especially gray beards.

At the time of Lauri's departure from Petersburg I was in Ryazan. He would often come to see our officers to enquire about my return. At first he thought that we would again sail our sloop to the Sandwich Islands and take him along, but learning that he would have to sail on a different ship, with people whom he did not know, he became very upset, wept and was even ready to stay for ever in Russia. Fortunately for him, four of the sailors on this ship had worked on the Kamchatka and were thus well known to him.

If Lauri has safely returned to his home country, his trip will be a great boon to the Russian American Company and to our navigators in general who might have to stop at the Sandwich Islands, for there is no doubt that his gratitude and devotion to the Russians will create a friendly feeling toward us among his countrymen, while the impression of Russian might, which he will impart to the chiefs, will make them have more respect for the nation of which they had previously received a very unfavorable impression.

During the year following his arrival Lauri, aboard the Kutuzov, returned to Hawaii. What impressions he brought with him from his voyage, what he told his countrymen—we do not know, for this is the last we hear of him.
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

HALF A YEAR later and still four months before the Kamchatka reached her home in Kronstadt, Kamehameha died at Kailua on May 8th, 1819. To be sure, his death did not end completely Hawaii's relations with Russia. It would be possible to trace them to the present day. But the truly dramatic part of their story coincided with the later years of Kamehameha's reign, beginning with Krusenstern's plans and voyage, climaxing with Scheffer's adventure, and coming to an end with Golovnin's visit. The following years did not add any new or important aspects to this curious episode of strangely close Russo-Hawaiian relations, when ships from Russia and Russian America were constant callers at Hawaii, when among the outstanding accounts of Hawaii five were written by voyagers on Russian ships, and when even a Russian flag flew in the tradewinds over Hawaii.

The historical setting, in which fate so oddly brought together the destinies of two distant and in every respect different countries, now changed. Hawaii had safely passed through the Russian period of her history, and her following relations with Russia meant not more than those with any other country and eventually died out almost completely. Was it a matter of chance, a whim of fate, that Russia suddenly appeared on the Hawaiian horizon and almost as suddenly disappeared? As we survey these years from 1804 to 1819 it does not seem so. Russia's drive through Siberia, Alaska and the American northwestern coast brought her, almost inevitably, to Hawaii. That she retired from the islands was largely the result of her growing realization of having overreached herself. Looking back we can see that the abandonment of Hawaii as a Russian base was the first step in Russia's withdrawal from the Eastern Pacific, while at the same time under Muraviov-Amursky she wisely established herself the firmer on the Asiatic side of the Pacific, along the Amur and the Ussuri.
In closing this study we might take leave of the chief actors in the drama described.

With the later years of the various Hawaiians most readers are doubtless familiar: Lihioliho, his father's successor, died during a visit to England in 1824 after decisive measures for the westernization of his islands and the abolition of the tabu. Kaumualii no more disturbed the peace of the islands for the very good reason that in 1821, three years before his death, he married Kaahumanu. The Queen Dowager Kaahumanu, at Lihioliho's departure for England in 1823, received the title of regent and became the actual ruler of the islands until her death in 1832, ably assisted by the loyal Kalanimoku (died 1827), while John Young went to his final rest a few years (1835) after his kingly master.

Not less interesting is the fate of the Russians, most of whom, as we saw, were either Germans or of German descent. Emperor Alexander I died embittered and disillusioned in 1825, his death causing Russia's first revolution, the rising of the "Decembrists." Nesselrode continued to serve also the new Tsar Nikolai I, and in 1844 reached the height of his ambitions by acquiring the position of Chancellor of the Empire. Only Russia's ignominious defeat in the Crimean War brought his career to an end. His predecessor Rumiantsev, who after his retirement from the position as Chancellor had equipped the Rurik expedition, remained all through his life a generous patron of sciences and arts. From his collections, including those from the Rurik, later the famous Rumiantsev Museum arose, which only in 1924 was dissolved by the Soviet Government and renamed Lenin Library.

The seamen all had successful careers. Krusenstern from 1827-1842 held the responsible position of director of the Russian naval cadet school and in 1841 was promoted to the high position of an admiral general. As member of the navy's scientific committee his name is linked with various important nautical and geographical investigations. Later a monument was erected in his honor in St. Petersburg. In 1846 he died on his estate near Reval.

During the same year and in the same town occurred also the death of Kotzebue. After a third circumnavigation, 1823-26, he retired in 1829 to spend the last seventeen years of his life in Reval.
The Russians in Hawaii

Golovnin, who brought back a rather negative report on the Russian American Company, climbed to the rank of vice-admiral before he died in 1831. And Lazarev, whom we have met as Scheffer's captain on the Suvorov, claims the honor of having been the first to discover in 1821 the antarctic continent. All four are remembered to this day on the maps of the Pacific: Krusenstern Islands, Kotzebue Sound, Golovnin Bay, Lazarev Islands, etc.

Of the naturalists, Chamisso made himself a name as botanist (for many years he was director of the Berlin Herbarium) and especially as one of Germany's outstanding poets of the romanticist school, best known for his charming poems and the story of Peter Schlemihl, the man without shadow. He died in 1838. Scheffer and Langsdorff had curiously parallel careers. Scheffer disappeared for some time after leaving Russia; then his adventurous blood carried him to a new continent and new schemes. We meet him again in Brazil with the pompous title of Count of Frankenthal, as favorite of Emperor Pedro I who ruled from 1822 to 1831. However, like many other adventurers before and after him, Scheffer died peacefully in old age in his native country. Langsdorff too appeared in Brazil, but as the representative of the Tsar. He bore, as he proudly displays on the title page of his book, the high sounding rank "Consul-General at the Brazils, Aulic Counsellor to His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, Knight of the Order of St. Anne."

Tragic was the end of Baranov only. For many years he had waited to be released. Hagenmeister, with the instruction in his pocket to take Baranov's place, spent several months in Alaska without informing Baranov. Finally in January, 1818, he heard from Hagenmeister the good news, but at the same time was ordered, under rather humiliating circumstances, to give account of his administration. The Company's commissioner failed to find any discrepancies in spite of the size of Baranov's responsibilities. Finally in November, 1818, at the age of seventy-two, he left his cold empire, but not for Hawaii. He had been persuaded by Golovnin that first he must go to St. Petersburg to place his great experience at the disposal of the Company and all Russia. Once more he put his personal wishes aside. But he was never to see his home-
land. Passing through the East Indies the old man's heart gave out. In April, 1819, all that remained of this extraordinary leader was buried in the ocean. When under his successors the Company's importance gradually decreased, when Fort Ross was sold and finally even Alaska was given away for the sum of a little over seven million dollars, it became evident that Russia lost with Baranov her chance for an oversea empire, in the struggle for which the Hawaiian affair had been a remarkable episode.
REFERENCES CITED

CHAPTER I

1 Krusenstern tells his personal story including the Canton episode in the introduction of his book, I, xxiv-xxxii.

2 Kaiana, a chief living on Kauai under strained relations with the island’s king, Kaeo, was the most distinguished early Hawaiian traveller to go abroad on a European ship. He took passage with Captain Meares on the Nootka in September, 1787, (not 1789) for Canton. It is well known how highly the inhabitants of the volcanic Hawaiian Islands, which have practically no ore, valued the iron they obtained from the first European visitors. Meares writes of Kaiana: “He could not be taught to understand the value of our current coin, and when he wanted anything that was to be purchased by it, he would innocently ask for iron; which being the most valuable metal in his eyes, was naturally considered by him as the medium of barter among other nations.” (Meares, p. 7. A picture of Kaiana opposite p. 4.) Krusenstern probably had read Meares’ book and had this passage in mind.

3 Krusenstern, I, 191-197.
4 Langsdorff, p. 162.
5 Langsdorff, pp. 163-164.
6 Langsdorff, p. 168.

CHAPTER II

1 Lisiansky, p. 101.
2 Lisiansky, p. 103.
4 John Young had come to Hawaii in 1790 as boatswain of the American brig Eleanora. When ashore he was detained by the Hawaiians. He soon became one of Kamehameha’s chief advisers.

5 Pork had been declared a royal monopoly in order to increase the royal revenue. Kuykendall, p. 83.
6 Lisiansky, p. 105.
7 Lisiansky, p. 107.
8 He was called by the Russians usually Tomari or Tamoory.
9 Lisiansky, pp. 112-113.

10 In 23 large pages Lisiansky furnishes information on the following: tabu, the division of time by the islanders, their religion, customs of funeral and mourning (here he gives the correct reason for the missing teeth of many Hawaiians), the bodily shape of the people, their clothes and houses, food, marriage customs, human sacrifices, domestic animals, birds, fishes, etc. Commenting on the laws of Hawaii, Lisiansky quotes some examples of Kamehameha’s legal practice which he had heard from John Young. In considerable detail he tells the story of Kamehameha’s reign, probably learned from the same source and coming quite close to the truth as we know it.

11 Lisiansky, pp. 326-328.
12 Lisiansky, pp. 128-129.
13 Lisiansky, pp. 251 ff.
14 Lisiansky, p. 264.
University of Hawaii

15 Krusenstern, II, 289. Spanish dollars or piastres were the customary currency in China.
16 Lisiansky, p. 317.
17 Krusenstern, II, 288-289.
18 Tikhmenev, p. 114.
19 Korsak, pp. 54-55.

Chapter III

1 Langsdorff, pp. 379-380.
2 Bancroft, History of California, II, 66.
3 Bancroft, History of California, II, 64-78; and Bancroft, History of Alaska, pp. 456-457.
4 Langsdorff, p. 165. According to Langsdorff this offer from Kamehameha arrived in 1806.
5 Bancroft, History of Alaska, pp. 316-318.
6 His name is spelled both Hagemeister and Hagenmeister; the latter form in the Soviet documents.
7 "Baranov certainly instructed Hagenmeister to found a settlement, and a copy of his instructions has been preserved in the Sitka Archives." Bancroft, History of Alaska, p. 491, note 3. I have not been able to locate this copy mentioned by Baranov. Upon inquiry at The National Archives, Washington, D. C., I received the following answer from P. M. Hamer, Chief of the Division of Reference, written February, 1939: "The archives of the Russian-American Company of Alaska are deposited in The National Archives. This material consists of despatches and correspondence of the Board of Directors of the Company, journals of correspondence between the governors of the colonies, and the board of directors, log books, and journals of explorations, a total of 77 volumes. . . . The correspondence begins in 1802. The first item is an instruction of April 18/30, 1802, from the Board of Directors of the Russian-American Company to Baranov, Chief Manager. The next item is dated June 1/13, 1817. There is no correspondence for the intermediate period, in which you are interested. The journals of the Company begin in 1818, and the log books in 1850." According to Tikhmenev, p. 165, Hagenmeister on the same voyage was also ordered to search for islands between Japan and Hawaii. Yet we see that the idea of a Russian island base on the route from Alaska to China was always in Baranov's mind.
8 Campbell, p. 91.
9 Campbell, p. 96.
10 Campbell, pp. 97-98. Meltel in present day Hawaiian is malkal.
11 Krassnyi Arkhiv, p. 171, note 2.
12 Tikhmenev, p. 166. At about the same time as Hagenmeister another Russian, Slobodchikov, landed in Hawaii. Little is known about his visit. In 1806 he, together with John Winship and a group of Aleutians, had been sent by Baranov to hunt in California waters. There Slobodchikov and Winship quarreled. Slobodchikov bought an American sloop, hired American sailors and went to Hawaii. He was well treated by Kamehameha, who sold him supplies and gave him a present for Baranov. Supposedly Kamehameha even mentioned the possibility of his visiting Sitka. Tikhmenev, p. 165, Golder, p. 40.
13 Bancroft, History of Alaska, pp. 483-489; and Bancroft, History of California, II, chapters XIV and XXVIII, with a map p. 300.
14 A detailed account of the Atahualpa episode is given by F. W. Howay.
Chapter IV

1 Krassnyi Arkhiv (Red Archive), LXXVIII, 162. This publication of Russian documents relating to Russo-Hawaiian relations consists of a historical introduction by S. Okun and the following eight documents: 1.) King Kaumuali'i's declaration of May 21st, 1816, placing his possessions under the Tsar's protection. 2.) Opinion of the Russian American Company's Council of March 26th, 1818, with regard to the measures necessary for the strengthening of commercial relations between the Company and the Hawaiian Islands. 3.) Extract from Scheffer's journal of his stay on the Hawaiian Islands. 4.) Memorandum of February, 1819, offered by Scheffer to Tsar Alexander I, explaining the advantages which Russia would derive from the occupation of the Hawaiian Islands. 5.) Comment of the Department of Manufactures and Inner Trade to document number four. 6.) Scheffer's addition of March 2nd, 1819, to his memorandum (document number four). 7.) Memorandum of the Russian American Company's Chief Administration about the question of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to Russia, submitted to the Department of Manufactures and Inner Trade on March 18th, 1819. 8.) Letter of June 24th, 1819, of the Acting Foreign Minister Count Nesselrode to the Minister of Interior Kozodavlev. Of these eight documents numbers one and eight are being published here in toto, on p. 27 and p. 43. The others are quoted extensively.

3 Corney, p. 46.
4 Krassnyi Arkhiv, pp. 170-173. Translation by the author. It is not clear in which style the dates in this publication are given. Presumably in the "old style," which in the 19th century was 12 days behind our calendar.
5 With two servants, Whitney, p. 49.
6 The Vladimir order was one of the high orders of Tsarist Russia.
7 There are no commas here in the Russian text, the author interpolated them. Ebbets, Hunt, and Adams are three different persons. For information about Ebbets and Hunt see Bancroft, History of Alaska, pp. 468-472, 479 and Tikhmenev, pp. 184, 186.
8 Doubtless referring to the British sailor Campbell, see pp. 19-20.
9 Barnard, p. 219.
10 Corney, p. 48.
11 Barnard, p. 222.
12 The story of Scheffer's ships is rather complicated and contradictory. According to Okun (Krassnyi Arkhiv, p. 162) the ships Discovery and Kadiak arrived at the islands in March, 1816. According to Pilder (p. 82) only the Discovery in April, while according to Howay's article on Captain Barber the Kadiak left Sitka for Hawaii on March 24th. Whitney too (p. 49-50) has a story in this connection.

Before Scheffer sailed from Alaska it had been agreed upon that half a year later the Discovery and Kadiak should reinforce him. It seems that the Discovery arrived from Alaska first, probably in March, with some Aleutians on board, and later the Kadiak from Sitka. Approximately at the same time the limen must have come from California, also with some Aleutians.

The Discovery had been built in Sitka around 1808, the Kadiak was formerly the English Myrtle, bought by Baranov from Captain Barber, and the limen was purchased by Baranov from an American during the War of 1812. (Pilder, pp. 71-73.) The limen seems to have been called formerly the Lady (also Lidy). Ch. F. Bonnick, who later acted as interpreter between Scheffer and Kaumuali'i, gave the ship's name as Lydde. (Golder, p. 43, note 11.) See also Howay's account of the Atahualpa's shipwreck (p. 74) and his story of Captain Barber.
13 Corney, pp. 71-72.
14 The location given above is between Honolulu and Pearl Harbor. Scheffer went first to Niihau, then to Kauai. Krassnyi Arkhiv, p. 163.

[79]
According to Tikhmenev, p. 186, Scheffer gained the chieftain's favor by curing him of dropsy and his wife of a fever.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 165.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 166.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 167.

Alexandrovski after the then reigning Tsar of Russia, Alexander I; Yelisavetsinsk after the Tsar's wife Elizabeth, the former princess of Baden, and Barclay after the famous Russian-Scotch general in the war against Napoleon, Barclay de Tolly.

Scheffer Valley.

Plans of the fort of Waimea are given by Alexander, opposite p. 1 and p. 4, also a description of the fort.

Whitney, p. 50. Whitney calls Scheffer "Schoof".

Corney, p. 73.

It is not likely that Scheffer at that time had 500 men at his disposal. By "his troops" he may have meant the natives of Kauai. But probably he was speaking of Russians and Aleutians still to come in the future.

Apparently Scheffer provided the king with two ships. One seems to have been the Linnen or Lady. According to Tikhmenev (p. 187) it was sold for 21,000 rubles. In addition we find the agreement referring to a warship of the Bostonian Wintmor (Wintmore, Pilder, p. 79) which is called Evan and for which Scheffer paid in the king's name 200,000 rubles (Krassny Arkhiw, p. 167).

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 166.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 166.

Pilder, p. 85.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 167.

Kotzebue, p. 99.

Jarves, p. 184.

Corney, pp. 88-89.


Perhaps Ebbets. However, according to Tikhmenev, p. 191, a Mr. Jones.

Reverend Whitney, who collected his material on Kauai many years later, tells (p. 51) a slightly different story. He seems to underestimate the number of Russians and Aleutians at Scheffer's disposal and tells that Scheffer left without trouble and fighting.

CHAPTER V

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 166.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 166.

Originally the Russian American Company had been directed by its "chief administration." However on February 10th, 1814, in addition a special "council" was established for particularly urgent or important decisions. Pilder, p. 88.

The order of St. Anne was another high order in Tsarist Russia.

Krassny Arkhiw, pp. 169-170.

Krassny Arkhiw, p. 164.

Krassny Arkhiw, pp. 173-177.

Riukiu Islands? Korea?

Krassny Arkhiw, pp. 173-177.

Krassny Arkhiw, pp. 177-181.
The Russians in Hawaii

11 Scheffer exaggerates. Russian-American relations at this time were friendly. See Tatum, pp. 113-140.
12 Krassnyi Arkhiv, pp. 181-182.
13 Krassnyi Arkhiv, pp. 185-188.
14 Krassnyi Arkhiv, pp. 185-188.

CHAPTER VI

1 Kotzebue, p. 1.
2 After the Rurik's return to Europe, Chamisso's observations were published under the title "Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition" in the three volume edition of Kotzebue's book (London, 1821). It occupies in vol. II, pp. 349-433, in vol. III, pp. 1-318, and deals on pp. 390-394 of vol. II and on pp. 229-260 of vol. III with Hawaii exclusively. This edition of his observations Chamisso later severely criticized for many inaccuracies and mistakes which he was given no chance to correct. In 1836 the poet-naturalist published a complete and independent account of his voyage with the Rurik in German ("Reise um die Welt") in two volumes. The first volume contains the vivid and inspired story of the round the world cruise with accounts of the two stays on the islands, pp. 113-130 and 185-197, the second a revised edition of his "Remarks and Opinions." A translation of Chamisso's passages on Hawaii into English has been prepared by V. S. K. Houston of Honolulu and will perhaps be published by him. Quotations used in this book are translated by the present author and quoted from vols. III and IV of Chamisso's collected works in German (Leipzig, Max Hesses Verlag, no year). In 1837 Chamisso submitted a paper to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, entitled "Ueber die Hawaiische Sprache" ("On the Hawaiian Language"), which was printed the same year in Leipzig.
3 Kotzebue, p. 82.
4 Kotzebue, p. 83.
5 To this statement of Kotzebue, Chamisso (III, 120) comments: "Herr von Kotzebue speaks of the curious costume of Kamehameha's courtiers, who all wore black coats on their naked body. Only once can I remember having seen this costume on the Sandwich Islands, which was by no means so common." Chamisso also gives a description of the first meeting with Kamehameha which differs from Kotzebue's: "On the shore was a numerous people in arms. The old king, in front of whose house we landed, sat surrounded by his women on an elevated terrace in his popular costume, the red maro (loin cloth) and the black tapa (the wide coat of bast with beautiful folds). Only the shoes and light straw hat had he borrowed from the Europeans." (Chamisso, III, 117.)
6 Kotzebue, pp. 84-91.
7 Kotzebue, p. 94.
8 Chamisso, III, 121-122.
9 Kotzebue, p. 97.
10 Kotzebue, p. 105.
11 Chamisso, III, 126.
12 Chamisso, III, 128.
13 Chamisso, IV, 184.
14 Kotzebue, p. 188.
15 Kotzebue, p. 188.
CHAPTER VII

1 Kotzebue, p. 91. In contrast to Kotzebue's Kamehameha, Choris wears a yell­
low, not a black, cravat. For an interesting and original interpretation of Kame­
hameha's grimaces, see Stokes.
2 Choris, p. 3 of the chapter on Hawaii.
3 Kotzebue, p. 98.
4 Chamisso, III, 126.
5 Here the careful observer will notice that he painted the Hawaiian flag the
wrong way, with the jack in the lower inner corner. However in his description
(p. 6) Choris mentions the jack in the right place.
6 Chamisso, III, 128.
7 Unfortunately the picture was not found with the book. Herrmine probably had
it framed!
8 Chamisso, (III, 18) calls Choris "by origin a German." The same statement
is made in the Nouvelle Biographie Generale depuis les temps les plus recules
Jusqua nos jours, X, p. 383. Paris, 1856. Here his birthplace is given as Yekateri­
noslav (some 100 miles from Kharkov, in the Ukrainian part of Russia) and his
birthday as March 22, 1795. In this case Choris was only twenty-one when he vis­
ited Hawaii in 1816.
9 Chamisso mentions that Choris had accompanied as draughtsman Marshall
Von Bieberstein to the Caucasus before the Rurik expedition.
10 The writer of the letter planned to stay longer in Paris but was recalled home
due to an illness of his father.

CHAPTER VIII

1 Golovnin, V.M. Zapiski Flota Kapitana Golovnina o prikluchenlakh ego v plenu
u Yapontsev v 1811, 1812, i 1813 godakh. 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1816). Also Eng­
lish translation (London, 1818).
2 According to the index in Golovnin's book it was supposed to have two pictures
relating to Hawaii, a portrait of Kamehameha and one of Boki with his retinue.
For some technical reason the pictures however were not published. Anent Tik­
hanov's painting of Kamehameha see Paradise of the Pacific, Sept. 30, 1938. "Tik­
hanoff’s ‘Lost Portrait’ of Kamehameha I."
3 Golovnin does not indicate which calendar he uses. However it seems to be the
"old style," for a letter which had been written by Elliot and dated of course new
style on November 1st, Golovnin received, probably one day later, according to his
diary on October 21st. In the following the dates will be used as given by Golov­
nin, but if our assumption is correct, he left Kronstadt September 7th, 1817, and
landed in Hawaii on November 1st, 1818.
4 Golovnin, I, 293. Golovnin tells his Hawaiian impressions in the chapters X
and XI of vol. I, 293-365. His book has never been published in English. The gist
of the Hawaiian chapters is given in an abridged, paraphrased and not too accu­
rate translation in The Friend of July and August, 1894. For my quotations I have
taken the unpublished translation just prepared for the Hawaiian Archives by Mrs.
Ella Embree, who kindly permitted me their use. Golovnin's later account of his
investigation, not available in Honolulu, is an important source for the history of
the Russian American Company.
5 Kotzebue, p. 80; Chamisso, III, 109-115; Bancroft, History of Alaska, pp.
493-499; Golovnin, passim throughout his account.
6 Golovnin, I, 351-352. It must be said that Golovnin probably wrote his two chap­
ters on Hawaii at different times, the first (ch. X) most likely during the voyage,
The Russians in Hawaii

the other (ch. XI) afterwards. He repeats himself in a number of cases and also to a certain extent changes his evaluation of events recorded.

7 Golovnin, I, 309.
8 Golovnin, I, 312.
9 Golovnin, I, 324.

10 Captain Davies was not Davis, the famous companion of John Young, for that man had died in 1810. Marin was the well known Spaniard, also mentioned by Chamisso in considerable detail (III, 122 ff.), and Boki a Hawaiian chief, at that time governor of Oahu.

11 Golovnin, I, 326.
12 In appendix III of vol. I, xviii, Golovnin discusses and partly quotes a report made before the American Congress in January, 1821, by a congressional committee on settlements along the Pacific shore of North America. To the quotation from the report: “Russia held it necessary to occupy one of the Sandwich Islands,” (p. xxxii) Golovnin adds impatiently: “The Government never held it necessary, but one of the islands was occupied.” Golovnin writes that Scheffer had issued a proclamation in German, not mentioning when Scheffer was supposed to have done it, and believes that “this rot” probably had reached America and served as material for the Committee.

13 Golovnin, I, 326.
14 Golovnin, I, 330.
15 Golovnin, I, 354.
16 Golovnin, I, 331.
17 Among other matters Golovnin also speaks of the sandal wood trade, of the prices and the reason why they were very high, of the Europeans in the king’s employ, the dresses of the people, and their drinking habits. Finally he gives some data on the islands in general, their geography, flora, fauna, etc. which however he largely took from Vancouver’s writings, at that time untranslated into Russian. Vol. I includes a map of Honolulu, apparently the first ever published to have been preserved. It was drawn by Vikentii Tobulevitch, a member of the crew. In vol. II, which deals with problems of navigation, Golovnin describes in detail in chapter V the bays of Kealakekua, Kailua and Honolulu.

Chapter IX

1 Golovnin, I, 318 and 342.
2 Golovnin, I, appendix VIII, p. xxxix-xliv.

Chapter X

1 Kotzebue returned once more, on his third circumnavigation, as commander of the Predpriatie (Enterprise), and called twice at the islands, in December, 1824, staying six weeks, and for one week in September of the following year. In two volumes, which also appeared in English, he published his new impressions, devoting 115 interesting pages to Hawaii. (Otto von Kotzebue, A new voyage round the World in the years 1823, 24, 25 and 26. (London, 1830), 2 vols. The chapter on Hawaii vol. II, 151-265.) Also two other non-Russians tried to follow Scheffer’s example in urging the Russian Tsar into a Hawaiian adventure, the Irishman Peter Dobell and the Swede A. Ljungstedt. This story has already been told fully by Kuykendall, pp. 71-73 and Golder, pp. 44-49.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Alexander, W. D. "Early Visitors to the Hawaiian Islands."
*Hawaiian Annual,* 1890, pp. 37-53.

——— "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814-1816."
*Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society,* no. 6, Honolulu, 1894. pp. 20.


Barnard, Capt. Charles H. *A narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures ... in a voyage round the world, during the years 1812 ... 1816 ...* New York, 1829. pp. 296.


Corney, Peter. *Voyages in the Northern Pacific, narrative of several trading voyages from 1813 to 1818, between the northwest coast of America, the Hawaiian Islands and China, with a description of the northwest coast.* Edited by Prof. W. D. Alexander. Honolulu, 1896. pp. 138.

The Russians in Hawaii


———“Captain Henry Barber of Barber’s Point.” *Forty-seventh annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1938.* Honolulu, 1939.


Kotzebue, Otto von. *Voyage of discovery in the South Seas, and to Behring’s Straits, in search of a North-East Passage; undertaken in the years 1815, 1816, 1817 and 1818, in the Ship Kurick.* London, 1821, pp. 220.

Krassnyi Arkhiv (Red Archive), see Okun.

Kruzenstern, A. J. von. *Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806 by order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, on board the ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the command of Captain A. J. von Kruzenstern, of the Imperial Navy.* Translated from the original German by Richard B. Hoppner. 2 vols. London, 1813, pp. 314; 404.

Lisiansky, Urey. *A Voyage Round the World in the years 1803, 4, 5 and 6; performed, by order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the ship Neva.* London, 1814. pp. 388.


Mazour, Anatole G. "Doctor Yegor Scheffer: Dreamer of a Russian Empire in the Pacific." *The Pacific Historical Review*, VI, no. 1. March, 1937, pp. 15-20. (Mazour was the first to call attention to the "Red Archive" publication).


